
Part Two: ***Jubilees***

5 Vestiges of Hebrew *Jubilees*

The book of *Jubilees* is a “Rewritten” or History Bible which covers the period from creation to the entry of the Israelites into Canaan.¹ The work presents itself as a revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai. The narrator is an angel who dictates the records of the heavenly tablets. All of history is divided into “jubilees” (forty-nine years), which are further subdivided into “weeks” (periods of seven years) and “days” (single years). The book covers the first fifty jubilees until the year 2450 *anno mundi*. The narrative largely follows Genesis, its primary source. Most “extra-biblical” episodes are concentrated in the period up to the time of Abraham. There is also a substantial amount of additional material on Jacob and his sons Levi and Judah. In Late Antiquity, *Jubilees* was viewed as a supplement to Genesis. It supplied information that was missing from the canonical book, such as the names of the wives of the patriarchs. For this reason, Greek authors called it the *Little Genesis* (ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) or the *Details of Genesis* (τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως).²

Jubilees was written in Hebrew sometime in the second century BCE. All known Hebrew manuscripts of *Jubilees* come from Qumran.³ The *Damascus Document* (1st c. BCE) contains the earliest reference to the work under its presumed original title (CD A xvi 3–4), “The Book of the Divisions of the Times according to their Jubilees and their Weeks” (ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם).⁴ This early citation suggests the importance of this work for the sectarian movement. The eventual translation of *Jubilees* into Greek indicates the popularity of the work beyond the confines of Jewish sectarians. Among Christians, *Jubilees* enjoyed a status comparable to the *Antiquities* of Josephus, with which it was often confused.⁵ Christian writers,

1 For a catalogue of *Jubilees*’ literary features, see Alexander Samely, *Profiling Jewish Literature in Antiquity: An Inventory, from Second Temple Texts to the Talmuds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 357–72.

2 For a list of examples, see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), xv–xvi.

3 The official publication of the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts is James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, eds., “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, ed. Harold W. Attridge et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–185.

4 Deborah Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-Called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of Jubilees in CD 16:3–4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, ed. Peter W. Flint, James C. VanderKam, and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49, has questioned whether this title really refers to *Jubilees*, although the identification is still generally accepted.

5 William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 188–93.

especially chroniclers, made extensive use of the work from the fourth to the fifteenth century.⁶ The Ethiopian Church eventually canonized *Jubilees*, and it was only in Ethiopia that a complete book of *Jubilees* was found in the modern period.⁷

The rediscovery of *Jubilees* is credited to the German missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810–1886).⁸ He sent a transcribed copy of an Ethiopic manuscript to Tübingen, where it came to the attention of Heinrich Ewald. Ewald announced the rediscovery of *Jubilees* in an article describing Krapf's finds in 1844.⁹ Ewald's student, August Dillmann, published a German translation of the text in 1850–1851.¹⁰ This publication inaugurated the modern study of *Jubilees*. A second “rediscovery” of *Jubilees* occurred at Qumran after 1947. The caves there yielded numerous manuscripts of *Jubilees* (the conventional number is 14 or 15).¹¹ The findings at Qumran resolved many important questions regarding the original language (Hebrew) and the date (second century BCE) of *Jubilees*. Since its rediscovery, almost all work on *Jubilees* has focused on the origins rather than the transmission of the book.

The primary goal of this chapter is to assess whether *Jubilees* survived in Hebrew, such that PRE could have drawn from it. The conclusion is more complicated than a “yes” or “no” response. While there is no evidence that a full Hebrew version of *Jubilees* has survived intact, many of the ancient traditions did persist, often existing in tandem with competing traditions found in rabbinic literature. Furthermore, they reveal a complex of *Jubilees*-like literature that is not identical to the book found at Qumran and preserved in Ethiopic. In the end, there may have been multiple “books of *Jubilees*” in Late Antiquity.

6 Albert-Marie Denis, ed., *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca: Una cum historicorum et auctorum judaeorum hellenistarum fragmentis* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102. See also J. T. Milik, “Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés,” *Revue Biblique* 78 (1971): 545–57.

7 Leslie Baynes, “*Enoch and Jubilees* in the Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2: 799–818.

8 James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 13–17, recounts the modern rediscovery of *Jubilees*.

9 Heinrich Ewald, “Über die aethiopischen Handschriften in Tübingen,” *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844): 164–201.

10 August Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubliaën oder die kleine Genesis,” *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 2 (1850): 230–56; 3 (1851), 1–96.

11 James C. VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 3–21.

5.1 *Sefer Asaph* or *Sefer Refu'ot* (7th–10th c.)

Sefer Asaph or *Sefer Refu'ot* is the first book of Hebrew medicine.¹² The work is pseudepigraphically attributed to Asaph b. Berakhiah, a biblical figure (1Chr 6:24), who, in Islamic lore, became the vizier of king Solomon and inherited some of his traits, such as vast scientific knowledge and mastery over the occult.¹³ The book is also a composite work. The core may be as old as the seventh century. It has Syriac antecedents as well as references to Persian lore.¹⁴ However, at least part of the work—the aphorisms of Hippocrates—are adapted from the Hebrew translation of Shabbatai Donnolo (d. 982), who lived in Southern Italy.¹⁵ The nature of the work makes it impossible to state definitively when and by whom it was written.

The parallel to *Jubilees* occurs right at the beginning. According to a prologue, the children of Noah were once physically tormented by demons. Noah prayed for respite, and the angel Raphael bound most of the demons but allowed others to remain to punish sinners. Raphael then sent one or more demons to teach Noah the medicinal practices found in the book. There are at least seven Hebrew manuscripts of the prologue, not all of which are attached to the complete *Sefer Refu'ot* (conversely, there are manuscripts of *Sefer Refu'ot* that do not have the prologue or feature it in an abridged form).¹⁶ The prologue is also found in multiple Latin man-

12 Important introductory studies include (in chronological order): Ludwig Venetianer, *Asaf Judaeus: Der älteste medizinische Schriftsteller in hebraeischer Sprache*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1916–1917); Isidore Simon, *Asaph Ha Iehoudi, Médecin et Astrologue du Moyen Âge: Avec une étude sur la Médecine dans la Bible et dans le Talmud* (Paris: Lipschutz, 1933); Süssmann Muntner, “The Antiquity of Asaph the Physician and His Editorship of the Earliest Hebrew Book of Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (1951): 101–31; Süssmann Muntner, *Introduction to the Book of Assaph the Physician, the Oldest Existing Text of a Medical Book Written in Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Geniza, 1957) [Hebrew]; Aviv Melzer, “Asaph the Physician: The Man and His Book. A Historical-Philological Study of the Medical Treatise ‘The Book of Drugs’ (‘Sefer Refuoth’)” (PhD Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin, 1972); Elinor Lieber, “Asaf’s ‘Book of Medicines’: A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 233–49; Stephen Newmyer, “Asaph the Jew and Greco-Roman Pharmaceutics,” in *The Healing Past*, ed. Irene Jacob and Walter Jacob (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 107–20.

13 Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 106–09.

14 Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, “Exploring Persian Lore in the Hebrew *Book of Asaf*,” *Aleph* 18 (2018): 123–46.

15 Tamás Visi, “The *Book of Asaf* and Shabbatai Donnolo’s Hebrew Paraphrase of Hippocrates’ Aphorisms,” in *Defining Jewish Medicine*, ed. Lennart Lehmhaus (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 313–35.

16 Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, “Exploring Eurasian Transmissions of Medical Knowledge: Cues from the Hebrew *Book of Asaf*,” in *Defining Jewish Medicine: Transfer of Medical Knowledge in Premodern Jewish Cultures and Traditions*, ed. Lennart Lehmhaus (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 295–311.

uscripts (most frequently interpolated into the works of Isidore of Seville, d. 636), representing more than one distinct translation of the prologue from Hebrew.¹⁷

The prologue closely resembles *Jub.* 10:1–14. Below is a synoptic presentation of the two texts. The Hebrew text of *Jubilees* is from Cana Werman's Hebrew "retroversion," which incorporates portions of the Qumran text where available. The text of *Sefer Refu'ot* is taken from Frankfurt, University Library Johann Christian Senckenberg Hebr. Oct. 185 (NLI F 22031). It is a late manuscript (19th c.), but it has never been edited or translated, and it only contains the prologue, which is labeled "Sefer Shem b. Noah" (ספר שם בן נח). It was copied from an "ancient manuscript" (כתביה ישנה) containing the work of "Asaph the Jew" (אסף היהודי).¹⁸

Jubilees 10:1–15¹⁹

[1] ובשבוע השלישי ביובל ההוא החלו הרוחות הטמאים להתעות את בני נוח לתעתע במ ולאבדם [2] ויביאו בני נוח אל נוח אביהם יגידו לו על הרוחות אשר התעו ועוורו והרגו את בני בניהם [3] ויתפלל לפני ה' אלוהים ויאמר אלוהי הרוחות אשר בכול בשר אשר עשית עמי חסד והצלת אותי ואת בני ממי המבול ולא כליתיני כאשר עשית לבני השחת כי גדול רחמך עלי ורב חסדך עם נפשי ירבו רחמך על בני בניך ואל ימשלו בהם הרוחות הרעים פן יכרתו מן הארץ [4] ואתה ברכת אותי ואת בני כי נפרה ונרבה ונמלא את הארץ [5] ואתה יודע את אשר עשו עיריך אבות רוחות אלה בימי ואלה הרוחות החיים אסרם ותנם במקום המשפט ולא יאבידו את בני עבדך אלוהי כי רעים הם ולהשחית נבראו [6] ולא ימשלו בנפשות החיים כי אתה לבדך יודע חוקם ולא ימשלו בבני צדיקים מעתה ועד עולם [7] ויאמר לנו אלוהינו לאסור את כולם [8] ויבוא שר

Sefer Refu'ot (Frankfurt 185, ff. 1–7)

זה ספר רפואות אשר העתיקו החכמים הראשונים מספר שם בן נח שנמסר לנח בראש ההר מהרי אררט אחר המבול כי בימים ההם ובעת ההיא החלו רוחות הממזרים להתגרות בבני נח להשתיות אל הטעות ולחבל ולהכות אותם בחליים ומכאבות ובכל מיני מדוה הממיתים והמשחיתים את בני אדם אז באו בני נח יחדיו ויספרו נגיעיהם לנח אביהם ויגידו לו על אודות המכאובים הנוראים בבניהם וידע נח כי מעון בני האדם ומדרך פשעם יתנגהו כל עיני תחלואים ומדוים אז קדש נח ובניו ובני בניו ובנותיו ויגש אל המזבח אשר בנה ויעל עולת ויתפלל אל ה' האלהים ויעתר לו וישלח מלאך אחד מן הקדושים שר הפנים ושמר רפאל לכלות את רוחות הממזרים מתחת השמים לבלתי השחית עוד בבני אדם ויעש המלאך כן ויכלאם בבית במשפט אך אחר מעשה הניח להתהלך בארץ לפני שר המשטמה להכות המרשיעים ליגע ולענות בהם כל מיני מדוה ותחלואי' ויגד המלאך

17 Vivian Nutton, "From Noah to Galen: A Medieval Latin History of Medicine," in *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ildikó Csepregi and Charles Burnett (Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), 53–69. See also Karl Sudhoff, "Ein neuer Text der 'Initia Medicinæ,'" *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 15 (1916): 281–87, and Carmen Codoñer Merino, "La medicina en algunos manuscritos de Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Isidorus medicus: Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina* (La Coruña: Servizo de Publicacións, 2005), 65–84.

18 Of the other extant manuscripts, it is most closely related to Oxford, Bodleian Libraries Laud. Or. 113, f. 97a–97b (NLI F 19956), from 16th-century Provence.

19 Cana Werman, *The Book of Jubilees: Introduction, Translation, and Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 2015), 253–54 [Hebrew].

הרוחות משטמה ויאמר אלוהי הבריאה השאר מהם לפני וישמעו בקולי ויעשו כול אשר אומר להם כי אם לא ישארו לי מהם לא אוכל לעשות ממשלת רצוני בבני האדם כי בהם אשחית ואאבד במשפטי כי פשע בני האדם רב הוא [9] ויאמר כי ישארו לפני עשירית ותשעת מפלגיהם יוריד אל מקום המשפט [10] ולאחד מאתנו אמר ללמד את נוח כול רפואתם כי ידע כי לא באמת ילכו ולא בצדק יריבו [11] ונעשה ככול אשר דבר וכול הרעים אשר פשעו אסרנו אל מקום המשפט ועשירית מהם הותרנו למען ישפטו לפני השטן על הארץ [12] וכול רפואת נגיעיהם הגדנו לנוח עם כחשם למען ירפא בצמחי הארץ [13] ויכתוב נוח בספר הכול כאשר למדנוהו על כול מיני הרפואות וחדלו הרוחות הרעים מאחורי בני נוח [14] ויתן את כול הספרים אשר כתב לשם בנו הגדול כי אהב אותו יותר מכול בניו [15] וישן נוח עם אבותיו ויקבר בהר לובר בארץ אררט

לנח לרפא בעצי הארץ וצמחי האדמה ועקריה וישלח שר הרוחות הנותרים מה להראות אל נח ולהגיד לו את עצי הרפואות עם כל דשאייהם וירקיהם מעשביהם וזרעיהם ולמדו כל דברי תרופות עד פלט למרפא ולחיים

ויכתב נח כל הדברים האלה על ספר ויתנהו אל שם בנו הגדול ומן הספר הזה העתיקו החכמים הראשונים ויכתבו ספרים הרבה איש ואיש בלשונו ותרב דעת הרפואה בארץ ובכל הגוים אין חכמים אשר לו בחרו ספרי הרפואות בחכמי הודו וחכמי מצרים וחכמי אדום כי חכמי הודו הם שטטו למצוא עצי הרפואות והבשמים וחכמי מצרים דשא הארץ וצמחי האדמה וחכמי אדום מצאו את העשבים לכל מיניהם וזרעיהם לרפא

ואת פשר הדברים העתיקו ארמים וחכמי מוקדון החלו ראשונה לרפא בארץ וחכמי מצרים החלו ראשונה לחבר ולנחש במזלות ובכוכבים ללמוד ספר מדרש הכשדים אשר העתיק קינן בן כשד לכל החרטומים והגדיל חכמתו עד קום אסקפליטאס אחד מחכמי מוקדון וארבעים איש מן החרטומים מלמדי ספרים הגעתקים וילכו הלוך בארץ ויעברו מעבר להודו אל ארץ נוד קדמת עדן למצוא מקצת עצי הרפואה ועץ החיים למען הגדיל רפואתם על כל חכמי הארץ ויהי בבואם למקום ההוא וימצאו את עצי הרפואה ואת עץ החיים וישלחו ידיהם לקחתם ויברק עליהם להט החרב המתחפכת ויתלהטו כלם בשבבי הברק ולא נמלט מהם איש ותשביט הרפואה מן הגוים שש מאות ושלישים שנה עד מלוך ארתחשטא המלך בימיו עמד איש נבון וחכם ומלמד דעת ספרי הרפואה ומבין דבר מתוך דבר ושמו אפוקראט המוקדומי ושאר חכמי הגוים אסף וחכמי היהודי והרבה חכמים אחרים ויחדשו את עבודת הרפואה ותהי עד היום הזה

Here is my translation of both texts. The English translation of *Jubilees* is based on James VanderKam's critical edition of the Ethiopic text and not Werman's Hebrew.

