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### SACRED TIMES: THE BOOK OF JUBILEES AT QUMRAN

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## SACRED TIMES: THE BOOK OF JUBILEES AT QUMRAN

*J. Amanda McGuire*

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It is widely accepted that the Qumran community had an interest in matters pertaining to the calendar and the proper times to observe feasts.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the thousands of manuscripts found in the Qumran caves, there are nineteen texts that are primarily calendrical, as well as one sundial.<sup>2</sup> However, several other Dead Sea Scroll (DSS) texts indicate an interest in, or even a preoccupation with, the calendar. One such example is the book of Jubilees.

The book of Jubilees holds a very distinct place in the Qumran library. It is not regarded as a Qumran sectarian document because it lacks the characteristic rejection of the established priesthood and because of certain dissimilarities in theology and ritual.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it is one of the most attested books in the entire Qumran corpus.<sup>4</sup> At least fifteen manuscripts of Jubilees were found at Qumran.<sup>5</sup> It is not, however, simply the number of manuscripts that indicates the importance of Jubilees, but also the reliance of the sectarian writers on the book itself. For example, the book is mentioned by name in the Cairo Geniza copy

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1. For example, see James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time, The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1998), 43-116; Sacha Stern, "Qumran Calendars: Theory and Practice," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (London: T&T Clark, 2000), 179-186.

2. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 110. He defines "calendrical" as "based on...the sequence of days, weeks, and months, whether for a year or a longer cycle." *Ibid.*, 71. For his analysis of the relevant texts, see *ibid.*, 71-90. For a nice image of the sundial, see James C. VanderKam, "Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *NEA* 63.3 (2000): 166.

3. O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 44.

4. Charlotte Hempel, "The Place of the *Book of Jubilees* at Qumran and Beyond," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (London: T&T Clark, 2000), 195-196; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 39-40. As he notes, only Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Genesis equal or exceed Jubilees.

5. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 39-40. The manuscripts are 1Q17, 1Q18, 2Q19, 2Q20, 3Q5, 4Q176a, 4Q176b, 4Q216, 4Q218, 4Q219, 4Q220, 4Q221, 4Q222, 4Q223-224, 11Q12, and possibly 4Q217; Stephen W. Marler, ed., "An Index of Qumran Manuscripts," OakTree Software, Ver. 4.3, 2007.

of the Damascus Document (CD 16:2-4). In addition, Gershon Brin identified a linguistic connection between the sectarian documents and Jubilees.<sup>6</sup>

Given the evidence that Jubilees was so influential at Qumran, this article seeks to answer the following questions: How did the book of Jubilees understand sacred times in general, and the Sabbath in particular? How did its sacred time theology affect the theology of the Qumran community?

### Background to the Book of Jubilees

The only complete version of Jubilees is written in Classical Ethiopic; however, fragments of the book also exist in Latin (approximately one-third of the book) and Greek (quotations only).<sup>7</sup> Before the discoveries at Qumran, it was hypothesized that Jubilees was originally composed in Hebrew, and the finds were able to prove it.<sup>8</sup> The earliest manuscript (4Q216) comes from c. 125-100 BCE, and thus was copied not long after the time the book was originally written.<sup>9</sup>

Current scholarship now dates the composition of Jubilees to c. 170-150 BCE. It was written in Hebrew and then, subsequently, translated into Greek and possibly Syriac. The book was translated from Greek into Latin and Ethiopic and thus, preserved.<sup>10</sup>

Jubilees was written during a fascinating time in Judaism's history. The Second Temple Period saw many different expressions and interpretations of Judaism. Despite the apparently united front, Judaism, like any family, had internal strife.<sup>11</sup> Diaspora Jews often endeavored to make their beliefs more palatable to their Gentile neighbors.<sup>12</sup> Palestinian Judaism was divided into various sects and groups following one teacher or another. It was the Maccabean Rebellion (c. 167-164 BCE), however, that set in motion a chain of events that led to the further splintering of Judaism. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the Maccabees made themselves a dynasty of kings and priests, but their authority was not universally acknowledged.<sup>13</sup> Josephus related that by the time of Jonathan the High Priest, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes were in existence.<sup>14</sup>

6. Gershon Brin, "Regarding the Connection between the *Temple Scroll* and the *Book of Jubilees*," *JBL* 112 (1993): 108-109. His short article points out that there is a unique linguistic connection between 11Q19 51:6-7 and 4Q216 1:12-13.

7. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2 vols., CSCO 510-511/Scriptores Aethiopiici 87-88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 1:ix, 2:xi-xiv; Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," 41-42.

8. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," 43.

9. James C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, ed. Emanuel Tov, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 2.

10. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2:v-vi.

11. Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 12-14.

12. John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 14-16.

13. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 5, 22-23. The Essene sect is thought to have been loyal to another priestly family, the Zadokites, thus alienating them from the Temple cult. E. P. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps, and Differences," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (London: T&T Clark, 2000), 16-17.

14. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.5.9 (*The Complete Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. William Whiston, new updated ed. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987)).

Given this setting, Jubilees was most likely written by a Palestinian Jew of priestly background and Hasidic or Essene persuasion. His knowledge of Canaanite geography, as well as an intense interest in festivals and law give witness to this.<sup>15</sup> Though the book is well attested at Qumran,<sup>16</sup> it is generally thought to predate the site, as the Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document refers to it as an authority.<sup>17</sup>

The book itself is a retelling of the events of Genesis 1 to Exodus 16. It begins with the Lord's calling Moses to the top of Mt. Sinai to receive a revelation.<sup>18</sup> The first chapter of the book clearly outlines the basic tenets of the author's theology and eschatology. The world and its events are running on a very strict calendar that was preordained and engraved on tablets in heaven.<sup>19</sup> God has scheduled the time from creation to the renewal of creation, and it is important for the children of Israel not only be aware of it, but also to follow it.

This is not the only tenet the book sets out to prove. Jubilees is also intensely interested in showing that the narrative accounts of Genesis 1-Exodus 16 establish the Mosaic law even before it is given on Sinai. The author reinterprets the events of Genesis, adding and subtracting material, expanding some stories, and shortening others.

## Calendars

Jubilees has a very specific calendar. According to Jub. 6:32, the Israelites are only to recognize a 364-day (solar) year. Other texts throughout the book reflect this view, especially in the creation account. The author says, "And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years."<sup>20</sup> This differs from Genesis 1:14, which indicates that both the sun and the moon (and possibly the stars) were "for signs and for seasons and for days and years."

The origins of the 364-day calendar have been much debated in the scholarly literature. The most important contributor is Annie Jaubert, whose work with the time scheme in Jubilees led her to apply its calendrical system to the entire Hebrew Bible and even to the New Testament. All of this was apparently with the end of figuring out what day of the week the Last Supper took place.<sup>21</sup> In essence, her theory is this: a 364-day calendar meant that every date of the year would always occur on the same day of the week. Since the heavenly bodies were

15. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," 45.

16. For the purposes of this study, I am assuming that the Qumran community was Essene, as has been generally assumed and recently defended in VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 71-97.

17. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," 43-44.

18. Jub. 1:4, 26, 29.

19. An interesting summary of the predestination passages of Jubilees can be found in Florentino García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, eds. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 247-250.

20. Jub. 2:9, Quoted from *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), OakTree Software Ver. 2.2

21. Her scholarly work on the subject culminates in her book: Annie Jaubert, *The Date of the Last Supper*, trans. Isaac Rafferty (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965).

created on Wednesday, then the first day of the year started on a Wednesday.<sup>22</sup> She went on to argue that this calendar is in fact very ancient, and it is assumed throughout much of the Old Testament, though it was eventually replaced by the luni-solar calendar in the Second Temple Period.<sup>23</sup> Jaubert's theory is accepted or disputed to varying degrees, the chief argument against it being that the theory cannot be proved with any degree of certainty.<sup>24</sup>

