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ANGELS AND DEMONS IN THE BOOK OF JUBILEES AND CONTEMPORARY APOCALYPSES

The Book of Jubilees, and the twenty-third chapter in particular, have been correctly identified as examples of the apocalypse genre. One finds scattered across modern scholarship notes on a number of significant differences between the ideas in Jubilees and those in contemporary apocalypses. The overwhelming tendency, however, has been to read Jubilees as belonging to the same pattern of ideas found in other apocalypses. It is understandable that scholars would expect to find in an apocalypse the kinds of ideas typically found in apocalypses, since a genre functions fundamentally to create a reader expectation of the contents. Two less legitimate prejudices have also contributed to the tendency to interpret Jubilees as ideologically similar to other apocalypses. First, the anachronistic classifications of “pseudepigrapha” and “inter-testamental” have lumped Jubilees together with conceptually dissimilar texts. Second, the facts that several copies of Jubilees were found at Qumran, and that it is cited in the Damascus Document, have caused scholars to presume that a continuous line of thought connects the Book of Jubilees with the sectarian documents found at Qumran. As tempting as it may be to reconstruct intellectual history by drawing lines between the scattered dots of our knowledge of the ancient world, Jubilees does not fit on the lines that have been drawn.

This study begins with the distinction between the apocalypse genre and the apocalyptic worldview typically found therein. The rest of the paper then focuses on one aspect of the genre and the worldview, namely the role of angelic and demonic forces in human history. Examination of the similarities and differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses, such as the Book of the Watchers and the Animal Apocalypse,¹ shows that Jubilees fits with other apocalypses in the formal features of the genre and the conceptual framework of the issues addressed,

¹ These works were clearly known by the author of Jubilees, and provide the clearest contrasts. A more complete study will take into account a greater number of contemporary apocalypses and pay more attention to the variations among them. Every text has its own texture - its choices of emphasis and its tensions with its contemporaries and predecessors. I wish to avoid the suggestion that Jewish thought on any one issue fell into two opposing positions. There is no single orthodox position in the apocalyptic worldview, but there is a cluster of compatible ideas. The apocalypses in Daniel, for example, may not be as extreme as the Apocalypse of Weeks on a number of issues. Yet, on the foundational issues of the apocalyptic worldview, the ideas in the Danielic and Enochic apocalypses cluster closer together, far apart from Jubilees.

but differs significantly in the treatment of those issues. Jubilees is an apocalypse but does not express the apocalyptic worldview typically found in apocalypses. It avoids portraying angelic forces as even temporary opponents or mediators of God's sovereignty over Israel, it posits immunity for Israel from demons, and denies angelic or demonic agency in the eschatological sequence. The concluding section of this paper points to some possibilities and problems in speculating as to why the author of the Book of Jubilees would use the genre of apocalypse if not to express the apocalyptic worldview.

The distinction between the apocalypse genre and the apocalyptic worldview

For most of the twentieth century, "apocalyptic" was treated as a noun and variously defined by lists of "typical moods and ideas,"² "basic tendencies"³ and a characteristic "realm of ideas."⁴ Although it was recognized that no one work had all the defining features, works were called "apocalyptic" based on a subjective weighing of literary, ideological and functional features. These studies treated "apocalyptic" as a *Gattung*, which included micro-literary structures, thematic tendencies, and setting in life.⁵ Michael Stone⁶ and Paul Hanson⁷ are credited with insisting on a distinction between the apocalypse genre, apocalyptic eschatology, and the social movement of apocalypticism. The definition of the apocalypse genre

² K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy* (Naperville: Allenson, 1972), p. 28.

³ P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1934), p. 6.

⁴ P. Vielhauer, "Apocalypses and Related Subjects," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), pp. 581-607 (here p. 582).

⁵ See Sanders' review of the treatment of *Gattung* following Hermann Gunkel. E.P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983), pp. 447-459.

⁶ M.E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke, P.D. Miller, and G.E. Wright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 414-452 (here p. 439).

