A Sacrifice of Time: Work, Worship and the Embodiment of Sabbath in ancient Judaism

by

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Department for the Study of Religion
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Abstract

This thesis examines some of the primary practices and rituals associated with the Sabbath as described in literary texts from ancient Judaism and nascent Christianity in the Second Temple period and later. The material is analyzed from the perspectives of ritual studies and embodied cognition/conceptual metaphor theory in order to show how ritualized practices such as the periodic cessation of normal activity (i.e. work) and the performance of other, distinct rituals (i.e. praises; blessings) metaphorically produce meaning, knowledge and identity from the embodiment or practice of Sabbath in different contexts. Furthermore, the bodily performance of different activities that differ from those performed on other occasions contributes to the production of religious experience and construction of temporal experience. The first part focuses on several prohibitions regarding the performance of “work,” practices related to its cessation, and how these functioned as an embodied metaphor of Sabbath as attention to the deity as well as situations where breaking Sabbath “rest” preserved this embodied knowledge of the seventh day. A second part examines positive commands of worship and in particular practices of blessing and praise for the Sabbath and deity. Furthermore, this section highlights a conceptual metaphor of “praise as sacrifice” in ancient Judaism and how some practitioners used
intuitive knowledge of this metaphor to fulfill commands for Sabbath sacrifices apart from temple sacrifice. The final part examines the experience of the Sabbath day through ritualized practices that are often characterized as a time of profound union with angelic analogues. Ritual practices associated with Sabbath in different contexts functioned as a means for transcending the profane time of the mundane and for shaping communal identity.
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Chapter 1 – The Embodiment of Sabbath as a Sanctuary of Time

1 Introduction

In his famous meditation on the Jewish Sabbath, Abraham Joshua Heschel argued that the seventh day in Jewish life constituted a “sanctuary of time” and that Judaism was a religion that “aimed at the sanctification of time,” of which the practice of the Sabbath was the central element Jewish life. Thus even though the Sabbath is a gift from God, Heschel regarded Israel as co-participant in the sanctification of the seventh day: “the Sabbath is holy by the grace of God, and is still in need of all the holiness which man may lend to it.” The centrality of the Sabbath and of the human practices that sanctify the day even back into ancient times is an important point; the practices and ideas in more remote periods while connected with those of the present nevertheless took place under a number of different circumstances and institutions (i.e. temple, sacrifices, priests). The idea that the various practices associated with the seventh day Sabbath make a “sanctuary of time” has relevance for understanding the nature and meaning of the ancient Sabbath as reflected in texts from that era.

In this thesis, I examine some ways in which the performance of various Sabbath ritual practices creates the grounds, edifice and experience of the seventh day “sanctuary of time.” I take this metaphor as an “embodied” one based on theories of embodied cognition, which among other things provides evidence that the physical body and interaction with its external environment fundamentally shape thought and meaning. Thus knowledge of the divine and mental dispositions such as belief and identity are inseparable from bodily, ritual actions that produce


and instantiate such ideas. The examination of ritualized actions associated with the central institution of the Sabbath provides the opportunity to consider how belief, knowledge, and identity are embodied in ancient Judaism through the performance of various ritual acts.

Using the structural metaphor of a “sanctuary of time” as a conceptual framework for the selection and interpretation of Sabbath-related texts, this study breaks down into three separate but related parts: first, there are ritualized practices of ceasing or drastically modifying “work” (מלאכה) and other activity associated with daily life that distinguishes the seventh day from other days and creates a temporal interval set aside for holy and consecrated acts designated for the Sabbath. Cognitively, the relation to and knowledge of the divine will is embedded in the act of stopping “work” itself and the rituals function as metaphors for a desired “mental” state or disposition (i.e. communal identity, bodily “attention” for the deity). Such a conception relates to a second level of Sabbath temporality that includes special liturgical practices like prayer, song and sacrifice that fill this metaphorical “space” with a “sanctuary” or “temple” of Sabbath worship. Lastly, these practices combine and produce distinctive experiences of the seventh day characterized with qualities of joy, pleasure, and *communitas* that are frequently expressed in extraordinary and otherworldly terms in many texts from the late Second Temple period. The religious experience that ensues from some of these practices is a product of the liturgical acts that distinguish normal time and experience from that which is “out of time” i.e. outside the realm of mundane experience. This conceptual framework is helpful because despite the ongoing importance of space for the Sabbath in ancient Judaism and beyond (i.e. temple, synagogue; cf. heaven), the “time” or experience of the seventh day - the Sabbath itself - is ultimately not linked exclusively to particular spaces but to different practices carried out in that temporal frame. While this dissertation considers select traditions associated with and development of the Sabbath, it also examines how practices in themselves are fundamental to the

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meaning and experience of the holy day. Overall, different practices carried out on the seventh day produce the “temple” of time on Sabbath. In order to illustrate these aspects of the Sabbath, I draw on the developing trends in the practice and thought on the seventh day and consider how “doing” certain things on the Sabbath is what makes Sabbath “time.”

1.1 Sabbath Rest, Worship and Experience: Texts and Issues

With this conceptual framework in mind, this study is still one focused on traditions left in writing in particular places and at particular times. I examine ancient “Jewish” texts ranging from the early Second Temple period on through the early rabbinic era and aim at an intellectual history of selected aspects of Sabbath practice and thought in ancient Judaism in addition to how these practices define the experience of the seventh day. The texts chosen here represent some of the oldest material related to early Jewish law and its interpretation, the origins of Jewish liturgy and prayer, aspects of divine mediation and address practices and thought about the Sabbath. Furthermore, the texts chosen here at the very least reflect conceptions of ideal practices that embody the Sabbath in their performance and construct meaning for the communities that practice them. I examine material concerning Sabbath prohibitions from legal codes in the various strata the Pentateuch as well as material from the Prophets (3rd Isaiah; Ezekiel) and Writings (Nehemiah). Most of this material in the form that we have it I consider to be postexilic and part of dynamic processes of interpretation and textual formation (e.g. different versions, translations) that continued on into the late Second Temple period and of which we have likely only a fraction. For these reasons, it is appropriate to compare such materials to later interpretations of Sabbath tradition found in Jubilees and in the substantial cache of documents discovered in the Judean desert (i.e. the Dead Sea Scrolls), the latter of which garners much attention in this study due to content and my familiarity with material. I consider the latter group of documents to be largely representative a wider circle of Judaism and not solely the product of the sectarian ethos of the Yahad or likely related groups (e.g. the Damascus Document) though

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7 Cf. Timothy Beal, “Reception History and Beyond: Toward the Cultural History of Scriptures,” Biblical Interpretation 19 (2011). In his outline of the limitations of “reception history,” Beal notes the extreme difficulty of locating the Ur-version of “the” biblical text (367).
many originated from the movement or were adopted for their particular needs to some degree (e.g. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*). The fact that the Yahad probably had more communal sites outside of the one at Khirbet Qumran suggests that the treasure trove of texts found in the caves represent more widespread traditions and that they were not all composed at the site. I also highlight the furthering of Sabbath traditions in nascent Christianity and rabbinic Judaism as they provide insight into distinctive views on the practice and meaning of the Sabbath in particular settings. As many similarities are apparent between traditions contained in these materials, they do not create a monolithic or exhaustive image of Sabbath practice and represent only a fraction of the ways in which the Sabbath was practiced and conceived. The texts selected for this study were chosen because they share similar content and metaphors pertaining to the Sabbath even as they differ in approach and conclusion with regard to tradition source material.

Although there are many similarities between practices and shared ideas among the texts that are highlighted through the course of this study, it is the differences and novel adaptations of recognizably related descriptions of practice and thought that are even more interesting. Furthermore, similar themes, issues, or practices appear in different types of texts (i.e. genres) while the texts themselves might be used in different ways. Thus *Jubilees*, while commanding that blessings and sacrifices should be the sole “work” performed on the Sabbath, does not describe the content of such worship practices. Other material such as *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) contains actual practices of praise that might be offered on the holy day by some adherents. Bringing such materials together provides the opportunity to create a broader picture of Sabbath practices while also highlighting some of the unique and more challenging traditions. So here I bring together texts that contain similar examples of halakhic ordinances, prayer practices and ideas about angelic communion to highlight both shared tradition and in what ways the practices reflected in them embody the knowledge and experience of the Sabbath. The manner in which such traditions or symbols are used (i.e. priestly) or in what context they are performed (i.e.

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genre) can have effects on the formation of meaning and identity for those communities that produce, use, and transmit them.  

The present study builds on voluminous scholarship on the Sabbath in ancient Judaism and Christianity of which I can touch upon only the most relevant trends in order to situate this project in the ongoing study of the Sabbath. A great amount of attention has been paid to tracing the historical development of the ancient Sabbath from the earliest epigraphical and literary sources. Several studies have focused on potential, cross-cultural sources for Sabbath practice (i.e. Babylonian šab/pattu; ūmū lemmutū), the portrait of the Sabbath in different sources according to the Documentary Hypothesis of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch, and the relative dating of these sources. More recently there have been renewed debates regarding the attribution of Sabbath passages to particular sources (i.e. “P”, “H”, “D”) and a mapping of trends that suggest particular passages can be attributed to “priestly” editors or other “schools” of thought. This work is vital for understanding some of the earliest material on the Sabbath including commands for ceasing work and introduces the traditions that are further analyzed in the literature discussed in this study. Furthermore, this work also helps illustrate which traditions played extensive roles in the formation of new works that nevertheless presented themselves as authoritative interpretations of the Sabbath (e.g. Exodus traditions in Jubilees).

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Other scholarship has focused more on the development of Sabbath practices and thought in the later Second Temple period. Here we find a substantial amount of interest in the Sabbath as presented in the book of Jubilees and halakhic portions of texts (e.g. Damascus Document) as well as other fragments pertaining to the Sabbath found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In particular, scholars have examined the literary connection of these late Second Temple texts to their presumed forbearers in the Tanakh and other traditions and the how such traditions compare to earlier as well as later (i.e. rabbinic) understandings of Sabbath law. Further study on the Sabbath during this era has focused on recently discovered texts from sites such as Qumran and which include prayer/liturgical materials. Given their unique nature, the “liturgical invitations” that make up the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-405; 11Q17; 1Mask) have garnered a great amount of attention ever since their full publication by Carol Newsom. As will be evident in the discussion of the Shirot in chapters 3 and 4 of this project, the Songs have increasing become a key text in attempts to reconstruct the practice and belief about the Sabbath at Qumran but they have implications for the embodiment of Sabbath in other contexts as well (e.g. Revelation). Overall, this dissertation engages this work on halakhah, prayer, and other ritual worship as a means to situate the texts historically while also attempting to further the discussion of the material by addressing the underlying ritual practices through ritual theory and embodied cognition and how they are vital to the construction of time, identity, and meaning.

13 In general, see Lutz Doering, Schabbat : Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum = Texts and studies in ancient Judaism (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).


This dissertation also addresses some of the complexities of categorizing groups in ancient Judaism in light of Sabbath practices and their performance by different groups and at different times. In particular, some texts from the New Testament that relate to Sabbath practices in direct but also less obvious ways are considered here because they play on related traditions in early Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism; even much later material such as that found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* shows the continued reliance of the early Church on Jewish tradition and practice in ongoing practices of self-definition. I will make a preliminary demonstration that both Jews and early Christians performed Sabbath and this fact complicates many “parting of the ways” narratives that frequently dominate the interpretation of Judaism and Christianity in the first few centuries CE. In particular, the present study examines some interpretation and development of Sabbath practices in nascent Christianity and early rabbinic halakhah. In ways similar to scholarship on the development of the Sabbath from the earliest sources into the early Common Era, much attention has been given to tracing a historical development of the “Jewish” Sabbath into the “Christian” Sunday. As I will highlight particularly in chapter 4, a clear and unproblematic transition from the Sabbath to Sunday in early Christianity is an extremely complex (and perhaps theoretically flawed) historical question given different aspects of interpretation and practice reflected in the New Testament gospels, the book of Revelation, the writings of early church fathers, and “Jewish” prayers in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Early Christians (and indeed later ones) continued the embodiment of the Sabbath in practice and consequently thought, albeit in novel and contextually unique ways; in other words, Sabbath practices continued to form the meaning of the seventh day for both Jews and Christians even as the groups distinguished themselves in other ways. In addition, other scholars have studied the

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19 Indeed, the practice of Sabbath in Christian contexts continues into the modern period. See Shulevitz 2010.
discussion of Sabbath halakhah in Jesus’ disputations with Jewish authorities as presented in the New Testament gospels and in relation to interpretative trends in rabbinic and Second Temple texts. In the present study, I argue that the Sabbath is an important practice throughout a large period of early Christianity and that the seemingly novel interpretations of Sabbath practices in related literature have a deep connection to the ongoing elaboration of Sabbath practices in ancient Judaism.

While the study of the development of traditions and the differences between them is a central part of this study, attending to practice and its relationship to the construction and experience of Sabbath temporality is an important contribution to the study of the ancient Jewish traditions collected here. Even though many Sabbath rituals are specifically tied to place (i.e. sacrifice and prayer in temple), there is evidence that many of practices associated with the “building” of the Sabbath were or could be performed anywhere and could construct Sabbath “time” in order to sanctify the seventh day. For example, sacrifices and prayer on the Sabbath were conducted in the temple by priests but in some cases such as the book of Revelation and the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice, at least some of their performances likely stood outside the sacred space while retaining the “time” for liturgical practice, all the while remaining reliant on the knowledge and metaphor of temple experience. I maintain that ideal changes in action or behavior transform the seventh day into the Sabbath irrespective of the space of their performance as well as some cases where Sabbath practices associated with specific places (i.e. temple, sanctuary) are done outside their original context but at the same “time.”

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1.2 Keeping Sabbath: Ritual Practice, Ritual Time and Embodied Cognition

In the texts discussed in this study, there are various divine commands to stop work and give proper worship on the Sabbath as well as characterizations of the seventh day as one of unique experience. The Sabbath with all its dimensions does not, however, become a reality unless the communities that inherited such traditions perform them; Israel does not make or experience the Sabbath unless they do the activities that make the Sabbath and distinguish it from other times. So while on one hand this project traces trends in thought about Sabbath practices, it also takes the bodily acts as the fundamental substance of what makes the seventh day the Sabbath. For this reason I consider ritual theory and embodied cognition in my analysis of the texts and in particular the power of differentiation that ritual, embodied practices have in constructing thought, experience, and identity.

While ritual theory has long been concerned with formal rites or explanatory myths, more recent ritual theorists have considered the broader implications of “ritual” actions in themselves and that practices may be understood as processes of “ritualization.” In particular, Catherine Bell’s study *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* offers a challenging contribution for understanding the power of what she terms “ritualization.” For Bell, ritualization extends beyond specific rites to “a way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other, usually more quotidian activities.” Ritualized practices need not be fixed rites or liturgies even if such formal acts often do function as a “frequent but not universal strategy for producing a ritualized act.”

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24 Ibid., 92.
explored in this project that are differentiated from ordinary actions. Indeed the strategic practices involved in the construction of the Sabbath operate on different aspects of life (i.e. daily work; sacrifice) and are privileged on the special day. Furthermore even related practices among traditions and groups aimed at hallowing the seventh are not completely rigid but differ in relation to time, place and circumstance even as they embody practices or ideas recognizable as Sabbath.

Even as there is some variance in the strategies that foster the ritualization of practices, what is clear in ancient Judaism is that thought about Sabbath starts with ritual practices. As John Collins, in the Judaism, “the observance of prescribed ritual is undoubtedly more important than the way it was understood.”

Although matters might not be so simple, many texts discussed here are preoccupied with how things are done while meaning is derived from the embodied acts (e.g. resting on the seventh day as God rests on the seventh day of creation – Gen 2.2-3). Thus under the broad schema of ritualization, we can understand Sabbath rituals prayer, offering praise, or other formal rites terms of discrete ritual practices as well, which Roy Rappaport describes as “invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances in which the emphasis is typically placed on punctilious performance.”

This definition is suited to the study of many Jewish practices and yet scholars of ancient Judaism are almost exclusively limited to textual material and not the ritual acts themselves. Indeed the written material may often reflect an exemplary or ideal perspective that does not reflect the situation on the ground.

Such a case can certainly be made to some extent with some groups such as the Yahad or early rabbinic circles and their audiences as compared with other types of writings such as found in 5th century BCE ostraca that, for example, allow for the delivery of goods on the Sabbath (cf. Neh 13.15).

At the same time, one cannot discount the preoccupation with defining the practice of stopping work or


26 Rappaport, 187. Rappaport notes that while the punctilious repetition of rituals is generally invariant or changeless, there is room for variation in the performance of otherwise invariant rituals in the liturgical canon itself (232).

27 Ritual in general, however, can also be considered a way of organizing the world in an idealized way. See Jonathan Z. Smith, Imagining religion: from Babylon to Jonestown, Chicago studies in the history of Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 53-65.

28 Doering 1999, 23-42.
offering blessing and must consider that some semblance of these acts and utterances were performed by some adherents at the appropriate time. As I will argue, the thought contained in language and ideas (i.e. cognition) draws substantially on the brain’s processing of bodily action and environment.  

Because the ideas and descriptions involved with the Sabbath are ultimately rooted in actions of various type and degree, anthropological approaches to ritualized behavior and ritual are relevant in that they emphasize that the meaning and experience of ritual is bound up in bodily practice. The practices in most cases assumed in the textual evidence are not benign or empty symbols but are involved in habitually constituted but transformative, bodily-based processes that change the experience of a period of time and even alter consciousness. Understanding the experience of the Sabbath must attend to the embodied techniques (including use of language or the process of writing) that distinguish what behavior makes up the seventh day while also grounding descriptions of mystical or unworldly experiences in the understanding of bodily practices, the “biological means of entering into ‘communion with God’” to the fullest possible extent given the available evidence. Indeed, Judith Shulevitz points out the all-encompassing “educational technology ” that is the Sabbath experience, which at its core is instruction in embodied processes of “moral edification, behavioral example, ritual training, and religio-political consciousness.” Thus the sharing of divinely ordained practices in descriptions of communion with angelic beings on the Sabbath (i.e. Jubilees) cannot be taken simply as an ontological realization but should also be understood as a rhetorically and ritually powerful use of language

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29 This involves the theory of embodied cognition and evidence of the brains modality systems, which use actual (i.e. embodied) experiences that are used conceptually through simulation; when an experienced act is written or read, the requisite acts described are simulated in the brain and thus are in involved in the creation of meaning and thought (Barsalou 2005, 38).


32 Shulevitz, 163-164.
that creates and shapes thought, knowledge and identity. Throughout this study, I review a variety of texts that while not agreeing with or even performing the same practices still in some way perform the Sabbath into being through ritualized activity and formal rituals.

Ritualized practices such as stopping “profane” activity and the performance of formal liturgies on the Sabbath are not empty rituals without meaning but active and habitual embodied acts that despite the variance in their particularities make and define the experience of “time.” At a basic level, just as ritualization differentiates and privileges some activities over other, so too are “times” distinguished by alterations in behavior or the performance of particular activities. Thus even though many temporal structures are predicated on the perception and experience of natural processes (i.e. day/night; seasonal changes; lunar cycle), time is ultimately not a given and needs to be constructed; even evidence from lunar and solar-based calendars in Second Temple Judaism show that temporal structures are not self evident but are products of socio-historical transformations. From an anthropological perspective, distinctions between time periods (i.e. quantitative time) are in large part the product of actions that are accepted and practiced by a given community. Edmund Leach argued that the very notion of time periods is a product of the observance of festivals; temporal intervals, like the week, are fundamentally defined by their relationship to festival day celebrations (e.g. Sabbaths). Similarly, Catherine Bell maintained that it is the “rituals themselves that create the repetitions of seasonal and historical events” and “give socially meaningful definitions to the passage of time.”

While this quantitative aspect of Sabbath time is an important topic in its own right, the present study is more concerned with the “qualitative” dimension of time, that is, how different practices construct the experience or temporality of Sabbath. As with quantitative time, how a given

34 Rappaport, 177; on the development of calendrical texts such as the Astronomical Book and the Mishmarot, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, Head of all years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
36 Bell, Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice: 102, 108.
interval of time is experienced and distinguished from others depends on the activity that ensues during that period and how it differs from activity occurring during others. The idea of distinctions between qualities of time, not to mention other aspects of social life, is manifest most commonly in the academic disciplines of religious studies, anthropology and related fields as that of the “sacred” versus the “profane.” For some scholars, the distinction between sacred and profane time “seems to constitute one of the major parameters of the context on which the meaning of social acts and situation;” thus for Zerubavel, “the simple act of eating has an entirely different meaning on a fast day than on any other day.” While the categories of sacred and profane have at least a heuristic value, the theory of ritual, ritualization and bodily practice discussed above sees these dichotomies of “sacred” and “profane” as products of embodied action and behavior rather than a priori categories of difference that give meaning to actions; to use the example above, it is the act of fasting (as opposed to eating) that gives meaning and contributes to the experience of the fast day. Likewise, the Sabbath does not end solely because the sun descends but also because of the havdalah benediction that ritually separates holy and profane times. Ultimately it is the performance of ritualized practices that makes and distinguishes different “times” such as the Sabbath and which marks the quality and experience of a given period.

The quality of time and its formation through practice can also depend on formal, ritual processes or liturgies and can produce an experience of “time” different than that of the norm. Roy Rappaport points to this aspect of ritual intervals, which he defies as “invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances in which the emphasis is typically placed on punctilious performance.” In the performance of these “sequences of formal acts and utterances,”


40 Rappaport, 187; 216-234.
Rappaport argues that participants enter into a “time out of time,” that is, “intervals produced by the distinction of liturgical orders [that] are outside of ‘ordinary’ or ‘periodic’ – the time of mundane activity, discursive logic, digital computation and the ever unique successions of events that are the stuff of histories.”\[^{41}\] As with other strategies of ritualization, the performance of liturgical rites distinguishes the “sacred” from the “profane” and can be experienced as something “out of time” i.e. out the normal experience of everyday life. Importantly, the differentiation of time and “time out of time” is possible only through the performance ritual action and is thus a very biological and embodied process; only when people do (or do not do) certain things is “sacred” time distinguished from the “profane.”

In addition, this differentiation within temporal experience is important for understanding social transformation and religious experience. The Sabbath is often described as a time of joy, celebration and happiness while also sometimes portrayed as a period of communion with the divine and between community members. While the nature of the processes involved are not always clear in the available evidence, this dissertation considers some examples of ritual intervals of “time out of time” that produce distinctive experiences on the Sabbath through liturgical performance (e.g. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*; Revelation). In the performance of liturgical structures and the production of “times out of time,” Rappaport argues that, “states of both individual consciousness and the social order may be very different during ritual from those prevailing in mundane time,” that is, in the ritual interval that is “out of time.”\[^{42}\] Such an understanding of what can occur to the senses of self, community and the world through ritual action.

As will be demonstrated throughout this study, the need to fulfill the commands for Sabbath was of paramount importance. At the same time, the performance of ritual practices by different communities changed over time and in social location including the separation of these human bodies from temple worship where sacrifice, praise and the connection of heaven and earth were linked to the Sabbath. When access to the physical space of worship was limited or completely

\[^{41}\] Rappaport, 217.

\[^{42}\] Ibid., 217. Rappaport further notes that “participation in ritual encourages alteration of consciousness from the rationality which presumably prevails during daily life and which presumably guides normal affairs, towards states which to use Rudolph Otto’s (1923) term, may be called ‘numinous’” (219).
unavailable, the fulfillment of ordinances for certain Sabbath practices were then endangered. In order to ensure that such orders for worship and sacrifice were accomplished, I argue particularly in chapter 3 that the Yahad practiced and conceived of some forms of liturgical prayer and praise as equivalent to the more tangible sacrifices offered in the Jerusalem. Such a substitution, already present in “poetic” metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and elsewhere, appears to have been in cognitively reasonable and is sensibly explained with recourse to conceptual metaphor.

As will become more evident, bodily practice is absolutely central to understanding the Sabbath and how such practices shape identity, consciousness, and meaning for those who kept the Sabbath according to the literary models discussed here. For this reason, the theory of embodied cognition and its concomitants (i.e. conceptual metaphor theory) are helpful for understanding how practices constitute and shape thought and belief. Embodied cognition encompasses several fields of study from neuroscience to social and cognitive psychology. The theory of embodied cognition shows that “simulations of perception, action, and mental states often appear to underlie the representation of knowledge, making it embodied and situated.”\(^43\) This concept of cognition is embodied insofar as bodily states, the brain’s modality systems, and the experience of environmental situations all form the physical context from which cognition stems.\(^44\) This may prove to be an especially important theoretical turn in the study of pre-Enlightenment or non-Western thought such as that found in ancient Judaism regarding the mind/soul and body bifurcation in modern thought. As Daniel Weiss has argued with respect to the conceptual world of the Hebrew Bible, action is \textit{a priori} to knowledge from “knowing” in the biblical sense (i.e. sexual intercourse) to the fulfillment of \textit{mitzvot} in relating to divine will.\(^45\) In short embodied cognition demonstrates the importance of physicality for cognition and how forms of religious knowledge, identity and meaning stem from the ritual practices such as those related to the

\(^{43}\) Barsalou 2005, 14.

\(^{44}\) Ibid., 24. “Modality systems” refers to physical states of the brain (e.g. sensorimotor system) that are activated through physical experience (visual, auditory, motor) and are subsequently used in “simulations” that capture those modal states and utilize them conceptually (Barsalou 2005, 22).

\(^{45}\) Weiss, 793.
Sabbath and which are manifest through many ritualized actions including stopping work, blessing and praises, and celebrating (i.e. simulating)\textsuperscript{46} angelic worship.

A related theory that shows the importance of the body in cognition is conceptual metaphor theory. Conceptual metaphor theory aids in understanding how ritual practices function as embodiments that can induce corresponding mental states (see chapter 2 - e.g. attention to deity, piety, purity).\textsuperscript{47} Furthermore, the theory helps to explain the embodied, experiential connection between sacrificial and prayer “offerings” and the basis for how the latter could conceivably function as an efficacious substitute for physical sacrifices (see chapter 3). Conceptual metaphor theory postulates that inferential knowledge from a concrete domain (e.g. sensory perception; bodily experience) is mapped metaphorically to an abstract or less understood target domain in order to reason about the latter. This “mapping” means that we understand some ideas or events in terms of other, more concrete experiences and actions, ones that typically involve bodily action.\textsuperscript{48} George Lakoff and Mark Johnson illustrate this phenomenon with metaphorical mappings in English as such “Love is a Journey.”\textsuperscript{49} In this mapping, multiple entailments associated with the physical experience of a “journey” are used to reason about various aspects of the more abstract target domain of “love” and is instantaneously understandable to an English speaker.\textsuperscript{50} The linguistic manifestations of this conceptual metaphor may be multiple but the

\textsuperscript{46} Barsalou 2005, 38: “perceiving religious plays, pageantry, and rituals may also provide content for religious visions. As people perceive these actual events, their brains capture the multi-modal states that underlie experiences of them. On later occasions, pieces of these states may be incorporated into a wide variety of simulations, often involving oneself, that are interpreted as religious visions.” Barsalou provides evidence that may indicate a similar processing of written text: “If a text describes a deity, people may simulate the experience of perceiving it. If a text describes a religious event, people may similarly simulate what the event would be like to experience. As a result, the same basic type of representation becomes established in memory that would have become established if iconic displays had been perceived instead” (39).

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 43-44; cf. Lakoff and Johnson, Metaphors we live by.

\textsuperscript{48} See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Philosophy in the Flesh: the Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought (New York: Basic Books, 1999). Ibid., Metaphors we live by. Cf. Bell, 22: “the theoretical discourse on ritual displays…a distinction between belief and rite, made as readily as the heuristic distinction between thought and action.”

\textsuperscript{49} Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 63-66.

\textsuperscript{50} Lakoff, Johnson and others provided evidence to support the theory and specific conceptual metaphors from the polysemy of concepts, psychological experiments, and historical semantic changes in related languages. More recent studies have shown that the metaphorical mappings established by Lakoff, Johnson, and others are understood
underlying conceptual mapping is the same. Other conceptual metaphors are less linguistically driven and show how metaphorical knowledge is fundamentally conceptual. A personal computer’s graphical user interface (GUI) is a prime example of how experiential knowledge of physical objects such as a “desktop” or a “recycling bin” is used metaphorically to understand and interact more intuitively with the novel machine. Furthermore, some practices such as meditation are in many cases achieved through bodily technique i.e. a still body functions as a metaphor for a still “mind” and can induce this disposition or mental state through continued performance.51 Thus the ways in which “love,” “desktops,” and mental states are predicated on embodied and experiential action can help to conceive of how Sabbath practices induced mental states (e.g. piety, attention to God’s desires) and conceptualized praise as sacrifice.

This evidence from conceptual metaphor theory is helpful in understanding the conceptualization of prayer and other less tangible worship as sacrifice. Such an understanding of worship as sacrifice has both conceptual and specific, experiential underpinnings. For example, the “offering” of animal or agricultural sacrifices relies the embodied experience of movement as evident in some sacrificial terminology such as “moving forward” (enganash – cf. hifil הנשׁ to present an offering) or “lifting up” (תרומ – cf. תרומה “offering”) not to mention the burning of incense or sacrifice as smoke that goes “up” to the LORD. Although prayer, song, and praise are bodily acts in themselves, I discuss how they are conceived of in terms of the embodied act of sacrifice as something “brought forward” or “offered up.” Furthermore, even if song or praise did not always accompany sacrifice in the temple or sanctuary on the Sabbath, the metaphor of “offering up” praise takes advantage of embodied knowledge from sacrificial practice. The metaphorical connection between the bodily process and meaning of sacrifice and more abstract or otherworldly notions of worship also begins to explain the efficacy of the latter as a substitute in

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51 Barsalou 2005, 43-45. Barsalou points out that the power of such practices may involve more particular theories of subject-performed task, location benefit, and concreteness benefit. See further Robert N. McCauley and E. Thomas Lawson, Bringing ritual to mind psychological foundations of cultural forms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Harvey Whitehouse, Modes of religiosity : a cognitive theory of religious transmission, Cognitive science of religion series (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004).
that the “offering of the tongue” (4Q400 2.7) gains meaning from the conceptualization and reasoning about praise through knowledge and experience of physical sacrifice.

1.3 Précis of Chapters

As noted, the structure of this dissertation involves three parts that build on one another and ultimately shows in a preliminary way how the Sabbath is a “sanctuary of time” and the importance of Sabbath practice in the formation of ancient Jewish thought, meaning and identity. The texts examined here were selected on the basis of similar subjects of practices and thought and do not exhaust all rituals and thought regarding the Sabbath in ancient Judaism. Through this heuristic effort, this study is somewhat limited but still provides a coherent argument pertaining to some important trends in the conception of Sabbath practices as well as how reading about these practices through the lens of embodied cognition helps to create a more grounded interpretation of religiosity in ancient times.

In chapter 2 ("Ceasing Work to Make Time"), I focus on ritualized practices of stopping “work” or activity typical to daily, human life that clears temporal “space” for Sabbath and I maintain that such changes in behavior or practice are a substantial part of what makes the seventh day “holy.” Indeed, performing unsanctioned work is often understood as “profaning” the day (and its special activity) that is to be “sanctified.” Thus the bulk of this chapter includes evaluations of prohibitive halakhah from Second Temple (Jubilees, CD, Qumran), rabbinic (Mishnah, Mekhilta), and New Testament (Gospel of Matthew) texts against “work,” how different kinds of activity were understood as work, and when such acts were understood as violations as well as how specific ordinance that are adapted in their respective contexts. In these same materials, however, there are also efforts to delineate activity that is allowed, appropriate and necessary for the observance of the Sabbath. In particular, such exceptions to the prohibition against work revolve around both the need to render service to the deity (i.e. temple service by priests) and to ensure that all the people are able to participate in and enjoy the day of rest. Both sides of the “work” coin – ceasing common activity and performing that which is necessary for the day – play a part in identity formation because practices that the collective body adheres to
demonstrate a social solidarity and distinguish a people from others just as the Sabbath day itself is made separate.\(^{52}\)

In chapter 3 ("Constructing the Sabbath with Worship"), I turn my attention to the practices that constitute the "structure" of Sabbath that is constituted primarily by special practices of sacrifice, praise, and prayer. In the discussion of Sabbath halakhah in the previous chapter, I note how most everyday activity was to be suspended but that there were certain exceptions to the rule including the "work" of temple service. In this chapter I examine the positive commands for sanctified action that appear in many of the same documents (i.e. Jubilees, Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice, Mekhilita) as well as additional material from Qumran and Jewish prayer in the Apostolic Constitutions. I review similar traditions and themes in halakhah and liturgical prayer associated with the praise on the Sabbath while also attending to ways in which the prayer practices were understood in terms of sacrificial ones and even substituted for them in some contexts. In order to sanctify the holy day with prayer and blessing, participants not only needed to perform the correct and commanded rituals but also to do them in a proper state i.e. ritual purity. This is evident especially in evidence from Qumran even though the particular texts show little indication of sectarian origin. So in addition to ceasing "work" that would profane the Sabbath, the people participating in liturgical and sacrificial service for the Sabbath needed to sanctify themselves in order to properly worship, fulfill, and consecrate the day. Evidence of special prayers for the Sabbath for purified worshippers are found documents of liturgical prayer from Qumran as well as in later Jewish prayers embedded in early Christian liturgy (i.e. Apostolic Institutions). Ultimately, much of the evidence of the early Sabbath liturgy or prayer stands in close association with temple practice including sacrifice.\(^{53}\) The final part of this chapter then looks at "sacrificialized" language of prayer at Qumran and the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice in particular and argues that such metaphorical "offerings" were considered efficacious because of their relation to temple practices of sacrifice. While the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice are not clearly equivalent to such offerings in themselves, the practice of "liturgical invitation" when performed outside the temple allowed Qumran worshippers to

\(^{52}\) Cf. Heschel, 16-17; 52.

\(^{53}\) Falk, Daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers in the Dead Sea scrolls.
participate vicariously through the angelic acts of “temple” sacrifice because they were called upon at the appropriate time.

In chapter 4 (“In Heaven as on Earth: Sabbath Time with the Angels”), I examine how the experience of holy time of the Sabbath was characterized and how the trope of “communion with angels” was deployed in different context and ends. Whereas the previous chapters outline how the special practices on the seventh day produce the “temple” of the Sabbath, this chapter considers the portrayal of the holy occasion as one where Sabbath keepers participate in heavenly, angelic life. In the book of Jubilees, Israel alone is to “keep the Sabbath” along with the highest angels and constitutes a distinct means of separating Israel from the nations. The practices that attend Sabbath fidelity in Jubilees 2 and 50 then typify an “angelic” experience of rest, worship and identification as the LORD’s chosen people. In the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice, the close relationship between humans and angels on the Sabbath is framed as one where select, human priests join with the Sabbath worship offered by the highest priests in the heavenly temple. I analyze the Shirot through the lenses of ritual theory and the religious experience and social transformation that ensues through its ritual performance. Finally, I turn to the book of Revelation and examine the setting and liturgical background of the apocalypse. I maintain that setting of John’s visions received on “the Lord’s day” is likely the Sabbath based on historical ground and was still revered by many followers of Jesus who also claimed to be authentic practitioners of Judaism by virtue of their “keeping the commandments.” Furthermore, the liturgical framework of many of John’s visions of heavenly activity reveals heavenly worship that the earthly congregation experiences through continued performance of the visionary liturgies while also forming their ultimate identity as select participants in the final eschatological argument of the book.
Chapter 2 – Ceasing Work to Make Time

2 Introduction

In the halakhic material regarding Sabbath practice from the Second Temple period and beyond, there is significant interest in and discussion of particular prohibitions against “work” (מלאכה) and the regulation of bodily activity that are familiar from what becomes the Pentateuch and elsewhere. This is sometimes coupled with different perspectives on circumstances where the Sabbath can be broken and work is allowed. In this chapter, I examine some select prohibitions against activity often characterized as “work” in Sabbath halakhah from late Second Temple and rabbinic periods and how practices of stopping common actions constitutes a substantial portion of the “clearing” of temporal “space” for the Sabbath as well as how different parties interpret or describe this practice of the Sabbath. From an analytical perspective, the changes in bodily practices demanded in the various prohibitions are, when habitually “observed” or “kept,” a major component of what make the seventh day “holy” and “sanctified” as opposed to normal or “profane” days when such activities are part and parcel of the life of the people; the unique character and experience of Sabbath “time” is thus embodied in the ritualized activities that are delineated in part by this halakhah. Furthermore, there are many similarities between the legal restrictions but still an ample amount of diversity and creativity in the interpretation of fulfilling the divine service ordained for the Sabbath.54

In this chapter, I examine some of the more recognizable prohibitions associated with various types of “work” (i.e. carrying objects, cooking, purification, temple service) on the Sabbath from the Second Temple period and early rabbinic material. I focus particularly on prohibitions against human “work” in the halakhic material and subsequent interpretation contained in Jubilees 2.25-33, 50.6-13 (cf. 4Q216-18), the Damascus Document 10-11 (cf. 4Q266, 270-71), 4Q251 and other Qumran fragments (4Q251; 4Q264a) as well as Mishnah Shabbat, the Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael (Tractates Shabbata; Ba-Chodesh) and the New Testament gospels because they illustrate how the practice and idea of the Sabbath cessation of work functions as embodied

54 The variance is attributable to historical development and context (i.e. temple/priestly or post-temple rabbinic) and often relates to different ways of understanding Sabbath commands in the Mosaic Torah (i.e. the Pentateuch) and other sources (e.g. oral tradition).
metaphor of “Sabbath as attention to the deity.” In material discussed here, there are varying degrees of concern over what constitutes “work” (e.g. leaving one’s home, carrying objects, food preparation, “profane” speech or thought) and the extent to which such unsanctioned acts threatened (i.e. “profane”) the holiness of the Sabbath. The diversity of ways in which the “stopping of work” was interpreted shows that the conditions under which the Sabbath rest was legitimately broken revolve around certain types of activity (i.e. for activities related to temple service; saving a life or doing good on the Sabbath; self-defense) that constitute “profane” times. Both the modification of “work” common to the other days of the week and the situational acts that justifiably violated the Sabbath constitute ritualized practices through which the day and the people are set apart (i.e. “sanctified”) as belonging to the LORD and distinguished from the other nations of the world. Thus the bodily rituals involved in the practice of Sabbath metaphorically structured a mental state or disposition of “holiness” (as opposed to the “profane”) set aside for the deity (i.e. “Sabbath as attention to the deity”).

