Sabbath Worship in the Parables of Enoch (*I Enoch* 37-71)

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Two Liturgical Texts in the First Parable[1]

The first of the three parables contained within the *Parables of Enoch*, (*I Enoch* 37-44) contains two complexes of text, (one of which has not previously been discussed in relation to liturgy,) that bear close affinities with Jewish liturgical materials of the Second Temple and Rabbinic periods. This

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1. This paper is an extensively revised version of a seminar paper presented to the Junior Enoch Conference convened by Prof. Gabriele Boccaccini at the University of Michigan in June of 2006. It is part of a forthcoming dissertation in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, under the direction of Prof. Paul Hanson. It will include a full transcription of the Parables of Enoch (I Enoch chapters 37-71) from EMML 2080, possibly the oldest Enoch manuscript extant. I am grateful to Prof. Getachew Haile and Mr. Matthew Z. Heintzelman of the Hill Monastic Library in Collegeville, Minnesota, for allowing me access to the digital images of the manuscript, through their website, and for granting me permission to publish images of *Parables* in the forthcoming dissertation. The author wishes to acknowledge the encouragement of Prof. George Nickelsburg in the current project, and for the provision of his notes on the translation of the *Parables.* Professor Ellen Aitken also offered helpful suggestions and kindly allowed this paper to serve as the basis for the SBL 2006 presentation to the Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Early Judaism and Christianity section.

embedded liturgical material and its constellation of themes represent a number of elements that contribute to the discussion of the underlying conceptions, and the *Sitz-im-Leben* of *Parables*.[2]

[3]The *Qĕdûšâ*

Parables 39: 4-12 constitutes a unit that occurs within the first of the three main visions of *Parables*. As scholars have long recognized, this passage contains a version of a traditional Jewish prayer

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2. For a useful introduction to the study of the origins of Jewish liturgy and related fields, as well as for many valuable methodological cautions, see Stefan C. Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," Prayer from Tobit to Qumran, *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2004*, no. Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria 5–9 July 2003 (2005): 439–64*Prayer from Tobit to Qumran*New York: De Gruyter, 2005 and the other articles in that volume. See also Moshe Weinfeld, *Ha-liturgiyah ha-yehudit ha-qedumah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004). While it is largely outside the scope of this chapter it is also worth considering that *Parables*, understood correctly in their liturgical context, represent an important and often overlooked witness to a crucial early stage in the development of Jewish prayer. Other prayer units in *Parables* include the archangels' praise of the deity in 40:1-10. A hymn of praise of the righteous with many wisdom features occurs in ch. 58, (to be compared to the praise of the Messiah in 49:1-4) reminiscent of Sirach's "Let us now praise famous men.", The angelic praise of the deity in a context similar to ch.39, is described in ch. 61. Human praise of the deity, in the time after the judgment is the subject of 48:5 and 62:9 and the extended prayer of the repentant Kings and Mighty is found in chapter 63. It is probable that the praise of the messiah in chapter 69 is the conclusion of this passage, following an inclusio. Chapter 47:1-2 offers a complex description of intercessory prayers, immediately preceding the ultimate messianic judgment. The prayers of the earthly righteous ascend on high, along with "the blood of the righteous one." 47:1-2 also describes the prayers of the "holy ones," in heaven offering similar prayers "on behalf of the blood of the righteous that had been shed." Enoch's praise of the deity is described in 71:11. See also the very informative sections of Nickelsburg's commentary on prayer and related topics. George W.E. Nickelsburg, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia

rubric, the *qědûšâ*, the core of which combines two scriptural verses, Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12.[4] Just as in the prophetic texts that are its literary model, here the prophetic visitor, Enoch, is transported to heaven and stands before the *qābôd*, a technical term for the divine presence, usually translated, "Glory."[5] In the canonical texts, as well as in the Enochic texts that make use of these reports, the assembled angelic beings also praise God in the presence of the seer.[6] Jewish, and later, Christian, liturgists made these reports of angelic prayer essential components in their own liturgical compilations and compositions. The

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(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

3. My transcriptions from EMML 2080 mainly follow the procedure described in: Thomas O. Lambdin, *Intoduction to Classical Ethiopic*, Harvard Semitic Studies (Ann Arbor: Edwards, 1978). I have not corrected orthography, except to indicate doubling and assimilated consonants.

4. The word קְדוּשָׁה is not attested in BH, and is considered to be a Qal noun formation. It is usually written with a euphonic daggeš in the šîn, (which I am unable to render in this text in the Hebrew font.) For ease of reading I have not indicated this daggeš in my transliterations. As the name of a prayer in which the key word is repeated three times, it would seem that it would be more logical to construe the noun as an intensive form as is the word: קְדוּשׁ, used for other blessings without the prominent feature of threefold repetition.

5. It is interesting to note that in this first parable Enoch stands before the "Glory", but the word "Throne" does not occur. In the parallel scenes in the the second and third parables, the phrase is "Throne of Glory" and "Throne of His Glory." Nickelsburg comments that the parallel passages in I Enoch presuppose a traditional sanctuary as the setting. Himmelfarb has also argued that the primary conception of the heavens in I En. and in many of the apocalypses is as a temple with the divine throne room in its center Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford, 1993), 16–17. This may be true, but in light of the absence of even the word "throne" in the first parable, one must be cautious about this assumption. See also: Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 234–5.

6. Other texts that inform the imagery of these texts include Dan 7, Ezek 1,8,47. See: Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 16–17.

identification of this well- known prayer, which was also adopted in early times into Christian worship and became known as the *qĕdûšâ* in Hebrew, the Trisagion in Greek, and the Sanctus in Latin, was made at an early stage of the modern study of *I Enoch* by Dillmann[7], and then noted again by Charles[8] . The first extended treatment of this passage in relation to Jewish worship was published by Odeberg[9] in his work on *3 Enoch*.[10] He noted the similarities between the received *qĕdûšâ* texts and related scenes in the Enoch literature[11] where there is angelic prayer in the presence of the "Throne of Glory," and extensive parallels

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7. See reference in Lewis N. Dembitz, "Ḳedushsha," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk and Wagnalis, 1909), 463.

8. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 117.

9. Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge: UP, 1928), 183–7.

10. See Greenfield's critical evaluation of Odeberg's work, which was based on faulty manuscripts and had other serious defects. Nevertheless, many of his general observations are still of value. Jonas C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," in *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, Reprint Edition by Hugo Odeberg (New York: Ktav, 1973), XI-XLVII. For a more authoritative edition of *3 Enoch* see Peter Schäfer's critical edition: Peter Schäfer, Margarete Schlüter, and Hans Georg von Mutius eds, *Synopse Zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, Texte und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1981). Also convenient and reliable is Alexander's translation of and introduction to *3 Enoch*. P. Alexander, trans. and ed., "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *APOT 1*, James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 223–315. Alexander convincingly argues for a 5th-6th century C.E. date for the redaction of *3 Enoch* (p. 229). Schiffman's recent review of Odeberg's work is also helpful in sorting out the relationship between the various works referred to as *1-3 Enoch*: Lawrence H. Schiffman, "3 Enoch and the Enoch Tradition," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins; New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, Garbiele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 152–61: Additional bibliography on the hēkālôt literature and *3 Enoch* can be found in Lorenzo DiTommaso, "A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850–1999," JSOT Supplements (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

in the Rabbinic *Hekhalot* tradition.[12]

On the temporal axis, the vision in I Enoch 39 is set in the period before the flood. It seems, however, to move to a vision of the eschaton and to speak therefore of a future and more definitive judgment. This is not surprising as the judgment of the flood in *I Enoch* generally prefigures the final eschatological judgment[13].

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11. The *qĕdûšâ* appears in both *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch*, though in forms that differ from tho*se of the Parables*.

12. David Suter also discusses this connection in detail in his published dissertation David Winston Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, SBL Dissertation Series (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979), 14–23.

