

INTRODUCTION

In accordance with his biblical *Vorlage*, the author of *Jubilees* writes that after the Flood, God gave Noah and his sons a sign of his eternal covenant with them that there would never again be a flood to destroy the earth (*Jub.* 6:15; cf. Gen 9:11–17). Then, the author adds an astonishing comment that is not part of the biblical base text (vv. 17–18):¹

For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the festival of weeks during this month [i.e., the third; cf. 6:1]—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year. (18) This entire festival had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah—for 26 jubilees and five weeks of years [= 1309 years].

This comment immediately confronts us with some of the complexities of this fascinating book: (1) the awkward system of dating according to jubilees and weeks (and often years as well); (2) the apparent association of *שבועות* (Festival of ‘Weeks’) with *שבועות* (‘oaths of covenant’); (3) the idiosyncratic antedating of the Festival of Weeks not merely to the days of Noah but to the time of creation itself; and (4) the correlation between cultic practice in heaven and on earth.

The latter two points are particularly important for our discussion because they apply not only to *Jub.* 6:17–18 but to the book as a whole. First, the antedating of the Festival of Weeks to the time of creation aptly illustrates the book’s perspective on the origins of sacred time. For *Jubilees*, the creation of the sun on the fourth day set in motion an eternal rhythm that determines the immutable cycles of *all cultic practice in heaven and on earth*. Second, and closely related to this fact, there is a divinely intended correlation between cultic practice in heaven and on earth. Again, this applies not merely to the Festival of Weeks, which had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime

¹ Throughout the present study, English translations of *Jubilees* are from James C. VanderKam (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–511, Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) vol. 2.

of Noah,² but to all cultic practice in heaven and on earth. Indeed, the original divine ideal was that there would be a synchronization of cultic practice *on earth as in heaven*.

As an example of this ‘on earth as in heaven’ theme, we may take the crucially important matter of sabbath observance, which both begins and ends the book (cf. *Jub.* 1:14; 2:17–33; 50:6–13).³ According to *Jub.* 2:1, God himself ‘kept sabbath on the seventh day. He sanctified it for all ages and set it as a sign for all his works.’ Hence, all practice of keeping the sabbath is ultimately an *imitatio dei*. Next, we learn that God instructed all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness ‘to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth’ (*Jub.* 2:18). Here we see the theme of ‘on earth as in heaven’ for the first time.⁴ We also see that all practice of keeping Sabbath on earth is not only an *imitatio dei* but

² Since the Festival of Weeks had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation, it is almost anticlimactic in *Jubilees* that Noah’s celebration of the festival occurs on III/1 (cf. *Jub.* 6:1, 17) and that therefore the covenant with Israel on Sinai took place at the same time of year (cf. Exod 19:1). On the calendrical relationship between the two events, see further James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London/New York: Routledge, 1998) 30–31.

³ Cf. L. Doering, ‘*Jub* 50:6–13 als Schlussabschnitt des *Jubiläenbuchs*—Nachtrag aus Qumran oder ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Werks?’ *RevQ* 20 (2002) 359–387.

⁴ The synchrony between heavenly and earthly liturgies is also found in later Hekhalot literature. As Beate Ego discusses in her book, *Im Himmel wie auf Erden. Studien zum Verhältnis von himmlischer und irdischer Welt im rabbinischen Judentum* ([WUNT 2.34; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989] 62–72 [69]), the concept is found in *Hekhalot Rabbati* 3.3 and 8.4: ‘Israel spricht das Trishagion zur selben Zeit wie die Engel; die temporale Parallelität fungiert so als Medium der Partizipation der Gemeinde am Gesang der Engel: Die Grenzen zwischen Himmel und Erde lösen sich auf, die beiden Bereiche durchdringen einander, die Immanenz öffnet sich hin zur Transzendenz.’ This recalls the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400–407, 11Q17, Masrk), although the characteristic feature of the Hekhalot texts in question—the Trishagion based on Isa 6:3—does not occur there. Instead, the comparison between both sets of texts is the similar way in which distance between heaven and earth is transcended according to a regular liturgical cycle. Cf. Carol Newsom (ed.), ‘4QShirot ‘Olat HaShabbata^{a-h},’ in Esther Eshel, et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4: VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 173–401. James R. Davila (‘The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,’ *DSD* 9 [2002] 1–19) shows that there is a broad tradition on the cosmic Temple as the archetype for the earthly Temple, and that the writers of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice drew on an earlier body of such tradition, using it for their own purpose: ‘to compose (or deduce) an angelic liturgy of the Sabbath Sacrifice for human imitation in the earthly cult’ (19). See further Rachel Elijor, ‘The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in *Heykalot Literature*,’ in Paul B. Fenton and Roland Goetschel (eds.), *Expérience et écriture mystiques dans les religions du livre* (Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval 22; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 41–54 (esp. 44, with n. 10).

