

6 *Jubilees* in Christian Tradition

The preceding chapter considered the survival of Hebrew *Jubilees* into Late Antiquity and beyond, although the evidence was ultimately wanting. The current chapter turns to the Greek version, which certainly existed in Late Antiquity but has since vanished—though not without leaving a trace. Traditions from *Jubilees*, though very little of the text itself, are scattered throughout Christian literature until the beginning of the modern period, mainly in the form of patristic citations and in Byzantine chronicles. This chapter is organized according to language traditions, although it proved impossible to separate Greek and Latin Fathers (Where does one put Origen, a Greek writer often preserved only in Latin?). Hence, there are sections on the Greek and Latin Fathers (which includes all the Latin evidence), Byzantine historians (exclusively Greek), Syriac evidence, and a final section covering all other Christian liturgical languages. The conclusion tabulates the most popular traditions from *Jubilees* in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages—the ones that would be most likely to appear in a work like *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*.

The Christian transmission of *Jubilees* spans the duration of the Byzantine Empire, from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. The first direct reference to the work is Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 4365, from the third or fourth century, calling it by its most common Greek appellation, the *Little Genesis*.

Τῇ κυρίᾳ μου φυλάττῃ ἀδελφῇ ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν. χρῆσον τὸν Ἑσδραν. ἐπεὶ ἔχρησα σοι τὴν λεπτὴν Γένεσιν. ἔρρωσο ἐν θεῷ.

To my beloved lady sister in the Lord, greetings. Lend Ezra, since I lent you the *Little Genesis* (τὴν λεπτὴν Γένεσιν). Farewell in God.¹

From this point onward, there is continuous citation of *Jubilees* in Latin, Greek, and Syriac. The web of *Jubilees* traditions is so dense that it proved necessary to impose some parameters. First, I have not included lost or hypothetical sources. The chronicles of Julius Africanus and the Alexandrians Panodorus, and Annianus most likely contained much material inherited from *Jubilees*. I have made no attempt to reconstruct these lost chronicles. I only refer to what has remained of them in later works.

Second, I have not included works whose primary relationship to *Jubilees* is the Diamerismos tradition. This refers to the division of the world among the sons of Noah, which was a popular theme in Byzantine literature. James Scott has written a

1 Dieter Hagedorn, "Die 'Kleine Genesis' in P. Oxy. LXIII 4365," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 116 (1997): 147–48.

monograph on *Jubilees*' contribution to this tradition and proposed that Theophilus of Antioch (d. 185) and Hippolytus of Rome (d. 236) both knew *Jubilees* based on their geographical writings.² The *Diamerismos*, however, was not merely popular in the Byzantine period. It was a popular theme in Second Temple literature too. Variations are found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen XVI–XVII) and in the *Antiquities* of Josephus (*Ant.* I.120–147), who exerted the greatest influence on Christian writers. I have only mentioned the *Diamerismos* when it is coupled with the oath to respect national borders and Canaan's violation of this oath, a theme not found in Josephus but for which *Jubilees* is the oldest witness.

On the subject of Josephus, I have also excluded works related to *Jubilees* but not necessarily dependent on it, of which the *Antiquities* is the preeminent example.³ Other works with an indeterminate relationship to *Jubilees* include the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*⁴ and the *Pseudo-Clementines*.⁵ I have also excluded “apocryphal” works in general. Several have an intriguing relationship to *Jubilees* (e.g., the *Life of Adam and Eve*⁶ and the *Palaea historica*⁷), but intractable problems with dating and different recensions across diverse languages made the issue, well, byzantine. Some obscure apocryphal works, however, are discussed briefly in the final section on miscellaneous language traditions.

2 James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 126–58.

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

4 See, for example, *T. Reuben* 3:11–15 and *Jub.* 33:1–9 (the rape of Bilhah); *T. Simeon* 8 and *Jub.* 46:9–11 (the war between Canaan and Egypt); the whole of *T. Levi* and *Jub.* 30–32 (the election of Levi); *T. Judah* 1–9 and *Jub.* 34 and 37–38 (the wars against the Amorites and the Edomites); *T. Naphtali* 1 and *Jub.* 28:9–10 (the genealogy of Bilhah); *T. Benjamin* 12 and *Jub.* 46:9–11 (the war between Canaan and Egypt).

5 Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Retelling Biblical Retellings: Epiphanius, the Pseudo-Clementines, and the Reception History of *Jubilees*,” in *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Menahem Kister et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 304–21. See also F. Stanley Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27-71* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 138–39.

6 The Greek recension is called *The Apocalypse of Moses*, which invites comparison to the frame setting of *Jubilees*.

7 See William Adler, “Parabiblical Traditions and Their Use in the *Palaea Historica*,” in *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Menahem Kister et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–39.

In writing this chapter, I have relied on the earlier lists of Hermann Rönisch⁸ and R. H. Charles,⁹ although I have not always agreed with their judgments. They were especially helpful in tracking down obscure patristic references. For the Greek chronicles, however, I went through each text individually without reference to Rönisch or Charles.

6.1 Greek and Latin Fathers

The patristic period includes at least the first seven Christian centuries and is generally seen as ending with John of Damascus (d. 749). In this period, *Jubilees* is known principally by stray citations from the pens of important Christian Fathers. This section ends with anonymous citations from the Greek *catena* tradition, which only cites authorities from this period. Since very few Byzantine chronicles from this era have come down to us, and even the earliest Syriac references to *Jubilees* (or a *Jubilees*-like composition) are from the seventh century or later, the patristic evidence constitutes the earliest surviving Christian engagement with *Jubilees*.

The first Christian theologian who appears to have been conversant with *Jubilees* is also one who had a capacious knowledge of apocryphal works: Origen of Alexandria (d. 254).¹⁰ Surprisingly, he never cites *Jubilees* by one of its many names, although he refers to a couple of traditions known from the work. J. T. Milik observed that Origen is the first Christian writer to refer to the twenty-two works of creation from *Jubilees* 2:2–23.¹¹ The reference comes from his *Homiliae in Numeros* IV.1.2, which has only survived in the Latin translation of Rufinus.

Now if one observes the divine Scriptures, one will frequently find that the number twenty-two has been recorded for important reasons. For the Hebrews hand down the tradition that there are twenty-two letters in the alphabet. Once again, twenty-two fathers are enumerated from the first-formed, Adam, to Jacob, from whose seed the twelve tribes receive their commencement. They also hand down the tradition that the species of all the creatures of God are restricted to within twenty-two.¹²

⁸ Hermann Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen: Oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues Verlag, 1874), 251–382.

⁹ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis, Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), lxxvii–lxxxiii.

¹⁰ On Origen and the apocrypha (but not *Jubilees*), see Joseph Ruwet, “Les ‘Antilegomena’ dans les œuvres d’Origène,” *Biblica* 23 (1942): 18–42; 24 (1943): 18–58; 25 (1944): 143–173.

¹¹ J. T. Milik, “Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés,” *Revue Biblique* 78 (1971): 545–57 (550).

¹² Origen, *Homilies on Numbers*, ed. Christopher A. Hall, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 13.

This near-citation alludes to *Jub.* 2:23, which correlates the twenty-two works of creation with the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob. An expanded form of this tradition appears in the *De mensuris et ponderibus* of Epiphanius of Salamis, discussed later on in this section.

Charles drew attention to another possible reference to *Jubilees* in the works of Origen, referring to the *catena ad Gen* 41:45 (no. 1940), which cites Origen regarding an apocryphal source claiming that Aseneth is none other than the daughter of Potiphar, Joseph's former master (*Gen* 39).¹³

Τὸ μὲν Φουτιφάρ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρός ἐστι τῆς γαμηθείσης τῷ Ἰωσήφ. Οἰήσεται δέ τις ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν ὠνησάμενον τὸν Ἰωσήφ. Οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὑπελήφασιν Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκρύφου γνόντες τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγουσιν, τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ τὸν πενθερόν.

Potiphar is the name of the father of the one to whom Joseph was married. Some will consider him to be different from the one who bought Joseph. Nevertheless, the Hebrews do not understand it in this way, but they say, on the basis of an apocryphal source, that he came to be both his master and his father-in-law.¹⁴

This view accords with the one found in *Jubilees* (34:11 and 40:10). However, the apocryphal legend Origen goes on to recount explains how Aseneth exculpated Joseph after he was accused of adultery, and Potiphar offered Aseneth in marriage as recompense. Nothing of this is found in *Jubilees*. The identification of Potiphar and Potiphara is found in *Gen. Rab.* 86:3 and 89:2, although the final redaction of this work was centuries after Origen. The view was rejected in later works, such as PRE, which makes Aseneth Joseph's niece.

Charles was also of the opinion that Origen referred to *Jub.* 32:21 and 45:14 when he cited from an apocryphal work called the *Prayer of Joseph*.¹⁵ Despite some thematic overlap between the two, namely the concept of the heavenly tablets, the *Prayer of Joseph* is a separate work.¹⁶

¹³ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 227, n. 10.

¹⁴ My translation from Françoise Petit, ed., *La Chaîne sur la Genèse: Édition intégrale*, 4 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1991–1995), 4:255. In the same volume (4:209, no. 1850, *ad Gen* 39:5, the story of Potiphar), Petit suggests that Origen's comments to the verse are an analogue to *Jub.* 39:3, but both Origen and *Jubilees* are merely echoing Genesis.

¹⁵ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, lxxx.

¹⁶ See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Prayer of Joseph: A New Translation with Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 2:699–714.

Next, Diodorus of Tarsus, also known as Diodorus of Antioch (d. ca. 390), has his name attached to an otherwise unidentified passage in the Greek *catena* literature, *ad Gen* 9:25–27. It is number 805 in François Petit's edition of the Greek *Catena* to Genesis.¹⁷ Both Ronsch and Charles cite the passage as an example of *Jubilees* in patristic literature, although their text, from the eighteenth-century *Catena of Nicephorus* (I.167), differs slightly from Petit's.¹⁸ The brief passage alludes to the curious idea that the Medes, descendants of Japhet, were dissatisfied with their initial allotment and decided to dwell in the current territory of Media within the boundaries of Shem (cf. *Jub.* 10:35), thus fulfilling the prophecy that Japhet will “dwell in the tents of Shem” (*Gen* 9:27). The passage in Petit reads: “Do you see that the words of Noah were a prophecy? For Madaim, that is, the Mede, being a son of Japhet, possessed Media, the most beautiful of the tents of Shem, not a small portion of the land of the Persians (Ορᾶς ὅτι προφητεία ἦν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Νώε; Καὶ γὰρ Μαδαίμ, τουτέστιν ὁ Μήδος, τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ὧν υἱός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν τοῦ Σὴμ οἰκήσεων κατέσχευ, τὴν Μηδίαν μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς).” It goes on to discuss the Roman occupation of the land of Shem and Canaan and their subjugation of the natives, fulfilling Noah's curse in *Gen* 9:25.

A more substantive, though still quite mysterious, citation of a *Jubilees*-like book comes from Didymus the Blind (d. 398), an Alexandrian exegete in the vein of Philo and Origen.¹⁹ In his biblical commentaries on Genesis and Job, Didymus mentions a *Book of the Covenant* (ἡ Βίβλος τῆς Διαθήκης), which shares at least some material with *Jubilees*. He is the primary transmitter of this largely unknown work. A Latin translator of Didymus called this book *Leptogenesis* (“Little Genesis”), a common Greek designation for *Jubilees*.²⁰ However, James VanderKam, who has translated the fragments, doubted that the two books were identical due to the broadness of the traditions cited and substantive differences between them.²¹

¹⁷ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:185.

¹⁸ Ronsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 334–35; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 85, n. 30.

¹⁹ For an overview of his life and works, see Richard A. Layton, *Didymus the Blind and His Circle in Late-Antique Alexandria: Virtue and Narrative in Biblical Scholarship* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

²⁰ R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*, London, 1902, p. lxxvii.

²¹ James C. VanderKam, “The Book of the Covenant: 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), 28–32. See also Dieter Lührmann, “Alttestamentliche Pseudepigraphen bei Didymos von Alexandrien,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 104 (1992): 231–49 (239–45).

The references to the *Book of the Covenant* are few and vague. According to Didymus, the book contains the following traditions: Cain and Abel were born several years apart (*Commentary on Genesis* 118,29–119,2; *Jub.* 4:1);²² fire consumed the sacrifice of Abel (*Genesis* 121,22–27);²³ Cain killed Abel with either stone or wood (*Genesis* 126,24–26; cf. *Jub.* 4:31);²⁴ Cain died when Lamech pushed a wall onto him (*Genesis* 142,28–143,3; cf. *Jub.* 4:31);²⁵ Enoch ascended bodily into Paradise (*Genesis* 149,5–8; *Jub.* 4:23);²⁶ and Abraham was once tested by Satan (*Commentary on Job* 6,17–24; *Jub.* 17:15–18).²⁷

Of these traditions, the only one that certainly does not come from *Jubilees* is the reference to the fire that consumed Abel's sacrifice, a detail that is sometimes misattributed to *Genesis* itself and, indeed, might once have been there.²⁸ Didymus' description of Cain's death is an amalgamation of two different traditions. In *Jubilees*, a house collapses on Cain (*Jub.* 4:31). In a competing tradition, Lamech kills Cain in a hunting accident. This story is found, among many other places (such as *Cav. Tr.* 8:2–10), in a letter of Didymus' contemporary Jerome (*Epistula* 36.4).²⁹ There are other instances where the two traditions are conflated or harmonized, such as the report in *Aggadat Bereshit*, discussed in the previous chapter. Given the vagueness of Didymus' assertions, and the apparent confusion between sources, one can wonder how Didymus' blindness might have impacted his writings.

Didymus is not the only witness to a *Book of the Covenant*. Two passages from the Greek *catena* literature collected by Françoise Petit cite "The Covenant" or "The

22 For the full context of the passage, see Didymus the Blind, *Commentary on Genesis*, trans. Robert Charles Hill (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 115. VanderKam's numbering refers to the page and line number of the Tura papyri containing Didymus' writings.

23 Hill, *Commentary on Genesis*, 117–18.

24 Hill, *Commentary on Genesis*, 122.

25 Hill, *Commentary on Genesis*, 133.

26 Hill, *Commentary on Genesis*, 139.

27 Edward F. Duffy, "The Tura Papyrus of Didymus the Blind's Commentary on Job: An Original Translation with Introduction and Commentary" (PhD Dissertation, Graduate Theological Foundation, 2000), 38.

28 Sebastian P. Brock, "Fire from Heaven: From Abel's Sacrifice to the Eucharist: A Theme in Syriac Christianity," *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993): 229–43 (231): "Though it is possible that Aphrahat introduced the theme of the divine fire of acceptance here solely under the influence of biblical passages such as those cited earlier, it is rather more likely that his exegesis goes back indirectly (and by paths which can no longer be traced) to one of the Greek revisions of the Septuagint, for at Gen. 4.4, where the Hebrew has *wayyiša'*, generally rendered by both ancient and modern translators by 'And (God) had regard for (Abel and his offering)', the very different translation 'and he en-fired' is attributed to Theodotion."

29 Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. Isidor Hilberg, 3 vols. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910–1918), 1:271–72. Jerome found the story "written in a certain Hebrew volume" (*in quodam Hebraeo uolumine scribitur*).

Testament” (ἡ Διαθήκη) as their source. The first of these (no. 839, *ad Gen 11:4*), translated below, is a direct citation of *Jub.* 10:21.³⁰ The second attributed passage, however, (no. 1829, *ad Gen 38:18*) testifies that Tamar was a virgin when Judah slept with her, aggravating the enormity of his crime, and this has no parallel in *Jubilees*.³¹ The testimonies regarding the *Book of the Covenant* are therefore contradictory, and there is no way to confirm the contents of the book.

A contemporary of Didymus, Epiphanius, the Palestine-born bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (d. 403), is most famous as the author of the *Panarion*, a catalogue of heresies. He also wrote a short treatise, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, about the weights and measures found in the Bible. The *Panarion* mentions *Jubilees* by name, both as *Jubilees* and as the *Little Genesis*. The widely-translated *De mensuris et ponderibus*, which quotes *Jub.* 2 at length, is more important for the history of the transmission of *Jubilees*, even though this short work does not cite the book by name. In addition to its original Greek version,³² it was translated into Syriac,³³ Armenian,³⁴ Georgian,³⁵ and paraphrased in Latin³⁶ and Slavonic.³⁷

Epiphanius of Salamis has probably done more to promote knowledge of *Jubilees* than any other Church Father. The citation of *Jub.* 2:2–23 in *De mensuris et ponderibus* is among the longest passages from *Jubilees* preserved in Greek. The widespread translation of this passage, which enumerates the twenty-two works of creation, greatly promoted knowledge of *Jubilees*’ creation account across Christendom. Epiphanius does not explicitly name his source or the fact that he is citing anything at all. He also slightly adapts the text of *Jubilees*, mentioning, for example, that the twenty-two works of creation correspond to a canon of Scripture in twenty-two books. The author of *Jubilees* did not know such a canon (and probably would have anticipated being included in it). The figure twenty-two comes from Josephus (*Against Apion* I. 38–41), and Epiphanius adapted his canon list to fit this number. The reference to twenty-two books is a telltale sign of dependence on Epiphanius

³⁰ Petit, *La Chaîne de la Genèse*, 2:202

³¹ Petit, *La Chaîne de la Genèse*, 4:197.

³² Epiphanius of Salamis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Dionysius Petavius, 2 vols. (Paris: Michaelis Sonni, Claudii Morelli, et Sebastiani Cremonensis, 1622), 2:178–80.

³³ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Epiphanius’ Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, ed. James Elmer Dean (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

³⁴ Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis: De mensuris et ponderibus*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Roberta R. Ervine (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

³⁵ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Les Versions géorgiennes d’Épiphane de Chypre: Traité des poids et des mesures*, ed. Michel Van Esbroeck, 2 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1984).

³⁶ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, lxxxi (citing Isidore of Seville, *Origenes*, XVI.26.10).

³⁷ Florentina Badalanova Geller, “The Alphabet of Creation: Traces of *Jubilees* Cosmogony in Slavonic Tradition,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 24 (2015): 182–212.

rather than *Jubilees* (see, for example, *Midrash Tadshe*, discussed in the previous chapter).

Epiphanius mentions several traditions from *Jubilees* in the *Panarion*, but he only names the book once. Among the unattributed traditions, he claims that evil came into the world in the days of Jared (*Panarion* 1.3; cf. *Jub.* 4:15), that the Ark came to rest on Mount Lubar (*Panarion* 2.1; cf. *Jub.* 5:28), and that idolatry began in the days of Serug (*Panarion* 3.4; cf. *Jub.* 11:1–6). In his polemic against the Manichaeans, he mentions that Canaan, the son of Ham, occupied the territory of Shem in violation of an oath (*Panarion* 66.84.1; cf. *Jub.* 10:28–34), responding to the accusation that Joshua unjustly acquired the land of Canaan.

