

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
SABBATH IN THE BIBLE AND IN THE
BIBLICAL PERIOD.

by

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY SAINTED FATHER,
HENRY J. FEINBERG,
WHO IN DEATH AS IN LIFE HAS
EVER BEEN A GUIDE AND INSPIRATION.

Preface.

In this study of the origin and development of the Sabbath in the Bible and biblical period, we shall adhere to the limits set by our title. First of all, we shall attempt to determine the origin of the institution as far as available sources enable us, and to delineate the concepts prevalent among the ancient Hebrews, which contributed to the genesis of the Sabbath and its early character. After consideration of the original nature of the day either as a borrowed or indigenous product, we shall treat of the earliest views of the Sabbath as revealed in the authentic, pre-exilic passages of the Scriptures. We shall deal with the development of the institution through its various stages as evidenced in the successive Pentateuchal codes, the earlier and later prophets (both before and after 586 B.C.E.), through Nehemiah's reforms of 432 B.C.E., down to the strict Sabbatarianism of the Priestly Code of the fourth century.

The problem of the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath is almost a moot one. There are a variety of possibilities as to the natal home of the holy day. We shall avoid a long discussion of similar days among Israel's neighbors as it would take us too far afield in the first place; and in the second place as Prof. George Foot Moore remarks, "an exploration of the antecedents of the Jewish Sabbath and of analogous customs or institutions among

other races is irrelevant." Perhaps that will be the ultimate conclusion we shall reach after an investigation of the origins of the Sabbath. Or perhaps we may find that Prof. Moore has overstated the case and that similarities and analogies which do exist may be due, if not to the derivation of the Hebrew Sabbath from a similar institution on another people, then to a common source perhaps more closely approximated by the cult day of that foreign culture. In this light it is our task to survey briefly the following possibilities concerning the Hebrew Sabbath: (1) As native to Egypt and having been adopted during Israel's sojourn; (2) as having been taken over from the Canaanites at the time of Israel's settlement; (3) as originating in Babylonian and having been introduced in remote antiquity or as a result of contact in the biblical period; (4) as arising among the Kenites along with the Yahweh cult which was the basis of Mosaic religion. We shall consider in treating the problem the two biblical verses that have been adduced to explain the origin of the day that assumed such great significance in Israel's history.

After treating the question of whether the Sabbath as a cult day had its origin outside of the Hebrew religion, we shall deal with those concepts in early Semitic or Hebraic ideology that made the Jewish Sabbath a distinctively Jewish institution and product apart from foreign analogies. It will be readily seen that these ancient Hebrew notions and ideas contributed considerably to the early concept of the Sabbath day. Basing

ourselves principally on the researches of two men who have delved deeply into the question of Semitic origins, we shall attempt to arrive at a true picture of the original character of the institution without consideration of its later and better known significance.

We shall then be in a position to trace the story of the Sabbath as a constantly changing and modified picture in the various periods of biblical history.

Our historical treatment can for purposes of clarity and organization, be divided up into one broad and inclusive division and two lesser ones. The first traces the progressive development of the Sabbath day, its ideology, legislation and observance through the various periods and strata of the Bible. For purposes of convenience this purely historical treatment is divided into five successive though intimately related periods: (1) the pre-exilic; (2) the Babylonian exile; (3) the period of Jewish life in Palestine following the first return (539) through the calamitous days of 485; (4) the administrations of Nehemiah as governor of Judea; (5) and the days of the Priestly writings, and the Chronicler at the close of the fourth century. We shall endeavor to delineate within these historical settings the religious or cult conceptions and the later social and humanitarian notions underlying the successive stages of the Sabbath's development, i.e. as an inauspicious, ill-starred day of cessation and propitiation, as a day of rest and religious convocation, as a day dedicated to Yahweh, as a day of

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high ethical and humanitarian motivations arising out of Yahweh's providence or example. The nature and basis of these changes in the concept of the Sabbath will become clear in our discussion of the legislation of the earliest documentary codes, of Deuteronomy, of Ezekiel, of Nehemiah's reforms, and of the Priestly Code. This study of the Sabbath touching the people as it did in their religious, economic and communal lives, must necessarily include a consideration of penalties and sanctions for infractions of the Sabbath laws and of the observance of the day in both its positive and negative aspects.

This brings us to our two lesser approaches to the Sabbath as its development is traced in the body of our paper. (1) The first is the positive nature of Sabbath observance in the biblical period. Outside of proscribed acts, how was the day actually spent? Its manner of observance is not described directly in the Bible. There are verses, however, from which the positive nature of the day both before and after 586 B.C.E. may be inferred. (2) Secondly, to what degree was the Sabbath, whatever its observance involved, actually observed by Jews. Here, too, direct statements lacking, we shall have to draw our conclusions from the persistence of Sabbatarian notions among the masses on the one hand, and the apparent disparity between ordinance^{and} practice on the other. From this data, we may arrive at a comprehensive, though unquestionably incomplete picture of the institution which has been one of the distinctive marks of the

Jew throughout the ages.

Because a contemporary literature can never reveal the projection of its ideas into the future nor the continuation or persistence of institutions dear to its age, we have appended sections dealing with the Sabbath in the last centuries prior to, and in the first centuries of, the common era. The first deals with the holy day as reflected in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the second with the Sabbath legislation of the Mishnah. In these two literatures of strict Sabbatarian tendency the persistence, developed application, and re-interpretation of the biblical ideas on the Sabbath are evident.

At the outset the kind indulgence of the reader is begged both in the matter of treatment and approach to the subject. The multifarious and complex problems that the writing of each section involved often exceeded our training or ingenuity to cope with them. Disregarding for a moment our relative inexperience in the realm of higher criticism, there are two additional factors that made our study one of difficulty. First within the vast bulk of secondary literature on the Hebrew Sabbath, no attempt has been made to treat the subject on the basis of the latest critical finds, especially in terms of the biblical codes, reflecting successive periods of development. Second, to add to the perplexities of our novitiate, little or no agreement among scholars was found to exist in the matter of dating or interpretation of the biblical passages dealing with the Sabbath or the strata in which they were found. Often whole books of the Bible, or whole

periods of history had to be studied minutely before we were able to discuss a few scattered verses appertaining to them. It is with these reservations and with much trepidation that this study is offered to the reader.

Adolph J. Heinberg.

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5. The Saturn-Kenite Theory.
6. Summary and Conclusions as to Origin.
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1. The Question of Origins.

If we examine the Old Testament in quest of the origin of the Sabbath, we find that tradition has preserved no definite information on the subject. Several passages may be adduced to indicate the origin of the institution which was destined to become central in the cult. But critical study shows them to be later rationalizations or unfounded interpretations of a long established institution, the true origin of which was unknown or had become obscured. Gen. 2:2-3 tells us that the Sabbath was instituted by Yahweh at the very foundation of the world. The Sabbath was a memorial of the Deity's rest, the oldest religious institution of mankind, ordained after the six days of creation.¹ Deut. 5:15, on the other hand, maintains that the Sabbath was ordained as a day of rest for servants as well as master in commemoration of Israel's servitude in Egypt and their remarkable Exodus from the land of their enslavement. That neither reason can represent the true origin of the Sabbath institution is self-evident for the introduction of the concepts involved in these verses arises much later, as we shall discuss in subsequent sections. It is obvious in the first place that these explanations are contradictory if not mutually exclusive. At any rate we know that Sabbath as an observance must date from a time prior to the writing of these texts and perhaps prior to the composition of any of the Biblical codes, as legislation concerning a folk practice always arises after that folkway or institution has become established

or at least is already in existence.²

Other Biblical verses likewise bear witness that the Sabbath is an ancient and time-honored custom. It is mentioned in the books of the earliest literary prophets, in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and possibly in Jeremiah.³ It occurs in II Kings 4:23, (considered by many as the Sabbath's earliest historical reference), in such a manner as to indicate that it was a day of long standing. Legislation that dates, furthermore, from the beginning of the ninth century⁴ and in part at least perhaps back to the Mosaic period includes the Sabbath in its scope.⁵ We should, therefore, look beyond Bible times into the remote origins of the Hebrew people and their religious life, and into the cultures of the early peoples surrounding the Hebrews. This procedure should explain the nature of analogous institutions of other peoples in connection with the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath, even if it should fail to show the direct source of the Israelite observance itself.

George Foot Moore and others, feeling this procedure irrelevant, find in the Sabbath a unique religious occasion that bears no reference to similar rest days of other ancient peoples. The prohibition or interdiction of certain acts on special occasions are common to all planes of culture and have their place on all ancient calendars. The Israelites alone having developed the Sabbath as we know it, other peoples should not figure in a study of the Sabbath institution.⁶ It was indeed a unique contribution of Israel's spiritual genius, particularly endowing the observance with ethical and

social content and of making it Yahweh's day and a sign of Israel's covenant with the one universal God.⁷

But despite the worthy opinion of the eminent authority in the field of Rabbinic Judaism, volumes have been written which show the relationships between Semitic, Assyrian, Egyptian, and other ancient oriental cultures. A comparative study of analogous institutions of neighboring peoples will aid our inquiry in two ways. First, it can offer a possible if not actual source for the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath; and second, the development and history of analogous observances can throw light on similar evolution of the Israelite institution.

Various theories, scientific and pseudo-scientific, have been propounded by writers and scholars treating the Sabbath as having stemmed from one or another of the ancient peoples with whom Israel had contact. This is due to the prevailing concensus of opinion to the effect that the Hebrews manifested so little originality in cultural matters and borrowed heavily from their neighbors. Thus it is natural to assume that the Sabbath and the seven day week arose outside of Israel.⁸ The literature on the Sabbath question is so voluminous that even before the days of scientific investigation of the Bible, a large, two-volume work was published which contained a mere bibliography and brief excerpts of the more important writings up to that time, 1865.⁹ The more recent theories of Sabbath origin concern the Egyptians, the Canaanites, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Kenites, and the worship of Saturn. Because a min-

ute and detailed investigation might not only prove fruitless, but take us too far afield, we shall merely consider these views in broad outline which should be adequate for our purpose. Much significance is to be attached to the Kenite theory and possibly also to the Babylonian, as we shall see. The first inquiry should give us an understanding of the problem on the basis of the source for the Yahweh cult, and the second should enable us to deal with possible analogies or counterparts to the Biblical Sabbath in the voluminous literature on ancient Babylonian and Assyrian cult and customs.

2. Egypt as the Home of the Sabbath.

On the basis of the passage associating the Sabbath with the Exodus from Egypt, Deut. 5:15, it has been contended that the institution may have been imported from Egypt and somehow the tradition of that adopted custom persisted into Deuteronomic times or later.¹⁰ John Spencer, an eminent cleric of the seventeenth century and Dean of Ely argued that Egypt was the source of the Sabbath since various Old Testament passages point to adoption of Egyptian ways and explain the institution as a commemoration of the Exodus.¹¹ There were on the Egyptian calendar certain unfavorable or inauspicious days somewhat in the manner of the well-known umu limnu of the Babylonians¹² and the better known dies nefasti of the Romans, when it was forbidden to approach fire, (compare Ex. 35:3 and Num. 15:32-36)^{13a} to leave the house, or to do manual labor.¹³ That the god Ra rested on the particular day in question, was the reason sometimes given.¹⁴ (Compare Gen. 2:2-3). These things are strongly reminiscent of Biblical legislation about the Sabbath. But when we realize that the Sabbath is intimately connected with the seven-day week (there being no conclusive proof to the contrary),¹⁵ this theory has no value in the light of the fact that the Egyptians had a ten-day week.¹⁶ The Hebrew Sabbath and the seven-day week¹⁷ could not have been carried over from Egypt because the cycle of the week would allow no such abrupt difference. If the Sabbath were borrowed from Egypt, the ten-day weekly cycle would have been taken over along

with it. This was not so, however; and the Egyptians never had a shorter cycle of time in the division of the month than the decade for civil purposes.¹⁸

3. Canaan as the Original Home of the Sabbath.

The theory that Israel borrowed the Sabbath from the agricultural Canaanites, who in turn may have gotten it from the Babylonians, would seem at first glance more logical than the Egyptian theory.¹⁹ The argument is readily summarized: Israel could have had no use for the Sabbath as a nomadic people in the pre-Canaanite wanderings. Nomadic life would not permit neglect of flocks and herds one day out of seven as the Sabbath would entail.²⁰ Sheep and cattle need constant care, need to be pastured, watered and watched daily. And a Sabbath observance during the nomadic period would have meant neglect of livestock to a degree not consonant with their well being. Thus it would seem more logical that the institution had its origin in post-pastoral days, and that the Israelites borrowed from their Canaanitic neighbors the Sabbath along with other agricultural festivals and cult practises. Perhaps the indifference or antagonism that the pre-exilic prophets like Hosea (2:11-13), Isaiah (1:13), Amos (8:5) manifested toward the Sabbath and other cult days may have been due to their origin in Canaanitic or Baal practises. Such would be particularly the implication of Hosea's harangue, of which we shall have more to say later. There can be little doubt, furthermore, that much civil legislation and the three agricultural festivals: Maṣṣoth, Qaṣir, and Asif were adopted from Canaan.

This is consistent with the theory held by Wellhausen and others that the Sabbath cannot be pre-Canaanitic for it "presupposes agriculture, and a hard-pressed

working-day life."²¹ But as we have intimated already the Bible seems to show that the Sabbath was older than the Canaanitic period. Fully half of the places in the Bible where the Sabbath is mentioned in the legislation of the various codes,²² in the Ethical Decalogue, in the Priestly Code, (Ex. 31:12ff.) in the Holiness Code, (Lev. 19:30) and in the Deuteronomic Code, (Deut. 5:12f.) show by tradition that the observance is very ancient, certainly Mosaic or earlier. There is no reason to question that Moses was not the first to introduce the Sabbath, writes Budde, but that he found it already existent, and merely laid emphasis upon it. Expressions like *לֵאמֹר אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *לֵאמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* presuppose something already familiar to the Israelites of early Canaanitic days. This being true, the Sabbath antedates the time of Moses, or at least the time of the nationhood of Israel as a settled people, and goes back into the period of the loosely bound Israelite tribes.²³ It must be said, however, in all fairness to the theory of Canaanitic origin of the Sabbath, that Budde's claims as to the antiquity of the observance on the basis of late biblical verses are somewhat tenuous. Nowhere does the Old Testament state specifically that the Sabbath was known to the people during the sojourn in Egypt, for example; or was observed in the desert with the exception of Ex. 16, the vv. mentioning the Sabbath, usually being adjudged late (P). The expression *לֵאמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* is post-exilic and it is likely that so is Ex. 20:8. Furthermore, the ten-

dency on the part of biblical writers of post-exilic times to project contemporary institutions into the period of the nation's or even the world's genesis is well known. It is thus as possible on the basis of internal evidence alone for the Sabbath to be no older than the early Canaanitic period of Israelite history.

Budde states on the basis of external evidence that it is an untenable if not impossible conclusion to hold that the Sabbath had its origin among the Canaanites.²⁴ In Canaanitic customs there is no trace of the Sabbath or even an analogous institution. We find in Nehemiah 13:17-21 that the Jewish leader was forced to close the gates of Jerusalem, for example, in order to keep the Canaanites from entering and selling their wares on the Sabbath. Although this bit of evidence deals with the later Canaanites²⁵ of the last half of the fifth century and we have little available information about the ancient Canaanites, we have abundant data regarding their contemporary kinsmen the Phoenicians, who spread over the Mediterranean basin as far as Spain and Gaul. In these related cultures there is not the slightest indication of the Sabbath; and nothing to the contrary is to be found anywhere in Israel's early environment.²⁶

As against the theory of Canaanite origin of the Sabbath, it is worthy of mention that the nature of early Sabbath observance²⁷ did not necessitate refraining from the use or care of beasts of burden, which would make it difficult to abstain from work in a

pastoral economy. II Kings 4:23 shows that the Sabbath of the ninth century (and before), rather than being a day on which one could not care for animals, was one on which one could employ the labor of animals and slaves in making a journey. A Sabbath of this type, which did not mean abstinence from all forms of labor, could have been observed as easily in the nomadic period as in the settled community. The early nature of the Sabbath gives us no reason to believe that the institution could not have come to us from Israel's nomadic wanderings. At any rate, there is as little or less proof of its origin in Caananitic practise or observance.

Mesopotamia as the Original Home of
the Sabbath.

That there may be a connection between Babylonian and Hebrew customs is intimated in the Bible not only by the accounts of the exile to Babylonia, but also because the first of the patriarchs has his ancestral home in Ur of the Chaldees. The wealth of material on Babylonian and Assyrian life and culture drew the attention of students of the Bible to institutions of these people, that are similar to the Sabbath of Israel and possibly connected with it. That there was such a connection was first shown in a scientific way by Lotz in 1883.²⁸ This theory is based largely on a cuneiform inscription²⁹ wherein is found the equation:

um nuh libbi = ša-pat-tum

which means literally:

Day of rest of the heart = šapattum.

Offhand it would seem that the Babylonians observed a regular day of rest that was recognized by the people in general, and that this day was called by a term that was very similar to the Hebrew word שַׁבָּת. This term being found, however, on a lexicographical list and not on a literary or religious text cast some doubt on the cult significance of the concept. Business documents of all periods showed, furthermore, that the seventh day never required interruption of normal activities, if the šapattum might be considered a seventh day of rest in direct analogy with the Sabbath.³⁰ But

other terms in religious texts such as um bubbuli, day of rest; um nubatti, day of distress; show that šapattum or šapattu, as most inscriptions read, may conversely have been in the religious nomenclature.³¹

There were also published texts of cuneiform inscriptions upon which were written that the 7, 14, 19,³² 21, and 28 of the Month of Ellul II, an intercalated month,³³ were ume limnuti, days of ill-omen, sinister and inauspicious days. On these days the exact nature of the observance is not known;³⁴ there were, however, certain prohibitions of specific activity by definite people:

VII. day (nubattum to Marduk and Zarpanitum)
 Evil day. The shepherd (king or high priest?) of the great people-
 Flesh, which is cooked upon coal, meats which fire (have come in contact) shall he not eat,
 he shall not change his coat, he shall not put on clean garments,
 He shall pour no libation, the king shall not ascend into a chariot!
 he shall not speak as a ruler, no decision shall be made, in the secret place
 no oracle shall speak,
 the physician shall not lay his hand upon the sick,
 the day is not suitable for any business,
 (By night-at break of day-the king shall bring his sacrifice,
 Pour libation-and the lifting up of his hands shall be acceptable to God). 35

That the Babylonian Seven-day differs from the Hebrew Sabbath in calendation is readily apparent when we realize that the Babylonian computation has in its sequence a nineteenth day which would give five "Sabbaths" to the month. There is, furthermore, no record which shows that the Seven-days marked regular hebdomadal divisions throughout the entire year. Rather it seems to have existed only in Ellul II, (and possibly

also Marheshwan) intercalated after the sixth month. But more importantly, although we have not dealt with the nature of the Israelite Sabbath as yet, it must be apparent in this connection that the Babylonian Seven-day is something quite different.³⁶ The Babylonian day was exclusively one of evil or ill-omen, during which it was necessary to palliate the gods, as over against the joyous nature of the Biblical Sabbath, whatever other significance it may also have had, amply attested to by a number of Biblical texts. That it was natural for the Babylonian Seven-day to be one of atonement and purification and palliation arises out of the occult nature of the number seven, as we shall note later.³⁷ The peculiar interdictions of the Seven-day would tend to approach the 39 prohibitions essential to Sabbath observance in Mishnaic times, more than the simple injunctions of the Biblical Sabbath, if any analogy whatsoever might be drawn. There seems to be prohibition against holding of state occasions, changing of apparel, eating of meat prepared with fire, riding in a chariot, consulting the oracle, and treating the sick; actions all of which are fraught with mystical elements or are distinctly the result of some association with the gods. These activities are interdicted because they would meet with failure on these "unlucky" days, which are so reminiscent of the dies nefasti of Roman times. In the early days of the Sabbath's development there can be no doubt that there was a similarity of ideology between Israel's ^{seventh day} and the Babylonian Seven-day. The Sabbath

as a taboo day of fear and ill-omen, as we shall see later, had led to the conclusion of a Babylonian source for the Hebrew observance. Late vv. against kindling fires, (Ex. 35:3), gathering manna, or cooking, (Ex. 16:22ff.), or leaving the house, (Ex. 16:29), are taken to be indicative of the late persistence of the Sabbath as an inauspicious day like the Babylonian one. These restrictions on the Sabbath, however, were prohibitions to Israel as a whole; whereas the Babylonian interdictions applied merely to those individual leaders of the people who were in a better position to intercede with and palliate the gods. That the one concrete prohibition against the king's ascending his chariot, which would mean an abstinence from travel, did not prevail in Israel, we have already had occasion to note in connection with the proposed trip of the Shunammite woman of the ninth century.³⁸

But to return to our original point of departure. Šapattu does not mean a seventh day, nor do the Babylonian Seven-days which occur only in special months have the same significance as the Israelite Sabbath. But how about the idea of rest stated in "um nuh libbi," the lexicographical explanation for Šapattu? But here too our expected analogy tends to break down. The phrase does not convey the meaning of "rest" in the conventional sense. Later finds displaying religious inscriptions from the Nineveh libraries wherein um nuh libbi was used frequently, showed that the expression never meant or referred to a day of cessation from labor

but one of appeasing the anger of the deities. Like the Babylonian Seven-days, these šapattum or šapattu days were endowed with some ominous character. These days were not wholly evil. Observance of the proper precautions could make them favorable. If the heart of the deity could be "rested", i.e. appeased, good fortune would be assured. It is well known that the heart and other internal organs were considered the seat of intellect by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews and other ancient peoples.³⁹ "The day of rest of the heart," says Jastrow, "was simply a technical term for a day of pacification....one on which it was hoped that the angered deity would cease from manifesting his displeasure."⁴⁰

The term šapattum still remained a difficulty, since although it could not be identified with the Hebrew Sabbath nor could it be completely determined in Babylonian calendation, it seemed to be etymologically at least related to the word šap and still more to the word šap.⁴¹ The discovery of a lexicographical tablet and its being published in 1904 by T. G. Pinches,⁴² solved the problem of date and frequency of šapattum in the Babylonian calendar.⁴³ In this tablet it was found that the fifteenth day of every month was called šapatti or šapattu. The obvious conclusion is that among the Babylonians the šapattum meant a period of the full moon. This conclusion is bolstered by the fact that the verb šapatu is a synonym for gamaru meaning to "complete, or be full".⁴⁴ Thus šapattum becomes a time when the moon is complete or full. So from our

original equation, we may now state that the period of the full moon in Babylon meant the propitiation of the gods. This does not mean, of course, that there could have been no connection between the šapattum and the seventh day Sabbath of Israel, but that the institutions were of a different calculation, and possibly nature, is obvious. Pinches concludes that the root of שָׁבַט is non-Semitic in origin and rather than Babylonia having borrowed the term from the Semites, the converse is likely true. The Hebrews, he writes, applied the term to the "seventh-day," the "evil day" of the people of Akkad, making it, however, infinitely more strict, as well as strictly hebdomadal.... Word and institution were therefore Akkadian in their origin, but Hebrew in their application."⁴⁵ But Pinches's word is by no means final in this regard. Clay, in a study of some ten years later, holds that not only did Israel not take over the Akkadian "word and institution"; but that the very name for the šapattum, "the fifteenth day of the month was of West Semitic origin!"⁴⁶

The Etymology of the Word שָׁבַט.

Perhaps a word on the etymology of the Hebrew word שָׁבַט would not be out of place in making a comparison with the Babylonian term, šapattum. שָׁבַט is explained as the noun form of the verb שָׁבַט which means in its primary meaning "to cease, complete", and secondarily or in its later meaning "to rest".⁴⁷ To Meinhold the meaning of "to cease, be finished" is not only the primary meaning but the only possible one for early

Israelitish history, for by שָׁבַע he sees "completed or full moon", just as עֶרְבָּה is "new shining" or "new moon". The meaning of rest comes later when the Sabbath was associated with new and unrelated things.⁴⁸ The root meaning of שָׁבַע is clear from the fact that in the nifal, the verb means "to be made to cease, disappear" and in the hifil "to make cease, make an end", but never "to let rest".⁴⁹ Outside of the fact that the root meanings of šapattu and שָׁבַע are the same, there is also a peculiarity of the Hebrew word that seems to show a common origin with, if not a derivation from šapattu. To say "his Sabbath" in Hebrew, we say שְׁבַע with the peculiar doubling of the "h"; or it may be noted in the word שְׁבַע , the rabbinical term for Saturn, the star of the Sabbath, or in the proper name in Neh. 8:7, 11:16, etc. If שָׁבַע were a normal Hebrew word (like בֶּרֶךְ , יִרְכֶּךָ), it would take the possessive suffix as follows: שְׁבַעִי . Hehn accounts for this peculiarity on the basis of the Babylonian origin of the word from the Akkadian stem šapat-tu.⁵⁰ The "u" was dropped when taken over into the Hebrew and the "ש" doubled for compensation. The Hebrew root שָׂבַע is similarly equal to the Assyrian sebu, both meaning "to be sated, full, complete". And just as the Hebrew word for "seven", which is regarded in the ancient east as a particularly significant number, (also a whole or complete, as well as holy number) is derived from שָׁבַע so šapattu has the same root as sibitti which means seven in Assyrian.⁵¹ שָׁבַע and שָׁבַע in Hebrew are not originally the same but they can both, according to Hehn, be traced back to the Babylonian

šapattu, which is in turn connected with the number seven. Thus by analogy we may see a connection between the Hebrew שָׁבַט and שָׁבַע which would further substantiate the meaning of "fullness, completion, cessation". It was Not until the people of Israel had made the Sabbath a real "rest day", did the verb lose the force of its original meaning derived from the Akkadian šapatu, and take on the meaning of "rest".⁵²

The primary meaning of the verb שָׁבַט may be determined not only etymologically, but directly on the basis of numerous Biblical passages. In Ex. 23:12, we have no right to translate: "And on the seventh day thou shalt rest", but rather it must be translated "thou shalt observe the Sabbath", whatever the Sabbath may have connoted in those days. Similarly in the K Code, some fifty years older, the translation should be: "In planting and harvest thou shalt observe the Sabbath", meaning not "rest", but pause and cessation.⁵³ In Ex. 23:12 had the writer wished to express by שָׁבַט "rest", he could have used the verb יָשָׁב as he does with "thine ox and thine ass". This verse may have meant rest for the master too, but it was as a result of Sabbath observance. There are other passages which do not even permit of the translation of "rest" for שָׁבַט , and which point to the original meaning of the verb. Isaiah 14:4b must be translated: "How finished (שָׁבַט) the tyrant has become; how at an end (שָׁבַט) the terror". "Rest" is impossible in this verse; the meaning is "to come to an end". Or Is. 33:8 must be rendered: "The highways lie waste; the travellers have ceased (שָׁבַט). To say "the

travellers rested" would be meaningless and contrary to the sense the prophet is conveying. Other Biblical verses using the verb אָנַח in which the translation of rest is impossible are Gen. 8:22; Josh. 5:12; Is. 24:8; Prov. 22:10; Lam. 5:15; Neh. 6:3; Lam. 5:4; Hosea 7:4; and Job 32:1. Gen. 2:2-3 throws further light on the meaning of אָנַח . In verse 2 " וַיֵּשְׁבֶה " = "and He finished, completed". So in verse 3, the parallel verse, אָנַח becomes almost synonymous to בָּרַךְ , and we must render v. 3: "So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it he had desisted (אָנַח) from all his work, in doing which God had brought about creation". Hehn feels that it was not "rest" that was the reason for hallowing and sanctifying the day, but the completion of the task of creation and the cessation from work.⁵⁴ This is logical when we observe that verse 2 states: "On the seventh day God brought his work to an end on which he had been engaged, desisting on the seventh day from all his work in which he had been engaged". The priestly writer had in mind that the seventh day was the crowning conclusion (אָנַח) of creation and as such it was consecrated. Other versions, the Samaritan, LXX, Peshitto, etc. changed verse 2 to read: "On the sixth day, God brought his work to an end, etc.," not understanding the view of the priests, but merely having in mind that God rested on the seventh day.⁵⁵

The Lunar Significance of the Babylonian Analogies.

Our discussion so far, based chiefly on the researches of Hehn and Meinhold would seem to equate אָנַח and šabattu on the one hand and אָנַח or יָאָנַח and šabattum on the other.⁵⁶ This is due in the case of Hehn to his view of the Babylonian origin of the Hebrew Sabbath and the

etymological evidence of identical root meanings, and in the case of Meinhold to the conclusion that the Babylonian šapattu day was like the Hebrew Sabbath, a full moon day. But it must be remembered that all the research of Pinches presented was only the identification of the šapattu or šapatti with the fifteenth of the Babylonian month.⁵⁷ Karl Budde in his excellent essay, "The Sabbath and the Week" in the Journal of Theological Studies,⁵⁸ disagrees violently with Meinhold's theory of the Israelite Sabbath as a full moon day, and casts doubt on the identity of the Babylonian Sabbath as a full moon day. His analysis of the problem is ingenious and logical. The month according to the phases of the moon is roughly $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. Three days of its cycle the moon cannot be seen, and since the waning and waxing of the disk proceed with absolute regularity, the moon reaches its peak fullness in half, not of approximately 30 days on the fifteenth, but in half of 26 or 27 days on the thirteenth. Thus the šapattu or šapattum, being identified with the fifteenth, could only be the close of the full moon. Budde thus feels that no substantial identity can be noted between the Hebrew and Babylonian institutions, not only because of the Israelite Sabbath's being a seventh day of the week, but even if it were identified with the full moon. We cannot help but agree that the most we can say with certainty is that the term Sabbath is derived from a Babylonian stem, and that it may have meant originally in Israel as in Babylonia, "a day of religious festivity and solemn restraint".⁵⁹

Meinhold counters this attack very ably, showing that Budde (and incidently, Jastrow) is wrong for assuming that šapattum or šapattu mean a day of atonement or propitiation.⁶⁰ Landsberger, from whom Budde got the suggestion that šapattum was a general day of traffic with the gods rather than a full moon day, admits that he guessed at the meaning "day of atonement".⁶¹ Furthermore, only one cuneiform inscription⁶² shows this general application of the term. Landsberger admits the possibility that šapattu might equal 2x7 from "saban".⁶³ Further uncertainty as to the meaning of the term is offered by Delitsch in that Assyrian ideographs often have many meanings, so to single out explanations like "atonement" or "celebration" is unjustified.⁶⁴ This also differs from Hehn⁶⁵ who likewise holds that šapattum or šapattu means "atonement day".

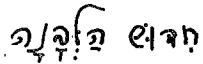
As to the identity of šapattum or šapattu with the full moon, the ideograph of the term was always a full circle or globe.⁶⁶ And since Landsberger himself admits that the full moon period culminated on the fifteenth and was regarded as a full moon day from the time ^{of the dynasty of} ~~of~~ Ur and ^{Ham} ~~Ham~~urapi,⁶⁷ the substantial identity of šapattu as a full moon day is established. Whatever šapattu may have been before, by the time of Assurbanipal, šapattu was certain as a fifteenth and full moon day.⁶⁸ But all of this is of little importance, as it does not establish a sure similarity between the Israelite Sabbath and the Babylonian observance, as Budde points out in his answer.⁶⁹ Even were we to grant that šapattu

was a full moon day which came on the fifteenth and the Sabbath was a full moon day that came on the fifteenth, the two institutions would not be the same. The latest research in Babylonian origins has failed to show that the šapattu was any more than a full moon day, whereas there is ample evidence to show that the Israelite Sabbath, whatever the day may be upon which it fell, was always a cult observance or an agricultural festival.⁷⁰ The Sabbath was in contradistinction to šapattu and Israelite festival, as pre-Deuteronomic verses like Amos 5:8; Hosea 2:11; and Isaiah 1:13 show. In the letter to Budde, Landsberger points out that the latest Assyriological finds show šapattu to be only a designation for the full moon day and, ^{not} for the full moon, nor for a full moon festival!⁷¹

If we go into Babylonian astrology we may understand, by way of analogy, the importance of the moon and celestial bodies in the lives of the early Israelites. Of the three types of divination in Babylonia and Assyria,⁷² astrology was the most impressive.⁷³ By it the will and disposition of the gods would be determined. Sun and moon were important to the primitive people; the sun to those who were agricultural since upon it depended the growth of the crops, and the moon to the nomad shepherds who roamed from place to place at night guided solely by the light of the moon. The deification of sun and moon was natural. In Babylonia and Assyria Šamash became the sun god and Sin the moon god. In time the other heavenly bodies became deified also be-

cause of the association of the sun and moon with them. The planets whose light shone evenly like that of the moon, became significant as gods. Ishtar became identified with the planet Venus, Marduk is identified with the planet Jupiter, Nin-urta, in rank next to Marduk, became Saturn. Nebo, the son of Marduk, in consequence of his smallness is identified with the smallest of the planets, Mercury. Nergal, the god of pestilence and death became the "unlucky Mars". Observance of the heavens could show the priests the action of the gods in advance. Since the observation of the gods in general could only take place at night, Sin, the moon god, takes precedence over Shamash and became the most important factor in Astrology.⁷⁴

There are three ~~moments~~ of special significance in the observation of the moon; the new moon, the full moon, and the disappearance of the moon for several days at the end of the month. Each of these is a period of transition in the course of the moon. Throughout the history of religion we find that at periods of transition certain holidays or festivals occur. Thus we have Christmas, Hanukkah, the Yule-tide of the Teutons, the Saturnalia of the Romans, all coming during the winter solstice or very close to it. Pesach in ancient Israel started close to the middle of the first month, or the phase of the full moon, and ended with the third quarter or phase of the moon. The same is true of Succoth in the seventh month. Shabuoth, although arrived at by calculation falls close if it does not coincide with the first quarter of the moon in the third month.

Other festivals arose in the same manner. Thus we find also that during the time of these transitions in the phases of the moon the early Semites had festive occasions. The same is true in modern times among the nomads of the Arabian Desert, who are delighted and portray great religious emotion upon the appearance of the new moon! But there is also a feeling of uncertainty in the periods of transition. No one knows what a new era will bring, and indeed these changings in the appearance of the moon marked the end of one period of time and the beginning of another. The anxiety of the time was marked by a period of ostentatious jollity in order to deceive the evil spirits and also in the hopes that the change might bring a prolongation of the happiness and the joy displayed. The disappearance of the moon was particularly looked upon with awe, especially if the reappearance was delayed several days. Myth sprang up that the moon, during disappearances, was captured by hostile powers. Great anxiety and fear prevailed when the orb failed to reappear after several days, lest it might not be released. When the moon finally did show its thin edge of light the rejoicing was great. The  ceremony still retained in the orthodox liturgy and ritual is a survival of this merrymaking at the reappearance of the moon.

The moon continues to grow until the middle of the month when it becomes full and then starts on a period of decline in strength and power. If the full moon appeared at the normal time (the fourteenth or fifteenth of the month) it was a favorable sign. But

if it appeared before or after the normal time, then the omen was unfavorable, and the god had to be pacified. This is an "um nub libbi" or šapattum when the deities must be appeased and when they are particularly implored to show themselves merciful and favorable.⁷⁵ The middle of the month is also unlucky in Roman religion. Caesar is told to beware the ides (middle) of March. Not only was this true of March but the middle of all the other months was regarded as an inauspicious occasion also.

That the Hebrews based their calendar originally on the moon is obvious. The moon was the guide to the Hebrews in their pre-Canaanite desert wanderings, as it was to other nomadic tribes. That the above descriptions of moon culture development applied also to the Hebrews there can be likewise no doubt. The rest on the Sabbath was always a form of abstinence during lunar changes. The Hebrew word for month חֹדֶשׁ is derived from חָדַךְ just as is our English word "moon" from "month". In Psalm CIV:19 we find יְהוָה חָדַךְ הַיָּרֵחַ The word יָרֵחַ means new-moon. Ben Sirach says in Ecclesiasticus XL:6-8, "He made the moon also to serve in her season for a declaration of times and a sign of the world. From the moon is the sign of the feasts, a light that decreases in her perfection. The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing". During the lunar changes there was also rejoicing among the Hebrews. The derivation of the joyous praise word יְהוָה יָרֵחַ is primarily lunar. The

basic root of the word is $\Pi\alpha$, new moon,⁷⁶ with the symbol for God α , attached to it.

Summary and Conclusion.

As to the use of the word $\Lambda\alpha\epsilon$ as the middle of the month in the Bible, the discussion of this problem will be taken up in a later section. Here let us reiterate that in Babylonia there developed the umu limnu or "the evil day" which was based directly on the phases of the moon and was kept during the seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth day of the month. These days were inauspicious and both king and priest had to take great care with what they did. They might not ride in a chariot nor eat food that had been cooked over a fire. The development of the "evil days" was similar to the development of the šapattum, already explained.⁷⁷ They were directly the outgrowth of and dependent upon lunation. This would tend to show that the seven-day week and the Sabbath were taken over from Babylon. But the matter is not so, as we may now indicate by way of summary.

That the Sabbath with the seven day week was not an institution adopted from the Babylonians, although the umu limnu of the latter is very similar to the Hebrew institution, is shown in the following arguments:

(a) The Babylonian cycle was never employed as a chronological unit; the Hebrew week was a true civil week, and a definite and well-understood period of time.⁷⁸

(b) The Babylonian cycle seems not to have been dissociated from the lunation; the Hebrew week was a periodic

week running unfettered from month to month and from year to year.⁷⁹

(c) The Babylonian "evil days" were unnamed unlucky days, observed by the king, by the priests, and by the physicians, but certainly not by the people at large; the Hebrew Sabbath was a named holy day, dedicated to the worship of the national God and kept by the entire community as a festival.⁸⁰

Thus we come to the conclusion that although the Babylonian "evil days" and šapattum, and the Hebrew Sabbath and the seven-day week were of the same Semitic origin originally, still the development of the institutions were along different lines. Both were derived from primitive moon periods; but the Hebrew Sabbath progressed; it was purified and spiritualized, given over to the worship and exaltation of the national God as also to humanitarian observance; while the Babylonian institution either remained in its crude original state or retrogressed still further. The Sabbath as we know it is a purely Hebrew contribution and its source of origin must be sought elsewhere than in the Babylonian materials.

The Saturn-Kenite Theory.

We now come to the simplest and the most recent theory as to the origin of the Sabbath. This is the tracing of the Sabbath back to reverence for the planet Saturn and to the Kenites to whom the Israelites were indebted for their national God Yahweh and for many cult practises. The identification of Saturn with the Jewish Sabbath in Roman times is, of course well known, as evidenced in our present name for the seventh day.⁸¹ The theory that the Sabbath was derived from the worship of Saturn was first presented in a scientific but inadequate way by Abraham Kuenen of Leyden in 1873,⁸² although the theory had been presented without the benefit of Biblical criticism as early as 1832.⁸³ Kuenen and all who hold the Saturn theory point out that the supposition of Saturn worship among the early Israelites is based on Amos 5:26.⁸⁴

אֲנִי אֶמְצָא בְּיָמָיו אֶת־הַכֶּנֶז אֲנִי אֶמְצָא בְּיָמָיו אֶת־הַכֶּנֶז

The context, Vv. 25, 26 show that the prophet is dealing with conditions of the desert wanderings.⁸⁵ And although the verse is corrupt Kiyun or Kevan has been identified as the planet Saturn.⁸⁶

Webster states that the theory can be readily discarded for a variety of reasons:

- (1) The passage is a single example, corrupt and obscure, and may not refer to the Wilderness period at all.⁸⁷
- (2) The Hebrews indicated their week-days by ordinal numbers and not by planets.

(3) In the planetary week of ancient astrology, Saturn's day began the week, whereas the Sabbath was the last day of the week.⁸⁸ It was not until early in the common era when the Roman planetary week became fixed that the Sabbath corresponded to Saturday, at which time the Rabbis called *הַכּוֹכָב* "star of the Sabbath". The star was named after the day with which it was then associated, but the day and the institution were not derived from the star.⁸⁹

(4) "Neither the Hebrews nor any other people ever worshipped the planet Saturn or observed his day as a festival".⁹⁰

At first blush these objections might seem conclusive and insuperable but on closer examination they are not so accurate. The fourth reason is valid only from an absolute point of view because the association of the planet as a visible representation of a god is well known in Assyrian astrology. In fact Webster himself shows on p. 213 the identification of the Babylonian god Nin-urta with Saturn. As to reason one, that Amos 5:26 is the only direct reference to Saturn in the Bible cannot be denied but if we may use the argumentum e silentio, we may say that other references might have been deleted by the zealous followers of Yahweh from the days of the Deuteronomic Reformation and onward. II Kings:23 shows that Josiah did away with astral worship specifically, which undoubtedly involved Saturn. That the Deuteronomic editors were particularly averse to anything that smacked of astral worship is evident from the fact that no mention of the new moon festivities is even made let alone incorporated in fes-

tival legislation, (Chap. 16). As to the verse's referring to Amos's own time and the possibility of a contemporary syncretism of Babylonian-Assyrian cult practises, we may say with confidence that there is nothing elsewhere in Amos to indicate that; nor is such an interpretation consonant with V. 25. As to its being a later interpolation, we must agree with Budde⁹¹ that it is impossible to strike it out for no reason can be given for its subsequent origin and interpolation. Reasons two and three were anticipated, if not adequately answered by Kuenen over sixty years before. In the first place, Kuenen considered the planetary arrangement of the days of the week not of high antiquity so that it would not be necessary for Saturn to have always marked the first day as it certainly did not in later Roman and modern times. "The planetary origin of the week can be recognized without on that account admitting that each day had its own planet and that the planets were distributed over the seven days as they afterwards were in Egypt and among the Romans. In other words, a Semitic tribe, which especially worship the planet Saturn, the highest or most distant of the planets, may have dedicated it to the seventh day of the week without the other days having also their own planets and being named after them".⁹²

Jeremias feels that the oriental idea of the seventh day as unlucky, which was a superstition in ancient Israel, is undoubtedly connected with the dark and gloomy

planet of misfortune, Saturn.⁹³ The fact that the late pre-exilic and post-exilic period also showed the Sabbath to be a day of joy is of no consequence, because the contrast between joy and sorrow, blessing and curse, was long present even as today Friday is considered among Christians as a holiest of days and yet as an unlucky day.⁹⁴ Saturn was as synonymous with misfortune in the ancient east as rain and sun were equivalent to blessing.⁹⁵ There is an old tradition noted by Beer in Leben Mosis that when Moses asked Pharaoh for a day of rest for his countrymen, the king inquired as to which day he wished. "The seventh day, sacred to Saturn; work done on this day never prospers";⁹⁶ Thus the tradition of the Sabbath as the unlucky day of Saturn persisted into late post-biblical times.

Although it was with keen insight that scholars like Kuenen and Jeremias reasoned that the ancient Sabbath was associated with the unlucky Saturn, it was not until 1925 that the unconvincing and seemingly untenable theory was put on a scientific basis by light being thrown on the background out of which the true astrological origin of the Sabbath becomes evident. Eerdmans shows that by considering the Kenite theory of the origin of the Yahweh cult, we may also find that the Sabbath which became so distinctive and unique a feature of Israelite religion was taken over with the rest of the Kenite cult.⁹⁷ The argument is as follows: only one specific type of work was prohibited on the seventh day, namely that no fires be kindled in one's dwellings: Ex. 35:3. And the one execution of stoning which fell the lot of the Sabbath woodgather⁹⁸ was due

to the use for which the wood was to be put, namely making a fire. For what sort of people is fire necessary? Smiths. The Kenites, by their very name, were a tribe of smiths, and from them the Israelites took over the prohibition of the seventh day, viz: against lighting fires. And from this taboo the whole group of Sabbath interdictions developed until the 39 prohibitions of Talmudic times mark the Pharisaic Sabbath.⁹⁹ Why should the Kenites have desisted from kindling fires on the seventh day? Because just as in later calendars the seventh day was governed by the unlucky planet Saturn, so it must have been among the Kenite tribes of the Sinai peninsula. On a day when work would not be proper, it was best not to tempt the evil deity by lighting a fire, which in the ancient orient was always regarded as a sacred element.¹⁰⁰ It was not necessary for each day to have a god, as Kuenen points out, in order for the seventh day to be that of Saturn.

Eerdmans holds that the Kenites had a seven day week similar to that ^{of} the Yorubas ^{who} had a seven and a five day week.¹⁰¹ The commandment of the K code Ex. 34, which embodies the seventh day Sabbath should confirm this speculation. The explanation of the Sabbath as originally a rest day of the desert Smith is the best yet offered.¹⁰²

Budde concurs in Eerdman's view and expands the Saturn-Kenite theory as the simplest and most logical explanation.¹⁰³ Regarding Saturn, it has been identified with one certain day of the week and the other

planets were later appended.¹⁰⁴ As to Amos 5:26, Kevan is the Semitic name for Saturn, and Sakkuth is one of the biblical names for Nin-urta, the god, identified with Saturn. The wording too, of the Sabbath commandment in the law indicates that it may well originate in the pre-Canaanitic period as a relic of the Saturn cult, purified and adopted into the Yahweh cult just as the harvest festivals came from the Canaanitic Baal and the new moon from an ancient moon cult.