Jubilees 10:1–15²⁰

[1] In the third week of this jubilee, the impure spirits began to lead astray the descendants of the children of Noah, to drive them mad and to

Sefer Refu'ot (Frankfurt 185, 1–7)

This is the *Book of Remedies* (ספר רפואות) which the ancient sages copied from the book of Shem b. Noah that was transmitted to Noah

²⁰ Translation based on James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 60–62.

destroy them. [2] The children of Noah came to Noah, their father, and told him about the spirits who led astray and overshadowed and killed the children of their children. [3] Noah prayed before the Lord God and said, "Lord of Spirits, who is in all flesh, who showed me favor and saved me and my children from the waters of the Flood, you did not destroy me as you did the children of destruction because great is your mercy towards me and great is your favor upon my person. May your mercy extend over the children of your children. Do not let evil spirits dominate them lest they be annihilated from the earth. [4] Bless me and my children, and we will grow and become numerous and fill the earth. [5] You know what your Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, did in my days. And these spirits who remain active, seize them and lock them up in the place of judgment. They will not destroy the children of your servant, my Lord, because they are evil and apt to destroy what has been created. [6] They will not rule over living souls because you alone know their judgment. They will not lead astray the children of the righteous from now until the end of time." [7] Our Lord told us [i.e., the angels] that we should bind all of them. [8] Mastema, the leader of those spirits, appeared and said, "Lord creator, leave some of them before me. They obey my voice and will do everything that I tell them. If you do not leave any of them, I will be unable to exercise my authority over humanity, for they are intended to corrupt and to lead astray according to my judgment, because great is the wickedness of humanity." [9] God said that a tenth would remain before him, while nine parts would descend to the place of judgment. [10] He said to one of us that we should teach Noah all their remedies because he knew that humans would neither walk in righteousness

on the summit of the mountain in the mountain range of Ararat after the Flood. For in those days, and at that time, the spirits of the bastards (רוחות המזורים) began to harass the children of Noah, to induce them into error, and to injure and hurt them with diseases and pains and all manner of ailments that were killing and destroying the human race. Then the children of Noah came together and complained of their ills to Noah, their father, and they told him all about the terrible suffering among them. Noah knew that every kind of disease and malady was the result of human transgression and their iniquitous behavior. Then Noah sanctified his sons and the sons of his sons and his daughters. He approached the altar which he had built. He offered a burnt offering and prayed to the LORD God, pleading with him. God sent an angel—one of the holy ones, the prince of the divine presence (שר הפנים), whose name was Raphael—to eliminate the spirits of the bastards from under heaven to prevent the destruction of more humans. The angel did so and imprisoned them in a place for judgment (בבית במשפט), but afterwards he allowed them to wander the earth in the presence of Prince Mastema (שר המשטמה) to strike down evil doers and to hurt and afflict them with all kinds of maladies and diseases. The angel instructed Noah how to heal with the trees of the earth and the plants of the ground and their roots. He sent the prince of the remaining spirits in order to show Noah and tell him about the trees of healing with all their grasses, their greens, their herbs, and their seeds, and to teach him every detail of their curative properties for healing and for life.

Noah wrote all these things in a book and gave it to Shem, his eldest son. The ancient sages copied from this book and wrote many other

nor contend with justice. [11] We did this in accordance with his whole command. All the evil ones who behaved wickedly we bound in the place of judgment, but we left a tenth of them before Satan to exercise power on earth. [12] We told Noah all the remedies for their illnesses with their errors so he could heal by means of the world's trees. [13] Noah wrote down everything which we taught him in a book, every kind of remedy, and the evil spirits were prevented from tailing the children of Noah. [14] He gave all the books which he had written to Shem, his eldest son, because he loved him more than all his children. [15] Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on Lubar, a mountain in the land of Ararat.

books, each man in his own language. Knowledge of medicine increased in the land and in every nation. There was no sage who did not have his choice of medical books among the wise men of India or the wise men of Egypt or the wise men of Rome (אֲדוּמִים). The wise men of India wandered around finding the trees of healing and spices. The wise men of Egypt [found] the grass of the earth and the plants of the ground. The wise men of Rome found herbs of every kind and seeds for healing.

Aramaeans copied the meaning of the words. The wise men of Macedon were the first to heal in the land. The wise men of Egypt were the first to observe and to speculate about the constellations and the stars and to teach the book *The Inquiry of the Chaldaeans* (מִדְרָשׁ קִינָן בֶּן כֶּשֶׁד (הַכַּשְׂדִּים), which Cainan b. Kesed (כֶּשֶׁד) copied for all the enchanters. His wisdom prevailed until the coming of Asclepius, one of the wise men of Macedon, and forty men from the enchanters, teachers of the copied books. They traversed the land and crossed over to India, to the land of Nod, east of Eden, to find some of the trees of healing and the Tree of Life to increase [knowledge of] their medicine for all the sages of the world. When they came to that place, they found the trees of healing and the Tree of Life. They extended their hands to take from them, but the twirling sword of flame gleamed upon them [cf. Gen 3:24]. All of them were burnt up from the lightning, and not one of them escaped. Medicine ceased among the nation for 630 years, until the rule of King Artaxerxes (אַרְתַּחְשַׁתָּא הַמֶּלֶךְ). In his days an intelligent and wise man arose. He reestablished knowledge of the books of medicine. He understood matters intuitively. His name was Hippocrates the Macedonian. The rest of the Gentile sages, Asaph and the Jewish sages, and many other wise men—they renewed the practice of medicine. And so it is until today.

The differences between the two accounts are as apparent as their similarities. First, however, a word must be said about the variants in the prologue to *Sefer Refu'ot*. Other manuscripts of the work, such as Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut.88.37, f. 1b (NLI F 20367, 14th–15th c.), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries Laud. Or. 113, f. 97a–97b (NLI F 19956, 16th c.), and Munich, Bavarian State Library Hebr. 231, ff. 1b–2a (NLI F 23134, 13th–14th c.), from which Adolf Jellinek excerpted the first half of the story,²¹ mention the toponym Mount Lubar (*Jub.* 10:15) in the opening lines. The Munich and Florence manuscripts (which appear to be related) also name Dioscorides (d. 90 CE) and Galen (d. 216 CE) along with Hippocrates (d. 370 BCE) as the most important Greek medical authorities, while a couple of the Latin manuscripts omit Asaph. This raises obvious questions about the date of this passage. It seems that its original intent was to connect Hippocrates, the father of medicine, to divine wisdom. Dioscorides, Galen, and even Asaph could all be later interpolations.

Jellinek initially published this short excerpt as the “Book of Noah,” and this title has been a persistent source of controversy. *Jubilees* implies both in *Jub.* 10:13 and elsewhere (*Jub.* 8:11–12; 21:10) that Noah committed his knowledge to writing, but it is impossible to know if this was ever an ancient book or a literary fiction. Support for the existence of an actual book of Noah appeared in the Qumran literature and related writings. The *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen V.29) refers to a “copy of the book of the words of Noah” (פרשנן כתב מלי נוח), while a Greek passage translated from the *Aramaic Levi Document* (10:10) draws precepts from “a book of Noah about the blood” (τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος).²² Others, however, have cast doubt on the existence of a literal book, indicating that such references cannot be taken at face value and that the material attributed to the “Book of Noah” is too diverse to constitute a literary unity.²³

Whether a “Book of Noah” ever existed is immaterial. The relevant point is that *Jubilees* did not invent this tradition—or many of the other extrabiblical traditions found in the book. Michael Segal observed that *Jubilees* already consists of “rewrit-

21 Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der älteren jüdischen Literatur*, 6 vols. (Leipzig and Vienna, 1853–1877) 3: xxx–xxxiii (introduction) and 155–60 (text). This was translated by Martha Himmelfarb, “The Book of Noah: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 40–46.

22 Michael E. Stone, “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah,” in *Noah and His Book(s)*, ed. Michael E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, and Vered Hillel (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2010), 7–25.

23 Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions,” 231–42; Cana Werman, “Qumran and the Book of Noah,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 171–81.

ten stories” that often contradict *Jubilees*’ legal and chronological framework.²⁴ Some of the sources of these rewritten stories are still available. Segal, for example, names the *Book of the Watchers* (*1Enoch* 1–36, specifically *1Enoch* 10–11) as the source for *Jub.* 5:1–12.²⁵ We know that other *Jubilees*-like compositions existed because they have survived. The *Genesis Apocryphon* is one such example. This work reflects many of the traditions of *Jubilees* without necessarily being directly related to the book.²⁶ It, along with *1Enoch*, the *Antiquities* of Josephus²⁷ and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,²⁸ might be said to belong to the same “exegetical universe” as *Jubilees*, where they all exhibit shared interpretations of the biblical text that did not obtain in later generations.

Martha Himmelfarb has argued that the tradition in *Sefer Refu'ot* is more ancient than the one in *Jubilees* and might have originally belonged to one of *Jubilees*’ sources.²⁹ *Jubilees*, for example, seems to improve on the claim that Noah learned about medicine, in part, from the demons themselves. *Jubilees* has eliminated this claim, although a relic of the tradition remains in *Jub.* 10:10, where the angelic narrator refers to “their” (the demons’) remedies. In her recent introduction and translation of the prologue to Asaph, Himmelfarb further points out that the designation of the evil spirits as “bastards” (ממזרים) is not found in *Jubilees* but in the more ancient *Book of the Watchers* (*1Enoch* 10:9), while the term “place of judgment” (בית משפט) means “prison” in Second Temple literature (e.g., 1QpHab) but, in medieval Hebrew, means “court.”³⁰ One can add other arguments in favor of her position. For example, Vivian Nutton has pointed out that, in the second part of the prologue, the Greeks are consistently called “Macedonians,” a usage that is

24 Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 21–35.

25 Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 32. He treats the story at length in chapter five (103–43). See similarly (but more hesitantly) James C. VanderKam, “The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 151–70, and Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 86–95.

26 Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 13–17, gives a brief overview of differing viewpoints.

27 Betsy Halpern-Amaru, “Flavius Josephus and *The Book of Jubilees*: A Question of Source,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 72 (2001): 15–44.

28 Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, xlv.

29 Martha Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John C. Reeves (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 115–41 (127–36).

30 Himmelfarb, “Book of Noah,” 41–42.

found in 1Maccabees and the Greek translation of Esther.³¹ Both of these are Second Temple Jewish works found in the Septuagint.

Perhaps most telling, the second half of the prologue mentions one Cainan b. Kesed, the author of a book of Chaldean divination.³² Despite the patronymic, this is clearly a reference to Cainan b. Arpachshad, a patriarchal figure found in the Septuagint's rendering of Gen 10:24 and 11:12–13 (cf. Luke 3:36) but missing from the Masoretic Text. In *Jub.* 8:1–4, this Cainan stumbles upon the esoteric lore of the Watchers carved in a rock. The implication is that he is responsible for reviving ancient evil, although he pointedly never tells anyone and never reappears in the text. The book of *Jubilees*, however, does connect Cainan to Kesed, who is Cainan's brother (*Jub.* 8:6). Kesed is the father of Ur and the great-grandfather of Serug, in whose generation idolatry and violence exploded. In this context, Kesed and Ur build their famous city, Ur of the Chaldeans (אור כסדים), the hometown of Abraham (*Jub.* 11:1–3).

In certain Syriac sources (Jacob of Edessa and Michael the Syrian, both discussed in the next chapter)—but not in *Jubilees*—Cainan is worshiped as the god of the Chaldeans. When Abraham burns down the idolatrous temple, he is in fact destroying the idol of Cainan (cf. *Jub.* 12:12). *Jubilees* only alludes to a more ancient tradition where Cainan is directly connected to the decline of human civilization after the Flood. *Jubilees* did not invent the story of Cainan. His inclusion in the genealogy of Abraham contradicts the earlier statement (*Jub.* 2:23) that there are twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob. Cainan makes twenty-three. It therefore seems correct that the prologue to *Sefer Refu'ot* is a separate attestation of a Second Temple tradition and not dependent on the book of *Jubilees*.

5.2 Saadia Gaon and His Karaite Opponents

Saadia Gaon (d. 942), an Egyptian-born polymath, is the father of medieval Jewish philosophy, the translator of the Bible into Arabic, and a noted controversialist.³³

³¹ Nutton, “From Noah to Galen,” 64.

³² The name is garbled in other manuscripts. Munich 231 and Florence, Ms. Plut.88.37 have “Kangar.” Ur is also named as the son of Kesed and the father of “Kangar.” Two Latin manuscripts (Vaticanus latinus 2378, f. 228b, and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Lat. Folio 88, f. 243b) have “[H]ur filius C[h]as” but no Cainan. The manuscripts of Isidore of Seville have “Cinarius filius Hur filii Cedebe.”

³³ For him, see Robert Brody, *Sa'adyah Gaon*, trans. Betsy Rosenberg (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013) and Henry Malter, *Saadia Gaon: His Life and Works* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1921).