In all four examples, Epiphanius does not explicitly cite *Jubilees* but refers to received tradition (*paradosis*).³⁸ Epiphanius treats the traditions from *Jubilees* as part and parcel of orthodox Christian belief. This comes to the fore in the one instance where Epiphanius cites *Jubilees* by name. In *Panarion* 39.6, he gives the names of the daughters of Adam and Eve from *Jub.* 4:1–11 against a comparable Sethian gnostic tradition. In neither case is there any scriptural support for the names (or number) of the children of the first parents. Epiphanius favors *Jubilees* simply because of its antiquity and, presumably, its place in early Christian tradition.

But as we find in *Jubilees* (Ιωβηλαίους) which is also called the *Little Genesis* (λεπτὴ Γενέσει καλουμένη), the book even contains the names of both Cain's and Seth's wives, so that the persons who recite myths to the world may be put to shame in every way. For after Adam had sired sons and daughters it became necessary at that time that the boys marry their own sisters. Such a thing was not unlawful, as there was no other human stock. Indeed, in a manner of speaking Adam himself practically married his own daughter who was fashioned from his body and bones and had been formed by God in conjunction with him, and it was not unlawful. And his sons were married, Cain to the older sister, whose name was Saue (Σαυή); and a third son, Seth, who was born after Abel, to his sister named Azura (Ἀζουρά).³⁹

In a separate passage (*Panarion* 26.1.6), Epiphanius gives “Barthenos” as the name of the wife of Noah, apparently confusing the traditional name of Noah's mother for his wife. (cf. *Jub.* 4:28). These are the only references to the wives of the patriarchs in Epiphanius.

³⁸ See Anne Kreps, “From Jewish Apocrypha to Christian Tradition: Citations of *Jubilees* in Epiphanius's *Panarion*,” *Church History* 18 (2018): 345–70.

³⁹ Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion: Book I (Sects 1–46)*, trans. Frank Williams, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 280. Citations of the Greek text are from Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. Karl Holl, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915–1933), 2:76.

Although some scholars have questioned whether Epiphanius knew *Jubilees* firsthand,⁴⁰ he has internalized much important material from the work. More significantly, he believed that *Jubilees* constituted authentic sacred history against the competing histories of the Sethians (*Panarion* 39) and the Manichaeans (*Panarion* 66). *Jubilees* formed the basis for how this Christian author understood the history of Israel.

Epiphanius' correspondent and sometime ally Jerome of Stridon (d. 420), the trilingual man (*vir trilinguis*), is most famous for the Vulgate, his Latin translation of the Bible from the original languages. In doing so he adopted the principle of "Hebrew Truth" (*hebraica veritas*) and cast aspersions on those books lacking a Hebrew version, which he dubbed "apocrypha" (although Jerome translated some of them anyway). He is probably the least likely person to cite *Jubilees*, and yet he does so twice in a letter to Fabiola (*Epistula* 78.20 and 26) explaining the different stations of the Israelites' wandering in the wilderness as recounted in Numbers 33.⁴¹

Jerome refers to *Jubilees* under its Greek name, *Little Genesis* (*libro apocrypho, qui a Graecis λεπτή, id est parua, Genesis appellatur*). Both references, however, are inexact. In the first citation (*Epistula* 78.20), Jerome suggests the Tower of Babel was surrounded by an athletic stadium.

Et profecti de Lebna castra metati sunt in Ressa. Octauadecima mansio in 'frenos' uertitur. sienim post profectum rursum ad luti opera descendimus, infrenandi sumus et cursus uagi atque praecipites scripturarum retinaculis dirigendi. hoc uerbum, quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in scripturis sanctis apud Hebraeos inuenisse me noui absque libro apocrypho, qui a Graecis λεπτή, id est parua, Genesis appellatur; ibi in aedificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletae et cursorum uelocitas conprobatur.

They left Libnah and camped at Rissah (Num 33:21). The eighteenth station is termed "reins." For if, after departure, we descend again into filthy works, we are reined in again and our vagrant and precipitous courses are once more directed by the bridles of Scripture. This word, as far as memory serves, I have found nowhere else in the Sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews apart from an apocryphal book, which is called by the Greeks λεπτή, that is "little," Genesis. There, it is used in the context of the building of the tower for a stadium, in which boxers and athletes are trained and the speed of runners is tested.

Jerome seems to be thinking of the reference to *stadia* in *Jubilees'* account of the construction of the Tower of Babel (*Jub.* 10:21). This is the word used in the reference to Babel in a Syriac list of the wives of the patriarchs (see below).⁴² This

⁴⁰ For example, William Adler, "The Origins of the Proto-Heresies: Fragments from a Chronicle in the First Book of Epiphanius' *Panarion*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990): 472–501.

⁴¹ Jerome, *Epistulae*, 2:49–87 (68 and 70–71).

⁴² Antonio Maria Ceriani, ed. and trans., "Nomina uxorum patriarcharum priorum juxta librum hebraeum Jobelia nuncupatum," in *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Typis et Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863), ix–x.

unit of length is not the same as a stadium for sporting events, although this is the meaning of the Hebrew word *ris* (ריס), which Jerome has connected to the name of the station, Rissah (רסה).

In the second reference (*Epistula* 78.26), Jerome states that Terah, rather than Abraham, chased away the ravens during the time of famine (cf. *Jub.* 11:18–24).

Et profecti de Thaath castra metati sunt in Thare. Vicesima quarta mansio, quam nonnulli uertunt in ‘malitiam’ uel in ‘pasturam’, nec errarent, si per ain litteram scriberetur; nunc uero, cum adspiratio duplex in extrema sit syllaba, erroris causa manifesta est. hoc eodem uocabulo et isdem litteris scriptum inuenio patrem Abraham, qui in supra dicto apocrypho Geneseos uolumine abactis coruis, qui hominum frumenta uastabant, abactoris uel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. itaque et nos imitemur Thare et uolucres caeli, quae iuxta uiam satum triticum deuorare festinant, solliciti prohibeamus. nam et Abraham patriarches in typo Israhelis hostiarum diuisit membra sacrificiaque a uolucris non sinit deuorari.

They left Tahath and pitched camp in Terah (Num 33:27). The twenty-fourth station, which some term “malice” or even “pasture.” They are not wrong if it is written with the letter *ayin*. Now truly, when there is a double aspiration at the end of the syllable, the cause of the error becomes manifest. I find in this same word and these same letters the father of Abraham, who in the above-mentioned apocryphal book of Genesis, having chased away the crows that were devastating the grain of men, inherited the name “chaser” or “driver.” Therefore, let us be imitators of Terah and careful to hinder the birds of heaven, who hasten to devour the wheat sown by the roadside (cf. Matt 13:4). For even the patriarch Abraham, who is a type of Israel, divided the members of the offerings and sacrifices and did not allow them to be devoured by birds (Gen 15:11).

Jerome is likely thinking of *Jub.* 11:12, where Terah (תרה) is born at the very moment that ravens devastated (תרעו) the land. In this passage, as in the one above, Jerome bends the narrative of *Jubilees* to make an exegetical point about the Hebrew Bible. In order to explain the name of the station, he needs a tradition about Terah, not Abraham, who chases away the birds in *Jubilees*. The most astounding feature of either passage is that, if taken at face value, Jerome implies that he read *Jubilees* in Hebrew, even though he cites the name of the work in Greek.

After the intriguing witnesses of the near-contemporaries Didymus, Epiphanius, and Jerome, references to *Jubilees* drop off precipitously. The next chronologically is Isidore of Pelusium (d. 449), an Egyptian ascetic known for his many letters. As with the case of Diodorus of Tarsus, the passage from his writings pertaining to *Jubilees* is known only from the *catena* literature. Charles cited the Greek text from the *Catena of Nicephorus* (I.1660–61), published in two volumes from 1772–1773 and based on only two manuscripts.⁴³ The passage is *ad* Deut 33:9, but the *catena* to Deuteronomy, to my knowledge, has not yet benefited from a critical edition. The

⁴³ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, lxxxi.

biblical context is Moses' blessing of the twelve tribes at the end of his life. This becomes the occasion to discuss why Reuben, the firstborn, was denied the priesthood and kingship, while Judah inherited the kingship and Levi, the priesthood.

ἐπειδὴ ἐπελύτῃσῃ τῇ πατρὶά εὐνῇ ὁ Ῥουβείμ, διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε βασιλείας οὔτε ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη, καίτοι πρωτότοκος ὢν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Λευὶ τρίτος ὢν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὸν πατέρα δεκάτην ἀφιερῶσιν κάτωθεν γὰρ ἀριθμούμενος δέκατος ἦν, ἀνωθεν δὲ εἰ ἡριθμήθη, εἰς τῶν παιδισκῶν ἠύρίσκετο ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὁσιότητα, καὶ τὸ συγγενικῶν αἱμάτων διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐμπλήσαι, ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη.

Because Reuben violated his father's bed [Gen 35:22], for this reason he was not deemed worthy of either the kingdom or the priesthood, even though he was the firstborn. But Levi, even though he was the third born, not only because he was promised by the father to consecrate him as a tithe (for counting from below he was tenth, but when counted from above, it was found to be one of the maidservants' children), but also because of his holiness and because, for the glory of God, he filled his hands with the blood of relatives [cf. Gen 34], was he found worthy of the priesthood.⁴⁴

The curious parenthetical remark is a likely reference to *Jub.* 32:1–3, where Jacob resolves to tithe all his belongings, including his children. He counts his sons backwards from Benjamin and lands on Levi. For this reason, and for his special merits (such as his zeal in the Shechem affair), Levi alone inherited the priesthood among Jacob's sons. Most tellingly, the reference to filling his hands is a technical reference to priestly consecration (Exod 28:41). The same allusion is found in *Jub.* 32:3 and is sometimes glossed over in translations.

One of the few Latin references to *Jubilees* is attributed to Pope Gelasius I (d. 496), the alleged author of the *Gelasian Decree*. This short document is a list of authoritative and spurious books written around the mid-sixth century. It exerted a great influence on the canon of Scripture in the West. One of the spurious items is a book entitled “The Book of the Daughters of Adam [or] Leptogenesis” (*Liber de filiabus Adae Leptogenesis*).⁴⁵ The double title leaves in doubt whether the intended work was the entire book of *Jubilees* or merely an excerpt, such as a list of the wives of the patriarchs, which circulated in several languages, including Latin. In any case, the book of *Jubilees* did exist in Latin once, as attested by a fifth-cen-

⁴⁴ Translated from Charles *The Book of Jubilees*, lxxxi. The text goes on to state that Judah merited the kingship because he confessed to his sin with Tamar, but this could be inferred from the biblical text (Gen 38:26).

⁴⁵ Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum: De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem Text* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 52. Matthew P. Monger, “The Book of the Daughters of Adam in the Gelasian Decree,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 143 (2024): 545–61, has shown the instability of this short title in the broader manuscript tradition. He concludes this reflects medieval unfamiliarity with the work.

tury palimpsest (Biblioteca Ambrosiana C 73 inf.) published by Antonio Ceriani, which conserves between a third and a fourth of the text from chapters 13 to 49.⁴⁶ Strangely, the *Gelasian Decree* is the only canon list that explicitly proscribes *Jubilees*, although it might be hiding in Greek canon lists under a different name. This possibility will be discussed immediately below.

Severus of Antioch (d. 538), a partisan of Miaphysite Christianity, was bishop of Antioch from 512 until his death. He appears to refer to *Jubilees* in comments appended to Deut 34:6 in the *Catena of Nicephorus* (l.1672–73). The context is the death of Moses and Severus' assertion that at one's death good and evil angels contend over the body. M. R. James has translated the pertinent passage.

God, willing to show this also to the children of Israel by means of a bodily image, ordained that at the burial of Moses there should appear before their eyes at the time of the dressing of the body and its due depositing in the earth, the evil demon as it were resisting and opposing; and that Michael, a good angel, should encounter and repel him, and should not rebuke him on his own authority, but retire from giving judgment against him in favour of the Lord of All, saying, "The Lord rebuke thee," in order that those who are being instructed in the word might learn that a measure of conflict awaits souls after their departure hence [. . .] Further, when this heavenly image had come before their eyes, there came a cloud or light about the place which dazzled the eyes of the onlookers, and walled his grave off, that they might not see it. Therefore also it says in the Scripture, "No man hath seen his end, or his grave, unto this day" (Deut 34:6). This, it is said, is set forth in an apocryphal book which contains the more detailed account of the genesis or creation (ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἢ τοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν).⁴⁷

The final sentence appears to be an allusion to the common Greek title of *Jubilees*, the *Little Genesis* (ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) or the *Details of Genesis* (τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως). The story recounted by Severus, however, is not found in *Jubilees*. It is believed to be part of the apocryphal work known as the *Assumption of Moses*, commonly linked to a confrontation between Michael and Satan mentioned in Jude 9.⁴⁸ In fact, the *catena* on Jude includes Severus' comments on the matter, including much of what is said in his comments on Deut 34:6.⁴⁹ A portion of the *Assumption of Moses* has survived, but the incident with Moses' body has not. Even so, this one extant manuscript immediately follows the unique Latin copy of the book of *Jubi-*

⁴⁶ Antonio Maria Ceriani, ed., "Fragmenta Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis ex veteri versione latina," in *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Typis et Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1861), 1:9–64 (9–54).

⁴⁷ Montague Rhodes James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), 45–46.

⁴⁸ For ancient witnesses to this tradition, see Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, Bloomsbury. (London, 2015), 259–64.

⁴⁹ James, *Lost Apocrypha*, 46, also quotes these additional comments.

lees, leaving one to wonder if the *Assumption of Moses* once served as a sequel to *Jubilees*.⁵⁰ In canon lists, such as Pseudo-Athanasius' *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture*,⁵¹ the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*,⁵² and the *List of Sixty Books*,⁵³ the *Assumption of Moses* is preceded by a "Testament of Moses." If "The Testament" or "The Covenant" (ἡ Διαθήκη) is another name for *Jubilees*, as I have suggested above, then these lists might support a tradition of placing the *Assumption of Moses* after *Jubilees*.⁵⁴

As we near the end of the patristic era, we return to the West momentarily. Theodore of Tarsus was a Byzantine divine who served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690 CE.⁵⁵ He did not leave any written works, but the notes of his students have survived in the form of *scholia* on the Pentateuch and the Gospels. These little-known works provide a unique window into the transmission of *Jubilees* in Western Europe. There are two direct references to *Jubilees* (as *Leptigeneseos*) and two possible allusions.⁵⁶

The first reference occurs in a discussion of the length of time Adam spent in Paradise.

Ad auram post meridiem [III.8]: .i. incipiente septima hora, quia Iohannes Crisostomus dicit Adam factum tertia hora et sexta peccasse et quasi ad horam nonam eiectum de paradiso. Et hoc dicit per convenientiam futuram de passione Christi destinatam. Alii autem eum septem annos peregrisse in paradiso praeter .xl. dies, ut in Leptigeneseos dicit.

At the afternoon air (Gen 3:8): that is, at the beginning of the seventh hour, since John Chrysostom says that Adam was created at the third hour, sinned at the sixth hour, and was cast out of Paradise at the ninth hour. And he says this *à propos* the future occurrences at the crucifixion

50 Ceriani, "Fragmenta Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis," 55–64.

51 Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons. Zweiter Band: Erste Hälfte* (Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), 317.

52 Nicephorus of Constantinople, *Opuscula Historica*, ed. Carol de Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), 134–35.

53 Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 289–93.

54 James, *Lost Apocrypha*, 50, writes (without citing his source) that R. H. Charles objected that *Jubilees* could not be the *Testament of Moses* in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* because it is a mere 1100 *stichoi*. James supposed the numbers could be grossly in error. In addition to this possibility (the *Stichometry* expects one to believe the book of Susanna is longer than Esther), I would add that the *Stichometry* is based on the Pseudo-Athanasius list (their list of apocrypha is the same), and so the numbers are secondary.

55 For a brief notice on the life of Theodore, see Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 10th Anniversary Rev. Ed. (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 368–71. According to Brown, Theodore fled his native Antioch for Rome to escape the Arab conquests. He was then appointed to Canterbury in order to keep him (and his opinions) far away from debates over the Monothelite controversy.

56 Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, eds. and trans., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 200.

of Christ. Other commentators say that he spent seven years less forty days in Paradise, as it says in the *Little Genesis* (PentI 44).⁵⁷

The passage here refers to the forty days of purification (*Jub.* 3:9). It also mentions the seven years Adam spent in Eden (*Jub.* 3:17). This tradition was also attached to the end of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*.⁵⁸ Theodore of Tarsus could represent one channel for the transmission of this tradition from East to West.

The second direct reference appears a few pages after the first.

Quoniam occidi uirum [IV.23]. Nescimus quem occidit, et de quo dicit, nisi tan turn quod non ipse est Cain, licet multi arbitrentur ut in Leptigeneseos dixit.

I have slain a man (Gen 4:23) We do not know whom he killed, and of whom he is here speaking, except that it is not Cain, even though many commentators think it was Cain, as was said in the *Little Genesis* (PentI 54).⁵⁹

This comment refers to Lamech's boast about having killed a man (Gen 4:23–24). The tradition that Lamech killed Cain does not appear in *Jubilees*, but the story was well-known in Christian sources. Like Didymus the Blind, the author has conflated the two traditions about the death of Cain. In *Jubilees*, Cain dies when his house collapses on him (*Jub.* 4:31).

Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, the editors of the *scholia*, also point to two traditions that may have come from *Jubilees*.⁶⁰ The commentaries state that Enoch was transported from earth to the mountain of Paradise (PentI 62; cf. *Jub.* 4:23)⁶¹ and that Cain killed Abel with a stone (Gn-Ex-EvIa 7; cf. *Jub.* 4:31).⁶² While both are found in *Jubilees* (and Didymus the Blind's *Book of the Covenant*), they are also quite common. In any case, the *scholia* demonstrate that at one point the channels between Western Europe and Byzantium were sufficiently open that Latin Christians could import their clergy from the East—and, with them, knowledge of works like *Jubilees*.

All other references to *Jubilees* from the first seven centuries come from *catenae*. A *catena* is a commentary on Scripture composed entirely of previous biblical commentaries. They normally draw upon the Church Fathers but will occasionally cite early Jewish sources, including Philo and Josephus. Françoise Petit has edited and arranged this diverse material into a single Greek *Catena on Genesis* in

⁵⁷ Text and translation of Bischoff and Lapidge, 310–11.

⁵⁸ Jean-Pierre Pettoirelli and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds. and trans., *Vita Latina Adae et Evae*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1:434.

⁵⁹ Text and translation of Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 314–15.

⁶⁰ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 200.

⁶¹ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 314–15.