The experience of the Sabbath is thus in large part derived from what the people do not do to make the day holy or different from all other days; “profaning” the seventh day through activity that is judged not to be devoted to the interests of the deity threatened this sanctified relationship with the LORD. Conversely, “work” devoted to the LORD (i.e. temple sacrifice) or that was otherwise considered to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath (i.e. preserving the life of another; healing) did not profane the day but was judged to fulfill the command to sanctify Sabbath (cf. circumcision on the Sabbath). This chapter shows how the parameters of what performing some of the Sabbath prohibitions shaped ancient Jewish thought in that the Sabbath stopping of work metaphorically embodied devotion and piety toward the deity while the fulfillment of such commands were constitutive of the people’s notions of identity in relation to their god and the world.

2.1 Sabbath Prohibitions in the Hebrew Bible

The prohibitions against “work” (תִּלַּאֵלָה; מֵלָאָה; cf. נַחֲרָה) on the Sabbath and their development in the Second Temple and rabbinic periods have been studied extensively and constitute an important

55 Barsalou et al., "Embodiment in Religious Knowledge," 43-44.
element in the study of halakhah in the Second Temple period and later. When observed according to the interpretations of different communities and situations, the activities associated with work on “normal” days are suspended and the change in behavior (i.e. the privileging of “rest” and the LORD’s “desire” for no work to be done) constitutes a major area of practice that marks the Sabbath as “holy” as well as those who participate as distinct in identity. These commands are frequently coupled with threats of capital punishment (e.g. death, being cut off from the people) or warnings about communal tragedy that befell Israel’s ancestors when they failed to preserve the Sabbath. Like the bodily acts of stopping work themselves, the threats to person and community “bodies” function as a prophylaxis to ensure the maintenance of the Sabbath and thus Israel’s unique relationship with the LORD.

In the Hebrew Bible, prohibitions against work figure prominently both explicitly and less obviously in discussions of the Sabbath and are related in content to the legislation from the late Second Temple period and beyond. In the Covenant Code (Exodus 20.19-23.33), the LORD commands Israel to do all their work (כל מלאכה) six days but to do no work on the seventh day because it is holy to the LORD (Ex 20.18-20; cf. Mek. Ba-Chodesh 7.75-79); no specificity is provided as to what constitutes “work” other than all “Israel” and anyone residing in their settlements are to do no work on the seventh day. The rationale for the Sabbath day is the LORD’s “resting” after six days of creating the world and constitutes the embodiment of divine activity (Ex 20.11; cf. Gen 2.2-3). In another likely later stratum of the book (Exodus 31), a similar statute is found regarding the six days of work allowed and is more emphatic in that the seventh day is a “complete Sabbath” (שבתון שבת) and anyone doing work on the Sabbath (Ex 31.15) is to be put to death, a formulation similar to the “H” (Holiness Code) understanding of the rest from work on the Sabbath: “on the seventh day there shall be a Sabbath of complete rest, a sacred occasion. You shall not do any work (לא תעשו כל מלאכה)” (Lev


57 Olyan, 2005; Stackert, 2011.
Thus in the lists of commands that are incorporated into the Pentateuch, the command not to do any work of the Sabbath is very broad and not specific as to what activity might be construed as work but the effect is clear: stopping activity makes the seventh day “holy” in that the “rest” taken is an embodied acknowledgment of the LORD’s creation and relationship with Israel.

Although the prohibitions found in the Pentateuch are rather broad with regard to the definition of “work,” there is evidence even in the context of the Hebrew Bible of what specific types of activity became more precisely considered to be prohibited “work” and which are also the subject of the primary Second Temple and rabbinic texts discussed here. Likely late examples of this occur in the midst of the manna pericope of Exodus 16 where the LORD commands the people to gather manna for six days because on the seventh day there would be none (Ex 16.25-26) and in a very brief episode in Numbers 15 (i.e. the “wood gatherer”).\(^{58}\) In Exodus 16, the story revolves around the miracle of the manna and the double portion on the sixth day but there is an implicit violation of Sabbath rest reflected in the disobedience and subsequent chastisement of some of the people who “go out” (יצאו) on the seventh day in pursuit of manna.\(^{59}\) The tacit rule against going out on the seventh day is made clear in Moses’ reiteration of the Sabbath that immediately follows the incident: “mark that the LORD has given you the Sabbath; therefore he gives you two days’ food on the sixth day. Let everyone remain where they are: let no one go out from his place (ממקמו איש יצא אל) on the seventh day.”\(^{60}\) (Ex 16.29). As it stands, the gift of extra manna on the sixth days functions as an etiology for the ruling that the people are not to go out on the Sabbath day and thus marks such activity as prohibited “work” on the seventh day. In practical terms, not going out on the Sabbath embodies or physically acknowledges the LORD’s benevolence. In Exodus 16 the holy gift of the Sabbath

\(^{58}\) It is quite possible that both the Exodus 16 and Numbers 15 are both stories crafted post hoc to illustrate a reason for the attendant legislation.


\(^{60}\) On difficulties related to the placement of the story in the narrative, see Baden 2010. Also see W. A. M. Beuken, “Exodus 16:5,23 : a rule regarding the keeping of the sabbath,” \textit{Journal for the Study of the Old Testament}, no. 32 (1985). Beuken maintains that the legal references to the Sabbath cannot refer to the stipulations about cooking everything the day before the Sabbath (11).
is reiterates and specifically includes the rule that no one is to go out from their place on the Sabbath (cf. Jer 17.21-24).

Similarly, the very short story concerning the illicit work of the wood-gatherer in Numbers 15.31-38 is illustrative of unsanctioned “work” on the Sabbath.\(^6^1\) In its context, these verses follow a series of commands on various “offerings” by fire, all of which would of course require wood (cf. Num 28.9-10 i.e. the Sabbath burnt offering). Nothing is mentioned about the collection of wood for the other days while the people who find the wood-gatherer are initially unsure what to do about him (Num 15.33-34); there may have been an open question as to whether wood collection on the Sabbath was allowed or not in a particular socio-historical context and may have elicited the composition of the story. The final verdict on the situation ultimately comes from the authority of the LORD through Moses: the man is to be stoned outside the camp (Num 15.35-36) and thus the question of gathering of wood on the Sabbath was ultimately decided through Moses’ inquiry of the LORD.\(^6^2\) The examples of both Exodus 16 and Numbers 15 show that the prohibition against “work” on the Sabbath in the Covenant Code and elsewhere received further explication in regard to specific acts that needed further clarity as to whether such action was warranted or not. Furthermore, they reflect how changing behavior embodies a desired disposition, namely that the people’s activity on the Sabbath is to be devoted exclusively to the LORD.

In addition to the growing specificity regarding unsanctioned activity or work on the Sabbath, other material reflects the notion that such work “profanes” it (ם렐 – i.e. the Sabbath day) and endangers the people’s relationship with the deity, which in many cases is protected by the prophylactic “cutting off” of violators (e.g. Exodus 31.12-17). To a large extent, work here and elsewhere “profanes” the Sabbath because the people are busy with their own affairs and therefore not attentive (in body ➔ mind) to and through the Sabbath “rest” that memorializes the importance of the relationship between the LORD and the people. This idea of profaning the day through work is especially apparent in other texts normally dated to the early Second Temple


period: in Nehemiah 13, the eponymous narrator recalls his dismay over various activities that are tacitly understood as “work” on the Sabbath here and in later contexts (e.g. treading grapes, bringing goods into the city, selling/buying – cf. Jer 17.21, 24; *Jub.* 50.8) and that this “profanes” (מחלל) the holy day (Neh 13.15-18; cf. Neh 10.32);\(^\text{63}\) such activity on the Sabbath is interpreted as a danger to the people just as it was to their forbearers (Neh 13.18; cf. Ezek 20). Thus the stopping of work on the Sabbath and therefore attention to the LORD is construed as essential to the maintenance of goodwill between the people and their deity. Nehemiah’s aim to protect the Sabbath goes so far as to close the city gates and place “purified” Levites at the gates to ensure that the merchants did not bring in their wares, thereby preserving the “sanctity” of the Sabbath (Neh 13.22) and preventing more misfortune from happening to the people (Neh 13.18). Here, “profaning” or neglecting to stop mundane activity on the Sabbath is captured in the metaphor of communal tragedy and loss of relationship with the deity.

Similarly in Ezekiel 20, the people receive the Sabbath as sanctification but the prophet repeatedly accuses the people’s ancestors of “profaning” (חלל) the Sabbath throughout the people’s relationship with the LORD through failure perform his statutes and commands, which likely included not working on the Sabbath (Ezek 20.13,16,24).\(^\text{64}\) Finally, in Third Isaiah the LORD promises to reward and accept the sacrifices of people (e.g. foreigners, eunuchs) who “keep the Sabbath and do not profane it, and all who keep my covenant” (Isa 56.6-7; cf. 56.4). What “profaning” the Sabbath means to the author of Third Isaiah gains clarity at the end of chapter 58: “if you refrain from trampling the Sabbath, from *doing your affairs* (לשתת התכּרות) on My holy day; if you call the Sabbath “delight,” the LORD’s holy day “honored.” And if you honor it more than going about your ways nor *look to your affairs* (מפתיע התכּרות) nor strike bargains, then you can seek the favor of the LORD” (Isa 58.13-14; cf. CD 10.20-21). Here the problem with doing work is elaborated on in metaphorically powerful ways: working on the Sabbath relates to “making one’s [own] way” and evokes the experience of movement, in this case away from Sabbath and the desired “destination” of attention to the LORD’s desires. In

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\(^{63}\) On the relationship between the texts, see Jassen 2010, 134-137. Cf. the Elephantine documents that suggest that the delivery of goods on the Sabbath but are dated before Jeremiah’s reforms by some scholars – see Doering 1999, 23-42.

\(^{64}\) In a twist on the idea of מחלל, the LORD repeatedly “restrain” (e.g. “return my hand” – Ezek 20.22) his anger so as to not “profane” his name (i.e. perform work) by destroying his chosen people (Ezek 20.9,14,22).
light of this verse, to profane the Sabbath would include self-benefiting activity (i.e. “work”) that subtracts from the honor to be accorded to LORD’s holy day.

Overall, “work” on the Sabbath as evident in the Hebrew Bible is defined broadly but acquires some specificity (e.g. leaving one’s place, carrying objects) already in some illustrative stories in the Pentateuch. Further evidence suggests that preforming such activity on the Sabbath “profanes” the holy day in that human activity marked for the other days is not set aside while the ritualization of stopping work distinguishes the holy day. When this ritualized activity is not performed, the unique relationship between the people and the LORD metaphorically embodied in the cessation of labor on the Sabbath is jeopardized and conceived of as essential for understanding past and preventing future communal crisis (e.g. Ezekiel 20). This experience and understanding of the past highlights the importance of observing the Sabbath and the need to make sure that all abide by it (i.e. not to be cut off) for the sake of the community.

2.2 Halakhah regarding “Work” on the Sabbath: Jubilees, Damascus Document, and Beyond

In the Hebrew Bible texts discussed above, the Sabbath is only realized and “sanctified” when the community of Israel practices the periodic cessation of their “work” and attend to the LORD’s holy day in the manner commanded by the deity. Although some of what attendance to the LORD’s will entails is the subject of the next chapter, what classifies as “work” or a violation of the LORD’s desires and functions metaphorically as the turning away from attention to the LORD on his Sabbath is enumerated in several documents from the late Second Temple and early rabbinic periods while the practice of the Sabbath is evermore linked to ideals of Jewish identity in the ritualized practices of different Jewish communities.

The halakhic lists regarding the Sabbath are found in several texts from the Second Temple including Jubilees and the Damascus Document. In the book of Jubilees, the origins of Sabbath and related halakhah are central to the frame of the book with stipulations provided in the context of the creation narrative (Jub. 2) and upon entering the land following the exodus from Egypt (Jub. 50). This framing as well as the content portrays the Sabbath as the *conditio sine qua non*
of Israel’s identity and a practice intended exclusively for the holy people. Thus practice of Sabbath rest through such prohibitions is essential to Israel’s identity among the nations and is made explicit in Jubilees (cf. b. Shab. 11b). In regards to Jubilees Lutz Doering notes that, “‘work’ is defined in a total, all-embracing manner, and the prohibition of ‘work’ in Jubilees is consequently a total one (excluding priestly service)” while James VanderKam notes that the Sabbath and its concomitants are totalizing in that the holy day is from the beginning part of the created order.

After an account of the significance of the Sabbath for Israel’s “holiness” and the rationale for the holy day (Jub. 2.17-24), Jubilees continues with commands from the angel of Presence to Moses regarding the cessation of work, which is based textually on the Sabbath laws from the Pentateuch (Ex 20.8; 31.13-14; 35.2). The general prohibition against “work” (gebra – Eth.) is mentioned no less than five times in Jubilees 2.25-28 (e.g. 4Q218 1.3 cf. 50.7) and is accompanied by threats of capital punishment familiar from the Hebrew Bible. Similarly the Damascus Document in its section “concerning the Sabbath” (שבת על - CD 10.14-12.6) generally prohibits “work” on the seventh day during a specific period of time, from “the time when the wheel of the sun is above the horizon according its diameter” (CD 10.14-16) and also commands that “a man may not go about in the field to do his desired activity (עבודה) on the

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66 Doering 1997, 195. It is necessary to note that Jubilees enumerates a number of specific acts as well.

67 See Ruiten, 1996, passim.

68 Doering 1997,182; 195. Doering notes that the repetitive commands suggest a collation of halakhah by final editor. While the Sabbaths commands themselves reflect a strong relationship to the biblical texts, many other legal issues in Jubilees may represent practices associated with particular groups. The importance of the solar calendar (Jub. 6) and celebration of particular festivals (e.g. Shavuot) may suggest that the book was authoritative for a subset of Judean population. See David Henshke, “‘The day after the Sabbath” (Lev 23:15): traces and origin of an inter-sectarian polemic,” Dead Sea Discoveries 15, no. 2 (2008). In any case, the Sabbath practices themselves are not demonstrably extreme or sectarian and the emphasis in the explication of the commands is on the separation of Israel from the nations (i.e. Hellenistic culture) encoded in the practice of Sabbath.

69 Cf. Lev 23; Num 28. Also in 4Q421a frag. 11, we find the phrase יִרְפָּה וּפָרָה which some translate as “for it is laborious work” in a fragmentary context relating to prohibited acts including drawing water.
In contrast to Jubilees and commands from the Pentateuch, a person who defiles the Sabbath is not to be put to death but those who speak falsehood and cause others to violate the holy day are to be held in contempt (CD 12.2-5). In both the case of Jubilees and the Damascus Document, work is prohibited in order that the day be sanctified (Jub. 2.26) and the Sabbath be kept “according to the judgment” (CD 10.14).

In rabbinic halakhah for the Sabbath, there are several extensive collections of situations pertaining to work and various opinions on how the prohibition against work is to be applied in these different cases. Most famously are the 39 categories of prohibited work delineated in the Mishnah’s tractate devoted to the Sabbath (m. Shabbat 7.1; cf. m. Eruvin). Robert Goldenberg points out that this collective list, which includes plowing, working with wool, and kindling fire, may reflect an early rabbinic understanding of the “fundamental activities of civilized life.”

These and related practices enumerated in the halakhic midrashim and Mishnah tractate Shabbat include differing opinions about distinguishing between productive or completed work (which is forbidden), activity permitted on the Sabbath (Mek. Shabbata 1.65-70; cf. m. Shabbat 10.2) and scrutiny of the actor’s attention (cf. m. Shabbat 11.6; t. Shabbat 2.16) in violating the Sabbath.

In rabbinic practice and thought, not all work is considered equal and only some forms of stopping activity are essential to honoring the Sabbath. Such understandings of the prohibition against work are vital to the early halakhic midrash on the Sabbath legislation in Exodus, which maintains among other things that Israel prospers only when God’s will is done i.e. when Israel properly observes the Sabbath (Mek. Shabbata 1.75-85; cf. CD 12.22). Jewish communities

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71 Goldenberg, 34. At the same time, other activities forbidden in Jubilees and the Damascus Document (e.g. buying or selling) are absent from the list.
create Sabbath through the ritualized suspension of work, which metaphorically denotes attention to the LORD’s desires and in rabbinic thought it is explained by the modification of numerous activities of normal life. This is how people make the Sabbath and live out their true identity as the LORD’s chosen people (cf. Jub. 2.31).

Like the pentateuchal commands, however, the simple denial of work is broad and lacking in definition. Thus Jubilees, the Damascus Document and tannaitic halakhah delineate specific acts that profane the Sabbath with far more specificity than encountered in the material from the Hebrew Bible. As with the texts discussed above, what remains especially important in these texts is that any work done on the Sabbath is to be devoted only to the LORD and the holy day. Anything that is done according to the pleasure of humans is to be ritually suspended (e.g. Jub. 2.29; cf. Isa 58.13) or the “work of humanity’s occupations” (Jub. 50.10) will “profane” or “pollute” the time that is to be set apart for God’s pleasure; the space needing to be cleared for the Sabbath is endangered when profane work ensues.74 Indeed the cessation of collective, profane “works” constitutes the ritualization of practices that privileges Sabbath and attention to the desires of the deity on the seventh day; this ritualized change in behavior from that which characterizes all other days is at the core of what separates or “sanctifies” the space of time that is the weekly Sabbath. Knowledge of and belief about this relationship and identity is tied to the Sabbath and metaphorically constructed through bodily praxis that devotes embodied attention to the LORD.

2.2.1 Going about one’s business: carrying burdens as work on the Sabbath

In addition to the specific, prohibited acts that receive attention in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Jer 17; Neh 13), there are prohibitions against carrying objects on the Sabbath in Jubilees 2.29-30; 50.8, CD 11.7-8, and 4Q251 1 ii 4-5 as well as the Mishnah (m. Shabbat 7.2; cf. Mek. Shabbata 2.13-14; Nehemiah 13.18) that receive a substantial amount of attention as well as different methods and explanations as to how such acts violate the Sabbath.75 In Jubilees, the people are not to

74 In addition to carrying of the objects and other activity discussed here, Jubilees forbids sexual intercourse (Jub. 50.8).

75 Jassen, 153-156. Cf. Neh 13.9; m. Shabbat 10.3.
“bring in or remove on it anything which one carries in their gates, (any) work that they had not prepared for themselves in their dwelling on the sixth day. They are not to bring (anything) out or in from house to house on this day because it is more holy and more blessed than any of the jubilee of jubilees” (Jub. 2.29-30; cf. Ex 16; Num 15) while Jubilees 50.8 adds a similar provision: “anyone who lifts to carry a load to bring (it) outside his tent or his house is to die.”

Unlike similar prohibitions in Jeremiah 17.21-25 and Nehemiah 13.13-22, the issue in chapter 2 of Jubilees is not simply the bringing of goods through the gates of the city (Jer 17.21; Neh 13.19) but the character of the goods carried i.e. they are not to carry things that are like those that “are carried through their gates” (k’ello za-yeṣṣor ba-‘nāqṣihomu – Jub. 2.29), that were not prepared on the sixth day, or are considered burdens (Jub. 50.8; cf. Jer 17). Thus strictly speaking Jubilees forbids only the carrying of particular types of objects and only that they are not carried from house to house. The collation of Sabbath regulations in Jubilees with different emphases suggests that different but legitimate opinions may have been valid for the complier of Jubilees, perhaps because of their goal of ensuring the sanctity of the most holy of all days.

In addition, these prohibitions against lifting and carrying to different houses in Jubilees apply to the people in the context of their personal domiciles and thus to the lives of all “Israel” on the Sabbath and not just the activity of ferrying goods into the city (cf. Jer 17; Neh 13). Among other activities, the carrying of objects is thus associated with the human priorities and quotidian activities or, as Jubilees puts it, the “work which is unlawful as it is improper to do their own pleasure [on the Sabbath]” (Jub. 2.29). Similar to Isaiah 58.13, we see here the idea that doing work on the Sabbath is unlawful in that the people attend to their desires instead of the LORD’s. Furthermore, Jubilees’ reiteration of the commands regarding the ceasing of work (i.e. not carrying objects) and its extension of the principle to at least all things “carried through the gate” is explicable in light of the high value it repeatedly places on the day i.e. it is more holy than any


other day (*Jub.* 2.26 (4Q218 1.2), 30-32; 50.9).  

In *Jubilees* the strong restriction applied to common and everyday experiences – the carrying of substantial objects across the threshold of one’s domicile – privileges the practice of ceasing normal activity, which is meant to draw the people’s attention through changing their bodily activity to what is commanded for the seventh day i.e. to the pleasure of the LORD. Furthermore, this passage shows again that explanations of the ritualized stoppage of work reflects the embodied metaphor of stopping work as turning attention to the deity.

In CD, keeping the Sabbath “according to the judgment” includes similar prohibitions regarding the carrying objects that are nevertheless formulated differently and present a distinctive interpretation of the shared prohibitions regarding the practice of not carrying of burdens on the Sabbath.  

The general rule that a “man may not carry anything outside his house, nor should he carry anything in” includes the specific application to the sukkah (CD 11.7-11; cf. *Jub.* 50.8) as well as the very specific prohibitions against the carrying of “spice” or “medicine” (סמלים) and children on the seventh day (CD 11.9-10; 4Q270 6 v 15); for parties involved in the CD halakhah, even temporary “homes” constructed for the annual festival of Sukkot and seemingly insignificant objects fall under the prohibition against leaving one’s place to carry objects on the Sabbath (cf. *m. Shabbat* 10.3). So whereas *Jubilees* contains different opinions that tacitly permits the carrying of objects not carried through the gate or constitute “bearing loads” (i.e. *sora* – *Jub.* 50.8), CD seems to draw a harder line where even smaller thing are forbidden and the rule holds for all times including those of festival.

The strict character of CD’s judgment regarding carrying from place to place finds a counterpart in the fragmentary halakhic document 4Q251 from Qumran (1st century BCE). This document orders more precisely: “[… let no] man take [anything] out of his place for the entire Sabbath

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80 Unlike *Jubilees* (cf. Neh 13; Jer 17), this part of CD contains no prohibition against carrying in their gates, which may suggest a different context and thus different concerns i.e. concerning personal domiciles alone.
Like CD, 4Q251 restricts the carrying of anything in or out of one’s domicile but without any extant exceptions or specific cases with the added force that the ordinance is valid for the entire period of the Sabbath. In addition to 4Q251, the fragmentary text 4Q265 also discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls commands: “let no one take a vessel or food out from his tent on the day of the Sabbath” (4Q265 6.4-5; cf. 4Q264a 3.6-7). The command here is also very specific and restrictive in a way analogous to CD but does not formulate it in the same manner. These commands reflect a more detailed appraisal of the legislation perhaps in response to specific cases of carrying certain “burdens” (cf. Jer 17.22) and suggests that there were different situations (i.e. a community outside of the city) where the carrying of objects was judged in different ways or where certain situations required specific clarification of rules. This text takes a more extreme view than Jubilees in that even the carrying of very small objects was prohibited.

The Mishnah elaborates on the biblical prohibition against carrying objects across thresholds with more specificity, while also consistently making distinctions between the sanctioned and unsanctioned work of carrying. In chapter 10 of Tractate Shabbat, this distinction is elaborated: “he who takes something out whether by the right or left hand, in his lap or on his shoulder is liable [for a sin offering]…[if he takes something out] on the back of the hand, on his foot, in his mouth, in his hair, in his wallet with mouth downward, between wallet and cloak, in the hem of cloak, in his shoe, in his sandal, he is exempt” (m. Shabbat 10.3). In a way that echoes elements of Jubilees’ halakhic collection, the rabbis disallow explicitly the movement of something large or cumbersome enough to be carried out by hand, in the lap or by the shoulder but exempt objects small enough to fit in wallet or sandal (cf. CD 11.7-10). Unlike the Second Temple texts, this distinction is maintained with explicit recourse to scripture i.e.

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82 Ibid., 217-219; See Noam and Qimron, 61-62, for reconstructed text and discussion of 4Q264a frag. 3. See also Tigchelaar, "Sabbath Halakha and Worship in 4QWays of Righteousness : 4Q421 11 and 13+2+8 Par 4Q264a 1-2."

83 Jer 17.22: “Nor shall you carry out burdens from your houses on the Sabbath day, or do any work, but you shall hallow the Sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers.”

84 Neusner 2006, 90-91. Such distinction may also involve the intentionality behind the act of carrying.
carrying things in the manner of Kohath (i.e. carried by the shoulder – Num 7.9) is considered work or is laborious (cf. 4Q421a 11.4; Jub. 2.29). Thus the “burdens” forbidden in other contexts (i.e. Jer 17.22) would only be considered those which required a significant amount of physical exertion while the carrying of smaller objects out of one’s domicile would not be considered “work” (cf. Jub. 2.29). The Mishnah exploits some latent ambiguity in earlier legislation by defining the work of carrying in accordance with the size of an object and the type of labor required (i.e. work requiring the shoulder). Thus what is lawful to do on the Sabbath is correlated with the magnitude of the physical experience; only activities that require strenuous work detract from the attention required for the Sabbath.

Although the halakhic legislation from CD and some Qumran texts differ from the stipulations in Jubilees and the Mishnah regarding the “holiness” of the Sabbath day, carrying objects in or out of one’s living space constituted a primary form of work that embodied a disposition contrary to that required and thus violated the cessation of work commanded for Sabbath (cf. Mek. Shabbata 1.3-8). These sources while all adherents to the tradition of the Sabbath command to not do the work of carrying objects from place to place nevertheless found avenues to different interpretations of what qualifies as “work.” Jubilees at least knows and reports different pronouncements regarding what is allowed while the Mishnah delineates two categories of objects, thus bifurcating the category of work on the Sabbath. On the other hand, CD and some halakhic fragments from Qumran in reiterating the general command forbid the carrying of any and all objects large and small for the entire Sabbath in order to ensure the observation of the commandment in their respective communities. In the varying degrees to which this was practiced, the experience of the Sabbath would be quite different from other days even though these different groups were practicing what they believed to be the correct judgment regarding carrying on the Sabbath.

85 Cf. Noam and Qimron, 63; i.e. מלאכת עמל. Cf. Jubilees, which may have been considered an authoritative rule in itself.
2.2.2  Do Not Say: Speech and Thought as Activity on the Sabbath

While the laborious work such as the carrying of burdens across thresholds and which occurs during normal days has certain parameters on the Sabbath, so too are limits placed on other seemingly less strenuous but no less bodily activity such as speech on the seventh day. In several cases, topics of conversation not related to honoring the holy Sabbath or in praise of God (see chapter 3) are forbidden while in other contexts even thinking about work to be done after the Sabbath is considered an affront to the holy day. As with the restriction of several forms of physical labor, the limiting of speech acts expected or permitted on other days creates an experience of the seventh day that is different from others and is another way that the Sabbath is to be given over to honoring God.

This sentiment is expressed in several of the same halakhic texts discussed above. In these we find the prohibition of words or speech related to “profane” matters such as future activity (i.e. discussing what one is going to do on the next day or later) and metaphorically construes speech and thought as a physical act and thus a violation of the Sabbath prohibition. Thus in Jubilees, the Sabbath legislation prohibits one from “saying anything about work (yetnaggar nagara megbār), that he is to set out on a trip on it or about selling or buying” (Jub. 50.8; cf. CD 11.15). Even discussing matters related to “work” (i.e. travel; buying/selling) that might be done on the Sabbath day is prohibited; no thought or discussion, like activity in general, is to be devoted to work sanctioned for mundane days. Matters such as speaking about one’s subsequent activity detracts from the attention due to the holy day as much as laborious work designated for the other six days does and is conceptualized in terms of a profane act itself. In order to ensure a state of affairs on the seventh day that prioritizes activity to honor the “rest” provided by the Sabbath, Jubilees goes so far as to prohibit even conversing about work that could occur on it or subsequent days.

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86 To this, one could add the prohibition against petitionary prayer on the Sabbath, which suggests that only praise or blessing was permitted on the seventh day. On this tradition, see Esther G. Chazon, “On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran,” Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy 15 (1992-1993).

87 Cf. Ant. 13.252; 14.226. In these instances, Josephus notes a prohibition against actual travel. Thus Jubilees’ “work” of thinking of travel is a more extreme take on the metaphor.
Other texts discussed above also contain ordinances that prohibit speech concerning activity to occur after the Sabbath is over. Admonitions similar to those in *Jubilees* are found in halakhic portions of the *Damascus Document* concerning the Sabbath: “One may not discuss *work or labor* (뮐 realtà וברוד) to be done during the early morning [of the Sabbath]” (CD 10.19). The seriousness of not even talking about work is evident in other prohibitions regarding forbidden speech i.e. speaking “coarse or empty word” (דבר נבל ודיבר) on the Sabbath day (CD 10.17-18). From a practical standpoint, discussing any matters such as work do not sanctify the Sabbath and thus are forbidden because they endanger Sabbath holiness as much as injurious or derogatory language.

Fragmentary evidence from Qumran reflects a similar but slightly more emphatic proscriptions regarding speech on the holy day: “[he shall not speak] about any matter (דבר בכל והדבר) or property or buying [or selling or travelling] on the next day” (4Q264a i 6-7; cf. *Jub. 50.8*). Like CD, this fragmentary Qumran manuscript also prohibits other speech it finds to be unfitting for the holiness of the Sabbath: “he may only speak words of [holy] matters [as is customary and he may speak to bless God. Yet, one may speak [of things] with regard to eating and drinking [...] and with regard to any] delight on the Sabbath” (4Q264a 1 i 7-8; 4Q264a 2 ii 1; cf. *Jub. 50.10*). Expressed in a more positive sense than CD, the command in 4Q264a stresses that “holy matters” alone can be the subject of conversation of on the Sabbath (אלא דברי קודש לבר gjם). These texts parallel the idea in *Jubilees* 50.8 and more importantly the notion that, like the prohibition against “work” itself, the forbidding of speech acts concerning future activity (and of profane speech more generally) protects the sanctity of the Sabbath; by practicing the restriction activity (i.e. speech) pertaining to profane days, the people focus their activity and thus their attention to “holy matters” and so experience living in the moment that is the Sabbath.

88 Note also in the same fragment: “He may only speak words of holy matters as is customary” (4Q264a 1 i 7-8); cf. CD 10.17-18: On the Sabbath day, one may not speak any coarse or empty word (דבר נבל ודיבר).
89 Noam and Qimron, 59-60.
90 Ibid., 60. The authors argue that the character of this resembles that attributed to the school of Shammi (see notes 13-14 and literature cited there).
In a related and rhetorically powerful way, the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* stresses a categorical prohibition against even the “thought of labor” (מַעֲשֶׂהָׁ֥֣֣לֹא). In an interpretation of Exodus 20.9 regarding the Sabbath law (“six days your shall labor and do all your work”), an anonymous answer that follows an initial interpretation reads the lemma as meaning to rest as if all one’s work is to be done in six days and argues that the verse commands that one should rest “from the thought of work” (מַעֲשֶׂהָׁ֥֣֣לֹא). This interpretation draws on an embodied depiction in Isaiah 58.13a-14: “if you turn away your foot from the Sabbath…then you will delight in the LORD.”

Although the midrashic interpretation is not the prohibition in itself, the hyperbole of it implies that even thought is laborious like physical work because it too turns attention away from the “delight in the LORD” that is a primary goal Sabbath. This idea that thinking about (or discussing) work on the Sabbath is tantamount to being work is reflected in a later rabbinic *mashal*:

A certain pious man once went into his vineyard on the Sabbath and saw there a breach in its wall. He decided to repair it when the Sabbath was over, but afterward he said, “Since I decided on the Sabbath that I would repair it, I shall never do so at all.” What did the holy one, blessed be he, do for that man? He prepared a caper bush, which grew in the breach, and the man supported himself off that bush for the rest of his life (*y. Shabbat* 15.3, 15a-b).

In keeping with sense of the earlier interpretation in the *Mekhilta*, the man’s thought of work is an embodiment of the performance of “work” on the Sabbath from which he repents by not fixing the hole at all. These prohibitions and stories, while different in detail and method, illustrate a similar message: the putting off of mundane activity (i.e. speech/thought about work) so that one’s work and service is devoted to God’s desire is central to the temporality of Sabbath.

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91 Cf. *Mek. Shabbata* 1.120-124. Here even God rested from the thought of work on the first Sabbath. Cf. *y. Shabbat* 15.3 15a: “rest on the Sabbath like the LORD. Just as the holy one, blessed be he, rested on the Sabbath from speaking [by not creating], so too you rest on the Sabbath from speaking.”

2.2.3 Prepared before hand: time, food and more before the Sabbath

Just as people are forbidden to discuss work that is to occur on a subsequent day, so too is activity occurring before the Sabbath (i.e. on the sixth day) not to carry over into the holy day; bodily activity related to the people’s common needs must cease and be completed before the Sabbath. In this way, the time of the Sabbath is like no other because the labors customary on normal days are suspended and provide the practically-constructed space of time for the holy activity of the Sabbath. The most recognizable forms of activity from which this notion of completing work before the Sabbath stems is the preparation of food prior to the beginning of the Sabbath and is implied in the manna story in Exodus 16: “this is what the LORD meant: tomorrow is a day of rest, a holy Sabbath of the LORD. Bake what you would bake and boil what you would boil; and all that is left put aside to be kept until morning” (Exodus 16.23). This passage is a prime example of two related practices, which constitute major themes of the Sabbath are found in several ancient texts: food preparation is not permitted on the Sabbath and what is used on the Sabbath is by necessity prepared before hand.

These principles regarding the preparation of food and other things for use on the Sabbath are explicitly mentioned in several of the halakhic texts from the late Second Temple period discussed above. Both of Jubilees’ lists of Sabbath halakhah (Jub. 2 and 50) contain rules related to the preparation of food before the Sabbath; in chapter 2, the angel speaking for the LORD tells Moses: “inform and tell the Israelites the law…lest they do work on it which is not proper to do what they wish (kama i-yekunnu la-gebira geber bāti za-i-yekawwen za-yāsatari la-gebira bāti faqādomu) namely: to prepare on it anything that is to be eaten or drunk” (Jub. 2.29; cf. Ex 16.26) while similarly in chapter 50, the people are told: “on the Sabbath day do not do any work which you have not prepared for yourself on the sixth day (i-tgebaru mentahi gebra za-i-yāsatadāla wekamewo la-kamo la-‘elat sādest) so that you may eat, drink, rest, and keep Sabbath

93 Neusner 2006, 93-95.
on this day from all work” (Jub. 50.9). Both of these passages consider preparing food before the Sabbath as work associated with common days and the people’s desires while also implying that the acts of eating and drinking on the seventh day are in and of themselves not considered work; indeed eating and drinking are central to Jubilees understanding of observing Sabbath. Here, finishing the preparation food for use on the Sabbath prior to the holy day reflects another set of changes to bodily practices, which constructs a metaphorical state of piety and a conceptualization of “rest” that steers the people to the LORD’s desires.