⁷ P.D. Hanson, "Apocalypse, Genre and Apocalypticism," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia Identifying and Explaining All Proper Names and Significant Terms and Subjects in the Holy Scriptures, Including the Apocrypha, with Attention to Archaeological Discoveries and Researches into the Life and Faith of Ancient Times: Supplementary Volume*, ed. K.R. Crim (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), pp. 27-34 (here pp. 29f).

published by John Collins in *Semeia* 14 has become standard and will be used in this study.⁸ Jean Carmignac⁹ and Christopher Rowland¹⁰ have challenged the essentialness of eschatology, and it will be helpful to adjust Hanson's distinction of "apocalyptic eschatology" to treat the "apocalyptic worldview," of which eschatology is only one part. The definition of "apocalypticism" as a social phenomenon does not, in itself, tell us anything about social or intellectual history in second century BCE Judaism. The distinction between genre, worldview, and social movement will be essential to characterizing the Book of Jubilees. The concluding section of this paper will explore the relationship between the apocalypse genre and the apocalyptic worldview, and the significance of the use of the apocalypse genre to express ideas at odds with the apocalyptic worldview.

Jubilees 23, in the context of the Book of Jubilees as a whole, is an apocalypse. Although the twenty-third chapter in particular represents a concentration of defining features of the genre, the chapter is an integral part of the book, and features of the genre are found throughout. None of the features of Collins' definition are missing or disputed in Jubilees. The "narrative framework in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient" is clearly established in the prologue of Jubilees and reinforced in the twenty-third chapter, "Now you, Moses, write down these words because this is how it is written and entered in the testimony of the heavenly tablets for the history of eternity" (23:32).¹¹ The temporal transcendent reality pervades the book in the structured view of history and the relating of events from creation to the narrative present (Moses on Sinai), and into the future, which includes restoration of Israel in 23:27-31. The spatial transcendent reality appears in the attention paid to angels and demons, as discussed in the remainder of this paper, and references to other invisible elements of the upper-cosmos, such as the heavenly tablets. The fact that Jubilees 23, in the context of the book as a whole, fits Collins' definition of the apocalypse genre is not in doubt.

The confusion over Jubilees is not whether it is an apocalypse but whether it expresses an apocalyptic worldview. Unfortunately the apocalyptic worldview has not been defined as clearly as has the apocalypse genre, but Collins does reflect the core of scholarly agreement in describing the apocalyptic worldview:

The crucial elements of that worldview are (1) the prominence of supernatural beings, angels and demons, and their influence on

⁸ J.J. Collins, "Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia*, 14 (1979), pp. 1-20.

⁹ J. Carmignac, "Qu'est-ce que l'Apocalyptique: son emploi a Qumran," *RevQ* 10/1 (1979), pp. 3-33.

¹⁰ C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), p. 71.

¹¹ All translations of Jubilees from J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (2 vols.; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989).

human affairs, and (2) the expectation of a final judgment not only of nations but of individual human beings.¹²

Additional elements might be added, but these two, at least, are central. It is my contention that when one lines up the similarities and differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses, one finds that the similarities describe the features of the genre and the conceptual framework of the kinds of issues being addressed. The differences, on the other hand, appear in the content of how those issues are developed. This essay, for the sake of brevity, focuses only on one aspect of the spatial element, the roles of angels and demons. By dealing with angels and demons Jubilees fits the definition of the genre and addresses an important issue of the worldview. Jubilees inverts the worldview, however, by essentially denying the prominence and influence of angels and demons in the present and eschatological time. Angels and demons *were* prominent in the distant past until Noah, and they may still be relevant for idolatrous nations or at isolated moments when supernatural opposition appears in scripture, but they have *zero* current or eschatological relevance for the pious of Israel.

Angels in the antediluvian origin of evil

The major inversion in Jubilees appears in what happens to the demons after the flood, but even in the antediluvian period one finds subtle but significant differences between Jubilees and the Book of the Watchers. The similarities are obvious, but concern the framework of genre and issues under discussion. The differences are subtle, but Jubilees undermines the idea of angels as independent, capricious cosmic forces with three emphases: the angels were created by God; the angels were sent by God and only subsequently committed a sin of the flesh, not cosmic rebellion; and antediluvian culpability is primarily human.