⁶² Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 388–89.

four volumes, which includes named authorities ranging from Philo of Alexandria in the first century to Cyril of Alexandria in the fifth, with some manuscripts adding the sixth-century Miaphysite bishop Severus of Antioch, briefly mentioned above.⁶³ Numerous entries cite *Jubilees* or otherwise contain traditions from the book. The following is a list of these entries.

Number 551 (*ad Gen 4:17*) is a reference to *Jub.* 4:9. It simply names “Asaoul” (Ἀσαούλ) as the sister and wife of Cain (Ἡ γυνὴ Κάϊν, Ἀσαούλ, ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ).⁶⁴

Number 585 is a list of the wives of the patriarchs from *Jub.* 4:11–33.⁶⁵

Ad Gen 5:6: The wife of Seth, Azura, his sister (Γυνὴ Σήθ, Ἀζούρα, ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:9: The wife of Enos, Noa, his sister (Γυνὴ Ἐνώς, Νωα, ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:12: The wife of Kenan, Maolith, his sister (Γυνὴ Καϊνᾶν, Μαωλιθ, ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:15: The wife of Mahalalel, Dina, the daughter of Barachiel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Μαλελεήλ, Δίνα, θυγάτηρ Βαραχιὴλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:18: The wife of Jared, Baraka, the daughter of Arouel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Ἰάρεδ, Βαραχα, θυγάτηρ Ἀρουήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:21: The wife of Enoch, Eani, the daughter of Daniel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Ἐνώχ, Ἐανι, θυγάτηρ Δανιήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:25: The wife of Methusaleh, Edna, the daughter of Ezriel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Μαθουσάλα, Ἐδνα, θυγάτηρ Ἐζριήλ, πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:28: The wife of Lamech, Bethenos, the daughter of Barachiel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Λάμεχ, Βεθενός, θυγάτηρ Βαραχιήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

Ad Gen 5:32: The wife of Noah, Emmazara, the daughter of Barachiel, his uncle (Γυνὴ Νῶε, Ἐμμαζάρα, θυγάτηρ Βαραχιήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

These names are comparable to the ones found in Hebrew, with some obvious cases of textual corruption, such as “Eani” (Ἐανι) for “Edni” (Ἐδνι). The names which appear here and later (number 833 *ad Gen 10:24–25* and number 861 *ad Gen 11:20–25*) are the ones found in the tenth- or eleventh-century Septuagint manuscript Basel 135 (currently Basel, Univeristätsbibliothek AN III 13), which is in fact a *catena*.⁶⁶

⁶³ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*. She has also edited a *catena* on Exodus, but I did not find *Jubilees* material there.

⁶⁴ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:38.

⁶⁵ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:57.

⁶⁶ See Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 367–74.

Number 590 (*ad Gen.* 5:21–24), approximating *Jub.* 4:17, names Enoch as the first scribe: “Enoch was the first who learned the art of letters, and he wrote down the signs of heaven and the seasons and the months (Ἐνὼχ πρῶτος ἔμαθε γράμματα, καὶ ἔγραψε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας).”⁶⁷

Number 833 (*ad Gen.* 10:24–25) is yet another list of the wives of the patriarchs, this time from the period after the Flood (*Jub.* 8:5–7; 10:18).⁶⁸

The wife of Cainan, Melcha, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japhet (Γυνὴ Καϊνάν, Μελχά, θυγάτηρ Μαδαὶ υἱοῦ Τάφεθ).

The wife of Shelah, Mocha, the daughter of Chedem, his uncle (Γυνὴ Σαλά, Μωχά, θυγάτηρ Χεδέμ πατρὸς ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ).

The wife of Eber, Azodra, the daughter of Nimrod (Γυνὴ Ἑβερ, Ἀζοδρά, θυγάτηρ Νεβρώδ).

The wife of Peleg, Domra, the daughter of Senaar (Γυνὴ Φαλέγ, Δόμρα, θυγάτηρ Σενναάρ).

The most notable aspect of this section of the list is that the Greek has preserved Cainan and his wife. In Hebrew lists (*Toledot Adam* and the *Farhi Bible*), Cain has been excised and his wife given to Shelah.

Number 839 (*ad Gen.* 11:4) quotes *Jub.* 10:21 on the dimensions of the tower of Babel.

Ἡ Διαθήκη. Ἐπὶ μγ' ἔτη ἔμειναν οἰκοδομοῦντες. Τὸ ὕψος, εὐλγ' πήχεις καὶ δύο παλαισταί. Τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ σγ' πλίνθους. Τῆς πλίνθου τὸ ὕψος, τρίτον μιᾶς πλίνθου. Τὸ ἔκταμα τοῦ ἐνὸς τοίχου, στάδιοι ιγ' καὶ τὸ ἄλλο, λ'.

The Covenant. For forty-three years, they continued building. The height was 5,433 cubits and two handbreadths. The breadth was 203 bricks. The height of a brick was a third of one brick. The extent of one wall was thirteen *stadia*, and the other, thirty.⁶⁹

Unlike other references to *Jubilees* in the *catenae*, the above is an exact citation of *Jub.* 10:21. The attribution to “The Testament” or “The Covenant” (ἡ Διαθήκη) is a possible reference to the *Book of the Covenant* mentioned by Didymus the Blind. Didymus’ references were inexact, but this one is precise, leaving one to wonder if “The Book of the Covenant” or “The Testament” (of Moses?) were indeed names for *Jubilees*. This is counterbalanced by number 1829 *ad Gen.* 38:18, which cites “The Testament” but does not evoke any clear tradition from *Jubilees*.

Number 857 (*ad Gen.* 11:13) refers to Cainan’s experiments in astrology and divination from *Jub.* 8:1–4: “From the time of Cainan were astronomy and omens”

⁶⁷ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:60.

⁶⁸ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:199.

⁶⁹ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:202.

(Απὸ τῶν χρόνων Καϊνὰν ἡ ἀστρονομία καὶ οἱ οἰωνισμοί).⁷⁰ This short notice can be contrasted with Syriac sources discussed below, such as the *Chronicle of 1234*, which translates the entire passage from *Jubilees*, and the chronicle of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), who has a more extensive biography of Cainan, including information not found in *Jubilees*.

Number 861 (*ad Gen 11:20–25*) completes the list of the wives of the patriarchs (cf. *Jub. 11:1.7.9*).

The wife of Reu, Ora, daughter of Ur, son of Cheza (Γυνὴ Ῥαγαῦ, Ὠρα, θυγάτηρ Οὐρ, υἱοῦ Χέζα).

The wife of Serug, Melcha, daughter of Chaber, his uncle (Γυνὴ Σερούχ, Μελχά, θυγάτηρ Χαβέρ, πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ).

The wife of Nahor, Iestha, daughter of Nestha, the Chaldaean (Γυνὴ Ναχώρ, Ἰεσθά, θυγάτηρ Νεσθά, τοῦ Χαλδαίου).⁷¹

The wife of Terah does not appear. The Greek *catenae* also lack the names of the wives of Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

Number 867 (*ad Gen 11:28*) refers to the death of Haran in the conflagration of the idols. The passage explicitly refers to *Jubilees*, but it is a paraphrase of *Jub. 12:12* rather than a direct citation.

Ἀρράν ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ ᾧ ἐνεπύρσεν Ἀβραμ τὰ εἰδῶλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐξελεσθαι αὐτά. Ἦν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τότε ἐτῶν ξ' ὅτε τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐνεπύρσεν, ἅτινα οὐδὲ ἀριθμοῦνται εἰς ἔτη ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μέχρι τότε ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ αὐτὸν εἶναι, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἰωβηλαίῳ.

Haran died in the conflagration, which Abraham set to his father's idols, when he went in to save them. Abraham was then sixty years old when he burned the idols. These however are not counted as years of his life because until that moment he was in unbelief, as it is written in *Jubilees* (γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἰωβηλαίῳ).⁷²

The reference to Abraham's age and the new computation based on his newfound belief in the one God is an interpolation designed to resolve an exegetical issue about Abraham's departure from Harran relative to the death of his father. This issue was of particular concern to Christians.⁷³

Number 1804b (*ad Gen 37:29–30*) refers to the death of Bilhah and Dinah after they hear the news of Joseph's disappearance. They are buried near the tomb of

⁷⁰ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:213.

⁷¹ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:215.

⁷² Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2:218.

⁷³ See especially William Adler, "Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols: Jubilees' Traditions in Christian Chronography," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 77 (1987): 95–117. This issue is further discussed below in the section on Syriac sources.

Rachel. Jacob then institutes Yom Kippur to commemorate Joseph's presumed death.

Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἤκουσεν Βάλλα ὅτι ἀπώλετο Ἰωσήφ, ἥτις καὶ ἐθήλασεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥαχὴλ, καὶ πενθοῦσα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέθανεν καὶ γε ἡ Δίνα ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἰακώβ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἔσκεν Ἰακώβ τρία πένθη. Καὶ ἔθαψαν τὴν Βάλλαν καὶ τὴν Δίνα ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου Ῥαχὴλ. Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πένθος κακοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐβδόμου, σποδὸν ἔσθοντες.

At that time, Bilhah heard that Joseph was lost, she who had nursed him after the death of his mother Rachel. Mourning over him, she died. Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, also perished over the loss of Joseph, and so Jacob mourned three times. He buried Bilhah and Dinah across from the tomb of Rachel. Because of this mourning, the children of Israel mortify themselves on the tenth day of the seventh month, eating ashes.⁷⁴

The passage is an abridgment of *Jub.* 34:15–18.

Number 2268 (*ad* Gen 50:26) is a citation of *Jub.* 46:3, a brief timetable of Joseph's life.⁷⁵

Ἰωσήφ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη ἐποίησεν ἐν γῇ Χαναάν, καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν εἴλκυσε δουλείαν, τρία δὲ ἔτη ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διέτριψεν, καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ἦν δευτερός τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐξουσιάζων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ Αἰγύπτου. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐτῶν ρι'.

Joseph lived seventeen years in the land of Canaan. Ten years he was a slave, three years he was in prison, and eighty years he was second to the king and exerted power over the whole land of Egypt, a total of 110 years.

Apart from the final tally at the end (missing in some manuscripts), the Greek text is very close to the Ethiopic.

Finally, number 2270, *ad* Gen 50:25–26, is a lengthy citation of *Jub.* 46:6–12a and 47:1, bridging the gap between the books of Genesis and Exodus.

Ἐξώρκεισεν Ἰωσήφ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐγίνωσκεν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν Χαναάν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ, διότι Μαχμαρῶν βασιλεὺς Χαναάν ἐποίησε πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι. Καὶ ἐπεδίωξεν ὀπίσω τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἕως τῶν ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη Μαχμαρῶν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, διότι ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος νέος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτόν καὶ ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ πύλαι Αἰγύπτου καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σορῷ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν. Καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ τὰ ὀστά τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ πάντα, παρεκτὸς τῶν ὁσίων Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἄργῳ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ διπλοῦ ἐν Χεβρὼν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. Καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν πολλοὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον,

⁷⁴ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 4:183.

⁷⁵ Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 4:452.

καὶ ὀλίγοι περιελείφθησαν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Χεβρών. Καὶ περιελείφθη Ἀμβραμ ὁ πατὴρ Μωϋσέως μετ’ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἐτροπώσατο βασιλεὺς Χαναάν βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἀπέκλεισε τὰς πύλας Αἰγύπτου ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου. Καὶ ἐλογίσατο λογισμοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ κακῶσαι αὐτούς. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ Ἀμβραμ ἀπὸ γῆς Χαναάν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, γεννᾷ τὸν Μωϋσέα. Οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρὸς θλίψεως ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ.

Joseph made his brothers swear about his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not permit him to be carried away to the land of Canaan on the day of his death because Machmaron, king of Canaan, waged war with the king of Egypt and killed him there in the valley. He pursued the Egyptians until the borders of Egypt, but Machmaron was not able to enter Egypt because another, new king had ascended over Egypt and overpowered him. The gates of Egypt were then closed, and no one could enter or exit Egypt. Then Joseph died, and they buried him in a sarcophagus in Egypt. His other brothers died after him. The sons of Jacob brought out the bones of all the children of Israel —except for the bones of Joseph—and buried them in the field of the double cave in Hebron on the mountain. Many returned to Egypt, but a few remained with them on Mount Hebron. Amram, the father of Moses, remained with them. Again, the king of Canaan defeated the king of Egypt, and the king of Egypt closed the gates of Egypt. He devised evil plans against the children of Israel, to do them harm. When Amram returned from the land of Canaan to Egypt, he begot Moses. This was the time of affliction for the children of Israel.⁷⁶

James VanderKam has studied the relationship between the Greek and Ethiopic texts.⁷⁷ He observed that the Greek text lacks “Jubilean” characteristics such as date formulas and second person addresses to Moses. Both changes, he surmises, are part of the work of adapting the text for the *catena*: These features, without their full context risked confusing the reader. Otherwise, it appears to be a faithful version of the text, and in a couple of cases offers better readings than the Ethiopic.

Jeremiah Coogan, however, warns against using the *catena* for textual criticism of *Jubilees*.⁷⁸ Like VanderKam, he underlines the adaptational elements of the Greek text of *Jubilees* in the *catena*, but he also emphasizes that these adaptations go beyond facilitating the comprehension of the reader. The *catena* passage just cited includes not only material from *Jubilees* but an excerpt from the *Oratio ad Graecos* of Tatian (d. ca. 180), which discusses what was happening elsewhere in the world during the centuries between the end of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus. Coogan thus cites Petit’s number 2270 *ad* Gen 50:25–26 as a passage that entered the *catena* tradition through an intermediary, most likely a chronicle.⁷⁹ He brings

⁷⁶ Petit, *La Chaîne de la Genèse*, 4:453–54.

⁷⁷ James C. VanderKam, “Another Citation of Greek Jubilees,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 377–92.

⁷⁸ Jeremiah Coogan, “The Reception of Jubilees in Greek *Catena* Manuscripts of Genesis,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 31 (2022): 264–86.

⁷⁹ Coogan, “Reception of Jubilees in Greek,” 276.

other examples as well, such as number 867 *ad* Gen 11:28, a paraphrase of *Jubilees* that adds the distinctly Christian concern to link Abraham's final call to the death of Terah⁸⁰ and the names of the various wives of the patriarchs, which do not take the form of a citation from *Jubilees* but the form of a (probably preexisting) list.⁸¹

Despite this, the *catena* literature hardly accounts for all the *Jubilees* material known from Greek chronography. It does contain a great deal of material from *Jubilees* which does not appear elsewhere. Conversely, it lacks many recurring motifs found in the Greek chronicles. It is to these that we now turn.

6.2 Byzantine Historians

Greek chroniclers pick up right when the patristic references trail off. The amplest chronicle is that of George Syncellus, who has preserved much material from earlier, lost chronicles. Many of his successors are dependent on him or a combination of his sources. Nevertheless, they are all important witnesses to what appealed to Byzantine authors in the medieval period. By the end of this period, however, *Jubilees* was held in low esteem, and its eventual disappearance is unsurprising.

Syncellus had many antecedents, but they are mostly lost. The loss of Julius Africanus, Panodorus, and Annianus means that the Antiochene John Malalas (d. 578) is the first extant Byzantine historian to use material from *Jubilees* in his chronicle. The popularity of Malalas' chronicle has an inverse relationship to its utility as a work of history.⁸² It only has a handful of elements in common with *Jubilees* (which he never names), but its success, including its translation into Slavonic, meant that these few themes became widespread.

The Jewish traditions in Malalas' chronicle have already received an in-depth study from Katell Berthelot.⁸³ There is little to add to what she has said, except to delimit those traditions that belong to *Jubilees*. On the very first page (Book I.1), Malalas names the daughters of Adam and Eve, "Azoura" (Αζουρα) and "Asouam" (Ασουαμ), that is, *Jubilees*' Awan and Azura, the eventual wives of Cain and Seth.

⁸⁰ Coogan, "Reception of Jubilees in Greek," 271–74.

⁸¹ Coogan, "Reception of Jubilees in Greek," 277–81.

⁸² See the negative assessment of Warren T. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 235–56.

⁸³ Katell Berthelot, "La chronique de Malalas et les traditions juives," in *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas*, ed. Joëlle Beaucamp (Paris: Imprimerie Chirat, 2003), 37–51. See also William Adler, "From Adam to Abraham: Malalas and Euhemeristic Historiography," in *Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Quellenfragen*, ed. Laura Carrara, Mischa Meier, and Christine Radtki (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017), 27–47.

Strangely, Malalas assigns Asouam to Seth and Azoura to Cain. It is the reverse in *Jubilees*.⁸⁴

In Book I.5, Seth himself is endowed with some of the qualities given to Enoch in *Jubilees*, such as the invention of writing and astronomy. In a significant departure from *Jubilees*, Cainan discovers Seth's beneficent astronomical writings rather than the forbidden knowledge of the Watchers, who do not appear in Malalas.⁸⁵ As William Adler notes, this is a conflation of the positive tradition of Antediluvian knowledge in Josephus with the negative one in *Jubilees*.⁸⁶

In the second book (II.18), Malalas attributes idolatry and "Hellenism" to Serug (cf. *Jub.* 11:1–8), claiming Eusebius as his source.⁸⁷ As Adler points out, this idea actually comes from Epiphanius' *Panarion*.⁸⁸ At the beginning of the third book (III.1), Abraham is said to have confronted his father about his idolatry. He breaks his father's idols, however, after the manner of a commonly disseminated Jewish tradition (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 38:13).⁸⁹ He does not burn a temple of idols as in *Jubilees*. This is the extent of Malalas' knowledge of *Jubilees*. The traditions he reports are meager but became widespread, reappearing in numerous later chronicles.

The next historian is the most important. George Syncellus (d. ca. 810) was a Byzantine functionary.⁹⁰ His unfinished *Ecloga chronographica* ("Extract of Chronography") represents the most extensive use of *Jubilees* in a Byzantine chronicle. He cites the work under several titles, including the *Little Genesis* and the *Apocalypse of Moses*. He also mentions a *Life of Adam*, which shares a tradition from the book. Occasionally he misattributes material from *Jubilees* to Josephus. In one exceptional instance, he ascribes a verse from *Jubilees* to the canonical book of Genesis. In many other cases, he gives common traditions without obvious attribution.

Heinrich Gelzer, in a pioneering study, argued that Syncellus did not know *Jubilees* directly but only through the mediation of earlier, lost chronicles, namely the works of Julius Africanus (the father of Christian chronography, d. 240) and

⁸⁴ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Johannes Thurn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 4. This edition has been translated into German: John Malalas, *Weltchronik*, trans. Hans Thurn and Mischa Meier (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2009). There is an earlier English translation, but it is not based on the critical edition: John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael J. Jeffreys, and Roger Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986).

⁸⁵ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 7.

⁸⁶ Adler, "From Adam to Abraham," 32–38.