13. Ethiopic verbal forms facilitate the reading of an ambiguous time-frame for the events of this passage. This could have been used in the original as a technique to underscore the link between the original destruction of the flood, and the final cataclysms in the eschatological future according to the principle of *Urzeit wird Endzeit*. It is possible that these verbal imprecisions in the extant version may go back to a Semitic original, as in Hebrew and Aramaic imperfect forms do not necessarily indicate time, but rather completed or uncompleted action, and a certain intentional ambiguity seems to be characteristic of prophetic utterances in BH in particular. Ethiopic, which has similar characteristics in regard to the lack of temporal forms in the verbal system, may reflect, intentionally or not, the ambiguity inherent in a Semitic original. This could of course still be the case even if a putative Greek text mediated between a Semitic original and the Ethiopic version. To test this we should therefore compare passages of the Hebrew prophets in Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Greek to see how these verbal forms are rendered and whether they differ from the treatment of *Parables*. See Black's note on 48:7 where (following Dillmann) he discusses the probability that BH prophetic perfects underlie the perfects where one would expect future tenses here. Matthew Black, in consultation with, James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, SVTP (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 211 n.7.

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1 Enoch 39:4-14:	
4 wa-ba-heyya reˀiku rāˀya kālˀa maxadarihomu[14] *la-qedusān wa-meskābātihomu la-ṣādqān 5 ba-heyya reˀeya ˀaʿayenteya maxadaromu mesla malāˀekta ṣedku wa-meskābihomu mesla qedusān wa-yesˀ ˀelu wa-yāstabaqʷeʿu wa-yeṣēlleyu baˀenta weluda sabˀ :::*[15] *wa-ṣedq kama māy yewḥez qedmēhomu wa-meḥrat kama ṭal westa medr :: kama-ze weˀetu māˀkalomu = la-ʿālama ʿālam ::: 6 wa-ba-weˀetu makān reˀya ˀaʿeyenteya makāna xeruyān za-ṣedq wa-za-hāymānot wa-ṣedq*[16] *yekawwen ba-mawāʿelihomu wa-ṣādqān wa-xeruyān xʷelqʷa ˀalbomu qedmēhu la-ʿālama ʿālam::: 7 wa-reˀiku maxādarihomu matḥet ˀaknāfa ˀegziˀa manfasāt wa-kʷellu ṣādqān wa-xeruyān qedmēhu yethēyyalu*[17] *kama berhāna ˀessāt wa-ˀafāhomu yemallˀe barakata wa kanāferihomu yesēbbeḥu semo la-ˀegziˀa manfasāt wa-ṣedq qedmēhu ˀi-'yexxalleq wa-retʿ ˀi-'yexxalleq qedmēhu*	4 And there I saw another vision --the dwellings of the holy ones, and the resting places of the righteous. 5 There my eyes saw their dwelling places with the angels of righteousness and their[18] places of worship with the holy ones. They[19]beseeched, and implored, and prayed on behalf of the human beings and righteousness flowed like water before them and mercy like dew unto the earth. Thus it is among them ~forever and ever. 6 In that place[20] my eyes saw the place of the chosen one of righteousness and of faithfulness and the Righteous One will prevail in their day, and countless righteous and chosen ones will be before him forever and ever. 7 And I saw their dwelling places[21] under the wings of the Lord of Spirits and the righteous and the elect before him were strong like the light of fire,[22] and their mouths were full of blessing[23], and their lips praised the name of the Lord of Spirits and inestimable righteousness is before him.

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14. Standard plural is *maxāder*. See variants here and below.

15. I have adopted the conventions :: and ::: and = etc. to represent similar markings contained in the 2080 manuscript. While the meanings of these markings are unknown, they seem to represent in many instances a form of punctuation and therefore may reflect part of the manuscript and its interpretative tradition.

16. As Black demonstrates, there is textual corruption here which requires emendation. All manuscripts have "before him," in the following phrase. We should read therefore: "The place of my chosen one of righteousness, and the righteous one will be present." Black and Vanderkam, *1 Enoch*, 197.

17. For *yetxēyyalu*.

18. Antecedant ambiguous in Ethiopic.

19. Antecedant ambiguous in Ethiopic.

20. Some manuscripts: In those days.

21. Some manuscripts "His dwelling place." It is difficult to ascertain what the original reading might be. It is not critical to emend the reading here, but changing the reading would result in a smoother reading.

22. Dan 12:3

8 heyya faqadku ʾexder wa-fatawato manfaseya la-weʾetu māxdar ::: ba-heyya kona keflāya qedma ʾesma kama-ze ṣanʿa ba-ʾentiʾeya ba-qedma ʾegziʾa manfasāt ::: 9 ba-weʾeton mawāʿel sebāḥku wa-ʾelʿalku semo la-ʾegziʾa manfasāt:: barakata wa-sebḥata ʾesma weʾetu ʾeṣneʿāni ba-barakāt wa-sebḥat ba-kama faqādu la-ègziʾa manfasāt :::10 wa-gʷenduya reʾya ʾaʿeyenteya ba-weʾetu makān wa-bārakkewwo wa-sabāḥku ʾenza ʾebel :: burruk weʾetu wa-yetbār(r)ak ʾem qedem wa-ʾeska la-ʿālam 11 wa-qedmèhu maxellaqt ʾalbo ::: weʾetu yaʾammer ʾem-qedma yetfaṭṭar ʿālam ment weʾetu ===ʿālam wa-la-tewledda tewledd za-yekawwenu::: 12 yebār(r)ekuka ʾella ʾi-'yenawwemu wa-yekawwemu ba-qedma sebḥatika wa-yebarreku wa-yesēbbeḥu wa-yālēʿʿelu ʾenza yebelu ::: qeddus qeddus qeddus ʾegziʾa manfasāt ::: yemallʾe medra manfasāt 13 ba-heyya reʾeyā ʾaʿeyenteya kʷello ʾem-ʾella ʾi-'yenawwemu yeqawwemu qedmèhu wa-yebār(r)eku wa-yebēlu buruka ʾenta wa-buruk semu la-ʾegziʾa la-ʿālama ʿālam ::: 14 wa-tawallaṭa gaṣṣeya ʾesma seʾenku naṣṣero :::	8 I wished to dwell there and my soul desired that dwelling place. Already my portion is there for thus has it been reserved for me before the Lord of Spirits. 9 In those days I praised and exalted the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises because he strengthened me with blessings and praises according to the will of the Lord of Spirits. 10 And my eyes gazed at that place and I blessed and praised Him saying: Blessed is He and may He be blessed from of old and forever. 11 And before Him there is no reckoning. He knew before the creation of the world what would be, what is forever and what would come to be from generation to generation. 12 Those who do not sleep bless you and stand before Your Glory and bless and exalt saying: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Spirits, He fills the earth with spirits[24]. 13 There my eyes saw all of those who do not sleep standing before Him and blessing and saying: Blessed are You and blessed is the name of the Lord for ever and ever. 14 And my face was changed because I could look on no longer.

What can later Jewish tradition tell us of the origin of this rubric? The *qĕdûšâ* appears in Jewish liturgy in three different sets of versions, all including as essential elements the verses Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12. The three versions are: 1. The insertion into the morning prayers, in the first benediction the *yôṣēr ʾôr* in the rubric before the *šĕmaʿ*, 2: an insertion into the third benediction of the *ʾămîdâ*, during the reader's repetition, and 3: in the prayer recited by the individual worshiper, the *û-baʾ le-ṣîyyôn*. The

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23. Lit.: "their mouth was full of blessing." The lack of agreement is not unusual, and is cited here only as an indication of a commonplace feature of the language.