First, and most subtly, Jubilees differs from the Book of the Watchers by emphasizing that the watchers were created by God. In 2:2, Jubilees interprets the first day of creation to include creation of all the spirits who serve before God. The Book of the Watchers does not overtly identify the watchers as pre-existent semi-divine forces rivaling God, reminiscent of the chaos myths, but it does differ in emphasis. At most, one might read 1 Enoch 15:7, “therefore I did not make women among you,”¹³ to mean that God had created the watchers. Nevertheless, Jubilees introduces the watchers as creatures of God, while the Book of the Watchers introduces

them as willful rebels, if not necessarily pre-existent forces of cosmic opposition. For the most part, Jubilees tends to portray angels as mindless attending hosts, while the Book of the Watchers emphasizes a more active (and fallible) role of angels in the cosmic drama.

Second, Jubilees emphasizes that the watchers were sent by God with a good mission (5:6, 4:22), and essentially err by getting into bad marriages. Although intermarriage was not a light matter to the author of Jubilees, and inappropriate priestly marriages have been found to resonate behind the Book of the Watchers,¹⁴ we should recognize the difference between earthly lust and a cosmic rebellion imposed onto human affairs. In Jubilees the marriages of the watchers are paradigms for the consequences of exogamy, not an explanation for the super-human origin of all sin and suffering. In the Book of the Watchers the rebellion occurs in heaven, and is entirely willful as Shemihazah knows he “shall be guilty of a great sin” (6:3).¹⁵ Furthermore, in the Asael strand, Asael never had a benevolent mission, as do the teachers in Jubilees, which emphasizes that, “the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth” (4:22). In the Book of the Watchers Asael learned a “stolen mystery” which is responsible for the evils on the earth (1 Enoch 16:3; 10:8). Jubilees never mentions illicit teaching of the watchers as a source of sin or suffering until Noah’s great-grandson Kainan finds an inscription teaching bad astronomy (8:3). Jubilees transfers the idea of illicit teaching from a cosmic rebellion that corrupts the earth from without, to an explanation of foreign astronomy.¹⁶

Third, although Jubilees maintains the interpretation of בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים in Gen 6:2 as an angelic sin, Jubilees places a greater emphasis on the sin of humankind. This is best illustrated by the differing testimonies of Enoch.¹⁷ Jubilees does not push so far as to deny any culpability of the watchers, and mention is made that Enoch testified to them (4:22). Yet for Jubilees, the case of the exogamous watchers is essentially closed. The ongoing testimony of Enoch in 4:19 and 4:23 is against humankind, “Now he [Enoch] is there [Eden, not heaven] writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of *mankind*” (4:23,

¹⁴ D.W. Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16,” *HUCA* 50 (1979), pp. 115-135. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,” *JBL* 100 (1981), pp. 575-600.

¹⁵ Consider further, in the Animal Apocalypse, the star fell from heaven, it was not sent (86:1).

¹⁶ The possibility of an allusion to the Astronomical Book falls outside the scope of this study.

¹⁷ Later interpreters would find more elaborate ways to emphasize human culpability, but the fact that Jubilees does not know those interpretations does not lessen its emphasis on human culpability compared to the Book of the Watchers. Two of those later methods were to blame the humans for seducing the angels with makeup and jewelry, or to identify the בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים not as angels but as the children of Seth.

¹² J.J. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism Volume 1, The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. J.J. Collins (New York: Continuum, 1998), pp. 129-161 (here p. 147).

¹³ All translations of 1 Enoch from J.C. VanderKam and G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

emphasis added). In the Book of the Watchers 12:4ff, Enoch testifies against the watchers, not humankind.

Jubilees knows the Book of the Watchers and rejects its exclusive emphasis on angelic culpability in the origin of sin. Although Paolo Sacchi understood this as the foundational idea of all Enochic and apocalyptic literature,¹⁸ it does seem that the position in the Book of the Watchers underwent some moderation in later apocalypses.¹⁹ Jubilees' rejection of the extreme etiology does not alone constitute a rejection of the apocalyptic worldview. Other apocalypses account for some degree of human free will in the equation of sin after the flood.²⁰ They do form a cluster of compatible ideas, however, in that they all emphasize an extra-human source of evil as part of the equation. As we shall see, Jubilees moves even further from this cluster of compatible ideas after the division of the nations.