⁸⁷ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 38.

⁸⁸ Adler, "From Adam to Abraham," 35–36.

⁸⁹ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 41.

⁹⁰ For general information, Warren T. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 38–63, and Leonora Neville, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 56–60.

the two fifth-century Alexandrian chroniclers Annianus and Panodorus.⁹¹ William Adler continued Gelzer's work and refined his conclusions, instead claiming that Syncellus relied on epitomes and excerpts of earlier sources.⁹² The citation of *Jubilees* under so many different titles and with different degrees of textual fidelity certainly does not inspire confidence that Syncellus consulted the book directly. His example provides an instructive contrast with the anonymous *Syriac Chronicle of 1234* (see below), which cites *Jubilees* accurately and at length.

The following overview organizes the *Jubilees* material according to Syncellus' attribution, beginning with those traditions attributed to the *Little Genesis* itself. This will be followed by traditions cited under the title *Apocalypse of Moses*. The third section will be those traditions mistakenly attributed to Josephus. The final section consists of unattributed traditions.

The references to the *Little Genesis* are concentrated in the discussion of history before the Flood. Syncellus first mentions it in conjunction with the twenty-two works of creation (*Jub.* 2:2–23), but he includes references to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible, which are part of Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus* but not the text of *Jubilees*. Though Syncellus cites the *Little Genesis* as his source, he qualifies it with the phrase, "which some say is a revelation of Moses" (ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν), without explicitly calling it the *Apocalypse of Moses*.⁹³

The *Little Genesis* is also invoked for purely chronographical issues, such as the length of Adam's stay in Paradise (*Jub.* 3:8–14), for which Syncellus also cites a *Life of Adam*.⁹⁴ The tradition is indeed found in some Adam books, such as the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, certain Armenian apocrypha (see below, under "Other Languages"), and the *Testament of the Protoplasts* mentioned by Anastasius of Sinai.⁹⁵ He relies on *Jubilees* for his account of the Antediluvian generations (*Jub.* 3:17–4:9),

91 Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885–1898), 2: 249–97.

92 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), 159–231.

93 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), 4. This is a translation of the Greek text of George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. Alden A. Mosshammer (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), 3. I have favored the translation unless I needed to explicitly quote the Greek text.

94 George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 6 and 11–12.

95 Anastasius of Sinai, *Hexaemeron*, ed. Clement A. Kuehn and John D. Baggarly (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007), 266–67.

although he makes several adjustments to the book's chronological system.⁹⁶ First, he uses a solar year of 365 days (rather than *Jubilees'* idiosyncratic calendar of 364 days), and he takes his dates from the Septuagint rather than *Jubilees'* network of days, weeks, and jubilees (later, he will state, *contra Jubilees*, that a "jubilee" consists of fifty years).⁹⁷ Syncellus rarely names the wives of the patriarchs, although he mentions the two daughters of Adam, whom he calls (like John Malalas) Asouam and Azoura.⁹⁸

Much later, Syncellus cites the *Little Genesis* in a series of *miscellanea* about the life of Abraham. Some of this material comes from *Jubilees*, though other parts are found in Josephus' *Antiquities* or even the Bible.

The *Little Genesis* states that the maternal grandfather of Abraham was named Abraham, and Sarah his sister had the same father as Abraham (*Jub.* 11:14; 12:9). Abraham was the first to proclaim as creator the God of the universe (cf. *Jub.* 11:16–17; *Ant.* I.155). Abraham was the first to surround the altar with olive and palm branches (*Jub.* 16:31). In the time of Abraham, an angel is first named in the divine scripture (Gen 16:7). From him, Egyptians learned the placement and movement of the stars and the knowledge of arithmetic (*Ant.* I.167).⁹⁹

On the following pages, Syncellus mentions two more items, both attributed to the *Little Genesis*.

The angel speaking to Moses said to him, "I have taught Abraham the Hebrew tongue as it was customarily spoken by all the forefathers from the beginning of creation," according to *Little Genesis* (cf. *Jub.* 12:25–26).¹⁰⁰

Mastiphm, the leader of the demons, as *Little Genesis* says, approached God and said, "If Abraham loves you, let him offer to you his own son" (cf. *Jub.* 17:16).¹⁰¹

The staccato nature of this rehearsal resembles the form of an unusual work, the *Hypomnestikon* of "Josephus Christianus," a fourth-century collection of Bible trivia.¹⁰² At least, for each of the individual items where he names the work, Syncellus correctly attributes the information to *Jubilees*, not Josephus.

A final direct citation of *Jubilees* occurs in a short section labeled "From Genesis" (Τῆς Γενέσεως), where Syncellus writes: "Isaac said to Esau in his blessings, 'There will be a time when you shall break and loosen his yoke from your

⁹⁶ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 11–12.

⁹⁷ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 139.

⁹⁸ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 12–13.

⁹⁹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 138.

¹⁰⁰ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 139.

¹⁰¹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 144.

¹⁰² Greg W. Menzies, ed., *Joseph's Bible Notes: Hypomnestikon*, trans. Robert M. Grant and Greg W. Menzies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

neck, and you shall commit a sin to death.”¹⁰³ The sentence conflates Gen 27:40 with *Jub.* 26:34. Perhaps Syncellus intended to write *Little Genesis* instead? Another case of mistaken attribution is Syncellus’ short account of the war between Jacob and Esau (*Jub.* 37–38) in a section entitled “From Josephus” (Ἰωσήπου) but ending with the statement “This is reported in the *Little Genesis*” (ταῦτα ἐν λεπτῇ Γενέσει φέρεται).¹⁰⁴

Syncellus initially qualifies the *Little Genesis* as a work that some believe to be a “revelation of Moses,” but he only uses the title *Apocalypse of Moses* during a digression on the utility of apocrypha, attached to his account of the Watchers. While he draws upon the *Book of the Watchers* rather than *Jubilees* for this story, he does name an *Apocalypse of Moses* twice.

First, he claims that Paul cites the *Apocalypse of Moses* in Galatians: “For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation” (Gal 6:15 RSV).¹⁰⁵ This claim, which is not unique to Syncellus, has long been a source of bewilderment.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps Syncellus is thinking of *Jub.* 5:12, where God makes a “new creation” after the Flood. Or perhaps he is thinking of another part of Galatians. M. R. James proposed that the intended referent was Gal 3:19 (RSV): “It [the Mosaic Law] was ordained by angels through an intermediary,” which would accord with the frame story of *Jubilees*.¹⁰⁷

Syncellus’ second (and final) reference to the *Apocalypse of Moses* is a summary of the story told in *Jub.* 10:1–14, which Syncellus cites as the sort of apocryphal story a good Christian ought not to believe.

Indeed, in the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses*, it is reported about them [the ghosts of the giants] that after the Flood in AM 2582 they were moved by envy and after their death led astray the sons of Noah. And when Noah prayed that they withdraw from them, the Lord ordered the archangel Michael to cast them into the abyss until the day of judgement. But the devil requested to receive a portion of them in order to test humanity. And a tenth of them was given to him according to a divine order, so as to try humanity and probe the loyalty of each person to God; but the remaining nine parts were cast into the abyss. But this seems absurd to us, that a living person should be tested by the soul of one who has died. Therefore, we also advise that those who read apocrypha either here or elsewhere should not follow in all things the ideas reported in them.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 154; *Ecloga Chronographica*, 123.

¹⁰⁴ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 155; *Ecloga Chronographica*, 124.

¹⁰⁵ George Syncellus, *The Chronographs*, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Adler in George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 36, n. 3, names Euthalius the Deacon (*Editio Epistolarum Pauli, Divinorum testimoniorum IV*) and Photius (*Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 151). These two authors cite “apocrypha of Moses.”

¹⁰⁷ James, *Lost Apocrypha*, 42.

¹⁰⁸ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 37.

As we saw in the last chapter, this story was not exclusive to *Jubilees* but was also found in the prologue to *Sefer Asaph/Sefer Refu'ot*, which was known to Christians, at least, in a Latin version. It is not clear that Syncellus realizes that the *Apocalypse of Moses* shares this story with the *Little Genesis*. He does not heap opprobrium on the *Little Genesis* as he does the *Apocalypse of Moses*. There are also some signs that his source is neither *Jubilees* nor *Sefer Asaph*. The anonymous angel in *Jubilees* (Raphael in *Sefer Asaph*) is now called Michael, while Mastema (named by Syncellus elsewhere as “Mastipham”)¹⁰⁹ becomes the devil.

The third block of *Jubilees* material consists of misattributions to Josephus. In one sense, this is understandable, since *Jubilees* and Josephus’ *Antiquities* have similar aims (an account of sacred history) and share many traditions.¹¹⁰ Syncellus’ first explicit reference to Josephus—that animals could speak before the transgression of Adam and Eve—is correctly attributed to both him (*Ant.* I.41, 50) and to *Jubilees* (3:28).¹¹¹ This is the only time, however, that he correctly attributes something to Josephus that is also found in *Jubilees*.

Syncellus always misattributes *Jubilees* material to Josephus; he never attributes material from Josephus to *Jubilees*. On account of this, Adler (following Gelzer) postulated that Syncellus knew an interpolated “Pseudo-Josephus” with passages from *Jubilees* inserted into the text of the *Antiquities*.¹¹² Gelzer proposed a single, conveniently lost work that Syncellus or one of his sources had used. Adler instead characterizes Pseudo-Josephus as a cumulative development, a pileup of historical accidents. The unilateral misattribution is not difficult to explain. Josephus’ *Antiquities* was better-known and more authoritative than *Jubilees*. Misattribution—which is not necessarily intentional—will generally go “upward” (from a less authoritative work to a more authoritative work) rather than “downward.” The subsequent chroniclers who repeat Syncellus’ errors, of which there are many, are doing just that: repeating what they found in Syncellus.

The misattributed material comes from the middle portion of *Jubilees*, from the life of Abraham to the life of Jacob. Syncellus narrates Abraham’s liberation from idolatry no fewer than three times, assigning it to Josephus in the second instance.

In his 14th year, Abraham came to know and worship the God of the universe. After destroying the idols of his father, he burned them along with their house. And Arran, Abraham’s brother, was consumed in the fire along with them, when he was hastening to extinguish the

¹⁰⁹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 144.

¹¹⁰ See Halpern-Amaru, “Flavius Josephus and *The Book of Jubilees*.”

¹¹¹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 11.

¹¹² Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 188–93.

fire. Abraham also began strongly to urge his father to abandon idolatry and the manufacture of idols, as Josephos says (cf. *Jub.* 11:16–18; 12:1–5.12–14).¹¹³

Only a few pages earlier, Syncellus summarized this tradition without attributing it to anyone.¹¹⁴ He does so again on the very next page, adding only that Abraham was sixty-one when he burned the temple (against *Jub.* 12:12–14, which says he was sixty).¹¹⁵ This story does not appear at all in Josephus, but it was well-known from other sources (such as Malalas). It is surprising that Syncellus felt the need to attribute it to anyone at all.

All the other misattributed material comes from the life of Jacob: Abraham's blessing of Jacob (*Jub.* 22:4–23:5);¹¹⁶ Jacob's declaration to his mother that he is still a virgin (*Jub.* 25:9);¹¹⁷ the war between Jacob and Esau (*Jub.* 37–38);¹¹⁸ Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (*Jub.* 31:13–20);¹¹⁹ and Jacob's tithe of Levi (*Jub.* 32:1–3).¹²⁰ These passages share a similar theme: Jacob's election and the blessings bestowed on his children. While I doubt that Syncellus was dependent on an interpolated version of the *Antiquities*, whoever initially gathered these passages together seems to have collected them like a florilegium and then misattributed them *en bloc*.

The remaining parallels with *Jubilees* are unattributed. They consist of widely reported traditions from the work. The relevant traditions are: the death of Cain via collapsing house (*Jub.* 4:31);¹²¹ various traditions about the Tower of Babel (*Jub.* 10:21.26);¹²² the oath among the sons of Noah and Canaan's violation of that oath (*Jub.* 10:28–34);¹²³ Cainan's rediscovery of Antediluvian lore (*Jub.* 8:1–4);¹²⁴ and two different anonymous reports about Abraham burning the temple of idols.¹²⁵ Syncellus' lack of an attribution could be an indicator that they were "common knowledge" (compare a similar set of unsourced traditions from Malalas). He might not have even known that they came from *Jubilees*.

¹¹³ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 138.

¹¹⁴ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 133–34.

¹¹⁵ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 139.

¹¹⁶ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 148.

¹¹⁷ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 149.

¹¹⁸ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 155.

¹¹⁹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 159.

¹²⁰ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 161. This is mentioned again (without attribution) on 172.

¹²¹ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 15. Syncellus alludes to the competing tradition about Lamech (12), but he does not identify Lamech's victim.

¹²² George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 58 (viz., that it took about forty years to build and was toppled by wind).

¹²³ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 61–62.

¹²⁴ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 114.

¹²⁵ George Syncellus, *The Chronography*, 133–34; 139.

Syncellus successfully though haphazardly documented nearly every extrabiblical element from *Jubilees*. His chronicle attests to the continued preservation of traditions from *Jubilees* beyond Late Antiquity, even if it is a poor witness to the text. Significantly for the present study, Syncellus' work is roughly contemporary with PRE. The *Ecloga chronographica* shows that all the major traditions from *Jubilees* were circulating as late as the early ninth century.

The next author of note is also a George. George the Monk (d. ca. 875), also known as George Hamartolos ("the sinner"), is the author of one of the more popular Byzantine chronicles.¹²⁶ As with the chronicle of Malalas, its popularity is inversely proportional to its worth as a historical source. It covers the whole span of history from creation to the year 842. George often inserted entertaining and edifying stories into the work. His chronicle is partially based on Malalas and preserves his store of traditions from *Jubilees*. For example, in the first book, he names the daughters of Adam and Eve¹²⁷ and mentions Seth's discovery of writing and astronomy and their rediscovery by Cainan.¹²⁸ In the second book, he covers the remainder of the traditions known to Malalas: the introduction of "Hellenism" in the days of Serug¹²⁹ and Abraham's rejection of idolatry.¹³⁰ He also has material not found in Malalas. In book two, he mentions the construction of the Tower of Babel over forty years¹³¹ and Canaan's occupation of Shem's territory.¹³² Both of these are among George Syncellus' "unsourced" traditions. He also mentions the election of Levi and the war between Jacob and Esau, erroneously attributing the second to Josephus.¹³³ It seems reasonable to assume that he used Syncellus' sources without necessarily using Syncellus himself.

While Malalas, Syncellus, and George the Monk are probably the most significant tradents of *Jubilees* material, certain traditions also popped up in minor chronicles. The *Selection of Histories* (*Ekloge historion*) is an anonymous, incomplete ninth-century Byzantine world chronicle whose most notable relationship to *Jubilees* is the names of the wives of the patriarchs, although Cainan and the decline of civilization in the time of Serug are also incidentally mentioned.¹³⁴ The list of

¹²⁶ Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 87–92.

¹²⁷ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. Carl de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), 1:6.

¹²⁸ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:10.

¹²⁹ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:57.

¹³⁰ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:92–95.

¹³¹ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:54.

¹³² George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:57.

¹³³ George the Monk, *Chronicon*, 1:113–14.

¹³⁴ J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1839), 2:165–230 (169–72).

wives is slightly different from that found in the *catena* literature.¹³⁵ It includes, for example, Edna, the wife of Terah.

Another minor work is that of Peter of Alexandria, the otherwise unknown author of a short tenth-century chronicle extant in a single manuscript (Coislinianus 229).¹³⁶ Zinaida Samodurova edited and published the Greek text in 1961, preceded by a lengthy introduction in Russian.¹³⁷ It too features a list of the wives of the patriarchs, in two installments: the wives before the Flood¹³⁸ and the wives after.¹³⁹ A lot of the intervening space is dedicated to the Diaperismos, although the oath taken by the sons of Noah does not make an appearance. Peter uses other Second Temple sources as well, such as Artapanus' rendition of the early life of Moses.

Yet another minor tenth-century chronicle is the recently rediscovered work of Pseudo-Eusthatius.¹⁴⁰ It was initially published by Leo Allatius (d. 1669) under the misleading name *In hexahemeron commentarius*.¹⁴¹ Even though the hexameral material is extensive, it is in fact a chronicle from creation until the time of Joshua. A newly identified manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Grec 1336, ff. 9a–111a) continues the history to the time of Alexander the Great. Since the printed edition covers all the biblical history found in *Jubilees*, it will suffice for this analysis.

Pseudo-Eusthatius owes an obvious debt to John Malalas. Seth, rather than Enoch, invents writing and astronomy.¹⁴² Cainan discovers augury through his own observation of the stars.¹⁴³ Serug devises the Chaldaean arts, and Abraham burns his father's idols.¹⁴⁴ In fact, Pseudo-Eusthatius does not report anything that is not already said by Malalas. There are, however, other points of interest for students of early Judaism and Christianity, such as the chronicle's use of Eupolemus,¹⁴⁵ a report

135 W. Lowndes Lipscomb, "The Wives of the Patriarchs in the Ekloge Historian," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979): 91.

136 Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 93–94.

137 Zinaida G. Samodurova, "Khronika Petra Aleksandriiskogo," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 18 (1961): 150–97.

138 Samodurova, "Khronika," 180–81.

139 Samodurova, "Khronika," 186–87.

140 Paolo Odorico, "Une chronique byzantine inconnue," in *Von der Historienbibel zur Weltchronik: Studien zur Psepha-Literatur*, ed. Christfried Böttrich, Dieter Fahl, and Sabine Fahl (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020), 188–204.

141 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius ac De engastrimytho dissertatio adversus Originem*, ed. Leo Allatius (Lyon: Laurentii Durand, 1629).

142 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 47.

143 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 54.

144 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 56–57.

145 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 83.

that Moses' original name was Melchis,¹⁴⁶ and a strange digression on the *Protevan-gelium of James* in the midst of the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen 38).¹⁴⁷

The end of the tenth century saw the appearance of another major chronicle that introduced—or rather reintroduced—*jubilees* material into the Byzantine historical record: the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. Little is known about Symeon, but his title suggests that he, like George Syncellus, was a Byzantine functionary.¹⁴⁸ His work is one of several related “Logothete” chronicles. The others include the chronicles of Leo Grammaticus,¹⁴⁹ Theodosius Melitenus (or Melissenus),¹⁵⁰ and Pseudo-Julius Pollux (also called the *Chronicle of Creation*).¹⁵¹ Staffan Wahlgren has edited, published, and translated the presumptive original.¹⁵² Earlier studies, including those of Gelzer and Adler, often favored the chronicle of Leo Grammaticus instead. Their conclusions about Leo Grammaticus are applicable to the Logothetes as a whole.