Starting with the Kenite theory of the origin of Yahweh cult in Israel, Budde turns to the economic life of the Kenite teachers of Israel. Kayin as a Hebrew word is not very helpful,¹⁰⁵ but in Aramaic and Arabic, it means "Smith", which is an occupational designation. The Kenite genealogy 4:17ff, the oldest in the Bible, traces the line from the ancestral progenitor Kayin through seven generations to Lamech the father of Jabel, Jubel, and Tubal-Kayin.¹⁰⁶ It is this Tubal, the smith, who is the father of all workers in iron and bronze. In Lamech's song to his two wives he boasts of the 77-fold vengeance he can wreak-undoubtedly with the first metal weapon Tubal has made him. So in the oldest tradition of the Kenites, a climax is reached in the work of the Smith. An important work it was too, for the Bedouin tribes of antiquity never undertook that craft. It had to be undertaken by a smaller wandering tribe who lived amidst metal deposits and could bring their wares, weapons, tent pegs, tools and vessels for exchange to the larger master tribes about them. To so menial a craft the noble Bedouin would not stoop.¹⁰⁷

The Kenites were just such an ancient tribe among whom Moses receive his overpowering revelation of Yahweh. There are two facts in favor of this solution. First, that rich deposits of metal are to be found in the Sinai peninsula, and there is ample evidence of mines and smithies up to several centuries antedating the Exodus of 1250 BCE. Budde feels that in the days of Moses the smith tribes were numerous in that region.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, after the settlement in Canaan, the Kenites attached themselves to Israel in a rather nomadic fashion, roaming, dwelling in tents and living in the outlying regions of Judea. About 1150 B.C.E., the tent of Heber the Kenite, would indicate that they led a nomadic life more typical of the ancient smiths rather than of people who were agriculturalists. Further, the hammer which Jael uses to slay Sisera¹⁰⁹ is a tool which would naturally be found in the tent of a smith. Hammer חֲמָר and חָרַס as verb of manipulation are typical of smith work in the Old Testament.¹¹⁰ That the Kenites were prominent in the south in the days of Saul¹¹¹ and his successor has already been alluded to. It was Jehu's boast in 841 B.C.E. to Jonadab, the founder of the Rechabite community, that he had not only overthrown the house of Omri but had destroyed the Baal cult, showing the close connections with a people from whom Israel may have also taken the Sabbath institution.¹¹² Further, the Rechabites who took refuge in Jerusalem during the seige by Nebuchadnezzar, would naturally have done so were they smiths without any fixed dwellings; i.e., walled cities of their own.¹¹³

With identification of the Kenites as smiths and of the Kenites as the source of the Yahweh cult which apparently included the Sabbath as an unpropitious seventh day, governed by the planet of ill-omen, Saturn; it but remains to note the retention of this typically Kenite Sabbath in the biblical provisions for the day. Mention has already been made ¹¹⁴ of the one certain prohibition of the Sabbath in Ex. 35:3, and the woodgatherer's punishment for gathering wood on the Sabbath, for the ostensible reason for kindling a fire.¹¹⁵ Fire being indispensable to the Smith, the prohibition of it meant rest perforce. "The Sabbath as a rest day of the smith tribe of Kenites, "writes Prof. Budde, "goes back to prehistoric times...it was borrowed from them by Israel in the time of Moses, and was then made a day of rest from all professional work, first and foremost that of the farmer which Israel adopted in Canaan....Extraordinary are the fidelity and accuracy of tradition which has remained unaltered in the Priest code, the latest form of the law, this prohibition of the kindling of fire, including the Sabbath commandment, the command to rest from professional labors, in a form which is exhaustive only for the Smith."¹¹⁶

Thus if the Sabbath was an inalienable element in the cult of the smith tribes of Kenites, it is only natural that this Sabbath should be taken over by Israel along with the central idea of the Kenite cult; namely the worship of Yahweh. Although the Sabbath is in many passages referred to as Yahweh's day,¹¹⁷ there is no

reason to believe that the Kenite storm-god was also connected with the Kenite Sabbath. It is Budde's conclusion that "the Sabbath as far as we can trace it back was the day of the planet Saturn!".¹¹⁸ The worship of Yahweh and reverence for Saturn need not be incompatible among the Kenites, of the second millennium ^{B.C.}, as we know that Israel itself had an imperfect monotheism in the early days of Canaanitic imitation, the presence of baalim, teraphim, maseboth, asherot, brazen serpents, etc. It is conceivable that although the Kenites paid homage to the great storm-god at his holy mountain, they might venerate Saturn, the highest of planets and quench their fires and lay aside their toil in its honor. This was naturally occasioned by the universal concept in the ancient east of Saturn as the black and gloomy.¹¹⁹ So Eerdmans concludes: "If this day (seventh) was regarded as the day of Saturn even in ancient times, we can well understand that the smith's work in fire would have been incompatible with the character of this planet, and that the seventh day would count with them as a dies nefastus. The suspension of professional labors on this day would then be easily comprehensible".¹²⁰

We have dealt with the Saturn-Kenite theory at some length, not because it is the indubitable answer to our question of the Sabbath's origin by any means, but rather because it is the most recent theory as presented by Eerdmans and Budde, and one which may become stronger as scholars apply themselves to amassing

of evidence from new external or archaeological sources. It might be mentioned that the theory as presented shows that a Kenite type of Sabbath would be possible in the desert, and might help in understanding the astral association of the Sabbath with the new moon,¹²¹ without assuming the day to be a full moon festival.

Our summary of the theory would hardly be complete if we did not deal with its weaknesses, the discussion of which we have purposely deferred. Due to the recency of the explanation of the Kenite origin of the Sabbath, only one critical analysis of it has been made, and that by Johannes Meinhold, the chief proponent of the full moon theory.¹²² We shall lean heavily upon him in refuting some of the arguments and in the interpretation of some of the evidence of Budde's inquiry into the origins of the Hebrew observance.

Although it is not impossible, it is highly unlikely that Ex. 35:3 and Num. 15:32ff.; which deal with the prohibition of kindling of fire and are both P₂ (fourth century), reflect true conditions of the wilderness period. That a pre-exilic taboo should persist into Priestly times is not unlikely, but that a specific prohibition that was enforced in the days of Moses should not have been mentioned until almost a thousand years later, is incredible. Furthermore, it is not correct to regard making a fire as the only type of activity specifically prohibited. Ex. 34:12 and 23:21 are interdictions of agricultural labor. Ex. 16:23ff. forbids cooking and leaving one's abode. Nehemiah's

reforms (13:15ff) treated in his own memoirs must have prohibited commercial traffic on the Sabbath, and Amos 8:5 implies that there must have been in force a similar specific regulation in 751 B.C.E.

The Saturn theory based so largely on Amos 5:26 is particularly vulnerable. It must be recalled, as Webster pointed out, that the verse is corrupt and obscure, and may refer to an altogether different period from that of the desert. It is more likely, as Meinhold indicates, that a later writer inserted the verse to deride the assimilated Samaritans after 722 B.C.E. for their religious syncretism. It is written in the spirit of II K. 17:29ff., which denounces the Northerners for their worship of foreign deities.¹²³ Furthermore, if Amos 5:26 did refer to the wilderness period, it is extremely doubtful whether Moses could have worshipped Yahweh as the god of the holy mountain and Saturn also as the god of the seventh day. It is not at all certain that the verse deals with astral worship at any time. Sakkuth has been read succoth, and Kevan has been emended to ken, meaning tabernacle and pedestal, respectively, and referring to the housing of the Ark and the structure upon which it rested.¹²⁴ Sakkuth may not have any connection whatsoever to Sukkoth-bnoth of II K. 17:20, in the opinion of Sellin¹²⁵ who likewise feels that the emendation of סִכּוּת to סִכּוּת , and כֵּוָן to כֵּוָן is necessary. Thus, no unquestioned reference to Saturn can be found in the entire Bible. Meinhold feels, furthermore, that the expression II K 17:30, would in-

cline us to doubt that the reading in Amos should be Sakkuth, if it is intended to refer at all to Ninurta-Saturn.¹²⁶ It is not likely that Amos' contemporaries considered Sakkuth as Saturn or even Mars; but even if so, this obscure remark of a man in the eighth century can hardly give us information about the star worship of Israel and the Kenites of 1250 B.C.E.

There is no evidence, furthermore, of a planetary week in ancient Israel that could have countenanced the naming of the seventh day as sacred to Saturn.¹²⁷ Nor is there any evidence of Saturn worship among the Kenites or any other ancient Arabian tribes, Kuenen notwithstanding. As to Jeremias' explanation regarding the unlucky character of the day, we may say in anticipation of our discussion on the early nature of the Sabbath that there are ample explanations within the purview of Israel's own culture without attempting to explain it as a foreign importation from an obscure and relatively unknown Saturn cult. Hehn is probably correct in his assumption that association of the Sabbath with the dark, unfortunate planet did not take place until the Greek period and not earlier than the first pre-Christian century, as a result of the influence of the Alexandrian planet week.¹²⁸ And it is Meinhold's contention that it was not until the early centuries of the common era (in Roman times) that the planetary week is superimposed on the Jewish week and Saturn's day coincides with the Sabbath.¹²⁹ The biblical designation of days by ordinal numbers persisted even

into New Testament times, and there is no evidence that the Israelites ever used names for the days of the week. The name the Rabbis applied to Saturn was due to the relatively late, Greek or Roman, planetary week. The day gave its name to the star rather than the star to the Hebrew rest day. That Saturn was considered unlucky at this time, which accounts for the Talmudic statement that children born on that day would be put to shame (Sab. 156a), was not universal. Tacitus (V.4) regarded it as a lucky star for the Jews as it was for the ancient Babylonians, which would hardly make it a day of cessation from labor.¹³⁰ Budde's view that the Sabbath as far as we can trace it has always been a Saturn day, is clearly gratuitous and apodictic. Thus the first step in the novel and ingenious Saturn-Kenite theory of the Sabbath's origin must be rejected.

Perhaps the Kenites, however, might have quenched their fires on the seventh day because of its inauspiciousness due possibly to the number seven or, let us say, to the uncertainty during transitions in the phases of the moon, and therefore, the specific prohibition against kindling fires along with other related activity found its way into the biblical legislation on the Sabbath. That is assuming, of course, that the Kenites were smiths. Although new evidence on the basis of archaeology has been offered within the last few years, the matter is by no means certain. According to Meinhold, the hypothesis that the Kenites were smiths is without

foundation. His objections to the theory may be readily summarized and are essentially valid. The biblical evidence is by no means conclusive. Cain, the progenitor of the tribes, rather than being mentioned as a smith is remembered as being the founder of cities. (Gen. 4:17, J2) Cain's descendants were three-fold; shepherds, musicians, and smiths, (Gen. 4:20-23), so that the tribe as a whole did not consist of smiths. As we have noted, furthermore, this genealogy is post-exilic and artificial. If we pursue the internal evidence farther, we see that the name Tubal-Kayin is not itself significant for כַּיִן does not mean smith in Hebrew, but comes from קָיַן (Gen. 4:1), to receive, not from קָטַן to cut. Meinhold regards the word כַּיִן as an added marginal note incorporate by a later writer, as in Gen. 4:1 where, $\text{וַיִּקַּח אֶת חַוְּוָה$, became a part of the text.¹³¹ The name should be Tubal as it reads elsewhere. If Moses, on the other hand, took over the Yahweh of a smith tribe, why did he not learn the craft of the smith rather than the work of the shepherd? Biblical allusions to the Kenites show no more than that they were a nomadic, pastoral group loosely connected with Israel. In every instance one would have to read into the context that they were smiths rather than derive it therefrom. The incident regarding the hammer in the tent of Heber the Kenite, is interesting but not conclusive. Such a hammer might not only logically but of necessity be present in every nomadic tent for the purpose of fixing tent pegs in Canaan's rocky soil. If we are to assume that the

Kenites were prominent in the days of Saul, as ISam. 15:6 would seem to indicate; then it is hard to account for J's statement that "there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel", regardless of Philistine oppression. (ISam. 13:19). If they were smiths, the J writer could hardly have been unaware of that fact. The Biblical account leads us to believe that there was a dearth of weapons, yet when Saul spares the Kenites (ISam. 15:6), he makes reference to their kindness to Israel in the desert, not to their supplying him with the sorely needed weapons with which to pursue his wars. Meinhold maintains that if the Sabbath is pre-Canaanitic at all, it may have come as a full moon day from the moon cult of Arabs, but not from the Kenites whom he feels had no closer connection with Israel than many other Arabic tribes.¹³² There is, furthermore, no proof that Kenites ever observe the Sabbath, even if they were smiths and might logically have been enjoined not to kindle their fires on such a day. It is clear that the biblical verses do not point to the Kenites as smiths, even if archaeology veers in that direction. With the passing of time, the hypothesis as to Kenite economy may be established but that in itself will not prove that the Sabbath arose with them. Thus two important arguments in favor of the Kenite-Saturn origin of the Hebrew Sabbath are demolished: (1) that the Kenites revered the planet of ill-omen, Saturn, and dedicated the seventh day to its honor; and that this day was taken over by Israel along with the Yahweh cult; (2) and that the

specific biblical prohibitions against lighting fire are traditions from a time when the Sabbath was a day sacred to its fire-kindling smith originators, the Kenites.

Meinhold attacks the third and basic premise of Budde and Eerdmans also; namely, the validity of the Kenite hypothesis itself. But as Budde himself states, what concerns the Kenite hypothesis is indeed no hypothesis but is very old and well supported by biblical record.¹³³ It is the most logical theory for the origin of the Israelite religion and the Yahweh cult. Other theories have been offered in explanation, but none is supported by as valid and as constantly increasing evidence as the so-called Kenite hypothesis.¹³⁴ It is often difficult to extricate references to the Kenites as the original worshippers of Yahweh because of the natural embarrassment of later biblical writers. One of the most recent developments of the Kenite theory illustrates this. The expression כֹּהֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל as a designation for the old "face of Yahweh", Moses' father-in-law, (Ex. 3:1 and 18:1) probably read originally כֹּהֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל and was changed for obvious reasons by later authors.¹³⁵

Perhaps this very increasing knowledge and information about the Kenites both from the Bible itself, and from archaeology may eventually show that such institutions as the Sabbath day arose with the authors of Yahweh worship. It is, of course, not

Impossible that the Kenites may have dedicated the seventh day to Yahweh not as one of rest, but as one of celebration or propitiation and that this institution may have found its way naturally into Israel's religion. It is certain that this could not have come about, however, through the worship of Saturn and the dedication of the seventh day to it. If the Kenites were really smiths, which is not at all unlikely, it is doubtful whether they would have permitted their fires to go out on the seventh day, but may have put the sacred element itself to a cult use as was common in Israel. At any rate, the evidence offered by the proponents of the Saturn-Kenite theory of the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath is inadequate and inconclusive.

6. Summary and Conclusion.

Our examination of the various theories as to the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath from the cultures of Israel's neighbors brings us almost to Prof. Moore's conclusion that "an exploration of the antecedents of the Jewish Sabbath and of analogous customs or institutions among other races is irrelevant". Of the four or five possible sources of origin discussed, three present interesting possibilities, even if we cannot see in them the home of the ancient Israelite observance. Egypt as source for the Sabbath institution can be rejected at first blush, because it had no such arrangement as a seven day week nor any observance analogous to the Sabbath in content or ideology. The Saturn cult among the Kenites, or any other people for that matter, is an illogical source for the Jewish institution because: (1) the Hebrews did not name their days after the planets, (2) the planetary week began with Saturn, (3) Saturn's association with the Sabbath was not made until Greek times at the earliest, and (4) neither the Hebrews nor any other Oriental people ever worshipped the planet nor observed his day.

Argument in favor of the Canaanite origin is strong but supported with inadequate evidence. It would be logical to assume that the Sabbath along with the other agricultural festivals came from the Canaanites. Such would be the implication of the K and C codes and the prophets who class the Sabbath with the

other calendar occasions. But there is no evidence that either the Canaanites or any related people ever observed a Sabbath day of any sort.

The case in favor of the Babylonian origin of the Hebrew Sabbath is the most complete and has been to the majority of scholars the most convincing. Striking analogies seem to be present in the Babylonian calendar, giving confirmation to this theory in regard to name, date and content. But although many favor the theory on the general principle that Israel borrowed much or all of its folklore and institutions from Mesopotamia, and others on the basis of etymology, dating or manner of observance; there is little agreement as to how or when this borrowing took place. And some Assyriologists are not only opposed to the theory that Israel or the Semites borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia, but maintain the very opposite that the term and institution are West Semitic. That the Hebrew Sabbath could not have been borrowed from the Babylonian šapattu is evident, because (1) šapattu was a full moon day, connected with the moon, whereas the Hebrew Sabbath certainly by 899 B.C.E. was a seventh day free from lunation, (2) the Babylonians had no such arrangement as a seven day week, as the Hebrew one culminating in the Sabbath, (3) the day has only the connotation of atonement, propitiation and austerity, observed by a limited number of the people, whereas the Hebrew Sabbath has a broader significance, required cessation from work,

eventually assembly for the worship of Yahweh, and was incumbent upon the entire community. The same may be said of the evil days, which occurred only in two intercalary months, were said of the ume limnuti, the unnamed^v associated with lunation, had no cult significance, had only a very limited connotation, and were to be observed only by king, diviner, physician and imprecator. The Babylonian days could hardly be the source for the Sabbath which became so distinctive a mark of the Jew in Babylonia itself. The most we can say is that the institutions may have had a common source, and that etymologically there may have been borrowing. But which way the borrowing went, we cannot be sure. The analogous Babylonian institutions do help us in understanding the early nature of the Hebrew Sabbath as confirmation of the biblical evidence which might not otherwise have basis of available information.

The Kenite hypothesis provides us with another interesting and not improbable conjecture. If the Yahweh cult was taken over from Israel's desert guides and neighbors, why might not the Sabbath which became so significant a part of Yahweh worship be taken over at the same time? As plausible as this theory may seem and as eminent as its proponents may be, the evidence adduced is altogether too fragmentary and inconclusive. There is nothing to show that they venerated Saturn on the seventh day, nor even that they observed the Sabbath in any way whatsoever. The biblical verses linking the Sabbath with smithing and then with the Kenites are interesting, but hardly significant in solving the prob-

lem of the Sabbath's origin.

We shall have to pursue another line of inquiry in order to arrive at a better understanding of how the institution arose. Perhaps the Sabbath is indigenous to Israel, arising out of early Hebrew concepts and ideology.

Notes on the Origin of the Sabbath

1. Cf. Julian Morgenstern, The Book of Genesis, A Jewish Interpretation, pp. 37-46.
2. As to the antiquity of the Sabbath itself and its having been long established before legislation concerning it was enacted, I need only quote my teacher and friend, Dr. Morgenstern, The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch, Cincinnati, 1927; p.101:
"These four agricultural institutions, the Sabbath and the three festivals, were so fundamental, and probably, by the time of the composition of the K code, had become so deeply rooted in the religious practice of the people, that their observance had come to be generally regarded as their incorporation into the religious system of this code must have been in consequence half, if not completely, unconscious."
3. If Jer.17:19-27 is genuine. Of this we shall have something to say later.
4. The K code and the legislation in Ex.34; analyzed in Morgenstern's penetrating monograph, The Oldest Document etc. The K document is dated at 899 B.C.E. cf. pp.98ff.
5. J.M.P. Smith, The Origin and History of Hebrew Law, Chicago, 1931, p. 6.
6. George F. Moore, Judaism, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, ii, pp.21-22: "Days or seasons in which certain ordinarily licit acts... are interdicted are common to all planes of culture and acquire a fixed place in the calendar of many peoples. The origin and motives of such interdictions are obviously diverse. To huddle them together under the title ancient 'taboo days' is to deceive oneself with the imagination that when one has put on a phenomenon a label, preferably a jargon label, he has explained it, or dispensed himself from the necessity of understanding it."
"The hebdomadal Sabbath was exclusively Jewish; nothing corresponding to it existed ... so far as is known elsewhere in antiquity."
7. Ezek.20:12, Ex.31:16-17a(H₁), etc.
8. Robert Cox, The Literature of the Sabbath Question, Edinburgh, 1855, 2 vols.
9. Hutton Webster, Rest Days, New York, 1916, p. 245. See also Alfred Jeremias, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East, Eng. Edit., London, 1911; i, p. 198.

10. This was perhaps first expressed by Tacitus, *Historiae*, v. 4, in an alternative solution as to the origin of the Sabbath; cited in Webster, op. cit., n.3, p. 245.
11. Webster, p. 245. Cf. Cox, op. cit., ii, p.77ff. for discussion of John Spencer's, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus*, Cambridge, 1727; i, p. 67ff (Bk. i, ch. v, sec.viii); also cited in Webster, n.4, p. 245.
12. cf. infra, p. 16f.
- 12a. Proof that Num.15:32-36 points to gathering sticks for the purpose of making a fire may be seen in IK.17:12.
13. Morris Jastrow, *The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath*, *American Journal of Theology*, 1898; p. 350, n.116.
14. ibidem.
15. Meinhold's theory of the Sabbath as a monthly full moon day is not accepted by leading scholars today. Cf. Heinrich Speyer, *Festtag und Kultus zur Zeit der Propheten*, in *Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, 1934-35, Breslau, 1935; pp.7-8, n.2. Speyer gives the last word on the Sabbath question and shows that the full moon theory is untenable in the light of recent research.
16. Webster, op. cit. p. 191.
17. This is contrary to Meinhold's full moon theory which we shall consider in some detail later and attempt to show untenable. Cf. infra, III. The Original Character of the Sabbath, Ch. 2,3. But were it a full moon day, the Sabbath could bear no relationship to the Egyptian week of ten days.
18. Webster, p. 191. Jeremias, op. cit. i, p. 198, points out in n.1 that there was a trace of a ten-day week used customarily along with the more prevalent seven-day week. See Ex.12:13. Also evidenced in Lev16:29, 23:27, 25:9, and "one day or ten" in Gen. 24:55. But this merely indicates usage of ten as against any other number that might be used. Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that this is a ten-day period; rather that something is to be done on the tenth day of the month.
19. Johannes Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche in alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1905; pp.1ff. states that the Israelite Sabbath seems to be an old arrangement of the Canaanites, and from them the Israelites took over the observance of the day. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 116ff. Nowack, *Lehrbuch*

- der Hebräischen Archaeologie; ii, pp. 158ff.,
 Zimmern in KAT³, p. 592ff, and Stade, Biblische
 Theologie des Alten Testaments, 1905, p. 176f.,
 wherein all present the theory of Canaanite origin
 and reject it in favor of the more voluminous
 but hardly more certain theory of Babylonian or-
 igin.
20. Nowack, Lehrbuch, Strassburg, 1894; p. 144; also
 R. Smend, Lehrbuch des AT Religionsgeschichte,
 Freiburg, 1899; p. 160, and F. von Gall, Die
 alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die keilin-
 schriftliche Forschung, Archiv für Religionswissen-
 schaft, 1902 v.p.321; cited in Webster; p. 246, n.3.
 21. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, Berlin, 1905; p. 109.
 W.E. Addis, Documents of the Hexateuch, London,
 1892; i, p.139, and Hebrew Religion under Ezra,
 London, 1906; p. 85, cited in Webster, p. 246.
 Karl Budde, The Sabbath and the Week, Journal of
 Theological Studies, Oct. 1928; p. 5, points out
 that this is also the opinion of Marti and Stade.
 22. Ritual Code of the Kenites (J): Ex. 34:21. Book of
 Covenant (E) 23:12. Ethical Decalogue, Ex.20:8-11.
 Deut code. Deut. 5:12-15. Holiness code, Lev23:1-3,
 19:30 (Ht). Priestly code, Ex31:12-15; 35:1-3.
 23. Karl Budde, op. cit. p. 5.
 24. ibid.
 25. If Canaanites at all; in Neh.13:16, "the Tyrians"
 may not have been Tyrians. Cf. infra, The Sabbath
 in Nehemiah. Budde's proof is not particularly con-
 clusive for it is certain that the Jews who had the
 Sabbath for centuries by that time were not ob-
 serving it. So it would not be far-fetched to assume
 that the Canaanites might do the same.
 26. Budde, ibid.
 27. Cf. infra, Ch. The Sabbath under K and C.
 28. Questiones de historia Sabbati, Leipzig, 1883;
 cited in Jastrow, Original Character etc., p/ 315;
 and in Jewish Encyclopedia, ix, p. 591.
 29. II Rawlinson, Pl.32 Nr.1,16; Cuneiform Texts
 from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum;
 pt. xviii, pl. 23, 17.
 30. Morris Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,
 New York, 1914; p. 135.
 - 31 ibidem; cf. also T.G. Pinches, Sapattu, the Baby-
 lonian Sabbath. Proceedings of Soc. Bibl. Arch.,
 1904; opp. p. 56.

32. 7 x 7 of days of previous month, analogous to the calculation of our Feast of weeks.
33. The seven-days are claimed to be a feature also of Marheshwan.
34. Johannes Hehn, Siebenzahl und Sabbat, Leipzig, 1907; p. 106f; also Der Israelitische Sabbat, Münster, 1912, p. 21.
35. A. Jeremias, op. cit. i, p. 200. Cf. also Heinrich Zimmer, Keilinschriften und Bibel, Berlin, 1903; p. 31. Original in IV Rawlinson, 32f., cited in Hehn, S&S, p. 106f; DIS, p. 21. The translation which I render from the German differs somewhat from that in Jeremias:
 "The shepherd of the numerous people is not permitted to eat meat which is broiled on coals, Ashbread, nor change his personal attire, nor don bright clothes, nor pour out a libation. The king is not permitted to ascend his carriage nor speak as a ruler. The magician is not to give oracles in secret places; the physician is not to lay hand on the sick; and it is not possible to execute a bann."
36. Hehn, S&S, p. 107ff. DIS, p. 22.
37. Ibidem. Cf. infra, ch. Sabbath and Symbolism of the Number Seven.
38. IIK.4:23/
39. Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, p. 136-137; also the Liver as Seat of the Soul, in Studies in History of Religions, New York, 192; p. 144.
40. Jastrow, H&B, p. 137.
41. ibidem; Jastrow is of the opinion that the usual interpretation of שַׁבָּת as the intensive form of שָׁבַת is incorrect, and that it means rather "sabbatical" or "Sabbath-like." p. 138.
42. T.G. Pinches, op. cit. p. 51-56.
43. Jastrow, H&B, p. 138, n. 2.
44. ibid. p. 139.
45. T.G. Pinches, op. cit. p. 51-56. This is denied by Assyriologist A.T. Clay. There is no verb root šapātu from which šapattum as a synonym of gamaru may be derived. Cf. Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, 1915; p. 78f.

46. A.T. Clay, op. cit., p. 79.
47. Hehn, S&S, p. 90ff.; DIS, p. 17ff. Meinhold, S&W, p. 12f. Bohn, Der Sabbat in AT und in alt-jüdischen religiösen Aberglauben, Gütersloh, 1903; p. 3.
48. Meinhold, S&W, p. 12f., feels that šapattum is possibly not a Babylonian word, but may have come from the Canaanitic, but not from the Arabic. Nielsen and Hommel favor the Arabic, whereas Winckler and others favor the Hebrew-Canaanitic source. For example, it is evident that arhu, month, comes from Canaanitic, etc. In any case the Assyrian šapattu is against the suggested pronunciation of šāṣṣē (after šāṣṣ). Nielsen and Hommel assert the reading must be šāṣṣē or perhaps šāṣṣē, but not šāṣṣē. Barth's comparison with šāṣṣē, shows that the word šāṣṣē is very old, an opinion which Meinhold shares. If Barth is correct šāṣṣē might be considered an archaic form, preceding the Babylonian term. šāṣṣē parallels the word šāṣṣ. The "tu" at the end of the Babylonian šapat-tu is the feminine particle. (Compare iršitu, the Hebrew ירשית) As a part of his philological explanation of the Sabbath, Meinhold derives additional evidence of the root meaning of the word from an obscure and somewhat corrupt passage in Ben Sirah (43:6-8). By dealing with the Greek version which presents the sense better than the Hebrew, Meinhold shows that the full moon which he maintains is referred to in the Bible as sabbath, is here spoken of as koleh, "the completed one." "The theory," concludes Meinhold, "that sabbath meant originally a day of rest must also be rejected on philological grounds. Cf. S&W, pp. 12-13.
49. Henn, S&S, p. 90ff; DIS, p. 20ff. Meinhold, S&W, p. 13.
50. Hehn, S&S, p. 92. DIS, p. 17.
51. *ibid.* p. 98; *ibid.* p. 17.
52. *ibidem*
53. *ibid.* pp. 98-99; *ibid.* pp. 19-20.
54. *ibid.* p. 99-100; *ibidem*
55. cited in Hehn, DIS, p. 20.
56. Cf. p. 20f., if we accept Jastrow's theory. Amer. Journal of Theology, 1898; pp. 332ff. Cf. also C.H. Toy, The Earliest Form of the Sabbath, JBL, 1899; pp. 190ff., who following Schrader, Stud. in Krit. 1874, regards the Sabbath as a lunar festival

similar to the Babylonian custom; namely, that sapattum = sabbath. Jensen in SS Times, Jan 16, 1892 questions the identity of sapattu and šapē or šapē, as the Babylonian term means propitiation of the deity, never rest. But this view is untenable in the light of the earlier meaning of Sabbath, the work of Jastrow in showing šapē so similar in meaning to sapattum, etc. šapē is identical in form and meaning according to Jastrow and Toy (p. 191) to the Hebrew שָׁפַע and שָׁפַע. Thus the term is logically applied not only to the weekly Sabbath, but also to the first and eighth days of such festivals as Šuccoth and Pesach, to the Day of Atonement and to the Sabbatical year. The Hebrew institution was called Sabbath like the Babylonian unfavorable days, because it was a day of propitiation resulting from the restrictions attached to it. Cf. Toy, op. cit. p. 91. B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalendar der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 1915; agrees substantially with Jastrow that sapattu is not the Sabbath, but a Sabbath among others, "a general term like Shabbathon. Budde, *Sabbath and week*, p. 4, concurs and cites Landsberger on this point.

57. Cf. supra, p. 19f, or T.G. Pinches' chart, op. cit. opposite p. 56.
59. Karl Budde, *The Sabbath and the Week*, JTS, 1928, p. 9.
58. Oct. 1928, pp. 1-15.
60. Johannes Meinhold, *Zur Sabbatfrage*, ZATW, vol. 40, 1930; pp. 121-138; cf. p. 125.
61. ibidem
62. Cuneiform Texts, VII 10,21, cited in Meinhold, *Zur Sabbatfrage*, p. 125.
63. *Zur Sabbatfrage*, p. 134.
64. ibid. p. 125.
65. S&S, p. 96.
66. Cuneiform Texts, XXV, 50, cited in *Zur Sabbatfrage*, p. 126.
67. Landsberger, op. cit., p. 93.
68. ibid. p. 133, cited in *Zur Sabbatfrage*, p. 126.

69. Karl Budde, *Zur Sabbatfrage*, Antwort auf J. Meinhold, pp. 138-145, *zATW*, vol 48, 1930. Speyer, op. cit., following Landsberger shows that the name šapattu for the day was shared by kunnu (prepare solemnly), naharnutu (pray), and sullu (pray), thus weakening the analogy that the day might have had with the Sabbath, although all the words have in common the meaning of "communion with the gods." Speyer, p. 8, n.2. "The celebration of the day (Sabbath) can by no means have any connection with the unlucky days, ume limnuti, which had nearly no significance in the lives of the people." Landsberger, p. 99.
70. Before the A code, 899 B.C.E., the earliest legislative reference to the seventh day Sabbath as such. Cf. Speyer, op. cit. on this question.
71. Budde, Antwort, p. 141, n.1.
72. Others are the examination of the liver of a sacrificial animal, and inspection of infants at time of birth. Cf. Jastrow, H&B, p. 140f.
73. Morris Jastrow, *Aspects of Belief and Practise in Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 207-264, N. Y. 1911.
74. Jastrow, H&B, pp. 142-145.
75. If we are to accept the word of Jastrow, Hehn and Clay in this matter. Cf. supra, pp. 15ff. Also Jastrow, H&B, p. 134ff., Hehn, DIS, pp. 17ff. Clay, op. cit., p. 76.
76. This is true in the Arabic; cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T.*, Boston, 1928; p. 237. And it is possibly true of the ancient Hebrews as Webster maintains, p. 248; after F. Hommel, *Der Gestirndienst der alten Araber und die altarabische Überlieferung*, Munich, 1901, p. 28. Cf. also M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911; p. 214, n.3 and p. 336, n.2.
77. Cf. Hehn, DIS, on identification of šapattu and Babylonian seven-day, pp. 23ff. Doubt is cast even on the identity of šapattu as full moon day by Delitzsch, who regards it as a general term connoting a day of prayer and quietude that can occur at any time, without the idea of atonement, cited in Hehn, DIS, p. 24. For this and other reasons, Hehn feels that in nature the seven-days are not šapattu days, and therefore a direct analogy cannot be drawn for either with the Hebrew Sabbath. Further weakening of the analogy comes when we realize that the seven-days like the šapattu are often referred to

often referred to by different names, connoting totally different ideas. Furthermore, there is not the slightest evidence of a seven-day week in Babylonia. p. 25.

78. *ibid.*

79. As we shall see, the Sabbath was a mark of distinction for the Jews amidst a Babylonian environment, which would hardly have been a distinguishing sign, had the Babylonians a similar institution which recurred every seven days, or even one of another interval which was the source of the Hebrew Sabbath.

80. From the earliest legislation, Ex. 34:21, through the latest writings of P, the Sabbath was always mentioned by its distinctive name, either in the noun form directly, or implied in the verb distinctive of it. For evidence of the anonymity of the Babylonian seven-days, see Webster, p. 253.

81. The poet Tibullus, d. 19 B.C.E., gives the oldest reference to Saturday, identifying it with the supposedly inauspicious Jewish Sabbath. Frontius, a Roman army officer, (d. about 103 C.E.) accounts for Vespasian's victory over the Jews, because of the latter's fear of engaging in battle on Saturn's day. Dio Cassius speaks of the Jews as having dedicated the day of Saturn to their God. Tacitus feels that the Jewish Sabbath may be an observance in honor of Saturn. Cited in Webster, and in P. Lejoy, *Le Sabbat juif et les poètes latins*, in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, viii, 305-335.

82. *The Religion of Israel*, London, 1873, i, p.262ff.

83. F. Baur, *Der Hebraische Sabbat und die Nationalfeste des Mosaischen Cultus*, in *Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1832, iii, pp. 145ff.

85. Karl Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York, 1899; p. 68, and W. R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, New York, 1905; pp. 137ff, maintain that this verse points to early Israelite worship of the planet Saturn.

86. Kuenen, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266; Schiaparelli, *Astronomy in the O.T.*, pp. 48ff; and P. Jensen, "Astronomy," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii, p.246.

87. Webster, p. 244.

84. With the probable meaning of this questionable and corrupt v. we shall deal later.

88. ibidem, p. 243.
89. ibidem, p. 244.
90. ibidem, p. 243.
91. Religion of Israel to the Exile, p. 68, n.1.
92. Kuenen, op. cit. p. 264f. It is readily evident that such a conclusion is far-fetched and hypothetical.
93. Jeremias, The O.T. in the Light of the Ancient East, vol. i, p. 201.
94. ibid., p. 202. (95. ibid. p. 201, n.5.
96. cited in Jeremias, i, p. 202, and also in Webster, p. 245. Most authorities believe, however that it was not until the first century of our era when the planetary week became fixed that the Sabbath was shown to be related to Saturn's day. This Talmudic story and the name *Shabbat* for Saturn are a result of this late association. Cf. J. Fürst, Kultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien, Leipzig, 1849, i; p. 40. Also W. Nowack, Lehrbuch der hebraischen Archäologie, Strassburg, 1894, ii, pp. 142ff; and E. Schürer, ZNTW, 1905, vi, pp. 6f., 19.
97. B. D. Erdmans, Der Sabbat von A.T., Martifestschrift, Giessen, 1925. Budde, in The Religion of Israel to the Exile, pp. 17-38, presents an excellent picture of the Kenite theory, which although severely criticized and challenged, has not been seriously undermined. In brief the theory is that Moses learned of the cult of Yahweh during his sojourn in the Midianite or Kenite territory, and returned to Egypt promising to deliver his people in the name of this deity. That Moses himself had been won over at the mountain of Yahweh, Horeb or Sinai, cannot be denied from the Biblical account (Ex.3:1ff). This occurred while pasturing the flocks of Jethro, his father-in-law, within the pasturage area of Jethro's tribe! Jethro's people were known as the Midianites or more exactly the Kenites as indicated in Jud. 4:11,17. Hobab, the Kenite and brother-in-law of Moses, has the important task of guiding Israel through the desert (Num.10:29-31). He attaches himself to the tribe of Judah, settling with his fellows in the far south (Judg. 1:16). Under Saul and David the Kenites are remembered gratefully for ancient favors and friendship with Israel (1 Sam. 15:6, 27:10, 30:29). Budde is certain that so close

a connection must have been a religious one and as such the Kenites were the worshippers of Yahweh before Israel. It was from them and at their holy mountain that Moses was first introduced to their overpowering storm-god, who made Moses his prophet. This conclusion is further bolstered when during the battle of Taanach (which was the victory of Yahweh over the Baalim), Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, slays Sisera and wins the highest praise as a champion of Yahweh (Judg.4:11,17; 5:24). We know too that the Rechabites, the staunch proponents and purists of the Yahweh cult were descendants of the Kenites. (IChron.2:55). Jonadab ben Rechab, their ancestor, has precisely this role under Jehu in 842, as have his descendants in besieged Jerusalem at the time of Jeremiah (IIK.10; Jer. 35.). Elijah, the greatest prophet of the ninth century, was most likely also a Kenite, who retires to Horeb, the holy mountain of Yahweh, to seek counsel and learn God's will (IK.19:1-18). His fierce zeal for Yahweh at Mt. Carmel against the prophets of Baal, who had ^{indeed} apparently won over many of the people, would also ^{indicate} his Kenite origin. The fact that his origin is obscure is also significant. The word 'qṣṣ in IK.17:1 is probably a dittography of 'qṣṣ which follows, because there never was in Canaan or Gilead a place name like Teshev. Rather we must understand רְעַבִּי as referring to "the nomadic dwellings" of Gilead. And this region is not far from Taanach, where lived Heber the Kenite and his wife Jael (Judg.4:1). So Budde is undoubtedly correct when he says, "...it is no mere invention of ingenious curiosity, but an ancient tradition of the highest value, which, though it be deliberately veiled and obscured here and there, yet comes along many channels, that Israel inherited and adopted from the wilderness tribe of the Kenites its God Yahweh and His religion...." Sabbath and the Week, J. T. S., p. 11.

98. Num. 15:32ff.

99. Eerdmans, op. cit., p. 80.

100. There are a number of allusions to the sacredness of fire in .O.T. Ex. 3:2, 19:18, 24:17; IK. 18:24; Deut.4:24; Is.30:27; Lev.9:24; 10:2.

101. Eerdmans, p. 83.

102. ibidem

103. The Sabbath and the Week, J.T.S.. Oct. 1928, pp.1-15.

104. *ibid.*, p. 10.
105. IISam. 21:16; kayyin= lance.
106. Little may be deduced from this, however, as it is a post-exile account, and highly artificial.
107. Budde thinks the two offshoots of the descendants of Cain, Jubal, the musician, and Tubal, the smith, are in their tribal groups comparable to the Slovakian tinkers and the Bohemian musicians, familiar to but held in low esteem by the Germans of our generation. *The Sabbath and Week*, p. 13. The analogy, like most analogies, is only approximate and not very apt.
108. Although, as we shall eventually show, the Saturn-Kenite theory is based on insufficient and controversial data, it is very likely that the Kenites were a smith tribe and that rich deposits of copper were present in the "Arabah." Cf. *Annual of the A.S.O.R.*, vol. xv, 1934-35; Nelson Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, II, pp. 48-49. Presence of copper and iron in Canaan is shown in Deut. 8:9, and Num. 21:9. The pun on the Kenites in Balaam's remark (Num. 24:21) places them in Sela in Petra, according to Glueck. South of Petra were discovered large deposits of iron and copper. Cf. *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 834. A lance made by a Kenite is known as kayyin.
109. Judg. 5:26, 4:21.
110. Cf. Is. 44:12, where the work of a smith is described and the term אֲדָרָן is used in the plural. In Is. 41:7 where hammering in the conventional sense is referred to, the term מַלְאָךְ is applied to the hammer. Cf. also Jer. 23:29, and 50:23 for similar usages.
111. ISam, 15:6.
112. IIK. 10:15ff.
113. Jer. 35.
114. Cf. *supra*, p. 35f.
115. Compare IK. 17:12, where there can be no doubt that the woman gathered the sticks for making a fire.
116. Budde, *Sabbath and Week*, p. 14.
117. Gen. 2:1-3, Ex. 31:15ff, Ezek. 20:11f, etc.

118. Budde, Sabbath and Week, pp. 14-15.
119. Hehn, S&S, p. 130, shows that in Babylonia, Saturn was known as salmu, "dark."
120. Eerdmans, op. cit., pp. 81-82.
121. IIR. 4:23, Amos 8:5, Hosea 2:13, Is.1:13.
122. Johannes Meinhold, Zur Sabbatfrage, ZATW, vol. 48, 1930; pp. 121-138.
123. ibid. pp. 135-136.
125. ibid. p. 136, n.1. Sellin, die kleine Propheten.
124. For this explanation I am indebted to Dr. Morgenstern. He considers, furthermore, that vv. 26-27 are an interpolation, coming from a different setting than that of Amos. V. 25 should precede v. 21, so that the connection of v. 26 with the desert period is definitely incorrect.
126. Meinhold cites Zimmern for corroboration on this point, Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 136.
127. Webster, p. 245; and Meinhold, Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 136.
128. Hehn DIS, p. 30.
129. Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 136.
130. ibidem
131. ibid. p. 137.
132. ibidem. Nielsen views Yahweh as an old Arabic moon god, honored in the form of a steer, and
133. maintains that Israel took the new moon and full moon days from them as a festival celebrating Yahweh. Cited in Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 137.
133. Cf. Karl Budde, Religion of Israel to the Exile, New York, 1899; also Antwort auf J. Meinhold, pp. 144-145, Zur Sabbatfrage. The most complete, recent presentation of the biblical portions dealing with the story of the Kenites is to be found in Morgenstern's Oldest Document of the Hexateuch, Cincinnati, 1927.
134. Budde, Antwort auf J. Meinhold's Zur Sabbatfrage, pp. 144-145; and Religion of Israel to the Exile, Ch. I, particularly.
135. Budde, Antwort, p. 145.

II. THE SABBATH AS A JEWISH INSTITUTION AND PRODUCT.

1. The Lunar Basis for the Sabbath.

2. The Sabbath and the Symbolism of the
Number Seven.

3. Summary and Conclusions.

4. Notes on the Sabbath as a Jewish
Institution and Product.

THE SABBATH AS A JEWISH INSTITUTION AND PRODUCT.

If we have failed to find a certain and unquestioned source of origin for the Hebrew Sabbath among Israel's neighbors, perhaps another line of inquiry may be fruitful. An institution which was so central to the cult particularly into exilic times, might well have arisen indigenously out of elements within the folk customs of the Hebrew people itself. That the Sabbath was a distinctive institution of ancient Israel is obvious from the survey of possible sources of origin we have already made. None of the seeming analogies or suggested sources were supported by conclusive and convincing evidence. At best we can say that the Hebrew Sabbath and the Babylonian šapattu had a common background and etymological source; or that the Sabbath bears an interesting resemblance to aspects of the ume limnuti of Ellul II and Marheswan (never known as šapattu days). To say that this is a relationship based on cultural borrowing would be pure conjecture. That there is too little evidence to confirm these conjectures and explanations we have already shown.

But turning to the question with which we shall now confront ourselves, how could the Sabbath have arisen indigenously in Israel if it is not the product of direct borrowing, and what is there in early Hebrew traditions and folklore that could have enabled the

Sabbath institution to evolve? The first line of inquiry which should prove fruitful is the relationship of the Hebrews in common with other Semitic peoples to the moon and its importance in near-eastern antiquity. A second might be an examination of the number seven and its symbolism which seems to have given the seventh-day Sabbath its early significance.

1. The Lunar Basis for the Hebrew Sabbath.

We have already dealt with the importance of the moon and its phases to Israel and the nomadic peoples in connection with our discussion of the Babylonian analogies to the Sabbath, but a word or two of reiteration should bring us closer to an understanding of our problem. That the moon was of significance to Israel as well as to all nomadic peoples is well known.¹ The Bible gives us ample evidence of this in that reference to the moon is made in no less than 27 places not including the 125 or so verses where its cognate form month is referred to. Nielsen and Hommel show the importance of the moon not only as the guide and calendator but as central in the ancient Arabic astral worship.²

The Psalmist reflects the current Israelite view of the importance of the moon in regulating the calendar and thus the religious life of the people in Ps. 104: 19.³ And the sagacious Ben Sirach elaborates on this idea and lends further credence to the moon's importance in ancient Israel.⁵ Similarly in the Koran 10, 5, the moon reckons time for month and year. Even in the sun-regulated calendar of Babylonia, inscriptions speak of ade Nannari (moon periods) by which time is reckoned.⁶ The importance of the moon as a guide at night to the nomadic tribes of ancient Israel was at least as great as it is to the Arab Bedouin today.

There ~~were~~ for the ancient east and unquestionably

for early Israel three periods of observation of the moon to which special significance was attached:⁷ the new moon, the full moon, and the time of disappearance of the moon at the end of the month. For the present the austere significance of these three periods need not concern us, but the two chief periods of transition, that of the new moon and the full moon, has as counterparts of lesser importance the intervening quarters which divided the lunar month into four equal parts of approximately seven days each. Most authorities are agreed that from the phases of the moon as a part of lunation, the week of ancient Israel arose, and from this natural law of the universe the significance of the occult number seven.⁸ Whether or not the week of seven days preceded the settlement in Canaan is not known, but it is not unlikely. The lack of a seven-day week among Israel's neighbors, Egypt and Babylonia would seem to indicate an indigenous development of the week along with the Sabbath.⁹ But among the Semites the seven-day period which led to a seven-day week was one of the distinctive features of Hebrew folkways.¹⁰ Writes Davis: "A seven-day period was a measure of time among the Semites in remote ages, but that there is ^{no} absolute proof of a week in our sense of the term, universally observed....but only a period of seven days as an inclusion of time that had been thrust on man's notice and had found employment in daily life".¹¹ Excluding the seven-day week there are fully forty references in the Old Testa-

ment to seven-day periods. Boscawen states, however, that the Canaanites took with them the seven-day period when they emigrated from Babylon, and that the fifth tablet of the Assyrian account of Creation, presents unmistakeable evidence of the week.¹²

We shall defer a consideration of the seven-day periods of ancient Israel until our consideration of the symbolism and significance of the number seven, but for the present we may say that the week arose in ancient Israel by the time of the settlement in Canaan, and out of this, the seventh day of the week as a day of special significance seems to have arisen.

We may now consider this significance on the basis of lunation itself. The significance of the transition periods of the moon's phases is well known. The ancient peoples of the near east regarded the disappearance of the moon at the end of the lunar month as one fraught with great danger.¹³ This disappearance led, for example, to the belief among the Babylonians that the moon had been swallowed up by a dragon, etc. The failure of the narrow crescent of the new moon to appear when expected was cause for great alarm, and its appearance elicited great joy and exultation.¹⁴ But it was not an unmitigated joy, particularly if due to clouds or weather conditions, the moon was seen later than it should. The result that was this occasion too, partook of some of the austerity of the dark period at the end of the month. But between the two extremes of the new moon and the ominous and for-

bidding end of the month there was the full moon period which in Babylon, as we have noticed had the nature of being favorable-unfavorable. That is, if the prescriptions of the šapattu were carefully carried out, the deity properly palliated and the day's austerity respected, the occasion could become favorable rather than unfavorable. The failure to observe the rites and prescriptions of the day meant dire consequences at the hands of the wrathful deity. And because the waning and waxing of the moon was believed to have direct influence on human welfare, health and illness, storm and wind, generation and decay, menstruation and delivery, there are a whole variety of ways in which failure to palliate the deity on these austere days might effect one's life.¹⁵

The intermediate periods of transition between the new moon and the full moon also came to have an austerity only inferior to that of the full moon and the moon's disappearance altogether. So that among the early Semites too, it was natural that the full moon, the new moon and the half moons should similarly be days of ill-omen and abstinence. "The phases of the moon" says Webster, "came to be considered critical times and to be marked not only by religious exercises, but also by feasting and cessation from customary occupations".¹⁶ These transition periods of the moon's phases became austere days of atonement and abstinence, feels Jastrow, because of the elements of uncertainty, the calling of attention to the passing

of the old and the apprehension as to the appearance of the new. Precaution through various palliative means must be taken so that the day pass without mishap and that the new seven-day period be inaugurated with the deity in proper humor.

