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THE ORIGIN OF THE SABBATH

A GRADUATION THESIS

by

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DEDICATED

TO

MY PARENTS

IN LOVING ACKNOWLEDGMENT

OF AN UNTOLD INDEBTEDNESS.

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PREFACE.

Without the insinuation of apology, the difficulties encountered in the preparation of this thesis warrant an explanatory word. The subject, especially to an amateur, is well nigh inaccessible. The literature [&] bearing thereon is very limited: few scholars have hazarded even a conjecture on the Origin of the Sabbath, and the opinions of others are but ^{et} repetitions of these conjectures. The origin of an institution hidden beneath the shadow of prehistoric ages does not readily ^{admit} ~~admit~~ the light of investigation. It must be confessed that the sanction by the Faculty of the subject under consideration seemed to indicate a less difficult and more satisfactory inquiry into a ^{really} ~~practically~~ unexplored territory than this thesis can lay claim.

The benefits of the study, however, more than compensate for the difficulties. The preparation of this thesis has enabled the writer to feel a sympathetic interest in the scholarly efforts of men who not only view from ^a ~~the~~ distance the Holy

Land of Research but also lead into it those strong enough to follow.

The method of treatment of the subject is my own. I have culled material from as many sources as possible and arranged it in a form which seemed to me most logical. In some cases I had to be content with ~~second~~ hand references. I felt no hesitancy in quoting from scholars whose words seemed most aptly to express a pertinence^{nt}, if significant, thought. For convenience the notes in any given chapter will be found at the end of the chapter.

Solomon Foster.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is due to the rich discoveries in the field of Assyriology during the latter part of the 19th century, that the subject of our present consideration, the Origin of the Sabbath, is made possible. Various scholars, especially from England, France, and Germany, fairly plowed the plains of a once glorious civilization and brought back the fruit of their research. By the results of their discoveries the modern world has been ~~afforded~~ afforded a glimpse into an obscure and distant past. ~~And~~ as the work of unearthing the hidden cities of the remotest antiquity progressed, and as the records inscribed with a primitive culture yielded up their treasures, our knowledge of the very dawn of civilization became almost as complete as that of comparatively recent times.

The consequence was marvellous. Despite the generally accepted idea that the biblical institutions were the oldest forms of culture, the clearest proofs of a civilization antedating

by many centuries the very beginning of the Hebrew race, were discovered. It was found that the Babylonians and Assyrians, and preceding them the Akkadians of hoary antiquity had grown gray in their existence before the Hebrews as a distinct branch of the Semitic race stepped upon the stage of history.

As the light of modern research was found to illumine more and more the dark vistas of time, present theories as to the age of the institutions of the Bible were necessarily changed. Most striking parallels to the biblical accounts of the Creation of Man, the Tower of Babel, the Ark, the Deluge, etc., were found in the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The Cuneiform Inscriptions relate many a tale to which the Bible presents frequent analogues. There are, of course, significant differences between the stories of the Babylonians and those of The Hebrews, but not so dissimilar as to preclude close connection. Before the valuable finds of the Assyriologists opened the ques-

tion as to the antiquity of the pentateuchal system, it was almost universally believed that Moses had planned and formulated its various ordinances. There had been, however, from time to time some wise skeptics who, from the ~~very~~ internal evidence of the Pentateuch itself, concluded that the observances ordained, and the customs described in it could not all belong to the same period. The doubts of such scholars became the facts of our time.

It is now a demonstrable fact that the rites of the Pentateuch were not original. Most all of the pentateuchal legislation is much older even than the time assigned by Hebrew tradition. The institutions of the Pentateuch could not have sprung ~~up~~ into existence Minerva-like, from the brain of any one individual. Experiment and practice through a long course of years are always required to stamp with authority any custom raised to the point of a legal statute. The strange rite of sending a goat (~~Lev. 16~~ *Lev. 16*)

Lev. 16⁸) as a propitiatory offering indicates a survival of a once prevalent demon-worship (Jastrow: Orig. Char. Heb. Sab.). Dancing on the Day of Atonement (Taanith 26^b) points also to a primitive rite. Houtsma has shown (Over de Israelitische Vastendagen pp. 22-3. Amsterdam 1897) that the fast days of the Ninth of Ab, 17th of Tammuz, 3rd of Tishri, 10th of Tebeth, 13th Adar, are survivals of ancient Semitic institutions. Genesis Chap. I, which describes the creation of the world according to the conception of the writer, really assumes the existence of the week and the Sabbathday and so cannot be considered as an authentic account of the beginnings of things. This chapter has been shown to have been written not before the time of the Babylonian Exile. The holy cities and places, (Num. 35²), cities of refuge (35⁶), sin offerings (Ex. 29¹⁴), dedication of first-born (Ex. 13²), circumcision (GEN. 17¹¹), shew-bread placed before God (Ex. 25³⁰), the 'sea' where ablutions were performed in court of Temple, the Ark

containing two tablets of stone (Deut. 10²), the mercy seat (Ex. 25¹⁷), were instituted long before the Israelitish nation came into being. (Floody Scientif. Basis Sat. and Sun. Chap. Relation of Heb. and Neighbors.)

The greatness of the achievement of these modern discoveries lies in the fact that almost definite periods can be assigned to the so-called Mosaic institutions as to the time of their adoption and prevalence. But almost without exception they point to the influence of a foreign people.

Assimilation and transformation are the constant quantities of the genius of the Hebrew people. Every period of the history of this remarkable people is characterized by some manifestation of a foreign influence, so adjusted to the exigencies, needs and philosophy of their life as to be converted into a thing of value. It seems that the Hebrews have ever been the medium through which most of the institutions of the greater part of

humanity have received the sanction and warrant of existence. Up to the close of a pre-historic era and, by implication, beyond its faint horizon, traces can be discerned which testify to the influence which foreign peoples, though most frequently of a kindred stock, have exerted over the Hebrews. But the recognition of the influence cannot account for the extraordinary quality evidenced by this people in changingy as in a crucible, the customs of a locality into universal ^{it} institutions. The Hebrews have paid the nations of the earth most munificently for the things they have borrowed.

Though the Hebrews have imitated their neighbors in language, custom and belief, they have added something of their own individuality and have given to them a new significance and importance. Their experience among so many different races ^{have} widened their horizon so that they were most receptive of higher culture. The discipline of privation and struggle which they had to under-

go in Egypt and in the wilderness strengthened their resistance, for the most part, against the more baneful influences of their neighbors.

The civilization under whose sway the Hebrews came to the greatest extent, both directly and indirectly, was the Babylonian. The Canaanites long before the Israelites entered their land had been greatly influenced by the Babylonians. Before Abram (see note one, end of chapter) left Ur (note 2) of the Chaldees, Canaan had been conquered by Babylon. About 3800 B.C. Sargon of Accad had united under his dominion all western Asia, a fact which accounts for the close correspondence between the Babylonian and Hebrew civilization at the time of Abram. (circa 2300 B.C.) Thus it happened that monarchs of Ur in old Babylonia were kindred in language and race to the Hebrew patriarchs. Looked at in the light of these facts the migration of Terah and his family admits of a ready explanation. Canaan and Baby-

lomia were joined together by ties of a similar civilization and the departure of Abram from the land of his birth is not an isolated and extraordinary undertaking. (Sayce: Early Rel. of Heb. pp. 9 and 10) At this time Canaanitish merchants traveled to Babylonia with their wares, and Babylonian traders were frequent-ers of the cities of Palestine. "The language of Canaan was heard in the Babylonian cities, and even the rulers of the land were of foreign blood. Between Babylonia and Canaan there was a highway which had been trodden for generations, and along which soldiers and civil officials, merchants and messengers, passed frequently to and fro." (Sayce: Early Hist. of Heb. p. 15) This ~~1777~~ intercourse between these two countries was uninter^rupted from the 15th century B.C. even down to the time that Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem. The constant association between Palestine and Mesopotamia accounts for the similarity in the old tradition^s binding the two peoples together. (Jastow: Rel. of Bab. and Ass. p. 45)

Close analysis indicates that in the sacrificial ~~ord~~^{ord} ordinances of the Pentateuch Babylonian models were followed. The Hebrew legal regulations were undoubtedly founded on those of their Semitic kinsmen of Mesopotamia. The Temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah was but a ~~late~~ copy of the model of some Babylonian Temple, the fame of whose architect had ~~perished~~ long since perished from off the face of the earth. It is moreover probable that we should discover more significant points of similarity between these two peoples were it possible to get a more intimate knowledge of the earliest life of the two nations. More and more it is coming to be recognized that a proper understanding of the Hebrew religion is well nigh impossible to attain without reference to the influence of Babylonian philosophy and practice on the Hebrews, whose indebtedness to the former is very great. (Jastrow: Rel. of Bab. And Assyria p. 697)

It does not necessarily follow that the Hebrews borrowed all their institutions from the **B**abylonians, for, being of a

kindred stock, which would indicate a common home and common traditions, the two peoples, independent of each other, retained the common features of their early association. Later on, at the time of migration, when the home country became too small to accomodate the ever growing population, and the greater need of territory for their dwelling was felt, they separated, bearing similar memories and conceptions of the phenomena of nature and of the beginning of their history. These elements would later naturally be developed in accordance with the peculiar genius of the people, determined by their subsequent history and peculiar disposition. Although there are many striking resemblances, as has been suggested, between the institutions of the Hebrews and the Babylonians, yet the differences are quite as important. The similarities may be due to the traditions common to their early contact; the differences may be due to the peculiar manner in which each nation developed its own religious thought. (Philips on Five Lect. on Cuneiform Discoveries.)

But since the Babylonians had developed a magnificent civilization many eras previous to the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, and inasmuch as Abram migrated from one of the chief centers of that civilization, it is most probable that the Hebrews brought with them into Palestine much of the Babylonian culture. "The names of Babylonian deities meet us again in Palestine and in the adjoining Semitic lands. Nebo, the Babylonian god of prophecy and literature has given his name to towns that stood within the territory of Reuben and Judah, as well as to the Moabite mountain upon which Moses breathed his last. Anu, the Babylonian god of heaven, and his female consort Anatu reappear in Beth-Anath, 'the temple of Anatu', and Anathoth, the birthplace of Jeremiah; and Sinai itself is but the mountain of Sin, the Babylonian moon-god." (Sayce, *Rel. of Ancient Bab.* p. 42) It is significant that Terah and his family moved from Ur to Harran (note 3), an important center of Babylonian

civilization, and the seat of the observance of the moon-god.

Law and religious ~~customs~~ manners and customs were identical in the two cities. And the migration from Ur to Haran is comparable to a change of dwelling from London to Edinburgh. (Sayce: Early His of Heb.p.16) When Abram settled among the Amorites at Schechem(Gen.12⁶) he was not among strangers. In Egypt^(Gen.12¹⁰) whence he traveled because of famine in the land, he is still among a people permeated with Babylonian civilization. And his settlement in Hebron(Gen.13¹⁸) was among a kindred people.

The final touches to this constant association between the two peoples were given at the time of the Babylonian captivity. Particularly powerful was the influence of the conquerors upon the conquered. Jastrow suggests(Rel. of Bab. and Ass.p.697) that the structure of Judaism itself was modelled after Babylonian forms and customs. There are many indications in the Old Testament that bear a Babylonian trade-mark. Ezekiel,"the most

characteristic figure of the exile, is steeped in Babylonian theology and mysticism." It must be observed that the Babylonian captivity was not altogether such a hardship as might ~~be~~ at first be supposed. It required the people but a short time to adapt themselves completely to the customs of their captors and to feel perfectly at home in the land of Babylon. This can be explained from the fact that the Hebrews, though taken by the force of might, were conducted to a country perfectly congenial to them in language and sentiment; it was a return to a former home filled with the sacred memories of their ancestors, made memorable by the early traditions of their race. "It was only the poets and some ardent patriots who hung their harps on the willows and sighed for a return unto Zion." The people were well satisfied with their new surrounding and soon entered into an important era of intellectual activity which very soon superseded that of their ~~Babylonian~~ Palestinian coreligionists. (ibid

Even the subsequent opposition to Babylonian ~~influence~~ civiliza-
 tion is an indirect proof of Babylonian influence. It is true,
 as has been indicated, that, though the Jews have borrowed much
 from their neighbors at all times, yet the stamp of their in-
 dividuality upon any appropriated institution or custom makes
 it a new product. The contact of the two peoples gave a direct-
 ive influence to the interpretation and elaboration of their
 common traditions. "It is by no means impossible, but on the
 contrary quite probable, that the final compilers of the Hebrew
 versions had before them the cuneiform tablets, embody^ding the
 literary form given to the traditions by Babylonian writers."