Symeon's chronicle—including his account of biblical history—resembles George Syncellus and George the Monk, but he differs enough from them that Adler (again, following Gelzer) has proposed that his sources hearken back to the very first Christian chronicle, the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus.¹⁵³ One telltale sign is that Symeon assigns the rediscovery of the teachings of the Watchers (Greek: *egregoroi*) to Shelah (Greek: Sala) rather than to Cainan—a person Julius Africanus omitted from his chronology:

At the age of 135 Arphaxad begot Sala. When he grew up, his father taught him letters. And when Sala once had set out on his own, thinking about founding a colony, he comes to the land of the Chaldeans, where he finds letters carved into rocks. This was the tradition stemming

146 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 79. On the significance of this tradition, see Menahem Kister, “Ancient Material in *Pirke de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*: Basilides, Qumran, the *Book of Jubilees*,” in “*Go Out and Study the Land*” (*Judges 18:2*): *Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, ed. Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 69–93 (84–89).

147 Pseudo-Eusthatius, *In hexahemeron commentarius*, 66–74.

148 Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, 203–17; Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 118–123.

149 Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1842).

150 Theodosius Melitenus, *Chronographia*, ed. Lucas Tafel (Munich: Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1859).

151 Pseudo-Julius Pollux, *Historia physica seu Chronicon ab origine mundi usque ad Valentis tempora*, ed. Ignatius Hardt (Munich and Leipzig: Joseph Landauer, 1792).

152 Text: Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicon*, ed. Staffan Wahlgren (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006). Translation: Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle of the Logothete*, trans. Staffan Wahlgren (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019).

153 Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 193–206.

from the *egregoroi*. Sala wrote it down, and he himself sinned because of it and also taught others the absurdities contained in it.¹⁵⁴

Another clue to the antiquity of the Logothete tradition is embedded in the above passage. The Logothetes do not give the euhemeristic interpretation of Gen 6:1–4, where the “Sons of God” are the children of Seth rather than the Watchers (even though this very interpretation is credited to Julius Africanus). Symeon the Logothete therefore offers a variation of the biography of Enoch (*Jub.* 4:15–26) not found in earlier extant chronicles. This biography mentions the Watchers.

At the age of 162 Jared begot Enoch. He is the first to learn and to teach reading and writing, and he is deemed worthy of revelations concerning the divine mysteries. At the age of 165 Enoch begot Methuselah and, having lived for a further 200 years and having borne witness to the *egregoroi* concerning the punishment for the transgression, he is removed to Eden where paradise is. It should be noted that, whenever angels falter and turn to vile behaviour, then man is deemed worthy to experience a change for the better. For it is said that it was in his days that those angels who are also called *egregoroi* came down to earth.¹⁵⁵

These are the places in which Symeon the Logothete most drastically departs from the chronicles of the two Georges.

Symeon cites the *Little Genesis* by name at least once and at most four times. Two of these are textually dubious (and also inaccurate); the remaining example is attributed to “Moses.” The two accurate citations both involve the Hexameron. Chapter one states that the angels were created on the first day (1.5): “This is what happened on the first day of Creation. On this day the heavenly powers were created, according to Moses in the *Lesser Genesis*” (λέγει Μωσῆς ἐν τῇ Λεπτῇ Γενέσει).¹⁵⁶ At the end of his creation account, in chapter eight (8.4), Symeon mentions the twenty-two works of creation.

The works which, as Moses says, God made in the six days, were twenty-two in number. Therefore, there are twenty-two letters in the alphabet, and the same number of books of the Hebrews, and twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob.¹⁵⁷

The attribution to Moses here would normally signify Genesis, although Symeon was not averse to attributing the *Little Genesis* to Moses, as the first citation shows. The form of the tradition, as usual, is the one from Epiphanius’ *De mensuris et ponderibus*.

¹⁵⁴ Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 31. Note that Shelah spreads the information instead of keeping it to himself, as Cainan does in *Jubilees*.

¹⁵⁵ Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 29–30.

¹⁵⁶ Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 15; *Chronicon*, 6.

¹⁵⁷ Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 19.

The dubious attributions include a reference to Cain's natural disposition to evil (22.2)¹⁵⁸ and Nimrod's role in the construction of Babel (26.5).¹⁵⁹ Wahlgren considers the first to be a gloss. The second is only listed in the apparatus of his edition. Neither idea is found in *Jubilees* (which does not even name Nimrod), but both are in Josephus (*Ant.* I.53; I.113–14). These glosses are evidence that the confusion between *Jubilees* and Josephus could go both ways.

The rest of the *Jubilees* material in Symeon is familiar from other chronicles. It includes: the talking animals (15.4);¹⁶⁰ the daughters of Adam (24.1,5);¹⁶¹ the death of Cain (24.2);¹⁶² the construction of Babel during forty-three years (26.8);¹⁶³ Canaan occupying the territory of Shem (31);¹⁶⁴ the wickedness of Serug's generation (32.2–3);¹⁶⁵ Abraham burning the temple of idols (33.1–3);¹⁶⁶ Abraham instituting the feast of tabernacles (33.8);¹⁶⁷ the election of Levi (34.6);¹⁶⁸ and the war with Esau (34.8–9).¹⁶⁹ The majority of these—except for the depredations of the generation of Serug—have an equivalent in the chronicle of George Syncellus.

In addition to Symeon and the other Logothete chronicles, there is an entirely separate chronicle with the moniker “Pseudo-Symeon,” so named because it abruptly begins after some thirty folios of the chronicle of the genuine Symeon in the one manuscript in which it survives (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Grec 1712). It has not been edited or translated into any modern (or ancient) language. Fortunately, it was a major source for George Cedrenus, who has imported this chronicle's *Jubilees* material.¹⁷⁰

As an individual, George Cedrenus (d. 1115) is little more than a name, and his *Compendium historiarum* little more than a compilation of what has come before.¹⁷¹ The significance of Cedrenus' work lies in its enormous popularity, reflected by at least

158 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 27.

159 Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicon*, 30.

160 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 23.

161 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 28–29. Some other wives are named incidentally, such as Emma, the wife of Enosh (chapter 24.8, p. 29) and Edna, the wife of Terah (chapter 32.5, p. 35)

162 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 29.

163 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 32.

164 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 34.

165 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 34–35. Symeon emphasizes warfare rather than idolatry as the primary sin of this generation.

166 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 35.

167 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 36.

168 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 37.

169 Symeon the Logothete, *The Chronicle*, 37.

170 Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 218.

171 Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 339–41. Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 162–68.

forty manuscripts. Cedrenus names the *Little Genesis* as one of his sources.¹⁷² His work abounds in references to the book, but most of them are taken from elsewhere. Adler has demonstrated that this chronicle regularly conflated the work of George Syncellus with traditions from other chroniclers, such as the Logothetes or John Malalas.¹⁷³

For this reason, Cedrenus' dossier of traditions from *Jubilees* is quite full but extremely derivative: the twenty-two works of creation;¹⁷⁴ talking animals;¹⁷⁵ Adam's seven years in Paradise;¹⁷⁶ the death of Cain;¹⁷⁷ the daughters of Adam;¹⁷⁸ a note on Enoch (cf. *Jub.* 4:17);¹⁷⁹ the descent of the Watchers (here identified with the children of Seth) in the time of Jared;¹⁸⁰ Noah on Mount Lubar (cf. *Jub.* 5:28);¹⁸¹ the construction of Babel over forty-three years;¹⁸² Canaan in the territory of Shem;¹⁸³ the rediscovery of Antediluvian knowledge by either Cainan or Shelah (Cedrenus names both);¹⁸⁴ the wickedness of Serug's generation;¹⁸⁵ miscellaneous traditions about Abraham (abbreviated from Syncellus);¹⁸⁶ an angel teaching Abraham Hebrew (cf. *Jub.* 12:25–27);¹⁸⁷ Abraham burning the temple of idols;¹⁸⁸ Abraham instituting the feast of tabernacles (*Jub.* 16:20);¹⁸⁹ Mastema testing Abraham (cf. *Jub.* 17:15–18);¹⁹⁰ diverse traditions about Jacob, again taken from Syncellus;¹⁹¹ the election of Levi (cf. *Jub.* 32:1–3);¹⁹² and the war with Esau.¹⁹³

172 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1838), 1:6.

173 Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 206–31.

174 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:9.

175 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:9–10.

176 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:12–13.

177 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:16.

178 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:16. Or, rather, one daughter: Seth is said to marry Asuama in a passage reminiscent of John Malalas.

179 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:17. This is similar to no. 590 *ad* Gen 5:21–24 in the *catena*.

180 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:18–19.

181 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:21.

182 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:21.

183 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:24–25.

184 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:27.

185 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:47.

186 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:47–48.

187 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:48.

188 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:48.

189 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:50.

190 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:53.

191 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:59.

192 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:60.

193 George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:60–61.

Cedrenus does make some new references. For example, he mentions the ten months during which the infants were thrown into the Nile (cf. *Jub.* 47:3).¹⁹⁴ He also briefly summarizes the frame narrative.

Ὅτι Εὐπόλεμός φησι τὸν Μωϋσέα πρῶτον σοφὸν γενέσθαι καὶ γράμματα παραδοῦναι Ἰουδαίοις πρῶτον, παρὰ δὲ Ἰουδαίων Φοίνικας παραλαβεῖν, Ἕλληνας δὲ παρὰ Φοινίκων. Νόμους δὲ πρῶτον Μωϋσῆς γράφει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. Καταλιπὼν δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον διατριβάς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐφιλοσόφει, διδασκόμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, καὶ τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ ποικιλίας τῶν γλωσσῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τῶν μέχρι αὐτοῦ χρόνων, καὶ περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας τῆς μελλούσης παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδοσθαι τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἔθνει, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστρῶν θέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ πᾶσαν σοφίαν, ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται.

Eupolemus says that Moses was the first wise man and the first to transmit letters to the Jews. The Phoenicians received them from the Jews, and then the Greeks from the Phoenicians. Moses was also the first to write laws for the Jews. Having abandoned his Egyptian way of life, he practiced philosophy in the wilderness, being taught by the archangel Gabriel about the creation of the world and the first man and those who came after him, and about the Flood, and about the confusion and multiplication of languages, and about the first man and of the times up to his times, and of the coming legislation to be given to the Jewish nation by him, and of the placement of the stars and the elements and arithmetic and geometry and all manner of wisdom, as it is related in the *Little Genesis* (ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται).¹⁹⁵

Therefore, his knowledge of *Jubilees* is not entirely dependent on earlier chronicles—at least among those that are still in existence.

Cedrenus' attitude towards *Jubilees* can be contrasted with John Zonaras (d. 1145), a bureaucrat turned monk, who authored one of the most influential (and longest) of all the Byzantine chronicles.¹⁹⁶ Despite its prodigious length, his chronicle mentions the *Little Genesis* only to dismiss it.

Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Λεπτῇ Γενέσει γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αἱ οὐράναι δυνάμεις πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέστησαν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πατέρων ἐγκεκριμέναις βίβλοις τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς σοφίας καὶ ἡ Λεπτὴ αὕτη συνηριθμηται Γένεσις, οὐδὲν τι τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ γεγραμμένων λογίζομαι βέβαιον, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ συντιθεμαι.

I know that it is written in the *Little Genesis* that on the first day the powers of heaven were established before all else by the Maker of All, but since this same *Little Genesis* is also not

¹⁹⁴ George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:86.

¹⁹⁵ George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 1:87.

¹⁹⁶ Theofili Kampianaki, *John Zonaras' Epitome of Histories: A Compendium of Jewish-Roman History and Its Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, 388–99; Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 191–99.

counted among the books of Hebrew wisdom approved by the Divine Fathers, I do not consider any of the things written in it as certain, nor do I agree with it.¹⁹⁷

This is the extent of Zonaras' engagement with *Jubilees*.

Albert-Marie Denis, in his collection of Greek citations of *Jubilees*, adduced additional textual evidence for *Jubilees* from Zonaras' chronicle, citing a passage attributed to Josephus about the hardships endured by the Israelites under the Egyptians and comparing it to *Jub.* 46:14.¹⁹⁸ The parallel is not convincing. The verse from *Jubilees* is already very close to its counterpart in Exod 1:11, and the text of Zonaras is a pale reflection of both.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, it is a nearly word-for-word transcription of an authentic passage from Josephus (*Ant.* II.203). Zonaras had a much higher opinion of Josephus than he did of *Jubilees* and used the Jewish historian liberally. Theofili Kampianaki, in a monograph on the chronicle, its sources, and its reception, pointed out the irony that Zonaras inherited some traditions from *Jubilees* via Josephus, such as the name of Pharaoh's daughter, Thermuthis (*Jub.* 47:5; *Ant.* II.224), but this is the extent that he can discuss *Jubilees'* influence on the chronicle.²⁰⁰ Zonaras' flat rejection of *Jubilees* represents a turning point in the Byzantine attitude to *Jubilees*, also reflected by the next author.

This author, Michael Glycas (fl. 12th c.) was a historian and theologian who wrote his chronicle for the instruction of his son.²⁰¹ His attitude towards *Jubilees* is like that of John Zonaras. In a direct address to his son, he dismisses the work as a joke.

Ἡ δὲ Λεπτή Γένεσις λέγει τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀπροόπτως ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λαβεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν, καὶ μὴ προσχεῖν ὅλως τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Εὐας, ὅτι λειποθυμῶν ἦν ἀπὸ τε μόχθου καὶ πείνης. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἀγαπητέ, σιωπᾶν ἀμεινον, ὅτι καὶ σιωπῆς, ὡς προεῖρηται, τυγχάνουσιν ἄξια. Εἰ μὴ βούλει καὶ σύ λέγειν ὅτι γυναικὰ ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἵνα μὴ ἐφ' ἕτερα τῶν ζώων τραπήσεται. Ὁ ὄψις ἀπὸ κτήνους ἐρπετὸν ἐγένετο, χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας ἐκέκτητο. Ἀφηρέθη δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τολμηρῶς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λαβεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν. Ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεσόβει τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ ἐρπετὰ, συνῆγε τὸν καρπὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ, καὶ σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσθιεν αὐτόν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω, καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ πλεῖονα τούτων, ἡ Λεπτή διέξεισι Γένεσις. Ἀλλ' ἄφες αὐτά. τοῖς γὰρ ὅπως οὖν ἐγκύπτουσι τῇ ἁγίᾳ γραφῇ γέλως ἀντικρυς δοκοῦσι καὶ παίγνια.

¹⁹⁷ John Zonaras, *Annales*, ed. Maurice Pinder, 2 vols., (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1841), 1:18.

¹⁹⁸ Albert-Marie Denis, ed., *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca: Una cum historicorum et auctorum judaeorum hellenistarum fragmentis* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 99.

¹⁹⁹ John Zonaras, *Annales*, 1:52.

²⁰⁰ Kampianaki, *Epitome of Histories*, 45–46, referring John Zonaras, *Annales*, 1:53.

²⁰¹ Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, 403–7; Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 205–9. His theological impulses appear in the first, longest section of his chronicle, which is entirely dedicated to the Hexameron. This section is over two hundred pages long in the edition of Immanuel Bekker: Michael Glycas, *Annales*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1836), 3–221.

The *Little Genesis* says Adam suddenly took from the tree and ate it, not heeding at all the words of Eve, because he was weary from toil and hunger. But these things, beloved, it is better to be silent about, as has been said before, for they happen to be worthy of silence, unless you want to say that Adam took the woman so that he would not be diverted to one of the other animals. The serpent, changed from a beast to a reptile, once had hands and feet, but he lost these after he boldly entered Paradise and became the first to take and eat from the tree. Adam used to drive away the birds and reptiles, gather the fruit in Paradise, and eat it with his wife (cf. *Jub.* 3:16). The *Little Genesis* narrates these matters, not to mention many others besides. But leave these things! For to those who have examined the Sacred Scriptures in any way, they seem outright laughable, like children's games.²⁰²

The passage is a paradox. On the one hand, Glycas gives a sarcastic and not particularly accurate account of the Adam and Eve story in *Jub.* 3. On the other hand, he incidentally cites *Jub.* 3:16, a verse for which he is the only Greek textual witness. Where did he find it? Did he take it from an earlier, unknown chronicle? Or did he read the beginning of *Jubilees* only to discard it?

Even stranger, Glycas goes on to use *Jubilees* material taken from other chronicles without argument. They offer no new surprises: the daughters of Adam and Eve;²⁰³ the death of Cain;²⁰⁴ the construction of Babel during forty-odd years;²⁰⁵ Canaan occupying the territory of Shem;²⁰⁶ the discoveries of Cainan;²⁰⁷ the origin of idolatry in the time of Serug;²⁰⁸ Abraham's rejection of idolatry;²⁰⁹ the election of Levi;²¹⁰ and intimations about the war with Esau (which Glycas does not narrate, although he does misattribute the story to Josephus).²¹¹ These themes are well-known from the chronicles of George Syncellus, Symeon the Logothete, and George Cedrenus. Glycas does not entirely dissimulate here, often giving "George" (Syncellus? Hamartolos? Cedrenus?) as his authority.²¹² True to his principles, he only cites traditions from these authors that are not attributed to *Jubilees*.

Glycas does explicitly cite the *Little Genesis* a handful of other times, all pertaining to Adam and Eve. For example, he cites both Josephus and the *Little*

²⁰² Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 206.

²⁰³ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 221.

²⁰⁴ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 223 (here, a mere allusion to the fact that some believe Cain died differently than in the standard narrative where Lamech kills Cain).

²⁰⁵ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 240.

²⁰⁶ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 242.

²⁰⁷ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 242–43.

²⁰⁸ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 245.

²⁰⁹ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 246–47.

²¹⁰ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 263.

²¹¹ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 263–64.

²¹² Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 221, 223, 228, 229, 243, 246, 262.

Genesis as claiming that the serpent had limbs prior to the Fall, though only Josephus states this (*Ant.* I.50).²¹³ Much later, he mentions the purification of Adam and Eve before entering the Garden, appealing to the *Little Genesis* (*Jub.* 3:8–14).²¹⁴ The only other time he comes close to naming his source as *Jubilees* is a “Mosaic history” (Μωσαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν) stating, against Josephus (*Ant.* I.211), that Abraham and Sarah were half-siblings, children of the same mother.²¹⁵ *Jubilees* 12:9 says they are children of the same father—as does *Genesis* (Gen 20:12). Glycas was not necessarily the closest reader of his sources.

Closing out the Byzantine period is a pair of minor chronicles. Joel is the attributed author of a brief chronicle (1614 lines) that runs from creation to the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204.²¹⁶ The ending bemoans that Christians should attack other Christians, a possible suggestion that it was composed sometime during the brief Latin Empire (1204–1261). It survives in only four manuscripts. George the Monk and George Cedrenus are among its sources.