Similarly, the Damascus Document commands “a man may not eat [אכלה] anything on the Sabbath day except [כד] already prepared” (CD 10.22-23). In these two late Second Temple texts containing halakhah for the Sabbath there are specific commands to ensure the preparation of food before the Sabbath and to consume food prepared only before the Sabbath. Here one of the fundamental activities of daily life for the community at large (i.e. preparation/consumption of food) is drastically altered on the seventh day: no sustenance is to be prepared and nothing is to be eaten that was not prepared before hand (i.e. on the sixth day or before).

In rabbinic halakhah, the stipulation that food eaten on the Sabbath is to be prepared prior to the seventh day is also evident but is formulated in a distinct manner. Instead of simply forbidding the preparation and consumption of food on the Sabbath, the rabbinic halakhah focuses attention on when such activities must be completed on the sixth day i.e. if a given activity could be completed before the beginning of the Sabbath. Furthermore, attention to the completion of “work” before the beginning of the Sabbath (and the opinions of various rabbinic authorities)

95 Cf. Philo, De Vita Contemplativa, 36-37: “they eat nothing of a costly character, but plain bread and a seasoning of salt, which the more luxurious of them to further season with hyssop; and their drink is water from the spring; for they oppose those feelings which nature has made mistresses of the human race, namely, hunger and thirst, giving them nothing to flatter or humor them, but only such useful things as it is not possible to exist without. On this account they eat only so far as not to be hungry, and they drink just enough to escape from thirst, avoiding all satiety, as an enemy of and a plotter against both soul and body.” Translation from C.D. Yonge, The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged, New Updated Edition (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993).

96 On eating and drinking as positive Sabbath commands, see chapter 3 below.

97 Cf. the later criticism of the Jews in Pseudo-Ignatius, To the Magnesians 9.3: “but let each of you observe the Sabbath…by marveling at the creative work of God, not by eating day-old food, drinking lukewarm drink, walking measured distances, and rejoicing in dancing and senseless clapping.” (Translation in Cohen 2012).
functions almost as a principle that extends beyond food preparation to other activity. In the Mishnah, we find the precise rules that govern preparation based on how much time is available and how this is to be judged: “they do not roast meat, onions, and egg, unless there is time for them to be roasted while it is still day. They do not put bread into an oven at dusk, nor cakes on coals, unless there is time for them to form a crust on the top while it is still day” (m. Shabbat 1.10; cf. 3.3). 98 Instead of merely prescribing that food prepared for the Sabbath to be ready before the seventh day (i.e. on the sixth day), the rabbinic pronouncement specifies that such activity on the sixth day is to be done only if there is ample opportunity for the cooking processes to reach a certain, completed stage before the end of the day (i.e. Friday evening). 99 Thus even activity permitted on the sixth day in the earlier Second Temple texts is in the rabbinic legislation only allowed if it can be completed before the beginning of the Sabbath. This refinement of the food preparation rule for the Sabbath if followed ensured that cooking and other productive “work” would not cross the threshold of the holy day.

As noted, the idea that food for the seventh day needed to be prepared before the beginning of the Sabbath is illustrative of a more general trope in rabbinic halakhah for the Sabbath, namely, that sufficient time is needed to complete an act before the beginning of the Sabbath and that only things prepared before the Sabbath and for the Sabbath are permitted. Both of these practices, applied to a variety of activities, contribute to the construction of Sabbath in early rabbinic Judaism and the refinement of the practice and meaning of stopping work. As with the mishnaic notice that roasting and baking be done only if sufficient time is available for these activities to reach a completed stage before sundown, so too are other acts that are considered work to be performed only if there is sufficient time i.e. while it is still day. For the house of Shammai, this includes soaking ink, dyestuffs and vetches, setting traps and nets, laundering clothes with gentiles, selling or carrying burdens with gentiles, and lighting fire with charcoal

98 Similarly, Josephus notes that bread for the Sabbath was prepared the day before (τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου τῷ δὲ σαββάτος).

99 This is reflected in the accompanying Tosefta: “The House of Shammai says, ‘six days shall you labor and do all your work’ (Ex 20.9) – [meaning] that all your work should be complete by the eve of the Sabbath” (t. Shabbat 1.21).
While the acts in and of themselves could be considered work, the real concern here is less the specific nature of the work than the fact that such labor should not be undertaken unless they can be completed before the start of the Sabbath (cf. Jubilees; CD). For the rabbinic authorities, the more pertinent concern is whether there is time before the end of the sixth day for an activity to be completed so that it does not enter into the Sabbath.

Further separation of the Sabbath from profanation from practices is embodied in the treatment of external objects and ensures that materials for use on the Sabbath are only prepared prior to the beginning of the holy day. While this is evident in the halakhah associated with food preparation in the Second Temple texts discussed above, the principle extends to other practices (i.e. use of material goods) in the Mishnah: “[on the Sabbath] they do not put a utensil under the lamp to catch the oil but if one put it there while it is still day [i.e. Friday before sundown], it is permitted. They do not use any of that oil [on the Sabbath] because it is not something which was prepared [before the Sabbath for use on the Sabbath]” (m. Shabbat 3.6). This rule illustrates that the work necessary to catch the oil cannot be done on the Sabbath but must, like food preparation, be done before hand; likewise the oil collected cannot be used on the Sabbath because it is collected on the Sabbath. Such rules seem at first glance to be exacting but they involve a larger principle that in order to sanctify the seventh day: all things used on the day must be prepared before hand so that common human activity ceases and makes the day a Sabbath; the experience of the seventh day is to be radically different for the people who construct this holy time by stopping common activity on the Sabbath down to even the finest detail.

2.2.4 For Study and Knowledge: Sabbath Rest and Attention to Law in Philo and Josephus

In much of the Second Temple material discussed above there is little if any explanation of why or how the Sabbath is a time to stop work and turn attention to the deity; there are simply rules

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100 Cf. t. Shabbat 1.22 (grinding wheat with water wheel). In the Mishnah passages cited above, the House of Hillel permits these activities while the sun is shining (m. Shabbat 1.8) while Shammai permits them only if there is sufficient time for them to be completed during the day.

101 On the beginning of the Sabbath, see CD 10.14-17.
that are to be followed. I have argued that such ritualized practices reflect an underlying conceptual metaphor that links suspending common work with embodied attention for the LORD and his Sabbath. In other Second Temple contexts, there are more second order or explanatory reflections on the Sabbath that nevertheless reflect this conceptual metaphor.\textsuperscript{102} This is particularly the case with Philo of Alexandria and Josephus in their elucidation of Sabbath commandments pertaining to rest from work. Philo argues that the Jews “set aside time” from normal life for reflection and discussion of “holy” matters of philosophy: “in accordance with custom, even to this day, the Jews having devoted that time (τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀναθέντες) of the seventh day, discuss their ancestral philosophy for [the gain of] knowledge and contemplation of nature” (De Vita Mosis II 216). For Philo, the stopping of common work on every seventh day (ταῖς ἐβδομαῖς) provides the opportunity for the discussion of “ancestral philosophy” and the things of nature. These topics likely include the Mosaic Torah and its interpretation as seen in other texts: “what then did he do on this Sabbath day? He commanded all the people to assemble together in the same place, and sitting down with one another, to listen to the laws with order and reverence, in order that no one should be ignorant of anything that is contained in them” (Hypoth. 7.11; cf. Decal. 98).\textsuperscript{103} Furthermore, as characteristic of Philo’s Neo-Platonism background and allegorical approach, he sees two sides for the meaning of the Sabbath with that which is properly of the “soul” (ψυχή) committed to God: “those who properly keep the holy seventh day (τὴν ἱερὰν ἐβδόμην) are benefited in two most important particulars, both body and soul; as to their body, by a rest from their continual and incessant labors; and as to their soul, by forming most excellent opinions concerning God as the Creator of the universe and the careful protector of all the things and beings which and whom he has made” (Spec. II 260; cf. Migr. 90-94). It is important to note that while the matters of the soul are of higher importance for Philo, he nevertheless maintains that the physical practice of the laws should not be abrogated and that they in fact are the mechanism through which one comes to the spiritual truths: “But it is right to think that this class of things resembles the body, and the other class the soul; therefore, just as we take care of the body because it is the abode of the soul, so

\textsuperscript{102} Cf. Weiss, 794. Weiss’s distinction between the Hebrew Bible and the more self-conscious reflection of rabbinic literature is comparable to that which I present here regarding Philo and Josephus versus some of the other sources.

\textsuperscript{103} Cf. H. Weiss, 38.
must we pay heed to the letter of the law (προνοητέον οὖτο καὶ ῥητῶν νόμων ἐπιμελητέον)” (Mig. 93). Thus for Philo, stopping work for the sake of the body is coupled with the “soul’s” cultivation of appreciation for God’s works. For Philo, the Sabbath is a time for Jews to stop common work and come together for consideration of God’s teachings. Here the metaphor for stopping work on the Sabbath as attention to the LORD that is embodied in practices is explicitly fleshed out as a time for reflecting on God’s law and creation.

For Josephus, there is a similar, self-reflective explanation for the stopping of work on the Sabbath as turning attention to God through the practice of learning the law: “And the seventh day we set apart from labor for the learning of our customs and laws (τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔθων καὶ νόμου), we thinking it proper to reflect on them as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin” (Antiq. 16.43). In addition, Josephus’ boasting concerning the pedigree and antiquity of the Jewish form of νόμος involves both doing and studying with the Sabbath serving as major example of such a practice: “[Moses] demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week (καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπεδείξε παώδεμα τὸν νόμον ὦκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασμένος οὐδὲ δίς ἄ πολλὰς ἄλλα ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος τὸν ἄλλον ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν” - C. Ap. 2.175). Thus for Josephus, there is an explicit articulation of the embodied idea of the stoppage of work and other daily occupations for the purpose of attending to God i.e. for listening and learning the law. Both the example of Philo and Josephus show how the metaphor of Sabbath as attention to the deity is reflected in their understanding of Sabbath practice but on more analytical level than other Second Temple material.
2.3 Breaking the Sabbath to Keep Sabbath: Violation of Halakhah and the Sanctity of the Sabbath

In the preceding I have illustrated several ways in which the performance of Sabbath halakhah related to the ceasing of “work” is integral to the sanctification of the seventh day. While there are also many practices through which the Sabbath is made holy through positive commands for specified activities (e.g. sacrifice, prayer – see chapter 3), there are different conclusions regarding the circumstances in which creating or maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath required activity that was otherwise forbidden on the seventh day (see above). For at least some Jewish writers, such acts that are deemed as a worthy or necessary breaking of the Sabbath rest included work on or in the sanctuary (e.g. Sabbath sacrifices), that which kept others from mortal danger so that they might also keep the Sabbath (i.e. *Mek. Shabbata* 1.20-25), and some acts of self-defense (i.e. going to war of the Sabbath). Although there is in no way complete agreement on these issue, these seemingly distinct aspects share a common theme: they are permitted so that all members of the community could observe the Sabbath and full participation in worship of the LORD could be achieved; without performing these acts, the Sabbath could not be hallowed for all. *Jubilees* and CD are especially attentive to the requirements for the work of sacrifice required for the holy day (cf. CD 11.16-17) while some of the New Testament gospels, which participate in Jewish discourse regarding the Sabbath, focus on allowing all to participate in the “rest” despite breaking commandments. Rabbinic material from the *Mekhilta* emphasizes the uniqueness of work on the sanctuary and saving a life while clearly delineating the cessation of work in all other cases.

2.3.1 Sabbath sacrifices and “work” in the sanctuary: Action and Meaning

If one is to abstain from various profane activities and maintain a state of purity on the Sabbath day, there is significant time for “work” or “service” that aids in the sanctification of the seventh day and is devoted to the pleasure or will of God (see chapter 3).\textsuperscript{106} Such activities allowed in

\textsuperscript{106} Cf. Klawans 2006, esp. 49-74. Klawans suggests that the goal of purification and sacrifice was to garner divine presence and as an act of *imitatio dei* i.e. the ordering and maintenance of the temple as analogous to the LORD’s ordering of the cosmos. The Sabbath then serves as a signature product of divine activity and thus is preeminently worthy of human attention.
the sanctified time of Sabbath include temple service (i.e. Sabbath sacrifices) and ensuring that all members of the community were able to participate in the practical construction of the holy day i.e. stopping work and other Sabbath practices that turned bodily attention to the LORD. These Sabbath day activities are set apart from those for profane days and define the seventh day as one devoted for the entire community to serve the LORD. Among the forms of activity that honor God and distinguish the sacred time of the Sabbath, one of the clearer and more consistent ones are sacrifices marked for the Sabbath. The ordinances in different parts of the Hebrew Bible differ to some degree but they share in a priestly concern for the divine service particular to the Sabbath. What is particularly interesting is that activity in or related to the sanctuary is found in the context of many halakhic discussions of prohibited work addressed thus far. Nevertheless sacrifice or work on the sanctuary is allowed in the sanctuary/temple as a necessary component of hallowing the seventh day. Furthermore the symbol that is the sanctuary or more broadly the sacrificial cult is used throughout a large period of time from when there was an actual temple to when it no longer existed. At the very least this served as an interpretative vehicle to refine what the cessation of work meant to many Jewish practitioners; only work devoted to the LORD was still permitted.

In Jubilees, there is the explicit requirement for the Sabbath service of sacrifice despite its strict forbiddance of most other types of activity (e.g. Jub. 50.8). Israel is to:

rest on it from any work that belongs to the work of humankind except to burn incense and to bring before the LORD offerings and sacrifices for the days and the Sabbaths. Only this work is to be done on the Sabbath days in the sanctuary of the LORD your God in order that they may atone continuously for Israel with

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107 Cf. Neusner, "The Sabbath halakhah in the context of rabbinic Judaism's theological system." Neusner argues that the laws of Shebi'it, as understood by the Rabbis, illustrates an edenic quality that the Sabbath metaphorically emulates; the land and its produce belongs to everyone, "so everyone may eat, and God alone is to be acknowledged" (193).

108 e.g. Num 28.9-10, Ezek 46.4-5; Lev 24.8; CD 11.17-21; cf. 11QT 13.17-14.2; Ant. 3.237.
offerings from day to day as memorial that is acceptable before the LORD (Jub. 50.10-11).

*Jubilees* assumes the reader’s knowledge of what constitutes the appropriate “gifts and sacrifices” for the Sabbath and is more concerned to stress that “offering” or “bringing” sacrifices – presumably for the *tamid* (“for the days”) and special burnt offering for the Sabbath – to the altar for the LORD is the exclusive form of “work” permitted on the seventh day while it is also “the only work” (*ze-gebra baḥetitu*) allowed on the Sabbath and that it can only be performed in the “sanctuary of the LORD” (*bēta maqdeshu le-egziabḥer*; cf. “blessing the LORD – Jub. 50.9). *Jubilees*’ attention to sanctioned work focuses on the people’s commitment to this ordinance: they are to rest from all their occupations and to bring sacrifices to the LORD for the days and the Sabbath (Jub. 50.10) and so it is the people who through their timely offerings ultimately “atone” (*yistasrayu*) for themselves and gain acceptance of the LORD forever (Jub. 50.11). This passage also stands out in the context *Jubilees* given the absence of priests in regard to the Sabbath offerings and the book’s preoccupation with a lineage of priests beginning with Adam in Eden (Jub. 3.27). Although this may hinge in part of the narrative setting (i.e. creation), the association of Sabbath with the primordial creation of Israel suggests that the celebration of the seventh day is a responsibility of the entire community from the very beginning. Thus in *Jubilees*, the final complier of the Sabbath halakhah considered the work of the people bringing offerings to LORD essential to the character of atoning temporality on the seventh day, maintenance of the covenantal relationship, and was the only work to be performed on the Sabbath.

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110 Doering 1997, 198; cf. Schiffman, 128; *m. Tamid* 7.3.

111 Furthermore the additional prohibitions against specific activities that follows this passage concerning divine service on the Sabbath (e.g. other work, going on a journey, plowing one’s field) reinforce the particular nature of this cultic sacrifice, specifically in the barring “profane” slaughter on the Sabbath: “any man who slaughters or kills anything, or slashes the throat of cattle or bird…let the man who does any of these on the day of the Sabbath die so that the children of Israel might keep the Sabbath” (Jub. 50.12-13).

112 The “atoning” may refer to priestly (cf. angelic) action here. Interestingly, *Jubilees* is silent about those who would perform the sacrificial procedures in the sanctuary though presumably this would a priestly figure like one of the great ancestors that the book touts (i.e. Noah – Jub. 6.1-3; Abraham – Jub. 15.1-4). Neither is mentioned at all in the immediate context while the verb *yistasrayu* is in the third-person plural and could refer to the collective “Israel,” who is the subject of the actions in the preceding verse i.e. the bringing of sacrifices.
The *Damascus Document* discusses the importance of the Sabbath sacrifices and yet does not have exactly the same interest nor reach the same conclusions as *Jubilees*. In both cases, the ordinance concerning Sabbath offerings in CD is included in a larger compendia of Sabbath halakhah consisting mainly of prohibitions against different types of work. CD assumes the Sabbath offering but unlike *Jubilees* is also keen to argue that the Sabbath burnt offering is the sole sacrifice allowed on the Sabbath day: “no one should offer any sacrifice on the Sabbath except the Sabbath whole burnt offering ([חלות שבת](https://example.com)), for so it is written, ‘besides your Sabbath’ “ (CD 11.18-19; cf. Num 28.10) while *Jubilees* makes no such distinction explicitly. It is possible that CD interprets Numbers 28.10 with **מלך** instead of with **על** (“in addition to”) in the MT and LXX but could in principle have had knowledge of a different version of the command other than that found in the principle witnesses.\(^{113}\) Regardless, CD sees the offering of the singular sacrifice as constitutive of the character of the Sabbath day while also emphasizing that sacrifices be performed in a state of purity (CD 11.18-12.2; cf. *Jub*. 50.8). As with *Jubilees*, CD’s legislation on the sacrifice of only the burnt offering does not specify a priestly presence and stands in relation to the community as a whole (i.e. **אל יש אשם לolah** – CD 11.17) while any other offering besides the **olah** in this context is presumably a prohibited “work” like the other acts enumerated in the preceding verses (CD 11.1-16). For the communities behind the halakhah in *Jubilees* and the *Damascus Document*, the work common to the everyday life of the people ceased so that the activity they did participate in (i.e. Sabbath offerings) honored the LORD and the Sabbath reigned on the seventh day; the work of the Sabbath sacrifice in the view of *Jubilees* and CD was vital component for which all “Israel” was responsible.

Both *Jubilees* and the *Damascus Document* presume the existence of a sanctuary, temple or at the very least an altar where such sacrificial work would occur (*Jub*. 50.10; CD 11.16-17, 22; 12.1-2) but even in later years when the temple and sacrificial practices had ceased, some Jewish authorities found it important to distinguish between prohibited work and the sanctioned “work” performed in the sanctuary in order to reiterate the continued holiness of the Sabbath. In the *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, the interpretation of Sabbath ordinances in Exodus not only

\(^{113}\) Cf. Schiffman, 128. In the next clause, the rule states: “a whole burnt offering, cereal offering, incense offering, or wood offering to the altar through anyone impure by any of the impurities, thus allowing him to defile the altar” (CD 11.19-20), which would seem to contradict the previous statement allowing only the burnt offering. This command, however, is more generally concerned with the offering of any type in a state of ritual impurity.
elucidates the definition of prohibited work according to tannaitic authorities but also stresses 
that the distinction between the general category of work prohibited on the Sabbath and the 
exceptions necessary to sanctify the seventh day. The Mekhilta reflects on the exceptional 
circumstances of sanctuary work in its discussion of the Sabbath commands in Exodus 35.1-3 
(Mek. Shabbata 2): “Moses then gathered the whole Israelite community and said to them: these 
are the things that the LORD has commanded you to do: On six days work may be done, but on 
the seventh day you shall have a Sabbath of complete rest, holy to the LORD; whoever does any 
work on it shall be put to death. You shall kindle no fire throughout your settlements on the 
Sabbath day.” Importantly, the collator of the halakhic midrashim understands these verses as 
referring to the command to build a sanctuary and an introduction to directions for the building 
of the tabernacle: “‘And Moses gathered.’ Why is this section set forth? Because it says ‘let 
them make me a sanctuary’” (i.e. Ex 25.8). The fact that the Sabbath command is given here in 
Exodus 35 (cf. Exodus 31) raises the issue of “work” on the Sabbath, which in this context elicits 
the citation of the penalty for profaning the Sabbath in Exodus 31.14 (cf. 35.2). But because the 
command to build the sanctuary is a command from the LORD (i.e. Ex 25.8), this midrash 
concludes that “anyone who profanes the Sabbath shall surely be put to death” applies “to all 
work except work on the sanctuary”—Mek. Shabbata 1.3-4 cf. דוחה את שבת עבודה. 114

The rabbinic authorities reinforce this distinction through a supporting argument that extends to 
and differentiates between preparations for temple service and the actual performance of the 
temple service: “if the temple service, which can be carried out only by means of preparations, 
sets aside the laws of Sabbath is it not logical that preparations for service…should set aside the 
laws of Sabbath” (Mek. Shabbata 2.6-9). The answer to this argument consists of reiterating the 
argument on the lemma under discussion - “And Moses gathered…” – i.e. that no work is to be 
done on the Sabbath except work on the sanctuary; even fixing things for use on the Sabbath and 
related to the sanctuary (e.g. horn of the altar, broken knife) constitutes prohibited work and so 
would other activity of preparation (cf. cooking) if performed on the Sabbath. According to the 
midrashic authority, the command of the LORD to build the sanctuary implies that only this 
work and this work alone is permitted on Sabbath and does not indicate that related or supporting

114 Although not explicit, the service in the temple does not detract from the restfulness of the Sabbath as do other 
forms of activity not characterized as “work.” Cf. Mek. Shabbata 1.3-7.
activity is acceptable. Doing the work of temple service is necessary for the Sabbath while all other work detracts from the holiness desired for the day.

Another aspect of the argument includes the *Mekhilta*’s sanctioning of work in the sanctuary on the Sabbath stems from knowledge of oral Torah which the midrashic authority sees as revealed in this episode from Exodus and includes the oral transmission of the 39 prohibited forms of work on the Sabbath: “‘and he said to them: these are the words’ (Ex 35.1b). Rabbi says: this includes the laws about the 39 categories of work prohibited on the Sabbath which Moses gave them orally” (*Mek. Shabbata* 2.1-2; 11-14; cf. *m. Shabbat* 7.2). Thus in the commanding of the Sabbath law in Torah, the rabbinic interpreter sees both the distinction of the sanctuary provided by scripture and the oral transmission of halakhah on prohibited work from Sinai down to the sages. Here, the interpreter of the prohibition against work on the Sabbath is careful to distinguish illicit work, including Sabbath preparations done on the Sabbath (*Mek. Shabbata* 2.5-9), from the sanctioned work of the Sabbath temple service.  

The interpretation of the following verses (Exodus 35.2-3) reiterates the distinction between profane work and the holy work of the sanctuary. The *Mekhilta* considers the “holiness” of the Sabbath for the people in Exodus 35.2 (i.e. “the seventh day will be holy for you”) in relation to the obligation to do the work of the sanctuary alone on the Sabbath already established. In particular, the *Mekhilta* supplies an argument that settles any question about the exceptional circumstances of sanctuary work: the midrashist submits that the lemma “the seventh day will be holy for you” is written “lest the Israelites say, ‘since work is permitted to be done within the sanctuary it should be permitted outside of the sanctuary,’” as with the *kol wa-homer* in 2.6-9. In doing so, the midrash reiterates that the Sabbath is for the people to make holy through ritualized practice of ceasing normal activities on the seventh day and that the work of the sanctuary alone is exceptional.  

Thus the people make the Sabbath holy or distinct from other experience by stopping their work while “work” in the sanctuary should be carried out as if it were a normal, “profane” day, which justifies the “work” performed in the sanctuary as incomparable.

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115 Cf. *Mek. Shabbata* 1.21-24: “R. Akiva says: If the punishment for murder sets aside even the Temple service, which in turn supersedes the Sabbath, how much more should the duty of saving life supersede the Sabbath laws!”

116 For God (i.e. service in the sanctuary), however, it is still a profane day (*Mek. Shabbata* 2.24-28).
A similar logic regarding cultic service is used in the interpretation of the next verse in Exodus 35: “you shall kindle no fire throughout your dwellings on the Sabbath day” (Ex 35.3) and addresses the issue of creating fire as form of work on the Sabbath (cf. m. Shabbat 7.2; 16.6). Here the midrashic interpretation utilizes two intertexts (Lev 6.6 and Ex 31.14) to argue that kindling fire is work in every setting except in the sanctuary, which is permitted to fulfill Torah commands on the Sabbath (Lev 6.6). Again, the penalty of death for profaning the Sabbath (Ex 31.14) is understood as applying to all other works but that allowed in Torah i.e. the fire for the altar (Mek. Shabbata 2.50-54), a distinction made by emphasizing another biblical text where there is a command that fire is not to be kindled on the Sabbath day in their dwellings (Mek. Shabbata 2.54-56; Ex 35.3). This attention to the detail of the prohibition not only shows the careful reading of the midrash’s author but also the clear distinction between profane work (i.e. lighting fire in the home) and sacred work mandated for the Sabbath (i.e. fire-making in the sanctuary); the restricting of kindling fire in one’s own dwelling and the requirement for making fire exclusively in the sanctuary on the Sabbath (Mek. Shabbata 2.55-56) embodies the ritual metaphor of ceasing common action as turning attention to and sanctifying the holy day.

In these brief and skillful pieces of exegesis, the midrashic interpretations of the Mekhilta highlight the strictness of the prohibitions against work on the Sabbath by demonstrating how the rabbinic reading of the biblical text precisely permits work that involves the sanctuary (i.e. sacrificial service, kindling fire) while asserting that rabbinic oral law (i.e. the Mishnah) concerning prohibited activity is also referred to in scripture (e.g. Ex 35.1). Although it stresses the exclusivity of sanctuary work like Jubilees and the Damascus Document, the Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael strives to clearly separate profane activities prohibited on the Sabbath from those that the LORD commands i.e. sacrificial service. Ultimately, the rabbinic interpretation of Exodus 35 in the Mekhilta leaves little doubt: only work in sanctuary on the Sabbath is exceptional and does not imply that any other work is permitted even without a temple; the symbol of the sanctuary in scripture and tradition is used to reinforce the principle of not working on the Sabbath.
2.3.2  Sabbath, Sanctuary and Mercy in Matthew 12

The practice and therefore idea of work in the sanctuary as an essential and permitted activity for the Sabbath is also referenced in halakhic disputes between Jesus and the Pharisees in some of the New Testament gospels but is used in ways different than hitherto witnessed. In the gospel of Matthew, the work done in the sanctuary by priests and who thus profane the Sabbath rest is part of Jesus’ defense against accusations that his disciples are performing what the Pharisees consider unsanctioned work on the seventh day (Matt 12.1-8; cf. Mark 2.23-28; Luke 6.1-5).\textsuperscript{117} Such reasoning about Jesus’ actions in relation to the law in the gospel reflects Matthew’s broader argument that Jesus’ life and work (as well as that of Matthew’s community) was a fulfillment of Torah, in this case emphasizing the mercy and rest dimensions of Sabbath (cf. Matthew 5.17-20).\textsuperscript{118} In Matthew’s version of the synoptic story and argument about how the Sabbath is to be observed in his community,\textsuperscript{119} the author contends that Jesus and followers are performing divine service through their activity, are justified in breaking their Sabbath rest as the priests did in the temple, and are ultimately presented as operating in compliance with Sabbath law.

In Matthew’s version of the story, Jesus and his disciples are walking through grain fields on the Sabbath and when the disciples become hungry, they begin plucking and eating grain (καὶ ἦρξαντο τίλλειν στάχυν καὶ ἐσκίνειν – Matt 12.1).\textsuperscript{120} The Pharisees immediately accuse the disciples of “doing something that should not be done on the Sabbath” (οὐκ ἐξεστίν ποιεῖν ἐν σαββάτῳ) but precisely what command or practice the disciples have violated is not


\textsuperscript{118} Cf. J. Andrew Overman, \textit{Matthew's gospel and formative Judaism : the social world of the Matthean community} (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 90.

\textsuperscript{119} Harrington, 53: “the question for the Matthean community [Matt 12.1-8] was the manner in which the Sabbath was to be observed.”

explicated. Saldarini suggests that the issue is the Second temple and rabbinic emphasis on the preparation of food for the Sabbath and other activities before the Sabbath (Jub. 2.29; 50.9; Ex 16.22-30) while Ringe and Doering surmise that plucking of grain may have violated Pharisaic halakhah concerning agricultural labor on the seventh day (cf. m. Shabbat 7.2). While both suggestions are plausible, neither is completely satisfactory; the Pharisaic accusation is opaque and almost a contrived, does not mention anything specific about food preparation, and the prohibition against reaping on the Sabbath in the Mishnah is hardly an equivalent to the disciple’s plucking of grain (cf. Deut 23.25). Whatever the precise violation, the accusation allows the writer of the gospel of Matthew to present his understanding of observing the law in his post-Jesus community. This argument is constructed using methods in line with those already encountered in early Jewish interpretations regarding the breaking of the Sabbath and yet produces a novel, Jewish understanding of Sabbath (e.g. kol wa-ḥomer, gezera shava) even if it is not a particularly strong or logical argument.

As Anthony Saldarini notes, the arguments made by Jesus, “resemble legal arguments in Second Temple and mishnaic literature in assumptions and hermeneutical method even as they differ in results.” Jesus’ response to the pharisaic critique in Matthew uses three separate arguments based on scripture that coalesce around a primary, embodied metaphor: activity in the sanctuary on the Sabbath as permitted work that the LORD desires. As such, Jesus’ first question to the Pharisees recalls a surprising action by David: “He said to them, “Have you not read what David did when he and his companions were hungry? He entered the house of God and ate the bread of the Presence, which it was not lawful for him or his companions to eat, but only for the priests” (Matt 12.3-4; cf. Mark 2.25-27; Luke 6.3-4; Lev 24.9). The question recalls David and his

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122 Yang, Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel, 139: 168-72.
123 Ibid., 173-74.
125 Interestingly, Matthew omits part of the Markan version that is similar to sentiments found in the Mekhilta i.e. “Then he said to them, ‘The Sabbath was made for humankind, and not humankind for the Sabbath’” (Mk 2.27) cf. Mek. 1.27-28: “the Sabbath is given to you but you are not given to the Sabbath.”
companions’ receipt of the consecrated bread of presence to eat from the priest Ahimelech (1 Sam 21.1-7) and, by implication, the Sabbath bread offering made and subsequently consumed by Aaron and his sons (Lev 24.8-9; Ex 25.30; 39.36; 40.23).126

At the same time, the scriptural source of Matthew’s argument does not explicitly state that David and his companions entered the sanctuary on the Sabbath even though the aforementioned bread is that which is consecrated for Aaron and his sons on the Sabbath (Lev 24.8-9). The status of David and his companions, however, is intriguing and important to Matthew’s argument about Jesus and the disciples in that they are also not priests (cf. Lev 24.8-9; Matt 12.4: “it was not lawful for him or his companions to eat, but only for the priests”) and yet are allowed to eat. In the context of 1 Samuel 21, David and his companions are allowed to eat the bread of presence because of the pretext that they, like the priests, are ritually pure and thus are able to receive the consecrated bread further on in the 1 Samuel text: “and David answered the priest and said, ‘indeed we have kept ourselves from a woman yesterday and the third day; when I go on a journey all the lads have become consecrated, and this journey is profane, wherefore it shall be consecrated today through my implements’ ” (1 Sam 21.5 LXX).127 Thus the reference to David and his companion’s consumption of the bread of presence, while perhaps analogous to the hunger of the disciples in Matthew version of this scene (Matt 12.1), presumes that the disciples and their activity (e.g. picking the grain) are sanctioned because they, like David’s companions, are in some unspecified way consecrated for the holy day. Though not entirely clear, this sanctification may be in part a product of their discipleship with Jesus who is understood by Matthew and other gospel writers as the “lord of the Sabbath” (Matt 12.8; Mark 2.28; Luke 6.5).128 By quoting this seemingly unlawful but nevertheless accomplished action by David and his companions, the Matthean author attempts to use rabbinic style argumentation to

126 Harrington, 48.
127 Translation based on Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, A new English translation of the Septuagint : and the other Greek translations traditionally included under that title (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Cf. MT: “David said, “I assure you that women have been kept from us, as always. Whenever I went on a mission, even if the journey was a common one, the vessels of the young men were consecrated; all the more then may consecrated food be put into their vessels today” (JPS); cf. Doering 2010, 215.
128 Cf. Matthew 23 i.e. Jesus’ critique of the Pharisees and rabbis who teach the law but do not practice it (23.3). This in addition to Sabbath controversy suggests some differentiation of the Matthean community from other Jewish authorities over matters of halakhic practice.
answer the charges brought against Jesus’ disciples: if David when hungry could eat food sanctified for priestly consumption, then how could Jesus’ followers be held in contempt for merely picking grain to eat? This explains the disciple’s ability to profane the Sabbath like David that stems from their priest-like sanction and comes in part through their discipleship with Jesus, whom Matthew understands to be the “lord of the Sabbath.”

In the Matthean version, this rhetorical question in vv. 3-4 is followed immediately by another: “Or have you not read in the law (οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) that on the Sabbath the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath (τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσιν) and yet are guiltless (ἀναίτιοι εἰσιν)?” (Matt 12.5). This “law” is a reference to the “work” of priests in the temple on the Sabbath; the bread-offering and the service of the priests in general profanes the Sabbath but is sanctioned because it is “work in the sanctuary” that is demanded by the law (Lev 24.8; Num 28.9-10; cf. Mek. Shabbata 2.24-28). The question posed here reflects a notion that by performing the Sabbath service, the temple priests do “work” and profane the Sabbath but are not held accountable (i.e. they are “blameless” - ἀναίτιοι εἰσιν) and turns the idea of divine service back into the category of “work” for rhetorical purposes. Finally, Jesus goes so far as to claim that the Pharisees do not understand the LORD’s desire for mercy more than sacrifice: “but if you had known what this means, ‘I desire mercy and not sacrifice,’ you would not have condemned the guiltless” (cf. Hos 6.6; Avot de-Rabbi A4). This last allusion to scripture aligns with rabbinic views of breaking the Sabbath in that some events (e.g. saving a life) need to be done so that a person can properly keep the Sabbath (see below). Even as these scriptural allusions appear to be loosely associated, Matthew’s argument emerges: Jesus appears as a learned interpreter of scripture and his disciples’ breaking of the Sabbath is justified by the recourse to scripture; thus the disciples (and Matthew’s community) are seen as in keeping with a legitimate interpretation of the seventh day prohibitions.

The rhetorical questions formulated in reference to scripture, other interpretive traditions, and Jesus’ separate explanations in Matthew 12.6, 8 suggest that Jesus’ mission according to Matthew is congruent with the sanctified service in the sanctuary and thus his and his followers’

129 Cf. Yang, 176-177.

130 Ed. Schechter 11a-b; Klawans 2006, 205.
“profane” activity on the Sabbath is therefore acceptable (cf. Matt 5.17). Jesus’ reference to David’s actions denotes that the disciples are properly sanctified through the current circumstances of Jesus’ “priestly” ministry, which are reflective of the “profane” service allowed in the temple on the Sabbath. Ultimately, the Sabbath controversy in Matthew 12 reflects the use of Jewish methods of interpretation regarding the legitimate breaking of the Sabbath but with a unique conclusion. Furthermore, the conclusion reached in Matthew’s reckoning is presented as an authentically Jewish one that participates in ongoing attempts to understand the LORD’s desire for the Sabbath.

