The Legitimacy and Suitability of the Sabbath as a Symbol of the Eschatological Age

Anne-Maree Hope

BA Honours (Theology) First Class

School of Theology, Humanities Department, Griffith University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

21st September 2005
ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrates both the legitimacy and the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. Chapter one introduces the topic and hermeneutic of this thesis. In particular, it approaches the text in its final form, and with a background of postmodern influence.

An overview of the sabbath in Jewish and Christian tradition in chapter two shows that the history of these traditions contains numerous concepts of the sabbath and how it is to be observed. A similar diversity of opinion is also found among contemporary scholars as to the origin and nature of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and in ancient Israel.

Chapter three compares and contrasts the sabbath with other holy festivals. While the sabbath shares with these festivals the connection with the number seven, the proscription against work and even the title “sabbath הָעֵבֶר”, it is unique in that it is connected with the attributes of blessedness, rest and holiness, and is presented as a memorial of creation and as a sign of the covenant between God and Israel. The connection with the concept of “remembrance” is also confined to the sabbath and to the passover alone.

Chapter four makes a more detailed examination of the sabbath passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, paying special attention to the topics of scholarly debate concerning the sabbath that were identified in chapter two. From these Scriptures, the sabbath may be legitimately interpreted as both a day of rest and a day of worship. The sabbath is also primarily presented as a Mosaic institution rather than a creation institution, and the Hebrew Scriptures contain no reference to its observance by foreigners outside of Yahweh worship in Israel. Nor is there any explicit indication that sabbath was a monthly institution, or that it had relatively little prominence during this time. An examination of the seventh-year festivals and the jubilee supports this understanding of the seventh-day sabbath.

The concept of the eschatological age as a state of eternal sabbath also contains within it the implicit concept of holiness as a universal state. Chapter five investigates the legitimacy of viewing holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures as both perpetual and
universal. While the Hebrew Scriptures contain mixed attitudes to the foreign nations, it does envision them as sharing in Israelite’s salvation; and thus anticipates a state of universal holiness. Using the results of chapters two to five to demonstrate the legitimacy of this thesis’ concept of the sabbath, the legitimacy of using this concept of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age is also demonstrated.

Drawing heavily on Gowan’s work *Eschatology in the Old Testament*, chapter six identifies the primary themes of the eschatological age to be the end of sin, the presence of God, spiritual transformation, social transformation and the transformation of nature. It then examines how these themes are also found in connection with the sabbath, and shows that the nature of the sabbath is in many respects similar to the nature of the eschatological age. This makes the sabbath an especially suitable symbol of this eschatological age.

Chapter seven explores what attributes of the sabbath may have made it an especially suitable symbol of the eschatological age in later Jewish and Christian traditions. In doing so, part one focuses on those unique attributes of the sabbath that were identified in chapter three; holiness, blessedness, rest, remembrance, creation and a covenant symbol. These attributes are then used to develop the sabbath as a symbol of creation and recreation. Part two then examines how Christian tradition developed new layers meaning for this symbol.

In conclusion, chapter eight notes that the use of one or more of these attributes has been a frequent aspect of interpretations of the sabbath and eschatology. It is this thesis’ presentation of all of these attributes together, however, as well as its identification of the uniqueness of these attributes to the sabbath, which demonstrates so strongly the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

Significant sections of chapter two were presented in the paper “The Lord’s Day in the East and West in the Medieval Era” at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds University, July 12th-15th 2004.

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed:

Anne-Maree Hope

20th September 2005
INDEX

Abstract 3

Statement of Originality 5

Index 7

List of Tables and Illustrations 15

Acknowledgements 17

1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 19

1.1 THE TOPIC 19

1.2 THESIS OUTLINE 20

1.3 A POSTMODERN PERSPECTIVE 22
  1.3.1 The Diverse Conceptions of the Postmodern 22
     Barton’s Perspective 22
     Clines’ Perspective 23
  1.3.2 Postmodern Understandings of this Thesis 24
     Basic Premises 24
     An Affirmation of Objective Research 24
     The Acknowledgment of Bias 25
     An Invitation to Dialogue 25
     An Understanding of “Truth” 26
  1.3.3 Postmodern Influences in this Thesis 27

1.4 THE WRITER’S PERSPECTIVE 28

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND HERMENEUTIC 29
  1.5.1 Transition in the Field of Biblical Studies 29
  1.5.2 This Thesis’ Methodology 31
     The Acceptance of the Text in its Final Form 31
     The Genre of this Thesis 33
     The Focus of this Thesis 33
     Legitimacy, Suitability and the Identity of the Reader 34
  1.5.3 The Definition of Symbol 35
     Characteristics of the Symbol 36
     The Multivalent Nature of Symbols 38
     Religious Symbols 40
     The Sabbath as a Symbol of the Eschatological Age 41

1.6 PARAMETERS OF RESEARCH 42
  1.6.1 Limitation to the Hebrew Scriptures 42
     The Term “Hebrew Scriptures” 42
1.7 STATE OF THE QUESTION

SECTION ONE:
THE LEGITIMACY OF THE SABBATH

2. CHAPTER TWO: THE SABBATH IN HISTORY

PART ONE: THE SABBATH IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES AND ANCIENT ISRAEL

2.1 THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE SABBATH
2.1.1 The Search for the Historical Origins
2.1.2 A Definition of “Sabbath”
   * A Day of Rest or Holy Day
   * The Origins of the Seventh-day and Weekly Cycle of the Sabbath
   * The Sabbath as a Yahwistic Symbol

2.2 THE NATURE OF SABBATH OBSERVANCE: REST VS WORSHIP
2.2.1 The Absence of Rest?
2.2.2 The Absence of Worship?

2.3 THE PROMINENCE OF THE SABBATH IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

2.4 THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE CREATION ACCOUNTS DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

2.5 THE SABBATH AS A MOSAIC OR CREATION INSTITUTION

PART TWO: THE SABBATH IN SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

2.6 THE SABBATH IN POST-EXILIC JUDAISM

2.7 THE SABBATH IN LATER JUDAISM

2.8 THE SABBATH IN THE EARLY CHURCH
   (i) The Continued Observance of the Seventh-day Sabbath
   (ii) The Lord’s Day as the Christian Sabbath and Day of Rest
   (iii) The Rise of the Lord’s Day as the Preferred Day of Worship
   (iv) Local Divergence of Practice and the Lack of Prominence of Any Day

2.9 THE LORD’S DAY AND THE STATE INSTITUTION OF CHRISTIANITY
2.10 DIVERGENCES IN SABBATH VENERATION IN THE EAST AND WEST

2.11 THE SABBATISATION OF SUNDAY IN THE WEST

2.12 THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY IN THE EAST
   2.12.1 The Nature of Lord’s Day Observance in the East
   2.12.2 Sabbath and the Lord’s Day in Holy Week
   2.12.3 The Sabbath and the Lord’s Day in the Weekly Cycle
   2.12.4 Contemporary Orthodox Positions

2.13 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SABBATH AND LORD’S DAY IN THE PROTESTANT ERA
   2.13.1 Lord’s Day Observance and the British Sabbatarian Movement
   2.13.2 Seventh-day Sabbath Observance
   2.13.3 The Place of the Sabbath/Lord’s Day in the Spirituality of Protestantism

   2.14.1 The Sabbath as a Creation Institution
   2.14.2 The Genre of Genesis 1:1-2:3
   2.14.3 Interpretations and Sources of Tradition
   2.14.4 The Sabbath Institution and Concepts of Holiness

2.15 CONCLUSION

3. CHAPTER THREE: THE UNIQUENESS OF THE SABBATH IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

3.1 INTRODUCTION
   3.1.1 Method of Examination
   3.1.2 The Identification of Sabbath Texts
   3.1.3 The Confines of this Examination

3.2 EXAMINATION OF CULTIC FESTIVALS

3.3 THE NUMBER SEVEN AND SEVENTH DAY
   Secular Seven-day Festivities
   Religious and Cultic Seven-day Periods
   The Significance of Seven-day Periods
   Uniqueness of the Sabbath Week

3.4 RESULTS OF EXAMINATION
   3.4.1 The Term “Sabbath”
   3.4.2 No Work / Rest
   3.4.3 The Sabbath as “Holy”
   3.4.4 Sabbath Observance
3.5 CONCLUSIONS

3.5.1 The Uniqueness of the Sabbath 139
3.5.2 Delineating Sabbath Passages 140

APPENDIX: FINDINGS IN TABLE FORM

Table One: Findings of Each Passage 143
Table Two: Combined Findings 167

4. CHAPTER FOUR: EXAMINATION OF THE SABBATH TEXTS 183

4.1 INTRODUCTION 183

4.2 EXAMINATION OF SABBATH PASSAGES 184

4.3 CONCLUSIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE WEEKLY SABBATH 214
4.3.1 Tabulated Findings 214
4.3.2 Rest on the Sabbath 217
4.3.3 Worship on the Sabbath 217
4.3.4 Creation / Mosaic Institution 218
  Creation or Mosaic Institution 218
  Creation Memorial versus Creation Institution 218
  The Connection between the Covenant and the Sabbath 219
4.3.5 Seventh Day 220
4.3.6 The Sabbath and other Cultic Festivals 220
4.3.7 The Prominence of the Sabbath 222

4.4 SEVENTH-YEAR FESTIVALS AND THE JUBILEE 223
4.4.1 The Seventh-year Festivals 224
4.4.2 Purpose of the Fallow Year 225
  God’s Ownership 225
  Provision for Wild Animals and the Poor 226
  Return to Original State 227
  Land in a State of Votive Offering 228
  The Fallow Produce and the Lord’s Concern for Wild Animals 229
4.4.3 Simultaneous or Concurrent 229
4.4.4 The Jubilee 230
4.4.5 Connections with the Weekly Sabbath 231

4.5 CONCLUSIONS 232

5. CHAPTER FIVE: UNIVERSAL AND PERPETUAL HOLINESS 234

5.1 THE CENTRALITY AND BREADTH OF HOLINESS IN BIBLICAL STUDIES 236
  Gammie’s Three Categories of Holiness 236
### SECTION TWO: THE SABBATH AS AN ESCHATOLOGICAL SYMBOL

#### 6. CHAPTER SIX: THE SABBATH AS AN ESCHATOLOGICAL SYMBOL IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1 The Hebrew concept of Time and Eschatology</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear Time vs Cyclic Time</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hebrew Emphasis on Time</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew Time as Event-Based</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God’s Rulership over Time</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Relevance to Eschatology</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2 The Emergence and Definition of Eschatology</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The General Field of Eschatology</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Study of Eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2 THE SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

6.2.1 God’s Presence
- Creation
- Exodus and the Israelite Covenant
- Sabbath / Temple / Eden

6.2.2 The Absence of Evil

6.2.3 Social Transformation
- Seventh-day Sabbath
- Seventh-year Release and Jubilee Years

6.2.4 Spiritual Transformation
- Isaiah 56:3-8
- Isaiah 58:13-14
- Isaiah 61:1-3 and the Jubilee

6.2.5 The Transformation of Nature
- Seventh-day Sabbath
- Seventh Year
- Jubilee Year

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

PART ONE: THE SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

7.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL ESCHATOLOGY

7.2 CONCEPTS CONNECTED WITH THE SABBATH

7.2.1 Blessing
- The Blessing of the Seventh Day, Genesis 2:3
- The Understanding of Blessings in the Hebrew Scriptures as a Whole

7.2.2 Rest

7.2.3 Holiness, Righteous Living, Blessings and Shalom
- The Connection Between these Concepts
- The Concept of Shalom
- Shalom and the Sabbath
- Shalom and Eschatology
- The Righteous Life as a Microcosm of the Eschatological Age

7.2.4 The Holy and The Blessed

7.2.5 Remembrance
- Remembrance as a Re-living, the Passover Example
7.3 THE SABBATH AS CREATION AND RE-CREATION

7.3.1 The Seventh day as the Continual Pre-fall State
   - The Uniqueness of the Seventh Day
     - Genesis 1:1-2:3 as a Salvation Event
     - The Sabbath Rest and the Pre-fall State
     - God’s Rest as God’s Presence
   - The Eschatological Age as a Re-creation of the Pre-fall State
     - Israel’s Election and the Sabbath as a Symbol of the Covenant
   - The Sabbath as a Foretaste of the Eschatological Age

7.4 THE MILLENNIUM AND THE EIGHTH AGE

7.5 CONCLUSION

EXCURSUS: LATER CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATIONS

REALISED ESCHATOLOGY
   - The Presence of God
   - The Absence of Sin
   - Spiritual Transformation
   - Social Transformation
   - The Transformation of Nature

THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY

SPIRITUALISATION OF THE SABBATH
   - Christ as the True Sabbath
   - The Sabbath as Spiritual Rest

CONCEPTS SPANNING THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY
   - The Paschal Baptism
   - The Eucharist
     - The Eschatological Connotations of the Eucharist
     - Sabbath and Lord’s Day Observance of the Eucharist
     - The Eucharist as the New Covenant and Remembrance

THE LORD’S DAY AND THE ESCHATOLOGICAL AGE
   - The Eighth Day and the First Day
   - The Sabbath and Weekly Celebration of the Resurrection

THE PASCHA EVENT AND OTHER FESTIVALS

CONCLUSION
8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

8.2 CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

8.3 APPLICATION OF THIS THESIS

BIBLIOGRAPHY
LIST OF TABLES

TABLE ONE: Findings of each Passage 143

TABLE TWO: Combined Findings 167

TABLE THREE: The Nature of the Sabbath 215

TABLE FOUR: Comparison of the Sabbath and the Seventh-year Fallow 225

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION ONE: The Icon of Great Sabbath 87
Grateful acknowledgement is given to my primary supervisor Robert Bos, as well as the supervisory and academic assistance of Guy Freeland, Gedeon Gakindi, Jione Havea, Anastasios Kalogerakis, Philip Kariatlas, Maryanne Mozer, Anthony Papantoniou, David Rankin, Ray Roennfeldt, Han Spykerboer, Laurence Turner and Fr John Vesic.

The faculties of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology (Boston), and St Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary (New York) have also given valuable assistance on research trips.

Valuable editorial assistance was given by my mother, Lorraine Hope.

Much appreciated assistance has been given by Darko Atanasov and Natalya Krasiy, Panayiota and Loukia Evagorou, Stephen and Terence Hope, Clive Sergent, Martin Tatarov, the Saadi Family, Chris Harvey, Helen Jabbour and the St Andrews Greek Orthodox Theological College by providing the computer equipment and technical information required in producing this thesis. The hospitality provided by Dora Constantinidis, Mrs Koula Hatzileftheriou, Irene Tsonkova, the Stylianopoulos family and the Tomaras family while researching this thesis is also greatly appreciated.

Much gratitude is also given to numerous friends and family who have provided support during the writing of this thesis; Mary, Nora and Michael, in particular, went far beyond the call of friendship.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Laurence Hope, and to the much anticipated future of my godchildren, Connie, Matthew and Staki.

Feast of the Elevation of the Cross, 2005
1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE TOPIC

The sabbath is both an ancient and prevalent symbol of the eschatological age. It is found in Jewish tradition prior to the Christian era, and is expressed in various subsequent Jewish traditions. This symbol also occurs in numerous Christian traditions, both directly and indirectly, through the connection between the sabbath and the Lord’s day. Its prevalence is emphasised by its appearance even in Christian traditions that hold to the continuation of the seventh-day sabbath institution in the age to come. Yet the sabbath is not the only Jewish holy festival from which a symbol of the eschatological age could develop, nor is it the only one to be used. The feast of tabernacles, in particular, has also been used in both Christian and Jewish traditions as a symbol of the eschatological age. This raises the question, therefore, as to what are the characteristics of the sabbath that have made it so suitable as a symbol of this age.

The sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, however, is but one of numerous understandings of the sabbath that have developed. Many of these other concepts of the sabbath have been held in conjunction with the concept of the sabbath as a symbol of that age, and the sabbath as a symbol of that age has similarly taken numerous forms. As the sabbath has had such a prominent influence in both Jewish and Christian traditions, it is not unexpected that it is the object of varied and evolving interpretations. In its examination of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age,

---

1 This is examined in detail in the second part of chapter two.
2 See section 5.5 for an expression of this in the Seventh-day Adventist tradition.
3 In this thesis the term “holy festival” is used to refer to the sabbath, new moon and annual festivals, as well as the jubilee year and seventh-year release, remission and fallow years. While these jubilee and seventh years are not generally referred to as festivals, “holy festivals” has been chosen as the most appropriate term to refer to these festivals as a category.
5 Later Christian traditions have considered the sabbath to be continually valid as a creation institution, as a legalistic Jewish requirement that was abolished with Christ, as being fulfilled in Christ, as being spiritualised as a continual sabbath rest from sin, as being transferred to the Christian Lord’s day, and as the eternal eschatological sabbath. For various forms of interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age see section 2.6 and section 7.4.
6 Pinchas Hakohen Peli, “Sabbath: A Hasidic Dimension”, in Arthur A. Chiel, ed., *Perspectives on Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of Wolf Kelman*, New York: The Rabbinical Assembly, 1978, pp. 335-353. Peli, pp. 335-337 “There is no end to the meanings discovered in the Sabbath in every generation; there is no limit to the secrets hidden within this enchanted ‘sanctuary in time’. ... Even in the Torah itself, the Sabbath is revealed to us from one chapter to another in growing meaning: from a remembrance of
This thesis is not defending this interpretation to the exclusion of others. As this thesis shows, here are many unique characteristics connected with sabbath that make it so suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age. These also make it fitting as a symbol of various other theological and spiritual concepts, and it is fitting that these symbols also be developed. Yet there are understandings of the sabbath that stand in conflict with those used to build a theology of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. This raises the second question, therefore, as to the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of this age.

This thesis has two aspects. In chapters 2-5 it first examines whether it is legitimate to interpret the sabbath as found in the Hebrew Scriptures as a symbol of the eschatological age. In the second section, chapters 6-8, this thesis considers what makes the sabbath such a suitable symbol of this age.

1.2 THESIS OUTLINE

The first section of this thesis focuses on the concept of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and examines the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. Chapter two places this thesis in the context of the wider understanding of the sabbath. It first examines prominent themes in contemporary scholarly works on the sabbath in these Scriptures. It then traces the development of the sabbath and the Lord’s day in Jewish and Christian history. While subsequent chapters of this thesis confine their examination to the sabbath as found in the Hebrew Scriptures, chapter two initially examines this wider concept of the sabbath because of the frequent tendency to read back into these Scriptures subsequent understandings and observances of the sabbath. The primary purpose of this chapter is to identify assumptions and biases that may be brought to the text. This chapter therefore concludes by showing how subsequent traditions of the sabbath and the Lord’s day can affect the understanding of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Creation to a mark of the exodus, and an everlasting sign between God and his people. ... The Torah unfolds for us, as if by surprise, very new ways of translating the command ‘to sanctify’ the day into tangible expression, ... The Prophets show us yet other aspects of Sabbath, letting us into the secret of Sabbath as a delight. ... The Rabbis, in their turn, find a thousand new faces of the Sabbath which smile in that enchanted mysterious way from whatever angle you draw near. ... With all that can be spoken, more remains hidden, waiting to be unearthed in generations to come.”
Chapter three compares and contrasts the sabbath with other holy festivals. By making a detailed study of terms and practices connected with each holy festival, this chapter determines what traits the sabbath shares in common with these other days, and how it is unique. It also presents and defends the criteria by which a passage is classified as a sabbath passage, and therefore is included in the following chapter.

Chapter four makes a more detailed examination of the sabbath passages in the Hebrew Scriptures. In doing so, it pays special attention to those topics of scholarly debate concerning the sabbath that were identified in chapter two. It also identifies other features of these passages that may be relevant when interpreting them as a symbol of the eschatological age. An examination of the seventh-year festivals and the jubilee then presents what these concepts have to add to the understanding of the sabbath. Conclusions as to the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age are then drawn.

The concept of the eschatological age as a state of eternal sabbath also contains within it the implicit concept of holiness as a universal state. Chapter five investigates the legitimacy of this concept of universal holiness by exploring the nature of holiness itself, and the extent to which it is legitimate to understand it as a universal state. In doing so it also addresses the attitude to the foreign nations in the Hebrew Scriptures, and the extent to which these foreign nations have a part in salvation, and therefore holiness.

In section two, this thesis examines why the sabbath is so suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age. Chapter six first defines this thesis’ understanding of eschatology. Adapting the categorises found in Gowan’s *The Eschatology of the Old Testament*, it presents the major themes of the eschatological age as the end of sin, the presence of God, and transformation on the spiritual, social and natural dimensions. It then demonstrates how many of these themes connected with eschatological age may also be found in the context of the sabbath passages.

Chapter six then explores what attributes of the sabbath may have made it an especially suitable symbol of the eschatological age in later Jewish and Christian tradition. In doing so, it focuses on those unique attributes of the sabbath that were identified in
chapter three; holiness, blessedness, rest and remembrance, and as a symbol of creation and of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. These attributes are then used to develop the sabbath as a symbol of creation and recreation. An excursus then briefly presents the development of the concepts of sabbath and eschatology in the Christian tradition, and identifies further paths of research.

Finally, chapter eight draws conclusions on the rich wealth of attributes connected with the sabbath that make it so suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age.

1.3 A POSTMODERN PERSPECTIVE

1.3.1 The Diverse Conceptions of the Postmodern

While this thesis is not a deliberate postmodern reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, a postmodern influence in its approach is acknowledged by the author. In stating this, there is an acknowledgement that there is a significant variation in definitions and attitudes of postmodernism. The extremes in this variation are highlighted in the differing treatment of the postmodern by Barton and Clines in their discussion of hermeneutics of the Hebrew Scriptures.7

Barton’s Perspective

In Barton’s brief two page description of postmodernism, he defines it in this way:

Applied to literary and cultural theory, postmodernism is to be understood as a hypothesis about epistemology – the philosophy of knowledge. It maintains that knowledge does not form a unified body of data, held together by girders of a shared scientific or humanistic vocabulary and a framework of striving for universal truth. Postmodernists express this by saying that there are no true meta-narratives (sometimes master narratives), only piecemeal information, bits and pieces of temporarily valid ideas. ‘Totalities’ – such as Christianity, Marxism, the scientific world-view, or a poetics of all literature – are imperialistic attempts to capture and tame a world which is really far wilder than Enlightenment optimism about human progress in knowledge ever realised.8

He then questions any serious applicability of this theory and notes that, by its own


definition, a definitive theory of postmodernism itself cannot exist, and that many postmodernists themselves are unconcerned about a serious, workable theory.

But the postmodernists are entirely unconcerned by the suggestion that their own theory undermines itself unless it is given diplomatic immunity. ‘How clever of you to notice,’ they reply. ‘Now even you can join in our happy word games. For words, in the end, are everything, and in the beginning was the word – definitely with a small ‘w’. Self-refutation is nothing to worry about; we can do twenty tricks of that kind before breakfast. Relax, play with some words, join the party.’

… Some people are not at all attracted by postmodernist relativism and self-refutation, but are convinced by it, painful as they find it. But I am in exactly the opposite position. As ‘a theory’ (sometimes, with staggering imperialism, just ‘theory’, with no article!) claiming to explain or expose culture, art, meaning, and truth, I find postmodernism absurd, rather despicable in its indifference to questions of truth; I do not believe in it for a moment. But as a game, a set of jeux d’esprit, a way of having fun with words, I find it diverting and entertaining: I enjoy the absurd and the surreal, and postmodernism supplies this in ample measure."9

Clines’ Perspective

That Clines places much greater credibility and significance on postmodernism is evident in the title of his two volume work, On the Way to the Postmodern. In this work, which is a collection of many of his academic writings, he presents this title as a means of describing the “journey” of his academic career. He notes that there had “at some time in the last decade come the (belated) realization that many of the ideas that were falling into place for me were known outside the world of Hebrew Bible studies under the name of the postmodern”.10 After illustrating the relevance of a postmodern perspective and sketching a postmodern style for various areas of biblical studies,11 Clines then concludes:

In my view, it will be the end of biblical studies as an intellectual discipline if we do not interact with the intellectual currents of thought of our time, and if we pretend that going on doing the same things as we have done for a century or more, with refinements and improvements, is addressing our contemporary cultural and intellectual situation in the slightest. If we dismiss postmodernism as a fashion, a fetish, an aberration, we doom our own subject to extinction. We do not have to agree that postmodernism is a good thing, or even that it exists (whatever that may mean), but we do have to take it seriously (whatever that may mean).12

9 Ibid., p. 235.
11 Ibid., pp. 146-156. This includes text criticism, theology, lexicography, history, exegesis, pedagogy and epistemology.
12 Ibid., pp. 156-157.
This more positive attitude to postmodernism is reflected in his definition of the postmodern itself:

In the essay called ‘The Pyramid and the Net: The Postmodern Adventure in Biblical Studies’ … , I have developed the image of the net as symbol of the postmodern, decentred and flexible and polymorphous and multifunctional. It is different in so many ways from the pyramid, which for me has been the symbol of the modern, stable and unitary and totalising and impressive, like the structure of Western intellectual thought. I try to stress in that essay that I do not see the postmodern as displacing the modern, nor yet as being only a supplement to it. I see the postmodern as a quizzical re-evaluation of the values of the modern, and I suggest how the practice of biblical studies in the coming century could be transformed by a series of postmodern reappraisals.  

1.3.2 Postmodern Understandings of this Thesis

Basic Premises

This thesis is understood to reflect postmodern influences in that it works in a context of the following two premises:

- many concepts are beyond the realm of definitive proof, and so there should be an openness for a number of possibilities to coexist;
- individual bias, both ‘active’ and ‘passive’, is present in research in general, and in literary studies in particular.

When considering these assumptions, this thesis reflects an understanding of the postmodern more akin to Clines than Barton.

An Affirmation of Objective Research

In particular, this thesis distances itself from the concept of postmodernism reflected in Barton which claims there are no absolutes or serious intentions in research, and also from the resulting criticism that such an approach is an alternative to serious research or

13 Clines, 1998, p. xvi. Later on p. 145 he repeats this definition of the postmodern in the form of the following six points:
  ◆ If there is one thing the postmodern is, it is not one thing.
  ◆ The postmodern is the modern conscious of itself.
  ◆ The postmodern is the opposite of the modern.
  ◆ The postmodern is the natural successor of the modern.
  ◆ The postmodern includes the modern.
  ◆ The modern already included the postmodern.

14 In using the terms ‘active’ and ‘passive’ bias, this text considers ‘active’ bias to be assumptions that may be brought to the text, and ‘passive’ bias to be possibilities that are not considered because they are not in the experience of the interpreter.

15 There is an increasing awareness, even among the “hard sciences”, of the influence of the examiner’s bias in the collation and interpretation of data and experiments.
engagement with the text. While it is cautious in its development and use of “definitive theories”, this thesis still considers it possible and beneficial to work in a context of possibilities and probabilities. Even when the material available does not allow the development of a definite answer, careful research can show certain possibilities are more probable, and others are highly improbable.

The Acknowledgment of Bias
This thesis also considers it important that, where possible, bias is explicitly stated. Few people work in a total vacuum of presuppositions, and even where there is not an active bias, there may be a passive one. It has frequently been noted that those scholars who claim to be objective are, in fact, working from hidden biases or perspectives. While many postmodern studies that acknowledge bias proceed to make a (quite legitimate) examination of the text from that bias, the acknowledgement and examination of personal bias and alternative points of view may also be the means to more objective research. First, it allows a scholar to avoid developing a work based on a supposition that may have limited acceptance across time or space. Secondly, it facilitates discussion and comparison between works developed with an explicit supposition or bias and works developed on alternative suppositions or biases.

An Invitation to Dialogue
This opportunity for increased dialogue is a significant potential that this approach brings; for when the inability to discover impartial definitive “truth” is acknowledged, then the legitimacy of a variety of biases increases, as does the dialogue between two people who share these different biases. The acceptance of such an approach is perhaps influenced by - and is definitely advantageous in - the current environment of biblical scholarship, where there is a growth of scholars and readings from various ideological and cultural backgrounds. It is with this purpose of dialogue in mind that the following chapter makes an examination of the development of diverse understanding of the sabbath and the Lord’s day in Jewish and Christian history.

16 Cf. footnotes 14 and 15 above and the complete text of the quote in the text below, Clines, 1998, p. 35, “The best interpreters of literary works are not usually those who lay claim to cool passionless detachment (which often leads only the suppression of their more superficial prejudices) but those who care about the significance their interpretative work may have.” (Italics mine).

17 For example a feminist, homosexual or liberationist reading of the text. This thesis is not questioning the legitimacy of such readings, but is merely stating that they are not the only possible result of a postmodern influence.
An Understanding of “Truth”

The thesis also suggests that a postmodern view that emphasises the loss of impartial abstract evidence and definitive theories is one that grows out of an emphasis on the attainment of such “truth” in the first place. For this thesis, the primary purpose of study has not been merely a detached pursuit of these ideals, but also the engaged pursuit of “truth” that has proved true to human experience. The pursuit of such a goal in research is reflected in Clines’ article “Methods in Old Testament Study”. In this he speaks positively of the scholar’s engagement in the text.

The best interpreters of literary works are not usually those who lay claim to cool passionless detachment … but those who care about the significance their interpretative work may have. Such engagement with the text does not imply any particular belief about whether the text is ‘true’ (whatever that may mean from time to time), but it implies concern with the question of its truth and a willingness and endeavour to reach a personal judgement. Students of Shakespeare, even at an elementary level, are called upon to discuss the character of Falstaff, the freedom or otherwise of Macbeth, the sincerity of Mark Antony, and in so doing they engage with the content of the text and with its ‘truth’. And just as we may say, in engaging with a fictional narrative, that it is ‘true’ or ‘false’ (or something in between), the same kind of judgements may be made of the biblical text – not indeed, with the claim of making a definitive assessment of the reality of the matter, but mainly in order to express one’s own judgment of what is true or false. Genuine understanding requires evaluation; the interpreter’s subjectivity is a proper element in the process of understanding, provided it does not dominate the process, and provided it allows itself to be open to correction or adjustment by the reality of the text.

18 Note Clines’ statement that the postmodern is both the opposite and the natural successor of the modern, quoted in footnote 13.
20 Ibid., p. 35. Cf. with his statement earlier in the article, pp. 24-25 “I would not want the academic study of the Bible to be an opportunity for people to express their prejudices either for or against the Bible, but I would like to see biblical scholars throw off some of their traditional reserve and their stance of ‘objectivity’ and frankly say what it is about the Bible they want to affirm (if anything) and what it is they cannot adhere to (if anything) – that is, to express their own personal evaluation of the material they are doing their best to understand. Otherwise I do not see that we are being honest with ourselves and fair to our students.” Also “The Pyramid and the Net: The Postmodern Adventure in Biblical Studies” in the same book, pp. 155-156, where he speaks of “A Postmodern Epistemology”. In this he speaks of the need for scholars to ask what is the value of the knowledge they are examining. He notes in particular the need to address ethical questions related to this pursuit of knowledge.

A second serious shortcoming of biblical scholarship is a kind of professionalism that fails to do justice to the spirituality of the Bible. There is a healthy professionalism based on institutional procedures and instrumental criteria by which experts carry out their work and actualise the value of their field. An unhealthy professionalism sets in when the experts become too self-enclosed, too engrossed in their own skills and methodologies, too blind or uncaring about the final adequacy and value of their work as compared to the subject matter of their study. … Where is Scripture’s song to be heard in the works of biblical experts? Is it not right to expect
1.3.3 Postmodern Influences in this Thesis

This thesis’ understanding of a postmodern perspective (compared to a modern one) can be illustrated with models very similar to Clines’ models of a pyramid and a net. This thesis adopts the models of a block tower and a web. Modern methods of interpretation can be described as being built on a number of definitive assumptions, (date, authorship, historical background etc.) stacked one upon another like blocks. Such a construction is simple and has one clear structure and focus. Like a block tower, however, if one of these assumptions is questioned and removed, the whole tower on which it is built falls.\(^{21}\)

A postmodern perspective can be compared to a web. While it has a focal point or conclusion, it is not built on definitive assumptions, but rather on a web of possibilities. A web can be three-dimensional, and have a multiple number of supporting strands at any one point and on the structure as a whole. The change in the emphasis placed upon each of these possibilities, or a weakening or rejection of their validity, does not result in the destruction of whole web but it does affect the shape of the web as a whole.

A web is a stronger and more versatile structure than a block tower, but is also more difficult to construct. Perhaps the greatest criticism of such an approach is that the clarity of the “larger picture” given by a web can turn into an “entanglement” of a multitude of factors that affect the web. In applying such a method, it is important to keep a balance between an acknowledgment of supporting strings within a web, and between a focus on the centre and purpose of the web itself. As a result, this thesis will ask more questions than it answers, or is in fact is able to answer; and will point out more possibilities than it is able to explore.

\(^{21}\) This can be seen in the critique of von Rad in particular, and Old Testament Theology in general, by Brevard S. Childs, “Old Testament Theology”; in James Luther May, David L. Petersen and Kent Harrolds Richards, eds., Old Testament Interpretation: Past Present and Future, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995, pp. 293-301. He notes that while von Rad’s work dominated the field for well over two decades, cracks began to appear in many critical hypotheses on which von Rad had constructed his theory. He further notes on p. 295 that “because the older syntheses that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s have largely come apart, scholars in the coming decades will probably focus their energy on fresh, more limited analytical investigations in order to reconstitute the field.”
As has already been indicated, this thesis reflects this postmodern influence in its facilitation of dialogue between scholars holding to varying biases and presuppositions. This influence is also reflected in its willingness to present a variety of possible interpretations without regarding it necessary to choose and defend one above the other. This position produces such terminology as “it may be interpreted” and “a legitimate/possible interpretation”. In the first section, this thesis does examine and question other interpretations and presuppositions that are in direct contradiction to its own position. At this conclusion of this section however, it does not claim to have proved the “correct identity” of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, but merely the legitimacy of such an interpretation, given the presuppositions that are brought to the text. Moreover, while this thesis endeavours in this first section to produce data that is as objective as possible, it is in the relatively more subjective second section that this thesis considers the presentation of “truth” to be most evident. In examining the “suitability” of this symbol, this thesis examines not only why such an interpretation may have been chosen, but also how it can be developed to be relevant and meaningful.