Both Rönsch and Charles cite Joel as part of the chain of transmission of *Jubilees*.²¹⁷ As an independent witness, it does not have much to offer. The most interesting aspect of the chronicle might be its date. Even in the thirteenth century, *Jubilees* formed part of the backbone of Byzantine sacred history. That does not mean that Joel, whoever he was, consulted *Jubilees*. On the contrary, his sources are already an indicator of what to expect. Joel’s traditions are: the daughters of Adam;²¹⁸ the death of Cain;²¹⁹ the discoveries of Cainan;²²⁰ Abraham burning the idols;²²¹ the election of Levi;²²² and the war with Esau (dutifully misattributed to Josephus).²²³ Given the chronicle’s brevity, these isolated tradition might indicate what a typical Byzantine historian considered the points of greatest interest.

John Anagnostes (“the Reader”) is the last Byzantine writer to use *Jubilees*.²²⁴ He lived in the final days of the empire. His most famous work is an eyewitness account of the fall of Thessaloniki to the Ottoman Turks in 1430. The work of inter-

213 Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 197–98.

214 Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 392.

215 Michael Glycas, *Annales*, 250.

216 Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 216–19.

217 Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 364–67; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, lxxxii.

218 Joel Historicus, *Chronographia compendiaria*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1836), 3.

219 Joel Historicus, *Chronographia*, 3.

220 Joel Historicus, *Chronographia*, 3–4.

221 Joel Historicus, *Chronographia*, 8.

222 Joel Historicus, *Chronographia*, 9–10.

223 Joel Historicus *Chronographia*, 9–10.

224 Neville, *Byzantine Historical Writing*, 285–88.

est here is not this account but a florilegium found in a manuscript: Athos, Koutloumos 178, ff. 11b–13b, a collection of historical excerpts that includes, in addition to material from *Jubilees*, citations of Josephus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis, and even Paul. Albert-Marie Denis described the manuscript and named the traditions recounted within: the twenty-two works of creation, the death of Cain, the talking animals, the parentage of Abraham and Sarah (i.e., that they were half-siblings), the sacrifice of Isaac, the life of Jacob, the death of Abraham, and the chronology of the patriarch Joseph.²²⁵ Denis claims that Anagnostes is the only witness for the material about Abraham and Joseph. This is not accurate, as the chronology of Joseph is found in *catenae* (no. 2268 *ad* Gen 50:26), and the material about Abraham is only questionably related to *Jubilees* (except for Abraham's blessing of Jacob, which is from Syncellus). Denis included all these passages in his collection of Greek citations of *Jubilees*.²²⁶

6.3 Syriac Sources

Strictly speaking, there is no Syriac version of *Jubilees*. The *Chronicle of 1234* contains lengthy excerpts from the book in Syriac translation, but it has not yet been settled whether this came from an existing Syriac version of the book. There are traces of *Jubilees* before this late chronicle, notably a list of the wives of the patriarchs. In addition, there are other interesting cases where an author appears to be drawing on *Jubilees*. In one instance, Jacob of Edessa quotes a tradition similar to a passage from *Jubilees* but different enough to warrant further investigation. In other instances, Syriac authors cite a “Book of Jubilees” that does not at all resemble the extant text. Both phenomena also appeared in Hebrew literature.

Strangely, I know of no Syriac references to *Jubilees* prior to the Islamic period. The first author of interest is the West Syrian polymath Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). The beginning of his thirteenth letter to John of Litarba (d. 737) contains an extensive narrative about Abraham which resembles *Jub.* 8–12.²²⁷ John had posed a

²²⁵ Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 156.

²²⁶ Albert-Marie Denis, ed., *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca: Una cum historicorum et auctorum judaeorum hellenistarum fragmentis* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102.

²²⁷ William Wright, “Two Epistles of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa,” *Journal of Sacred Literature* 10 (1867): 430–60. For a French translation, see: François Nau, “Traductions des Lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse,” *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 10 (1905): 197–208, 258–82. Jacob refers to the same tradition in one of his *scholia*: Jacob of Edessa, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa*, ed. George Philips (London: Williams & Norgate, 1864), 3–6.

the place from whence you came!" And they turned away. **[20]** On that day, he did this to the murder of crows seventy times. Not a single one of the crows could settle in any of the fields where Abram made his presence known. **[21]** All of those who were with him in all of the fields saw him when he shouted, and all the crows turned aside. His name became great in all the land of Chaldaea. **[22]** All those who were sowing came to him this year, and he went to be present with them until the harvest time came to an end, and they sowed the land, and they brought in enough food that year. They ate and were satisfied. **[23]** In the first year of the fifth week, Abram taught those who make equipment for cattle, the workers of wood, and they made a device over the surface of the earth facing the beam of the plough, so that one could place the seed above it. The seed would drop down from it onto the tip of the plough, and it would be hidden in the earth. Thus, they would no longer fear the crows. **[24]** They made something like this for every plough beam above the ground, and they sowed. All the world did just as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

[12: 12] In the sixtieth year of the life of Abram (it was the fourth week in its fourth year), Abram woke up in the night and burned the temple of idols and burned everything in the temple, but there was no one who knew. **[13]** The others woke up in the night and wanted to save their gods from the midst of the fire. **[14]** Haran rushed to save them. The fire overtook him, and he burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldaeans before Terah, his father. They buried him in Ur of the Chaldaeans.

as the Jewish histories (אברהם אבינו) show. Becoming exhausted from the work, he was overcome by the murder of crows. Even though he had driven them away before him and behind him and from every direction, he was still overcome. He did not know what he should do, so he stretched his hands to heaven in frantic haste: "O God, who made heaven and earth by His Word, drive forth and murder these crows." He said this out loud. God immediately, swiftly, and without delay drove the crows from Abraham's field. Then he spoke to Abraham calmly and gently, "Abraham! Abraham! It is indeed I whom you called, and I heard you and drove away the crows from your field because, as you said, I am the God who made heaven and earth, and everything that is in it belongs to me. Even the beasts of the field are mine. Even the birds of heaven. I even brought upon you these crows, but because you called out to me and knew my name, I heard you and drove away the crows from your field." This was the first call of Abraham by God. Then he went before Terah, his father, and informed him about the things which God said to him. He counseled him to separate from Cainan, the god of the Chaldaeans, and that he should fear and worship the one true God. Thus Abraham was fifteen years old when he was called by God and was truthfully established in the fear of God, just as he was able to teach and to instruct Terah his father and Nahor his brother to separate from error and know the true God.

In the sixtieth year of his life, when he burned with zeal, he secretly took fire in the night and burned the Temple in which stood the image of Cainan the god. When the Chaldaeans gathered to extinguish the fire, Haran, the elder brother of Abraham, also ran to put it out, but he fell into the fire and died. Thus the priestly book says: "Haran died before Terah, his father, in the land where he was born, in Ur of the Chaldaeans" (Gen 11:28). When the Chaldaeans learned that this was Abraham's doing, they began pressuring Terah, saying,

“Hand over Abraham, your son, over to us so that we may kill him for burning the temple of our god, or else we are going to kill you and burn down your house.” Terah, when he was so pressured, fled from Ur in the night and secretly led out Abraham, his son, Lot, the son of Haran, the son of his son, and Sarah, his daughter-in-law. He arrived in Harran, in Aram-Naharaim, and he settled there. After these things, Nahor, the brother of Abraham, also came to join them. Fourteen years later, Terah died in Harran. This is the reason for the departure of Terah and Abraham from Ur of the Chaldaeans.

Sebastian Brock drew attention to the numerous discrepancies between the two accounts.²³⁰ Among the most significant differences are attributing the crows to the agency of God (so Jacob) rather than Mastema (so *Jubilees*). In Jacob, the crow incident is how Abraham first encounters God. In *Jubilees*, it is how Abraham becomes a culture hero, the inventor of a type of plough. In Jacob of Edessa, Abraham’s burning of the temple of idols and the consequent death of Haran are causally linked to the family’s flight to the city of Harran under threat of death. In *Jubilees*, this is not the case: Terah and family tarry a few years longer in Ur, and Abraham’s crime goes undiscovered. Finally, Jacob introduces into the narrative the idol of Cainan, the son of Arpachshad, whom Jacob identifies as the father of the Chaldaeans.²³¹

Brock believed that Jacob’s story represented a more archaic form of the story that may have served as a source of *Jubilees*.²³² His argument rests on a complicated chronological schema that presumed Abraham’s departure from Harran at age seventy-five (Gen 12:4) was, in fact, seventy-five years after his departure from Ur at age sixty. The rationale was that Abraham had not truly “lived” until he recognized the one God. Such a tradition existed to account for the discrepancy between Abraham’s departure and the death of Terah at age 205. Terah, who fathered Abraham at age seventy, would have been only 145 when Abraham left. Jews were potentially bothered by the morally suspect behavior of abandoning one’s parent (see *Gen. Rab.* 39:7), but Christians were in an even greater quandary because Stephen, in his speech before the Sanhedrin, explicitly says that Abraham left Harran after his

²³⁰ Sebastian P. Brock, “Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11–12 and Its Implications,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 9 (1978): 135–52 (140–41).

²³¹ Wright, “Two Epistles,” *4 (f. 113a).

²³² Brock, “Abraham and the Ravens,” 142–49.

father died (Acts 7:4). Brock's argument is that the Syriac story correctly employs a tradition that *Jubilees* misunderstood and only imperfectly incorporated into the book's chronological framework.

Brock's chronological tradition is attested in some ancient sources. He cites Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* to Gen 12:4, where Jerome affirms that when Abraham left Ur of the Chaldaeans at age sixty, his days were counted anew.²³³ Jerome, however, attaches this chronological datum to a different tradition about Abraham's flight from Ur, the one better known in rabbinic tradition, where he is thrown, like Daniel's friends, into a fiery furnace (*Gen. Rab.* 38:13). The Greek *Catena* on Genesis, however, does explicitly attach Jerome's chronology to the tradition from *Jubilees*.²³⁴

William Adler has challenged Brock's interpretation in several articles.²³⁵ He correctly points out that Jacob's letter is not responding to any chronological problem. In fact, Jacob seems unaware that any chronological problem is present if Terah dies on the eve of Abraham's seventy-fifth birthday. Adler instead reads Jacob's letter as a rewriting of the account in *Jubilees*, which has been molded to better serve Christian exegetical needs.

I agree with Adler that Brock's argument regarding the chronology of Abraham is unpersuasive. Nevertheless, I believe that Brock is correct that Jacob's narrative is a more primitive version of the story in *Jubilees*. Adler views Jacob's narrative as a rewriting of *Jubilees*, and while Christian writers often offer tendentious readings of apocryphal sources—such as the *catena* passage cited above—no chronicler rewrites their source as extensively as Jacob would have needed to in order to produce the narrative in his letter. Jacob did not invent this story. A slightly different version of the same story is found in the *Catena Severi* of 861 (also translated by Brock).²³⁶ Kyriakos of Tagrit (d. 817) alludes to the story in one of his theological treatises.²³⁷ Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), who cites Jacob of Edessa as a source,

233 Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens," 143–44. For the full passage in English, see Jerome, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, trans. C. T. R. Hayward (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 43–44.

234 Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse*, 2: 218 (no. 867 ad Gen 11:28, cited above).

235 See Adler, "Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols," 110–17. He also touched on the topic in William Adler, "Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Chronography," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of the Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John C. Reeves, (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1994), 143–71, and William Adler, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Jacob of Edessa's Letters and Historical Writings," in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*, ed. Robert Baster Haar Romeny (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 49–65.

236 Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens," 137–39.

237 David Taylor, "The Patriarch and the Pseudepigrapha: Extra-Biblical Traditions in the Writings of Kyriakos of Tagrit (793–817)," ed. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié, *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens: Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux* (2010): 35–61 (49–50).

records the story in his chronicle, as does Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), who uses Michael (see below). Dionysius bar Salibi (d. 1171), a prodigious West Syrian exegete, also knows the story (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Syr. 66, f. 21).²³⁸ It is also commonly found in Armenian apocrypha about Abraham.²³⁹ Both Brock and Adler postulate a Greek source behind Jacob's narrative, yet the versions in Greek chronicles do not have the supposed accretions omnipresent in the Syriac tradition, most notably the presence of the idol Cainan.²⁴⁰ Cainan, however, is a clue to the Syriac narrative's relationship to *Jubilees*.

Cainan is the figure inserted between Arpachshad and Shelah in the Greek rendition of Genesis (and in the New Testament: Luke 3:36). *Jubilees* says little about him, apart from the fact that he rediscovered the lore of the Watchers (*Jub.* 8:1–4). A close reading of the genealogical information in *Jubilees* reveals that Cainan is also the brother of Kesed, the father of the Chaldaeans and the co-founder of Ur of the Chaldaeans (*Jub.* 11:3). In the previous chapter, I proposed that Cainan is an intruder in the book of *Jubilees*. His presence in the genealogical record contradicts the stated claim that the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob correspond to the twenty-two works of creation (*Jub.* 2:23); Cainan would make twenty-three generations. Furthermore, he has no meaningful function in the narrative. His rediscovery of forbidden knowledge suggests that he is destined to play a major role in the degradation of humanity following the Flood, but this does not happen. He writes down his discovery but tells no one.

No Greek source states that Cainan had his own established cult at Ur. Only Syriac sources know this tradition. Andy Hilkins, in his detailed *exposé* of the sources of the *Chronicle of 1234* (discussed below), traces the tradition to the lost chronicle of Andronicus, who lived during the reign of Justinian (528–565) and wrote an outline of history in the style of Eusebius' *Chronicon*.²⁴¹ Andronicus cites several otherwise unknown oriental sources, one of whom is a certain Asaph. Michael the Syrian, who used Andronicus as a source, has preserved some of these traditions of Asaph, one of which is indeed about Cainan's pretensions to godhood. Hilkins' reconstruction of Andronicus' history between the Flood and Abraham is similar to *Jubilees* but follows a more natural flow of ideas. After the manner of Adler, Hilkins concludes that Andronicus rewrote *Jubilees* to provide a more coherent narrative. My own position resembles Segal's source criticism of *Jubilees*.

²³⁸ Translated in Nau, "Jacques d'Édesse," 204, n. 2.

²³⁹ Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Abraham* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 36–50, 127–65, and 206–12.

²⁴⁰ For the Greek chronicles, see Adler, "Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols," 95–100.

²⁴¹ Andy Hilkins, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and Its Sources* (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 191–228.

I suspect *Jubilees* rewrote an existing story about the downfall of humanity after the Flood and somewhat carelessly integrated it into the overall narrative.

This suspicion is confirmed by a curious feature in Jacob's narrative. He attributes the crows and the resulting famine to God. One exegetical strategy of "Rewritten Bibles" is attributing the questionable actions of God to the devil. This is already observable in the biblical book of Chronicles, where Satan has replaced God as the instigator of David's census, which is punished by plague (1Chr 21; cf. 2Sam 24). In *Jubilees*, Mastema fills the same function. Thus, Mastema, rather than God, demands the sacrifice of Isaac (*Jub.* 17:15–18; cf. Gen 22:1). Mastema, rather than God, attempts to kill Moses when he returns to Egypt (*Jub.* 48:2–4; cf. Exod 4:24). Mastema, rather than God, slays the first-born of the Egyptians (*Jub.* 49:2; cf. Exod 12:29). In continuity with this practice, the author of *Jubilees* has ascribed the famine to Mastema rather than God. The reverse tactic, ascribing the work of the devil to God, seems unthinkable, and certainly inadvisable.

Andronicus' source, Asaph the Jew, recalls *Sefer Asaph* or *Sefer Refu'ot*, which is ascribed to Asaph ben Berakiah. Adler has already supposed that the two Asaphs might be related.²⁴² In support of this position, I can offer two observations. One, *Sefer Asaph* knows of Cainan, his family relationship to Kesed (though it is a slightly different relationship), and his role in disseminating Chaldaean magic. Since Cainan does not appear in the Hebrew Bible, such a reference cannot be taken for granted. Neither he nor Kesed appear in the Hebrew lists of wives of the patriarchs. *Sefer ha-Yashar*, with *Sefer Yosippon*, has taken the tradition about Cainan and reworked it as a positive tradition about his Antediluvian namesake, Kenan. Second, the remedies to the ills that beset humanity are revealed by demons in *Sefer Asaph* but by the angels in *Jubilees*. As with the story of the crows, it seems unlikely that someone would have deliberately rewritten *Jubilees* to ascribe the origins of medicine to demons instead of angels.

While it seems astounding that Jacob of Edessa could have preserved a summary of a work older than *Jubilees*, similar documents have been partially preserved by Syriac writers, such as the Syriac fragments of the *Aramaic Levi Document*,²⁴³ the citation of the *Book of the Watchers* by Michael the Syrian,²⁴⁴ and the excerpts from *Jubilees* itself in the *Chronicle of 1234*. In these cases, the antiquity of such traditions could not be absolutely proven without additional documentary and archeological discoveries.

²⁴² Adler, "Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha," 165.

²⁴³ William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans & Co., 1870–1872), 2:997.

²⁴⁴ Sebastian P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac," *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968): 626–31.

In addition to Jacob of Edessa's letter, which is cognate to *Sefer Asaph*, Syriac literature has its own tradition of listing wives of the patriarchs. Lists of wives appear in two Syriac manuscripts: the eighth-century British Library Add. 12154, f. 180,²⁴⁵ and British Library Add. 14620, f. 30b, from the ninth century.²⁴⁶ The first and better-known list includes the wives of the patriarchs before the Flood, the wives after the Flood (until Abraham), the wives of the sons of Jacob, and the name of the daughter of Pharaoh.²⁴⁷ For the generation of Peleg, the author includes a notice on the tower of Babel, including its height of 5,433 cubits (cf. *Jub.* 10:21). The title of this brief work identifies its source as "the Hebrew book called *Jubilees*" (ܠܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐܐܐܡ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ). Nevertheless, the list comes from Greek rather than Hebrew. First, the wives already appear in numerous Greek sources, such as the *catena* literature or the *Ekloge historion*. More significantly, the name Asawa for Cain's wife (ܐܫܐܘܐ) is comparable to the Greek forms (Epiphanius: Σαυη;²⁴⁸ John Malalas: Ἀσουα;²⁴⁹ *Catena*: Ἀσαουλ²⁵⁰). Finally, James VanderKam has noted other Grecisms in the text, such as the word στάδιον (ܥܪܬܐܐܝܢ).²⁵¹

The second list has only reemerged after a long period of obscurity due to the recent studies of Matthew Monger and Sergey Minov.²⁵² It is, however, mentioned in Wright's catalogue of Syriac manuscripts²⁵³ and was initially published by Paul

245 Antonio Maria Ceriani, ed. and trans., "Nomina uxorum patriarcharum priorum juxta librum hebraeum Jobelia nuncupatum," in *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Typis et Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863), ix–x.

246 Matthew P. Monger, "A Syriac List of the Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs in BL Add 14620," in *Synopses and Lists: Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Teresa Bernheimer and Ronny Vollandt, (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2023), 141–71.