(Jastrow:Rel. Bab. and Ass.p.452)

The Sabbath, as an institution common to both peoples, though
 distinguished by characteristic differences, typifies the influ-
 ence which Babylonian culture bequeathed to its western kinsfolk.
 It is not possible to state absolutely whether the Hebrews pos-

sessed such an institution before they came into direct contact as a nation with the Babylonians, or not. The Sabbath is very likely a common tradition of the two peoples. But it is almost a certainty that in its elaborations and development the Sabbath was greatly influenced by the Babylonians, both in the way of transmitting a positive element to the character of the day, and a negative influence by way of antagonism to its Babylonian form.

The scope of this thesis is to indicate, as far as it lies within the power of the writer, the origin and the early character of the Hebrew Sabbath, its connection with the Babylonian Day of Rest, and the characteristic differences between them. In as much as the existence of a Sabbath implies the institution of the week, which in turn rests upon the four phases of the moon, ^{though} a theory which, after all, ^{still} rests upon vague hypotheses, we shall treat the subject at hand, the origin of the Sabbath, in the order of its probable establishment: First, The Significance of

Moon-worship; Second, Origin of the Week; Third, Seventh Day/
Observance; Fourth, The Sabbath of the Babylonians; Fifth,
Hebrew Sabbath, with reference to its early biblical character
and later development in the Bible.

NOTES.

1. Abram. It is held by some scholars that Abram and the early patriarchs are merely mythical characters embodying the spirit of the Hebrew race. Such a theory, however, as suggested by Jastrow, in the introduction to his book on the Rel. Of Bab. and Ass., is not well founded.
2. Ur. "Alone among the great cities of Babylonia it stood on the western banks of the Euphrates in close contact with the nomad tribes of Semitic Arabia. More than any other of the Babylonian towns it was thus able to influence and be influenced by the Semites of the west; it was an outpost of Babylonian culture, and its position made it the center of trade.-----Highest among them(i.e. the ruins of the city) towers the mound which covers the remains of the great temple of the moon-god. For it was to Sin, the moon-god, that the city had been dedicated from time immemorial and in whose honor its temple had been built."

(Sayce: Early Hist. of Heb. p. ⁹4f.) Schrader in "Cuneiform Inscriptions", on Gen. 11²⁸, says of Ur: "𒌦𒊩𒌆", the name of the town from which Abram migrated. This is identical with the town Uru of the Cuneiform inscriptions, which in its remains is at present represented by the ruins of Mughair, (Mugheir) lying on the western or right bank of the Euphrates, a little south of 31° Lat. The identity of the ruined town with the locality mentioned in the inscriptions is proved by the records of ancient Babylonian kings found on the very spot.-----The place was certainly existing at the time when the New Babylonian empire fell.-----Uru was properly the seat of the worship of the moon-deity."

3. Harrân. Like Uru, Harrân was an important seat of worship to the moon-god Sin. (Schrader Cun. Inscript. p. 115) Schrader suggests on Gen. 27⁴³ that the abode of Laban in Harrân would indicate the prevalence of moon-worship. Laban might be taken as

the Semitic name of the moon, "white gleaming." of. 𐤅𐤁𐤍 Is. 24²³

30²⁶, Song of Songs 6¹⁰. Laban may have been the name of the
moon-god of Harran.

Moon-worship.

In primitive ages the phenomena of nature were clothed with an extraordinary significance. The earth and her vegetation, the sea with her ebb and flow, and the infinite hosts of ~~the~~ heaven were sights capable of arousing a sense of ^{the} mystery of the universe in the mind of a primeval observer. To him the world was filled with a myriad of spirits, of good and evil, that peopled the air, the earth and ^{the} sky. The changes of wind and weather, the grandeur of the starry night, and the magnificent sweep of the thunder and the lightning excited in the consciousness of our remote ancestors great awe and trepidation; they felt that their very ~~lives~~ was threatened when nature was in the least unpropitious. The slightest departure from the serenity and even tenor of ^{her} ~~their~~ course was sufficient to indicate that nature was inclined with disfavor towards the dwellers of earth.

Such an attitude toward the phenomena of nature, which were considered the spirits of good and evil, the forms of superior beings with complete sway over the doings of men, led to the conception of them as deities and tended to the institution of regular worship. We can readily understand how the planets might be held in high esteem since they were regarded as human beings of an extraordinary power. Men made no sharp distinction between gods and men. Primitive races imagined that the heavenly bodies reflected in a larger scale the actions and conditions of human affairs. (Hermann Cohen: *Der Sab. in seiner Cultur-gesch. Bedeutung.*)

Among the phenomena of nature the moon seems to have exerted most influence upon the peoples of antiquity. This is in part due to the changes which it periodically undergoes and may have therefore attracted the notice of man much more readily than an orb whose size and appearance are constant. The

moon, of all the phenomena of nature, because it was ^{thought to be} most serviceable to man, was a matter of the greatest attention. In the ages when the peoples of the earth were nomadic, their dwellings being one year on this plain and after a twelve-month on the next, traveling was done mainly at night, since the extreme heat of the sun in the East was well nigh unendurable. The shepherd must have welcomed with the greatest delight and eagerness the return of the moon, for it meant to them a release from darkness. As their cares were naturally increased when the moon was not shining, there must have existed for the shepherds the greatest distinction between a moonlit and a moonless night. (Proctor: The Great Pyramid. p. 210f.) Therefore it was but natural that the moon should be regarded with a peculiar importance and venerated as a propitious deity. The light of the moon became then a sign of the favor of the god and its withdrawal a mark of divine displeasure. Every phase of the moon,

whose appearance was constantly observed and noted, "symbolized a critical period in the affairs of mankind. Would the new phase bring good or ill fortune?" At the periods coincident with the changes of the moon special care was necessary in order to win the ^{good-will} ~~favor~~ of the moon-deity and every precaution was emphasized in order not to offend him. Even in our own day great importance is attached by the farmer to the appearance of the moon as determining the changes of weather which exerts a great influence on the condition of his crops. How likely then that the early races, who attached even religious fervor and devotion to the moon, should have been moved to consider it as one of the most powerful influences on human conduct! (Jastrow: Orig. Char. Hebrew Sab. p. 327) The moon's influence on vegetation is well known. The veneration paid to it in ages past may have been prompted by this supreme fact.

From earliest times the moon was known as the time-measurer.

The lunar changes, being very striking and obvious, were made the basis for time reckoning. The most primitive mode of counting to which the Bible bears ample testimony was by moons. A very curious parallel to this method is quoted by Lubbock (in his Early Hist. of Mankind p. 70) concerning the Crees. "They had names for the moons that make up the year, called whirlwind moons, moons when the fowls go South, moons when the leaves fall off the trees, etc. When a hunter left a record of his chase he pictured ^{it} on a piece of birch bark for the information of others who might pass that way. He drew a picture which showed the name of the month and beside it a drawing of the shape of the moon at the time so accurately that an Indian could tell from twelve to twenty-four hours the moon and the day of the month when the record was set up."

The month among all early peoples, as far as can be investigated, was measured by the first appearance of one moon till

the following new moon. Since the night was of so much importance to early shepherds, and the moon was characteristic of the night, the smaller divisions of time into days was marked by the rise of the moon in the evening until the appearance of the moon the following evening. "As the moon is chiefly visible by night, so it is by nights rather than by days that a moon is computed. In other words time is measured by moons and nights. (Ellis: Origin of Weeks and Sab. p. 329)

It is natural then to find among primitive races the most respectful homage paid to the moon. Owing to its importance the new moon was greeted with pious zeal and reverence. The religion of Mesopotamia was permeated to the greatest degree by astral conceptions. Babylonia and Assyria bent their knee to the Queen of the Night and the other hosts of heaven. Ur and Harran, as was pointed out, were important centers of the worship of the moon god.

As the moon was far more significant to the wandering tribes ^{than} than to a settled community, it has been found that the worship of the moon prevailed generally among nomadic tribes, and their settlement in agricultural pursuits was generally coincident with diminished reverence paid to the moon. Nevertheless the moon as a deity was included in the cults of most nations even after their nomadic life had given place to a settled government and a developed civilization.

OBSERVANCES OF NEW-MOON.

The occurrence of the new moon in the oldest systems of religion was the signal for rest and worship. As the natives were afraid of angering the moon-god primitive worshippers held reverence of the moon one of the chief duties of worship. The Bible records many tendencies on the part of Israel even in later times toward the worship of the hosts of heaven, among which the moon is mentioned. (Cf. Deut. ⁴₉, 17³, etc.) The fre-

quent association of new-moon and Sabbath in the Bible suggests
that there was a very close connection between the two. But as
it will be attempted later to show the real bearing of new-moon
on the Sabbath, it is sufficient to indicate here that at in
earliest times, Israel observed as a sacred season the appearance
of the new moon. The antiquity of the worship of the moon is
hinted at in Judges 9²(חַדְשֵׁי יָרֵחַ) where "an an-
cient name for it, which is no longer found in Biblical Hebrew,
even furnished the root of the general word for a festive oc-
casion, which is used for the vintage feast."(Wellhausen: Pro.p.13)

The observance of the new moon is an indication of "another sphere of alien worship" among the Hebrews. It was a contribution of Babylonian influence to Israel. (Budde:Relig.of Israel to the Exile p.66) Many references to the worship of the moon are found in the Bible. The homage paid to the moon is undoubtedly much older than the institution of the Sabbath itself. The

oldest books of the Bible make reference to the Moon Festival while they maintain a strange silence as to the observance of a weekly day of rest. It is not to be inferred, however, that this silence justifies such a conclusion that there existed no weekly day of rest. The lack of references to the Sabbath in these oldest books of the Bible (Joshua, Judges and Samuel) may be due to the general acceptance of the institution of the Sabbath and there ^{was} ~~being~~ no occasion to mention it. Even this view is unsatisfactory, for it is hardly likely that an institution like the Sabbath, which must have been observed with great ceremony and practice, could have been ignored so completely by the earliest Biblical writers. There must have arisen from time to time in the life of the people many opportunities when some reference to the observance of the Sabbath would have been inevitable; in battles that lasted a considerable space of time, in priestly duties, in extended ceremonies, etc.

It seems then that the absence of any Sabbath regulations in earliest times, though not a proof, is, ~~is, nevertheless,~~ nevertheless, an indication that the Sabbath was not observed in Israel.

The observance of the moon, however, is frequently referred to in the earliest records of Israel and also in the later accounts of its history in substantiation of its earliest practices, as we see, for example, in I Sam. 20^{5, 6, 18, 24, 26, 27}, II Kings 21^{3, 5}, though in general terms, II K. 23⁵; Job 31^{26, 27}; Ezra 3⁵, all of which bear testimony to the antiquity of the worship of the moon. Further reference, though of an indirect nature, to moon-worship in Israel is found in Deut. 4¹⁹, 17³, Jer. 7¹⁸, 8², 44^{17-19, 25}, in which passages mention is made of Israel's custom of worshipping the queen of heaven. (אֱלֹהֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם)

Its observance was characterized by feasting and ceremonial cleanness, as shown in I Sam. 20^{5ff}. New moon was greeted by blasts of trumpets, as shown in Num. 10¹⁰, Ps. 81⁴. There were

special offerings instituted for the new moon, as shown in Num. 28¹¹⁻¹⁴ and Ezek. 46¹⁶. "New-moon Festival" evidently astronomical. Israelites were not able to stamp it with theocratic character as they did other festivals borrowed from nature." (Repenbring: Theol. of O.T. p. 48f.)

On the new moon the people assembled at sanctuaries (cf. Is. 1^{13f.}, 66²³, Ezek. 46^{1, 3}) to hear the word of God interpreted by the priests and to make their offerings unto the Lord. II. Kings 4²³ indirectly points out a prevailing custom of consulting the prophet on the new moon day. The discourses of the prophets ~~on these days~~ were frequently inspired and delivered on these days. (cf. Ezek 26¹, 29¹, 31¹, 32¹, Haggai 1¹, etc.)

The time of new moon was the signal for special ceremonies in the life of the people, as ^{is} shown in Ex. 40², 40¹⁷, Num. 1¹⁸, 28⁹, Deut. 1³.

That the offering on New Moon was greater than on the Sab-

bath is shown in Ezek. 46⁴⁻⁶.