1.4 THE WRITER’S PERSPECTIVE

The biases and backgrounds influencing this thesis are now stated. This thesis topic is largely the result of a very important personal journey that occurred during its writing. This journey has two dominant milestones. The first was my decision to leave the Seventh-day Adventist Church in which I was raised and received my theological undergraduate training. The second was my subsequent decision to join the Eastern Orthodox tradition.

The most difficult aspect of this journey was probably the shift from my sole observance of the literal seventh-day sabbath to my veneration of both the sabbath and the Lord’s day, with emphasis on the latter day. This change was a slow one, and did not occur until after I was already Orthodox. The whole sabbath experience was one of the most important and fulfilling aspects of my life, and was not one I could merely walk away from as invalid. I could not let go of it until I had an understanding of the further development and fulfilment of the sabbath, and all the theological richness connected with it, in the liturgical reality of the eucharist and the eighth day. Similarly,
while this thesis examines the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, it presents this interpretation to the inclusion of other interpretations of the sabbath.

In addition to its influence on this topic itself, the interplay between these two traditions has had significant influence on this thesis. Although it frequently presents Eastern Orthodox theology, I would hesitate to call this thesis an Eastern Orthodox perspective. While the answers may be drawn from Orthodoxy, the question themselves, and even the way they are answered, definitely arise from a Western perspective. This is reflected in the fact that while the understanding and observance of the Lord’s day has been one of significant debate in the West, very little Orthodox literature exists that asks the question of how the Lord’s day is to be observed or whether labour should be performed on that day.

At the same time, however, it has frequently been in a situation of discussion and controversy that theological thought has flourished. If Orthodoxy enters this discussion it may not only offer participants from other traditions a different perspective, but also develop and enrich its own. This thesis is a small step in that direction.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND HERMENEUTIC

1.5.1 Transition in the Field of Biblical Studies

Biblical studies in recent decades has seen a burgeoning of new methods and hermeneutical approaches for reading the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, as well as a critical questioning of many once-accepted positions that resulted from older methods. On the one hand, this has produced a sentiment among many that a state of anarchy exists. This is clearly reflected in Wenham’s examination of pentateuchal studies:

No new consensus has evolved to replace Wellhausen’s basic theory, so it still continues to be assumed by many scholars, though there is now widespread recognition of the hypothetical character of the results of modern criticism. Rendtroff (BZAW 147 [1976] 169) has observed: “We possess hardly any reliable criteria for the dating of pentateuchal literature. Every dating of the pentateuchal ‘sources’ rests on purely hypothetical assumptions, which ultimately only have any standing through the consensus of scholars.” W.H.Schmidt laments that breakup of the consensus in his introduction: “How united was OT scholarship for so long, how deeply divided now! The change has come about at some vital points; what was more or less self-evident and
undisputed has become doubtful … the connection of Deuteronomy with Josiah’s reform, the early date of the Yahwist. Even the legitimacy of source division in the Pentateuch is contested” (Einführung in das Alte Testament, [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1079] v-vi). H.C. Schmidt (1985) has distinguished four major approaches with minor variations current in Germany. This situation is one in which there is no king in OT scholarship. Everyone is doing what is right in his own eyes!²²

On the other hand, this situation has also produced in biblical studies much new literature that examines and integrates these new methods, as well as a greater interaction with the wider field of literary studies in order to assist in this task.²³ The emerging methods of rhetorical criticism,²⁴ new literary criticism, the recent debate over the synchronic/diachronic dichotomy and new reader-based criticism all reflect a movement away from the more traditional emphasis on the author and historical development of the text, towards a focus on the text itself in its final form and/or on the readers of the text.

These three foci – author, text and reader - have frequently emerged as means for categorising hermeneutical methods in biblical studies.²⁵ At the same time scholars

---


²³ A detailed examination of the interaction between biblical studies and literary studies as a whole may be found in Barton, 1996.

²⁴ Both the following works note that while rhetorical criticism may also focus on the author and historical setting of the work or on the audience-reader, the focus in the studies of Hebrew Scriptures has been primarily on the text itself. Vernon K. Robbins, “The Present and Future of Rhetorical Analysis”, in Stanley E. Porter, ed., The Rhetorical Analysis of the Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997, p. 26. “In the commonly known rhetorical environment of speaker-author, speech-text and audience-reader, this means that rhetorical interpreters have focused primarily on the speech-text rather than the speaker-author or the audience-reader.” David J. A. Clines and J. Cheryl Exum, “The New Literary Criticism”, in J. Cheryl Exum and David J. A. Clines, eds., The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, p. 16. “In principle, but not often in practice in Hebrew Bible studies, it has regard to the rhetorical situation of the composition and promulgation of ancient texts and to their intended effect upon their audience. But, like new criticism, its primary focus is upon the texts and their own internal articulation rather than upon their historical setting.”

acknowledge that, while a method may focus upon one of these aspects, it generally takes some account of all three aspects.26

1.5.2 This Thesis’ Methodology

The Acceptance of the Text in its Final Form

This thesis takes as its primary starting point the text of the Hebrew Scriptures in its final form.27 In doing so, it takes what Laurence Turner has described as an “agnostic stance”28 on date and authorship and does not impose on the text any presuppositions concerning the individual identity and origin of segments in the text. In this thesis however, the principles of taking the text in its final form and applying to it an agnostic stance is being used somewhat differently than it is in Laurence Turner and other works that examine a large single unit of the text. When he applies this methodology to the entire book of Genesis, Laurence Turner is applying it to a work that, whatever its origins, is now presented as a distinct literary unit in the Hebrew Scriptures. He then proceeds to examine a common aspect within that text – the announcement of plot. In the present examination of the sabbath in these Scriptures, however, this thesis is, on the one hand, examining texts across the spectrum of literary units that make up the Hebrew Scriptures. On the other hand, it is also generally examining individual passages that are as small as a single verse, and generally smaller than ten verses. The literary cohesion within these individual passages is generally not questioned; this is not always the case, however, Leviticus 23:33-43 being an example of a passage which is generally considered to originate from multiple sources. Issues of date and authorship become more relevant, therefore, in the comparison of these various passages. This thesis takes

27 In taking such a position, this thesis is strongly influenced by the methodologies and works coming from Sheffield University. A major pioneer of this method is David A. Clines, who is referenced extensively in this chapter. Other works include in Laurence Turner, Announcements of Plot in Genesis, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990; Sanglae Kim, The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple in the Hebrew Bible, a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Department of Biblical Studies of the University of Sheffield in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2002, pp. 10-19; See, Daniel, The Decalogue: State Law and its Social Functions in Ancient Israel, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1997, pp. 36-44.  
28 This term is found in Laurence Turner’s description of his approach in L. Turner, 1990, p. 16.
an “agnostic” position as to the date of each passage, and does not examine them with
the assumption that one is earlier or later than another. Nor is its purpose to examine
the possible development of thought on the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures, but
merely to identify the nature of the sabbath in these Scriptures as a whole.\textsuperscript{29}

At the same time, however, this thesis does not approach Scripture as the single literary
work of a scriptural canon in the same way that Genesis may be examined as a single
literary unit and the work of a final editor. It acknowledges the uniqueness of each
literary unit in the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the literary genre that they contain. In
doing so, it draws conclusions on the prevalence of certain traits that the sabbath
passages have in specific books or literary genre.\textsuperscript{30} Furthermore, it does not attempt to
“harmonise” across literary units. This is illustrated in section 4.4 which examines the
practices of the fallow year, release and redemption in the seventh year. This thesis
takes care to differentiate between the references to these three practices in various
books, however, and to note that they are not in any book referred to as a single
institution, (although they are explicitly combined in the jubilee year). Rather, it leaves
open the possibility of differences of understanding over time and place as a possible
interpretation of the differing references that are found in the text itself.

This thesis also takes what Sakenfeld has described as a “culturally cued literary
reading”.\textsuperscript{31} That is, while it examines the text in its final form, and does not address the
question of the history of its development, it does acknowledge the general historical
background in which these Scriptures were formed. It therefore uses the context of
Israelite culture and thought in presenting an interpretation of specific passages and the
theology of these Scriptures as a whole. For example, the question of whether there is
an understanding of the individual in the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Israelite culture
that produced them, is considered when chapter six (section 5.1.2) defines the nature of
eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures.

\textsuperscript{29} While chapter two does examine the development of the concept of the sabbath from the time of the
exile on, no assumptions are made as to the date applied to the various books of the Hebrew Scriptures in
subsequent chapters of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{30} Section 3.5.1 notes, for instance, terms that are unique only to Leviticus and Exodus, while sections
4.3.2 and 4.3.6 note traits that are unique to the prophets or the lists of cultic festivals respectively.
\textsuperscript{31} Katherine Doob Sakenfeld, “Feminist Biblical Interpretation”, \textit{Theology Today}, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1989,
The identification of the final form of the text is itself a significant topic of scholarly discussion. For simplicity, this thesis adopts as its standard form of the text the BHS Hebrew, and quotes this unless stated otherwise. Similarly, on account of its close reflection of the original languages, this thesis also uses the NRSV translation of Bible unless stated otherwise. This thesis extensively quotes the Hebrew Scriptures from both the original Hebrew and from the English translation. It draws its ordering of biblical books and their chapter and verse delineation, however, from that standard to English Bibles.

The Genre of this Thesis

This thesis is primarily concerned with biblical exegesis and the biblical theological implications that arise from it. As such, its dominant genre is that of biblical studies, and its primary object of focus is the text of the Hebrew Bible. The major research segment of the thesis – that of chapters three to six – falls firmly into this genre. Chapter two, however, first puts this exegesis firmly in the context of the interpretation of the sabbath in history and in modern scholarship. In so doing, it moves into the areas of religious history and reception history. As chapter seven examines why the sabbath may have been such a suitable symbol of the eschatological age through Jewish and Christian tradition, it again contains elements of religious and reception history, and moves firmly into this area in the excursus. This thesis is therefore primarily in the discipline of biblical studies, with supporting elements of religious and reception history.

The Focus of this Thesis

The position of this thesis in terms of the three foci of author, text and reader can now be examined. While this thesis does at times acknowledge the author or original context of certain passages, the focus of the thesis is predominately on either the text or the reader. In the first section, which examines the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, the focus of this thesis is predominantly on the text itself. In the second section, which examines the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of this age, the focus of this thesis moves more to the reader; past and present. This is particularly the case in chapter seven, which examines later interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. While chapter six may undertake its examination of the text using the discipline of biblical studies, it is ultimately asking a question that
arises from the readers themselves, and applies to the text categories of thought that are foreign both to the text (and in all probability, to the original authors); as such, its focus also moves more towards the reader.

Legitimacy, Suitability and the Identity of the Reader

In identifying the reader of the text as a dominate focus in parts of this thesis, it is necessary to define clearly the identity of the reader. This thesis now demonstrates the nature of the terms “legitimacy” and “suitability”, and in so doing it also examines the identity of the reader of the text (in this case, the text being the Hebrew Scriptures). When this thesis examines the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, it does this by demonstrating the legitimacy of the concept of the sabbath that is used by this thesis to build a theology of the sabbath as a symbol of this age. That is, when the hermeneutical methods adopted by this thesis are applied, the understanding of the sabbath presented in this thesis may be demonstrated to be a valid one. As the above presentation of its postmodern perspective has indicated, this thesis does not claim that it presents the only valid understanding of the sabbath, but merely that it presents a legitimate one.

In identifying those aspects of this thesis’ understanding of the sabbath that need justifying, this thesis is responding to interpretations that rise in the context of a variety of hermeneutical methods and presuppositions. In demonstrating the legitimacy of the sabbath from its own hermeneutical perspective, therefore, this thesis is not presenting as the primary reader of the text those scholars against whom it is justifying its position. Rather it has as its primary reader the author of this thesis, and those members of the academic community who are interested in the conclusions of this thesis.

In examining the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, this thesis is examining what aspects of the sabbath may have attracted numerous Jewish/Judaic and Christian traditions to choose this as the dominant symbol of the eschatological age. The question is not whether it is considered suitable, therefore, but why it may have been considered suitable; what attracted these numerous traditions to focus on the sabbath as their symbol of the eschatological age. Ultimately, the question of why a tradition may have chosen the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age is beyond definite proof. Firstly, an explanation of why this symbol is suitable is not always given in a tradition. Secondly, when such explanations are given they may not
necessarily be the reason behind the choosing of the symbol in the first place. For example, numerology and typology is often presented as a description of the suitability of this symbol, but it is not likely that this is the reason that this symbol was originally chosen.\footnote{Section 3.3 examines the significance connected to the number seven. The use of numbers and typology in an interpretation of the eighth day is also found in Justin Martyr, \textit{Dialogue with Trypho}, Ch. 138, A. Cleveland Coxe, tr., in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., \textit{The Ante-Nicene Fathers}, Vol. 1, Grand Rapids: MI, William B. Eerdmans, 1985, p. 268, “For the righteous Noah, along with the other mortals at the deluge, i.e., with his own wife, his three sons and their wives, being eight in number, were a symbol of the eighth day, wherein Christ appeared when He rose from the dead, for ever the first in power.”}

While chapter seven of this thesis draws strongly on past Jewish and Christian traditions in presenting the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of this age, therefore, it cannot ultimately be considered a demonstration of why the sabbath was considered so suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age, but rather it is a presentation of why the sabbath may be considered so suitable as the symbol of this age. In chapter seven this has ramifications for the understanding of the reader of the text. As this chapter presents a variety of Jewish and Christian interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the age to come, there is a sense in which the “reader” becomes the author of these interpretations. At the same time, however, just as this chapter is ultimately a presentation of why the sabbath may be considered so suitable as a symbol of this age, so the author of this thesis is ultimately the reader of the text in this section. While doing this, though, she is also standing firmly in the context of the community of these traditions, as their representative and developer.

1.5.3 The Definition of Symbol

A definition of symbols has been the topic of much intellectual discussion across a number of academic fields.\footnote{Karl Rahner, \textit{Theological Investigations}, Vol. 4, \textit{More Recent Writings}, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1974, pp. 223-224, Footnote 3, gives an extensive bibliography that give “some idea of the variety of philosophical effort with regard to the concept of the symbol”. The article by Victor Turner, “Symbolic Studies”, \textit{Annual Review of Anthropology}, Vol. 4, 1975, pp. 145-161, gives reference to a wide range of literature examining the symbol. Cf. Louis Dupré, \textit{Symbols of the Sacred}, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2000, p. 4, “The mind’s road to symbolic expression is long and arduous. At the end we find scientific theories, philosophical systems, works of art, religious myths and rituals.”} On the one level, every human conception and communication is understood to be symbolic in nature, and it is this ability to understand things symbolically that is seen as a unique attribute that makes humans
distinctly human. Human language, in particular, has been the topic of much discussion as to its symbolic nature.

At another level, however, there has also been defined a distinct category of “things” that are “symbols”, and that as such have unique features. As Tillich notes, therefore, “in spite of the manifold research about the meaning and function of symbols which is going on in contemporary philosophy, every writer who uses the term ‘symbol’ must explain his understanding of it”. This thesis now describes its own definition of a symbol.

In speaking of the sabbath as a symbol, this thesis is describing a symbol as a unique category of “things” that represent other “things” in a special context; it is also describing a subset of this category of symbol; that of a religious symbol. This thesis first describes those concepts that are common to all symbols, and then examines what is the distinct uniqueness of a religious symbol. Finally, it relates this definition of a symbol to the interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

**Characteristics of the Symbol**

In his book *Dynamics of Faith*, Tillich gives a detailed description of the unique nature of all symbols in terms of the following six characteristics. The first characteristic, though not the following ones, is common to both symbols and signs. They both point beyond themselves to something else.

---


The second characteristic of symbols is that they participate in what they represent. Signs, on the one hand, are understood as something that merely points to what they signify. Symbols, on the other hand, actually represent the thing signified in the double sense of both “making it present, and taking the place of it”.

The distinction between signs and symbols in terms of this characteristic is a common aspect of most definitions of symbols. Indeed, this distinction can be found at least as far back as Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*, although he uses the terms “schemata” and “symbol”. It is also in this context that the confusion of the terms “sign” and “symbol” can be demonstrated. Such signs as letters, numbers and mathematical signs are frequently called symbols. These signs, however, do not participate in the reality of that to which they point (as do symbols), and can be arbitrarily replaced for reasons of expediency and convention (as symbols cannot).

The third characteristic of symbols is that they open up “levels of reality which otherwise are closed for us”. Dupré similarly states that “a symbol never simply refers to a pre-existing reality: it opens up a new one”. Baldock presents this concept from a different angle by stating the following:

- A true symbol differs from a sign in that what it expresses is ultimately intangible. The symbol itself might well be a tangible, instantly recognisable object or concept but there is frequently no obvious or visible relationship between the symbol and what it expresses. If we endeavour to create a tangible reality of the mystery it symbolises, we will forever be turning symbols into signs. For a symbol to remain a symbol, we must accept that what it expresses will remain a mystery.

Related to the third characteristic of symbols is their fourth characteristic. Not only do symbols open up dimensions and elements of reality which otherwise would remain unapproachable but they also unlock dimensions and elements of our soul which

---

38 Dupré, p. 1.
40 Tillich, 1957, pp. 41-42.
41 Tillich, 1957, p. 42
42 Dupré, p. 2.
correspond to the dimensions and elements of reality.\footnote{Tillich, 1957, p. 42. Cf. V. Turner, 1975, p. 159, who concludes his article with the words “simply stated, we master the world through signs, ourselves by symbols.”} It is possible that it is the subjective individual element of this characteristic that facilitates the multivalent property of symbols (which is examined below).

Tillich’s fifth characteristic of symbols is that they cannot be produced intentionally. They grow out of the individual or collective unconsciousness and cannot function without being accepted by the unconscious function of our being.\footnote{Tillich, 1957, p. 43.} Tillich further explains this in “The Religious Symbol”:

\begin{quote}
The act by which a symbol is created is a social act, even though it first springs forth from the individual. The individual can devise signs for his own private needs; he cannot make symbols. If something becomes a symbol for him, it is always so in relation to the community which in turn can recognize itself in it.\footnote{Tillich, 1961b, p. 303. E. Robinson, 1987, p. 56, also states: “Symbols however are not generally created by individuals. They are more often the expression of dogma.” cf. also V. Turner, 1975, p. 154.}\\
\end{quote}

The sixth characteristic of symbols is a result of the fifth characteristic, that symbols cannot be simply invented or arbitrarily chosen. Because of their close connection with human thought and the community unconsciousness, symbols can both grow and die.\footnote{Tillich, 1964, p. 65. He goes on to illustrate this point with the demise of the symbol Mary, the mother of Jesus, in Protestantism; p.65, “First of all you have here a symbol which has died in Protestantism by the changed situation of the relationship to God. The special, direct, immediate relationship to God, makes any mediating power impossible. Another reason which has made this symbol disappear is the negation of the ascetic element which is implied in the glorification of virginity and as long as the Protestant religious situation lasts it cannot be re-established.”} In \textit{Theology of Culture}, Tillich notes that symbols are independent of any empirical criticism, and that therefore a symbol cannot be killed by criticism in terms of natural sciences or historical research. Rather, symbols only die if the situation in which they have been created has passed.\footnote{E. Robinson, 1987, p. 55.} Ghana Robinson similarly speaks of the living nature of symbols, and the precarious nature of its life. He considers the use of a symbol as decoration as an indication that it is moribund.\footnote{This is also described as their “polyvalent” nature, as the following quote from Dupré notes.}

\textbf{The Multivalent Nature of Symbols}

Another aspect of symbols, that is presented in numerous definitions, is their multivocal\footnote{E. Robinson, 1987, p. 55.} nature; that is, they can have various levels of meaning, including unique
interpretations by the individual.\textsuperscript{50} Dupré notes that all symbols “are so \textit{polyvalent} that no single rational interpretation can ever exhaust their meaning. In fact, the less specific a symbol is, the richer its symbolic meaning becomes.”\textsuperscript{51} Conversely, Edward Robinson states that when a symbol sinks to the level that they have only one meaning, then they become signs.\textsuperscript{52} Significantly, Tillich himself does not emphasise this aspect of the symbol. A possible reason for this is that the concept that a symbol may have a variety of meanings, including unique meanings for a particular individual, is at variance with his emphasis on the fact that a symbol must be accepted by the community as a whole. On the other hand, however, Victor Turner considers their multivocality to be what makes them so appropriate in a community context:

“Symbols are triggers of social action – and of personal action in the public arena. Their multivocality enables a wide range of groups and individuals to relate to the same signifier-vehicle in a variety of ways.”\textsuperscript{53}

This multivalent nature of symbols is given an interesting interpretation by Baldock. He cites Edward Robinson’s presentation of the traditional scheme of four levels of biblical interpretation, and presents it as useful also in the interpretation of symbols.\textsuperscript{54} E. Robinson’s full text states:

At the \textit{literal} level it could be taken as a record of simple fact or instruction. From this one could go on to interpret it at the \textit{allegorical} level; here each element in the text could be understood as standing for something else, as in the interpretation of Christ’s parable of the sower given in Matt. 13.28ff. The third level was the \textit{moral}, at which the text could yield a meaning of particular relevance to the reader’s own situation; this could also be described as the personal level. The fourth and highest was the \textit{anagogical} or mystical level. To interpret scripture at this level meant to open oneself up to all the infinite meanings that its words might have for you, meanings that might well transcend the comprehension of any single individual.\textsuperscript{55}

When viewed in terms of the interpretation of symbols, these four levels are not separated from each other, according to Baldock, but are rather “all simultaneously present, one ‘within’ the other”.\textsuperscript{56} At the first “literal” level, the symbol itself is perceived through the senses. At the second “allegorical” level, the mind is made aware, often second hand, of the other non-sensory (or symbolic) perceptions of the symbol. At the third “moral” level, the symbol moves from being second-hand

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{50} E. Robinson, 1987, pp. 54-55, 57; V. Turner, 1975, pp. 146, 152, 155-157; Dupré, pp. 1, 8.
\textsuperscript{51} Dupré, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{52} E. Robinson, 1987, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{53} V. Turner, 1975, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{54} Baldock, p. 12
\textsuperscript{56} Baldock, p. 12.
\end{flushleft}
information, to acquire relevance at a personal level and to become first-hand experience. At this level the meaning of the symbol opens up to the individual, and the individual also “opens up” to receive this meaning. Finally, at the fourth “anagogical” level, “it is the importance that may previously have been attached to the physical nature or material form of the symbolic object or event which melts, making way for a new light of understanding. In other words, the symbol itself dissolves as what it symbolises flows uninterrupted through the observer’s mind.”

Religious Symbols

Tillich identifies the uniqueness of religious symbols as follows:

Religious symbols are distinguished from others by the fact that they are a representation of that which is unconditionally beyond the conceptual sphere; they point to the ultimate reality implied in the religious act, to what concerns us ultimately.

He also sees two main categories of symbolism, and various sub-categories within each group, although he changes his terminology for them in his various works on symbolism. In the *Theology of Culture* he describes the first category as the transcendent level, the level which goes beyond the empirical reality we encounter. The first sub-category in this level is God as ultimate reality. The second is the qualities of God, such as love, mercy, omniscience etc. The third sub-category is the acts of God; statements such as “God has created the world” speak symbolically of God.

The second category is the immanent level, the level of the appearances of the divine in time and place. The first sub-category is the incarnations of the divine. The second sub-category, the sacramental, is some reality that becomes the bearer of the Holy in a special way and under special circumstances. The third sub-category contains such things as candles, crosses, holy water, etc., that were originally only signs, but in use have become symbols.

---

58 Tillich, 1961b, p. 303. The reference continues, “All other symbols either stand for something that also has an unsymbolic objective existence aside from its ideal existence, as, for example, a flag can represent a king, and the king in turn represents that state; or they are the forms given expression to an invisible thing that has no existence except in its symbols, as for example, cultural creations like works of art, scientific concepts, and legal forms. It is only in symbolic fashion that such intangible things as these can be given expression at all.”
60 Tillich, 1964, pp. 61-65.
The Sabbath as a Symbol of the Eschatological Age

The nature of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age can now be examined. Because of its intangible nature, the eschatological age is particularly suitable to be represented by a symbol. To speak of the sabbath as a symbol (rather than merely a sign) of this age, is to consider it in some way to be representing the nature of the eschatological age itself. Moreover, as does any symbol, this representation given by the sabbath opens up a level of comprehending the eschatological age that would otherwise be closed. Conversely, this understanding of the eschatological age has the ability to unlock dimensions and elements of the soul. As this thesis will demonstrate, the sabbath may, in fact, be interpreted as an actual foretaste of the eschatological age itself (section 7.3.3). As such, it is also seen to be a means of affecting behaviour through-out the whole week; that is, it affects human understanding and actions.

The characteristic that symbols are a living thing that grows and may die, as well as the fact that their acceptance originates from the communal unconscious, reaffirms the difficulty discussed in the previous section; that of identifying the historical reason why the sabbath was considered such a suitable symbol of the eschatological age. This difficulty is further compounded by their multivocal nature, which is reflected in the various levels in which both history and this thesis interprets the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. These multiple interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age may also be regarded as falling into various categories of religious symbols themselves. As a reminder of God’s holiness, the sabbath is a first level transcendent symbol in the second sub-category of a quality of God. As a symbol of God’s creative and redemptive actions (both in the exodus and in the eschatological age), it may also be regarded as a transcendent symbol, in the third sub-category of an act of God. As a symbol of holiness, and a means of sanctifying humans, however, the sabbath also takes on the qualities of a second-level immanent symbol of a sacrament. The later Christian interpretations of Christ as the true sabbath also allows it to be understood as an immanent symbol of the incarnation.
1.6 PARAMETERS OF RESEARCH

1.6.1 Limitation to the Hebrew Scriptures

As the next chapter demonstrates, there is significant diversity in the concepts of the sabbath in Jewish and Christian history. To speak of the legitimacy and suitability of the sabbath, therefore, it is necessary to define clearly what concept of the sabbath is being examined. In this thesis, the focus will be on the understanding of the sabbath that may be developed from the Hebrew Scriptures, with an acknowledgement of the historical context of Israel and the ANE\(^{61}\) in which these Scriptures developed.

*The Term “Hebrew Scriptures”*

In its use of the term “Hebrew Scriptures”, this thesis avoids two limitations of the term “Old Testament”. The anachronistic use of the term “Old Testament” in the context of biblical studies where Jewish and other non-Christian scholars are participating, is well accepted, as is the preference for the term “Hebrew Scriptures”. In its use of this term, this thesis also acknowledges the difference between the Protestant and the Catholic and Orthodox canons of the “Old Testament”. The books that are unique to the Catholic and Orthodox canons\(^{62}\) are extant only in their Greek form,\(^{63}\) and the books of Protestant Old Testament are predominately in Hebrew.\(^{64}\) The term “Hebrew Scriptures” is therefore a convenient means of signalling the books of the Jewish canon and Protestant Old Testament rather than the Septuagint canon of the Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

*Benefits of Confining Focus to the Hebrew Scriptures*

There are various benefits in confining this thesis’ examination of the sabbath to the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. Firstly, the explicit use of the concept of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age first appeared in the last few centuries BCE. The books of the Hebrew Scriptures are generally agreed to have reached their present form

---

\(^{61}\) Ancient Near East.

\(^{62}\) The exact content of the Old Testament canon, however, is not identical in these traditions. *The Common Bible* notes differences in the content of the Latin Vulgate, the Greek and the Slavonic Bibles. These variant canons are shown in the index of *The Common Bible: The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version, Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, Glasgow: Collins, 1973, p. xiv.

\(^{63}\) This thesis acknowledges the theory that some of the books that are presently extant only in their Greek form may have first been written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

\(^{64}\) The notable exception being the Aramaic chapters of Daniel.
by this time, but the Greek books of the Septuagint were still being developed. By restricting the books examined to the period of the Hebrew Scriptures, this thesis is examining concepts of the sabbath that were in existence prior to the first explicit expression of it as a symbol of the eschatological age, and were possible contributors to it.

Confining the focus of this thesis to the books of the Hebrew canon restricts it primarily to sources that were either developed in the land of Israel, or in the context of the exile and return to Palestine. While the books themselves may have originated or have a setting in exile, their focus is on Israel; and they contain both the identity of exile, and the hope of return. This stands in contrast to many of the Greek books of the Septuagint, which are set in a context of settled “diaspora” life or are developed in such a context. Moreover, the books of the Hebrew Scriptures are predominately of an earlier origin than the Greek Deutero-canonical books, and are therefore generally pre-Hellenistic. This Hellenistic influence was the source of significant development in Jewish and Christian tradition, and has also prompted various attitudes as to the desirability of this influence.

This development is particularly evident when examining the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, as the following chapters demonstrate. The concept of the resurrection in Jewish thought becomes explicit at this stage, and it is frequently

65 The major exception to this is the book of Daniel, which is often dated to the second century BCE. It should be noted that even when Daniel is accepted to be second century (and referring to Antiochus VI) its content is strongly anti-Hellenistic. Furthermore, the content of Daniel itself is firmly based in the context of Israel, and contains a strong reference both to exile and a desired return. Some scholars also consider there to be Hellenistic influences in the book of Proverbs, although there is increasing acceptance that this book could have arisen in Israel itself.

66 The notable exception to this in the Hebrew Scriptures is the book of Esther, which is set in the context of settled diaspora life, and contains no reference to the land of Israel. (The closest reference to Israel is Esther 2:6).

67 The integration of Hellenistic concepts in a Judaic and Christian context is clearly evident in such writers as Philo and Origen. Less receptive attitudes to this Hellenistic influence is reflected in the classic statement of Tertullian, “On Prescription Against Heretics 7.9”; Peter Holmes, tr., in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1980, p. 246, “He had been at Athens, and had in his interviews (with its philosophers) become acquainted with that human wisdom which pretends to know the truth, whilst it only corrupts it, and is itself divided into its own manifold heresies, by the variety of its mutually repugnant sects. What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem?” (italics mine). T.V. Philip, East of the Euphrates: Early Christianity in Asia, Delhi: CCS & ISPCK, 1998, p. 7, reflects anti Hellenistic influences in Jewish circles. As he notes, “The day on which the Old Testament was rendered into Greek was said to be as evil as that on which the golden calf was made.”
regarded to have developed due to Hellenistic influences.\textsuperscript{68} This assisted in the emergence of a variety of concepts of the eschatological age in pre-Christian Judaism; a diversity that has also been identified in Christianity from the New Testament times. This diversity is reflected in that, at the emergence of Christianity, there existed between Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism differing concepts of the sabbath, including its interpretation as a symbol of the eschatological age. By confining its focus to the Hebrew Scriptures, this thesis also confines its focus to concepts that existed prior to Hellenistic influences. This puts manageable boundaries around the scope of this thesis and also avoids the inclusion of these Hellenistic influences that are considered undesirable by certain scholars.

The relevance of this research to potential readers is a third benefit of confining this research to the Hebrew Scriptures. While there is not necessarily conformity as to their interpretation, there is an almost universal acceptance of the authority of these Scriptures in Jewish and Christian tradition. Similarly, while there is a wide difference in the understanding and observance of the sabbath and the Lord’s day among later Jewish and Christian traditions, these traditions usually connect their understanding of these days to the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus, by focusing on the concept of the sabbath as found in these Scriptures, this thesis is making its research relevant to the widest range of potential readers.

For a similar reason, this thesis limits its understanding of eschatology to that found in the Hebrew Scriptures; and it presents the major themes of the eschatological age as the end of sin, the presence of God, and transformation on the spiritual, social and natural dimensions. Later history contains many variant eschatologies. These major themes of eschatology identified in the Hebrew Scriptures, however, are also major components of most later eschatologies. Confining the examination of eschatology to that of the Hebrew Scriptures, therefore, also makes this research relevant to the widest range of potential readers.

\textsuperscript{68} Its development has also been interpreted as a response to the first widespread occurrence of martyrdom during the Maccabean period, and the question as to the martyrs’ reward for their righteousness, as chapter seven further examines.
1.6.2 Scope and Selection of Literature Consulted

The topic of the sabbath is one on which a vast amount of literature exists. This literature spans more than two millennia and reflects numerous religious traditions and literary genres. As the full examination of this literature is not possible in a work such as this, there is a necessity, therefore, to be selective about what literature is examined. To a certain extent, the literary genres of this thesis determine the selection of the literature used within it. Just as the focus is the study of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, so also the majority of the literature used in chapters three to six draws from the field of biblical studies. As the first part of chapter two conducts an examination of the various scholarly understandings of the development and nature of the sabbath in ancient Israel, so it draws on scholarly literature on the sabbath in the field of biblical studies and the history of Israel. As the second part of chapter two examines an understanding of the sabbath throughout history, it presents various sources of primary literature in which these understandings are reflected; including the church fathers, civil law, church canon, liturgy and popular spiritual writings. It also draws on secondary academic examinations of this history. As chapter seven moves again into the area of reception history and biblical theology, where later interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age are examined, it again draws from this wider range of literature, including those of systematic theology and liturgy.

At the same time, however, the large amount of literature in each of these subject areas still requires further selection. In making this selection, the focus is kept on the primary purpose of the thesis as an examination of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures. The secondary literature is presented to support this examination, rather than to be a distraction from it. Thus, in the first part of chapter two, the examination of scholarly understandings of the development and nature of the sabbath in ancient Israel presents only a representative sample of scholars that hold to the positions examined. Similarly, in the second part of that chapter, the primary aim is to show the main developments of the concept of the sabbath / Lord’s day. For example, a significant section of history that receives little attention is the period of the early Protestant reformers such as Luther and Calvin. This is because these reformers do not develop a new concept of the Lord’s day, but rather present again the one held by the early church fathers.
In its presentation of other biblical themes connected with the sabbath, this thesis is necessarily even more selective. In its examination of the nature of blessedness, rest, *shalom* and remembrance in chapter seven, it demonstrates from the Hebrew Scriptures, backed by representative scholarly works, the dominant scholarly understanding of these concepts. Its examination of holiness in chapter five does contain a more in-depth examination of the works of other scholars, but the chapter is still selectively focused on addressing the question of whether it is legitimate to view the concept of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures as universal and perpetual. While its presentation of eschatology as a whole is also selective, its adoption of Gowen’s portrayal of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures is guided by the fact that it is the primary major work in the area in recent times, and that it has also been well received by the predominant majority of scholars.