247 In the transliteration of James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 1:8–9, the names are: Eve (Adam), 'Asawa (Cain), 'Azura (Seth), Na'um (Enosh), Mahalalut (Cainan), Dina (Mahalalel), Baraka (Jared), 'Edni (Enoch), 'Edna (Methusaleh), 'Enushay (Lamech), 'Amizara (Noah), Sedqatnebab (Shem), Nahalmahuq (Ham), 'Adnatnashe (Japhet), Rusa bt. Shushan (Arpachshad), Malka bt. Maday (Cainan), Ma'aka (Shelah), 'Azura bt. Nebrod (Eber), Mana bt Sana'ar (Peleg), 'Arwa bt. Ur (Reu), Malka bt. Keber (Serug), Isaqa bt. Nastag (Nahor), 'Edna bt. Abram (Terah), 'Ada (Reuben), Ya'aka'a (Simeon), Malka (Levi), Bat-shua' (Judah), 'Azaqa (Issachar), 'Ednay (Zebulun), Tob-hagla (Dan), Rusha from Bet-Naharin (Naphtali), Ma'aqa (Gad), Yona (Asher), Asnat (Joseph), and 'Asamana (Benjamin). The daughter of Pharaoh is given as either Tarmutay or Ra'usa.

248 Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, 2:76.

249 John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 4.

250 Petit, *Chaine sur la Genèse*, 2:38.

251 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 (11).

252 Monger, "A Syriac List;" Sergey Minov, "A Syriac *Tabula Gentium* from the Early Abbasid Period: Dawid Bar Pawlos on Genesis 10," *Khristianskiy Vostok* 9 (2021): 57–76.

253 Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 2:803.

de Lagarde in Hebrew characters.²⁵⁴ This list only covers the wives of the patriarchs until Abraham. It is noteworthy for including some alternative names taken from the *Cave of Treasures*, showing that these two works competed.

Most reminiscent of the Byzantine chroniclers from the previous section is Michael the Syrian, patriarch of the West Syrian church from 1166–1199 and the most famous Syriac historian. His work has been preserved in a unique Syriac manuscript and an Armenian abridgment.²⁵⁵ Among his sources, given at the beginning of his chronicle, are Julius Africanus, Annianus of Alexandria, and “Jews,” all of whom are common links in the chain of transmission of *Jubilees*.²⁵⁶ This leaves little doubt about the sources of his knowledge of the book. At the same time, he names Jacob of Edessa as a source and cites Andronicus and his source, the mysterious Asaph. There are therefore moments where Michael’s chronicle more closely resembles Jacob of Edessa’s letter than *Jubilees*.

Michael cites Annianus immediately, allegedly drawing from Enoch. No such information is found in *1Enoch*, but some of the information could come from *Jubilees*.

***Jubilees* 4:1–2²⁵⁸**

[1] And in the third week in the second jubilee [64–70 AM] she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to Abel [71–77 AM] [. . .]
[2] And in the first year of the third jubilee, Cain slew Abel. [99 AM] [1] ובשבוע השלישי ליובל השני ילדה את קין וברביעי ילדה את הבל.
[2] ובאחד ליובל השלישי הרג קין את הבל.

Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, Book 1.1²⁵⁹

The monk Annianus, based on the *Book of Enoch*, says, “After his expulsion from Paradise, Adam knew his wife Eve when he was seventy years old, and she gave birth to Cain. Seven years later, she brought forth Abel. Fifty-three years later, Cain killed Abel, and Adam and Eve mourned him one hundred years. Then, Seth was born. He resembled perfectly his parents.”

254 Paul de Lagarde, *Praetermissorum Libri Duo e Recognitione* (Göttingen: Officina Academica Dieterichiana, 1879), 249.

255 The main edition is Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1910). The first three volumes are a French translation, and the fourth is the Syriac text. I will be quoting from an English translation: Michael the Syrian, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, trans. Matti Moosa (Teaneck: Beth Antioch Press, 2014).

256 See Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 2: 249–97.

257 Werman, *Book of Jubilees*, 194; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 21–22.

258 Michael the Syrian, *The Syriac Chronicle*, 31. This section is not preserved in the Syriac manuscript but is in the Armenian abridgment and in the chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (discussed below).

at least forty years (*Jub.* 10:18.26). He also mentions that, at this time, the Canaanites transgressed the boundaries established by Noah (in Book II, chapters 1 and 2; see *Jub.* 8:10–30 and 10:28–34). Michael then enters into a discussion about whether Hebrew or Syriac was the primitive language (cf. *Jub.* 12:26), deciding in favor of Syriac against the opinion of Jacob of Edessa, whom he cites by name. Like *Jubilees*, he attributes the destruction of the tower to a blast of wind (*Jub.* 10:26). Unlike *Jubilees*, Babel is linked to the reign of Nimrod (conspicuously absent from *Jubilees*).²⁶⁶

In Book II, chapter 6, Michael briefly mentions the story of Abraham and the ravens. Abraham asks God to chase off the ravens. Then, at age sixty, he burns down the temple of idols and leaves for Harran.²⁶⁷ This version is closer to the letter of Jacob of Edessa than *Jub.* 11–12. Michael does not name his source.

One of the last great Syriac writers, Gregory Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), used the chronicle of Michael the Syrian for the early part of his own historical work.²⁶⁸ All the traditions found in Michael reappear in Gregory, often in identical language. He even supplies a tradition missing from the unique Syriac manuscript of Michael: Esau and his children, along with the nations of Moab, Ammon, and Aram, attack Jacob and his children at Hebron after the death of Isaac.²⁶⁹ This is a transparent reference to the events of *Jub.* 37–38, often repeated in Byzantine chronicles.

The most substantial extract from *Jubilees* in Syriac—or in any language—is found in the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234*.²⁷⁰ Eugène Tisserant was the first to discover the chronicle's use of *Jubilees*.²⁷¹ He documented seventeen parallels covering 160 verses and proposed that the chronicler's source was a Syriac translation of *Jubilees* made from the original Hebrew. In his critical edition and translation, James VanderKam compiled a similar collection of *Jubilees* extracts from the chronicle as part of the "Versional Evidence."²⁷² VanderKam only published those passages that are useful for textual criticism; this is not true of all of the *Jubilees* traditions found in the chronicle. The most comprehensive list is now found in Andy

266 Michael the Syrian, *The Syriac Chronicle*, 38–40.

267 Michael the Syrian, *The Syriac Chronicle*, 43.

268 Gregory Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. Paul Bedjan (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890). For an English translation, see Gregory Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of His Political History of the Word: Translated from the Syriac*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1932).

269 Text: Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, 12. Translation: Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 11.

270 Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris chronicum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens 1*, (Paris: E Typographe Reipublicae, 1920).

271 Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés."

272 VanderKam, *A Critical Text*, 257–300. They are translated in James C. VanderKam, trans., *The Book of Jubilees* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 328–68.

Hilkens' monograph on the sources of the chronicle.²⁷³ He did not republish the text, but he did make a table of all the parallels with the corresponding citations from Jean-Baptiste Chabot's edition of the chronicle and the chapter and verse numbers from *Jubilees*.²⁷⁴ This also include a list of *Jubilees* traditions that do not come from the book itself but from a source shared with Michael the Syrian. In fact, all the *Jubilees* material from Michael's chronicle reappears in the *Chronicle of 1234*.

The *Chronicle of 1234* differs from other Syriac sources in that it reproduces text from *Jubilees* frequently, accurately, and at length. The chronicler covers much of the extrabiblical material of *Jubilees*, including the Hexameron (*Jub.* 2), the biography of Enoch (*Jub.* 4:16–26), the Watchers and the birth of the giants (*Jub.* 5), Cainan (*Jub.* 8:1–4), the division of the earth among the sons of Noah and the transgression of the Canaanites (*Jub.* 8:10–30 and 10:28–34), the stories of young Abraham (*Jub.* 11–12), and the war between Jacob and Esau (*Jub.* 37–38).²⁷⁵ These themes are also found in Greek chronicles. However, the chronicler is not dependent on the Greek chronographic tradition. The selection of material differs from the stereotyped repetition of traditions found in Byzantine histories. Consequently, the chronicler avoids their errors, such as attributing the war with Esau to Josephus.²⁷⁶

The author appears to have directly consulted a copy of *Jubilees*, but there is some controversy over the language of the author's *Vorlage*. Tisserant believed the Syriac version was translated from Hebrew without a Greek intermediary, since he found no Greek loanwords in the fragments.²⁷⁷ It would indeed be incredible if a Syriac text had no Greek words whatsoever. However, Tisserant's assertion is incorrect. Several Greek words appear in the citations from *Jubilees*, such as: ܬܐܓܡܐ (τάγμα),²⁷⁸ ܫܡܝܢܐ (σπόνγος),²⁷⁹ ܕܡܝܢܐ (γένος),²⁸⁰ ܡܠܟܐ (Παλαιστίνη),²⁸¹ ܕܡܠܟܐ (γλυφί),²⁸² ܕܡܠܟܐ (κόραξ),²⁸³ and ܕܡܠܟܐ (νόμος).²⁸⁴ Of course, it is completely unsurprising that a Syriac text would have Greek loanwords, but this is exactly what undermines Tisserant's claim. There is no particular reason to think that the text was translated from Hebrew rather than Greek.

273 Hilkens, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, 51–84.

274 Hilkens, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, 82–83.

275 All of the *Jubilees* material is found within Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 32–60.

276 Adler, *Time Imemorial*, 188–93.

277 Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," 229–32.

278 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 27.15, citing *Jub.* 2:2.

279 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 28.6, citing *Jub.* 2:7.

280 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 28.14, citing *Jub.* 2:11.

281 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 43.22, citing *Jub.* 8:12.

282 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 51.16, citing *Jub.* 11:16.

283 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 51.17, citing *Jub.* 11:18.

284 Chabot, *Ad annum Christi 1234*, 56:9, citing *Jub.* 33:16.

Furthermore, the chronicler demonstrates no other knowledge of Hebrew sources, and his chronicle, though written in Syriac, uses numerous Greek sources, including Flavius Josephus, Hippolytus of Rome, Eusebius of Caesarea, Annianus of Alexandria, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, John Malalas, and John of Ephesus.²⁸⁵ In light of these sources, the chronicler's source is likely a Greek text of *Jubilees* which had been translated into Syriac.

Sebastian Brock suggested that the *Chronicle of 1234* drew on an earlier, lost Greek chronicle for its knowledge of sources otherwise unattested in Syriac.²⁸⁶ In the case of *Jubilees*, however, the chronicler has interwoven material from that book with the text of *Cave of Treasures*—a work which was not translated into Greek before the modern period.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, no extant Greek (or Syriac!) work cites *Jubilees* as extensively or as accurately as this chronicle. The simplest explanation is that the chronicler himself knew *Jubilees* in Syriac. The issue is comparable to Josephus in Syriac. In the analysis of Hilken, the chronicler used Josephus abundantly without ever directly consulting his work.²⁸⁸ Yet portions of Josephus were translated into Syriac. A Syriac version of book six of the *Jewish War* survives in at least two manuscripts: the famous seventh-century biblical manuscript from Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 21 inf. (ff. 320b–330a),²⁸⁹ and Deir al-Surian 9 (*olim* 27), ff. 3a–30b, from the early ninth century.²⁹⁰ Although Syriac versions of Josephus were uncommon, they did exist. Perhaps it was the same with *Jubilees* in Syriac.

Finally, there is a strange phenomenon in Syriac literature where authors cite a “Book of Jubilees” (ܕܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܝܘܒܝܠܐ) that does not correspond to anything found in the Ethiopic text. Ceslas Van den Eynde has collected the pertinent data.²⁹¹ Unknown citations from a “Book of Jubilees” appear in the *Liber scholiorum* of Theodore bar

285 Hilken, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*. The entire book is consecrated to the work's sources.

286 Sebastian P. Brock, “Some Syriac Legends Concerning Moses,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 237–55 (249).

287 See the synoptic table in Tisserant, “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” 62–66.

288 Hilken, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, 97–105.

289 For a lithograph of this manuscript, see: Antonio Maria Ceriani, *Translatio syra pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex Codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI, 2 vols. photolithographice edita curante et adnotante* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1876–1883).

290 Lucas Van Rompay, “Flavius Josephus’ *Jewish War* in Syriac: Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 21 inf. and Two Recently Studied Manuscripts from Deir al-Surian,” in *Gli studi di storiografia: Tradizione, memoria e modernità*, ed. Alba Fedeli et al. (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2019), 425–42. The second manuscript from Deir al-Surian (Ms. 28, *olim* 2) is a collection of sayings that includes translations from books 3 and 7 of the *Jewish War*.

291 Isho’dad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l’Ancien Testament 3: Livre des Sessions*, trans. Ceslas Van den Eynde (Leuven: Peeters, 1962), xv–xxi.

Koni (d. ca. 792),²⁹² the biblical commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv (9th c.),²⁹³ the Syriac-Arabic dictionary of the lexicographer Hassan bar Bahlul (10th c.),²⁹⁴ and an anonymous exposition of the liturgical offices attributed to George of Arbela (11th c.).²⁹⁵ For example, Isho'dad claims that a “Book of Jubilees” specifies the time between the Exodus and the building of Solomon’s Temple (637 years)²⁹⁶ as well as the length of time of Job’s trials (twelve years), both of which extend far beyond the timeline of the Ethiopic version.²⁹⁷

The solution to this mystery depends on the meaning of the word “jubilee” in Syriac: The word *yubal* (ܝܘܒܐܠ) has the general meaning of “generation” or “succession.” It is *not* the word used in the Peshitta to designate the forty-nine-year period from Leviticus 25 (ܠܚܝܬܐ).²⁹⁸ Rather, *yubal* is closer in meaning to the Hebrew word *toledot* (תולדות). The Syriac term “succession of years” (ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܬܝܢ) is used in the same sense as “chronicle.”²⁹⁹ One title of the *Cave of Treasures*, for example, is the

292 Theodore bar Koni, *Liber scholiorum*, ed. Addai Scher, 2 vols. (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910–1912) 1:110–11, 114, and 253–55. For a French translation, see Theodore bar Koni, *Livre des Scolies: Recension de Seert*, trans. Robert Hespel and René Draguet, 2 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 1:125, 128 and 223–24.

293 Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l'Ancien Testament 1: Genèse*, ed. Jacques-Marie Vosté and Ceslas Van den Eynde (Leuven: Peeters, 1950), 134–35 and 139, and Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l'Ancien Testament 3: Livre des Sessions*, ed. Ceslas Van den Eynde (Leuven: Peeters, 1962), 103 and 267. See also the French translations of these respective volumes: Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l'Ancien Testament 1: Genèse*, trans. Ceslas Van den Eynde (Leuven: Peeters, 1955), 146 and 151, and Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l'Ancien Testament 3: Livre des Sessions*, trans. Ceslas Van den Eynde (Leuven: Peeters, 1962), 121 and 319. Finally, see Isho'dad of Merv, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, ed. and trans. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 1:155 (translation) and 3:14 (text), where he refers to a “Book of Jubilees” in his *Commentary on Luke*.

294 Hassan bar Bahlul, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule*, ed. Rubens Duval, 3 vols. (Paris: E Reipublicae Typographaeo, 1901), 3: xvi, gives twenty-four citations. Duval thought “Jubilees” referred to a book of etymologies, but Van den Eynde (translation of Isho'dad of Merv, *Livre des Sessions*, xxi) called this into question.

295 R. Hugh Connolly, ed. and trans., *Expositio officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta I*, 2 vols. (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1913), 1:38, 47, and 63 (Syriac text); 2:33, 40, and 52 (Latin translation).

296 Text: Isho'dad of Merv, *Livre des Sessions*, 103. Translation: Isho'dad of Merv, *Livre des Sessions*, 121.

297 Text: Isho'dad of Merv, *Livre des Sessions*, 267. Translation: Isho'dad of Merv, *Livre des Sessions*, 319.

298 Tisserant, “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” 58.

299 Muriel Debié, *L'Écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 43.

“Book of the Succession of Generations” (ܕܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܬܪܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ), but the work is not directly related to *Jubilees*.³⁰⁰

The “Book of Jubilees,” therefore, could refer to any historical work. This includes historical books of the Bible. In the places where Theodore bar Koni cites “Jubilees,” for example, he contrasts the chronology of the Septuagint with the chronology of the Peshitta. Here, “Jubilees” (ܕܟܬܒܬܐ) means nothing other than the Syriac Bible. Even the verifiable references in the works of Ishoʿdad of Merv do not necessarily come from *Jubilees*. In his *Commentary on Genesis*, he cites a “Book of Jubilees” (ܕܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܬܐ) for the opinion that Hebrew was the original language (*Jub.* 12:25–27) and that idolatry began in the days of Serug (cf. *Jub.* 11:1–6).³⁰¹ Both traditions, however, are quite common. They are found, for instance, in the *Cave of Treasures* (24:11; 25:8), a native Syriac work. Despite these preliminary answers, the phenomenon merits further study.

6.4 Other Languages

Andrew Crislip has drawn attention to a solitary Coptic fragment of *Jubilees*, a florilegium of the fourth or fifth century (Yale University, P. CtYBR inv. 4995).³⁰² The florilegium consists of six individual passages, interrupted by a second text, a private letter. The six passages are: 1) *Jub.* 8:28–30; 2) *Jub.* 7:14–16; 3) an unidentified passage about Abraham; 4) a passage quoting *Jub.* 15:3; 5) a quotation of Gen 9:27a (with an additional allusion to *Jub.* 8:30); and 6) an allusion to *Jub.* 4:33. Most of the text deals with the division of the earth among the sons of Noah. The wives of Noah and his sons are also incidentally named.

The entire text in Crislip’s translation reads as follows. I have added numbering and citations from *Jubilees* to clarify the division between the passages.

1. It [the Ark] reached the limits of its waters at Mount Rapha and it turns to the north. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his children through a portion of an inheritance, eternal dwelling places for him and also for his children, for their generations for ever: great islands or dwellings, which amount to five in number, and a great, broad land in the [north . . .]. [The land of] Japheth is cold, and the land of Ham is hot. But the land of Shem is neither hot, scorching, nor cold, but [it is mixed] hot and cold (*Jub.* 8:28–30).

³⁰⁰ Paul de Lagarde, “Die Schatzhöhle,” in *Mittheilungen III* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1889), 49–79 (55), mocked those who suggested the *Cave of Treasures* and *Jubilees* were related based on this title.

³⁰¹ Text: Ishoʿdad of Merv, *Genèse*, 134–35 and 139. Translation: Ishoʿdad of Merv, *Genèse*, 146 and 151.

³⁰² 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.