Angels and demons as explanation of ongoing evil after the flood

Jubilees, like contemporary apocalypses, addresses the issue of angels and demons and their influence on earthly life during the period between the flood and the eschaton. Jubilees' position on the issue, however, differs significantly. The difference is not whether God's sovereignty and justice will ultimately be vindicated, whether demonic forces exist and sometimes explain incidents of supernatural opposition in biblical history, or whether individual humans can be culpable for their own sins. The difference is whether the present age has been given over to supernatural powers who temporarily mediate or oppose God's sovereignty over the Jewish people. One typically finds in apocalypses counter-divine forces such as demons, beasts, or disloyal angelic princes exercising injustice against Israel. For the author of Jubilees, however, angels and demons have *no* continuing control over Israel under the covenant. Following scripture such as Psalms 96 and 106, Jubilees presents demons as an explanation for whatever power might be perceived in foreign religion. Jubilees also uses demons (and their prince, Mastema) as an explanation for supernatural events in biblical history that do not fit with God's benevolence toward Israel (even if scripture attributed the un-benevolent action to God). In each case, however, the heavenly accuser was put to shame. If demons have not been permanently defeated, it is only because some Jews continue to turn from God's direct governance and the covenant. Demons persist as a threat to the

children of Abraham, but a threat that is easily prevented and defeated with Torah study. This section will proceed by elaborating three of Jubilees' "answers" to apocalyptic issues: the reduction of and immunity from demons; the lack of angelic mediation of God's rule over Israel; and Mastema.

The reduction of and immunity from demons

In the postdiluvian period it becomes important to distinguish demons from bad angels. Jubilees and the Book of the Watchers agree in identifying the demons as the spirits of the giants who perished before the flood. After the fallen watchers are bound and the giants killed, the demons continue to be a source of evil after the flood. The similarities end there. For 1 Enoch (elaborated particularly in 15:8-16:1), the demons continue to be an undiminished source of evil until the final judgment, which certainly has not happened yet. Jubilees no sooner introduces the demons than diminishes their number and relevance. The only continuing significance for demons is as an explanation of foreign religion and an advertisement for the covenant that keeps demons away. The demons are a source of evil *only for idolaters*. Jubilees establishes this through four innovations: the new and righteous nature has already been given; 90% of the demons have already been destroyed; the remaining 10% have no authority over those who study the revealed books; and Israel (alone) receives the means for atonement should they temporarily fail to study the books. Each of these points warrants further explanation.

The first point concerns not the demons *per se* but whether humanity itself remains corrupted and therefore susceptible to demonic influence as a result of antediluvian sin. While the apocalyptic worldview tends to look to the future for the elimination of such an "original sin" and the creation of a "new and righteous nature for all," Jubilees asserts that it has already happened (5:12). Second, Jubilees is the only apocalypse to assert a ninety-percent discount on demons after the flood (10:9). Although we must treat further the ten-percent that are left and Mastema, Jubilees clearly emphasizes the diminishment of demons and their relevance. We will leave for the conclusion the question of why the author of Jubilees introduces the existence and origin of demons if only to relegate them to the distant past and write them out of contemporary significance. Third, what few demons are left can be easily repelled by studying the books revealed to Noah, "Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah's children" (10:13). Unfortunately, photocopyers had not yet been invented, so only Shem received a copy of the books. The books to be studied are a type for *Torat Moshe* in the extended sense, if not an exact equivalent. As Helge Kvanvig has emphasized, the Sinai revelation and

¹⁸ P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, trans. W.J. Short (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), p. 107.

¹⁹ A.Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University, 2005), pp. 73-74.

²⁰ The Animal Apocalypse assigns a role to human sin (89:54), the Epistle rejects the suggestion that the angelic origin of sin entirely exculpates human beings (98:4), and the Book of Daniel includes human sin, arguably as the cause of the 490 years of tribulation, but less arguably as the criterion for post-resurrection status in Daniel 10-12.

covenant is really a renewal of the revelation and covenant that goes back past Noah (Jub 6:18-19; 14:20).²¹

The ten percent of demons remaining function to explain whatever dark power might be perceived in foreign religion, and warn the children of the covenant of the effects of abandoning the covenant. The existence of demons and their identification with idols (Jubilees 1:11, 11:4, etc.) is not a uniquely apocalyptic idea, but is found also, for example, in the ancient versions of Psalms 96:5 and 106:35.²² Finally, even if Israel does stray, the demonic relevance can be easily shaken off (for Israel) by repentance and the day of atonement (5:17-18). The fact that demons are apportioned to some but not all of Noah's children explains why Jubilees does not address the origin of the demons from the slain giants in the narrative sequence before the flood, but only after the flood and the apportionment of lots to Noah's descendents (10:1). The position that demons affect other nations but not Israel brings us to the next issue, angelic rule over nations and its significance for human history.