That festival occasions should have arisen at these transitional periods of the year as well as the moon's phases is well known. The festivals of all nations that fall at the midwinter solstice,¹⁷ the spring, summer and fall festivals are coincident with holy days in all religions.¹⁸ Similarly the "transition" periods in human life, birth, puberty, marriage, and death are the occasion for observance of ceremonies.¹⁹ The Bible gives us ample evidence of festival occasions during the transition periods of the calendar year, and we have already noted that their dates correspond or coincide with the phases of the moon. Just as the holidays were a natural development during the changing seasons or solstices, so the Sabbath connected with lunation as a special occasion during the four monthly transitional periods of the moon arose. Thus it was that the Sabbath was applied by the Hebrews to the four phases of the moon, and then later becoming freed from lunation, it recurred every seven days throughout the years without reference to the moon's phases.²⁰

If we lend credence to the theory of the Sabbath as the full moon festival of the Hebrews and as the

Šapattu of the Babylonians which was their full moon day, we must grant that of necessity the Sabbath had its origin in the phase of the moon that occurred about the fifteenth of the month. That there is much evidence for this theory will be shown in a later chapter when we consider in some detail the theories of Meinhold and Jastrow with regard to the early character of the Sabbath. We may say in passing that by assigning passages dealing with the seventh-day as a day of Sabbath observance to exilic or post-exilic times, these two authorities have laid the foundation for a belief in the Sabbath as a full moon day. To Jastrow in particular, such an explanation of the Sabbath fits best with its original character as an austere occasion. While Meinhold lays stress on the frequent coupling of new moon and Sabbath in numerous Biblical verses,²¹ Jastrow bases his theory on a passage like Lev. 23:16 which he feels points conclusively to the full moon day.²² This is an old tradition, despite its comparatively late incorporation (H) which stands as a signpost of an abandoned road. The linkage of the Sabbath with the new moon, Jastrow feels, too is of significance in the early Sabbath's being a full moon day, but he tries to find in this full moon nature of the Sabbath a Babylonian origin, which would itself be subject to the weaknesses we have already discussed.

The Sabbath even as a fifteenth day of the month may well be a distinctive contribution of ancient Is-

rael despite its seeming similarity to the Babylonian šapattu. Clay feels that not only is the institution West Semitic, but that the word šapattu itself is West Semitic, rather than its being the source for the Hebrew שַׁבָּת.²³ There is no root in Akkadian synonymous with gamaru (to complete, fulfill, bring to an end, destroy), which is similar to meanings of the Hebrew הָשֵׁב from which šapattu is to be derived. If the Hebrew Sabbath were in early times a fifteenth day of the month, "the observance of the day was carried to Babylonia at an early time which was prior to the adoption of the term "Sabbath" for the quarters of the month".²⁴ In a previous section we have observed that the verb in its fundamental meaning might be rendered: "to be complete, finished, brought to an end", etc.

Thus it would be logical to consider the moon, using the native West Semitic word as שָׁמַל or completed, full moon. The necessity for the use of this term, however, for the full moon is not so apparent, when we recall that שֶׁמֶל is used in contradistinction to עֶרְבָּה, new moon, as a designation for the full moon.²⁵ It is possible too, that just as עֶרְבָּה lost its original meaning and was later used to designate the month as such, so שָׁמַל, the alternative word for month may have meant full moon. But this is pure conjecture, there being no Biblical evidence for it.

Whatever may be said in favor of the full moon character of the early Sabbath, it is certain that by

the time of the K Code²⁶ the term came to be applied to the seventh day of the week whether attached to lunation or not. And the chances are that the Sabbath as a seventh day of the week was already an established institution before it was crystallized in legislation. The Kenite hypothesis of the Sabbath could well permit the institution to be observed as a taboo day once in seven, considering its limited prohibitions. But it is certain that a seven-day Sabbath of as severe a nature as that which prevailed in the days of Josiah and the Deuteronomic code could hardly have been observed by a nomadic people in the desert who had constantly to give care to sheep and cattle as well as to the protection of the family and possessions. It is needless to say that a seventh day Sabbath of so strict a nature would be too great a burden ever to have become a religious rite during nomadic times. It is entirely possible that the Israelites had, however, a full moon Sabbath of austere significance which persisted until after the settlement in Canaan and a syncretism took place in their adoption of the agricultural festivals of the Canaanites.²⁷ This might account for the close relationship between the spring and harvest festivals with the fifteenth of the spring and fall months, in the first instance, at least directly spoken of as the Sabbath.²⁸ The festival although associated with the exodus is really a spring agricultural festival, and as with the fall festival, chosen to fall around the fifteenth because of the propitiatory character

of the old Israelite Sabbath.²⁹ The syncretism of the Sabbath with the festivals of Canaanite origin is seen in the identification of Shabbathon with Sabbath, and Shabbathon in turn with $\text{h}\text{z}\text{z}\text{z}$ or zzz ,³⁰ used commonly as days marking the close of, or important occasions within, the festivals.^{30a} This may have marked one line of development of the Sabbath idea which was soon abandoned in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath. It is not known how the early full moon or lunation significance of the Sabbath was lost, but it is not far-fetched to assume that from a series of days that might be regarded as Shabbathon or Sabbath-like as Jastrow chooses to call them, arose the Sabbath as the distinctive term for the seventh-day.

This transition, too, might logically have taken place from the very significance of the full moon designation itself, hzz , as the completed moon^{which} is not remote in meaning from hzz , the seventh or completing day of the week; and we have already seen how etymologically through the Akkadian that hzz may be related to zzz . This should make the transition from a completed moon period to the completed week period (from full moon to Sabbath) relatively easy, although when and how this change came about we can only guess.

2. Sabbath and Symbolism of the Number Seven.

The connection between the Sabbath and seven brings us to a study of the significance of the number seven in ancient Israel and among its neighbors. Through such inquiry we may be led to further light on the indigenous character of the Hebrew Sabbath and the source for the austere nature of the early Sabbath in Israel. It is upon the number seven that the Sabbath is based according to Hehn.³¹ "The idea of the Sabbath built upon the all-penetrating number seven had its roots so deep in the consciousness of the people; it was an idea so uniform, that temporary influences could not change its character."³²

The number seven had great significance not only among the ancient Israelites as manifested by numerous passages in the Bible but among its Assyrian, Babylonian, and Nabatean neighbors. In fact the symbolism of the number seven is one of the most prevalent in the near east. It would be super^{er}ogatory to collate all the Biblical passages in which the number seven occurs. Suffice it to say that the number seven occurs in the most varied tasks and circumstances of life. It is used in confirming oaths, in effecting atonements, lustrations, in offering sacrifice, in marking off periods of time, and in a hundred and one other ways besides designation of a special day for the observance of the Sabbath.

Let us consider, however, Old Testament passages

in which typical usages of seven occur. Seven is often used to designate the indefinite or round number. The use of seven-fold in Genesis signifying full or complete vengeance is evident in the reference to Cain and Lamech.³³ Similar is the use of seven-fold in Ps. 79:12, Prov. 6:31, Is. 30:26. This usage indicates seven's significance as symbolic of the wholeness or completeness of a thing as the (brightness of the sun). This significance is further apparent in the seven abominations of Prov. 26:25 and the punishment of seven times in Lev. 26:18, 21, 24, 28, which likewise show quantity, wholeness or completeness.³⁴

The Hebrew noun שבע, which has been shown to be connected with the Assyrian siba,³⁵ denotes in its verb form "to be satisfied, full, complete",³⁶ and the death of one having completed a long life is described by the terms שבע ימי "satisfied with days". In Babylonia too, the concept of seven as a number of fullness or completeness is evident in the equation: seven=kiššatu.³⁷ It seems that the significance of seven as a whole or round number is its fundamental meaning and then it came to be used as the numeral. The use of seven as indicating completeness or perfection makes it particularly significant in magical rites and in early religious observance among primitive peoples.³⁸

There is abundant evidence of the use of the number seven also as a holy or sacred number both among the Israelites and the Babylonians, but its occurrence in

the biblical literature is much more frequent than in Babylonian writings.³⁹ Note the frequent use of seven with regard to various rites and ceremonies, sacrifices at the altar, and as part of purification and lustration techniques. So that his imprecations may be blessed with success, Balaam counsels Balak to "build seven altars and offer seven bullocks and seven rams".⁴⁰ The conquest of Jericho is effected by employing seven priests bearing seven trumpets to encircle the city on seven successive days and on the seventh, seven times.⁴¹ The magical quality of the number seven is seen in its recurrence in the Samson story; seven fresh bowstrings,⁴² the weaving of seven locks into a web;⁴³ and the seven locks⁴⁴ in which resided Samson's remarkable strength. There are a host of further passages, too numerous to mention, that show the prominence of the number seven in cult ceremonies and ritual practice. The ^{seven-fold} sprinkling of the blood of the sacrificial animal is an oft repeated formula.⁴⁵ The sprinkling of oil seven times is a similar magical rite of purification.⁴⁶ Other magical rites of purification, demonstrating the occult power of the number seven occur in the Old Testament.⁴⁷ There is further evidence of the use of the number seven in lustration and purification from uncleanness, or in examinations for such ritual disqualifications.⁴⁸ Akin to the use of seven in rites of the altar and atonement is the custom of seven days of mourning, still customary in Jewish practise but unquestionably originating in the ritual significance of the number seven.⁴⁹ There are particularly in the case of mourning many parallels in

Assyrian and Babylonian literature.⁵⁰

There is a final way in which the Old Testament shows the magical or sacred significance of the number seven. That is in the Hebrew word for taking an oath or swearing. It is *שבע* used in the *nifal*, which means literally and originally, "to seven oneself or to bind oneself by seven things".⁵¹ The sacred nature of oaths and vows was current in the ancient east just as it still is among the Bedouin tribes of Arabia today. The use of the root *שבע* in solemn asseveration in which God (or possibly seven gods of earth and heaven) was called as witness is proof positive of the sacred significance of the number seven in the eyes of ancient Israel.⁵²

We may now turn to the application of the number seven as it relates more closely to the Sabbath, as embracing a fixed period of time. Here too, as Hehn points out, the Babylonians used the seven day period, but the true seven-day week was never found among settlers of Mesopotamia in ancient times.⁵³ The seven day period of mourning as in Israel is also known there.⁵⁴ The seven days of purification is prominent along with the seven sprinklings.⁵⁵ There are other examples of seven day periods without an arbitrary or mystical significance, such as the seven day periods of the Noah story,⁵⁶ or in Saul's waiting seven days for Samuel to give him instructions.⁵⁷ The seven-day period of the encircling of Jericho,⁵⁸ and ^{of} the turning to blood of the waters of the Nile⁵⁹ may likewise fall in this category, but it is less certain. The seven

day periods marked by special ritual, atonement or purification significance, however, are mentioned much more frequently in the Old Testament. Contact with a corpse⁶⁰ requires a seven-day period of purification, as does the mother after child-birth.⁶¹ But the seven day period could also be one of joy and exultation as well as one of propitiation or mourning, as evidenced in the seven day wedding feasts.⁶² Solomon held a great feast of seven days, which is one of our earliest traditions of a seven day period.⁶³ There are a large number of Biblical passages that attest to the prevalence of seven-day periods in ancient Israel disregarding for the nonce the seven day week.⁶⁴

A number of these seven-day periods refer to festival occasions as Israelite cult was based on the hebdomadal system.⁶⁵ The seventh day as the Sabbath was pivotal and primary in this arrangement. Passover starting the fourteenth day of Nisan, is to be observed seven days, and starting with the seventh day, the Feast of Weeks, seven weeks later;⁶⁶ on the first day of the seventh month, the ram's horn is to be blown⁶⁷ and the tenth day, the Day of Atonement is observed.⁶⁸ On the fifteenth day of the month for seven days is the Feast of Booths.⁶⁹ The seventh year is the year of release or the Sabbatical year.⁷⁰ And the Jubilee year is the seven times seven years or seven weeks of years, to complete the hebdomadal arrangement.⁷¹ The prominence of seven generations in the structure of Jewish history may be seen in the genealogies of Gen. IV., which have counterparts in later history even into Talmudic times.⁷²

The use of the seventy year period as that to be fulfilled through the exile is a part of the same scheme.⁷³

It was logical and natural then, in such a hebdomadal system based on the number seven that the Sabbath should arise as the seventh day cult occasion of each week. Were it otherwise, were the Sabbath a full moon day, for example, until the time of Ezekiel as Meinhold maintains,⁷⁴ it would be extremely hard to explain that phenomenon along with the vast bulk of evidence as to the importance and significance of the number seven in the private as well as the religious life of the people.

The prominence of the number seven in magical rites, in atonement and purification ceremonies lends to the number a significance closely related to that of the Sabbath as an austere day and one of propitiation, particularly in its earlier stages of development. But if the number seven is a source of origin for the Sabbath, what about the origin of the number seven itself, at least as far as its symbolic character is concerned?

What then may we say accounts for the nature of seven and its importance in Semitic life and literature? It has been contended that just as the week may have arisen from the division of the lunar month into four parts, the Sabbath representing the transition period of each phase⁷⁵ so the number seven arose as the approximate number of days in each phase of the moon (actually $7\frac{2}{3}$). This seven day period in turn gave rise to the week, which ran through out the years un-

fettered by lunation, and to the crowning conclusion of the week; namely, the Sabbath. But although this somewhat circular argument may itself be valid, it fails on the one hand to show why the number seven should have taken on an ominous significance and how this significance could have molded and affected the original character of the Sabbath.

There is a well known theory to explain the symbolic character of seven among the Semites. It is based on the seven planets visible to the naked eye, (the Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) according to Hommel, Jeremias, and Winckler. These constituted one group and from them seven evolved. This is a part of the astral-mythological theory that attributes all myths, legends, and many symbolisms to the heavenly bodies.⁷⁶ This theory is untenable both in the case of the Babylonians and the Hebrews. In old Sumerian history, although we find that seven was prominent in the building of Gudea's Temple (2600 B.C.E.), "the house of seven divisions" which was dedicated with a seven day feast and sevenfold offerings,⁷⁷ at that time there was no idea of counting the sun, moon and stars; and there is nothing in Babylonian religion to indicate that it was done. Rather the sun alone was emphasized as the principle luminary. Further, there is no reference to a group of seven planets in Babylonian literature.⁷⁸ It was not until the last century just before the conquest by Cyrus that the nature of the stars came to be known in Babylonia.⁷⁹

The theory of the number seven arising as a holy number from the succession of stories of the Borsippa tower in Babylonia, is likewise invalid. Rawlinson and Oppert, listing the seven stories according to a certain scheme of colors, sought to relate these with the planets and then show that the grouping of the planets was very old. The more recent research and archaeological expeditions of Weissbach, states Hehn, show that this line of inquiry is fruitless.⁸⁰ Says Hehn: "The Babylonian cult of the number seven is very old; we do not know how old. It does not have its origin in the cult of the seven planets. It may rather be suggested that the recognition of a seven-planet system originated from the old seven cult".⁸¹ Likewise in the case of the Hebrews, the planet theory of the origin of the number seven cannot be held. There are only definite references to two planets in the Old Testament. The Hebrews until the Babylonian exile, had a very limited and imperfect knowledge of astronomy, and were unacquainted with any group of seven planets until Greek times.⁸²

The Old Testament verses that have been explained in various ways as referring to the seven Babylonian planets are misinterpreted, inasmuch as the grouping of the seven planets is later than the writing of those biblical verses. The seven-branched candlestick, of Ex. 25:31f., despite Gunkel and Philo before him,⁸³ does not represent the seven planets, but may be Solomonic.⁸⁴ Nor is it very likely that the stone with seven eyes that lay before Joshua,⁸⁵ refers to the cult of the seven

planets.⁸⁶ But even if the eyes of Zechariah or the seven torches of the Apocrypha did refer to the seven planets, they could not be adduced as proof of the origin of the number seven in Israel for the concept of seven is apparently as old as the earliest of Semitic origins. This association may, however, throw further light on the cult character of the number seven.

As part of the astral theory of the origin of the number seven, connection of this important number has been made with the Pleiades.⁸⁷ This association comes about by tracing a connection between the Pleiades and the seven evil demons often mentioned in Babylonian mythology. This latter connection is not at all certain and there is much evidence against the claim that certain biblical verses point to a cult of these seven stars. Grimme goes so far as to claim that a Pleiades calendar was observed by the Hebrew agriculturalists and that passages like Amos 5:8 and Job 9:9 are vestiges of the cult. So *וְעַל הַבְּרֵכִים* and *מִשְׁתֵּי הַבְּרֵכִים* become the well of the Pleiades and Feast of the Pleiades respectively.⁸⁸ As Webster points out, the Pleiades cult if it did exist, can hardly have been the source for the symbolism of the number seven, but like other constellations of seven stars, may have confirmed in the minds of Babylonian astrologers the significance of the number. The mystic quality of the sacred number must have arisen out of a different set of ideas.

On the basis of Babylonian analogies, the significance of seven as a holy or portentous number, has

been sought in the manipulation of four and three or other factors that would form the complete whole.⁸⁹ Three in Babylonia represented the highest flight or stage of being; and four stood for the all-embracing or universal.⁹⁰ So Babylonian mystics regarded seven as the highest, complete, and full number. There is no evidence that such speculation took place among the Hebrews, although it is not infrequent among other ancient or primitive peoples.⁹¹ Study of the nature of the mystic number received greatest emphasis by the Greeks, particularly the Pythagoreans; and Hippocrates wrote a treatise on the number seven. But even if the Hebrews did indulge at any time in the mysticism of numerology, it does not explain how the number seven acquired its portentous or ominous significance which found its way into the early meaning of the Sabbath.

A line of inquiry that has borne fruit, however, is the tracing of seven as an unlucky number through its application to the evil spirits in ancient Babylonia and through an examination of the number seven as used by Semitic tribes of the near east today. In Babylonian literature there is often mentioned the seven "evil demons".⁹² But because of their evil nature which was hardly rendered less evil by their being seven, never more than six are ever mentioned by name.⁹³ Similarly the Igigi, gods of the heaven, and Anunnaki, gods of the earth, who are not malignant, are represented in the ideograms as eight and nine respectively, to avoid reference to the number seven.

This effort at euphemism, or circumlocution, arises out of a feeling that it is an unlucky or ominous number. So in the Old Testament, there are mentioned very often the seven pre-Israelite nations, but there are only three passages that enumerate them all by name.⁹⁴ The Septuagint adds the missing names, for by that time seven had lost in ominous character.⁹⁵ We may see a survival of the evil portent of the number seven and also a vestige of ancient animism in the exorcism of the seven demons in the New Testament.⁹⁶ The mention of seven is avoided in Palestine according to Baldensperger, because it is reminiscent of the seven devils that are always about, ready to do mischief. "Samhat", meaning "pardon" or "in six" is said instead of sab'at, "seven", which it closely resembles.⁹⁷

The basis for the seven days of taboo and purification that we have mentioned lies in the animistic notions that prevailed. Israel in common with all primitive peoples, projected deities or evil spirits into animate and inanimate natural objects. During the period of seven days of lustration, the spirits were especially potent; on the last or seventh day of quarantine, they redoubled their efforts.⁹⁸ If the day passed uneventfully, then the crisis was over and the priest could pronounce the taboo removed. These precautionary measures due to the ill-omen of seven day periods, has persisted even into modern Jewish practise although the origin of the institution in demonology

is often forgotten. Many of the rites connected with circumcision are in this category, the circumcision itself taking place on the eighth day after the potency of the seventh day should have spent itself. Similarly, redemption of the first born, both human and animal, before 800B.C.E. took place on the eighth day.⁹⁹ The seven-day period of mourning which has its roots in ancient Israel, is grounded in the same superstitions. The fear of demons too, motivates certain wedding rites in the seven days before a wedding.¹⁰⁰

If re-examination of the numerous verses dealing with seven day periods is made in the light of the prevailing animistic notions, we can readily see that in all cases, the ceremonies and operations were for the purpose of freeing the taboo object of its demonic possession. That no other interpretation is possible is evident by the fact that the same purification period was required for the leper as for one defiled through child-birth. The consecration of a priest, like the dedication of an altar, necessitates a seven day period for the exorcision of evil spirits.¹⁰¹ So the number seven with its particularly ominous or unlucky signification renders of a similar nature, whatever partakes of, or is numbered by it. It was a number of ill-portent in the ancient east and especially among the Hebrews, just as five and ten have been ominous to many Mohammedans.¹⁰² This inauspiciousness of the number seven could lend itself easily to the seventh day of the week, and particularly portentous

would the seventh day be in light of the fact that the demons double their potency on this day. Thus the ominous aspects of the seventh day of which there is abundant evidence can be directly traced to the character of the number seven.

The second factor that made for the austere or taboo nature of the Sabbath day we have already considered. The transitional periods of the phases of the moon which coincided with the Sabbath day were ones of uncertainty or ill-omen. The association of this austere period with the seventh day would further bolster up the evil character of the occasion. It is natural with this double reason for the evil character of the Sabbath, that work done could hardly prosper and that the one who left his house to pursue his normal occupation exposed himself to possession by evil spirits, and to the wrath of the local agricultural deities. This relationship of the Sabbath to the folk demonology and the Canaanite practises may well account for the comparative lack of interest in the Sabbath by the earlier prophets, and the care with which the Deuteronomic writers of the seventh century sought to rationalize the Sabbath festival. It was to rid the Sabbath of its ominous character and the relationship to the animism of the number "seven" that humanitarian and supernatural bases were sought as sanctions for Sabbath observance. So well did the prophetic and priestly

writers succeed in obscuring the original nature and origin of the Sabbath that only critical study of internal and external evidence and comparison of analogous practice among Israel's neighbors could have enabled the scholars to uncover the information we now have on the subject.

Considering the Sabbath as growing logically out of two inherently Hebraic ideas, lunation or calendation based on the moon and its phases, and the symbolism of the number seven, we may safely say that the Sabbath had its roots in Hebrew life and thought. Although the other nations of antiquity, one or both of these factors were present in a greater or lesser degree, none of them evolved a Sabbath rest day nor anything similar to it.¹⁰³ We have already dealt with the seeming analogies of Babylonia and Assyria and found them too remote. Our conclusion must of necessity be, that from the evidence of all available information the Sabbath is a Jewish institution and product.

Notes: The Sabbath as a Jewish Institution and Product

1. Cf. supra, pp. 23ff.
2. Nielsen, Die altarabische Mondreligion u. die Mosaische Überlieferung, 1904; and Hommel, der Gestirndienst der alten Araber und die mosaischen Überlieferung, 1899.
3. Cf. also Gen. 1:14.
5. Eccclus. 43:6-8; cf. supra, p. 27ff.
6. So in Koran 10, 5; the moon is for reckoning time and seasons. Cf. Hehn, D.I.S. pp. 15;16.
7. Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, p. 148.
8. Hehn, S. u. S., p. 17ff, D.I.S., p. 2ff. also Farbridge, Biblical and Semitic Symbolism, p. 135; Jastrow, H. and B. Trad., p. 170f.
9. Babylonia had a five, and Egypt a ten day week.
10. Davis, Genesis and Semitic Tradition, p. 31.
11. ibidem; Cf. also Schrader, St. und.Krit.; p. 348.
12. The Bible and the Monuments, p. 49. The first part of the statement is possibly true; the second is, however, clearly gratuitous, and based on the insufficient evidence. There was no seven day week of any sort, let alone one continuing through out the year. The ume limnuti of the 7, 14, 19, 21, and 28, of Ellul II may delineate roughly 7 day periods, but they do not represent weeks as they are normally understood.
13. See supra, p. 28.
14. Jastrow, H. and B. p. 148; see supra, p.28.
15. Hehn, S. and S., p. 61f; Farbridge, op. cit. p. 135.
16. Webster, Rest Days, p. 143.
17. See supra, p. 27.
18. Jastrow, H. and B., p. 146.
19. Cf. Van Gennep, Rites de Passage, Paris, 1909, cited in Jastrow, H. and B., p. 146.

20. Jastrow, H. and B. p. 145f; also Jastrow, Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria, New York, 1911; p. 338.
21. Meinhold, Sabbat und Woche; pp. 1-13.
22. Jastrow, The Morrow after the Sabbath, Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages, Vol. 29, No. 3; and H. and B; p. 156.
23. Babylonian Texts in Brit. Museum, Rawlinson, Vol. I; p. 78-79, in A.T. Clay, Miscellaneous Inscriptions, etc.
24. *ibid.* p. 79.
25. Prov. 7:20 and Ps. 81:4.
26. Ex. 34; 899 B.C.E.
27. Cf. Morgenstern, The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel, H.U.C.A. Vol. I, 1924.
28. Lev. 23:15.
29. Jastrow, H. and B., pp. 154-164.
30. Deut. 16:8; and Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35.
- 30a. Jastrow, The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath, Amer. Journal of Theology, April, 1898, pp. 332-339; and Toy, The Earliest Form of the Sabbath, J.B.L., Vol. 18, 1899; pp. 194f.
31. Der israelitische Sabbath, p. 3.
32. *ibid.* p. 34.
33. Gen. 4:15 and 4:24.
34. Cf. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, iii, p. 352f.
35. Farbridge, *op. cit.* p. 136; cf. *supra*, p. 21f.
36. Deut. 33:23. Naftali is נַפְתָּלִי, satisfied with favor. Hehn states that it is probable that the Babylonian "7", siba, signifying "completeness" may have been a concrete, inclusive term, as we say "flock of sheep", A "7" of something. So other nos. such as 2, 3: 1000, myriad, שבע, were used in the same way. DIS, p. 13.

37. totality, completeness, Cf. Farbridge, p. 137.
38. So agree Hehn, Meinhold, Farbridge, after Hömmel, Jeremias, and Winckler. See, for example, Farbridge, p. 132.
39. Hehn, S. und S., and Farbridge, pp. 124, 130.
40. Num. 23:1, 29. Other passages Num. 23; II Chr. 29:21; compare I Chr. 15:26; Lev. 23:18; Num. 28:27; 29:10.
41. Josh. 6:4, 6, 8, 13.
42. Judges 16:7.
43. Judges 16:13.
44. Judges 16:29.
45. Lev. 4:6, 17: 8:11; 14:7; 16:14, 19.
46. Lev. 14:16, 27.
47. Cf. II K. 4:35; 5:10, 14; I K. 18:43; Lev. 14:7.
48. Lev. 12:2; 13:1ff; 14:38; 15:13ff; Num. 19:11ff; 31:19; Ez. 44:26.
49. I Sam. 31:13; I Chr. 10:12; Gen. 50:10; Judith 16:29.
50. Hehn, S. and S., pp. 42-43. Farbridge, p. 121, n. 1. Gilgamesh wept for his friend six days and seven nights, a full period of mourning.
51. Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of Old Testament, p. 989.
52. Is. 1:2; Deut. 32:1; 4:26; 31:21; Ps. 50:4; cf. Hehn, DIS., p. 7.
53. Hehn, DIS., p. 6. In Babylon, a system was arranged according to 6's and the observation of the sun. The Babylonians never had a seven-day week, though they, like the Hebrews, computed time according to the moon. DIS., p. 14.
54. Hehn, DIS., p. 6.
55. Lev. 14:8; Num. 19:11f.
56. Gen. 7:4; 10 and 8:10, 12.

57. ISam. 10:8; 13:8.
58. Josh. 6:4, 15.
59. Ex. 7:25.
60. Num. 19:11, 12, 14, 16, 19.
61. Lev. 12:2, 5; Similarly Lev. 13:4ff, 26f, 31f.
14:8f, 38f; 15:13, 19, 24, 28.
62. Jud. 14:12, 15, 17f. and Gen. 29:27; Esther 1:5.
63. IK. 8:65; IIChr. 7:8f.
64. Seven-day periods were known in the Bible if we leave the seven day week aside in the following places: Gen. 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12; Ex. 7:25; Jos. 6:4, 15; ISam. 10:8; 13:8; Num. 19:11, 12, 14, 16, 19. Lev. 12:2, 5; 13:4ff., 26f., 31f.; 14:8, 9; Lev. 14:38f.; 15:13, 19, 24, 28. Ex. 22:29; Lev. 22:27; Gen. 17:12; 21:4; Lev. 12:3; Ex. 29:30, 35, 37. IKings 8:2, 65; IIChr. 7:8f. Gen. 50:10; Judith 2:13; also Sir. 22:13; Job 2:13; Judges 14:12, 15, 17f.; Gen. 29:27f.; Tob. 11:16.
For discussion, see Hehn SandS, pp. 86-87.
65. Hehn, DIS. p. 8; S and S, p. 87f.
66. Lev. 23:15ff. and Deut. 16:9.
67. Lev. 23:24 and Num. 29:1.
68. Lev. 23:27; Num. 29:7.
69. Lev. 23:30; Num. 29:12.
70. Ex. 21:2; Deut. 15:2; ~~also Neh. 10:32; Ex. 23:10f; Lev. 25:3ff.~~
71. Lev. 25:8ff.
72. Hehn, DIS., p. 9, shows a similar idea is expressed in Mk. 1:15; Gal. 4:4; Eph. 1:10; 3:11 in N.T.
73. Is. 23:15; Jer. 25:11ff; 29:11; IIChr. 36:21.
74. Meinhold, S and W, p. 1-13.
75. Cf. supra. p. 71ff.
76. Farbridge, 132; 33; Hehn, DIS., p. 10.
77. ibidem.
78. Farbridge, p. 134; Jastrow, Rel. Belief, p. 222.

79. Schiaparelli, Die Astronomie in A.T. Giessen, 1904, in Hehn, DIS., p. 10.
80. Hehn, DIS., p. 11-12.
81. Hehn, S and S., p. 52.
82. Schiaparelli, p. 117f. Farbridge, p. 133.
83. Josephus, Antiq. 3:7,7.
84. Hehn, DIS., p. 7. cf. IK. 7:19; IIChr. 4:7, 20.
85. Zech. 3:9.
86. Hehn, p. 7. Farbridge, p. 121.
87. Cf. Webster, p. 225; H. Zimmern, KAT; and Hubert Grimme, Das israelitische Pfingstfest u. der Plejadenkult, Paderborn, 1907, who sees the Pleiades cult in Pentecost, etc.
88. ibid.
89. Hehn, DIS., 16-17.
90. Reference is often made in Babylonian inscriptions and Old Testament to four parts of the world.
91. Cf. Webster, p. 210-11.
92. Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, Boston, 1898, p. 186. Morgenstern, Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion, Berlin, 1905, p. 7-21. Hehn states that similarity does not prove that the doctrine is Babylonian.
93. Morgenstern, Doctrine of Sin, pp. 11, 91.
94. Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:19; and 24:11.
95. Morgenstern, Unpublished MSS., Chapter on No. 7.
96. Mt. 12:45; Lk. 8:2; Mk. 16:9.
97. Morgenstern, MSS.
98. Canaan, Aberglaube in Volksmedezin in Bibel, p. 95, cited in Morgenstern, MSS.

99. Morgenstern, Oldest Document of the Hexateuch, HUCA., Vol. iv, 1927, pp. 85;86.
100. In Birth, Marriage, Death, and Kindred Occasion among the Semites, Morgenstern shows that these rites continued for seven days, culminating on the eighth because of animistic beliefs and unlucky character of the number seven. Oldest Document of the H. p. 86, n. 97.
101. Lev. 8.
102. Morgenstern, MSS.
103. Cf. Hehn DIS., p. 15. The number seven, feels Hehn, which emanated from^a Babylonian center and eventually gave Israel the Sabbath, resulted for the other peoples in only greater mysteries.

III. THE ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF THE SABBATH.

1. Jastrow's View.
2. Meinhold's View of the Early Hebrew Sabbath.
3. A Critique of Jastrow and Meinhold.
4. Conclusions as to the Early Nature of the Day.
5. Notes on the Original Character of the Sabbath.

THE ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF THE SABBATH.

We have seen that the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath is veiled in obscurity. At least as far as the institution's being borrowed directly, and in the form that it is known in biblical times, we may safely say that the Hebrew Sabbath could not have been borrowed from any of the neighboring peoples of the ancient east. Although analogous institutions, or similar terms may be applied to such observances, the evidence is not adequate to indicate more than that etymologically the words ^{שַׁבָּת and שַׁבַּת} are related and that the institutions may have had a common source.

Failing to find a positive source of origin outside of Israel itself, our inquiry turned to indigenous aspects of Semitic or Hebrew thought in very ancient times. It was found that an analysis of the early Hebrew attitude toward the moon particularly in its transitional phases, gave rise first to the week, and then to the weekly Sabbath. The line of inquiry brought us to the second phase of Hebraic thought which must have been a great factor in the origin of the special significance of the seventh day; namely, the mysterious and occult number seven. It was felt that the important symbolism of this number not only led to a differentiation of the seventh day as one upon which extreme care or caution was to be observed, but led also to the numerous cult practices involving lustrations, purification, atonements

of seven days of seven sprinklings, etc. It was this taboo, unlucky, or unauspicious character of the number seven which gave to the seventh day Sabbath its early austerity and inauspiciousness.

The chief theories of the early nature of the Sabbath have been developed by Jastrow and Meinhold.. We shall consider each briefly before turning to a summary of the significations of the day and a detailed picture of its historical development in biblical times.

1. Jastrow's View.

The original character of the Hebrew Sabbath according to Jastrow was parallel to the favorable-unfavorable days of Babylonia; namely, the um nuh libbi which came at the full moon period and were designated by the term šapattu.¹ This šapattu, or as it was originally misread šabattum was a "day of propitiation, pacification, and reconciliation" with the whimsical deity. If proper precautions were made and proper propitiatory steps taken the day was favorable, if not, it was unfavorable and dire consequences or mishaps might befall the uncautious.²

Now šabattum approximates the Hebrew יָמֵי (more closely than יָמֵי) which is used ten times in the Pentateuch, four times referring to the Sabbath itself.³ Days to which this term is applied such as Yom Kippur,⁴ called both a יָמֵי and a יָמֵי, and Rosh ha-Shanah are well known days of atonement and propitiation in character. Thus the term יָמֵי as applied to the Sabbath indicates that it too had a character of atonement and propitiation arising out of its being a favorable-unfavorable day upon which the gods or Yahweh had to be palliated and reconciled.⁵

Shabbathon, furthermore, is a general term used in H and P⁶ and did not mean rest at all, but restraint and austerity. Wherever the term occurs the occasion has this factor in common. If it were to mean rest, it should also have been used for Passover,⁷ and Pentecost,⁸ both of which enjoin rest. It cannot refer to sanctification as all holidays have that in common.⁹ The term

in connection with these festal occasions is equal to the word *חַג* or *חַגִּי*, which throws further light on the significance of *חַג*. That *חַג* means a day of restraint, abstinence or even fasting,¹⁰ is evident in such passages as Joel 1:14 (*חַג* = *חַג*), Is. 1:13 where iniquity is contrasted with fasting (not solemn assembly which is not an individual, but a community matter). Neh. 8:18 contrasts the seven days of feasting with the eighth day of restraint or fasting. In Jer. 9:1 *חַג* is not an assemblage but a "closed corporation" of evil doers. Toy agrees with Jastrow that *חַג*, means restraint and may well be synonymous with *חַג*, but maintains that it means restraint also in the sense of rest or restriction from labor, or in general "a season of abstinence".¹¹ It is probably an accident that it was not applied also to other holiday rest days.

The use of the words *חַג*¹² and *חַגִּי*,¹³ Jastrow regards as significantly indicative of the inauspicious or uncertain nature of the Sabbath.--"It is difficult to believe that people should have been 'warned' and cautioned not to forget the Sabbath unless the day was one that was fraught with a certain kind of danger."¹⁴ As we shall see in a consideration of the development of the Sabbath idea the inauspicious nature of the Sabbath extended by tradition, if not according to the ideology of the legislators, even into Priestly times. Jastrow too feels that the propitiatory character of the biblical Sabbath may be inferred from legislation of a much later day.¹⁵ Seemingly, on Sabbath alone

one may not fast. Isaiah's effort to "call the Sabbath a delight,"¹⁶ indicates that it was at the time an austere, mournful, fast day. The early prophets when they realized the great influence of Babylonian religion, conjectures Jastrow, changed the day from one of atonement and propitiation, to one of joy and freedom.

But to conclude with further ramifications of Jastrow's shabbathon argument. The great atonement character of Yom Kippur referred to as יום הכיפורים is readily apparent, but how about the feast of trumpets soon to be known as Rosh ha-Shanah, also a shabbathon. After the fashion of Marduk, on this day Yahweh holds court to mete out justice to his people.¹⁷ Jastrow might have made use of Is. VI to illustrate this. Naturally on such a day there should be a day of restraint and propitiation of Yahweh. Man's fate is decreed on this day and sealed on Yom Kippur.¹⁸ Propitiation would be natural in connection with the Succoth observance in order to insure Yahweh's favor for the winter season and during the uncertain transition period before it. Hence the designation, יום ראש השנה, for the first and eighth days.¹⁹ The Sabbath year too, may be designated as a יום ראש השנה because it too was a period of propitiation. The land is returned for that one year to Yahweh, its owner, so that He may in turn be favorably disposed toward Israel.²⁰ If we consider Deuteronomy's motivation for the Sabbath in 5:15, the propitiatory nature of the day is further evident. It is a memorial to an unfavorable day which

became favorable by the use of the blood of the paschal offering smeared on the lintels. Thus the Sabbath day too, was a shabbathon originally. It was, like the Babylonian šapattu days, one wherein austerity and extreme caution were necessary so as not to offend Yahweh, and propitiation and atonement were required so as to make the day favorable and benign.

2. Meinhold's View of the Early Hebrew Sabbath.

If Jastrow based his theory of the original character of the Hebrew Sabbath on the inauspicious and propitiatory nature of the Babylonian šapattu, Meinhold bases his view of the early Hebrew festival not only on the propitiatory nature of the Babylonian day, but on its very date of occurrence, the appearance of the full moon.²¹ Meinhold starts with the Akkadian šapattu institution which has been generally admitted to be the term for the Babylonian full moon^{day}²². Proceeding from this point, although not granting the atonement character that Jastrow has seen in the day, Meinhold collates a score of biblical passages that show the close connection that existed between the new moon and the Sabbath.²³ With Zimmern, he raised the question whether the Sabbath thus so closely connected with the new moon was not something other than the seventh day.²⁴ Affirmatively, he answers that it was a full moon feast day just as was the new moon, and any assumption that the Sabbath was before the exile, a seventh of the week is gratuitous and without foundation. All pre-exilic passages speak of the Sabbath only as if it were the full moon festival,²⁵ of which we have proof later in the Scriptures.²⁶ Because the Sabbath in pre-exilic times was a festal full moon day, the prophets linked them together when they spoke of them in derision.²⁷ And when proper assignment of pentateuchal verses are made, it is evident that the early Israelite Sabbath was not a rest day as it was later known. The nature of the

Sabbath in pre-exilic Israel may be seen from the nature of the new moon observance of ISam. 20. It was a day of family feasting and joy when an offering ~~was~~ made to Yahweh, and when David was expected at the king's table.²⁸ It might as well have been the full moon observance or the Sabbath; it would have been celebrated the same way. Amos 8:5 presents interesting light on this matter. Apparently both days because of the feast and religious rites, did not permit of traffic. Yet it is noteworthy that the hucksters complain first of the new moon and then of the Sabbath. Were the Sabbath a day recurring four times a month, it should have caused much more distress to the merchants than a once-a-month new moon. So in IIK. 4:23 the implication is that on the moon feasts, work in the fields ceases and people gather for a meal offering, which went up in thanksgiving, originally, to the ancient Semitic moon god, and then later to Yahweh.²⁹ But rest was not required as this verse, as well as IIK. 11, on the usurpation of Athalia's throne, shows. If the Sabbath were merely one day in seven, Jehoiada might well have chosen the new moon or a festival when more people could be present to acclaim ^{his victory.} ~~to acclaim~~

The prophets inveighed against the new moon and the Sabbath because they were elements of moon worship; and we can understand Deuteronomy's attitude in not mentioning³⁰ new moon or Sabbath because of the non-Yahwistic implications of these moon festivals. It roundly excoriated astral worship.³¹ If the Sabbath were really a seventh day of rest, which would make it

the great humanitarian institution we see in Ex. 23:12 or Deut. 5:12f., it is hard to understand why Deuteronomy (Chs. 12-26) with its great social interests in slaves, cattle, and strangers should have overlooked the Sabbath as a humanitarian day of cessation. But the fact is that the Deuteronomic writers as well as the early prophets who dismissed the day with a phrase, knew it only as a full moon festival derived from Canaanitic or nomadic worship.³² A day of propitiation and holiness, the prophets would not have designated as "your feasts" and cast them aside. The connection, furthermore, of the fall and spring holidays with the fifteenth day of the month,³³ is a remnant of the Sabbath as the full moon day. Not until post-exilic times did the concept of the new moon and Sabbath as a full moon festival disappear.³⁴

The Sabbath itself, however, as a folk festival disappeared from the Yahweh cult in 621B.C.E. along with other astral or idolatrous practises, remembered only by the oldest writings.³⁵ It was revived as a different institution, one for the seventh day during the exile when a distinguishing mark was needed by the Jews. Ezekiel, the narrator and organizer of the Babylonian community, instituted the seventh day Sabbath in the later period of his prophecy--at least that was Meinhold's conclusion at one time.³⁶ This was logical in the light of Ezekiel's breaking so many traditions with the past.³⁷ Since Hölischer's work³⁸ appeared,

Meinhold now believes that although the seventh day Sabbath had its roots in the Babylonian exile, it did not see light as an institution practised in Palestine until the days of Nehemiah, and not before 432B.C.E., at that! ³⁹ Most, if not all of the Ezekiel passages, (especially 44:24, 46:12, 20:11-13, etc.), are late priestly interpolations. That is why the Sabbath is not mentioned in Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah or even Malachi who noted the slightest ritual sins. Trito-Isaiah, who according to Steuernagel, is a contemporary of Nehemiah, ⁴⁰ made his utterance on the Sabbath, ⁴¹ as did the writer of Jer. 17:19 under the spell of Nehemiah's reforms. It is then that restoration is made dependent on strict Sabbath observance; the foundations are laid for the Priestly Code's interest in the Sabbath, and the interpolation of all seventh day Sabbath passages into the Pentateuch and prophets. ⁴² It is then that ^{we have} the concept of Sabbath as a "day of Yahweh", as a day of cessation and rest, as a sacred day, the violation of which carried with it dire consequences for individual and nation. That P gave the Sabbath highest and remotest sanction and foundation in the seventh day rest of Yahweh, is not surprising, for that had been P's forte throughout, tracing innovations back to origins in Israel's past. ⁴³

But how did the seventh day, as the Sabbath day, arise particularly between the interval 621B.C.E. and 444B.C.E? (1) Out of the pervasive number seven, which

is clear throughout the Old Testament,⁴⁵ but not from the phases of the moon by which there is no proof that Israel reckoned time. (2) Out of the seven day periods during $\epsilon, \gamma \eta$ and $\gamma, \beta \gamma$ during which time both J and E enjoined cessation from labor.⁴⁶ That rest day for servants and cattle was not a cult day nor was it called a Sabbath.

After Deuteronomy's abolition of the full moon Sabbath and the persistence of the seventh day of cessation from labor during special periods even in the exile, the seventh day Sabbath as a day of rest arose. It was first just a day of rest, then it became a day of Yahweh, and later Yahweh's day of rest with universal implications through the creation story. The old full moon Sabbath gave the new one its (1) name, (2) cult meaning, (3) its unbroken sequence throughout the year. The seven day periods in $\epsilon, \gamma \eta$ and $\gamma, \beta \gamma$ and the seven week period before $\gamma, \beta \gamma$ gave the new Sabbath its (1) rest significance and (2) frequency of once every seven days.

With the adoption of the decalogue⁴⁷ and the priestly interpolations in other places, the Palestinian Jewish community was acquainted with the Sabbath at the time when Jeremiah 17:19-27 was written (late fifth century). The seventh day Sabbath had been necessary to distinguish it from the special significance the Babylonians placed on the fifteenth day, and we may be sure that Ezra and

Nehemiah brought the Sabbath from their home. The Priestly Sabbath could not have gotten a good foothold, however, for after the century embracing Nehemiah and the Chronicler, there is no mention of the Sabbath in Jewish literature until the Maccabees. It was not until the second pre-Christian century that the Sabbath was placed on a firm footing, and then only because of Antiochus' proscription of it.

3. A Critique of Jastrow and Meinhold.

Thus we have two interesting theories as to the original character of the Hebrew Sabbath; both contain much that is true, but both have inherent weaknesses that would require much discussion and collation of evidence to refute completely. In a consideration of the institution in its early pre-exilic nature, the two points of view are divergent, yet complementary. Both hold that the day was originally not a day of rest, and secondly, that it has a close parallel in the Babylonian šapattu, although neither believe it was borrowed directly. But in consideration of the development of the Sabbath institution and the concepts concerning it, both authorities differ considerably because of the premises with which they start.

Jastrow is correct in his assumption that the early Hebrew Sabbath was one of austerity, uncertainty, a favorable-unfavorable day upon which one should be extremely cautious in his conduct so as not to suffer mishap, but this is not because it was necessary to propitiate or palliate Yahweh who would correspond rightly in Jastrow's picture to the Babylonian pantheon. This was rather, as we have shown in the previous section, the result of ^{the} evil nature of the seventh day itself during which time demons were particularly potent according to the animistic views of ancient Canaan. The early Sabbath in Israel was indeed as Jastrow has pictured it, even if he did arrive at it through a remote Babylonian analogy. It was a day of inauspiciousness, and ill-omen which pervaded

the institution even into Talmudic times as we have seen. It was also associated unquestionably with the moon cult of ancient Canaan as Meinhold correctly shows. Meinhold is right too, in his assumption that Deuteronomy and the great Reformation of Josiah were opposed to the aspects of astral worship that were inherent in the Sabbath day. But the conclusion he draws from the assumption is incorrect. That they abolished the day or even changed it from a full moon day, if that was its nature, is highly unlikely. Even without consideration of Deut. 5:12-15, such a conclusion is untenable. As we shall show later, the reformers of 621B.C.E. had at least two other formulations of the Sabbath commandment before them when they drew up Deut. 5:12f. The Sabbath was already in the time of Hezekiah⁴⁸ a "Sabbath unto Yahweh", and a part of the Yahweh cult of K and C, although it had numerous elements of moon worship or Baal practice connected with it. What the Deuteronomic reformation really did was "to rid the religious practice of Israel as completely as possible of non-Yahwistic, Canaanite, and foreign religious influences and institutions, particularly such as were bound up with the celebration of the great agricultural festivals..."⁴⁹ This is exactly what was done with the Sabbath, mentioned in the pre-Deut. codes, along with the festivals. It was purified, and purged of its astral and Canaanitic practises and was made a part of the Yahweh cult all the more securely. If we are to assume that it was

abolished, we might as well assume that the agricultural festivals Nisan , Iyyar , and Sivvan were also deleted from the Israelite festival calendar. Meinhold is right in assuming that something momentous in the history of the Sabbath occurred in 621 B.C.E., but what happened was the "transition from Calendar I to Calendar II...definitely purposed, sudden and complete...by royal fiat".^{49a} Along with the other festivals, a definite transition took place in ^{the} nature of the observance of the day. Its motivations and sanctions, which may have been current in terms of folk superstition, animism or Baal worship, were now stated in terms of the Sabbath as a day set aside for Yahweh. It was to be a day shortly afterward in which for humanitarian reasons, master and slave, landholder and stranger, as well as beast of burden were to desist from labor. Unquestionably too, the D reformation prescribed special Yahwistic practises for the day in place of the old objectionable ones. Of course, the old ideology and superstitions could hardly be eradicated from the minds of the people; nor can we be sure at this early stage of the Sabbath's development that they were not present in the minds of the legislators.