2.3.3 The Sabbath for you, not you for the Sabbath: The Preservation of life on the seventh day

In many of the legislative commands regarding work on the Sabbath reviewed so far, there is frequently great animosity toward those who do “work”: they are to be “cut off” or put to death (e.g. Num 15.31-36). At the same time we have seen that other activity, namely that necessary for the Sabbath temple service, is permitted and indeed required for the sanctification of the holy day. So while certain acts are expressly prohibited or extremely limited during the Sabbath (e.g. carrying burdens across thresholds), these tend to be associated with the common activities of everyday life and not with unique or exceptional situations that required immediate action. Thus while particular and anticipated activity was expressly prohibited, some less common events (i.e. saving a life; healing) were sanctioned or received less scrutiny in the eyes of many Second Temple and rabbinic authorities. The reason for allowing this exceptional “work” stems from the need for all “Israel” to participate in the Sabbath remembrance and rest that is a gift for the people and not vice versa.

In the Mekhilta and the canonical gospels, the preservation of life or healing sick is understood as permitted on the Sabbath albeit for different reasons. For the Mekhilta, the very beginning of Tractate Shabbata contains several opinions of rabbinic authorities related to allowing the preservation of life on the Sabbath and although the arguments collected there differ they all
relate to the central point that “saving a life” (נפש לפיקוח; cf. m. Yoma 8.6). Similarly, the arguments mustered by Jesus in response to Pharisaic accusations of unlawful activity utilize similar tactics in order to reach comparable conclusions, namely that “healing” (θεραπευτό- Lk 6.7; Mk 3.2; cf. Jn 7.23 - ἑστρεφέω ἐποίησα) is permitted so that the member of the community was able to celebrate the Sabbath (cf. CD 11.16-17; Matt 12.12-14); acting in way that allows all to participate in Sabbath practices is permitted to some extent and reflects an extension the embodied metaphor of Sabbath as attending to the deity. In the Mekhilta, the argument for breaking the Sabbath rest (cf. Mek. Shabbata 1.3-6) consists of various examples in the kol wa-ḥomer style of argument; this includes several acts that in addition to the “work” of temple service discussed above: the protection of oneself from a malicious intruder, the performance of circumcision, and punishment for murder in addition to close readings of the Torah passage in question (Ex 31.12-17).

In particular the covenantal command for circumcision and the need to perform it even on the Sabbath in some cases appears in several contexts but is used to justify different understandings of the need to break the Sabbath rest. Even though in the Mishnah there are some commands that put off the ritual beyond the customary eighth day procedure (m. Shabbat 19.5), older texts reflect tradition that demands or permits the eighth day procedure be carried out even if on a Sabbath (Jub. 15.25; 4Q266 6 ii 6; 4Q367): “there is no passing a single day beyond the eight days [for circumcision] because it is an eternal ordinance and written in the heavenly tablets.” Similarly, the Mekhilta assumes that circumcision on the Sabbath occurs and is necessary but explicitly notes that the Sabbath laws ought to be put aside for the ritual: “R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: ‘if performing the ceremony of circumcision, which affects only one member of the body, one is to disregard the Sabbath laws, how much more should one do so for the whole body when it is in danger’” (Mek. Shabbata 1.15-20). This quote of R. Eleazar shows not only that...

131 Cf. b. Shabbat 128b; b. Baba Mesia 32b.

132 Although CD orders people not to recuse animals on the Sabbath (11.13-14), it still allows humans to be helped so long as certain devices are not employed (11.16-17).

133 m. Shabbat 19.1-5
circumcision was a permitted violation of the Sabbath\textsuperscript{134} but also that breaking the Sabbath law to save a life on the Sabbath was permitted and fulfilled God’s desire for the seventh day (cf. covenant; circumcision).

The performance of circumcision on Sabbath is particularly interesting in that its allowance and use in justifying life-saving action are used in a way similar to that found in Jesus’ defense of his teaching and healing in some of the New Testament gospels that show definite knowledge of similar Jewish thought on the practice of the Sabbath.\textsuperscript{135} In one of his speeches in the temple during festival in the Gospel of John, Jesus defends his teaching and healing on the Sabbath (Jn 5.1-16) in a manner reminiscent of that found in the \textit{Mekhilta}. When the crowd questions Jesus about his being targeted by the “Jews” (Jn 7.20),\textsuperscript{136} Jesus refers to his healing of the man with the mat on the Sabbath (i.e. Jn 5.1-16): “Jesus answered them, ‘I performed one work, and all of you are astonished. Moses gave you circumcision (it is, of course, not from Moses, but from the patriarchs), and you circumcise a man on the Sabbath. If a man receives circumcision on the Sabbath in order that the law of Moses may not be broken, are you angry with me because I healed a man’s whole body on the Sabbath? Do not judge by appearances, but judge with right judgment’” (Jn 7.21-24). In order to defend against the accusations, the author of John presents Jesus as knowledgeable about a particular way of interpreting the Mosaic law regarding circumcision (cf. \textit{Jubilees}); like the \textit{Mekhilta}, Jesus understands the need perform the law even on the Sabbath. The gospel writer, however, inverts the argument of the \textit{Mekhilta}: the example of circumcision on the Sabbath is not used to illustrate to when the Sabbath can be broken but rather that the Sabbath is broken by Jesus to fulfill the law. The healing of the whole body on the Sabbath is here seen as fulfilling the law like circumcision on the Sabbath because the healing reflects the teaching from God that Jesus sees himself as bringing to the people (cf. Jn 7.15-18).

\textsuperscript{134} Other authorities in the Mekhilta refine the argument in that such action (circumcision/saving a life) can on be done in “cases of certainty” (1.15-20).

\textsuperscript{135} Other healing narratives in the gospels make use related methods of legal interpretation and illustrative examples. See Matt 12.10-14; Lk 14.5 (saving an animal and/or a child in a pit); Mark 3.4; Luke 6.9; cf. Jn 5.1-16 (“it is better to do good on the Sabbath”).

\textsuperscript{136} On the rhetorical function and issues involved with the label “the Jews” in John, see Martinus C. de Boer, "The depiction of "the Jews" in John's Gospel: matters of behavior and identity," in \textit{Anti-Judaism and the fourth Gospel} (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).
Furthermore, the *Mekhilta*’s acceptance of breaking the Sabbath rest is based on “saving a life” (נפש לפקוח – *Mek. Shabbata* 1.16) while in the case of John’s gospel, Jesus’ healings in chapter five are not clearly situations of mortal danger.

Ultimately, fulfilling the covenant obligation for circumcision sometimes required performing such work on Sabbath. In the *Mekhilta* and the gospel of John, this necessary breaking of the Sabbath rest is used support that notion that saving an endangered person or healing the sick are also acceptable situations for doing work and ultimately fulfill the restorative aspect of the Sabbath so that all might participate in the production the Sabbath rest (i.e. *Mek. Shabbata* 1.30; cf. Lk 13.14). The exception of circumcision on the Sabbath in rabbinic and New Testament discourse illustrates that similar methods and conclusions regarding circumstances for performing work on the Sabbath but ultimately utilize such reasoning to suit their respective arguments.

### 2.3.4 The limits of self-defense from Maccabees to the Mishnah

Finally, we find reflections on fighting or otherwise acting on the seventh day for the purposes self-preservation as considered to be a reasonable and justified situation in which the Sabbath rest could be broken. In the famous case of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees, the father of the Hasmonean dynasty is seen as being “zealous for the law” (1 Macc 2.26, 50) despite his groups apparent “defilement” of the Sabbath by fighting their gentile attackers (cf. 1 Macc 2.34; *Ant.* 12.277; 2 Macc 5.25-27). The hardline interpretation reflected in the actions of those Jews that are defeated by their Greek oppressors is paralleled in principle by some fragmentary material from the Dead Sea Scrolls i.e. fighting (לחימה) or going to battle on a Sabbath (cf. Day of Atonement; Sabbatical year). In rabbinic material, the sages stress that certain scenarios are grounds for self-defense on Sabbath but they are limited and temporary to the situation at hand (i.e. it is not a completed act). Ultimately, fighting on the Sabbath is generally prohibited but like the preservation of life, some Jewish thinkers found ways respect the ordinance while explaining the need to break it at certain times.

In 1 Maccabees, the people who “were seeking righteousness and judgment” due to the evil perpetrated by the Greeks and defied the rules of the foreign king are attacked by his forces on
the “day of the Sabbaths” (1 Macc 2.29-32). These righteousness-seekers refuse to “go out and do what the king commanded” (ἐξελευσόμεθα οὖν δεῖ ποιῆσομεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως) i.e. follow Antiochus’ law and forsake the practices of the fathers (e.g. 1 Macc 1.40-49). In this instance, it may be that both the going out to fight and participation in the Greek cult both constitute “defiling the day of Sabbaths” (βεβηλώσαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων) but the former is stressed in 1 Maccabees description of these people’s actions: “but they neither answered them [the Greeks] nor threw nor even secured their hiding places, saying ‘let us all die in our sincerity’” (ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι ἡμῶν – 1 Macc 2.36-37). On account of their “sincerity” or “uprightness,” this group honors the Sabbath according to the law that they abandoned the city for in the first place (i.e. 1 Macc 1.40-53; cf. C. Ap. 1.209-11).

This fear of defiling the Sabbath by fighting is mirrored to some extent in some texts found at Qumran including one of the halakhic texts discussed above. According to the reconstruction of 4Q264a (and 4Q421a) made by Noam and Qimron, this halakhic text suggests that going out to meet an enemy in battle on the Sabbath is forbidden: “he [is] in a house or city [he shall not leave his place in vain and if the gentiles invade the city] to fight with him (ב鲕לום עמו легם) [he may not go toward them…]” (4Q264a 3.7-8). Noam and Qimron hypothesize that this particular commandment is related in large part to the Sabbath boundaries with roots in Exodus 16.29 but


138 Of course, 1 Maccabees presents Mattathias and his follower as extremely pious followers of the law and covenant (i.e. 1 Macc 2.19-22) and his dismissal of the Sabbath rest for self-defense is affirmed collectively (i.e. each one said to his neighbor – 2.39).

139 A more triumphalist image of piety appears in 2 Maccabees where the Jewish forces pause in their pursuit of Nicanor on the “day before the Sabbath” (ἡ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου) to “keep the Sabbath” (περὶ τὸ σάββατον ἐγίνοντο) and offer praise to the LORD before the dividing the spoils of war “after the Sabbath” (μετὰ δὲ τὸ σάββατον). Josephus in Contra Apion, on the other hand argues that safety and reason take precedence over piety; see H. Weiss, 71.

140 Cf. 1QM 2.7-8: “From all the tribes of Israel they shall prepare capable men for themselves to go out for battle according to the summons of the war, year by year. But during the years of remission they shall not ready men to go out for battle, for it is a Sabbath of rest for Israel.” 1QpHab 11.6-8: “At the time set aside for the repose of the Day of Atonement he appeared to them to destroy them and to bring them to ruin on the fast day, the Sabbath intended for their repose.”
note also that the vast majority of the law is lost.\textsuperscript{141} If their reconstruction is in any way close the actual contents of the law then 4Q264a reflects an attitude of extreme adherence to the interpretation of Sabbath prohibitions and parallels the sentiment of the righteousness seekers in 1 Maccabees (cf. Josephus' view of the Essenes – *War* 2.147). Unfortunately, there is little of the actual text available and some of the reconstruction is conjectural at best. Although the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls is limited, it combined with the suggestive story in 1 Maccabees may indicate that fighting battles even in self-defense was a violation of the Sabbath according to some Jewish communities.

According to some traditions in the rabbinic corpus, the preservation of life includes self-preservation: “even shedding blood, which defiles the land and causes the Shekinah to remove, is to supersede the laws of the Sabbath if it is to be done *in protection of one’s life* (לפריך נפש)” (*Mek. Shabbata* 1.14-16). The issue of fighting or self-defense on the Sabbath, however, is in the *Mekhilta* dealt with in relation to a rabbinic principle that only completed actions are seen to violate the Sabbath prohibition against work.\textsuperscript{142} In regards to self-defense on the Sabbath, the *Mekhilta* quotes an interpretation of R. Ahai ben Josiah as a response to the lemma “everyone who profanes the Sabbath shall surely be put to death” (Ex 31.14):

> Suppose the Gentiles surrounded Israelite cities and the Israelites had to profane the Sabbath [in self-defense]. The Israelites in such a case should not say: ‘since we had to profane part of the Sabbath, we might as well continue to profane the Sabbath the rest of the day. For it says: ‘everyone that profanes the Sabbath shall surely be put to death,’ meaning everyone that profanes it for even one moment’ (*Mek. Shabbata* 1.59-64)

At first glance, R. Ahai’s statement assumes that profaning the Sabbath in self-defense is permitted (*Mek. Shabbata* 1.14-16) but it is not without an important qualification: although the people need to profane the Sabbath in order to defend themselves, they are barred from

\textsuperscript{141} Noam and Qimron, 62.

\textsuperscript{142} Neusner 2006, 60-66; 93-94.
continuing to work for the remainder of the Sabbath (cf. Josephus *War* 1.146; *Antiq.* 14.63).\(^{143}\) Although the hypothetical conditional statement lacks some specificity, the conclusion meshes with the rabbinic notion that only completed actions profane the Sabbath and is supported by the interpretation of the next part of the lemma: ‘‘whoever does work on it,’’ provided that he does a complete act of work. Suppose he writes one letter in the morning and one later…I might also understand that he should be guilty but it says ‘‘whoever does work on it,’’ that is, provided that he does a complete act of work at one time” (*Mek. Shabbata* 1.65.70; cf. *m. Shabbat* 12.1-14.2).\(^{144}\) When R. Ahai’s statement that profaning the Sabbath for even a moment elicits the penalty is read in conjunction with this latter statement and the biblical verse as whole, the temporary self-defense against gentile invaders is not a violation so long as Israel does not go on to completely profane the entire Sabbath day by continuing to do “work.” Thus the *Mekhilta* does not simply accept self-defense as does 1 Maccabees but rather considers such means justified only when they are incomplete i.e. that they do not lead to other profaning work on the Sabbath.

2.4 Conclusion

In ancient Jewish halakhah, the practice of ceasing activities normal to other days is evident in abundant ways and in this chapter I have only reviewed only a select group of texts. Texts from the early Second Temple down to the tannaitic periods reflect the concern to understand precisely what ceasing “work” on the seventh day required. The suspension of common activity on the Sabbath altered the experience of the people practicing it; activities that were considered the “business of the sons of humankind” were stopped while some profane “work” (e.g. sacrifice/work on sanctuary; saving a life) continued because it in some way still honored God and his relationship with the people. Stopping work constructed a ritualized, embodied metaphor of Sabbath (i.e. rest, stopping work) as attention to the desires of the deity. Although there are clearly shared traditions, questions, and methods of reasoning about the practices that defined

\(^{143}\) Cf. H. Weiss, 77. Weiss notes that Josephus is inconsistent about self-defense on the Sabbath, which may indicate an ambivalence about the subject for him or other Jews of the era and situation.

\(^{144}\) Ibid., 93-94.
“rest” on the Sabbath, the analysis conducted here shows that different or unique opinions and conclusions were often formulated in the elucidation of seventh day prohibitions; the particular texts (or groups) that mustered distinctive positions nevertheless considered their evaluation of tradition to be a perfectly authentic expression of doing the LORD’s will on the Sabbath.
Chapter 3 – Constructing the Sabbath with Worship

3 Introduction

In much of the same Second Temple and early rabbinic material addressed in chapter 2, positive instruction regarding liturgical praise or blessing is presented as a co-requisite to the requirement for the ceasing of activity on the Sabbath day (e.g. Jub. 2; 50; 4Q504; CD; cf. petitionary prayer 2 Macc 15); thus if a “time” is cleared through the cessation of quotidian “work,” then the edifice that fills it is comprised in large part of rituals of blessing and praise for the Sabbath.\(^{145}\)

Furthermore in many of these priestly-oriented texts this seventh day praise is coordinated with sacrificial practice on the Sabbath and sacrificial language or tropes apply to liturgical reflection on prayer practices.\(^{146}\) Because of the perceived necessity of offering what the LORD desired on the Sabbath (i.e. praise and sacrifice; bodily “attention”), the displacement of some “priestly” Jews from the temple or the land where such practices of sacrifice ceased left them unable to completely fulfill the Sabbath commands. Since practices of sacrifice and prayer (i.e. song/blessing/adoration) were often experienced together, the language of praise and blessing embodies “sacrificialized” metaphors i.e. prayer acts conceptualized as offerings akin to physical offerings.\(^{147}\) In some contexts, this constituted a substitute to physical sacrifices/temple and shaped worship practices that allowed vicarious participation in the heavenly liturgy that occur simultaneously on the Sabbath (e.g. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*).

In this chapter, I examine the positive commands for praise and blessing on the Sabbath that appear in many of the halakhic texts discussed in chapter 2 (i.e. *Jubilees, Mekhilda*) as well as evidence for purification procedures and practices that were required for their adequate

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\(^{145}\) I take acts of “blessing” (ברך בָּרָךְ) and “praise” (אמר, הלל, ידה; cf. שָׁמַר, תְּפִלָּה) to be forms of prayer and distinct from other for different of occasions (e.g. lament, petitionary). See Chazon, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran."

\(^{146}\) Cf. Prov 15.8 (cf. CD 11.21; angelic prayer/sacrifice); 11Q5 18.7-8; cf. 24-26; prayer of the three men – Dan 3 LXX (cf. Dan 9.27); Jub. 2.22; 1QS 9.24-26 – Maskil; 1QHa 20.4-10; cf. *Avot R. Nat.* A 4; Rev 5.8; 8.3; cf. Arnold 2006, 6-7; 23; 180.

performance. In addition, I also look at evidence for the actual practices of Sabbath praises and blessings in “liturgical” documents from Qumran and the later Jewish-Christian context (i.e. Jewish prayer embedded in the *Apostolic Constitutions*) in light of the commands to offer praise on the Sabbath and the conceptual metaphor of such praises/blessings as constituting sacrifice that appear in several contexts in ancient Judaism and early Christianity. In performing these acts of piety, “Israel” participates actively in the sanctification of the holy day that sets them apart from the rest of creation even as different groups modify and extend the metaphor. At the same time, the authentic attitudes and material for the Sabbath praise are adopted by local interests such as the complier of prayers in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the Yahad, the latter of which preserved and may have used an angelic liturgy originally meant to accommodate temple sacrifice i.e. the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*. I maintain that the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice* were important at Qumran because the Yahad lacked access to the Jerusalem temple and thus the sacrifices required by the law. The metaphorical connection between sacrifice and song/blessing/praise provided a ready, embodied substitute for the experienced “additional” sacrifices for the Sabbath (11Q19 13.17; CD 11.18; *Ant.* 3.327; cf. *musaf* prayer). Such an understanding of the metaphorical “sacrificialization” of prayer elucidates the sanctification of the Sabbath day in places where or at times when performing sacrifice/prayer in the temple for the seventh day was not possible.  

The performance of the Qumran “Shirot” allowed the Yahad to participate vicariously in conceptually real sacrifices of heavenly praise and thus fulfill Sabbath commands apart from temple-based sacrifice. Such practices were unconsciously assumed to be effective because of the metaphorical connection between practices of praise and sacrifice. This special practice of the Yahad is the focus of much of the second half of the chapter but the metaphor of praise as sacrifice can be detected with different nuances in other contexts (i.e. the replacement of sacrifice with prayer in some rabbinic conceptions of worship).  

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3.1 Preparation for Praise: Sabbath and Defilement

While the ceasing of certain types of work was essential for constructing the holiness of the Sabbath and prevented the profanation of the holy day, another dimension of sanctification for the Sabbath included the maintenance of bodily purity in order to perform sanctioned activity (e.g. temple service; Ex 19.10; cf. prayer/praise). The purification acts embody the ritual goal of and function as constituents to the complete attention to the deity. In some cases, the work that needed to be abstained from is accompanied by special purification procedures in order to ensure the sanctity of ritual practitioners on Sabbath; both failure to adhere to the prohibitions against certain types of work and participate in the requisite purification acts defile or “pollute” (טמא) the time of Sabbath. In some cases the work itself is defiling and thus purity is maintained in part through obedience to the law. In Jubilees 2, there is a connection between work, profanation (חלל) and pollution (טמא) on the Sabbath. The people are to “sanctify it and not do any work on it, and not defile (טמא) it because] it is more holy [than] any day. And [everyone who profanes (חלל it, let him die”] (Jub. 2.26 (i.e. 4Q218 1.1-2); cf. 30.8; 33.11; Ex 31.14-15; CD 11.15). In this section, the subsequent list of prohibitions (vv. 29-30) includes the types of activities that defile or pollute, which would prevent the day from embodying its “angelic” quality as intended (i.e. Jub. 2.28, 30; 50.8 – i.e. abstaining from marital relations; cf. 15.27; 33.18-20) while “sanctifying” the day is not merely done by not working but also through

150 Cf. the concept of “holiness” and priestly literature, see Philip Peter Jenson, Graded holiness : a key to the priestly conception of the world, Journal for the study of the Old Testament. Supplement series ; (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).


152 Cf. Doering 1997, 196. Doering notes Milgrom’s study that shows to substitution of “defile” with “pollute” elsewhere in Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. Thus is a transfer of one concept range to another to the point that the terms are practically synonyms.

153 Ethiopic root rek"sa can be translated as “to be defiled, be profaned.”

154 Cf. Jub. 2.25: “whoever defiles it let him die.”
sanctioned worship (Jub. 2.21-22). In Jubilees, the performance of prohibited work is seen to cause pollution or desecration of the holy day and imperil the connection between the people and their God. Furthermore, Jubilees does not report a mechanism or practice for purification specific to the Sabbath; if such transgression occurred Jubilees is simply silent about purification practices with respect to the Sabbath (cf. Jub. 3.8-14 – purification after childbirth). The book is ultimately more focused on preventing the defilement of the pristine and heavenly Sabbath by illicit work.

The Damascus Document is not explicit about defiling the Sabbath through work but the defiling possibilities of impure persons in regard to the Sabbath service (i.e. sacrifice) is a matter of concern in the text’s discussion of the Sabbath halakhah (cf. CD 6.18; Jub. 50.8). Noting that special sacrifices are to be offered on the Sabbath, CD commands: “no one should send a whole burnt offering, cereal offering, incense offering, or wood offering to the altar through anyone impure (תָּקַשֵּׁר) by any of the impurities (תָּהָשְׁרִים), thus allowing him to make impure (לַקָּשֵׁר) the altar” (CD 11.18-20). CD does not use the verb “to profane” (חלל) here as found in Jubilees and some of the pentateuchal legislation (e.g. Ex 31.14) in regard to the Sabbath; a person in a state of “impurity,” however, has the potential of invalidating the festal observance of the Sabbath and the worship that attends the seventh day (cf. CD 12.3-4): “no one who enters the house of worship shall enter in impurity (תָּקַשֵּׁר), with garments requiring laundering. When the trumpets for assembly are blown, let him go earlier or later (הוֹסֵס אֶל וֹסֵס) so that they need not stop the whole service; the Sabbath is holy” (CD 11.22-23). Here, CD demands that persons in a state of impurity and therefore in need of ritual cleansing stay out of the worship space during Sabbath service (i.e. sacrifices). The stipulation is temporal as well as spatial: the individual is to remain outside the sanctuary for the duration of the service i.e. from the sounding of the trumpets to the end of the session; during the Sabbath services it is imperative that the participants are to be pure so that the Sabbath remains holy just as the offering (cf. Jub. 50.8). Furthermore, CD is more specific with the application of the punishment: only those who advise others to violate the Sabbath will meet with capital punishment; those who have been misled are to be re-educated.

155 “But all such who go astray to defile the Sabbath and the festivals shall not be put to death.” The verbs “to pollute” (חלל) and “to defile” (תקשר) seem to be conceptually interchangeable here as in Jubilees (see Doering 1997, 196).
over a course of seven years (CD 12.3-6; cf. *m. Shabbat* 16.6). Thus is CD there is a major concern for ritual purity among the participants in the Sabbath assembly and attendant rituals. Only when this is realized can the Sabbath worship be acceptable.

Because of this need for practitioners to be in a state of ritual purity in order to participate in the Sabbath celebrations and other events (i.e. communal meals) as presented in texts such as CD (cf. 1QS), it is not surprising that several fragmentary texts relating to the Sabbath and purification rituals have been found at Qumran (cf. 2 Mace 12.38). 156 This evidence shows different views of when such purification was to be performed although even this is difficult to determine with certainty given the material state of much of the documents. In the so-called “Purification Liturgy” (4Q284), there is a very fragmentary reference to the Sabbath at the beginning of the existing fragments and in the context of a procedure for ritual purification possibly related to the נדה מים rite in Number 19.9 (cf. CD 10.10-16 – rules for cleansing together with regulations for the Sabbath): 157 [...] Sabbath for each of the week of [...] the year and] its twelve months [...] the four son[s of the year on the days of [...] the rule of praise (הדאת סרכה) for Israel [...] water of cleansing (вод) to sanctify themselves” (4Q284 1.3-7; cf. Zech 13.1). While subsequent fragments appear to address specific instances of contracted impurity and the rites associated with them, the “cleansing to sanctify” (להתקדש נדה) is necessary for the Sabbath and possibly other festivals according to the annual calendar (i.e. “a Sabbath for each week of [...]) and is also connected to a “rule of praise” connected to ritual worship. 158 Even though the fragmentary condition of 4Q284 makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of the rite or when such ritual purification was to take place, the text presents a ritual of purification that prepared practitioners to participate in the praise commanded for the Sabbath.

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156 Cf. rabbinic notions of heightened purity on the festival days (*m. Sheqal. 8.1; m. Hag. 3.6; t. Hag. 3.24). See also Samuel A. Meier, “The Sabbath and purification cycles,” in *Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).


158 Arnold, 183. The idea that the ritual cleansing “sanctifies” the recipient is not present in the Numbers text.
A similar text regarding purification for the Sabbath, 4QPurification Ritual B (4Q512; cf. 4Q414), was also found at Qumran. Materially it is particularly noteworthy because it is written on the back of the manuscript 4QDaily Prayers (4Q503), which includes distinctive prayers for the Sabbath (see below). The provenance of this text appears to the attributable to the Yahad, but the fragmentary condition of the manuscript prevents certainty on the matter. 4Q512, like 4Q284, associates ablution with sanctifying oneself for the Sabbath: “[…] your […] from every shame (רעה) of our flesh for […][…] and for the appointed time of the Sabbath, for the Sabbaths of all the weeks of […] and the] appoint[ed time of … and] the four seasons of […] in water […] to consecrate oneself (4Q512 36 38.17; 33+35.1-5; cf. 4Q284 1.3-7).

In other fragments, the purification ritual itself, like 4Q284, contains blessings for the God of Israel on account of his compassion with fragmentary mentions of “impurity” (נדה) and “purity” (טוהר) in consecutive lines while fragment 29, column 32 contains a blessing related to preparation to bring an offering to the altar at the “appointed time,” which contextually could be a reference to the Sabbath or Sabbath sacrifice (an “appointed time” - cf. 4Q512 33+35.1; CD 11.19-20; Lev 23.2-3). Here, the instruction to the individual (a “priest”?) undergoing the purification ritual so that the offering is rendered acceptable (cf. CD 11.18-20):

[…] and he shall bless (ברוך) [the God of Israel] there [and say in response, Blessed are You, O] [God of Israel. I am standing] before You at the appointed time […] […] You […] me for the purification of (לטהרה) […][…] and his burnt offering. And he shall bless and say in respon[se,] Blessed are You (ברוך אתה) [O God of Israel,] [You delivered me from all] my transgressions, cleansed me from defiling exposure (נדה), and atoned for me that I might enter […][…] purity (טוהר), the blood of the burnt offering (עלה) that You desire, and a


160 Ibid., 26-29.

161 Cf. 4Q512 29 32.9: “[You delivered me from all] my transgressions, cleansed me from defiling shame (נדה) (רעה).”
memorial, a pleasing aroma [...] Your holy and sweet smelling incense that You desire (4Q512 29 32.5-11)

Similar to CD, the person offering sacrifice needs to be purified in order that the Sabbath burnt offering is the kind that the LORD desires and participation in this purification process makes this state a reality through the blessing of God and the recognition of inadequacies (cf. 4Q512 40 41.4-5). As with 4Q284, it is difficult to tell when this ritual would be performed as the text does not designate a specific “event” (e.g. sundown of the Sabbath). At the very least, the reconstructed form of the text presents a purification liturgy for the Sabbath designed to prepare or enable the ritual practitioner to carry out the Sabbath burnt offering and liturgical prayer (e.g. 4Q503) in an acceptable manner i.e. a state of ritual cum moral purity.162

Overall, these passages on Sabbath purification show that ritual ablution and accompanying blessings were necessary for the people to participate in the activities marked for the seventh day: sacrifice, the liturgy that accompanied it, and other consecrated events (e.g. festivals; communal meals). While these particular practices do not apply to all ancient “Judaisms,” they do show that ritual purity on the Sabbath was, along with ceasing various quotidian activities, a corequisite for full participation in the day’s celebration (cf. “temple” purity extended in Mishnah Shabbat). The religious goals toward devoting attention purely to the deity on the Sabbath were further achieved through these purification rituals that in some cases were coupled with blessings. These bodily acts embody the attention demanded by the people’s understanding of the deity’s desires.

162 See Klawans 2000 and his arguments for the collapse of concepts of ritual and moral purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls; Cf. Jub. 22.14. Note also that in 4QPurification Rules A (4Q274), there are several ordinances regarding the distances from impure persons needed to maintain purity and the bodily discharges that cause impurity; only when this is done can the individual participate in communal meals. This appears to be the standard except when the seventh day falls on the Sabbath: “[... just a]s they sprinkle on him [the] f[ir]st time, then he shall bathe and wash before [he eats. And if] for him the seventh [f]alls on the Sabbath, let him not sprinkle on the Sabbath because [He said, “Keep] the Sabbath” (cf. Deut 5.12).] However, let him not touch the pure food until he repeats” (4Q274 2 i 1-3).

Cf. 4Q251 1 ii 6-7, where there is a possible prohibition against purification practices on the Sabbath day: “... to profane [...] impurity, his skin[n] on [the] Sabbath day [...] on the sixth d[a]y, ba[re] skin [...].” Although the fragmentary state of the document makes it difficult to reach a conclusion, these lines do occur in the context of other Sabbath prohibitions i.e. not reading/interpreting on the Sabbath; 4Q265 7.2-3: “[... on] the Sabbath [day.] And not [...]Let n]o one from the seed of Aaron sprinkle the wa[ter for cleansing.” Cf. Schiffman 1999, 270, notes the difference in purification times for Sadducees versus though Pharisees (based on rabbinic sources).
3.2 To Sanctify the Sabbath with a Blessing: Halakhah Regarding Praise and Blessing on the Sabbath

As discussed in chapter 2, the work of sacrifice and temple service on the Sabbath is only one example of Sabbath temporality as being devoted to the LORD’s desires. The Sabbath is also constituted by different ritual practices of communal or liturgical praise and blessing that distinguish the holy day in many of the texts pertaining to Sabbath halakhah. In the book of Jubilees, both sections on the Sabbath (chapters 2 and 50) and associated halakhah emphasize that the day, in addition to resting from work and celebratory feasting, is meant for blessing: “you shall not do any work on the day of the Sabbath except … to observe a Sabbath from all work of that day and to bless the LORD your God who gave to you the day of festival and the holy day” (Jub. 50.9). Thus in addition to the temple service required for the day (Jub. 50.10), the people are called to offer blessing to the LORD in lieu of their normal activities.\(^{163}\) Similarly in Jubilees 2, the Sabbath is designated as a sign to keep the seventh day holy (cf. Ex 31. 13, 17) and an occasion to “eat and drink and bless the one who created all things just as he blessed and sanctified a people from all the nations” (Jub. 2.21; cf. 2.33). The emphasis here is less on prohibition against work (cf. Jub. 2.25-30) than it is on the Sabbath being constitutive of Israel’s identity. In this context the people’s blessing of their deity physically embodies an acknowledgment their election as a separate (i.e. “sanctified) with respect to all the nations (cf. circumcision – Jub. 15.25-32). Although Jubilees does not offer a specific ritual script for this Sabbath blessing, the book does emphasize that blessing the LORD for the creation of the Sabbath day (not to mention the people themselves) and that such praise is a pillar of the activity that supports the construction of the holy day. In conjunction with temple service and celebratory feasting, communal blessing is an essential activity that distinguishes the Sabbath from profane days and, through its observance, separates Israel from all the other nations.

The command to bless the LORD on the Sabbath in Jubilees finds counterparts in some of the fragmentary halakhic texts from Qumran. In particular, the reconstructed document 4Q264a commands that one should not speak about any matter or work (4Q264a 1 i 6) but that “he may only s[peak w]ords of [holy] matters [as is customary and he may spe]ak to bless God

\(^{163}\) Cf. Penner, 68. Penner maintains that prayer does not coincide with daily sacrifices in Jubilees (cf. Josephus) but in chapter 50 there appears to be some sort of connection in regard Sabbath sacrifice and Sabbath worship.
One may speak [of things] with regard to eating and drinking […]” (4Q264a 1 i 7-8). This ordinance is remarkably similar in content to that found in Jubilees 2.21 but not without some significant differences: “all speech” (דבר), including that which concerns work on the day following the Sabbath is prohibited with the exception of that devoted to God i.e. “holy matters” and the “blessing of God” (cf. Jub. 50.8). Thus in both Jubilees and here in 4Q264a, the commanded activity on the Sabbath includes blessing the LORD and refraining from the discussion of (or attention to) mundane matters for profane days.

The association of blessing with sanctioned rituals on the Sabbath is also evident in the early halakhic midrashim on the Sabbath command in Exodus 20.8: “remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy.” After a series of interpretations on the whole verse, the midrash focuses on the final phrase “keep it holy” (לקדש): ‘to keep it holy’: to consecrate it with a benediction (ברכה). On the basis of this passage the sages say to sanctify [the Sabbath] over wine during the synagogue service” (Mek. Ba-Chodesh 7.71-72; cf. 4Q504 1 2R vii 5-11). The interpreter considers the command in Exodus 20.8 to refer to only the Sabbath day and uses intertexts (Ex 31.14; Lev 23.4) in order to maintain the need to bless and sanctify the Sabbath night as well as festival days. While in Jubilees and the Qumran halakah blessing God is part of the main activity to occur during the Sabbath, here we see the blessing ritual of the day as initiating (and terminating) the holiness characteristic of the Sabbath. For the sages, this blessing for the Sabbath makes the holy day and is thus an essential practice that distinguishes it from other periods of time (cf. Daily Prayers). These brief examples show that the blessing and praise commanded for the Sabbath constitute a major portion of the actualization of seventh day Sabbath; the Sabbath is holy not just because of the ceasing of work but also do to the filling of this “time” with ritual practices of blessing, many of which were particular to the Sabbath.

164 Noam and Qimron, 59. Cf. Doering 1999, 217-219. See also 4Q251 1 ii 5: “[…] to interpret or read aloud (לקרא) a scroll on the [Sabbath].”

165 Cf. Noam and Qimron, 50. CD 10.17-18: “on the Sabbath day, no one shall speak any coarse or empty word.”

166 The collocation of blessing and sanctification with regard to the Sabbath occur at several point in the Sabbath passages of Jubilees (Jub. 2.21-24, 28, 30, 32).
3.3 In Praise of the Sabbath: Liturgical Prayer and Blessing on the Seventh Day

In order to fulfill the commands to praise and bless the LORD, ritual or liturgical prayer were composed in ancient Judaism and many seem to have been crafted specifically for the Sabbath day.\(^{167}\) In addition to later Jewish prayer specifically tailored for the Sabbath (e.g. special Qiddush, Qedushat ha-Yom, Musaf), we have some examples of these prayers and blessings related to in Sabbath in fragmentary texts from Qumran as well as Christian prayers included in the *Apostolic Constitutions* that used demonstrably Jewish prayers as a source.\(^{168}\) Collectively, they are important evidence as they show ways in which the commands to praise the LORD and bless the Sabbath, like sacrifice in other contexts, were practiced and thereby constructed Sabbath time (cf. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*). In addition, the later material in *Apostolic Constitutions* show that communal praise in honor of the Sabbath continued to retain importance in and shaped the worship practices of the early Church and their desires to fulfill God’s desires.