Among his antagonists was the emerging sect of the Karaites, a coalition of Jews opposed to rabbinic tradition, who, from the eighth to the tenth centuries, slowly united into a group that drew their halakhic positions entirely from Scripture.³⁴

Saadia's comments on the book of Chronicles have been preserved along with others (Judah ibn Quraysh, Yiram of Magdiel, the "men of Kairouan") in an anonymous commentary on Chronicles published by Raphael Kirchheim from three manuscripts in 1874.³⁵ Kirchheim drew attention to an alleged citation of *Jubilees* but left open the question of its relationship to the recently rediscovered Ethiopic book. Abraham Epstein believed that the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* was incomplete based on *Jub.* 1:27–29, which implies that the work will end with the establishment of the Temple in Jerusalem. He found evidence for a longer version of *Jubilees* in Saadia's comments about the twenty-four priestly courses (משמרות), allegedly taken from a "Book of Jubilees."³⁶

ובענין דברים הללו מעיני במדות חכמים ובספר היובלות שהביא אלפיומי רב סעדיה גאון מספרי
הישיבה בשנת ארבעים למלכות דוד בחצי היובל בד' בשבוע התקין משמרות כהונה ולויה כמו
שמסר לו שמואל בניות ברמה שנאמר המה יסד דויד ושמואל הרואה באמונתם

Concerning these matters, consult the teachings of the Sages (מדות חכמים) and the "Book of Jubilees" (ספר היובלות), which Rav Saadia Gaon al-Fayyumi quoted from the books of the Yeshiva: "In in the fortieth year of the reign of David, in the middle of the jubilee, on the fourth day of the week, he established the priestly and levitical courses," just as Samuel transmitted the plans to him in Ramah, as it is written, "David and Samuel the seer established them in their permanent function" (1Chr 9:22).³⁷

This passage does not come from the extant version of *Jubilees*, which ends long before the time of David, yet the language, especially the system of dating, is reminiscent of the Second Temple work. However, the concept of the "jubilee" is not exclusive to the book of *Jubilees*. It is a biblical concept (Lev 25) which was used in other Jewish works. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the standard work of rabbinic chronology,

³⁴ For this movement, see Meira Riva Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003) and Barry Dov Walfish and Mikhail Borisovich Kizilov, eds., *Bibliographia Karaitica: An Annotated Bibliography of Karaites and Karaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). More generally: Daniel Lasker, *Karaism: An Introduction to the Oldest Surviving Alternative Judaism*, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022).

³⁵ Raphael Kirchheim, ed., *Ein Commentar zur Chronik aus dem 10ten Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: H. L. Brönnner, 1874).

³⁶ Abraham Epstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrasch Tadsché," *Revue des Études Juives* 21 (1890): 80–97; 22 (1891): 1–25 (82–83, 94).

³⁷ Kirchheim, *Commentar zur Chronik*, 36.

also uses the jubilee to indicate dates.³⁸ Similarly, *Tolidah*, a Samaritan chronicle (12th c.), dates events by jubilees and by weeks (שמיטות, sabbatical years).³⁹ This system could have been used in any Jewish or Samaritan chronicle. The reference to a “Book of Jubilees”, however, remains a mystery.

In his introduction to the commentary, Kirchheim drew attention to a resemblance between the long section attributed to Saadia Gaon (p. 36–43), starting with the above quotation, and the extended comments on 1Chr 23 that the Karaite Jacob b. Reuben (fl. 12th c.) attributed to Salmon b. Yerūḥam (fl. 10th c.) in his digest of Karaite biblical exegesis, *Sefer ha-Osher*.⁴⁰ The shared exegesis is surprising because Salmon was an implacable enemy of Saadia and wrote a polemical work (*The Book of the Wars of the Lord*) against him.⁴¹ The unstated implication of Kirchheim’s comments is that the two opponents drew from a common source—this “Book of Jubilees.” Epstein separately observed that both men knew a *Baraita de-R. Pinhas b. Yair* containing information from *Jubilees*.⁴² This is another name for *Midrash Tadshe*, a work with a close connection to *Jubilees*. I will revisit this issue when I discuss this work below.

Salmon b. Yerūḥam was not the only Karaite to possibly refer to *Jubilees*. Yoram Erder,⁴³ following J. T. Milik,⁴⁴ suggested that the Karaite exegete Yefet b. ‘Alī (10th c.) knew *Jubilees* based on a reference to the demonic figure Mastema in his commentary on Exodus. The context is the episode of the Golden Calf.

[The Children of Israel] said: “This is thy god, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt” (Exod 32:4). In all probability, the Children of Israel believed in a single Creator, who created an angel to whom He entrusted the world, to run it and implant in it wisdom and understanding. This [belief] corresponds to the Sadducean belief in “Prince Mastema.” They

³⁸ Chaim Milikowsky, ed., *Seder Olam: Critical Edition, Commentary, and Introduction*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 2013), 1:297 (chapter 23) [Hebrew]: “In the eleventh year of the jubilee cycle, in the fourth year of the sabbatical week, Sennacherib attacked.” My translation.

³⁹ Adolf Neubauer, “Chronique samaritaine: Suivie de courtes notices sur quelques autres manuscrits samaritains et sur un commentaire samaritain inconnu de Genèse I à XXVIII,1,” *Journal Asiatique* 14 (1869): 385–470.

⁴⁰ Kirchheim, *Commentar zur Chronik*, vi. For Jacob b. Reuben’s comments, see Aaron b. Joseph and Jacob b. Reuben, *Mibhar Yesharim*, ed. Abraham Firkovich (Eupatoria: Koslov, 1834), *Commentary on the Ketuvim*, 23a–24a.

⁴¹ Salmon b. Yerūḥam, *Sefer Milhamot ha-Shem*, ed. Israel Davidson (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1934).

⁴² Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 5.

⁴³ Yoram Erder, *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls: On the History of an Alternative to Rabbinic Judaism* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 138–41.

⁴⁴ J.T. Milik, ed., with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 331, n. 1.

believed that human beings cannot conceptualize such an angel through the intellect or the senses, since his glory defies imagination. Therefore, he created angels who stand before him, and he sends them out as he sees fit. [They] believed that if they fashioned his likeness and worshipped it, they would be glorifying him. Moreover, they believed that a little of the light of this angel would reside in this likeness, and it was this principle that prompted the Children of Israel to act as they did. This would appear to be the most likely interpretation of this whole episode (*Commentary on Exodus* 32, 1–4).⁴⁵

Mastema is a prominent character in *Jubilees* (10:8; 11:5.11; 17:16; 18:9.12; 19:28; 48:2.9.12.15; 49:2), but he is not exclusive to this work. At the time Yefet b. 'Ali wrote, "Mastema" was still used as a designation for the devil among Christians, particularly in Coptic literature.⁴⁶ It was still found occasionally in Hebrew, such as *Sefer Refu'ot*, cited above. The benevolent depiction of Mastema in this passage—which more closely resembles an angelic intermediary figure like Metatron—has nothing in common with the malevolent entity from *Jubilees*. It is highly doubtful that this passage is informed by *Jubilees*.

A third Karaite of interest is Nissi b. Noah, a tenth- or eleventh-century Persian about whom little is known. Abraham Epstein drew attention to the enumeration of the twenty-two works of creation (cf. *Jub.* 2:2–15) in his *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* as evidence of the survival of Hebrew *Jubilees*.⁴⁷ The Hebrew text was published by Simhah Pinsker at the beginning of the second volume of *Lickute Kadmoniot* (לקוטי קדמוניות), an anthology of medieval Karaite writing.⁴⁸ It does indeed read like an abridged version of *Jubilees*' creation account, although it also adds prooftexts from Genesis (omitted in my translation).

⁴⁵ Erder, *Mourners of Zion*, 138.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Theodosius of Alexandria's *Encomium on St. Michael the Archangel* in E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: Longmans & Co., 1915), cxxxv–cxliv (introduction), 321–421 (text), and 893–947 (translation); Hugo Lundhaug, "The Investiture of the Archangel Michael," in *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 2*, ed. Tony Burke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), 499–552; Lance Jenott, "The Investiture of the Archangel Gabriel," in *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 2*, ed. Tony Burke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), 559–79; Arnold van Lantschoot, "Un Texte Palimpseste de Vat. Copte 65," *Le Muséon* 60 (1947): 261–68. For further references, see Walter Ewing Crum, "Texts Attributed to Peter of Alexandria," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1903): 387–97 (396–97, n. 3).

⁴⁷ Epstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," 84.

⁴⁸ Simhah Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der karäischen Literatur nach handschriftlichen Quellen bearbeit*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Adalbert della Torre, 1860), 2: 2–13 [Hebrew]. For an English translation of the whole text, see Leon Nemoy, "Nissi Ben Noah's Quasi-Commentary on the Decalogue," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 73 (1983): 307–48.

Jubilees 2:2–5.7–8.10–15⁴⁹

[2] כי ביום הראשון ברא את השמים העליונים ואת הארץ ואת המים ואת כול הרוחות המשרתים לפניו [...] את התהומות מאפלה ואור ושחר וערב אשר הכין בדעתו [3] אז ראינו מעשיו ונברכו על כול מעשיו ונהללה לפניו כי שבעה מעשים גדולים עשה ביום הראשון [4] וביום השני עשה רקיע בתוך המים ויבדלו המים ביום הזה [...] ויעש מעשה זה לבדו ביום השני [5] וביום השלישי עשה באומרו למים לעבור מפני כול הארץ אל מקום אחד מתחת לרקיע ותראה היבשה [6] [...] [7] ביום הזה ברא להם את כול הימים בכול מקויהם [...] וזרע מזרע למינו ואת כול הצמח ועץ עושה פרי ואת היערים ואת גן עדן בעדן לתענוג ולמאכל את ארבעת המינים הגדולים האלה עשה ביום השלישי [8] וביום הרביעי עשה אלוהים את השמש ואת הירח ואת הכוכבים ויתן אותם ברקיע השמים להאיר על כול הארץ ולמשול ביום ובלילה ולהבדיל בין האור לחושך [9] [...] [10] [...] את שלושת המינים האלה עשה ביום הרביעי [11] וביום החמישי ברא את התנינים הגדולים בתוך תהומות המים [...] ואת כול השורץ במים דגי הים ואת כול העוף המעופף לכול מיניהם [12] [...] את שלושת המינים הדגולים האלה עשה ביום החמישי [13] וביום הששי את כול חית הארץ ואת כול הבהמה ואת כול הרומש על הארץ [14] ואחרי כול אלה עשה את האדם זכר ונקבה עשה אותם [...] את ארבעת המינים האלה עשה ביום הששי [15] ויהיו כולם שנים ועשרים מינים

[2] On the first day God created the heavens above, the earth, the waters, and every spirit that serves him [...] the depths, darkness and light (daybreak and evening), which he prepared through the knowledge of his mind. [3] Whereupon we saw his works and blessed and praised him for all his works because he had made seven great works on the first day. [4] On the second day he made a firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divid-

Nissi b. Noah⁵⁰

שכן מצאנו כי ברא יתברך זכרו ביום הראשון שבעה דברים והם שמים וארץ וחשך ואור ומים ותהום ורוח [...] וביום השני ברא הרקיע לבדו והבדיל בין המים התחתונים למים העליונים [...] וביום השלישי הקוה המים למקוה אחד והראה היבשה וקראה ארץ וקרא למקוה המים ימים והוציא מן הארץ עשבים ועצים [...] וביום הרביעי ברא שלשה דברים שמש וירח וכוכבים [...] וביום החמישי ברא שלשה דברים השרצים והתנינים והעופות [...] וביום הששי ברא ארבעה דברים החיה והבהמה והרמש והאדם

Therefore we find that the one whose memory is blessed created seven things on the first day, and they are: heaven, earth, darkness, light, water, the abyss (תהום), and wind/spirit (רוח) [...] On the second day, he only created the firmament, to divide the waters below from the water above [...] On the third day, he collected the waters into one pool and revealed dry land. He called it earth, and he called the

49 Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 147–48; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 7–11.

50 Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot*, 2:7.

ed on that day [...] This was the sole work he made on the second day. [5] On the third day, he made through his word the waters, that they should pass from before the face of the whole earth to one place so that dry land would appear. [6] [...] [7] On that day he created for the waters all the seas in their gathering places [...] [He also created] the seed that is sown according to its type, everything that is consumed, the trees which bear fruit, the forests, the Garden of Eden in [the land of] Eden, whatever is pleasing and good for food. These four great things he made on the third day. [8] On the fourth day, God made the sun, the moon, and the stars. He placed them in the firmament so that they would shine over all the earth, reign over the day and the night, and separate light from darkness. [9] [...] [10] [...] These three species he made on the fourth day. [11] On the fifth day, he created the great sea monsters in the depths of the waters [...] and all the fish that move about in the water, and all the birds that fly in the air, and all their kinds. [12] [...] These three great species he made on the fifth day. [13] On the sixth day, he made all the wild beasts of the earth and all the cattle, and everything that creeps upon the earth. [14] After all these things, he made humanity—a man and a woman he made them [...] These four species he made on the sixth day. [15] Altogether it was twenty-two species.

of the waters, seas. He brought forth from the earth, grass, and trees [...] On the fourth day, he created three things: the sun, the moon, and the stars [...] On the fifth day, he created three things: the swarming creatures, the sea monsters, and the birds [...] On the sixth day, he created four things: wild animals, domestic animals, creeping things, and humanity. . .

Nissi's text is an accurate summary of *Jubilees* and even helps interpret the text. For example, *Jubilees* mentions light, darkness, evening, and dawn in the same breath, but these constitute only two created things (light and darkness). Similarly, it is not clear from *Jubilees* what four works were created the third day, but Nissi's text leaves little doubt. The four are dry land, seas, and two types of vegetation (trees and grass).

Nevertheless, the list of the twenty-two works is one of the best-known traditions from the *Jubilees* and could have come from multiple sources. Knowledge of the tradition was widespread in Christian literature, chiefly due to Epiphanius of Salamis, who provided a Greek translation of the *Jub.* 2:2–15 in his *De mensuribus et ponderibus* (see the next chapter). It reentered Hebrew literature, at the latest, in *Midrash Tadshe*, a work contemporaneous with Nissi b. Noah's commentary (see the

next section). Nissi's work has no other points of contact with *Jubilees*. As Martha Himmelfarb indicates, Nissi does not mention the figure twenty-two or explain the greater significance of the tradition.⁵¹ In *Jubilees*, the number correlates with the twenty-two patriarchs from Adam to Jacob (*Jub.* 2:23). Epiphanius of Salamis and other Christian authors add the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the number of books of the Hebrew Bible.