The first day of the New Moon was held sacred because it was the custom of the priests at that time to assemble the people together to announce the days to be held in reverence during the coming month. (Ellis Orig. of Weeks and Sab. Pop. Sc. Mo. p. 336) It was undoubtedly a day of rest, as is indicated by Amos 8⁵. In Ezek. 46¹ we learn that the gate of the Temple was to be closed during the six days of the week, the working days, but opened on the Sabbath and New Moons. The frequent associations of Sabbath with New Moon in the Bible would indicate the close connection ~~between~~ between the two. It is a general hypothesis among scholars that the worship of the moon was gradually merged into the observance of the seventh day by reference to the four phases of the moon every seven days. The important passages in the Bible connecting New Moons with Sabbaths are as follows: II. K. 4²³, I. Chron. 23³¹, II. Chron. 2³, 8¹³, 31³, Neh. 10³⁴

Is. 1¹³, Eccl. 1²³, Ezek. 45¹⁷, Hos. 2¹³, Amos 8⁵.

Nature worship is the oldest form of reverence paid by man to superior forces. The attitude of the mind towards the incomprehensible phenomena of nature was that of fear and awe. Not ~~understanding~~ having investigated sufficiently the works of nature to understand that they are not antagonistic to man nor detrimental to his happiness and welfare, his awe and fear led most readily to worship. Now this worship would be most prominent when the objects of awe would be most apt to attract the attention of the worshipper. Hence it happens that the new moon, whose return to the sky brings back light to the earth, is heralded with extraordinary ceremony. When in latter times the observance of the Sabbath was adopted in Israel it was most natural to give it sanction by connecting it with the worship of the moon, to which it to a great degree corresponded. This is true of all new institutions which are engrafted on older

ones, provided the new be not dissimilar in spirit to the old. And it frequently happens that the old lingers on with the new, giving it much of its symbolism and character. Now the weekly Sabbath was such an institution. It is evident that it did not exist in primitive Israel, for it seems to have become ^{an institution} ~~prominent~~ in Israel only after their contact with Babylonian civilization, which contact reached a climax during the so-called Babylonian captivity. The connection, then, between Sabbath and New Moon would lead us to the inference that the ^{nee} ~~observation~~ of Sabbath was really engrafted on the worship of the moon as found among all primitive peoples and especially developed among the Babylonians and Canaanites with whom Israel came into contact in earliest times.

DIVISION OF TIME INTO WEEKS.

It is a well established fact that all divisions of time are regulated by the movements of the heavenly bodies. Even in the most primitive times there must have been felt a necessity for subdividing the larger period of the month which covered the time between one new moon and the next. For purposes of hire it is very likely that a small division of time was needed. Although very little is known of the manner and time of ⁿegaging the services of the laborer in early history, yet it is probable that there existed some division of time by which the service required for a limited amount of work was computed. The most obvious periods for such divisions would be the new moon and the full moon. These divisions appear to be the oldest. There is no obvious line of demarcation between the four quarters of the moon as to attach any particular importance to them. There is recognized some difference in the size of the

moon every seven days, counting from its rise, but the clearest indications of change most likely to call ^{special} attention to themselves are the new and full moons. Such periods, or those corresponding nearly to them, prevail today in Japan and in the & Burman Empire. (Bittinger: Septenary Time, Bib.Sac.

April 1889) The new μ and full moons, besides, were very early regarded as days when it was proper for a man to rest from his labor, not because it was a duty he owed his physical being, but because he might thereby refrain from angering the moon-god. The thought might here be suggested that there is a very close connection, though unconscious on man's part, between his philosophy and his physical needs. Primitive man felt the need of rest in addition to that ~~that~~ gained during the night. (note a) But knowing perhaps, very little about the performance of his duty from the standpoint of philosophy, he could not justify his needed rest except by reference to the deity which pre-

sided over the natural phenomena. This fact also may account for the divisions of the month into four periodic rest days corresponding to the four phases of the moon.

These two main divisions of the lunar month, by which herdsmen and laborers were engaged, (Proctor: The Great Pyramid, p. 222f.) would readily be subdivided into shorter periods of seven days each (note a¹), marked by the quarters of the moon.

Though this subdivision of the lunar month into seven-day periods is approximately correct, yet it presents obvious difficulties, since the average lunar month contains twenty nine and one half days. Hence there would be one and one half days in excess of the number needed to make up four weeks of seven days each. If any conformity ~~was~~ to be maintained between the beginning of the month and the beginning of the week the ⁿlength of the weeks would have to be varied ~~so~~ that three out of every eight ^{would} have to contain eight days. "It seems probable

however, that the conformity of the week and month was brought about in another way. With their imperfect knowledge of astrology it would be impossible for these early people to know beforehand on which of two days the new moon would be first observed. So the festival of the new moon would be extended over two days. (cf. I.Sam. 20²⁷) If this was the case there would be but one week of eight days in two months." (Nichols: Origin of the Heb. Sab.)

Some scholars find objection to the institution of the week by reference to the four phases of the moon, approximately every seven days, on the ground that the divisions are not distinct and exact enough. But it must be remembered that these divisions of lunar months into weeks of seven days were approximate enough for primitive minds. It is true that no absolute proofs can be found for basing the institutions of the week on the phases of the moon, but so far nothing has been

found that can so reasonably and completely answer the difficulty. A casual observation of the moon will reveal four changes in the course of a month. It will be found that the quarter divisions of the month almost exactly correspond to the twenty-nine and one half days in it. The first quarter will be noticed on the eighth day, seven days after the appearance of the moon. Seven days added to this will bring the full moon, or ~~it may delay to~~ the fifteenth day of the month. A week hence, on the twenty-second, the third quarter will appear. And then the fourth quarter will wane by the twenty-ninth of the month. These divisions seem to be sufficiently accurate to have satisfied our remote ancestors. Such divisions, however, it must be observed, depend primarily upon the changes of the moon. The week, independent of the moon is not, as yet, evolved. In this fact is found the supreme difference between the Sabbath as observed by the Babylonians, from whom the Hebrews probably

borrowed the idea of a weekly day of rest, and that of the ~~Hebrews~~ Hebrews. With the former the sabbath was based on the phases of the moon, ~~with~~ ^{like} the latter the Sabbath occurred every seventh day regardless of the moon.

The origin of the week has been referred by some thinkers to the sanctity attached to the number seven. But this can not be the reason for the institution of the week. It is impossible that any significance should be ~~g~~ given to the abstract number independent of its associations. It is true that in the Bible the number seven possesses great importance. The length of ~~feasts~~ and the time intervening between certain festivals are measured by seven. "The date of every Mosaic festival without distinction, no matter what its special object may have been, gave evidence of being connected in some way or other with the number seven, or conversely, each section of time known to the Israelites that stood seventh in the series to which it belonged became

eo ipso a festival season." (Keil :Manual of Bib. Archaeology p.537f.)

The significance of the seven-day week ~~d~~ has been attributed to the number of the planets known in antiquity, namely, Sun, Moon, Mars, ~~W~~ Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, (Budde: Relig. of Inrael to the Exile p. 66) Such however, can not be an explanation of the week since it must have existed before its days received names from the planets. Since the days of the week were named after the seven principal planets (note b) some men have thought that the week itself grew from this fact. But such a conclusion is highly improbable. Saturn, which was the planet most important among the Semitic races, is the planet which gives its name to Saturday. The mere fact, however, of calling a day after a planet would seem to indicate that the week had already been in existence; ~~but that~~ ^{the day} it perhaps received ^a ~~its~~ consecration in this way. (Hermann Cohn: Der Sab. in

seiner Culturgesch. Bedeutung) Delitzsch asserts that "The day Sabbath first gave its name to the planet, and the name of the planet was then subsequently transferred to the day. The custom of naming the seven days of the week ~~after~~ the seven planets is an ancient Babylonian one. "(New Com. to Gen. trans. by Sophia Taylor)

In earliest times, as the Bible attests, the seven days of the weeks and ~~the days of the month~~ were designated by numerals (note c) and not by names, showing that their special names, as is easy to understand, are not as old as the weeks which are implied in this sevenfold designation. It is most unsatisfactory to hold that every seventh day was dedicated to rest because seven was a sacred number. Such an explanation fails to account for the special significance attached to seven in preference to such numbers as five, ten, twelve, forty, seventy, which are also sacred numbers. The sanctity manifestly

centered in seven is no doubt due to the fact that the seventh day became sufficiently important to predominate. (note d)

There has always been attached to numbers a certain mystery.

"The use of the number seven reminds us that certain numbers ~~were~~ were accounted sacred by ancient nations, and that the old mystery about them still survives in foolish and unnecessary fears, and in proverbs, as to the luck or ill luck that attends them." (E. Clodd: The Childhood of Religions p. 20f.)

No number, however, can possibly be considered of sacred import abstractly. It must be connected with something sacred which may lend to the number its importance. (Floody: Sc. Basis of Sab. and Sunday.) Many illustrations might be given to show the special sacredness of seven among many ancient peoples, and especially among the Babylonians.

The evolution of the week is probably based on the necessity and convenience of the subdivision of the month. As was

indicated, the lunar month was the oldest division of time suggested by the periodic appearance of the moon. A natural subdivision, determined by the full moon, was soon adopted. The full moon was sufficiently well ~~h~~ defined and distinct enough to cause the division of the month into two halves. The next order of division would be a separation ~~h/et/w/ee/~~ of the time between the new moon and the full moon into two parts. This latter division, to be sure, is only approximately correct, yet to the observer there was an appreciable difference discernible at the turn of the moon from the half to half-moon-~~in~~ increasing and then again from half to half-moon-decreasing, to consider them as constant variations. Thus, these phases of the moon became the measures of time. such measurements were comparatively roughly made. Early herdsmen and shepherds were not qualified to define accurately the movements of division, nor was it necessary for them to be so precise. It was quite

satisfactory for the shepherds, who were the earliest astronomers of the human race, (Proctor: Origin of the Week p. 211) to perceive that the lunar month was naturally divisible into four parts. "They would fall into the habit of dividing the month into quarters in this rough way long before they began to look for some connection between the length of the month and the day, precisely as men, (later, no doubt), divided the year roughly into four seasons, and the seasons into months long before they had formed precise notions as to the number of months in years and seasons." (ibid p. 215f.)

Though there may be many controversies as to the origin of the week there can be none as to the great antiquity of such a division of time and as to the almost universal prevalence of the septenary period among the peoples of primitive ages. Not knowing exactly how the week was instituted nor when it was adopted, we can do no more than indicate its sphere of influence.

"From the Nile to the Ganges the use of a weekly time was prevalent." It is ~~it~~ possible that some of the races borrowed from one another their method of measuring ~~their~~ time, but the extent of its adoption would seem to indicate that it is a natural period independently adopted by the different peoples. "A seven day period was a measure of time among the Semites in remote ages. Not that there is absolute proof of a week, in our sense of the term, universally observed, even sharply defined, one following another in a series of uninterrupted succession throughout the year, a little era by which all people reckoned, but only that a period of seven days was a division of time had been thrust on man's notice and had found employment in daily life." (Davis: Gen^{al} Sem. Tradition p. 31) Schrader (Studien u. Kritiken p. 348) asserts that the Canaanites took ~~with~~ with them the seven-day period when they emigrated from Babylonia. On the fifth tablet of the Assyrian account of cre-

ation, we find unmistakable evidence of the existence of the week among these peoples. Lines 13-17 read as follows: "He appointed him to establish the night until the coming forth of the day, (saying) "Each month without fail by thy ~~day~~ disk keep they watch,

At the beginning of the month at the rising of the night (twilight), Horus shine forth to announce the night.