As noted above, the Qumran document *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) appears on the *recto* of the purification document 4Q512 and contains prayers for the days of the week as well as others specific to the Sabbath.\(^{169}\) This fragmentary document relates a liturgical order of prayer for the morning and evening of a least one month: “When [the sun] rises [out of] the firmament of heav[en], they shall bless (יברכו). They shall re[spend,] “Blessed is the G[od of Israel, who has …] This day [You] have renewed […];” “and on the sixth day of the mon[th in the evening they shall bless (יברכו) and respond sa]ying, ‘Ble[ssed be the God] of Israel[ …] (4Q503 6 iii 1-2, 18). In addition to these daily prayer rituals that mark the beginning (i.e. evening) and end of each day, 4Q503 also includes blessings for the Sabbath and festival days that are different from the other prayers. Although very fragmentary, 4Q503 contains a date for one of the Sabbaths in the extant month (i.e. the twenty-fifth of the month) as well as the dates of the last Sabbath for

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\(^{169}\) Falk 1998, 21-58; Arnold 120-130; Chazon 2000, 47-49; Penner, 107-109, 136.
different months (frags. 37-38). In addition to the specific dates, what is more interesting and relevant is that the prayers for the Sabbath are to be markedly different from the prayers for other days; the formulation and therefore the practice/performance of the Sabbath praises provide for the distinction of the seventh day as mandated by many of the halakhic texts discussed here and indeed also shows how the distinguished day provided for the structure of a calendar. In the case of 4Q503, this distinction is made through the use of different language and themes for the Sabbath: in fragments 24-25, we find a restored blessing: “[they answer and they say: ‘blessed be the God of Israel who chose him as his son from all the nations […] for an appointed time of rest and delight’” (ותענוג מנוח cf. Isa 58.13). These blessings are nearly identical to those for the “profane” days but they do differ insofar as they include additional motifs of rest, delight and election that are recognizable themes related to Sabbath traditions (cf. Jub. 2.31-33; 50). Even though the text is quite fragmentary and blessings are part of transitions between normal days (i.e. evening and morning) and perhaps some festivals, the Sabbath is marked out by specific blessings for the seventh day in 4Q503.

In addition to the Daily Prayers for the Sabbath, blessings for the LORD and the Sabbath are found in other liturgical documents from Qumran including the “Words of the Luminaries” (4Q504, 506), which appear to contain prayers for seven days that form a historical summary from creation through the exile with the exception of the seventh prayer which concerns the Sabbath. Like 4Q503, the text of the Sabbath prayer is quite fragmentary but still sheds light on the praises that fulfilled the command to worship in specific ways on the Sabbath: “Praises (הודות) for the Sabbath day. Give thanks (דוהו) to [the LORD, bless] his holy name forever with a [holy] song. Praise him, all the angels of the holy firmament, and all the holy ones above], the heavens, the earth and all its handiwork…the great abyss, Abaddon, the waters and all that are in them. Let all his creatures [bless him continuously forever and [ever. Amen Amen” (4Q504 2R vii. 4-9; cf. Ps 92). While substantial portions of the material remains of 4Q504 are penitential in

170 In general, see Chazon 2000.
171 Cf. frag. 40 41.4-5 might also refer to another the Sabbath and is supported by the phrase “holy rest” (קָדוֹשׁ מָנָח).
173 Arnold, 130-133; Penner, 103-107.
nature, the Sabbath praise and blessing in this fragment are exclusively that; there is no plea for forgiveness or petitionary elements. Furthermore, the “words of the luminaries” are not in praise of the selection of Israel or the rest provided on the Sabbath day (i.e. 4Q503; Jubilees) but of the creation of the cosmos (cf. Gen 1; Ps 148).

In addition to these more obvious liturgical prayers denoted for the Sabbath, there is additional Qumran evidence for practices of liturgical prayer that embody the perception of natural phenomena (e.g. setting and rising of sun) through ritual practices. The metaphorical entrainment of natural experience with socio-cultural practices of demarcating temporal periods thus also function to sanctify special days such as the Sabbath. In the “Song of the Maskil,” attested in some versions of the Rule of the Community (1QS 9.12-10.26; 4QS b,d,f;j; cf. 1QHᵃ; 4Q503), one of the “instructor’s” duties is to “offer” blessings to God at certain times that includes both natural and ritual events:

He shall bless his Creator [for all of His good]ness, and re[count His loving-kindness] in all that is to be. [With the off]ering of lips shall he bless him at the times inscribed: when light begins its dominion—each time it returns—and when, as inscribed, it is gathered into its dwelling place; when night begin its watches ... when the times appointed for new moons arrive, and when, as their periods require each gives way to the next. Such renewal is a special day for the Holy of Holies; indeed, it is a sign that He is unlocking eternal loving-kindness each time these cycles begin as ordained, and so it shall be for every era yet to come. On the first of each month in its season, and on holy days laid down for a memorial (דִּבְרֵי נַפְשׁוֹת קָדוֹשׁוֹמִי) in their seasons by the offering of lips shall I bless Him—a statute forever engraved. (1QS 9.26-10.6)

174 Rappaport, 177-190.

The maskil is to provide an “offering of lips” (תרומה) a blessing at the beginning of the day and the night as well as new months while blessings are also inscribed “holy days laid down for a memorial,” presumably festival days and weekly Sabbaths (cf. Ex 20.3 – “remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy;” 4Q512 29 32.5-11). The pattern of heavenly cycles is divinely fixed and seen as a sign of benevolence that requires a “prescribed” (בתכונם) response of blessing for holy days like the Sabbath. Furthermore, the beginning of the week and the appointed times of “release” (דרור) are to be praised by the “tongue” of the maskil who offers it as fruit or a “portion” (מנה) of sacrifice. The sacrificial language (i.e. תרומה; מנה) that the maskil is ideally called to use for recalling the “times,” the “holy days for memorial days” (i.e. Sabbath and other festivals), indicates a “sacrificialized” conceptualization of prayer (see next section).

Although some scholars have cautioned that this particular text represents the ideals of the sectarian community but not necessarily actual practice, the “tightly organized association” of the Yahad and the Maskil song’s strong similarity to other liturgical prayer texts (e.g. 4Q503) makes it highly likely that such a pattern of activity was realized at Qumran.

Further evidence for the idea and practice of ritual prayer that distinguishes holy times of significance in connection with divine service is found in the so-called “David’s Compositions” found in 11Q Psalms (11Q5). In contrast the maskil’s prayer order marking transitions from days to nights, these תהלים and שירות, as opposed to the blessings and praises encountered so far, are associated with the annual solar calendar and sacrificial ritual:

176 Cf. 1QS 10.7: “the appointed times of the year according to their weeks.”

177 Cf. Collins 2010, 74: “both the passage in 1QS 10-11 and 4Q503 relates to the schedule blessing to the cycle of the sun and to the cosmic calendar, rather than the times of sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple.” The association of prayer or song, however, with the temple sacrifice on the Sabbath and other festivals and the sacrificial language in the passage suggests a close association between scheduled blessing and sacrifice.


179 Falk 1998, 254; Arnold, 112.
He [David] wrote: *psalms* (תהלים), three thousand six hundred; *songs* (שירים) *to sing before the altar* accompanying the daily perpetual burnt offering for all the days of the year, three hundred and sixty-four; *for the Sabbath offerings, fifty-two songs*; and for the new moon offerings, all the festival days, and the Day of Atonement, thirty songs (11Q5 27.4-8; cf. Sir 47.11-17; *Ant. 7.305*)

Although the list does not specify the exact points in the day for the singing of such songs, they are ideally to be “offered” with and in the vicinity of a variety of sacrifices offered on the altar, including fifty-two songs for the Sabbath “offerings” (קרבנים; cf. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*). Even though this list does not provide exceptional insight in the actual or prescribed practices associated with prayer during sacrificial practices, it does associate practices of song and sacrifice performed together. Furthermore, these are conceived of as ritually establishing divisions in temporal experience, which in this case are entrained with the symbolic solar year, and of distinguishing psalms or songs composed specifically for the Sabbath.

The praises for the Sabbath day in Jewish liturgies are not limited solely to the material recovered from Qumran. Indeed prayers and blessings on and for the seventh day are at the core of canonical Jewish liturgy (i.e. the Seven Benedictions; *Qedushat ha-Yom*). The distinctiveness of communal blessings for the Sabbath is also evident in the examination of prayers from books 7 and 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*AC* - 4th century CE), which contain highly modified but recognizable Jewish prayers in Greek (*AC* 7.36; cf. *Qiddush* for the Sabbath). The example of these “Jewish-Christian” prayers is important evidence for the development of Sabbath practice and thought as they demonstrate the continued connection of early Christianity to Judaism in the first centuries CE especially in terms of liturgical practice (i.e. the observance of the Sabbath). Even as a “parting of the ways” had developed substantially by the 4th century and that the liturgy is much later than most of the material discussed above, the inclusion of the Sabbath blessing in *AC* 7.36 is significant for the current study because it shows the continued importance

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180 *Ant. 7.305*: “And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God, of several sorts of meter; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath day, and on other festivals.”

181 For overview of literature on these prayers, see van der Horst and Newman, 3-33.
of praising Sabbath in the early Church through the inclusion and practice of the prayer in the 
AC.

Several factors indicate that existing Jewish prayers were used as a source by the compiler of 
prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions (AC 7.33-38). Aside from obvious interpolations referring 
to Jesus and related themes that contrast with identifiably Jewish tropes throughout the text, 
several scholars have recognized that the Sabbath prayer (7.36) in the sequence of AC 7.33-38 
matches the sequence of the Sabbath blessing in the Seven Benedictions (i.e. fourth position). 
Furthermore, the allusion to creation (Gen 2.2-3) in the first stanza of AC 7.36 is also present in 
the sanctification prayer for the Sabbath in the Qiddush or Qedushat ha-Yom. These among 
other examples demonstrate the AC’s incorporation of existing Jewish prayer.

For the purposes of the current study, I turn to examine the text of the prayer as reflected in AC 
7.36 and how the Sabbath is marked as unique in the Jewish source material as well as in the 
material added by the Christian editor. Especially in terms of practice, the present form of the 
text illustrates that the Sabbath was to be observed or at least praised in addition to the “LORD’s 
day” (i.e. Sunday; cf. Rev 1.10 – the LORD’s day). In addition to the praise activity reflected 
in the Sabbath day prayer (e.g. AC 7.36.4), the compiler of the AC urges his audience to keep the 
Sabbath on several occasions throughout the document (2.36.2; 2.59.3; 5.20.19; 7.23.3). In the 
prayer itself, the first stanza mentions the Sabbath as “instituted in memory” (ὁριστατεις εἰς 
μνήμην) of the LORD’s creation of the world and subsequently for reflection of holy laws and 
the gladdening of souls. These aspects of the prayer related to remembrance, creation, 
commands, and joy are also evident in other Jewish prayer, liturgy, and halakhic material

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182 van der Horst and Newman, 75. See also the general introduction (4-29) and the history of scholarship discussed 
there.

183 Ibid., 76.

184 On the meaning of the “LORD’s day” in Christian sources, see Stefanovic, ""The Lord's day" of Revelation 1:10 
in the current debate." On the practice of Sabbath observance in ancient Christianity, see Cohen, "Dancing, 
Clapping, Meditating: Jewish and Christian Observance of the Sabbath in Pseudo-Ignatius."

185 van der Horst and Newman, 75.
reviewed thus far (cf. 4Q503; 4Q264a; *Jubilees* 2)\(^{186}\) but the interesting issue here is the juxtaposition of this with the next stanza – a portion likely added in whole by the editor – which is devoted to the celebration of the resurrection and for which the author’s audience is to “rejoice on that Sunday” (*AC* 7.36.2). Furthermore 7.36.6 expresses the sentiment that the “LORD’s day surpasses all this” and “commands us, O Master, to offer you thanks for all these things.”\(^{187}\)

Thus the prayer in *AC* 7.36 urges the audience to celebrate the Sabbath on one hand while observing Sunday or the “LORD’s day” on the other. While these additions might be seen as undermining the Sabbath and its practice, the inclusion of the praise of both the Sabbath and Sunday suggests that the former is still of high regard for the compiler and is still worthy of the praise it merits as seen in other material even at a much later date and different context. Sunday is considered greater than “all this” but the inclusion of Sabbath worship cannot be simply be seen as a denunciation of the latter; the practice of the Sabbath still has value for the compiler and his associated community is to observe the Sabbath at least in terms of praise and blessing for the gift of the seventh day and concomitants (e.g. rest, scripture study).

In addition to the compiler’s retaining of the substantial core of Jewish prayer and thus reverence for the seventh day Sabbath, the contents of the original prayer are themselves interesting for their particular praise for the Sabbath as related to the perspectives studied thus far. The praise is not offered exclusively for rest and joy but also “for mediation on your laws” (ἐἰς μελέτην τῶν σῶν νόμων 7.36.1; cf. *Mek. Shabbata* 1.90-95) while the fourth stanza relates the giving of the law with the Sabbath command: “you gave them the Law of ten words spoken by your voice and written by your hand. You commanded them to keep the Sabbath” (7.36.4; cf. morning prayer for Sabbath; Shavuot; Philo, *Hypoth.* 7.11; *Decal.* 100).\(^{188}\) Similar to Philo’s more self-conscious

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\(^{186}\) Ibid., 76.

\(^{187}\) Translations of *Apostolic Constitutions* are based on van der Horst and Newman.

\(^{188}\) van der Horst and Newman, 78. According to some reckonings, another sabbatical event – Shavuot – is also alluded to here in addition to the others in 7.36.5. See Troy A. Miller, “Liturgy and communal identity: Hellenistic synagogal prayer 5 and the character of early Syrian Christianity,” in *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s children* (Waco, Tex: Baylor Univ Pr, 2007). Cf. *Mek. Shabbata* 2.12-14 i.e. the oral prohibitions given to Moses.
reflection on Sabbath, a primary concern here in regard to “keeping the Sabbath” is the “opportunity for piety,” which is realized in part through the gathering of people in praise and blessing for the Sabbath: “for the knowledge of your power, for the prevention of evil, by confining them as it were within a sacred precinct for the sake of instruction, and for rejoicing in the number seven” (7.36.5; cf. Philo Opif. 89-128; Leg. 1.8-16; Spec. 2.71-192). Here the weekly gathering of the people in a “sacred precinct” (ἱερὸς περίβολος – “synagogue”) is to learn Torah and rejoice in the Sabbath (cf. 4Q264a 1 i 7-8).

Even though material sacrifice was not a part of synagogue practices and the prayer does not reflect the desire for a return to Jerusalem or rebuilding of the temple as found in the traditional liturgy, the metaphor of prayer as akin to sacrifice is nevertheless present in the first prayer of this series: “in every region of the inhabited world the incense that comes through prayer and words is sent up to you” (AC 7.33). Thus the rejoicing in the number seven is also an “offering” to God that is marked out for the holy day alone. Furthermore, the act of gathering and worship marks the seventh day as distinct and thus defines the other holy Sabbaths that are based on it: “for this reason there are one seven (week), seven sevens (weeks), the seventh month, the seventh year, and according to its cycle the fiftieth year for remission” (7.36.5; cf. Shirot and the number seven). Thus the weekly gathering to hear the law and praise the seventh day in a “sacred precinct” characterizes the activity of the Sabbath and differentiates it from other days.

In these descriptions of practices or scripts for praise and blessing on the Sabbath, the singularity of the “offering” distinguishes the seventh day and is done utilizing different themes and motifs associate with Sabbath tradition. In addition to Sabbath psalms and songs that might have accompanied physical sacrifice (11Q5, Shirot), these acts of praise and blessing are in and of

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189 The command to cease work still functions as an important symbol of the holy character of the Sabbath in the prayer: “for that reason you commanded them not to work on any Sabbath so that on one would even be willing to speak a word in anger on the day of the Sabbath” (AC 7.36.5).

190 Speaking about “holy matters” likely included Torah study. See Vered and Qimron. On Sabbath worship in synagogue before the destruction of the second temple, see Pieter W. van der Horst, “Was the synagogue a place of Sabbath worship before 70 CE,” in Jews, Christians, and polytheists in the ancient synagogue (New York: Routledge, 1999).

191 Klawans 2006, 137.
themselves significant pieces of the Sabbath’s constitution especially where the sacrificial ordinance could no longer be satisfied (i.e. *Apostolic Constitutions*, Qumran).

### 3.4 Prayer and Sacrifice, Prayer as Sacrifice

In addition to the examples of blessing and praise on the Sabbath in connection with sacrifice or characterized as sacrifice noted above (e.g. David’s Compositions; *Jubilees* 50.9-10), there is a literary trend in ancient Judaism of conceiving of the product of vocal acts of piety in terms of the act of offering sacrifice. In several contexts, prayers of praise, blessing, and song accompany the offering of sacrifices in some texts such as Josephus’ account of Solomon’s spontaneous prayer during the temple dedication (*Ant.* 8.108; 1 Kings 8; cf. 2 Chr 16; 29; Sir 50; Ps 92.1).  

While there are no specific commands to sing or praise regularly with the Sabbath sacrifices in the Hebrew Bible, at least some psalms were connected to the temple cult and its sacrifices for festivals and holy days (i.e. the Sabbath – Ps 92.1). The conceptual, metaphorical connection between praise and sacrifice is likely a product of an embodied link between the act of “offering” sacrifice and praise and ritual practices where both song and offering were ideally presented together on the Sabbath. Although these instances of prayer or song as sacrifice are often considered merely figurative or poetic, the metaphorical connection between them planted a seed for taking the association further when sacrifice was not being practiced (see below).

The association and practice of temple sacrifices with song or praise is evident in the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish material. For example, in Second Chronicles Hezekiah is presented as offering a burnt offering in the recently purified temple that is accompanied by music: “when the

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192 *Ant.* 8.108: “I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air.” Cf. Penner, 37-48 especially on Sir 50. See also Ps 27.6: “Now is my head high over my enemies roundabout; I sacrifice in His tent with shouts of joy, singing and chanting a hymn to the LORD”


burnt offering began, the song of the LORD and the trumpets began also, together with the
instruments of King David of Israel…the song was sung and the trumpets were blown - all this
until the end of the burnt offering” (2 Chr 29.27-28; cf. Sir 53.16-24; *m. Tamid* 7.3; 4Q264a). 195
Although instruments are not allowed for the Sabbath sacrifices according to some authorities
(e.g. 4Q264a),196 it is evident that some kind of musical accompaniment of worship attended
sacrifices in the temple. Similarly, elsewhere in Second Chronicles, Jehoiada enables the Levites
to “offer up burnt offerings, as prescribed in the teaching of Moses, accompanied by a joyful
song as ordained by David” (2 Chr 23.18). Although these examples speak merely of song rather
than praise or blessing, the fragmentary manuscript designated 4QLiturgy appears to explicitly
connect the act of sacrifice with blessing: “*when you make* [sacrificial smoke…] (ברקשת) [your
creator […] and bless (ברך) […] upon the altar […] with a blast [of the shofar…]” (4Q409 1 ii
5-9). 197 These few examples show that in postexilic times and later, burnt offerings were at the
very least to be accompanied by song or blessing (see also *Jub.* 50.10-11).

The practical relationship between offering sacrifice and “offering” prayer, praise, or song in the
temple is deployed metaphorically in many instances to describe the vocal, embodied acts of
piety in terms the external objects of worship i.e. sacrifice of animals, agriculture, incense, etc.).
For example, 11QPsalms8 contains a line that reflects this relationship: “Surely he *who glorifies*
(פארם) the Most High finds favor *as if bringing an offering* (מנחה כמגיש); as though offering he-
goats and calves as though fattening the altar with myriad burnt offerings; as a sweet savor at the
hand of the righteous” (11Q5 18.7-10). Here the psalm equates “glorifying” the LORD with
offering sacrifices, both of which the Most High receives with favor. Furthermore, the last line
refines the metaphor by injecting the notion of righteousness into the character of the one who
would offer praise. This latter point suggests that any offering requires the “righteousness” of the
practitioner or that the praise itself is a righteous act that is favored by the LORD. 198

196 See Noam and Qimron 2009 and discussion there.
the daily sacrifices.
198 Cf. Prov 15.8: “The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the LORD, but the prayer of the upright pleases
Him.”
The idea that the praise and blessing of earthly worship are acceptable offerings is found also in *Jubilees* and particularly in regard to the Sabbath commands investigated so far. Indeed it is *Jubilees* that emphasizes that all the commands for the Sabbath be followed so that the day is pleasing to the LORD like a fragrant offering (*Jub*. 2.22). Thus following the statement that the people are to “eat, drink and bless the creator of all” and “keep the Sabbath” together with the angels (*Jub*. 2.21), we find the product of such action to be that “his commands rise as a fine fragrance which is acceptable in his presence for all times” (*Jub*. 2.22), a description that reflects the metaphor of praise as sacrifice. The term “commands” can certainly involve all the stipulations of “keeping the Sabbath” but in the context of *Jubilees* this also means specifically in this context the offering of blessing in addition to celebratory feasting: “they too would keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all” (*Jub*. 2.21). Thus for *Jubilees*, the “commands” that rise of like a fine fragrance are the commands to celebrate the Sabbath with blessing.

In these examples, prayer, praise and blessing are characterized metaphorically in terms of sacrificial offerings and broadly speaking they reflect two major points: praise, song, or blessing for some was a concomitant to the commanded sacrifices for holy times such as the Sabbath and such forms of worship are characterized as offerings in and of themselves. Although the reality is likely more complicated than can be explored here, the practical connection between offering sacrifice and offering praise is the foundation for the metaphor of prayer/praise as sacrifice and the experiential basis for understanding worship practices as potential substitutes for temple sacrifices.

### 3.5 Yahad and Qumran: Offerings of Praise and Blessing

In liturgical and other Sabbath rituals reflected in the Qumran evidence and texts associated with the Yahad, the praise “offerings” on and for the Sabbath reflect “sacrificialization” of prayer or other liturgical practices (i.e. songs, psalms) – blessings and other praise characterized in terms

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199 Cf. Rev 5.8; 8.3.
of sacrifice – and the purity needed to provide acceptable offerings.\footnote{200} As seen in some of the texts examined so far, the metaphor of praise as sacrifice is particularly apparent in the case of the Yahad because the maintenance of the demands of divine service to God especially on the Sabbath and other festivals was important to this priestly-oriented movement. Despite this separation from the official cult, the Yahad still maintained the holy activity of the Sabbath (i.e. divine service) in part through what should be characterized as the “sacrificialization” of ritual practices i.e. a metaphorical extension of embodied knowledge from the experienced domain of sacrificial offerings to that of other, less concretely conceived but important acts of piety including prayer, song, and blessing, some of which would normally have accompanied temple sacrifice.\footnote{201}

Further insight into Yahad’s lack of access to the cult and their substitution of pious acts like praise and blessing for sacrifice may be garnered by comparison to the treatment of sacrifice and prayer in some later rabbinic sources. Stefan Reif points out that in some parts of the Tosefta and the Talmudim, the ceasing of divine service in the temple was taken up by rabbinic forms of prayer; the notion of “divine service (עבודה) became metaphorized as the “service of the heart” (שבלב עבודה) i.e. prayer practices or in other cases the study of Torah.\footnote{202} Importantly, not all later sources elevate the status of prayer based on its association with the temple and sacrifice at particular points of the day or on specific days although in regard to the Sabbath, the musaf prayer would ostensibly be an example of later Jewish replacement of the additional Sabbath offering.\footnote{203} Even though there is no basis or reason for drawing a historical connection between the Qumran sacrificialization of praise and the practices of later rabbinic prayer, the analogy is helpful in that when important practices such as temple sacrifice are not available for any

\footnote{200}{Cf. Klawans 2006, 171; see also 4Q264a 1.2-4.}
\footnote{201}{Cf. Ibid., 171. Cf. Florentino García-Martínez, "Priestly functions in a community without temple," in Gemeinde ohne Tempel (Tubingen: Mohr, 1999). Schiffman 1999, 272-276. Cf. Steven Fine, This holy place: on the sanctity of the synagogue during the Greco-Roman period, Christianity and Judaism in antiquity (Univ of Notre Dame Press, 1997). Fine notes the role of the synagogue as holy space because of the activity that occurs there (e.g. Torah study, prayer). On music involved in ancient Jewish literature, see Eric Werner, The Sacred Bridge: the interdependence of liturgy and music in synagogue and church during the first millennium, vol. II (Jersey CIty, NJ: Ktav, 1984).}
\footnote{202}{Reif 2006, 167-169; cf. Penner, 70-71; Klawans 2006, 203.}
\footnote{203}{Reif 2006, 174.}
number of sociopolitical reasons, alternatives were sought by different groups in order to maintain divine service and obtain the favor of the deity.

As already examined, the sacrificialization of the metaphor ritual praise as sacrifice is evident throughout sectarian documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls and is especially prevalent in texts that describe prayer activity on the Sabbath including 1QS; other prayer texts such as the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504), although not demonstrably sectarian, also conceptualize prayer as sacrifice and were presumably adopted into the community’s worship practices. Ultimately the offering of praise and blessing functioned as ritual practices that made the “time” of the Sabbath holy and aided the sectarian quest for perfection through the fulfillment of Sabbath obligations. The pinnacle of this practice at Qumran is the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Success in the proper Sabbath praise is seen in the pure, suitable “offerings of breath” (4Q403 1 i 39-40) by priestly angels as described by the “priestly” human actors, who invoke in detail the liturgical order of the heavenly sanctuary (see next section).

Many of the documents found at Qumran reflect practices including blessing and prayer that function as metaphorically embodied equivalents to sacrificial practices. In general the Yahad distinguished themselves through the physical and ritual separation of the community from Jerusalem and the temple cult (i.e. timing of rituals, feasts due to different calendars). In the Rule of the Community, even the membership of the Yahad is characterized with sacrificial overtones as those who “offer themselves (הנדבים – cf. 1 Chr 29.9; Ezra 3.5) freely to perform the statutes of God” (1QS 1.7; cf. 1.11) as opposed to those that remain “unclean” so long as they reject the laws of God as far as the Yahad understands them (1QS 3.5-6). The scrupulous following of their understanding of God’s law and probationary periods for admission into the

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204 Arnold, 131; Falk, 87.


206 Many activities mentioned in Qumran texts, especially sacrificial practices, were associated with priestly activity; others quite possibly include oracular activity, blessing the people, teaching and judgment. Cf. García-Martínez, "Priestly functions in a community without temple."

207 Schiffman, "Community without temple: the Qumran community's withdrawal from the Jerusalem temple."
Yahad or its elite council also required a state of purity necessary for the production of acceptable “offerings” of prayer and other activity associated with temple practice and indicated that sanctified practice rather than lineage was seen as a legitimating factor for the movement.\(^{208}\)

At least some of these offerings were quite likely replacements, if only temporary ones, for divine service while contributing to the community’s own self-understanding as an atonement for Israel:

> They shall atone for the guilt of transgression and the rebellion of sin, becoming an acceptable sacrifice for the land apart from flesh of burnt offerings apart from the fat of sacrificial portions, [with] an offering of lips for justice, a sweet savor of righteousness and blameless behavior as a pleasing freewill offering” (1QS 9.4-5).

John Collins notes that the atonement described in the Rule of the Community is not limited to prayer activity but the juxtaposition of atonement through an “offering of lips” (רורים פפחים - e.g. prayer, song) with the separation from animal sacrifices indicates that these verbal practices were at least an important element in their understanding of their practices of atonement;\(^{209}\) the whole body, including rituals of praise, was involved in the process. Indeed, such “sacrificialized” activities and offerings are poignant in light of other temple-based metaphors where the community characterizes themselves as a “holy house” (בית קדש) or “temple of Adam” (מקדש אדם; 1QS 8.5-10; 4Q174 1 i 3; cf. 1QS 9.3-6).\(^{210}\) This, along with extension of purity requirements associated with priestly experience in and around the temple, indicates that “the life of the sect was conducted as if the community were a virtual temple.”\(^{211}\) While it cannot be maintained that this type of language reflects a sectarian idea of a permanent replacement of the temple in a desert “sanctuary,” the Yahad’s self-description indicates that the community found

\(^{208}\) Klawans 2006, 171.

\(^{209}\) Collins 2010, 76. Collins also notes that “prayer…was an integral part of that ritual” of atoning for the land, “sanctifying life at key junctures during the day, year and longer ritual cycles.”

\(^{210}\) Cf. Klawans 2006, 162-168; Schäfer, 115. The Qumran site may have been only one location of a larger Yahad movement. See Collins, Beyond the Qumran community : the Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Cf. 4Q318 46a + b.5 : “You] have tested all and the chosen You purify like an offering (תמנח) to You.”

\(^{211}\) Schiffman 1999, 273.
alternative ways to attend to the commands associated with temple service (i.e. purity, praise/blessing, sacrifice).

3.6 Sabbath “Offerings” in the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice: Heavenly Liturgy, Priestly Knowledge and Vicarious Worship

Despite the efforts in atoning apart from temple practices, the Yahad still had to fulfill the regular requirements in the law of Moses for holy days such as the Sabbath. While communal blessing or praise was unproblematic in general, there was still the question of the sacrifices such as the Sabbath burnt offering that was to be made in the temple. As shown above, sacrifices were often accompanied by blessings, praises or songs in the temple (e.g. Jub. 50.10-11; 2 Chr 29; cf. 4Q409 1 ii 7-8; 1 Chr 23.30-31; Sir 50.18; m. Tamid 7.3). Among the many fascinating works from ancient Judaism that pertains to Sabbath practice, one of the most interesting albeit challenging texts to understand is the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice. The “Shirot” and their interpretation assemble many issues germane to the Sabbath that have been discussed to this point: prayer/blessing, sacrifice/divine service, ritual/moral purity. Although the Shirot do not contain or allude to prohibitive Sabbath halakhah, the nature and focus of these Sabbath songs along with other evidence from Qumran noted above suggests that the profane matters have ceased for the purposes of conducting the divine service (e.g. purity has been achieved by practitioners).

The members of the Yahad who were effectively defrocked or were lay “offerings” to the movement had to find a way to fulfill the commandments for the Sabbath and other situations that normally required the temple. Part of this worship is realized in the material remains of Sabbath blessings discussed above (e.g. 4Q503, 4Q504) but in the case of Qumran, the Yahad was unable to make the sacrifices for the seventh day. The “liturgical invitations” offered by

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212 Chazon 2000, 47-49.
214 Cf. Branham, who focuses on how temple elements were mimicked in ancient synagogues. I focus on the temporal aspect i.e. the timing of “sacrificialized” prayer rituals that would have coincided with temple sacrifices.
215 On the Shirot as “liturgical invitation,” see Nitzan, 183-89; 95-200.
them in the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice* constructed a vicarious experience of temple
sacrifice and worship through the imaginary of the angelic sacrifices in the heavenly temple and
did so by taking the metaphor of prayer as sacrifice as a practically and conceptually powerful
means to an end. Over the course of the 13 week cycle of Sabbaths, the heavenly offerings and
angelic practitioners are purified and perfected while also physically becoming material elements
of the heavenly sanctuary, a process that reflects the Yahad’s mission to become a “sanctuary of
Adam” for LORD particularly in the gradual and ordered initiation of angelic priests that
paralleled the priestly community’s “work” of worship through the course of the solar year.216
The metaphorical understanding of praise as sacrifice helped the Yahad bring the Sabbath
sacrifice to them through the offering of song that complemented angelic sacrifices.

In the following, I address the question of praise substituting for sacrifice and argue that the
*Shirot* represent a ritual practice that was performed at Qumran to accomplish vicariously the
command to make the offering of the Sabbath sacrifice. Because of the links between song,
praise and sacrifice on the Sabbath in the context of some conceptions of temple worship and the
Yahad’s own “sacrifices” of prayer (e.g. 1QS 9.25-10.6), the practice of evoking the angelic
offerings by the human performers in the *Shirot* functioned as a temporary substitute for physical
sacrifices that were also offered by the angels in the inner sanctuary of heaven (i.e. 11Q17) and
allowed the Yahad to participate vicariously in the lawful divine service to God required of the
Sabbath observance during a period with important feast days (e.g. Shavuot).217 The human
priests, although removed from their station (i.e. the temple), demonstrate knowledge and
understanding of the attendant heavenly service of sacrificial song that includes priestly
investiture, covenant renewal, and most importantly, Sabbath sacrifice all of which are structured
by the succession of Sabbaths.218

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216 Cf. the approach of Judith H. Newman, "Priestly prophets at Qumran: summoning Sinai through the Songs of
the Sabbath sacrifice," in *The significance of Sinai: traditions about Sinai and divine revelation in Judaism and

217 Cf. the “vicarious sacrality” of the ancient synagogue vis-à-vis the temple in Joan R. Branham, "Vicarious
Penner’s notion of the cultic imaginaire that shaped daily prayer practices (69-70).

218 Cf. Rappaport, 217-220. Rappaport argues for a sense of communitas in the ritual interval that is both social and
experiential. While vicarious participation in heavenly sacrifice is experiential, the question of “communion” with
angels on the Sabbath will be addressed more fully in chapter 3.
The *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*, so named by John Strugnell on account of the opening of each song (i.e. “a song for the Sabbath sacrifice”), consist of nine fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 (7), Cave 11 (1) and Masada (1). On paleographic grounds, the manuscripts are dated to the first centuries BCE and CE (75 BCE-50 CE). Despite the healthy number of manuscripts, no one song is preserved in its entirety and few are substantially complete; almost nothing survives of songs 3 and 4 while the most well-preserved manuscript, 4Q405, contains substantial portions of songs 6 through 13 that have been reconstructed with recourse to overlapping fragments. Despite their fragmentary nature, the substantial number of manuscripts discovered at Qumran may indicate that they were important to the Yahad. Furthermore, several terminological and thematic links to known sectarian compositions (e.g. 1QS, 4QBerakhot) consisting of words like משכיל, יחד, and other phrases suggests a strong possibility that the Yahad or affiliates edited or composed at least certain portions of the *Shirot* in their present form.

Overall, the material remains and reconstruction demonstrate the presence of 13 “songs” that cover at least the first 13 Sabbaths (or quarter) of the solar year. The distinct number of songs is seen in their formulaic introductions e.g. “for the maskil, a song for the offering (השבת עולת שיר) of the first Sabbath on the fourth of the first month” (4Q400 1 ii 1). Here the song is explicitly ascribed for the Sabbath burnt offering (cf. 11Q5; *m. Tamid* 5.1). This introduction for each song is followed by the 2nd person plural הלאה, an epithet for God, a vocative, and sometimes other calls to praise or motive clauses. Although each song appears to begin this way, the character of individual songs differs to such an extent that the 13 songs can be divided into 3 groups on

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220 Falk, 127-128; Schäfer, 130. Also see Raanan Abusch, "Sevenfold hymns in the Songs of the sabbath sacrifice and the hekhalot literature: formalism, hierarchy and the limits of human participation," in *Dead Sea Scrolls as background to postbiblical Judaism and early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Despite her initial assessment that the Songs were of possibly of Qumran origin, Carol Newsom has more recently argued that they likely originated outside the Yahad; see “”Sectually explicit” literature from Qumran,” in *Hebrew Bible and its interpreters* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1990). See same conclusions more recently in James Charlesworth and Carol A. Newsom, *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation – Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, PTSDSSP Vol. 4B (Louisville; Tubingen: Westminster John Knox; Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 4-5.