also an *imitatio angelorum*, for the angels have the responsibility to keep sabbath with God ‘in heaven and on earth.’⁵ Then, in *Jub.* 2:19–21, God informs the angels that he ‘will now separate a people for myself from among the nations,’ a people who will have the exclusive prerogative of keeping the sabbath. Thus, we read in *Jub.* 2:21, God ‘made a sign on it [sc. the sabbath] by which they [sc. Israel], too, would keep sabbath with us [sc. angels] on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations; and to keep sabbath together with us.’ Verse 30 goes on to state: ‘... we [sc. angels] kept sabbath in heaven before it was made known to all humanity that on it they should keep sabbath on earth.’ We see, therefore, that the synchronization of cultic practice ‘on earth as in heaven’ begins with keeping the sabbath, first in heaven and then on earth, just as the Festival of Weeks was first celebrated in heaven before it was revealed to Noah after the Flood.

Another example of the ‘on earth as in heaven’ theme concerns circumcision. Just as keeping the sabbath begins with the angels in heaven at the time of creation and then applies to Israel on earth as a sign of their election from all the nations of the world, circumcision is initiated in the same sequence (first the angels, then Israel) and with the same significance (as a sign of Israel’s election). Thus, according to *Jub.* 15:26–27:

Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction. Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord, but (he is meant) for destruction, for being destroyed from the earth, and for being uprooted from the earth because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God. (27) For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like from the day

⁵ Cf. Beate Ego, ‘Heilige Zeit—heiliger Raum—heiliger Mensch. Beobachtungen zur Struktur der Gesetzsbegründung in der Schöpfungs- und Paradiesgeschichte des Jubiläenbuches,’ in Mattias Albani, et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997) 207–219 (216), referring to Sabbath observance and the law concerning the one who gives birth: ‘Gesetzesobservanz bedeutet zunächst nicht *imitatio partum*, sondern *imitatio dei* bzw. *imitatio angelorum*. Die erste Weissagungen Gottes an sein Volk werden nicht aus einem irdischen, sondern aus einem himmlischen Geschehen abgeleitet.’ See also J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 149.

of their creation. In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and his holy angels.

There is no reason to consider that the circumcised ‘nature’ of these angels is merely a metaphor for separation, much less a reflection of the Platonic distinction between nature and form. The fact that angels have male sexual organs is strongly implied in the story of the Watchers, in which originally good angels went bad by having intercourse with the daughters of men, thus mingling the heavenly and earthly spheres and defiling holy seed (see further below, pp. 6–7). For Israel, therefore, *imitatio angelorum* involves sanctification not only by observing the cosmic order of the cultic cycles (e.g., the sabbath and the Festival of Weeks), but also by identifying themselves as God’s holy people in the flesh, for just as the heavenly angels belong to a different order of being from the earthly creation, Israel belongs to a different order of being from the rest of humankind.⁶

A further example of the ‘on earth as in heaven’ theme comes in the context of Isaac’s deathbed blessing of Levi and Judah in *Jub.* 31:13–20. Isaac turns first to Levi (vv. 13–17) and blesses him in part with these significant words: ‘May the Lord give you and your descendants extremely great honor; may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones’ (v. 14). If, as we have seen, Israel was elected out of all nations to keep sabbath with the angels, here we learn that Levi and his descendants were elected out of all humanity, including the rest of Israel, to serve as priests in the earthly Temple and to do so in correspondence to the heavenly priests, the angels, who serve before the very presence of God in heaven.

⁶ Cf. Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 75. See also Robert G. Hall, ‘Circumcision,’ *ABD*, 1.1025–1031 (1028): ‘Circumcision removes Israelites from the dominion of evil, places them under God’s reign, and sanctifies them to experience God’s presence with the holy angels who were created circumcised (*Jub.* 15:25–34). Circumcision determines the sphere in which one lives: the uncircumcised are dominated by evil; the circumcised, being ruled by God, experience his blessing. A paraphrase of the Shechem story demands that Israelite daughters not be given to the uncircumcised (*Jubilees* 30). To do so would place them outside the sphere of God’s activity. Since not everyone physically circumcised fits in God’s sphere, circumcision of the heart is necessary as well. When people repent God will circumcise their hearts and include them in his sphere as his children (*Jub.* 1:23–25).’