1.7 STATE OF THE QUESTION

Having described its methodology and parameters of research, this thesis can now address to what extent other people addressed this question and extent to which the examination of this thesis is unique. There are numerous scholarly works addressing both the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and subsequent Jewish and Christian eschatological interpretations of the sabbath and Lord’s day. These works also occur across a range of theological disciplines; including those of biblical studies, church history, liturgical studies and systematic theology. To the best of the author’s knowledge this thesis is unique, however, in that no other work in the English language asks in a comprehensive way the specific question of what made the sabbath such a suitable symbol of this age. When examining the legitimacy of the sabbath in section one, this thesis also asks original questions, and uses the results when examining the question of the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. Again, the author has found no study in the English literature that compares and contrasts the attributes of the various cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures in the comprehensive manner that chapter three does. This identification of the unique attributes of the sabbath is the basis for much of chapter seven’s presentation of the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. The Orthodox context from which this thesis is written has also brought its own unique perspective and questions. In particular, the examination of the nature of the observance of the sabbath and Lord’s
day in Eastern Orthodox tradition briefly addresses a subject which has not been comprehensively addressed in any English works, and has received little attention in any language. The inclusion of this tradition in the history of the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day brings with it a significant new perspective as to the relationship between the sabbath and the Lord’s day.

The particular contribution made by this thesis then, is more than the asking of a singular, original question. Rather, it is a complex of inter-related questions.

---

69 See section 2:12, particularly footnote 188.
The origins, nature and observance of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and in ancient Israel have been topics of significant discussion in both the academic and popular arenas. This may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, when these topics arise in a religious tradition, they are often part of a discussion as to the nature and continued legitimacy of contemporary sabbath or Lord’s day observance. Secondly, the actual evidence concerning the origins and observance of the sabbath in ancient Israel, as well as during the first centuries of Christianity, is limited. This scarcity of evidence greatly enhances the possibility of interpreters reading back their own agendas into earlier periods, and for academic and denominational bias to be reflected in interpretations.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. The first is to place this thesis in the wider framework of academic discussion concerning the nature of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and ancient Israel. The second is to examine how the understanding of the sabbath in these Scriptures has been influenced by later concepts of the sabbath and the Lord’s day.

In achieving this first purpose, part one of this chapter examines the major scholarly issues of debate concerning the nature of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and the ancient Israelite background in which these Scriptures developed. A survey of literature addressing the sabbath in this context results in the identification of the following five issues for examination:

- the origins of the sabbath
- the nature of sabbath observance in ancient Israel
- the prominence of the sabbath in Israel
- the historicity of the Genesis 1:1-2:3 creation account

There are two well accepted designations of this creation account presented by both ancient and modern commentators, that of Genesis 1:1-2:3, and 1:1-2:4a. Cf. Wenham, 1987, p. 49. While this thesis holds
• the sabbath as a creation or Mosaic institution.

As section 1.6.2 has already indicated, the extensive extant literature necessitates that this chapter contains only a representative sample of scholarly discussion on this subject. An examination of these issues is particularly important because it is the debate on these issues that questions the understanding of the sabbath from which this thesis develops its conclusions concerning the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. That is:

• that the nature of sabbath as a recurring seventh day is unique in and of itself, as well as being a symbol of Yahweh’s unique covenant relationship with Israel
• that the sabbath is presented as both a day of rest and a day of worship in the Hebrew Scriptures
• that the sabbath is presented in the Hebrew Scriptures as having a position of prominence and uniqueness
• whether the interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3 allows for an understanding that holiness may, by nature, be a state of universal holiness
• that it is legitimate to view the sabbath as a Mosaic institution and, as such, an expression of the eschatological age that it is Israel’s purpose to initiate.

Part two then briefly examines the development of the concept of the sabbath and Lord’s day (as well as the relationship between the two) in early Judaism and throughout the Christian era. Once again, as section 1.6.2 has indicated, the voluminous amount of primary and secondary literature on this subject demands this examination be selective. The primary purpose in this chapter is to present the spectrum of various concepts of the sabbath and Lord’s day that have been adopted through history, rather than to examine in detail the understanding held by each tradition in this history. It therefore presents sufficient primary and secondary literature to demonstrate clearly the various concepts of these days that have been adopted. Because there is such little scholarly examination as to the concept of the sabbath and the Lord’s day in Eastern Christianity, and because this tradition presents a distinct development in the understanding of these two days, this thesis examines this tradition in particular detail.

When presenting the various concepts of the sabbath and the Lord’s day in part two, this

thesis pays specific attention to how the issues identified in part one were understood by those who accepted each concept of the sabbath. In so doing, it examines the connection between later concepts of the sabbath, and their understanding of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and ancient Israel. This chapter then draws conclusions as to how later understandings of the sabbath can influence interpretations of the sabbath in these Scriptures. This chapter thus lays the foundation for the following chapters, which re-examine the nature of the sabbath in these Scriptures, focusing on the issues this chapter identifies. Part two’s examination of the history of concepts of the sabbath and the Lord’s day is also the basis for chapter seven’s examination of the later Christian interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

PART ONE: THE SABBATH IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES AND ANCIENT ISRAEL

2.1 THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE SABBATH

2.1.1 The Search for the Historical Origins

There has been significant scholarly discussion concerning the origins of the sabbath, and numerous theories have arisen over the past two centuries. These theories have hypothesised various locations for the origin of the sabbath, and have focused on etymological, numerological, sociological, cultic and lunar explanations.\(^{71}\) Theories as to the date and origin of the sabbath in Israel are equally diverse. Some scholars argue that Israel first adopted the sabbath in exile, while others maintain that the nomadic Israelites brought it with them to Canaan or that at an early date they adopted it there from the surrounding Canaanites.\(^{72}\) Despite the significant amount of scholarly discussion on the subject, however, recent scholars have rightly concluded that “the

---


origin and early history of the sabbath thus continue to lie in the dark”.

While there have been a few scholars throughout the past century who have argued for a uniquely Israelite origin for the sabbath, this position is currently becoming more prevalent. Recent scholars have identified and questioned various attitudes underlying earlier theories on the origin of the sabbath that facilitated their tendency to search for these origins outside of Israel. These include the general assumption that nothing original could have developed within Israel, that all biblical history is to be considered fictional until external verification can be found, and a tendency towards ‘parallelomania’. The latter is the tendency to focus too strongly on finding parallels between ANE cultures at the expense of removing the individual motifs being examined from their literary or cultural context. In questioning parallelomania, these scholars have called for “each culture to [be allowed to] emerge on its own terms”, and for these cultures to be appraised “in their potential similarity and contrast”.

This thesis is open to the possibility that the sabbath could have originated in Israel itself, although it considers the question to be ultimately beyond proof. It also emphasises the fact that, whatever its origins, Israel developed the sabbath into something both unique to Israel, and also symbolic of Israel’s unique Yahwism. While acknowledging the need to allow the sabbath in Israel to “emerge on its own terms”, it is important that the pendulum does not swing too far in the other direction. Although unique concepts of the sabbath are found in Israel, these did not develop in a void.

---

73 Niels-Erik A. Andreasen, The Old Testament Sabbath, Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972, p. 8. G. Robinson, 1988, p. 22, also notes that “In spite of these multifarious studies, the origins of the sabbath still remains in darkness”. He then gives various references to this in pp. 24-25, notes 8-10.
74 G. Robinson, 1988, esp. p. 27, “For Kutsch, the sabbath is ‘wohl genuin israelitisch’. Any contact with the Babylonian verbs šab-ba-tu or the noun ša-p/hat-tu(m) is denied resolutely. It is claimed that while the Babylonian seven-day periods (ümú-lemmutû) were tied to the month, the Israelite sabbath was completely freed from the lunar month”, cf. also p. 163, and pp. 190-191, note 365.
75 Alfred Jeremias, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East, Vol. 1, C. L. Beaumont, tr., London: Williams & Norgate, 1911, p. 198, “The week of seven days running through the whole solar year is a peculiarity of the Israelite calendar, and the institution of this continuous procession of weeks (shabu’a, comp. Gen. xxix. 27; Judges xiv. 17) marks a great spiritual step. Whence the Israelites took it is not known. They certainly did not invent it for themselves; we find no traces that the Israelites ever occupied themselves with cultural matters. In this they were always entirely independent.” Cf, Anne-Maree Hope, Poverty and Wealth in Psalms and the Wisdom Literature, a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree BA Honours, Brisbane: Griffith University, 1996, for a similar attitude concerning the wisdom literature, especially Proverbs.
Comparing the sabbath with the cultic festivals of surrounding nations not only presents similarities, but also demonstrates more clearly the unique aspects of the sabbath; even when any influence on the origin of the sabbath is considered hypothetical. This is an area with the potential for further valuable research.

As scholarly literature already contains numerous summaries of the various theories concerning the origins of the sabbath, and as there is an increasing acknowledgement that there is insufficient evidence to identify these origins, this thesis does not examine each of these theories individually. What it does, however, is to identify three major definitions of the sabbath that these theories focus on when examining its origins. This is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, by identifying these three definitions, the search for the origins of the sabbath becomes clearer, even if no firm conclusion may be drawn. Secondly, it highlights aspects of these theories that influence the interpretation of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures.

2.1.2 A Definition of “Sabbath”

A focus on three primary aspects of the sabbath may be identified in scholarly works that examine its origins and nature in ancient Israel:

- the sabbath as a day of rest, religious significance and cultic practice
- the nature of the sabbath as one day in seven, and the origins of this seven-day cycle
- the origins of the theological concept of the sabbath in Israel; particularly of the sabbath as a symbol of the Yahwistic covenant.

Each of these is now examined below.

A Day of Rest or Holy Day

If, in the search for the origins of the sabbath, the definition of the sabbath is primarily one of a day of rest and worship, then the possibility of finding legitimate parallels with similar days of worship outside of Israel is far more likely. A day of religious significance that involves cultic activities and the cessation from labour is a common feature of both ancient and modern religions.

77 These are listed previously in this chapter.
Even among the ancient writers, the concept of an observance by the “gentiles” of holy
days similar to the sabbath has been acknowledged:

Extra biblical evidence further attests this monthly observance of the sabbath.
Both Jewish and Christian sources confirm that the sabbath was not something
unique to Israel in the past (as held by many), but was known and practised by
Israel’s neighbours even during the post-exilic period, when the Jewish sabbath
was in its highest glory. Josephus speaks of the sabbath practice among the
pagans. Eusebius asserts that even Homer and Hesiod observed the sabbath. E.
G. Hirsch observes that “Horace in his ‘Satires’ (i. 9, 69) speaks of ‘tricesima
Sabbata’ which certainly does not refer to a Sabbath so numbered by the Jews”.
Hippolytus, Tertullian, Martinus Bracarensis, and several other writers too,
speak of sabbath observance among the pagans. If this non-Jewish sabbath was
not “so numbered as by the Jews”, then how was it numbered? Here, Philo
comes to our help. He notes,

“Some countries celebrate this (the Sabbath) once a month and count it
from new moon; but the Jews celebrate it regularly always after six
days”.

A non-Israelite holy day that is frequently presented as the possible origin of the
Israelite sabbath is the Babylonian feast sabattu. Accounts as to the nature of this
feast vary significantly, as does scholarly opinion as to whether it had any connection
with the Israelite sabbath. While some scholarly works indicate clear connections
between the Babylonian sabattu and the sabbath, other scholars argue vigorously that
the Israeli sabbath could not have developed from, or even have common origins with,
this sabattu. Ghana Robinson gives a detailed and convincing account of the history
of the discovery of these festivals, as well as an explanation as to why such a diversity
of accounts exists. He notes that scholarship first identified the Babylonian sabattu,

---

78 G. Robinson, 1988, p. 184, underlining his.
79 This word takes the form of both sabattu, and sapattu, and is sometimes presented as the dual
transliteration sab/pattu. For ease of literary style, the form sabattu is used for the remainder of this
was familiar to the Mesopotamians, the days that were observed as such were far less regular than those
of the Hebrews, and had a strictly superstitious basis. For fear of offending various deities in the
pantheon, the Babylonians observed a sâbbatū on the seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first and
twenty-eighth days of the month. Special sacrifices were offered to the gods on these occasions in order
to avert their wrath or to propitiate them. Apparently only certain classes of Babylonian society were
affected by ‘sabbath’ restrictions upon their normal activities, but these groups included the ruler and
some priests.”
81 Hasel, 1988, pp. 45-49, states that the sabattu were not known to be a day of rest, and questions
whether there was a cultic significance to them in later Babylonian periods. He further questions whether
there could be any etymological link between sabattu and the Sabbath and notes other scholars who take
the same position. Similarly, Stanley L. Jaki, “The Sabbath-Rest of the Maker of All”, The Asbury
Theological Journal, Vol. 50, No. 1, Spr., 1995, p. 39, states “The Babylonian shabattu and shapattu are
in all evidence unrelated to the Hebrew sabbath. The latter’s uniqueness or originality has so far
withstood all efforts to present it as a borrowing from other cultures.”
82 G. Robinson, 1988, pp. 159-167.
which was referred to as the full moon day in texts discovered subsequently. A significant text refers to this sabattu as a “um nuh libbi (a day of rest for the heart)”. 83 Scholars then found reference in the religious calendar of the Assyrians to the úmu-lemnu or “evil day”. In a tenth-century BCE text, this day is referred to as occurring on the 1,7,9,14,19,21,28,29,30 days of Nisan, while a seventh-century text speaks of it as occurring on the 7,14,19,21,28 days of certain months. This day is characterised by a restriction of certain activities by sections of society, and is concluded with sacrifice. Some scholars viewed these days as identical and interpreted them together as a sabattu recurring at seven-day intervals. As such, they found in these days a significant parallel to the Israelite sabbath. Other scholars have questioned whether the Assyrian and Babylonian holy days are identical, as well as the extent to which either festival was characterised by cultic worship or universal abstinence from work. 84

The semantic root and etymological origin of the word “sabbath” is itself a topic of significant discussion, and various theories have been presented. 85 The etymological origin of the Babylonian word sabattu, and whether it has any connections with the Hebrew word “sabbath” is similarly controversial. While some scholars deny any connection between either the etymological origins of the two words or the historical origins of the two cultic holy days, others suggest that one may have developed from the other, or that both may have developed from a common etymological or historical source.

Although there is a diversity of opinion as to the precise nature of the sabattu and umu-lemnu, and any connection it may have with the Israelite sabbath, it is generally accepted that there is evidence outside of Israel of feast days containing traits similar to that of the seventh-day sabbath. These include increased devotion, cultic activity and sacrifices to the gods, and a restriction on labour for at least some sections of the community. Chapter three examines the extent to which these traits are unique to the sabbath or held in common with other holy festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures.

84 G. Robinson, 1988, pp. 159-161, argues that the sabattu as a um nuh libbi refers not to a day of rest from labour, but rather a day of reconciliation. He similarly notes that on the “umu-lemnu” there is found restrictions on the king, the priest, the seer and the physician; “but of general restriction of all work, binding upon all people … these texts do not speak”. Cf. Hasel, 1988, p. 48, “the Babylonian šab/pattu by itself is also not known to be a day of rest from any activity.”
The Origins of the Seventh-day and Weekly Cycle of the Sabbath

The significance of the number seven in the ANE is well recognised by scholars. As the previous section already indicates, there is also evidence to suggest that the number seven and multiples of the number seven have appeared as favoured days for holy cultic days in the nations surrounding Israel. While the distance between these holy days may have been seven days, or multiples of seven days in a specific month, however, this cycle did not generally extend beyond that month. There exists, therefore, the question as to how and where there developed a recurring seven-day week that is independent of lunar or solar cycles. While in the past, numerous scholars have examined this particular question and developed various theories as to non-Israelite origins of the seven-day week, it is a topic for which any significant evidence is lacking, and for which no consensus has been reached.

Although it is not possible to examine all of the theories of the origins of the seven-day cycle in Israel, this thesis examines one theory that can significantly affect interpretations of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures. This theory states that the pre-exilic references to the sabbath do not refer to a weekly occurrence, but rather to a full moon feast, and that this sabbath later became a seven-day cycle. This theory was first presented by Lotz over a century ago, and has been supported by various scholars since then, although it has not been accepted by the majority. This theory must be clearly

---

87 The arham and sabattu are sometimes referred to as occurring on the 1 and 15 days, with a distance of 14 days between the two. The umu-lemnu occurred on the 7,14,21,28th day, as well as the 19th and, in earlier documents, the 9, 29, 30th days. G. Robinson, 1988, p. 162, notes that the number 19 does not fit into any lunar-phase theories and suggests that “it was perhaps the heptad-day of a higher grade, the seventh-heptad day, i.e., the 49th day”.
88 Due to the fact that a synodic or lunar month contains 29 or 30 days.
89 Dressler, p. 25, “On this question, the evidence is unequivocal; only the ancient Hebrew literature speaks definitely about a seven-day week and a Sabbath.” This should be contrasted with the statement in Robert G. Rayburn, “Should Christians Observe the Sabbath?”, Presbyterian, Vol. 10, No. 1-2, Spr.-Fall 1984, p. 76, “The recognition of one day in seven set apart as a day of rest by the nations of the earth is a testimony to man’s [sic] universal God-consciousness. Traces of the existence and observance of the Sabbath are found in ancient literature other than the Bible. Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and even the Chinese and Indians had a week of seven days with the seventh given special significance as a rest day, and, in many cases, a day of worship.” In support of this he references Thomas Hamilton, Our Rest Day: Its Origin, History, and Claim, Edinburgh: James Gammell, 1886, pp. 29-37.
90 Hasel, 1988, p. 37 “A little over a century ago W. Lotz first suggested that the sabbath in the sequence of ‘new moon and sabbath’ in the eighth century prophets indicated a monthly full moon day.” On pp. 37-38 he continues to refer to various other scholars who have taken this position. G. Robinson’s The Origin and Development of the Old Testament Sabbath: A Comprehensive Exegetical Approach is an extensive support of this position.
91 Scholars opposing it include Hasel, 1988; von Rad, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 16, “There must also be some kind of connection with the Babylonian šapattu, the 15th day of the month (the day of the full moon), but the
separated from the suggestion in chapter three that the term “sabbath” may have been a general term for holy festivals. This theory hypothesises the existence of a specific holy festival termed the sabbath, which was connected with the lunar cycle, rather than with the seven-day weekly cycle. The basis for this theory rests primarily in the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. As it also affects the understanding of the sabbath in these Scriptures, chapter four’s examination of the sabbath passages searches for any explicit indication of the sabbath as a full moon festival. In Ghana Robinson’s comprehensive presentation of this theory, he places significant emphasis on the word order of the references to holy festivals. He asserts that the word order “new moon and sabbath” comes from an earlier period when the sabbath was a full moon festival, while the word order “sabbath and new moon”, comes from a later post-exilic period when the sabbath had become a weekly seventh-day festival.\textsuperscript{92} Chapter four also examines the occurrences of the sabbath in lists of holy festivals.

The theory that the sabbath may have been a monthly occurrence raises the question of what uniqueness the seven-day week adds to the sabbath. This question needs to be put in the context of the historical data that is presently available. The Israelite designation of the sabbath as a unique sign of Yahweh’s creative actions and the covenant is not found in the context of widespread weekly sabbath observance in surrounding nations. Rather, this sabbath is based on a weekly cycle for which there is virtually no explicit reference outside of Israel. To explicitly state that the weekly cycle and its connection with the sabbath must have originated in Israel is to argue from silence, and is beyond proof. Scholarship, however, is increasingly accepting it as a legitimate possibility.

The interpretation of the weekly sabbath as a symbol of Yahweh’s unique covenant and relationship with Israel gains greater significance when it is understood that this sabbath may be unique to Israel. As chapter five further demonstrates, this existence of a cycle of time separate from the natural cycles reflects a unique and significant development in

\textsuperscript{92} G. Robinson, 1988, pp. 51-53, 59, 211.
the Israelite concept of time, history and theology. The connection of the sabbath with this cycle also makes it a potent symbol of Yahwism. This therefore gives rise to the question of whether the sabbath was developed as a means of expressing this Yahwism, or whether this Yahwistic significance was a later addition.

The Sabbath as a Yahwistic Symbol

Some scholars consider that the sabbath first emerged in Israel in the context of Yahweh worship, while others hypothesise that the sabbath in Israel originally contained little or no cultic or Yahwistic connection. The position taken on this issue is frequently connected with that taken on the origin of the sabbath in Israel. Scholars that assert that

93 Hasel, 1988, p. 48, “In Hebrew thought the festival sequences are determined by their own cultic regulations of yearly, monthly, and weekly celebrations which are incorporated and dependent on cultic prescriptions entirely devoid of lunar phrases.”

William W. Hallo, “New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-study in the Contrastive Approach”, Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. 48, 1977, p. 16, “Moon worship flourished wherever Mesopotamian culture spread, and even after its demise it survived at places like Harran. But in Israel it failed to gain a foothold; the full moon was not worshipped, the quarters were not especially observed, and even the new moon was ultimately relegated to the status of a half holiday.”

Hart, p. 329, “The seventh day is completely independent of any such natural rhythm; the Hebrew week is structured or defined by a day which speaks of God’s sovereignty.”

Such opinions should be balanced, however, with W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson, Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937, pp. 128-129, “Lunar festivals were common to all the peoples of antiquity, but they were more especially observed among the Semites; so far as these latter are concerned the earliest form of worship of the moon is to be sought among the ancient nomadic Arabs. For the peoples who had reached an agricultural stage of culture the sun necessarily played the leading rôle; but not so for those who were still in the nomadic stage. Owners of flocks and herds, who wander over the measureless tracts of steppe-land, moved mostly by night because of the heat during the day; to them, therefore, the moon was of paramount importance; ... On the analogy of the ancient Arabs, therefore, there is every reason to believe that the new-moon feasts and sacrifices offered on these occasions go back to nomadic times. They are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, but it is significant that the object of their celebration is never hinted at; they are holy days and, like the Sabbath, days of rest (Amos viii 4,5) not because work was forbidden on them, however, but because they were days of worship, to which they were devoted. It is noteworthy that these festivals are not mentioned in the Book of the Covenant nor in the Deuteronomic law, doubtless on account of their connection with lunar worship; but the observance of them was too ingrained to be eradicated, and they continued down to Christian times (see Col. 1:16).” The author of this thesis has also heard verbal accounts of the observance of the new moon in contemporary Eastern Christian countries, and blessing of the house by the priest on that day.

94 Indeed, Ghana Robinson goes so far as viewing the pre-exilic Sabbath as anti-Yahwistic, although he does consider it to have had cultic connections, G. Robinson, 1988, p. 251, “Many scholars assume that ... the sabbath in the pre-exilic period had little or no contact with the cult of the temple. ... On the other hand, a few scholars have quite rightly drawn our attention to the close connection between the sabbath and the sanctuary in the pre-exilic period.” P. 261, “We saw that in the pre-exilic period the sabbath was a popular festival; but the attitude of true Yahwism was always against it. The eighth-century prophets not only condemned its corrupted practice, but even advocated its discontinuance (Is. 1:13; Hos. 2:11), because of its association with the corrupted kingship in Israel. But now [post-exilic] that the sabbath is detached from the earthly kingship and has come to be associated with the kinship of Yahweh, it acquires a completely different content and receives henceforth a positive emphasis.” (Underlining his).

Jonathan Pearl, “From ‘Seventh Day’ to ‘Shabbat’: Dualities in Genesis 2:1-3”, Jewish Bible Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1998, pp. 52-56, similarly hypothesises that the Sabbath may have originated as a taboo day, and developed into a day of celebration.
the sabbath originally contained no Yahwistic and cultic connections generally also take a pre-exilic date for the sabbath; although there are some that present a cultic or Yahwistic context for sabbath worship even during pre-exilic times. Those that hold to Babylonian origins of the sabbath generally consider the Israelites to have acquired it during the Babylonian exile in the context of Yahweh worship. As the examination below of the prominence of the sabbath reveals (section 2.3), this time of the exile is generally understood to be a time when the sabbath and circumcision gained prominence and became characterising symbols of Jewish and Yahwistic identity.

While no definite conclusions have been drawn as to the origin of the sabbath, this survey of the sabbath’s origins has raised some significant questions as to the defining characteristic of the sabbath. This issue is examined further in chapter three.

### 2.2 THE NATURE OF SABBATH OBSERVANCE: REST VS WORSHIP

That relatively few references in the Hebrew Scriptures describe the nature of sabbath observance has long been noted, and various scholars have questioned its basic nature. Two major issues that have been questioned recently are the extent to which the sabbath was a day of rest and absence of work, and the extent to which corporate worship occurred on the sabbath day and the nature of this worship.

#### 2.2.1 The Absence of Rest?

A number of scholars in recent decades have questioned the extent to which the sabbath existed as a day of rest. A good summary of this position is found in “Genesis 1:1-2:3 as Prologue” by Ian Hart. In this he states:

> G. Robinson has recently argued, with great thoroughness, that the Sabbath or seventh-day-off in the Old Testament has nothing to do with resting. (Tsevat had earlier argued similarly). … Robinson finds no evidence in the Old Testament for any preoccupation with time or rest, such as people have today.

---

95 Lohse, p. 4, “One can only say with certainly that already in the pre-exilic period the Sabbath was kept at the end of every week as a day of rest ordained and sanctified by Yahweh”. Cf. G. Robinson, 1988, p. 30, who says that Jenni considers the seven-day-rest sabbath of the O.T. to be “as old as the religion of Yahweh”. Original quote in E. Jenni, “Die Theologische Begründung des Sabbathgebots im Alten Testament”, Theologische Studien, Vol. 46, 1956, p. 7.

96 The Rabbis acknowledged this in the context of their own Sabbath observance legislation. Lillian Sigal, “The Sabbath: A Jewish Perspective”, Perspectives, Mar., 1996, p. 21, “The many Sabbath restrictions found in rabbinic Halakhah (practice) actually have little scriptural support, and, by the rabbis’ own admission, are ‘a mountain resting on a hair’.”
and is critical of those who anachronistically attribute modern notions of time and rest to early Israelites without any prior inquiry whether there is any evidence that they ever thought along these lines. He believes that there are only two biblical references to ‘rest’ with relation to the Sabbath (Ex. 23:12; 31:17) and he argues that these are late post-exilic, so the ‘basic character’ of the Sabbath has nothing to do with rest.

In my judgment Robinson has gone too far. His devaluation of any material he regards as post-exilic is debatable, and in any case his datings would be disputed by many and the allegedly late texts may contain much earlier material. … But at least Robinson has made clear that the Old Testament does not lay any great stress on this aspect. Its most important meaning must lie elsewhere. Tsevat is more persuasive when he points out that in the entire Old Testament rest is never mentioned as an aspect of the Sabbath for Israelites, but only for God (Ex 31:17) and for animals, slaves and foreigners (Ex 23:12); rest is therefore unlikely to have been the basic character of the Sabbath for Israel.

Hart then goes on to examine the basic meaning of the sabbath, which he interprets rather in terms of worship. He demonstrates that there are “hints in several texts” that it was a day on which worship – including communal liturgical worship – took place. He then adds:

However, the confessional or cultic aspect of the Sabbath does not rest upon this slender foundation of a few references to worship taking place on it. It rests rather upon a mass of indirect evidence that observing the Sabbath was a way of making a theological statement.

This tendency to present a dichotomy between the basic character of the sabbath either in terms of rest or in terms of worship, is one that recurs in scholarship, as the next section illustrates.

2.2.2 The Absence of Worship?

The extent to which the sabbath is a day of worship in biblical Israel and early Judaism has also been the issue of recent scholarly discussion. Earlier scholars presented detailed descriptions of sabbath services in the time of the second temple, and these practices are sometimes regarded to have roots in biblical times. There is now a
growing opinion that understandings of worship in this era are based on the “reading back” of later practices, rather than from evidence from this time. McKay has done significant work in this area. While she accepts without question that the sabbath was a day of rest in Ancient Israel, she questions many of the assumptions that are held about the nature of sabbath worship in Israel and Judaism up until 200CE. In her article “From Evidence to Edifice: Four Fallacies about the Sabbath” McKay begins:

Everyone ‘knows about’ the biblical sabbath, and their ‘knowledge’ regularly includes the following assertions about the sabbath and the religious practices that took place on it:

1. Sabbath was a ‘cornerstone of religious practice’ in ancient Israel.
2. Sabbath was a day of worship for Jews in Old Testament times.
4. Jesus of Nazareth attended regular worship in synagogues on the sabbath.

After examining these assumptions she concludes:

Our four original assumptions are fallacious and should be replaced with these more modest assertions:

1. The sabbath became the most important holy day in Israel during the last two centuries BCE.
2. The sabbath was not a day of worship for the ordinary Jewish believer in Old Testament times.
3. Jews could carry out many activities in the synagogue or prayer-house on every day of the week. They studied there on the sabbath in first-century Palestine, but worship was not described.
4. Jesus carried out the normal activities of Jews in the synagogue, reading and listening to Torah, disputing and determined arguing. He did not attend
sabbath services of worship, for there were none at that time.  

McKay’s work has been met with mixed acceptance among scholars. Most critics are in agreement with her basic assertion that little is known as to the nature of corporate sabbath worship during this period and some scholars state that she has made a significant - though “negative” – contribution. There are some, however, who question her interpretation of the available evidence. The dominant criticism of McKay’s work, with which this thesis concurs, is that her definition of worship is anachronistic and too narrow to the extent that it makes her conclusion “virtually inevitable”.  

As Horst concludes:

Though it is salutary that McKay shows that scholars often read back too much into the sources in an anachronistic way, her minimalist interpretation, in combination with her own anachronistic view of what can be called worship, equally fails to do justice to the sources. My own conclusion therefore is that the synagogue was a place of worship on the Sabbath not just before 200 but before the year 70.  

In chapter four this thesis examines the extent to which sabbath worship can be found in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. In doing this, however, it approaches this task with a different definition of worship from McKay’s. McKay states:

Worship, in my view, is a purposive activity, whereby people of similar beliefs assemble to carry out similar rites and rituals in order to pay homage, with adoration and awe, to a particular, named deity. Worship may include psalms, prayers and blessings or sacrificing.  

She also demands that this worship must be unique to the sabbath, and not be only the prayers or study that happen daily.

This thesis questions on three levels whether McKay’s concept of worship reflects those
found in the Hebrew Scriptures. It may firstly be asked whether McKay is in fact looking in the right place for evidence of worship on sabbath, even by her own definition. To this day, the focus of Jewish sabbath worship occurs not in the synagogue, but in the home.\textsuperscript{110} The sabbath ceremony and liturgical services for the home are considerable. Moreover, there is evidence that they existed in a well developed form in New Testament times, and had possibly begun developing as far back as exilic times.\textsuperscript{111} While three of the four elements that McKay defines as worship are found in this opening sabbath service, McKay does not argue against an early date of this ceremony, rather she fails to mention it at all.\textsuperscript{112} In the Hebrew Scriptures, the family is often the context in which worship occurs, even when this worship takes place “before the Lord” at the central sanctuary.\textsuperscript{113} The possibility of sabbath worship in the home needs to be considered, therefore, when examining sabbath worship in these Scriptures.

Secondly, it may be asked whether such a definition of worship reflects the spectrum of activities regarded as worship in the Hebrew Scriptures. Many commonplace actions are acts of worship in their right context. This is evident in Deuteronomy 12:8-19; 14:22-29. While these descriptions of the major communal feasts refer to bringing offerings and sacrifices, their focus is on eating and rejoicing together. McKay gives reference to the Jewish lighting of the lamps and eating distinctive food at opening sabbath.\textsuperscript{114} These are significant acts of worship - even if she does not consider that there had yet developed liturgical services connected with them. Various activities connected with the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures may also be regarded as worship.

\textsuperscript{111} Lohse, p.15, “The head of the house would then pronounce over the second cup the consecration of the day, the so-called Qiddush, T.Ber.,5,4. R.El'zar bar Zadoq (end of the 1st cent. A.D.) supplied the following words for this: ‘My father used to say over the cup: [Blessed is He] who has sanctified the Sabbath (ךָּ֣דָּשָׁה מִדְּבָּרָה).’ ”
\textsuperscript{112} Felix L. Cirlot, The Early Eucharist, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939, pp. 9-10, argues for the Sabbath blessing going back to early times (including NT), in almost the form we find it today.
\textsuperscript{113} In her book, McKay demonstrates a knowledge of the ceremonial aspects of the opening Sabbath such as the lighting of the candles and the special food connected with it, (cf. her chapter “Sabbath as Domestic Celebration: Graeco-Roman Non-Christian Sources”, 1994, pp. 89-131. Yet she at no time addresses these actions themselves as worship, nor refers to whether any liturgical services had yet developed in connection with them. Significantly, reviewer Saldarini states that “Private prayers, domestic practices (such as the Sabbath meal), and observance of the Sabbath rest from work are not part of Sabbath worship”, while McKay, in her definitions of worship does not mention domestic practices.
\textsuperscript{114} See two footnotes above.
particularly resting and abstaining from work.

Thirdly, this thesis questions the legitimacy of McKay’s interpretation that the Israelites must actually perform a worship action in order to be actively participating in it. Such an interpretation reflects an understanding of the individual, which, as section 6.1.2 demonstrates, is a concept that scholars generally regard as absent in the Hebrew Scriptures. In particular, her interpretation that the people had no active participation in sabbath sacrifices except to provide the sacrificial animal fails to take into account the Scriptural understanding of the representational role of the priesthood and their performance of sacrifices and services. Similarly, the interpretation that Psalms were sung predominantly by temple singers and were therefore not a worship act of Israelites as a whole, fails to reflect the liturgical nature of much worship both in the time of the Hebrew Scriptures and in many subsequent Jewish and Christian traditions. A liturgical understanding of worship allows individuals to participate in communal worship that others are performing, and the existence of set services gives absent worshippers who perform them a sense of connection with the community as a whole.