Too much emphasis, on the other hand, should not be laid on the sad and mournful aspects of the early Sabbath as Jastrow does. There was unquestionably another side to the day which cannot have been derived from its Babylonian counterpart, if the two institutions represent borrowings in any way. If the Sabbath were

not at least joyful in its observance in the eighth century, Hosea could not have spoken of it as he did, (2:13). If the Sabbath were a day of unmitigated propitiation, atonement and mourning, it would hardly have been a threat that Yahweh would make an end to all Israel's Sabbaths and festivals. The Prophets would have threatened that in the exile, the Sabbath would be observed without end.⁵⁰ The Sabbath significance of ill-omen and inauspiciousness, however, which may have been predominant in pre-exilic times did persist into Maccabean times,⁵¹ and is evident even in the Pharisaic prohibition against attempting to do healing on the unlucky day.⁵² So likewise, that undercurrent of the Sabbath's unpropitious nature may be seen in the Priestly Code which, nevertheless, gave so high a motivation and so spiritual an interpretation to the occasion.⁵³ The element of conciliation with the deity, however, may be regarded as an early aspect of the day before and after it was designated a day of rest.⁵⁴

In one other important element, of Jastrow's analysis of the early Hebrew Sabbath is particularly vulnerable; namely, his emphasis on, and interpretation of,

𐤀𐤏𐤁 as equal to šapattu. The application of the term to so many different occasions of the Hebrew calendar shows that 𐤀𐤏𐤁 cannot be synonymous with the Babylonian word which designated only a single day with special restrictions only for king, priest and astrologer. And as far as the application of the term

𐤀𐤏𐤁 to the original Hebrew Sabbath, Jastrow has

made a poor choice of an expression to help him, as shabbathon is used in its ten places only by one of the later strata of P or by RP himself, the last hand in the writing of the Pentateuch!

And as to the interpretation of the word, Jastrow has gone out of his way to emphasize a significance which follows directly from what the writer who used it must have understood by it. To RP, we may be sure that שבת meant Sabbath-like and when used with שבת it meant an intensification of the Sabbath idea.^{54a} Thus שבת שבת became a Sabbath of solemn rest and as such, restraint and restriction were inevitable. In our later discussion we shall show how the use of the word שבת was to the mind of the P writer an extension of the Sabbath idea to the seventh month holidays and to the seventh year as a part of the hebdomadal system of Israel.

We shall not attempt a detailed refutation of Meinhold, as our whole study of the development of the Sabbath runs counter to his, at least until the time of Nehemiah.⁵⁵ however, that Meinhold starts with a premise It must be mentioned at the outset, that few authorities will accept; that is, that all pre-exilic references to the Sabbath speak of it only as a full moon day and that ipso facto passages like Ex. 20:8f., Deut. 5:12ff., which refer to a seventh day Sabbath are all late post-exilic interpolations.⁵⁶ It must be mentioned at the outset, that all the association of a new moon and Sabbath really tells us, is that they were associated as a usage of language.

Post-exilic writings when the Sabbath was unquestionably a seventh day Sabbath still use the same phrase, as do Apochryphal and New Testament writers. To say that week and x must equal week and month, not week and day is the same as saying that the new moon and Sabbath must equal the new moon and the full moon. Furthermore, we have a special term in Hebrew for the full moon, קֶדֶשׁ ,⁵⁷ or possibly קֶדֶשׁ , may have been applied in the sense of the full moon. The Sabbath and the new moon were coupled probably because they were the only two occasions that ran consecutively through the entire year, and on which apparently there was no working.⁵⁸ Further, it is gratuitous to assume that because the new moon is a festival, the full moon must be one too. This is not the case with the Arabs today who celebrate the new moon.⁵⁹ The incident in IIK.11 is enlightening. It can hardly point to a full moon day, as Budde shows.⁶⁰ No guard could be asked to serve from full moon to full moon, or a whole month.

As to Deuteronomy; it has an easy flowing style and could well have omitted mention of the Sabbath in Ch. 16; and if the new moon and Sabbath were eliminated from the festive calendar by Deuteronomy, they soon reappeared among the observances of the people. Furthermore, Deut. 16:1 places the combined Maṣṣoth and Pesach festival on the very new moon of Abib! The relegation of all the Ezekiel passages to P is as ~~incorrect~~ as Meinhold's earlier theory⁶¹ that Ezekiel originated the Sabbath and then blamed his ancestors for not having observed it.

To believe in the spontaneous rebirth of an institution almost two hundred years after it had been discarded is too great a tax on one's credulity. The interpretation of both Ex. 34:21 and 23:12 as referring to cessation every seventh day only during plowing time and harvest, is far-fetched and incorrect as we shall show later.⁶² The reading of even is much more logical than only, but it is likely that 34:21b does not even refer to the Sabbath, but to the Asif and Qasim festivals in the next verse, as we shall show later. The verb שָׁבַת furthermore, does not mean "rest", but rather "observe the Sabbath". Ch. 23 does not mention שָׁבַת and $\text{שְׁנֵי$ but Meinhold without reason reads the two seasons into the verse.

It is evident that in the literary history of the Sabbath as such, the occasion was one observed on the seventh day. It is not impossible, however, that in earliest Hebrew history, in the nomadic period, there may have been a full moon Sabbath; not the Sabbath as we know it, but a day so designated. There is at least one reference that shows the application of the term to the fifteenth day of the month, Lev. 23:12, 15, 16, as Jastrow has pointed out.⁶³ Even though this passage dates from early post-exilic times (539-516, H₁), it may reflect an early common usage of the term. It is even possible that after the seventh day Sabbath had been set by the oldest code K (899 B.C.E.), the term still persisted possibly in northern Israel applied to a full moon festival. It may then have disappeared or been subordinated with the introduction of the C

Code (842 B.C.E.) in the North, to crop out again in the small community of the first Return.

That the fifteenth of the month or even the seventh day could not be the only period to which the term שבת applies is evident in the following table:

Referred to as Sabbath are

1. The seventh day: Ex. 34:21, 23:12, 20:8-11, 16:29, 23; 31:15, 35:2. Deut. 5:12-15.
2. The week.....: Lev. 23:15, 25:8. Is. 66:23. (also Mk. 16:2, Lk. 18:12 of New Testament)
3. The middle of the month: Lev. 23:11, 12, 15, 38. (possibly also Amos 8:5, IIR. 4:23, Is. 1:13, Hos. 2:13).
4. The Day of Atonement: Lev. 16:31, 23:32.
5. The seventh year: Lev. 25:2, 4, 26:34, 35. IIChron. 36:21.
6. The seventh year period: Lev. 25:8.
7. The produce of the Sabbatical year: Lev. 25:6.

Application of Shabbason is made to:

1. The Sabbath day: Ex. 35:2, Ex. 16:23, 31:15, Lev. 23:3.
2. The New Year's Day: Lev. 23:24.
3. The First and Eighth Days of Sukkoth: Lev. 23:39.
4. Day of Atonement: Lev. 16:31; 23:32.
5. The Sabbatical year: Lev. 25:4.

Thus we may see from the presentation of the views of Jastrow and Meinhold some of the early characteristics of the Sabbath in the pre-literary days of Israel's life. Much is pure conjecture and invalid, but several elements of the early nature of the Sabbath are prominent and unmistakable, and can be seen in the early days of the

Sabbath's historic development on the basis of biblical references. These characteristics may be readily summarized:

- (1) The Hebrew Sabbath was originally a day of cessation of normal activity, but not a day of rest as such.
- (2) The day was regarded as unlucky, inauspicious and ominous, growing out of several factors; viz. (a) its association with the uncertain periods of transition in the moon's phases, (b) the ominous and symbolic nature of the number seven, (c) the prevailing animistic nature of early Canaan and Israel.
- (3) The day was one wherein propitiation and palliation of the deity was necessary whether it be the demons in some places or stages, the moon god or baalim in others, or Yahweh himself in the final stage before the humanization and spiritualization of the day. This propitiatory character may have arisen from the Babylonian analogies, but it more likely arose out of the indigenous elements of Hebrew cult and life.
- (4) The term Sabbath may have been applied to different days or periods at various times or at the same time, but it is certain that by 899 B.C.E., it was applied definitely to the seventh day of the week, whatever other occasions it may also have designated.

5. Notes on The Original Character of the Sabbath.

1. Originating from a West Semitic root, cf. A.T. Clay Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection, 1915, pp. 78,79.
2. Our discussion until we consider Meinhold's view is based on Jastrow's works: The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath, AJT, April, 1898, pp. 312-352. Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, pp. 134-95; Some Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria, New York, 1911, p. 338; Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, Boston, 1898.
3. Ex. 16:23; 35:2;31:15; Lev. 23:5.
4. Lev. 16:31.
5. Jastrow, Original Character, p. 340.
6. As we shall show later, it was never used in H ^{proper} and was characteristic of late P strata, particularly RP.
7. Lev. 23:7-8.
8. Lev. 23:21.
9. Jastrow, Original Character, p. 334.
10. Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35; Neh. 8:18; 11Chr. 7:9.
11. C. H. Toy, The Earliest Form of the Sabbath, JBL. Vol. 18, 1899, p. 194.
12. Deut. 5:12.
13. Ex. 20:8.
14. Jastrow, Original Character, p. 340f.
15. The Shulhan Aruch, completed 1555, prohibits fasting on the Sabbath. Cf. also *Appendices*.
16. 58:13ff.
17. Pognon, Inscriptions Babylon. du Wadi Brissa, Pls. 8 and 9. also Jensen, Kosmologie der Babylonier, pp. 84-6, 238, cited in Jastrow, Original Character, p. 335.
18. Tosefta Rosh Hashanah, 15. It is highly unlikely that such a doctrine prevailed earlier than the Greek period, which started after the completion of P.

19. Lev. 23:39.

20. It is to be recalled that the Chronicler, IIChr. 36:21 speaks of a 70 yr. exile to make up for the 70 Sabbatical years in which Israel failed to return the soil to Yahweh, its owner. Palliation of Yahweh by returning the land on the Sabbatical years might have prevented the exile.

21. The view of Meinhold is taken from the following writings by him. Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament, Göttingen, 1905.; Sabbat und Sonntag, Leipzig, 1906; Die Entstehung des Sabbats, ZATW, 1906; Zur Sabbatfrage, ZATW, 1930.

22. But not the designation for full moon festival or full moon itself. cf. Budde, Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 141; and The Sabbath and the Week, p. 9; also Hehn, S and S, p. 96; Zimmermann, ZMDG, lviii, p. 201f; Landsberger, p. 93, 133, "By the time of Assurbanipal it was the fifteenth day", quoted in Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 126.

23. IIK. 4:23; Hos. 2:13; Amos 8:5; Is. 1:13, etc.

24. ZMDG, 1904, p. 222ff; and Meinhold, S and W, p. 3.

25. Such pre-exilic passages as Deut. 5:12ff. and Ex. 20:8ff., as well as Ex. 16:26b and 29 (as against Baentsch, J, ad. loc.). After Kuenen, Julicher, Holzinger, are held to be post-exilic. Meinhold, S and W, p. 7.

26. Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 24. M. cites Prov. 7:20, the case of ^{the} harlotrous wife who does not expect her husband home until the festival of the full moon. Ps. 81:4 speaks of the full moon festival day.

27. Is. 1:13; Hos. 2:13; Amos 8:5.

28. Meinhold, S and W, p. 4.

29. ibid. p. 6.

30. Deut. 5:12f. regarded as post-exilic.

31. Deut. 4:19, 17:3; and Reformation IIK. 22-23. Jeremiah is silent because of the day's full moon nature. His opposition to astral worship is evident in 7:18; 8:2; 44:14.

32. Meinhold, S and W, p. 8; Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 122.

33. Lev. 23:15.

34. S and W, p. 9f; Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 128.

35. Zur Sabbatafrage, p. 132.
36. ~~SS~~ and W, p. 9-10 cites all the Ezekiel passages: Chs. 20, 22, 23, and particularly 46:1ff., which ostensibly introduce the Sabbath as we know it.
37. Meinhold, S and W, p. 9.
38. Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch, p. 108f.
39. Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 129.
40. Einleit, des AT, 1912, cf. Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 129.
41. 56:1f, 58:13f, etc.
42. Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 130.
43. So in Gen. 17; Ex. 4:24f.; Josh. 4:2ff.
44. Zur S.; pp. 130-131.
45. Cf. our discussion of number seven in previous chapter.
46. We shall consider Meinhold's interpretation of Ex. 34:21b in our treatment of K. Meinhold maintains that Ex.23:12 carries the same thought by implication.
47. With its Sabbath references, not earlier than 500 B.C.E.
48. Cf. infra, p.142ff.
49. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel, HUCA xii, 1935, p. 6.
- 49a. Ibidem.
50. Cf. Hehn, S and S, pp. 124-126; DIS, pp. 32-33.
51. I Macc. 2:13ff; II Macc, 5:25ff; 6:11. Cf. also New Testament: John 5:10; Lk. 13:14; John 9:16.
52. Hehn, S and S, p. 123; DIS, p. 31.
53. Ex. 35:3; 16:23; 16:29.
54. Jastrow, Original Character, p. 322; and Hehn, S and S, p. 123-124.
- 54a. Cf. infra our P Code discussion.

55. A detailed refutation is published in Zur Sabbatfrage, the answer of Karl Budde, p. 138ff.
56. Ex. 16:29, about which there is dispute, is to Meinhold, of course, post-exilic.
57. Ps. 81:4; Prov. 7:20.
58. IIK. 4:23 and Amos 8:5.
59. Cf. Budde, Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 139, for fuller discussion of this.
60. Zur. S. pp. 139-140.
61. In S and W, pp. 12-13.
62. Cf. supra, ^{p.128.} Meinhold is ⁽³⁾opposed by Morgenstern, ⁽²⁾Budde, and ⁽¹⁾Hitzig on this point. Cf. p. 143 of Zur Sabbatfrage.
63. Cf. Jastrow, Original Character of the Sabbath, The Day after the Sabbath, AJSL, xxx, 1924, pp. 104ff. and H and B Traditions, ch. on the Hebrew Sabbath.

DIVISION TWO: THE SABBATH IN ITS HISTORICAL
DEVELOPMENT.

IV. THE SABBATH IN THE LATER PRE-EXILIC PERIOD.

1. The Sabbath Under K and C.
2. Two Contemporary References in Kings.
3. Pre-exilic Prophetic Views.
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Pre-exilic Period.

THE SABBATH UNDER K AND C

We are now in a position to view the Sabbath as it was ordained for the people in the legislation of the Bible and chiefly in the Pentateuch. The first passage is that found in the oldest decalogue, preserved in the J stratum (and for *several years* called the Little Book of the Covenant, but more) appropriately entitled the K or Kenite code.¹ This K code has been assumed to be the oldest legislative document of the O.T., even older than the corresponding laws of Ex. 20-23, to which it is often compared. This because the K laws are all of a ritualistic character, whereas those in C and elsewhere are ritual-ethical or purely ethical.² (Ex. 20:2-17, and Deut. 5:6-18). The views occasionally expressed that Ex. 34:14-26 is not a decalogue or that it is post-exilic are gratuitous, inconclusive and need not detain us.³ Suffice it to say that the latest and most authentic opinion on the subject places the promulgation of the code at 899 B.C.E.⁴ during the reformation in the fifteenth year of Asa of Judah, great-grandson of Solomon.⁵ How this date was determined is not our concern, but evidence as presented by Morgenstern is conclusive.⁶

The Sabbath commandment as it stands in Ex. 34:21 is:

שש ימים תעבד ויום השבת תשמור
שש ימים תעבד ויום השבת תשמור

"Six days you are to labor, but on the seventh day you are to observe the Sabbath (desist, if not rest, from work); resting in ploughing-time and at harvest."

In line with the logic that the *שש ימים תעבד*, as the decalogues were called, could not refer to long,

expanded statements, and on the basis of internal evidence, 21b is an editorial expansion by a later writer, presumably one of the D school of the ~~early post-exilic~~ ~~period~~.⁷ The command itself does not explain how the Sabbath is to be observed nor the exact nature of the day, but there is the definite implication that the day requires the alteration of one's normal occupation current at that time; namely, agriculture. This is, of course, the fundamental meaning of *שבת*, a *priefer* form of *שבת* *לעבודת*, which occurs frequently in the O.T.⁸ The meaning, "worship," is secondary and obviously inapplicable in Ex. 34:21. It is possible that even at this early date, desisting from labor on the seventh day of the week gave opportunity for religious assembly or consultation of the Yahwistic prophets, as we shall see later.⁹ We may be sure, however, that the character of the day was one of austerity and solemnity, a day of taboo and propitiation; for as yet there is nothing to indicate any ethical or humanitarian considerations.

The gloss 21b like the original dabar must have sprung from an agricultural environment, though here the implication of rest necessitated by cessation from strenuous and fairly continuous physical labor is more certain. Precisely from what period of Israel's history, when agriculture was dominant, this gloss arose is not certain, as on the basis of internal evidence there is no parallel for it in the Sabbath legislation of the Old Testament. It is ~~probably post-exilic and unquestionably~~ later than D₁, ~~although~~ by this time already commercial activity

had developed to such an extent that no Sabbath legislation could well ignore it. That it could hardly have been written earlier^{than D₁}, or rather at the time of the composition of the original Sabbath law of Ex. 23:12 or Ex. 20:8f. is evident when we consider that these were based on K, without the mention of the Sabbath's particular application to עֲבָדָה and קָצִיר being made. Furthermore, the other expansions of K, 14b, 17b, 18b, 19b-20, 22a, seem to bear the stamp of D, so that it is logical to assume that 21b is also a D gloss.

The phrase cannot mean, only in plowing and in harvest as Meinhold renders it,¹⁰ rather "even in time of plowing and harvest," when the work was the heaviest and the temptation to break the Sabbath was the greatest. This view of the significance of the gloss is held by Morgenstern,¹¹ Budde and Hitzig.¹² The requirement of a סָבָא before עֲבָדָה , which Hitzig feels dropped out, is, however, unnecessary.¹³ At any rate, the meaning of the editorial addition is clear. Meinhold's effort to read into the passage a seven day observance only in these periods is in order to maintain his full moon theory of the Sabbath, which would be invalidated by v. 21 as it is normally understood. Meinhold has placed the composition of v. 21 (if it should really refer to a ~~seven~~ seventh day Sabbath) after the exile,¹⁴ but there is no reason for this as all evidence points to pre-exilic composition as well as to a pre-exilic condition.

There is this that may be said, however, in favor

provisions for the three pilgrimage festivals.

The original K law regarding the Sabbath tells us then, that abstinence from agricultural labor is the rule for each seventh day, and that this seventh day rest is somehow related to the abstinence during the festival occasions.

These laws bring us into the range of natural religion. The Sabbath of the week is coupled with the natural Sabbaths of the year, namely, Qasir (in harvest) and Asif (in plowing time). The harvest and the ingathering of the vintage mark pauses in the year of labor. Even in this early legislation we can see the operation of the hebdomadal system, Sabbath brought into relation with the seventh week holiday as it is later identified (Shabuoth), and with the seventh month in which falls Asif, or Succoth, as it is later known. We may say with certainty, however, that the Sabbath observance was a part of the Covenant implied in I (34:14a) and as such an integral part of the worship of Yahweh.

Similar in spirit to the law of K is that of the Code of the Covenant, Ex. 23:12a, which has been designated as a dabar, and like its predecessor, it is fundamentally ritualistic.^{16a}

It is readily evident that this command was patterned after the earlier one in Ex. 34:21a and from this v. alone we can judge that the occupational interests of Israel had broadened out, and probably included commercial as well as agricultural activity. The expression

is substituted for which in its fuller form is .

The similarity of Ex. 23:12a and Ex. 34:21a is readily understood when we realize that the K code of Judah was probably taken bodily to Israel and adopted by the northern legislators, with two additional characteristic laws being added¹⁷ before its incorporation into E. The C debarim are dated exactly at 842 B.C.E., the time of the reformation under Elisha and Jehu,¹⁸ and it is probable that they were brought to the Northern Kingdom by Jonadab ben Rechab, the zealous proponent of Yahweh.¹⁹ It would be natural for a southerner, a descendant of the Kenites whose spirit breathes through the K document, to bring this code north with him particularly as he participated in the reformation himself. It is not improbable that his father or grandfather played an active role in the formulation of the K document itself.²⁰

The second part of the v., Ex. 23:12b, *וְיָרַח לְךָ חֹמֶת וְשֹׁמֵר*, is obviously a gloss for as in the case of 34:21b, it disturbs the characteristic terseness of the dabar, and is unquestionably a D expansion.²¹ The humanitarian reason given for Sabbath observance is the same as that of Deut. 5:14b-15. C contains two additional laws which have no parallel in K, one of which is the law of the Sabbatical year in the earliest and simplest form. It is found in Ex. 23:10-11, or as it originally stood, free from D expansion:²²

וְיָרַח לְךָ חֹמֶת וְשֹׁמֵר

Baentsch suggests that this law should follow rather than precede the Sabbath law since the former is dependent on the latter.²³ But whether the law of release followed

the Sabbath dabar in the C code at one time or not, it is obvious that the northern legislator expanded on the Sabbath idea and applied it to the seventh year. It was clearly his intention that the two debarim be considered together as most suitable for a covenant with Yahweh.

It is to be assumed that both occasions were regarded as having certain taboo or inauspicious significance; which prevailed as we have noticed from at least the time of the K writers of a half century before. It is certain that the seventh day did not have the full implications of a day of rest nor could there have been any other basis for assigning the cessation of work to the day than that it was particularly inauspicious, an idea derived from the early character of the institution and one that persisted even into Talmudic times.²⁴ There was nothing humanitarian or philanthropic in this cessation which must, of course, be distinguished from rest.

2. Two Contemporary References in Kings.

There are two references to the Sabbath in this early period, which although in their literary form are comparatively late,²⁵ are authentic traditions from the time of which they speak. II Kings 11:4-20 is from the official chronicles of the kings of Judah describing events that transpired in the seventh year of Athalia's reign (835 B. C.E.), likewise the seven years after C's promulgation. Jehoiada, the priest, effects a coup d'état and places Jehoash on the throne on a Sabbath day, aided by the extra guards that were transferred from the Palace to serve at the Temple on the Sabbath. From this we may see that a large number of people gathered at the sanctuary in Jerusalem on the Sabbath.²⁶ Apparently the ominous nature of the day did not prevent assembly, rather it was probably the means for rendering the day favorable, as propitiation would do for the Babylonian ume limnuti, transitional days of ill-omen. It is probable too, that by this time the Sabbath had become a day of considerably greater importance than that of the new moon, else Jehoiada might have chosen the new moon day, at which time conceivably more people might assemble.²⁷ (Meinhold holds that this refers to a full moon festival occasion which is opposed by Budde, Hehn and others. Budde's refutation is particularly convincing; namely, that no guard which was relieved according to the account every Sabbath, could possibly have lasted from full moon to full moon, or a full month).²⁸ It is evident that rest or such was not a requirement for the day inasmuch as Jehoiada started his revolution and destroyed the Baal

altars on the Sabbath. Not only did the idea of desecrating the Sabbath not even enter the minds of the priest and his men, but they felt that their conduct was actually pleasing to Yahweh.²⁹

Similarly in the northern Kingdom, the Sabbath could hardly have been one requiring rest, judging from II Kings 4:23 which incident took place shortly before the Jehu rebellion under the reign of Joram of Israel (851-842 B. C.E.). The Shunammite woman employs the labor of an ass and a servant, which ~~was~~^{is} customary in making a journey on the Sabbath and the new moon to consult the man of God. Analogous to the assembly in the Temple in the South was visiting the prophet in the North. But if the element of rest was not apparent in the Sabbath of the ninth century, the element of austerity and propitiation certainly was. It was on days such as the Sabbath and the new moon that the prophets were supposed to possess the greatest ability to control the spirits.³⁰

Thus we get an inkling, in the two contemporary passages from II Kings, as to the nature and observance of the Sabbath day ordained by K and C. The laws were purely ritualistic; the consciousness of a humanitarian basis for the Sabbath had not yet dawned. From the cited verses, we may infer that the Sabbath was, in the eighth and ninth pre-Christian centuries, a day of desisting from the normal occupations of the other six days; also that in the Temple cult it marked the end of one seven-day period and the beginning of another, with the changing of the guards, priests, and "shew-bread" on that day.

3. Pre-exilic Prophetic Views.

There sets in sometime after the promulgation of K and C a transition in the nature of the Sabbath. It becomes a holy day dedicated to Yahweh marking a distinct advance in religious thought. The Hebrew Sabbath becomes unique as a type of day in the ancient east. This advance is seen most clearly in the ethical decalogue of Ex. 20, the nucleus of which we shall show, comes from the latter part of Hezekiah's reign; and from the ten commandments of Deut. 5, the nucleus of which first saw light in 621 B.C.E. ³¹

But before we consider these relatively late pre-exilic writings an inquiry into the nature of the Sabbath under the early literary prophets and their views of the institution should make this transition all the more clear. The eighth century prophets apparently classed the Sabbath day along with the other holy days and mentioned it deprecatingly. There are three prophetic passages that show indifference to the Sabbath institution if not a positive derogation of it; namely, Amos 8:5, Hos. 2:13, and Is. 1:13. This attitude may be due to two reasons; first, because of the day's ominous nature due to its origin in animism and demonology; and secondly, and more likely, because the Sabbath may have been considered a part of the Baal worship of Canaan. ³²

Amos, who delivered his noble utterances in a single sermon in Bethel, on Rosh ha-Shanah in 751 B.C.E. ³³ denounces the greed of the merchants who can hardly wait

for the Sabbath or new moon to be over, so that they might sell their wares. (Amos 8:4-5).

מה לא העבירם שבתון ושלמים עושה לאמר וזהר
החם ושלמים שבת ופסח ונחמה ה' אברהם איתנו
והחם שבת ושלמים ופסח ונחמה:

Amos does not derogate the Sabbath, but is apparently indifferent to it. Had he denounced the merchants for their willingness to desecrate the Sabbath, however, it would have meant that he regarded the Sabbath observance as a part of that covenant which Israel had broken, and for which it was destined to suffer. The emphasis of his attack is laid rather on the social wrongs of oppressing the poor, profiteering, and cheating in business. The Sabbath to Amos could not have been a day of ethical or religious importance, but one the nature of which militated against the transaction of business. We may further infer from this passage that the austere, unlucky character of the early Sabbath still persisted because the merchants who were otherwise unprincipled, feared to break the Sabbath; and because people would not venture to buy during that day. Another inference that may be drawn is that the interdiction of עשה of Ex. 23:12 applied specifically to commercial activity which meant in the case of merchants, an enforced rest. Thus a semblance of the rest idea gradually found its way into the character of the Sabbath along with the idea of austerity.

In the light of Hosea 2:13 we can well understand why Amos had no reverence for the day nor could have

the exception of Ch. 17:19-29 which has been proved to be a late insertion. We shall consider this passage later along with other writings of the late fifth century, and shall discuss the question of its authenticity.

4. The Ethical Decalogues.

We are now ready to consider the Sabbath law as it is found in the so-called Ethical Decalogues of Ex. 20 and Deut. 5. It might be mentioned that for many years the two sabbath debarim, Ex. 20:8ff. and Deut. 5:12ff. were regarded as the oldest laws concerning the Sabbath and that the decalogue was itself Mosaic in origin.³⁶ There is little agreement as to the date of promulgation of either of the two decalogues, particularly the one in Ex. 20 which had long been presumed to be the younger of the two. Meinhold cites Kraetzschmar, for example, who maintains that the entire Sabbath commandment of Ex. 20 is P, and is patterned after D.³⁷ The וַיַּעַן is taken as a reference to the D legislation which used וַיַּעַן as the beginning of the introductory clause. Meinhold disagrees stating that Ex. 20 was an older form of Deut. 5 but that both were composed after the exile, there being no Sabbath legislation referring to a seventh-day Sabbath before 586 B.C.E.³⁸ Following Wellhausen there is a group of scholars who hold that the decalogue originates between 700 and 600 B.C.E., probably in the reign of Manasseh.³⁹ More precisely, the date for the promulgation of Deut. and the D Code was 621 B.C.E. in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah of Judah. There can be little doubt that the book of the law produced by Hilkiah which served as the basis for the great reformation described in IIK:22-23, was the Book of Deuteronomy in its unexpanded form, containing the ten debarim as they originally stood. The Sabbath law of Deuteronomy 5 was included in its D₁ form.⁴⁰

This does not solve our problem as to Ex. 20, however. Without going into the composite nature of the verses 8-11 directly, we might mention that this decalogue itself seems out of place in its J setting, which has given rise to much dispute as to which Biblical document it is to be ascribed.⁴¹ As Meinhold has pointed out, there is as much reason for assuming that the Sabbath commandment of Ex. 20 preceded that of Deut. 5, as there is for the other point of view. In fact, the evidence favors Meinhold's conclusion. Proceeding, however, on the assumption that the original Sabbath dabar of Ex. 20, namely, VV. 9-10a was written after Ex. 34:21a which it resembles so closely in thought and phraseology, and later than Ex. 23:12a after which it was unquestionably patterned, we survey the history between 842 B.C.E. and 621 B.C.E. to find a date when such a set of laws such as contained in Ex. 20, could have been written. The solution to our problem may be found in the reformation of Hezekiah of Judah (720-696 B.C.E.) described in IIK. 18:1-6.⁴² The author of the section places the reformation within the first four years of his reign (IIK. 18:9), but the date is probably not accurate since he also places the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah's rule (K. 18:10). It is unlikely that the reforms took place immediately, for if they did there would be no reason for the diatribe and threat of impending destruction in Micah's ministry and of Hezekiah's reign, when the monarch relieved of the impending peril of Assyria due to the seeming miraculous withdrawal of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. from beleaguered Jerusalem, felt

(Micah 3:12 and directed in all likelihood to Hezekiah, himself. The chances are that the reformation took place in the latter days of

grateful to a Beneficent Yahweh. With freedom from the siege of the foreigner, the king might have been more amenable to freedom from foreign religious practises. This would place the date of the Reformation around the year 700 B.C.E. Furthermore, the removal of the brazen serpent and the destruction of the high places are similar to the work of the Josianic reformation with its grinding of the Ashera and the removal of the altar of idolatrous worship. The program for the Josianic reformation was Deuteronomy; the principles for the reform of Hezekiah were embodied in ^{the} original stratum of the Decalogue of Ex. 20. The first and second commandments would enjoin specifically such a reformation as that of Hezekiah. How much more applicable to the brazen serpent which was a ṣōṭ is the command לֹא תִסַּע אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים than the less specific laws of K and C, (Ex. 34:17 and Ex. 20:23) which prohibit molten images and gods of silver and gold, respectively. The ethical content of the ten debarim is a natural result of the lofty prophetic activity that prevailed from the eighth century on, resulting in the reforms of c. 700 B.C.E. and the great reformation of 621 B.C.E.

Turning to the texts of Ex.20:8-11 and Deut.5:12-15, two things are readily apparent: first, that neither statement as it stands is really a dabar, but that both have undergone several stages of editorial expansion; and second, that in both cases the original dabar has been patterned after Ex. 34:21a and Ex. 23:12a. At the outset it must be stated that in Ex. 20:8 and Deut. 5:12, the phrase beginning וְיָצֵא and וְיָצֵא, respectively, are

not the original form of the Sabbath law as Meinhold and Jastrow maintain. There are two reasons for ~~this~~: first, the expression would represent a radical departure from the wording of the commandment in K and C; and secondly, it would hardly follow the nature of debarim in general; namely, to be specific instead of general. The original law of E. (Ex. 20:9-10a) and D (Deut. 5:13-14a) are identical.

היום הזה יקראו יום ראשון
לזכרון ימינו

This is directly parallel to Ex. 23:12a, the only difference being that specific mention is made that the Sabbath belongs to Yahweh. There was the implication in K and C that as part of the covenant the Sabbath was sacred to Yahweh, and was an indispensable rite in the worship of Him, but in Ex. 20 and Deut. 5 it is stated definitely as an occasion ordained by and belonging to Yahweh. This marks the beginning of the development of the Sabbath as dedicated to Yahweh as a sign of his covenant and as a hallowed day on which He himself rested.⁴³ The designation of the Sabbath to Yahweh may carry with it an effort to repress the austere or taboo significance attached to the day from nomadic times in favor of a day of rest holy to Yahweh. There can be little doubt that the transition from a character of austerity and ill-omen to one of rest for its own sake or for humanitarian reasons had not yet taken place. Deut. 5:13-14a of some three generations later, carried with it more of the implication of a "day^{holy} to Yahweh" than does Ex. 20:9-10a, in the light of the greater prophetic activity that had taken place until 621 B.C.E.,⁴⁴ and in the light of the Josianic reformation which by instituting its new

calendar, II; swept aside all the festival implications that were bound up with Canaanitic or Baal practise.⁴⁵ The second stratum of the D law 14ba, a part of D₂, separately composed between 600-586 B.C.E. is the same as Ex. 20:10b:
 לא גזעו ביום הזה אדם את בנו ואת אביו ואת אשתו ואת אחיו ואת אביו ואת אביו ואת אביו
 with the exception of the addition of וְאֶת אֶתְמוֹלְךָ "your ox and your ass" and the word בַּיּוֹם before בְּהֵמָתְךָ, and probably emanates from the same hand or the same D₂ school, which for partial reasons furnished the Decalogue more generously.⁴⁶ Here we have the extension of the idea of cessation from labor to members of the household, slaves, beasts of burden and cattle, and even to the alien or proselyte who is bound by the same ritual laws as the Israelite. The fact that rest in its true sense, despite the humanitarian implication of the D₂ gloss, is not yet meant, may be seen in the much misunderstood introductory clause Deut. 5:12.

שמור יום השבת לא תעשה עבודה כבדה "Be careful to keep the Sabbath day holy (taboo)". Indeed the austere and taboo significance of this day is still prevalent until the exile; the day still carries with it the limnu character with which it started, although the day has now become dedicated to Yahweh and has become humanized, a day of cessation for the labors for all, man and beast alike. שמור יום השבת לא תעשה עבודה כבדה (Ex. 20:8) may be viewed in two ways: as pre-exilic and written merely to call the attention of the people to previous Sabbath legislation like Ex. 23:12a, and can conceivably have been written by a member of the D₂ school shortly after Deut. 5:12, or by the JE redactor. Or it may be a part of D_{2a} after 586 B.C.E., written so as to suppress the unlucky or austere character of the Sabbath

implied in a word like $\gamma/\Delta\epsilon$, and perhaps to imply "an even stricter Sabbath observance in thought and intention as well as in act".⁴⁷ The latter explanation is perhaps the most likely; but it is not impossible that the wording is by the P school since P influence is obvious in v.11.

In Deut. 5:14b^a and in Ex. 20:10b, furthermore, the prohibition of the work on the part of the animals shows the taboo nature of the Sabbath, which contrasts strikingly with Deut. 5:14b^b-15 which is distinctly humanitarian and for the first time in the Sabbath legislation implies rest for the sake of refreshment. This passage belongs to D_{2a}, after 586 B.C.E.⁴⁸ and marks the first step in the spiritualization of the day as one of rest and refreshment of spirit for master as well as servant. It is "the oldest reference to the Sabbath as a day of $\epsilon h/\Delta/\Delta$; perhaps this addition was designed to reinterpret the Sabbath as a day of positive rest, rather than as primitively and Yahwistically, a day of taboo. This seems to be implied also in the emphasis in 15b. 'Therefore, (and not because of taboo) has Yahweh commanded thee to observe the Sabbath'.⁴⁹

Two questions might be asked with regard to Deut. 5:14b^a and 14b^b. Why is not $\gamma h/\epsilon/\epsilon$ mentioned after $\epsilon h/\epsilon$? Are we to infer that one's wife did not have to desist from work? Probably not, because the $\epsilon/\Delta/\epsilon$ is not also excluded. The emphasis on the γ/ϵ , the sojourning foreigner, who observed the rites of the Yahweh cult, is interesting because it tends to place the D₂ stratum within the relatively prosperous reign of Josiah at which time proselytes would be attracted to Israel. The troublous times that followed the death of Josiah at Megiddo in 609 B.C.E.

until 586 B.C.E. would hardly have made Judea or the ill-fortunes of the people of Yahweh attractive to foreigners. Thus D₂ could hardly have been written much later than a decade after 621 B.C.E. So that we may say that the extension of the taboo jurisdiction of desisting from labor on the Sabbath was made universal law for the Israelite household roughly about 610 B.C.E. But the matter need bear no relationship to the political conditions of the country. The second question applies to 14b^p. Why should the exilic writer have singled out קָרָא and אֲנִי, when he wrote that the Sabbath was to give them rest? The fact of the matter is that he probably did not single out the "man-servant and maid-servant". The verse may well have read:

וְהָיָה יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת וְהָיָה יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת וְהָיָה יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת

"In order that your ox and your ass may rest and that your man-servant and your maid-servant, the son of your maid-servant and the stranger be given refreshment". A later D writer with a humanitarian outlook, but with an "axe to grind" regarding the exodus story, conceived the idea that the miraculous salvation of Israel under Moses would be an excellent basis for any holiday, particularly one which already made provision for benign treatment of slaves⁵. The longer original 14b^p of D_{2a}, obviously weakened his case so he deleted the expressions which lessened its force, appending them, out of respect for the sacrosanct words, to Ex. 23:12a. They are the words underlined in the above reconstructed original reading of Deut. 5:14b^p. The reworking of the end of v. 14 and v. 15 is then, the latest expansions of the Deuteronomic commandment and probably dates

from early post-exilic times, 516-485 B.C.E., when the Temple was rebuilt, the settlers had become prosperous, and there was oppression or overworking of slaves.⁵¹ Deut. 5:12b, like v. 16a^b, probably refers to the corresponding Ex. 20 laws, and was probably written by D_{2a}. It could not have been written by the author of v. 15 for apparently he did not know of the Ex. 20 decalogue, else he might well have inserted the exodus basis for the origin of the Sabbath there also. Ex. 20:11 represents the highest idea of Sabbath observance, that of imitatio dei which is a P concept. We shall consider this verse later as a part of the P legislation on the Sabbath rest day.

Thus Ex. 20 and Deut. 5 in their pre-exilic verses expand on the Sabbath idea of K and C. The original dabarim of c. 700 B.C.E. and 621 B.C.E., added only the specific dedication of a day to Yahweh, but maintain the austere, taboo nature of the Sabbath in all its ill-omen. The D₂ stratum around 610 B.C.E. place the cessation of work on a broader and more humanitarian base proscribing labor of any kind to householders, slaves, proselytes, and beasts of burden alike; but the people are especially warned to guard against breaking the Sabbath taboo. The real humanization of the day as one of true rest^{and} refreshment of spirit for all, begins with D_{2a} during the exile. The lofty benevolent concept of granting respite and rest to slaves because^{of} the Exodus provides what to the mind of the author of v. 15 was the highest possible motivation. The most forceful and distinctly Yahwistic argument for the Sabbath that this writer could conjure up was the great salvation of Israel from Egyptian slavery. It was not

enough that in their ideal Sabbath that the day should be merely one of rest, of cessation from toil, and refreshment of spirit; merely humanitarian and universalistic. It was to be distinctly Jewish and Yahwistic. "Israel's life and time were God's".⁵² It was thus natural for the post-exilic writer to link up the humanitarianism toward slaves with the distinctly Yahwistic redemption from Egypt.

5. Pre-exilic Verses of Exodus 16.

There are two other passages which have been held to date from the pre-exilic period as a part of the J document.⁵³ They are the two or three of the verses dealing with the observance of the Sabbath as evidenced in the lack of manna on the seventh day. Baentsch⁵⁴ and Driver⁵⁵ place vv. 29-30 in the J document.

ראו כי נתן יהוה לכם
 חסד חן הוא נתן לכם ביום השביעי
 וחסד חסד חן הוא נתן לכם ביום השביעי

If this is J it goes beyond the spirit of the only legislation of J, that contained in Ex. 34.⁵⁶ Without making a thorough analysis of Ch. XVI, its composite nature is readily seen. Yahweh, for example, could hardly be speaking in v. 28 and then go on in v. 29 and speak of himself in the third person. The very nature of expression in v. 29 betrays a later authorship than J. The rationalization of the double portion of the manna, the prohibition against leaving the house are unlike the simple, direct J utterances. Vv. 25 and 26 are undeniably P (and so Baentsch and Driver hold) as is v. 23 which bears every sign of late authorship.⁵⁷ On the other hand vv. 22-29 can hardly be as late as RP (the fourth century) as maintained by McNeile,⁵⁸ the section itself being quite composite and bearing pre-exilic elements. A possible reconstruction of the original J text might be:

v. 21. ויקרא אל משה ואל אהרן ואמר

v. 27. ויהי ביום השביעי ויצא מן הארץ

v. 22, 23a*. ויהא (כל גשמי העד) ויהא (כל גשמי העד)

אלהם ראו כי נתן יהוה לכם ביום השביעי

v. 29.* אל יצא איש ממקומו ביום השביעי

v. 30.

והיה כי יבא יום שבת

v. 31.

והיה כי יבא יום שבת (P)

Even this reconstruction, ruling out the obviously late elements, may contain more than the original J, but there was enough in the original J to have given us further evidence as to the nature of the Sabbath in pre-exilic times. V. 29 in its massoretic origin, the J original form, shows distinctly the taboo or unlucky nature of the Sabbath and is "identical with the numerous rules which impose seclusion on tabooed or unlucky occasions as a means of avoiding physical contact with the supernatural and invisible powers of evil".⁵⁹ The persistence of the undercurrent of austerity and taboo even after the humanization of the Sabbath as the universal rest day, is seen in Ex. 35:3, (P₃),⁶⁰ ואלהם יום שבת ואלהם יום שבת and its corollary, Ex. 16:23, (P), enjoining that all cooking must be done on the day before the Sabbath. Similarly, in Numbers 15:32-36 (P₃), the gathering of wood ostensibly for the purpose of kindling a fire, is strictly punished. These examples unquestionably emphasize the somber and taboo-significance of the day as well as its importance as a rest day.⁶¹ This prohibition of cooking on the Sabbath has led some authorities to conclude that^{the} ancient Sabbath was a fast day.⁶² Pagan writers refer to the Sabbath as a fast. The very prohibition of fasting on the Sabbath⁶³ would indicate that fasting^{which} was customary in the early days, because in later times it was considered an illegitimate rite, according to Jastrow and Webster.⁶⁴ The evidence is not conclusive. But were the Sabbath at one time a fast day, it is certain that it

could not have been during late pre-exilic times. The pre-exilic prophets could hardly have been antagonistic or indifferent to a fast day that would make for contrition, spirituality, and the turning of one's thoughts to Yahweh.

6. Summary and Conclusion.

This concludes our survey of the Sabbath in its general significance and legal aspects in the pre-exilic references. In early times all agricultural work was to be laid aside. Cessation of work was enjoined throughout the year on every seventh-day, even during the busy seasons of plowing and harvest.⁶⁵ The prohibition had been expanded to embrace all occupational pursuits by 842 B.C.E. By the time of Hezekiah, and Josiah, the Sabbath had become a day dedicated to Yahweh, and endowed with a special sanctity in addition to the taboo character it bore throughout the pre-exilic period. Deuteronomic expansion at the beginning of the sixth century gives the Sabbath the lofty motivation of rest for the underprivileged with a view to suppress the ominous significance of the day. It was one of the purposes of the Deuteronomic reformers to purge the Sabbath of its Canaanitic or Baal associations. Much of this came about under the aegis of prophetic influence which brought about the transition from taboo to humanitarianism.⁶⁶ The true spiritualization of the day does not take place, however, until the exile, when the people or their leaders are tested in the crucible of the Babylonian captivity, and the Sabbath crystallizes as a central observance of the Jewish religion. The Reforms of Josiah may have gone down in the catastrophe of the Kingdom⁶⁷ but the exile developed a newer and more exalted line of emphasis as the basis for Sabbath observance: Rest as a distinctive mode of observance for the Sabbath and the Sabbath as "a sign" between God and Israel.

Notes on the Sabbath under K and G.

11. Julian Morgenstern, The Oldest Document of ^{the} Hexateuch Cincinnati, 1927; pp. 3-4.
2. ibid. p. 55.
3. Eerdmans, Alttestamentliche Studien iii, p. 77-92; and Pfeiffer, The Oldest Decalogue, JBL. xliii, 1924, p. 294-310, cited in Morgenstern, ODH, p. 1, and p. 56.
4. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 98ff.
5. IK. 15:13.
6. Morgenstern, ODH. p. 98ff, 119.
7. Similarly, 14b, 18b, 19b-20, 17b 22a can be shown to be editorial expansions of the other commandments, cf. ODH, p. 91.
8. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 63.
9. IIK. 4:23; 11:4ff.
10. Sabbat und Woche, p. 33. Zur Sabbatfrage, ZAW, vol. 48, 1930, pp. 131-32.
11. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 63.
12. Meinhold, Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 132, 142.
13. ibid. p. 132.
14. Meinhold, S and W, p. 32-33.
15. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 91.
16. Lev. 23:15; 23:36, 39; Num. 29:35; Neh. 8:18; IChr. 7:9. $\mu\eta\alpha\epsilon$ is taken to be the equivalent of $\mu\eta\alpha\gamma$ by Toy and Fastrow, p. 335, Original Character. AJT, 1898.
- 16a. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 95, and Morgenstern, The Book of the Covenant, pt. II. HUCA, vol. vii, 1930, p. 22.
17. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 91.
18. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 115.
19. IIK. 10:15-16.
20. Morgenstern, ODH, p. 116.
21. ibid. p. 58.

22. Vv. 23:a^pb and 10b are undoubtedly D, according to Morgenstern, Baentsch, etc.
23. Baentsch, *Handkommentar*, Ex. Levit. Num. Göttingen, 1903, p. 207.
24. Cf. *supra*. p. 35. cf. Jeremias, i. p. 202.
25. IIK. 4:23 is a P recension,
26. Meinhold, S and W, p. 6.
27. *ibid.* p. 7 and *Zur Sabbatfrage*, p. 123.
28. Karl Budde, *The Sabbath and the Week*, JTS, 1928, p. 8, and *Zur Sabbatfrage*, pp. 139-140.
29. IIK. 11:17-18. This incident must have been written before strict Sabbath limitations.
30. Cf. Webster, p. 250, n.1; compare Ezek. 26:1; 29:17; 31:1; 32:1; Haggai, 17.
31. It was in this year, as we have noticed, that Calendar II was adopted and old Canaanitic elements of the Sabbath deleted.
32. Although there is no direct evidence, some believe that the Sabbath as well as festivals were Canaanitic. See above, p. 11ff.
33. Based on class lecture of Dr. Morgenstern.
34. Hos. 2:11-13.
35. Num. 28:9-10, (Ps); Ezekiel's 46:1-6 were never put into effect, or even generally known as we shall show later.
36. Kittel, Wildeboer, Erbt and Eerdmans, cited in Meinhold, S and W, p. 37, n. 1. Rudolf Kittel, *The Religion of the People of Israel*, New York, 1925, speaks of this possibility as late as 1920, p. 61.
37. Meinhold, S and W, p. 40.
38. *ibid.* p. 41; also, p. 37ff.
39. Stade, Guthe, Baentsch, Marti, Matthes, cited in Meinhold, S and W, p. 36, n. 2. Meinhold disagrees, of course, stating that evidence points to exile, or post-exilic period, the only pre-exilic reference to the decalogue, that of Jer. 32:18. But with the exception of Baentsch, the v. is agreed to be post-exilic.