5.3 “Minor Midrashim”

The term “Minor (or Medieval) Midrash” refers to an indeterminate number of aggadic works, mainly on biblical topics. They do not necessarily (and, in fact, very rarely) adopt the form of classical Midrashim. The foundational collection is Adolf Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, published in six volumes from 1853 to 1877.⁵² Several other collections were published at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.⁵³ Not much research has been carried out on this corpus as a whole, although modern interest in the Pseudepigrapha has rekindled interest in individual texts.⁵⁴ Since the “Minor Midrashim” are exclusively Hebrew and Aramaic texts in Jewish transmission, they are a Jewish counterpart to the Pseudepigrapha, which are largely parabiblical works in Christian transmission. However, they are generally much later than the Pseudepigrapha. All three works discussed in this section were first printed in *Bet ha-Midrash*.⁵⁵

Aggadat Bereshit belongs to the larger circle of *Tanhuma* midrashim. Although it is principally a series of homilies on Genesis, it has a unique structure where every cycle of three chapters (except the very last) comments first on Genesis, then

51 Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of Jubilees,” 125.

52 Adolph Jellinek, ed., *Bet ha-Midrash*. For a bibliography, see John T. Townsend, “Minor Midrashim,” in *Bibliographical Essays in Medieval Jewish Studies: The Study of Judaism Volume II* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1976), 333–92.

53 Bernard H. Mehlman and Seth M. Limmer, *Medieval Midrash: The House for Inspired Innovation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 3–59, provides a history of research (the rest of the volume has translations of some examples).

54 Many of the texts in Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), are in fact “Minor Midrashim,” including the *Book of Noah*, discussed above, and *Midrash Vayissa'u*, discussed below.

55 Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 4:1–116 (*Aggadat Bereshit*); 3: 164–93 (*Midrash Tadshe*); 3:1–5 (*Midrash Vayissa'u*)

a text from the Prophets, and then a text from the Psalms. The work is typically dated to the tenth century, though earlier and later dates have been proposed. It is believed to have been composed in Southern Italy.⁵⁶ The work has only recently received a critical edition;⁵⁷ previous scholarship was dependent on the semi-critical edition of Salomon Buber.⁵⁸ The work contains a solitary parallel to *Jubilees*. Even then, it is not found in the only complete manuscript, Oxford Ms. 2340, but only in the printed edition.

Jubilees 4:31⁵⁹

ובקץ היובל הזה הומת קין אחריו בשנה ההיא
ויפול ביתו עליו וימות בביתו עליו וימות באבניו
כי באבן המית את הבל ובאבן הומת במשפט צדק

Cain was killed one year after him [Adam] at the end of this jubilee. His house fell upon him, and he died in the midst of his house. He was killed with its stones because he had killed Abel with a stone. Therefore, he was killed with a stone by a just decree.

Aggadat Bereshit 26⁶⁰

כורה שחת בה יפול וגולל אבן אליו תשוב קין הרג
את הבל אחיו באבן שנ' ויקם קין [אל הבל אחיו
ויהרגו] והיאך הרגו אלא שנטל אבן והיה מכה
בו בכל איבריו פצעים פצעי' עד שמת מנין שכך
אמ' למך לנשיו כי איש הרגתי לפצעי וגו' ואף קין
נהרג באבן שנא' ויצא קין [מלפני יי' וישב בארץ
נוד וגו'] שמה נפל עליו אבן ומת למה וגולל אבן
[אליו תשוב]

“Whoever digs a pit will fall into it, and whoever rolls a stone, it shall return to him” (Prov 26:27). Cain killed Abel, his brother, with a stone, as it is written, “Cain rose up against Abel, his brother, and killed him” (Gen 4:8). How else did he kill him, except that he snatched a stone and was hitting him in all his limbs multiple times until he died? Because of this, Lamech said to his wives, “Because I killed a man for striking me,” etc. (Gen 4:23). So even Cain was killed with a stone, as it is written, “Cain went out from before the LORD

Here, *Aggadat Bereshit* alludes to the tradition about Abel’s death found in the “printed” recension of *Midrash Tanhuma*, which similarly states that Cain killed Abel by bruising him all over his body with a stone until he found the neck

⁵⁶ Lieve Teugels, “The Provenance of Aggadat Bereshit: A Reassessment of the Origins of the Work as a ‘Tanhuma Satellite,’” in *Studies in the Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature*, ed. Arnon Atzmon and Ronit Nikolsky (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 202–21.

⁵⁷ Ezra Kahalani, ed. *Midrash Aggadat Bereshit: A Critical Edition Based on the 1618 Venice Printing* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 2021) [Hebrew].

⁵⁸ Salomon Buber, ed., *Agadath Bereschith: Midraschische Auslegungen zum ersten Buche Mosis* (Krakow: Josef Fischer, 1902) [Hebrew].

⁵⁹ Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 197; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 28.

⁶⁰ Kahalani, *Aggadat Bereshit*, 283–84.

and dwelt in the land of Nod,” etc. (Gen 4:16). There, a stone fell upon him, and he died. Why? “Whoever rolls a stone, it shall return to him” (Prov 26:27).

(*Bereshit* 9). However, in *Midrash Tanhuma*, Cain is finally killed by Lamech, his own descendant, in a hunting accident (*Bereshit* 11). This is a common legend used to explain Lamech’s boast in Gen 4:23.⁶¹ The prooftext for this legend has found its way into the printed edition of *Aggadat Bereshit*, although, in this context, it is a *non sequitur*, implying that Lamech killed Cain when no such tradition is reported.

The manuscript of *Aggadat Bereshit*, however, explains the reference to Gen 4:23 while harmonizing the two dominant traditions about the death of Cain: that Lamech was his murderer and that he was killed by a stone. The manuscript reads, “Cain killed Abel, his brother, with a stone; therefore Lamech killed him with a stone, as it is written, ‘I have killed a man for wounding me, a child for striking me’ (Gen 4:23).”⁶² The idea that Lamech killed Cain in a hunting accident (with an arrow, not a stone) was by far the predominant tradition in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. That both the manuscript and printed tradition attempt to harmonize this tradition with the earlier one from *Jubilees* is notable, but it does not mean that the work knows *Jubilees*. There are no other traditions from *Jubilees*. Furthermore, other authors have similarly harmonized the two traditions (see the section on Didymus the Blind in the next chapter).

The next example moves from the complicated cycle of *Tanhuma* literature to the equally complicated world of R. Moshe ha-Darshan of Narbonne (11th c.). *Midrash Tadshe* is a short mystical work which compares the creation of the universe to the construction of the tabernacle.⁶³ Abraham Epstein attributed the work directly to R. Moshe ha-Darshan,⁶⁴ although modern scholarship now considers *Midrash Tadshe* to be a work that the Darshan consulted and employed in his own compositions.⁶⁵ This leaves open the possibility that *Midrash Tadshe* was produced in an environment more receptive to Greek influence, such as tenth-century Southern Italy.

⁶¹ Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 70–95. It is also found in the *Cave of Treasures* (8:2–10).

⁶² Kahalani, *Aggadat Bereshit*, 283–84.

⁶³ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 3:164–93.

⁶⁴ Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 83.

⁶⁵ Hananel Mack, *The Mystery of Rabbi Moshe Hadarshan* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2010), 123–27, 203–4 [Hebrew].

Epstein found three parallels between *Midrash Tadshe* and *Jubilees* (as well as two parallels with Philo of Alexandria’s *De opificio mundi*). The first has already been discussed above in the previous section; it is the account of the twenty-two works of creation.⁶⁶ *Midrash Tadshe* provides an even more concise summary of the tradition.

כ"ב מינים נבראו בעולם בז' ימים ביום א' ז' השמים והארץ והמים והחושך והרוח והתהומות והאור ביום ב' א' הרקיע בלדב ביום ג' ד' הכניס המים אל מקום אחד והעלה מים מתוקים מן הארץ והעשבים והעצים ביום ד' ג' השמש והירח והכוכבים ביום ה' ג' השרצים והעופות והתנינים ביום ו' ד' החיה והבהמה והרמש והאדם כנגד כ"ב אותיות שבא"ב וכנגד הכ"ב דורות מאדם עד שבא יעקב

Twenty-two species were created in the world over seven days. On Day One, seven: The heavens, the earth, the waters, the darkness, the spirit/wind (הרוח), the depths (התהומות), and the light. On Day Two, one: the firmament alone. On Day Three, four: the introduction of waters into one place, the elevation of the sweet waters above the earth, the herbs, and the trees. On Day Four, three: the sun, the moon, and the stars. On Day Five, three: the swarming creatures, the birds, and the sea monsters. On Day Six, four: wild animals, cattle, creeping things, and humanity. Just as there are twenty-two letters in the alphabet and twenty-two generations from Adam until the coming of Jacob (*Midrash Tadshe* 6).⁶⁷

The account largely agrees with *Jubilees* with a few notable exceptions. *Midrash Tadshe* agrees with Nissi b. Noah against *Jubilees* that God created “the wind” (הרוח) on the first day. The same word can also mean “spirit,” and the Hebrew text of *Jub.* 2:2 must have either employed the term as a collective plural or used the plural itself, since the work goes on to enumerate the different kinds of angels (that is, “spirits”), a passage notably missing from the two Hebrew accounts. *Midrash Tadshe* also interprets the four works of the third day slightly differently than Nissi. It adds something that is not found in *Jubilees* at all: the sweet waters above the earth (rainwater). Finally, *Midrash Tadshe* explicitly mentions the figure twenty-two and correlates them with the number of generations from Adam to Jacob and the number of Hebrew letters.

The next parallel offered by Epstein involves the purification of Adam and Eve before their entrance into Eden.⁶⁸ In an anticipation of the law of Lev 12:1–5, Adam must wait forty days before he enters Eden, while Eve must wait eighty days.

⁶⁶ Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 83–84.

⁶⁷ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 3:169

⁶⁸ Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 86.

*Jubilees 3:8–11*⁶⁹

[8] בשבוע הראשון נברא אדם וצלעו היא אשתו ובשבוע השני הראה אותה לו ועל כן נתן חוק לשמור בטמאתן שבוע ימים לזכר ולנקבה שני שבועי ימים [9] ובמלאת לאדם ארבעים יום בארץ אשר בה נברא הבאנו אותו אל גן עדן לעבדו ולשמרו ובמלאת לאשתו שמונים ימים הביאנוה אל גן עדן [10] על כן נכתב חוק על לוחות השמים ליולדת אם ילדה זכר שבוע ימים תשב בטמאתה כשבוע הימים הראשון ושלושים ימים ושלושה יום תשב בדם טהרה ובכול קודש לא תיגע ואל המקדש לא תבוא עד היום אשר ימלאו ימיה לזכר [11] ואם נקבה שני שבועי ימים בטמאתה כשני השבועות הראשונים וששים ימים וששה יום תשב בדם טהרה ויהי הכול שמונים יום

[8] In the first week, Adam and the rib, his wife, were created. In the second week, he [God] showed her to him [Adam]. Therefore, this commandment was given to preserve a male for seven days and a female twice seven days in their impurity. [9] After forty days were completed for the man in the land where he was created, we [the angels] brought him to the Garden of Eden to work and to keep it. His wife was brought in on the eightieth day. Only after this did she enter the Garden of Eden. [10] Because of this, a decree was written in the Heavenly Tablets for those who give birth. If she gives birth to a male child, she remains in her impurity seven days like the first seven days. Then she will remain thirty-three days in the blood of purification. She will not handle anything holy, and she will not enter the Temple until the time that she has completed the days for a male child. [11] For a female child, she is in her impurity two weeks of days like the first two weeks, and she will remain in the blood of purification sixty-six days. Altogether, it will be eighty days.

*Midrash Tadshe 15*⁷⁰

למה גזר הקדב"ה על [יולדת זכר] שטמאה ז' ימים ואם נקבה שבועים אלא להזכיר יצירת אדם הראשון שנברא בז' ימי בראשית של שבת ראשון ויצירת חוה שנטלה מצלעותיו בשבת שנייה (נבראו ביום של שבת ראשונה) למה גזר חקדב"ה שהיולדת זכר אחר ארבעים יום ויולדת נקבה אחר פ' יום תבא לבית המקדש להזכירך מה פעל הקב"ה עם אד"הר שנברא חוץ מגן עדן ואח"כ נכנס לג"ע לכן היולדת זכר אחר מ' יום שהוא שיעור יצירת הולד לזכר ופ' יום לנקיבה שהוא שיעור ליצירת הנקיבה תכנס לב"ה

Why did the Holy One, Blessed be He, decree seven days of impurity for [bearing a male child] but two weeks if the child is female, except to recall the creation of the First Adam, who was created during the seven days preceding the first Sabbath, and the creation of Eve, who was taken from his side on the second Sabbath? (They were both created on the day of the first Sabbath). Why did the Holy One, Blessed be He, decree that the one who bears a male should go to the Temple after forty days, and one who bears a female, after eighty days? To recall what the Holy One, Blessed be He, did with the First Adam, who was created outside the Garden of Eden. After this, he entered the Garden of Eden. Therefore, the one who bears a male enters the Temple after forty days, for it is a lesson about the creation of the male offspring, and eighty days for a female, for it is a lesson about the creation of the female.

69 Wermer, *Book of Jubilees*, 179; *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 16–18.

70 Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 3:178.

Midrash Tadshe is not identical to the text of *Jubilees*, but it is clearly an adaptation of the same tradition. Of note is the parenthetical remark (a gloss) objecting to the first part of the tradition, that Adam and Eve were not created together. Their separate creation is not found in rabbinic literature, which posits that Adam and Eve were created and expelled from Eden on the very same day. It is, however, comfortably anchored in the text of *Jubilees*.

Finally, *Midrash Tadshe* lists the ages of the sons of Jacob in its eighth chapter, “The Years of the Righteous” (שני הצדיקים). Epstein observed that the birthdates of the patriarchs are similar to the ones in *Jubilees*.⁷¹

Jubilees 28:11–24⁷²

[11] ויפתח אלוהים את רחם לאה ותהר ותלד
ליעקב בן ויקרא שמו ראובן בארבעה עשר
לחודש התשיעי בשנה הראשונה בשבוע השלישי
[12] [...] [13] ויבוא יעקב שנית אל לאה ותהר
ותלד ליעקב בן שני ויקרא שמו שמעון בעשרים
ואחד בחודש העשירי בשנה השלישית לשבוע
הזה [14] וישוב יעקב לבוא אל לאה ותהר ותלד
לו בן שלישי ויקרא שמו לוי באחד בחודש
הראשון בשנה הששית בשבוע הזה [15] וישוב
עוד ויבוא אליה ותלד בן רביעי ויקרא שמו יהודה
בחמשה עשר לחודש השלישי בשנה הראשונה
בשבוע הרביעי [16] [...] [17] ובעת אשר ראתה
רחל כי ילדה לאה ארבעה בנים ליעקב את ראובן
ואת שמעון ואת לוי ואת יהודה ותאמר בוא אל
בלהה אמותי והיא תהרה ותלד לי בן [18] כי נתנה
את אמתה בלהה לאשה ותהר ותלד לו בן ויקרא
שמו דן בתשעה בחודש הששי בשנה הששית
בשבוע השלישי [19] וישוב יעקב עוד ויבוא אל
בלהה ותהר ותלד בן שני ליעקב ותקרא רחל שמו
נפתלי בחמשה לחודש השביעי בשנה השניה
לשבוע הרביעי [20] ובראות לאה כי עצרה מלד

Midrash Tadshe 8⁷³

ראובן נולד ביום י"ד לחודש הט' ומת בן קכ"ה
שנים שמעון נולד בכ"א לחודש ה' ומת בן ק"כ
שנים לוי נולד בי"ו לחודש הא' ומת בן קל"ז
שנים דן נולד בט' לחודש הששי ומת בן קכ"ה
שנים יהודה נולד בט"ו לחודש השלישי ומת בן
קי"ט שנה נפתלי נולד בה' לחודש השלישי ומת
בן קל"ג שנה גד נולד בי' לחודש השביעי ומת בן
קכ"ה יששכר נולד בי' לחודש החמישי ומת בן
קכ"ב שנה אשר נולד בכ' לעשתי עשר חודש
ומת בן קכ"ג יוסף נולד כ"א לחודש השביעי
ומת בן קי' שנה

⁷¹ Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 87.