In *Jubilees*, the relationship between the earthly and the heavenly cultus is also at the heart of the book's eschatological expectation. The hope is that God's original ideal of a synchronization of cultic practice 'on earth as in heaven' will be accomplished in the eschaton, at the time of the rebuilt Temple on Mt. Zion. A central figure in this eschatological hope is the antediluvian patriarch, Enoch. The priestly writer of the *Book of Jubilees* looks to Enoch as a model of the eschatological priesthood, a figure who successfully straddles heaven and earth.⁷ During his extended sojourn with the angels, Enoch was shown 'everything on earth and in the heavens—the dominion of the sun—and he wrote down everything' (*Jub.* 4:21). Enoch's authoritative writing was transmitted from patriarch to patriarch right down to Jacob and Levi and is incorporated in the *Book of Jubilees* itself. Therefore, all the interpretations of the biblical text that *Jubilees* espouses receive the stamp of divine authority, since they are derived from Enoch who was taught by the angels. After Enoch's sojourn with the angels, he entered into priestly service in the primeval sanctuary of the Garden of Eden, thereby setting up a trajectory to the eschatological priesthood that will enter priestly service in the rebuilt Temple on Mt. Zion in the new creation (*Jub.* 4:23–26).⁸ By that time at the latest, the originally intended synchronization between the heavenly and the earthly cultus will be accomplished along the same lines as Enoch has already established through his own ideal priestly service in 'the holy of holies,' which is how *Jub.* 8:19 refers to the Garden of Eden.

The antithesis of the 'on earth as in heaven' theme comes in the story of the Watchers, the angels of the Lord who wreaked havoc when they came down to earth. Originally, the Watchers 'descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth' (*Jub.* 4:15). This is completely in accordance with the angels' God-given responsibilities, discussed above, to provide a model for humankind to follow. Indeed, *Jub.* 5:6 explicitly states that the Lord sent the Watchers to earth. In other words, the Watchers were originally sent to pro-

⁷ See further in chapter 1 (pp. 56–59).

⁸ Because *Jubilees* wants to keep the primary focus on this trajectory from Enoch to the eschatological Temple, the book skips over the plan for the Tabernacle that was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai (Exodus 25–30), even though *Jubilees* purports to contain the revelation that Moses received there. Nevertheless, part of the impetus for the theme of 'on earth as in heaven' in *Jubilees* probably came from Exodus 25, where YHWH shows Moses the heavenly 'pattern' (תבנית) of the earthly Tabernacle (vv. 9, 40; cf. 26:30; 27:8).

vide humankind with the same kind of wholesome ‘scientific’ knowledge that the angels had revealed to Enoch. However, after their arrival on earth, the Watchers did not instruct humankind in righteousness; instead, they became corrupted by human beings, when they had illicit sexual relations with the daughters of men (*Jub.* 5:1; cf. Gen 6:1–4).⁹ Thus, Enoch ‘testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men because these had begun to mix with earthly women so that they became defiled’ (*Jub.* 4:22). Instead of promoting cultic practice ‘on earth as in heaven’ as originally intended, the Watchers mingled the two spheres, producing essentially the opposite effect—‘in heaven as on earth.’¹⁰ (We may compare *Jub.* 10:19 [‘Let us ascend through it

⁹ P.S. Alexander (‘Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science,’ in C. Hempel, et al. [eds.], *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* [BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2002] 223–243 [236]) suggests that the difference in presentation of the Watchers—at first good, later bad—corresponds to a historical development in the use of the Watchers: ‘It is probable that originally they were good—heavenly messengers who descended to earth to bring mankind divine knowledge and to promote the advancement of human culture. When those cultural advances, again for reasons that are no longer apparent, came to be regarded as negative the Watchers were transformed into fallen angels, who had brought forbidden knowledge to mankind and corrupted them, and they were linked with the Sons of God in Genesis 6 who entered into illicit union with the daughters of men.’ The nature of this forbidden knowledge in the Enochic literature is intriguing. As Alexander (*ibid.*, 234) argues, ‘There are two great bodies of knowledge referred to in this literature. On the one hand there is the knowledge of nature conveyed by Enoch: this is good. On the other hand there is the body of knowledge conveyed by the Watchers: this is bad. It led directly to the corruption of human society, and to the catastrophe of the Flood. There is no suggestion that the knowledge brought by the Watchers was false knowledge. It was heavenly in origin and mediated by angels, just like Enoch’s knowledge. The Watchers were as much culture-bringers as was Enoch. But the knowledge they brought, like the knowledge of Prometheus, was knowledge which Heaven did not want to be disclosed to humankind.’ According to *1 Enoch* 7:1; 8:1, the knowledge brought by the Watchers is strongly technological in nature, including the making of beauty aids (cosmetics and jewelry) and instruments of war (swords and shields). See further Pieter W. van der Horst, ‘Antediluvian Knowledge: Graeco-Roman and Jewish Speculations About Wisdom From Before the Flood,’ in *idem*, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 32; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 139–158 (147, 149). For a different understanding of the two kinds of knowledge presented in *1 Enoch*, see Mark Elliott, ‘Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book,’ *Henoch* 24 (2002) 23–38.