On the seventh day to a disk it fills up." (Boscawen: The Bible and the Monuments pp. 49) "According to the Babylonian story of the flood, the storm raged six days and six nights and ceased on the seventh day, making a week in all; and the ark stranded on the mountain an equal period before man ventured forth to disembark. Gudea, who was a prince of Lagash long before the days of Moses, celebrated a festival of seven days' duration on the completion of a temple. In the tale of Adapa, son of Ea,

there is
 (a legend that antedates the 15th century B.C., ^{in which (legend)} the south wind

is said to have ceased to blow for seven days. These passages show that the seven-day period was a recognized standard." (Davis: Gen. and Sem. Tra. p.31)

As for the week in the Bible, we find that there is mention made also in this of the existence of such a division of time. And in some passages, though it is not clearly stated, its existence is implied. The story of the creation in six days followed by a day of rest on the seventh manifestly takes for granted the existence of the week as the standard measure of time. It is curious that some men have actually taken this account of creation as the basis for the ~~creation~~ establishment of the week as the standard of time measurement. But such a conception is clearly unfounded. It is evident that the writer of the first chapter of Genesis was accomodating his views of the creation of the world to the old institution of the week. He undertook, no doubt, to find some justification for

the Sabbath Day which had become very prominent during the Babylonian captivity, the probable date of the narrative in question. In the account of the flood there are allusions to the existence of the week in such passages as Gen. 7⁴, 10. Noah takes cognizance of the week in ~~by~~ the periods of his sending forth of the doves to discover whether or not the dry land had as yet appeared. (Gen. 8^{10, 12}) In the ordinance to circumcise the male child on the eighth day of his life ^{the verse} (Gen. 17¹²) ~~there seems to~~ ~~be~~ though not very definitely, ~~to~~ point~~ing~~ to a recognition of the period of a week. A week after the birth would make the eighth day. Gen. 21⁴ indicates Abraham's ^{performance} of the injunction a week after the birth of Isaac. Gen. 29^{14, 27, 28}, narrating Jacob's service for Rachel seems to imply the week existing as a standard of time. Lev. 23^{15, 16} is more explicit as to the institution of the week when it enjoins the counting of seven complete weeks (שבעה שבועות) from the Pesach Feast to the Feast of

Shevuoth. In Judges 14^{12,17} in the reference to Samson's wedding feast, the week is taken as the unit of time-measurement

Among the Greeks the month was divided into periods of ten days. This division was prevalent in Egypt. Ewald thinks that Gen. 24⁵⁵, Ex. 12³, Lev. 23²⁷, are indications of a similar division prevalent among the Jews in early times. (Antiq.p.99)

The references, however, are too vague and indefinite, and of too general a nature to justify such a conclusion. The Javanese had six weeks of five days each in each month. The Congoese had seven weeks of four days each. The Yorubas had five weeks of five days each and one week of four and one half days in each month. These illustrations of time measurement of more modern peoples, though no argument, might indicate the prevalence of other divisions of time among primitive peoples from whom the races mentioned might have borrowed them. The week is significant in the present connection because of its manifest bearing

on the institution of the Sabbath Day. The existence of the week is clearly presupposed in the institution of the Sabbath.

NOTES

a. "Inquiries instituted by a commission of the British Parliament in 1832, the testimony of 641 medical men of London in a petition to Parliament in 1853, and of a large number of medical societies, physicians, physiologists, political economists and the managers of industrial establishments, go to prove that in the case of men engaged in ordinary bodily or mental labor the rest of the night does not fully restore the waste of energies during the day, and that to maintain a condition of vigor a supplementary rest of about one day in seven is needed." (Universal Encyc.)

note a¹. The week is designated in the Bible by שָׁבַע (Gen. 29²⁷)

and by שִׁבְעָה (Lev. 23¹⁵)

b. There is frequent allusion to the worship of heavenly bodies in ancient Israel. And it seems that the planets were held in

the highest esteem by them at various times. Gen. 15⁵, 22⁷, 26⁴, Ex. 32¹³, Deut. 1¹⁰, 4¹⁹, 27³, II.K. 21³, 23^{5,12}, Jer. 7¹⁸, 8², 44¹⁷, Zeph. 1⁵, are some of the references. Hamburger in

his Real-Encyc. (art. ^{sterne} Mond) traces clear references to some of

the planets: Venus under the name of שֶׁשֶׁיָּרֵךְ (Is. 14¹²)

Morning Star under name of כֶּכֶלֶךְ (Is. 14¹²), Saturn under name

of יָדִי (Amos 5²⁶), Jupiter under name of יָדִי (Is. 65¹¹),

Mars under name of שֶׁשֶׁיָּרֵךְ (II.K. 17³⁰), Merkur under name of

יָדִי (Is. 46¹).

c. From an interesting tablet compiled by W.M. Jones in "The

Sabbath in the Language of Nations" (quoted by Sayce in his

Hibbert Lectures 1887p. 76) we see ^{that} the custom of designating the

days of the week ^{by} _^ordinals was widely prevalent. Among all these

peoples the seventh day was designated by some form of the word

Sabbath: ARABIC, the one/the two/ the three/the four/ the

fifth/ the assembly day/;

AMHARIC, one/second/third/fourth/fifth/eve of the Sabbath/;

Persian, one ~~to~~ the Sab./two ~~to~~ the Sab./three ~~to~~ the Sab./
four ~~to~~ the Sab./five to the Sab./religious day/;

TURKISH, market day/morrow after market day/third day/four to
Sabbath/five to Sab./Assembly day/;

MALAY, day one/day second/day third/day fourth/day fifth/assem-
bly day/;

ASSYRIAN. first /second/third/fourth/fifth/sixth/.

d. The seventh day was the Sabbath. The seventh month was the
Month consecrated to Sabbatic rest. The seventh year was con-
secrated ^{by} suspension of agricultural labor. The ~~7th~~⁴ year was
a year of jubilee which brought freedom to all bondmen. The
number of yearly festivals amount to seven. Festivities in
case of two of these, Passover and Feast of Booths, last seven
days each. Seven days ^{in the year} in all feasts were to be celebrated by
rest from labor and a special assembly for religious purposes.
(Keil: Bib. Arch. p. 470)

THE SEVENTH DAY OBSERVANCE.

The observance of the seventh day as a religious festival could not have arisen simultaneously with the adoption of the week. According to some authorities observances of the phases of the moon preceded the origin of septenary time, while others hold that the seventh day of the week gradually became sanctified through the aged custom of resting from labor on an average of once every seven days. After the week had been established this rest day, which was soon felt to be a necessity for the slave classes, became quite universal and was then made sacred through custom. The order of the evolution of the seventh day observance, as intimated above, in keeping with the probable order of the developement of the human faculties in the change from the purely emotional attitude toward the phenomena of nature to the sanctification of human institutions as representations of the former, is from the nature-festival

to the sanctification of a human institution, founded on necessity but believed to ~~be~~ have divine sanctification.

The adoption of a seventh-day as a religious festival probably never took place during the wanderings of the primitive peoples. Their duties, such as caring ~~y~~ for the cattle, protecting the weaker ones of their community, guarding the baggage, arranging for the journey, etc., were as indispensable one day as another. This statement implies that a cessation from such ~~days~~^{duties} would be regarded as the best way of pleasing the deity, the central fact in worship of any kind. It may be objected to on the ground that even the nomadic tribes had a form of observing the seventh day, the idea and method of whose observance have long since been forgotten. It is not likely, however, that such could have been the case, since worship of any kind and at any time implies a sacrifice of some kind on the part of the devotee. The sacrifice may be varied,

but its nature seems to be determined by a surrender to the higher power of that which contributes most to the maintenance of the worshipper. Now the existence of a Sabbath, implying the recognition of a superior being, would seem to be an indication of the willingness of the individual to cease from his usual occupations, no matter what might have been assigned as the reason therefor, such as fear of a deity, dread of ill-luck, etc.,. The very nature of a Sabbath as a day dedicated to the deity would lead us to such a conclusion. It would follow then that, although the nomadic races worshipped the phases of the moon, they did not know of a Sabbath day, since their duties were of such a nature as to make any interruption of the performance of them exceedingly dangerous to their existence. This ~~fact~~ is further borne out by the fact that the Sabbath day observance is first discernible among agricultural peoples, when their homes became established and their govern-

ment founded. The worship of the four phases of the moon by the wandering tribes was gradually merged in the observance of periods approximately every seventh~~days~~ day, coincident with the lunar changes, by settled communities.

Their work was so arduous that it was found necessary to abstain from labor at least one day in seven, and since the weekly seventh day was invested with religious significance, sanctioned by time and still sacred, it seems most natural that the old moon-observance, while not entirely relegating to the past its importance and sanctity, surrenders to the new institution of the Sabbath.

When this change happened, a change which is, however, beyond the test of demonstration, it is impossible to indicate. It is beyond our power to do more than to suggest the main ideas in early Sabbath observance and to cite some of the ancient peoples among whom it flourished. In as much as there appears

to have existed a close connection between the Babylonian and the Hebrew Sabbath, we will treat in subsequent chapters more particularly of the observances of those two peoples.

It is possible that many of the peoples observing the Sabbath may have borrowed it from one another until it spread throughout the civilized world, though not always in the same form; for it is known, for instance, that Egypt observed a tenth-day Sabbath, as the ten-day week prevailed there. A quotation on a hieratic papyrus would seem to indicate, however, that also in Egypt in early times the seventh day had been held sacred. The papyrus belongs to the 14th century B.C. to the 19th dynasty. The quotation reads as follows:

" 'O Ra adored in Aptu

High crowned in the House of the Obelisk (Heliopolis)

King (Ani) Lord of the New Moon Festival

To whom the sixth and seventh days are sacred.' " (Records

of the Past. Vol. 3711. p. 132 old series. quoted by Floody p. 8)

The observance of the Sabbath, however, may have been reached by the various races of antiquity independently of each other. When once instituted by the various nations there must have been exerted reciprocal influences upon the manner of observance and the ideas that prompted its institution. All the peoples with whom the Jews came into contact observed a Sabbath Day. (Floody)

The earliest records we have of Sabbath observance points to Accadia. (note a) It was an Accadian institution intimately connected with the worship of the seven planets. The astronomical tablets show that the Sabbath under the form of [✓]Sabbath was known to the Assyrians. "The Accadian word by which the idea of Sabbath is denoted, literally meaning a day upon which work is unlawful, is interpreted in the bilingual tablets as signifying 'a day of peace' or 'completion of labors.'" (Smith

Chaldean Account of Gen. p. 89) Among the Canaanites a Sabbath also prevailed, though the nature of the observance is unknown. And the Phoenicians also sanctified a seventh day.

"In the Book of ~~D~~agrams in the age of Fuhhe, who commenced to reign about 2857 B.C., the expression 'seven days complete a circle' is found. From the contents of this book we learn that the Seventh Day was a lucky day for the meeting of friends, 'when benefits were to be obtained in all directions.' The king ordered on that day that 'the gates of the great road should be shut and traders not permitted to pass, nor princes go to examine the states.'" (Floody quotes this in Scien. Basis of Sab. and Sun. from the Cath. Presbyterian Vol. V p. 200)

Long before the age of Abraham the Sabaeans observed the seventh lunar day with special ceremonies. The magi, or wise men, called Sabae, would assemble on the new moon, the full moon and the intervening middle days for consultation in all affairs of

state and religion. These days were called 'Sabae days' and came to be held as festivals. (Floody: Scien. Basis of Sab. and Sun.) The Phoenicians observed the Sabbath which coincided with the phases of the moon. The Canaanites held sacred the seventh day in honor of their god Saturn. "In the ancient Hawaiian calendar the seventh, fourteenth, twentieth and twenty-eighth days of the month were taboo days, that is, days upon which it was unlawful to work." (Prof. Toy: Hist. of Hawaiian People p. 50 quoted by Floody.)

"In the Imperial Chinese Almanac, published by the Emperor, the heavens were divided into twenty-eight constellations, or houses of the moon, as they were called, and these were subdivided into four groups containing seven in each. The center one was marked with a peculiar character meaning 'closed' and has been from time immemorial. The days occupying the center of each group were called Hen^u, Maon^u, Sing, Fang, and were marked

as days of rest. These days occurred every seventh lunar day.

(Floody: So. Bas. Sat. and Sun. p. 9)

The Sabbath was known to the Persians and Arabs. But it is more than probable that these peoples borrowed it from their neighbors. It has been quite conclusively established as far as the Arabs are concerned that they got it from the Jews.

The Greeks sanctified the seventh month and the seventh day of the month as the birth of Apollo. They observed also the first, seventh and fourteenth days of the month as holy days.

Homer speaks of the seventh day as the coming of the sacred day.
(Od. XII 129. 399. XIV 252. XV 477. Il. IX 122. *f. Loty, De Historia*
Sabbath p. 14.)