⁷² Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 391–92; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 155–58.

⁷³ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* 3:171.

ותקנא גם היא ברחל ותתן גם היא את זלפה אמתה ליעקב לאשה ותהר ותלד בן ותקרא לאה את שמו גד בשנים עשר לחודש השמיני בשנה השלישית בשבוע הרביעי [21] וישוב לבוא אליה ותהר ותלד לו בן שני ותקרא לאה שמו אשר בשני לחודש האחד עשר בשנה החמישית בשבוע הרביעי [22] ויבוא יעקב אל לאה ותהר ותלד ליעקב בן ויקרא שמו יששכר בארבעה בחודש החמישי בשנה הרביעית בשבוע הרביעי ותתן אותו למינקת [23] ויבוא יעקב שנית אליה ותהר ותלד תאומים בן ובת ותקרא שם הבן זבולון והבת דינה שמה בשביעי בחודש השביעי בשנה הששית בשבוע הרביעי [24] וירחם אלוהים על רחל ויפתח את רחמה ותהר ותלד בן ותקרא שמו יוסף באחד בחודש הרביעי בשנה הששית בשבוע הרביעי הזה

[11] God opened the womb of Leah. She conceived and bore to Jacob a child, whom he named Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month in the first year of the third week. [12] [...] [13] Again Jacob went into Leah. She conceived and bore to him a second son, whom he called Simeon, the twenty-first day of the tenth month in the third year of this week. [14] And again Jacob went into Leah. She conceived and bore to him a third son, whom he named Levi, on the new moon of the first month, on the sixth year of the week. [15] And yet again he went into her, and she bore a fourth child, whom he named Judah, on the fifteenth day in the third month, in the first year of the fourth week. [16] [...] [17] And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah—she said to him, “Enter Bilhah, my maidservant, and she will conceive and bear for me a child.” [18] So he entered, and she conceived and bore a son to him, whom he named Dan, on the ninth day of the sixth month, in the sixth year of the third week. [19] Jacob entered Bilhah a second time. She conceived and bore another child to Jacob, whom Rachel named Naphtali, on the fifth day of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth week. [20] When Leah saw that she was now barren and could not bear, she became jealous of Rachel, and she gave Zilpah,

Reuben was born on the fourteenth day of the ninth month and died age 125. Simeon was born on the twenty-first day of the tenth month and died age 120. Levi was born on the sixteenth day of the first month and died age 137. Dan was born on the ninth day of the sixth month and died age 125. Judah was born the fifteenth day of the third month and died age 119. Naphtali was born the fifth day of the third month and died age 133. Gad was born on the tenth day of the seventh month and died age 125. Issachar was born in the tenth day of the fifth month and died age 122. Asher was born on the twentieth day of the eleventh month and died age 123. Joseph was born on the twenty-first day of the seventh month and died age 110.

her servant, to Jacob as a wife. She conceived and bore a son, whom Leah named Gad, on the twelfth day of the eighth month, in the third year of the fourth week. [21] He entered her again, and she conceived and bore a second son to him, whom Leah called Asher, on the second day of the eleventh month in the fifth year of the fourth week. [22] Jacob went into Leah, and she conceived and bore to Jacob a child, whom he called Issachar, on the fourth day of the fifth month in the fourth year of the fourth week. She gave him to a nurse. [23] Jacob went into her a second time, and she conceived and bore two, a son and a daughter, calling the son Zebulun and the daughter Dinah, on the seventh day of the seventh month in the sixth year of the fourth week. [24] Then God showed kindness to Rachel and opened her womb. She conceived and bore a son, whom she called Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, on the sixth year of the fourth week.

Jellinek's text is incomplete. In a footnote, he supplied the birthdates of the two missing patriarchs (Zebulun and Benjamin) from a citation of *Midrash Tadshe* in the Exodus commentary of Bahya b. Asher (d. 1340).⁷⁴ According to Bahya, Zebulun was born on 7 Tishre (the seventh day of the seventh month according to the biblical calendar, agreeing with *Jubilees*). Benjamin was born on 11 Marheshvan (the eighth month). Although Benjamin does not appear in the above passage (because he was born much later), this date also tallies with the one in *Jubilees* (32:33). Not all the dates agree, however. Half of them (Levi, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, and Joseph) are different in the two accounts. The other half is surprising enough to warrant further investigation.

Martha Himmelfarb suggested that the parallel passages in *Midrash Tadshe* might derive from the Greek chronographic tradition.⁷⁵ Indeed, there are parallels in Greek sources, although not all of them are chronicles. In the first instance, *Midrash Tadshe* correlates the twenty-two works of creation with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. This concept is not found in *Jubilees*. It is first observed in the works of Origen (d. 254), who mentions it in his *Homiliae in*

⁷⁴ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* 3:171, n. 2.

⁷⁵ Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of *Jubilees*,” 124–26.

Numeros (IV.1.2).⁷⁶ It also appears in chapter 22 of *De mensuris et ponderibus* of Epiphanius of Salamis, a short Greek treatise which was translated into numerous languages.⁷⁷ The reference to the twenty-two letters is a telltale sign of secondary dependence.

The second tradition, the purification of Adam and Eve before entering the garden, appears only sporadically in Greek chronicles. George Syncellus (d. after 810) mentions it,⁷⁸ as does Michael Glycas (d. ca. 1200).⁷⁹ Syncellus, however, points to an additional place where the tradition might be found.

For this reason, I have been compelled also to make a statement about this matter in turn, to the extent that among other historians who have composed either Jewish antiquities or Christian histories there has been discussion of this matter on the basis of *Little Genesis* [ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως, i.e., from *Jubilees*] and the so-called *Life of Adam* [λεγόμενου βίου Ἀδὰμ] (even if it appears not to be authoritative). I do this lest those who investigate these matters fall into even more absurd notions. At all events, there is found in the so-called *Life of Adam* the numbering of the days for the naming of the beasts and the forming of the woman, the entry of Adam himself into Paradise and God's command to him concerning the eating from the tree, and the subsequent entry of Eve into Paradise, as well as the narrative of the transgression and what happened after the transgression, as is given below.⁸⁰

He proceeds to give an account close to *Jub.* 3:1–14 but with some additional information, such as the Greek names of the months and the day that God commanded Adam to abstain from the fruit of the tree (on the fiftieth day of the world's creation).

A similar report appeared a century earlier in the exegetical writings of Anastasius of Sinai (ca. 700 CE). His commentary on the Hexameron contains an offhand comment that Adam entered Paradise after forty days and that this information came from an apocryphal book.

The children of the Hebrews say that Adam entered into Paradise on the fortieth day, and they cite a non-canonical book of the Old Testament, the one called *The Testament of the Protoplasts* [Διαθήκης τῶν Πρωτοπλάστων]. This seemed correct also to a certain historian and chronologist, Pyrrho, as well as to some commentators.⁸¹

⁷⁶ This work is cited in the next chapter.

⁷⁷ Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum*, 74–75. Epiphanius is also discussed in the next chapter.

⁷⁸ George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. Alden A. Mosshammer (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), 4–5.

⁷⁹ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1836), 392.

⁸⁰ George Syncellus, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6–7.

⁸¹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Hexameron*, ed. Clement A. Kuehn and John D. Baggarly (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007), 266–67 (Greek text with translation on facing pages; I am citing the editors' translation).

Anastasius not only mentions this apocryphal book and anonymous “commentators,” but he cites an otherwise unknown historian, Pyrrho, who promulgated the tradition.

William Adler, who has written much on the apocrypha in Byzantine chronography (and in Syncellus’ chronicle in particular) associates George Syncellus’ *Life of Adam* with Anastasius of Sinai’s *Testament of the Protoplasts*, but he presumes that these works have been lost.⁸² It could, however, be a reference to the widespread *Life of Adam and Eve*. The *Jubilees* tradition appears as an addition (chapter 54) to the common (“vulgate”) Latin version: “Truly, Adam entered Paradise after forty days, and Eve after eighty. And Adam was in Paradise seven years. And on the very day in which Adam sinned, all the beasts were changed” (*Adam uero post quadraginta dies introiuit in paradisum et Eua post octoginta. Et fuit Adam in paradiso annos septem. Et in ipso dei in quo peccauit Adam omnes bestiae mutauerunt se*).⁸³ Not only this, but the forty-day delay before Adam’s transfer to Paradise is also mentioned in an Armenian apocryphon dubbed *Adam Story 2*.⁸⁴ The tradition from *Jubilees* was thus transmitted with Adam literature in several languages.

Midrash Tadshe did not necessarily know the tradition from the Adam books (for one, it has more information than is found in the Latin version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*), but the Adam books show that the tradition had a transmission history independent of *Jubilees* and could be embedded in different contexts. This fact raises some doubt whether *Midrash Tadshe* knew the tradition from *Jubilees* directly.

At first glance, the third parallel, the “Years of the Righteous,” reads like an independent textual unit that could be found in a chronicle such as *Seder Olam*. In fact, another Hebrew chronicle, *Seder Olam Zuta* (eighth century?), chapter four, lists the lifespans of the twelve patriarchs.⁸⁵ The data is similar to what is found in *Midrash Tadshe*. Furthermore, both Hebrew works share the patriarchal lifespans with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Table 5.1).

⁸² Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 85 and 103.

⁸³ My translation from the Latin text of Jean-Pierre Pettoirelli and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds. and trans., *Vita Latina Adae et Evae*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1:434.

⁸⁴ Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996), 111: “And after forty days from the Friday [of his creation] he was placed in the Garden.”

⁸⁵ Manasseh Grosberg, ed., *Seder Olam Zuta and Complete Seder Tannaim v’Amoraim* (London: Y. Broditzky, 1910), 8–10 [Hebrew].

Table 5.1: Lifespans of the Twelve Patriarchs.

	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> ⁸⁶	<i>Midrash Tadshe</i> 8	<i>Seder Olam Zuta</i> 4
Reuben	125	125	124
Simeon	120	120	120
Levi (Exod 6:16)	137	137	137
Judah	119	119	119
Dan	125	125	127
Naphtali	132	133	133
Gad	127 (or 125)	125	125
Asher	126 (or 120)	123	126
Zebulun	114	114	124
Issachar	122	122	122
Joseph (Gen 50:26)	110	110	110
Benjamin	120 (or 125)	109	111

Despite the occasional disparities (likely due to scribal errors), the three clearly reflect a common tradition.⁸⁷ *Seder Olam Zuta* goes even further and mentions the dates of certain patriarchs in relation to the death of Joseph. Thus, Reuben died two years after Joseph, Simeon one year later, and Zebulun eleven years later. These are the same three patriarchs whose deaths are dated relative to Joseph's in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T. Reu. 1:2; T. Sim. 1:1; T. Zeb. 1:1).⁸⁸ This raises the possibility that the Hebrew tradition is dependent on some form of the *Testaments*.

Likewise, the birthdates of the patriarchs could have been drawn from *Jubilees*. While the lifespans of the twelve patriarchs are found in various sources, the birth dates are not, as already noted by Epstein.⁸⁹ Even though *Midrash Tadshe* does not employ the distinctive calendar of *Jubilees* (there is no mention of the weeks of years that make up each jubilee), the order in which the births of the patriarchs occur reflects the chronology of *Jubilees*. *Jubilees* reports the birth of each patriarch according to the biblical sequence, but the actual order of their birthdates is the one given in *Midrash Tadshe* (Table 5.2).

⁸⁶ This data is taken from Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), *passim*.

⁸⁷ *Sefer ha-Yashar* also knows the lifespans of the patriarchs. See Joseph Dan, ed., *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 262–69 [Hebrew].

⁸⁸ The *Testament of Levi* (11:7) states that Joseph died when Levi was 118. *Seder Olam Zuta* states that Judah (not Joseph) died 18 (and not 19) years before Levi. It also adds that Issachar died 15 years before Levi. There is nothing comparable to this datum in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

⁸⁹ Epstein, “Le Livre des Jubilés,” 87.

Table 5.2: Birth Order of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Patriarch Order (<i>Midrash Tadshe</i> 8)	Birth Year <i>Anno Mundi</i> (<i>Jubilees</i> 28)
Reuben	2122
Simeon	2124
Levi	2127
Dan	2127
Judah	2129
Naphtali	2130
Gad	2131
Issachar	2132
Asher	2133
Joseph	2134 [2232]

In this sequence, Dan is born before Judah and Issachar is born between Gad and Asher. Michael Segal has pointed out that this chronology creates an internal inconsistency in *Jubilees* since the text explicitly states that Dan was born after Judah (*Jub.* 28:17–18).⁹⁰ The placement of Asher before Joseph could also be significant. The Ethiopic text dates Joseph’s birth to 2134 AM, but the same text states he was seventeen years old in 2149 AM (*Jub.* 34:10) and died in 2242 AM (*Jub.* 46:8), presumably at age 110.⁹¹ Thus, Joseph was really born in 2232, a year before Asher, but both *Jubilees*—and *Midrash Tadshe*—say otherwise. The internal discrepancies are part of Segal’s argument that *Jubilees* consists of rewritten biblical stories with an independent chronology imposed on them.