¹⁰ It is appropriate, therefore, that the Watchers were stripped of their positions of authority and tied up in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment (cf. *Jub.* 5:6, 10). A similar antithesis between heaven and earth is found in the Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36), where God tells Enoch to tell the Watchers, who had asked Enoch to intercede on their behalf, that they should intercede for humans, rather than the reverse (15:2). The text goes on to state (15:3–7): ‘For what reasons have you [sc.

to heaven'], referring to the people's presumptuous and possibly subversive aim in building the Tower of Babel.)¹¹ This unholy union between the Watchers and women not only resulted in bastard children (the giants) but also disturbed the created world order, with catastrophic consequences for world history, including the Flood. Hence, it becomes clear that after the Flood, there was need for a renewed effort to promote the proper synchronization between the earthly and the heavenly cultus, and the aforementioned institution of the Festival of Weeks in the time of Noah is a case in point.

Yet, the Watchers' infamous legacy would live on even after the Flood, guaranteeing that cultic practice 'on earth as in heaven' would proceed only by fits and starts during much of the rest of human history. According to *Jub.* 8:3, for example, the postdiluvian patriarch Kainan son of Arpachshad found an inscription containing the Watchers' teaching and used it 'to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign.' Although Kainan knew that it was wrong to delve into these arcane matters (which presumably contradicted Enoch's teaching about the 'dominion of the sun' [*Jub.* 4:21]), he did so anyway (*Jub.* 8:4). As it turns out, the use of the moon in the cultic calendar was one of the main cultic practices that *Jubilees* inveighs against (cf. *Jub.* 6:36–37). The Watchers' legacy also expressed itself in the form of the demonic spirits of their bastard children who had killed each other off (cf. *Jub.* 5:7, 9; 10:5), for those spirits continued to promote evil in the world through the ages (10:1–11).

But God's purposes are not thwarted. Throughout history, God renews his covenant of oath during the Festival of Weeks, not only with Noah, but also, for example, with Abram (the 'covenant between the

Watchers] abandoned the high, holy, and eternal heaven; and slept with women and defiled yourselves with the daughters of the people, taking wives, acting like the children of the earth, and begetting giant sons? (4) Surely you, you [used to be] holy, spiritual, the living ones, [possessing] eternal life; but (now) you have defiled yourselves with women, and with the blood of the flesh begotten children, you have lusted with the blood of the people, like them producing blood and flesh, (which) die and perish. (5) On that account, I have given you wives in order that (seeds) might be sown upon them and children born by them, so that the deeds that are done upon the earth will not be withheld from you. (6) Indeed you, formerly you were spiritual, (having) eternal life, and immortal in all the generations of the world. (7) That is why (formerly) I did not make wives for you, for the dwelling of the spiritual beings of heaven is heaven.'

¹¹ For the possibly subversive aim of the people's ascent to heaven, cf. Isa 14:13–14 and the Jewish tradition based on that text (see David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* [TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988] 279–280, 319–322, 444).

parts' and covenant of the command of circumcision that made 'Abram' into 'Abraham') and with Israel (the covenant at Sinai), so that this festival that had 'been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah' (*Jub.* 6:18) would be celebrated in perpetuity on earth as well. The ultimate goal of history for *Jubilees* is the complete restoration of sacred time and sacred space, so that what is done in the earthly cultus in the Land of Israel exactly corresponds to the way that things are already done in the heavenly cultus, that is, in accordance with the will of God from creation as inscribed on the heavenly tablets.¹² There is, therefore, a strong sense in *Jubilees* not only that earth should perfectly mirror heaven, but that *Endzeit* should completely recapitulate *Urzeit*, that is, restore the world to its original, pristine condition before the fall of Adam. This rigorous symmetry between the temporal and spatial axes in the space-time continuum is an important hallmark of the book, which will give us a substantial means by which to grasp the more recondite matters relating to sacred space and sacred time in the book.