221 Falk, 130.
stylistic and thematic grounds.\textsuperscript{222} Songs 1-5 concern the establishment of an angelic priesthood and have a more recognizable poetic structure. In contrast, songs 6-8 are highly formulaic and repetitive especially in regard to the recurrence of the number seven throughout while the seventh song is highlighted by an \textit{inclusio} structure formed by songs 6 and 8. Songs 9-13 focus on the description of the heavenly temple and ultimately the vesting of a high priest (song 13) but with language and syntax that defines smooth translation;\textsuperscript{223} overall the cycle moves “away from the human community towards the increasing angelification of temple architecture,” i.e. from a focus on the earthly community and to the heavenly temple.\textsuperscript{224}

The understanding of the Shirot’s importance to the Yahad also needs to be comprehended in light of the priestly and temple worship oriented view expressed in many other Qumran texts associated with the Yahad. Whether or not it was in reality a priestly conventicle at odds with the Jerusalem priesthood, the Shirot display an intimate knowledge of the earthly temple tradition (i.e. structures, implements, images) and priestly ritual (regalia, sacrificial terms), which shows that the writers had a great concern for and knowledge of the earthly temple (cf. 4QMMT).\textsuperscript{225} The profound knowledge of the temple and priesthood (and more textual traditions involving both) is thus product of not only the subject matter but also of a context where such experiential knowledge of the Jerusalem cult could be garnered (i.e. temple service; Sabbath burnt offerings; textual study – Num 28.9-10; Ezek 46.4; cf. 11Q19 11.19); the practice encoded in the text itself could have originated from the temple even if certain parts of text were edited or augmented by the Yahad.\textsuperscript{226} The additional of language, themes and imagery from “mobile” sanctuary traditions also reveals knowledge of \textit{kavod} traditions that are highly prevalent in the songs (Exodus, Ezekiel) while also supporting the notion that God’s glory was thought to be accessible

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222} Newman, 37. Also see Falk, 131, and Alexander, 48.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Abuşch, 227.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Klawans, 135-137.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Cf. Falk, 146. Of course, the Shirot also utilize other influences such as the heavenly merkabah in Ezekiel.
\end{itemize}
outside of Zion, an understanding vital to displaced interests at Qumran or elsewhere.\(^{227}\)

Ultimately, the *Shirot* or parts of them conceivably accompanied the actual Sabbath sacrifices in the temple and were thus repurposed and augmented by the Yahad,\(^ {228}\) whose interest in obeying all of the LORD’s commandments would have included Sabbath sacrificial service; the “sacrificialized” practice of these songs would have helped accomplish this (see below).\(^ {229}\)

Much of the distinctiveness of and difficulty in interpreting the *Shirot* stems from the unique genre of the material as liturgical cycle of שִׁירֵי. While it is not unequivocally clear that the *Shirot* was a liturgy performed by the Yahad (or temple priests), there is some evidence that suggests they were performed as part of a self-referential practice of sanctifying the Sabbath and the Yahad community of “priests.”\(^ {230}\) The *Shirot* contain few if any scripts for human recitation or blessing expect for the maskil (cf. 4Q504; 4QBerakhot) and they do not appear to contain the contents of angelic song in the heavenly sanctuary. The *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice* are predominately invocations to angels to worship and are focused on descriptions of the heavenly liturgical order, features of the heavenly sanctuary, and the actions of the angelic priesthhoods themselves (cf. 4Q405 2 vii 5-6). Exceptions to this are the first song where there is a direct address to God and the single first-person comment in 4Q400 2.6-7. The latter text is especially important for understanding the liturgical setting of the Songs: “how shall we be reckoned among them? What is our priesthood in their dwellings? [How shall our holiness] [compare with their utter] holiness? [What] is the offering of our earthy tongue (עהפרנו לשון תרומת מה) alongside their divine knowledge? […]” (4Q400 2.6-7). This text is sometimes cited as evidence of a clear distinction between human and angelic actors.\(^ {231}\) Thus Peter Schäfer notes the complexity

\(^{227}\) Cf. Newman, 63.

\(^{228}\) Cf. Klawans, 137-183. Klawans is right to note that liturgical song in emulation of heavenly worship is not antithetical to animal sacrifice but if a faction is remove from performing that latter, “sacrificial” offerings of songs may have taken on new significance.

\(^{229}\) Some account of actual animal sacrifice at Qumran has been argued for by a handful of scholars but the majority has found it to be unconvincing. See Klawans 2006, 161-162. Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies in the Dead Sea scrolls and related literature (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2002).

\(^{230}\) Cf. Schäfer, 131, note 50.

\(^{231}\) Arnold, 147. Cf. Klawans, 136, who maintains the possibility that the speakers in this passage are in fact angels.
of this relationship illustrated in this passage: “since this critique is obviously directed at the members of the Qumran community and not at that despised Jerusalem priesthood, it seems as if the firm conviction of a close communion of angels and human beings is somewhat muted. If the songs reflect such a communion, the human side of this communion acts much more modestly.” Schäfer may overemphasize the distinction between the parties involved but this passage indirectly shows that other humans participate in the performance of the Songs: the maskil’s rhetorical questions include other human agents with the use of the first-person plural that reflects some sort of communal assembly and practice involving the Shirot in addition to other Sabbath rituals. Although the Shirot do not seem to contain human responses to the maskil’s invocation (cf. 4QBerakhot), the acknowledgment of “we” and “our” in the first Sabbath song indicates that the maskil likely performed these songs with an audience, perhaps with other unrecorded praise or some form of non-verbal response (i.e. physical movement?). Even if the latter cannot be ascertained with any certainty, the Sabbath is here sanctified because the community joins together to sing the “songs” of this ritual invocation.

One other passage in the fragmentary Shirot sheds light on the question of the collective human performance of the songs. In 4Q403, we find a blessing uttered in direct discourse, which contains the following: “to them, saying ‘Blessed be [the] Lord, the Kin[g of ] all, exalted above every blessing and pr[aise, He who blesses all the ho]ly who bless [Him] and those [who declare His righteous]ness’” (4Q403 1 i 28). Eric Reymond notes that this blessing may be an adaptation of a blessing in Nehemiah 9.5 and that the Shirot blessing uses the form of the verb common in other Jewish prayer (i.e. Qal passive - דידי). As such, this blessing is at the very least of “human” origin due to its scriptural basis, the liturgical form of the blessing and the fact that

232 Schäfer, 132.

233 On the communion between the human and angelic worshippers, see chapter 4.

234 Cf. Newman, 71. In her article, Newman argues that some of the products of this performance may be compositions “worthy of ‘tongues of instruction’ such as in the Hodayot or other construals of Torah (4Q405 23 ii 10b-13).”

235 Cf. Arnold, 141-142.

236 Reymond, 370-373.
angelic blessings themselves are not recorded in Songs.\textsuperscript{237} Although it is possible that this portion of the “song” is an angelic one, the self-deprecating tone is similar to that uttered by human priests in 4Q400 2.6-7 discussed above while the “holy ones who bless him” in the context of the Shirot refers to the angels whose actions are associated with blessing and praise of the LORD constitute the major theme of the text. Indeed, Reymond suggests that the vague syntax of the blessing could be paraphrased as “may the LORD be blessed beyond my (or, our) ability to bless or praise.”\textsuperscript{238} As a human utterance acknowledging of the inadequacy of human praise, the importance of the angelic liturgy is emphasized along with the human audience’s knowledge of its liturgical order.

The human audience’s knowledge of the heavenly temple and the angelic host’s performance of worship in the absence of recorded prayers is witnessed in the metaphor of angelic praise as different types of sacrificial offerings. The joining of heaven and earth is one where human song accompanies angelic sacrifice. Especially in the midst of the covenant renewal and the entrance into the inner sanctuary in weeks 11 and 12, we find several instances of blessings and psalms characterized with sacrificial language in this final and heightened section of the thirteen-week cycle. The thickness of the sacrificial images here testifies to the importance of priestly, sacrificial knowledge and the function of the angelic liturgy for the Yahad’s ability to render proper and purified service to God on the Sabbath. For example, there is the mention of “purely salted incense” (טהור ממולח) that is only used in the inner sanctuary (e.g. Ex 30.35). The appearance of this incense relates to a state of purity required for the inner sanctuary and thus for the “offerings” of praise in subsequent songs. Although difficult to translate we find in 4Q405 23: “all their thoughts (or intents - מחשבים) are purified incense, reckoned as the weaver’s work” (4Q405 23 ii 10). The language here is multivalent: although this section presents the wonderful appearance of the angelic priests and the animated and angelomorphic temple elements, the “intents” (i.e. מחשבים of these angelic priests, purified through the adherence to divine commands in the progression of Sabbath weeks, are linked to this special incense used only in the inner sanctuary. In other words, the external “designs” of perfection personify an internalized

\textsuperscript{237} Cf. Falk, 147-148; Chazon 2000, 101. Although the words of the angelic blessings are not recorded, the Shirot still describe the angels’ blessing as a sound of silence – 4Q405 19.7; 20 ii 22.7-13; cf. 4Q405 18.3; 4Q400 1 ii 11.

\textsuperscript{238} Reymond, 373.
disposition of purity necessary in the context divine service (i.e. sacrifice) and render the angelic actor’s praise as an embodiment of that perfection.

As with other Yahad documents (e.g. 1QS), the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice conceptualize various sacrificial “offerings” as prayer, psalms and blessing, which are “offered” by the heavenly priests and constitute an appropriate climax to the liturgical order in weeks 12-13 as these unite chief commands for the Sabbath: praise and sacrifice. While the fragmentary manuscripts may in some cases refer to angels offering more tangible sacrifices (e.g. 11Q17), most of the extant evidence points to the equivalency of their Sabbath praises with sacrifice that fulfills the divine service commanded for the seventh day (cf. Jub. 50.9-11). The language of sacrificial “offerings” (תרומות) is embodied in the agent’s action while the offering the psalm of praise is a physical object i.e. conceived in terms of the presentation of physical sacrifice.²³⁹

For example, the apparent acknowledgment of the inadequacy of human praise is described in terms of an “offering of tongue”: “[What] is the offering of our earthy tongue alongside their divine knowledge?” (4Q400 2.7; cf. angels – 4Q405 11.5). In addition, the praises coming from the tongues of the angelic priests are also referred to as תרצה (4Q403 1 ii 26) while such angels are called “leaders of offerings” on at least one occasion (4Q405 23 ii 12). The term “offering” (תרום) used here refers to tribute or gifts “offered up” (רומ) to the LORD in the Hebrew Bible that, like words of blessing or song, accompany any number of other sacrifices (e.g. Ex 35.5; 36.6; Deut 12.6; Ezra 8.25; 2 Chr 31.14). Thus the physical act of offering tribute is used to conceptualize ritual praise and metaphorically imbues the latter with the embodied meaning associated with animal/produce offerings. In addition to offerings of praise described in the Shirot, other Qumran texts use תרצה in similar ways: the maskil in 1QS is to “bless with the of lips” (9.26; cf. 10.6, 14) while in 4Q251, a document that contains halakhic rules for the

Sabbath, has a reconstructed text that may have made the metaphorical connection quite explicit: “[all its fruit shall be a holy praise, like an offering]” (4Q251 10.9). Further language of praise related to sacrificial offerings include songs of praise as a “portion” (מנה) of sacrifice:

“Rejoice, you who exult in [knowing Him, with] a song of rejoicing among the wondrous godlike. Hymn His glory with the tongue of all who hymn to His wondrous, joy-filled knowledge, with the mouth of all who chant [to Him … Sing praises (כתרומה) to the mighty God, make the choicest offering of breath (כתרומים) make me[od]ly in the joy of God, and rejoice among the holy ones through wondrous melodies, in ever[lasting] joy (4Q403 1 i 36-37, 39-40; cf. 4Q405 6.7-8; 1QS 10.8; 4Q446 1.4).

The rendering of רועי רוח as “choicest spiritual offerings” in some scholarly translations of the scrolls may be analogous to what Jonathan Klawans has diagnosed as the “spiritualization” of sacrifice in the interpretation of the scrolls and the Shirot in particular. While Klawans is more concerned with the characterization of sacrifice as “spiritual” because it often attends the interpretation of a de-emphasis of the earthly temple by the Yahad, this translation also suffers from an overly “spiritualized” translation in regards to the real substance of the offering. Given that the angelic priests sing and praise with “voice” (קול – e.g. 4Q403 1 ii 11), it is reasonable to understand these מנה as simply “offerings of breath,” which of course human singers can and do also offer along side the angels in the context of normal Sabbath service in the temple (cf. Jub. 2.30). Voice and breath are not disembodied “spirit” but are rather physical acts and attributes that only serve to emphasize their tangible power in substituting for sacrifice. Thus these offerings are of “breath” are tangible sacrifices of praise composed of the highest quality (רוח)

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240 Cf. 4Q511 64 ii 4: “the beginning of every blessed utterance is righteous lips and in being prepared for every true service;” 4Q381 46a + b.5: “You] have tested all and the chosen You purify like an offering to You.”
241 Cf. מנה; Penner, 35.
242 Klawans, 143, 164-172.
given the perfection of the angelic priests. For the humans engaged in the description of these “spiritual” offerings, the performance or enactment is a reflection of this perfect and the striving to participate vicariously in it.

Furthermore, later in this scroll the human leader extols the priestly angels to “exalt his wonders, you leaders of princes, with an offering ([המננה]; praise ([הללו]) [the God of the godlike,] you seven priest[hoods] who draw near to Him.” (4Q403 1 ii 20). Here the offering made parallels the act of the priests “drawing near” to an unmentioned altar and thus the praise offered is understood as a tangible object of sacrificial offering. Like the savory smell of sacrifices, the “breath” of songs that proceed from angelic priests are conceived of as tangible offerings appropriate for God because they too are bodily acts that are “raised up” to God by holy angels and which mirror the human “portions” of prayer submitted by members of the Yahad who are removed from the proprietary sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple.

Additional language of sacrifice and offering also appears in song 12 and 13 (4Q405 20 ii 22.6; 11Q17), which can be considered the climax and coda of the Shirot liturgy. In fact the sacrificial language is more technical or specific but still occurs in relation to the praise of the angels; the blessings and sacrificial offerings are not clearly distinct while the latter terminology indicates that these two songs may contain material originally composed for use in the Jerusalem temple or at the very least were used with the intention of enacting the temple sacrifices through sacrificialized prayers. In the twelfth song, the depiction of various angelic beings and angelomorphic temple structures all blessing God includes references to more offerings:

[...] His glorious royal thrones, and the entire congregation of the ministers of [...] wondrous; the [wondrous] godlike beings shall not be shaken, forever; [...] to remain steadfast in every task, for the godlike beings in charge of His whole offering [...] His whole offering. The godlike beings praise Him [when fir]st they take their positions, while all the sp[irits of ] the splendid firma[m]ents

\[244\] Schäfer, 137; Arnold, 142.

\[245\] Cf. Alexander (41), who notes that the movement of angelic beings implies that heavenly praise is not continuous but occurs at specific times (cf. Sabbath). In addition, the temple origin is perhaps indirectly indicated in that there is no polemic against the earthly temple anywhere in the Shirot (see Klawans 2006, 137).
continuously rejoice in His glory. A voice of blessing comes from all of His divisions, telling of His glorious firmaments (4Q405 23 i 3-7).

Carol Newsom suggests that “his whole offering” (כלילו) may be the nominalized form of the adjective meaning “whole, entire” and thus is synonymous with the “whole burnt offering” of the eponymous text. Thus this passage may refer metonymically to the “additional” whole burnt offering legislated for the Sabbath sacrifice as it is used synonymously with “whole burnt offering” in Psalm 51.21 (Num 28.10; cf. CD 11.18-19).

In addition to this illustration of the whole burnt offering are other sacrifices that appear in song 13 (11Q17) and relate specifically to Sabbath offerings outlined in the priestly Torah (i.e. Numbers) and differ from the sacrificial terminology in earlier columns of the Shirot. In column 9, there are broken references to: “[…] acceptable [offering/s] […] for the sacrifices of the holy ones (קדשים לזבחי) […] the smell of their offerings (מנחות ריח) and the smell of their drink offerings (נסכים) for […]” (11Q17 9.3-5).

Even though the text is quite fragmentary, the language used here in this short passage is remarkably similar to that found in the commands for the Sabbath sacrifices in Numbers 28.8-9: “On the Sabbath day: two yearling lambs without blemish, together with two-tenths of a measure of choice flour with oil mixed in as a meal offering (מנחה), and with the proper libation (נסכה) — a Sabbath burnt offering (עלת שבת) for every Sabbath, in addition to the regular burnt offering and its libation.” Thus the Shirot text seems to refer to different offerings associated with the Sabbath burnt offering (i.e. Num 28.8-9; 11Q19 11.9; 13.15) but unfortunately the text is far too fragmentary determine this conclusively.

The use of terminology that clearly relates to priestly commands for Sabbath offerings in the temple again raises the issues of the Shirot’s origins and use at Qumran. Philip Alexander

246 Newsom 1997, 354; cf. Schäfer, 139.
247 Newman, 65.
248 I have followed the rendering of 11Q17 found in Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, The Dead Sea scrolls study edition (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999). Cf. 4Q405 94.2.
249 A contiguous verse, Num 28.8, refers to “an offering by fire of pleasing odor (ריח יהב) to the LORD.”
suggests that these “heavenly offerings are in fact wholly spiritual and consist of praises and blessing (e.g. 4Q405 23 ii 12).” In contrast, Falk notes that because these terms do not have a spiritual meaning elsewhere in the Scrolls, “it is unlikely that here they refer to praise as spiritual sacrifice.” As noted above, angelic offerings are described in physical terms and to categorize them as simply “spiritual” misses some of the dynamics of the ritual function for the human practitioners i.e. the angelic offerings are real replacements that the human community participates in vicariously through their complement of song. As we have seen, the calls to praise in the Shirot are described in terms related to offerings that might accompany the שָׁבָת עֲלוֹת but in this passage from 11Q17, it seems to me that the simplest interpretation is to take the מְנַחֵת as such: they are the offerings commanded for the Sabbath in Numbers 28 that are to be offered in the temple but are here enacted through the performance of the angelic “offerings.” This means that at least this portion of the 13th song actually originated from temple practice that was paralleled by the “same” offerings by the most holy angels in the heavenly sanctuary. At the same time the presence and reuse of this material at Qumran or Masada, where temple sacrifice was not possible, indicates that the commands for divine service on the Sabbath could be maintained vicariously through the synchronized liturgical invocation with the “offerings” in the heavenly sanctuary. Furthermore, if this is the only mention of theseענה related sacrifices outside of the introduction of each song, then song 13 should be considered a major climax in the songs as a whole especially since the angelic priesthood exhibits the perfect behavior, attendance in purified temples, and tongues of knowledge as reflected in the liturgical summary contained in the first song (4Q405 23 i 10; 23 ii 10-12; cf. 4Q400).

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined how praise, blessing and prayer are central to the construction of the Sabbath in ancient Judaism. With human concerns and occupations set aside, the people are

250 Alexander, 42. The phrase מְנַחֵת רוח may occur as at one point in 4Q405 6.7-8 (cf. 40403 1 i 40).
252 Cf. Schäfer, 118. There is frequently some ambiguity as to who the “holy ones” are in this passage; the sobriquet can in other contexts refer to either angels or humans (cf. 1QM 15.14).
253 Schäfer, 142; Cf. Arnold, 142, and literature cited there.
able of holy service to God stipulated for the Sabbath that included formal liturgies of blessing and praise on the seventh day that according to some were commandments for the holy day (e.g. Jubilees). In addition, some forms of praise and sacrifice went hand in hand in many idealized descriptions of temple practice while worship such as song and blessing are characterized in terms of sacrificial “offering.” The combination of these practices provided a metaphorically-based conceptual link that when one was lacking (i.e. temple sacrifice), the other (prayer, blessing, etc.) could readily substitute even if only on an interim basis. This move would have been almost natural or intuitive for some groups given their intimate knowledge and experience of sacrificial practice (i.e. priestly groups). In the case of the Yahad, the available evidence from Qumran suggests that pure “offerings” of worship were ideals for which to strive especially in the community’s desire to adhere to the law of Moses. This community was unable to fulfill the Sabbath sacrifices and blessings because they not have access to the temple in Jerusalem but they did have knowledge of the temporally synonymous angelic liturgical order manifest in the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice. By utilizing and augmenting this temple-based liturgy, the Yahad was able to make atonement and complete divine service vicariously through the angelic priesthood’s synchronic liturgy. So too is temple in heaven eventually constructed angelic beings and their praises, which mirrors the Yahad “miqdash” made of the those offering themselves freely to divine commandments. The various practices through which the community sanctified and purified the Sabbath allowed the Sabbath to become a reality and for the heavenly experience that the text suggests. How we are to understand this experience of performing the Shirot and of communion with angels on the Sabbath is the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter 4 – In Heaven as on Earth: Sabbath Time with the Angels

4 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I explored how habitual practices of stopping work and offering gifts of sacrifice and praise constitute the production of the Sabbath. These practices, while similar on many levels, were adopted differently by adherents of the LORD in particular situations and times. However these practices were performed, it emerges that the changes in behavior and distinctive rituals created a temporality on the Sabbath that was something radically different from that of “ordinary” time. Some themes about the seventh day that I have noted in passing – rest, joy/celebration, eating/drinking – do reflect the some of the characteristics of the Sabbath day but Second Temple, rabbinic, and early “Christian” sources also present the experience of the Sabbath as otherworldly; the holy “temple” constructed on the Sabbath through practice and ritual functions as a temporal conduit connecting the earthly, often priestly congregations with the heavenly, angelic life on the seventh day.\(^{254}\) The Sabbath thus appears as a “liturgical interval” of heightened contact with the angelic host or the experience of place beyond the present, everyday world and where a greater knowledge of and relationship with the highest mediators (i.e. angels) is achieved through ritual practice (communal prayer; liturgical song) that at the same time is imagined in different ways and under different circumstances.\(^{255}\) At the same time, conceptions of divine beings are irrevocably bound by bodily experience (both physical and social) that is cognitively available to represent them and thus such beings reflect human forms (i.e. anthropomorphisms) and practices (e.g. prayer).\(^{256}\) Ultimately thought about angelic


\(^{256}\) This is a much larger theoretical discussion of which I accept the basic premise, namely that “given that people’s bodies are so central in their own cognition, they cannot but help include bodily functions and properties in deistic concepts, which, in principle, need not have any.” See Barsalou 2005, 42. Cf. J. L. Barrett and F. C. Keil, “Conceptualizing a nonnatural entity: anthropomorphism in God concepts,” Cogn Psychol 31, no. 3 (1996).
Communion should be understood in part through the lens of embodied cognition: mundane knowledge (i.e. bodily, environmental, social) is utilized in mental simulations and metaphors that through ritual practice and knowledge constitute a wide variety of religious experience such as visions, prayer, textual study.\textsuperscript{257}

In this chapter, I will examine the characterization of the Sabbath as a period of communion with heavenly powers.\textsuperscript{258} I analyze the presentation of angelic and human relationships on the Sabbath in many of the texts already examined in the preceding chapters as well as some that utilize traditions in unique ways among the available evidence. Even though the first interaction between humans and angels goes awry in the narrative (\textit{Jub. 5}), the book of \textit{Jubilees} highlights the observance of the Sabbath as a distinctly angelic practice that only Israel among the peoples of the earth are to embody through their practices; in \textit{Jubilees}, this metaphor of angelic or heavenly life is realized in the practices of the Sabbath day when the people of Israel follow the stipulations for the seventh day as the angels.

While some sort of union between heavenly and earthly parties is imagined in the context of communal or liturgical prayer (e.g. daily prayer synchronized with temporal transitions), other texts envision stronger connections between the respective parties. As in \textit{Jubilees}, the \textit{Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice} envision a sort of “union” (יחד) with the highest angels that serve in the inner sanctuary on the Sabbath with the human element is limited to a very human or “priesthood” (4Q400 2.6). The \textit{Shirot} ultimately functioned as a liturgical practice that linked human participants with heavenly worship in the “ritual interval” during which the performance of the emotive songs blurred the experiential lines between practitioners and the objects of their liturgical invitations.\textsuperscript{259} This experience is coupled with that of a socio-liturgical process of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{257} Barsalou 2005, 36-37.
\item \textsuperscript{258} Cf. Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in \textit{Liturgical perspectives : prayer and poetry in light of the Dead Sea scrolls : proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23, January, 2000}, ed. Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Chazon distinguishes three types or levels of communion with angelic hosts and focuses particularly on the Dead Sea Scrolls (i.e. the Shirot; 4Q503) though some of the categories are applicable to other texts studied here (e.g. the synchronization of earthly and heavenly choirs; praying like the angels).
\item \textsuperscript{259} Rappaport, 1999. See especially chapter 7. See also Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, \textit{All the glory of Adam : liturgical anthropology in the Dead Sea scrolls}, Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah, (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Fletcher-Louis argues that “those who enter the worship of the community experience transfer from earth to heaven,
transformation whereby both heavenly and earthly parties grow in holiness through initiation, covenant renewal, and priestly investiture that unfolds over the course of the 13-week cycle. In this way, the simulation of the angelic liturgy through ritual performance on successive Sabbaths brings union with heaven, which metaphorically embodies the self-presentation of the practitioners albeit in perfected and idealized mode.

While the book of Jubilees glosses over it to some extent, many other texts associate the unison of heaven and earth on the Sabbath with the uniting of heavenly and earthly worship. In the book of Revelation, both the overall Jewish character of the text and historical setting of the book suggest that the “LORD’s day” (ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ - Rev 1.10) on which John receives his visions is the seventh day Sabbath as opposed to traditional identifications of the day as Sunday. Furthermore, the liturgical character of the book is evident in the many praises, doxologies, and songs it contains most notably in several scenes of heavenly worship. Thus in Revelation, the performance of book’s liturgy in association with the Sabbath setting unites John’s commandment-obeying audience with the heavenly worship on the seventh day, through which they embody knowledge and assurance about the LORD’s plan for those who fulfill the commandments and offer true worship of the LORD and the lamb. Overall, the texts studied here view the performance of Sabbath practices as embodying the most holy works of angelic beings, who are presented as beings closer to God than any other.

4.1 Jubilees

As noted in previous chapters, the Sabbath holds a preeminent position in Jubilee’s hierarchy of practice and belief and argues at length for adherence to its understanding of Sabbath halakhah including the ceasing of many activities associated with normal days and special, festal celebration with blessing on the seventh day. In addition, I have noted in passing the relationship of the angelic practice of Sabbath to that commanded of Israel/Jacob on earth: when Israel practices the Sabbath as commanded, they produce a temporary experience of heavenly life on earth and create for themselves the status of a holy people analogous to the most holy angels of from humanity to divinity and from mortality to immortality” (476). Fletcher-Louis maintains an ontological transformation whereas I argue for a temporary, ritual one.
the divine retinue (*Jub. 2.18; cf. Pirqe R. El. 139*). Israel’s construction of the holy day on earth thus creates the angelic experience of life for the brief span of time that is the Sabbath day and the metaphorical presentation of the highest angels reflects the practical separation of Jacob from other nations through Sabbath practice.

Although the some of the angels of the LORD become a problem later in the narrative (i.e. *Jubilees 5*), the creation of angels is associated with the Sabbath from the beginning of the book’s retelling of Genesis. Indeed the connection between angels and the Sabbath is alluded to even before the Sabbath discourse that dominates the second half of *Jubilees 2*: “then we saw his works and *blessed* him (*wa-bārkāhū*). *We offered praise before him* (*wa-sabāḥna qedmēhu*) regarding all his works because he had made seven great works on the first day” (*Jub. 2.3; cf. 2.9; 4Q216 5.10-11*). The reference to “seven works” (*sabāṭa gebra*) is likely an allusion to the Sabbath and is supported by that fact that of the seven angelic classes, the first one – the angels of presence – are the narrators of the story and those first to bless the LORD (cf. *Jub. 2.18, 21*). Furthermore, these select angels are also related more closely to Israel later in the chapter 2 (see below). Even on the first day of creation, the Sabbath is anticipated to be a time of praise for those closest to God and is associated with the angels of presence and sanctification.

Further on, we find the explicit connection between the highest angels and the Sabbath occurs after the description of the sixth day, which includes the creation of humankind (*Jub. 2.14*). In the next verse, the LORD rests (cf. *Jub. 2.1*) but performs one last act for creation:

> He gave us the Sabbath day as a great sign so that we would perform work for six days and that we would keep the Sabbath from all work on the seventh day. He told us – all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness, these two great kinds – to keep the Sabbath with him in heaven and on earth (*Jub. 2.17-18; 4Q216 7.8*).

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260 A similar relationship appears to exist in regard to the understanding and practice of circumcision (*Jub. 15.25-27*): “*and in before the angels of presence and angels of sanctification he sanctified Israel so that they might be with him and with his holy angels*” (*15.27*).

Of primary note here is that the Sabbath is not given to all creation or even all the angels, the latter of which cannot “rest” because of their role with the elements, seasons, and the like. Instead the Sabbath as afforded only to the angels of presence and holiness both of which are the first two groups of angels created on the first day and whose primary obligation is to attend the LORD through praise, blessing, and rest (e.g. Jub. 2.3). Furthermore, they are to keep the Sabbath with the LORD apart from the rest of creation whether in heaven or in service on earth (Jub. 2.18; cf. Jub. 1 – angel of presence).

The importance of the preceding setup of the highest angels and their connection to the Sabbath is immediately apparent in the following verses because the LORD “creates” another special group to attend to him on earth. Here the angel’s practice of keeping the Sabbath is paralleled by the creation of an earthly contingent of people for God that is to embody angelic practice on earth:

*He said to us* “now I will separate a people for myself from among the nations. They, too, will keep the Sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the Sabbath day…I will tell them [Jacob] about the Sabbath days so that they may keep Sabbath from all work on them.” In this way he made a sign on it by which they, too, would keep Sabbath with us 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 (Jub. 2.19-21; 4Q216 7.9)

Here the angel of presence reports on the action of the LORD on the seventh day in creating the sanctified people (i.e. Jacob/Israel), who will keep the Sabbath along with the angels of presence and sanctification and are sanctified through the performance of Sabbath statutes; even though the text presents this sanctification as the LORD’s doing, the warning associated with the fulfillment of subsequent halakah in vv. 25-28 suggests that Israel needs to practice the Sabbath in order to maintain this sanctification: “and everyone who guards it and keeps the Sabbath from all work will be holy and blessed like us [i.e. the angels]” (Jub. 2.28). The Sabbath, alluded to in the “sevens” of created spirits on the first day, is explicitly brought to the audience’s attention in *Jubilees* 2.18-21 with its application to Jacob on or immediately following the Sabbath day. This parallel cannot be overemphasized: while the Sabbath and Israel are presented as the pinnacle of
the seven days creation (Jub. 2.19-21), it is the highest angels who are selected first and whose practice it is to rest and observe the Sabbath on the seventh day. Israel’s participation in the stopping of work and related practices is the embodiment of the heavenly and primordial Sabbath on earth and the selection of an esteemed group for worship of the LORD.\(^{262}\)

Furthermore, just as the Sabbath in the heaven is exclusively given to the highest angels of presence and sanctification, so to is the Sabbath meant only for Israel among the creation on earth. As for these preeminent beings of the heaven, they are created first on the first day, which is associated implicitly with the Sabbath (Jub. 2.3), and are entrusted with the “dictation” of Jubilees’ Torah to the holy, preeminent people (Jub. 2.1-2). Furthermore, the angelic interpreters are emphatic that the Sabbath was given to them among all creation to celebrate: “He told us – all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness (these two great kinds) – to keep the Sabbath with him in heaven and on earth” (Jub. 2.18). Likewise, Israel is singled out as the sole group on earth that is to keep the Sabbath and Jubilees is adamant that is for Jacob alone, which is made clear following the listing of halakhic judgments: “the creator of all blessed but did not sanctify any people or nations to keep the Sabbath on it except Israel alone. To it alone did he give to eat, drink, and keep the Sabbath on it upon the earth” (Jub. 2.31). For Jubilees, it is the prerogative of Israel and the highest angels to celebrate the Sabbath together and the exclusivity of this knowledge and thought is encoded in the very physical practices of praise and stopping work that they perform with the angels.

At the same time, Jubilees is somewhat ambivalent about the exclusivity of the Sabbath and at times the seventh day seems to be a gift all creation shares.\(^{263}\) Israel and the highest angels are certainly major focal points of the Sabbath discourse in Jubilees 2 but at the same time the Sabbath is associated with the completion of the entire cosmos and all that fills it. So at the end of the angel’s report concerning the seven days or creation and prior to the Sabbath halakahah, we find that, “the LORD gave a holy festal day to all of his creation. For this reason he gave orders


\(^{263}\) The juxtaposition of different claims such as with the Sabbath may indicate editorial work on an earlier version of the Jubilees narrative, especially in light of the legal material in 2.26-33. On the case for interpolations in other parts of Jubilees, see Segal 2007; Kugel 2012.
regarding it that anyone who would do any work on it was to die; also, the one who would defile it was to die” (Jub. 2.25). Interestingly, the Sabbath is not explicitly mentioned here but is certainly alluded to by the phrase “festal day” (Eth: ‘elata ba‘āl) that follows the summation of the creation account: “he created the heavens, the earth, and everything that was created in six days (Jub. 2.25; cf. 50.9).

The potential discrepancy between this universal commandment to rest and the exclusivity of the Sabbath for Israel is mitigated by the fact that it is the practice of “keeping Sabbath” on the seventh day that belongs to the LORD, the highest angels and Israel. All people are to revere the seventh day on account of the LORD’s creation of the cosmos and are to acknowledge this through ceasing work: “the LORD gave a holy festal day to all his creation. For this reason he gave orders regarding it that anyone who would do any work on it was to die; also the one who would defile it was to die” (Jub. 2.25). This statement would seem to apply the Sabbath to all people except that “keeping Sabbath” is not mentioned here; only the ordinance not to work on the festal day is discussed. This might seem to apply the Sabbath to all creation but the phrase “keeping Sabbath” is used only of Israel and the angels. Thus the angels are to “keep Sabbath (yebēlana nasanbat) from all work on the seventh day” (Jub. 2.18) while they claim that they “kept Sabbath in heaven before it was made known to any human that they should keep Sabbath on earth; the creator of all blessed but did not sanctify any people or nations to keep Sabbath (‘ahazāba la-‘esanabto) on it except Israel alone” (Jub. 2.30-31).264 Although the text of Jubilees is not entirely consistent, the main point of “keeping the Sabbath” indicates that all people are to refrain from work on seventh day while Israel, along with the angels of presence and sanctification, is to “keep Sabbath.” Thus Israel creates heavenly existence on earth through the observance of the originally angelic institution.

What then brings the Sabbath to earth is not merely the ceasing of work but also the obligatory service to God, including sacrifice and praise (see chapters 1-2) that is emphasized as practice

264 Other evidence may indicate that all people are encouraged to keep Sabbath: “everyone who observes it and keeps Sabbath on it from all work will be holy and blessed throughout all times like us [i.e. angels]” (Jub. 2.28). This statement, however, comes in the context of a pronouncement to the Israelites (Jub. 2.26-30).
exclusively for the highest angels and Israel.\textsuperscript{265} As noted, the angels of presence model this behavior prior to the formal introduction of the Sabbath when they bless the LORD on the first day of creation that is also the day of their own creation (\textit{Jub.} 2.3). Furthermore when the LORD foreshadows the creation of a people on earth for himself, the angelic interpreter’s summation details how “keeping Sabbath” is a celebratory practice for Israel that involves blessing in the manner of and alongside the angels: “in this way he made a sign on it by which \textit{they, too, would keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all}” (\textit{Jub.} 2.21); the same sentiment is expressed later in the chapter: “to it [Israel] alone did he give to eat, drink, and keep Sabbath on it upon the earth…this law and testimony were given to the Israelites as an eternal law throughout their history” (\textit{Jub.} 2.31, 33).\textsuperscript{266} Israel’s collective knowledge and experience of sanctification is a product of their performance of Sabbath regulations, which are metaphorically predicated on the selection and practice of the highest angels in heaven; the simulation of ritual knowledge of the Sabbath in the metaphorical construction of heaven in \textit{Jubilees} helps in the reification of Israel’s self-understanding as distinct people.

\textbf{4.2 Qumran}

There have been several studies on the angels at Qumran and the Yahad’s perceived relationship to heavenly beings:\textsuperscript{267} scholars have examined the presence of angels at Qumran while others have studied the angelology of the early Enochic traditions in light of Qumran documents.\textsuperscript{268} Other work has focused on the priestly characterization of the angels (e.g. \textit{Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice}) and the Yahad while further study has concentrated on liturgical connection between

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[265] Although not explicitly related to the Sabbath, the relationship of service between the angels of presence and Israel is also captured in the blessing of the Levitical priesthood: “may he draw you and your seed near to him from all flesh to serve in his sanctuary as angels of the presence and the holy ones” (\textit{Jub.} 31.14).
\item[266] Cana Werman, "The torah and teudah Engraved on the Tablets," \textit{Dead Sea Discoveries} 9, no. 1 (2002).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
angelic worship and the practices of praise and blessing of the community. Here I will focus on the prevalence of this relationship in several texts from Qumran and how there is not a uniform concept of angel and human interaction across the material even in the texts that are likely related to the Yahad movement. At the same time, the many reflect a ritual or liturgical basis for the communion of heavenly and earthly parties in whatever way this relationship was imagined. The views of angelic and human contact presented here will serve as a context for further discussion of the marquee texts relating humans, angels, and the Sabbath – the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice – and how it presents the Sabbath day communion of heavenly and earthly communities.