40. Here too, there is no agreement. Although they admit that there was a D and a Josianic reformation based on it, they contend that it contained no decalogue. Steuernagel holds D. 5:6-18 to be post-exilic addition, and that D's new idea was that Yahweh's throne was now regarded as the Ark in which tablets of law could be placed. cf. Meinhold S and W, p. 38.
41. Baentsch, ascribes this to E; p. 181-2, Meissner to Deut. S and W, p. 3, n. 3. A.H. McNeile, Westminster Commentaries to E, p. 119, S.R. Driver, Cambridge Bible, 1911, to JE, p. 3191; and Meinhold, S and W, p. 39, to P.
42. Class lecture by Dr. Morgenstern.
43. In P. Gen. 2:1-3 and Ex. 20:11.
44. Morgenstern in unpublished commentary to the book of Deut. reasons that וְיָהוָה rather than וְיָהוָה stood in Ex. 20:10a and Deut. 5:14b; but in any event, the sense is clear. Meinhold makes both vv. P; p. 3. S and W.
45. For fuller discussion of this transition cf. supra, p. 113f. also, Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies in the Three Calendars, HUCA, 1935, p. 6.
46. Based on Morgenstern, unpublished commentary, Driver, p. 196f. recognizes the composite nature of Ex. 20:8-11, but incorrectly, like Jastrow and Meinhold, assumes 8 to be the original dabar, which he calls E; whereas he makes 9-10 RD, being led astray by 10b which is obviously D, but a different, if not a contradictory injunction, from 9-10a. He reasons correctly, however, that 11 must be a late P insertion, probably RP. The fact that 14b of D and 10a of Ex. are not continuations of 14a and 10a is shown by the structure of the vv., and in translating, two sentences must be made of each v., and וְיָהוָה supplied before translating, 14b or 10b. The LXX, Vulgate, Samaritan, and Nash papyri, supply these words, thus recognizing the difficulty. cf. McNeile, p. 199.
47. Morgenstern, unpublished commentary on Deuteronomy.
48. after Morgenstern.
49. Morgenstern, *ibid*.
50. The same D school attributes Pesach, which is a combination of the desert Pesach, and Hag Hammassoth, a Canaanitic festival^{to the Exodus}. cf. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, p. 82 ff.; Morgenstern, The Origin of Massoth and the Massoth Festival, p. AJT, vol. 21, 1917, p. 275.

51. The caravan of returning exiles consisted of 42,360 persons and 7,337 slaves of both sexes, and returned in 538 B.C.E., Margolis and Marx, *A History of the Jewish People*, Philadelphia, 1927; p. 119. These figures are most likely, however, gross exaggerations.
52. A. Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament*.
 "Israel's life and time were God's, as were already Israel's property, manhood, and first fruits".
 The Sabbath is set apart as being owed to Yahweh, because of His redeeming them from Egypt. The implication is, as Dr. Davidson correctly views it, that to the writer of v. 15, the servants were not given rest so much out of humanity toward them, as to show Yahweh that the master and his entire household from his sons to his beasts of burden dedicate this interval of time to Him.
53. We shall not consider IIK. 16:18, the enigmatic expression and hapax legomenon, אֵלֶּה יוֹנָן in our study of the development of the Sabbath concepts as is done in some of the older treatments of the subject. The text is somewhat corrupt and authorities are now agreed that אֵלֶּה if pointed correctly, does not refer to the Sabbath, but to "sitting" from the verb וָעָל. Cf. Leroy Waterman's translation in J.M.P. Smith, *American Translation*, p. 361. "And the foundation of the seat that they had built in the Temple." Jastrow suggests that יוֹנָן may be identical with massak, Assyrian for "sacred chamber", and it might be that the king retired therein on "inauspicious" days, like the Sabbath. Hehn, S and S, p. 126, feels (with Jastrow) that it was a part of the Temple structure, but only a private entrance for the king. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 598, n. 2, points out that it is untranslatable; and Geiger, *ZDMG*, xvi, p. 731, emends, thus making the same confession.
54. Handkommentar, Ex. Lev. and Num., p. 154.
55. Cambridge Bible, Bk. of Exodus, ad loc.
56. Cf. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, p. 117.
57. Compare with Ex. 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 6:31; 23:3, 24, 32, 39; 25:4, 5; all late P passages.
58. p. 99, Westminster Commentaries, Book of Ex., London, 1908.
59. Webster, p. 257, Dositheus, founder of an ascetic Samaritan sect used this v. to require that one maintain the position throughout the day in which the Sabbath finds him, whether it be sitting or reclining, etc. cited in n. 1, p. 257.

60. Webster, p. 251. This law, completely divorced from its mystical connotations was observed strictly in later Jewish life as shown in Mishnah. Shabbos iv:1, prohibiting baking, boiling, and then even extinguishing a fire, a light or a lamp, Shab. 16:6, Rashba in medieval times had a lock on his stove to prevent its being used on the Sabbath. cited in I. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, London, 1896, p. 83.
61. Fire was in ancient Israel as well as among Babylonians, Egyptians, Hawaiians, Polynesians, and other primitive peoples, a sacred element. Cf. Webster, p. 258f, and Jastrow, H and B, pp. 168-169; also Ex. 3:4, Yahweh and the burning bush. Ex. 19:16-20, Yahweh's voice on Sinai through the smoke; Lev. 10:1-2, Aaron's sons die because they brought strange fire to the sanctuary.
62. Webster, p. 259, and Jastrow, Original Character, AJT, 1898, p. 342f. Also E. Westermarck in Principles of Fasting, 1908, Folklore, xviii, p.301f.
63. Judith, 8:6, and Shulhan Aruch, i, 91f.
64. Cf. Isaiah 58:13f., where Sabbath is called a day of joy. But this evidence is too late and too inconclusive to explain the early character of the Sabbath.
65. If 34:21b is a genuine part of the Sabbath commandment, cf. supra, p.129f.
66. Hehn, S and S, p. 132; and DIS, p. 33, feels that the character of the Sabbath was always the same, but that the observance was different at different times. It had less significance before than during and after the exile. The day's ominous character was peripheral, according to Hehn.
67. Moore, op. cit. ii, p. 23.

V. THE SABBATH OF EZEKIEL AND THE EXILE.

1. The Religious Setting of the Exile.
2. The Importance of Circumcision.
3. The Sabbath as a Sign of Jewish Distinctiveness, and a Day of Rest and Worship.
4. Summary and Conclusions as to the Influence of Ezekiel's Sabbath.
5. Notes on the Sabbath of Ezekiel and the Exile.

THE SABBATH OF EZEKIEL AND THE EXILE.

During the Babylonian exile, the Sabbath takes on distinctly the character of a day of rest and refreshment as ordained by Yahweh, and in its theological setting it is regarded by Ezekiel as "a sign between God and Israel".

How did this come about and what was the setting out of which this new concept of the Sabbath arose? It is not to be thought that the communal life of the Babylonian community differed greatly from that of the pre-exilic Palestinian one. Jeremiah's letter to the elders, priests, prophets, and people recommends that the Jews build their homes, work their farms, and raise their families as they did before, "And seek the peace of the land (LXX)...for in the peace thereof, you shall have peace".¹ The mention of houses and planting implies liberty of movement within the Jewish settlements, at least; but also, complete freedom in the exercise of Judaism. The recommendation of begetting children is so that Judaism may be perpetuated even in a foreign land. Communal freedom, which likewise meant religious tolerance, may be noted in Ezekiel's reference to his conference with the elders of the people when revelation came to him.² This incident also shows that the exiles were making an adjustment to their environment and without a monarch; the ancient custom, dating from nomadic times of elders as communal leaders was revived. But if communal adjustment had to be made in the fairly compact Jewish communities of the Babylonian exile, religious adaptation and changes were inevitable without the Temple, which had been at least

since 621 B.C.E., central in the cult and indispensable to the worship of Yahweh.

1. The Religious Setting of the Exile.

The Temple in ruins, far away from homeland, the Jews had to seek other means of religious ~~expression~~^{or} make the most of the old institutions which could be transplanted to a different soil than that of Palestine. Sacrifices, the distinctive feature of worship and holiday assembly, were impossible because of the Deuteronomic restriction of such to Jerusalem. Non-sacrificial worship which had already been contemplated by Jeremiah³ and Micah⁴ was to become a reality, and those ritual elements like circumcision and the Sabbath, which had religious significance, apart from the Temple cult, could be and were, emphasized in its stead.

Likewise, the three Festivals could not be observed, requiring as they did, pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Kittel suggests that as a substitute, the seasons rather than the feast themselves were observed as memorials, and stories of Yahweh's past deliverances and beneficences to Israel were recounted.⁵ There is evidence that some of these occasions may have become fast days which were later abrogated after the Return.⁶ "But it was only the compelling force of circumstance that could have induced the people to remain content with a form of worship alien to tradition and practise".^{5a}

The Sabbath alone of the festal occasions had a content and purpose less bound up with the Temple, although, as we have seen, special sacrifices marked the day before 586 B.C.E. It now becomes the chief day of assembly and worship. The new emphasis on the Sabbath because of the new milieu also accounts for, in the opinion of most

scholars, the creation of the synagogue and its accompanying liturgy. For the present, however, we are interested in the development of the concept of the Sabbath; in the importance of the day's observance. The manner in which it was observed, we shall treat in a subsequent chapter.

There were other factors that made for the intensification of non-sacrificial religion in Babylonia, and for a broader interpretation of Judaism which inevitably had its effect on the Sabbath idea. There was first the exiles' reaction to the catastrophe of the Kingdom; namely, that they had themselves to blame for they had transgressed the commands of Yahweh, particularly that of the Sabbath. In fact, the latter idea runs like a plaintive refrain through at least two of the chapters of Ezekiel.⁷ Because *וְהִשָּׁחֲזוּ אֶת אֲבִירֵי הַשַּׁבָּת* "they have profaned my Sabbaths" among other ritual or social defections, the people have been punished and led into exile. This analysis of the plight led naturally to a greater respect for the Sabbath institution and a more careful and meticulous observance of it in both its newer aspects; that of a sanctified day of rest, and that of a day of religious assembly and worship. In the matter of the minute detail of the Sabbath abstention from labor, it has been maintained that priestly activity that would have been anomalous in a captivity away from the Temple locale of priestly service, was now devoted energetically to the framing of multifarious precepts for the regulation of every-day life, which culminated at a much later date in the elaborate P code.⁸ Among these laws were the minutiae of the Sabbath prohibitions which began to take form in Ezra's times and which reach

their casuistic consummation in the Mishnaic period.⁹

A second factor that helped raise the standard of Jewish religion was the removal of the people from the influence of the Baalim and other lower features of Canaanitic surroundings. We have observed how Canaanitic animism and Baal practice had been associated with the Hebrew observance which accounts to so large an extent for the opposition or indifference of the pre-exilic prophets toward the institution.¹⁰ Now the Sabbath as well as other religious observances could develop without further syncretism with the cult practises of Israel's Palestinian neighbors. Meinhold feels that whatever impressions the land of Canaan had made upon the Hebrew Religion were now discarded.¹¹

2. The Importance of Circumcision.

A third and most important factor in the development of the Sabbath and circumcision to rites of prime importance in the exile was the desire to combat the danger of assimilation of the Jewish community by the dominant Babylonian population. As a defense mechanism, there was a codification of old practises which in its expanded and refined form was destined for incorporation in P. This work was marked by the growth of the idea of God's choice of Israel as a special people and the development of Jewish particularism and the nationalistic spirit, of which Ezekiel is the ablest, prophetic representative. Only an emphasis on their peculiar religious difference could keep the Jews from assimilation. Those things which already distinguished the Jewish exiles from their Babylonian masters were to be stressed and intensified as distinctive marks of loyalty to Judaism.¹² The first of these distinctive religious differences was circumcision, dating back to early antiquity and undoubtedly into nomadic times.¹³ But it had not been emphasized as an indispensable part of the Yahweh cult. Note Jeremiah (4:4) who claims that circumcision of the heart is more important than actual circumcision. In Canaan, furthermore, this could not be a distinguishing sign of the Israelite, for with the exception of the Philistines, the Canaanite peoples practised circumcision.¹⁴ In Babylonia, however, where the natives were not circumcised, this rite became a distinctive mark of the Jew; and backsliding in circumcision was practically a renunciation of the Jewish religion.¹⁵ The tradition of the importance of the early rite grew

so that several generations after the Return, when Judea was again an autonomous state on its own soil, circumcision becomes in P "a sign of the covenant", the violation of which is punishable by death.¹⁶

3. The Sabbath as a Sign of Jewish Distinctiveness,
and a Day of Rest and Worship.

The second and equally important differentiation of the Jew from his Babylonian neighbor was the Sabbath.¹⁷ In Babylon there was nothing that would serve as an analogy to the Sabbath of Israel, the šapattu days and the ume limnuti,¹⁸ notwithstanding. And since the Sabbath was one festival that had an intrinsic value and content apart from sacrifices, it was emphasized in its humanitarian and theological connotation, as a distinctive feature of Jewish religion. The old cult aspects of the day could not be celebrated anyway because Babylon was a foreign, unclean land.¹⁹ What the Deuteronomic reform had started and possibly intended to do, Ezekiel and the Babylonian exile completed, laying the emphasis on the spiritual aspects of the day, on rest as well as cessation from labor, and on the sanctification of the day by rest and dedication of the occasion to Yahweh. The Deut. and Ex. 20 Sabbaths had been dedicated to Yahweh, and so was the Sabbath of Ezekiel and the exile; but it became dedicated to Yahweh as a day of rest in a lofty spiritual sense which if realized in pre-exilic days could only have made the early prophets ardent advocates of the institution. Its observance became the test of Jewish loyalty, and the chief feature of distinction between the Jew and his Babylonian neighbor.

To Ezekiel, the Sabbath became a "day of Yahweh". Rest from labors and of refreshment of spirit in divine worship became the most prominent features of the day. Whoever did not rest on the Sabbath, sinned against

Yahweh; and it was just such transgression that had brought the downfall of the Kingdom and the exile of the nation. With an eye to the basis for Israel's sufferings, Ezekiel projects the transgressions of the two Kingdoms, Israel and Judah, into the wilderness period even as earlier prophets had viewed Mosaic days as an idyllic era. At first Yahweh thought to deny them the Promised Land "because they had scorned my ordinances and did not follow my Sabbaths...." (20:16). But Yahweh relented and when they again profaned the Sabbaths, (20:21 and 20:24), he stated: "I did, however, swear by uplifted hand to them in the desert, that I would scatter them among the nations, and disperse them over the lands, because they had...profaned my Sabbaths, and kept their eye upon the idols of their fathers". (20:23-34). The residents of the city of blood are denounced for profanation of the Sabbath as a part of a context of previous social and ritual wrongs, (22:8) as well as the priests who are singled out for special opprobrium, (22:26). The allegory of the two harlotrous sisters, Oholah and Oholibah (Samaria and Jerusalem) states directly that the destruction of the two Kingdoms came about as a result of profanation of the Sabbath and similar defaction of Yahwistic injunctions.

But out of so gruesome and bitter a context, Ezekiel evolves the highest and most spiritual view of the Sabbath so far in its history. The Sabbath now stressing its social and humanitarian in contradistinction to the now impossible cult aspects, is linked up with the deity, who is as ever Israel's protector and support, as a sign of

the covenant with Yahweh.²⁰

וְאֶת מִצְוַת שַׁבָּתִי נָתַתִּי לָהֶם כְּחֹדֶם אֲמִלֵּא בְּיָדִי וְהָיוּ אֲבִדִּים כִּי אֵלֵּם
(Ezek. 20:12) וְהָיוּ אֲבִדִּים כִּי אֵלֵּם

"I gave them also my Sabbaths, as a sign between me and them that they might know that it was I who set them apart for myself".

And again in 20:20: וְהָיוּ אֲבִדִּים כִּי אֵלֵּם
: וְהָיוּ אֲבִדִּים כִּי אֵלֵּם

"Keep my Sabbaths holy, and let them be a sign between me and you, that you may know that I am the Lord your God".

Just as the later writer of Deut. 5:14^b-15 connected the Sabbath with the Exodus as a sign of Yahweh's beneficence to Israel, so Ezekiel finds sanction in the Sabbath as a sign of Yahweh's covenant with Israel as his peculiar and chosen people. In this lofty concept of the Sabbath, the most advanced so far, Ezekiel strikes the keynote as we shall see of two later bodies of Jewish law, the Holiness Code, which had its beginnings in the exile, and the Priestly Code which saw the Sabbath as a distinctive sign of Yahweh's relationship to Israel, as the God who consecrates His people.²¹ But with Ezekiel alone was the Sabbath an exclusive sign of the covenant with Yahweh. P, on the other hand, sees such signs also in the rainbow of Gen. 9, and circumcision in Gen. 17.

We may safely say from these passages that shortly after 586 B.C.E.²² when the exile was fresh in the minds of Ezekiel's listeners, the concept of a Sabbath a seventh day rest, as a sign of Israel's peculiar relationship to Yahweh, arose. And from now on the "observance of the

Sabbath was the most conspicuous sign of allegiance to the national God and the institutions of their fathers".²³ This Sabbath observance served, furthermore, as a distinguishing sign of Jewry as a particular people among their Babylonian neighbors. It is highly unlikely that the institution could be borrowed from Babylonia if it became a test for loyal membership in the religious community.

It cannot be overlooked, however, that in chapters 40-48, the ritual legislation for which the book was written,²⁴ there are two possible analogies to the procedure of the specially designated people on the Babylonian ume limnuti,²⁵ referring especially to the civil ruler or "shepherd of numerous peoples", to the priest, etc: Ezek. 45:17 and 46:1-5. Ezekiel holds the the "prince" responsible for the offerings to be made in atonement for the entire people.

ואל הנשיא יהיה השלוח והמנחה והנסך בחמץ
והחמץ והשמן בכל מוצאי בית ישראל חמץ
ועד אל החמץ ואל המנחה ואל השלוח ואל
השמן חמץ בית ישראל;

This might be compared to "At night the king shall bring his gift before Marduk and Ishtar; he shall offer sacrifice. The lifting of the hands is pleasing to the god".²⁶ Although there is a similarity, and the function of the King officiating on the Sabbath is unique in Bible Codes, Clay feels that it cannot be said that one is borrowed from the other.²⁷ Ch. 46:1-3 also shows the ל'ע receiving special consideration with regard to Sabbath offerings,

but the analogy with Babylonian practice is hardly stronger here. It is not at all unlikely, however, that Ezekiel, struck by the similarity of the Babylonian days of propitiation to the character of the Sabbath in Palestine, as this son of the Jerusalem priest knew it, felt that in his ideal Temple ritual, that was to be applied in the days of the Restoration, the civil ruler should also be able to make atonement for the people as a whole. That Ezekiel was affected by Babylonian practice and mythology in other ways, is supported by ample evidence.²⁸ Ezek. 1:4 had his vision come to him "out of the north", the abode of the Babylonian gods, and speaks also of the "holy hill" in 28:14, 16, also in the north, and the "garden" of the gods; (31:8, 9) a Babylonian concept. The vision of Ch. I is, of course, fraught with Babylonian allusions. But as we have already pointed out, Ezekiel could not have made the Sabbath a mark of distinction between Israel and Babylonia, if Babylon observed the Sabbath as a day of rest.

But the concept of the Sabbath as a sanctified day of rest to man and beast, as a sign of God's choice of Israel, as a day of worship and religious assembly, is distinctly Jewish and distinctly^a contribution to the concept made by Ezekiel and the exile. In Ezekiel's projected restoration, the priests are particularly enjoined to "maintain the sacredness of my Sabbaths" (Ezek. 44:24). To Ezekiel, Sabbath observance was central in the cult and indispensable to the worship of Yahweh.²⁹

Another consideration in the Sabbath of Ezekiel is the sacrifices ordained by the prophet for the day;³⁰

namely, that the prince bring a burnt-offering of "one unblemished ram, the cereal offering being an ephah for the ram, and as much as he can afford for the lambs, with a hin of oil for each ephah". A comparison with the P provision for the regular Sabbath offering of "two perfect yearling male lambs and 2/10 of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil as a cereal offering, along with its libation....in addition to the regular burnt-offering and its libation", would indicate that Ezekiel's law was either ignored by or unknown to the P writers. At any rate it is certain that the priest-prophet's sacrificial law was never put into practise. Which brings us to a final inquiry as to whether the Sabbath of Ezekiel, the great sign of Yahweh, that was so central to the cult was applied as such by post-exilic Jewry. The answer is sad and disillusioning, for it must be an emphatic No! ~~31~~ Deutero-Isaiah, the great unknown prophet of the exile, and probably a younger contemporary of Ezekiel, in his idyllic message of comfort and consolation, (Is. 40-55*), says not a word about the Sabbath, not even in his utterances on the restoration of the future glory of Israel. Nor is there any mention of the institution in Haggai, Zechariah, or Malachi; nor is anything related to its observance or introduction even referred to. Zechariah mentions in derision the fast days, memorials to the destruction of Jerusalem and the death of Gedaliah (7:1ff.). "When you fasted and mourned... seventy years, was it for me that you fasted so strictly? And when you eat, and when you drink do you not yourselves

drink"? (7:5). But not a word on the Sabbath. Fair treatment of the poor is emphasized, and reference to the humanitarianism of the pre-exilic prophets, is made constantly. It is indeed strange that Ezekiel's idealization of the Sabbath should not have found fertile soil among the later prophets, who likewise sought to interpret Yahweh's will to the people. The Sabbath institution was destined, however, through the great Priestly Code and the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah to soar to unparalleled heights in the observance and esteem of the people.

4. Notes on the Sabbath in Ezekiel and the Exile.

1. Jer. 29:1-7.
2. Ezek. 8:1, cf. also 14:1 and 20:1ff.
3. Jer. 6:16, 20; 7:21, 22.
4. Micah 6:6-8.
5. Cited in Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, Its Origin and Development, London, 1930, p. 243-4.
- 5a. Ibid, p. 243.
6. Cf. Zech. 7:3, 5; 8:19.
7. Cf. Ezek. 20:16, 21, 24; 22:8, 26; 23:38.
8. Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 246; also Meinhold, Sabbat und Sonntag, p. 16.
9. ibid.
10. Amos 5:8; Hosea 2:11-13; Is. 1:13; cf. supra: Chap. on Prophetic Views. p.135ff.
11. Meinhold, Sabbat und Sonntag, p. 16. He states this because he feels that in the case of the Sabbath for the first time, the day comes at seven day intervals instead at the full moon, which he holds was a custom peculiar to Canaan and Israel in pre-exilic times. We have already shown that Meinhold's position in this regard is untenable, so that we will not find so drastic a difference in the natures of the pre- and post-exilic Sabbath as does Meinhold.
12. Meinhold, S and S, p. 17, etc.
13. Josh. 5:9. Ex. 4:24; this enigmatic passage has at last been correctly interpreted and placed in its proper setting as a part of the K document. It probably represents an authentic tradition from the days of Moses. cf. Morgenstern, ODH, pp. 51-54.
14. Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 245.
15. Meinhold, S and S, p. 17.
16. Cf. Gen. 17, and Gen.8.
17. It might be mentioned that other distinguishing features of Jewish practice that were accentuated by the exile were in matter of purification and dietary laws for the purpose of making Jewish

17. separation as "obvious and ostentatious" as possible. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 246. A consideration of these laws as they are found in Lev. 11:17-26 would be beyond the scope of our treatment or subject.
18. 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 of Ellul II and Marheshwan.
19. Amos 7:17; Hosea 3:4.
20. Neumark, p. 133. "The Sabbath in its social aspect, in his view (Ezekiel's) has significance as a 'sign of the covenant'. This became one of the essential views of his school".
21. Ex. 31:13 as compared with Ezek. 20:12f, 16, 20f, 24; 22:8, 26; 23:38.
22. Rather than closer to 570 B.C.E., the terminus ad quem set by Bittenwieser in "The Date and Character of Ezekiel's Prophecies", HUCA, vol. vii, 1930, p. 17.
23. Moore, Judaism, vol. ii, p. 24.
24. Bittenwieser, op. cit. p. 17.
25. 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 of Ellul II and Marheshwan.
26. Rawlinson, IV, 2, 32, and 33; cited in every book on Babylonian religion. cf. A.T. Clay, p. 79.
27. Clay, p. 79.
28. Oesterley and Robinson, p. 227-232, Babylonian Influences on the Jews.
29. It is B. Hölcher's view in Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch, BZAW, 1924, p. 108, that because passages like Ez. 44:24 and 46:1, 12, etc. present the Sabbath in full strictness, and because early post-exilic writers like Haggai and Zechariah and exilic Deutero-Isaiah do not mention the Sabbath, these passages are post-exilic additions. Meinhold, in Zur Sabbatfrage, p. 129 concurs in this conclusion. There is no break in context, however, and there is no reason for saying that these passages are post-Ezekiel. They breathe his spirit throughout and are consistent with his other Sabbath utterances. It would be highly unlikely that after a lengthy introduction of 39 chapters wherein he frequently denounces profana-

29. tion of the Sabbath as cause for Israel's exile, Ezekiel should not mention its observance in the last section dealing with his ritual program. An excellent refutation of the view of Hölcher and Meinhold is found in W. Kessler, Die innere Einheitlichkeit des Buches Ezechiels, Berichte des Theol-seminars Herrenhüt xi, 1926; and also R. Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israels, 1927, iii, p. 144ff. We have followed Kessler, Bittenwieser and Kittel in essentia in our treatment of Ezekiel. The most bizarre explanation of the book of Ezekiel is one of the latest, C.G. Torrey's, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy, claiming that none of the book was composed before 230 B.C.E., and later insertions were made. cited in Smith, Origin and Development of Hebrew Law, Chicago, 1930. This view is too ridiculous to merit comment.

30. Ezek. 46:4ff.

31. Meinhold, S and W, p. 36.

VI THE EARLY POST-EXILIC PERIOD.

1. The Sabbath in the Holiness Code.
2. The Sabbath of Trito-Isaiah.
3. Notes on the Sabbath in H and
Trito-Isaiah.

1. THE SABBATH IN THE HOLINESS CODE.

It is unfortunate that Deutero-Isaiah makes no mention of the Sabbath. His broad universalism brings prophetic teaching to a high level, perhaps the highest in biblical history. To him monotheism becomes explicit; Yahweh becomes the most exalted type of finalistic deity.¹ Yahweh is conceived of as the God of the universe in contrast to Ezekiel's particularistic one who chose Israel and gave it the Sabbath as a sign.² What finer expression of that universalism could have the unknown prophet of the exile uttered in the name of Yahweh than, "unto me every knee shall bend and every tongue give homage".³ Perhaps it is because of his very universalism that Deutero-Isaiah makes no mention of the Sabbath, of circumcision, or of other Jewish particularistic practises. The observance of the Sabbath which to Ezekiel was the test of loyalty to, and membership in, the Jewish group, would as a doctrine of religion have weakened the great picture of a universal people worshipping one God. As we shall see later, this universalism, in a state of lesser purity was transmitted to an ideological, if not actual disciple of the great unknown prophet in the person of Trito-Isaiah, who despite his broad tolerance and universalism views the Sabbath as a sign of Jewish loyalty and affiliation.

There was, however, a man who lived at the same time as Deutero-Isaiah, but who was imbued with the same spirit of particularism that moved Ezekiel to write Chs. 40-48. He was the writer of the H or Holiness code which embraces roughly Lev. 17-26, Exod. 31:13-14a and Num. 10:9; 15:138b-41.⁴ The similarities between H and Ez. 40-48 have led to the conclusion that in part at least, one was based on

the other.⁵ The various arguments that favor the earlier origin of one or the other of these chapters of ritual legislation would take us too far afield. But we may assume⁶ that Ezekiel is a unit⁷ and that H was started after 570 B.C.E., the close of the period of Ezekiel. It is unlikely that the writer of H was a disciple of Ezekiel, however, because of the differences of treatment and of kind in the matter of ritual and cult. His view of the Sabbath is a case in point as we shall soon notice.⁸ In fact, it is hardly likely that the H writer could have commenced his work until it became clear that there might be a return to Palestine and a restoration of the Temple on the part of the Jewish exiles. Evil-merodach of Babylonia (557-555 B.C.E.) had taken certain steps toward a restoration but it was not until Cyrus' magnanimous rescript at Ecbatana in the spring of 539 B.C.E.,⁹ that the return and rebuilding of the Palestinian community could become realities. It is possible, ^{but not likely,} that H was written sometime between 557 B.C.E. and 538 B.C.E., when another Jewish commonwealth seemed a probability. At least that is the time we may assign to Deutero-Isaiah. But a reading of the H legislation itself will readily show two things: that in its compilation at least, it is Palestinian; and that it refers so directly to the Temple sacrifice, implying the small compact community of D_{2a}, for example, that we must conclude that the H writer, or writers, must have lived and written in Palestine sometime after the restoration under Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel in 538 B.C.E.¹⁰ The terminus ad quem of the primary stratum of H has been correctly placed at 516 B.C.E., the

date of the dedication of the Temple built by Zerubbabel under the aegis of Haggai,¹¹ and H₂ between 516 B.C.E. and 485 B.C.E.¹²

In chapters 17-26 of Leviticus, there is little to indicate how H visualized the observance of the Sabbath or what was its conception of the day. The formula is repeated several times, *שמרתם את שבתותי*,¹³ "you shall observe my Sabbaths". The terse formula and the use of the plural, "Sabbaths" is reminiscent of Ezekiel's familiar explanation for Israel's calamity, *הם חללו את שבתותי*,¹⁴ "they have profaned my Sabbaths". The peculiar and novel use of the plural in Ezekiel could find no explanation in the prophetic book itself, but in H we can readily see what the writers had in mind. The plural refers to the logical extension of the sanctity of the seventh day of rest to a seventh year of rest for the soil, and a seven times seventh or fiftieth Jubilee year of rest, freedom and liberty for soil, master, slave and cattle.

So in H₁ although the concept of the Sabbath is every bit as important to the cult as it was in Ezekiel, the term has been broadened to include other concepts based on the Sabbath idea.¹⁵ But first, let us view the Sabbath itself in its fullest significance and development in H₁ and H₂. The crowning point in the development of the Sabbath concept so far, is found in Ex. 31:13-14ab¹⁶ and 16-17a.¹⁶

(H₂) *ואמרת אל ישראל אתם חתומים בברית עמי ואתם ידעתם כי יום שבת הוא קדש לאלהיכם
שבעת ימים יהיה לכם שבת ואתם ידעתם כי יום שבת הוא קדש לאלהיכם
ואתם ידעתם כי יום שבת הוא קדש לאלהיכם*

12. Yahweh said to Moses:

13. Say unto the Israelites, you must be sure to keep my Sabbaths, for they will be a sign between me and you throughout your generations, so that it may be known

13. that I, Yahweh, am consecrating you.
 14. So you must keep the Sabbath for it is to be sacred to you, for if there is any one who does work on it, that person is to be cut off from his people.
 16. So the Israelites must keep the Sabbath throughout their generations as a perpetual covenant.
 17a. It is a sign between me and the Israelites forever.

Here we have the reiteration and intensification of the great contribution of Ezekiel to the Sabbath concept, making it a sign between Yahweh and Israel, his people. The very expression of Ezekiel 20:12 is similar.

וְהָיָה לְכִלְיָהוּ בֵּין יְהוָה וּבֵין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

כִּלְיָהוּ בֵּין יְהוָה וּבֵין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

The H passage contains the command directly and more emphatically, using the second person. Not only does Yahweh, through the sign of the Sabbath, set Israel apart as his treasured people, sanctifying them (which concept of sanctity or holiness in its earlier sense runs like a haunting refrain through all of H), but Israel is to have in the Sabbath an eternal covenant and a perpetual sign of Yahweh's choice of Israel and their own unique relationship to him. V. 14¹⁷ is obviously not a part of H₁, as it represents two new views somewhat inconsonant with V. 13 (H₁) or V. 15 (RP). V. 14 represents the Sabbath as holy to the people; rather than as Yahweh's hallowing the people in the one case, and the Sabbath's being holy to Yahweh in the other.¹⁸ This H₂ verse further introduces a positive personal penalty for the one who profanes the Sabbath by any type of work. This marks a distinct development beyond Ezekiel's concept that the people as whole suffered because of the profanation of the day. Vv. 16-17a are somewhat repetitious of v. 13,

although they do carry a broadening of the covenant idea. It is possible that they may be H₂, but more likely is Dr. Morgenstern's suggestion that they may have been removed from their original context in Lev. 23.¹⁹

It is interesting to note that in Lev. 19, the great Holiness chapter, there can be recognized a trace of the decalogues of the pre-exilic period: v. 3a^b has its early counterparts in Ex. 34:21, Ex. 23:12, Ex. 20:8-11. Deut. 5:12.²⁰ Other vestiges of the commandments:²¹

3a = Ex. 20:12.

4a = 20:3. Ex. 34:14a.

4a = 20:4-6. 34:17. Ex. 20:23b.

11a = 20:16.

12a = 7.

The repetition of *haneh uhael na* in 19:30 and 26:2 are by their contexts later strands of the H document, both dating after 516 B.C.E. This repetition of the H₁ conjunction is the double *u* form.²² But the repetition of the exact language shows that the concept was essentially the same and that after the dedication of the Temple, the laws regarding the Sabbaths, the special days with festivals, the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee year are still to be observed.

Since the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee period are expansions of the seventh day Sabbath and since H devotes so much more space to a consideration of them, we might view their development briefly in passing. H is in many ways patterned after Deuteronomy,²³ and there is a vast amount of evidence showing that H is a bridge

between Deuteronomy and P. But arising out of such a small compact Jewish community, there were many ways in which it differed from D₁. The first law of H,²⁴ for example, prohibits secular slaughtering, in violent disagreement with D₁ of Chapter 12 of Deuteronomy. In the matter of the Sabbatical year, Deut. 15 has purely an ethical or humanitarian motive; in Lev. 25 it is purely cultic. The older law of the year of release in C; Ex. 23:10-11a^a, without its Deut. expansion 11a^b, provided, however, merely for a year in which the ground is to lie fallow, and thus be released from producing a crop. This cultic law of C serves as the basis for the H law of the Sabbatical year, ignoring the motive of D for the year as amelioration for the lot of the poor and the beasts of the field. For the first time, too, in H the term שַׁבָּת is applied to the Sabbatical year. In H₁, Lev. 25:2,3,4*,5a, 6,7.

דבר אל בני ישראל ואמרת אליהם כי רבב אל הארץ ארבע
אלף שנה ושמרתה חמשה [שבת ארבעה] שנים תזרע שנה
ושש שנים תזמור כרמך ואספת את תבואתה: ושנה השביעית
שבת [] יהיה לארץ [] את ספוח קצירך לא תקצר ולא תצמיח נזירך
לא תפסח והיו שבת השנה ארבע אלף שנה וזרעך ולא תזרע ולא תזרע
ולא תזרע תזרע: וזרעך לא תזרע ארבע אלף שנה וזרעך לא תזרע

It is clear from this one passage that to H₁ (between 525-520 B.C.E.) the Sabbatical year reverts to the type of Ex. 23:10-11a, but it calls it a Sabbath of Yahweh and a Sabbath of the land, a purely cultic concept but carrying with it the lofty implication that the land belongs to Yahweh. Yahweh alone is its owner; the people, merely

tenants. "Part of the time the land is to be allowed to rest from its production, to keep a Sabbath unto Yahweh".²⁵

The omitted words of v. 4 and 5b are characteristic RP insertions. The *והשבת* emphasizes that the Sabbatical year, like the Sabbath day, according to P, is *עֵרָא* *והשבת*.²⁶ H's interest is in a Sabbath for the land as in C, providing merely an agricultural celebration. Accommodating to the new conditions of the small, none too prosperous agricultural community of 539-516 B.C.E., like Lev. 17 and 23, the Sabbatical year legislation abolishes Deuteronomy. H is thus a reactionary movement against the drastic early Deuteronomists who removed from the home and the countrysides the old folkways and celebrations of festivals, in their attempt at centralization. These ceremonies had never died out completely, and H now gave them legal sanction. Thus, H, or later P, sanctions, the counting of Omer, Booths, paschal lamb in the home, (Ex. 12), dancing in the vineyards, the *והשבת* *והשבת*, etc.²⁷

What is to be done with the rest of Ch. 25? It is obvious from a cursory perusal that the entire chapter deals with a development of the Sabbath idea. It is, furthermore, obviously composite. The section beginning with v. 8²⁸ deals with the Jubilee year and has been identified as H₂.²⁹ Here too the seventh day Sabbath fixed its logical extension in "a day of liberty *והשבת* in the land for all its inhabitants".³⁰ It carries with it, in addition to release for the land (v.11), the implication of honesty and uprightness in business dealings.³² The term *והשבת* is here **applied** to a seven-year period, an addition-

al signification of the term as we have noticed.³³ Vv. 11-13 seem to be harmonistic and probably belong either to RH or RP. Vv. 20-22 belong to P under the discussion of which we shall consider them. One thing is noteworthy, however, and that is how radically different is the thought of 20-22³⁴ which cannot apply to the Jubilee, but must revert back to vv. 1-7. Without going into the proofs for the P identity of 20-22, we can readily see, as Morgenstern points out, that "in the sixth year... a three year's crop will be produced; then in the eighth year you shall sow, but live on the old crop, eating the old crop until the ninth year's crop comes in", implies a completely different calendar from v. 2-4, and a year starting in the spring, namely, the Calendar of P₂ or III. The following table illustrates the reasons for the difference and explains among other things, the seemingly cryptic nature of vv. 20-22.³⁵

II. (adopted 621 B.C.E.). III. (414-400 B.C.E.).

<u>Fall.</u>	<u>Spring.</u>	<u>Spring.</u>	<u>Fall.</u>
5th. sowing.	reaping.	reaping.	sowing.
6th. sowing.	reaping.	reaping.	_____
7th. _____	_____	_____	_____
8th. sowing.	reaping.	_____	sowing.
9th. sowing.	reaping.	reaping.	sowing.

This chart makes crystal-clear the interpretation of vv. 20-22 and also takes care of its dating. The crop of the sixth year's reaping of Calendar III must last until the harvesting in year nine of the crop sown in year eight. What this means is two full years of release as compared to one under Calendar II. H thus provides for

release of the land but says nothing about rest as on the Sabbath, but in P₂ it is clear that rest from agricultural labors just as on the Sabbath day is enjoined.

Another H₂ passage which deals with the Sabbatical year, referring to Lev. 25:2-7, is Lev. 26:43: *והארץ ינוחה ויביט*

אחריהם שבע שנים ויביט ארץ זרה

But here the term *אנוח* is applied not to the seventh year as such, but to the continuous years when the land will lie fallow of necessity, by reason of lack of inhabitants.

In addition to H's use of the term *אנוח* for the seventh day of the week, the seventh year, and the period of seven years, the term is applied to a day that has been interpreted by many to refer to the full moon day or the fifteenth of the first month,³⁶ the day following which the waving of the Omer and the counting of the seven weeks (*שבועות*!) take place.³⁷ Thus in H the term has at least four and possibly five distinct uses and significations.

The seventh day Sabbath institution thus finds a very important place in the H legislation. It represents a development of the sign of the covenant idea of Ezekiel, but goes beyond it in proclaiming the Sabbath as an eternal covenant between Yahweh and Israel. The Sabbath becomes more strict, its profanation incurs a personal penalty. The "observance of my Sabbaths" in H carries with it too the observance of the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee years as logical and inevitable expansions of the Sabbath concept, the scheme of holiness pervading the whole Sabbath structure. This holiness is cultic, not ethical, Israel and its Sabbaths partaking of this sanctity as well as Yahweh.

The culmination of the H view of the Sabbath as well as in other religious ideas is realized in the P Code and the reign of legalism.³⁸

2. The Sabbath in Trito-Isaiah.

From the picture that H represents, so akin to the particularism of Ezekiel, one might feel that the periods 539-516 B.C.E. and 516-485 B.C.E. that marked H₁ and H₂, were without their universalistic utterances. But could the great Deutero-Isaiah have left no disciples? Could there have been no one to echo that broad universalism that was the crowning feature of the exile? Unquestionably not. If the period until the building of the Temple at the unrelenting insistence of Haggai and Zechariah, was one marked by a spirit of particularism, then the one from 516 to 485 B.C.E. was one of notable universalism. It was one of territorial expansion and of increasing wealth, when Israel developed pretensions of being world dominant and its religion universal.³⁹ It is from this period of prosperity and of slave-holding Jews that the Deuteronomist records Deut. 5:14b-15 pleading that these slaves be given rest on the Sabbath, recalling Israel's slavery and Yahweh's miraculous redemption of his chosen people.

Under this same D school, religion expanded and universalistic thinking and theologizing began. The hope of millennial peace, of a universal, all-embracing Judaism marks this period. The universalistic utterances of Zech. 8, Micah 4, and Isaiah 2 are written at this time. The destiny of Israel as world conqueror aided by Yahweh,⁴⁰ and of its great appeal to proselytes,⁴¹ all date from this period. Never later than the period 516-485 B.C.E. did Israel enjoy so dominant a period of universalistic thought.⁴² So likewise within this period fall the universalistic prophecies of Trito-Isaiah, who breathes the spirit of

his illustrious exilic predecessor, but who does not go all the way with him. What more lofty sentiment than that it is not a Temple of one's hands, but of one's heart that Yahweh desires and that he makes his home with the contrite and humble.⁴³ To the prophet, the Temple, the sacrificial cult meant nothing unless they were used by people who practised justice and righteousness.⁴⁴ It is natural then, that to Trito-Isaiah, the idea of the Sabbath be not on the ritual emphasis, but rather on the high ethical nature of the day. The institution takes on the character of a most significant sign of loyalty to Judaism by which any Jew could partake in Yahweh's salvation and find immediate favor with the deity; and by which, as we shall see later, a prospective proselyte might indicate his sincere desire to become a Jew. The day is emphasized in its spiritual aspects, as a day of divinely ordained rest from routine business, and a day of devotional recreation when man's thoughts are devoted to ideal things, to matters pertaining to God. The last vestiges of the Sabbath as a day of austerity have been discarded long ago. The process started by the Deuteronomic Reformation in its effort to purify Yahweh worship from Canaanitic practise and symbolism, had lent an impetus to the development and spiritualization of the day. In Trito-Isaiah, on the other hand, the Sabbath is to become a joy, and people are to rejoice in the observance of it, for it would then become a manifestation of God's presence and favor. The prophet makes no positive prohibitions nor injunctions for the day as had his more particularistic predecessors, H and Deuteronomy, but he emphasizes rather the high moral tone of

the day by mentioning it in proximity with the exalted ideals of moral probity. For example, 56:1, 2.⁴⁵

אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש
אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש
אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש

The Sabbath law is not only highly spiritualized, but it may be readily recognized as a combination of a well-known D and H or Ezekiel factor in the *אשר יהיה* and *אשר יהיה* elements, respectively.

Or, we may see the crowning statement which marks so distinct a contribution to the Sabbath idea in Ch. 58:13, 14.

אם תשוב משבת רגלך יום קדש
אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש
אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש
אשר יהיה לכם יום קדש כי קראתי יום קדש

"If you turn back your foot from the Sabbath, not doing your business on my holy day; If you call the Sabbath a delight, And the holy day of the Lord honorable, if you honor it by not following your accustomed ways, not doing your own business, nor indulging in idle talk. Then shall you find your delight in the Lord, etc.". This is the lofty concept of the Sabbath as a day to be observed in joy, that emerges with Trito-Isaiah. It is unfortunate that this idea born of universalism and a period of comparative prosperity had to be thrust aside by the calamity of 485 B.C.E., and the reactionary particularism that set in. This particularism which manifested itself in all lines of religious thought and development, in the case of

the Sabbath, laid emphasis on restriction and ritual.

In such aspects, Trito-Isaiah and his school must have been little interested. It was largely as in the case of Amos (8:5), a matter of indifference, for he does not mention this aspect of the Sabbath except by implication.⁴⁶ But this much is certain, however: like Isaiah, (1:13) he was against ritual without justice⁴⁷ as is indicated so poignantly in Isaiah 58:

"...Behold, in the day of your fast you pursue your business and exact all your labors; behold, you fast for strife and contention...You fast not this day so as to make your voice heard on high! Is such the fast that I have chosen?...Will you call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not the fast that I have chosen thus: to loose the fetters of wickedness and undo the bands of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free and every yoke to snap? Is it not to share your bread with the hungry and the homeless poor to bring home".

And significantly, directly following this eloquent address on justice rather than ritual, there follows that radiant picture of the Sabbath as a delight.

There can be no doubt that Trito-Isaiah raised the Sabbath to a spiritual level unprecedented in the history of Israel. There is a final passage, dating from this universalistic period of the Zerubbabel Temple, that paints an idyllic picture of a millennial epoch when all men shall pilgrimage from all corners of the earth "for an offering to the Lord on my holy mountain, Jerusalem".⁴⁸

"For as the new heavens and the new earth
Which I am making shall continue before me".
"So shall your race and your name continue.
And from new moon to new moon and from Sabbath to
Sabbath,
All flesh shall come to worship before me".

Jastrow, who had devoted so much space in an effort to delineate the early character of the Sabbath, and to show its relationship to Babylonian analogies, says of

the concept of Isaiah 58. "Here we have at least a Sabbath set aside for higher spiritual purposes, and marked by an interruption of the ordinary pursuits of the week,-- a day not of restrictions, but of recreation in which man is to 'refresh himself', which should fill him with delight, bringing peace to his spirit and rest to his body. It is this Sabbath that becomes the central institution of Judaism, and in this form it can only be accounted for as the outcome and expressions of the teachings of the prophets, superimposed on the older-layer of the 'holy days' instituted by Moses. We search in vain among the religions of antiquity for such a day of rest and spiritual recreation. How infinitely removed from the Babylonian šapattu, or from the 'lucky' and 'unlucky' days that play so important a role in all the religions of antiquity. It rises superior to the festivals that mark transition periods in Nature, and which Judaism also preserved, and stands far above the level of the rites and customs set aside for transition epochs in human life";^{48a}

There is one other passage of Trito-Isaiah that is very important in a comprehension of his view of the Sabbath. But to understand correctly the occasion for its utterance, we must view the kaleidoscopic picture of critical 485 B.C.E., almost untouched in Jewish history, let alone considered in biblical criticism.⁴⁹ Before 485 B.C.E., as we have noticed, the Jewish community around Jerusalem enjoyed prosperity, began to expand, and got notions of superiority and world dominion into its consciousness. Darius died in 485 B.C.E., was succeeded by the young Xerxes, which Egypt, in typical or-

iental fashion, took as a sign for a rebellion. Jerusalem joined the revolt to gain its independence. The venture failed, and the Persian policy changed from one of beneficence to one of rigor. Meanwhile the native peoples around Jerusalem, Edom, Moab, ^{Ammon} Tyre and Philistia, jealous of Jerusalem's prosperity and resentful of Jewry's delusions of grandeur, decided to combine against the Jewish city. Ezra 4:6 tells of a deposition to Xerxes asking for permission to destroy the city's walls and humble its inhabitants. The rebellion referred to in the later letter to Artaxerxes, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah,⁵⁰ can only be the one in 485 B.C.E.⁵¹

Permission was granted; and there followed a seige, breeches in the walls, and a carnage that made 586 B.C.E. pale into insignificance. The destruction and cruelty were far worse than either that of 722 B.C.E. or 586 B.C.E. Israel's man-power was drawn off; the slave markets of the near east were flooded with Jewish slaves. There are abundant evidences of this destruction of the city and probably the Temple by the coalition under the leadership of Edom. To detail them would take us too far afield, but it may be mentioned that much of Lamentations, of Obadiah and of various other imprecations against Edom,⁵² refer to calamitous 485 B.C.E., and not to 586 B.C.E., as has usually been assumed.