Enoch, the mysterious figure from Gen 5:21-24, is mentioned in Jub. 4:17-25 as the first man who understood the heavenly calendrical system and wrote it down. This passage seems to presuppose the Astronomical Book of *1 Enoch* (ch. 72-82).<sup>25</sup> Though it appears that Jubilees depends on *1 Enoch* in some places, it certainly differs from *1 Enoch* on the specifics of the calendar. The Astronomical Book indeed mentions the 364-day solar year in chapter 72, but also makes use of the moon and intercalation of sorts in chapters 73-74.<sup>26</sup> Thus, though Jubilees appears to have great respect for the Astronomical Book, Jubilees does not agree with its use of the moon in addition to the sun.

There is a similar situation within the corpus of calendrical texts at Qumran. Though the community seems to have been preoccupied with the notion of getting the calendar right, their library was full of documents that contradicted each other. On the one hand, Jubilees mandates a strict 364-day solar year, while *1 Enoch*, 4Q317 and 4Q318 use a luni-solar model.<sup>27</sup> This has led Sacha Stern to conclude that the calendars were "purely theoretical models."<sup>28</sup>

Though the sect's documents do not entirely agree on the details, there are a few notable trends about the Qumran calendar. First, the liturgical year of the Temple Scroll included all the biblical festivals, plus the addition of three more festivals: Wine, Oil, and Wood.<sup>29</sup> Second, no Qumran text makes mention of Purim (instituted in Esther) or Hanukkah (1 Maccabees).<sup>30</sup> Third, the Qumran sect seems to have designated the weeks of the year according to the priestly rotations in the temple. There were 24 names mentioned in 1 Chr 24:7-18, and it has been speculated that the Qumran sect added two more names so that there would be 26

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22. Jaubert, *The Date of the Last Supper*, 15-30.

23. Jaubert, *The Date of the Last Supper*, 31-52.

24. See, for example, James C. VanderKam, "The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypotheses," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 390-411; Ben Zion Wacholder and Sholom Wacholder, "Patterns of Biblical Dates and Qumran's Calendar: The Fallacy of Jaubert's Hypothesis," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 1-40.

25. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 11; VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 27-33.

26. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 20-26.

27. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 68; Matthias Albani, "Der 364-Tage-Kalender in Der Gegenwärtigen Forschung," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 92-93; VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 76, 88; For other texts and which camp they fall into, see *ibid.*, 110-112.

28. Stern, "Qumran Calendars: Theory and Practice," 181-182.

29. 11QT 19:11-25:1; VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 66-69.

30. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 71-72.

priestly watches, which would each fall twice a year.<sup>31</sup> With this understanding, the calendrical texts are somewhat easier to understand.<sup>32</sup>

It is unclear precisely what event led to such disunity over the calendar, but James C. VanderKam said:

There is good reason for believing that a calendrical dispute was one factor that led the Qumran community to separate itself physically from the rest of Jewish society. For them the calendar was not simply a convenient tool; rather, the correct reckoning of time was divinely revealed, and conducting one's life according to it had been mandated by God himself in prediluvian times.<sup>33</sup>

In fact, there is very little information about the calendrical system of the Second Temple Period.<sup>34</sup> The Elephantine Papyri (c. 5th century BCE) combine Egyptian and Babylonian month names, but the Samaria Papyri (c. 375-335 BCE) use only the Babylonian month names. The Babylonian calendar was a lunar one, and the Egyptian was solar.<sup>35</sup> In Sirach 43:6-7 (written c. 175 BCE), the moon governs the seasons, months, and festivals.<sup>36</sup> The books of 1 and 2 Maccabees use the Greek month names, and Josephus uses Jewish, Macedonian, and Roman names.<sup>37</sup>

It is unclear to what extent these (and potentially other) calendars differed, but if they did differ substantially, it is easy to understand how Jews could become anxious about observing the festivals at the right time. Perhaps this confusion is what led the author of Jubilees to write:

And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning— three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year. ...But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons and the years will be dislodged. ...And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths. ...It is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance.<sup>38</sup>

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31. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 72-74, 48-50. 1Q2:2 is the basis for the assumption that the Qumran list had 26 names rather than 24; however, the War Scroll possibly hints at this idea as well.