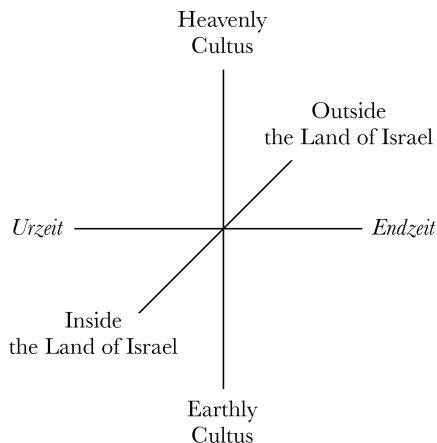


Fig. 1. The Rigorous Symmetry between the Temporal and Spatial Axes in the *Book of Jubilees*.

¹² The 'on earth as in heaven' ideal is implicit in numerous Jewish writings of the Second Temple period that describe the heavenly bodies as having faithfully obeyed God's ordinances from the beginning of creation, whereas human beings have been disobedient and are in need of repentance. Cf. George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001) 152–155, with texts illuminating *1 Enoch* 2:1–4.

Salient Features of Jubilees

Having observed the temporal and spatial symmetry in the *Book of Jubilees*, we may now examine some of the other salient features of the book. *Jubilees* is a pseudepigraphon that apparently dates from the middle of the second century BCE.¹³ Although the complete text of the book is extant only in Ethiopic (Ge'ez), as many as 16 fragmentary copies of *Jubilees* in Hebrew were found in Qumran (caves 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11), ranging in date on the basis of paleography from *c.* 125–100 BCE (4QJubilees^a [4Q216]) to *c.* 50 CE (11QJubilees [11Q12]), which are remarkably consistent with the later Ethiopic text.¹⁴ This number of copies makes *Jubilees* one of the most popular of all books found among the Qumran scrolls, exceeded only by Genesis (20 manuscripts), Isaiah (21), Deuteronomy (30), and Psalms (36).¹⁵ Very probably, *Jubilees* was understood as ‘scripture’ by the Qumran community and was therefore cited authoritatively by its Hebrew title (see further in chapter 2 on CD 16.3–4 [pp. 83, 88, 97]).

For purposes of the present study, the book as we now have it is treated as a unity, although arguments have been adduced to suggest that the eschatological predictions in *Jubilees* 1 and 23 may have been

¹³ Although the dating of the book is a matter of great importance to the overall interpretation of *Jubilees*, our discussion of the chronological and geographical framework of the book has a potential bearing on the dating issue; therefore, we shall need to leave the issue open. For if, as we shall see, *Jubilees* regards the ideal boundaries of the Land to include Syria, then the book most likely dates to around the time of the Maccabean revolt (166–160 BCE), when Jews in Judea threw off Seleucid domination. In any case, the book almost certainly dates to the period before the Hasmonean period (142–63 BCE), when, even at the height of Hasmonean expansion, considering the possible inclusion of Syria in the Land of Israel was far from the geopolitical reality (see further in chapter 3 [pp. 182 n. 53, 184 (Map1); also 219–220]). On the various approaches to the dating of *Jubilees*, see James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977) 207–285.

¹⁴ There are no less than thirteen and perhaps as many as sixteen copies of *Jubilees* among the Dead Sea scrolls. The following may be regarded as certain identifications: (a) 1Q17–18, perhaps one manuscript, edited by J.T. Milik in DJD 1, 82–84; (b) 2Q19–20 and 3Q5, edited by M. Baillet in DJD 3, 77–79 and 96–98; (c) 4Q216–224, edited by James C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 1–140; (d) 11Q12, edited by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar in *Qumran Cave 11, II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 207–220. Cf. James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002) 196–199.

¹⁵ Cf. VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 147–150.

added secondarily.¹⁶ More likely, however, these chapters are inseparable from the chronological framework of the book as a whole.¹⁷ We shall come back to this issue in chapter 2.

The Historical Scope of the Book of Jubilees

Jubilees presents itself as divine revelation that Moses received on Mt. Sinai. In the first chapter, God converses with Moses directly, whereas in chapters 2–50, the revelation comes through the mediation of the angel of the presence, who dictated to Moses from heavenly tablets.¹⁸

Moses remained on the mountain for 40 days and 40 nights while the Lord showed him what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come. He related to him the divisions of all the times—both of the law and of the testimony. (*Jub.* 1:4)¹⁹

‘Now you write all these words which I will tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity—until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity.’ Then he said to an

¹⁶ Cf. Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 10–18; Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Minard, 1960) 39–42.