The author of Lamentations mentions the Sabbath in a context which can hardly apply to the defeat of Zedekiah, but rather to the debacle of 485 B.C.E. Lam. 2:6: "Yahweh has abolished in Zion, festival and Sabbath; and

he has repudiated in the heat of his anger, King and priest". The joyous Sabbath enjoined by Isaiah 58, ceased to be, not the Sabbath itself. The application of the Sabbath as a joyous day could hardly have been stressed with regard to the austere and inauspicious pre-exilic Sabbath.⁵³ We know too, that when Xerxes gathered together his tremendous army of 1,000,000 men to avenge his father's defeat, at Marathon, there were apparently practically no Jews among the recruits from the Palestinian area, so decimated had Jerusalem become.

The psychological and religious result of this great calamity was the growth of particularism and Jewish separatism which reached its high point in the efforts at race purification of Nehemiah (432 B.C.E.). Even when the Edomite and Moabite warriors failed to return from the expedition, and the Nabateans had pushed in and taken the lands of Israel's recent foes, Isaiah's universalistic utterances fell on deaf ears.⁵⁴

To this period belongs that magnanimous utterance which contains one reference to the Sabbath⁵⁵ as a religious test for aliens and eunuchs. This broad universalistic pronouncement⁵⁶ was undoubtedly a reaction against the Jewish particularism that had set in, that sought to repudiate proselytes and purge the community,⁵⁷ even as Nehemiah endeavored to do some fifty years later. Even the despised eunuch who had always been excluded from the congregation of Israel⁵⁸ has a place among the people and a monument better than sons and daughters, if he will only observe the Sabbath and keep the covenant.⁵⁹

If the prophet of universalism, who renewed a ray

of light in the dark night of Jewish particularism, could be generous to eunuchs, how much more kindly disposed would he be toward proselytes who thrown in their lot with unlucky Israel. Isaiah 56:6-7.

וְהָיָה כְּנֶכְדִּי הַנְּחֻלִּים אֲלֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁרֶתוּ וְלֹא־הָיָה אֹרֶץ
יְהוָה לְחַיִּים אֲלֵי אֲשֶׁרֶתוּ כֹּה אָמַר שְׁבֹר מַחֲלָלוֹ וּמַחֲזִיקֵי
בְּמִצְוֹתָיו: וְהָיָה אֲלֵי תֵרֶם קִדְשִׁי וְשִׁמְחָתִי בְּבָיִת
תְּהִלָּתִי אֲדֹמֶתֶם וְצִדְקָתְכֶם לְרִצּוֹן אֲלֵי מִצְוֹתַי כִּי
בֵיתִי בֹיֵת תִּפְתָּר וְקָרָא לְכָל הַגִּוִּים:

This beautiful expression of tolerance and universalism, especially the gem 7b, makes the Sabbath the central rite of Jewish allegiance, and the sine qua non of Jewish practise. To Trito-Isaiah, the day reaches a lofty and exalted stage embodying all the theologic implications of Ezekiel and H, without their emphasis on the restrictive and ritual aspects of the day. The Sabbath became, in the period 516-485 B.C.E., a spiritual day of joy and relaxation; a rest-day which carried with it worshipful devotion. Indeed, blessed was the man who observed the Sabbath.⁶⁰ Such a view of the Sabbath had never been approximated before and has, as we shall see, seldom been attained since. Sabbath observance was the sign of Jewish allegiance and affiliation by all people who attached themselves to Yahweh, whether home or foreign born, whether formerly disqualified in one way or another or not. For Jewry, it was a sign of Yahweh's everlasting favor and ultimate salvation.

3. Notes on The Sabbath in the Holiness Code.

1. Cf. particularly such gems as 43:10; 45:5-7; 45:18; also 60:28, for a *pretty thought of later date*.
2. Cf. Ezek. 20:11f. compare with the universalistic concept of Deut.-Is. 45:22, 23; 54:5; 49:22, 23; or even 45:1, 14.
3. 45:23.
4. Julius Beyer, *The Literature of the Old Testament*, New York, 1922; p. 184ff.; Smith, *Origin and History of Hebrew Law*; p. 70ff.
5. Cf. S.R.Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*; p.71.
6. Despite the contention of Smith, p. 71, George A. Berry, *Authorship of Ezek.*, p. 40-48. JBL. Vol. 34; p. 17-40; and JBL. vol. 49; p. 80-93; or C.C.Torrey *op. cit.*; and G. Hölischer regarding parts of 40-48.
7. Cf. *supra*. p.173N. 29.
8. Note particularly the treatment of the Sabbatical year at great length, only passing reference to the Sabbath as such. No mention of the Sabbatical year is made by Ezekiel.
9. Margolis and Marx, *A History of the Jewish People*; p. 117.
10. Ezra 1:8, 11; 5:14; 3:2, 8; 5:2; 2:2, etc.
11. Haggai. 1:12, 14.
12. Morgenstern, *Supplementary Studies, Calendars*; p.70.
13. Lev. 19:3, 30; 26:2; also Ex. 31:13.
14. Ezek. 20:13, 16, 24; 22:8; 23:38; also 22:26.
15. See *supra*. The Sabbath ideas of C. pp. 129ff.
16. The assignment of the vv. is based finally on Morgenstern's unpublished commentary on H. McNeile, p. 202, regards these vv. as P, a unit and remarks that they are the locus classicus of the Sabbath laws, placing them on the highest plane. He does not recognize, however, that 12-14a resembles H. Lev. 19:3, 30; 26:2; but this inference that they are copied from H misses the mark. Baentsch's assigning these verses as a unit to P_s is as incorrect an analysis as McNeile's.

17. Without *חלל חלל חלל*, which obviously is a P insertion by the Redactor because (1) its language and meaning reflect P ideology and (2) it contradicts the rest of 14b.
18. Morgenstern sees no inherent contradiction between 14a and 15a, but there is one of terminology and concept between 14b and 15b, so that, we may assume that 14ab⁶ is H₂. The specific punishment shows it to be H₂.
19. Morgenstern, Unpublished Commentary on the H Code.
20. It was probably in this period, as we have already had occasion to mention, that Deut. 5:14a-15 was written. Perhaps at the time of H₂ after 516 B.C.E. when the land was beginning to expand (cf. Deut. 12:20ff.) and there was oppression and overworking of slaves on the larger estates, that the early humanitarian motives of D. cf. Deut. 15, began to assert themselves. This D_{2a} or D₃ writers appended the didactic v. 16 and modification of 15b to the older law. cf. supra. Ch. on Ethical Decalogues, p.
21. Morgenstern, Unpublished Commentary on HH.
22. Morgenstern, Book of the Covenant, Part. IV. cited *ibid.*
23. For example, Ch. 26 of Levit. (H), and 28 of Deut.
24. Lev. 17:5-7; like the later D stratum; Deut. 12:4ff., 17-18.
25. Bewer, op. cit., p. 186.
26. Cf. Gen. 2:4; Morgenstern, Unpublished Commentary on the H Code.
27. Ex. 12. cf. Morgenstern, on the H Code.
28. To v. 19a less vv. 9, 11-13.
29. V. 9 is a gloss by RP, Yom Kippur being one of the latest of the holidays of Calendar III. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies in Three Calendars, pp. 68, 74ff.
30. Lev. 25:10.
32. Lev. 25:14-17.
33. Lev. 25:8. cf. supra. p. 119.
34. That these vv. cannot apply to the Jubilee, Dillman notwithstanding, cf. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies, Calendars; p. 83-84, N. 135.
35. After Morgenstern, Supplementary Calendars; p. 86.

36. Jastrow and Meinhold; cf. supra. pp. 102ff., p. 106ff.
37. Lev. 23:11ff., 15ff.
38. In fact H can hardly be considered apart from P whose editors worked over it to such an extent and incorporated it in the body of the law so well that it can hardly be differentiated in many instances from the later strata.
39. Cf. Deut. 12:20ff.
40. Deut. 20.
41. IK. 8:41ff.
42. For all of the above, Morgenstern's class lecture.
43. Is. 66:13a.
44. Is. 66:5; 58:1; 57:15; 59:1-15; 58:5-9; etc.
45. Bernhard Duhm, Das Buch Jesaja, Handkommentar ~~ZATW~~ ^{ZATWG}öttingen, 1892, p. 300ff., sees in this v. the consummation of the humanitarian tendencies of D. ^{He} is viewed as typical of D, and ^{He} as peculiar to Ezekiel and to H.
46. 56:7.
47. Neumark, p. 179.
48. Is. 66:20ff.
- 48a. Jastrow, H and B. p. 188.
49. All this is from class lecture by Dr. Morgenstern.
50. Ezk. 4:11ff.
51. The 586 B.C.E. rebellion was much too ancient; and Persia could hardly have been concerned with insubordination to Babylonia.
52. In Ps. 137, Amos' denunciations of Edom, Ezek. 25:13, 14. Is. 63:8ff.; 64:1ff., etc.
53. Lam. 1:7 ^{וְהָיָה} has been incorrectly thought to refer to Sabbaths. This is a case of the use of the primary meaning of ^{וְהָיָה} as "cessation, coming to an end", etc. and should be rendered, "downfall". In the context it would be meaningless to say that "oppressors laugh at her Sabbaths", which if anything must have been a source of strength in troublous 485B. C.E.

54. Is. 60:1ff. expresses the return of glory to Israel, and the return of her scattered children.
55. ^{Is. 56:3ff.} And by interpolation, v. 2.
56. Is. 56:3-8; Marti and Duhm, op. cit., ad. loc. say delete 56:6 as later P₂, cf. Meinhold S and W, p. 48f.
57. 56:3.
58. Cf. Deut. 23:2.
59. This phrase 4b as in 6b^p may be P, emphasizing circumcision as the sign of the covenant. It is not impossible that Trito-Isaiah had in mind circumcision too, because of the influence of the exile, but we may be sure that it was secondary to the Sabbath. The high status of the Sabbath made it "even more significant than circumcision. The latter sign of the covenant was imposed upon an infant without his understanding or will, solely by virtue of his descent; whereas the keeping of the Sabbath in the face of persecution, or the permanent and more insidious temptations of worldly interest was a standing evidence of the intelligent and self-determined fidelity of a man to the religion in which he was brought up from a child". Moore, vol. ii. p. 24.
60. 56:2.

VII. THE LATTER PART OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

1. The Sabbath as Reflected in Nehemiah.
2. The View of Jerémiah 17:19-27.
3. Notes on the Sabbath as Reflected in
Nehemiah and Jeremiah.

1. The Sabbath as Reflected in Nehemiah.

We now come to the final stages of the Sabbath's development in the days of the strict Jewish particularism of Ezra and Nehemiah and the reaction to it in the great Priestly Code, wherein the Sabbath is placed at one time on a broader yet more restrictive basis than ever before.

It is not to be assumed that although the Sabbath institution was tending toward a stricter observance that even in the days of H and Trito-Isaiah it was upheld as central to the cult as a sanctified "day of Yahweh". Zechariah (518 B.C.E.) in Ch. 7 raises the question as to whether one day or other is to be observed with fasting as a "Day of Yahweh". But his answer is that there is no such day, so that it is hardly likely that the Sabbath could have been known even by Jewish leaders of that day as a "Day of Yahweh". Haggai's chief complaint, as we have already noted, is the people's neglect in delaying the reconstruction of the Temple; but he does not mention the neglect of the Sabbath which H and Ezekiel had viewed as defections from Yahweh's law and the cause of Israel's suffering.

If for the present we ignore the strict Sabbath ordinances of Nehemiah,¹ unquestionably concurred in by Ezra; we note that books like Malachi, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ben Sirach, (books that reflect the thought from 500 B.C.E. on and intended to inform one how best to please Yahweh) make no mention of the day. In Psalms, the Sabbath is only mentioned once, and there it is an interpolation.² There is no trace of a Sabbath psalm

or song in the biblical period, as Jewry later knew it.³

It is always easier to make commandments than to have them carried out. A state of laxity must have prevailed in the little Jewish community about Jerusalem, even during the period of growing particularism, 485 B.C.E. to 444 B.C.E., the date of Nehemiah's first visit to Palestine. This condition accounts, of course, for Nehemiah's surprise at finding the Sabbath day so profaned, even within the holy city of Jerusalem.⁴ In Babylonia, as we have noticed, the Sabbath and circumcision were strictly observed as the most distinctive signs of allegiance to Judaism. There is every reason to believe that the Jews who remained in Babylonia continued to be strict in the observance of the few possible and practicable rites that remained. Nehemiah, too, despite his high office and social prestige as cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, probably observed the Sabbath meticulously. By the middle of the fifth century in Babylonia or in Persia (as apparently Nehemiah lived in Susa), the spiritual conception of the Sabbath as a day of rest had not been lost sight of, and in addition it had taken on certain restrictive elements, which though implied before, had never been explicitly stated. It is this concept of the Sabbath day that Nehemiah must have brought with him to Palestine. Otherwise, we cannot account for his astonishment at the seeming laxity of Sabbath observance, or the emphasis that he places upon it along with the whole range of legalism of Chapter 13. Strict Sabbath observance is a leading principle of the reforms of 432 B.C.E. The ideology underlying the day

now becomes definitely restrictive in character, the theological and social motivations are rendered secondary. The condition facing Nehemiah and the remedies he adopted are best stated in the Chronicler's own rendition. Nehemiah 13:15-21:

"In these days, I saw in Judah men treading wine-presses on the Sabbath and bringing in heaps of grain loaded on asses, also wine, grapes, figs, and all kinds of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the Sabbath day; and I protested on the day when they sold provisions. Tyrians also dwelt therein, who brought in fish, and all kinds of wares, and sold them on the Sabbath to the Judeans, and in Jerusalem. Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said to them: "What evil thing is this that you are doing, and so profaning the Sabbath day? Did not your fathers do this, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us and upon this city? Yet you are bringing more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath.

"And it came to pass that, when the gates of Jerusalem began to be in darkness before the Sabbath, I commanded that the gates be shut, and gave orders that they should not be opened until after the Sabbath. Also, I put some of my servants in charge of the gates, that none should bring in a burden on the Sabbath day. Then the merchants and sellers of all kinds of wares lodged once or twice outside Jerusalem. So I warned them, and said to them: "Why do you lodge in front of the wall? If you repeat it, I shall arrest you". From that time on, they came no more on the Sabbath."

Judging from the fact that the people could be working in the fields^{4a} and trading with the Phoenicians (not interested in the sale of merchandise themselves),⁵ and from the persistence of the merchants after the first rebuke because of the customary lucrative trade on the Sabbath, we may be sure that the observance of the day had been lax before the reforming influence of the zealous Nehemiah.⁶

Nehemiah denounces the nobles for their profaning of the Sabbath (v. 17), continuing the idea of Ezekiel (20:13; 22:8; 23:38; etc.), and of Trito-Isaiah 56:2,

as well as anticipating the fanatic rigor of the Priestly Code, which, as we shall see, uses the strong sanction

מנחם ויחזקאל .⁷ The implication of v. 18 also shows a dependence on Ezekiel, the woes of the captivity coming about because of ancestral desecration of the Sabbath.⁸ Nehemiah probably also accounts for the troublous times in which the nation lived as a result of the profanation of the Sabbath, just as Haggai in 521 B.C.E. attributed them to the failure to rebuild the Temple. It is not unlikely, however, that Nehemiah was not interested in pressing the point in the trite expression of 18b.⁹

The mere command on the part of Nehemiah was not enough, despite the fact that elsewhere¹⁰ the people promise to observe the Sabbath. Special measures are undertaken to prevent barter on the Sabbath by closing the gates before the holy day and not opening them until after the day and night thereof had passed.¹¹ Guards were set over the gates to prevent the merchants from entering with their wares; but apparently the people could pass through, as in the next verse, the merchants were able to lodge outside the city, ^{in order} to trade with the rural as well as the city dwellers. If this were not so, we can hardly account for Nehemiah's anger and his threat to treat the ^{merchants} as public enemies.¹² Ryle misses the point completely in V. 22, (p. 316) in considering this an additional precaution taken by Nehemiah. We could not tell whether the Levites were to serve in addition to, instead of, or subordinate to the regular watchmen of V. 19. This is obviously a later addition by the pious Chronicler who would tender the Levites the function of sanctification of the

day by guarding the city gates.¹³

The institution of a strict Sabbath law was unquestionably a part of Nehemiah's reformation about 432 B.C.E. At least the ordinances of Ch. 13 are a part of his second administration.¹⁴ The reforms are typically particularistic and ritualistic: vv. 1-9, referring to Tobiah's illegal residence in the Temple; vv. 10-14, to tithes for the support of Levites; vv. 15-22, to prevention of traffic on the Sabbath; vv. 23-27, to the abolition of marriages with foreign women; vv. 28-31, banishment of a miscreant priest.¹⁵

We have in the passage, 13:15-21, Nehemiah's view of the Sabbath, his reforms concerning the institution which he regarded as central to the cult. To Nehemiah the present and future well-being of Jewry is dependent on its observance of the sacred day. Farther than this passage, Nehemiah did not go; the other references to the Sabbath in Nehemiah are later insertions or compositions of another hand.

The account of Nehemiah's reform in the matter of Sabbath observance has a parallel in Nehemiah 10:31-33. The chapter is not part of the memoirs of Nehemiah, but it is about him and the people. Nor can it be a part of Ezra's writings for it does not reflect his period. It seems to have been written by a layman, a zealous supporter of the Temple, (v. 38 shows it could not have been a priest) who was an eye witness of Nehemiah's reforms of Ch. 13.¹⁶ The reforms described in Ch. 10 are identical with those of Ch. 13 and are related or described in the

first person in terms of oaths and promises to Nehemiah.¹⁷

The promise of Sabbath observance reflects accurately the conditions of 13:15ff.

וְהַיִּזְרָאִים הַחֹרֵגִים מִן הַמִּצְוָה וְכֵן
הָיָה שֶׁהַיִּזְרָאִים לֹא נִקְּחָה מִן הַשָּׁבָט
וְהָיָה קֶדֶשׁ וְנִשְׁמַר עַל הַיִּזְרָאִים וְכֵן

Here it is clear, however, that only *הַיִּזְרָאִים*, the foreigners, are violating the Sabbath, whereas in 13:15, the implication is that the Jews are also guilty. This verse carries with it the distinct prohibition against commerce on the Sabbath which Amos 8:5 bore only by implication, if at all.¹⁸ The holy days are those described in Num. 28 and 31. V. 32b is interesting not only because it is not duplicated in Neh. 13, but because although it has the more recent H Code (Lev. 25:1-7) as a model, it reverts to D.15:1-11 which provided for remission of debt, not release of land. This may tell us two things, that the influence of H and its elaborate Sabbatical legislation, was not only not applied at this time, but may not even have been known; and secondly, that this typical D statement may have emanated from the hand of Ezra, the last of the great Deuteronomists, a generation later. At any rate, the passage shows that in the close of the fifth century, the Sabbatical year was regarded as a logical extension of the Sabbath, even if not observed. Vv. 33 and 34 tell us of the 1/3 shekel tax for the Temple which among other things would take care of the sacrifices for the Sabbath. This reference recalls the elaborate offerings of Ezek. 46:1-6, and

the references to the pre-exilic observances in Hos. 2:11-13, and Is. 1:13. No specifications are made, however, and H had left none for these days. It remained for P to put the Sabbath and sacrificial cult on an operating basis.¹⁹ The reference to the unusual sum of 1/3 shekel shows either extreme impoverishment, or a remarkably small or inexpensive sacrificial cult.²⁰

The last Nehemiah passage mentioning the Sabbath is 9:14, purporting to have been said by Ezra. The name "Ezra" is an interpolation in v. 6 by the Chronicler, and the chapter itself, according to Batten, comes from the Greek period.²¹ A perusal of v. 14, the Sabbath verse, and its context quickly confirm this. To the writer, the Sabbath is the only command worthy of mention of the decalogue, which indicates a supremacy for this law otherwise only evident in Mishnaic times or under late P writers.²² The expression *qery' hae* is typically P. The account of the Manna follows rather than proceeds the Sabbatical law, indicating that the account might even be post-Priestly. At any rate, this verse reflects the lofty estimate of Sabbath observance as the highest obedience to Yahweh's will.

Although no mention of the Sabbath is made in Ezra, we may be sure that his public reading of the law on the first day of the seventh month,^{22a} contained the Sabbath legislation of at least H and D.²³ As in the case of Nehemiah, the great nationalistic reformer imbued with the orthodoxy of Babylonia or Persia also attempted to inculcate Sabbath observance into the lax populace of Judea, who, since the death of Nehemiah, had again fallen

into their old ways. The stringent laws against inter-marriage imply a similar strictness regarding the seventh day. Unquestionably, Ezra enforced the Jewish rites of Sabbath, circumcision, and the feasts which were the sum and substance of Babylonian Judaism.

Another indication of the importance of the Sabbath and the ideology behind it as a sacred day, is the fact that among the names of the Levites is one Shabbetai, (Neh. 8:7; 11:16; Ezra. 10:15). We may safely say that the ~~Nehemiah-Ezra~~ Nehemiah period, one of eras of the strictest particularism and separatism, was also one of strict regulation for the Sabbath and an extension of its former prohibitions.

2. Jeremiah 17:19-27.

Another biblical passage on the Sabbath, the consideration of which we have deferred until this time, is Jeremiah 17:19-27, which for various reasons must be assigned to the days of Nehemiah. But the passage does not lack for defenders of its Jeremianic or contemporary authorship. Rothstein²⁴ maintains that this is a Jeremianic utterance with interpolations (vv. 23, 26), illustrating as does Amos 8:5, that the Sabbath rest was unwelcome to the rich. But the most cogent defense of the passage's authenticity, is presented by Barnes.²⁵ Style is not to be a determining factor because much of Jeremiah was written by Baruch.²⁶ An expression parallel to 17:25 is evident in Jer. 22:3, 4, and both these passages reflect the ambitious mind of Baruch, rather than the war-hating Jeremiah.²⁷ Furthermore, on the subject of the Sabbath itself, it is not logical to assume that Jeremiah, who emphasized inwardness, as did his contemporary Ezekiel, could have neglected the institution which Ezekiel regarded as a sign between Yahweh and Israel.²⁸ Jeremiah, as a humanitarian, would have championed the Sabbath which D make a charter for the laborer, just as on a celebrated occasion he denounced the masters who failed to release their slaves on the Sabbatical year.²⁹ A man who stood so resolutely for the ordinance of the seventh year would surely uphold the law of the seventh day.³⁰ The occasion of the utterance of Chap. 17, was that Jehoiachim was building a palace "using his neighbor's service without wages".³¹ This involved bearing burdens, building materials, stone and timber at the

command of the king, even on the Sabbath day. Jeremiah denounces this incessant toil for humanitarian reasons rather than ritualistic ones, addressing his discourse to the people, but really having in mind the miscreant king. The prophet says, "observe the Sabbath", but means, "cease from oppression".³²

Although at a first glance, Barnes arguments seem imposing, upon analysis, they become inconclusive and gratuitous. If style is not to be a criterion, we have no right to compare the passage with 22:3, 4; but the comparison only indicates that both come from the same hand, not that the hand is necessarily Baruch's. Reasoning from analogy is often specious. Neither the fact that the Sabbath was important to Ezekiel nor that the ordinance for manumission of slaves on the seventh year was significant to Jeremiah means that Jeremiah must also have held the Sabbath in high esteem. The fact remains that nowhere else is the Sabbath even referred to in Jeremiah. Barnes misses the point completely in thinking that the word *לען* refers to building materials. As in Neh. 13:15ff, *לען* refers to merchandise, to marketable foodstuffs; as even in Jeremiah, the reference to the gates or market place of the city clearly shows.³³ That this account refers to the building of Jehoiachim's palace, or that the discourse is really directed at the king, is pure imagination.

Authorities are fairly well agreed on the basis of internal evidence and on the basis of the spirit of Jeremiah's prophecy that 17:19-27 must be post-exilic. Kuenen and Cornill were the first to place the section in its

proper setting, ascribing it to "a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, who shared their view".³⁴ There are two essential bases for saying that Jer. 17:19-27 is "unecht" according to Giesebrecht and others. (1) The passage is inconsistent with Jeremiah's attitude toward ceremonies. It is inconceivable for Jeremiah or Baruch, to have made the future of Israel dependent on a single rite of the Yahweh cult, a rite of which Jeremiah seemingly did not think enough to mention elsewhere. (2) The passage itself bears a number of signs of a later date. The high regard for the sacrificial cult, for example, can not only not be Jeremianic, but displays a very late hand.³⁵

But let us turn to the passage itself, which we may epitomize in its own words.

(21) "...As you value your lives, be careful to carry no load on the Sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem, nor carry one out of your houses, on the Sabbath day. (22) And you shall do no work at all on it, but shall keep the Sabbath day holy, as I commanded your fathers,⁽²³⁾ though they neither listened nor inclined their ears, but stiffened their necks, refusing to listen or to take warning.⁽²⁴⁾ If you listen attentively to me, 'is the oracle of the Lord, 'and refrain from bringing any load through the gates of this city on the Sabbath day, and if you keep the Sabbath day holy and refrain from doing any work on it, (25) then shall there enter by the gates of this city, kings sitting on the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they and their princes, together with the people of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and this city shall be inhabited forever.⁽²⁶⁾ And the people shall come from the cities of Judah and from the districts around Jerusalem, from the land of Benjamin, and from the Shephelah, from the hill country, and from Negeb, bringing burnt offerings and sacrifices, cereal-offerings, frankincense and thank-offerings, to the house of the Lord.⁽²⁷⁾ But if you do not listen to me, in regard to keeping the Sabbath day holy by not carrying a load or bringing it through the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day, then will I kindle in its gates a fire, which shall devour the palace of Jerusalem, and shall not be quenched!"

One may readily see the similarity between this and Nehemiah 13:15-22,³⁶ even a dependence of this passage on Nehemiah's notations of 432 B.C.E. The use of the word *ken*, in Neh. v. 15, 19 definitely refers to merchandise, as it does by implication in Jer. vv. 21, 24 and 27. It is unimportant that the author of Jeremiah did not make clear that *ken* meant merchandise.³⁷ It is either because his discourse followed directly on Nehemiah's, and the people already knew the significance of *ken* or the writer copied mechanically from Nehemiah.³⁸ Jeremiah v. 21 is identical in use of *pi'el*, *more* to Nehemiah v. 19, where guards are set over the gates to prevent traffic on the Sabbath. V. 27 of Jeremiah, which specifically enjoins against bringing merchandise through the gates, unquestionably refers to Neh. 13:15-22. The reference to the intransigence of the fathers in Jeremiah v. 22b-23, is undoubtedly taken from Nehemiah v. 18. And the threat of destruction in Jer. 27, is present by implication in Neh. v. 18. The phrase regarding the Sabbath observance,

la'ken pi'el erof, is typical of the late fourth century and of P. There can be little doubt that the writer of Jer. 17:19-27 was a contemporary of Nehemiah, probably one of the zealous prophetic proponents of Yahweh and the Temple cult, and possibly an eye witness of Nehemiah's reforms.³⁹

The passage in Jeremiah reflects, as we have noted, the same view of the Sabbath as that of Nehemiah. It is to be strictly observed as a cardinal practice of Judaism. Dependent upon Sabbath observance is the welfare of the Jewish community, just as suffering in the past was due

to the people's being remiss in the day's observance. We may infer from this passage, as well as Neh. 13:15-22, not so much that a large proportion of the people were lax in their observance, as that those who were remiss, were severely taken to task by the zealous governor and his colleagues.⁴⁰ The Sabbath becomes at this time so important that it overshadows all of the other commands of the decalogue.⁴¹

Jeremiah 17:19-27 goes even farther in its zeal for the Sabbath, than does Nehemiah. "As you value your lives", observe the Sabbath, is the writer's admonition.⁴² This takes us farther along the line of stringent Sabbath enforcement than Ex. 31:14b^{py} (H_2) which applies only excommunication. It approaches the fanaticism of the strict P ordinances, which exact the death penalty for Sabbath violation.⁴³ The passage too, advances a step farther than Nehemiah, with regard to Jewish particularism. Despite the separatistic and particularistic tendencies of the age of Nehemiah and Ezra, the writer of Jeremiah 17 envisions a time when Israel shall again be a victorious, territory-conquering nation under its great Davidic dynasty, and people from all over the land will come to Jerusalem to bring offerings to Yahweh. It is like an echo of Trito-Isaiah, like a voice from the universalistic atmosphere of the days of Zerubabel's Temple.⁴⁴ All of this will come about if the "people will keep the Sabbath holy". Jeremiah 17:19-27 is the voice of universalism, crying out in the wilderness of particularism. It breathes the years of 516-485 B.C.E., but it speaks of

the walled Jerusalem, the impoverishment, the remote hope of a Davidic leader in the period 542-397 B.C.E. Esteem for the day increased in the eyes of the pious so that the Sabbath eclipsed all other duties. It was "the holy day", belonging to Yahweh.⁴⁵

Thus in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra, the Sabbath becomes the most important rite of Judaism, enforced with a strictness of which only a particularistic Welt-anchauung is capable. The nation's suffering had been due to Sabbath violation; its future depended on Sabbath observance. The stage was set for the broader, yet stricter sabbatarianism of the Priestly Code.

3. Notes on The Sabbath as Reflected in Nehemiah.

1. Ch. 10:31; 13:15ff.
2. Ps. 92:1, of Meinhold S and S.; p. 23.
3. *ibid.*
4. 13:15ff.
- 4a. Ryle, Cambridge Bible, p. 314, feels that this means only the food was gathered on the Sabbath but was sold later. Nehemiah's objection was that the food was tainted, having been gathered on that day. Batten rightly disagrees. p. 294.
5. Batten, Ezra and Nehemiah; ICC, New York, 1913, p. 295; shows that in the Greek version the word Tyrians, is lacking. Nehemiah blames the nobles in 10:32, and v. 5 shows they were greedy. It is not far fetched to assume that they were engaged in this traffic. Batten feels that it is unlikely that Tyrians dwelt in Jerusalem. Perhaps the explanation for the word *tyrians* may be that the pious Chronicler did not want to give the impression that the Judeans were so impious as to do business on the Sabbath. Perhaps the slight change of *tyrians* to *tyrians* would obviate the difficulty.
6. Without going into the complicated argument by which the matter is determined, we follow the latest scientific judgment that Ezra lived subsequent to Nehemiah and probably never knew him. Nehemiah made his first visit in 444 B.C.E., the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.E.) and Ezra in the seventh year, not of Artaxerxes I, but the Second (404-359 B.C.E.) or 397 B.C.E. This is confirmed by a host of internal evidence, the Elephantine Papyri of 408 B.C.E., etc. cf. Oesterly and Robinson, A History of Israel, pp. 114-118, for brief but comprehensive treatment of the question. Cf. also L.W. Batten, Ezra and Nehemiah, ICC., New York, 1913, pp. 28-30. O.C. Torrey in Ezra Studies maintains not only that Ezra was not contemporaneous with Nehemiah, but that he never lived and is merely a figment of the Chronicler's imagination. This like Torrey's analysis of Ezekiel is too radical and unfounded for serious consideration.
7. Ex. 31:14.
8. Ezek. 20:11ff.; 22:8; 20:21; 20:24; 23:38; etc.
9. 18b is probably an addition of the Chronicler under P influence.
10. 10:31f.

- 214.
11. Ryle, Ezra and Nehemiah, Cambridge Bible, p. 315, gratuitously assumes that because *והיה* has been rendered: "when the gates---began to be dark", that the Sabbath began at the termination of twilight. No such implication is inherent in this passage. The gates were always closed at night and because of Nehemiah's edict, they were not opened at all on Saturday, but remained closed until Sunday morning. cf. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies, Calendars, p. 22, N. 36. The Sabbath as every other day until Calendar III reckoned a day from sun-up to sun-up. In the fourth century the day was first reckoned beginning in the evening. Batten would render the phrase with G, "When the gates were put in place" to obviate the cryptic text. But the change is unnecessary.
 12. Cf. Batten, p. 297; and Ryle, p. 316. G reads that they were trading as well as lodging.
 13. Cf. Batten, p. 297. Nehemiah had already brought the Levites to Jerusalem. V. 23 is also a Chronicler's gloss like v. 14.
 14. Batten, I.C.C.; p. 286.
 15. Probably not an original part of Nehemiah, but a corrupt passage from The Chronicler.
 16. So Batten; p. 373.
 17. The one exception is that of the Sabbatical year, v. 31b, but it is logical to assume that with the precedents of C, D, and H that a Sabbatical year could have been ordained, Ch. 10, notwithstanding.
 18. This verse may be a part of Nehemiah's memoirs reworked by the Chronicler, but Batten is probably correct in judging the section as a comparative unit from the hands of a contemporary prophet. Morgenstern's classification is plausible, but we believe, an incorrect one: Neh.: 30a^b-32; 35b^c; 36a^b; 37a^b. Chronicler: 29, 33-35; 36a^a; 37a; 37b^b-40.
 19. Numbers 28:9-10.
 20. Compare Ex. 38:26 and Gen. 24:22 where 1/2 shekel is mentioned, or Lev. 27:6 where 3 shekels is spoken of, and Num. 3:47; 18:16 where 5 shekels is to be the Temple tax. The regulation tax was a half shekel; Matt. 17:2f. The Roman emperors later required two drachmae in lieu of it.
 21. Batten, p. 352.
 22. Compare with Ex. 16:23 (P). cf. in New Testament *Mk.* 2:27ff.; Luk. 13:10f.; and Jub. 5:18.

- 22a. Not yet Rosh ha-Shona until Calendar III.
23. That it was not P but H, D, and earlier legislation that Ezra used, is maintained by Dr. Morgenstern; because he holds that Ezra's mission fell in 458 B.C.E., a date indeed much too early for P₁. cf. Morgenstern, *Supplementary Studies, Calendars*; p. 129, N. 209.
24. In Kautzsch, *Heilige Schrift des A.T.*, 1922, ad loc.
25. W.E. Barnes, *Prophecy and the Sabbath*, J.T.S. Vol. 29, 1928, p. 386-90.
26. Jer. 36:1-7, 32; 45:1-5.
27. Barnes, p. 388.
28. Ezek. 20:12; cf. Barnes, p. 388.
29. Jer. 34:8-22.
30. Barnes, p. 389.
31. Jer. 22:13ff.
32. Barnes, p. 390.
33. Amos 8:5 readily bears this out.
34. Cf. Friedrich Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Handkommentar, Göttingen, 1894, p. 101f. Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in den Bücher des A.T.* II, p. 167f.; "The one-sided emphasizing of the observance of the Sabbath, which represents the whole picture of the people as dependent upon it, must strike one as strange in the mouth of Jeremiah". G.A. Smith, *Jeremiah* (Baird lecture for 1922, describes 17:19-27 as post-exilic; as does Elliot Binns, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, Westminster Commentaries, London, 1919; p. 143 f., and A.W. Streane, in *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, Cambridge Bible, 1913; p. 111ff. Moses Bittenwieser, too, in "The Prophets of Israel"; p. 49ff.; following Geiger and Kuenen, shows the striking similarity in spirit and content of Jer. 17:19-27 to Neh. 13:15-22.
35. Cf. Psalm 51:19 for an example of a late appendage which disagrees with the spirit of the Psalm.
36. Cf. *supra*, p. 201.
37. Bittenwieser, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 50.
38. *ibid.*
39. See Hehn, *DIS*, pp. 28-29, who states this theory, but favors its Jeremiahian authorship.

40. Hehn, DIS, p. 33.
41. Neh. 9:14.
42. Jer. 17:21.
43. Ex. 31:14b^a and Num. 15:32ff.
44. Compare Is. 56:1-7, 66:23-24, 62:4, 66:1-3a, 60:1-3, Mal. 1:11, 3:1-5, etc.
45. Compare Neh. 9:31-32 and 9:14 with Ex. 16:23(RP) where the holiness of the Sabbath is emphasized, cf. Meinhold, S and W., p. 50, who holds this view.

VIII. THE SABBATH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

1. The Sabbath in the P Code.
2. The Sabbath in Chronicles.
3. Summary and Conclusions.
4. Notes on the Sabbath in the P Code
and in Chronicles.

1. The Sabbath in the P Code.

By considering, as we have done, that Ezra's mission took place in 397 B.C.E., a generation after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem, we come to the question of Ezra's relationship to the Priestly Code which carried the Sabbath idea to its broadest and most legalistic consummation.¹ This brings us to a period wherein even those who hold that Ezra's mission took place in 458 B.C.E., will have to admit that the beginnings of the Priestly Code had to be known.² Ezra came as a religious reformer; his work was designed to establish in Palestine the law as it had developed in early Codes, such as D and H, and as formulated by the Priestly schools of Babylon, with their emphasis on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the feasts. Two months after arrival, Ezra was concerned with regulating the service and making repairs on the Temple.³ Ezra, coming from an environment where the Jew had to be a particularist to survive, regarded intermarriage as a pollution.⁴ As in the case of Nehemiah, Ezra's orthodox background in Babylonia accounts for his strictness and piety.

The crowning achievement of Ezra's career came at the great assembly that was held on the first day of the seventh month, 397 B.C.E.⁵ Here Ezra read from ^{אֶל}חוריהו, which was unquestionably part of the Priestly Code, (and which ordained that very day as the feast of trumpets from then on,⁶) if we care to judge by the relative surprise and consternation on the part of the people, that the new laws created.⁷ Had the P law been given earlier, or had Ezra merely repeated the prevailing H

and D laws of the time of Nehemiah, such a reaction could hardly have taken place. The wailing and lamentation were obviously because of the threats and sanctions implied in laws which had never been obeyed. The death penalty for violation of the Sabbath, for example, had never before been explicitly stated.⁸ Whether the "book" read was P grundschrift or not, it is clear that it must have been new to the people and that it must have come from Babylonia. Nor is it necessary, as Oesterley points out, for Ezra to have read the whole book, for it to have been the basis of his reforms.⁹ If, for example, the pledge of obedience to the laws of Neh. 10, which we have already said could hardly date from Nehemiah's reforms in 432 B.C.E., be a part of the laws adopted by the people at the assembly in 397 B.C.E., they do not accord with the full P Code as we have it.¹⁰ The P Code at that time, however, or as Smith says "the Code was introduced by Ezra, was in an earlier form than that in which we now have the Priestly Code".¹¹ It was natural for Ezra, with his band of priests and Levites, to have emphasized the Temple ritual and sacrificial cult for the benefit of his colleagues, and a proper restoration of Temple service, as well as those cardinal principles of Babylonian orthodoxy, circumcision, Sabbath, and observance of festivals. The code applied, of course, to the people as well as the priestly groups; and the P writers rewrote Israel's history to teach the people the authority and importance of Yahwistic religious institutions so as to move them to a wholehearted acceptance of the entire cult apparatus, through which

it was felt salvation was to be achieved.¹² All previous strata were reworked or incorporated by the P editors; or sometimes suppressed or deleted to serve their ends.¹³ History was rewritten to show the antiquity or divine or ancient origin of favored institutions. Thus the Noah story gives the sources for the Noachian laws, Abram is the one who institutes circumcision (Gen. 17), the burial place at Hebron (Gen. 23), shows Israel's connection with the soil, Jacob's endogamous marriage (28:1-9), emphasizes the desire for racial purity. The classic example, however, which expresses not only P's desire for the antiquity of sacred institutions but also a broad universalistic spirit in reaction to the narrow particularism of the latter fifth century, is the account of the origin of the Sabbath, (Gen. 1-2:4a).

It is the climax of all of creation; it is imbedded in the very constitution of the world. The Sabbath is a day of Yahweh, and so it is a day of rest to all races and nations. What more lofty and universalistic a concept could there be than that the institution that had become central to the Judaism of the Babylonian exile and of prime importance to the cult in Palestine, should now be considered the heritage of all humanity. It was a far cry from the separatism set in motion by the calamity of 485 B.C.E., that reached so high a point in the exclusive reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra. The real greatness of the Pentateuch which bears the stamp of P lies in this universalistic aspect which gave character not only to the Sabbath, but to all the Jewish institutions it enjoined.

No more fitting place for the exposition of so fundamental a concept as that of the Sabbath could be found than the very opening narrative, adopted from a Babylonian account by the Priestly writers during the exile.¹⁴ The Priestly School in giving the Sabbath this powerful and compelling basis, reverted to some of the older aspects of the day; namely, its restrictive elements. These strict regulations grew, however, not out of any taboo or austere character of the day, but rather out of the sacred nature of the Sabbath hallowed and rendered beneficent by Yahweh, because of his own rest on that occasion. With the stricter regulations there was instituted the death penalty for Sabbath violation.¹⁵

Genesis 2:1-3, definitely established the seventh day as a day of rest, recommending the principle of imitatio dei.

וַיָּרֶק אֱלֹהִים אֶת יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדְּשֵׁהוּ כִּי כֵן שָׁבַח מַלְאָכָיו

God rested on the seventh day, all mankind should do likewise. A divine precedent had been set for mankind to follow. The Gen. 1-2:4 creation story carries with it another idea; it recalls the origin of the day out of the symbolic number seven. Like the Babylonian epic of creation which was written on seven tablets, the biblical creation story tends "to prove that the seven period is a kind of natural law and an absolute meter of time".¹⁶ Seven times "and it was good" appears in the account.

V. 2 is noteworthy. וַיֵּשֶׁב אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, which would imply that the seventh day was employed by God to complete his work. This is logical when we remember the influence of the number seven in Semitic life, and that the

seventh day was to be the crowning day of creation, the day of completion, according to the P writers. LXX, the Samaritan and the Peshitta misunderstand the concept and change *וַיְהִי* to *וַיִּשְׁלַח* in 2a.¹⁷ The difficulty is obviated by merely translating *וַיְהִי* as a pluperfect, which would be permitted both by the text and by the symbolism that motivated the writer.^{17a}

Unlike other P passages which mention the Sabbath day by name, Gen. 2:1-3, mentions only the seventh day of rest.¹⁸ It has been explained that this is because the Sabbath, as such, applied only to Israel. But this need not be so in the light of P's broad universalism; howbeit it meant that first Israel would embrace all peoples, and then that Yahweh would be worshipped universally. Nor need other peculiarities of the verse be given undue significance. The fact that in the usual expression referring to creation in connection with the Sabbath,¹⁹ the name *שַׁבָּת*, and not *שַׁבְּתָיִם* is used. Surely it was Yahweh who was responsible for creation. The explanation is that it was not until the theophany of Ex. 6:2-12 that the name *שַׁבָּת* was used. But it is not impossible that an early E document was reworked in Gen. I. It is certain that Gen. I is not a unit.²⁰ Or the chief original comment on the passage offered by Gunkel in his classic commentary,²¹ is that there is a greater anthropomorphism in this passage than in other P passages dealing with creation;²² but obviously, it is not the anthropomorphism of ^adeity who labors and wearies himself in so doing that the writer wishes to present. He tries to show rather that it was necessary

to finish the eight stages of creation in six days (even by crowding four into two days), so that the example of God's resting on the Sabbath be given to man.²³

There are several further inferences that we may draw from this passage without consideration of other P verses concerning the Sabbath. The Sabbath is holy, but not as it was in the case of Deut. 5:12 or Ex. 20:8, in the sense of taboo and propitiation, but rather in the high and lofty sense of moral perfection. It is a sacred day and endowed, furthermore, with beneficial rather than inauspicious qualities, because God blessed it.²⁴ Imitatio dei would permit rest and refreshment, but also opportunity to rejoice and offer thanks to God as a sign of an eternal covenant,²⁵ which was present in the earlier concept. The day had passed from one of positive ill-omen and one of mingled austerity and ethical import to one of noble benefit and divine motivation. The day, too, had become by the fourth century, one of spiritual implications, synagogue assembly and prayerful devotion.

But in addition to the concept of the Sabbath as a day of divinely ordained rest, of moral and ritual holiness, of unmitigated blessing to man and beast; there is the implication in Gen. 1:1-3, that God is the master of time, of "the heavens and the earth and the fullness thereof", as well as of the Sabbath itself, which had been before designated as Yahweh's day. These concepts inherent in the conclusion to the creation story become classified in the multifarious laws of P wherein fixed

times and seasons are dedicated to Yahweh, wherein the earth and its produce is returned in part to its owner, and wherein the Sabbath as Yahweh's day is restricted with the bonds of an unrelenting legalism, yet lifted on the wings of lofty humanitarianism and unfettered aspiration.

What is true of the concept of the Sabbath in Gen. 1-2:3 also prevails with regard to the ethical decalogue law²⁶ in its final form, which shows unmistakably the hand of the author of Gen. 2:1-3. The same may be said of the late redactorial glosses inserted into the H document in Ex. 31:12-17. Here too, as in Ex. 20:11, the identical language is used to set forth the creation sanction for the Sabbath. Ex. 20:11a^a, 31:17b^a.

כי יום זה ימים שבת יתן לך יי ואלה המעשרות

The Sabbath commandment concludes:

וזה היום שבת יתן לך יי ואלה המעשרות

whereas Ex. 31:17 merely adds ואלה המעשרות שבת יתן לך יי ,

but the difference is inconsequential, probably indicating only that in the case of ^{Commandment} IV, the editor considered the commandment of greater importance and was more elaborate in his expansion. In the great Sabbath commandment it is interesting to note with what faithfulness RP has preserved the older readings of E and of the pre-exilic Deuteronomic redactor; thus taking over all of the humanitarian and social import that the day carried with it from roughly the year 600 B.C.E. until approximately 350 B.C.E. when v. 11 was written. Indeed R P must

have felt that the divine example was worthy of emulation by native and proselyte, slave and beast of burden; not only for the sake of rest, but because they could thus best serve Yahweh and show respect for an institution which was the very cornerstone of creation. We need not consider again, the stratification of vv. 8-11, but it is certain that the final rendering of the text as we have it was not made until the middle of the fourth century.²⁷

Ex. 31:12-17, misplaced verses of the Holiness Code, are interesting as a presentation of P's view of the Sabbath, as well as a picture of the development of the Sabbath idea. Without recognizing the composite nature of the passages, three inherent contradictions are obvious. V. 14 makes the Sabbath "holy" to the people, whereas 15a makes it holy to Yahweh. V. 14b^a מִן הַיּוֹם וְלֵאחֲרָיו contradicts 14b^y וְלֵאחֲרָיו הַיּוֹם וְלֵאחֲרָיו ; and v. 16-17a, regarding the Sabbath as the sign of an eternal covenant with Israel, is contradictory to the R^aP's motivation derived from creation, 17b. The first seeming contradiction may be readily resolved when we recall that קֹדֶשׁ, probably carries with it the "taboo" connotation of holy, a vestige of pre-exilic days;²⁸ whereas "holy" to Yahweh now refers to its lofty and spiritual sense. We have already touched on the R P significance of 17b.²⁹ It does seem odd that the Redactor should not have seen the contradiction of the two bases for the day. We can only conclude that he was aware of it, but also like his priestly H forebears, viewed the Sabbath as an eternal covenant between Yahweh and Israel. At the same

time, however, it was a universalistic day for all who would eventually join Israel and turn to Yahweh as the living God. It is true, however, that P itself did not state that the Sabbath was a sign of Yahweh's covenant, as did H and also Ezekiel (20:12). It made circumcision such as a sign,³⁰ a natural result of its high regard among Babylonian Jews.