32. See VanderKam's section entitled "Calendrical documents that incorporate the priestly courses," in *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 77-86.

33. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, viii.

34. While not denying the reality of calendrical concern at Qumran, Stern says of the limited evidence within wider Judaism: "...besides the Boethusians of the Mishnah and the book of *Jubilees*, there is nothing to suggest calendar sectarianism among the Jews of the Hasmonean or of the early Roman periods." Stern, "Qumran Calendars: Theory and Practice," 185.

35. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 15-16.

36. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 27.

37. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 34.

38. Jub. 6:32-35, Quoted from *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), OakTree Software Ver. 2.2

Verses 36-38 go on to say that a lunar calendar mixes up the times and causes the people to profane holy days and perform holy rites on profane days. Not all time is created equal, and the Israelites must be very careful not to confuse the days.

The Habakkuk Peshar indicates that the Teacher of Righteousness (likely the founder of the Qumran community) and the Wicked Priest (possibly the reigning high priest) used different calendars.<sup>39</sup> In *The Rule of the Community*, it reads:

They are not to deviate in the smallest detail from any of God's words as these apply to their own time. They are neither to advance their holy times nor to postpone any of their prescribed festivals. They shall turn aside from His unerring laws neither to the right nor the left.<sup>40</sup>

VanderKam asserted that this is evidence of a difference in calendrical calculation because it would be unusual for Jews in the Second Temple Period to observe the festivals on completely different days than those mandated in the Torah.<sup>41</sup>

The Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document, which is of much interest to Jubilees scholars because of its reference to the book in CD 16:12-14, is also of interest because the book warns that the children of Israel would go astray in regard to the Sabbaths and festivals.<sup>42</sup> This shows a similarity in thought and concern between the two works and perhaps, even dependence of CD on Jubilees.

Though the calendar of the book of Jubilees was not embraced whole-heartedly at Qumran, the ideology behind Jubilees' calendar was accepted. Jubilees drove home the concept that using the right calendar was imperative to the people of God. The Qumran community carried on this tradition, seeking to perfect their own calendar, for "it was incumbent on the members of the Qumran covenant to observe the sacred festivals at the revealed times. To do otherwise entailed violating the harmony of the universe and mixing the sacred with the profane."<sup>43</sup>

Jubilees presupposes a deterministic theology. The events of the world are inscribed on the tablets in heaven, and everything happens according to its time. This is another point in which the Qumran community agrees with Jubilees. Throughout their documents, the sect shows itself to be deterministic, even to the point of using astrology.<sup>44</sup>

It was crucial to the writer of Jubilees that everything happens in its proper time and that the festivals be observed using the 364-day calendar. It is time to look at its theology of the weekly Sabbath.

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39. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Bib* 32 (1951): 549-563. See 1QpHab 11:4-8.

40. 1QS 1:13-15, quoted from "Qumran Non-Biblical Manuscripts: A New English Translation," based upon Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr. and Edward M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New English Translation*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), OakTree Software Ver. 2.7.

41. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 45-46.

42. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 47-48. CD 3:14-15, 6:18-19, 12:3-6.

43. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 110-111.

44. 4Q318, 4Q186, 4Q561; VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 88-89.

## The Sabbath

It has been pointed out that the book of Jubilees essentially begins and ends with the Sabbath.<sup>45</sup> Chapter 2 of the book discusses the creation in great detail, including the Sabbath, and chapter 50 ends with the command to keep the Sabbath and prescriptions on how to do so. Doering noted that Jubilees follows the account of Gen 1-Exod 16 and models its overall structure on these portions of the Torah. Thus, though the Sabbath is not mentioned in the middle of the book, this is explained on the basis of its absence in the biblical text.<sup>46</sup>

Jubilees' treatment of the Sabbath is far more extensive than the corresponding biblical text. Jubilees 2 builds its theology of the Sabbath on creation.<sup>47</sup> Fortunately, chapter 2 of the book also occurs in the Qumran library, in fragments 4Q216 and 218.<sup>48</sup> VanderKam and J. T. Milik have concluded that these fragments resemble the Ethiopic versions more closely than that of the available Greek or Syriac fragments.<sup>49</sup> For this study, primary consideration will be given to the Ethiopic textual tradition, comparing it with the fragments of the surviving texts at Qumran.