24. Black suggests that the original reading may have been "the earth is full of spirits." as in T[9] Black and Vanderkam, *1 Enoch*, loc. cit..

second of these has itself a number of variants, especially elaborate ones for the *mûsap* service. In all of these variants of the *ʾămîdâ* version the two prophetic verses are followed by Ps 146:10. However in *mûsap*, this verse is introduced by a Deut 6:4, (the opening verse of the *šĕmaʿ* rubric,) and is followed by the concluding verse of the *šĕmaʿ* (Num15:41)[25] According to Petuchowski and Heinemann, this, the *mûsap* version, which includes elements of the *šĕmaʿ* was the version in use in the ancient Palestinian rite[26], although it was restricted to Sabbath and festivals. Heinemann and Petuchowski conclude:

> In the Yotzer-benediction, the quotations from Isaiah and Ezekiel are part of a description of the homage paid to God every day by the angelic hosts; a brief connecting passage between the two attributes the former verse to the seraphim, while "*the* ofanim *and the holy* Hayot" respond with the latter. The Kedushah inserted into the Amidah is the most elaborate as well as the most varied....in all other Amidot, the passages from Isaiah and Ezekiel are followed by one more verse (Psalms 146:10); in musaf this verse is preceded by the first verse of the Shema (Deut. 6:4) and by the last words of the concluding verse of the Shema, "I am the Lord your God" (Num. 15:41). This form of the Kedushah, incorporating the Shema, was also the one employed in the ancient Palestinian rite (where it was recited, however, only in the morning service on Sabbaths and festivals).[27]

Heinemann states elsewhere that the version of the *ʾămîdâ qĕdûšâ* utilized by the *ʾAmoraim* was different from our contemporary ones, because the *ôpânîm* are mentioned in *m. Roš Haššana* 4:9 where this is discussed, while they are not mentioned in later versions.[28] Heinemann is open to Fleisher's view however that the *yôṣēr* version could also have been in use in ancient Palestine, and would also have been restricted to Sabbath and festival mornings.

Therefore, as a preliminary to comparing the various versions of the *qĕdûšâ* text in *I Enoch* to that of the traditions in Jewish liturgy, we must first identify in the *Parables* text the biblical traditions informing the latter, and the transformations of those traditions as well.

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25. Joseph Heinemann, ed., Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Literature," in *The Literature of the Synagogue* (New York: Behrman House, 1975), 76.

26. Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud; Forms and Patterns*, Forschungen Zur Wissenschaft Des Judentums (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1977), 232.

27. Joseph Heinemann and Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Literature," 75–6.

28. Joseph Heinemann and Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Literature," 231.

In our text we find the angelic hosts reciting the texts of Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12 with typical (to the *Parables*,) alterations and substitutions, (e.g. "Lord of Spirits" in place of "Lord".)

Parables 39:12b Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Spirits, He fills the earth with spirits.	Isa 6:3b Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory. קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מְלוֹא כָל־הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ

This verse elicits a response of "Blessed" in all of the standard liturgical versions:

Ezek 3:12b בָּרוּךְ- כְּבוֹד־יְהוָה מִמְּקוֹמוֹ --*bârûk kĕbôd-yhwh mîm-mĕqômô,*

Blessed be the glory of God from his place.

Parables, however, has a response that differs from the above:

39:13b: *buruka ʾenta wa-buruk semu la-ʾegziʾa la-ʿālama ʿālam,*

Blessed are you and blessed is the name of the Lord for ever and ever.

This response is fascinating and intriguing. While the text has no complete parallel either in the traditional liturgy or in biblical texts, its various parts have a familiar ring. The second person address, appropriate to the context of *I Enoch*, is interesting in that this was a late biblical innovation (1 Chr 29:10)[29] and popularly adopted in Rabbinic prayer which diverged from biblical prayer by inserting the pronoun *ʾăttâ* in the blessing formula, seemingly to make prayer more intimate through the direct second person address of the deity. The second part of the verse, "Blessed is the name of the Lord for ever and ever" also bears affinity to the rabbinically ordained response to the *šĕmāʿ*:

בָּרוּךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד --*barûk šem kĕbôd malkûtô lĕ-ʿôlam wâ-ʿed*

Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever.

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29. Nickelsburg provides an expanded list of citations to this formula: Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 235.

We should not be surprised to find elements of the *šĕmāʿ* section of the liturgy in association with the *qĕdûšâ* in *Parables*, as the *yoṣer* version of the *qĕdûšâ* is closely associated with the *šĕmāʿ* rubric. This particular verse however is unique to the Enoch tradition:

39:10b-11 Blessed is He and may he be blessed from of old and for ever. And before him there is no reckoning. He knew before the creation of the world what would be forever[30], and for all the generations that would come to be.	*39:10b-11 burruk weʾetu wa-yetbār(r)akʾem qedem wa-ʾeska la-ʿālam 11 wa-qedmēhu maxellaqtʾalbo ::: weʾetu yaʾammerʾem-qedma yetfaṭṭar ʿālam ment weʾetu ===ʿālam wa-la-tewledda tewledd za-yekawwenu:::*

While the second verse seems to imitate biblical language as it recalls Ps 90, Ps 145: 2- 3 and Isa 46:8-10, it is the first which most attracts our attention. The Enochic association of the *šĕmāʿ* rubric to the *qĕdûšâ* is supported by our closest textual parallel, in 3 Enoch, where the full rabbinic version of the response to the *šĕmāʿ* appears : "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever."[31] The appearance of the *yoṣēr* version of the *šĕmāʿ* in two Enoch texts may indicate a tradition held in common. The significance of this is heightened if we regard this as an indication of a stream of tradition that is largely independent of that of *1Enoch* book 1.

As we have noted the order of these passages is different from that of the received liturgy, with the Psalms-inspired passage preceding rather than following the other two recitations. It is also of note that there is a significant difference in content between the received liturgy and the *Parables* text: the particular

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30. 2080 follows the Eth 1 reading. rather than "what the world would become." of Eth 2 Black and Vanderkam, *1 Enoch*, 198. He notes the parallel idea in CD 2.9-10 that God knows what would happen through eternity. To this we should add *Jub.*1:26: "Now write all these words which I tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity -- until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity" , v.88 p.6.

31. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257, 1:12 and 311, 48B.

reference to Zion in the Rabbinic liturgy, referring poetically to the people of Zion, is not present in the *Parables* text, nor is the notion of Divine kingship to be found in the latter. It is in keeping with the rest of the *Parables* that references to the people of Israel and particularistic practices and terminology are extremely rare in *Parables*, as they are in all the Enoch materials.

In Rabbinic tradition, The *qĕdûšâ* exists in a confusing array of forms, and this may attest to it being part of the general heritage of Second Temple Judaism. We have already alluded to the strong association of the *qĕdûšâ*, with Sabbath and festival worship. From the confusing array of forms in the Rabbinic and earlier tradition, and the tracing of all of the various types and sub-types of the *qĕdûšâ* a highly significant conclusion has found acceptance in recent years: all of the various versions of the *qĕdûšâ* in liturgical use derive from two ancient Palestinian prayer formulations *both of which are associated with the prayers of the Sabbath and festivals.* [32]

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32. See the very important discussion of this consensus, and Chazon's challenge to it, in Esther G. Chazon, "The Qedushah Liturgy and Its History in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *From Qumran to Cairo: Studies in the History of Prayer*, J. Tabory (Jerusalem: Orhot [ʾôrḥôt] Press, 1999), 8. Chazon's analysis of 4Q503 and 4Q408 lead her to conclude: "The Daily Prayers of 4Q50 now reveal that praise with the angels was part of a **daily** liturgy in *Eretz Israel* during the Second Temple period, used at least by some groups and probably not just by the Qumran community. *Prima facie*, these results seem to point to an early Palestinian practice of daily (even twice daily) praise with the angels, which was later limited to Sabbaths and Festivals. However we cannot rule out the possiblity that two or even more different customs existed side by side, and such a possibility is even raised by the discovery at Qumran of both the Daily Prayers of 4Q503 and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.* In any case suggesting a Palestinian origin for what later became a Babylonian custom, these daily prayers from Qumran constitute a a good starting point for a rexamination (sic) of ancient Palestinian practices and of the relationship between Palestinian and Babylonian prayer rites and customs." (p.15). While Chazon's observations about joint angelic-human praise at Qumran are incisive, she admits that none of the texts she examines from Qumran actually contain

The *šĕmāʿ* Rubric in Zahavy

Tzvee Zahavy offers an dynamic, though it must be admitted, speculative, explanation of the development of standard Jewish liturgies, in which two separate liturgical units, the *tĕpîllâ,* and the *šĕmāʿ* are later combined in Jewish prayer:

> Specific historical, social, and political conditions contributed to the distinct origin of two major Rabbinic services. In the crucial transitional period after the destruction of the Temple, the