It was natural that a law such as that of the Sabbath observance, and one that had for generations been central in the cult, would have to have strict enforcement. P, for the first time in Israel's history, makes Sabbath violation punishable by death. *מחללי מות ומו*, says Ex. 31:14b^a, rather than the nebulous and uncertain excommunication of 14b^y. R²P leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader: v. 15. *העם ימרו וידעו מלאכה והוא*

העבוד, שהם עבדו קדש אלהים כי ה' אלהים הוא ואלה:

P had definitely put teeth in the Sabbath law.³¹ Just as Yahweh completed his *מלאכה* by the seventh day, so Israel is enjoined on pain of death to complete its *מלאכה* by the time the Sabbath arrives.

Two other secondary P passages reflect the severity of the Priestly Sabbath by reference to the death penalty, a strictness which was hardly surpassed by the severity of Mishnaic times. Ex. 35:2-3 contains the formula of 31: 15 in slightly different terms: *והוא העבוד, יחיה*

אדם קדש שהם עבדו אלהים כי ה' אלהים הוא ואלה:

This was like the previous passage written a generation or less after Ezra.³² V. 3 *אם חשדו על כל מעשיכם*

הוא העבוד gives us the first specific prohibition

in the history of the Sabbath institution. Much undue comment has centered about this verse. As we have shown, it is used to bolster up the inconclusive Saturn-Kenite theory of the origin of the Sabbath.³³ It is further adduced to show the inherently taboo nature of the day even into Priestly times.³⁴ Unquestionably there were vestiges of the Sabbath as an austere and unlucky day even into Mishnaic times, particularly as a popular superstition. But our interest is in the Sabbath concept and its development in the minds of the writers of the successive strata of the Old Testament. And in the days of P, we may be sure, that the advanced and Yahwistic P writers were not interested in giving the day a motivation in ancient Canaanitic mythology and animism. Of course, fire was a universally sacred element in the ancient east, but kindling a fire with primitive methods was real labor, and it was this labor that was a profanation of the day, although the specific prohibition concretized only a type of work. It may have been that this bit of legislation arose as a result of a dispute or a test case over the matter sometime in the early part of the fourth century. Two narrative passages throw light on this bit of legislation and show that it was not fire as such, which was taboo, but that the labor involved was prohibited. The oft cited incident of the wood-gatherer on the Sabbath, Num. 15:32-36, shows that it was the act of lighting a fire that was outlawed. The wood-gatherer was stoned, Moses using the P expression, *AN/ AN*, because of the act of labor on the Sabbath. Ostensibly, the gathering of the sticks was for

the purpose of kindling a fire.³⁵ But with P's characteristic of elaboration and verbosity, it surely would have mentioned the man's purpose or would have taken him into the very act of building a fire, if it were fire as a taboo element that it had in mind. The incident placed in Numbers is only a signal instance of the general prohibition of Ex. 35:2 and 31:15.³⁶ The P interpolation in the J manna story of Ex. 16 is also connected with fire as it refers to cooking for the Sabbath that is to be done the day before; implying, as in Mishnaic times, that no cooking is permitted on the seventh day, (Ex. 16:23-24).³⁷ No statement is made about fire, which, if it had been a particular element of taboo, would of necessity be mentioned in connection with the tasks related to it. Thus the Sabbath commandment of 35:3 is merely an intensification and particularization of the general prohibition against work on the holy day. And although there probably never were any executions on the basis of the law, the wood-gatherer story being purely illustrative, Sabbath^{violation} was now categorized with major crimes.

The repetition of the word שבת in passages such as Ex. 16:23, 35:2, 31:15, and ^{Lev.} 23:3 in connection with the Sabbath are all in late P contexts or asserted by R²P. In these cases the word represents an intensification of the Sabbath idea, rather than sabbatical or Sabbath-like as it means in other connections, as we shall see.³⁸ The Sabbath day to R²P becomes particularly strict and intense, a day of complete rest, a שבת . This too represents advance in the concept as

over against the pre-exilic Sabbath which permitted, as we have noticed, lengthy journeys on the Sabbath (IIK. 4:20) and even political coups d'état and the breaking up of altars.³⁹

But if the application of שבת meant intensification of the Sabbath idea, in the case of the seventh day, what should it have meant in application to the seventh year, to New Year's day, to the harvest festival, and to the Day of Atonement? It is beyond the scope of this study to examine these occasions in their historical development or in their relation to the three calendars of ancient Israel. But this much is certain, that by the time these occasions were fixed in Calendar III, each was characterized by the Priestly Redactor as שבת.⁴⁰ We had noticed how H had reverted to the hebdomadal system first evident in the K Code,⁴¹ and expanded to include a Sabbatical year in C, Ex. 23:10-11, and in Deut. 15:1-10.

Following the precedent, ^{set by H} and reverting itself to J, the P writers applied the words שבת or שבת or both to the holiday occasions of the seventh month; and like H also to the Sabbatical year. Lev. 23 is the great festival chapter of P, that shows unmistakable evidence of a small H nucleus and even D additions, bearing unmistakably the authorship of Ezra.⁴²

All of the festivals are to be as the Sabbath, שבת שבת, occasions for the proclamation of taboo, "abstention from work". The first is the Sabbath command couched in the phraseology of P_s with the RP שבת שבת added.⁴³

אז ימים חגים מלאכה וכולם השבועי שבת שבתון מקרא קדש
 כי מלאכה לא תעשה שבת כאלו איננו ככל מושבתכם

Here too, the exalted Sabbath idea of P is apparent in the law. No work should be done for it is a day of holy assembly, a day of worship and thanksgiving. It is Yahweh's day, his Sabbath that is to be observed not only in praise and thankfulness but also in the homes and in one's everyday life. We have already dealt with H's extension of the Sabbath idea to a principle day in the Passover festival and to the fiftieth day, the one following the seventh Sabbath.⁴⁴ V. 24, however, gives us P's extension of the Sabbath idea to the seventh month,⁴⁵ with the R^hP insertion of שבתון זכרון תרועה, calling for the observance of a מקרא קדש on 7/1 and specifically states:

כי מלאכה חרה לא תעשה

Thus P associates the seventh day with the seventh month. Originally the seventh month was little more religiously than the festival of ingathering of the vintage,⁴⁶ but in the fourth century it took on new significance. Not only were the older occasions modified, Asif from 7/3-9 to 15-21 and 7/10 to 7/1, but a distinct emphasis is laid upon 7/1 as a great Sabbath-like feast of trumpets,⁴⁸ marking the beginning of a holy month. A further expression of the thought and its highest fulfilment comes in vv. 27-32, this section dealing with 7/10 which is made by R^hP the Day of Atonement.⁴⁹ V. 32 leaves no doubt as to the nature or the derivation of the expression אצל אצל⁵⁰ which emphasizes a Sabbath character as intense, if not more so, than that of the Sabbath itself. Here there can be no doubt that the day is really a solemn

Sabbath, whereas in the four places that ||האע accompanies the seventh day Sabbath, it may be an R²P gloss without ||האע being an inherent part of the concept.

אֶלֶּה הַשַּׁבָּתוֹת הַזֵּהוּ
אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעֲבִירִם בָּהֶן

And in Ch. 16:31 of Leviticus, the identical expression for Yom Kippur is used as that in Ex. 31:15 for the Sabbath,⁵¹ אֶלֶּה הַשַּׁבָּתוֹת הַזֵּהוּ. As in the case of 7/1, the Sabbath-like nature of 7/10 is shown in Lev. 16:29b and 23:30, where dire consequences would result from violating the day's enforced rest. Thus in the Day of Atonement the Sabbath idea of the Priestly writers saw its fullest realization. It combined the newer elements of rest and religious assembly with an intensification of the older elements of solemnity and propitiation. This tendency may have in turn made of the Sabbath as practised by its priestly guardians of the fourth century also a day of a solemn or *expiatory* character. But if it did, it was not the result of the ancient non-Yahwistic taboos, which would have been indeed remote from the zealous Yahwistic Judaism of the hierarchy that ruled Judea at the close of the Persian period.

The last festival reference to the extension of the Sabbath idea came in the highly composite section on Succoth, vv. 33-44. Vv. 37-38⁵² speaks of the fixed festivals upon which certain offerings are due, "besides the Sabbaths of Yahweh". This would indicate that the early P writers did not regard the fixed festivals as

Sabbaths, and that it was not until the secondary strata were written or until the Redactor's day that the fixed festivals were regarded as Sabbaths or at least, Sabbath-like in nature and observance. V. 39b mentions the first and eighth days of Sukkoth by the term יָהּאֵל . But whether 39b is R¹P or not, it is certain by that time that the

עֲרָךְ יִהְיֶה of the seventh month were regarded as Sabbath-like, logical extensions of the nature and significance of the Sabbath day in addition to their own peculiar characters.

There is little doubt too, that in taking over bodily the H Code and incorporating it, P took over the Sabbatical year of H₁ and the Jubilee year of H₂ as further parts of the hebdomadal system based on the pervasive number seven and its great actualization in the seventh day Sabbath. If Neh. 10:31 is a genuine document of the ~~time of Ezra's~~ mission of 397 B.C.E., then from the days of P_g (grundschrift) on, the Sabbatical year was an inherent part of the Priestly Sabbath concept. Turning to Lev. 25, we see much evidence of the hand of R¹P. Characteristically יָהּאֵל and יָהּאֵל יְהוָה are interpolated in v. 4, and the typical word appears in the gloss in v. 5, יָהּאֵל יְהוָה

שָׁבַט . Even the land which belongs to Yahweh⁵³ is to have a solemn rest, which incongruously is also Yahweh's own Sabbath. But incongruities mean nothing to R¹P, whose prime object is the glorification of Yahweh. R¹P's hand is obvious in the clumsy harmonistic effort in v. 9b, referring to Yom Kippur. Vv. 20-22, we have already considered.⁵⁴ They deal with the Sabbatical year,⁵⁵ as Morgenstern has so clearly shown⁵⁶ and are based on

Calendar III, implying complete abstention of work in the seventh year, a true Sabbatarian injunction.⁵⁷ But the crowning statement showing R P's high regard for the Sabbatical year is evident in Lev. 26:34, 35.

אל תרצה הארץ אל שבתה כל ימי השנה וארץ הארץ
איויבם אל תשבר הארץ והרצת אל שבתיה: כל ימי
השנה תשבר אל אל שבת בשבתים בשבועים חיה

Here in a vaticinium post eventum, RP envisions the just requital of Israel's neglect of the Sabbaths of the land. The land is to become desolate and the cities ruins so that the dues owed Yahweh, the owner of the earth, be paid. While the people are in exile the land will lie fallow, a thing that was not permitted "during the Sabbatical years you dwelt thereon". This doctrine of the justice of the exile as requital for neglected Sabbatical years, is carried a step farther by the Chronicler.⁵⁸ Thus, just as Ezekiel attributes the destruction of Jerusalem to the profanation of the Sabbath, so R-P implies that it was due to violation of the laws of the seventh year. Such was the adaptation and application that the Redactor made to the Sabbatical year as ordained by H.⁵⁹ The Jubilee year too, must have been taken over in theory, if not in practise, in Priestly times as we find much about it in the Apocrypha.⁶⁰ Thus the Sabbath finds not only its fullest and noblest development in the P concept, but also its most complete extension in the holidays of the seventh month and in the Sabbatical and Jubilee year.

Our picture of the Sabbath as characterized by P would not be complete if we did not touch on the two

passages that deal with the cult practices of the day.

Numbers 28:9, 10.⁶¹

וּבְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת שֵׁן כֶּבֶשׂ בֶּן־שָׁנָה תְּמִימָה וְשֵׁן דְּשֵׁרִים סֹלֶת מִנְחָה
בְּאֹרֶחַ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְנִסְכּוֹ: דָּלָת שֶׁבֶט הַשֶּׁבֶט חָדָשׁ הַחֲמִישִׁי וְנִסְכּוֹ:

Such are the special sacrifices for the day; two perfect yearling lambs and two tenths of an ephah of fine flour with oil and its libation. Perhaps this is the Sabbath offering that originated with Ezra.⁶² Sabbath offerings were undoubtedly made in pre-exilic times,⁶³ and were prescribed by Ezekiel⁶⁴ whose legislation, we may be sure, never went into effect. It is highly likely that the Priestly prescription for the Sabbath sacrifices were actually followed at the time it was written, this relatively small offering providing the Sabbath meal for the officiating priests. A further perquisite accruing to the Aaronites,⁶⁵ is mentioned in the second passage dealing with the preparations for the Sabbath day in the Temple.⁶⁶ Twelve cakes of ^{two} ephahs in content are to be prepared by the priests and set out each Sabbath day as memorial bread indicating that the Sabbath is an eternal covenant between Yahweh and Israel.⁶⁷ This shows that the bread is to be eaten by Aaron and his sons alone.⁶⁸ That sacrificial offerings for the Sabbath existed from Priestly times or before, is evident in the books of the Chronicler which we shall consider in conclusion.⁶⁹

2. The Sabbath in the Chronicles.

Although the Priestly Code constitutes our chief sources for the concept of the Sabbath in the fourth century, additional light is thrown on the nature and mode of observance of the institution by the Chronicler. It has long been recognized that the Chronicler was the author of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that I and II Chronicles were but an historical introduction to the other two books to which great importance was to be attached.⁷⁰ Passages such as Neh. 9:14 and 10:31-33,⁷¹ belong properly to the time of the Chronicler in thought and ideology.⁷² The date of the Chronicler has been set at approximately 300 B.C.E.,⁷³ which enables us to understand the glosses and interpolations in Nehemiah in their proper historical setting. The battle of Issus, 333 B.C.E., sealed the fate of Persia. Syria and Egypt soon fell into the hands of the victorious Alexander. Little Judea had a new overlord, but the friendly relations with the ruling power remained the same. Jewry's interest was absorbed in the creation of a great literature. The universalistic influences of the post-Ezra period, of the Priestly writers, continued into the Greek period. Books like Jonah, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles were written in the first few decades of the era, and the final redaction of Ezra and Nehemiah and the composition of I and II Chronicles took place. Hellenization had hardly touched Judea by the time Chronicles was written, so we may conclude that these books were written in the same religious atmosphere as RP, and so the few scattered references to the Sabbath indicate.

The Chronicler was a member of the strict Priestly party and probably a priest himself. He reflects a strong Sabbath observance in his time, and projects the Sabbath ritual as he knew it in c. 300 B.C.E., into the period of the kings of Israel and Judah. Solomon communicates to Hiram of Tyre that he is constructing a Temple to make offerings for the Sabbaths, the new moons, and festivals, apparently following the directions of Num. 28:28.⁷⁴ ^{Chronicler, thus,} ~~The~~ reconstructing IK, 9:25. He has Solomon making offerings⁷⁵ in the characteristic expression *וַיִּזְבֹּחַ אֶל־יְהוָה* also in accord with P,⁷⁶ whereas Kings tells us that Solomon occupied himself only three times a year with sacrificial duties. So also Hezekiah, as a part of his reforms, sets aside from his substance for the same type of Sabbatical sacrifices, whereas if he regulated the Temple cult according to JE⁷⁷ or Deut. 16:1-17, he would have been doing amply without anticipating the intricate Priestly cult of 397 B.C.E.

The important coup d'état of Jehoiada in deposing Athalia on that historic Sabbath in 836 B.C.E. is described less accurately by the Chronicler⁷⁸ than by the author of II Kings. It is noteworthy that his guard is a Levitical one rather than a military as in Kings.⁷⁹ Throughout his writings, whenever possible, functions are given the Levitical groups, and honors and perquisites go to the Aaronites. Two of the long sections dealing with the Temple cult mention the Sabbath. The sons of Kehath are to arrange the show-bread for the Sabbath,⁸⁰ the fulfillment of a P provision. In a description of

the duties of the menial Levites, the Chronicler indicates that they are to assist with the Sabbath, new moon, and holiday sacrifices, I Chron. 23:31.⁸¹ The place of importance as with P belongs to the Aaronite or Zadokite line, as they call themselves.

A last reference shows that the Chronicler held in high esteem the Sabbatical year as did his P predecessors. II Chron. 36:21:

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת הָעָם מִן הָאָרֶץ
;וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת הָעָם מִן הָאָרֶץ

The Chronicler sees the seventy years of exile⁸² as compensation for the years of the Kingdom when the land was never allowed to lie fallow,⁸³ according to the Sabbatical year law of Lev. 25:1-7, 20-22. In the Chronicler's mind a period of 490 years had elapsed wherein the land was not released to Yahweh, its owner, so that in order for the debt to be paid, the exile and the resultant desolateness of the land were imperative.⁸⁴ This meant from the period starting with Saul, presumably, but the Chronicler seems to have forgotten the God-fearing reigns of David, Solomon, Jehoshafat, and Hezekiah. His purpose was merely to draw an object lesson from the never-to-be-forgotten period of exile. Just as Ezekiel, Nehemiah,⁸⁵ and the writer of Jeremiah 17:19-27, draw the people's attention to the fact that the exile and sufferings of their fathers were due to their profanation of the Sabbath, so the Chronicler sees the exile as just requital for neglected Sabbatical years. It is the operation of Yahweh's inexorable justice.

3. Summary and Conclusion.

Thus we see in the narrative and legal portions of the P document and its ideological continuation in Chronicles, the final stages of development of the biblical Sabbath. In the fourth century through P the Sabbath is regarded universalistically as having been instituted at creation, this giving the Sabbath greater prestige and authority than ever before. The great structure of the Priestly Sabbath rested on three powerful and distinctive pillars: (1) stricter regulations for the Sabbath such as the specific prohibitions against kindling fire, the implied ones against cooking, gathering wood, leaving one's home on the Sabbath,⁸⁶ and general interdictions covering all types of activity; (2) the institution of the death penalty, clarifying the H doctrine of excommunication, and providing for death by stoning as in the case of the recalcitrant wood-gatherer, epitomized in the formula $\text{אִם לֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ אֶת הַקוֹל הַזֶּה וְלֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ אֶת הַקוֹל הַזֶּה}$; (3) in the extension of the Sabbath idea as a Sabbath-like period of rest to the seventh month holidays; viz., the feast of trumpets of 7/1, Yom Kippur on 7/10 and the first and eighth days of Succoth, as well as to the seventh year and seven times seventh year. A new and special emphasis is placed on the ritual aspects of the day as a part of the Temple cult. This is evidenced not only in the specific and special offerings for the day, but in the fulfillment of these prescriptions in the Chronicler's account of the Temple service during the period of the Kings.

On its ideological side, the Priestly school offered the world the concept of imitatio dei; as God rested

on the seventh day, so does it become man's privilege and duty. It was further, a day of moral and ritual holiness; morally holy as the institution derived from God and His great example; ritually holy as it applied to the Temple and the priestly classes. The day was furthermore, rather than an austere and unlucky one, a day of joyous blessing, of rest and refreshment for all, Jew and Gentile, human and animal alike. It was furthermore, the "day of Yahweh", hallowed by Him, and one in which man should lift his voice in thankful praise for the use of Yahweh's earth and for all the blessings that accrue from it. The Sabbath day is at one time a day of rest and of gladness, a day of solemnity and of reverence, a day of cult and of humanitarian import. The Priestly writers gave us the beginnings of the Sabbath as we know it today. To them it stood at the very core of Judaism, on the very pinnacle of divine basis and authority.

It is also worthy of mention that the universalistic Sabbath concept, which reaches its apogee in Gen. 1+2:4, probably reflects the sentiments and principles of the anti-Sadducee party of the latter half of the fourth century.

4. Notes on The Sabbath in the P Code.

11. Cf. footnote supra, p. 215. We cannot go into the proofs for Ezra's living later than Nehemiah. The reasons are conclusive and the best authorities in biblical criticism, who have specialized in Ezra and Nehemiah, support this theory. cf. Batten, p. 28-30; Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, vol. ii, p. 114-118; Charles F. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, New York, 1899, 1927, p. 195-214. The desire of the Chronicler to make the two men contemporaries, and to make Ezra precede Nehemiah, is the source of all the misunderstanding. There are no authentic passages coupling the two; nor would Nehemiah's reforms have been necessary had Ezra's great reforms taken place, along with the latter's being on the scene throughout. The marriage reforms particularly would not have been necessary in Nehemiah's times. Not one of the prominent men who returned with Ezra is mentioned by Nehemiah, etc.
2. Cf. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies in the Three Calendars, p. 132 and Nt. 213.
3. Ezra, 8.
4. Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, A History, ii, p. 132.
5. Nehemiah 7:73b-8; 12, a part of Ezra's memoirs. Reference to Nehemiah is, of course, a harmonistic invention of the Chronicler.
6. Lev. 23:23-25; Numbers 29:1-6.
7. I am aware of the lack of agreement on this important point; that *שנה אחת* refers to the Pentateuch, that it meant the P Code in full, in part, or not at all, that it was D and H, or H and Pt, etc. It is hardly likely that Ezra would have started a great reformation which has caused tradition to call him the founder of Judaism, on the basis of older laws, especially ones that were Palestinian, (D and H) when for over a century and a half, the priestly exiles had been busy preserving and crystallizing diaspora Judaism on the basis of the Sabbath, circumcision and the festivals laws. These eventually saw light as the P grundchrift from the mouth of Ezra on 7/1 397 B.C.E. It is to be noticed that in the case of every code of laws that had application, there was a reformation or special event (that left its mark in Jewish tradition) that ushered it in. K arose at the Reformation of Asa in 899 B.C.E., C with Jehu and Elisha in 842 B.C.E., the E decalogue with Hezekiah, c. 700 B.C.E., D with Josiah in 621 B.C.E., H at the time of the completion of the Temple of Zerubabel and Joshua. It is interesting to note with Batten, p. 357, that there is a striking parallel between the weeping of the people when they heard the law of v. 9 and Josiah's rending his garments when D was read to him. (2K. 22:11).

8. Cf. Ex. 31:14b^{py}, and Jer. 17:21 which, if earlier than this time, merely implied strict punishment.
9. P. 137f. It is very likely that this incident was the introduction of synagogue Torah reading in Palestine. It is well known that the synagogue is a product of the exile. The reading of the Law was, as it still is today, an important element of the synagogue service, and according to Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1913; p. 155; the original core of the liturgy. Ezra is called upon to read the law as in the synagogue; he stands on a bema, as it is later known. In v. 5, the people stand for the reading, as in the time honored custom. Ezra recites the blessings before the reading and the people respond even as they do today. The blessings are prescribed in Megillah IV:1; and the response in Taanith II:5. In v. 8 the interpretation to the people takes place. This is the origin of the Targum. Evidently the people knew no Hebrew, or were not conversant with it; This accounts for the Aramaic portions of Ezra 4:7-6:18; 7:12-26, whereas Nehemiah is entirely in Hebrew. This fact itself should lead one to suspect the relatively later date of Ezra without consideration of the overwhelming internal and external proofs for the later mission of the priestly scribe. Ezra cannot be regarded, on the basis of this assembly, as having laid the foundation for synagogue worship. He merely introduced into Palestine, an institution well-known in Babylonia.
10. The annual poll tax in P is a half shekel, Ex. 30:13; 36:26.
11. J.M.P. Smith, *Origin of Hebrew Law*, p. 119.
12. Bewer, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
13. The P editors had naturally to be respectful of sacred codes like D particularly in a form combined with the JE. They did this with great skill, as Bewer, p. 376f., and Smith, p. 117ff., show. They could not always agree with the divergent tradition, so they changed, rewrote, and harmonized the passages in such a way that the Pentateuch is stamped with a superficial unity. The P design prevails throughout. Rarely does R P deviate to favor either JE's order or account of any incident. Where two conflicting accounts appear, P predominates or is given preference. (cf. Gen. 1-2:4a, 2:4bff (J); Gen. 15 (JE), Gen. 17 (P); Ex. 3, (JE), Ex. 6, (P)). Occasionally JE's story is omitted, as in the case of the birth of Ishmael, or in the death of Abraham. Often accounts are combined as in Gen. 6-8; Ex. 14; Gen. 32:29-35:10. There were only a few redactorial changes in Deut. P adopted essentially the plan of J, but on a grander scale. History is directed by Yahweh and his

great plan illumines the world: all nations are to come to recognize Him. The work of redaction and editorial expansion was completed by 330 B.C.E., for by that time the Samaritan schism was complete, and their Pentateuch is essentially the same as ours. Bewer, p. 227f.

14. J. Morgenstern, The Book of Genesis, p. 37.

15. Ex. 31:14; Num. 15:32-26.

16. Hehn, DIS., p. 34-35.

17. Cf. Herbert E. Ryle, Book of Genesis, Cambridge Bible, 1914, p. 24-26. This verse implies sacredness of the seven-day period, exclusive of the Sabbath. Hehn, DIS, p. 35.

17a. Cf. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies, Calendars, p. 20, N. 32.

18. Elsewhere in P, the Sabbath is always mentioned by name.

19. Ex. 20:11; Ex. 31:17.

20. Morgenstern, Sources of the Creation Story, AJSL, 1920, p. 169-212, where two definite strata are differentiated; also M. Lambert, A Study of the First Ch. of Genesis, where the composition of the chapter is identified in what the author calls A and W strands. HUCA, Vol. I, 1924, p. 3-12.

21. Herman Gunkel, Genesis, Handkommentar zum AT, Göttingen, 1901.

22. Cf. Ex. 31:17; 20:11; 35:1f., etc.

23. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies, Calendars, p. 20-21. cf. supra. John Skinner, ICC Genesis, Scribners, 1925, p. 35f. Gunkel answers his own question when he states that it was God's rest that explains the prohibition vs. work on that day. Ryle, on the other hand, sees God's task of the seventh day as the eternal one of maintaining the universe, which he adduces from the lack of the usual expression, "There was evening and there was morning".

24. Compare Gen. 23:27; Ex. 23:25; Deut. 28:12.

25. Cf. Is. 58:13f; Ex. 31:16-17a, (H₁); Exek. 20:12.

26. Ex. 20:8-11.

27. There is no agreement in this matter, of course. But granting the year 397 B.C.E. for P grundchrift, to be followed by P_s and other minor strata, we cannot place RP much before 350 B.C.E. The terminus

ad quem is, of course, 330 B.C.E. at the time of the completion of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Driver's analysis of the vv. (Book of Exodus, Cambridge Bible, 1911) 8=E; 9-10=RD; and 11=RP; is a convenient, but an incorrect one, although he correctly identifies וַיְהִי in v. 10 as Deuteronomic; p. 196. A comparison with Deut. 5:12-15 and other D passages will show rather that only 10b and possibly 8 are D and at that, D₂, and that the original dabar was 9-10a. Baentsch's (p. 181-82) assigning the whole passage to R, does not take into consideration that the redactor embodied without change, E and D₂ passages. McNeile's (p. 119) making the entire passage E₂ is, of course, ridiculous. He points out, however, that our text may not be today exactly as when the Pentateuch was canonized. In v. 10 after וַיְהִי, a וַיְהִי may have fallen out, judging from LXX, Vulgate, Samaritan and Nash papyri.

28. Which may well have persisted during the uncertain days of the rebuilding of the Temple in 520-516 B.C.E.
29. וַיְהִי is reminiscent of Gen. 2b⁶ and 3b (P₂) and not the J₂ story, according to Holzinger. There is no hint in the J story that Yahweh was weary and had to rest, as there is in Gen. 1-2:3.
30. Gen. 17:10-14.
31. Violation of the Sabbath, וַיְהִי is not frequently mentioned in previous codes, so may be regarded as typical of P, though not exclusively P, occurring often in Ezek. 20:15, 21, 24; 22:26; 23:38 and in Is. 56:2, 6; Neh. 13:17-18, etc., but seldom in H, except as וַיְהִי וַיְהִי וַיְהִי.
32. Commentaries are agreed that these vv. are P₈ or P₃. Baentsch, ad. loc., McNeile, p. 227, Driver, p. 379.
33. Cf. supra. pp. 35ff.
34. Cf. supra. p.
35. So Budde and Erdmans, cf. supra. pp. 35-36.
36. So McNeile, p. 83. Baentsch places this in P₈ along with Ex. 35:2, p. 538. George D. Gray, Numbers ICC, New York, 1906, p. 182f. observes correctly that this must be later than P₁ because of the passage's Midrashic character. The execution of the wood-gatherer is like that of the blasphemer in Lev. 24:10-23, and betrays the same hand. Both violations were previously recorded as capital offenses; and according to ancient practice, the whole community participates in the stoning. cf. W.R. Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 285.

37. Baentsch makes this P₁, p. 154, but it is probably P₂ or R P. Note v. 23, *והוא יום קדוש ויום מנוחה*, the most advanced concept of the Sabbath found in the P strata. Driver, Book of Exodus, Cambridge, 1911; p. 150, takes *מנוחה* to mean cessation rather than "solemn rest" as it is usually rendered, and calls the vv. P. McNeile, p. 99, lists them with R P, as in 31:15, Lev. 16:31, 28:3, 24, 32, 39; 25:4, 5 and is probably correct. Morgenstern, Supplementary Studies, Calendars, p. 87, N. 138, assigns 16:4-36 to P₂ like Lev. 25:20-22, and states that they are by the same author. The explanation is ingenious and the parallel is striking. Outside of the fact that Lev. 25:20-22 is uncertain as to content, cf. supra, p. 183; it is not likely that the same author would devote but three verses to the one incident which meant possibly no food for a year, and 33 verses to the manna story so as to lead up to the observance of the Sabbath. But more convincing than this is that the chapter from 4-36 is obviously composite, containing a nucleus of J segments as well as P additions and expansions, cf. supra, p. 148ff.
38. We have treated Jastrow's theory of the significance of *מנוחה* at some length. cf. supra, pp. 102ff, and 115f. It must be here emphasized that the austere character of the Sabbath as the day of restraint was largely displaced, at least in the minds of the P writers; and that the New Year's day, Lev. 23:24 (P), the first and eighth days of the Harvest festival, 23:32, and the Day of Atonement, 16:31, and the Sabbatical year, *שמיטה*, Lev. 25:4 could hardly all have partaken of the nature of austerity, restraint, and propitiation, arising out of the welter of Canaanitic superstitions, or Babylonian analogies, as Jastrow maintains, p. 333ff., Original Character. The thing that all of these occasions have in common, if it is not sanctification, is Sabbath rest, cessation from labor. The fact that cessation is ordained for Passover, the first and seventh days, and is not called *מנוחה* (Lev. 23:7-8) means nothing. It may merely have been omitted by oversight. But, what is more likely, is that in reverting to J (Ex. 34:12b), P likewise followed its program for the extension of the Sabbath to a hebdomadal system. Passover, outside of its being seven days, has nothing to do with the system; it is neither in *ניסן* or *ניסן*, nor is it in the seventh month. Nor is it reckoned by the counting of seven weeks as is Shabuoth.
39. IIK. 11:4ff.
40. The first stages of Calendar III was 414-400 B.C.E. under High Priest Johanan; Rosh ha-shanah became 7/1 from 7/10; Sukkoth, 7/15-21 from 7/3-9. Yom Kippur came in the second stage 400-335 B.C.E., under the latter ministry of Johanan and his successor, Jaddua.

Cf. Morgenstern, *Supplementary, Calendars*, pp. 145-6. At any rate, Shabathon was applied to them by the time of RP, though their relationship to the Sabbath in the hebdomadal system was probably clear to the earlier P writers.

41. Cf. 34:21b applying to 34:22 to Qasir and Asif.
42. 23:40-43a, cf. Morgenstern, *Supplementary, Calendars*, p. 37f.
43. Vv. 3 and 4 are P_s inserted into P text, but the idea of the importance of the Sabbath in Priestly times is our concern. cf. Morgenstern, ad. loc. Unpublished Commentary, on the H Code.
44. Vv. 15-16.
45. Also P₂; Baentsch, p. 416. Kautzsch holds that it is P.
46. Ex. 34:22b (K), and 23:16 (C).
48. Cf. Num. 29:1-6, and 10:10 "a memorial before your God. I am Yahweh your God".
49. P₂, according to Baentsch; to Kautzsch, P. V. 28a^b b is probably RP as is v. 32a^b. The account is a little confused because of P₂'s effort to read Rosh hashanah out of 7/10, and to read in the as yet unnamed Yom Kippur.
50. Compare Lev. 25:2 on Sabbatical year.
51. Baentsch holds this to be P₂ also; p. 286; but it is likely to be later.
52. According to Kautzsch, and Baentsch, p. 428, this is P.
53. Compare Gen. 1:1.
54. Cf. supra. pp. 183, 245, n. 37.
55. Dillmann notwithstanding, Leviticus, p. 667.
56. *Supplementary, Calendars*, pp. 84ff., also N. 138. Cf. supra.
57. Cf. chart, supra, p. 183, under H Code.
58. II Chron. 36:21.
59. Lev. 25:1-7.
60. Cf. Jubilees, 50:1-5, etc.
61. Baentsch, P_s, p. 642.
62. Neh. 10:33.

63. Is. 1:13.

64. 46:4ff.

65. Through P favored as the ancestors of the present incumbents through Zadok, faithful servant of Solomon.

66. Lev. 24:8.

67. הַיּוֹם cannot refer to the שַׁבָּת because it is changed each week. It must refer to the Sabbath as in Ex. 31:16.

68. Further indication of Priestly exclusivism.

69. IIChron. 8:13; 31:2. Also Josephus, Ant. iii, 10:1. Cf. Gray, I.C.C., p. 409, for additional evidence.

70. Cf. E.L.Curtis, Chronicles, I.C.C., 1910, p. 3f., who gives the arguments for this very well.

(1) The ending of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra are the same.

(2) The same general character pervades both.

(3) Both have the same linguistic peculiarities.

71. Cf. supra. pp. 203, 205.

72. Ibidem.

73. There is no agreement here, but the writing could not have taken place earlier than 350 B.C.E., on the basis of the genealogies of the Hebrew text. The Greek, Syriac and Latin, bring it down to 11 generations after Zerubabel. 11 x 30 years = 330 years, or to about the year 200 B.C.E. But latest research place I and II Chronicles in the early part of the Greek period, counting much less than 30 years for a generation.

74. (P_s), IIChron. 2:2-3.

75. IIChron. 8:13.

76. Lev. 23:7, Num. 28:9-10.

77. Ex. 23:14-16.

78. Cf. W.A.L. Elmslie, I and II Chronicles, Cambridge Bible, 1916; p. 268, where he describes exactly how the guards were instructed and stationed to effectuate the result.

79. IIChron. 23:4-8, compare IIKings, 11:5-9.

80. IChron. 9:32, compare with Lev. 28:8 where the arrangement is provided for.

81. According to Num. 28:7f. As Elmslie points out, ad. loc., the translations that indicate that the Levites were to offer the sacrifice are wrong. The Levites were subordinates.
82. Actually hardly 60 years from the deportation of 597 B.C.E.
83. The 70 year concept was from Jer. 25:11 and 29:10.
84. Cf. Curtis, op. cit., p. 524.
85. 13:15ff.
86. Adopted from H₂.

IX. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

1. The Positive Nature of Sabbath Observance.
2. The Degree of Actual Observance of the Sabbath in Biblical Times.
3. Final Summary of the Development of the Sabbath Idea.
4. Notes on the General Summary and Conclusions.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Our inquiry into the possible sources of origin of the Hebrew Sabbath brought us to the conclusion that the uncertainty of foreign analogies and the unlikelihood of direct borrowing made it most probable that the Sabbath was an indigenous product of the Hebrew people. On its ideological side, however, it was readily evident that the day was one of propitiation, austerity, and ill-omen in its earliest biblical or pre-literary history^{and} was similar to the šapattu and ume limnuti of the Babylonians. Our historical study of the development of the Sabbath observance in its legislative and popular aspects showed successive stages in the humanization and spiritualization of the day. There was an evolution in concept, importance, and mode of observance in at least five distinct periods of recorded biblical history; in the early history of the Kingdoms, in the later history until 586 B.C.E., in the exilic period in Mesopotamia, in the early post-exilic days after the first return and the subsequent building of the Temple of Zerubabel and Joshua, the administration of Nehemiah in the latter fifth century, and lastly, the great Sabbatarian era of Ezra, the Priestly Code and the Chronicler in the fourth century.

Bearing in mind these progressive stages in the historical development of the Sabbath institution in Israel, we shall summarize our conclusions under three

concrete headings: (1) the positive nature of Sabbath observance, (2) the degree of actual observance of the day in the successive periods, (3) the evolution of the day ideologically in its sanctification and motivation aspects.

1. The Positive Observance of the Sabbath Day.

In the earliest period of the history of the Hebrew Sabbath there is no statement as to how the day was observed just as there is no contemporaneous reference as to its nature or ideology. We know, however, that the institution must have existed before it was crystallized into law in 899 B.C.E. We can only conjecture on the basis of our knowledge of the nature of the day, as to how it must have been spent by the people. Because of the inauspiciousness of the Sabbath we may be certain that types of activity that presumably would meet with failure were not attempted. That the day could not have been one of rest, nor even one of cessation of all normal activities is evident, as we have noticed in such passages as Joshua's encompassing of Jericho on seven successive days, one of which must have been the Sabbath (Josh. 6:13f.), as David's twelve-day march (ISam. 29-30) and as Solomon's feast that lasted a fortnight (IK. 8:65, and IICChron. 7:9).

There are two things that we may infer from the evidence concerning the original character of the Sabbath that might be a likely conjecture as to its mode of observance. First, any day that partook of the nature of lucky-unlucky as did the Babylonian šapattu days, which likewise occurred during a transitional period in the phases of the moon, might require special propitiatory rites to be performed by duly qualified representatives of the people. In the case of the Babylonians, it was the duty of the priests, kings,

augurs, etc., so that the day might become favorable rather than unfavorable. It is conceivable that in the case of the Hebrews, even if we do not grant that the Sabbath was a full moon day, that such a procedure was followed. The connection of the early Sabbath with the four transitions in lunation is unquestioned. The ominous or unpropitious nature of these phases was believed by the Hebrews in common with all near-eastern ancient peoples. The use of special propitiatory rituals, incantations and ceremonies are common to such occurrences among all primitive peoples. It is likely that such was the case among the ancient Hebrews not only because of the lunar basis of the day, but also because of the symbolic number seven which, as we have noticed, many believe is the source for the Israelite seventh day observance. Many biblical verses have been adduced to show the mystic significance of the number seven in propitiatory, and atonement rites, in purification and lustration ceremonies, in the exorcism of demons or the powers of evil, etc. On the seventh day particularly, the propitiatory and purification rites and the sacerdotal ministrations were necessary, so that the period of crises would pass without mishap. So, it is not unlikely, although there is no direct statement, that the austerity and ill-omen of the seventh-day Sabbath may have evoked "the lifting of the hands" if not on the part of the people as a whole, then by its priestly or temporal representatives. As was customary in earliest Israel-

ite history, propitiatory rites were accompanied by sacrifices; so it is not without basis, were we to assume that in the early days of Israel's history, the Sabbath was observed by certain sacrificial offerings to the deity. This deity may not have been Yahweh at all times and in all places, but may have been a local baal, the moon god of the early astral cult, or other deities or demons who may have been associated with the day or with the place in which the day was observed. It is probable that it was not until literary times that the day became finally and generally a day honored as a part of the Yahweh cult in the strict sense of the term. It is likely that, as in the case of the Babylonian analogies, the propitiatory and sacrificial aspects of the observance did not apply to the people as a whole, as unquestionably did its restrictive aspects.

There is a second manner of positive observance which is likely even in the pre-literary period. It is in the matter of festal observance of the day. If the early Sabbath were a full moon day as Meinhold has so consistently maintained, it was probably marked by the full moon feast which could be generally and popularly observed as implied in Ps. 81:3 and Prov. 7:20. ISam. 20 gives a good picture of the new moon celebration and observance which must have been similar to the Sabbath festivities, even if the latter day did occur four times a month. The frequent association of the new moon and the Sabbath in later times implies a similarity^{of} observance as well as a similar depend-

ence on lunation. ISam. 20:29 indicates the sacrifice on the new moon was usual, which we may also infer was the case on the Sabbath whether for propitiatory or festal reasons. The nature of the Sabbath observance in earliest times beyond this point we cannot safely conjecture.

We are on somewhat safer ground as to the manner of observance of the day in later pre-exilic times, following the crystallization of the institution into law. It is a slight exaggeration to say that "How the people spent the Sabbath is entirely unrecorded in the Bible".¹ Certainly the evidences of the festal character of the day may be seen in passages such as Is. 1: 13f., in Hos. 2:13, 15, and in IIK. 11, probably as a continuation of the popular observance of the Sabbath from earlier times. There is, however, no specific mode of observance alluded to by direct statement. IIK. 4:23 tells us how the Sabbath of ninth century Israel was spent by the people. It was a day of consulting the man of God. Here Elisha customarily rendered to the people the word of Yahweh on the Sabbath day. It may have been on purely individual matters, as in the case of the Shunammite woman's bringing to the prophet the problem of her dead son. But it is more likely that the prophet used the occasion for a discourse on Yahweh's will, or on the injunctions or requirements of the day. It was unquestionably ^{on} such occasion when work ceased and people might repair to the sanctuaries that the prophets like Amos or Hosea chose to deliver themselves of their prophecies. We

may assume that Elijah and his less illustrious contemporaries put the Sabbath to good use as an opportune time to exhort the people to a purer Yahwism than that which they practised.

What else could the people do on a day of enforced cessation from labor? They could either make it a time for debauchery and popular carnivals and games, as is characteristic of the ancient Roman holiday; or it could be made to serve as a special time for "mental activity and spiritual instruction"² as it certainly became in post-biblical and Mishnaic times. Even in the time of exile, as we shall see, the day very likely had become a day of teaching and of assembly for worship. Since we have no reason to suspect that the Sabbath was ever a day of noisome orgy and excitement, and since we know the type of day the Sabbath became in later times, a day of solemnity and worship (albeit a day of joyous holiness, not carefree frivolity), we may well assume that in its positive aspects the biblical Sabbath, even the pre-exilic Sabbath was spent as a day of assembly and congregation in the service of Yahweh.

It is in this light that we must view IIK. 4:23. Amos delivered his oration at Bethel on Rosh ha-Shanah in 751 B.C.E., but it might as well have been on the Sabbath. In fact, 7/10 was later by P referred to as a Sabbath.³ Similarly the messages of Hosea or Isaiah might well have been delivered to the crowds who assembled at the sanctuaries on the Sabbath. Isaiah's words particularly show how the Sabbath day was observed;

"New moon and Sabbath, the holding of convocations, I cannot endure/iniquity along with the solemn assembly". Apparently Isaiah spoke to the people at just such convocations which marked the Sabbath day in ancient Israel. The custom of worship in the Temple on Sabbaths and holy days, at which occasion the prophet might speak the word of Yahweh, is evident in Jeremiah 26:2; 36: 6, 9-18. Although no direct mention is made of the Sabbath day in the Jeremianic parts of the book, probably due to its ritual aspects for which Jeremiah could have felt little kinship, he would likely have used the occasion for public utterance and edification as he did the other festivals.

II Kings Ch. 11 must not be overlooked as evidence of the positive observance of the Sabbath in pre-exilic times. A ninth century reference from the days of Athaliah and Joash, it too shows that the Sabbath was a day of assembly in the Temple. The crowds must have been large because of the double guard and it must have been a day of general observance for Jehoiada to have selected it for his coup d'état. It is likely that the plot was hatched or final plans made at the Sabbath feast in which Jehoiada may have participated with the captains of the guard, just as Saul had sat at a festive board with the royal family and his generals in honor of the new moon day. The sacrificial cult as the chief feature of the Temple service was unquestionably central in the positive observance of day in pre-exilic times. The festal character of ^{the} occasion⁴ must have marked the Sabbath on its popular

side, although the Deuteronomic reforms may have made the day's observance less of a joyous celebration (in view of astral or Baal practice) and more of a day of solemn service through sacrifice and convocation at the Temple in Jerusalem. The observance of the day to the Israelites of the outlying districts must have remained very much the same as it was before 621 B.C.E.

In Babylonia where the Sabbath received the status of a day of rest and refreshment of spirit, the occasion became definitely one of religious assembly. At gatherings such as these Ezekiel must have delivered his messages. "It is difficult to understand", writes Mann, (p. 445) "how the Jews in Babylon...could preserve their traditions...if it were not due to such religious assemblies where the spiritual guides of the people, priests and prophets, instructed old and young". The priests, such as Ezekiel, could no longer function as guardians and servitors of the sacrificial cult, so they probably proved themselves equal to their new opportunity to serve as guides and instructors in the older laws, as expounders of Yahweh's will, and as formulators of the rules which could some day be applied in a rehabilitated Jerusalem. The prominence given the Sabbath observance in exilic times unquestionably gave occasion for expounding and defining the newer provisions for the day at the Sabbath assemblies.

As we have noticed the pilgrimage festivals could not be observed in Babylonia except perhaps as memorials of the halcyon days of the Hebrew commonwealth.

But the Sabbath even without its prescribed sacrifices could and did become the chief religious observance, shared only by the rite of circumcision. This is evident from Ezekiel's emphasis on Sabbath observance and denunciation of the profanation of the day, particularly in 20:12-24. The Sabbath became extremely important on its positive side as a day for religious assembly and congregational worship. In the light of later evidence it is not difficult to conceive of what the main elements of these assemblies were. The worship was obviously led by priests and prophets, mentioned so frequently among the exiles. It is likely that not only Ezekiel and his particularistic school, but also universalists of the type of Deutero-Isaiah, held forth on such occasions as the Sabbath. No better time could have presented itself than a day of rest for such lofty words of comfort and redemption. With the body free from worldly toil, the mind became more susceptible to the great messages of all men free to worship Yahweh and to proclaim his greatness. The language and content of Deutero-Isaiah's message is such that it fits ideally the setting of a religious service. Not only should the presence of prophets have made the spoken word and the readings of prophetic books important parts of the Sabbath service, but the reading of such a book as Deuteronomy must have been a favorite with the priestly leaders. Sacred songs and psalms that were a part of the old Temple ritual and therefore familiar to the exiles, were undoubtedly perpetuated at these Sabbath

convocations. Other psalms and hymns of hope and salvation must have been composed for the new environment and needs of the people. Elements of public reading and congregation devotion took the place of the sacrificial system. The hymns and prayers developed into the Synagogue liturgy as it is later known. There is general agreement among scholars that the origins of synagogue worship are to be sought in the period of the exile. And we may be sure that this worship centered in the Sabbath observance of the Jews of Babylonia.

There is little that we can say of the positive observance of the Sabbath at the time of the writing of the H code and of Trito-Isaiah, the period roughly between 539 and 485 B.C.E. The observance of the day seems to have been taken for granted because the prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi do not mention it among the ritual or religious derelictions of the people. There can be little doubt that the Sabbath was observed in a positive way as it assumes so significant a role in H, both before and after 516 B.C.E. as well as in Is. 56-66. The loyalty and devotion to their religion, manifested by the returning exiles, shows that there must have been some form of community education and worship. It is probable that before the building of the Temple (520-516 B.C.E.) the same type of Sabbath assemblies were held in the little Jerusalem community. Then after the rebuilding of the Temple a semblance at least of the old sacrifices of the Sabbath obtained, but the newer elements of public prayer and

a prophetic or priestly discourse along with a rudimentary liturgy probably also marked the day. Sabbath observance had taken on a new garb in Babylonia and the Babylonian zealots cherished those elements that had kept Judaism alive on a foreign soil. We can almost visualize the small gatherings in a makeshift synagogue, on the Temple mount with Trito-Isaiah or another disciple, actual or spiritual, of the great unknown prophet of the Exile, discoursing on the Sabbath day concerning the merits of Sabbath observance. It is likely that at such a time, he called attention to the fact that proselytes and eunuchs who observe the day must be considered bonafide members of the Jewish community. And after the Temple was built another Sabbath discourse might have contained those immortal words, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples". (56:7) Indeed prayer and devotion must have been quite as important in the formal observance of the day as sacrifice. It was on the Sabbaths and new moons, particularly, that Isaiah envisioned that all flesh would come to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh, (66:23).