The Sabbath is called "a sign for all His works"<sup>50</sup> at the beginning of the chapter. It is mentioned again soon after in 2:9 in connection with the sun, which was to be a "great sign"<sup>51</sup> for days, Sabbaths, months, years, feasts, and jubilees. As earlier noted, the solar calendar is vital to the book's time system, and so it is no surprise that the moon is neglected in this passage. It is, however, interesting that days and Sabbaths are mentioned in connection with the sun.

We know from the biblical text that the day and the Sabbath were calculated using the sun, most often from sunset to sunset.<sup>52</sup> It is appropriate for the sun to be the sign that governs the days and the Sabbath, as the moon has nothing whatsoever to do with the dark-light cycle of the passing days.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps it is because of Jubilees' interest in the Sabbath that the sun, not the moon, is the heavenly body that governs time.

45. Lutz Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, eds. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 179-180. For the end of Jubilees, see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2:325-327.

46. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 179-180.

47. And it has been said that the author builds his creation account based on his concern for the Sabbath. George J. Brooke, "Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1-2: New Light from 4QJubileesa," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, eds. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 47.

48. Marler, "An Index of Qumran Manuscripts"

49. VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 4.

50. Jub. 2:1; Quoted from *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford, GBR: Clarendon, 1913), OakTree Software Ver. 2.2. 4Q216 5:1-3 clearly shows the words וְיִשְׁבֹּת בַּיּוֹם... מֵעֶשְׂרֵי הַיּוֹמִים. On the basis of VanderKam and Milik's reconstruction, the Qumran text matches the Ethiopic closely. VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 13-14.

51. The use of the word "sign" alludes to Exodus 31:13, 17. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 181; For further allusions to Exodus 31 in Jubilees 2, see Odil Hannes Steck, "Die Aufnahme Von Genesis 1 in Jubiläen 2 Und 4. Esra 6," *JSJ* 8 (1977): 160.

52. For an analysis of the evening and morning theories see J. Amanda McGuire, "Evening or Morning: When Does the Biblical Day Begin?," *AUSS* 46 (2008): 201-214.

53. Jub. 2:10 says that the sun "divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth." Quoted from *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), OakTree Software Ver. 2.2.



The Sabbath is next mentioned in connection with the completion of creation (Jub. 2:17-33). The reader is informed that some of the heavenly creatures, the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification, are commanded to keep the Sabbath with God. Just as a certain group of angels are elected to keep the Sabbath, so a certain class of humans will also keep the Sabbath.<sup>54</sup> This institution at the beginning of creation presupposes the coming of the children of Israel whom the Lord will set apart from among the peoples of the earth to keep the Sabbath (Jub. 2:17-24). Thus, though the Sabbath is created at the beginning of the world, it is not a universal commandment. In fact, the book prohibits Gentiles to keep the Sabbath (Jub. 2:31).<sup>55</sup>

This view is quite different from other authors of the Second Temple Period. Hellenistic Jews, who were necessarily more apologetic in nature,<sup>56</sup> may have had a tendency to see the Sabbath as a universal idea.<sup>57</sup> For example, Philo said: "For that day is the festival, not of one city or one country, but of all the earth; a day which alone it is right to call the day of festival for all people, and the birthday of the world."<sup>58</sup> Indeed, in *Moses 2*, Philo advocated the laws of Moses for all people, using the Sabbath as an example. He said of all classes of people, animals and even plants: "Everything is at liberty and in safety on that day and enjoys... perfect freedom...in obedience to a universal proclamation."<sup>59</sup> And before Philo, Aristobulus also saw the Sabbath as universally applicable, based on the seven-fold-order of the cosmos.<sup>60</sup>