When examining the presence of worship in chapter four, therefore, worship activities performed by both the priesthood and the laity are examined as relevant for all Israelites. The primary criteria for including other activities as expressions of sabbath worship is not their innate nature as “worship activities”, but whether these activities are performed as a means of expressing some religious or theological reality.

2.3 THE PROMINENCE OF THE SABBATH IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

As well as questioning the nature of sabbath worship, McKay also questions the prominence of the sabbath. There are two periods in which the sabbath is generally

115 McKay, 1994, p. 41, “What emerges is that only the priests were actually involved in whatever sacrificing was done and it is not clear whether the people were involved in the sacrificial activity in any religious sense – apart from allegedly supplying the animals and agricultural products.” McKay, 1992, p. 187, states that it is not known if there were Psalms unique to Sabbath, and if there were, they do not reveal who was involved in the singing. “There is evidence … that there were temple singers – but whether others could listen or join in, is never made explicit in the biblical sources. All we can be certain of is that temple officials sang psalms as part of their performance of worship; nothing in the texts points to participation by the common people.”

116 This connection between individual prayer and corporate temple worship is reflected in the facing toward Jerusalem during prayer in Daniel 6. (Cf. also the Muslim tradition of facing toward Mecca for prayer.)
perceived to have gained prominence, the period of the Babylonian exile and the period following the destruction of the second temple. As indicated above in section 2.1.2, it is generally considered that, during the exile, the sabbath and circumcision became characterising symbols of Yahwism and Jewish identity.

Green reflects general scholarly opinion when he views the loss of the temple as the primary initiating factor in this growth of sabbath prominence. While he speaks primarily of the later loss of the second temple, the same influences would have also been present at the loss of the first temple. He states that this loss resulted in both the loss of the central site of Israelite cosmology and the inability for the cult of Israel to be practised. While Judaism never abandoned its regard for the temple and continued to hope for its restoration, it was at the same time able to “replace the altar” with the day of atonement, liturgy and good deeds, as well as to transfer its attention from sacred space to sacred time; that is, from temple to sabbath.

Green goes on to note, however, that the sabbath has long had a place of significance in Jewish law and thought, and he states the following:

"Our claim is not, then, that the Sabbath became important only after the destruction of the Temple. This would be foolish; the ten commandments are ample testimony to the contrary. It is rather this: the Sabbath gradually supplanted the Temple as the central unifying religious symbol of the Jewish people. This shift took place originally in the context of the sectarian strife of the Second Temple period, and was ultimately confirmed by the destruction of the Temple."

This argument that the presence of the sabbath in the ten commandments indicates their prominence in Israel is also presented by Ginsburg. McKay makes the assertion, however, that the sabbath only became “the most important holy day in Israel during the last two centuries BCE”; that is, after the period of the Hebrew Scriptures. Drawing on the frequent word order of “new moon and sabbath” in the list of cultic festivals in these Scriptures, the number of prescribed sabbath and new moon sacrifices, as well as the

117 Green, pp. 290-293.
119 Green, p. 293, italics his.
120 Elliot K. Ginsburg, The Sabbath in the Classical Kabbalah, Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 1989, p. 60, “In more general terms, the worth of the Sabbath in the Biblical tradition is attested by its place in the Decalogue, the only holy day so honoured.”
number of references to the observance of the sabbath compared to the new moon, McKay asserts that the new moon may have had a greater place of prominence for many authors before the second century BCE.\textsuperscript{121}

This thesis’ presentation of the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age draws from the concepts of the prominence of the sabbath, and its position as the symbol of the covenant. Chapter four (esp. section 4.3.7), therefore, uses its examination of the word order of lists of holy festivals to also assess McKay’s findings on the prominence of the sabbath in ancient Israel.

2.4 THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE CREATION ACCOUNTS DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

An issue that has been the subject of much recent literature, both scholarly and popular, is that of the whole creationist debate, and the interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3 in the context of this debate. Because certain traditions now approach this creation account as a record of literal history, it has frequently been assumed that this was the understanding of this text in the time of the Hebrew Scriptures.

In these Scriptures themselves, however, the presence of a number of creation accounts, and inferences to creation accounts, have been identified. The most notable of these are the two found in Genesis 1-2. The fact that two seemingly\textsuperscript{122} conflicting accounts of creation are found side by side with no attempt at harmonisation suggests that these two accounts should be identified as some other genre than an account of literal history. The acceptance of such a position is not a recent phenomenon, and has a long history. While the Christian Church early affirmed the doctrine God creating \textit{ex nihilo},\textsuperscript{123} there is also

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[121] Cf. section 4.3.7.
\item[122] Various attempts have been made over the ages to harmonise these two accounts, though none have been given serious academic support.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
evidence of early church fathers interpreting this Genesis creation account figurally. 124

The position taken on the genre of Genesis 1:1-2:3 can have a significant impact on an interpretation of the sabbath. An interpretation of this passage in terms of literal history is frequently the basis on which the position of the sabbath as a creation institution and the obligation for its continued observance is built. Conversely, the identification of this creation account as a genre other than literal history allows for various other interpretations of both the creation account and the sabbath within it. Comparison of this creation account with the creation accounts and beliefs of surrounding nations, and the interpretation of this passage as theology or polemic against these beliefs, has been one area of fruitful enquiry. 125

2.5 THE SABBATH AS A MOSAIC OR CREATION INSTITUTION

Another common issue in sabbath literature is the identity of the sabbath institution as either a Mosaic institution or creation institution. 126 This issue frequently arises in the context of whether sabbath observance is obligatory for all humanity, or for Israel alone. The acceptance of the sabbath as a creation institution is frequently found in connection with the identification of Genesis 1:1-2:3 as creation history. The two assumptions, however, can in fact exist independently. The key question here is not whether the sabbath is presented as a literal occurrence, but whether it is presented as


124 S. Bobulsky, Evolutionary Theory, Creation Science and Orthodoxy, a paper in partial requirement for the degree M.Div, St Vladimir’s Seminary, 1981, pp. 31-32, notes such interpretations by Basil in the fourth century CE.

125 Comparisons of the Babylonian and Genesis 1:1-2:3 creation accounts are examined further in section 6.2.1.

126 This term “Mosaic institution” is somewhat inappropriate given the “agnostic stance” this thesis is taking on authorship and date, and the term “Israelite institution” would be preferable. “Mosaic institution” has been retained, however, as the term commonly used in literature.

127 Samuele Bacchiocchi, “Remembering the Sabbath: The Creation-Sabbath in Jewish and Christian History”, in Tamara C. Eskenazi, Daniel J. Harrington and William Shea, eds., The Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions, New York: Crossroad, 1991, pp. 69-97, examines these two positions throughout history. This thesis presents rather different conclusions from this author, however, on the presence of the sabbath as a creation institution both in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the early church fathers. Cf. the findings of chapter four with p. 74, “The biblical view of the origin of the Sabbath is unequivocal: the Sabbath, as seventh day, originated at the completion of the creation week as a result of three divine acts: God ‘rested’, ‘blessed’, and ‘hallowed’ the seventh day (Genesis 2:2-3).” These different findings can be partly accredited to this thesis differentiating between a Sabbath as a creation institution and a memorial of creation.
relevant to all humanity or to Israel alone. Even if Genesis 2:1-3 is interpreted as literal history, lack of any reference to human observance of the seventh day can still lead to various other interpretations of this passage. Conversely, even if this passage is identified as a genre of myth, theology or polemic, it may still be interpreted as presenting the sabbath in terms of its obligation on all humanity.

The identification of the sabbath as a creation institution has resulted in various interpretations. One is to see the sabbath as therefore currently binding on all humanity and/or theologically relevant for all humanity, rather than being an institution specifically for Israel, and symbolic of their covenant relationship with God. A second line of interpretation is to see the sabbath as a permanent institution that was instituted at creation, and is to be literally observed throughout human history and even in the age to come. A third interpretation is one that considers that, along with the institution of the sabbath at creation, there was also in-built into creation itself an on-going cycle of the sacred and the secular. Such an interpretation is found in Westermann’s commentary of Genesis 2:3a:

> There is here much more than a mere reference to the Sabbath in late Israel. The sanctification of the Sabbath institutes an order for humankind according to which time is divided into time and holy time, time for work and time for rest. The work of creation began with three acts of separation. The first was separation of light and darkness. Its purpose was to determine what time was for humans; the existence of everything created is determined by the polarity of day and night. By sanctifying the seventh day God instituted a polarity between the everyday and the solemn, between days of work and days of rest, which was to be determinative for human existence. This is a gift of the creator to his people and is not merely an anticipation of the Israelite Sabbath. This becomes clear from the context of the Sabbath command where the person is the subject who is to sanctify the day (Ex 20:11; Ez 20:20; Jer 17:22, 27; Neh 13:22). People “sanctify” the Sabbath by observing it; they desecrate it by doing forbidden work on that day.

Significantly, Westermann also states of this passage that “it is not a question here of

---

128 These include the concept that the sabbath was initially a day of rest for God on which the later Israelite sabbath as a covenant sign was based, that the sabbath was a sign of rest which creation is one-day destined to enter, or that the sabbath was the initiation of a rest that was intended to be eternal, but was lost and regained with the fall and redemption.

the institution of the Sabbath, but rather that there are echoes of the Sabbath”.130 This indicates that while this interpretation is more likely in the context of interpreting the sabbath as a creation institution, it also reflects an understanding of holiness itself. The significance that this interpretation, and the concept of holiness on which it is based, can have in terms of an understanding of universal holiness and the eschatological age will be examined in further detail in chapter five.

130 Ibid., p. 171.
PART TWO: THE SABBATH IN SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The history of the development of the sabbath and the Lord’s day has been defined as follows: “The Sabbath began as a day of rest and became a day of worship, the Lord’s day began as a day of worship and became a day of rest”. While the evidence of the early development of both these holy festivals is sketchy, this quote does reflect the overall development of their history. In particular, it identifies the process of the “sabbatisation” of the Lord’s day, which is the focus of this section. This term is used by scholars to describe the historical process of applying to the Lord’s day the Old Testament concepts and regulations of the sabbath. This process should be clearly differentiated from the process of making the Lord’s day a day of rest and worship in its own right. Such a veneration of the Lord’s day developed in the Eastern Church alongside a continued veneration (though not necessarily a literal observance) of the sabbath.

The remainder of this chapter follows this process of “sabbatisation”. It first briefly examines the nature of sabbath worship in early Judaism until the destruction of the second temple. It then traces the development of the understanding of sabbath and Lord’s day worship throughout the Christian era. Significant interpretations of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and ancient Israel during these periods will also be examined.


2.6 THE SABBATH IN POST-EXILIC JUDAISM

As the previous section has already demonstrated, the extent and nature of sabbath worship in the first centuries of Judaism, particularly in the synagogue, is a topic of recent scholarly discussion. There is a general consensus, however, that during the time of the exile, the sabbath (and circumcision), gained importance as a distinguishing feature of Yahwism. The prominence of the sabbath in Judaism, and its relevance as “sacred time”, further increased after the destruction of the second temple and the loss of its physical representation of “sacred space”.

Various scholars have noted that the understanding of the sabbath diverged between the two main groups in early Judaism: the Palestinian Jews and the Jews of the diaspora. Palestinian Jews placed an increasing emphasis on the literal observance of the sabbath and the development of regulations governing this. Jews of the diaspora, however, developed to a greater degree an eschatological understanding of the sabbath. As Rordorf shows, this understanding of the sabbath in terms of the eschatological age took various forms. Although the sabbath was included in eschatological time schemes, it was not always identified with the eschatological age. Some Jews had a concept of six ages in the present world, followed by the future age, which was the seventh “sabbath” age. Others, however, presented the sabbath as a seventh age in this present world, which was either an age of silence or the days of the Messiah. Following this age was to be a new aeon of the age to come; that is, an eighth age. This connection between the number eight and the eschatological age was to become one of significance in early Christianity, and it is generally hypothesised that this Christian usage was developed from Judaism.

---

133 Von Rad, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 79, (Cf. pp. 83-84), “Thus it was in the Exile that the Sabbath and circumcision won a status confessionis which they afterwards preserved for all time”. Lohse, p. 4, “From now on the Sabbath, along with circumcision, acquired enhanced importance.”
134 Cf. Heschel and Green on the sabbath as a temple in time in section 2.3, esp. footnote 118.
135 In making this dual division, it is acknowledged that Judaism at this time contained a diversity of factions, including the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots, as well as the negative classification of the common “people of the land” by certain members of these groups.
136 Rordorf, p. 50.
137 Ibid., p. 50, Rordorf states “We shall see that this scheme was adopted by Christian eschatology and reinterpreted in the light of Christ.” S. J. Daniélou, The Bible and the Liturgy, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964, pp. 251-261, acknowledges the existence of the concept of the eighth age within early Judaism, but questions whether they would have held the concept of an eighth day; and asserts rather that it was a uniquely Christian development. In replies to an enquiry on H-Judaic 19 Feb 2003, http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-Judaic&month=0302&week=c&msg=
The two distinctive emphases of Judaism in Palestine and the diaspora are reflected in their respective understandings as to whether sabbath observance is a creation or Mosaic institution, and on whom it is binding. Palestinian Judaism held the position that the sabbath is solely for the Jews. The third century CE Rabbi Simeon b. Lakish went so far as to state that a Gentile who kept the sabbath was worthy of death. The diaspora, however, developed a greater openness both to the conversion of the Gentiles, and to the concept of the sabbath as being relevant to - and even binding upon - humanity as a whole.

2.7 THE SABBATH IN LATER JUDAISM

Scholars generally regard the position of the Palestinian Jews to have become the dominant position in later Judaism, both in terms of the designation of the sabbath as a Mosaic institution specifically for Israel and in the continued development of regulations governing the sabbath. Caution must be exercised, however, in viewing these two traditions in terms of a strict dichotomy. The two emphases on the strict observance of the present sabbath and the future eschatological sabbath can be seen merged together in the tradition that when the sabbath is truly kept for two concurrent sabbaths, then the Messianic Age will come. The continued interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age is reflected in this 19th Century Hasidic quote:

The children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, observing the Sabbath throughout...
their generations as an everlasting covenant; it is a sign forever between Me and the children of Israel” (Ex. 31:13). The Ba al ha-Turim notes that the words ‘et ha-shabbat le-dedoratam may be abbreviated as ‘HL (consonantally) ‘ohel, “tent.”

In commenting on this we must first recall the verse “They shall make Me a tabernacle and I will dwell in their midst” (Ex.25:8). We might think that without a tabernacle it would not be possible for the shekinah to dwell amidst us! But the matter must be understood thus: “A foretaste of the world to come is the Sabbath day of rest.” The best counsel is to keep the Sabbath properly. In this way may we merit, as it were, the indwelling of the Presence, for the Sabbath is a sort of sanctuary. In that way too is it a foretaste of the future world.141

From the beginning of the Christian era onwards, Christians, Romans, and other non-Jews have characterised Jewish sabbath observance in terms of excess legalism. Yet despite this – or perhaps because of it142 – there is also found in Judaism the development of the joy, romance and celebration of the sabbath; probably more so than in any other tradition.143

While outside observers may have considered the Jewish observance of the sabbath as a legalistic burden, Jewish Rabbinic literature is replete with reference to the sabbath as a great joy, and the focus of the whole week. Images of the sabbath as the bride and Queen – to be welcomed with joy, honour and great physical and spiritual preparation – are common ones; and numerous legends also reflect these themes.144

Ginsburg notes both the continuation and development of these sabbath attitudes in medieval times.

For medieval philosophers the Sabbath was a day of heightened joy and intellectual-spiritual renewal. A time to draw near to God and to engage in sustained contemplation of Him … Despite these varied attestations, however, the philosophers tended to treat the Sabbath in a more utilitarian, instrumental

141 Quoted from Green, p. 30, Green’s editorial notes removed. From the Degel Mahaneh Ephraim, the collected homilies of Rabbi Moses Hayyim Ephraim of Sudilkov, first published 1810/11.
142 Cotton, p. 12, notes that both the Jewish and Scottish Sabbath are often considered harsh and joyless but are referred to as a time of joy for the observers of the day.
vein … more philosophers tended to regard the Sabbath observance not so much as an end in itself but as a springboard to some higher purpose. Shabbat, it might be said, was less the goal of the spiritual pilgrimage than a way-station leading to some other destination.\textsuperscript{145}

A valuable topic for future inquiry would be to similarly ask of the various Christian traditions the extent to which the sabbath or Lord’s day was presented as an end itself, or the springboard to some other purpose; such as spiritual renewal, a day of rest as a means of worship, or a day of refreshment as a means of greater productivity through the remaining week.

2.8 THE SABBATH IN THE EARLY CHURCH

The observance of the sabbath and Lord’s day in the first centuries of Christianity is an area of considerable scholarly debate and of limited documentary evidence.\textsuperscript{146} Broadly speaking, four lines of argument have been developed, although some scholars have adopted intermediate positions.\textsuperscript{147}

(i) The Continued Observance of the Seventh-day Sabbath

The apostolic and early Christian Church continued to keep the seventh-day sabbath of the Hebrew Scriptures as binding upon all Christians. Sunday worship replaced sabbath worship in later centuries due to anti-Jewish and/or pagan influences.\textsuperscript{148} A variation on

\textsuperscript{145} Ginsburg, pp. 66-67.
\textsuperscript{146} Carson, p. 14, notes that since the appearance of the work \textit{Sunday} by Willy Rordorf in 1968, “hundreds of articles” and “a substantial number of books, representing most of the major European languages” have been written on this subject. Yong-Evi Yang, \textit{Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew’s Gospel}, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997, p. 276, “The sabbath/Lord’s day references in the Apostolic Fathers, however, are surprisingly scanty, and, as a matter of fact, only four references are found in four writings”. Cf. G. Robinson, 1988, p. 351, “Concerning the process of transition from the Sabbath to Sunday there is some uncertainty.”
\textsuperscript{147} Kathryn Green McCreight, “Restless Until we Rest in God: The Fourth Commandment as Test Case in Christian ‘Plain Sense’ Interpretation”, \textit{Ex Auditu}, Vol. 11, 1995, p. 31, contains a similar list of interpretations of the Sabbath commandment in the history of the Church, and likewise stresses that “each option has significant internal variants, so there is a wide diversity of opinion even within one single approach”.
\textsuperscript{148} This position is especially popular with sabbatarians such as the Seventh-day Adventists who hold to the continued observance of the Sabbath to the total exclusion of Sunday. It has been widely advocated in academic circles by Samuele Bacchiocchi in his book \textit{From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity}, Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1977. He argues for continued sabbath-keeping by the early Christian Church, and hypothesises that a change from sabbath worship to Sunday worship began in Rome in the 2nd century as a response to anti-Jewish sentiments. Cf. Kenneth A. Strand, “From Sabbath to Sunday in the Early Christian Church: A Review of Some Literature, Part I: Willy Rordorf’s Reconstruction”, \textit{Andrews University Seminary Studies}, Vol. XVI, Spr., 1978, p. 338, who suggests that gentiles always kept the sabbath.
this theme is the hypothesis that, in addition to keeping the seventh-day sabbath, the eucharist may have been observed on Saturday night after the close of sabbath, which is Sunday by liturgical and biblical reckoning of time, the new day starting at sundown.

(ii)  The Lord’s Day as the Christian Sabbath and Day of Rest

The Lord’s day was observed as the Christian day of rest, in contrast to the seventh-day sabbath. In its most extreme form, supporters of this position assert that Christ and the apostles directly transferred to Sunday all that was connected with sabbath observance. Christ’s first two appearances to his apostles on the first two Sundays after the resurrection are considered evidence of this transfer. This position, especially in that latter most extreme form, is most widely held by those who hold to a very “sabbatised” view of Sunday observance. 149

(iii)  The Rise of the Lord’s Day as the Preferred Day of Worship

Sunday was from the beginning, or soon became, the preferred day of communal worship and celebrating the eucharist for both Jewish and gentile Christians. This is generally attributed to its connection with the resurrection and, to a lesser extent, with Pentecost. 150 This Lord’s day was not necessarily kept as a day of rest, however, and worship on this day may have taken place on Saturday night, early Sunday morning, or Sunday night to allow for a regular working day. The Jerusalem council and the writings of Paul are interpreted to indicate that no particular day of rest was considered binding on the gentile Christians. 151 Some scholars who hold this position also affirm that the early Jewish Christian Church continued to keep the Old Testament sabbath, in addition to worshipping on the Lord’s day.

(iv)  Local Divergence of Practice and the Lack of Prominence of Any Day

149 A classic examination of this is the work by Roger Beckwith & William Stott, This is the Day, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1978; Adrien Nocent, “Christian Sunday”, in Eugene J. Fisher, ed., The Jewish Roots of the Christian Liturgy, Mahwah, NY: Paulist Press, 1990, pp. 134-138, vigorously refutes this position and argues for a complete disconnection of sabbath from Sunday. Note especially p. 134, “That the Christian liturgy of the Word and the eucharistic liturgy have their source in Jewish practice is so obvious that today we can still recognize traces of Jewish customs; but nevertheless it must be clearly affirmed that there is no connection between Sunday and the Sabbath. Sunday is in no way a Saturday transposed to Sunday. The theological orientation of Sunday is entirely different from that of the Sabbath.” Also p. 136, the Lord’s day has “nothing to do with the Sabbath, being entirely christological and sacramental.”


151 A major work that reflects this view is W. Rordorf’s book Sunday. Bradshaw, 1992, pp. 192-3 states that Rordorf’s work was “warmly welcomed by many, but not met with universal approbation”. Those mentioned as disagreeing include Beckwith and Stott, (footnote 149). While some scholars taking the position that there was local divergence of practice also interpret there to have been an on-going observance of Saturday in addition to Sunday, Rordorf interprets the third- and fourth-century liturgical emphasis on the sabbath as a later re-development of sabbath veneration. Cf. footnote 171.
Interpretations in this category emphasise one or both of the following points. Firstly, that in the New Testament Gentile Church there was initially no specific day of the week selected for Christian “worship”; rather daily celebration of the eucharist was the norm. Secondly, that there was no universal practice in the early centuries of Christianity, rather, local custom as to the observance of either Saturday, Sunday or both varied.

Majority scholarly opinion supports a position somewhere between (iii) and (iv). It is generally considered that Sunday as the Lord’s day soon became the favoured day of liturgy for the early Christian Church, but that it was not necessarily a day of rest. The primary emphasis at this time was not on a literal day of rest, but on a continual spiritual rest that represented both rest from sin, and a foretaste of the age to come. In addition to this concept of the “spiritual sabbath”, the concept of the Lord’s day as the eighth-day – the symbol of the age to come – also developed and became widely accepted.

There is evidence that the seventh-day sabbath was maintained as a literal day of rest among some Christians, particularly Judaic ones, but it may well have been a day of little or no significance to the gentiles. Perhaps as a reflection of this general lack of literal observance of sabbath and the Lord’s day, it was also the dominant position at this time that the sabbath was not a creation institution, but was instituted by Moses. Bauckman states that “it is the unanimous opinion of the fathers that the patriarchs knew no weekly Sabbaths”. As Bacchiocchi demonstrates, there were various early church fathers who referred to the sabbath in the context of a memorial of creation. These references address the sabbath and its connection with creation at a theological level, however, and they should be clearly distinguished from the sabbath as a creation

---

152 Some scholars taking this position emphasise the fact that the early Church focused not on temporal times of worship, but rather on the present foretaste and soon consummation of the eschatological age. Paul Cotton, *From Sabbath to Sunday*, Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1933, p. 65, “The abundant evidence which we have cited should make clear to us that the church was by no means unanimous in its radicalism and its abolition of the Sabbath.”


institution in the sense that it is a continued obligation imposed upon all humans from creation.

As Daniélou notes, these ante-Nicene fathers present mixed attitudes to the sabbath; “Thus Irenaeus can show the Sabbath is an excellent institution (IV,8,2; P.G. VII, 994) and at the same time state that it is now abolished”.158 Justin Martyr, however, was much more negative, both of the sabbath, and of the Jews for which it was given:

This circumcision is not, however, necessary for all men, but for you alone, in order that, as I have already said, you may suffer these things which you now justly suffer. … Noah was the beginning of our race; yet, uncircumcised, along with his children he went into the ark. Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High, was uncircumcised; … Moreover, all those righteous men already mentioned, though they kept no Sabbaths, were pleasing to God; and after them Abraham with all his descendants until Moses, under whom your nation appeared unrighteous and ungrateful to God, making a calf in the wilderness: wherefore God, accommodating Himself to that nation, enjoined them also to offer sacrifices, as if to His name, in order that you might not serve idols. Which precept, however, you have not observed; nay, you sacrificed your children to demons. and you were commanded to keep Sabbaths, that you might retain the memorial of God. For His word makes this announcement, saying, ‘That ye may know that I am God who redeemed you.’159

That a continued respect for the sabbath was the prevailing view by the end of this period is evidenced, however, by the Apostolic Canon that fasting is forbidden on both Saturday and Sunday.

If any Clergyman be found fasting on Sunday or on Saturday with the exception of one only, let him be deposed from office. If, however, he is a layman, let him be excommunicated.160

2.9 THE LORD’S DAY AND THE STATE INSTITUTION OF CHRISTIANITY

The beginning of the fourth century marks both the legalisation of Christianity and its institution as the state religion. From this time can be found the beginnings of both state and ecclesiastical moves to regulate Sunday work. In 321 CE Emperor Constantine decreed a total public rest from work “on the most honourable day of the Sun”, with the exception of farmers. This decree makes no overt reference to either the “Lord’s day”

158 Daniélou, p. 236.
159 Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. 19, pp. 203-204. See also Ch. 21, Ch. 27, Ch. 45, Ch. 46, and Ch. 112.
160 Agapius and Nicodemus, The Rudder, D. Cummings, tr., Chicago, IL: The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1957 (Greek first published 1800, English first published 1908), p. 110. Scholars generally date the Apostolic Canons to the fourth century CE.
or Christianity, however, and scholars frequently question the extent to which it was the result of either Christian or pagan influence, some considering it to be a means of accommodating both camps.\textsuperscript{161}

The overtly Christian emphasis, however, is quite clear in the following canon of the Synod of Laodicea from the middle of the same century:

\begin{quote}
Can. 29. Christians shall not Judaize and be idle on Saturday, but shall work on that day; but the Lord’s day they shall especially honour, and, as being Christians, shall, if possible, do no work on that day. If, however, they are found Judaizing, they shall be shut out from Christ.\textsuperscript{162}
\end{quote}

These statutes were either limited in their intent or limited in their effectiveness, and did not bring with them the significant changes in Lord’s day observance that are later accredited to them.\textsuperscript{163} References can be found into the sixth century of work being performed at monasteries on the Lord’s day in the afternoon after church.\textsuperscript{164} The evidence suggests that a concept of the Lord’s day as a full day of rest from work, over

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{161} Cf. John Julius Norwich, \textit{Byzantine: The Early Centuries}, London: Penguin Books, 1990, p. 51, “But in none of this legislation even then, is the name of Christ himself mentioned or the Christian faith in any way professed”. Strand, 1978, Part. 1, p. 335, “Finally, after Constantine proclaimed Sunday a rest day in A.D.321, daytime Sunday services did become a practicality. But it should be noted that Constantine’s Sunday proclamations were political and social in their orientation, rather than an adaptation to Christianity. Moreover, there is no evidence that the early Christian church either referred to them or based its concept of Sunday rest on them. Rather, Christians were at first placed in a dilemma by imperial prohibition of work on Sunday, this being especially true in monastic circles.”
\item \textsuperscript{163} Post-reformation Catholic authors stated that a change from Saturday to Sunday worship occurred during this period and attributed this change to the authority of the Catholic Church. Some went so far as asserting that Protestants who kept Sunday worship were in fact acknowledging the authority of the Catholic Church. Later seventh-day sabbatarians quoted this literature as evidence that the change from Saturday to Sunday worship was a 4th century Catholic institution, initiated as a means to accommodate the influx of pagan converts. The Catholic, Seventh-day Adventist and Sunday-Keeping Protestant’s perspectives, as were presented last century, are all reflected in Maurice S. Logan, \textit{Sabbath Theology: A Reply to Those who Insist that Saturday is the Only True Sabbath Day}, New York: Lord’s Day Alliance of the United States, 1913, pp. 326-342.
\item \textsuperscript{164} Wigley, p. 9, notes that Jerome interpreted the fourth commandment as applying to manual toil, but thought that even that might be performed on Sunday afternoons. Jerome, “To Eustochium, Memorials of her Mother Paula (Letter 108)”, W. H. Freemantle, G Lewis and W. G. Martley, trs., \textit{The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers}, Vol. VI, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1979, p.206, states concerning practices at a monastery, “on the Lord’s day only they proceeded to the church beside which they lived, each company following its own mother-superior. Returning home in the same order, they then devoted themselves to their allotted tasks, and made garments either for themselves or else for others.” Bauckman, 1999, p. 286, notes that “as late as 523 Benedict’s Rule (48:23) laid down that a monk who would not study or read on Sunday should “be given some work to do, so that he may not be idle.” Cf. Paul Delatte, \textit{Commentary on the Holy Rule of St. Benedict}, London: Burn Oates, 1950, p. 316, for the full quote, “On Sunday let them devote themselves to reading, save such as are assigned to various offices. But if anyone be so negligent and slothful as to be unwilling or unable to read or meditate, he must have some work given him that he not be idle. For weak or delicate brethren let such work or craft be enjoined that they will not be idle and yet will not be oppressed by weight of labour so as to be driven away. The weakness of such brethren must be considered by the Abbot.”
\end{itemize}
and above the need to attend worship, was still not common in these early centuries of
the Christian Empire.

The Eastern father Eusebius is frequently quoted as an early example of this sabbatising
process and has been cited as the “first extant Christian work that claims that the
Sabbath has been transferred to Sunday”.165 In his commentary on Psalm 91 (92 in the
MT), Eusebius states:

Everything else which had to be done on the Sabbath we have transferred to the
Lord’s day, as being more lordly (κυριωτέρας), taking the lead (ήγουµένης), the
first, and more worthy of honour than the Jewish Sabbath.166

A reading of the context of this quote suggests, however, that too much has been made
of this reference. It speaks primarily of the liturgical practice and symbolism of the
sabbath, rather than its literal observance;167 it is thus little different from earlier fathers
that contrasted the superiority of the Lord’s day or first day over the sabbath.

That an interpretation of the sabbath in terms of literal rest was not widespread at this
time is evident in Augustine of Hippo’s theological interpretation of the fourth
commandment. He states that complete physical rest is inappropriate – the
commandment was a figurative injunction to abstain from sin and devote oneself to the
things of the Spirit.168 That this period contained a continued emphasis on the concept
of the Lord’s day as the eighth day and symbol of the eschatological age is shown in the
writings by the fourth century Greek Cappadocian fathers.169

2.10 DIVERGENCES IN SABBATH VENERATION IN THE EAST AND WEST

While a developing veneration of the Lord’s day is found in both Eastern and Western
Christianity, these two traditions differed in their veneration of the sabbath. While the
literal observance of the sabbath was condemned as Judaising by the Council of

166 Ibid., 1999, p. 284, The wider context of this passage is found in pp. 282-284. The original is in PG
1172A.
167 Bauckman, 1999, p. 284, notes how Eusebius goes to great lengths to not speak of it in terms of
inactivity, but rather in terms of spiritual and eschatological rest.
169 Particularly, Basil’s On the Heaemeron, and Gregory of Nyssa’s The Life of Moses. Cf. Anastassy
Laodicea, the veneration of the sabbath is clearly reflected in the condemnation against fasting on both sabbath and Sunday in the Apostolic Canons. Significant evidence from the fourth century onwards points to the wide-spread practice of performing a liturgy on both sabbath and Lord’s day. While the Laodicean council itself condemned the literal cessation of labour on sabbath, there is evidence of this practice of liturgising on sabbath. Canon XVI “Concerning the necessity of reading Gospels together with other Scriptures on Saturday” has been interpreted as referring to the reading of the gospel at a Saturday liturgy.

The literal observance of the sabbath as a day of rest was also the custom in Celtic Christianity in the far West, and in the Ethiopian Church. By the beginning of the fifth century, however, there are found divergences in this veneration of the sabbath. The Fifth Century writers Socrates and Sozomen refer to both Saturday and Sunday as days of liturgy, with the exception of Alexandria and Rome. A possible reason put...
forward for the absence of sabbath worship in both Alexandria and Rome is that both these cities were sites of anti-Jewish legislation. In Rome, this loss of veneration of the sabbath was connected with the further step of making sabbath a fast day in preparation for the Lord’s day. Around 400 CE the weekly fasting on Wednesday and Friday was replaced with weekly fasting on Friday and Saturday. This became the widespread practice in the medieval Western Church.

The Eastern Church, however, maintained its practice of venerating both sabbath and the Lord’s day, and this difference in observance became a continuing issue between the East and the West. The Greek dominated Quinisext or Trullan Synod in 692 CE passed the following canon condemning fasting on Saturday in Rome:

(55) In Rome they fast every Saturday in Lent. This is contrary to the 66th apostolical canon, and may no longer be done. If anyone does so, he will, if cleric, be deposed, if layman, excommunicated.

This issue of sabbath observance was a significant issue in the Great Schism of 1054.

2.11 THE SABBATISATION OF SUNDAY IN THE WEST

The loss of sabbath veneration in the West allowed the concept of the sabbath to be transferred to the Lord’s day instead, and became a significant precursor to the process of sabbatisation. In the West in the following centuries, this sabbatisation of the Lord’s day can be evidenced on three levels: state legislation, popular piety and theological reasoning.

Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VI, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1979, pp. 154, “You ask me whether you ought to fast on the Sabbath and to receive the eucharist daily according to the custom – as currently reported – of the churches of Rome and Spain.”

Vyhmeister, pp. 171-172.