It appears that the Romans in the fifth century before the Christian era held the seventh day, corresponding to the lunar changes, as sacred, though in later times their week consisted of eight days. In 452 B.C. the civil month was instituted. Before this the lunar month prevailed in Rome. (Floody: So. Basis

f. 97 of sab. and Sun. p. 32)

Peet, in his history of America, page 242, infers that the Mound Builders also had a Sabbath because of the position of the offerings ^{the} ~~and~~ ^{arranged} altar, in the shape of the phases of the moon, indicating their observance of its phases. (Quoted from Floody, page 195)

Although we know that most of the ancient peoples observed a seventh day festival, it is impossible to tell in what way they celebrated it. The records of the past throw very little light on any civilization beside that of Babylonia, and we must be content with the barest of references and allusions to much that is important in the history and religion of many peoples of antiquity. Perhaps in time there will be unearthed inscriptions which will afford us a glimpse into the culture of all the races of the past and ~~which~~ ^{thus} will enable the modern world to follow the ancients in all their practices and observances.

The element ~~common~~ ⁱⁿ the observances of a Sabbath among all peoples of antiquity is that of rest. It has been thought by many that ^{it} is this common element of rest that has given the Sabbath its name. Most etymologists derive the name for Sabbath from a word-root meaning rest. Almost absolute silence prevails as to the idea of this rest and as to ~~the~~ punishment for a violation of the injunction to cease from labor. Ellis thinks that the refraining from work on a day dedicated to a god is a sign of respect to the deity. As soon as such a view becomes prevalent, to work on a holy day would show lack of regard for the deity. Now as gods are very sensitive to slights of this nature, they avenge themselves by punishing the offender and also his followers, because ^{the latter} ~~they~~ have not vindicated the honor of the gods by punishing the culprit. "Then since to work on the holy day is likely to call down punishment on the individual or on the community, the axiom that it is

unlucky to work on that day becomes accepted and people will not labor or transact business or journey on it." (Ellis: Origin of Weeks and Sab., in Pop. Sc. MO. Vol. 46 p. 338)

The conclusion here reached, that the unpropitious aspect of the Sabbath day was derived from the certainty of the ~~day's~~ displeasure of the gods towards any individual who would desecrate its sanctity by work of any kind, seems to lack satisfactory explanation. Though the ~~result~~ be the same, it is not likely that a primitive mind would seek so much to please the deity by cessation from labor, as to protect himself through rest. It seems to us that ancient peoples rarely rose to the conception of reverence from so positive a standpoint as implied in the above explanation of the element of ill-luck attending a worker on the Sabbath. They could not grasp the idea of a deity whose holiness per se entitled him to the worship and the love of men, although by his favor and blessing the

world was sustained. Nor could they understand the meaning of sanctity independent of his attitude toward the world which entitled him to the homage of mortals. The primitive mind could not look beyond the narrow confines of self; he was self-centered, and the universe was centered in him. It required many centuries to evolve a higher conception than this

The great thoughts of Israel's seers and sages are the first indications, to any important degree, of an advance in the development of universal ideas. Their thoughts are the first evidences of the generalization of individual experiences. Now the primitive conception of the deity was determined by the feeling of direct relationship and association between the worshipper and the object of his devotion. The deity was venerated not because he was holy per se - although such a conception was a consequent postulate, but because the individual felt that the deity could materially benefit him. The deity was

feared and dreaded because it was felt that it lay in his power to curse and destroy. When once, then, Sabbath observance would be characterized by cessation of work, men would rest, it seems not because they might thereby honor the deity, but primarily because the deity might not prosper work performed on that day. Such a view follows naturally from the early conceptions of the complete connection between deity and human achievement. As was hinted, the result is the same, whether the rest on the Sabbath day be prompted by a desire to please the deity or to protect the individual himself: yet it seems proper to draw the distinction.

NOTES.

a. "An examination of the Ellul Calendar shows that the word for unlawful day, dies nefastus, is Accadian. The occurrence of this and many other expressions and technical phrases shows that the calendar was of Accadian origin. Nichols assigns as the date of this calendar the Seventeenth Century B.C. Prof. Hilprecht of the U. of Pa. has said that the written records of Babylonia go back as far as 8000 B.C. (Biblia IX p.227)

THE BABYLONIAN SABBATH.

The famous calendar of the intercalary month of Ellul, containing complete regulations for the religious ceremonies of every day of the month indicates the antiquity of the Babylonian observance of the Sabbath. The prescriptions for the observance of the various days of the month are clear and concise. The ceremonies and observances for each day of the month are given in detail. The distinctive feature of the hemerology lies in the fact that it contains specific reference to a Sabbath Day. The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, 28th days of the month are designated as Sabbaths or as *ûm nûh libbi*, (Day of rest for the heart.) The days so designated are characterized ~~as~~ by unique regulations, mainly prohibitory. The nature of the various ceremonies enjoined leads us naturally to infer that there was a very close connection between the Hebrew observance of the Sabbath Day and that of the Babylonians. There is missing,

however, any definite evidence of such a connection. But the great influence which Babylonian civilization always exerted over the Hebrews, both politically and religiously, and the striking similarity in the observance of the Sabbath Day, ~~of~~ ~~the~~ prompt the conclusion that the Hebrew Sabbath was largely based upon the Rest Day of their Babylonian kinsfolk. To be sure, the distinctive elements which the Hebrews contributed to the Sabbath Day and the later developement of it among them so changed the idea and observance of the Sabbath as to make it appear almost an entirely different institution. But ~~the~~ ~~these~~ ~~elements~~ ~~were~~ ~~added~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~day~~ ~~in~~ ~~accordance~~ ~~with~~ the developement and philosophy of the Hebrews. Nevertheless the observance of the Sabbath Day among the Jews was not so complete a departure from the Sabbath Day of the Babylonians as to hide its connection therewith and to deny the influence of the land of the Euphrates.

The Sabbath among the Babylonians was dedicated to the moon²god. The following quotation from the Assyrian Records (Records of the Past Vol. IX p.118) shows its connection with the phases of the moon. "The moon he appointed to rule the night^t and to wander through the night until the dawn of day.

Every month without fail he made holy assembly days.

In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens.

On the seventh day he appointed a holy day and to cease from all business he commanded." (Floody: Scien. Basis of Sabbath and Sun.) *See also below.*

The hemerology above referred to contains the following specific regulations for the Sabbath Days: "The Seventh Day is a fast day, (dedicated) to Merodach and Zarpanit. A lucky day. A day of rest(Sabbath). The shepherd of mighty nations must not eat flesh cooked at the fire (or) in the smoke. His

On the first Cuneiform Tablet as translated by Talbot occur the words: "On the Seventh Day he appointed a holy day, And to cease from all business he commanded."

clothes he must not change. White garments he must not put on. He must not offer sacrifice. The king must not drive a chariot. He must not issue royal decrees. In a secret place the augur must not mutter. Medicine for the sickness of his body he must not apply. For making a curse it is not fit. During the night the king makes his free-will offering before Merodach and Istar. He offers sacrifice. The lifting up of his hand finds favor with the god."

"The fourteenth day (is sacred) to Beltis and Nergal. A lucky day. A sabbath. The shepherd of mighty nations must not eat flesh cooked on the fire (or) in the smoke. The clothing of his body he must not change. White garments he must not put on. He must not offer sacrifice. He must not drive a chariot. He must not issue royal decrees. (In) a secret place the augur must not mutter. Medicine for the sickness of his body he must not apply. In the night the king makes his free-

will offering to Beltis and Nergal. He offers sacrifice. The lifting up of his hand finds favor with the gods."

"The nineteenth day (note a) (is) white (with secondary meaning of holy) day of the great goddess Gula. A lucky day. A Sabbath. The shepherd of mighty nations must not eat that which is cooked at the fire, must not change the clothing of his body must not put on white clothing, must not offer sacrifice. The king must not drive (his) chariot, must not issue royal decrees. The augur must not mutter (in) a secret place. Medicine must be not apply to the sickness of his body. For making a curse (the day) is not suitable. The king presents his free will offering to Adar and Gula. He offers sacrifice. The lifting up of his hands finds favour with the god."

"The twenty-first day (is the day for) making the stated offering to Sin and Samas. A lucky day. A Sabbath. The shepherd of mighty nations must not eat flesh cooked at the fire or

in the smoke, must not change the clothing of his body, must not put on white garments, must not offer sacrifice. the king must not drive (his) chariot, must not issue royal decrees. The augur must not mutter (in) a secret place. Medicine must he not apply to the sickness of his body. For making a curse (the day) is not suitable. At dawn the king presents his free-will offering to Samas the mistress of the world, and Sin the supreme god. He offers sacrifice. The lifting up of his hand finds favour with the god."

"The twenty-eighth day (is sacred) to Ea. (It is) the day of resting of Nergal. A lucky day. A Sabbath. The shepherd of great nations must not eat flesh cooked at the fire or in the smoke, must not change the clothing of his body, must not put on white garments, must not offer sacrifice. The king must not drive ~~in~~ a chariot. He must not issue royal decrees. (In) a secret place the augur must not mutter. Medicine for the sick-

ness of ~~the~~ body ~~he~~ must not ^{be} applied. For making a curse (the day) is not suitable. To Éa, the supreme god, (the King) presents (his free-will offering). He offers sacrifice. The lifting up of his hand finds favour with the god." (Sayce: The Rel. of the Ancient Bab. Hibbert Lect. 1887 pp. 71 ff.)

"This is of great interest, not only because it proves the existence of the Sabbath long before the age of Abraham, but also because we find here those minute prescriptions in regard to cooking food, changing one's clothing, and travelling on the Sabbath, for which we have been in the habit of criticising the late Jewish doctors, but which apparently came down to them from the ^{most} remote antiquity. Perhaps in the history of the world we could hardly find an equal example of the vitality of a religious tradition." (Worcester: Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge.)

✓ "Numerous tablets like the religious calendar of the

intercalary month of the second Ellul have been found which show that the corresponding days of the various months were distinguished by the same festivals, the same commands, and the same prohibitions. The main feature of these calendars is the special notice taken of the recurring seventh day." (Davis: Genesis and Semitic Tradition.) These tablets were discovered in 1869 by George Smith of England. It was found in them that every month was divided into four weeks and the seventh days were designated throughout as days on which no work should be undertaken. "The Ellul calendar was of Accadian origin. 'It was borrowed by the Semites along with the rest of the old Turanian theology and science. The original text must have been inscribed at some time before the seventeenth century B.C., when the Accadian language seems to have become extinct.' From the Accadians it was passed on to their successors the Babylonians, and was carried also from Accadia by Nahor and his descendants into

Palestine." (J.T. Nichols: Origin of the Heb. Sab., Old and New Test. Student 1891)

The hemerology just quoted indicates that the Sabbath of the Babylonians was not a popular institution. This seems to be in keeping with the ideas that were prevalent especially in earliest times as to the divinity of the king and his right to represent in all things the will of the deity towards his subjects. The individual was counted for something only in so far as he was a member of some tribe. The community was everything. If an individual happens to distinguish himself in any manner it was praiseworthy only to the extent that through his deed the tribe or the race was honored. And his disgrace was reprehensible mainly because thereby the national escutcheon was stained. The individual ~~existed~~ existed only by virtue of the existence of the community. Now the king representing, in every particular, the deity, being at the same time the medium through which the

deity could be propitiated, it is intelligible how the king soon came to be the responsible agent of his people. His position as head of the state determined to a large extent his religious duties. "If the individual offends a deity, the individual alone suffers, or at the most, his family is involved in the punishment inflicted; but if the king sins, the whole country suffers, and correspondingly the king's atonement and reconciliation with the gods are essential for dispelling some national calamity." (Jastrow: The Rel. of Bab. and Ass. p. 374f)

In this connection ~~it~~ may be pointed out a characteristic difference (which will receive later a greater emphasis) between the Babylonian and Hebrew Sabbath. In the latter the individual counts for everything, the whole community being regarded as ^a ~~the~~ collection of ~~the~~ individuals. It is not likely that this conception of ~~the~~ individual responsibility existed in primitive Israel, but it seems to be implied in all the so-called

Mosaic legislation. The individual responsibility stands at the very basis of the Jewish institutions. This conception, as has been suggested by many authorities, may have assumed the form of a definite principle by the force of Jewish opposition to the predominant ideas of their neighbors. It was probably most emphasized at a time when Eabylonian influence reached its greatest height. Although no reference is made to the observance of the Sabbath by the people, it is impossible to conclude that the people did not therefore observe the Sabbath. In fact it is quite likely that, in so far as such definite regulations for the observance of the Sabbath Day were prescribed for the king, the people also were required to observe the Sabbath with as much ceremony (as the king). It is possible that a record of the manner of their observance has been lost, or what is more likely, a record of their ceremonies was not considered of consequence enough to be formulated. The king was the state; the

people his slaves. Their worship was undoubtedly modelled after the manner of the worship of the king. On the other hand, however, the ~~qy/evv/qq~~ Jewish principle underlying the observance of the Sabbath ignores the idea of the divine right of kings and aims to elevate the people to a plane of equality in all things. Such a principle, as has been suggested, lies at the basis of all Jewish institutions.