Jubilees' theology of the Sabbath was not unacceptable to the Qumran community, however. The sect saw themselves as a "remnant" community,<sup>61</sup> and exclusivity was built into their worldview. Membership in the community required, among other things, strict observance of the Sabbath (CD 6:18; 10:14-11:18). Though no mention is made of Gentiles keeping the Sabbath, it is interesting to note that no one in the community could observe the Sabbath in a location near any Gentiles (CD 11:15). Ultimately, the Qumran community seemed more interested in separating themselves from other Jews than worrying about Gentile morality.

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54. Interestingly, Jubilees also states that these two classes of angels are circumcised by nature, thus further legitimizing their election and the institution of circumcision. Jub. 15:27.

55. This verse is not attested at Qumran, although this is perhaps not surprising because 4Q218 is extremely fragmentary. This exclusive application of the Sabbath commandment is later echoed in Rabbinic writings, which taught that the Sabbath was for Israel alone, and Gentiles were forbidden to keep it on pain of death. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 189-191.

56. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 14-16.

57. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 190.

58. Philo, *Creation 89 (The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. C. D. Young (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993)).

59. Philo, *Moses 2:19-22 (The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. C. D. Young (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993)).

60. Fragment 5. See A. Yarbro Collins, "Aristobulus: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 834.

61. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps, and Differences," 16-17; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, revised ed. (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 68-69. Vermes cites CD 5:2, 4Q266 f5i, f11, 4Q270 f7ii, 1QS 8:14-16, and 4Q265 f7ii as examples.

Jubilees 2:25-33 enumerates how to keep the Sabbath. Though much of this portion is not attested at Qumran, several parts of the Ethiopic text agree with the stipulations found in the Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document. For example, on the Sabbath, one may not prepare food or drink, carry things in or out of the house, or draw water (Jub. 2:29-30; CD 10:22-11:1, 7-8).

Jubilees' most fascinating statement concerning the Sabbath regards its holiness. In 2:30, 32, the book declares that the Sabbath is the most blessed of all days, surpassing even the jubilee days. In essence, the Sabbath's supreme holiness is a result of its heavenly origins (Jub. 2:30-31). Again, though these verses are not attested at Qumran, similar sentiments can be found within the Qumran corpus. On the Sabbath day, only the Sabbath sacrifices and the daily sacrifices could be offered (CD 11:17-18), even if it coincided with a feast day.<sup>62</sup> Angelic participation in the Sabbath is also a major feature of the Qumran community, as is seen in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice.<sup>63</sup>

Jubilees 50:6-13, the end of the book, revisits the Sabbath. It gives more stipulations for how to keep the Sabbath properly. The list is longer than the list in chapter 2. The same prohibitions are enumerated, and others are added, such as the prohibition against sex, war, killing an animal, lighting a fire, riding an animal, or traveling by boat. This portion of the book is not attested at Qumran, but it bears an even stronger similarity to the Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document than chapter 2 does. There are prohibitions against discussing business, working the field, making journeys, preparing food and drink, drawing water, and carrying things in and out of the house (CD 10:18-11:1, 7-8), all of which are present in Jubilees 50.<sup>64</sup>

The Sabbath's mention at the end of the book fulfills the institution of the Sabbath in chapter 2. Chapter 2 connects the Sabbath to creation; chapter 50 connects it to the Exodus.<sup>65</sup> Chapter 2 gives it to the elect angels, predicting that the children of Israel are destined to keep it; chapter 50 institutes the Sabbath for the Israelites. It is almost as if the entire book has been leading up to Israel's receiving the Sabbath.