¹⁷ See esp. James C. VanderKam, ‘Studies on the Prologue and *Jubilees* 1,’ in Randal A. Argall, et al. (eds.), *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000) 266–279, who argues that *Jubilees* 1 is of great importance for grasping the rest of the book. VanderKam (*ibid.*, 267 n. 2) dismisses Davenport’s view that *Jub.* 1:4b–26 belongs to a different redaction of the book from the verses that surround it. See further James C. VanderKam, ‘The Origins and Purpose of the Book of Jubilees,’ in Matthias Albani, et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997) 3–24 (12–13). See also John T. Rook, ‘Studies in the Book of Jubilees: The Themes of Calendar, Genealogy and Chronology’ (D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1983) 6: ‘Perhaps he [sc. Davenport] is right that the eschatological sections do have a pre-history but what is more important is how the author of Jubilees has bonded these ideas into the narrative structure in such a way that these eschatological sections now shape the narrative. This important redactional question was ignored by Davenport.’

¹⁸ Cf. James C. VanderKam, ‘The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees,’ *JSS* 26 (1981) 209–217, which eliminates one of the main arguments for positing two editions of the *Book of Jubilees* by showing that the alleged contradiction regarding the putative author of the book can actually be attributed to the Greek translator of the original Hebrew text.

¹⁹ For the highly fragmentary Hebrew text, see 4QJubilees^a (4Q216) 1.9–12 (DJD 13, 5).

angel of the presence: 'Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity.' (*Jub.* 1:26–27)²⁰

Although this divine revelation to Moses reportedly consisted of the whole history of humankind from beginning to end (e.g., *Jub.* 1:4, 26–27, 29; 23:32),²¹ the surface narrative of the book focuses on only part of it, that is, from the creation of the world to the arrival of Israel at Sinai.²² In essence, therefore, *Jubilees* covers the same ground as Genesis 1 to Exodus 24, and appears to be 'a rewriting of earlier pentateuchal material, which it places in a new setting (Sinai), and it quotes extensively from a more ancient text of Genesis and Exodus' (cf., e.g., *Jub.* 6:22, which refers to what is written 'in the book of the first law'; 30:24, which recalls what 'I have written for you in the words of the law' and then quotes from Gen 34:14).²³

²⁰ For the Hebrew text, see 4QJubilees^a (4Q216) 4:3–10 (DJD 13, 11–12).

²¹ On the contents of the heavenly tablets which Moses is commanded to write down as encompassing the whole history of humankind, see Florentino García Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,' in Matthias Albani, et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997) 243–260 (esp. 247–250); Hindy Najman, 'Interpretation As Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,' *JSTJ* 30 (1999) 379–410; Martha Himmelfarb, 'Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*,' in Benjamin G. Wright (ed.), *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999) 19–29 (esp. 21, 23, 26); cf. also VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 260–264. In addition to references specifically to the universal history in the heavenly tablets, *Jubilees* also includes other indications of a concern for the whole history of humankind. Cf., e.g., *Jub.* 4:19: 'While he [sc. Enoch] slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur—how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.' On *Jubilees* as a revelatory text, see further George W.E. Nickelsburg, 'The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumranic Documents,' in Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 91–119 (esp. 104–107).

²² Cf. VanderKam, 'Studies on the Prologue and *Jubilees* 1,' 272, referring to the eschatological thrust in the Prologue and in *Jub.* 1:4, 26, 29: 'These statements about the time covered by the revelation, as commentators have long noted, do not fit well with the Pentateuch nor even with most of *Jubilees*. They may, however, refer to passages such as *Jub.* 23:8–31, which predicts what will happen at the end.'

²³ Cf. James C. VanderKam, 'Questions of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (eds.), *The Canon Debate* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002) 91–109 (105). See further idem, 'Jubilees and the Hebrew Texts of Genesis-Exodus,' in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible*

However, *Jubilees* is interested not only in pentateuchal history, but also in the future of Israel in the Land. In this regard, *Jubilees* is similar to Deuteronomy, and indeed the Prologue not only commences with wording similar to that of the book of Deuteronomy ('These are the words ...'; cf. Deut 1:1), but *Jubilees* incorporates Deuteronomic perspectives at several points in its narrative (see further pp. 59, 76–79, 115–117).²⁴ This interest in the future of Israel in the Land extends to the very chronological framework in which the narrative of *Jubilees* is embedded—a scheme of 50 jubilees consisting of 49 years each that culminates in the grand jubilee of jubilees in the year 2450 from creation, when Israel eventually (from the narrative perspective of the text) is freed from slavery in Egypt and enters into the Promised Land.²⁵

VanderKam rightly emphasizes the biblical basis of *Jubilees*' chronological conception:²⁶