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the *qĕdûšâ*.(p.7). She also specifically excludes the *Parables* from the discussion, "The Similitudes of Enoch and the Book of Revelations, which do quote the *Qedushah* verses, are not relevant to this discussion because of their eschatological and heavenly setting. Luke 2:14, although often cited in studies of the *Qedushah,* is a theophany of the heavenly realm and describes angelic praise, not human praise with the angels."(p.7 n.1). Chazon frames her discussion around the phenomenon of joint human-angelic praise, and concludes that it was likely a feature of twice-daily liturgy, for the renewal of the heavenly lights, morning and evening. But contra this argument, since the actual words of the *qĕdûšâ* are not present in either week-day or Sabbath liturgies at Qumran, we may be justified in maintaining that *Parables* have a great deal more bearing on the history of the *qĕdûšâ* than do the Qumran texts and should not so quickly be excluded from the discussion. In addition to the valuable bibliography and summary of the major arguments in Chazon's article cited above, see Moshe Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," in *Time to Prepare a Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls,* eds. Deborah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1994), 131, especially. n.3. Even before the discovery of the Qumran materials, the rich trove of manuscripts preserved in the Cairo Genizah revealed significant sources of the study of the *qĕdûšâ* prayer. However, many of the seminal studies of this material have appeared only in recent years, with the publication and study of much of this great literary treasure of Jewish documents, including much liturgical material. Now there is ample material to make clear some of the history of the *qĕdûšâ* in its various forms and to apply the findings of this research.

> *Shema*ᶜ emerged as the primary ritual of the scribal profession and its proponents. The Amidah (i.e., the "Standing Prayer," known also as the *Tefillah*...at this formative time was a ritual sponsored mainly by the patriarchal families and their priestly adherents. Compromises between the factions in post 70 Judaism later led to the adoptions of the two liturgies in tandem at the primary core of public Jewish prayer. But this came about only after intense struggles among competing groups for social and political dominance over the Jewish community at large and concomitantly for the primacy of their prospective liturgies.[33]

For our purposes it is important to note that the *ʿămîdâ* and the *šĕmāʿ* each have their own versions of the *qĕdûšâ*. This serves to illustrate Zahavy's point of competing liturgical systems, though Zahavy does not focus on the role played by different versions of the *qĕdûšâ*. Zahavy associates the *šĕmā*ᶜ rubric with the "scribal brotherhoods." as opposed to the "deposed priestly aristocracy." -- In the texts of the latter group, i.e. the ᶜ*ămîdâ*, priestly and aristocratic themes abound. "In this perspective the kingship-motif served as a justification of priestly and patriarchal authority as post-destruction client rulers of the community implicitly for Rome, and explicitly for God."[34]

On the other hand, the *šĕmā*ᶜ rubric in its present form reflects theological themes associated with the Scribes. Zahavy describes the dominant themes as : "love of God; unity of God; centrality of Torah..."[35] More telling are the themes which are not present in this rubric, but are found in the competing rubric of the ᶟ*ămîdâ* : "The primary motifs of the national cult in Jerusalem are noticeably *missing* from

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33. Tzvee Zahavy, *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 87. Reid urges caution in accepting Zahavy's explanation of the origins of these two rubrics. However he writes: "It is of course possible that these two central pillars of rabbinic liturgy originated in different contexts. There are certainly enough of these, be they cultic, devotional, ascetic, intellectual, mystical, or personal, to provide the relevant sources but, as yet, insufficient information to permit any more than undocumented speculation. Zahavy's linkage of the *shema*ᶜ to scribal circles and the ᶜ*amida* to the priesthood is certainly questionable, and strong arguments could be raised for precisely the opposite attribution. He is, however, correct in stressing the important role of the early talmudic Rabbis in amalgamating the *shema*ᶜ and ᶟ*amida* into a compound liturgy." Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," 435.

34. Zahavy, *Studies*, 89.

35. Zahavy, *Studies*, 89–90.

both the *Shema*ᶜ from the frame of blessings that surrounds it. Such ideas and institutions as the Temple, the priesthood, Jerusalem, and Davidic lineage, all prominent motifs in the Amidah, are not primary concerns of the framers of the *Shema*ᶜ "[36]

Zahavy finds that the framing blessings of the *šĕmāᶜ* in the morning, the framework that contains the *qĕdûšâ*, focus on "cosmic-mystical dimensions of the world, mention the love of God, and refer to the return to the Land of Israel, but interestingly, not to Jerusalem. The blessing recited in the morning, after the scriptural passages of the *Shema*ᶜ mentions the cosmic dimension and refers to the Exodus and the ultimate messianic redemption." [37] The blessing in the evening also refers to messianic redemption. Most of these themes of the *šĕmā'* rubric are key also to the *Parables*, to the Enoch literature, and to apocalyptic in general.[38] These points of contact between Jewish liturgy and apocalyptic deserve much greater attention, because they appear to indicate an organic link between these bodies of literature.

Our *Parables* text may help to solve a problem with Zahavy's theory; Zahavy runs into difficulty accounting for the emergence of the *šĕmāᶜ* rubric within the scribal social milieu, because of credible evidence that the *šĕmāᶜ* rubric goes back to the ancient Temple context. (m. Tamid 5:1) While the mishnaic report could plausibly be explained as an attempt to support an innovation by providing it with an ancient pedigree, Josephus' report is harder to ignore. As Zahavy notes, In *Ant*. 4:8; 13, the ancient author regards the *šĕmā'* as part of the morning service in the Jerusalem Temple.

The solution to the problem may be to seek the origin of Zahavy's "scribal brotherhood." in the apocalyptic sects, like those represented by the Qumran texts, who believed they were the true heirs to the original Temple worship, but whose true sanctuary was regarded as the cosmic realm, and whose true

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36. Zahavy, *Studies*, 91.

37. Zahavy, *Studies*, 92.

38. J. Gerald Janzen points to the likely reference to the language and theology of the *šĕmāᶜ* in a number of prophetic texts, among them Zech 14:9 which is a passage suffused with apocalyptic eschatology. This points to the importance of this prayer rubric in anti-heirocratic circles. Janzen's views are found in Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," 450–1.

priests were not hereditary aristocrats, but mystic adepts. This is not a radical idea in regard to the Enochic materials, for the authors of Enochic writings have long been seen as heir to disenfranchised heirocratic circles which emerged from priestly circles disenchanted with the Temple and its cult. It is our view that *Parables* represent an evolution of these ideas more extreme in their rejection of Jerusalem and its cult, even in the messianic era, than those expressed associated in other Enochic texts.

A *Habdālâ* Text in *Parables*

Our research has identified a second *Parables* text as belonging to a liturgical tradition associated with Sabbath and festival worship: *1Enoch* 41:8-9. The standard histories of Jewish liturgy, such as Elbogen's, extensively revised and brought up to date by Heinemann, while citing parallels to other apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books, do not mention this as an ancient version of the prayer. [39] This oversight would be odd, were it not for the textual confusion in the manuscripts which obscured the key word "distinction" from evidence.

The Prayers of Separation, *habdālôt*,[40] are a feature of the Jewish liturgy for marking the end of

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39. Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy; A Comprehensive History*, based on the original 1913 German edition, and the 1972 Hebrew edition. translated by Raymond P. Scheindlin, Joseph Heinemann et al. (New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 5753). Nor does Licht cite this in his convenient handbook on the origins of Jewish festivals, though other texts in the *Parables* are occasionally cited. Jacob Licht, *Time and Holy Days in the Biblical and the Second Commonwealth Periods [Hebrew]*, The Biblical Encyclopedia Library (Jerusalem: Defus Daf-Noi, 1988). Nor do the standard commentaries of *I Enoch*, mention this connection to Jewish prayer. Nor does Wieder, in his important article on the Old Palestinian Ritual, in which Geniza versions of the prayer are compared, mention this parallel. Naphtali Wieder, *hîtgabšût nûsaḥ ha-tĕpillāh ba-mîzraḥ û-ba-maᶜărab: qôbbeṣ maᵓămarîm [Collected Essays] 2 vv.* (Yad Yîṣḥaq ben-Ṣĕbî, 1998).