The lack of angelic mediation of God's rule over Israel

Jubilees and the Enochic literature agree that the fallen watchers were imprisoned and remain out of commission in the time between the flood and the last judgment. Jubilees takes up the issue of angelic rule over nations and the possibility that angelic capriciousness or wickedness explains injustice at least temporarily in the present. Again, however, Jubilees departs significantly from the Animal Apocalypse and other texts that explain international politics and injustice as the result of angelic conflict and imperfect angelic rule. As above, Jubilees downplays angelic capriciousness or revolt against divine sovereignty. More importantly, Jubilees denies any angelic intermediary, good or bad, ruling over Israel in particular.

Again, all the sources agree on the ultimate sovereignty of God; the issue appears to have been whether God's sovereignty has been temporarily impeded by bureaucratic inefficiency or cosmic opposition. Although Michael seems like a perfectly good and powerful archangel, Jubilees rejects the idea that any angel, no matter how good, rules over Israel. The Book of the Watchers identifies Michael as "one of the holy angels, who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people" (20:15). Although it is not as evident that Jubilees knew Daniel directly, Daniel 10 certainly

²¹ H.S. Kvanvig, "Jubilees - Between Enoch and Moses: A Narrative Reading," *JSJ* 35/3 (2004), pp. 243-261.

²² J.C. VanderKam, "The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*," in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. Römhild (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003), pp. 339-364 (esp. p. 354).

illustrates the idea of an angelic prince over Israel whose ultimate victory is assured but whose temporary functionality is impeded by the angelic princes of other nations.²³ The Animal Apocalypse goes even further. Although Israel has an advocate angel, this angel functions mainly as a record keeper, guaranteeing ultimate justice but only observing the present injustice (89:71). More strikingly, cosmic dominion over Israel is temporarily outsourced to seventy angels (89:59). Even if this suffering results from human sin and some of their punishment is just (89:54), it is clear that some of these shepherds are wicked (89:74) and all go beyond their just commission (86:65).

Jubilees, on the other hand, completely rejects the idea that divine sovereignty over Israel is ever outsourced to any angel, good or bad:

He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever. (15:31-32)

Jubilees addresses the issue of angelic dominion much as it did the demons, the other side of the same issue in the apocalyptic worldview. Angelic mediation of divine sovereignty is a problem for other nations, not Israel. The apocalyptic worldview is reframed as what happens if one departs from the law and the covenant Israel has with God. For Israel, the apocalyptic view of the world could not be more wrong. Maintenance of the division between Israel and the other nations is a high priority for the author of Jubilees; it remains outside the scope of this study to discuss the ancient view of Enoch as a universal patriarch who testifies against the whole cosmos, as opposed to the more particular patriarchs, testaments and covenants of the people of Israel. It also lies outside the scope of this paper to compare Jubilees to Sirach or situate Jubilees in the "rivalry" found by

²³ Gabriele Boccaccini discounted the angelic conflict in Daniel 10 as "only one occasion" and "entirely fictitious" (reflecting, not causing, earthly conflict), and therefore not an exception to the rule that, in Daniel, angels are "in no way in opposition to God" (G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], p. 153; idem, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], p. 184). Boccaccini is right to point out the differences in that angels *per se* generally come off more positively in Daniel than they do in Dream Visions, and also to challenge the idea that a single movement produced both texts. As noteworthy as the differences may be, Boccaccini and I generally agree that Daniel and Dream Visions "share the same world view" (Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism*, p. 159; idem, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 183). They are indeed similar in that they both include angelic conflict and mediation of God's ultimate sovereignty. The beasts of Daniel 7 are also extra-human and extra-divine forces of evil, though not angelic.