There are two ways to read this data. On the one hand, the birth order of the patriarchs in *Midrash Tadshe* could be evidence that such an independent chronology did exist and is reflected in the Hebrew texts. On the other hand, *Midrash Tadshe* could be seen as conserving an error from the text in *Jubilees*, in which case the book of *Jubilees* is almost certainly the source. In this case, it would require that *Midrash Tadshe* took the lifespans of the patriarchs from a second source. A more elegant—though purely hypothetical—solution would be that *Midrash Tadshe* drew upon a lost source of both *Jubilees* and the *Testaments*. We are confronted with the same problem for the next work to be discussed, *Midrash Vayissa’u*: The Hebrew works either independently drew upon both *Jubilees* and the *Testaments* in some form (Greek?), or they reflect a common source. Although one of these solutions must be correct, neither seems wholly satisfactory.

⁹⁰ Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 85–91.

⁹¹ Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 86, n. 10.

Before moving on to *Midrash Vayissa'u*, however, a final word must be said about Pinhas b. Yair, the only Sage named in *Midrash Tadshe* and its putative author (its alternative title is *Baraita de-R. Pinhas b. Yair*). Salmon ben Yerūham, a Karaite opponent of Saadia Gaon, accused him of ignoring (or even suppressing) the evidence of a book by Pinhas b. Yair arguing that Shavuot always falls on a Sunday.⁹² This observance concords with Karaite practice—and also with the calendar found in *Jubilees*.⁹³ No such passage is currently found in *Midrash Tadshe*. Whether this is empty rhetoric or a reference to a real book attributed to Pinhas b. Yair (Another version of *Midrash Tadshe*? Another book with *Jubilees* material? A Hebrew recension of *Jubilees*?) cannot, at present, be answered.

The last “Minor Midrash” to be discussed is *Midrash Vayissa'u*, which recounts a series of wars between the sons of Jacob and their hostile neighbors, first the Ninevites (chapter one), then the Amorites (chapter two), and finally the Edomites (chapter three).⁹⁴ The work is preserved in at least ten manuscripts, seven of which contain all or part of chapter one.⁹⁵ It is also found in three medieval anthologies. *Bereshit Rabbati*, attributed to R. Moshe ha-Darshan of Narbonne, quotes the opening lines of chapter two and the entirety of chapter three.⁹⁶ The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* includes chapters two and three but not chapter one,⁹⁷ as does the printed edition of *Yalqut Shim'oni* (Genesis §133).⁹⁸ This evidence suggests that chapter one was composed independently of the rest of the work. It is, at least, the one chapter without any analogue in ancient Jewish literature.

Midrash Vayissa'u presents many of the same problems as *Midrash Tadshe* in that it combines elements from both *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve*

⁹² Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot*, 2:16–17.

⁹³ This occasional confluence between Karaite halakhah and Second Temple tradition is at the center of Yoram Erder's *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls*, cited above. Erder says little about *Jubilees*, however.

⁹⁴ There are two critical editions: Jacob Z. Lauterbach, “Midrash Vayissa'u: Or, The Book of the Wars of the Sons of Jacob,” in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes*, ed. Victor Aptowitzer and A. Z. Schwarz (Vienna: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1933), 205–22 [Hebrew], and Alexander Tamar and Joseph Dan, “The Complete Midrash Vayissa'u,” *Folklore Research Center Studies* 3 (1972): 67–76 [Hebrew]. The second was made in ignorance of the first and on the basis of a different set of manuscripts.

⁹⁵ Martha Himmelfarb, “Midrash Vayissa'u: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 143–59 (144).

⁹⁶ Moshe ha-Darshan, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati*, ed. Hanoah Albeck (Jerusalem: Mekitze Nirdamim, 1940), 153 and 160–63.

⁹⁷ Jerahmeel b. Solomon, *The Book of Memory, that is, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel: A Critical Edition*, ed. Eli Yassif (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 2001), 136–43.

⁹⁸ Copied by Jellinek in *Bet ha-Midrash* 3:1–5.

Patriarchs. Jubilees and *T. Judah* mention the conflicts with the Amorites and the Edomites, the subjects of chapters two and three. The more detailed account of the war with the Amorites appears in *T. Judah* 3–7 (cf. *Jub.* 34:1–9), while the more detailed account of the war with the Edomites occurs in *Jub.* 37–38 (cf. *T. Judah* 9). *Midrash Vayissa'u* has full accounts of *both* wars. This creates a conundrum: Either the author drew upon *Jubilees* and the *Testament* separately, or the medieval work preserves the source of the two ancient texts. Martha Himmelfarb favors the second hypothesis, yet she acknowledges that the text is written in medieval Hebrew and shows evidence of translation from Greek.⁹⁹ Either way, *Midrash Vayissa'u* cannot be a witness to the Hebrew text of *Jubilees*. It is either a reflection of a lost Hebrew composition or an indirect witness to the Greek text of *Jubilees*.

5.4 Late Midrashic Anthologies

This section is entitled “Late Midrashic Anthologies” but concerns two very different texts. The first, the imaginatively titled *Midrash Aggadah*, is a traditionally structured Midrash on the Torah, compiled from a number of different sources after the manner of Tobiah b. Eliezer’s *Leqah Tov* (which is one of its sources). The second is *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Geza Vermes’ original example of the “Rewritten Bible.”¹⁰⁰ It too covers the Torah using a variety of sources, but its style is purely narrative. The two together are perfect illustrations of the difference between *texte continué* and *texte recherché*. More to the point, they are both witnesses to traditions from *Jubilees*.

Midrash Aggadah, an aggadic Midrash, is yet another work associated with R. Moshe ha-Darshan. Salomon Buber purchased a manuscript from Aleppo that had been written around 1547, which he then published in 1894.¹⁰¹ Buber also gave the work its name. In his introduction, he established parallels between the work and Rashi’s quotations of R. Moshe ha-Darshan in his commentaries on the Bible.¹⁰² On account of these quotations—some of which are longer than the parallel passages in Rashi—Hanoah Albeck believed that *Midrash Aggadah* was an anthology (ליקוט) of the Darshan’s biblical exegesis.¹⁰³ However, Buber also gave a second, much shorter list of parallels between *Midrash Aggadah* and Tobiah b. Eliezer’s

⁹⁹ Himmelfarb, “Midrash Vayissa’u,” 148.

¹⁰⁰ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 67–95.

¹⁰¹ Salomon Buber, ed., *Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch nach einer Handschrift aus Aleppo*, 2 vols. (Vienna: A. Fanto, 1894) [Hebrew].

¹⁰² Buber, *Agadischer Commentar*, 1:x–xvi.

¹⁰³ Moshe ha-Darshan, *Bereshit Rabbati*, Albeck’s Introduction, 5–21 (especially 19–20).

Leqah Tov, which Buber had also published.¹⁰⁴ As Hananel Mack has pointed out, if *Midrash Aggadah* quotes *Leqah Tov*, which was written in the late eleventh or the early twelfth century, then it cannot be the work of R. Moshe ha-Darshan, who lived in the early eleventh century.¹⁰⁵ There is therefore no reason to think that the *Jubilees* material in the work comes from Moshe ha-Darshan.

Martha Himmelfarb found three parallels between *Midrash Aggadah* and *Jubilees*.¹⁰⁶ Two of these are paraphrases of *Jubilees* 4:15 and 4:21. The first is the descent of angels in the time of Jared.

Jubilees 4:15¹⁰⁷

ובשבוע השני ליובל העשירי לקח לו מהללאל
אשה את דינה בת ברכאל בת אחי אביו לו לאשה
ותלד לו בן בשבוע השלישי בשנה הששית ויקרא
שמו ירד כי בימיו ירדו מלאכי אלוהים אשר נקראו
עירים לארץ ללמד את בני האדם לעשות משפט
וצדק על הארץ

In the second week of the tenth jubilee, Mahalalel took for himself as a wife Dinah, the daughter of Barakael; the daughter of the sister of his father he had as a wife. She bore him a son in the third week in the sixth year. He named him Jared because in his days the angels of God, the ones called the Watchers, came down to earth in order to teach humanity and to exercise justice and righteousness upon the earth.

Midrash Aggadah, Bereshit 5¹⁰⁸

ויחי ירד ולמה נקרא שמו ירד שבימיו ירדו
המלאכים מן השמים והיו מלמדים הבריות היאך
יעבדו להקב"ה

"And Jared lived" (Gen 5:18) Why was his name called Jared (ירד)? Because in his days the angels came down (ירדו) from heaven and they were teaching humanity how they should serve the Holy One, Blessed be He.

The second, related passage, concerns Enoch's sojourn with the angels.

Jubilees 4:21¹⁰⁹

ויהי עוד עם מלאכי אלוהים ששה יובלי שנים
ויראו לו כול אשר על הארץ ובשמים ממשלת
השמש ויכתוב הכול

Midrash Aggadah, Bereshit 5¹¹⁰

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עם המלאכים הלך
שלוש מאות שנה בגן עדן היה עמם ולמד מהם
עיבור ותקופות ומזלות וחכמות רבות

¹⁰⁴ Buber, *Agadischer Commentar*, 1:xvi–xvii. See Tobiah b. Eliezer, *Midrash Lekah Tov*, 2 vols., ed. Salomon Buber (Vilna: Widow and Brothers Romm, 1880–1884) [Hebrew].

¹⁰⁵ Mack, *The Mystery of Rabbi Moshe Hadarshan*, 195–97.

¹⁰⁶ Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees*," 118–23.

¹⁰⁷ Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 195; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 24.

¹⁰⁸ Buber, *Agadischer Commentar*, 1:14.

¹⁰⁹ Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 196; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 25–26.

¹¹⁰ Buber, *Agadischer Commentar*, 1:14–15.

Therefore, he [Enoch] was with the angels of the Lord six jubilees of years. They showed him everything that was on earth and in the heavens—the sovereignty of the sun—and he recorded everything.

“And Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:22). He walked with the angels three hundred years in the Garden of Eden. He was with them, and he learned from them intercalation and the seasons and the constellations and much wisdom.

Both passages have been “rabbinized.” In the first example, the Watchers from *Jub.* 4:15 become ordinary angels in *Midrash Aggadah*. The story of the Watchers is entirely absent from the Midrash. In the second passage, the Midrash translates the system of jubilees into common years. It has inadvertently touched upon one of thorniest issues in the modern interpretation of *Jubilees*: whether the six “jubilees” in *Jub.* 4:21 are six periods of 49 years (as in the rest of the book) or 50 years (the rest of the life of Enoch after the birth of his son).¹¹¹ *Midrash Aggadah* opts for 50 years, conforming to the rabbinic opinion about the length of a jubilee (cf. *b. Rosh ha-Shanah* 9a). It also changes the “sovereignty of the sun,” a reference to *Jubilees*’ idiosyncratic solar calendar, into “intercalation and seasons and constellations” (עיבור ותקופות ומזלות), important elements of the rabbinic lunar calendar.

The third tradition is a summary of Canaan’s occupation of the territory of Shem (*Jub.* 10:28–34). *Midrash Aggadah* alludes to the division of the earth among the sons of Noah, the *Diamerismos*, a prominent theme of Second Temple, Greek, and Arabic historiography, which is only fleetingly mentioned in classical rabbinic literature (e.g., *Sifra*, *Qedoshim* 11). In the Midrash, as in *Jubilees*, the sons of Noah take an oath to respect the boundaries of each other’s land (cf. *Jub.* 9:14–15). However, Canaan, the son of Ham, violates that oath (cf. *Jub.* 10:28–34). The Midrash adds that not only Canaan, but all seven Canaanite nations (cf. *Deut* 7:1) occupied the land. Hence, Joshua’s conquest of the seven nations was an act of repossession. These ideas do not appear in *Jubilees*.

Jubilees 10:28–34¹¹²

[28] וילך חם ובניו אל ארץ נחלתו אשר יצאה
בחלקו בארץ דרום [29] וירא כנען את ארץ
הלבנון עד נחל מצרים כי יפה מאד ולא הלך אל
ארץ נחלתו אל מערב הים וישב בארץ הלבנון
ממזרח וממערב לשפת הירדן ועל שפת הים [30]
ויאמר לו חם אביו וכוש ומצרים אחיו כי ישבת

Midrash Aggadah, Lekh Lekha 12¹¹³

והכנעני אז בארץ לפי שארץ ישראל נפלה בחלקו
של שם כמו שנאמר ומלכי צדק מלך שלם נח
החרים בשעה שחלק הקב"ה את הארץ לשלשת
בניו שלא יהא אחד מהם נכנס לתחום חבירו
וז' עממין עברו בארץ ישראל ועברו על החרם
לפיכך צוה הקב"ה כי החרם תחרימו ובעת שעבר

¹¹¹ See, for example, the opposing viewpoints of James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees* 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 1:256–57 and Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 200–1.

¹¹² Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 255; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 65–66

¹¹³ Buber, *Agadischer Commentar*, 1:27.

בארץ אשר לא לך ולא יצאה לנו בגורל לא תעשה כזאת כי אם תעשה כדבר הזה אתה ובניך תפלו בארץ ותקוללו בחרם כי בחרם ישבתם ובחרם יפלו בניך ויכרתו לעולם [31] לא תשב במושב שם כי לשם ולבניו יצאה בגורלם [32] ארור אתה וארור תהיה מכול בני נוח בקללה אשר הקמנו בשבועה לפני השר הקדוש ולפני נוח אבינו [33] ולא שמע להם וישב בארץ לבנון מחמת עד מבוא מצרים ובניו עד היום הזה [34] על כן נקראה הארץ הזאת ארץ כנען

[28] Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his division, in the southern land. [29] But Canaan saw the land of Lebanon until the river of Egypt, that it was very beautiful. So he did not go to the land of his inheritance west of the sea. Instead, he resided in the land of Lebanon, from the east and from the west, from the border of Lebanon and until the coast of the sea. [30] Ham, his father, and Kush and Mizraim, his brothers, said to him, "You have resided in a land that is not yours and did not come to us by lot. Do not do this thing! If you do this thing, you and your children will fall in the land and be cursed with chaos because in chaos you have settled and in chaos your children will fall and be dispersed forever. [31] Do not dwell in the dwelling of Shem because it came up by lot to Shem and to his children. [32] You are cursed and will be cursed more than all the children of Noah by the curse we have established with an oath before the holy judge and before our father Noah." [33] But he did not listen to them and settled in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entrance of Egypt, he and his children until this day. [34] Therefore the land is called the land of Canaan.