40. There a multiple "distinctions," made, hence the plural, but we shall henceforth refer to both the prayer and the ritual in the singular.

the Sabbath and festivals. In the traditional liturgy there are two settings for the performance of the *habdālâ* ritual, the home and the synagogue, which likely reflect a tension between competing liturgical systems and origins in divergent social settings.[41] Zahavy's dynamic picture of liturgies being shaped by competing social groups attempts to take account of the diversity of later traditions. In his view, The *habdālâ* prayer cycle is most likely a feature of prayer rituals, like the *šĕmā*ᶜ rubric, which had its origin in some customs of the Temple, and which was later adopted by apocalyptic and messianic worship fellowships for their own version of "Temple" worship. These groups diverged after the Maccabean period and their customs informed both the Rabbinic/Scribal fellowships, which emphasized the authority of the sages and the election of Israel and groups such as those which produced Enoch material, whose emphasis was on cosmic matters. Both groups shared an emphasis on messianic redemption, but the Enochite groups did not share a yearning for Davidic restoration or, for that matter, for an earthly nationalistic restoration.

Evidence from the texts of the Cairo Geniza paint a picture of an extremely fluid tradition in regard to the contents of the *habdālâ* in ancient Palestine. We note a few features of the Geniza texts that reflect this diversity: The texts are characterized by direct address: "ᵓ*attâ hîbdalta* -- You have distinguished". Also of note is that the number of divisions is multiplied in various texts, clean/unclean, sea/dry land, upper

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41. Most scholars agree that the *habdālâ* originated in a prayer said at the table, in the home. As with the *qĕdûšâ*, later tradition offers a number of different explanations for the origins of this tradition. The Talmud reports that it was instituted as a synagogal benediction by the Men of the Great Assembly, (*Pesaḥ*. 103b and *Ber*. 33a.) reprinted in: Hananel Mack, *Mîqrâᵓ be-ḥēqer ha-tepîllâ*, Lîqqûtēy tarbîṣ (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2003), 200. The Talmud also suggests that the origin of the custom was in the syngagogue, and that when affluence increased, and more people could afford wine at home, that the ceremony moved to a new setting. Nulman suggests that the opposite was true, that there was a transfer of the prayers to the synagogue liturgy due to the cessation of ancient customs and the lack of wine in certain areas of Palestine. Others suggest that the change came about in Babylonia where wine was scarce. These are hardly satisfying explanations; Macy Nulman, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Prayer* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aaronson, 1993), 103.

and lower waters, appear in various Geniza texts. This reflects an early emphasis on "cosmic" and creation themes in the *habdālôt* which were later refocused on the exclusivist and particularist distinctions of the *sôpĕrîm*.[42] It is interesting to note that the division between light and darkness, (which would seem to be intrinsic to the recitation of a prayer designated for the end of the Sabbath, in which light is a central motif,) *is not found in all texts*.[43] The great variation in the Palestinian texts illuminates the background of the discussion in *Pes*. 10 which reflects a conflict among the Tannaim of the proper number of distinctions. (from one to seven are considered,) and the proper text forms. Confirming the historicity of this debate, we see that in Wieder's first Palestinian text, CUL, T-S. H. 2/152 not just three, but seven distinctions are made The first four are between *holy and holy*, (because this is a version of the prayer adapted for a festival falling at the end of the Sabbath, and thus a distinction must be made between two *different* holy periods,) between the Sabbath and the festival, between unclean and pure, between the sea and dry land, between the upper waters and the lower waters, between Israel and the nations, and once more between the holiness [es] of the holiday[s], (repetition.) In Wieder's second text, God is praised for distinguishing between holy and profane, the upper waters and the lower waters, between the sea and the dry land, between Israel and the nations, between the seventh day and the six days of work/creation, and between light and darkness.

Wieder concludes that whereas in Babylonia, (presumably a later form of the tradition,) where three (four including the Shabbat) distinctions were fixed, in Palestinian practice other distinctions were made, and the number seems to have been in considerable flux. The Talmudic discussion makes clear the view that the opening and closing formulae are not to be counted among the distinctions of the prayer. Thus if we are to count in the traditional fashion we would find three distinctions in the standard prayer, and a maximum of six in the Geniza fragments, (*Pes*. 104a.)

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42. Naphtali Wieder, "The Old Palestinian Ritual -- New Sources," *Journal for Jewish Studies* 4, no. 1–2 (1953): 33; cf. *Pes*. 104a .

43. Wieder, "Old Palestinian," 37.

The Talmud discusses an additional distinction: "Between Priest, Levites and Israelites." This would bring the number to seven. Some ancient authorities expressed their wish to remove the distinction of "sea from dry land", and indeed it was expunged, but an example of this text has been recovered from the Geniza fragment published by Wieder. Removing this distinction was, however, problematic for those who wished to utter the maximum number. Other ways of counting to get to seven were therefore devised, i.e. considering the 'divisions' of Priest, Levite and Israelite to be two rather than one. It is interesting to note that this latter division reflects an inner-Jewish social division.

I Enoch 41:8-9 offers the following text which appears to parallel in significant respects the standard Jewish prayer recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath, and also reflects aspects of the earlier Palestinian prayer tradition. EMML 2080 is the only manuscript, so far identified, that contains the word "*distinguished*" (Ethiopic *falaṭa*). All other manuscripts contain instead the word *created: "faṭara*," followed by the preposition *between, "ʾenta*," which yields little sense as translated in the standard editions.

8 ʾesma ḍaḥay bezuxa muyʾātē botu la-barakat wa-la-margam :: wa-marwāṣa fenotu la-warx la-ṣadqān berhān wa-la-xaṭeʾān ṣelmat ::: ba-semu la-ʾegziʾa za-falaṭa[44]*māʾkala berhān wa-māʾkala ṣelmat :: wa-kafala manfasomu la-ṣabʾ wa-ʾaṣneʿa manfasōmu la-ṣādqān ba-sema ṣedqa ziʾahu:: 9 ʾesma malʾak ʾi-'yekleʾ wa-selṭān*[45] *ʾi-'yekel kaliʾa ʾesma makʷannen la-kʷellomu yerēʾʾi wa-ʾellonta kʷellomu ba-qedmēhu weʾetu yekʷannen :::*	8) Because the sun makes many revolutions, for a blessing and for a curse. And the course of the journey of the moon is light to the righteous but is darkness to the sinners, in the name of the Lord who distinguishes between light and between darkness, and who separates the spirits of men and strengthens the spirits of the righteous in his righteous name. 9) Because neither angel nor any power can hinder, because the Judge sees them all and judges all of them before himself.

The *Parables* text, as a unit, offers a threefold series of distinctions and a pairing of opposites. In 41:8 we have light and darkness, righteous and sinners. Then in the continuation of the verse which begins with the phrase "in the name of the Lord of Spirits" seeming to indicate an oath

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44. Unique to 2080

45. *selṭān* for *šelṭān*.

formula, there is the key concept "distinguishes between." This is followed by the concepts of distinguishing between light and darkness, and the spirits of men, (Ethiopic *sab*ɔ, man/mankind.) Then the righteous are mentioned again in the context of judgment, (in which case we might assume that the sinners or unrighteous are present by implication.) At least three distinctions are thus made; the distinction between light and darkness, the distinction of righteous from sinners, and finally the distinction between the "spirits of people", although the nature of the latter distinction is obscure to the modern reader.

Comparing *Parables* to the Jewish blessing in its standard form we find in the latter these four distinctions: between 1) holy and profane, 2) light and darkness, 3) Israel and the nations, and 4) the six days of work and the seventh day. The prayer, as it occurs in two places in the Sabbath liturgy, reads as follows in a standard Ashkenazic version:

> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who makest a distinction between holy and profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the other nations, between the seventh day and the six working days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest a distinction between holy and profane.[46]

The key phrase in the *Parables* text, "Who makes a distinction." is also the essential element in the well-known Jewish prayer. Verbal affinity, however, would not be sufficient to link these two textual traditions. This individual phrase in *Parables*, does not indicate, in itself, dependence on liturgical texts, as it can be traced back to numerous biblical verses, mainly in Genesis and Leviticus in which God distinguishes between night and day, holy and profane etc. As we look further we find other links between the texts. The closest parallel is in the juxtaposition of "light and darkness," together with "Israel and the nations" in the liturgy, and "light and darkness," plus "separates the spirits of man/men" in *Parables*. Both texts follow what is essentially a biblical progression, where the cosmic distinctions of Gen 1 between light and darkness are followed by the emergence of human beings who are separated into lineages and tribal groupings. The emphasis in Jewish prayer is on the differentiation of the Jewish people from the other nations, and this is reflected in the *habdālâ*.