2. As for Ham, he built the city, and he named it after his wife Nehelathmaouk. And Japheth saw and was jealous of his brother Ham. And he too built a city for himself, and he named it after his wife Adathneses. Shem likewise named [his city] after his wife Sedekathlêbab (*Jub.* 7:14–16).
3. And Abraham took/received the customs/creatures and possessions of his ancestors.
4. And this is written in Hebrew: “Japheth shall live in the dwellings of Shem” (*Gen.* 9:27). Therefore, he is in the cold (cf. *Jub.* 8:30).
5. I am God, Saddai, the true God (*Jub.* 15:3).
6. And the name of Noah’s wife is Emmezara (cf. *Jub.* 4:33).³⁰³

Following the letter, the beginning of a second text simply reads: “And the angel of the presence stood.”³⁰⁴ In the frame narrative of *Jubilees*, the Angel of the Presence narrates the contents of the book to Moses.

Crislip argues for the possibility that the *Jubilees* once existed in a Coptic version, citing the Alexandrian chroniclers Panodorus and Annianus as well as Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 4365 (the letter quoted in the introduction of this chapter) as evidence for the popularity of *Jubilees* in Egypt. A single papyrus is not substantial enough to prove the existence of a Coptic version of *Jubilees* (the verses could have been translated *ad hoc* from Greek), but it is an important witness to what about the book interested Christian readers, namely, the wives of the patriarchs and Diamerismos material. This has been a running theme throughout the chapter.

There is no version of *Jubilees* in Armenian, not even stray citations (as in Coptic). Many traditions from *Jubilees*, however, can be found in Armenian literature. Michael Stone, a specialist of both Armenian and Second Temple literature, has uncovered most of this material. For example, Elishe, a fifth-century Armenian historian and exegete who wrote a *Commentary on Genesis*, records a variation of the purification of Adam after forty days:

Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David’s saying, “A thousand years in the Lord’s eyes is as yesterday” [Ps 90:4]. But others, of our associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth of the male.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Crislip, “The Book of Jubilees in Coptic,” 33.

³⁰⁴ Crislip, “The Book of Jubilees in Coptic,” 33.

³⁰⁵ Michael E. Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Traditions: Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 247.

As Stone has noted, this does not accord precisely with *Jub.* 3:9, where Adam spends forty days outside of Eden before he can enter. Both traditions, however, are linked to the idea of purification after birth (cf. Lev 12:1–5).³⁰⁶

On the same theme, Gregory Arsharuni, an eighth-century exegete who wrote a *Commentary on the Lectionary*, wrote: “As some say, man was created on the sixth day, and entered the Garden of Eden on the fortieth day, and came out after an equal period, which is not obvious.”³⁰⁷ He correctly states the tradition of Adam’s purification before entering Eden but then adds the variant tradition of Elishe, discussed above.

In a calendrical and cosmological work, the twelfth-century priest and historian Samuel of Ani, names the twenty-two works of creation.³⁰⁸ A very similar passage appears in the *Book of Questions* of the fourteenth-century writer Gregory of Tatev.³⁰⁹ Samuel of Ani also named the wives of the patriarchs in a chronicle.³¹⁰

Turning to the Armenian apocrypha collected by Stone, one finds in “Adam Story 2,” from a seventeenth-century manuscript, the idea that Adam entered Paradise forty days after his creation.³¹¹ A tenth-century miscellany lists the ten trials of Abraham, an uncommon theme in Christian literature³¹² first introduced *Jubilees* (19:8).³¹³

Several lists of the wives of the patriarchs circulated in Armenian. W. Lowndes Lipscomb published an Armenian list from a fifteenth-century manuscript along with a study of the tradition as a whole.³¹⁴ Michael Stone republished Lipscomb’s list in parallel columns with four other examples.³¹⁵ The list published by Lipscomb names the wives from the generations before and after the Flood; Stone only includes the wives of the Antediluvian patriarchs.

³⁰⁶ Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Traditions*, 35–36.

³⁰⁷ Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Traditions*, 312.

³⁰⁸ Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Traditions*, 446.

³⁰⁹ Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Traditions*, 533.

³¹⁰ Samuel of Ani, *Temporum usque ad suam aetatem ratio e libris historicum summatim collecta*, ed. Hovhannes Zohrabian (Milan: Regiis Typis, 1818), 3–5.

³¹¹ Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 109–13 (111).

³¹² Andy Hilkens, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and Its Sources* (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 56, calls the anonymous chronicle “the only Christian witness to the tradition of the ten trials of Abraham.” Though demonstrably false, Hilkens’ statement exemplifies the theme’s rarity in Christian literature. The theme is quite common in Jewish literature, however, including PRE 26–31.

³¹³ Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Abraham* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 204–5.

³¹⁴ W. Lowndes Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 149–63.

³¹⁵ Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 89–91.

In Arabic, practically the only material from *Jubilees* to have survived is the names of the wives of the patriarchs. It is found, however, in both Christian and Muslim sources. Although this chapter focuses on the Christian transmission of *Jubilees*, it is worth including Muslim references as well, both because of the intrinsic interest of this information and because the most likely source is still probably a Christian list of the wives.

The only study (to my knowledge) of *Jubilees* in Muslim literature is Giorgio Levi Della Vida's "Una traccia del Libro dei Giubilei nella letteratura araba musulmana."³¹⁶ He found three authorities from the formative period of Islam who recorded names of the wives of the patriarchs in different contexts. The most curious example is in the *Kitab 'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276AH/ 889 CE), who, in the name of Hishām ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204 AH/819 CE), reports the magical use of the names of the wives of Shem, Ham, and Japheth for, of all things, the purpose of nourishing pigeons.³¹⁷

Levi Della Vida goes on to state that only the wives of Ham and Japheth are found in the extensive chronicle of the great historian Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH/923 CE), but this is untrue.³¹⁸ Not only does Ṭabarī name Shem's wife, he gives the name of every patriarch's wife until the time of the Flood.³¹⁹

Cain: Ashūt bt. Adam
 Seth: Ḥazūrah bt. Adam
 Enosh: Na'amah bt. Seth
 Kenan: Dīnah bt. Barākīl
 Mahalalel: Sim'an bt. Barākīl
 Jared: Baraknā bt. Darmasīl
 Enoch: Hadānah or Adānah bt. Bāwīl
 Methusaleh: 'Adnā bt. 'Azrā'il
 Lamech: Batanūsh bt. Barākīl
 Noah: 'Amzūrah bt. Barākīl
 Japheth: Arbasisah bt. Marāzīl
 Ham: Naḥlab bt. Mārib
 Shem: Ṣalīb bt. Batāwīl

³¹⁶ Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Una traccia del Libro dei Giubilei nella letteratura araba musulmana," *Orientalia* 1 (1932): 205–12.

³¹⁷ Levi Della Vida, "Libro dei Giubilei," 206–7. Both of these writers are discussed further in chapter nine.

³¹⁸ Levi Della Vida, "Libro dei Giubilei," 208.

³¹⁹ Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume I: General Introduction and From Creation to the Flood*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York: SUNY Press, 1989), 335–47 (the patriarchs until Noah), and *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume II: Prophets and Patriarchs*, trans. William M. Brinner (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), 11–12 (the sons of Noah).

This list, despite the expected corruptions, derives from the same tradition as the other lists of wives. In every case, without exception, Ṭabarī cites as his authority Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150 AH/767 CE), the biographer of the Prophet, as the origin of the tradition. The first part of Ibn Ishāq's biography recounted the creation of the world and the stories of the earlier prophets of Islam (the *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*). Unfortunately, the *Mubtada'* is now lost, although there have been attempts at a reconstruction.³²⁰ In order to write such a work, Ibn Ishāq must have been quite knowledgeable about biblical and extrabiblical material.³²¹ Levi Della Vida suspects that he had access to a list of the wives of the patriarchs via a Syriac or Greek model, proposing that the corruptions in spelling reflect a specifically Syriac *Vorlage*.³²²

The final Muslim witness to the wives of the patriarchs is Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. ca. 355 AH/965 CE), the author of a multivolume historical and philosophical encyclopedia, where he names Noah's daughters-in-law.³²³ He too cites Ibn Ishāq as his source. Consequently, the names of the wives are similar to Ṭabarī's.

Names of the wives also crop up in Christian Arabic literature. Albrecht Götze found a notable example in Eutychius of Alexandria (Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, d. 940), author of the chronicle *The String of Gems* (*Naẓm al-Jawhar*).³²⁴ For the wives of Cain and Abel he combines two competing traditions. First, he names Cain and Abel's sisters/wives as "Azrun" (ازرون) and "Awain" (اوين).³²⁵ These are variants of the names in *Jub.* 4:1–11, but the narrative attached to the names is the one from the *Cave of Treasures*. In *Jubilees*, the daughters are not the twin sisters of their brothers, and neither is married to Abel. Hence, Cain does not kill Abel out of jealousy for his

320 Gordon D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989). But see the critical review of Lawrence I. Conrad: "Recovering Lost Texts: Some Methodological Issues," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993): 258–63.

321 Levi Della Vida, "Libro dei Giubilei," 208, cites the Yemenite scholar Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 732 CE) as Ibn Ishāq's source. He was a reputed master of such material. See, for example, Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb B. Munabbih*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972) and Alfred-Louis de Prémare, "Wahb B. Munabbih, une figure singulière du premier islam," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 60 (2005): 531–49.

322 Levi Della Vida, "Libro dei Giubilei," 210–11.

323 Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. and trans. Clément Huart, 6 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:*27–*28 (Arabic text) and 3:28–29 (French translation).

324 Albrecht Götze, "Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 2 (1923): 51–94; 3 (1924): 53–71, 153–77 (161–64).

325 Eutychius of Alexandria [Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq], *Annales*, ed. Louis Cheikho, 2 vols. (Beirut: E Typographeo catholico, 1906), 1:6.

wife. All of these features are part of the *Cave of Treasures* (6:18–29). No other wife names appear until the time of the Flood, where Eutychius gives the same names to Noah's daughters-in-law as Ṭabarī and Maqdisī.³²⁶

Finally, an Arabic *Catena* to Genesis falsely attributed to Hippolytus of Rome names Adam's daughters and Noah's daughters-in-law in the same forms as Eutychius.³²⁷ It also attributes the name “Emraza” (أمرازا)—a garbled form of Emzara—to Noah's wife, a part of the *Jubilees* tradition not found in Eutychius.³²⁸

Götze noticed that both Eutychius and the Arabic *Catena* harbored other tradition from *Jubilees*, such as details about the construction of the Tower of Babel from *Jub.* 10:21.³²⁹ Jeremiah Coogan, when considering the transmission of *Jubilees* material in (Greek) *catena* manuscripts, suggested that stray traditions could be transmitted alongside lists of wives of the patriarchs, citing the Syriac list published by Antonio Ceriani as one example.³³⁰ In fact, the Syriac manuscript's notice about the Tower of Babel is identical to the information found in Eutychius and the Arabic *Catena*.³³¹ Coogan hypothesized that the brief notice about Enoch in the Greek *catenae* (Petit's no. 590 *ad Gen* 5:21–24) could have also been transmitted with such material.³³² His intuition proved correct: Ibn Ishāq (*apud* Ṭabarī) makes such a statement about Enoch in the midst of his genealogical list.³³³

Apart from Maqdisī, every one of these authors reappears in chapter nine as major tradents of material related to the *Cave of Treasures*. The list of the wives of the patriarchs was the last gasp of an ancient tradition that was being overtaken by a newer one.³³⁴

Slavia Orthodoxa inherited various traditions from *Jubilees* via translated Greek literature, especially Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus* and the chronicles of

326 Eutychius of Alexandria, *Annales*, 1:12; Levi Della Vida, “Libro dei Giubilei,” 211.

327 Paul de Lagarde, ed., *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), 2:48 and 71–72.

328 Lagarde, *Materialien*, 2:68. See Tal Ilan, “Biblical Women's Names in the Apocryphal Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 6 (1993): 3–67 (18).

329 Götze, “Nachwirkung,” 162. See Eutychius, *Annales*, 16; and Lagarde, *Materialien*, 92.

330 Coogan, “Reception of Jubilees in Greek,” 282.

331 Ceriani, “Nomina uxorum,” x: “In the days of Peleg the tower was built, and its height was 5,433 cubits and . . . stadia” (*In diebus Phaleg aedificata est turris, et altitudo ejus MMMMMCDXXXIII cubit et . . . stadia*).

332 Coogan, “Reception of Jubilees in Greek,” 281–83.

333 al-Ṭabarī, *The History, Volume I*, 343: “When Jared was 162 years old, he married Baraknā, the daughter of al-Darmasil b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Enoch, who is the prophet Idris. He was the first of Adam's children to be given prophecy—as Ibn Ishāq assumed—and the first to write with a pen.”

334 See, similarly, Monger, “A Syriac List” and Ilan, “Biblical Women's Names,” where they observe two sets of names— one from *Jubilees* and one from the *Cave of Treasures*—in competition.

John Malalas and George the Monk. From these Byzantine sources, traditions from *Jubilees* filtered into original Slavonic works. Florentina Badalanova Geller names the anonymous *Chronographic Compendium from Hellenistic and Roman Times* and the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, both of which use *Jubilees'* creation account as related by Epiphanius.³³⁵ The Slavonic *Palaea* books, such as the recently published bilingual edition of the *Palaea chronographica*, make use of John Malalas, George the Monk, George Syncellus, George Cedrenus, Peter of Alexandria, and even Pseudo-Eustathius, importing traditions from *Jubilees* through them.³³⁶

The Ethiopic version of *Jubilees*, which was translated from a Greek text, was presumably made between the fourth and sixth centuries. However, *Jubilees* did not manifest itself in Ethiopian culture until much later, when it played a key role in the theological reforms of the Negus Zar'a Yā'qob (r. 1434–1468) following a century of controversy over Christian observance of the Sabbath.³³⁷ The controversy coincides with the date of the earliest Ethiopic manuscript of *Jubilees*.³³⁸ The evidence suggests a gap of almost a millennium between the translation of *Jubilees* and its *de facto* canonization.

The place of *Jubilees* in Ethiopian culture is little studied, even though the Ethiopian Church is responsible for the preservation of the text.³³⁹ The work that has been done, however, makes the book's influence apparent. Traces of *Jubilees* can be found in several medieval texts that are unknown outside Ethiopia. For this reason, I will not examine them in detail but leave only a few bibliographical notes. Published texts influenced by *Jubilees* include the *Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens*

335 Geller, "Alphabet of Creation," 207–12.

336 Sabine Fahl, Dieter Fahl, and Christfried Böttrich, eds., *Die kurze chronographische Paleja: Kritische Edition mit deutscher Übersetzung*, 2 vols. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2019), 2:6–46.

337 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 206–47. See also Robert Beylot, "La Controverse sur le Sabbat dans l'Église éthiopienne," in *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, ed. Alain Le Boulluec (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), 165–88.

338 VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*," 18.

339 For a brief overview, see 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. For specific uses of *Jubilees* in theological treatises, see Jacques T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, "The Book of *Jubilees* in the *Maṣḥafa Milād* and the *Maṣḥafa Bārḥān*," in *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso, Matthias Henze, and William Adler (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 852–76.

and the Earth,³⁴⁰ *Mashqfa Berhān*,³⁴¹ *Mashqfa Milād*,³⁴² a Ge'ez commentary on the Apocalypse of John,³⁴³ and the *Ethiopian Commentary on the Book of Genesis*.³⁴⁴ This last work is part of the Amharic *Andämta* (commentary) tradition. There is indeed an *Andämta* on *Jubilees*, but it has never been published.³⁴⁵ Finally, there are the texts published in the *Falasha Anthology* of Wolf Leslau³⁴⁶ and the *Commandements du Sabbat* of Joseph Halévy, although these are not Christian texts but belong to the literature of the Jews of Ethiopia.³⁴⁷ None of these works predate the fourteenth century. Since the Ethiopian Church regards *Jubilees* as scripture, they use the book for theological purposes, that is, in support of Trinitarian and Christological arguments. Against the Byzantine tradition, there is little interest in *Jubilees* as a historical work.

6.5 Conclusion

While the Greek text of *Jubilees* did not survive, many traditions from the work evidently did. The memory of the book was never forgotten, as the material in this chapter covers the entire history of the Byzantine Empire. The recollection of the work did become increasingly stereotyped, with the result that the *Jubilees* material found in (for example) George Cedrenus and Michael Glycas is a stultifying rehearsal of older chronicles.

Certain traditions commanded more attention than others. The most popular by far is the list of the wives of the patriarchs, especially if one includes partial lists like the names of Adam's daughters. The sacred history according to *Jubilees* as

340 Bakhayla Mikael, *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, ed. and trans. Jules Perruchon (Paris: Librairie de Paris, 1903). The text has been translated into English: Bakhayla Mikael, *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bakhayla Mikā'el (Zōsimās)*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (1935; repr., Berwick: Ibis Press, 2004).

341 Carlo Conti Rossini, *Il Libro della Luce del Negus Zar'a Yā'qob (Mashqfa Berhān)*, 4 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1964).

342 Kurt Wendt, *Das Mashqfa Milād (Liber Nativitatis)*, 2 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1962).

343 Roger W. Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109 (a reference to Mastema and *Jub.* 10).

344 Mersha Alehegne, *The Ethiopian Commentary on the Book of Genesis: Critical Edition and Translation* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

345 Alehegne, *Ethiopian Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, 19.

346 Wolf Leslau, trans., *Falasha Anthology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).

347 Joseph Halévy, ed. and trans., *Te'ezaza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat), accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1902).

filtered through Greek tradition goes something like this: God created twenty-two works over the six days of creation, corresponding to the twenty-two patriarchs (and, Epiphanius adds, the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible). Adam and Eve had two daughters who became the wives of Cain and Seth. Cain, because he had killed Abel with a stone, was killed by stones when his house collapsed on him. After the Flood, Cainan discovered Antediluvian knowledge, whether this was beneficial knowledge left by Seth or forbidden knowledge given by the Watchers. The Tower of Babel was built over the course of forty (or forty-three) years and was exactly 5,433 cubits high. After the dispersion of the nations, Canaan, a descendant of Ham, encroached on Shem's territory. Human depravity increased significantly in the time of Serug, either through warfare or idolatry or both. Abraham, who discovered God sometime between the ages of fourteen and sixty-one, reversed course and burned down a temple of idols. Much later, Jacob selected Levi to be a "tithe" by counting his sons backwards from Benjamin. After his father died, Jacob fought and killed his brother Esau in a war (as is allegedly reported by Josephus).

George Syncellus is central to the development of this stereotyped list. He includes nearly all these items (Serug's depravity, oddly, is absent). His eclecticism, and the mere fact that his chronicle survived the ravages of time while many others did not, allowed these traditions to perdure for centuries. Most importantly, as a near-contemporary of PRE, Syncellus shows that there was a breadth of knowledge about *Jubilees* in the eighth and ninth centuries, even if that knowledge was second-hand. His choice of material also helps establish what one might expect to find in a work that has been influenced by *Jubilees*, even through an intermediary source. This sets the stage for the next chapter, the investigation of how much material PRE and *Jubilees* have in common and, if so, how PRE could have obtained it.