While the process of sabbatisation is clearly described by various scholars, the impetus for this trend is debated. It is described as the result of the Christian understanding of the continued validity of the ten commandments, and the interpretation of the fourth, sabbath commandment, in terms of Sunday worship in Anderson, p. 26. Bauckman, 1999, pp. 302-303, has argued that the influences in this process were not primarily theological, but arose either from mis-led popular piety, or as a means for accommodating and
This sabbatising process is evident in the appearance between the sixth and twelfth century of various civil and ecclesiastical legislations restricting Sunday activities and prescribing worship. The use of sabbath terminology and texts from the Hebrew Scriptures were a frequent feature of this legislation.  

This veneration of Sunday can also be found in popular works, a frequently quoted one being the *Epistle of Jesus*. This letter, originally a Latin work written around the seventh century, is purported to have fallen from heaven onto the altar of St Peter’s cathedral in Rome. It contains a vehement exhortation for observance of the Lord’s day, including what labours are not to be performed on this day and severe punishments for those who disobey. Although this document was officially condemned, it was the object of significant popularity, and was translated into a number of languages.

While the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day may not have begun at a theological level, it came to be defended theologically. Bauckman states that Peter Comester in the twelfth century “may have been the first exegete to apply the sabbath commandment literally to Christian observance of the first day.” The interpretation that became the “prevalent view of late medieval and traditional Roman Catholic theology” is that of Thomas Aquinas. He argued that the sabbath commandment as found in the decalogue is a moral precept in its requirement of setting apart some time for God, but that the specific appointed time of the seventh-day sabbath is a ceremonial aspect. The moral aspect of the law is fulfilled in the Church setting apart the Lord’s day for worship.

---

181 Wigley, pp. 9-10, notes for example the 538 CE and 585 CE Councils of Orleans and Macon, and the legislation of Charlemange in CE 789, King Edward The Elder in 906 CE, King Athelstan in 925 and Canute 1020 CE. He makes the significant observation, however, that “abstention from even servile labour on Sundays was not made part of the general law of the Roman Catholic Church until 1234, when Gregory IX issued his *Dectretals*”. Cf. Anderson, pp. 25-28.

182 Anderson, p. 27, notes that this sabbatisation of Sunday at a popular level can also be seen in the fact that “in some Lives of early Irish saints, passages, often in the form of comminatory anecdotes, were intended to persuade their readers that those saints had observed Sunday as a Sabbath.”

183 R. Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven on the Observance of the Lord’s Day*, Oxford, 1936, examines this document detail. On p. 25 he notes that while in this document “the resurrection of Christ is considered the essential element for the sanctity of Sunday”, “it is equally plain that a theory of substituting Sunday for the Old Testament sabbath is making headway at the same time”.


Having examined this development in the West, however, it is also important to state that the early concept of the Lord’s day as a symbol of the age to come and as a memorial of the resurrection was not totally lost, either in the medieval period, or in later Protestantism. It is often the tension between these two concepts of the Lord’s day, and between the opposing parties that held them, that made the observance of this day a significant topic of on-going discussion in the West; particularly in Britain, America and the colonies.\textsuperscript{187}

\section*{2.12 THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY IN THE EAST}

\subsection*{2.12.1 The Nature of Lord’s Day Observance in the East}

In the East this sabbatisation of the Lord’s day is much less evident, and the veneration of the sabbath and the Lord’s day were able to develop side by side. Eastern tradition continued to develop a theology of the sabbath which is unrelated to the Lord’s day. This has received little reference in scholarly examinations of the history of sabbath and Lord’s day observance.\textsuperscript{188}

While there is little scholarly work that examines civil and ecclesiastical legislation concerning labour on the Lord’s day in the medieval East, there are some sources that suggest such restrictions existed. The ninth-century Canon of Nicephorus of Constantinople the Confessor states that “One ought not to walk abroad on Sunday unless it is necessary and he is forced to do so”.\textsuperscript{189} This suggests that there was a restriction of labour on Sunday as well as on other major feast days. This is also strongly inferred by the fact that the word for “Sunday” among Slavonic peoples, who


\textsuperscript{188} Most examinations of this tradition is actually from Seventh-day Adventist scholars. The book \textit{From Sabbath to Lord’s Day} also contains an implicit reference to the existence of a separate tradition in the East in the chapter title “Sabbath and Sunday in the Medieval Church in the West”. A recent examination of this subject is found in the chapter “Βιβλική και Πατερική Παράδοση Περί τῆς Κυριακῆς ως Ἀναστάσιμης Ἡμέρας τοῦ Κυρίου [Biblical and Patristic Tradition Concerning the Lord’s Day as the Resurrection Day of the Lord]”, in Νικοδήμου Σκρέττα, \textit{Ἡ Θεία Εὐχαριστία καὶ τὰ Προνόμια τῆς Κυριακῆς, Κατὰ τὴν Διδασκαλία τῶν Κολλυβάδων [The Divine Eucharist and the Pre-eminence of the Lord’s Day According to the Teachings of the Kollyvadon], Θεσσαλονίκη}, Εκδόσεις, 2004, pp. 411-435.

\textsuperscript{189} Agapius, p. 969, Canon 1.
converted during this period, means literally “no work”. In the first millennium of ecclesiastical legislation, however, the focus of the canons are not directed to restricting labour on the Lord’s day, but rather to restricting fasting and kneeling. Such restrictions emphasised the nature of this day as a symbol of the eschatological age.

That sabbatising tendencies were present at a popular level in the East as well is suggested in the fact that the *Epistle of Jesus* was translated into Greek, Slavonic, Ethiopian and Syriac; though again, it was officially condemned.

Such tendencies seem not to have been incorporated at a theological or liturgical level, as the seventeenth homily of St Gregory Palamas entitled “Explaining the Mystery of the Sabbath and of the Lord’s Day” reflects. This was written soon after Aquinas and other Western scholars were engaged in much more intellectual discussion concerning the authority of the sabbath commandment and the Lord’s day. After explaining the reason for the uniqueness of the sabbath, Palamas speaks of the connection between the sabbath and Lord’s day in this way:

As Friday, the day of preparation, stands in relation to the Sabbath, so is the Sabbath in comparison with Sunday, which is obviously superior to it. As perfection and reality surpass beginning, pattern and shadow, so is Sunday more excellent and honourable, because on it the exceedingly blessed work is finished and on it we await the General Resurrection of all, the perfect entry of the saints in the divine rest and dissolution of the work in its elements.

### 2.12.2 Sabbath and the Lord’s Day in Holy Week

The distinct identity and veneration of both the sabbath and the Lord’s day is evident in Orthodox icons and liturgical practices and works, which are frequently identified as a primary source of Orthodox doctrine and theology. There are two significant aspects of the Orthodox liturgical cycle, which, while being present in the West, were never

---


191 Agapius, pp. 110-112, 394, 529, 754, 894 965, 971. This collection of canons by Agapius and Nicodemus is the “standard” collection of first millennium canons in the Eastern Church, although their commentary on the canons is open to question by numerous contemporary scholars.


developed to the same extent as they were in the East. The first of these is the significance given to Holy Saturday in the paschal tridium. The second significant aspect is the emphasis on each week as a mini holy week, and the Lord’s day in particular as a mini pascha.

An examination of books on holy week and Easter from various contemporary Christian traditions shows in many a significant gap for Holy Saturday. In the Orthodox tradition, however, this day is one of great significance and richness. It is presented on the one hand as the only sabbath that God truly rested, for on it Christ rested in the tomb. On the other hand, Holy Saturday is also presented as the day on which Christ redeemed the souls from hades; and the descent of Christ into hades is also presented as the demise of hades itself.

This theology is clearly evident in many hymns of the liturgical services of Holy Saturday; such as these:

Today the grave holds Him who holds creation in His palm. A stone covers Him, Who covers the Heavens with virtue, Life sleeps, and Hades trembles; and Adam is set free from his bonds. Glory to Your dispensation, through which, when all things were accomplished, You presented us an eternal Sabbath rest, granting us Your most Holy Resurrection from the dead.

What is the sight, which is now beheld? What is this present rest? The King of the Ages having completed the dispensation with His Passion takes His Sabbath rest in the tomb, granting us a new Sabbath.

It is significant to notice, however, that at the end of both stanzas, there is a reference to a new sabbath, and the application of the sabbath to the eternal day of rest and the resurrection. This is also found in the following hymn of the paschal Matins concerning the resurrection day:

This is the chosen and Holy Day, the first of the Sabbaths, the Queen and Sovereign, the Feast of Feasts, and the Festival of Festivals, in which we bless

---

194 Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, The Lenten Triodion, South Canaan, PA: St Tikon’s Seminary Press, 1994, pp. 40-43, examines the history of this hymnology, and dates its formation from the sixth to the fifteenth century; with the basic structure being completed by the ninth century.


Here are found significant applications of the sabbath to the Lord’s day. Yet the process is the opposite of the sabbatisation of Sunday found in the West. Rather than being the application to the Lord’s day of concepts of the sabbath from the Hebrew Scriptures, it is the radical transformation of the sabbath into the eternal sabbath of the Lord’s day, or the eighth day. In this process the seventh-day sabbath also maintains its identity in its own right, and is imbued with a radical fullfilment in Christ. This resurrection and eternal sabbath of the eschatological age is reached only though Christ’s death and rest on the literal sabbath, and through creation’s participation with Christ in this event.

The connection between this descent into hades and the resurrection is clearly evidenced in the icon that has been described as the “visual Synonym of Easter”.198

197 Ibid., p. 455.
ILLUSTRATION ONE: The Icon of Great Sabbath
This icon illustrates Christ’s descent into hades and release of the dead in hades - starting with Adam and is frequently referred to as “The Descent of Christ into Hades”. As such it is a description of the events of Holy Saturday. At the same time it is also referred to as the “Anastasis” or “Resurrection”, and is frequently used through the paschal period following Easter Sunday. The icon in fact catches the transition between these two days; as Christ raises from hades and draws out with him Adam and Eve (symbolically all humanity).

2.12.3 The Sabbath and the Lord’s Day in the Weekly Cycle

This theology, which is presented in a very real way in holy week itself, is replayed in miniature in the set weekly liturgical cycle. There is a connection between Wednesday’s fast and Christ’s betrayal, Friday’s fast and Christ’s death, and between Saturday and the departed souls. This is reflected in the unique liturgical texts for the weekly cycle. This connection between sabbath and the departed souls is particularly strong. In contrast to the Western feast of All Souls on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of November which cycles through the days of the week, the Orthodox liturgical year has traditionally contained two - and now contains as many as six - general memorials for all the dead, which fall consistently on the sabbath.\textsuperscript{199} The sabbath is also the favoured day for liturgies and memorials for dead individuals, though these may occur on any day.

It is on the Lord’s day, however, that this weekly cycle is the strongest. The Eastern Vespers and Matins of the Lord’s day are imbued with references to the resurrection.\textsuperscript{200} These services contain their own cycles of hymns and gospel readings related to the resurrection. The Matins concludes with these words:

\begin{quote}
Today salvation has come to the world. Let us sing to the Author of our life, Who is risen from the grave. For, by vanquishing death by death, He has given us victory, and great mercy.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{199} A. Comides, “All Souls Day”, in William J MacDonald, ed., \textit{New Catholic Encyclopedia}, Vol. I, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967, p. 319, notes that these were originally the Sabbath before Septuagesima and Pentecost. \textit{The Yearbook of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America} demonstrates that current Greek practice now includes the two Sabbaths before Lent, the first Sabbath of Lent and the Sabbath before Pentecost as a Sabbath of All Souls, while the yearly \textit{Liturgical Calendar and Rubrics} of St Vladimir’s Seminary reflects Slavic practice of having the Second Sabbath before Lent (Sabbath before Sunday of Judgement/Cheesefare Sunday), the Second, Third and Fourth Sabbaths of Lent, and the Sabbaths before Pentecost and St Demetrios Day (October 26\textsuperscript{th}).

In the Byzantine service, the eucharistic liturgy then starts with the words: “Blessed is the Kingdom of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit …” The resurrection initiates entrance into the Kingdom, or the eternal sabbath of the eighth day, which is sacramentally experienced in the eucharistic liturgy. As the common Communion hymn expresses:

“Receive the body of Christ, taste the fount of immortality”.

It can be seen, then, that while a significant theology of both the sabbath and the Lord’s day developed in the Eastern Church throughout the medieval period, its basic understanding of the relationship of these two days to one another changed little. Moreover, this relationship was even more clearly delineated with the development of the Holy Week service and weekly cycle of worship, and it was this that prevented any significant sabbatisation of the Lord’s day from appearing.

2.12.4 Contemporary Orthodox Positions

The few contemporary Orthodox scholars who address this issue continue to maintain this position of the continual validity and the separation of both the sabbath and the Lord’s day. Varying degrees of abstinence from labour upon the Lord’s day are also generally advocated. The severity and precise nature of this abstinence from labour, however, has not been as explicitly defined as it has in later Western traditions.

On a popular level, however, attitudes to the Lord’s day that reflect the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day can be found, particularly amongst Orthodox in the “diaspora” that are

---

201 This immediate connection is not present in the Slavic tradition of the Orthodox Church, where it is usual practice to have both the Lord’s day Vespers and the Matins as a vigil service on Saturday night. The service of eucharistic liturgy the following Sunday morning either stands alone, or is preceded by the prayers of the Third Hour.

202 This understanding is reflected within the Greek and Slavic languages, in which the Greek words for Friday, Saturday and Sunday are παρασκευή (Preparation), Σάββατο (Sabbath) and Κυριακή (Lord’s [Day]) respectively. Similarly, the Slavic for Saturday is Субота (Sabbath) and Неделя (No Work) or Воскресенье (Resurrection). This thesis places little emphasis on this phenomenon as being relevant, however, in preventing the sabbatisation of the Sunday in the East. A similar phenomenon is found Latin and Romance languages where the words for Saturday and Sunday are le sabbat (sabbath) and le dimanche (Lord’s [day]) respectively. Given the prominence that Latin had as the language of learning in the West, even in Protestant circles, the fact that the presence of these terms in Latin had little effect in halting the sabbatisation process in the West would suggest that their effect in the East was similarly nominal.

influenced by Western (particularly Protestant) practice, and by converts from these traditions. 204

2.13 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SABBATH AND LORD’S DAY IN THE PROTESTANT ERA

2.13.1 Lord’s Day Observance and the British Sabbatarian Movement

The Protestant movement reflects a spectrum of positions in its understanding of the Lord’s day. On the one hand, the positions of the first Protestant reformers Luther and Calvin avoided the Catholic emphasis on the observance of the Lord’s day; although they did advocate setting aside the day for worship. 205 On the other hand, their writings also contained interpretations of Genesis 2:1-3 as a creation institution, which contemporary scholars consider to have been a means of facilitating later sabbatarian interpretations. These later Protestant Sabbatarians developed the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day to an extent that exceeded the Catholic position criticised by earlier reformers. This position had its clearest expression in Britain, its colonies, and former colonies.

At the same time, however, this sabbatarian tendency was not unique to British Protestantism, nor was it universal within it. 206 Numerous scholars, particularly in the established Church, continued to clearly differentiate the Lord’s day from the sabbath and its obligations. This fact no doubt greatly facilitated the significant discussion and debate over the nature and observance of the Lord’s day both in literature and in public debate. 207

This Sabbatarian position emphasised the sabbath as a creation institution and the fourth commandment as a continued obligation for all humanity. At a more scholarly level the

Sabbatarians argued that the command required the keeping of one day in seven as a sacred day of rest, and the observance of the Lord’s day rather than the seventh day was justified biblically by such arguments as the Sunday resurrection appearances of Christ. There is also found in this tradition, however, the practice of referring to the Lord’s day or Sunday as the “sabbath”, as well as such terms as “sabbath (day) schools”. The process of the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day had developed to the extent that not only the concepts, but even the titles for the two days had merged. It is likely that the laity had little awareness of the difference between the Jewish sabbath found in the ten commandments and the Lord’s day; despite the Saturday observance of the sabbath by the Jewish minority.

2.13.2 Seventh-day Sabbath Observance

A small but significant position that developed in the Protestant movement is that of the seventh-day Sabbatarians who advocated the observance of the literal biblical sabbath - that is, Saturday. This movement should be distinguished from the observance of the sabbath in the early Christian centuries and in the East, where the observance of the sabbath was found predominately, if not exclusively, in the context of the veneration of Sunday. This seventh-day movement, however, placed its sabbath veneration in opposition to that of the Lord’s day and has been presented as the logical conclusion of the British Sabbatarian position.

The seventh-day Sabbatarians were a minor but visible group in Britain. It was from Seventh-day Baptists of British origin in America that Seventh-day Adventists, the largest contemporary denomination of seventh-day sabbath observers, adopted this practice. As Ball notes, however, this observance can be found in the pre-Reformation groups such as the Lollards and it also appeared in numerous European countries during

210 Seventh-day Adventist oral and written tradition contains numerous references to individuals who, when challenged why they do not observe the biblical Sabbath, assert that Sunday is in fact the seventh day until they again view a calendar.

91
These seventh-day Sabbatarians formed part of the Sabbatarian debate of Protestant
Britain. On the one hand they argued against the Sunday observance of both the Sunday
Sabbatarians and the non-Sabbatarians, and their seventh-day observance was likewise
condemned by both. On the other hand, they held positions of similarity with both.
They shared with the non-Sabbatarians the presentation of the lack of evidence of
Lord’s day observance as a sabbath in either the New Testament or the early Church.
They held in common with the Sunday Sabbatarians acceptance of the sabbath as a
creation institution obligatory on all humanity, and the continued validity of the fourth
commandment.

The seventh-day sabbatarians, however, had a unique issue to address. Not only was
their observance of the seventh-day sabbath to be defended from accusations of
Judaising, they had also to explain the widespread Christian observance of Sunday,
when they condemned such an observance. The seventh-day Baptists explained this as
an invention of a papal Antichrist, and “in particular they pointed to Daniel 7:25 as the
prophecy the popes were fulfilling when they imposed Sunday observance on
Christendom”. This line of argument was adopted and developed by the Seventh-day
Adventists leading them to view sabbath observance as the “seal of God”, and Sunday
observance as the “mark of the beast” and the deciding issue of the righteous and
wicked in the coming end-time apocalypse. Catholic polemics of the time facilitated
such an position, by using the observance of the Lord’s day on Sunday as evidence of
Protestants’ unwitting acknowledgement of Papal authority.

212 Ball, 1994, pp. 30-45; Bacchiocchi, 1991, p. 82, refers to Seventh-day Sabbath keepers at the time of
the Reformation in several European countries such as Poland, Holland, Germany, France, Hungary,
Russia, Turkey, Finland, and Sweden.
215 The classic presentation of this view is found within the work of the Seventh-day Adventist
prophetess, Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan, Mountain View, CA:
also Uriah Smith, The Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation: Revised and Newly Illustrated, Mountain
View, CA: Pacific Press, 1944 (originally written 1897), and S. N. Haskell, The Story of the Seer of
216 Cf. Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of the 27 Fundamental Doctrines,
Washington, DC: Ministerial Association, General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1988, p. 261,
“Does that church still maintain its position? The 1977 edition of The Convert’s Catechism of
Catholic Doctrine contains this series of questions and answers:
 Q. Which is the Sabbath day?
2.13.3 The Place of the Sabbath and Lord’s Day in the Spirituality of Protestantism

Much research has been done on the growth of the historical observance of the sabbatised Lord’s day, and on the changing theological concepts of the Lord’s day, which accompanied it. Another significant aspect of the sabbath and Lord’s day in these traditions is the spiritual place that these days have had in them. When examining the increased concept of holiness that such groups attached to the sabbath / Lord’s day, it is also possible to interpret this as a means of filling a void left by the rejection of other symbols of holiness.

The position of the sabbath / Lord’s day as the almost exclusive expression of the sacred in certain Protestant traditions is unique in history. The sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures is found in the context of a wide spectrum of sacred times and places. Even though the loss of the Israelite land, nation and temple gave the sabbath a place of prominence in later Judaism, it was still part of a wider context of liturgical practice. Contemporary scholars are increasingly affirming that from the first centuries of Christianity, there has been a clear expression of liturgical practice and sacred time and space in the worship of believers, although these developed significantly from the fourth century.

The development of Protestantism in Britain and in its colonies, however, can be interpreted as the increasing loss of other expressions of the sacred. England’s separation from Rome was followed by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the removal of many of the more “iconic” objects of worship. These monasteries, and their

“A. Saturday is the Sabbath day.
“Q. Why do we observe Sunday instead of Saturday?
“A. We observe Sunday instead of Saturday because the Catholic Church transferred the solemnity from Saturday to Sunday.” [Peter Geiermann, The Convert’s Catechism of Catholic Doctrine (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1977), p. 50.]

In his best-seller, The Faith of Millions (1974), the Roman Catholic scholar John A. O’Brien came to this compelling conclusion: “Since Saturday, not Sunday, is specified in the Bible, isn’t it curious that non-Catholics who profess to take their religion directly from the Bible and not from the Church, observe Sunday instead of Saturday? Yes, of course, it is inconsistent.” The custom of Sunday observance, he said, “rests upon the authority of the Catholic Church and not upon an explicit text in the Bible. That observance remains as a reminder of the Mother Church from which the non-Catholic sects broke away – like a boy running away from home but still carrying in his pocket a picture of his mother or a lock of her hair.” (John A O’Brian, The Faith of Millions, rev. ed. (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Inc., 1974), pp. 400,401).” [sic., brackets as in orginal quote]
precursors in the Hebrew Scriptures and Judaism, served both as a means of the layperson pursuing a holy vocation, and also as a centre of holy community and holy place. With the destruction of the monastic communities in the English Reformation, this void in the expression of holiness began. The increased observance of the sabbath and Lord’s day with its strict withdrawal from secular life – particularly commercial life – can be interpreted as filling the void left by the loss of the monastery as the “retreat” from the secular world.

A mixture of necessity and doctrine in the migration to the colonies and the development of the Presbyterian, Puritan and other non-conformist Churches produced an increasing absence of the sacred in the following areas:

- the absence of daily liturgy and prayer cycles in large and cathedral churches
- the absence or renunciation of saints days and christological feast days
- the absence of the weekly observance of the eucharist on the Lord’s day
- the loss or reduction in the significance of the sacraments, particularly the belief in the apostolic succession and the real presence in the eucharist
- the absence of church buildings and full time clergy.

Even for those Christian traditions that theoretically affirmed these liturgical beliefs and practices, their absence through lack of clergy and churches likely contributed to the increased significance of the sabbath; as in Judaism after the exile and loss of the second temple. For those traditions that rejected these practices for ideological reasons, the observance of the sabbath and Lord’s day came to have a position that is possibly unique in Judaism and Christianity as an almost exclusive expression of the sacred. With the loss in certain traditions of all other holy days, the cycle of six days of “secular” labour, followed by one “holy day” became an uninterrupted cycle of time.

---

217 These include the sacred vow of Nazarite, the prophets and prophetic schools and the cities of refuge in ancient Israel, as well as the later Essene community, and the eunuchs, virgins and widows dedicated to Christ in early Christianity.

218 For certain break-away movements, and for those in the far reaches of the colonies, pragmatics resulted in a lack of any building dedicated solely to worship. Houserooms, barns or the out-of-doors had to suffice. Through necessity, as well as “doctrine” there is also found a decreasing presence of full-time clergy.

219 In certain traditions, such as traditional Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses, even the observance of Christmas and Easter have been rejected as of pagan origins.

Having made this examination of the history of the observance of the sabbath / Lord’s day through Judeo-Christian tradition, it is possible to make generalisations as to the effect this history had on the interpretation of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures.

2.14.1 The Sabbath as a Creation Institution

It has been shown that the Judaic tradition within which Christianity arose adhered to a mixed position concerning the sabbath as a creation or Mosaic institution, though the latter position was the dominant one. While the position of Philo concerning the sabbath as a creation institution was surely well known, the early church fathers held the dominant position that the sabbath was a Mosaic institution. In so doing they reflected a pattern repeated in later Christianity of those who hold to a non-sabbatised concept of the observance of the Lord’s day also holding to the concept of the sabbath as a Mosaic institution. As was demonstrated above, the early church fathers (and later scholars) who held to this position of the sabbath as a Mosaic institution still interpreted the sabbath as a memorial of creation at a theological level. In their interpretations of the sabbath as a literal institution and the obligation to observe it, however, the emphasis was on the texts in which the sabbath was presented as a sign of the covenant with Israel.

At the same time, however, other possible influences on this position of the sabbath as a Mosaic institution should not be overlooked. It was Palestinian Judaism that most emphasised a separation from gentiles; and this position reflected anti-gentile bias. Similarly, the anti-Jewish bias among many early church fathers, as well as their criticism of the sabbath, is well documented.

With the development of the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day, and the emergence of the seventh-day sabbatarianism, however, there developed an increasing acceptance of the position that the sabbath was instituted as a creation institution binding on all creation. In such interpretations, emphasis is placed on those texts in the Hebrew Scriptures that connect the sabbath as a memorial of creation, and relatively little reference is made to those referring to the sabbath as a covenant symbol for Israel. Such interpretations also
had the tendency to present evidence of the sabbath and the weekly cycle prior to the institution of the law at Sinai and to prove that sabbath observance was continuous from creation.

2.14.2 The Genre of Genesis 1:1-2:3

The interpretation of the genre of Genesis 1:1-2:3 often reflects the stance of interpreters as to the observance of the sabbath. A position that is frequently held in conjunction with an emphasis on the sabbath as a creation institution is the interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3 as history genre. The regarding of Genesis 1:1-2:3 as historical genre, combined with a doctrine of a literal seven-day creation laid the basis for the conclusion that the sabbath was instituted at creation and had perpetually recurred since then. For those that hold to this position, the belief in a literal seven-day creation and of the sabbath as a continually binding creation institution is often interconnected within interpretative and polemic material.220

It is significant to note that contemporary Orthodoxy and Catholicism - while being conservative in their affirmation of traditional points of faith as a whole - do not officially endorse a position of literal seven-day creation, but allow an openness to other interpretations, including theistic evolution.221 The more moderate Sabbatarian position of these traditions gives room for such an interpretation.

2.14.3 Interpretations and Sources of Tradition

A significant factor in many interpretations of the sabbath as a creation institution is not merely the position concerning the observance of the sabbath or Lord’s day as a day of rest, but also the source of authority that rests behind this observance. While Orthodoxy,

220 Ellen G. White, Patriarchs and Prophets, Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958 (first published 1890), p. 111, “Like the Sabbath, the week originated at creation, and it has been preserved and brought down to us through Bible history. God Himself measured off the first week as a sample for successive weeks to the close of time. Like every other, it consisted of seven literal days. Six days were employed in the work of creation; upon the seventh, God rested, and He then blessed this day and set it apart as a day of rest for man [sic].” Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy, p. 438, “Had the Sabbath been universally kept, man’s [sic] thoughts and affections would have been led to the Creator as the object of reverence and worship, and there would never have been an idolater, an atheist, or an infidel.”

221 Stanley S. Harakas, The Orthodox Church: 455 Questions and Answers, Minneapolis, MN: Light & Life, 1987, p. 125. Creationism is supported, however, by various individual, organizations and academic circles within these Churches.
contemporary Catholicism and segments of Anglicanism and liberal Protestantism extol the avoidance of labour on the Lord’s day, the authority for such a position is not based primarily on Scripture, but on subsequent Church authority. For those that hold to a position of Sola Scriptura, there is a greater compulsion to support the validity of sabbath/Lord’s day observance by adopting an interpretation of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures as a creation institution, as well as accepting a literal seven-day creation in which this sabbath was instituted. Among first-day Sabbatarians there can also be found a similar emphasis on New Testament interpretations that support the change from the seventh to the first day.

2.14.4 The Sabbath Institution and Concepts of Holiness

A third area in which a position on the sabbath / Lord’s day may influence interpretation is in the understanding of holiness itself. When the position is taken that the sabbath was instituted at creation and has been perpetually recurring since, there is a greater chance of there also arising an understanding that a dichotomy of the secular and sacred has been inbuilt into creation. This is particularly the case in those Protestant traditions mentioned above where the sabbath has become the primary symbol of the sacred, and the primary expression of sacred time. Such interpretations have the potential to significantly affect an understanding of holiness and the position that the eschatological age will be a state of universal holiness.

2.15 CONCLUSION

As this chapter has demonstrated, the nature of references to the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures has resulted in many hypotheses, but little consensus as to the origins and nature of sabbath observance in Israel. The nature of sabbath / Lord’s day observance in subsequent Judeo-Christian history has also been varied and has influenced numerous interpretations of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Various aspects of these positions concerning the sabbath have influenced an interpretation of the sabbath as a sign of the eschatological age. As a means of justifying the legitimacy of interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, the remainder of this section of the thesis examines the sabbath
references within the context of issues raised by this chapter and with an awareness of how interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures may be influenced by the scholarly and theological presuppositions of the author.
CHAPTER THREE:
THE NATURE OF THE SABBATH AND OTHER FESTIVALS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Method of Examination

The sabbath is one of many cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is frequently found in the context of general lists of these festivals. A significant aspect of an understanding of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures, therefore, is identifying those attributes that the sabbath holds in common with the other cultic festivals, and those attributes that are unique to the sabbath, or that figure much more prominently in regard to the sabbath. This chapter makes a detailed examination of the attributes of cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures, in order to identify those that are characteristic of the sabbath, and those that are particularly unique to it. The results from this chapter are particularly important for chapter seven of this thesis, which demonstrates how these unique attributes of the sabbath make it a particularly suitable symbol of the eschatological age.

As this examination demonstrates, defining which passages are to be classified as references to the sabbath is more complex than requiring the presence of a specific term or characteristic. This chapter has the secondary purpose, therefore, of also justifying the criteria of what passages will be included in its examination of the sabbath. Because there are several passages that do not use the term “sabbath”, but merely refer to the “seventh day”, this thesis will also make a brief examination of seventh-day periods in the Hebrew Scriptures that are not connected to cultic festivals.

This chapter first examines each reference to a cultic festival in the Hebrew Scriptures, and identifies any indication as to the nature of the festival, or to the means of its observance. In doing this, there is a focus on key terms and phrases, and these findings are then presented in table form for clarity. From these results, conclusions are made as to the unique characteristics of the sabbath, and the passages that this thesis will use in its examination of the sabbath are defined.
3.1.2 The Identification of Sabbath Texts

As chapter two has demonstrated, many concepts that are defining features of the popular understanding of the sabbath have been questioned by scholarship; the nature of the sabbath as a day of worship and rest, and its occurrence on a recurring seven-day cycle. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates that the term “sabbath”, as well its connection with a period of seven days and with the absence of work, are attributes that the sabbath holds in common with other feast days. In the light of this, therefore, it is beneficial for this thesis to address the question of how the sabbath - and a text referring to it – may be identified and defined, rather than merely presuming that this is apparent. As scholarship is already questioning long-held presumptions as to the nature of the sabbath, a clear presentation of the definition of the sabbath used in this thesis protects it from future challenges as to the commonly held definitions of the sabbath, and to the claim that this thesis’ findings are invalid because they are based on this definition.

Initially, the two key criteria for considering that a passage may be a sabbath passage are the existence of one of the two attributes; that it contains the term “sabbath”, or that it has a reference to the seventh day. Where these passages are clearly referring to holy festivals or rituals other than the sabbath, however, these passages are excluded from the criteria of sabbath texts, and are examined in the context of the holy festival, ritual or event222 to which they refer. The remaining texts are examined in this chapter as sabbath texts, and from these findings this chapter draws conclusions as to what attributes the sabbath holds in common with other holy festivals and what attributes are unique. It is from these findings of the unique attributes of the sabbath that a definition of what constitutes a sabbath text is developed.

It is acknowledged that there is a certain amount of circular reasoning in this chapter, which cannot easily be avoided. On the one hand, the results of this chapter are used to define what precisely constitutes a sabbath text, and to defend which passages will be examined in this thesis. On the other hand, however, the assumption of what constitutes a sabbath text is already present throughout this examination.

222 Ritual or event refers to seven-day periods other than the sabbath; rituals such as the seven-day purification cycles, or events such as the fall of Jericho.
It could be argued that this thesis is forming a definition of the sabbath from pre-conceived ideas of what texts are sabbath passages, rather than allowing this definition to govern which passages should be included. Critics may also argue that the complex definition is a result of attempting to examine synchronically something that many diachronic studies present as having developed significantly through the writing of the Hebrew Scriptures; and of reading back into these Scriptures later understandings as to the nature of the sabbath. While this thesis remains “agnostic” as to the precise dating and development of sections in the Hebrew Scriptures, it acknowledges the differences in the descriptions of many of the cultic festivals in these Scriptures and suggests a change of practice over time and/or place as a likely explanation of these differences. As has been shown in the previous chapter, however, numerous studies of the possible origin and development of the sabbath have presented little consensus as to the extent and nature of such development. These diachronic studies do not contain, therefore, an easy path to the simplification of a definition of the sabbath.

Moreover, despite a significant diversity of positions concerning the origins and development of the sabbath, there is generally a widespread consensus as to what texts are included in constructing these positions. As section 2.1.2 showed, for example, Ghana Robinson takes the position that the sabbath was in pre-exilic times a full moon day, and that the Exodus 34:21 reference to six days of work and a seventh day of rest in “spring-time and harvest” speaks of a separate institution, which consisted of two isolated seven-day periods. Yet, while Ghana Robinson argues that it was only in a later period that the sabbath developed into a recurring weekly cycle, it is this seven-day period - among the numerous seven-day periods that exist in the Hebrew Scriptures - that is presented as an origin from which the sabbath developed. This suggests that there is a clear, if not easily definable, concept of “sabbath” in the Hebrew Scriptures. This concept becomes evident by the end of this chapter, where it is shown that there are a number of characteristics that are unique to the sabbath as a whole.

3.1.3 The Confines of this Examination

The extensive nature of this examination necessitates recognising certain restrictions. There are found at times references to festivals to which no title is given. If the identification of these festivals is not obviously clear, it is not possible within the
limitations of this thesis to examine these in detail, but merely to accept the
identification commonly given to them by tradition and scholarship. Similarly, when
the term “sabbath” is used and it is not explicitly attributed to other festivals, it is
regarded as the seventh-day sabbath. Occurrences where this term may apply to
festivals in general rather to the seventh-day sabbath are briefly identified in the
following chapter when sabbath texts are examined in detail.