Between chapters 2 and 50, the Sabbath is still present. Though the Sabbath was mandated for Israel alone, Jubilees has the patriarchs apparently keeping the Sabbath, and the author was careful to avoid mentioning travel on the Sabbath.<sup>66</sup> This is consistent with the book's method of grounding the Torah within the Patriarchal narratives. Other examples can be found with the laws of childbirth (Jub 3:8-14), covering one's nakedness (3:26-31), murder (4:1-6), retaliation (4:31-32), the Feast of Weeks (6:17-31), first fruits (7:34-39), circumcision (15:23-34),

62. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps, and Differences," 18-19. He points out that the community's calendar was set up to avoid such an occurrence, but this is not presupposed in CD.

63. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 329-330. For further references on this point see, Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 188.

64. Another sectarian document, IQM 2:8, mentions that war is prohibited during Sabbath-years.

65. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 183.

66. Annie Jaubert, "Le Calendrier Des Jubilés Et De La Secte De Qumrân: Ses Origines Bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953): 252-254; Jaubert, *The Date of the Last Supper*, 27; Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 183.

tithe (15:25-27, 32:1-15), the Levitical priesthood (30:18-20), and incest (33:10-20; 41:23-26).

Jubilees constantly warns against forgetting the Sabbath, along with the feasts, months, and the commandments.<sup>67</sup> The author is clearly concerned about the laws that govern sacred time and the effects they have on Israel's covenant relationship with God. Jubilees 1 and 23 connect Israel's breach of the covenant, especially regarding neglecting sacred time and committing idolatry, to the exile. Chapter 6 ascribes Israel's evil deeds to failing to follow the solar calendar. By doing so, the profane and the holy are "mixed up,"<sup>68</sup> and the sacred times are not observed properly. The result is that Israel becomes like the Gentiles in their feasts and they violate the law by eating blood.

### Conclusion

Though Jubilees was not written at Qumran, nor written for the sect specifically, the book was integral to the community. In fact, it has been suggested that the text be reclassified as a Dead Sea text, rather than a work of the Pseudepigrapha.<sup>69</sup> Though the Qumran sect did not accept the book's teachings unequivocally, it laid the groundwork for the community's theology of the Sabbath and the calendar.

The book of Jubilees sees time as fixed, ordained by God, and of cosmic significance. To alter the yearly calendar is to go against the order of heaven. If Israel does not follow the correct calendar, then they will be led astray, like the Gentiles. The Sabbath is the supreme expression of Sacred Time. Created at the beginning of the world, observed both in heaven and on earth, it is the most holy of the holy days.

The Jubilees framework for protecting and observing Sacred Time influenced the theology of the Qumran group, even if they did not agree on specifics such as whether a solar or luni-solar calendar was to be preferred.<sup>70</sup> Both schools of thought shared a unique view on the Sabbath as the ultimate expression of Sacred Time as seen in a comparison of Jubilees and the Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document.

Like Jubilees, the Qumran sect wrestled with the concept of the divine order of time. In their minds, it seems, God's commandments were very clear and specific. In their attempt to follow the Law to the letter, they found themselves in opposition to the larger Jewish community on the issues of the temple, the priesthood, and even the calendar. Their retreat from society enabled them to follow the Law and observe the Sacred Times as they saw fit.

There is a lesson that the Seventh-day Adventist community can learn from the disputes of the Second Temple Period. The Adventist church believes that it has a special message about Sacred Time, specifically the Sabbath and the antitypical Day of Atonement. On this, Adventists differ from many other Christians.

67. Jub. 1:10, 14; 6:34-38; 23:19; Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath," 183-184.

68. See the translation of the Ethiopic text 6:37 in Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction;" 68. Compare with the note to the translation of 6:33 in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2:42.

69. Hempel, "The Place of the *Book of Jubilees* at Qumran and Beyond," 195-196.

70. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 111-112.

The church is not called, however, to follow in the steps of the Qumran community and withdraw from society in order to protect the sacred. Instead, it is admonished to share it through its churches, schools, and hospitals. Its message is not one of exclusion, but inclusion through the Gospel. The church is charged with sharing the message until such a time that it, too, may keep the Sabbath with God and His angels in heaven, just as Jubilees predicted.