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46. Philip Birnbaum, ed., *Ha-sîddûr ha-šâlêm* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1949), 552.

The *Parables* text emphasizes another distinction, between the "spirits of men." an obscure phrase which may indicate a moral division between the righteous and the evildoers. This is certainly a type of coded language, that may reflect inner-Jewish social conflict, or perhaps a later development in which righteousness is seen to transcend ethnic or traditional religious boundaries. Yet another possible interpretation of this phrase, "spirits of men," in the third distinction of the *Parables* text relies upon affinities with the "Treatise of the Two Spirits," contained in a number of manuscripts of QS, especially 1QS 3:13-4:26. It is likely that its origin is pre-Qumranic, and was almost certainly part of the Enochic tradition, and may well have been part of the general heritage of Second Temple Judaism. A similar doctrine is also found in the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs in various sections. According to these doctrines, the make-up of the human soul is established according to proportions of light and darkness, or good and evil. These proportions, and hence one's fate can be ascertained my means of signs and portents available to the wise. The mixing of themes of creation, connected to Gen 1 and Wisdom make the context remarkably similar to our *habdālâ* text.[47].

4Q416 lines 15-16[48] presents, in the context of a wisdom poem, a threefold *habdāl*â : "That the just man may distinguish between good and evil, the inclination of the flesh, and those who understand." Also in this connection we cite CD 6:15-19: "They should take care to to act in accordance with the exact interpretation of the law for age of wickedness; to keep apart from the sons of the pit; to abstain from wicked wealth which defiles, either by promise or by vow, and from the wealth of the temple and from

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47. I am grateful to Kamilla Skarström for bringing this treatise to my attention. Kamilla Skarström, "The Meaning of *Ruah* in 1QS 3:123–4:26," The Junior Enoch Conference (University of Michigan, 2006). Newsom has made the connection of the theme of the Treatise to Genesis 1 in Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Construction Community and Identify at Qumran*, STDJ (Leiden: Brill, 2004), and her views are summarized by Skarström. We will discuss the possible interpretations of this distinction in another section of the forthcoming dissertation project.

48. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 2998.

stealing from the poor of his people, making widows their spoils and murdering orphans; to separate [וּלְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין] unclean from clean and differentiate between [וּלְהוֹדִיעַ בֵּין]the holy and common; to keep the sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the festivals and the day of fasting according to what was discovered by those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus; to set apart holy portions according to their exact intepretation; for each to love his brother like himself; to stengthen the hand of the poor, the needy and the foreigner..."[49] Here we see a combination of themes, as in some of the traditional *habdāl*â texts, ritual and ethical elements are combined. The stress placed on proper calendrical observance makes it particularly interesting to compare to the *Parables* text, which expresses a like concern in the same context.

It is finally the cosmic and temporal contexts that links the *Parables* 41:8-9 text with the liturgical element known from later Jewish tradition. In *Parables* 41:7 the "distinctions" are situated within the context the renewal of the heavenly luminaries, the sun and the moon, upon their return from having traversed their heavenly course.

Parables 41:7

41:7 After that I saw[50] (both) the hidden and the visible path of the moon; and the path of its orbit it completes in that place by day and by night. And the one looks to the other in the presence of the glory of the Lord of Spirits and they acclaim and give praise and will not rest because their praise is rest to them.	*41: 7 wa-ʾem-dexra-ze reʾiku*[51] *fenota za-xabuʾ wa-za-kašut za-warx wa-mexwāra fenotu = yefēṣṣem ba-weʾetu makān ba-maʿālt wa-ba-lēlit wa-{1} la-kālʾu yenēṣṣero ba-qedma ʾegziʾa manfasāt wa-yaʾakʷetu wa-yesēbbeḥu wa-ʾi-'yaʿarrefu ʾesma ʾakʷatētomu ʿeraft weʾetu lomu ::*

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49. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS Stud Ed*, 559.

50. George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch;* A New Translation *Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), loc cit; as the translators note, very few manuscripts have this verb, but it necessary to supply it to render the sense.

51. Verb missing in all other manuscripts. Supplied by Charles in his Ethiopic text.

The ideas expressed in 41:7 find their temporal and liturgical locus especially at the end of the Sabbath and festivals. In 41:7 it is possible that this constitutes a tendentious illustration of the belief that the angelic praise does not cease on the Sabbath, and most importantly, that this activity does not violate the prohibition on work.[52] The idea that light is associated with knowledge is also expressed explicitly in 41:8, where the first "distinction" is combined with such phrases as "the course of the moon's path is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners. The close Wisdom association with the context is further reinforced by the contents of *Parables* 42, the poem in which wisdom, personified, cannot find an earthly abode and so retreats to the heavens. Neither the timing of the recitation of the Prayers of Distinction in the ancient Palestinian rite, normally at Sabbath's end, nor the association of the prayer with the fourth benediction of the *ʿămîdâ* or as an independent fourth prayer in some Palestinian traditions is accidental. Weinfeld argues convincingly that there is a strong association of wisdom themes, prayers for knowledge and for the renewal of the heavenly bodies, in ancient, (and received,) Jewish liturgy. Furthermore Weinfeld finds the themes of knowledge and separation to be most evident in the evening prayers at the end of Sabbath and festivals. He writes concerning the *maʿărîb ʿărābîm*, the evening version of the prayer over the heavenly luminaries within the *šěmaʿ* framework:

> The image of God as ordering seasons and separating light from darkness through wisdom and knowledge is in fact incorporated in the Evening Service in the המעריב [ham-mâʿărîb] *benediction*: בחכמה פותח שׁערום ובתבונה משׁנה עתים ומחליף את הזמנים ... ומבדיל בין יום ובין לילה1 *"in wisdom* He opens the gates and *in understanding changes* the seasons...and distinguishes between day and night." This distinction between light and darkness linked to knowledge finds its clearest expression in the liturgy in the prayers אתה חוננתנו למדע תורתך [Thou hast been gracious in teaching us of thy

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52. In my estimation, this appears to be a commentary on the tradition related in *Jub.* 2:18 in which it is reported that the angels in heaven are enjoined to keep the Sabbath. *Parables* 41:7 allows for the perpetual praise of God, which is not "work," but rather,"rest." Since the service of the angels is equivalent to the service of priests performing the earthly sacrifices, the one exception to the prohibition of work allowed by human priests, this praise is allowed by the angelic priests in heaven. This follows Doering's interpretation of the angelic observance of the Sabbath in *Jubilees*: Lutz Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees (Texte und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum; 65)*, Jörg Frey, Armin Lange, and Matthias Albani eds. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 197.

> Torah] and ותודיענו [wa-tôdî֒ēynû -- Grant us wisdom] [53] recited at the close of the Sabbath, the former when a weekday follows, the latter when a festival commences. Both these prayers begin with a theme of דעת [Wisdom] and proceed to enumerate the distinctions between holy and profane, light and darkness, Sabbath and weekday. The rabbis, at least as far as the first of the two is concerned, prescribed its recitation as part of the Benediction of Knowledge, אתה חונן... דעת (m. Ber. 5:2).[54]

In the current organization of Jewish liturgy, the *habdālâ* prayers include three benedictions before the *ham-mabdîl* prayer. The first two are prayers over wine and spices, said to be reminiscent of the incense burned in the Temple of Jerusalem. The third prayer is over the special braided candle. The word used, " מְאוֹרֵי הָאֵשׁ", luminaries of fire, calls to mind the vocabulary of Gen 1. Immediately following this *ham-mabdîl*, the Prayers of Distinction are recited.