3.2 EXAMINATION OF CULTIC FESTIVALS

Genesis 2:1-3

Seventh Day
- On this day “God finished the work that he had done -
  נָתַן יְהוָה לְאָדָם אֶחָד תָּשָׁתָה (v.2a), and rested from all the work which
  he had done (in creation) (vv.2b,3).
- God “rested - שָׁבָת” on this day (v.2,3).
- God “blessed - יָבֹרֶה” this day (v.3).
- God “hallowed - וְקָרָשֵׁה” this day (v.3).

Exodus 12:1 – 13:16

Passover/Unleavened Bread
- This feast is explicitly called “the passover of the Lord - סִפְסַת לְיָהוָה”
  (12:11,48), “the passover lamb/sacrifice - מְסָסָה (12:21), “(it is) the sacrifice
  of the passover to the Lord - יָבֹרֶה סִפְסַת לְיָהוָה” (12:27) and “the ordinance
  of the passover - תְּקֹתָת סִפְסַת” (12:43).
- Israel is also to observe “unleavened bread - טְפָסָת” (12:17).
- The original passover is marked by the sacrifice of a lamb, and the placing of its
  blood upon the doorpost (12:1-13,21-23).
- It is presented as a “day of remembrance for you - זֶה תֵּרָם לְךָ לְעַל פָּרָד
  (12:14), and Israel is commanded to “remember - זָכְרוֹנָה” (13:3) this day; (it is also
to be “a reminder - זָכְרֵיהּ on your forehead” (13:9; cf. 13:16).
- Israel is commanded to “celebrate / observe - חָגָה” this festival (12:14a,14b).

223 The NRSV adds “the lamb”, though “the passover sacrifice”, (from the chosen lamb), could equally
well be implied.
- Israel is also to “celebrate - יְנַחֵלָה” this festival (12:47,48a,48b).
- Israel is also to “observe - שִׂירָה” this festival (12:17a,17b,24,25).
- It as a “festival to the Lord - הַנִּיטְחֵה” (12:14; 13:6).
- It is to be observed as a “perpetual ordinance - תַּחַת וּלָךְ … לְךָ (12:24)” and as an “ordinance in its proper time from year to year - תַּחַת הַנִּיטְחֵה מְלָשֶׁה מְסֹמָה” (13:10) “throughout your generations - לָרָתִיָּה (12:14,17) (12:42). This seven days of eating unleavened bread is referred to as a “festival - הַנִּיטְחֵה” (13:6).
- It is also described as “this observance [other versions “service”] - תַּחַת הַנִּיטְחֵה (12:25,26).
- The original and future passovers are referred to as a night of “vigil - שֶׁמֶרֲךָ (12:42a,42b).
- It is also described as the generic phrase “this rite [lit. ‘this thing’], - אֶחָד-רֶשֶׁב נַחֲמוֹ (12:24).
- In future generations Israel is to describe the observance of the passover and feast of unleavened bread as a reminder of the original passover and exodus (12:25-27; 13:3-10; cf.12:17). The consecration of the firstborn is also instituted in this text as a reminder of these events (13:1-2,11-16).
- The observance of the passover is restricted to Israelites, or foreigners who have been circumcised (12:43-49).
- The number seven is explicit in the feast of unleavened bread, as it has a duration of seven days (12:15,19; 13:6-7), it is also implicit in that the feast runs from the fourteenth to the twenty-first day, and the passover begins on the fourteenth day (12:18).
- Both Israel and foreigners are to eat unleavened bread, with the punishment that those that eat leavened bread will be cut off from Israel (12:15,19; 13:4), and leaven is to be removed from the houses (12:15,19; 13:7).
- On the first and seventh day there is to be a “solemn assembly - מִקְרָא קָרָשׁ (12:16).
- On these first and seventh days “no work shall be done [on them] - כָּל-מִלְאֵכוֹת לְאָרְאֶשׁ בְּחָם (12:16).
- The feast of unleavened bread is to be “a sign - זֶה אֲנָה” on your hand (13:9; cf. 13:16).
Exodus 16:22-30

**Sabbath**
- Preparation before the sabbath is inferred (vv.22,27-29).
- It is described as a “day of solemn rest, a holy sabbath to the Lord - שֵׁמיֹת שֶּבָּחָה קָנָּת לְהוֹ Jehovah” (v.23).
- Israel is commanded “each of you stay where you are; do not leave your place on the seventh day” (v.29).
- The people “rested - ישֶבָהה” on the seventh day (v.30).

Exodus 20:8-11

**Sabbath**
- Israel is to “remember - זֶכָּר” the sabbath day (v.8).
- Israel is to “keep it holy - לָכֶרֶם” (v.8).
- The number seven is explicit (v.8-9,11).
- The seventh day is a “sabbath to the Lord your God” (v.10).
- On it “you shall not do any work - לא תעשׂה כל-مالאתה” (v.10).
- The sabbath is presented as a memorial of creation (v.11).
- God “rested - יָנָני” on the seventh day (v.11).
- God “blessed - ברך” the sabbath day (v.11).
- God “hallowed - ברך” the sabbath day (v.11).

Exodus 21:2-11

**Seventh-year Release**
- The release of Hebrew male slaves occurs in the seventh year.
- The number seven is explicit in that the festival occurs in the seventh year (v.2).

Exodus 23:10-17

**Seventh-year Fallow**
- There is an explicit reference to the number seven (v.11).
- Its characteristic is allowing the land, vineyard and orchard to lie fallow (v.11).
- Its expressed result is to give food to the poor and animals (v.11).

**Sabbath**
- It has explicit reference to the number seven (v.12).
- On this day the hearers are to “rest - השבתה” (v.12).
- Its expressed result is to allow animals “rest - לילות”, and slaves and resident aliens “refreshment - נפשו” (v.12).

Unleavened bread
- This is termed the “festival of unleavened bread - הפסח” (v.15).
- It is observed by the eating of unleavened bread (v.15).
- The number seven is explicit within this festival in that it has a duration of seven days (v.15).
- It is to be observed in the month of Abib “for in it you came out of Egypt”; that is, it is a memorial of the exodus (v.15).
- It is stated that “no one shall appear before me empty-handed”, though no references are given as to the nature of the offerings required (v.15).

First Fruits
- This feast is described as “the festival of harvest, of the first fruits of your labor - תחת המ可以更好, ומ賞ך” (v.16).

Tabernacles
- This feast is described as “the festival of ingathering - חס湘潭” (v.16).

Festivals
- The hearers are to “observe - השמך” these feasts (v.15).
- Three times a year Israel is “hold a festival - והנה” (v.14).
- All males are to appear before the Lord (v.17).

Exodus 31:12-18

Sabbath
- The title “sabbath - השבתה” (vv.13,16) and “my [ Yahweh’s] sabbaths - תחתה י’ השבתות” (v.13) is used.
- The term a “sabbath of solemn rest - שבת השבתות” (v.15) is used.
- Israel is to “keep - תחתה השמך / השמך / השמן” Yahweh’s sabbaths (vv.13,14,16).
- It is referred to as “a sign -鸸ואת” (v.13) and a “sign forever - ואתלך ... אלהו” (v.16).
- The sabbath is presented as a sign so that Israel knows that “I, the Lord, sanctify you - י’ מקרשך” (v.13).
- The sabbath “is holy to you - קִרְיָ֥ה לְךָ” (v.14) and “holy to the Lord – קִרְיָ֥ה לְיהוָּה” (v.15).

- The death penalty is prescribed for those who “profane – מָתַלֵל בּוֹ” it (v.14), or “do any work – כָּלָ֖ה הָעַ֣נֵּשָה מְלַאֲכָּֽה” on it (v.15).

- It states that “whoever does any work on it - כָּלָ֖ה הָעַ֣נֵּשָה מְלַאֲכָּֽה” is to be cut off from Israel (v.14).

- The number seven is explicit in the reference to the seventh day (vv.15,17).

- Israel is to “observe - לָיָ֥שָׁר” the sabbath (v.16).

- Israel is observe the sabbath “throughout their generations - לָיָ֥שָׁר” (v.16).

- The sabbath is a “perpetual covenant - בּרֶ֖ה עֹלֶ֥ס” (v.16).

- The sabbath is presented as a sign of creation (v.17).

- God “rested - תָּבָּרָ֥ה” on the seventh day (v.17).

- God was “refreshed - וַיִּתְבִּלְוַ֖ה” on the seventh day (v.17).

Exodus 32:5

False Festival

- Aaron proclaimed at the building of the golden calf that the following day would be a “festival to the Lord - לְחַג לְהוָּה”.

Exodus 34:18,21-25

Unleavened Bread (v.18)

This text (v.18) is identical to Exodus 23:14 except that it does not contain the words “as I commanded you”.

- This feast is called “the festival of unleavened bread - מְנַחֶ֖ה תֵּשֶׁר” (v.18).

- The hearers are to “observe - תֵּשֶׁר” this feast (v.18).

- It is observed by the eating of unleavened bread (v.18).

- It is to be observed “as I commanded you - אֲנִי הַרְאֵֽהוּ” (v.18).

- The number seven is explicit in this festival in that it has a duration of seven days (v.18).

- It is observed as a memorial of the Exodus (v.18).

Sabbath (v.21)

- The number seven is explicit in this feast (v.21).

- The hearers are to “rest - והשֶׁב” on the seventh day (v.21).
- This rest is emphasised by stating that this rest is to happen “even in plowing time and in harvest time - בֵּיתֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקָצָר” (v.21).

**Annual Festivals** (v.22-25)
- They are to “observe - מִצְצָה” these feasts (v.22).
- There is the description, “the feast of weeks, the firstfruits of wheat harvest - לָעָלָה בְּקָצָר הַשָּׁבָט” (v.22).
- There is the description, “the feast of ingathering at the turn of the year - תִּקְנָה הָכְפֶּפַּת תּוֹשָׁה” (v.22).
- All males are to observe these feasts (v.23).
- They shall “appear before the Lord - הָעַבְדֵּנְו הָכְפֶּפַּת תּוֹשָׁה” at these three festivals. There is the additional assurance that their land will not be coveted while they appear before the Lord (vv.23-24).
- The statement that “the sacrifice of the festival and the passover shall not be left till morning” implies that specific sacrifices are offered for these feasts (vv.25-6).

**Exodus 35:2-3**

**Sabbath**
- The title “sabbath day - בִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל” is used (v.3).
- The number seven is explicit in that it occurs on the seventh day (v.2).
- The sabbath is “holy - קֹדֶשׁ” (v.2).
- There is reference to the term a “sabbath of solemn rest - שֵׁבָת שֶׁמֶנֶה עַל הָלָךְ מִלֵּאכָה” (v.2).
- The death penalty is prescribed for “whoever does any work - כִּלָּו שֶׁמֶנֶה אוֹר מִלֵּאכָה” (v.2).
- No fires are to be lit (v.3).

**Leviticus 16:29-34**

**Day of Atonement**
- There is a description of elaborate sacrifices that are to occur on this day.
- The day of atonement is a “statute forever - לַחֲצֶה עֲלָם” (vv.29,31,34).
- The number seven is explicit in that it occurs in the seventh month (v.29).
- Israel is to “deny themselves - הָנִמְנָה אֶת נִשְׁמָת אוֹר מִלֵּאכָה” (vv.29,31).
- There is a command to “do no work - כִּלָּו שֶׁמֶנֶה אוֹר מִלֵּאכָה” (v.29).
This command is extended to the “alien who resides among you - וحجر תגר באתככם” (v.29).
- It is day in which “atonement shall be made for you - יכפר עלייכם” (vv.30,34).
- It is a day to “cleanse - לםזר” the people from all their sins (v.30).
- It is a “sabbath of complete rest - שבת שבתות” (v.31).
- On it the priest makes atonement (vv.32-33).

Leviticus 19:3,30

Sabbath
- Israel is to “keep” the sabbaths (vv.3,30).
- It is referred to by Yahweh as “my sabbaths - שבתות” (v.3).

Leviticus 23-25

The first and most comprehensive of the three main lists of festivals is found in Leviticus. The core list of cultic holy times is found in Leviticus 23 and 25, with a few other references occurring within the book.

Festivals (23:2,4)
- “the appointed festivals of the Lord/my appointed festivals - מていましたיוכח/מדאתייוכח” (v.2,4).
- There is a reference to “holy convocations - מקרא א כרנא/קרנא א מקרא” (v.2).
- Israel is to “proclaim/celebrate - אנא תכר+ תכר kra moverה” these festivals (vv.2,4).
- They are to be celebrated “at the time appointed for them - במלתorna” (v.4).

Sabbaths (23:3)
- It contains explicit reference to the number seven (v.3).
- In contrast with “six days” in which “shall work be done”, the seventh day is described as a day in which “you shall do no work - לא תעשה כל מלאכתה ליהוה…” (v.3).
- It is referred to as a “sabbath of complete rest - שבת שבתות” (v.3).
- It is described as a “sabbath to the Lord - ליהוה שבתות” (v.3).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מקרא א קרא” (v.3).

Passover/ Unleavened Bread (23: 5)
- It contains an implicit reference to the number seven in that it occurs on the 14th day (v.5).
- There is a reference to a “passover offering to the Lord - בּוּatable" (v.5).

**Unleavened Bread (23:6-8)**

- There is the term a “festival of unleavened bread to the Lord - מַצּות לֵי-הוָה" (v.6).
- It has an explicit connection with the number seven in that it lasts for seven days, as well as an implicit one in that it runs from the 15th-21st days of the month; the 3rd week of the month (v.6).
- The first and seventh days are both described as a “holy convocation - מֵסֶר-כְּפֶסֶת" (vv.6,7).
- On the first and seventh days Israel “shall not work at your occupations - כָּל-מְלָאכָה שָבָתוֹת אֵל חֲצֵי" (vv.7,8).
- Israel is also commanded for seven days to “present the Lord’s offerings by fire וְיָכְרוּת בְּאֶשֶׁת לֵי-הוָה”, though the nature of these offerings is not here described (v.8).

**First-fruits (23:9-14)**

- This day is defined by the act of bringing to the priest “a sheaf of the firstfruits of the harvest - וְיָכְרוּת אֶשֶׁת בְּרֵאשִׁית קַטְרִים”, although the title of “firstfruits” is not here applied to the term (v.9).
- In addition to the firstfruit sheaf, the day also has prescribed sacrifices of a year old lamb as a burnt offering, a grain offering and a drink offering (vv.12-13).
- An implicit connection with the number seven may be developed from its occurrence on “the day after the sabbath”224 (v.11).
- The requirements of this day are described as “a statute (הָגוֹנָה) forever through your generations in all your settlements” (v.14).

**Feast of Weeks (23:15-21)**

- The number seven has a significant place in calculating the time of this feast; Israel is to count off seven weeks, the feast is to be on the day after this cycle of 7 times 7, or on the 50th day (vv.15-16).
- The day is characterised in that “you shall present an offering of new grain to the

---

224 There have long been various positions as to the interpretation of this phrase. G. Robinson, pp. 325-326, examines these, and shows that the Pharisees and Rabbis considered it the day after the 15th of the month, or the 16th of the month. The Sadducees considered it to be the normal seventh-day sabbath, and this is reflected in the Christian liturgical tradition where Pentecost traditionally falls on a Sunday, 50 days after Pascha Sunday. A third position regarded this Sabbath to be the seventh day of the passover festival (21st Nissan), and thus the firstfruits to be on the 22nd Nissan.
Lord - "כהניםفارקים המנה מדרשים לישראל" (v.16).
- Various other sacrificial offerings are prescribed (vv.17-20).
- There is a stipulation to “make proclamation - נקראה בצעם” (v.21).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מקרא כרות” (v.21).
- On this day Israel “shall not work at your occupations -ultipלואכה שבורה לא תמיד” (v.21).
- The requirements of this day are described as “a statute (נוקרא) forever through your generations in all your settlements” (v.21).

Feast of Trumpets (23:23-25)
- The number seven is implicit in that it occurs in the seventh month (v.24).
- Israel is to observe a “day of complete rest - שבתות” (v.24).
- It is described as “commemorated with trumpet blasts - זכור להורשות” (v.24).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מקרא כרות” (v.24).
- On this day Israel “shall not work at your occupations -}" ilואכה שבורה לא תמיד” (v.25).
- There are instructions to “present the Lord’s offerings by fire - ונה食べた ושבעה ליהוה” (v.25).

Day of Atonement (23:26-32)
- The number seven is implicit in that it occurs in the seventh month (v.24).
- This festival is titled the “day of atonement - יום טפירות” (v.27,28).
- Its purpose is described “ ‘to make atonement - בק arma’ on your behalf before the Lord” (v.28).
- The command “You shall deny yourselves - נגוראה אים והמשיכים” (lit. “afflict your souls”) occurs twice, as well as the command that whoever does not deny themselves shall be cut off from the people (vv.27,29).
- This festival is described as a “holy convocation - מקרא כרות” (v.27).
- There is the unique of the phrase that Israel “Shall do no work during that entire day - כל שלואכה ולא חשו כיוזימים היה" (v.28) and that “anyone that does any work during that entire day, such a one I will destroy from the midst of the people” (v.30). In addition to these two references is found in the unique

225 Italics mine.
shorter phrase “You shall do no work - כל美誉ה לא תעשו” (v.31).
- The requirements of this day are described as “a statute (הנה) forever through your generations in all your settlements” (v.21).
- It is described as a “sabbath of complete rest - שבת השבת”, in which Israel shall deny themselves, as well as simply a “sabbath - שבת”. In this second reference, the duration of this sabbath is specifically stipulated as “on the ninth day of the month at evening from evening to evening you shall keep your sabbath” (v.32).
- There are instructions to “present the Lord’s offerings by fire - מנקרוב אשה ליהוה” (v.27). The nature of these offerings is not mentioned, though elsewhere the book of Leviticus contains a detailed account of this atonement ceremony and its sacrifice (16:1-28).

Feast of Tabernacles (23:33-36,39-43)

Two descriptions of this feast occur, with verses 37-38 intervening.
(Leviticus 23:33-36)
- The title the “festival of booths - תבניתMHzו” is used (v.34).
- The number seven is implicit in that it occurs in the seventh month, and explicit in that it has a duration of 7+1 days (vv.34,36).
- The first and eighth days are both described as a “holy convocation - מקרא לךוש” (vv.35,36).
- The first and eighth days are days on which Israel “shall not work at your occupations - כל美誉ה תבנה לא תעשו” (vv.35,36).
- On both the seven days and the eighth day Israel is also commanded to “present the Lord’s offerings by fire - מנקרוב אשה ליהוה” (v.36).
- The eighth day is described as a “solemn assembly - תבנה” (v.35,36).
(Leviticus 23:39-43)
- The number seven is implicit in that it occurs in the seventh month, and explicit in that it has a duration of 7+1 days (vv.39,40,41).
- This festival is described as a “festival to the Lord - ויהוה תבנה” (v.39,41).
- Israel is to “keep - תבנה” the festival (v.39).

---

226 Other references in this chapter have “you shall do no work in all your occupations - כל美誉ה ובפקדוה לא תעשו” (emphasis mine).
227 It contains the unique phrase that it is a festival to the Lord “seven days in the year שבת שבעה ימים בשנה” (23:41).
- The first day and the eighth day are both described as “a complete rest — שַׁבָּתָם” (v.39).
- An exhortation is given that “on the first day you shall take the fruit of majestic trees, branches of palm trees, boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook; and you shall rejoice (זָקֵנָה) before the Lord your God for seven days.” (v.40).
- In addition to being stipulated as occurring on the fifteenth day of the month, this festival is also described as occurring “when you have gathered in the produced of the land”.
- This festival is to be a “statute forever throughout your generations — תַּחַת בּוֹרֵחַ לְעַד הַגִּיד” (v.41).
- There is the prescription to live in booths, as a reminder of the exodus from Egypt (vv.42-43).

A significant aspect of this passage is that, unlike the demand for fasting and abstaining from work by both the “citizen” and the “resident alien” on the day of atonement, this passage states merely that “all citizens of Israel shall live in booths”.

*Festivals (concluding passages) (23:37-38,44)*

Leviticus 23:37-38
- These festivals are described as “the appointed festivals — מִלוֹא יָהָה” of the Lord (v.37).
- They are also described as “holy convocations — יְמֵר כְּסֹד וְכּוֹנָה” (v.37).
- Israel is to “celebrate — כְּבָד אֲרָמָא” these festivals (v.37).
- These festivals are described as times “for presenting to the Lord offerings by fire — בְּצֵמֶר וּמְסֵמֶר וְגוֹדְוִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים וּמְסֻמְּרִים V.37). It then places these festivals and their offerings both in the context of, and in contrast to, other cultic observances; “apart from the sabbaths of the Lord, and apart from your gifts, and apart from all your votive offerings, and apart from all your freewill offerings, which you give to the Lord” (v.38).

*Sabbath (24:1-9)*
- The shewbread is renewed each sabbath.

*Fallow Year (25:1-7)*
- The number seven is explicit (v.4) in that this occurs in the seventh year.
- The land is to “observe - ברחה שבועה” a “sabbath for the Lord - שבועת ליהוה” (vv.2,4).
- It is similarly called “a sabbath of complete rest - שבת שבותך” (v.4).
- This rest for the land involves a prohibition against sowing the field, pruning the vineyard, reaping the aftergrowth of the harvest and gathering the grapes of your unpruned vine. Israel is permitted, however, to “eat whatever the land yields during its sabbath” (vv.4-6).

**Jubilee, Release and Remission (25:8-55)**
- The number seven is present in that the jubilee occurs on a cycle of “seven times seven plus one” (v.8).
- The year is initiated with “the trumpet sounded loud - הרשים תרועה” (v.9).
- The jubilee begins on the tenth day of the seventh month, or the day of atonement (v.9).
- Israel is commanded to “hallow - מ.JsonPropertyהו” the fiftieth year (v.10).
- Israel is to proclaim “liberty - רפורם” on this day (v.10).
- On the jubilee there is the return of land (vv.10,13-17,24-34).
- On this day is also the release of slaves (vv.10,13,39-55).
- It is to be a “jubilee - ברכה” (v.10,11,12).
- It is “holy - קדוש” (v.12).

**Leviticus 26:2**

*Sabbath*
- Israel is to “keep - תשומת ליום שבת” the sabbath.
- The sabbath is referred to by God as “my sabbaths - שבועתיו”.

**Leviticus 26:34-45**

*Seventh-year fallow*
- Missed fallow years of the land are made up during the exile.

**Numbers 9:1-14**

*Passover*
- This festival is explicitly called the “passover - חטאת פסחה” (vv.2,4,6,10,12).
- The number seven is implicitly present in the passover in that it begins on the fourteenth day of the month (vv.3,5).
- Israel is to “keep - רפאים” the passover (vv.2,3,4).
- It is to be kept at its “appointed time - במקראא” at twilight (vv.3,7,14).
- It is to be kept according to “all its statutes and regulation - כל החקרי ואכל המשמות”, though these are not stated. Some are implied in the stipulations to those who keep the passover a month later (9:12).
- It is referred to as the “Lord’s offering - חַדָּה” (v.7).
- The observance of the passover may be delayed a month if the worshippers are unclean or away on a journey (9:6-12).
- If those able to observe the passover do not do so, they are to be cut off from people (9:13).
- A resident alien who wishes to is permitted to keep the passover “according to the statute of the passover and according to its regulation”. It does not explicitly state whether these include the requirement to be circumcised or not.

Numbers 10:10

*New Moon and Festivals*
- The term “in the beginning of your months - בראשית התרסיים” is used.
- The phrase “(your) appointed festivals - במכאריים” is used.
- The phrase “(your) days of rejoicing - ביוחemia סמחתיכם” is used.
- Sacrifices are offered on these days.
- Trumpets are to be blown on these days.

Numbers 15:1-10

*Festivals*
- The term “in your appointed festivals - במכאריים” is used (v.3).
- Specific sacrifices to be offered for these festivals are mentioned.

Numbers 15:32-36

*Sabbath*
- The title “sabbath - השבת” is used (v.32).
- The death penalty is prescribed for gathering sticks (vv.35-36).
Numbers 28-29

The second of the three major lists occurs in Numbers. This passage contains a similar range of festivals as that of Leviticus 23, as well as many identical verses. Its general focus, however, is quite different. While Leviticus 23 gives an account of the festivals themselves, Numbers 28-29 gives an account of the prescribed sacrifices and offerings. The references to the festivals on which these sacrifices occur are secondary.

Daily Sacrifices

The basis of tabernacle worship is the daily sacrifice. Holy days are marked by an increasing of these sacrifices. The ordinary daily sacrifice is one lamb, 1/10 ephah choice flour, ¼ hin beaten oil and ¼ hin wine morning and evening.

Sabbath (28:9-10)
- The title “sabbath - פעורא� לוהי" is used (v.9).
- The daily sacrifice is doubled (vv.9-10).

New Moon (28:11-15)
- The term “in the beginning of your months - בריאשון תשרי" is used.
- The daily sacrifice is increased (vv.11-15).
- The number seven is present in the number of sacrifices, but is not a significant characteristic (v.11).

Passover (28:16)
- There is an implicit reference to the number seven in that it occurs on the 14th day (v.16).
- There is a reference to a “passover sacrifice to the Lord - פסח לוהי". No reference as to the nature of the passover sacrifice is stated here or elsewhere in Numbers (v.16).

Unleavened Bread (28:17-25)
- This is referred to as a “festival – נף" (v.17).
- It is characterised by the eating of “unleavened bread - מצוה" (v.17).
- It has an explicit connection with the number seven in that it lasts for seven days, as well as an implicit one in that it runs from the 15th-21st days of the month - the 3rd week of the month (This could also be interpreted in terms of starting on the full moon) (v.17).
- The first and seventh days are both described as a “holy convocation - חסידא קדש". (vv.18,25)
- On the first and seventh days Israel “shall not work at your occupations -
Israel is commanded to “offer an offering by fire, a burnt offering to the Lord - זָהָכַת אֲשֶׁר שָלָה לְה'” (v.19), the content of this sacrifice is explicitly stated, and it is emphasized that Israel is to offer it daily for seven days, in addition to the regular daily offerings (vv.23-24) as “the food of an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the Lord - קָרָאת אֲשֶׁר רוֹדַת לְה'” (v.24).

Feast of Weeks (29:1-6)
- The number seven is referred to implicitly in this chapter’s reference to “your festival of weeks - מְצָבַתְךָ” (v.26), as well as an offering of seven lambs (vv.27-28).
- This festival is referred to as the “day of the first fruits - וְיָאוֹן הַמִּקְרָא” (v.26) in which Israel offers “grain offering of new grain to the Lord - מִנְחָה מְרָשַׁת לְה’” (v.26). In addition to this, a list of additional burnt offerings typically offered on feast days is also given (v.27-31).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מִקְרָא-כָּרָשׁ” (v.26).
- It is a day on which Israel “shall not work at your occupations - כִּילֵּ֣מֵלָכֶתְךָ עַבְרֵיהֶם לֹֽא תַעֲשֶׂה” (v.26).

Feast of Trumpets (29:1-6)
- The number seven is implicitly referred to in that it occurs in the seventh month (v.1), and there is an additional offering of seven lambs (vv.2,4).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מִקְרָא-כָּרָשׁ” (v.1).
- On it Israel is instructed “you shall not work at your occupations - כִּילֵּ֣מֵלָכֶתְךָ עַבְרֵיהֶם לֹֽא תַעֲשֶׂה” (v.1).
- It is described as “a day for you to blow the trumpets - יָאִיר חַרְגָּתְךָ לְךָ” (v.1).
- There is a detailed list of sacrifices Israel is to offer (v.2-6).

Day of Atonement (29:7-11)
- The number seven is present in that the festival occurs in the seventh month (v.7), and there are seven lambs offered (vv.8,10).
- It is described as a “holy convocation - מִקְרָא-כָּרָשׁ” (v.7).
- On it Israel is commanded to “deny yourselves - וְנִנְחִיתֶם אֵלָ֑֝י נְפֹשַׁתְכֶם” (lit. “afflict your souls”) (29:7).
- There is the uniquely stated stipulation “You shall do no work - קָרָאת אֲשֶׁר רוֹדַת לְה’” (v.24).
- There is a detailed list of sacrifices Israel is to offer (vv.8-11).

**Feast of Tabernacles (29:12-38)**

- It has an explicit connection with the number seven in that it lasts for seven days, as well as an implicit one in that it runs from the 15th-21st days of the month; the 3rd week of the month. The number seven is present in that it occurs in the seventh month (29:1). It also features significantly in the list of sacrifices.229
- The first day is described as a “holy convocation - מקרא כורש” (v.12).
- Israel is commanded to “celebrate - חג להוה” a “festival to the Lord - הוהלוה” for seven days (v.12).
- The eighth day is described as a “solemn assembly - עצרת” (v.35).
- On the first and eighth days Israel is instructed that “you shall not work at your occupations - כל-מלאכה יבורה לא נתש” (vv.12,35).
- There is a detailed list of sacrifices Israel is to give on each of the eight days of the feast mentioned (vv.13-34,36-38).

**Festivals (Concluding passage) (29:39)**

- The term “at all your appointed festivals - במחילותך” is used.

**Numbers 33:3**

**Passover**

- The title “passover - חג” is used.

**Deuteronomy 5:12-15**

**Sabbath**

- Israel is to “observe - אחר-יום השבת” the “sabbath day - יום השבת” (v.12, [15]).
- Israel is to “keep it holy - כקרבן” (v.12).
- The number seven is explicitly mentioned (v.12).
- Work is forbidden (vv.13-14).

---

228 Other references in this chapter have “You shall do no work in all your occupations - כל-מלאכה יבורה לא נתש.”
229 John Marsh, The Interpreter’s Bible, Vol. 2, (Lev-Samuel), George Arthur Buttrick, ed., Abingdon Press: Nashville, 1953, pp. 278-279, “During the feast of Booths the offerings are the heaviest of the whole year. The number seven is much in evidence, with 7 times 7 times 2 lambs, 7 times 2 rams, 7 times 10 bullocks, and 7 goats.”
- Israel is to “remember - זכרת” the exodus (v.15).
- God “commanded - צוה" Israel “to keep - לישון” the sabbath (v.15).

**Deuteronomy 15:1-18**

*Seventh-year Release and Remission*

- The number seven is explicit in that the release and remission occur in the seventh year (v.1,12).
- There is a remission of debts (vv.1-6).
- There is a release of Israelite slaves (vv.12-18).

**Deuteronomy 16:1-17**

The third major list of feasts occurs in Deuteronomy 16. No introductory passage to this feast occurs.

*Passover / Unleavened Bread (16:1-8)*

- Israel is commanded to “observe - שמח" the “month of Abib - מצה לרדת" by “keeping - לישון" a “passover to the Lord - הרתת" (v.1).
- The reason given for this festival is that “in the month of Abib the Lord your God brought you out of Egypt by night” (v.1). The eating of unleavened bread is specifically described as a re-enactment of this event (v.4).
- Israel is commanded that they shall “offer the passover sacrifice - מצה" from the flock and herd “at the place the Lord shall choose as a dwelling for his name - במקדש אֲשֵׁר יִהְיֶה לְשֵׁם שֶׁם" (vv.2,5-7).
- There is also the command to eat “unleavened bread” (vv.3,4,8).
- This period of unleavened bread is to last seven days (vv.4,8).
- The seventh day is to be a “solemn assembly - תִּירָב" to the Lord your God (v.8).
- This seventh day is characterised by no work “לא תִּירָב מְלַאכָה" (v.8)

*Feast of Weeks (16:9-12)*

- This festival contains the number seven in that it is divided from the previous festival by a period of seven weeks (v.9).
- It is explicitly called the “festival of weeks - ינפ הָעֵשֶׁה" (v.10).
- Israel is to “keep - לישון" this festival of weeks (v.10).
- Israel is commanded to give “a free-will offering (נָדִיב) in proportion to the
blessing that you have received from the Lord your God” (v.10).
- Israel is to “rejoice - רָאָשִׁים” before the Lord (v.10).
- Its observance by all classes of society, including the foreigner, is emphasised (v.11).
- At the end of this passage is found the exhortation, “remember that you were a slave in Egypt, diligently observe these statutes” (v.12). This is likely a general motive for the observance of the law – particularly the previous stipulation of social inclusion of all people including servants - rather than a specification of this feast as a memorial of the servitude in Egypt”.

Feast of Tabernacles (16:13-15)
- This feast is specifically called the “festival of booths - מִצְחָקָה” (v.13).
- This festival is to last for seven days (vv.13,15).
- Israel is to “rejoice - רָאָשִׁים” during their festival (v.14), and be “altogether joyful - יְאַלְּלָה” (v.15).
- Its observance by all classes of society, including the foreigner, is emphasised (v.14).

Festivals (16:16-17)
- Every Israelite male is instructed to appear before the Lord three times every year (v.17).
- They are all instructed to bring an offering before Yahweh, “each man shall give as he is able” (vv.16-17).

Deuteronomy 31: 10-13
Seventh Year, Feast of Tabernacles
- This text presumes that all Israel will appear before the Lord for festivals (v.11).
- Every seventh remission year, the festival of tabernacles includes the reading of the law to all people including the resident aliens (vv.10-13).

Joshua 5:10-11
Passover
- The title “passover - עֹסֵרְנֵל” is used (vv.10,11).
- The number seven is implicit in that it begins on the fourteenth day of the month (v.10).
- The observance of the passover involved eating unleavened bread and parched
grain from the land of Canaan. It may be inferred that this was the first consumption of the produce of Canaan (5:11).
- The observance of the passover coincided with the cessation of manna (5:12).

Judges 21:19 –21

Festivals
- There is a reference to the “yearly festival of the Lord - חַג קְרֵבַת ה' -מִלָּחָה בְּשָלָה מִימֵיהּ” at Shiloh (v.19).
- It is a time when women “dance - דִּבֵּר עַל” (v.21).

1 Samuel 20:5-34

New Moon
- The title “new moon - מִשְׁמַרְתָּן” is used (v.5,18, 24).
- There is a festival meal for two days (vv.24-27).