In the Babylonian hemerology the king is prohibited from eating flesh cooked at the fire or in the smoke. He is not allowed to change his clothes, nor to put on white garments. No sacrifice is to be offered. His chariot he must not use. He is forbidden to issue royal decrees. The augur must not mutter. Medicine should not be applied for the sickness of the body. Nor is it a suitable time to make curses that will be effective. Only during the night shall the king offer a sacrifice, then will the lifting up of his hands in his supplication be accep-

table.

From this list of prohibitions it is seen that the Sabbath of the Babylonians was a very inauspicious day. No sacrifices were to be offered on this day. The rest ordained was not ~~q~~ to satisfy the need of recreation, but rather to offset the misfortune which might attend any undertaking thereon. It was regarded as an *ûmu limnu*, i.e. an evil day. (Schrader: *Cuneiform Ins. and O.T. on Gen.* 2³) The inauspicious aspect of the Babylonian Sabbath would seem to indicate again some connection with the early Jewish Sabbath. (note b.) In the first place the prohibitions mentioned in the Pentateuchal codes regarding the observance of the Sabbath correspond most remarkably with those found in the Babylonian hemerology. The Hebrews were forbidden to bake or seethe on the Sabbath Day (Ex. 16²³), to kindle a fire (Ex. 35³), to leave their places (Ex. 16²⁹). It was further ordained that no work should be performed on the Sabbath Day (Ex.

20¹⁰ and Num. 15³²⁻³⁶), which reminds us of the inauspicious day of the Babylonians when it was "dangerous to show one's self or to call the deity's attention to one's existence." From a negative standpoint we can see that such must have been the original character of the Hebrew Sabbath since we find Isaiah making an earnest attempt to change the Sabbath into a day of joy. (Is. 58¹³). It would argue that the Sabbath had not been held as a day of joy at this time. Isaiah was not able, however, ~~at~~ to accomplish this for the "Hebrew Sabbath continued to retain for a long time as a trace of its origin, a rather severe and sombre aspect." (Gastrow: Rel. of Bab. and Ass. p. 377)

The nature of the observance of the Hebrew Sabbath was different from its Babylonian prototype. The Babylonians and Assyrians did not observe the ^{seventh} ~~Sabbath~~ Day as a national Sabbath. It was scarcely a day of rest as far as the people were concerned, as Davis maintains (Gen. and Sem. Tradition p. 30.) for

"armies marched forth to begin a campaign, and war was waged on that day ----- barter and trade went on as usual, ----- the formalites of sale, the assembling of witnesses, and the signing of documents proceeded without interruption; ----- the laborious work of engraving inscriptions had no cessation." It should be mentioned, however, that Davis quotes no authority for these statements.

A characteristic difference between the Babylonian and the Hebrew Sabbath can be seen in the sanctions which are given for its observance. In the case of the former no sanction whatever is assigned for the observance of the Seventh Day, while in the case of the latter, the developement of the people can be traced by reference to the various sanctions given for the Hallowing of the Sabbath Day. In the Jewish Sabbath there can be most clearly discerned the Hebrew conception of the will of God who originated all things and by whose

goodness the world is maintained.

It is clear from the hemerology, or "saints' calendar", ~~wz~~ that the Babylonian Sabbath was a day of propitiation, reconciliation with the gods, or a day of atonement. Jastrow has shown that the designation $\hat{u}m\ \hat{n}u\hbar\ libbi$ has such a connotation. (Orig. Char. Heb. sab. p.321 Amer. Jour. Theol.) "The phrase is not used as name for any particular institution but is merely a descriptive term. Any day on which the anger of the gods was set at rest would be an $\hat{u}m\ \hat{n}u\hbar\ libbi$, and correspondingly any day on which an attempt would be made to make the gods favorable, who for some reason were angry or disposed to anger, would give that day the character of a day of atonement and propitiation."

The Jewish Sabbath in its origin undoubtedly was such a day of propitiation and atonement. It is impossible to present direct proof of its early character as an inauspicious day. But

the nature of the various restrictions prescribed for the Sabbath Day in the earliest Biblical records seem to show that the Sabbath in earliest times was far from being of a propitious or joyful nature. The manna is withheld on the Sabbath Day (Ex. 16²⁹). The people must remain in their places. (Ex. 16²⁹) Such a command could have arisen only from the conception that the Sabbath was an unfavorable day and it would be dangerous to appear out of doors on that day. Fires are not to be kindled (Ex. 35³) nor is the wood to be gathered. (Num. 15³²⁻³⁶) The injunction against the use of fire on the Sabbath Day would point to the fact that the fire was sacred to Jahveh and its use was prohibited on a day on which the deity might be unpropitious. The sacred character of the fire devoted to the deity was a survival of very primitive times when the flame was a symbol of the gods. In the Bible there are frequent references to the sacredness of the fire. (Ex. 3², 19¹⁸, 24¹⁷, 1 Kings 18²⁴,

Deut. 4²⁴, Is. 30²⁷, Lev. 9²⁴, 10², .) Jastrow suggests that the thirty-nine restrictions for Sabbath Day enumerated in the Talmud ($\text{נזח } 73^a$) "were in force long before the Talmudic period - many centuries, indeed, before the days of Jesus - while some belong to as old a period as any of the regulations found in the Old Testament." (Jastrow: Orig. Char. Heb. Sab. p. 322) We are led then to the conclusion that the Hebrew Sabbath in its earliest form was similar to that of the Babylonians, a day of atonement and propitiation. The Sabbath of joy and gladness, of religious observance and bodily recreation was a late expression of the consciousness of the Hebrews whose conceptions of God and humanity had become refined and purified by their sufferings and persecutions at the hands of strangers; whose institutions, permeated and colored by the intense fervor of their souls, reflected the predominant principle of Jewish philosophy, the sanctification of life in all its phases, both

in its needs and in its pleasures.

NOTES.

a. The nineteenth day as a Sabbath was held sacred, as has been explained by many authorities, as the seventh Sabbath from the new moon sabbath of the previous month.

b. "To Babylonia is ascribed the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath.

The point of departure for connecting Hebrew sabbath with the Babylonian institution is a significant passage in a cuneiform lexicographical tablet which furnished the equation $\hat{u}m \hat{n}u\hat{h}, libbi = sa-ba-tum, \text{L. } \hat{u}, \text{ day of rest of the heart} = \text{Sabbath}$. The

idea of 'day of rest of or for the heart' naturally established some relation with Hebrew Sabbath, the most prominent feature

of which was the rest from the labors of the week. The juxta-

position of the Babylonian 'day of rest' with Sabbattum seemed to settle the question definitely in view of the apparent identity

of this term with the Hebrew Shabbath or Sabbath." (Gastrow Orig. Char. of Heb. Sab.)

THE JEWISH SABBATH.

"It is not the piece of marble but what is made of it that marks the artist's skill." In the transference of the sculptor's soul to the bare, cold stone, which thus gains life and beauty, is to be computed the value of the work. And the real worth of the production is determined only by the conception of the artist, and the fineness of his touch. The application of the thought to the point at issue is most appropriate. The Babylonians and the Hebrews possessed in the rough similar institutions and observances. It is more than likely that the latter actually borrowed from the former the ideas of most of their institutions and customs; but the Hebrews, nevertheless, by the force of their peculiar genius carved from whatever they borrowed a product of far more value than its prototype possessed.

As was pointed out, the Babylonian Sabbath was distinctly a day for the king. Such a conception reflected the idea of the divine right of kingship. Among the Hebrews the equality

of all men was the characteristic principle of all legislation.

In the Hebrew Sabbath, though it was hewn out of the same ma-

terial as its Babylonian ^{counterpart} ~~prototype~~, we find the institution of

the Sabbath commanded ~~and~~ sanctioned by a holy God, while in

the latter we can see no attempt to rise above the level of

crude ideas. We do not mean to intimate that the command to

observe the Sabbath Day in the Bible originated such an obser-

vance. This view would contradict the scholarly results of

the Higher Criticism, the acceptance of which the very nature

of our subject presupposes. The accounts of the Sabbath in the

Bible are evidences of its growth and development from an

earlier institution. ^{And} ~~But~~ the indications of the observance of

the Sabbath as found in the Bible testify to the higher sanction

the more humane conceptions, the wider purposes, which the Heb-

rew Sabbath possessed over that of their Babylonian kinsfolk.

It is true that the Hebrew Sabbath underwent a development

and was not characterized in its earliest form by the religious significance which it acquired in latter times. But the attempt to discover its earliest character in more definite terms than the vaguest conjecture is futile. The subject is hidden in the ~~in the~~ obscurity of of a still inaccessible period. The investigator must be satisfied with mere indications of the earliest character of the Hebrew Sabbath by seeking to unravel the threads of the developed institution to their primitive source.

In the oldest books of the Bible, Joshua, Judges, I and II Samuel and I and II Kings, no mention is made of a weekly Sabbath. There are, however, clear references to the observance of the festival of the new moon which would indicate that in early Israel, influenced largely by the civilization in which they lived, the new moon festival was kept with religious ceremony. There are many references throughout the Bible to the importance and significance of the New Moon. (Nump. 17 1¹⁸,

10¹⁰, 28¹¹, 29¹, Deut. 1³, I Sam. 20⁵, 18, 24, 26, 27. II Kings

4²³, 21³, 5. 23⁵, I Chron. 23³¹, II Chron. 2³, 8¹³, 31³ Neh.

10³⁴, Amos 8⁵, 11³, 14, 66²³, Ezek. 45¹⁷, 46¹, 3, 6,

Hosea 2¹³). These passages make it clear that the day was regarded as ^asacred festival independent of the Sabbath, though the latter was frequently connected with the new moon. The new moon festival was distinguished, too, by special observances and sacrifice. (Ezek. 46¹⁻⁵.)

"The new moon festival anciently stood at least on the level with the Sabbath. (I Sam. 20^{5, 6}, II Kings 4²³, Amos 8⁵, Isa. 1¹³, Hosea 2¹³.) In the Jehavistic and Deuteronomic legislation, however, it is completely ignored, and if it comes into somewhat greater prominence in that of Ezekiel and the Priestly Code ----- this perhaps has to do with the circumstances that in the latter the great festivals are regulated by the new moon, and that therefore it is important that this should be

observed." (Wellhausen: Prolegomena p. 113. §§) "As a lunar festival the Sabbath went back to a very remote antiquity."

Up to the time of the Exile the close relation between the New Moon and Sabbath shows their inseparable connection. (note. §1)

The new moons and Sabbaths were rest days, but the "new moon was a special one until after the Exile." The Sabbath was then called seventh day because the new, quarter of the moon fell approximately every seventh day after the appearance of the new moon. Before the Exile the Sabbath was reckoned as the seventh day of the moon while after the Exile it came to be known as the seventh day of time. This is one of the distinctive features of the Sabbath given to it by the Hebrews.

It should be observed that the differences between the Babylonian and the Jewish Sabbath are important; they have caused some scholars to doubt whether the unlucky Day of the Babylonians had any connection with the Day of Rest of the Hebrews.

Holzinger asserts that the conclusion which holds that the Jews brought the Sabbath from the Babylonians in pre-Mosaic times is rash. (Commentary to Exodus, 1900) Francis Brown (Pres. Rev. Vol. III p. 688 ff.) favors the theory of some historical connection. Jensen denies any direct connection. (Sunday School Times 1892 p. 35.) Davis surmises that though the Assyrians' Ritual no doubt represents the Sabbath of Israel yet they may have a common origin. (Gen. and Semitic Trad. p. 39) Smend suggests that since Hosea (2^{13, 15}) reckons the Sabbath as a Day of Baal the Israelites borrowed it from the Canaanites. (Alt. Religionsgesch. p. 161)

The first point of departure of the Hebrew Sabbath from that of the Babylonians is the recurring seventh day independent of the moon. "It cannot be proved from Pentateuch that Sabbath and new moon were connected, but something of the kind implied in Amos 8¹⁵ and II Kings 4^{22, 23}." (Wellhausen Prolegomena)

We do not know when this change took place. It may have been done by Abram when he instituted Jahve worship and wished to remove therefrom all references to heathen practices. Or Moses, whose period of activity was a formative one in Jewish history, may have brought about such a change. (J. T. Nichols The Devel. of the Sabbath among the Hebrews/)

The sanctions for the observance of the Sabbath day among the Hebrews present a radical difference from its Babylonian prototype and at the same time indicate the line of development through which the Hebrews passed. The Sabbath observance and the sanctions of the same are interesting data for the study of the growth of the Hebrew consciousness. The Bible itself asserts different reasons for the origin of the Sabbath. "The Deuteronomic Decalogue does not recognize the six days of creation which the book of the Covenant (Ex. 20,9) assigns as the reason for the resting on every seventh day. The Deut. Sabbath is to be

be guarded ($\gamma \nu \psi$) as a reminiscence of the exodus from Egypt."