By calling a major unit of his chronology a *jubilee*, the writer naturally invokes the biblical associations of that term. The Bible contains many laws for the jubilee, which it understands to be the fiftieth year, the year after the completion of seven sabbatical cycles. According to Leviticus 25 ..., during the jubilee year property reverted to its original owner and Israelite slaves were released. *Jubilees* transposes these terms onto a national level. In its chronology in the fiftieth jubilee period (the fiftieth unit of forty nine years) the Israelites regained the land that originally belonged to their ancestors, and they were released from slavery in Egypt. These events, which are separated by forty years, both fell within its fiftieth jubilee (see 50:1–5). Hence the author of *Jubilees* uses a biblically-tinged chronological unity and applies it to Israel's pre-Canaan history in order to make a telling point about the momentous events of the fiftieth jubilee period.

and *Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 448–461. With respect to this new setting, it is interesting to note that chronologically, Leviticus 25–26, which is so fundamental to the overall conception of time in *Jubilees*, belongs together with the Decalogue and Book of the Covenant revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai (Exodus 20–24). Cf. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday, 2001) 2151, 2154–2156, 2241. Recognizing this point, *Jubilees* simply adjusts the pentateuchal narrative accordingly, incorporating the Mosaic revelation about the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee (Leviticus 25) with the rest of the revelation to Moses on Sinai (Exodus 20–24).

²⁴ Cf. Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSRHZ 2.3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981) 279, who calls *Jubilees* 'eine Art Gegenstück zum Dtn.'

²⁵ Cf. James C. VanderKam, 'Das chronologische Konzept des Jubiläenbuches,' *ZAW* 107 (1995) 80–100; an English version of this article is reprinted as 'Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees,' in J.C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 522–544. Citations are from the original German article.

²⁶ VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 102.

Upon closer examination of the underlying theology of the law of jubilee in Leviticus 25, we gain further insight into the scriptural basis of *Jubilees'* whole chronological system, including the notion of the jubilee of jubilees. For, as Jacob Milgrom demonstrates for Leviticus 25, the biblical law of jubilee on an individual level is predicated on YHWH's act of deliverance on a national scale. In other words, the *imitatio dei* should be Israel's motivating principle: Because YHWH redeemed the nation of Israel from slavery in Egypt, individual Israelites are obligated to redeem their kinsmen from slavery to resident aliens in the Land.²⁷

On this model, the course of Israel's enslavement in and subsequent redemption from Egypt becomes clear. At first, during the worldwide famine that caused Jacob and his family to seek relief in Egypt, Israel slowly slipped into the same debt-slavery that impoverished the Egyptians with whom they were living as resident aliens. As Milgrom comments, 'The worsening stages of indebtedness [in Lev 25:25–55] may be compared with a similar account told in the Joseph story (Gen 47:13–26). The Egyptians sold all they owned to Pharaoh in order to buy food: first their mobile possessions, then their land, and finally their persons; and thus they were reduced to serfdom. Who was the author of this policy—Joseph. And who became its main victims—Joseph's descendants'²⁸ *Jubilees* 45:8 reflects the same story: 'As the land of Egypt suffered from the famine, Joseph gained the whole land of Egypt for the pharaoh in exchange for food. *He* acquired the people, their cattle, and everything *for* the pharaoh.' Presumably, then, Israel also became debt-slaves in the process, although their harsh treatment and *suffering* in slavery did not begin until later (*Jub.* 46:11–16; cf. Exod 1:13–14, where the Egyptians are said to have imposed hard labor 'with harshness' [בפֶּרֶךְ] on the Israelites, treatment which was expressly prohibited for fellow Israelites in the law of jubilee [Lev 25:43]). According to the law of jubilee in Leviticus 25, if an Israelite becomes a debt-slave held by a non-Israelite, the debtor's family is obligated to redeem him (vv. 47–54).²⁹ Since this condition prevails when Israel as a nation becomes enslaved to the Egyptians, the law of jubilee comes into force

²⁷ Note that *imitatio dei* is also otherwise a prominent theme in Leviticus. Cf. Lev. 11:44–45; 19:2; 20:26; 21:7–8. See further Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991) 730–731; idem, *Leviticus 17–22* (AB 3A; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 1604–1606.

²⁸ Milgrom, *Leviticus* 23–27, 2192 (also 2228).