The solemn synagogue observance of the exile was unquestionably enriched by a festal spirit, particularly after the Temple had been rebuilt and that brief but fruitful period of universalism had set in. The occasion was one of joyousness and thanksgiving, even as it had been in a less exalted service in pre-exilic times. Isaiah 58:13 calls the Sabbath a joy, which it unquestionably became in the period 516-485 B.C.E.

The precise nature of the observance we can only guess, but it probably involved family participation in a Sabbath feast after the proper portion of the sacrificial animal had been offered to Yahweh. The chanting of joyous hymns of thanksgiving, of religious and national pride are entirely likely. The solemn aspects of the day that marked the stricter Babylonian observance were subordinated.

It was probably not until the great calamity of 485 B.C.E. that these solemn and somber aspects of the Sabbath assemblage received stress. Then undoubtedly the joyous aspects of the day, the banquets and the rapturous singing must have given way to counsels of hope and recitation of the national misfortune such as that found in Lamentations. Lamentations 2:6, which may well have been a part of ^{such} an utterance on the Sabbath, did not mean that Sabbath observance had been forgotten, but rather that the joyous Sabbath of which Trito-Isaiah spoke, would not longer be observed. The pre-exilic festivities were probably discarded by the decimated, grief-stricken community. The Sabbath day in its observance now more closely approximated that of Babylonia. It is not unlikely that the impoverished community had to permit the Sabbath sacrifices to lapse for lack of ability to maintain that aspect of the cult.

In the latter part of the fifth century and in the days of Ezra, we are on safer ground. At that time we may be sure, the Sabbath was observed by religious assembly and public worship. The holding of special convocations for public readings and religious purposes

is evident in Ezra 9:4ff., 10; Neh. 8:1ff., and 9:1ff.. It is unquestioned that religious leaders like Nehemiah and Ezra sprang from an atmosphere that must have been deeply religious. And such a state of religious intensity required a long process of education and religious indoctrination of the masses. This was accomplished through religious assemblies on the Sabbaths and festival days.⁵ The assemblies were naturally and logically carried over to Palestine where into the days of the Priestly Code they existed side by side with the sacrificial cult of the day. The occasion under Nehemiah, but probably particularly under Ezra, to whom tradition has ascribed the first synagogue, must have been marked by scriptural readings and then explanation; in other words, by teaching and preaching. As in Babylonia, the Sabbath assembly was used to good advantage. Nehemiah 8:1ff., tells us how the assemblage was instructed. The service and instruction for the first day of Tishri (one of the Sabbaths) lasted from morning until noon, when the people were dismissed and told to rejoice. Such a procedure must have continued into Mishnaic times, for we find noon dismissal referred to in Josephus.⁶

In the fourth century then, we may safely assume that the Sabbath day, as it was observed in early Mishnaic times, had its early development. It was a day for reading of the law, for public worship and prayer. The reading was accompanied by a Targum or free translation in the Aramaic vernacular. This must have eventually developed into the Sabbath sermon as it came to

be known in Talmudic times. We may be sure too, that under the aegis of the zealous Priestly writers the sacrificial cult for the day was not neglected. The priestly classes would naturally legislate for Sabbatical perquisites. Their power to rework the entire sacred scriptures up to their day would seem to show that their sacerdotal ministrations on the Sabbath were central to the day's observance. It is not unlikely that the special sacrifices for the day, enumerated in Num. 28:9, 10, were instituted shortly after Ezra's mission and had by the time of the Chronicler become a set feature of the day. We have seen how the Chronicler, in the spirit of P, reflects the strict sacerdotal sabbatarianism of his day in his history of the Israelite kings, so that we may safely say that Sabbath showbread, the Sabbath offerings (at least in part) were priestly emoluments in the fourth century.

In all of these things, of course, the people took part; in the religious assemblies, as witnesses to the Sabbath sacrifices, and as participants in the Sabbath feast that followed the offerings, or in their private family meals that followed dismissal from services. It is possible, too, that the afternoon was used in imparting religious instruction to the people, as it was in later times.⁷ The foundations were laid in the fourth century for the positive observance of the Sabbath in the Mishnaic period. It remained only to crystallize the procedure of scriptural readings, the interpretation of the liturgy, the order of the service, and ^{to} elim-

inate the sacrificial cult to produce the Sabbath observance of Talmudic times, which is much as it prevails today. That has been the story of the observance of the day on its positive side from its earliest beginnings in the pre-literary period of Israel's history through the days of the Chronicler and the close of the biblical period.

2. The Degree of Actual Observance of the Sabbath In Biblical Times.

With regard to the degree to which the Sabbath was actually observed by the people in the successive periods of its history, there is very little explicitly stated in the Bible. The conclusions we draw must be arrived at through chance implications and deductions from legislation or narrative concerning the day.

As we have shown in several connections already, the Sabbath in its earliest development was not a day of rest nor even of cessation from normal duties. It was an austere, inauspicious and unlucky day for the masses of Israel. It is likely that the average Israelite observed the taboos of the day, realizing that certain activities would be less likely to prosper. Imbued with the superstitions and animistic notions of his Canaanitic environment, we can well imagine that voluntarily the Hebrew observed what was customary for his particular time and place, fearing the wrath of demons or demonic possession in one way or another. It is unlikely, however, in the days when the Sabbath approximated the Babylonian šapattu, that the common people participated in the propitiatory rites, just as they did not in the atonement or lustration ceremonies that were functions of the priest. It is likely that in such matters the civil rulers, priests, or official prophets conducted such rites, as did the special representatives of the people in ancient Babylonia.

The idea of rest, not being conveyed by the ear-

liest concept of the Sabbath, the sêige of Jericho for seven days,⁸ David's twelve day march,⁹ Solomon's fourteen-day feast¹⁰ are understandable. These were evidently licit acts on the Sabbath, which could probably be performed without the slightest trepidation once the propitiatory ceremonies had taken place and the day was change from an unfavorable to a favorable one. Thus during the pre-literary period of the Sabbath, under Moses through the early days of the Kingdoms, it is likely that the day was generally heeded, the people probably timorous of tampering with taboos.

It is probable too, that when the day took on a significance of cessation from normal agricultural activities in 899 B.C.E. with K, that it had become customary to violate the Sabbath during the periods when the work was the heaviest, hence the special mention of ploughing time and harvest.¹¹ Economic expediency may have resulted not so much in the landholder himself violating the Sabbath, which he may well have feared to do because of the taboos that persisted throughout pre-exilic times, but in his putting his sons, slaves, and beasts of burden to work on the "holy" day. This may account, on the one hand, for a passage like IIK. 4:23 and on the other, for the explicit prohibitions against the labor of menials and animals in the D stratum, Deut. 5:14b and the D expansion, Ex. 23:12b. It is possible that along with the matter of permitting others to work, the Israelite breadwinner might have evaded the law of 899 B.C.E. by commercial ventures. After laws in Ex. 23:12 (842 B.C.E.) interdicting all

forms of gainful occupation, and Ex. 20:9-10a (c. 700) and Deut. 5:13-14a, which reiterated this more general prohibition, it is likely that the people obeyed the Sabbath ordinance rather faithfully. The avaricious traders, whom Amos denounces for their greed (8:5ff.) apparently fear to violate the Sabbath, despite their lack of principle in ethical matters. The day must have been generally observed, particularly in its festal character before the exile, otherwise, Isaiah (1:13ff.) and Hosea (2:11-13) could not have referred to the days in derision. If the people were lax in their observance, or indifferent in their attitude, the remarks of both prophets would have been pointless.

We have no way of knowing by direct statement as to whether the Sabbatical year ordained by C., Ex. 23:10-11, was observed in pre-exilic times, but, it is extremely doubtful since two later references, exclusive of the implication of Ezekiel and H, state that the exile came as a result of the non-observance of the Sabbatical year law.¹² The traditional seventy years of exile ^{are} compensation for the seventy unobserved Sabbaths of the soil during the days of the Hebrew commonwealth.

In Ezekiel's day, with the Sabbath taking on distinctly the character of a rest day as well as a day of cessation from normal pursuits, it is likely that people acquainted with the older type of Sabbath, did not adjust very quickly to the newer one which involved rest and religious assemblage of a more solemn nature.

On this basis we can understand Ezekiel's frequent and persistent denunciation of pre-exilic Israel for its profanation of the holy day.¹³ Evidently he hoped to win over the miscreant or unobservant, by blaming the exile on earlier impiety. There must have been that nucleus or perhaps majority of the community that was strictly observant, however, else the Sabbath could not have become the central religious rite of the Exile. The strict sabbatarianism of Nehemiah and Ezra bespeaks a general and stringent observance of the day in the Babylonian diaspora. We may be sure that Ezekiel had his pietists to whom to point with pride when he denounced the desecrators of Yahweh's day.

The Palestine of the first return probably did not observe the day very faithfully. This may be determined not only on the basis of the writings of H and Trito-Isaiah, but also because of the status of the day's observance that Nehemiah found when he first came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C.E. Trito-Isaiah implies that the Sabbath was neglected. He paints a glowing picture of the Sabbath as it should be, but the implication that it is wholly idealistic, and practised only by the pious minority that knew the stricter observance of Babylonia. His mention of abstention from commercial travel, from conducting one's business, or even discussing it, indicates that all of these things were evidently done in violation of the Sabbath. The emphasis that Trito-Isaiah lays on observance of the day as a test of affiliation for proselyte and eunuchs shows that if such groups

merely followed the example of the majority of Jews they would not be observant of the Sabbath. (58:13ff.) To the writer of Chs. 56-66, the observer of the Sabbath is a happy man, which might reflect the state of Sabbath observance in the small impoverished and seemingly unhappy community of 539-516 B.C.E. The repetitious *וַיִּשְׁמַח* in H₁ would also indicate that in this period the Sabbath was not any too generally observed. It is probable with the building of the Temple and the growth of prestige that it carried with it, that the day assumed greater import and its observance became more general. It might have become the joyous Sabbath of Trito-Isaiah, in which event continued exhortation by the H writers would be unnecessary. And as a matter of fact, H₂ seems more concerned with the extensions of the Sabbath concept in the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee celebration. Lamentations 2:6 would seem to imply also that in the period after the Temple was built, the day was more widely celebrated. Thus in the first period of the Palestinian restoration, the observance of the Sabbath was rather lax with the possible exceptions of the short period of festal and sacrificial observance between 516 and 485 B.C.E. The likelihood is that the Sabbatical and Jubilee years were not observed in this period, if we are to judge on the basis of the laws for these occasions that P felt necessary. It is hardly likely that in the brief period of thirty years following the rebuilding of the Temple that the Sabbatical year was enforced, when the Sabbath day itself was not very generally ob-

served; and it is hardly possible that a Jubilee year was observed during that time.

When Nehemiah came to Judea, he found the Sabbath openly violated. He discourses on a series of works done directly counter to the prohibitions of the day, (Neh. 13:15ff.) such as treading wine-presses, using the labor of servants and asses to bring foodstuffs and wine into the city, and possibly also selling this merchandise on the Sabbath, but at least purchasing it. The author of Jeremiah 17:19-27 likewise, refers to the open violation of the sacred day during the latter fifth century. We must not be misled by the fervor of Nehemiah or the strong language of the Jeremianic interpolator. Nehemiah, like his successor Ezra, was a Babylonian pietist and denounced the few as bad examples for the benefit of the many who were probably observant. If this were not so, we can imagine that Nehemiah's denunciation would refer to the people as a whole and not to certain individuals. This message was delivered in 432 B.C.E., whereas were Sabbath violation very general, we could expect such a tirade in 444 B.C.E. rather than twelve years later. There can be no doubt, however, that it was not until the more stringent Sabbatarianism of Ezra and the P Code in the next century, that observance of the holy day became general, in fact very likely almost universal among those who stayed within the community of the faithful and did not join with the Samaritan schismatics. To this period belongs the death penalty as the supreme

sanction of the day, but the likelihood is that it did not have to be, nor even was it ever, applied. It is at this time that the Sabbath supercedes all the other commandments of the decalogue (Neh. 10:14), and that the people are reputed to have pledged themselves to strict observance of the day and of the Sabbatical year.

Under the aegis of the Priestly guardians of the law, the Sabbath must have been rather generally respected, if not observed, in its meticulous detail, by the people. There must have been individual derelictions or types of activity that gave particular offense to the writers of P. These may have required expert legal decision, or they may have been merely written into the law by being projected back into the Mosaic period. Thus, Ex. 16:23f. takes to task those housewives or others of the fourth century who would cook or bake on the Sabbath. The prohibition against kindling a fire, (Ex. 35:3), or the implied interdiction of gathering firewood (Num. 15:32ff.) were probably notable decisions which applied to specific cases or to a general failing in Sabbath observance in the days of P. The breaking of the Sabbath through commercial travel, such as incensed Trito-Isaiah, may have led to Ex. 16:29, if we are to assign this verse to the fourth century. Perhaps from the absolute standards required by P, the degree of Sabbath observance was no greater than it was under the relatively lax laws of H, but there can be no doubt that the Sabbath in the fourth century played a more significant role in the lives of Palestinian Jewry than it had ever done before. We may be sure that even

if the masses did not observe the day in its constantly growing minutiae , there was a group of zealous priestly or Yahwistic spirits to whom Sabbath observance was dearer than life. At least such a group was to be found in Judea in Maccabean times. And the prophetic spirits of the fourth century, whose wishes were fathers of their thoughts in uttering their pronouncements concerning the Sabbath, would likewise have died rather than desecrate the day upon which Yahweh rested and which He sanctified.

Starting with the days of Ezra, the primacy of the ~~Zadokite~~ priesthood is established in full force. Regular Temple sacrifices were ordained and special ones for the Sabbath¹⁴ were to be observed. In all likelihood the sacrificial cult received full status for the first time since the destruction of 586 B.C.E., and regular assemblies which embraced the masses of the people were held. The importance of the sacrificial cult at this time and the prominent place it must have had in Sabbath observance, is reflected in a number of passages by the Chronicler.

The other Sabbaths of the year also, 7/1, 7/10 and the first and last days of Succoth must have had rather general observance among the people, particularly those close to Jerusalem and in touch with the Temple cult. For the first time perhaps, in Israel's history, the strict reforms of Ezra and P were able to institute a Sabbatical and Jubilee year, that were observed to some extent at least. Lev. 25:20-22 probably deals with the practical application of the law in vv. 1-7,

and that is the ~~the~~ precise answer that the Priestly writer gave to the Jewish agriculturalists who wondered whether they might not starve if they did not work their land for two full years. The likelihood is that now as in H, there was to be one definite national Sabbatical year for all farmers. This differed from the seventh year legislation of C and possibly D which implied that ^aman might not allow all his land to lie fallow at one time, but rather that in different years, different fields of various owners were ~~per~~mitted release. The jubilee year, too, must have been ordained with good intentions and it is not impossible that during the fourth century such a year may have been observed by the zealots, but we may be sure that it did not become universal, although there was possibly a specific year that was so designated by the Zadokites at the close of the Persian period.

Thus the degree of Sabbath observance varied in different periods and under different influences. Although it was often very laxly observed and seldom strictly enforced, the occasion probably received greater general observance throughout Israel's history than many other Jewish festivals. Later, after the Maccabean period, when the masters of the Mishnah enhanced the importance of the day and restricted it in new and undreamed of ways, its meticulous observance became a sign of one's membership in the Pharisaic brotherhood. The day was then universally observed, even if imperfectly by the entire mass of Jewry.

3. Final Summary of the Development of the Sabbath Idea.

The origin of the Sabbath observances which started as an agricultural festival cannot be found in the religious occasions or festivals of Israel's neighbors, but rather must be sought in Israel's own history and early folk ideology. We may see the Sabbath day emerging as an indigenous Hebrew observance governed by the phases of the moon on the one hand, and by the symbolic and occult number seven on the other. The inauspiciousness of the number seven and the uncertainty which marked the moon's four transitional periods give the day its original austere and unpropitious character. It is not unlikely that in the pre-literary period the term Sabbath may have been a designation for the full moon day, a signification which may have persisted into later pre-exilic times. The taboo significance of the day may have syncretistically been associated with Baal or Canaanitic practice when the Hebrew invaders took over the agricultural festivals of the Canaanites. Before long, and certainly by the Deuteronomic Reformation, the syncretistic baal influences were ideologically, at least, eradicated as were the Sabbath's dependence on lunation and the animistic notions surrounding the number seven. Under prophetic influence which manifested itself from the ninth century on, the day assumed a Yahwistic significance and the Sabbath by 621 B.C.E. became one of the chief occasions for the worship of Yahweh. The antagonism of the Yahwists for

the persistent Canaanitic and astral aspects of the day is shown: (1) in the indifference or antagonism of the pre-exilic prophets to the Sabbath itself. (2) in the reasons and motivations which Deuteronomy assigns to the day in order to suppress its older implications. It is given first a broad humanitarian basis and then later the exalted motivation of the miraculous redemption from Egypt. Yet, later the Sabbath is accounted for by Ezekiel and H as a sign of God's covenant with Israel. And lastly, under P, the day becomes sanctioned as a universal day of rest because God rested from the labors of Creation on the seventh day. Such has been the way the successive writers on the Sabbath idea obscured its original significance and assigned reasons for its observance, that were closest to the minds and thoughts of each particular age.

(1) The early Sabbath was originally a day of cessation of normal activity but not of rest as it was later known. The day was one of propitiation^{tiat} of demons, baalim, or possibly Yahweh himself at different times and places. The term Sabbath may have been applied to different days and at various times or places, but by 899 B.C.E. it was a specific designation of the seventh day.

(2) In the ninth century (899 B.C.E. in the South, 842 B.C.E. in the North) all agricultural work was to be laid aside on the Sabbath, even during the busy periods of harvest and plowing. By 842 B.C.E. all occupational pursuits were prohibited. In the seventh century, the day had become dedicated to Yahweh, and

endowed with a limited "holiness" character which it bore until the exile. Under the aegis of prophetic influence a transition takes place in the nature of the day. By kingly fiat, in 621 B.C.E., it is purged of its astral, animistic, and Canaanitic associations. Humanitarian and social bases are assigned to the day to suppress its older non-Yahwistic significance, but true spiritualization of the day, as one of rest and devotional service, does not take place until the Exile, when the Sabbath has to continue as an observance apart from the Temple cult.

(3) Ezekiel feels that the Sabbath violation is the cause of Israel's sorrows, so that now the day develops as the central observance of Judaism. Yahweh's Sabbaths are to be treated with respect and carefully observed. The Sabbath is a sign of Yahweh's choice of Israel. It now becomes a sanctified day of rest and a day of worship and religious assembly for all Jewry. It becomes too, as the exilic concept develops, a day of religious instruction and of spiritual edification through the discourses of priest and prophet, and through the developing synagogue liturgy. The Sabbath is now a holy day, indispensable to the worship of Yahweh.

(4) The period of the first Return shows the development of the Sabbath concept along a particularistic line in the Holiness Code and in a universalistic sphere in Trito-Isaiah. The Jewish nationalism of Ezekiel and his Sabbath ideology are reflected in H, which proclaims the Sabbath as Yahweh's eternal

covenant with his chosen people. The Sabbath became more distinctly Yahweh's possession, and its observance is given greater emphasis. A personal penalty is entailed by Sabbath violation. The holiness of the Sabbath is cultic and applies not only to Yahweh, but to Israel and to the land. Thus from the seventh-day Sabbath there follows the ordinance for a Sabbatical and Jubilee year, the first, in notion, at least, borrowed from ninth century concept of a year of release for the land which was developed in 621 B.C.E. as a year of the remission of debt. It remained for the Priestly Code of a century and a half later, to extend the Sabbath idea not only to a practicable Sabbatical and Jubilee year, but also to the holidays of the seventh month. It is in P too, that the Sabbath day as "Yahweh's day" reaches its consummation. But P puts the Sabbath on a broad universalistic basis of which H with its peculiar Yahweh-Israel relationship was incapable. In this period, the Sabbath as a part of the cult of the restored Temple gains some of its pre-exilic sacrificial aspects.

To Trito-Isaiah, too, the Sabbath is a day of central importance to Judaism and the test of Jewish allegiance for native and proselyte alike. As with Ezekiel and H, the day is holy to Yahweh, and carries with it certain taboos against commercial enterprise. But the Sabbath reaches a new exalted height as a day of spiritual joy and refreshment of soul. The lofty theologic notions of his predecessors are included without the emphasis on ritual and the particularistic

covenant relationship. The ideal Sabbath would be a day of worshipful devotion and joyous thankfulness wherein all people would gather at Jerusalem to pay homage to Yahweh. Trito-Isaiah's was an exalted view never again attained in Israel's history. If the day could be called a sign at all, it was a sign of Yahweh's favor and universal providence.

(5) The concept of the Sabbath of the latter fifth century is the particularistic and restrictive one of Nehemiah and the author of Jeremiah 17:19-27. The significance of the Sabbath as a day of spiritual rest and refreshment of soul is now rendered subordinate to the restrictive elements. Babylonian sabbatarianism was transplanted to Palestine. The basis is laid for the strict observance ordained by P and for the host of legal minutiae with which the day is bound up in Mishnaic times. Nehemiah's reforms embodied the proscription of commerce and trade, so reminiscent of the taboos attached to the Sabbath in pre-exilic days. To Nehemiah, as to H and Ezekiel, Israel's ills are due to desecration of God's holy day. Jewry's welfare is dependent on strict Sabbath observance. The anonymous Jeremiah carries this concept to a logical consummation. The future hope of Israel, the restoration of the world conquering Davidic dynasty (an odd mingling of universalism and particularism) depends upon Jewry's refraining from bringing its merchandise through the gates of Jerusalem. P's drastic sanction for the day is presaged in the pseudo-Jeremiah's threat to individual and national well-being if the Sabbath is violated.

The close of the fifth century and the opening of the next sees the Sabbath a restrictive cult occasion bound up with Babylonian Jewish piety and Palestinian particularistic reforms.

(6) The fourth century marks the most complete development of the Sabbath institution in its ideological, legal, and practical aspects. All previous steps in the day's evolution since 586 B.C.E. or even since 621 B.C.E. are represented in the Priestly concept and often carried to a complete consummation. First of all, P represents a reaction to the narrow particularism of the late reformatory movements of Nehemiah and Ezra. Universalistically, the Sabbath is Yahweh's gift to all living beings, human, animal and plant, ordained as a part of creation. Yahweh's rest is an example to all men, Jew or Gentile, free or slave, and to all beasts of burden, that they rest on the seventh day. So logically, the land owned by Yahweh and the plants thereon^{should} be given rest and release in the seventh year. Not only the seventh day and the seventh year, but the whole hebdomadal system, the Jubilee year and the rest on the Sabbath-like holidays of the seventh month, likewise attest the all pervading Sabbath idea based on Yahweh's noble example of rest. So, to the Priestly writers the Sabbath becomes sacred not only to Yahweh, but expanding on H, holy to the people and to the land. The very exile was inevitable because of the seventy unfulfilled Sabbatical years.

But what of P's restrictive Sabbath? Nehemiah's restrictions are insignificant in comparison. Specific

prohibitions almost of a primitive taboo nature now mark the day in its legal aspects, as well as the general interdictions of all gainful occupations. H's and Pseudo-Jeremiah's sanctions became mild along side of P's rigid institution of the death penalty. Infractions of the Sabbath laws becomes a capital crime.

The concept of sanctification, *קדש*, of the day is consistently enjoined and the desecration, *מגדל*, of the Sabbath is punishable by death. Thus carried to their logical fulfillment are the ideas of taboo or "holiness"; (expressed by every Sabbath legislator since the days of Hezekiah) and of the reprobation of Sabbath violation (excoriated by each writer since the days of Ezekiel). A new and special stress is laid upon the cult and sacrificial observance of the day. The Temple cult which had been neglected since 586 B.C.E., except for a brief interval following 516 B.C.E., was now restored in all its pre-exilic splendor. So imbued with the sacerdotal observance of the holy day were the Priestly writers and their spiritual successors, the Chroniclers, that the Priestly concept of the Temple ritual for the Sabbath was projected back into the days of David and Solomon.

Though it may not have been with the approval of the Zadokite guardians of the Temple cult, it was in this fruitful period that the synagogue and the Sabbath liturgy saw its Palestinian beginnings. All of the essential elements that were to give the Sabbath its character in the Mishnaic period and to crystallize it into the institution as we know it today were present already in the fourth century.

Thus the Priestly Sabbath marked the final stage in the development of the observance in the biblical period. The institution became central to Judaism and indispensable in the worship of Yahweh. Its basis in Creation lent the day greater prestige than it had ever before enjoyed. It set the stage for the Sabbatarianism of Apochryphal and Mishnaic times. It was in the latter period that the Sabbath's importance became so enhanced that it evolved into the universal institution it now is, having^{been} adopted with modifications by Christian and Moslem alike.

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4. Notes on The General Summary and Conclusions.

1. J. Mann, *Observance of the Sabbath and the Festivals*, p. 437.
2. J. Mann, p. 443.
3. Cf. *supra*, p. 119. Lev. 16:31, and 23:39.
4. Hosea 2:11-13 and Isaiah 1:10-15.
5. Cf. Wellhausen, *Israelit. u. Jüdische Geschichte*, 1894, pp. 107f., 153f., who holds that the synagogue originated in Babylon. The traditions of the Babylonian Jews of the Talmudic period, point to the synagogues which were started by the exiles in the days of Nebuchadnezzar; the "synagogue of Daniel" (Meg. 21a) and of "אמון פה" at Nahardea, supposedly started by King Jehoiachin. Cf. Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chronicles I*, p. 26, cited in Mann, p. 445f.n.
6. Vita, 54, Dr. 279; cited in Mann, p. 446, n.*
7. Mann, p. 446.
8. Josh. 6:13f.
9. ISam. 29 and 30.
10. IK. 8:65 and IChron. 7:9.
11. Providing that Ex. 34:21b actually refers to the Sabbath observance.
12. Lev. 26:34, 35 (RP), and IChron. 36:21.
13. One of the chief sins of the wilderness was the profanation of the Sabbath (Ezek. 20:13, 16, 21, 24). The princes, priests, and prophets likewise were not observant (22:8, 26). The Sabbath violators of Ezekiel's day must have been among these very classes as well as among the masses.
14. Num. 28:9-10.

X. APPENDICES.

THE SABBATH IN APOC̄RYPHA AND
PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

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and Pseudepigrapha.

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MISHNAH.

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THE SABBATH IN APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA.

It is beyond the scope of our paper to trace the development of the Sabbath into post-biblical times, but a summary statement of the Sabbath institution in later times will clarify for us the nature or application of some of the biblical provisions for the day. As we have mentioned, after the period of the Priestly writings and the Chronicler (300 B.C.E.) nothing is said about the institution in the whole range of the Jewish literature of the period until the time of II Maccabees (130-125 B.C.E.), a period of over 150 years.¹

Even II Maccabees does not give us a satisfactory picture of the status of the Sabbath institution during the time of the Maccabean revolt, at least not as far as legislation is concerned. The Sabbath was proscribed by Antiochus (6:5, 11) and the faithful did everything they could to avoid profaning the day (6:11) even to the extent of taking defeat in battle with^{out} raising a hand in their own defense (5:25). Later, after the victory over Nicanor, Judas attends to the duties of the Sabbath, "loudly praising and blessing the Lord", (8:27) but how the day was otherwise observed and regarded is not stated. The incident of the treacherous massacre of the peaceful citizens of Jerusalem by Philip on the Sabbath day, does not prove that the Jews were either loyal Sabbath observers or that they would not have fought to defend

themselves, (II Macc. 5:25-27). The implication is that they were not so staunchly Jewish, as Judas and some others left the city so as "not to be polluted like the rest". (v. 27). Chapter 15:1-3 presents an interesting idealization of the Sabbath by the author of the book. Nicanor was to attack the army on the Sabbath in order to avoid the risk of defeat. The Jews who were forced to accompany him requested that he do not profane the Sabbath ordained by the "living Lord, Himself a Sovereign in heaven". Nicanor refused to listen and went ahead. "Nevertheless", says the author, "he did not succeed in executing his shocking purpose". This is purely a fictitious account to exalt the ultra-Pharisaic Sabbatarianism of the next century. It is more in the spirit of I Maccabees 2:41 and of the Pharisees of a later day.

But before the writing of the more stringent and fully developed Sabbath notions of the Mishnah, there is the high regard for the institution recorded in Jubilees (109-105 B.C.E.). Jubilees tells the story of creation (Ch. II) and then concludes with an idyllic peroration on the Sabbath.² The writer dwells on the doctrine of God's example and imitatio dei,³ regarding the day as a sign of God's choice of Israel,⁴ and as a blessing to the people. The violation of the day was held to be punishable by death.⁵ The observant Jew will be blessed.⁶ No food^{is} to be prepared on the Sabbath,⁷ nor^{are} burdens to be carried through the gates.⁸ The picture of the Sabbath idea goes beyond that of the Old Testament, however, enjoining that no unseemly con-

duct may be done on the day, and stating that the Sabbath was observed in heaven before it was on earth.⁹ The words of the prayer book are anticipated. "The Creator of all things blessed it, but he did not sanctify all peoples...to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone". (v. 31).¹⁰ "...created for blessing and holiness and glory". (v. 32).¹¹

Although Jubilees in some places implies a Sabbath more strict than that of the Mishnah, yet in the spirit of Isaiah 58:13ff., it conceives of the day as one of joy, praising God, and eating and drinking. Note Jubilees 50:9, "For great is the honor that God has shown Israel that he should on this day eat and drink to satiety, and rest on it from all labor". Or, Ch. 2, v. 31, "He hallowed no people nor peoples to keep the Sabbath on this day, except Israel only; to it alone he granted to eat and drink and keep the Sabbath on it".

The Sabbath is mentioned along with other indispensable occasions of God's worship.¹² Ch. 50 is the legal chapter outlining the laws of Jubilees and of Sabbaths. It is interesting to note that Jubilees regarded as did P and H, the Jubilee year as a logical extension of the Sabbath idea; here a Jubilee reckoned as 49 not 50 years! Vv. 6-13 epitomize the humanitarian and cult sanctions for the Sabbath, but reflect the Pharisaic stringency of a generation or two later. The death penalty is prescribed at the outset for infraction of the laws.¹³ No one may on

the Sabbath, lie with his wife,¹⁴ plan work for that day, make a business trip,¹⁵ draw water, till his farm,¹⁶ light a fire,¹⁷ ride on any beast,¹⁸ strike or kill anything,¹⁹ fast,²⁰ or make war.²¹ The text concludes: "The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbath of the Lord, as it is written in the tablets, which he gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the divisions of their days".

Thus as we approach the Mishnaic period, the interpretation of the Sabbath becomes more and more restrictive. It becomes more and more of the distinguishing mark between the Jew and his neighbor. So the writer of I Maccabees (100-70 B.C.E.) sees profanation of the Sabbath as the second step in apostasy after the worship of idols by the faithless in 168 B.C.E. The observance of the Sabbath is of prime importance, but a tragedy of huge proportions occurs on the day because of the people's refusal to defend themselves.²² The author records, "they died a thousand souls, they and their wives, their children and their cattle". (v. 38). Apparently all rested on the Sabbath according to the Deuteronomic injunction. (Deut. 5:12-15). A council of war took place after the incident, and it was declared: "Whosoever attacks us on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him, that we may not in any case die, as our brethren died in their hiding places". (2:41). The wisdom of this decision is evident in Jonathan's

victory over Bacchides who attacks Israel on the Sabbath. (9:24, 43-53). The Maccabean victories brought the revocation of the religious proscriptions, and the Sabbath is named by Demetrius as one of the days of immunity with regard to payment of taxes, debts, or service to the King. (10:34-35). This must have been a source of great satisfaction to the zealous sabbatarian heart of the author.

There are a few additional scattered references to the Sabbath in other books of the hidden writings, such as the Book of Adam and Eve, which contains a single apocalyptic reference. (51:2). "Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; for ^{on} the seventh day the Lord rested from all his works". This passage, in an unquestionably late vita, is colored by Christian theology, and must date from the second century of the common era or later. A Zadokite fragment, dated 18-8 B.C.E., contains some interesting statements on the Sabbath which reflect an attitude somewhat less strict than that of the Pharisees. The holiness and cult significance of the day is stressed (8:15, 14:3). Reference to the day is always couched in the levitical language of the priestly class. The person led astray to profane the Sabbath is not executed, but watched for seven years, and if healed, is readmitted into the congregation, (14:6), as if violation of the day were a type of uncleanness.

Ch. 13:13-27 contains the laws concerning the

Sabbath and although they present certain differences from those of the Mishnah, they are strictly in accord with the strong Sabbatarian spirit of the day. Fasting is prohibited as the contemporary Book of Judith 8:6 bears out.²³ Walking more than 2,000 cubits after a pasturing animal; moving an animal by force, carrying anything into or out of the house, opening the cover of a closed vessel, lifting rock or earth, taking an infant for an airing, provoking a servant, aiding in an animal's delivery, raising it from a pit, resting near Gentiles, may not be done on the Sabbath. The text concludes: "No man shall suffer himself to be polluted...for the sake of wealth or gain on the Sabbath, And if any person falls into a place of water.... he shall not bring him up by a ladder or a cord or instrument."²⁴ (contrary to Pharisaic law: *למען יחיה* Yoma 84b, where it distinctly states that if a child falls into the sea, it may be saved by means of a net; if into a pit, by a ladder). No man shall offer anything on the altar on the Sabbath, save the burnt offering of the Sabbath, for so is it written "excepting your Sabbaths".²⁵

Thus the writings of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha carried the idea of the restrictive Sabbath of the Priestly Code and the *days* of the Chronicler a step closer to that rigorous period in Jewish religious history that starts with the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. The masters of the Mishnah crystallized, codified, and added to the biblical and post-biblical restrictions as we shall see.

Notes on The Sabbath in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

1. All dating and translation are according to The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. by R. H. Charles.
2. 2:16-33.
3. Compare Gen. 2:2a; Ex. 20:11.
4. Comparable to Ezek. 20:12; Ex. 31:16-17.
5. Cf. Ex. 31:14; 15; 35:2; Num. 15:32-36.
6. Compare Is. 56:2, 4; 58:13; Neh. 13:15-22.
7. Ex. 16, 23; 35:3.
8. Neh. 13:19; Jer. 17:21-27; cf. also Shabbos 7:2 and Talmud Ber. 2b on this point.
9. 2:18; 20-24; 27ff.
10. Cf. Singer, Prayer Book, p. 124.
11. Cf. Singer, p. 150.
12. Jubilees 1:10; 14, 23:19.
13. As in Ex. 35:2 (P).
14. Cf. Sanhed, 46a.
15. Neh. 16:31; 13:16, 17; also Ex. 16:29; Erub. 4:3, 1; 5:7.
16. Ex. 34:21 and Shab. 7:2.
17. Ex. 35:3; Num. 15:32, 33.
18. Cf. Sanhed, 46a; Beza 5:2.
19. Shab. 7:2.
20. Cf. Judith 8:6.
21. Cf. Shab. 6:2, 4; I Macc. 2:31-38 and II Macc. 6:11, 15:1. The law was partially superseded by I Macc. 2:41 as we shall soon see.

/s

- 22. I Macc. 2:29-38.
- 23. Jubilees 50:12; 9-10; also Taanith Jer. 3:2.
- 25. This obviously a misinterpretation of Lev. 23:38,
 וְיָמֵי מִנְחָה וְזֶבֶחַ אֶלֶף שְׁנֵי אֶלֶף where זֶבֶחַ means "besides"
 or "in addition to".

THE SABBATH LEGISLATION IN THE MISHNAH.

The Pharisees were very strict in the observance of the law. Indeed they carried to the extreme the reforms started by Nehemiah and elaborated upon by Ezra and the P Code, building the wall of separation that should keep the Jews from losing their identity among the heathen. The law of the Bible was followed to the very letter since the literalness of biblical passages was never doubted. In the case of the Sabbath, the Pharisees carried the matter so far that it had its outcome in minutiae that approached in their extreme, the point of absurdity. These detailed restrictions are found in the Mishnah in which two large treatises and portions of others are devoted to Sabbath legislation.

In the treatise Shabbath, Ch. 7:2, we find enumerated thirty-nine kinds of work that are prohibited.¹ These are the *אבות מלאכה* that are forbidden.

אבות מלאכות ארבעים חסר אחת, תוצר והפול והקוצר, והמזמר
הדש והצרה והבאכה, והטוחן, והמחוקק, והלש, והאש, והמזלזל את
הצמר, המלכך, והמנשך והצואה, והטלול, והמסך, והחשש שיש בו נזיקה,
והפארג שיש בו חטים, והפוצץ שיש בו חטים, והקולר, והמגיר, והמסר שיש בו חטים,
הקורח חמץ לגור שיש בו חטים, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל,
והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל,
והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל,
והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל,
והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל, והמזלזל את המזל,

"The aboth (fathers) of works, forty minus one:
He who sows, plows, reaps, binds sheaves, threshes,
winnows, cleans the crops, grinds, sifts, kneads,

bakes, and he who shears wool, washes it, beats it, dyes it, spins it, and warps it. He who makes two cords, weaves two threads, separates two threads, makes a knot, unties a knot, sews two stitches, tears two stitches, catches a deer, kills it, skins it, salts it, prepares its skin, scrapes off its hair, cuts it to pieces; he who writes two letters, blots out for the purpose of writing two letters, builds, tears down, puts out a fire, lights a fire, beats with a hammer, and carries from one premise to another. These are the aboth of works, forty minus one".

These of course, are only the אבות and out of each of these there grow others, the גולגולות.² Each one, in turn, requires an exactitude of meaning in order to know definitely and precisely what is work that is prohibited, and what is not. For example, in the discussion of these works that follows later in the Mishnah, the Rabbis are not content to say that knots may not be made nor untied. They specify exactly the knots the making of which renders a man guilty and which do not, and also in what manner the tying must be done. Mishnah 1 in Chapter 15 starts:

אלו קשרים שהיובים עליהן בקשר פגמתיים וקשר הספנים וכשר
 שהוא חיוב על קשורן כך שלא חיוב על הענין. רבי מאיר
 אומר כל קשר שהוא יכול לפתחו באחת ידיו און חיובין עליו:
 (ב) יסוף קשרים שאין חיובין עליהן בקשר פגמתיים וכשר
 הספנים, קשרת אשר מפתי חלוקה, והוא סבבה יסוף
 פסיקיא ורצוצה מנח וסנבל ונדולת יין ושמן וקדרה
 אפס... כל אלה רבי יהודה כל קשר שאינו קשוראין
 חיובין עליו:

The conditions which lead to a verdict of guilty as far as writing is concerned, are described in Chapter 12:3-6. "He who writes two letters with his right hand or his left hand, whether of one kind or of two kinds, and also if they are written with different ink or in different languages, is guilty. He who through forgetfulness writes two letters is guilty, whether he has written them with ink or with paint, red chalk, India rubber, vitriol, or anything that leaves permanent marks". If the two letters can be read together, he is guilty, if not, he is not guilty (which means that he merely gets a scourging, but is not put to death). If he writes with the wrong hand, with his foot, his mouth, his elbow, he is free. If he intends to write a "ח" but writes two "ז" (zains) instead, he is free. A passage in this section is very interesting (12:3):

אמר רבי יוחנן כל חייבא שרי אלויתא אלא מילין דאין
 ביה חשמיס דא קרבי חשמיס איצט איהו בן זאב:

The fact of the matter is, that all the^{1/2} mentioned above, are works which were done in connection with the building of the tabernacle. One of the commandments to keep the Sabbath is found in Exodus, Chap. 35:2. Immediately following is the description of the tabernacle with all the work that is to be done in connection with this. Hence the rabbis associated the two and upon the basis of this set forth the works which are not allowed to be done. This shows how far the casuistry of the Pharisees went in interpreting the meaning of the Bible³

There are countless numbers of other prohibitions

the citation of which would be too bulky and hardly serve our purpose. Some examples will suffice. According to Ex. 16:23 (P) it was forbidden to bake or boil on the Sabbath. The food must be prepared on Friday, according to the Rabbis, and may be kept warm by artificial means, but the heat must never be increased. If it should be, it is considered boiling. To keep the food warm, one may place it in clothes, amidst fruit, pigeon feathers, and flax tow, but in no other place.⁴ Concerning the extinguishing of fire, it depends on why this is done (2:5):

בגובה אל הנר מפני שראו מתיירא מפני עבוב, מפני אטמים, מפני חארה
ואם בשביל החולש שישן פטור. כחם על השמן, כחם על הנר כחם על כפסול
חייה. רבי יוסי. פטור בכלם מולידין השמירה מפני שראו חשש פחים.

As far as carrying is concerned, the Mishnah says:

המזבז אולם בגדיו חייב... ה מוציא יין כדי מציג
כחם חלה, כדי גמדה דשש כדי ליתן על הכותה שכן כדי לסוק
אמר קטן מים כדי לשלש בהם את הקיור... נזיר כדי לכתוב עליו
קשר מוהסין... דבר כדי לעמוד קרץ כדי לכתוב עליו ששה
קטלם שגבולין שהא שמד ישראל דן כדי לכתוב שגאולתו... חייה

Garments that did not belong to the clothing proper were forbidden to be worn; a warrior, for example, might not go out with his armor. According to R. Meir, a cripple may go out with his wooden leg, but R. Jose does not permit it. When a fire breaks out on the Sabbath, all the holy Scriptures may be saved. If it is *אחר הצהריים* then food for three meals may be saved, and if in the morning of the Sabbath, then for two and in the afternoon for one. This was done because fast-

ing on the Sabbath was forbidden. There are extended prohibitions for every transaction and business. In Beṣa 5:2 we find three classes of prohibitions, breaking of the rest, arbitrary acts, acts legal on days other than the Sabbath. Under arbitrary acts we have those such as holding court, *אֲשֵׁרֵי הַיּוֹם*, etc. Under legal transactions we have such as consecrating, putting a value on everything, separating the heave offering from the tithe. There were certain activities that were not work but were related to one's occupation, that were also prohibited. As a development of Is. 58:13ff. as man might not even talk about his business on the Sabbath, look over his plantation, hire workmen or figure his accounts.⁵

In the tractate Erubin, we have methods for accomplishing "works" which otherwise would not have been permissible; the situations with which it deals are largely those of carrying from one place to another and of walking distances. To sum up the matter briefly, these are three classes of Erubin, (1) *אֶרֶב*

אֶרֶב (2) *אֶרֶב* (3) *אֶרֶב*

The general procedure in the matter is ^{to} regard more than one premise as if there were only one by the use of a "joiner", or symbol for one. In such a case those premises which were joined would be considered one and a person might carry from one premise to another.⁶ In like manner, a person might walk more than the 2,000 cubits, the maximum limits that was permitted. If he takes food for a meal to the distance of 2,000 cubits

for example, and hides it there before the Sabbath, then on the Sabbath he may walk 2,000 cubits beyond this spot, for the food makes the spot as if it were his home. In the matter of a *mitzvah*, or religious duty, such as visiting the sick, comforting mourners or journeying to a wedding, a distance of 4,000 cubits might be traveled.

Besides such little methods for lightening the burden of the Sabbath, there are cases where the Sabbath injunctions against work are ignored for the sake of some thing that is more important. Sacrifices may be offered up on the Sabbath. The Sabbath does not restrain the practise of circumcision (Shab. 19:1, 5). It is permitted to aid a woman during child birth (18:3). The general rule laid down by the Rabbis is: *אין אדם נשחט* ; "all danger to life supersedes the Sabbath".

In this somber setting of strict Sabbath restriction, let it not be thought that the Sabbath had lost all of its joyous and festal character that was apparent in Is. 58:13ff. and Jubilees 2:31. It must be remembered that fasting was strictly forbidden on the Sabbath so that it should not become a somber day (M. Taanith 3:7). In fact, saddening activities like comforting mourners or visiting the sick, could only be done with difficulty on the Sabbath. The day was to be one of such sheer joy that it was not to be marred by natural sympathy with suffering.⁷ The positive festal character of the Mishnaic Sabbath was based on Neh. 8:9-12, which describes the rejoicing of the New Year's

Day, (Shab. 118a-b). Indulgence in some luxury of food or drink was encouraged, as in Jubilees 2:31. A purposely light meal was eaten on Friday noon so that a sumptuous one would be more welcome on Friday evening, which became a favorite evening for entertaining and merriment. But even the joy of the Friday evening celebration was not without its strict and binding legislation. Two loaves of bread symbolic of the double manna of Ex. 16:23ff., are to be prepared for this occasion.⁸ The benediction over wine had to be recited⁹ to sanctify the Sabbath. In the Kiddush, incidently, the bases for the Sabbath in both ethical decalogues are articulated. To the housewife fell the duty of lighting the Sabbath lamp.¹⁰ Negligence in this regard was a serious dereliction,¹¹ and was regarded as a cause for death at childbirth.¹²

This picture of Sabbath legislation, shows how far the Sabbath was carried to extremes. A wall of Sabbatarian minutiae far beyond the imaginings of the Priestly writers, was built around the Jewish people. It is dangerous, however, to make the statement that these almost absurd minute restrictions accomplished nothing. There is no question that the Jewish Sabbath was still in Mishnaic times, an exalted rest day, one of the greatest of humane institutions, despite its strictness and rigidity. It was a day of religious worship and spiritual refreshment for all who toiled. It may be due to the restrictions of the Rabbis for the most part, that the Jew survived through centuries of persecution, religious fanaticism and inquisition.

Who knows but that the Jewish people would not be today
existent, were it not for just such minutiae that were
exacted by the great teachers of Judaism?

Notes on The Sabbath Legislation In The Mishnah.

1. The warrant for these minute laws is taken from Ex. 35. v. 2 gives the general prohibition of all ^{שכלל} on the Sabbath and the rest of the Chapter. 4-35 and 36: 1-7 give the detailed operations for the building and setting in order of the tabernacle. Thus all of these operations, ~~reasoned the Rabbis~~, must be interdicted on the Sabbath. Similarly in Ex. 31, vv. 1-11 deal with the tabernacle, and vv. 12-17 with the Sabbath prohibitions. All of these operations, thus became ^{שכלל} ^{שכלל} ^{שכלל}. This explanation may be found in the Gemara on "aboth".
2. R. Johanan and R. Simeon ben Lakish after three and one half years of study determined that there was a total of 1521 ^{שכלל}. Cf. Jer. Sabbath 9b-c.
3. M. Beṣah 5:2 gives a number of prohibitions based only on Rabbinical authority.
4. M. Shab. 4:1.
5. Shab. 150a.
6. This is an effort at evasion of the strict ordinances against carrying that grew out of Jer. 17:22 and Neh. 13:15ff.
7. Cf. Moore, Judaism, ii, p. 37.
8. Sab. 117b, and Berak. 39b.
9. Berak. 6:1.
10. M. Shab. 2 and Shab. 25b.
11. Shab. 2:6; Tos. Shab. 2:10.
12. Jer. Shab. 5b.

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- 4. I Esdras. Ch. 1.

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- 2. The Assumption of Moses. Ch. 43.
- *3. Fragments of a Zadokite Work (Charles, ii, pp. 785-834) Ch. 13, and 14.
- 4. The Books of Adam and Eve. Ch. 51.

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* Books so marked were drawn on chiefly
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