Not only are prayers for the renewal of heavenly bodies associated with a temporal and calendrical context, but the timing of these prayers may also be linked to intercessory prayers related to the impending judgment. This is a rather speculative proposal, yet it is worth noting that according to many rabbinic traditions, the end of the Sabbath is in particular a time associated with the judgment of souls, and hence the Sabbath afternoon liturgy is replete with references to intercessory prayers on behalf of human sinners. This concern is particularly abundant in the entire first parable:[55]

Most significant is the wisdom context which provides the strongest link between the constellation of ideas in *Parables* and the *habdālâ*, and especially the way heavenly bodies are understood to provide guidance for the wise. The idea that the sun and moon may represent either a blessing, to the righteous, or a curse, to the sinful, is not immediately transparent. However Sirach provides the key that opens up the symbolic world of *I Enoch*, and also provides insight into the early development of Jewish prayer.

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53. This is one of the places where tradition prescribes the recitation of the *habdālâ*.

54. Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 147 The italics are original, but I have added the explanations in brackets.

55. The theme of impending judgment and the possibility of repentance is also found throughout: 41:9, 41:2, 40:9, 39:2, 38:3-6. But see especially 39:5 [The angels] interceded and petitioned and prayed on behalf of the children of the people", and 40:6: "And the third voice I heard interceding and praying on behalf of those who dwell upon the earth and supplicating in the name of the Lord of Spirits."

Sirach 43:1-12 deals with the sun, moon, stars, firmaments, and rainbow, and elucidates their meaning within a Wisdom context. We provide here Argall's translation:[56]

Sirach 43

1a The beauty of heaven and the brightness of the firmament,
b the heaven is mighty, the sign of its radiance.
2a The sun shines fully when it comes out,
b an awesome object, the work of the Most High,
3a In the noontime, it brings the world to a boil,
b and before its heat, who can endure?
4a Like a flaming furnace, a work of cast metal
b a ray of the sun burns up the mountains,
c A tongue of fire consumes the inhabited land,
d and the eye is scorched from its fire.
5a For great is the Lord who made it,
b and by his word, he directs its journey[57]
6a And the moon also prescribes the times,
b ruling the seasons, and an eternal sign.
7a By it is the appointed time and from it, the festival
b a light that takes pleasure in its waning.
8a The new moon like its name ever renews itself,
b how awesome in its changes.
c an instrument of the host of water-skins on high,
d it paves the firmament with its shining
9a The beauty of heaven and glory of the stars,
b a shining ornament in the heights of God.
10a At the word of the Lord, it stands as prescribed,
b and does not hang low in their night watch.

In the following verses, 43:9-22, the meteorological phenomena are described, hail, lightning, thunder, destructive winds, snows etc.[58]

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56. Randal Argall, *1Enoch And Sirach; A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation, and Judgment*, Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995), 145–6.

57. Here following Argall's reading according to the greek πορεία--*poreia* instead of the Hebrew --אַבִּירִיו*abbîrāyw*. See his note Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 146 n.361.

58. Joshua Bloch pointed out the influence of I Enoch in the conception of the distribution of both restorative and destructive dews from the heavens in the liturgical materials and midrashic expositions of later Judaism. He collected liturgical references to the idea of a dew of resurrection that would restore the

Argall's interpretation of the respective roles of the moon and the sun is most instructive in this context:

> Ben Sira's description of the function of the moon must also be understood against the background of the doctrine of opposites. The moon marks the passing of "times" (עתות,) 43:6a) and each "season" (קץ, 43:6b) as an enduring sign. As he did in 33[36]:8-9, ben Sira is commenting on the role of the moon in the lunisolar calendar. Its special function is to designate the "sacred times" (מו[ע]ד) and "festivals" (חג), 43:7a). In addition to this function, which ben Sira exploited earlier for his doctrine of opposites, there is a second way in which the moon brings the blessing of God to the righteous.
>
> Like the sun which burns up the earth, the moon too has a meteorological function. The lunar alterations or changes are awesome (43:8b) because they have a weather effect for the inhabitants of earth. Commentators have long noted the expression "instrument of the host" (כלי צבא, 43:8c) in combination with "shining" (זהר, 43:8d) is a metaphor for "the fire signal or beacon which in front of the camp or army serves to control and direct is movements. Thus, the moon signals "the host of water-skins on high," or an army of clouds, to pour down rain. The idea is related to the hellenistic notion that the moon can be watched for signs of impending rains (cf. *1 En*. 80:4-5). The rains can be either severe or gentle, they can curse or bless...[59]

In Argall's interpretation of the destructive weather phenomena which God has stored up in the vaults of heaven, (43:13-22) he understands that "The time and purpose for using the storehouse is related to the execution of judgment."[60]

In relation to the theme of *habdālâ*, two points can be made. One is that the idea of "distinctions and separations" is intrinsically related to the doctrine of opposites, is rooted in the structure of the universe

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flesh to the dry bones of the righteous. "In the Synagogue liturgy, too, the role of dew as conceived in Jewish apocalyptic lore is not overlooked. It is the subject of several liturgical compositions. In his dew-prayer *tal-ten*, a reversed alphabetical acrostic poem, Eliezer ha-Kalir beseeches God to "Grant dew to favor they land.../Restore thy beloved city -- with dew" an apocalyptic echo of Israel's messianic hope." Joshua Bloch, *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism*, JQR Monograph Series (Philadelphia: Dropise College, 1952), 108. Bloch points to many fruitful avenues of exploration of the reflexes of Second Temple period Jewish apocalyptic thought in liturgical materials. This discussion should be brought up to date with our understanding of the way that Wisdom themes and motifs are utilized in apocalyptic literature.

59. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 147.

60. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 148.

and is reflected, according to ancient witnesses such as *Sirach*, in the very structure of the created world. Second, the description of heavenly phenomena in the *Enoch* passages related to judgment, while appearing digressive to modern eyes, does bear an intrinsic connection to ideas of judgment expressed within the text, and is rooted in the wisdom context of the Enoch narratives.

The *habdālâ* prayer is associated with the Sabbath and festivals, indeed its liturgical purpose in Jewish prayer is to mark the separation of the Sabbath from the other days of the week. Once again, while we acknowledge that the text of *Parables* 41 does not mention the Sabbath, nevertheless, both the context and the content of the *Parables* support the association of the texts with Sabbath and festival worship.[61]

Observance of the Sabbath in Apocalyptic Literature and Apocalyptic Communities

We offer here a few thoughts on the role of the Sabbath in apocalyptic texts and some of the evidence from Qumran that may bear on the question of how texts associated with Sabbath worship may have functioned within *Parables*.[62]

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61. We may conclude tentatively that the text of distinctions *is separable from the Sabbath formulae which precede and follow it.* Therefore the absence of these formulae in a non-liturgical context commends the parallel rather than detracts from it. Nor must the number of distinctions necessarily be three for there to be a formal link between the two texts.

62. See: Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, Harvard Semitic Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); On the question of which texts found at Qumran may reflect a pre-Qumran Second Temple heritage, see: Carol A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, vol. 1, W.H ed Propp and and D.N. Freedman B. Halperin, Biblical and Judaic Studies (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87; The question of joint human and angelic worship has been framed in a seminal article by Esther Chazon: Esther G. Chazon, "Liturgical

First, it is instructive to consider "The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice" (4QShirShabb[a-h] and related Masada texts) as a model of how a blend of human and angelic worship may have been conceptualized by one sect that may possibly have had a common origin with that which produced the *Parables*.[63] Baumgarten agrees with Newsom when he expresses the view that the vocabulary of 4QShirShabb[a-h]:

> ... supports the editor's impression that they were designed to evoke the feeling of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angels. Yet there is no reference to any individual's ecstatic trance or ascent to heaven, nor to the perils which esoteric tradition associated with such experiences...through the numinous portrayal of the heavenly sanctuary in the *Songs of the Sabbath*, the human worshippers were transported progressively from the vestibules of the Hekhal, through the wondrously embroidered veil of the sanctuary, to the base of the divine throne, and finally to the vision of the *Merkabah*. The Sabbath sacrifice served as the climax of this progression.[64]

Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran STDJ 35*, D.K Falk, E.M. García Martínez (Boston: Brill, 2000), 95–105; Chazon, "Qedushah Liturgy". Also see: Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature 19–23 January and Esther G. Chazon ed. (Boston: Brill, 2003), 35–48. Finally, the specific question of how one may identify a Sabbath liturgical prayer is discussed in her important article: Esther G. Chazon, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1992–03): 1–21.