Randal Argall between Sirach and 1 Enoch,²⁴ except to note that Sirach attests the same position as Jubilees, “ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον, καὶ μερὶς κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν” (Sirach 17:17). James VanderKam has explicated the basis of the issue in the second century BCE in connection with the ancient versions of Deuteronomy 32:8.²⁵ Jubilees rejects the possibility that any angelic being holds or mediates sovereignty over Israel, even temporarily. Jubilees does not, however, reject the idea of an angelic accuser in the heavenly court. To this figure we now turn.

Mastema

Mastema serves two functions in the Book of Jubilees. First, Mastema functions as an administrator of the demons afflicting the other nations. Second, Mastema functions as a divine henchman who does the dirty work ascribed to God in Genesis-Exodus, but apparently deemed unworthy of God by the author of Jubilees. Like the satan in Job 1, Mastema is the district attorney of the heavenly court whose job it is to make accusations, but in no event is out of control. Mastema lobbies God (10:8) and is sometimes sent by God (48:16). Only for isolated events in biblical history is Mastema called up as an exegetical tool to explain apparent supernatural opposition to Israel, such as the Egyptian magicians (48:9). In each incident Mastema is quickly put to shame and never claims any victory or rule over Israel.

Mastema appears in three passages in the first of the two functions, as the administrator of the demons afflicting the other nations. As discussed above, the author of Jubilees left ten percent of the demons to account for foreign religion, drawing on the identification of idols and demons in the ancient versions of Psalms 96 and 106. In the narrative, however, Mastema accounts for the divine decision to leave ten percent of the demons (10:8). Advocacy for demons might have been inappropriate for God, but Mastema fills an important function. Notably, Mastema does not contravene the will of God, but rather submits a request to God which God grants. As discussed above, the emphasis is on human evil, as Mastema claims his legitimacy in using the demons to punish, “because the evil of mankind is great” (10:8). Mastema next appears in Ur to contrast the effects of idolatry with the effects of Abraham’s demon-busting religion. The idolatrous nations “were placed under [Mastema’s] control” (11:5), and the natural consequence of idolatry is affliction, as when Mastema sends birds to eat the seed planted

by the idolaters (11:11). The point of the entire sequence, of course, is to contrast the afflictions of the idolaters with the solution presented by Abraham, first by inventing agricultural equipment and subsequently by re-discovering monotheism (the first being a type for the second). The last mention of Mastema in the capacity of administrator of demons over foreign religions occurs in the blessing of Abraham on Jacob (and Rebecca), “May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever” (19:28). Again, affliction by demons is associated with nations besides Israel and those of Israel who turn from the God of Israel to foreign religion.

The second function of Mastema in Jubilees diverges even more significantly from the diabolical enemy of God found in some apocalypses, as Mastema actually comes to be identified with the actions attributed to God in Genesis-Exodus. It frequently happens in texts such as Jubilees, and not just apocalypses, that angels perform actions that scripture attributes to God directly. This occurs particularly when actions seem unworthy of God’s goodness and transcendence. Thus Jubilees ascribes to Mastema several deeds ascribed to God in Genesis-Exodus in order to solve theological problems. This first occurs with the Akedah, where Jubilees offers the same explanation found in Job 1 for God’s otherwise inexplicable and cruel demand.²⁶ Mastema appears again doing the action attributed to God in Exodus 4:24, trying to kill Moses. The Jubilees account in 48:4 is the closest Jubilees comes to inter-angelic conflict, as the revealing angel rescues Moses from Mastema, who was trying to prevent Moses from killing Egyptians. Interestingly, Mastema takes the place of God in a passage that seems to suggest Zipporah rescued Moses from God’s wrath over his disobedience in the covenant of circumcision. Mastema continues to fill the function of carrying out theologically problematic divine functions from Exodus in permitting the Egyptian magicians some power (48:9-10) and stiffening the resolve of the Egyptians (48:17). In 48:9-10 Mastema is included with “we,” associating him with the revealing angel. If Mastema is the “he” who appears in 48:17, then the continuance of the verse puts Mastema in parallel with God.

Whether Mastema is creating problems for idolaters, performing God’s dirty work, or making accusations like the satan figure in Job 1, it is never the case that Mastema appears as the diabolical enemy of God. Jubilees does not exclude the idea of a troublemaker in the divine court as an exegetical tool, but this tool is not exclusive to the apocalyptic worldview.