אברהם לא היה עדיין נכנס לשם אלא הכנעני בלבד ולפיכך נפלה ארץ ז' עממים לישראל לפי שנפלה כל הארצות לז' עממים בחלקו של שם וכן הוא אומר יצב נבולות עמים למספר בני ישראל

"The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6). The land of Israel fell to the division of Shem, as it is written, "Melchizedek, the king of Salem" (Gen 14:18). Noah swore an oath (החרים) when the Holy One, Blessed be He, divided the world among his three sons, that he would not let one of them infringe on the boundary of his fellow. The seven nations crossed into the land of Israel and transgressed the oath (החרם). Therefore, the Holy One, Blessed be He, commanded that "You shall subject [them] to the ban (חרם תחרימו)" (cf. Deut 20:7). At the time Abraham crossed over, they had not yet entered there except the Canaanite alone. Therefore, the land of the seven nations fell to Israel, for all the lands of the seven nations belonged to the division of Shem, and thus God said, "Establish the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the children of Israel" (Deut 32:8).

A similar tradition is found in Rashi's comments *ad loc* (Gen 12:6).

והכנעני אז בארץ היה הולך וכובש את ארץ ישראל מזרעו של שם שבחלקו של שם נפלה כשחלק נח את הארץ לבניו שנאמר ומלכי צדק מלך שלם לפיכך ויאמר ה' אל אברהם לזרעך אתן את הארץ הזאת עתיד אני להחזירה לבניך שהם מזרעו של שם

"And the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6). He was in the process of conquering the land of Israel from the descendants of Shem, for it fell in the portion of Shem when Noah divided the land among his sons, as it is written, "Melchizedek, king of Salem" (Gen 14:18).

Therefore, “The LORD said to Abram, ‘I will give this land to your descendants,’” (Gen 12:7), that is, “I will return it to your children, for they are the descendants of Shem.”¹¹⁴

Midrash Aggadah is aware of the works of Rashi (who is a theoretical source for *Midrash Aggadah*’s knowledge of Moshe ha-Darshan). The influence of Rashi can be detected in the citation of Gen 14:18 as a proof-text, which is not the most obvious source for proving that the land of Israel was within the territory of Shem. It requires knowledge of the extrabiblical tradition that identifies Melchizedek with Shem (found, e.g., in PRE 8). However, *Midrash Aggadah* also includes details that are not found in Rashi. In addition to the division of the land, *Midrash Aggadah* adds the detail of the oath which the brothers swore not to infringe on each other’s territory. Whereas the division of the earth is a common motif, the oath is not, and *Jubilees* is the oldest source for it. The oath, however, resurfaces in Greek sources, such as the chronicle of George Syncellus, who even mentions the seven nations.¹¹⁵

Regarding the other two near-citations, they both come from a pericope in *Jubilees* recounting the life of Enoch (*Jub.* 4:15–26). The story of Enoch (as it appears in *Jubilees*) is not especially common in Byzantine sources, but it is found there. The Greek *catena* literature includes a note about Enoch as the first scribe who recorded signs of heaven, the times, and the seasons.¹¹⁶ This is an approximate citation of *Jub.* 4:17 and includes some of the information repeated in *Jub.* 4:21, the verse paraphrased in *Midrash Aggadah*. The descent of the Watchers appears in the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete (10th c.), a popular work which used earlier chronicles and inspired numerous imitators (see the next chapter).¹¹⁷ Symeon—or a glossator¹¹⁸—states that the Watchers descended in Enoch’s day rather than a generation earlier, in the time of Jared. The descent of the Watchers in the time of Jared—also mentioned in *1 Enoch* 6:6—was known in Greek chronography, however. It appears in the lost chronicle of Annianus and is quoted in the extant chronicle of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199).¹¹⁹ Even though these precise Greek texts are unlikely to be the

114 Rashi, *Der Kommentar des Salomo b. Isak über den Pentateuch*, ed. Abraham Berliner, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1905), 23.

115 George Syncellus, *Chronography*, 61–62.

116 Françoise Petit, ed., *La Chaîne sur la Genèse: Édition intégrale*, 4 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1991–1995), 2:60. See also the similar remark in George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1838), 1:17.

117 Text: Symeon the Logothete, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, ed. Staffan Wahlgren (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 27. Translation: Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle of the Logothete*, trans. Staffan Wahlgren (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 29–30.

118 So Wahlgren, *The Chronicle of the Logothete*, 30, n. 2.

119 Sebastian P. Brock, “A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968): 626–31 (627) cites the passage (from Book I, chapter 3).

immediate sources of *Midrash Aggadah*, they do show that *Jubilees*' biography of Enoch was known in Late Antiquity, opening the possibility that *Midrash Aggadah* took it from a Greek work.

As for *Sefer ha-Yashar*, R. H. Charles named this work alongside *Midrash Tadshe* and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* as the main medieval Hebrew works that might have known *Jubilees*.¹²⁰ *Midrash Tadshe* was discussed above. The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* includes a version of *Midrash Vayissa'u*, which was also discussed above. *Sefer ha-Yashar* has likewise made use of *Midrash Vayissa'u*, but it has other areas of interest.

Sefer ha-Yashar is a retelling of the Torah narrative written in pseudo-biblical Hebrew and considerably amplified with aggadic material, including PRE, several "Minor Midrashim" (e.g., *Midrash Vayissa'u*, the *Chronicles of Moses*), and *Sefer Yosippon*, the medieval Hebrew account of Josephus' *Jewish War*. The date of the composition is a point of disagreement among scholars. Vermes dated it to the eleventh century, while Joseph Dan, the book's most recent editor, thought it was written in the sixteenth century, only a few decades before the *editio princeps* (1625).¹²¹ There is no manuscript, but the work is already cited in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (12th c.), which would support Vermes' dating.¹²² It also relies on Islamic *Stories of the Prophets*, indicating a Middle Eastern rather than a European provenance.¹²³ One thing is certain: It is not an early book.

Sefer ha-Yashar overlaps with *Jubilees* on only a couple of points. The first is the career of the patriarch Kenan—or, rather, Cainan. As mentioned above, the second Cainan (the names are the same in Hebrew: קינן), born after the Flood and known only to the Septuagint (Gen 10:24; 11:12–13), appears in *Jub.* 8:1–4 as the man who rediscovered the secrets of the Watchers carved in stone.

[1] וביובל העשרים ותשעה בשבוע הראשון בראשיתו לקח לו ארפכשד אשה ושמה רצויה בת ושון בת עילם לו לאשה ותלד לו בן בשנה השלישית לשבוע הזה ויקרא שמו קינן [2] ויגדל הילד וילמדו אביו ספר וילך לבקש לו מקום לבנות לו שם עיר [3] וימצא כתוב אשר חרטו ראשונים בסלע ויקרא את אשר בו ויעתיקו וירשע בו כי היתה בו תורת העירים אשר היו צופים בסימני השמש והירח והכוכבים ובכול אותות שמים [4] ויכתוב ולא ספר על זאת כי היה ירא מנוח להגיד על זאת פן יקצוף עליו על זאת

[1] In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, at its beginning, Arpachshad took for himself a wife, and her name was Resueya, daughter of Susan, daughter of Elam, for himself as a wife.

¹²⁰ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, xxxiii; lxxiii–lxxvi.

¹²¹ Joseph Dan, "When was *Sefer ha-Yashar* Written?," in *Sefer Dov Sadan*, ed. Shmuel Werses, Nathan Rotenstreich, and Chone Shmeruk (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1977), 105–10 [Hebrew].

¹²² Jerahmeel b. Solomon, *The Book of Memory*, 164–65. This corresponds to Joseph Dan, ed., *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 284–86.

¹²³ On *Sefer ha-Yashar* and Islamic sources, see Shari L. Lowin, *The Making of a Forefather: Abraham in Islamic and Jewish Exegetical Narratives* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 56–59; 106; 112–16; 152–54; 201; 260.

She bore him a son in the third year of this week, and he named him Cainan. [2] And the boy grew up, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek out a place for himself where he could found a city. [3] He found the writing that the ancients carved in rock. He read what was in it and copied it. He went astray on account of what was in it because the things in it were the teachings of the Watchers by which they observed the augurs of the sun, moon, and stars, and all the signs of heaven. [4] He wrote but did not speak about it because he was afraid to tell Noah about it lest he become angry at him about it.¹²⁴

Yashar has flipped the script and given these attributes to the first Cainan (Gen 5:9–14), who is no longer an evil figure but a sagacious ruler who knew of the coming Flood and recorded his prophecy on stone. A similar portrait of the ruler appears in chapter 11 of the traditional printed text of *Sefer Yosippon* (Venice, 1544). It is not found in the earliest manuscripts or in the critical edition. Cainan is mentioned during the adventures of Alexander the Great, who stumbles across his tomb and describes it in a letter to Aristotle.

Sefer Yosippon (ed. Hominer)¹²⁵

כאשר באתי בארץ פרסיאקון היא מדינת ארץ
הודו באתי באי הים ושם מצאתי בני אדם דומים
לנשים ואוכלים דגים חיים ומדברים כלשון בני
אדם בלשון יונית ויאמרו לי ראה כי בתוך זה האי
קבר מלך קדמון ושמו קינן בן אנוש שהיה קודם
המבול מולך על כל העולם כולו והיה האיש ההוא
חכם ומבין בכל החכמות ומושל ברוחות ובשדים
ובמזיקים ויבן בחכמתו כי השם יתברך יביא מבול
על הארץ בימי נח וכתוב את העתיד להיות מזה
על לוחות האבן והנם שם והכתב כתב עברי

When I came to the land of Parsiakon (a region of the land of India), I came to the islands of the sea. There I found men who resembled women and ate raw fish and spoke a human language similar to Greek. They said to me, “Look, on this island is the grave of an ancient king, and his name is Cainan b. Enosh, who lived before the Flood, ruling over the entire world. That man was wise. He understood all manner of wisdom and reigned over spirits and demons and devils. He understood with wisdom that

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan)¹²⁶

ויחי אנוש תשעים שנה ויולד את קינן ויגדל
קינן ויהי בן ארבעים שנה ויחכם וידע וישכל
בכל חכמה וימלוך על כל בני האדם וידרך את
בני האדם בחכמה ובדעת כי היה האיש קינן
חכם מאד ומבין בכל חכמה וימשול בחכמתו גם
ברוחות ובשדים וידע קינן בחכמתו כי ישחית
אלהים את בני האדם על חטאם בארץ וכי יביא
ה' עליהם את מי המבול באחרית הימים ויכתוב
קינן את העתיד להיות בימים ההם על לוחות אבן
ויתנם באוצרותיו וימלוך קינן בכל הארץ וישב
מבני האדם לעבוד את האלהים

Enosh lived ninety years and begot Cainan. Cainan grew up, and by the time he was forty, he had become wise and knew and perceived all wisdom. He ruled over all the children of Adam and guided them in wisdom and knowledge, for Cainan was truly a wise man who understood all wisdom. He also reigned with his wisdom over spirits and demons. Cainan knew by wisdom that God would wipe out the children of Adam from the earth for their sins, and that the LORD would bring upon them the waters of the

¹²⁴ Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 241; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 50–51.

¹²⁵ Hayim Hominer, ed., *Josiphon*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Hominer Publication, 1967), 52.

¹²⁶ Dan, *Sefer Hayashar*, 46.

the Name, may it be blessed, would bring a Flood upon the earth in the days of Noah and wrote what was to occur on stone tablets. He placed them there. The document is written in Hebrew.”

Flood at the end of the age. Cainan wrote what was to occur in those days on tablets of stone, and he placed them in his treasuries. Cainan ruled over all the world, and he convinced some of the children of Adam to serve God.

Sefer ha-Yashar is dependent on *Sefer Yosippon* in other matters, although this does not mean that it depends on this amplified version of *Sefer Yosippon*. The works are nevertheless closely linked. The story of the stone tablets is as old as the authentic Josephus, who writes that the descendants of Seth recorded Antediluvian knowledge in stone (*Ant.* 1.68–71). The choice of Cainan rather than Enoch or Seth himself seems motivated by the notoriety surrounding Cainan’s post-Diluvian namesake. *Sefer ha-Yashar* only recognizes the first Cainan because he is the only one mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. He is virtuous because he belongs to the virtuous lineage of Seth. Such a passage seems like a correction of the negative portrait of the second Cainan found in *Jubilees* and subsequent works, including some in Syriac and Arabic, to be discussed in the next chapter.

The second overlap is more straightforward. Both *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 17:15–18) and *Sefer ha-Yashar* preface their respective accounts of the binding of Isaac with a “prologue in heaven” modeled on the one found at the beginning of the book of Job.¹²⁷ This similarity is not as surprising as it might first appear. As nomadic patriarchs put to the test by God, Abraham and Job had much in common. Their shared experiences, though not remarked upon in the Hebrew Bible, attracted the attention of the earliest rabbis (e.g., *b. Bava Batra* 15b–16a).¹²⁸ *Sefer ha-Yashar*, however, is the only other work besides *Jubilees* to evoke this comparison with a parallel narrative. Did *Sefer ha-Yashar* know this story from *Jubilees*? Not necessarily, although the parallel is striking.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Dan, *Sefer Hayashar*, 116–17.

¹²⁸ Joanna Weinberg, “Job versus Abraham: The Quest for the Perfect God-Fearer in Rabbinic Tradition,” in *The Book of Job*, ed. W.A.M. Beuken (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994), 281–96; Devorah Dimant, “The Biblical Basis of Non-Biblical Additions: The Binding of Isaac in *Jubilees* in Light of the Story of Job,” in *Connected Vessels: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Literature of the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2010), 348–68 [Hebrew]; Nicholas J. Ellis, “The Reception of the Jobraham Narratives in Jewish Thought,” in *Authoritative Texts and Reception History: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Dan Batovici and Kristin De Troyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 124–40.

¹²⁹ In Gavin McDowell, “Satan at the Sacrifices of Isaac and Jesus,” in *New Vistas on Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso and Gerbern S. Oegema (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 337–54, I observed a general difference between *Jubilees*, where the satanic figure incites the sacrifice of the beloved son, and rabbinic literature, where the satanic figure is attempting to prevent the same. *Sefer ha-Yashar* is unusual for presenting both motifs together.