This may be explained by the fact that "the day on which ^{they,} according to the Hebrew tradition, left their Egyptian homes was in a preeminent sense an unfavorable day. It was a day on which Jahwe had manifested his anger in an unmistakable manner. The messenger of death had been sent out, and the miraculous salvation of the Hebrews was a consequence of the propitiatory character residing in the placing of the blood" on the door-posts. (Jastrow: Orig. Char. of the Heb. Sab.)

In the earliest Code belonging to the Jehavistic or "J" Document not earlier than 850 B.C. the Sabbath is enjoined as a day of rest in time of ploughing and harvesting. (Ex. 34²¹ 18) The reason given in this Code for the observance of the Sabbath rests on the agricultural conditions which probably prevailed among the people at the time. Only during the ploughing time and harvest was there any need for rest, when relief from the laborious work in the field was found to be necessary. The

labor
~~rest~~ of the time previous to a settled condition, was comparatively free from exertion, as watching flocks involved no hard labor and every day was practically a rest day. The command to rest was no doubt given after the Israelites had entered Canaan *an indication of the* and ~~changed~~ from a nomadic to an agricultural people.

Ex. 20²²—23³³, the Elohist or "E" Document, (about 750 B.C.) contains the next command, in point of time, to observe the Sabbath Day. Every man is ordered to rest *on the seventh day* and to allow all those under his jurisdiction to rest *thereon*, not only in the time of ploughing and harvest, but all the time. Here is emphasized a more humanitarian aspect of the Sabbath, the sanction, however, is still crude since it gives as a cause for the Sabbath ~~the~~ rest, God's cessation from labor on the seventh day of creation.

The Deuteronomic or "D" Document (dating about 622 B.C.) indicates a still further advance in the Sabbath idea by explaining the Sabbath to be dedicated to the Lord and gives as reason for its observance the memorial of the deliverance of the Child-

ren of Israel from Egyptian bondage. (Deut. 5¹⁵) Here it is claimed that the Sabbath was not instituted until after the Israelites had left Egypt.

During the Exile Ezekiel makes the Sabbath the fundamental institution of Judaism. It was the one sign (Ex~~od~~. 31¹⁷) by which the Hebrews were to prove their allegiance to God. This is a new conception of the Sabbath Day. Its sacred character begins now to be emphasized as a day peculiar to God.

In the Priestly Document (about 450 B.C.) the Sabbath Day, as seen in the first chapter of Genesis and Lev. 23³, represents the highest development from the ecclesiastical point of view. The day is uniquely dedicated to God: man should rest because God rested thereon, and pay respect to the day which is the day peculiarly selected by God as his own. (Floody: Scientific Basis of Sab. and Sunday chap. on Devel. of Sab. Day)

The existence of the Sabbath in a less developed form, before the Mosaic legislation, is presupposed in the Mosaic ordi-

nances themselves, as has been hinted at. Ex. 16²⁷⁻³⁰ points to ~~the~~ Sabbath idea. The oldest legislation and even the decalogue itself enjoins the observance of ~~it~~. (Ex. 20^{8f}, 23¹², 34²¹) showing that the Sabbath was known; for the formulation of a law implies its practice. It is usual for a law to be instituted only after the danger of its desuetude becomes apparent. Hence the conclusion seems justified that the Sabbath had been known long before the command was given to sanctify the Seventh day. The Sabbath is perhaps the earliest holiday of the Hebrews. The early character of the Hebrew Sabbath is lost in obscurity. Holzinger (Commentary to Exodus) expresses the view that the celebration of the Sabbath first started after the Israelites settled in Canaan and was borrowed from them. Therefore the ordinance for Sabbath observance in Ex. 34 is not original. According to Deut. 5^{15f}, Ex. 31¹²⁻¹⁷, Ezek. 20¹¹⁻¹³, Neh. 9^{13f}, the Sabbath was established by Moses. It is likely, as was stated, that the influence of Moses was very

great in giving direction to Sabbath observance, but his work was exaggerated by later ^{writers} witnesses who ascribed the Sabbath to the great Lawgiver as its originator. "The Sabbath, even if Moses enjoined its observance, was of no considerable religious importance till a far later period." (Montifioré: Religion of Ancient Hebrews p. 56) There is no reference to the Sabbath in patriarchal times but this is not sufficient grounds to hold that the Sabbath was then non-existent. It is true that the Sabbath of later times was no doubt almost completely changed in character from its earlier form, but it was probably known as a lunar feast. No distinct Sabbath is mentioned by the earliest prophets Elijah and Elisha. But from this fact we may draw the inference that its observance was kept with sufficient zeal by the people, ^{or} any utterance by the prophets on this subject may have been lost. It is most likely, however, that a Sabbath as an independent religious institution was unknown at

the time of the prophets mentioned. The reference of the husband of the Shunnamite woman, who sought the aid of the prophet, to the Sabbath Day might indicate its prevalence at this early time. (~~2~~ Kings 4²³) It should be mentioned, however, that the elastic use of the word *שבת* does not justify the inference that the Sabbath in this passage refers to the weekly Sabbath. Ellis suggests that the word Sabbath in this case must be a later addition to the text. (Origin of Weeks and Sabbaths)

He further maintains that the Sabbath was not known in early Israel, "there is evidence that the institution was unknown, for many occurrences are described by which the weekly Sabbath, had it existed, must have been violated. Jericho was encompassed for seven days in succession, which must, therefore, have included a weekly Sabbath. (Josh. 6^{13f.}) During the events narrated in ISamuel 29 and 30, David was on the march for twelve days in succession without any day of rest being observed; and

since Solomon gave a feast to the people which lasted fourteen days (IKings 8⁶⁵, IIChron. 7⁹) and so must have included two Sabbaths, he could have known nothing of the injunction that on the Sabbath every man was to abide in his own place. (Ex. 16²⁹). The conclusion reached by Ellis is somewhat weak. He accepts the Higher Criticism and yet here implicitly states that Ex. 16²⁹ was known at the time of Solomon.

The original character of the Hebrew Sabbath, Jastrow considers to have been parallel with the unfavorable day of the Babylonians. It was equivalent to the *ûm nûh libbi* or *šabattum* which is recorded as a synonym of the former. Now the term *šabattum* has an equivalent in the Hebrew *שבת*, used ten times in the Pentateuch and nowhere else in the Bible, and in several passages refers to the Sabbath Day itself. (Ex. 16²³, 35², 31¹⁵, Lev. 23³) "The atonement and pacification idea gives rise to and originally controls the use of *שבת* in the O. T.,

and we are justified in regarding the term as the equivalent of the Babylonian term ^vsabattum, or, in other words, יָדוּב is the old Hebrew word for an $\hat{u}m\ n\hat{o}h\ libbi$ ---a day of propitiation. If then the Sabbath itself is called a יָדוּב --- it is because the Sabbath had originally the character of a day of atonement. From this point of view we can understand why the Day of Atonement itself is in one passage (Lev. 16³¹) also called a יָדוּב as well as a יָדוּב . The use of the term is based upon the original character of the Sabbath as a day of atonement.

(Original Character of Heb. Sabbath p. 340) "The use of the words יָדוּב (Deut. 5¹²) and יָדוּב (Ex. 20⁸) in connection with the Sabbath is very significant. It is difficult to believe that the 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." (ibid. 341) The idea of anger and propitiation occupied a prominent place in the conception of the

deity among ancient Hebrews. Jahwe was thought of as being led
 to manifest His anger towards His people. Jastrow further as-
 serts (ibid. p. 325) that the propitiatory character of the
 early Sabbath may be inferred from the legislation regarding the
 Sabbath of a later day. In the Shulchan Arukh (ט' א, ט' ט, ט' ט)
 there is an express prohibition against fasting ^{on the Sabbath} And further-
 more " the Sabbath is the only occasion on which it is absolute-
 ly forbidden to fast." This would seem to be sufficient ground
 to think that in early times the original Sabbath was a fast
 day, but, when the early prophets realized the too great influ-
 ence of the Babylonian civilization on the Hebrews, they com-
 pletely changed the day from one of gloom and atonement to a
 day of gladness and freedom. To make such a change in view of
 existing conditions was not as difficult as might be imagined.
 The Hebrew genius was optimistic and freedom-loving. Under
 the spell of the Babylonian captivity their nature was restrained

in its spontaneous expression. But with the restoration to the land of their nativity and the hindrances to their free development removed, the Jewish People understood their birth-right of freedom and soon enveloped their institutions with a unique significance. It is also noteworthy in view of the prohibition for the king of Babylon to change his **garments** on the Sabbath, that the Hebrews expressly commanded a change of garment on this day. It seems to be a command pointedly antagonistic to Babylonian influence. (*Cf. Justin Orig. Char. Heb. Sab.*)

The first direct reference to the Sabbath in point of time is found in the prophet Amos who lived in the Eighth Century B.C. during the reign of Jeroboam II. Though the question as to the antiquity of the Sabbath may be hidden in obscurity, yet according to the testimony of the Law, a few vague references in the Historic Books and the Prophets, it is certain that the Sabbath as a unique religious institution was known not earlier

than the middle of the 9th Century B. C. (Floody: Scientific Basis of Sabbath and Sunday) It is generally accepted that the Sabbath as a day of rest and as a memorial of the creation of the world began during the Babylonian Exile. (Jastrów: Orig. Char. Heb. Sab. p. 341)

The Post-exilian prophets say nothing of the Sabbath of their time, but this is due to the fact that after the Exile the Sabbath was observed almost too ceremoniously and there was no needed no reminder to observe it. The implication of a Sabbath law in the gathering of the manna (Ex. 16⁵) probably points back to an old custom now reemphasized. (Saalschuetz: Das Mosaische Recht.)

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

Under this phase of our subject we shall treat of the various ceremonies enumerated in the Bible bearing on Sabbath observance. Since many of the ordinances ~~on~~ the Sabbath were

formulated and adopted at widely separated intervals of time, it is most natural to consider them under the following heads;

A. The Sabbath in Pre-exilic Israel from Amos, 8th Century B. C., to the Exile, 586 B. C.

B. The Sabbath in Exilic Israel. (586 -536 B. C.)

C. The Sabbath in Post-Exilic Israel. (536 -440 B. C.)

These divisions in part overlap one another, as for instance in the case of Ezekiel whose influence, though strong during the Exile, was a most powerful factor in the religious life after it. The divisions here adopted are for the sake of convenience, but it is at the same time recognized that Sabbath observance in one period may have been to a great degree continued into the next. It is our purpose merely to indicate as far as possible it lies in our power, the approximate ~~the~~ dates of the adoption of certain ceremonies and to hint at the conceptions underlying the observance of the Sabbath in Israel of

Biblical times. In assigning the approximate time of their activity to most of the prophets who have recorded anything relating to Sabbath observance we found a proportionately easy task in comparison with the difficulty of unravelling, even with the help of authorities, the Pentateuchal legislation to find the threads that belonged to this or that period of our division. The Pentateuchal laws and references will precede those of the other portions of the Bible bearing on the subject. It is recognized, however, that many of the Pentateuchal laws on the Sabbath are more recent than those of the prophets. This part of our subject aims to be nothing more than a compilation of the laws on Sabbath observance, arranged according to the periods in which they probably originated. To attempt more is not only outside the scope of this thesis, the Origin of the Sabbath, but also far beyond our ability.

A. THE SABBATH IN PRE-EXILIC ISRAEL.

In Exodus 34²¹ the Sabbath is ordained as a day of rest both at ploughing-time and at the harvest. This seems to hint at a time when the Sabbath as a day of rest was only an occasionally sacred period. It may mark a transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life, though the phrase "in ploughing and in harvest" may be nothing more than a chance phrase emphasizing Sabbath rest. In the Decalogue the command to observe the Sabbath Day (Ex. 20⁸⁻¹¹) as a day of rest from the labour of the week is made to apply also to the immediate family and household, to the stranger and to the beast of burden. The duty of the sanctification of the Sabbath Day rests upon the belief that God ceased from the work of creation on the Sabbath Day and blessed it. Exodus 23¹² ~~12:12~~ merely reiterates the substance of the command of the Decalogue to observe the Sabbath as a day of rest.