The relationship between angels and humans on the Sabbath and other holy occasions is gathered from a variety of sources but the status of the “union” between groups is quite varied among the Scrolls. As Peter Schäfer notes, “this concept of the communion of humans and angels is a major theme in the writings of a community that should not, however, be lumped together but takes on different forms in the various writings associated with the sect.” In the treatise on the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS), the righteous are said to gain “upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the angels, making wise those following the perfect way. Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant” (1QS 4.22; cf. 1QS 11.7-8). Here the righteous (i.e. the Yahad) are rewarded for their perfection of way with divine knowledge akin to what the intermediary beings know. This knowledge, I maintain, is another example of that which stems metaphorically from the community’s own intense interpretation and performance of religious practices such as those for the Sabbath. In this case, however, the

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269 Joseph L. Angel, Otherworldly and eschatological priesthood in the Dead Sea scrolls, Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010); Björn Frennesson, “In a common rejoicing" : liturgical communion with angels in Qumran (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1999).

270 See Chazon 2003 on three types of human/angel interaction.


272 Even good and evil seem predetermined here, the text all states that “all people walk in both wisdom and foolishness” (1QS 42.24)
receipt of this insight is only garnered in an eschatological scenario when the “appointed time of judgment” arrives even if they believed that such a time was imminent (1QS 4.20).  

Furthermore in the midst of 1QS and maskil’s emotive song, we find another example of the community linked to heavenly powers: “he has chosen all these as an eternal possession. He has made them heirs in the legacy of the holy ones (קדשים); with the angels has he united their assembly, a Yahad party. They are an assembly built up for holiness, an eternal Planting for all ages to come” (1QS 11.7-9). Frennesson notes that this text reflects the community’s notion that it “could prevail and function in unison with the heavenly community. Theirs would have been the lot of the holy ones, the angels. Their ‘assembly’ was united with the ‘sons of heaven,’” but resigns to seeing this as simply a perpetual state or a situation somewhat off in the future.  

On the other hand, this “song” of the maskil is only present in 1QS and not older versions of the rule. This being the case, this “addition” of song also includes the times of prayer for holy days such as the Sabbath (1QS 10.1-11; see chapter 3). Thus while the Yahad is on one hand chosen to be “heirs in the legacy the holy ones,” this selection is realized through their liturgical praxis on the appointed days (e.g. Sabbath) that their angelic legacy is established (cf. Jubilees). 

Similarly we find the presence of angels among the community in eschatological battle in the War Scroll. In addition to accounts of an eschatological battle (col. 1 and 2), this document contains liturgical prayers (1QM col. 10-14) that may have been performed by the Yahad as a “kind of cultic realization of their eschatological expectations in spite of their denial in the current reality” (cf. Revelation; Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice). Although strict adherence to Sabbath law is mention only briefly (1QM 2.8; cf. 4Q493 1.13 – “trumpets of the שבטות), the

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274 Frennesson, 65-66. Cf. Collins 2009, 298: “The passage in 1QS 11 adds to the idea that fellowship with the angels would be a constitutive factor in establishing this purified worship (cf. 4Q174 1.6; 1QS 9.3-5).
275 E.g. 4Q5; Sarianna Metso, The textual development of the Qumran Community rule, Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1997), 79, 183.
276 On discrepancies, between these accounts, see Brian Schultz, Conquering the world : the War Scroll (1QM) reconsidered, Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah, (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
important point is the presence of angelic forces among the human army (1QM 7.4-8; 12.7). In column 12, the liturgical union of the heavenly and earthly warriors is realized in the performance of the liturgy: the chosen people of the community (1QM 12.1-2) act out their position with the heavenly hosts through their praise of God and the “derision” (בוז) and “distain” (קלס) of earthly rulers (1QM 12.7-8). Thus the community’s knowledge and understanding of their ultimate identity is realized and maintained through their performance of praise and scorn that situates them with the “holy” God and angels. At the same time, the prayer in column 12 still looks forward to more divine action on behalf of the community and invites the land to join in this invitation (1QM 12.9-15). In these cases, the relationship between heavenly and earthly communities is predicated on the eschatological events or wars that play out between the forces of good and evil.278

In addition to these pivotal, “historical” moments where angels become more involved with humanity, there are also many contexts among the Scrolls where the parties meet in the context of cultic service and the presence of angels among the community during “normal” life including times for worship. In fact, some documents reflect a continuous presence of the angels among the Yahad or related communities. This sentiment is present in texts that also link human practice to angelic and cosmic hierarchy similar to that in Jubilees. Thus in a song of praise marked for the maskil we find that God:

placed Israel [in] twelve camps […] for Himself […] the lot of God with the angels[is of ] His glorious lights. In His name the praises of their […] He established as the festivals of the year, [and the d]ominion of the Yahad, to walk [in] the lot [of God] according to [His] glory [and] to serve Him in the lot of the people of His throne (4Q511 2 i 7-10)

In spite of its fragmentary nature, this brief passage suggests that “Israel” is distinguished the “lot” of God that is related “the angels of his glorious lights” (cf. angels of presence and sanctification – Jub. 2); the Yahad alone “walks” in proper way and serves the LORD as part of

278 While the heavenly and earthly partnership is destined for the end times in these examples, there is evidence that the Yahad or related groups felt that they were living in this final period (e.g. CD 15.10).
his lot.279 The inclusion in the “lot of God with the angels of his glorious lights” includes participating in the festivals established for the year in order to serve the LORD properly.280

Furthermore, the liturgical documents studied in chapter 3 in regard to praise and blessing for the Sabbath also associate earthly praise with the heavenly blessings (4Q503, 4Q504).281 The importance of the these texts lies in the fact that they reflect the union of heavenly and earthly praises as part of the natural changes in the day (e.g. day/night), and in the case of 4Q504 special praise and blessing stipulated for the Sabbath.282 Thus these acts of prayer are fundamentally synchronized with and embody the perception of natural changes in the environment. In 4Q503 Daily Prayers we find the very fragmentary statement that, “we the children of your covenant, we will praise your name with all the divisions of light ( orchestr – 4Q503 7 ix 4). While the term translated here as “divisions” can simply mean “flag” or “banner,” the association of angelic praise with that of humankind elsewhere indicates that דֶּגָלי may metonymically signify anthropomorphic “divisions” of angels.283 Thus because the worshippers consider themselves as “children of the covenant,” they offer praise at the appropriate times as anointed by the angelic practice. Thus these ritual practices of prayer that sync with the natural and bodily experienced changes in the environment reflect the metaphorical extension of experience to knowledge and meaning of time and creation; the practitioners create understanding of their world through practice.284

279 Frennesson, 76; Angel, 91. 4Q427 7 i 13-18.

280 In the Damascus Document, ensuring the proper functioning and perceived efficacy of rituals includes excluding certain persons with physical deformities from the “camp” because “holy angels” preside in it with the congregation, which reflects extreme desire for and necessity of purity required for worship found among many of the Yahad documents discussed so far (CD 15.17; cf. 11QTemple).

281 In addition to the texts reflecting communal worship, other texts of individual thanksgiving for or desire for being accounted among the angels in some way include the Hodayot (1QHb 11.19-23; 14.12-13) and the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471d, 4Q491c, 4Q427; cf. 1QHb 23).


283 The term is used in both senses on separate occasions in the War Scroll to refer to “banners” (1.4) and “divisions” of people (i.e. infantry – 6.4). Cf. Chazon 2003, 39.

284 cf. Weiss, 793.
At another point in the prayers, there is an even more intimate connection drawn between the angelic and human worshippers: “[On the tw]elfth of the month in the evening, [they shall offer praise …] […] and witnesses are among us in the daytime’s service […]” (4Q503 1 i 2-4). While the text here is quite fragmentary, the prayer refers to “witnesses” (עדים) who are amongst the people during their worship “service” (במעדנים). The term “witness” can refer to the LORD as an accuser (Gen 31.50; Mal 3.5) but also inanimate things like a scroll (of Torah - Deut 31.26) or celestial phenomena (Ps 89.38; cf. 4Q503 7 ix 4). In this case, however, the “witnesses” seem to refer to the presence of an “other” at the time when the worshippers offer the appropriate praise and is “witnessed” as such. Although there is little hint of a sectarian mentality in these Daily Prayers, they do reflect a notion of angelic presence among a human community of worshippers during ritual activity at particular times.285

A similar notion regarding the union of angelic and human prayer occurs in the liturgical document “Words of the Luminaries” (4Q504). Whereas the Daily Prayers suggest the presence of or communion with angels at various times of prayer, the angels appear in the midst of the seventh prayer in the Divre ha-Me’orot that is marked as a prayer for the Sabbath (4Q504 2Rvii.4). The text, however, is very fragmentary at this point which makes it very difficult to interpret:

Praises for the Sabbath day. Give thanks to [the Lord, bless] His holy name forever with a [holy] so[ng. Praise Him,] all the angels of the holy firmament, and [all the Holy Ones above] the heavens, the earth and all its handiwork; […] the great] Abyss, Abaddon, the waters and all that is in [them. all His creatures [bless Him] continuously, forever and [ever Amen! Amen!]

Unlike the Daily Prayers, there is not a sense of intimacy with the angelic hosts during worship. Esther Chazon rightly notes that the human worshippers “do not emulate angelic praise…nor

285 In comparison, the Sabbath prayer in 4Q504 (2Rvii.4-7) reflects a union of sorts with the common song to the LORD. This passage, however, does not reflect any earthly engagement between the parties as reflected in many of the sectarian materials reviewed here. See Frennesson, 80.
otherwise lay claim to a special association with the angels or their praise."286 Instead this seventh prayer of praises for the Sabbath calls for the harmonization of praise by all creation including the “angels of the holy firmament” and “[all the Holy Ones above] the heavens” (cf. Ps 148; Dan 3 LXX). This praise is a very general call for all creation to worship God, presumably for the gift of the Sabbath (cf. Jubilees) and reflects the human invitation to the angelic host to praise God (cf. Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice). It does not, however, provide much information regarding the relationship between humans and angels on the Sabbath in addition to the fact that it does not display the ideological markers of the Yahad as other texts reviewed here do.287

Other ritual texts may also envision the cooperation of human and angelic forces as well. In 4QBerakhot (4Q286-290), angels and humans are at times cooperating in the blessing or cursing of good (i.e. the Yahad) and evil (i.e. sons of Belial) parties, respectively. The “time” of these unified blessings and curses may have coincided with important ritual occasions such as a covenant renewal ceremony (cf. festival of Weeks; 1QS 1-2) while also reflecting speculation on the heavenly Merkabah and the working of the heavens without any semblance of an ascent into otherworldly realms (cf. Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice – see below). In fragment 7 of 4Q286 there is a section that may reflect some sort of ritual union:

[… and all] of their elect […] and all who [under]stand them in psalms of […] and true blessings at f[estival] times […] Your […] and Your kingdom is exalted among the p[eople]s […] the cou[n]cil of the pure divine beings with all those who know how to prai[se] eternally, [and to ble]ss Your glorious name through all [the times of eterni]t[y.] Amen. Amen.

As is apparent, the text is quite fragmentary and thus it is difficult to gain much knowledge from it. In any event, some of the passage is reminiscent of Jubilees view of Israel vis-à-vis other nations, the highest angels and the Sabbath. The latter subject is not present here but we do find that the LORD’s “kingdom” (מלכות) – either all Israel or Yahad alone - is exalted among the people and this relates in some way to “pure divine beings” ( האלהים) involved in the eternal


287 Frennesson, 80.
praise and blessing of God. As such, 4QBerakhot probably functioned as a means for the Yahad to ritually and ideologically associate with the holy, angelic forces while distinguishing themselves from Belial and those of his lot.\textsuperscript{288}

Overall, the balance of these texts from Qumran reflect several different ways in which the human community related to the heavenly angels. The connection was obviously important but how and at what times this relationship was envisioned varied to some degree. The communion with the heavenly realm is realized in the performance liturgical rituals at specific moments in the day and days in the week (i.e. the Sabbath). I now turn to what might be considered the exemplar of liturgical praxis experienced as the union of heaven and earth: \textit{Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice}.

\section*{4.3 Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice}

So far I have examined how the Sabbath is presented as an occasion when “Israel” is united with angelic analogues in the midst of different rituals involving praise and blessing. In evidence from Qumran related to the Yahad and other groups, there is a narrative of an ongoing presence of angels in the life of the community but as I have argued in the preceding, this special “union” that the Yahad shares with angelic hosts is a conceptual metaphor for understanding of the significance of their own liturgical practices. As I argued in chapter 3, the \textit{Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice} constituted a liturgy of invocations for angelic praise that served as real, embodied replacements for Sabbath “sacrifices” as used at Qumran. Attendant issues to be addressed are how the time spent in ritual was experienced and what sort of relationship did the human community share with the angelic ones.\textsuperscript{289} This is difficult to ascertain given the tension between moments of the ambiguous description of figures in the text (angels, human; cf. \textit{ אלהים} \textsuperscript{290} along

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{288} Ibid., 82; see also Bilha Nitzan, "4QBerakhot” (4Q286-290) : A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts," \textit{Revue de Qumran} 16, no. 4 (1995).
\item \textsuperscript{289} Cf. Newman, "Priestly prophets at Qumran: summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath sacrifice."
\item \textsuperscript{290} On the ambiguity of terms the can define human or angel, see Wassen, 519; Elgvin, 264; Angel, 94.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
with unclear language in several, spirited sections as opposed to evidence of logic, structure, and conscious separation from holy “others” in the document.

The ambiguity in language and intense imagery of the Shirot has elicited several opinions on the experience imagined ranging from the production of a mystical experience (e.g. *unio mystica*) of the heavenly temple to a realization of a transformed, angelic state by members of the Yahad.\(^{291}\) While a full explanation of the experience will always be wanting, the available evidence in light the heightened meaning of the Sabbath in related liturgical practices suggests that the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice* afforded the Qumran “priests” with a ritual mechanism for altering their experience of reality during the communal performance of the Shirot and ritually embodied their understanding of identity. Whereas in Jubilees all Israel unifies with the highest angels through Sabbath practices, the Shirot maintain that it is the human priests alone, who in the performance of the ritual, “commune” with the angels of presence on the seventh day through liturgical practice while the ontological distinction between parties is retained.

One of the major issues in the study of the Songs has been discerning the relationship between the angelic worshippers presented in the Shirot and human performers of the angelic liturgy. Based on evidence garnered from texts like Jubilees as well as other Qumran texts that display a substantial amount of diversity in regard to this issue in general, the reality is indeed complicated. As Joseph Angel notes, “the situation is sometimes so perplexing that in several passages scholars cannot agree on whether humans or angels are referred to.”\(^{292}\) In his monograph on angelic priesthoods in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Angel breaks the views of the relationship between human and angelic “priests” into three groups. The predominate view espoused by most scholars and that generally follows Carol Newsom’s early assessment of the Shirot that sees them as a “quasi-mystical liturgy designed to evoke a sense of being present in the heavenly temple” and a “praxis of something like communal mysticism.”\(^{293}\) Phillip

\(^{291}\) For overview of the various arguments, see Angel, 97-105.

\(^{292}\) Angel, 97.

Alexander has made the related suggestion that the “union” (יחד) experienced by the community is not necessarily one of heaven and earth but may reflect a more sophisticated notion of parallel dimensions or universes. In providing further attention to the idea of “mystical praxis” in ancient Jewish texts, Eliot Wolfson argues that the Neoplatonic ontology on which traditional views of the unio mystica are based are not bore out in texts like the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice while the practices and experiences described in Jewish ascent apocalypses, the Self-Glorification hymn from Qumran, and even Hekhalot texts do not fit this traditional, ontological understanding of mysticism. For Wolfson, “mysticism” in these texts is limited to when earthly practitioners ascended or were translated in some sense into heaven during the time of the ritual performance and given special access and insight to the heavenly temple. Overall, most scholarship has assumed Shirot have mystical tendencies and have studied them in light of trends in later Jewish mysticism.

A second view challenges this dualism of heaven “up there” and earth “down here.” Crispin Fletcher-Louis has made a broad argument about the Qumran priesthood that envisions an inner-transformation of them into angelomorphic priesthood; the Shirot then represent a self-description of transformed, priestly community. In a more grounded view, Judith Newman

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294 Alexander, Mystical texts: 54. Cf. Collins 2009, 300. Alexander is at the same time convinced that the Shirot are to be evaluated under the broad rubric of “mysticism” (i.e. unio mystica).

295 Elliot Wolfson, "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan," JQR 85(1994). Cf. Schäfer, 19. Wolfson maintains that in the case of ancient Jewish texts, “‘mysticism’ should be used only when there is evidence for specific practices that lead to an experience of ontic transformation i.e. becoming divine or angelic” (186). For Wolfson, the Shirot do not fit this definition.

296 Cf. Falk 1998: “the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice are not visionary works such as occur in the apocalypses in which a seer witnesses angelic praise. Rather, as a whole the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice represents liturgical recital intended for use by the earthly community” (133-134).

suggests the performers of the Shirot were an elite group that was “sufficiently righteous and
distanced from fleshly impurity through their ascetic discipline that they have thereby gained
access to the vision, a perception of the divine will in creation” and that this achievement merited
the receipt of “tongues of angels.” In either case, there is a sense of a realized, eschatological
significance for the human performer that changes their being in some radical way i.e. they
become angelified humans or obtain esoteric, divine knowledge that puts them on par with
angelic beings. Another faction is represented by Angel using the work of Henry Corbin. Angel ultimately concludes that the *imago templi* in texts like the Shirot is not simply a perfected
version of the earthly temple but a metaparadigm that informed the life and interpretation of the
community’s experience; as such, “what the Qumranites imagined with regard to the heavenly
realm became the blueprint for construction of the terrestrial community.”

I submit that some of the difficulties in interpreting the Shirot and the relationship between
heavenly and earthly parties may be aided by focusing on the liturgical performance and ritual
theory with respect to the “time” and experience of ritual intervals. As with the other liturgical
practices of prayer or sacrifice that were to occur on the Sabbath, the *Songs for the Sabbath
Sacrifice* and their performance were for a specific time; only on the Sabbath do the performers
urge the angelic priesthood to praise God in the specified manner (i.e. superscriptions for the
each song). Thus the analysis of liturgical ritual like the Shirot requires attention to the active
(i.e. performed) aspect of ritual in order to be more completely understood. Because of the
different activity that ensues during liturgy (i.e. prayer, song), the time of the ritual performance
is then an occasion that, like the Sabbath itself, is out of the “normal” stream, and therefore
experience, of time.

298 Newman, 57. Cf. 58. Newman sees this transformation as metaphorical rather ontological when she describes
the human participation as reflected in the animation of the heavenly temple in praise.


300 Angel, 103.

301 Cf. Andrea Lieber, "Voice and Vision: Song as a Vehicle for Ecstatic Experience in the Songs of the Sabbath
Sacrifice," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. Craig A. Evans
(London: T&T Clark, 2004), 54. See also Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual practices to gain power: angels, 
Roy Rappaport argues that this “out of time” aspect of the sacred time of rituals is reflected in the experience of a liturgical period. On one hand, the performance of rituals envisioning angelic hosts with emotive language and images promotes what Rappaport describes a type of activity that encourages an “alteration of consciousness from the rationality which presumably prevails during daily life and which presumably guides ordinary affairs;” during the “time” of performing rituals, “discursive reason may not disappear entirely but metaphoric representation, primary process thought, and strong emotion become increasing important as the domination of syntactic or syllogistic logic, or simple everyday rationality, recedes.”

This general theorization of ritual time is helpful for interpreting the Shirot because of how perceptions of reality and alterations of consciousness can prevail during the liturgical interval and why there might be language describing angels or humans in similar way along with moments of clear consciousness and distinction between heavenly and earthly groups. Furthermore, the performance of a text ripe with fantastic and otherworldly images could produce an experience the unordinary and different from that of the everyday even if their sense of reality was not completed obscured.

Beyond this liminality described and experienced outside of time in the ritual interval, the liturgical interval also produces new social agents and identities. Rappaport argues that relations and identities are destructed and reassociated in and out of the period of liturgical performance; roles and selves can differ from those prevailing during “normal” time while participants may undergo social transformations (i.e. rite of passage). This destructuring can also lead to union or “reunion” of the practitioner with community and world: “reunion may reach out from the reunited individual to embrace other members of the congregation, or even the cosmos as whole. Indeed the boundary between individuals and their surrounding between individuals and their

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303 Ibid., 219. Rappaport notes that the changes in behavior during the course of ritual performance can be considered bizarre in other contexts but “normal” in the context of the ritual. This can include “trances but also less profound alterations of consciousness” (219). Cf. Alexander, 115.
304 Cf. Alexander, 111, rightly notes that the text of the Shirot only really “comes alive when it is performed in community” that includes a very particular ritual context and may have been performed in ways we cannot fully understand.
surroundings, especially others participating in ritual with them may seem to dissolve.” In terms of the Shirot, the transformation that proceeds from the liturgical practice is evident temporally with the progression of the songs through the first 13-weeks of the annual calendar and the ritual joining with the angels that intensifies over its course. Furthermore, the procession of the weeks also shows social change as reflected in the growth of human subjects in priestly life and as related to their “elevation” in knowledge of the holiest parts of the heavenly worship, which affirms their communal self-understanding as a special priesthood.

Rappaport’s understanding of ritual theory is helpful because it aids in the interpretation of some of the ambiguity of identity among parties (i.e. angels/humans) as well as the logical but sometimes unassailable descriptions in the document as experiences produced by the “time out of time” of ritual activity. To a certain extent, this approach to the Songs focuses on the meaning of the performance of the ritual and the embodiment of Sabbath in performance in itself as a means for assessing the experience for the human performers. Although the theoretical framework espoused here is formulated on the basis of recent anthropological and ethnographic research and is limited due to the nature of the current object of inquiry, it can make an important contribution to the understanding of the Shirot as an example of liturgical practice. Furthermore, the embodied conception of knowledge, meaning and identity followed in this study urges focus on the practices that ultimately define experience and are a primary source for conceptual metaphors for reasoning about practice.

The possibility of human activity in connection with the performance of Shirot is also to be gauged by the relationship of key “events” in priestly life – i.e. initiation, covenant renewal, donning of priestly garb - as they occur in the 13-week cycle, culminating in the apotheosis of their sacred role: offering the Sabbath sacrifices in the form of divine song and praise (see chapter 3). These events are coordinated with the holy structure of successive Sabbaths (cf. solar calendar), which sets aside these moments of priestly importance i.e. establishing a purified and authentic priesthood. For the Yahad, the continued use of this liturgy would have also been significant for identity: though removed from the temple, the worshipers at Qumran could share

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306 Rappaport 1999, 220. Related to this might be the language applied to angels/humans alike, an issue that most research points out e.g. Angel, 94; Wassen, 519; Elgvin, 264.
in an experience related to the highest, most glorified angelic priests in the periodic performance of the *Shirot*. The identification or communion with the angelic priests is not particularly clear while the composition vacillates between a formal attention to a progression based on the priestly lifecycle and moments of liminality during the course of the ritual where the human call to praise gives way to an emotive description of the Sabbath activity in heavenly temple.

The first event that structures the identification of the angelic priests and their human counterparts is the priestly establishment in the first song (4Q400 1 i 1–1 ii 20). Here we find not only liturgical invocations but also a summary of the entire liturgical order that begins in the first week and culminates in the establishment of what an angelic priesthood, who serve in the inner most sanctuary: “For He has established] utter holiness among the eternally holy, that they might become for Him priests [of the inner sanctum in His royal temple,] ministers of the Presence in His glorious innermost chamber” (4Q400 1 i 3-4; cf. *Jub.* 2.2). Carol Newsom argues that this connection between the first week of the year and the priestly establishment is based on the consecration of human priests in the Mosaic Torah as well as the seven-day consecration festival for high priests in the Temple Scroll (Ex 29; Lev 8; 11QTemple 15.3). Like their earthly counterparts, this special group of heavenly priests is also consecrated for service in the heavenly sanctuary where they are פְּנֵי רַתִּימְשׁ (4Q400 1 i 8). Although the latter phrase is somewhat ambiguous here, the related phrase פְּנֵי מלאכי the derives from Isaiah 63.9 appears to signify some divine force that rescues Israel (i.e. Ex 14.19; 23.20-23; 32.34; 33.2; cf. *Jubilees*). Like the earthly temple and the “human” temple constituted by the Yahad community (cf. 4Q174 frag. 1 2 i 6), there were demands a high level of purity for the heavenly priests: “They tolerate none who trans[gress] the way, nor is there any unclean in their holy ranks (בַּקְדֵשׁ טָמָא)… He has purified the pure [who belong to the light, that they may recom]pense all those who

307 Cf. 4Q400 1 i 10: “For He] established them for Himself to be the most hol[y of those who minister in the H]oly of Holies.”

308 Newsom 1985, 72. See also Carol A. Newsom, ""He has established for himself priests" : human and angelic priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” in *Archaeology and history in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Sheffield: JSOT Pr, 1990).

309 Newman, 40.
transgress the way and make atonement for those who repent of sin, obtaining for them His good pleasure” (4Q400 1 i 16; cf. 4Q405 23 i 10-12; 1QS 8.18). Several aspects in these few lines relate to a particular use of language to characterize the Yahad or related groups in texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Broadly speaking, this utterly holy communion of angels that is separated out from other divine beings is analogous to the creation of the “community council” in the Rule of the Community (1QS 8.4-13). Although fragmentary, the use of the “way” (דִּרְחָם) here recalls uses in other texts associated with the Yahad movement in the sense that those admitted to the community need to maintain the “way” or face demotion or expulsion (e.g. 1QS 5.24; 8.10). Furthermore, there is an absolute desire for “purity” (טֹהֵר) for this select group of angels that mirrors heightened purity concerns reflected in several texts from Qumran (e.g. 1QS 5.20; CD 11.20; 11Q19). Finally, the Yahad is characterized as atoning for the land (1QS 8.1-10; CD 8.16; 15.12).

The description of angelic purity certainly reflects the ideology of the Qumran sect but is it clear that the human priests are ascending to join with the angelic priesthood or becoming angelic themselves? This section seems to refer to both select angels and humanity: the angels who are “purified,” “belong to the light” and “sanctify the eternally holy” (4Q400 1 i 15), and humans, who receive punishment or atonement from the former. Thus even as the performers of this angelic liturgy imagine and extol the election of this heavenly priesthood, they are still in some way separate from the “utterly holy ones” (קדושים קדושים) who draw near to the heavenly altar and yet are engaged in practices that are aimed maintaining a high level of holiness akin to that

310. The occurrence of “purity” is most prevalent in 4Q405, which contains songs 9-12 i.e. those most concerned with the heavenly sanctuary itself.
312. Ibid., 45.
313. Cf. 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2.3; 4Q405 13.6 – In these passages, an angel or other divine figure blesses those who are “perfect of way” these are likely other divine beings.
314. The use of this language suggests that the at least the extant version of the first song was influenced by the Yahad and perhaps composed by individuals associated with the movement. This may not be true of other portions of the Songs i.e. 11Q7.
imagined of the angels. The Sabbath is then a time where the angelic priesthood atones for the performers of the Shirot, who gather themselves in this the liturgy and embody this atonement through the performance of the songs and affirm their ongoing, attendant activities of sanctification in community (cf. IQS 8.6; 9.4).

Even though this angelic high priesthood is “[given tongues of] knowledge … so that from their mouths issue the teachings governing all the holy ones” (4Q400 1 i 17), it appears that this initial establishment is also part of process that only begins in the first song and which makes the them holy and pure through adherence to heavenly ḫוּקָמִים revealed by God. This weekly progression is unified with the human party’s growth in the “knowledge” of the working of atonement in heavenly realm realized through the performance of the angelic liturgy. Thus we witness that this angelic priesthood “precept by precept they shall grow strong,” and in line 11 that they “[...] shall become mighty thereby in accordance with the council [...]” (4Q400 1 i 9-11).

Furthermore, these priests that “draw near, the ministers of presence” are to draw near to practical knowledge over time, which is reflected in the fragmentary metaphor that paints them as moving “from the font of holiness to the temple of utter [holiness …]” (4Q400 1 i 7-8; Cf. 4Q405 23 i 10). This gradual strengthening of the angelic priesthood requires additional assistance from God due to their initial inability to carry out some mission (Song 2 – 4Q401 14 ii 1-8) but in a later song (i.e. Song 8), these priestly angels are in command of divine

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315 This purification is possibly interpreted as the divine election of the seven elite priests of the inner sanctum (4Q400 1 i 9-13) but is perhaps better understood as the product of these angels obeying the ḥוּקָמִים which provide “sanctification” for all the eternally holy (4Q400 1 i 15) and “works of spirit (or breath)” (4Q400 1 i 5; cf. 1 i 11: “precepts for stillness” - ḥוֹקֹם כְּפַח); their ultimate obedience is realized in the last cycle of songs (9-13) and in particular song 11: “according to the statute they abide in service” (4Q405 20 ii 22.2). Thus the angels are characterized like their human foils, who sanctify the Sabbath and purify themselves for the holy day by obeying halakhic prohibitions while offering the required divine service that included songs (i.e. “works of spirit”) for the seventh day (4Q403 1 i 36-37; cf. 4Q504; Jubilees).

316 The idea of the Sabbath as “atonement” is unusual. As noted, the seventh day is normally an occasion for joy and celebration (see Chazon 1992-1993). Although the festival attitude is present at other points in the Shirot, there is a more serious perspective here.

317 Cf. Newman, 36. Newman the “body language” of the Shirot involves a “plurality, or rather community, of tongues” while other body parts are rarely mentioned and notes that the Songs “display a decided avoidance of flesh and blood but an enhanced if sometimes obscure portrayal of the relationship among spirits, priests, community members, and angels.” While the ritual text does create some ambiguity between the cast of characters, the human element is at times explicitly separate (i.e. Song 2) while it is clearly the angels that are called to use their “tongues” in the heavenly praise; the communion of tongues does of course occur when the humans recite the Songs.
knowledge. While the angelic priests are chosen and provided with the precepts for proper observance of the Sabbath, full knowledge of and initiation into the divine service is only realized in the following Sabbaths, which are structured by human adherence to Sabbath rituals and the performance of the *Shirot*.

Because of the parallels between the presentation of the angels in the first Song and that of the earthly community represented by many Qumran documents, it is easy to see how the characterization of the highest angels in terms of ways the Yahad (e.g. “perfection of way – דרך תמימי”) leads to the idea these angels are “angelified” human priests, priests in a mystical ascent or that at the very least that the heavenly realm reflects the ideology of the earthly community. The reality is probably somewhere in between with the performance of the ritual with the parallels serving to affirm their marked identity and socio-liturgical growth through the course of 13 weeks.

The ritual setting and performance is evident in a passage where the “union” of heavenly and earthly communal bodies is presented as a situation where there is a substantial gap between the two groups: “How shall we be reckoned among them? As what our priesthood in their habitations? [How shall our holiness compare with their utter holiness? [What] is the praise of our mortal tongue [in comparison] with their divine knowledge? […]. For our joy, let us exalt the God of knowledge” (4Q400 2.6-8). In this second Sabbath song, Alexander notes that a major concern is “the comparison of the earthly and the heavenly communities and the desire of the former to join in the liturgy of the latter.” Angel maintains that this passage reveals a rhetorical, self-deprecating attitude on the part of the human worshippers while the speaker (i.e. the maskil) urges the human participants to praise God despite this fact. Such self-abasement

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319 Cf. 4Q401 16.4: “Who can understand these […]” (מי ביןי אלה); also 4Q403 1 i 10-26 (v. 22); 4Q403 1 i 28.
320 Alexander, 18.
321 Angel, 97.
in the liturgy no doubt served in some way to assert the significance of the community but does not mean in itself the they have or will ascend to heavens.\textsuperscript{322}

Furthermore, this passage is a rare occurrence of the human “voice” in the liturgy of the \textit{Shirot}; as Peter Schäfer notes, the human participation is on the face of things limited in the Songs: “the angels perform the ritual, not the humans, and the humans participate in this celestial ritual by reading it during their worship.”\textsuperscript{323} While it may be an oversimplification to suggest that this means that there is no sense of liturgical communion between the human practitioners and the heavenly forces (\textit{pace} Schäfer) and that the performance of the text is not performance of a ritual in itself, there is a tension between the grand or rousing description of action in several parts of the text and this moment of conscious separation from the holiest realm.\textsuperscript{324} I argue that this is a product of the liminality of liturgical time that is in this case is reflected on self-consciously: the participants recognize that they are separate from the “divine” and the “holy” in their worship that betrays an experience of being “reckoned among them” or “in their habitations” through the performance of the ritual.\textsuperscript{325} Furthermore, while the human actors grow in knowledge of the heavenly temple, a gap still remains insofar as the angels “make hidden things known” at the command of God perhaps suggesting that there is esoteric knowledge still to be revealed by God’s messengers during the ritual.\textsuperscript{326} The human worshippers’ acknowledgment of the ontological gulf between themselves and their select counterparts toward the beginning of the \textit{Shirot} stands in apparent tension with the worshippers almost simultaneous reflections of knowledge and presence. Such a discrepancy can be understood in light of “inbetweeness” of the ritual interval where perception of reality can be altered and an experience different from that of normal can ensue i.e. communion with otherworldly beings or realms.

\textsuperscript{322} Cf. Newman, 46.

\textsuperscript{323} Schäfer, 144. Schäfer also notes that, “whereas the members of the community can participate, to some degree, in the angelic praise be reciting the songs in their worship, they can no longer offer the expiatory sacrifice” (145). Cf. Newman, 39: “the songs focus not on words of praise to God, but on the angelic-priests themselves, in part as a means of bolstering the authority of the priesthood within the community.

\textsuperscript{324} Cf. Lieber, 54.

\textsuperscript{325} If the performers felt they were as worthy as the holy angels, its possible they could have recorded the divine songs sung in heaven. Cf. Chazon 2003, 43.

\textsuperscript{326} Newman, 4.
The process of initiation continues in the next several songs and reaches an important milestone in the sixth and seventh weeks evident in portions of 4Q403-405 and 11Q17. Outside of the précis of angelic initiation in the first song (see above) are the first extant references to the LORD’s “holy temple” (קדש קדשון) in which these heavenly priests will offer their sacrifices of blessings (4Q403 1 ii 11; 1 i 42). Similarly, the “inner most sanctuary” (ריבר) mentioned in the summary of the first song appears again in 4Q403 and the later songs (cf. 4Q405). Although it is difficult to conclude that the temple is not mentioned in the earlier songs due to the fragmentary data, the available evidence suggests that the establishment of the angelic priests reaches a crucial point in weeks 6-8 i.e. admittance to the temple.

Following the repetitive and stylistically section of praise in chapter 6 comes the seventh, “Sabbath” song of the Shirot (4Q403 1 i 30) and a conception of unified praise of God that is akin to what is encountered in other Sabbath texts. Scholars have noted that the beginning of this song is quite likely a recounting of creation that just so happens to occur in the midst of the seventh Sabbath song in the Shirot (cf. Apostolic Constitutions 7.36). After a series of calls to praise by human invoke rs (4Q403 1 i 30-34), there is a brief and tantalizing exposition on God’s acts of creation: “by wise will—by the words of His mouth (לאמרי פיהו) shall come into being all [the exalted godlike]; by what leaves His lips (ל قنا מוצא שפתיו) all the eternal spirits shall exist; [by] his knowledgeable [w]ill all his creatures in their missions” (4Q403 1 i 34-36; cf. 4Q405 4-6). The list of three acts of mouth, lips and will reflect the creation of different spirits and god-like beings in addition to “his creatures” (מעשיו), who all seem to participate in praise of the deity: “rejoice, you who exult in [knowing him, with] a song of rejoicing among the wondrous godlike. Hymn his glory with the tongue (בלשון) of all who hymn to his wondrous, joy-filled knowledge with the mouth (בפי) of all who chant [to him. Surely he] is God of all who rejoice in eternal wisdom, and mighty judge over all understanding spirits” (4Q403 1 i 36-37). The human actors with “mouth” and “lips” participate in similar acts of creation in union with other beings in the performance of the Shirot.