²⁹ Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus* 23–27, 2235: 'The debtor who falls into the hands of a non-Israelite creditor is considered a captive. Hence redemption is required. The obligation

on a national scale (rather than on the individual level) in an international setting (rather than in the Land). There are differences, however. Unlike the normal situation envisioned by Leviticus 25, the debtor in this case (Israel) was redeemed *without money* being paid to the foreign creditor (cf. Isa 52:3); instead, the debtor himself received recompense for his enslavement from the creditor nation (cf. *Jub.* 48:18–19, where the plunder of the Egyptians at the time of the exodus is explained as compensation for Israel's enslavement in Egypt). As in the normal situation, however, the redeemer (in this case, God) makes the former debtor his own 'slave' (cf. Lev 25:42, 55, where the Israelites are God's slaves whom he redeemed from the land of Egypt).³⁰ Usually, this secondary 'enslavement' after redemption would amount to the debtor working for his redeemer until the time of the jubilee, when his debts were canceled, and he returned to his patrimony (Lev 25:50–54). Israel, however, remains God's permanent slave, presumably again because of the grander scale of the transaction.³¹ In any case, the point is clear:³²

YHWH redeems on both a national and an individual scale. YHWH is the redeemer of the people of Israel whenever it is subjected to (i.e., enslaved by) a foreign nation. This was the case in the Egyptian bondage (Exod 6:6; 15:13; cf. Isa 63:9; Ps 106:10). And according to Second Isaiah, such will be the case in the Babylonian Exile (Isa 35:4, 9; 43:1; 44:22, 23; 48:20; 51:10; 52:3; 63:9; cf. Mic 4:10). Thus the example of divine intervention whenever any part of his land is lost (i.e., the jubilee) is to be duplicated whenever any of his people is lost (i.e., enslaved).

There is also another aspect to the *imitatio dei* in Leviticus 25 which should not be overlooked: Israel is to follow God's example by allowing the land to rest in the sabbatical and jubilee years, for just as God rested

to redeem captive Israelites is traceable back to Abraham and Lot (Gen 14), and it persists in biblical and rabbinic tradition (cf. Neh 5:5–12 ...).

³⁰ See further Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2226–2227.

³¹ Perhaps there are other reasons that Israel remains permanent slaves of God. If, for example, the redemption price is normally calculated according to the time remaining until the jubilee (Lev 25:50–53), and if, in *Jubilees'* conception, God redeemed Israel in the year of jubilee itself but without a redemption price (indeed, Israel received compensation from the creditor!), that might be seen as grounds for making Israel God's permanent slaves. Or are we dealing here with a kind of sacral manumission, such as that found in the Greek *paramonē* (from παραμένω 'to remain') contracts, in which the 'freed' slave remains in the service of his former master for a specified length of time, normally for the life of the former owner? Cf., e.g., E. Leigh Gibson, *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosphorus Kingdom* (TSAJ 75; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999) 40–49.

³² Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2234.

from work on the seventh day of creation in order to make the day holy, Israel must preserve the sanctity of the sabbatical and jubilee years.³³ As we have seen, *Jubilees* appropriates the concept of the *imitatio dei* with respect to keeping the sabbath.

Milgrom's interpretation of the underlying theology of the year of jubilee in Leviticus 25 provides a fitting explanation for *Jubilees*' emphasis on the jubilee of jubilees, that is, Israel's redemption from slavery in Egypt and the nation's return to the patrimony—the Land. Yet, there are many indications within the *Book of Jubilees* that the interest in Israel's future in the Land goes well beyond the initial entrance into Canaan. As we shall see (pp. 75–82, 113–141), *Jubilees* adumbrates the whole history of Israel and looks forward particularly to the future restoration in the Land after the exile.

A Program for Further Study

In view of the foregoing observations, the path of our subsequent study is clear: We must further investigate the integral interrelationship between (1) sacred space and (2) sacred time in the *Book of Jubilees*. Already we are starting to see how the book constructs a space-time continuum that aims at a coherent and comprehensive whole by the time of the culmination of human history. Yet there are still many questions: What, for example, can we know about the cultic cycles that determine the order of the universe from the time of creation onward? What role do they play in the chronological system of the book? If *Jubilees* uses the jubilee of jubilees as a major historical division, are there any other similar divisions? How does *Jubilees*' chronological system compare to the newly published 'calendrical texts' from Qumran? How does the history of Israel relate to world history according to *Jubilees*? What significance, if any, does the Land of Israel itself occupy in the book? All these questions—and more—will occupy our attention in the subsequent pages.

In chapter 1, we survey the four cultic cycles that form the mainstay of *Jubilees*' chronological system. In chapter 2, the chronological system itself is examined. Finally, in chapter 3, we consider the role of the Land of Israel in the book.

³³ Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus* 23–27, 2153, 2156, 2158, 2170.