The Book of Deuteronomy (5¹²⁻¹⁵) contains a later expres-

sion of the Sabbath law than is found in Exodus (20⁸⁻¹¹). In the former the Sabbath observance is commanded in almost the same words as found in the latter book. There is seen, however, a development in the conception of the day, since the sanction for its observance is far more humanitarian than that found in Exodus. Here the Sabbath is to be sanctified as a day of rest because the workers need a day of recreation. Such is implied in the fact that Israel is bidden to remember that he was in servitude in Egypt and did not know the blessedness of rest. Therefore Israel should rest and allow all under his sway to enjoy a weekly recreation.

In II Kings (4²³) is found probably the oldest reference to Sabbath in the Bible. It points to a time when the Sabbath, if the word שבת as used means the Sabbath Day, was still in some way connected with the New Moon. From the passage we learn that it was customary for the people to consult the prophets on

these days. The inference that the beasts of burden were used on such days, a custom unknown in later times, can be drawn from the passage in question. From a passage (1 Kings 11⁵⁻⁹) we learn that in early times it was not considered a breach of religious duty to arm for defence on the Sabbath. The passage, however, is not very definite on this point: it refers to the king's guard.

At the time of Amos the Sabbath, though it seems to have been punctiliously observed (Amos 8⁵) had deteriorated among some into a day of mere ceremony and formality. To a great extent the prophets were usually encouraged in their denunciations by the majority of the people which for the most part maintained a healthy and normal condition of religious life. Hence there is a possibility of making the conclusion that during the time of Amos the Sabbath was strictly observed, since he denounces those who ignore the sanctity of the Sabbath

as to think constantly of buying and selling.

Hosea makes mention of the Sabbath in 2¹³ but it is difficult to make any inference as to the position the Sabbath observance held in his time (about 750 B. C.). In punishment for Israel's sins God threatens to take away all mirth from the people, also the new moon and Sabbath, indicating perhaps, that the Sabbath was a day of joy. The expression, however, may have been of a general nature, with no reference whatever to the observance of the Sabbath.

From Isaiah 1¹³ we learn that Sabbath observance was so rigorous as to cause the people to think that the mere gathering for worship was sufficient to win the favor of God. The prophet insists that the Sabbath observance without righteous acts is worthless.

Toward the beginning of the exile, Jeremiah (17²¹⁻²⁷) gives us a fairly clear conception of the Sabbath. In the first

place the people are exhorted not to bear any burdens on the Sabbath Day, nor to bring them through the gates of Jerusalem. This seems to be a plain reference to barter on the Sabbath, which was usually done at the gate of the city. Furthermore, within the city itself, the people should refrain from all kinds of business in order that they may fitly sanctify the Sabbath. In as much as the prophet promises, for obedience to God's will to sanctify the Sabbath, a time when burnt-offerings and sacrifices, meat-offerings and frankincense and thanksgiving offerings shall be brought to the Temple, it is likely that Sabbath observance at this time was characterized by such ceremonies. The words of the prophet in exhorting the people to keep the Sabbath holy presuppose the practices which he assures the people will prevail if they bear no burdens on the Sabbath Day.

During the Exile a new and greater emphasis was placed upon the Sabbath. For the first time the evidence of its importance is seen in the prophetic rebukes which were occasioned by the violation of its sanctity. " Even to Ezekiel, in whose book we find the first authentic reference in the prophetic literature to its 'pollution', the Sabbath is a matter of temple ceremonial rather than of religious law extending beyond the sanctuary and Judaea." (C Montefiore: Religion of Ancient Hebrews 3rd ed. p. 230)

The Law of Holiness (Leviticus 17-26) is a natural expression of the spirit of the time. The Hebrews had lost their commonwealth and their national unity had been destroyed. They felt the humiliation of the captivity, though its compensating benefits were worth the cost. The Exile gave a remarkable impetus to Judaism, making it a memorable period in its history. At this time, many of the ceremonies and institutions of Judaism

received an impress that marked them as distinctly Jewish. The Sabbath which previous to this epoch had shown traces of its origin, now became a unique institution of Judaism. In its developed form, exhibiting the influence of the Exile, we find the clearest traces in the prophet Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness. The elaborate ritual prepared for the various holidays (Chap. 23) among which is mentioned the Sabbath indicates the extent to which the ceremonial side of Judaism had been developed. The national consciousness now satisfied itself with the ceremonial laws, and the people became more zealous for the ritual, the strict observance of which accorded with natures accustomed to restraints and limitations. The simple command to keep the Sabbath (Lev. 19^{3, 30}) implies an elaborate ritual too well known perhaps to need any mention. The day was to be celebrated (23^{3, 37}) by cessation from work and a holy convocation. Chapter 24⁵⁻⁹ gives a list of more minute regula-

tions to be observed: v. 5. " And thou shalt take fine flour and bake thereof twelve cakes: of two tenth parts (of an ephah) shall each one cake be. v. 6. And thou shalt place them in two rows, six in a row, upon the pure table before the Lord. v. 7 And thou shalt put upon each row pure frankincense, that it may be unto the bread for a memorial, as a fire-offering to the Lord. v. 8 On every and each Sabbath Day shall he place it in order before the Lord continually, (obtained) from the children of Israel as an everlasting covenant. v. 9 And it shall belong to Aaron and to his sons; and they shall eat it in a holy place; for it is most holy unto him, from the fire-offering of the Lord as a perpetual, fixed portion. "

In Ezekiel (20¹³, 16, 21, 23, 24, 38) as a sort of re-
throughout the Chapter,
 frain, the profanation of the Sabbath is given as a cause of

Israel's misfortunes. In Chap. 22⁸, 26 even some of the priests are charged with conniving at the lax observance of the Sabbath.

This insistence on the laxity of the observance of the Sabbath is no doubt to be understood in the light of the supreme importance which had come to be attached to it as the most fitting ceremony by which the Hebrews acknowledged Jahwe. The Sabbath is called by Ezekiel (20¹²) the sign between Jahwe and Israel the evidence of the covenant between God and His people. The Sabbath was ^{the} sanctified day and it seemed as though God's whole purpose was concentrated in it. (Smend: Altt. Religions gesch.)

On the Sabbath Day, the gate of the inner court of the Temple was to be kept open. (Ezek. 46¹) The reference to the princes as being closely connected with the observance of the day reminds us of the function of the king in the observance of the Babylonian Sabbath. (46^{2ff.}) The sacrifices for the Sabbath Day comprised an offering of six sheep without blemish and a ram without blemish; and as a meat offering an ephah for the ram, and for the sheep a meat-offering as his hand may be able to

give, and a hin of oil for every ephah. (46^{4, 5})

Deutero- Isaiah endeavors to add the element of joy to the Sabbath. (56^{2, 4, 6}) He insisted on a sincere observance of it by urging the people to restrain themselves from the pursuit of business and to depart from their vanities. (58^{13, 14}) In verse 23 of chapter 66 the writer, who according to Marti and Duhm was later than II Isaiah, expresses a hope that the Sabbath observance would become universal. This verse no doubt refers to Post-exilic Israel.

C. THE SABBATH IN POST-EXILIC ISRAEL. (536-440B.C.)

The distinctive Jewish features of the Sabbath which separated it from the Rest Day of ~~the~~ other peoples were developed toward the end of the Exile and thereafter. The Sabbath Day then became an institution peculiar to the Hebrews. Its dedication to Jahwe, the moral aspect of its observance, and the rigor

of its celebration, are the unique Jewish phases of the Sabbath Day. In the Priestly Code the rest of the Sabbath becomes a thing for itself " which separates the Sabbath not only from the week days, but also from the festival days, and approaches an ascetic exercise much more than a restful refreshment. (Wellhausen: Prolegomena p. 115) By an emphasis on the duty of rest on this day, the Sabbath lost its original nature as a day filled with various measures of a propitiatory force and became one sanctified in a special sense to Jahwe. (Jastrow: Original Char. Heb. Sab.) In Genesis 2², ³ the Sabbath is connected with the record of the creation of the world. The writer wished to account for the origin of an institution which held so prominent a place in his time. As the period in question was preeminently a religious one, owing to the full development of the religious consciousness of the people as a result of their sufferings, the Sabbath, which had been elevated to a prominent

position in the ritual of the time, was connected directly with God as its originator.

In keeping with the religious spirit of the age, the ordinances of the Sabbath reflect the fervor and devotion with which the Seventh Day was observed. In Exodus (16²³⁻³⁰) it seems that the prohibition against gathering manna on the Seventh Day was added to an old legend of primitive Israel. Even according to the Biblical account the command to gather two portions on the sixth day to provide also for the Seventh Day was instituted by Moses only after it had been suggested to him by some of the elders of the people. (Ex. 16²²) The story of the rest on the seventh day in the passage (16²³⁻³⁰) was to indicate the antiquity of the Sabbath rest. In this same passage we ~~learn~~ learn that no cooking was to be done on the Sabbath, an injunction implied in the command not to kindle any fire thereon. (35^{2, 3}) In 51¹³⁻¹⁷ the Sabbath is emphasized as the most ^{important} (1

of the religious institutions. Its observance is enjoined with the penalty of death for a violation of its sanctity. The Sabbath is called a perpetual sign or covenant. (31¹⁶)

The rigor of the Sabbath observance is indicated in a passage in Numbers 15³²⁻³⁶ which relates the penalty of death inflicted on one who violated the Sabbath Day by gathering sticks in the wilderness. In the same passage we learn that the Sabbath offerings were "two sheep of the first year without blemish, and two-tenth parts of fine flour for a meat offering mingled with oil and the drink-offering thereof. This is the burnt-offering of the Sabbath on every Sabbath, besides the continual burnt-offering and its drink offering." (Numbers 28⁹, 10) On the Sabbath there ~~was~~ also a holy convocation. (28²⁵)

The utterances of Nehemiah relative to the Sabbath reflect the spirit of the Priestly Code whose ordinances he so zealously sought to spread among the people. The institution of the Sab-

bath was credited by Nehemiah to Moses (9¹⁴ §). In strong terms the prophet must have denounced the evil practices of the people in their bartering on the Sabbath and in their neglecting to make the customary offerings on this day, for they promised to refrain from buying and selling on the Sabbath Day and to be more attentive to the performance of ritual requirements (10³², 10³⁴). In his attempt to correct the unbounded profanation of the Sabbath Day and to raise the people to a conception of its sanctity Nehemiah gives (13¹⁵⁻²²) us a glimpse of the difficulties met with. Only after great opposition was he able to destroy the traffic on the Sabbath Day both within and without the gates of Jerusalem.

NOTES.

1. The survival of the influence of the observance of the moon can be seen in many of the Jewish festivals which in very primitive times were probably based primarily on such observances.

Most of the Jewish holidays seem to be inseparably connected with the phases of the moon. Other ideas in the course of time came to be connected with certain of the holidays and the original element was merged in more developed conceptions and significant national events. The Passover (Lev. 23⁵) celebration seems to have been originally a lunar festival celebrated at full moon. The observance of this festival in later times was connected with the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, a national event of sufficient significance to be given as the origin of it, though it is quite certain that the full moon had been venerated from time immemorial. The festival of Tabernacles (Lev. 23³⁴) was celebrated at a time of full moon also, indicating the predominance of the moon in the early religious cult. The ingathering of the harvest was also a determining factor in this festival, but the moon seems to have been originally the occasion of the sanctification of the fifteenth

day of the seventh month. A further reference to a festival at the time of new moon, independent of the well known holidays, is found in IKings 12³² which describes a festival instituted by Jeroboam in imitation of a similar festival in Judah. The Feast of Weeks (Lev. 23¹⁶) might be taken as an indication of the second quarter of the moon of the month of Sivan. The beginning of the fourth quarter of the moon was also held as a sacred period as seen in the regulation prescribed for the seventh day of Passover, the seventh day of Succoth which fall on the 21st day of the month, or on the appearance of the fourth quarter of the moon. Thus we see that in early times the observance of the moon determined the sacred days of the month corresponding with the Babylonian moon worship. This Sabbath was an outgrowth of these four sacred days of the month dedicated to the moon god.