²⁴ R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*, vol. 8, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995).

²⁵ VanderKam, “The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*,” pp. 352-54. See also D.S. Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC-AD 100, The Old Testament Library* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), p. 248.

²⁶ As James Kugel has noted, this develops together with the problem of divine omniscience in Gen 22:12, “now I know,” read as “now I have made known,” (Jub 18:16) with Mastema being the challenger to whom it was made known. J.L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1998), p. 302.

The opponent of God in apocalyptic thought is usually best characterized as an eschatological opponent. Mastema is anything but eschatological, making his last appearance at the exodus. This brings us to the “apocalypse” of Jubilees, chapter 23, where the entire eschatological framework is described without mention of Mastema, angels, demons, beasts, or satan, except to deny that there will be any satan or evil one.

Angels and demons in the eschatological crisis and restoration

The time period most definitive of apocalypses, the end-time, is the period in which Jubilees most diverges from apocalypses on the agency of angelic and demonic forces. This paper does not focus on the temporal axis, and the significant ways in which the view of history in Jubilees differs from other apocalypses. Jubilees is relatively proximate to the Book of the Watchers on the role of angels before the flood, and after the flood at least concedes the existence of demons and angelic bureaucrats while denying their significance for Israel. When dealing with the definitive period for apocalypses on the temporal axis, however, Jubilees denies any significance for the distinctive agents of the apocalypses on the spatial axis. The Jubilees “apocalypse” is found in chapter 23, and the Animal Apocalypse serves as the clearest point of comparison from contemporary apocalypses.²⁷ In the Animal Apocalypse, angelic forces explain the climax of evil, the earthly struggle between good and evil, and the final cosmic judgment. Jubilees 23, however, permits no role for angels or any agents besides humans and God, and mentions evil spirits only to note their absence.

Good and bad angels play significant roles in each of the three phases of crisis and restoration in the Animal Apocalypse: the climax of evil, the earthly struggle, and the cosmic judgment. There is no need to overstate the angelic culpability for the climax of evil; sinners of Israel and foreign nations do play important parts. These roles reflect issues that were not disputed in second century BCE Judaism: there are sinners in Israel, God is ultimately sovereign, and foreign nations are oppressing Israel. Certainly there were disputes in aspects of human agency, but the topic of this paper, the angels in particular, reflects a major difference between Jubilees and the Animal Apocalypse. The final seventy “shepherds” appointed over Israel degrade from over-zealous punishers, to “blind” (89:74), to outright enemies (90:13, 17). Bad angels play a significant role in the climax of evil, particularly from without. Even in the earthly struggle between the armies of good and evil, human agency is largely a façade behind which a cosmic struggle takes place. 1 Enoch 90:12-16 envisages human agency, and Judah

Maccabee in particular. Strikingly, however, both his and the foreign armies are assisted by angels in 90:13-14. Again, ultimate divine sovereignty and intervention is present but not disputed. In the last phase, the cosmic judgment of 90:20-27, God is ultimately sovereign but almost all verbs are plural, reflecting the seven archangels who actually execute the divine judgment. Even when angels are basically good and faithful executioners of the divine will, the differences in imagery and emphasis should not be overlooked.

The complete absence of angelic agents in Jubilees 23 is striking. There are no good angels who mediate divine action, and there are no bad angels who explain the rise of evil or suffering. When God sends nations to punish the sinners of Israel, there is no suggestion of angelic princes involved, even though some mention might have been consistent with the previous exegesis of Deut 32:8. Even demons, the symptom and cause of idolatry, are mentioned only as being absent in the restoration (Jub 23:29). Although one might surmise from their absence in the restoration that they had been present previously, it remains significant that no agency is mentioned or emphasized. It is important to remember that Jubilees does not treat the indefinite satans, demons, and evil spirits as cosmic or angelic forces, but spirits confined to earth who create problems for idolaters. Furthermore, the absence of satans and evil spirits is not unique to eschatological restoration in Jubilees, but also describes the time of peace and prosperity in Egypt under Joseph (40:9; 46:2). Certainly one could say more about human agency in Jubilees 23, and how it differs from the Animal Apocalypse by emphasizing Torah study, condemning violence, including all of Israel in the restoration, and so forth. Speaking only for the role of angels and demons in the eschatological sequence in Jubilees, they simply play no role whatsoever.