1 Kings 8:2-66; 2 Chronicles 5:1-7:11

Feasts of Tabernacles / Dedication of Temple
Although this feast is not explicitly called the feast of tabernacles, this can be assumed in that it occurs in the seventh month, lasts seven days, plus an eighth day, and concluded on the 22nd day of the month (as Israel was sent home on the twenty-third day) (2 Chr 7:10).
- The number seven is present in that the feast is in the seventh month (1 Kgs 8:2; 2 Chr 5:3; 7:10), and lasts seven days (1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Chr 7:8-9).
- A “solemn assembly - קָדָשָׁה” is held on the eighth day (2 Chr 7:9).
- There is a consecration of the temple (1 Kgs 8:2-64; 2 Chr 5:3-7:7).
- Sacrifices are offered (1 Kgs 8:5,62-65; 2 Chr 5).

1 Kings 12:32-33

False Festival
- It is held in the eighth month; the month after Succoth (vv.32-33).
- Sacrifices are offered (v.32).
- The king offers incense (v.33).
2 Kings 4:18-25, esp v.23

**Sabbath and New Moon**
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used (v.23).
- The title “new moon - תֶּמֶר” is used (v.23).
- That these are the customary days to visit “the man of God” is inferred (v.23).

2 Kings 10:20

**False Festival**
- Israel is to “sanctify a solemn assembly - קְרָאת תָּחֵת”.
- This festival is “proclaimed - קְרָאת כְּפָר”.

2 Kings 11:4-16 / 2 Chronicles 23:1-15

**Sabbath**
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used (2 Kgs 11:5; 1 Chr 23:4).
- There is the changing of the guards on sabbath (2 Kgs 11:5; 1 Chr 23:4).
- The king is crowned on the sabbath.
- People gathered on this day (2 Kgs 11:14; 2 Chr 23:13).

2 Kings 16:18

**Sabbath**
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used.
- A covered portal is used on sabbath.

2 Kings 23:21-23

**Passover**
- The title “passover - פָּסָח” is used (vv.21,22,23).
- The passover is kept “נֵיסָח” (vv.21,22,23).
- This passover was kept as “prescribed in the book of the covenant”. Nothing as to the nature of this observance is stated, though it was described as significant in magnitude (v.21).
- There is the statement that “no such passover had been kept since the days of the judges who judged Israel”, though it is open to interpretation as to whether there had been no passover observance, or whether this had been the greatest passover
observance since the judges (v.22).

1 Chronicles 9:32

Sabbath
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used.
- Shewbread is prepared for the sabbath.

1 Chronicles 23:31

Sabbath, New Moon and Festivals
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used.
- The title “new moon - الشهر” is used.
- There is a reference to “appointed festivals - מצות”.
- Sacrifices are offered on the sabbath, new moon and appointed festivals.

2 Chronicles 2:4

Sabbath, New Moon and Festivals
- The term “sabbaths - שבתות” is used.
- The term “new moons - חדשים” is used.
- There is a reference to “appointed festivals - מצות”.
- Incense, shewbread and sacrifices are offered on the sabbath, new moon and appointed festivals.

2 Chronicles 8:13

Sabbath, New Moon and Festivals
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used.
- The term “new moons - חדשים” is used.
- There is reference to the three annual “festivals - מないことות”.
- The title “festival of unleavened bread - חג מצה” is used.
- The title “festival of weeks - חג השבועות” is used.
- The title “festival of booths - חג התק职业教育ות” is used.
- Sacrifices are offered for “the sabbaths, the new moons, and the three annual festivals - the festival of unleavened bread, the festival of weeks, and the festival of booths”.

122
2 Chronicles 30:1-27

Passover
- The title “passover - פסח” is used (vv.1,2,5).
- This is described as the keeping of the “festival of unleavened bread - לְעָלָה” (v.13).
- There is a reference “keep - לְעָלָה” the passover (vv.1,5a,5b) and the feast of unleavened bread (vv.13,23a,23b).
- The passover is preceded and followed by the removal of idolatrous worship sites (v.14, 31:1).
- The festival involves sacrificing the passover lamb and offering other burnt offerings (vv.15,24).
- During the seven days the people offer “free-will sacrifices - חֲלֶםיְם” (v.22, inferred in v.24).
- Sanctifying oneself is a prerequisite to this passover sacrifice, though it was not performed by many. It may be interpreted that this was done by means of the burnt offerings. (Note: The day itself is not described as sanctified, cf. vv.2-3, 15-20,24.)
- The festival of unleavened bread lasted for seven days, and then an additional seven days (vv.21,22,23).
- The priests and Levites “praised - מַהֲלֵיָם” the Lord daily, accompanied with loud instruments (v.21).
- During the festival the people gave “thanks - מְנַצֵּחַ” to God (v.22).
- They kept the festival another seven days with “gladness- שָׁמַם” (v.23) and “rejoiced - יְשֻׁמָּה” (v.25).
- It was concluded with the “blessing - וְנָאְכַר” of the people (v.27).
- The resident alien joined in the festival, although no mention of a requirement to be circumcised is given (v.25).

2 Chronicles 31:3

New Moon, Sabbath and Festivals
- The title “new moon - חָנָשׁ” is used.
- The title “sabbath - שַׁבָּת” is used.
- There is a reference to “appointed festivals - מימראם”.
- Sacrifices are offered on the sabbath, new moon and appointed festivals.

**2 Chronicles 35:1-19**

*Passover*

- The title “passover - נפסח” is used (v.1).
- The passover is “kept - טשא”, as is the festival of unleavened bread (vv.1,16,17).
- The number seven is implicitly present in that it begins on the fourteenth day of the month (v.1).
- Preparation is made for this festival according to “written directions of David and the written directions of his son Solomon… [and] according to the word of the Lord to Moses” (vv.4,6,12).
- The priests are to sanctify themselves (v.6).
- It involves the slaughter and sacrifice of the “passover lamb - נפסח” (v.11), and “burnt offerings - עלה”. Detailed description of this sacrifice is given (vv.4-16).
- The “festival of unleavened bread - חנוכות” is also kept (v.17).
- The number seven is explicit in this festival in that it has a duration of seven days (v.17).
- It is stated that “no passover like it had been kept in Israel since the days of the prophet Samuel; none of the kings of Israel had kept such a passover as was kept by Josiah, by the priests and the Levites, by all Judah and Israel who were present, and by the inhabitants of Jerusalem”(v.18). Again, it is not clear whether the text is stating that no festival had been kept since the time of Samuel, or no festival with that magnitude of celebration (cf. 2 Kings 23:21-23).

**2 Chronicles 36:21**

*Seventh-year Fallow*

- During the exile the land made up for “its sabbaths - שבתותיה נ”.
- In this time it “kept sabbath - שבתה”. 
Ezra 3:1-6

*Feast of Tabernacles*
- The number seven is implied in that this feast was observed in the seventh month (v.1).
- This feast is “kept - יִשְׂרָאֵל” (v.4).
- Offerings and sacrifices are offered each day.
- There is reference to the “festivals of booths - בְּשָׂרוֹת” (v.4).

*New Moon and Festivals*
- There is reference to the “new moon[s] - לִמְדוֹת” (v.5).
- There is the term “all the sacred festivals of the Lord - כלְּמִזְבַּח יְהוָה” (v.5).
- Sacrifices and offerings on the new moon and festivals are offered as required (v.5).

Ezra 6:19–22

*Passover*
- The number seven is implicit in that the passover begins on the fourteenth day of the month (v.19).
- The title “passover - הָעֵמֶס” is used (v.19).
- They “kept - יִשְׂרָאֵל” the passover (v.19), and “celebrated - יִשְׂרָאֵל” the feast of unleavened bread (v.22).
- The priests and Levites purified themselves in preparation for this festival (v.20).
- The “passover lamb - הָעֵמֶס” was sacrificed and eaten (vv.20-21).
- The exclusion of foreigners may be inferred in the fact that only Israelites who had separated themselves from the pollution of the nations of the land could partake (v.21).
- The title “feast of unleavened bread - הָעֵמֶס” is used (v.22).
- The number seven is explicit in this festival in that it has a duration of seven days (v.22).
- They celebrated this festival “with joy - שָׁם עָשָׂהוּ” and the “Lord made them joyful (שָׁם עָשָׂהוּ)” (v.22).
Nehemiah 7:73-8:18

Feast of Passover

This feast is regarded as the feast of tabernacles, but its identity is not totally clear. While it occurs in the seventh month and lasts for seven days plus one, it begins on the first of the month rather than the fifteenth.

- The number seven is present in that the feast was observed in the seventh month, and it was kept for seven days (7:73; 8:18).
- The law was read to the people on all the days of the feast (8:1-8,13).
- The day is described as “holy to the Lord - שָׁם הַיּוֹם קָרָשׁוּר לְיהוָה”, therefore unsuitable for weeping (8:9-11).
- The feast is celebrated with eating and drinking (8:10,12).
- Food is provided for those that have none (8:10,12).
- The people rejoiced on this day (8:12,17).
- “Booths - סֵפָת” were created on this day (8:13-17).
- The eighth day was a solemn assembly (8:18).

Nehemiah 9:13-14

Sabbath

- There is the title “holy sabbath - שָׁם כָּרָשׁוּר”.
- The sabbath is “made known - חֲדָרֶשׁ” to Israel.

Nehemiah 10:31-33

Sabbath, Seventh-year Fallow, New Moon, Festivals

- The title “sabbath day - יום השבת” and “sabbaths - ימי קָרָשׁוּר” is used (vv.31,33).
- The term “new moons - הַחֲבָרֹת” is used (v.33).
- There is use of the term “holy day - יום קָרָשׁוּר” (v.31).
- The phrase “appointed festivals - מִסְחִירָם” is used (v.33).
- There is no commerce on the sabbath (v.31).
- There is no crop in the seventh year (v.31).
- There is remission of debt in the seventh year (v.31).
- The Israelites pay a 1/3 shekel obligation yearly to fund votive services (vv.32-33).
Nehemiah 13:15-22

_Sabbath_
- The title “sabbath - שָׁבָתָּה” (vv.15,16,18,19,21) and “sabbath day - יֵנָּמְתָּ שָׁבוּתָּה” (vv.15,17,19,22) is used.
- The harvesting and selling of crops on the sabbath is condemned.
- Such actions “profane - מָכַל לָיָּהוּ” the sabbath (v.17).
- Priests sanctify themselves before the sabbath (v.22).
- Priests are to guard against commerce “to keep … holy - לְמַעֲרַת רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁבָתָּה” the sabbath (v.22).

Psalm 81:3

_New Moon, Full Moon, Festivals_
- The term “new moon - מָסָרוֹן” is used.
- The term “full moon - בָּאָטָם” is used.
- There is the phrase “our festal day - זו יומנו נא“.
- On these days Israel is to “blow the trumpet - שׁוּחַר קִשֵּׁר ... קִשְּׁר”.

Psalm 92:1 (Title)

_Sabbath_
- The title “sabbath day - יֵנָּמְתָּ שָׁבָתָּה” is used.
- There is the dedication of a “song - שִׁיר” to the sabbath.

Psalm 118:27

_Sabbath_
- The Hebrew in this verse is unclear. While the NRSV translates it as “bind the festal procession with branches”, the ASV has “bind the sacrifice with cords”.
- The passage contains the title feast - “חָג”, interpreted in the NRSV as “festal procession”.
- The Hebrew term “כיִבְחַרְתֶּם” could be translated as a procession “with branches”.
- Temple worship is inferred with the reference “up to the horns of the altar”.
Isaiah 1:12-14

*Sabbath, New Moon and Festivals*
- The title “sabbath - בָּשַׁבַּת” is used (v.13).
- The title “new moon - נַחֲלָתָה” is used (v.13).
- There is a reference to “calling of convocations - מִקְרָא אֲדֹנָי” (v.13).
- There is a reference to “solemn assemblies - עָשֶׂרֶת” (v.13).
- There is a reference to “your appointed festivals - מִתְן רְכִם” (v.14).
- Attendance at the temple is inferred (v.12).
- Sacrifices and incense are offered (v.13).

Isaiah 4:5

*Festivals*
- There is a reference to “its assembly - מִקְרָא אֲדֹנָי”.
- That these assemblies take place at Mount Zion is inferred.

Isaiah 29:1

*Festivals*
- There is a reference to “festivals - חִסְדֵיהוּ”.

Isaiah 30:29

*Festivals*
- The singing of “songs - שֻׁפַּר” during festival nights is inferred.
- The title “festival - חִסְדֵיהוּ” is used.
- There is a reference to “when a holy festival is kept - מִקְרָא שֵׁלוֹשַׁת פַּיִּים” (lit. in the sanctifying of a festival).
- “Gladness of heart - שֵׁיווּת מִלֵּב” at pilgrimages to festivals may be inferred.

Isaiah 33:20

*Festivals*
- The phrase “our appointed festivals - מִתְן רְכִם” is used.
- Zion is the site of feasts.
Isaiah 56:1-8

Sabbath
- The title “sabbath - שבת” (v.2) and “my sabbaths - שבatisfaction” (v.4) is used.
- The passage refers to those who “keep שמר the sabbath (vv.2,4,6).
- Keeping the sabbath equates with “not profaning it מתהלה” (vv.2,6).
- There is reference to foreigners keeping the sabbath (vv.4,6).
- Spiritual and covenantal blessings result from keeping the sabbath (vv.5-8).

Isaiah 58:13-14

Sabbath
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used (v.13).
- There is the exhortation against “trampling the sabbath - חשים משבת רגלך byv!T*” (lit. “turn from the sabbath your foot”) (v.13).
- The sabbath is called “my [Yahweh’s] holy day - יום קרש” (v.13).
- The sabbath is to be called a “delight - הננה” (v.13).
- The sabbath is called “the holy of the Lord - הל дерש ידוהי” (the NRSV translates this “holy day of the Lord”) (v.13).
- The sabbath is to be called “honourable - יבב” (v.13).
- Spiritual and covenantal blessings result from keeping the sabbath (v.14) (cf. ch. 5).

Isaiah 66:23

Sabbath and New Moon
- The title “sabbath - שבת” is used.
- The title “new moon - חדש” is used.
- Worship at Zion is implied.
- The foreign nations are included in worship.

Jeremiah 17:19-27

Sabbath
- The title “sabbath day - יום Sabbath” is used (vv.21,22, 24, 27).
- Israel is exhorted to do no work and carry no burdens on the sabbath day, (as

230 Chapter five examines the presence of spiritual blessings in this passage.
these burdens are not to be carried into the gates of Jerusalem, it could be referring to commercial activity) (vv.21,22,24).

- Israel is exhorted to “hallow - לִכְרַשׁ קְרַשֵּׁה” the sabbath day (vv.22,27).
- They are to hallow the sabbath as “I commanded your ancestors - כִּמֵּשֶׁר צְרִי תַּהְיוּתִיכֶם” (v.22).
- Observance results in fulfilment of the Davidic covenant in Jerusalem (vv.25-26).
- Non-observance will result in the destruction of Jerusalem (v.27).

**Lamentations 1:4**

*Festivals*
- The term “festivals - מֶלְאִנְד” is used.
- The phrase “the roads to Zion mourn” implies that festivals occur at Zion.

**Lamentations 2:6**

*Sabbath and Festivals*
- The title “sabbath day - שֵׁבַת” is used.
- The title “festival - מָלֶאָם” is used.
- That these occur at Zion is implied.

**Lamentations 2:22**

*Festivals*
- The title “day of festival - יָום מַלְאָם” is used.
- That these days are times of gathering of people is implied.

**Ezekiel 20:12-24**

*Sabbath*
- The term “my sabbaths - שָׁבָתוֹתִים” is used (vv.12,13,16,21,24).
- The sabbath is a “sign - לַאֲוֶה” that “I the Lord sanctify them - אַני יְהֹוָה מָכֵרֹת” (vv.12,20,24).
- The sabbaths were “(greatly) profaned - (מָאָרִים) תָּלַלְנָה” (v.13,17,24).
- Profaning the sabbaths is paralleled with “their hearts went after their idols” (v.16).
- Profaning sabbaths is paralleled with not keeping “my statutes - "משפטים" and “ordinances - מ☝️לע" (v.13,21).
- Israel is to “hallow - כרפורט" the sabbath (v.20).

**Ezekiel 22:8,26; 23:38**

**Sabbath**
- The term “my sabbaths - שבתותיה" is used (vv. 22:8, 22:26).
- The sabbaths are “profaned - חללה" (v. 22:8).
- Profaning the sabbath is paralleled with “despised my holy things - כרפור יבירה".
- Israel has “disregarded my sabbaths” (lit. “hid from their eyes my sabbaths - ומושבאותיה חללה تمירם וציפורים") (v.26).

**Ezekiel 23:38**

**Sabbath**
- The term “my sabbaths - שבתותיה" is used.
- The sabbaths are “profaned - חללה".
- Profaning the sabbath is paralleled with “they have defiled my sanctuary - שממה אדמקרכו".

**Ezekiel 36:38**

**Festivals**
- The term “her appointed festivals - מושריה" is used.
- That people gathered at Jerusalem for the festival is implied.

**Ezekiel 44:24**

**Sabbath and Festivals**
- The term “all my appointed festivals - כל-מושרי" is used.
- Priests are to keep “my laws and statutes - לאהตอบיתך ואהתקת" regarding the festivals.
- The term “my sabbaths - שבתותיה" is used.
- Priests are to “keep … holy - כרפורט" the sabbath.
Ezekiel 45:13 - 46:15

Sabbath, New Moon and festivals (45:13-17)
- The term “festivals - בְּחַגִּים” is used (v.17).
- The term “new moons - בְּחַגִּי יָם” is used (v.17).
- The title “sabbaths - בְּשַׁבָּת” is used (v.17).
- Various sacrifices are characteristic of this event (v.17).

New Moon (45:18-20)
- The title “new moon - לִ🏠וּ” is used (v.18).
- On this day there is a sacrifice to “purify - יָרֵא הַמִּדְרָשׁ” the sanctuary.
- The number seven is present in that this sacrifice also occurs on the seventh day of the month.

Passover/Unleavened Bread (45:21-24)
- The title “passover - פֶסֶח” is used (v.21).
- The passover is described as a “feast – נְחָל” (v.21).
- It is characterised by the eating of “unleavened bread - מִצְאָה” for seven days (v.21).
- Israel is to “celebrate - לְכָּךְ לְךָ הָנָּה” the passover (lit. “there shall be to you”) (v.21).
- The number seven is implicitly present in the passover in that it begins on the fourteenth day of the month, (v.21), and it is explicit in that it has a duration of seven days (vv.21,23), and sacrifices on these days also include seven bulls and rams daily (v.23).
- Sacrifices are offered on each day (vv.23-24).

Tabernacles (45:25)
This festival is not named, but its identity with the feast of tabernacles may be inferred by that fact that it begins on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, and its duration is for seven days.
- The term “festival - בְּחַגִּי” is used.
- The number seven is implicit in that this festival occurs in the seventh month, and is explicit in that it has a duration of seven days, and has seven bulls and rams sacrificed on each day.
- Sacrifices are offered each day.
Sabbath and New Moon and Festivals (46:1-12)

- The titles “sabbaths - שַׁבָּתוֹת” (v.3) and “sabbath day - יוֹם נַשָׁבָת” (vv.1,4,12) are used.
- The titles “day of new moon - יָומֵי הַמַּחְרוֹת” (v.1,6) and “new moons - מַחְרֹת” (v.3) are used.
- The term “appointed festivals/seasons - יָמִית מֶלֶמקְנָה” is used (vv.9,11).
- The term “festivals - חֲגִים” is used (v.11).
- No work on the sabbath is implied in that it is contrasted with six working days (v.1).
- The number seven is implicit in the sabbath in that there are six working days and then the sabbath (v.1).
- Temple ceremonies with the people gathered take place on these days (vv.2-3,8-10,12).
- Sacrifices are offered on these days (vv.2,4-8,11-12).

Hosea 2:11

Sabbath, New Moon and Festivals

- The term “(her) festivals - מִזְמֹרֵיהֶם” is used.
- The title “(her) new moons - מַחְרֹת” is used.
- The title “(her) sabbaths - שַׁבָּתָהּ” is used.
- The term “(her) appointed festivals- מִזְמֹרֵיהֶם” is used.
- “(Her) mirth - מַחְרֹת” on these days is inferred.

Hosea 9:5-6

Festivals

- The phrase “on the day of festival - לִיָּם מִזְמֹר” is used (v.5).
- The phrase “on the day of the festival of the Lord - לִיָּם תְּמוֹרָרָה” is used (v.5).
- This day is a day of destruction (v.6).

Joel 1:14, 2:15

While included, this is probably the calling of a special fast day, rather than the occurrence of a regular festival.
Festivals
- The phrase “solemn assembly - סעודה” is used.
- Israel is to “call - מושק” a solemn assembly.
- On this day Israel is to “sanctify a fast - קורש - זומם”.

Amos 5:21-24
Festivals
- The phrase “your feasts - מִשְׁאָלְפֶה” is used (v.21).
- The phrase “your solemn assemblies - בְּשִׁמְרָתוֹנֶךָ” is used (v.21).
- Sacrifices on these feasts are inferred (v.22).
- Music and song on these days are inferred (v.23).

Amos 8:5
Sabbath and New Moon
- The title “the new moon - החדש” is used.
- The title “the sabbath - השבתה” is used.
- The absence of commerce on these days is inferred.

Amos 8:10
Festivals
- The phrase “your feasts - מִשְׁאָלְפֶה” is used.
- That joy (the opposite of mourning) and songs usually occur at festivals is inferred.
- These feasts are a day of destruction.

Nahum 1:15
Festivals
- The phrase “your feasts - מִשְׁאָלְפֶה” is used.
- Israel is told to “celebrate - מַעֲנִית” its festivals.

Zephaniah 3:17-18
Festivals
- The phrase “festival - מַעֲלֵיהי” is used (v.18).
- That festivals are a time to “exult … with loud singing - בקיעה … לברעה” is implied (v.17).

Zechariah 8:19

*Festivals*
- The phrase “festival - הלוויים” is used.
- The festivals are described as “cheerful - לוטבim”.
- The festivals are connected with “joy - לleshon”.
- The festivals are connected with “gladness - ל kaynaה”.

Zechariah 14:16-21

*Festivals*
- The title “feast of tabernacles - נוג שמחות” is used (vv.16,18,19).
- These festivals are kept by all the foreign nations (v.16).
- These festivals involves worship at Jerusalem (vv.16,17).
- Punishment in the form of drought and famine will be given to those that do not attend (vv.17-19).
- There is provision made for a great number of sacrifices at this feast (vv.20-21).

Malachi 2:3

*Festivals*
- The term “offerings - המנמים” (lit. “festivals”) is used.
- Sacrifices at these festivals is implied.
3.3 THE NUMBER SEVEN AND THE SEVENTH DAY

Secular Seven-day Festivities
Since its connection with the seventh day is such a significant part of the sabbath, other seven-day periods in the Hebrew Scriptures will now be examined. As this study has shown, the number seven and seven-day periods feature significantly in cultic festivals. Seven days may be the standard time for festivity in the surrounding cultures. Judges 14:15-18 clearly states that Samson’s wedding lasted for seven days, and that Jacob’s wedding lasted seven days is inferred in his need to complete the week with Leah before he could marry Rachel (Gen 29:27-28). Similarly, King Ahasuerus completes his royal exhibition of Susa by giving a banquet lasting seven days, and it is on the seventh day of the banquet, (likely as a climax to it), that he calls for Queen Vashti (Esth 1:5-12).

Religious and Cultic Seven-day Periods
The remaining seven-day periods in the Hebrew Scriptures that are not connected with cultic festivals, however, still occur in a cultic or religious context. Noah waits seven days before releasing doves (Gen 8:10-12), Jericho is marched around for seven days before its divinely assisted collapse (Josh 6:4-16), David’s child dies after seven days of fasting and prayer (2 Sam 12:16-19), and Elijah’s seventh prayer brings rain (1 Kgs 18:44). The remaining majority of references, however, are cultic references in Leviticus 13-14 and Numbers 6:9; 19:12,19; which present seven days either as the time for purification rituals, or for removing uncleanness.

The Significance of Seven-day Periods
An examination of these other seven-day periods can add a richness to an understanding of the sabbath. As chapter two (section 2.1.1) has demonstrated, the number seven was frequently connected with completeness, or perfection, and thus makes seven days an ideal period both for harvest festivals and for marriages. The seven-day period for weddings gives the seventh-day sabbath connotations of a weekly wedding ceremony or renewal of covenant between Israel and Yawheh. Such wedding imagery is already reflected in the prophetic image of Israel as Yahweh’s unfaithful wife, as well as the later rabbinic image of the sabbath as a bride.
The connection between the sabbath and the seven-day purification rituals has been well developed by Meier. He presents the Genesis 2:1-3 account as not merely answering the question “Why do Israelites cease activities on the sabbath?”, but also “Why are cycles of seven-day periods so special?”

He then goes on to describe the significance of this connection between the sabbath and purity:

If we can capture the vision of ancient Israelite priests, in which purification cycles were as prominent as sabbath observances, the sanctification of the seventh day in Genesis 2:3 is a tangible reality that allows both individual Israelites to be restored to the holy community and Israel as a nation to be resanctified before God when Israel observes the sabbath.

It may be said in conclusion then, that the connection of the sabbath with the seven-day purification rituals and wedding ceremonies gives to the sabbath connotations of purity, holiness, and the initiation into a new state.

Uniqueness of the Sabbath Week

At the same time, however, the references to the sabbath as the seventh day are unique in that in all other occurrences of seventh days, the context clearly indicates that these days are not perpetually recurring; though they may be repeated two or three times, as in the Leviticus 13-14 purity laws and the flood story (Gen 8). Conversely, in references to the sabbath as a seven-day period, whether it is termed the sabbath or the seventh day or both, there is nothing to indicate that these periods are not perpetually recurring.

3.4 RESULTS OF EXAMINATION

3.4.1 The term “Sabbath”

The use of the term “sabbath” itself is not unique to the sabbath, but has been applied to a number of cultic holy days in the Pentateuch. It is significant to note, however, that the application of the terms “šabbath”, “שַׁבָּת”, “שָׁבָת” and “שָׁבָע” are applied to other

---


232 Ibid., p.10.
cultic feasts only in the book of Leviticus. Similarly, the terms “שבה"מ” and “שבה"מ” are applied to the sabbath only in the book of Exodus and Leviticus.

3.4.2 No Work / Rest

The absence of work is a characteristic feature of cultic festivals, although it is confined to the last or first and last days of the longer festivals. There is a uniqueness, however, in that the more positive descriptions of the rest itself are confined exclusively to the sabbath. The terms “rested זחך” and “refreshed כים” are both unique to the sabbath.

3.4.3 The Sabbath as “Holy”

There is a particularly close connection between the sabbath and the concept of holiness, which is virtually unique among cultic festivals. The term ירא in its various forms is found in the context of the sabbath 13 times. There is specific reference both to the sabbath as holy, and to Israel to sanctify the sabbath. While this term does occur among other festivals, it is not to the same extent. While the term מקרא כים “is applied to most of the annual festivals, none of these festivals, nor the new moon, are specifically described as “holy”. Likewise, the command to “sanctify” any day but the sabbath is found only in three passages, none of which is a command to sanctify a specific cultic festival. Isaiah 30:29 speaks of “in the night when a holy festival is kept [lit. ‘sanctified’”], Joel 2:15 calls for the sanctifying of a special fast, and 1 Kings 12:32 gives account of Jeroboam sanctifying a false festival.

Similarly, it is only the sabbath that is described as being profaned חל and Nehemiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel all refer to this happening. As it is only holy things that can be profaned, this strengthens the unique connection between the sabbath and holiness.

233 Neh 13; Is 56, Ez 20; Ez 22; Ez 23.
3.4.4 Sabbath Observance

An examination of the terms applied to the nature of sabbath observance also produces interesting results. The term “rejoice שמחה”, which is commonly applied to other festivals, is never applied to the sabbath. Neither is it to be welcomed in with trumpet blasts, as are other annual festivals and the new moon. Less common terms of rejoicing found in the context of other festivals are also absent, such as to be “cheerful מפי”, “praise לרח”, “give thanks הוד”, “to have joy וסחל” and to “dance לとにかく”. In this way the sabbath is similar to the day of atonement, although it differs from this day in that there is no reference to fastingidable “תנור”. Thus, while the sabbath may be regarded as more reverent or solemn than other cultic festivals, possibly due to its close connection with holiness, there is no indication that this is to be a day of repentance or spiritual affliction. In support of the fact that this was a day of more solemn joy and celebration is the dedication of a song to the sabbath (Ps 92), and the inference that singing occurred on this day.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

3.5.1 The Uniqueness of the Sabbath

From this examination of cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures it is possible to draw the following conclusions. The sabbath shares with other cultic festivals the following attributes:

- the description as a holy convocation מַקְרָא כָּרוּשׁ
- the command to keep שָׁמַר / שָׁמַר
- the proscription against work
- specific sacrifices for the day
- the number seven
- its observance by all elements of society including the foreigner, and facilitation of their inclusion by the provision of food or rest
- appearance before Yahweh at Zion
- a memorial of the exodus.
The sabbath contains the following unique attributes:

- the more positive concepts of “rest”
- the command to sanctify it and the description of it as holy and profaned
- the description as “blessed”
- the description as “a sign אֲרֵמָה” between God and Israel
- a memorial of creation.

The term “remember / remembrance זכר / זכרון” is also unique only to the sabbath and the passover. Chapter seven shall focus on these unique themes when it examines why the sabbath is such a fitting symbol of the eschatological age.

### 3.5.2 Delineating Sabbath Passages

The criteria for including a passage in an examination of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures can now be formulated as the inclusion of one of the two following characteristics:

- The occurrence of any seven-day period in which there is found the specific mention of six days of work followed by a seventh day of rest.
- The occurrence of term “שבת” in a passage which is not in the context of a description of another cultic festival.

As the sabbath is unique in its designation as a memorial of creation, the Genesis 2:1-3 account - on which this memorial is based - will also be included; even though no mention of human work or rest is found in this passage.

When using the second criteria, there are passages that are so meagre in their description of the sabbath that it is difficult to discern whether these are, in fact, references to the seventh-day sabbath or to other cultic festivals (cf. esp. Lev 19:3,31). By the same token, however, this lack of description also means that the later exclusion of these passages would have little effect on the findings made as to the nature and observance of the sabbath while they were included.
The close connection between the seventh day, and the seventh-year fallow is acknowledged. Both are termed sabbaths, and both are recurring cycles of seven. As the seventh-year sabbath is specifically presented as a “sabbath of complete rest for the land” (Lev 25:24:4), however, it will be examined separately to the seventh-day sabbath, along with its contribution to the concept of “sabbath”. The jubilee is also included in this examination of seventh-day fallows. Although it is not described as a sabbath, it has these seven years cycles at its base, and is referred to as “it should be holy to you”; a term that is otherwise attributed only to the sabbath among cultic festivals.