Finally, *Sefer ha-Yashar* records the lifespans of the twelve sons of Jacob, and this information largely accords with the tradition found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Midrash Tadshe*, and *Seder Olam Zuta*.¹³⁰ This makes it yet another source that seems to know information from both *Jubilees* and the *Testaments*. *Sefer ha-Yashar* also gives the names of the wives of the twelve patriarchs but, curiously, they are completely different from the list found in *Jubilees*, which reappears in at least a few other medieval Hebrew sources.¹³¹

5.5 Wives of the Patriarchs (14th–16th c.)

W. Lowndes Lipscomb has proposed that Hebrew lists of the wives of the patriarchs, which appear in a few late sources, come directly from the Hebrew version of *Jubilees*.¹³² One such list is found at the beginning of *Toledot Adam*, a short chronicle by the Venetian Jew Samuel Algazi written in 1583 (the year from which every event is dated) but published in 1585.¹³³ Lipscomb also drew attention to two other manuscripts that have partial, frequently corrupt lists of the wives: 1) a fourteenth-century biblical manuscript that Abraham Harkavy saw in Damascus and described in his travel diary, which is none other than the Farhi Bible, written between 1366–1382 by Elisha b. Abraham Benvenisti Crescas (Sassoon Collection 368; NLI F 8894),¹³⁴ and 2) a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Ashkenazi manuscript (Munich, Bavarian State Library Hebr. 391; NLI F 1134) consisting of a commentary on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, with the list of the wives scribbled on the last page (f. 91b).¹³⁵ Both manuscripts have the full list of patriarchs' wives from before the Flood, but the list of the later wives is defective. At the same time, they include information that is not found in *Toledot Adam*, such as the wife of Abel or, in the case of the Farhi Bible, some *miscellanea* drawn from the Talmud (*b. Bava Batra* 91a) and the wives of the twelve sons of Jacob, which is also quite similar to the one in *Jubilees*.

¹³⁰ Dan, *Sefer Hayashar*, 205–7.

¹³¹ Dan, *Sefer Hayashar*, 262–69.

¹³² W. Lowndes Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 149–63.

¹³³ Samuel Algazi, *Toledot Adam* (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1585) [Hebrew].

¹³⁴ Abraham Harkavy, “Things Old and New: Memories from My Trip to Jerusalem,” *Hapisgah* 1 (1895): 55–64 [Hebrew]. See the full description of contents in David Solomon Sassoon, *Ohel David: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library*, London, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1: 6–14.

¹³⁵ Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien* (Munich: T. Ackermann, 1884), 90, n. 1. At the time he wrote, the manuscript was bound with a Hebrew dictionary (Munich, Hebr. 420, 14th c.) which was the true object of Perles' study.

The Hebrew lists are clearly related to each other as well as to *Jubilees*. Here is a synoptic presentation of the four lists, minus the first entry, Adam and Eve, for the patriarchs until the time of Abraham.

Table 5.3: Wives of the Patriarchs.

	<i>Jubilees</i> ¹³⁶	<i>Toledot Adam, 2a–b</i>	<i>Farhi Bible, p. 24</i>	<i>Munich 391, f. 91b</i>
Cain	Awan his sister (אחותו עון)	[No data]	Hevyah (הויה)	Tuyah (תויה)
Abel	[No data]	[No data]	Sumqama (סומקמא)	Sumqama (סומקמא)
Seth	Azura his sister (עזורה אחותו)	Azura (עזורה)	Petorah (פטורה)	Patrah (פטרה)
Enosh	Noam his sister (אחותו נועם)	Noam (נועם)	Naim (נעים)	Naimah (נעימה)
Kenan	Mualelit his sister (אחותו מהוללת)	Maholelaot (מהוללות)	Maholelet (מחוללת)	Holelet (הוללת)
Mahalalel	Dinah bt. Barakiel (דינה בת ברכאל)	Dinah (דינה)	Dinar (דינר)	Dinah (דינה)
Jared	Barakah bt. Rasu'eyal (ברכה בת רצויאל)	Barakah bt. Retzuyah (ברכה בת רצויה)	Berakyah bt. Ditzyah (ברכיה בת דיציאה)	Bat Ritziyah (בת ריצייה)
Enoch	Edni bt. Daniel (עדני בת דנאל)	Ednah bt. Daniel (עדנה בת דניאל)	Erni bt. Daniel (ערני בת דניאל)	Edni bt. Daniel (בת דניאל)
Methusaleh	Edna bt. Ezrael (עדנה בת עזראל)	Ednah bt. Azariah (עדנה בת עזריה)	Ednah bt. Othdel (עדנה בת עתדל)	Ednah bt. Othel (עדנה בת עתאל)
Lamech	Betanosh bt. Barakiel (בת-אנוש בת ברכאל)	Baronosh bt. Barakael (ברונוש בת ברכאל)	Bat Enosh (בת אנוש)	Bat Enosh (בת אנוש)
Noah	Emzara bt. Barakiel (אמזרע בת ברכיאל)	Amura bt. Barakiel (אמורע בת ברכיאל)	Mezra bt. Barakiel (מזרע בת ברכיאל)	Mizria bt. Barakiel (מזריע בת ברכיאל)
Shem	Sedeqatelebab (צדקת-לבב)	Mecholah bt. Benno (מחלה בת בנו)	Machleteven (מחלתיבן)	Machletehen (מחלתיהן)
Ham	Neelatamauk (נחלת-מחוק)	[No data]	Samnatnebo (סמנתנבו)	Samaknatnefo (סמכנתנפו)
Japhet	Adataneses (עדתן-שש)	[No data]	Batnatnebo (בתנתנבו)	[No data]

¹³⁶ The English orthography comes from VanderKam's *Commentary*. The Hebrew names come from Werman, *Book of Jubilees*. The names of the wives can be found throughout *Jub.* 4, *Jub.* 7:14–16; *Jub.* 8:1.5–7, *Jub.* 10:18, and throughout *Jub.* 11.

Table 5.3 (continued)

	<i>Jubilees</i>	<i>Toledot Adam, 2a–b</i>	Farhi Bible, p. 24	Munich 391, f. 91b
Arpachshad	Rasueya bt. Susan bt. Elam (רצויה בת שושן עילם)	Retzuyah bt. Sasoon (רצויה בת ששון)	Retzuyah (רצויה)	[No data]
Cainan	Melcha bt. Madai (מלכה בת מדי)	[No data]	[No data]	[No data]
Shelah	Muak bt. Kesed (מעכה בת כשד)	Malkah bt. Madai (מלכה בת מדי)	Malkah bt. Kebar (מלכה בת כבר) ¹³⁷	[No data]
Eber	Azura bt. Nebrod (עזורה בת נמרוד)	Azurah bt. Nimrod (עזורה בת נמרוד)	[No data]	[No data]
Peleg	Lomna bt. Sinaor (לבנה בת שנער)	Lavnah bt. Shinar (לבנה בת שנער)	[No data]	[No data]
Reu	Ara bt. Ur b. Kesed (אורה בת אור בן כשד)	Urah bt. Hur (אורה בת חור)	[No data]	[No data]
Serug	Melcha bt. Kaber (מלכה בת כבר)	Malkah bt. Nahor (מלכה בת נהור)	[No data]	[No data]
Nahor	Iyaseka bt. Nestag (יסכה בת נסתג)	Yashgav bt. Yashchuv (ישגב בת ישחוב)	Yiskah bt. Nosah (יסכה בת נוסה)	[No data]
Terah	Edna bt. Abram (עדנה בת אברם)	Ednah bt. Evarnahu (עדנה בת אברנהו)	Amthela bt. Barnebo (אמתלא בת ברנבו)	[No data]

The book of *Jubilees* and the Farhi Bible have an additional list of the wives of the sons of Jacob.

Table 5.4: Wives of the Sons of Jacob.

	<i>Jubilees</i> 34:20 ¹³⁸	Farhi Bible, p. 24
Reuben	Oda (אודה)	Adah (עדה)
Simeon	Adebaa (אדבה)	Yev'ah (יבעה)
Levi	Melcha (מלכה)	Nevnat (נבנת)
Judah	Betasuel (בת שוע)	Bath Shua (בת שוע)
Issachar	Hezaqa (חזקה)	Azaqah (עזקה)

¹³⁷ This is clearly supposed to be the wife of Serug. The scribe, via *parablepsis*, jumped from “Malkah” to “Malkah.” This is why the wives of the next four patriarchs are missing.

¹³⁸ Vanderkam, *Jubilees: A Commentary* 2:916; Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 447.

Table 5.4 (continued)

	<i>Jubilees</i> 34:20	Farhi Bible, p. 24
Zebulun	[Ne'eman] ¹³⁹ (נעמנה)	Ezni (עזני)
Dan	Egla (עגלה)	Eglah (עגלה)
Naphtali	Rasu'u (רצויה)	Retzuyah (רצויה)
Gad	Maka (מכה)	Ma'akah (מעכה)
Asher	Iyona (יונה)	Yonah (יונה)
Joseph	Aseneth (אסנת)	Aseneth (אסנת)
Benjamin	Iyaska (יסכה)	Yiskah (יסכה)

Lipscomb acknowledged the popularity of this tradition, citing similar lists in Armenian, Syriac (which also has the wives of the sons of Jacob), and Greek. Traces of such lists are also found in Coptic¹⁴⁰ and Arabic¹⁴¹ (which support, incidentally, the Ethiopic version of the names of Noah's daughters-in-law against the very different Hebrew names). He also notes that the Ethiopic, Syriac, and probably the Armenian lists come from one of the many Greek lists. However, he argues that the three Hebrew lists come *directly* from a Hebrew version of *Jubilees*, based on the following arguments. First, he notes that the orthographic variants among the lists represent typical graphic confusions between similar looking Hebrew letters. Second, the Hebrew names do not give any evidence of transliteration, such as the guttural *aleph* (א) in place of an *ayin* (ע), which is a common feature of the Ethiopic and Syriac texts. Third, the Hebrew names are not garbled beyond comprehension.¹⁴²

These arguments are insufficient to prove that the source of the lists was a Hebrew version of *Jubilees*. Granted, there are many obvious cases of orthographic corruptions within the lists, such as the shifting forms of the name “Emzara.” However, this does not mean that the common Hebrew *Vorlage* of the three lists was a Hebrew version of *Jubilees*. Given the popularity of this tradition across

¹³⁹ According to VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary*, 2:918, note b, the name of this wife is inconsistent and often missing in the manuscripts.

¹⁴⁰ According to Andrew Crislip, “The Book of Jubilees in Coptic: An Early Christian Florilegium on the Family of Noah,” *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003): 27–44 (32–33), the Coptic papyrus P.CtYBR inv. 4995 (from the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library at Yale University) gives the names “Nehelathmaouk,” “Adathneses,” and “Sedekathlebab” as the wives of (respectively) Ham, Japhet, and Shem. The wife of Noah is “Emmezara.”

¹⁴¹ Giorgio Levi Della Vida, “Una traccia del Libro dei Giubilei nella letteratura araba musulmana,” *Orientalia* 1 (1932): 205–12, gives several examples of partial lists of the wives in Arabic literature, both Christian and Muslim. I will return to this subject in the next chapter.

¹⁴² Lipscomb, “Jubilees in Armenian,” 154.

several different languages and religious cultures, the *Vorlage* could have just as easily have been another independent list of the wives in Hebrew.

The absence of any marks of transliteration seems like a stronger argument, but it too is not probative. One recurring name in the list is “Ednah” (עדנה) or a variant, which is indeed spelled with an *aleph* in Ethiopic and Syriac. However, it would not have been difficult to “retrovert” this name properly back into Hebrew. In fact, it has been done. Medieval copies of the book of Tobit in Hebrew and Aramaic, based on Greek and Latin versions of the text, consistently transliterate this name—as well as other names with gutturals, such as “Anna” (חנה) and “Raguel” (רעואל)—correctly.¹⁴³ Consequently, if a scribe can recognize the Hebrew name behind a Greek or Latin transliteration, then the recorded name will be intelligible, refuting Lipscomb’s third point.

The Syriac list, which will be discussed briefly in the next chapter, claims to have recorded the names from a Hebrew “Book of Jubilees”, yet the list shows evidence of dependence on a Greek text. The witness of this list is important because it closely resembles the one in the Farhi Bible, the oldest and most complete of the Hebrew lists (they are the only two, for example, to include the wives of the sons of Jacob). The Hebrew lists could have ultimately come from several sources, whether Greek, Syriac, or another language.

Toledot Adam has another feature that links it to both *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The lifespans of the patriarchs (which need to be worked out from the given data) closely resemble the numbers found in the *Testaments*, *Midrash Tadshe*, *Seder Olam Zuta*, and *Sefer ha-Yashar*. Furthermore, the order of the patriarchs’ birth is close to the one given in *Midrash Tadshe* and implied by the chronological data of *Jubilees*, where Dan is born before Judah and Zebulun is born after Joseph. This is yet another example of a medieval Hebrew work that combines data from *Jubilees* and the *Testaments*—a recurring phenomenon.

5.6 Conclusion

At the end of this survey, it is difficult to state conclusively that any of these Hebrew sources knew the Hebrew version of *Jubilees*. In several cases there are examples of “floating traditions,” material that has been excerpted from *Jubilees* (or one of its

¹⁴³ See the parallels texts in Stuart Weeks, Simon J. Gathercole, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004). The character Ednah appears throughout chapters seven and eight of Tobit.

sources) and circulated independently. The lists of the wives of the patriarchs are good examples of this phenomenon—not only in Hebrew but in other languages as well. Another example is the enumeration of the twenty-two works of creation. Even the birth order of the patriarchs, which is given in a peculiar sequence in *Midrash Tadshe* and in Samuel Algazi's *Toledot Adam*, might represent a tradition that existed apart from *Jubilees*. On a related note, both works, along with *Sefer ha-Yashar*, combine material from *Jubilees* with the lifespans of the sons of Jacob, a tradition best-known from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Another interesting case involves those works which seem to reflect a lost source of *Jubilees*. This is most prominent in *Sefer Refu'ot*. *Midrash Vayissa'u*—another case where material from *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* coexist in the same document—might be another example. The *Testaments* and *Jubilees* have much in common. It leaves one to wonder if they might have originally drawn from a common source.

An isolated curiosity is Saadia Gaon's reference to a "Book of Jubilees" that is unrelated to the work preserved in Ethiopic and rediscovered at Qumran. Is this a lost version of *Jubilees*, a continuation, or something else? Even more strangely—as the next chapter will witness—the phenomenon of "phantom citations" recurs in Syriac literature. The matter requires further investigation.

For the remaining cases, one can suspect the influence of *Jubilees* traditions from intermediary works transmitted by Christians, especially chronicles. Some of the Hebrew works, such as *Midrash Tadshe*, *Midrash Aggadah*, and *Aggadat Bereshit*, might reflect the influence of the most widely promulgated *Jubilees* traditions in Christian history and exegesis. This will be the subject of the next chapter.