The Book of Jubilees uses the genre of apocalypse and addresses at least the one major issue of the apocalyptic worldview that this paper has examined. The fact that Jubilees deals with angels and the eschaton, but denies any role of angels in the eschaton demands further explanation. Even if one wishes to distinguish sources used by the author of Jubilees, the work is a remarkably coherent whole. Chapter 23 cannot be isolated from the framework of the book. There can be no doubt that Jubilees 23, in the context of the book as a whole, uses the genre of apocalypse to address the apocalyptic worldview. What it says about that worldview is remarkably different from what contemporary apocalypses say on the same central issues. The concluding section suggests some possibilities and some problems in explaining the use of the genre and the abuse of the worldview.

Conclusion: Characterizing the similarities and differences

Prior to the distinction between genre and worldview, a number of scholars noted substantial ways in which Jubilees does not quite fit among

²⁷ Daniel exhibits angelic agency in the eschatological resolution most clearly at 12:1, “At that time Michael will arise....” On one level the beasts and human-like figure in Daniel 7 represent human collectives, but we should not “decode” the mythic imagery so much as to miss the super-human significance of these forces.

the other apocalypses. When one distinguishes genre from worldview, and the conceptual framework of the questions being asked from the conceptual contents of the answers being given, it becomes clear that Jubilees fits the genre perfectly, but does not at all fit the worldview typically found in apocalypses. Jubilees utilizes a narrative framework in which an angelic intermediary reveals to a human recipient a transcendent reality which is both spatial and temporal. Jubilees addresses the origin and nature of angelic beings, the fall of the watchers, the antediluvian origin of sin, demons, and national angelic princes. All these similarities describe the genre framework and the conceptual framework of the kinds of questions being asked. When one looks to the answers to those questions, the conceptual content, one finds serious differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. What can we make of this example of an apocalypse that does not express the apocalyptic worldview?

We can begin by saying that not all apocalypses express apocalyptic ideas. This may not be a huge surprise, since it is the converse of what was already well known, that not all texts expressing the apocalyptic worldview are apocalypses. The reversal is not quite so simple, however. Any genre functions to create reader expectations. Although more elaborate definitions of the function of apocalypses have been suggested, at the most basic level the apocalypse genre functions to create reader expectation of an apocalyptic worldview. We would like to know *why* the author of the Book of Jubilees used the apocalypse genre, but it is more difficult to reconstruct authorial intent than to describe a text. The intent of the long-dead author can never be known with certainty, and even to speculate would require far more study of far more evidence than this paper offers. One would have to place the author in the context of what we know of social and intellectual history of Judaism in the second century BCE. One would have to compare what we can surmise about the author of Jubilees with what we can surmise about the authors of texts such as Sirach. Even a full reconstruction of the intellectual climate would only narrow the possibilities and suggest probabilities as to the intent of any individual.

Parody is one possibility that would fit the pattern of use of a genre to create reader expectations which are then inverted, if the intent was to ridicule. Harmonization might be another way of characterizing the similarities and differences, if the intent was to incorporate some previously excluded forms while maintaining the same basic ideas, or less likely, to incorporate previously excluded ideas while maintaining the same basic forms. One would also have to consider the possibility that the author is basically sloppy in anthologizing forms and ideas that do not fit together. The evidence presented in this paper points to a pattern in Jubilees of divergence from the ideas typical of contemporary apocalypses, while continuing to use the genre and address the same central issues. As to the possible explanations for why the author of Jubilees would do so, we can

only point out the number of possibilities and the problems with claiming a firm conclusion.

ABSTRACT

The apocalypse literary genre creates a reader expectation of the apocalyptic worldview. The Book of Jubilees uses the apocalypse genre to express a worldview that diverges significantly from the cluster of views typically conveyed by the apocalypse genre. This paper focuses on one aspect of the genre and the worldview. The Book of Jubilees uses features of the apocalypse genre on the spatial axis, including the origins and function of angels and demons, but departs from the apocalyptic worldview by denying their significance for Israel.