328 Ibid., 51. The latter term may refer to either “creatures” or “works” and may be multivalent here especially in light of the heavenly temple participating in the praise of God later in the song (4Q403 1 i 41).
The combination of these different beings and their collective praise recalls other texts where all creation is united in praise of God. At the same, the three groups of beings are probably divine beings as opposed to terrestrial ones; the first two are obvious but these are agents with a special commission for divine service and could indicate angels or human prophets. In the context of the *Shirot* and of this passage in particular these three groups appear to be divine beings that the human performers are to urge on in their ritual. Again, it is the highest angels (here with other) that rejoice, hymn and chant to God while the human priests are limited to reciting the events of angelic ritual and extolling those worthy to praise in the heavens. This, however, does not account for the performance of the *Shirot* by the human element as constitutive of the experience; the human performers are joining in the angelic worship during the time of ritual and occupy a liminal “time” that is conceived of as contiguous with that of heaven. This does not mean that human praise is utterly separate from angelic but rather that it has its place in the hierarchy of creation, which at this point in the angelic liturgy is calling on the holy ones to praise God.

Ultimately, the process of the *Shirot* leads into weeks 11, 12, and 13, which serve as the high point of the liturgical cycle. Here the distinction between the angels and humans is very difficult to discern with the marked shift in style and focus from the previous songs and represents an important transition in the cycle as both human and angelic parties enter into a fuller experience and knowledge of the heavenly sanctuary. The calls to praise that dominate the earlier Sabbaths give way to thick descriptions of the inner sanctum of the temple, the heavenly sacrifices, and the vesting of a high priest figure in the final song. Indeed the description in these final songs is almost exclusively focused on the heavenly spirits and temple: e.g. “embroidered [spirits,] figures of the godlike beings, are engraved all around the [gl]orious bricks; these are glorious figures, handiwork belonging to the splendid and majest[ic bri]cks. All these

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329 Newman, 52. Newman notes that the feminine form משלוחת appears in the twelfth song in reference to the response of angels.

330 Cf. Alexander, 29. See also 4Q404 – angels blessing angels and/or men at different times in the song (Alexander 27).

331 Cf. Schwemer 1991, 94-103. Schwemer makes a case for the seventh song as the climax of the liturgy with the production of a heavenly Qedushah-like prayer (97-98). While this is certainly an important point, the presence of the Sabbath sacrifices in songs 12-13 is more significant. On the other had, it may be incorrect to maintain that there is only one climax in the liturgy. Cf. Alexander, 49.
handiworks are living godlike beings and their figures are holy angels” (4Q405 19.5-7). The description here and elsewhere in these final songs is dense and the recital of them could have had mesmerizing effect on participants, which seems to be the point in its socio-liturgical trajectory as humans join together in intensified “visions” of angelic company and the heavenly worship. Even though the superscription and initial call to praise that seems to accompany each week’s song is missing, the Sabbath song turns to grandiose descriptions of the activity in the divine throne room that when read aloud would have provided a time for the production of such action (cf. Songs 6 and 8).

Furthermore, the marked style change and attention to the details of the heavenly shrine hint at other, less obvious points in progression of the Shirot. According to the solar calendar assumed by the Songs, the shir for the 11th week is dated to the day before Shavout i.e. fifteenth day of the third month. In the Second Temple period, this festival becomes more precisely defined and is linked to the annual renewal of the covenant that is also found in different forms at Qumran (11QTemple 18.10-19.10; cf. 1QS 1.16-2.18; CD 16.1-15; 4QBerakhot). The theme of Shavuot also reflects the notion of the revelation of the law in the Second Temple period via angels (e.g. Jub. 1.1) and also in rabbinic Judaism. This is important in that it is with this 11th song that the description enters fully into the details of the “inner sanctuary” (דביר) but it is not immediately clear what the connection between Shavout and the sanctuary might entail. In Exodus, however, the law of the Sabbath (Ex 31.12-18; cf. Ex 35) and the completion of the covenantal pact are linked with the “law” or command for the erection of the tabernacle (משכן) and its sacred accouterment (e.g. the ark of the covenant, priestly vestments; cf. Ex 34.21-28; Ex 26.33-34; cf. Jub. 2). In weeks 11-13, the human worshipers have sufficiently grown in the preceding

332 Cf. Alexander, 115.
333 The eleventh song is dated the fourteenth on the third month; see Newman, 61-62; Alexander, 38. See also Sejin Park, Pentecost and Sinai: the Festival of Weeks as a celebration of the Sinai event, vol. 342, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008).
334 While heavily dependent on the merkabah tradition in Ezekiel, these latter Shirot are clearly engaged with wilderness tradition especially those in Exodus. For example, the crafting associated with the endowed Oholiab and others includes that of the “weaver” (ארג), which appears in the Shirot in description heavenly vestments (4Q405 f23ii.7, 10). For other Wilderness connections,
335 Several scholars have noted various Sinai traditions in the Shirot. See especially Newman 2008; Arnold, 142 and literature cited there.
Sabbaths in their invocation of angelic praise to renew the covenant, come into the construction of the heavenly משכן (4Q405 20 ii 22.7) and witness the divine presence. As a coda to the divine service, the Shirot conclude with a description of the heavenly high priest figure (11Q17 21-22 6-9 + 4Q405 23 ii 1-12; cf. Sir 50.1-21; Ex 25.7), which epitomizes the full investiture of the special angelic priests summarized in the first song through the donning of the priestly garb and embodies the separation or selection that the act of dressing in such regalia suggests. The vision of the inner sanctuary and all its attending elements (e.g. priestly clothes) in Songs 11-13 reflects profound and moving reflection on Sabbath worship that human worshippers experience through weeks of preparatory praise and which in the final weeks culminates in the covenant renewal and reaffirmation of priestly identity vis-à-vis the inner sanctuary or priestly dress (cf. sacrifices – see chapter 3).

4.4 Revelation

The union of the earthly and heavenly communities of the eternal Sabbath is also evident in the book of Revelation although it is not obvious despite the preponderance of the “sevens” in the book. The Sabbath, however, is important to the setting and meaning of Revelation’s narrative in its presentation of the union between heavenly and earthly communities that punctuates the narrative; a primary goal of the book is the proper worship of God and his lamb in the “new” temple embodied by those on earth who have the “endurance” (ὑπομονή) to withstand the tribulations described over the course of the book and who “keep the commandments of God” (οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ) during turbulent situation in Asia Minor during the Jewish War with Rome. The visions of heavenly worship contained in


Revelation embody the ritual practice of the Sabbath and allowed those who performed the liturgical drama to experience the heavens on earth in the ritual interval.

The dating of the apocalypse is matter of debate to this day and often revolves around issues of authorship and composition. Many 19th and 20th century interpreters have recognized the “Jewish” material in the apocalypse and have posited the existence of a Jewish source that was modified by “Christian” authors although the tendency to see the book more as the cohesive work of an auteur gained ground in later years. In any case, the “Jewish” character of Revelation was recognized already in antiquity by Marcion (ca. 140 CE) while modern scholars have noted the book’s reliance of Jewish apocalyptic (e.g. Daniel) and the septenary (i.e. sabbatical) structure of many scenes in the book. Furthermore, while Ireaneus’ testimony about the book and provincial upheavals under Domitian (ca. 95 CE) are often taken as indications of post-70 CE compositions, the prominence of the temple in peril (i.e. Rev 11.1-2), the chaos of 66-70 CE in the wake of Nero’s demise, and rumor of his possible return from the east point to an equally plausible early date for the recorded visions. Whatever the exact historical scenario, the relationship of Revelation to Jewish practice and thought is important while classifying it as “Christian” or “Jewish Christian” is not without difficulties.

The Sabbath setting for the visions of heavenly worship is driven by the reference to the “Lord’s day” in the first chapter: “I, John, your brother who share with you in Jesus the persecution and the kingdom and the patient endurance, was on the island called Patmos because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. I was in the spirit on the Lord’s day (ἐν τῇ Κυρίῳ ἡμέρᾳ) and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet” (Rev 1.9-10). Scholars have debated the meaning of ἐν τῇ Κυρίῳ ἡμέρᾳ and this hapax legomenon has been thought to refer to Sunday, Easter Sunday, the emperor’s day, the Sabbath, or the eschatological “day of the

The rather common interpretation that the “LORD’s day” in Revelation refers to the “Christian” observance of Sunday is to be challenged by attention to the historical context and the overwhelming “Jewish” character of the book, including (but not limited to) the scenes of worship in the heavenly temple (e.g. Rev 4.8-11; 14.1-5) as well as the insufficiency of taxonomic labels of “Jewish” and “Christian” in the period (later first century). Furthermore, the Sabbath’s connection to the temple (i.e. sacrifice and praise) and the latter’s function as a locus of revelation suggests that John’s visions are closely associated with temple and perhaps Sabbath worship. While it is evident that the “LORD’s day” eventually came to designate “Sunday” in the church, it is not clear that ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ meant the same in the late first and early second centuries CE (i.e. 68-96 CE); all explicit references to the “LORD’s day” as Sunday are at least one hundred years after the apocalypse’s composition (cf. “the first day of the week” – John, Barnabas, Justin Martyr).

Even early second century texts such as the Didache (14.1) and Ignatius’ Letter to the Magnesians (9.1) that contain the adjective κυριακή and are often cited as evidence of early Christian practices on Sunday rather than the Sabbath are inconclusive at best; Stefanovic points out that neither contains the noun ἡμέρᾳ or can be translated temporally as is the case of Revelation 1.10. Indeed, the example of Ignatius’s letter shows that “Christians” in Asia Minor were still “performing the weekly Sabbath” (σάββατιζοντες) according to Judaism instead of keeping it according to “the Lord’s life” (Magn. 9.1-2); furthermore, the passage is not clearly

342 Stefanovic, "'The Lord's day' of Revelation 1:10 in the current debate."
344 Gregory Stevenson, Power and place: Temple and identity in the Book of Revelation, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, (Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001). Stevenson argues that temples are the embodiment of divine presence and that they function as a mediator for divine revelation (232). Even if “John” was not physically in Jerusalem, he had a thorough familiarity with temple practices and traditions that functioned metaphorically in the presentation of worship in the book.
345 In addition, the Sabbath is characterized as belonging to the LORD in the Hebrew Bible/Septuagint. For example, note the analogous expression “my Sabbaths” (τὰ σάββατα μου), which occurs 16 times in the LXX. Cf. Neh 9.14 - τὸ σάββατον σου τὸ ἅγιον.
about a Sabbath versus Sunday controversy. Thus there is a high probability that the “LORD’s day” in Revelation 1.10 is the seventh day Sabbath observed in Judaism and that which is still being observed by followers of Jesus in Asia Minor near the end of Jewish War.

Determining that LORD’s day is the Sabbath is vital for understanding the book’s ritual “time” and the interpretation of the visions of heavenly and earthly worship that John witnesses at several points in the text. Importantly, the series of visions that constitute the book occur while John (or his addressees) are “in the spirit” on the Sabbath (Rev 1.10; cf. 4.2; 17.3; 21.10); even if the different visions occurred on more than one occasion, the fact that John is “in the spirit” on the Sabbath may indicate that the subsequent moments of “spirit” in the book occur during the ritual interval of the Sabbath and in subsequent performances of the text. This begs the question as to “being in the spirit” on the Sabbath means in Revelation besides being a trope related to ascents. I submit that the answer lies in understanding the embodied performance of Revelation as part of Sabbath worship i.e. the “Lord’s day,” and the concomitant requirements of “keeping the words written in book” (Rev 1.3 - τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα; cf. Rev 22.7, 9) i.e. the commandments that embody Jewish practice including proper worship of the LORD.

As Jean-Paul Ruiz notes, the liturgical context is apparent from the beginning of the book: “evidence of Rev 1.3 and 1.10 makes it clear almost beyond dispute that John’s apocalypse was destined for oral recitation in a ritual setting, specifically, in the setting of late first century Christian worship in the Roman providence of Asia.” Accepting the identification of the

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347 Stefanovic, 267-268: “the burden of Ignatius’ argument was not to discuss days of worship, but to encourage an observance of the Sabbath in a spiritual manner” (268). See also the later comments of John Chrysostom that many Christians in the 4th century are “keeping Sabbath;” see Robert Louis Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: rhetoric and reality in the late 4th century*, Transformation of the classical heritage; (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

348 Ibid., 281-283. Stefanovic maintains that the “LORD’s day” has the double meaning of the seventh day Sabbath and the cosmic/eschatological Sabbath. On date and location, see Marshall 2001, 98-120.

349 Schäfer, 104; Ezek 2.2; 3.14. Note also Rev 14.13: “And I heard a voice from heaven saying, “Write this: Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord.” “Yes,” says the Spirit, “they will rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them.”

350 Ruiz, 231. Ruiz also notes the warning of Catherine Bell about the reduction of text to ritual but without abandoning the features that suggest the oral recitation of the apocalypse: “strictly speaking, the apocalypse does not
“LORD’s day” as the Sabbath, we can understand the liturgical performance of the apocalypse to have embodied Sabbath worship in that the human worshippers united with the heavenly realm during the performance and thus re-instantiated the message of the book through ritual simulation (cf. *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*). Although the Sabbath worship is not explicitly mandated in the text as in the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the Sabbath setting of the book suggests that it was also used in the ongoing, Sabbath worship of John’s audience thus reinforcing the truth of the visions bookmarked by scenes of heavenly, Sabbath worship.

The ritual context of Revelation and its embodiment of communion with the worshipping angelic hosts during Sabbath is most clearly presented in one of the several worship scenes in heaven, on earth, or somewhere in between that through the repeated performance of John’s visionary descriptions the earthly community is able to join (Rev 4-5; 7.9-19; 11.15-19; 12.10-12; 14.1-5; 15.2-8; 19.1-8). Prior to these scenes come the establishment of a “priesthood” reminiscent of the *Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Rev 1.10) that in form appears as an epistolary blessing and doxology:

*Grace to you and peace from him who is and who was and who is to come, and from the seven spirits who are before his throne and from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth. To him who loves us and freed us from our sins by his blood, and made us to be a kingdom, priests serving his God and Father.*

represent a codification of ritual procedures in textual form...however the ritual setting which this text presupposes as the text context for its oral recitation, which sets the apocalypse betwixt and between orality and textuality, suggests the the dynamics of authority are bound up with the ritualizing strategy of writing the apocalypse.

351 Torleif Elgvin, "Priests on earth as in heaven: Jewish light on the book of Revelation," in *Echoes from the caves* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Elgvin also notes that the “songs” of angels appear to be unified with the current audience of text and is not just an eschatological union (262). On ritual and simulation in religious belief and knowledge, see Barsalou 2005.

352 Cf. Rev 13.6-10. Here the beast’s “worship” is the complete opposite of the saints: καὶ ἠνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν βλασφημήσας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας (13.6).
Håkan Ulfgard rightly notes that the use of the aorist ἐποίησεν in 1.6 indicates that “the kingship and priesthood of Christ’s followers is already just like their simultaneous experience ‘in Jesus [of] the persecution and the kingdom and the patient endurance’ (1.9).”\textsuperscript{353} John’s audience is already participating in the heavenly rewards of the saints described in scenes of worship that are reproduced by and experienced in ritual performance of songs and blessing on the Sabbath (see Rev 1.3 and below). The way in which John’s audience is and is becoming “priests serving his God and Father” and sharing in heavenly worship is described in greater detail throughout the course of the book and in the scenes of heavenly worship.

Performing the “revelation,” however, is in itself insufficient for participation with the heavenly choirs and surviving the eschatological events. The ability to engage in these visions and people’s ultimate capability in embodying the experience of angelic worshippers now or in the narrative future is dependent more broadly on their “keeping” (τηροῦντες) Jewish law and commandments, which would have included some variation of the stipulations associated with the Sabbath (e.g. praise, blessings; sacrifice; see chapter 3).\textsuperscript{354} Although many scholars have maintained that the book of Revelation has a polemical view of Judaism and is supportive of “faith in Jesus” (Rev 14.12) as representing a distinct, Christian body of believers,\textsuperscript{355} John W. Marshall has argued that John and his audience are authentic practitioners of Judaism redeemed also by the “faith of Jesus,” the LORD’s messiah.\textsuperscript{356} Marshall notes that scholarship on Revelation has often underemphasized or ignored statements in the text about those “who obey the commandments” (οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ) in collocations that include

\textsuperscript{353} Håkan Ulfgard, "The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the heavenly scene of the Book of Revelation," in \textit{Northern lights on the Dead Sea scrolls} (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 258. He also notes that “in this sense, they may already on earth may be described a royal priesthood unto God, having received the highest possible dignity before God and immediate priestly access to him.”

\textsuperscript{354} Rev 1.3; 2.26; 3.3, 8, 10; 14.12; 22.7, 9.


phrases interpreted by many to be “Christian” i.e. the “witness of Jesus” and the “faith of Jesus” as opposed to Jewish (Rev 14.12; cf. 12.17). The term “commandment,” however, seems to be restricted to designating specific practices and prohibitions in Jewish life and experience and so “keeping the commandments of God means doing the things that God commanded in the covenant with Israel (e.g. the Sabbath).” Although such references are not overly specific, the Sabbath context and the attendant praise and blessing associated with keeping the Sabbath are present while other issues related to the maintenance of the covenant are clear; refraining from idolatrous worship (Rev 2.14, 20; cf. 13.3-4) and maintenance of purity (Rev 3.4; 14.4; cf. 7.14; 19.8, 14; 22.14) appear throughout and are both antithetical to proper Sabbath observance. John’s championing of Jewish practice is also emphasized by his prophecy’s particular animosity toward parties that claim Jewish identity while failing to uphold his understanding of keeping the commandments: “I know the slander on the part of those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan” (2.9); “those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but are lying” (3.9). Given the stress placed on keeping the commandments and the practices are essential to identity, we can understand John’s critique as one centered on the practice of Judaism and proper guarding of its commands. Only “obeying the commandments” produced true worship and continued communion/reward with the heavenly powers.

Along with the Sabbath (i.e. “the Lord’s day”), the reiterated focus on proper practice and purity are closely associated with the temple, sanctuary, and Mt. Zion (e.g. Rev 14.1) in addition to being concomitants for “Israel” to become part of the “new” temple and Jerusalem (3.12; 21.2, 10). Because of the commitment of Revelation’s audience to the “commandments of God” and the implied observance of the Sabbath (including ritual prayer, blessing, etc.), the heavenly

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358 Ibid., Cf. 139: “keeping the commandments of God meant everything that the first-century Jews understood it to mean: maintaining appropriate distinction from Gentiles, worshipping only the God of Israel, following the commandments as given in the Torah, circumcising male children, observing the Sabbath, maintaining appropriate purity.”

359 John’s prophetic vehemence is directed specifically at practices such as eating food sacrificed to idols and fornication (2.14, 20; cf. 9.20-21). Indeed it is those who love and “do falsehood” (ποιῶν ψευδός) such as fornication and idolatry that endure the final punishments of God (22.15).

worship on the Sabbath is experienced ritually by John and his audience and embodies the “endurance” (ὑπομονή) demanded of “holy ones” (Rev 13.10; 14.12; cf. 1.9; 2.2, 19; 3.10). Through this obedience to and practice of God’s commands including those of the Sabbath, John’s audience experiences the eternal liturgical performance of heavenly beings in the heavenly sanctuary.

A prime example of this heavenly worship is the vision in Revelation 4-5 where John finds himself “in the spirit” and in the heavenly throne room, which is reminiscent of visions in Ezekiel 1 (Rev 4.1-8). This “liturgical” scene represents the inner sanctuary of the temple while the two-part liturgical praise offered by the four living creatures and the elders reflects elements of Isaiah 6.3 and Psalms 146.10 that are also parts of the later Qedushah prayer of the Amidah:

> And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all around and inside. Day and night without ceasing they sing, ‘Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God the Almighty, who was and is and is to come’… And whenever the living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to the one who is seated on the throne, who lives forever and ever, the twenty-four elders fall before the one who is seated on the throne and worship the one who lives forever and ever; they cast their crowns before the throne, singing, “You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created.”

While in rabbinic and later Christian prayer this “sanctification” is offered by angels (e.g. Qedushah; Apostolic Constitutions), part of the structure and performed “response” to the four creatures is given by the 24 elders, who are most likely representatives of Israel (Rev 4.9-11). The possibilities for the exact identity are many but what is clear is that these elders are engaged

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361 Cf. AC 7.3.
in the proper worship of the LORD. On the other hand, the distinction between the living creatures and the 24 elders is significant because the οἱ εἰκοσὶ τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι are human-like models of proper practice for John’s audience to embody in order to obtain divine reward while subsequent performance of this liturgical scene by the human community links them to these perfected elders.

The right practice of following the commandments, which would include keeping the Sabbath and its concomitants (i.e. liturgical praise), is essential to John’s message; however access to the heavenly worship involves an additional element devotion to the “lion of the tribe of Judah, the root David” or the “lamb standing as if it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth” (Rev 5.6-7). Here it is clear that commitment to Jesus is enacted liturgically through the coordinated worship of all the heavens. In addition to the understanding that the Sabbath is to be devoted to the LORD (e.g. Ex 31.12-17; Jub. 2; Rev 4.11; 11.17), the heavenly choir “sings a new song” (καὶ ἔδοξεν ὁ δήν καινὴν; cf. Rev 14.3) as part of its liturgy that includes the lamb in its praises: “You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals, for you were slaughtered and by your blood you ransomed for God saints from every tribe and language and people and nation you have made them to be a kingdom and priests serving our God, and they will reign on earth (cf. Rev 20.6; 11.15).” This whole scene and performance of this heavenly, Sabbath worship affirms the earthly community’s (i.e. “holy ones”) “endurance” (ὑπομονὴ) in their practices and devotion to Jesus in that their prayers are accepted through the mediation of angel and are sanctified by the

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363 See Schäfer, 104, and possibilities cited there.
364 This emulation of praise is also evident in a “liturgical invitation” that links the “saints” to the cosmic praise: “Rejoice over her, O heaven, you saints and apostles and prophets! For God has given judgment for you against her” (Rev 18.20).
365 The “lamb” is already revealed in chapter 1 as the “son of man” (Rev 1.13) but is not associated with the throne and temple until chapter 5.
366 Cf. Rev 15.3: “And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb” (καὶ ἔδοξεν τὴν ὀδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου).
367 Cf. Rev 1.6 “a kingdom, priests serving God;” Ex 19.6. Furthermore the title of κύριος is initially associated with God (Rev 1.8; 4.11) but is also applied to Jesus (Rev 11.8; 22.21). The book is not consistent or systematic with respect to the use of κύριος as the LORD and messiah are separate in some instances (Rev 11.15) while the term is applied to an interpreting elder (Rev 7.14).
lamb’s obedience (Rev 5.8-10). Furthermore when John sees the lamb take the scroll from the hand of the one on the throne, the four living creatures and the elders all before him “each holding a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints” (Rev 5.8; cf. 8.4). The musical and sacrificial elements, including the likening of prayer sanctified practitioners (“holy ones” - oí ἡγιασμένοι) to the offering of incense, here reflect the cultic background and embodied practice associated with worship Sabbath (see chapter 2). What accentuates the special meaning of this liturgical union is that it becomes apparent that the “new” song is something that only angels and the sanctified humans learn (cf. Rev 14.3: καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο μαθεῖν τὴν ὠδὴν εἰ μὴ οἱ ἐκατόν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες. οἱ ἠγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. The song of the elders and the prayers of the saints in chapter 5 are to be linked to 144,000 in 14.1-5 and 7.4-8, which are to be identified as obedient Jews (as opposed to Christians). In Revelation’s redemptive scheme, John’s “holy ones” are keepers of the commandments and practitioners of proper worship to God with the lamb, a view that is affirmed in the joining with heavenly worship through liturgical performance and confirmed by thousands upon thousands of angels who proclaim with “full voice” (λέγοντες φωνῆ μεγάλη-Rev 5.11-14).

Another example of the union of human ritual practice and the eternal heavenly praise appears in Revelation 7.4-17. The vision appears to take place at the same “time” in heaven as in the vision of chapters 4-5 with a similar cast of characters: the living creatures, elders and angels (Rev 7.11; cf. 4.4-11). Furthermore, even though the action taking place in this vision happens on earth, it is linked to the throne room scene and the seven seals starting in chapter 5. Unlike the previous worship scene, however, human worshipers (the “holy ones” - Rev 5.8) become

368 Cf. Rev 15.2-4. Here those who have endured in order to conquer the beast take up harps as sing a song of praise to the LORD that is “the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb.”

369 Cf. Rev 2.7: “to everyone who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give a white stone, and on the white stone is written a new name that no one knows except the one who receives it.”

370 Marshall 2001, 149-155. Many source critics have deemed 14.1-5 to be of Jewish (as opposed Christian) origin while fewer have accepted the same for 7.4-8. 7.9-17 is attributed to a Jewish (Vischer) or Christian (Völter) author but in either case the passage was added after the Jewish war.

371 The lamb/Jesus’ association with the LORD.

372 On the temporal ambiguity of this scene of worship, see Ulfgard, 259.
more involved with the heavenly choir and are identified as 144,000 sealed out of the tribes of Israel (Rev 7.4) that are at same time joined with a great multitude of the nations (Rev 7.9; cf. 5.9). Ulfgard argues that these chosen and sanctified are in some way experiencing present blessing but are still awaiting full communion with the heavenly host that only occurs at the end of the book. While this may be, the temporal and spatial relationship between those on earth and those in heaven is embodied in the midst of liturgical performance; the human performers “cry out” (κράζουσιν) with a loud voice in support of God and the lamb - “salvation belongs to our God who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb” - to which the heavenly forces around the throne respond in affirmation: “Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen” (Rev 7.10-12). This cry functions as a “liturgical invitation” to which the angelic worshippers respond with song as part of praise the likes of which would occur during the Sabbath: “And all the angels stood around the throne and around the elders and the four living creatures, and they fell on their faces before the throne and worshiped God, singing, “Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen” (Rev 7.11-12; cf. Shirot). The re-performance of this liturgical scene embodied the human community’s sense of identity and communally strengthened their conviction that their endurance was and would be rewarded. Indeed, it is the performance and simulation of experience occurring in the processing of liturgical ritual that configures the religious disposition and belief of the participants.

The earthly and heavenly communion is further accentuated in the following dialogue between John and one of elders (Rev 7.13-17). The elder highlights “those dressed in white” (οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς) who initiated the praise with the heavenly host with a rhetorical question to the seer and are identified as those who have washed their robes in the blood of the lamb. If similar references of loyalty and “testimony” (μαρτυρία) of the lamb

373 On the identity of the 144,000 as constituting both faithful Jews and Gentiles, see Marshall 2001, 149-163.
374 Ulfgard, 259.
375 Note also the seven (i.e. sabbatical) elements in this blessing.
go hand in hand with devotion to Jewish law, then the ones clothed in white are those of John’s audience who are challenged throughout the book to adhere to Jewish practices including praise and blessing on the Sabbath. Because of their conduct, they are able to orchestrate the angelic praise and ultimately join together with the heavenly chorus: “for this reason they are before the throne of God, and worship him day and night within his temple, and the one who is seated on the throne will shelter them” (Rev 7.15). Thus the human worshippers, who are presumably identified with the 144,000 of Israel (7.4) and subsequently the ὅχλος πολύς (7.9) before the throne are characterized as participants in the eternal Sabbath service both in the eschatological future (i.e. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης; Rev 7.14) and proleptically in the earthly, ritual performance of the text on the Sabbath.

In addition to the Sabbath practices expected of the “holy ones” and continuously performed in heaven, Revelation associates these liturgical scenes in the heavenly temple/new Jerusalem. These have a temporal as well as spatial aspect: the new, heavenly sanctuary envisioned in chapters 3-5 (e.g. Rev 3.12) is “constructed” over the course of the prophetic narrative (chapters 6-22; e.g. 21.2; cf. 11.19) and the “holy ones” are ultimately included in its constitution; the eternal temple is gradually revealed in John’s visions and his audience is enlightened as to their role in this process as incumbent on endurance (e.g. Rev 14.12) and “conquering” (νικῶν) i.e. keeping the commandments and the testimony of Jesus (Rev 12.17; 14.12). A central passage in this respect is found in the letters to the seven churches (Rev 2-3). In the letter to Philadelphia, the “one like the son of man” (Rev 1.13) tells the church there:

“I am coming soon; hold fast to what you have, so that no one may seize your crown. If you conquer (Ὁ νικῶν), I will make you a pillar in the temple of my God; you will never go out of it. I will write on you the name of my God, and the

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377 The constant worship (i.e. “day and night”) in the heavenly temple indicates that it is Sabbath “all of the time” in heaven.
378 Cf. Elgvin, 261.
380 Cf. Rev 1.9; 2.2, 19; 3.10; 13.10.
name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem that comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name (Rev 3.11-12)⁴³¹

Similarly in chapter 19, a multitude of voices proclaim that the righteous saints are to become the majestic adornment for the “bride” (i.e. the new Jerusalem – Rev 21.2)⁴³² in the final period on account of their endurance and conquering in “righteous deeds” (τὰ δικαιώματα): “Let us rejoice and exult and give him the glory, for the marriage of the Lamb has come, and his bride has made herself ready; to her it has been granted to be clothed with fine linen, bright and pure”— for the fine linen is the righteous deeds (τὰ δικαιώματα) of the saints” (Rev 19.7-8). The τὰ δικαιώματα, which can also be translated as “regulations” or “commandments,” is analogous to the “keeping of the commandments” (οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς – Rev 14.12; cf. 12.17) and thus the metaphor of “fine linen” is reflective of obedience in performing the commandments and its rewards. These passages capture one of the central arguments of the book and ongoing process of “furnishing” the new temple: those committed to the LORD and maintain the commandments and devotion to the testimony of Jesus (i.e. Rev 3.11 “hold fast to what you have” - κράτει ὅ ἔχεις)⁴³³ become part of the refurbished temple and its eternal service (cf. 16.7; 9.13), never to be excluded from the “new” city from heaven (cf. 21.2, 10).⁴³⁴

As part of the encouragement to endure and remain faithful to the commandments of God, John witnesses some of the saints that have already become part of the heavenly liturgy and sanctuary. In chapter 6, John sees the opening of the fifth seal: “I saw under the altar the souls of those who

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³⁸¹ An analogue between the saints and proper temple worship on one hand and the those who have conquered and become part of the heavenly temple is found in chapter 11 with the measurement of the holy city: “then I was given a measuring rod like a staff, and I was told, “Come and measure the temple of God and the altar and those who worship there” (Rev 11.1).

³⁸² “And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.”

³⁸³ Cf. Rev 6.9: “those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given.” See also Rev 17.14: “the Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings, and those with him are called and chosen and faithful.”

³⁸⁴ The ultimate union of transformed human and angelic force occurs in yet another liturgical moment in the book. In the midst of the vision of the seven bowls of wrath (Rev 16.1-21), the “throne” responds in affirmation of the judgment meted out on account of the shedding of the blood of the saints and the prophets (16.6-7). The throne is linked with the saints themselves, who are promised a seat if they conquer (3.21; cf. 7.9).
had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given” (Rev 6.9). These “holy ones,” who give testimony to God through their acts of keeping of the commandments, are admitted to the inner sanctuary and into the presence of the altar;\textsuperscript{385} the altar and sacrificial metaphor reflect the desired disposition of “keeping the commandments and testimony of Jesus” in that undefiled adherents (i.e. sacrifices) are accepted into the divine presence i.e. the heavenly temple (cf. Rev 2.14, 20; 2.6).\textsuperscript{386} Their slaughter, however, is not an end so much as a beginning to their inclusion in the divine service as amplified in the progression of the narrative. The slaughtered here are “each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number would be complete both of their fellow servants and of their brothers and sisters” (Rev 6.11) and hint at a self-referential message of endurance for the those on earth who participate in the heavenly praise.\textsuperscript{387} This scene along with its continuation in chapter 7 reflects John’s audience’s simulated and embodied experience of the future rewards for obedience in the face of trials and current union with the heavenly, righteous forces in the ritual performance of the apocalypse.

Further on in chapter 8, the prayers of the saints go up to God with the incense offered by an angel on a golden altar (8.3-4; cf. 5.1) and in subsequent events, this golden altar is sanctified by the faithful witnesses who engage in the deployment of angelic forces as a response to the saints’ prayers and so blurs the line between the “voices” of angels and saints, the latter of which are associated with the heavenly temple already and not yet: “Then the sixth angel blew his trumpet, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar before God, saying to the sixth angel who had the trumpet, ‘Release the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates’” (Rev 9.13-14; cf. 14.18). The voice described here could be that of the LORD but the voice clearly originates from the altar that is before God: καὶ ἔκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν [τεσσάρων] κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. Furthermore, God and Jesus do not speak in the third person so some commands for the angels are coming from other


\textsuperscript{386} In a true inversion of the order of “this world,” the potential sacrifice of the holy ones and the holy city (Rev 11.2) is ultimately replaced with the “offering” of the “great city” (i.e. Rome) in chapter 18.

\textsuperscript{387} The “white robe” (στολὴ λευκὴ) parallels those given to the 144,000 περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκὰς assembled in the next chapter (7.9).
beings (e.g. Rev 16.1). Thus the liturgical narrative connects the earthly prayers of saints to the voices of angels and those who have been obedient to the point of death (i.e. Rev 6.9) and affirms the saints’ redemption as “priests” in the face of their trials if they hold fast to the commandments and the lamb.

4.5 Conclusion

In the major texts studied here, the Sabbath and attendant practices are in different ways characterized as a time of or occasion for communion with the holy angels and realized through the performance of Sabbath worship. In Jubilees, the heavenly practice of Sabbath is revealed to Israel so that they alone may in effect temporarily produce heaven on earth. While in the Qumran texts the communion with angels is described in different ways, the Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice constitute a liturgical ritual through which the Yahad performers grow in knowledgeable reflection on the working of angelic worship. The human performers’ experience is one where communitas is created in the “vision” of the heavenly realms and between earthy participants through their acknowledgment of their limitations but also their striving for perfection. The progression of the Shirot functions as a metaphor for the human performers to understand their socio-liturgical journey as “priests,” from their commissioning on through their attainment of covenant and full identification as a priesthood. Finally in Revelation, the seer’s audience finds communion with angelic choirs on the Sabbath, which functions as the overall setting of the visions. Through obedience to the Jewish commandments including Sabbath worship, the earthly community’s continued performance of the heavenly hymns simultaneously unites them with the eternal worship that acknowledges the LORD’s and the lamb’s already realized victory and the future promise of redemption for those who hold fast despite the calamities that they endured during the Jewish War.

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388 Cf. Mekhilta de Rabbi-Ishmael, Shabbata 1.38-41: “‘that I am the LORD who sanctifies you.’ In the future world (עולם הבא), which is characterized by the kind of holiness possessed by the Sabbath of this world.”
5 Conclusions

In the foregoing chapters, I have examined select aspects of Sabbath practice in ancient Judaism and have illustrated how the ritualization of stopping work and offering praise to God were vital to the conceptualization of the Sabbath. Furthermore, I have argued that the performance of some Sabbath rituals functioned as mental simulations that, grounded in embodied experiences, were capable of creating religious experiences of communing with divine parties. One of the values of this study is the use of the theoretical frameworks of ritual studies and embodied cognition in the analysis of ancient, literary material. In many ways, a substantial temporal and cultural divide obscures the study of ancient Judaism as much as the presentation of the idealization of practices in texts. While aspects of cultural and social difference often make the modern interpreter’s task more difficult, recourse to embodied cognition enables scholarship to connect with the thought of the past through the common, bodily foundations of knowledge and meaning. Thus when we nowadays take our vacations from work or school and move/perceive/experience through different activities that distinguish the temporality of “vacation” from that of the “daily grind,” we can begin to appreciate how the performance (or suspension) of certain activities on the Sabbath distinguish it as a “holy” day different from the previous six and how this creates different modes of thought and disposition (“rest” versus “stress”).

Certainly the adherents that practiced the Sabbath in one way or another did not see their activity in this way; they conceived of Sabbath practices as commandments from God to perform or saw the seventh day as a time when they should worship with their angelic counterpart. At the same time, the analysis of the evidence through embodied cognition shows that that Sabbath was only experienced or known through the performance of Sabbath practice.\(^{389}\) For many of the traditions studied, the people’s identity as “Israel” (however this is defined) is only realized through the repeated performance of different Sabbath rites and habits; the Sabbath is only Sabbath if the people keep it. Furthermore, this dissertation shows that while a physical place is often important to the performance of the Sabbath, it is not necessarily essential. On the other

\(^{389}\) Cf. Barsalou 2005, 47: “The primary function of repeated mundane rituals may be to establish this new conceptual system. The accompanying embodiments may be tailored to this goal.”
hand, what is always necessary is the ritualized activity, which distinguishes the “time” of the Sabbath and the liturgical intervals of “time out of time.”
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