63. All of these possible connections are, of course, highly debated.

64. Joseph Baumgarten, "The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and Rabbinic Merkabah Traditions," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 200–10; Paolo De Souza Nogueira, "Ecstatic Worship in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471B, 4Q427, 4Q491C) Implications for the Understanding of an Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Phenomenon," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, F. García Martínez (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2003), 385–93. The views of Newsom and Baumgarten are in contrast to the view put forth by Himmelfarb, that the text of 4QShirShab, and of the apocalypses such as I

How the text of Sabbath ascents of 4QShirShabb[a-h] was understood to function in a liturgical setting is open to multiple interpretations.[65] Among the possibilities are that this text implies that the human congregation as a whole is to be transported to the heavenly temple, or if only adepts are thought to ascend on high, they might then report back to the earthly congregation. Important questions must be raised: Are the prayers of both earthly and heavenly congregations considered efficacious? What is the relationship between the two? While it appears that our texts may emerge from a similar thought-world, few conclusions can be drawn, as we do not know how the songs of 4QShirShabb[a-h]functioned in its context, not can we be precise as to the relationship of *Parables* to 4QShirShabb[a-h].

If the Judean Desert text *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* describes ascent to a heavenly temple as feature of Sabbath worship, it would appear to share a conception of Sabbath worship that may also be inferred from another work, apparently foundational to the Qumran sectarians, the *Book of Jubilees*. Doering identifies communion with angelic hosts as a central element of Sabbath worship in *Jubilees*. "*Israel's identity and its sabbath observance are unseparably (sic) connected* by the fact that *both are founded in the first sabbath*."[Italics original][66] Lutz Doering concludes that in *Jubilees*, the two higher classes of angels are enjoined to observe a complete rest on the Sabbath, to be spent in worship of God. Similarly, among the classes of people on earth, the Israelites represent a chosen group who must (exclusively) observe the Sabbath, offering praise to God. "It follows that *Israel should keep sabbath in*

Enoch, are literary productions and not meant to inspire the experiences of ascent or ecstatic worship on the part of human congregations. In fact, she argues, Enoch does not ascend in a mystical trance, but is brought up to heaven, an experience that should be referred to as *rapture*. See: Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 95–114.

65. For a survey of the evidence of fixed prayer at Qumran, including Sabbath prayer, see: Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, Jonathan Chipman (New York: Brill, 1994), 47–87. Her discussion of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices and the significant absence of praise of God's holiness, the central feature of the *qedûšâ*, see pp. 367-9.

66. Doering, "Concept," 187.

community with the two higher classes of angels [italics original]...Thus Israel's holiness is realized in its cultic community with the angels on the sabbath."[67]

The *Parables* texts we have discussed portray a crucial human role in the performance of the *qĕdûšâ*, but not on earth, rather, *on high in the heavenly court*, which is to be understood, with Himmelfarb, as constituting a heavenly temple as well.[68] Enoch and translated human souls are active participants in the *heavenly* worship. These representatives of the righteous community perform their parts in the chorale of divine adulation on behalf of the human congregations. In *Parables*, Enoch himself joins in the praise of God, speaking words which, in the later liturgical tradition, belong to the human worshiper. Similarly, although the manuscript traditions are somewhat confused, it appears that the vision, whether relating to the time of the judgment to come, or perhaps to the an intermediate stage of redemption and reward for some of the righteous, includes a chorus of translated human souls who are "holy ones" but perhaps not truly angelic. It may well be that the role of the human community in offering the divine praise as found in later Jewish and Christian tradition stands as within the same stream of tradition as such a mystical text as described in *I Enoch*, which interposes human representatives in the heavenly realm.

I Enoch may preserve an intermediate step in the conceptualization of communal worship later seen in *3 Enoch* and rabbinic prayer. Altman,[69]argues that the phrase "The holy ones and I shall sanctify thy name." indicates a transition between the two types of *qĕdûšâ*, removing primacy from the *yôṣēr*, with its emphasis on the angelic, to that of the *ʿămîdâ*, which stresses the role of the congregation of Israel. (The *yôṣēr*, we argued above, is the version of the *qĕdûšâ* with the greatest affinity to our *Parables* text.)

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67. Doering, "Concept," 187.

68. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 14–16.

69. Richard Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature 19–23 January and Esther G. Chazon ed. (Boston: Brill, 2003), 1 ff, cited in , 230 n.32. and see his extensive discussion there.

While Heinemann does not necessarily accept this argument, preferring to hold that many different traditions may have co-existed in ancient Palestine, we suggest that the phrase "holy ones" in *yôṣēr* hearkens back to an *Enoch*-like text in which human representatives, translated to the heavenly realm, were thought to have participated in the *qĕdûšâ*. That is not to say that the concept of human participation in the *qĕdûšâ* or more broadly, in the practice of mystical ascents, could not, in some measure, have been a feature of Israelite worship within the confines of worship in the Jerusalem Temple.[70]

As for the apocalyptic texts of *Parables*, in whatever ways they may have been used by human congregations, are we justified in seeing the descriptions of heavenly worship as belonging to a *Sabbath* worship experience? Such a possibility should not be rejected without due consideration, notwithstanding the fact that the Sabbath is not mentioned in the text. It is fascinating to note that in the Qumran texts, except in texts that deal with calendrical matters, *the Sabbath is rarely mentioned in the bodies of texts.* It has not been sufficiently noted that even in 4QShirShabb^{a-h} and its associated fragments, the Sabbath is mentioned *only in the superscriptions of the vision-songs*, and not within the songs themselves. This may raise the question of whether the songs of ascent were only assigned to Sabbath worship at a stage at some remove from their composition. The possibility of re-use and recontextualization of texts in ritual is a well-known pattern (viz. Psalms.) *Nota bene* that in the Psalm for the Sabbath day, Ps 92 (the only Ps assigned in MT to a specific day,) the Sabbath is likewise mentioned *only in the superscription*. We must consider here too that the Psalm may not always have been intended to be recited on the Sabbath, or if it were composed specifically for that use, the context for the ritual performance did not need to be stated, and was only added descriptively or prescriptively by a later, (albeit ancient,) editor.[71]

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70. Joseph Heinemann and Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Literature," 231, n33.

71. It is interesting to note that Psalm 92 both in the Targum and the Mishna, (*m.Tamid* 7:4) is given an eschatological interpretation. For bibliography and a discussion of the issues surrounding the use of Psalms in early Jewish worship as reflected in the Septuagint and MT traditions, see: Tyler F. Williams, "The LXX Psalm Superscriptions (Part 3) Liturgical Notices and the Psalms for the Days of the Week,"

Conversely we should be alert to the possibility that other texts might have been designated for the Sabbath worship setting or for other ritual occasions without being labeled as such; and this would be especially likely in a text like *Parables*, where references to identifiable Jewish concepts most certainly were expunged at some stage of composition. It is indeed our contention that despite the absence of references to Sabbath or festivals in *Parables*, we can assign the *qĕdûšâ* parallel to a particular liturgical tradition associated with Sabbath and festival worship.

As we have seen, three separate textual constellations in the pericope are intrinsically linked with both ideological themes of Second Temple Judaism, which gave the Sabbath centrality in the life of the community, and with key texts known both from ancient witnesses in Qumran and elsewhere, and in later Jewish liturgy to belong to the emerging rites of Sabbath worship and observance as far back as the Second Temple period. The implications of this association are far-reaching and deserve further exploration.

Codex Blogspot (2005)*Http://biblical-Studies.Ca/blog/2005/07/lxx-Psalm-Superscriptions-Part-3.Html*. Especially useful is his summary of the views of Sarna and Petersma. Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *10th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Oslo 1998* (Atlanta: SBL, 2001); Nahum Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps 92)," *JBL* 81 (1962): 155–6.

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