Using these criteria to identify sabbath passages, chapter four will now examine in further detail these passages.
APPENDIX: FINDINGS IN TABLE FORM

In the interests of economising space, the following abbreviations are used in the following tables:

FF = False Festivals (or festivals not devoted to Yahweh)
GF = General Festivals
Sb = Sabbath
NM = New Moon
Ps = Passover Festival
UB = Festival of Unleavend Bread
Fi = Firstfruits Festivals
Ws = Festival of Weeks
Tr = Festival of Trumpets
At = Day of Atonement
Tb = Festival of Tabernacles
SY = Seventh Year
Jb = Jubilee
Imp = Implicit / Implied
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table One: Findings of each Passage</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genesis 2:1-3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“no work”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God “rested - שָׂבַע”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“blessed - בָּרָא”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hallowed - קָדָשׁ”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exodus 12:1 – 13:16</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover - פֶּסַח”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observe “unleavend bread - מַעַלָּא”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ordinance - הָינָקָה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“remember / remembrance - זכָר / זֶכֶר”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a “sign - לָאָה” on your hand</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival (to the Lord) - לְיָדַה (לֵיָדֵהוּ)”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ordinance - הָינָקָה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover sacrifice - פֶּסַח מָזַח&quot; offered</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observance - יַעֲבֹד לֵי (יַעֲבֹד לֵי)”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night of “vigil - שָׁמְר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rite/thing - לוּר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“celebrate / observe - לָנָב”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“celebrate - לָנָב”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - לָנָב”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reminder of the exodus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Sb</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Ps</td>
<td>UB</td>
<td>Fi</td>
<td>Ws</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>At</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>SY</td>
<td>Ju</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observance by foreigners</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unleavened bread consumed</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaven removed from house</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-observance, cut off from Israel</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly - מְכִירַה כֹּהֶן”</td>
<td>1st &amp; 7th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td>1st &amp; 7th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exodus 16:22-30**

preparation | Yes |
| “day of solemn rest - שָׁבָת עָצְמֵהוּ” | Yes |
| “holy sabbath - שָׁבָת כֹּהֶן” | Yes |
| remain indoors | Yes |
| “sabbath- שָׁבָת” | Yes |

**Exodus 20:8-11**

“remember - זָכָר” | Yes |
| humans “hallow - כֹּרֶשׁ” | Yes |
| “sabbath to the Lord your God שָׁבָת לְיהוָה אֲלֹהֵינוּ” | Yes |

---

234 Circumcised foreigners only.
235 Abstention from unleavened bread required.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number seven explicit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memorial of creation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God “rested - נוח”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“blessed - ברכ”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God “hallowed - קדש”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exodus 21:2-11</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>release of slaves</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exodus 23:10-17</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fallow</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provision poor / animals</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human “rest - שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animals “refreshed - נ萜”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humans “refreshed - נ萜”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival of unleavened bread - קמחת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unleavened bread</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memorial of the exodus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerings required</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the festival of harvest, of the first fruits of your labor - מצותך בצורך מייסך”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the festival of ingathering - קאס hmacas”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - שמח”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hold a festival – תשובה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males appear before Lord</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 31:12-18</td>
<td>FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - שָׁמַר”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שַׂבָּת”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my sabbaths – שַׂבָּתֵיהּ”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a sign - זָרַע” between God and Israel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symbol that God “sanctifies - קָדֹשׁ” Israel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“holy - קָדֹשׁ”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death penalty for profaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exile for working</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath of solemn rest - שַׂבָּת שֶׁמֶנֶיהּ”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - שָׁמַר”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observe “throughout their generations - לַיְדוֹת których”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“perpetual covenant - בְּרֵיָה עֹלָם”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God “rested - שָׁבָה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God was “refreshed -وضָשׁ”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 32:5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival to the Lord – הָעָסָר לַיְיָהוָא”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 34:18-24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the festival of unleavened bread - הָעָסָר הַמַּעֲצָה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - שָׁמַר”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating of unleavened bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“command – פָרֹה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number seven</td>
<td>Exodus 35:2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memorial of the exodus</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human “rest - שָׁבָת”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rest “even in plowing time and in harvest time - בֵּסֵמֶר שָׁבָת”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“observe - שָׁבָת”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the feast of weeks, the firstfruits of wheat harvest - יִתְנָה שְׁבִעָה … לְךָ בְּכוֹרָה קֶצֶר הָעִשָּׁה”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the feast of ingathering at the turn of the year - יִתְנָה תַּאָסִיר חָפָן השָׁבָת”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all males observe</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appear before the Lord - יִרְאוּ אֶל לֹאֵי, אֶת אֲפֵר הָאֲרוֹן, מִנְחָה”</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices and offerings</td>
<td>Imp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exodus 35:2-3**

| Number seven | Yes |
| “holy - קָרָש” | Yes |
| “sabbath of solemn rest - שָׁבָת שֵׁבֶט” | Yes |
| death penalty for working | Yes |
| “sabbath day - יִבִּיאוּ לְשָׁבָת” | Yes |
| no fires lit | Yes |

**Leviticus 16**

<p>| Sacrifice | Yes |
| “statute - תַּקּות” | Yes |
| Number seven | Yes |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Leviticus 19:3,30**

| “observe - שומ�” | yes |
| “my sabbaths - שבתות” | yes |

**Leviticus 23-25**

| “appointed festivals - מועדים” | yes |
| “holy convocation מקריא קרש” | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| “proclaim - קרא” | yes |
| “appointed time - מועד” | yes |
| “statute - דקוק” | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| “sabbath - שבת” | yes |
| “sabbath of complete rest - שבת שבתות” | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| “day of complete rest - שבת שבתות” | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| “sabbath to the Lord - ליל השבת ליהוה” | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| “passover offering to the Lord - פסח ליהוה” | yes |
| “festival of unleavened bread - פוגת קמח” | yes |
| firstfruits offered | yes | yes |
| number seven | yes | Imp | yes | Imp | yes | Imp | Imp | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Leviticus 26:2 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| “observe - שומרי" | Yes | | | | | |
| “my sabbaths - שבתים" | Yes | | | | | |

Leviticus 26:34-45
missed fallows made up during exile
Yes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers 9:1</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“passover – פסח”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the Lord’s offering - קרבן יתנוה”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“keep -ヌハル”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed time - מועד”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keep according to “statutes - מוסקף”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keep according to “commandments - מושקף”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be kept following month if necessary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-observance results in cutting off from people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observance by foreigner allowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unleavened bread</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers 10:9-10</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“beginning of your months - מראתיך תורשיכם”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(your) days of rejoicing - יומם שמחתיכם”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed festivals - מועד”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumpets blown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices offered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers 15:1-10</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“appointed festivals - מועד”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices offered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

236 According to statutes.
### Numbers 15:32-36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death penalty for gathering sticks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numbers 28-29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“beginning of your months - קר Athe כותיכם”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>additional sacrifices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover sacrifice to the Lord - פסח ליהוה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival - חג”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unleavened bread eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“holy convocation - המקריא קדש”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feast of “weeks - שׁביכת” , and “firstfruits - בכורות”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumpets blown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“deny / fast - נוגע”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“celebrate - חג”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival to the Lord - חג ליהוה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed time - מועד”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numbers 33:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“passover - פסח”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Deuteronomy 5:12-15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;observe - שָׁבָת&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sabbath - שָׁבָת&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hallow - קְרָסָה&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“remember – זכְרָנֵךְ” the exodus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“commanded – צְרַקְרַק … to keep - יִשַּׁהַה”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Deuteronomy 15:1-18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remission of debt</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>release of slaves</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Deuteronomy 16:1-17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;observe - שָׁבָת&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;keep - יִשַּׁהַה&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover to the Lord your God - Pesah לְיִהוֹאו&quot;”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat unleavened bread</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>day</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly - יִסְתָּנַף&quot;”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td>day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifice / offering</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remembrance of the exodus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

152
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“festival of weeks - שבועות&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rejoice - שלמות”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive of foreigners</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival of booths - תשבחות&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“altogether joyful - שלמות&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males appear before Lord three times</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy 31: 10-13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all Israel appear before Lord</td>
<td>Yes, 7th year</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law read</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th year</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua 5:10-12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover – סעודה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td>Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unleavened bread eaten</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cessation of manna</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges 21:19-21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearly “festival to the Lord - חנוכות&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women “dance - כלות&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Samuel 20:5-34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>title “new moon - חנוכה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two days of festival meal</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings 8:2-66; 2 Chronicles 5:1-7:11</td>
<td>FF</td>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Sb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly - יָסָמַר”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple consecrated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices offered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings 12:32-33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth month</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king offers incense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 4:18-25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“new moon - תּוֹמֶשֶׁת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>customary to visit holy man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 10:20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify – כַּפֵּר” festival</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly - יָסָמַר”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“proclaimed - כַּפֵּר”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kgs 11:4-16 / 2 Chronicles 23:1-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changing of guard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king crowned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people gathered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse</td>
<td>description</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 16:18</td>
<td>“sabbath – שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>covered portal used</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 23:21-23</td>
<td>“passover - פסח”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“keep- נשא”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keep as “prescribed in the book of the covenant”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles 9:32</td>
<td>“sabbath – שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shewbread</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles 23:31</td>
<td>“sabbath – שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“new moon -avityат”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“appointed festivals - מועדים”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 2:4</td>
<td>“sabbath – שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“new moon -avityат”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“appointed festivals - מועדים”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>incense offered</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shewbread presented</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Verse</td>
<td>FF</td>
<td>GF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 8:13</td>
<td>“sabbath – שָׁבָת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“new moon - חוֹדֶשׁ”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“appointed festivals - מֵיתָר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“festival of unleavened bread - יוֹצֵר מַצָּה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“festival of weeks - יוֹצֵר שַׁבָּרוֹת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“festival of booths - יוֹצֵר הַחֲבֵרוֹת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 30:1-27</td>
<td>“passover - מִסְפָּר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“festival of unleavened bread - יוֹצֵר מַצָּה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“keep - יָשָׁה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>removal of idols</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“passover - מִסְפָּר” sacrificed</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sacrifices and offerings</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanctifying self a prerequisite</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number seven</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“praise - שְׁלוֹם”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“thanks - שַׁמָּה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“gladness- / rejoiced- שָׁמָּה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“blessing - בָּרָא” at conclusion</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>foreigner included</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 31:3</td>
<td>“sabbath - שָׁבָת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“new moon - חוֹדֶשׁ”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed festivals - מולים”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sacrifices”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2 Chronicles 35:1-18 |
| “passover - פסח” | Yes |
| “festival of unleavened bread - חנינא תמאה” | Yes |
| “keep - קינא” | Yes | Yes |
| number seven | Imp | Yes |
| preparations according to writings | Yes |
| priests sanctify self | Yes |
| “passover - פסח” sacrificed | Yes |
| sacrifices | Yes |

| 2 Chronicles 36:21 |
| “sabbaths - שלב” | Yes |
| “keep sabbaths - שלב” | Yes |

<p>| Ezra 3:1-6 |
| number seven | Yes |
| “keep - קינא” | Yes |
| “new moon - Moderate” | Yes |
| sacrifices | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| “all the sacred festivals of the Lord - לכל מעניא יתוה” | Yes |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Ju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ezra 6:19-22</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover - פסח”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“feast of unleavened bread - מצות”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“keep - נשיאו”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The priest and Levites purified themselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“passover lamb - פסח” was sacrificed and eaten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreigners excluded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“with joy - שמחה / joyful - שמחה”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nehemiah 7:73-8:18</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law read daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsuitable for weeping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating and drinking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provision of food for needy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rejoice - שלמה / שמחה”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“booths - סכוה” created</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly - עצרת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nehemiah 9:14</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“holy sabbath - קדוש שבת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to know - ידיע”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah 10:31-33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sabbath - שַׁבָּת&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;holy day - יוֹם כּוֹרֶשׁ&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;new moon - תּוֹרֶשׁ&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;appointed festivals - מָסָּטָרֹת&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no commerce</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fallow</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remission of debt</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3 shekel obligation funds</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nehemiah 13:15-22</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sabbath - שַׁבָּת&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sabbath day - יוֹם שַׁבָּת&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harvesting and selling crops condemned</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;profane - כָּפָל&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priest sanctify themselves before keeping</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to keep … holy - לַכְפֹּר&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psalm 81:3</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;new moon - חָרָשׁ&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;full moon - כּוֹמָּה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;our festal day - יוֹם חָרָשׁ&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;blow (קַשְׁת) the trumpet (שֹׁפֵר)&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psalm 92 Title</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>title &quot;sabbath day – יוֹם שַׁבָּת&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedication of a “song - שִׁיר&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psalm 118:27</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>title “feast – กִּרְנַת”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procession “with branches”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple worship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isaiah 1:12-14</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“new moon - הָרֶשֶׁה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - מַחְסַבָּן”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“calling of convocations - מַקְרָא מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assemblies - מַקְרָא מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed festivals - מַקְרָא מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attendance at temple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices and incense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isaiah 4:5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“assembly – מֵקָרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occurs at mount Zion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isaiah 29:1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival – מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isaiah 30:29</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“songs - שְׁרוֹר”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festival - מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify - מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“gladness - שְׁלֹחַנָּה”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 33:20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“appointed festivals - מִלְחַת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion site of festivals</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isaiah 56:1-8</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my sabbaths - שבתות”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“keep - שמָר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“not profane - טַלְלָי”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreigners keep</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observance brings spiritual and covenantal blessings</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isaiah 58:13-14</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not trample</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my [Yahweh’s] holy day - יומֵי קָרָשׁ”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the holy of the Lord - לֵוָיָם יְהוָה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“delight - נְפִלָּי”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“honourable - כָּבוֹד”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spiritual and covenantal blessings result</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isaiah 66:23</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“new moon – חודש”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - שבת”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worship at Zion</td>
<td>Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign nations included</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 17:19-27</td>
<td>FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>title “sabbath day - يְומָھַשְׁבִּיתָה”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no work</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify - קָהֹר”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“commanded (נְצַנֶה)… to sanctify”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observance results fulfilment of Davidic covenant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-observance results in destruction of Jerusalem</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lamentations 1:4 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “festivals - מַנְעֹר” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| worship at Zion | Imp |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

| Lamentations 2:6 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “sabbath day - שַׂבָּתוֹ” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “festival - מַנְעֹר” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| occurs at Zion | Yes | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

| Lamentations 2:22 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “day of festival - יָיְמוֹ מַנְעֹר” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| gathering of people | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

<p>| Ezekiel 20:12-24 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “my sabbaths - שַׁבָּתוֹתْךָ” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “sign - עְלֹה” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition and Reference</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sign Yahweh “sanctifies”</td>
<td>קדש</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“profane”</td>
<td>מחלל</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = idolatry</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = not keeping “my statutes” and “ordinances”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hallow”</td>
<td>קדש</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 22:6,26; 23:38</td>
<td>“my sabbaths” - שבתות</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = “despised my holy things”</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disregarded (turned their eyes from)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 23:38</td>
<td>“my sabbaths” - שבתות</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = defile Sanctuary</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 36:38</td>
<td>“appointed festivals” - מלווה</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gathering at Jerusalem</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 44:24</td>
<td>“festivals” - מלווה</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keep according to “laws”</td>
<td>וחקים</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my sabbaths”</td>
<td>קדש</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Sb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify - כָּרָא”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ezekiel 45:13-46:12**

| “festival - חֱצָר” | Yes | Yes | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “new moon - תְּבֵית” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “day of new moon - בֵּית הַתְּבֵית” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “sabbath - שָׁבָט” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “sabbath day - יּוֹם שַׁבָּט” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| sacrifices | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| sanctuary “purified - נַפְנַפְּשׁ” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| number seven | Imp | Yes | Imp | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “passover - פָּסָח” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “celebrate - נִחַמְּרַת לַפָּסָח” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “festivals - מָלַיִם” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

unleavened bread eaten | Yes | Yes |

temple ceremonies / people gather | Yes | Yes | Yes |

**Hosea 2:11**

| “feast - מָלַיִם” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “sabbath – שָׁבָט” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “new moon - תְּבֵית” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “festival – מָלַיִם” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “mirth - מְשָׁפָן” | Yes | Yes | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

**Hosea 9:5-6**

<p>| “day of festival - אֵד מִלָּיִם” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| “day of the festival of the Lord - אֵד חַג הַנַּחֲלָה” | Yes |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Joel 1:14, 2:15</th>
<th>Amos 5:21-23</th>
<th>Amos 8:5</th>
<th>Amos 8:10</th>
<th>Nahum 1:15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day of destruction</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;solemn assembly - שְׁפַרְיָה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;call - אֵרֶץ&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sanctify (שָׁרָא) fast (צָאֵם)&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;festivals - שְׁתִי&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;solemn assembly - שְׁפַרְיָה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;music and song - שַׁר&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;new moon- שֶׁשֶׁנָה&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sabbath - שָׁבַת&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no commerce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;feast - בֶּן&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>songs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day of destruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;feast - בֶּן&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“celebrate - פּוּנֶה&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FF</td>
<td>GF</td>
<td>Sb</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zephaniah 3:17-18</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festivals - מַזֶּרֶךְ”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“exult … with loud singing - יָנַע … בַּרְצֹה”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zechariah 8:19</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“festivals - מַזֶּרֶךְ”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“cheerful - שָׂם”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“joy - שָׂיָדוֹ”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“gladness - שְׁלֵמָהּ”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zechariah 14:16-21</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“feast if tabernacles - מִן הָעֵמֶנֶת”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign nations keep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worship at Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punishment for not attending</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malachi 2:3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“feast - חֲנַנָּל”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Combined Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath - [שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my [Yahweh’s] sabbaths - [שַׁבָּתוֹת]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2240</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath day - [יום שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“holy sabbath - [כָּרָם שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath to the Lord - [לְיַהוָה שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn rest - [יָרֵד שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sabbath of solemn rest - [שֶׁבַח שַׁבָּתוֹ]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2245</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“new moon - [שָׁמִית]”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2251</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

237 Ex 31; Num 15; Dt 5; 1 Ch 9; 1 Chr 23; 2 Chr 2; 2 Chr 8; Is 56; Ez 45-6; 2 Kgs 4; 2 Kgs 11 / 2 Chr 23; 2 Kgs 16; 2 Chr 31; Neh 13; Is 1; Is 66; Lam 2; Hos 2; Amos 8.
238 Lev 23.
239 2 Chr 35.
240 Ex 31; Lev 19; Lev 26; Is 56; Ez 20; Ez 22; Ez 23; Ez 44.
241 Ex 35; Ez 46; Neh 13; Ps 92.
242 Ex 16; Ex 35.
243 Lev 23; Ex 20.
244 Lev 25.
245 Ex 16.
246 Lev 23.
247 Lev 23.
248 Ex 31; Ex 35; Lev 23.
249 Lev 23.
250 Lev 25.
251 2 Sam 20; 2 Kgs 4; 1 Chr 23; 2 Chr 4; 2 Chr 8; 2 Chr 31; Ezra 3; Neh 10; Ps 81; Is 1; Is 66; Ez 45-6; Hos 2; Amos 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>252 Ez 46.</td>
<td>253 Num 10; Num 28.</td>
<td>254 Ps 81.</td>
<td>255 Ex 12-13; Num 9; Num 33; Js 5; 2 Kgs 23; 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezr 6; Ez 45.</td>
<td>256 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezr 6.</td>
<td>257 Ex 12-13; Dt 16.</td>
<td>258 Lev 23; Num 28; Dt 16.</td>
<td>259 Num 9.</td>
<td>260 Ex 23; Ex 34; Lev 23; 2 Chr 8; 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezr 6.</td>
<td>261 Ex 23.</td>
<td>262 Ex 34; Num 28.</td>
<td>263 Dt 16; 2 Ch 8.</td>
<td>264 Ex 34.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“day of new moon - יום החדש”
“beginning of your months - ראש החודשים”
“full moon - יום ערב”
“passover - פסח”
“passover sacrifice - קרבן פסח”
“passover offering to the Lord - המולık ליהוה”
“Lord’s offering - קרבן יוהוה”
“the festival of harvest, of the first fruits of your labor - תַּנִּס הַכְּרֵשׁ בָּגוֹדֲוָה מַעַשְׂךָ”
“feast of ‘weeks – שְׁבַעְתֵּנָה’ and ‘firstfruits – בַּעֲרֹת’”
“the feast of ingathering at the turn of the year – תִּהְלַקְדָּמִים בָּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁנָה”
| “the festival of ingathering - יְהֹם קַבֹּֽעַ | 1265 |
| “festival of booths - יְהֹם הָעָסְכֹּו | 4266 |
| “jubilee - יְכֹל | 1267 |
| “feast – מִלְּפָּד | 9268 |
| “our festal day - יְמָוֹת מִלְּפָד | 1269 |
| “festival - (to the Lord) - יְמָוֹת לְלִבְּבֶּֽד | 1270 1271 1272 1273 2274 |
| “day of the festival of the Lord - יִמְנַחְלֵי לִבְּבֶּד | 1275 |
| “observance / solemn assembly - מִהלָחְנָה | 1276 |
| “festivals / time - מַמְרוֹד | 1277 |
| title “day of festival - יָומֵי מָלֻּא | 2280 |
| “solemn assembly - מִהלָחְנָה | 4281 1282 2283 |

---

265 Ex 23.
266 Lev 23; Dt 16; 2 Chr 8; Zech 14.
267 Lev 25.
268 Ps 118; Is 29; Is 30; Ez 45-6; Hs 2; Amos 5; Amos 8; Nah 1; Mal 2.
269 Ps 81.
270 Ex 32.
271 Jud 21.
272 Ex 12-13
273 Ex 12-13.
274 Lev 23; Num 29.
275 Hos 9.
276 Ex 12-13.
277 Lev 23.
278 Lev 23; Num 29; 1 Chr 23; 2 Chr 2; 2 Chr 8; Is 1; Is 33; Lam 1; Lam 2; Ez 44; Ez 46; Hos 2; Zaph 3; Zech 8; Num 10; Num 15; 2 Chr 31; Ezr 3; Ez 36.
279 Num 9.
280 Lam 2; Hos 9.
281 Is 1; Jl 1 & 2; 2 Kgs 4.
282 Dt 16.
283 1 Kgs 8 / 2 Chr 5-7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>night of “vigil’ – שמחה’’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1284</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this “rite/thing – לוות”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“solemn assembly / holy convocation – כְּדַקָה’’ מַקְרָא</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>2287</td>
<td>1288</td>
<td></td>
<td>3289</td>
<td>2290</td>
<td>2291</td>
<td>2292</td>
<td>2293</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“assembly – מַקְרָא”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a sign (נָתי) on your hand”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1295</td>
<td>1296</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“a sign - נָתי” between God and Israel</td>
<td>2297</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ordinance, statute - נָתיוֹ”</td>
<td>2298</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“fast - לָוָי”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1304</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observe “unleavened bread - בְּמַצָה’’”</td>
<td>1305</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

284 Ex 12-13.
286 2 Kgs 10.
287 Lev 23; Is 1.
288 Lev 23.
289 Ex 12-13; Lev 23; Num 28.
290 Lev 23; Num 28.
291 Lev 23; Num 29.
292 Lev 23; Num 29.
293 Lev 23; Num 29.
294 Is 4:5.
295 Ex 12-13.
296 Ex 12-13.
297 Ex 31; Ez 20.
298 Ex 12-13.
299 Ex 12-13.
300 Lev 23.
301 Lev 23.
302 Lev 16; Lev 23.
303 Lev 23.
304 Joel 1,2.
305 Ex 12-13.
| “remember / remembrance - כָּרָה / זֶרֶם” | 1306 | 1307 |   |   |   |   |
| “celebrate / observe, hold a festival - נְצָר” | 2308 | 1309 |   |   | 2310 |   |
| “celebrate, observe, keep - נְצָר” | 1311 | 1312 | 7313 | 3314 |   | 1315 |
| “observe - נָעָר” | 1316 | 5317 | 2318 | 2319 | 1320 | 1321 |
| “celebrate - לֶחֶמַּה” |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| “call, make proclamation - קָרֵא” | 1322 |   |   |   |   |   |

---

306 Ex 20.
307 Ex 12-13.
308 Ex 23; Na 1.
309 Ex 12-13.
310 Lev 23; Num 29.
311 Ex 34.
312 Ex 31.
313 Ex 12-13; Num 9; Dt 16; 2 Kgs 23; 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezra 6.
314 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezra 6.
315 Ezra 3.
316 Ex 23.
317 Ex 31; Lev 19; Lev 26; Dt 5; Is 56.
318 Ex 12-13; Dt 16.
319 Ex 12-13; Ex 34.
320 Ex 34.
321 Ex 34.
322 Ez 45.
323 2 Kgs 10.
324 Lev 23; Jl 1,2.
325 Lev 23.
<p>| proclamation “liberty - דָּרֶךְ” | 326 Lev 25. |
| keep as “prescribed in the book of the covenant” | 327 2 Kgs 23. |
| keep according to “statutes - נְפָשׁ” | 328 Num 9. |
| keep according to “commandments - מִשְׁפַּט” | 329 Num 9. |
| “commanded - צֶרֶךְ” to keep | 330 Dt 5; Jer 17. |
| preparations according to writings | 331 Ex 34. |
| God “rested - שָׁבָה” | 332 2 Chr 35. |
| land “rested - שָׁבָה” | 333 Gen 3; Ex 31. |
| human “rest - שָׁבָה” | 334 Lev 25. |
| God “rested - לֹא” | 335 Ex 16; Ex 23; Ex 34. |
| animals “rest - לֹא” | 336 Ex 20. |
| “keep sabbaths - שָׁבָה” | 337 Ex 23. |
| “profane - מְלָל” | 338 2 Chr 36. |
| God “refreshed - גָּם” | 339 Neh 13; Is 56; Ez 20; Ez 22; Ez 23. |
|  | 340 Ex 31. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>humans “refreshed - נוח”</td>
<td>1^341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“blessed - ברך”</td>
<td>2^342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God “hallow - קדש”</td>
<td>2^343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify - קדש” “a fast”</td>
<td>1^344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“sanctify/proclaim - קדש”</td>
<td>1^345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symbol that God “sanctifies - קדש” Israel</td>
<td>2^349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“holy - קדיש”</td>
<td>1^350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the holy of the Lord - קדיש יוהו”</td>
<td>1^351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“my [Yahweh’s] holy day - יום קדש יוהו”</td>
<td>1^352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“atonement - כפור / קפר”</td>
<td>2^353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“cleanse - קפואר”</td>
<td>1^354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctuary “purified - ניקך”</td>
<td>1^355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^341 Ex 23.
^342 Gn 3; Ex 20.
^343 Gen 3; Ex 20.
^344 Joel 1,2.
^345 1 Kgs 10.
^346 Is 30.
^347 Ex 20; Dt 5; Neh 13; Jer 17; Ez 20; Ez 44.
^348 Lev 25.
^349 Ex 20; Ex 31.
^350 Ex 31.
^351 Is 58.
^352 Is 58.
^353 Lev 16; Lev 23.
^354 Levi 16.
^355 Ez 45.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“cheerful - שׂם”</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Praise – בָּרוּךְ”</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“thanks – יָבֹא”</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rejoice - שָׁמַעְתָּ”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(your) days of rejoicing - בְּכֵי ה שָׁמַעְתָּם”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“mirth - גַּעְתָּנוּ” stopped</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>366</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“joy- שָׁמַעְתָּ”</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“blessing - בַּקָּרָה” at conclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“deny / fast - מָצַח”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

356 Zech 8.
357 2 Chr 30.
358 2 Chr 30.
359 Is 30; Zh 8.
360 2 Chr 30; Ezra 6.
361 Dt 16.
362 Dt 16.
363 Nu 10.
364 Hos 2.
365 Hos 2.
366 Hos 2.
367 Amos 8.
368 Zech 8.
369 2 Chr 30.
370 Lev 16; Lev 23; Num 29.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>7(^{3/1})</th>
<th>3(^{3/2})</th>
<th>2(^{3/3})</th>
<th>2(^{3/4})</th>
<th>3(^{3/5})</th>
<th>2(^{3/6})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“no work”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no commerce</td>
<td>2(^{3/7})</td>
<td>1(^{3/8})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumpet blasts</td>
<td>2(^{3/9})</td>
<td>1(^{3/80})</td>
<td></td>
<td>2(^{381})</td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{382})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{383})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain indoors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{384})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifice / offerings</td>
<td>1(^{385})</td>
<td>14(^{386})</td>
<td>2(^{387})</td>
<td>4(^{388})</td>
<td>3(^{389})</td>
<td>4(^{390})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

371 Gne 3; Ex 16; Ex 20; Ex 31; Lev 23; Dt 5; Jer 17.
372 Ex 12-13; Num 28; Dt 16.
373 Lev 23; Num 28.
374 Lev 23; Num 29.
375 Lev 16; Lev 23; Num 29.
376 Lev 23; Num 29.
377 Amos 8; Neh 13.
378 Amos 8.
379 Num 10; Ps 81.
380 Num 10.
381 Lev 23; Num 29.
382 Lev 25.
383 Ex 16.
384 Ex 16.
385 1 Kg 12.
386 Ex 34; Lev 23; Num 10; Num 10; Num 28; Dt 16; 1 Chr 23; 2 Chr 2; 2 Chr 8; 2 Chr 31; Ezr 3; Is 1; Ez 45-6; Mal 2.
387 Num 28; Ez 45-6.
388 Num 10; Num 28; Ezr 3; Ez 45-6.
389 Lev 23; 2 Chr 35; Ez 45.
390 Ex 23; Lev 23; Num 28; Ez 45.
391 Lev 23.
392 Lev 23; Num 28; Dt 16.
393 Lev 23; Num 29.
394 Lev 16; Lev 23; Num 29.
395 Lev 23; Num 29; 1Kgs 8 / 2 Chr 5-7; Ezra 3; Ez 45; Zh 14.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incense offered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firstfruits offered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unleavened bread consumed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women “dance - הָדוֹן”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaven removed from house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorial of creation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reminder of the exodus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number seven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

396 1 Kgs 12.
397 2 Chr 2; Is 1.
398 Lev 23.
399 Lev 23.
400 Ex 12-13; Num 9; Jos 5; Ez 45.
401 Ex 12-13; Ex 23; Ex 34; Num 28; Dt 16; Ez 45.
402 Jud 21.
403 Ex 12-13.
404 Ex 20.
405 Ex 12-13; Dt 16.
406 Ex 12-13; Ex 23; Ex 34; Dt 16.
407 Gen 2; Ex 20; Ex 21; Ex 23; Ex 31; Ex 34; Ex 35; Lev 23; Dt 5; Ez 45-6.
408 Ez 45.
409 Ex 12-13; Lev 23; Num 7; Num 28; Jos. 5; 2 Chr 35; Ezra 6; Ez 45.
410 Ex 12-13; Ex 23; Ex 34; Lev 23; Num 28; Dt 16; 2 Chr 30; 2 Chr 35; Ezra 6; Ez 45.
411 Lev 23; Dt 16.
412 Lev 23; Num 29.
413 Lev 16; Lev 23; Num 29.
414 Lev 23; Num 29; Dt 16; 1 Kgs 8 / 2 Chr 5-7; Ezr 3 Ez 45.
415 Ex 23; Lev 25; Dt 15.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observance by foreigners</th>
<th>1(^{416})</th>
<th>2(^{417})</th>
<th>2(^{418})</th>
<th>1(^{419})</th>
<th>2(^{420})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign nations observe</td>
<td>1(^{421})</td>
<td>422</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{423})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners excluded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{424})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Release of slaves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2(^{425})</td>
<td>1(^{426})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remission of debt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{427})</td>
<td>1(^{428})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2(^{429})</td>
<td>1(^{430})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision poor / animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{431})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males appear before lord</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2(^{432})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Israel appear before Lord</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{433})</td>
<td>1(^{434})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law read</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{435})</td>
<td>1(^{436})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death penalty for profaning or working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2(^{437})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{416}\) Is 56.
\(^{417}\) Ex 12-13; Num 9.
\(^{418}\) Ex 12-13; 2 Chr 30.
\(^{419}\) Dt 16.
\(^{420}\) Lev 16; Dt 16.
\(^{421}\) Is 66.
\(^{422}\) Is 66.
\(^{423}\) Zh 14.
\(^{424}\) Ezra 6.
\(^{425}\) Ex 21; Dt 15.
\(^{426}\) Lev 25.
\(^{427}\) Dt 15.
\(^{428}\) Lev 25.
\(^{429}\) Ex 23; Lev 25.
\(^{430}\) Lev 25.
\(^{431}\) Ex 23.
\(^{432}\) Ex 23; Ex 34; Dt 16.
\(^{433}\) Dt 16 (seventh year only).
\(^{434}\) Dt 16.
\(^{435}\) Dt 16 (seventh year only).
\(^{436}\) Dt 16.
\(^{437}\) Ex 31; Ex 35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>Sb</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>Ps</th>
<th>UB</th>
<th>Fi</th>
<th>Ws</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>At</th>
<th>Tb</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>Jb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>death penalty for gathering sticks</td>
<td>1438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exile for working</td>
<td>1439</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-observance, cut off from Israel</td>
<td>1440</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“throughout their generations - בְּשָׁנָיוֹn”</td>
<td>1441</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“perpetual covenant - בְּרֵיהֶם עֹלֶם”</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no fires lit</td>
<td>1443</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marks end of harvest</td>
<td>1444</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live in booths to commemorate the exodus</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shewbread renewed</td>
<td>1446</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning of jubilee</td>
<td>1447</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>return of land</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missed fallows made up during exile.</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be kept following month if necessary</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cessation of Manna</td>
<td>1451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two days of festival meal</td>
<td>1452</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

438 Num 15.
439 Ex 31.
440 Ex 12-13; Num 9.
441 Ex 31.
442 Ex 31.
443 Ex 34.
444 Lev 23.
445 Lev 23.
446 Lev 24; 1 Chr 9; 2 Chr 2.
447 Lev 25.
448 Lev 25.
449 Lev 26.
450 Num 9.
451 Jos 5.
452 1 Sam 20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temple consecrated</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth Month</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>customary to visit holy man</td>
<td>455, 456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changing of Guard</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king crowned</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covered portal used</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>removal of idols</td>
<td>460, 461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctifying self prerequisite</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priest sanctify themselves</td>
<td>462, 463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedication of a “song - שיר”</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“singing of song - שיר”</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“exult … with loud singing - תהילים ברכה ב…”</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procession “with branches”</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

453 1Kgs 8 / 2 Chr 5-7.
454 1 Kgs 12.
455 2 Kgs 4.
456 2 Kgs 4.
457 2 Kgs 11 / 2 Chr 23.
458 2 Kgs 11 / 2 Chr 23.
459 2 Kgs 16.
460 2 Chr 30.
461 2 Chr 30.
462 Neh 13.
463 2 Chr 35; Ezra 6.
464 Ps 92.
465 Is 30; Am 8.
466 Zp 3.
467 Ps 118.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>people gather / temple worship at Jerusalem</th>
<th>9468 FF</th>
<th>5469 GF</th>
<th>3470 Sb</th>
<th>2471 NM</th>
<th>470 Ps</th>
<th>147 UB</th>
<th>34 Fi</th>
<th>47 Ws</th>
<th>247 Tr</th>
<th>47 At</th>
<th>47 Tb</th>
<th>148 SY</th>
<th>147 Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>observance brings spiritual and covenantal blessings</td>
<td>2471</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“honourable - קבורה”</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a “delight - נתן”</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observance results fulfilment of Davidic covenant</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-obervance results in destruction of Jerusalem</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day of destruction</td>
<td>2476</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punishment for not attending</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gathering of people</td>
<td>1478</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disregarded (turned their eyes from)</td>
<td>1479</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = idolatry</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profane = not keeping “my statutes - שהחיים” and “ordinances - מצוות”</td>
<td>1481</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

468 Is 4; Is 33; La 1; La 2; Ez 46; Ps 118; Is 1; Ez 36; Zh 14.
469 Ez 46; 2 Kgs 11 / 2 Chr 23; Is 1; Is 66.
470 Is 1; Is 66; Ez 46.
471 Is 56, Is 58.
472 Is 58.
473 Is 58.
474 Jer 17.
475 Jer 17.
476 Hs 9; Am 8.
477 Zech 14.
478 Lam 2.
479 Ez 22.
480 Ez 20.
481 Ez 20.
| profaning = “despised my holy things - כֹּלְבָּה | 1482  |
| profane = defile sanctuary | 1483  |

482 Ez. 22.
483 Ez 23.
CHAPTER FOUR:
THE SABBATH IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the nature of the sabbath by undertaking a detailed content analysis of the sabbath passages identified in the previous chapter. In doing so, it focuses on the major issues in recent scholarship that were identified in chapter two. This chapter therefore asks the following questions of each passage.

- Is the sabbath presented as a day of rest and for whom?
- Is there a reference to worship on the sabbath?
- Is the sabbath presented either in connection with creation or the Mosaic covenant?
- Is the sabbath explicitly referred to as occurring on the seventh day?
- Is the sabbath mentioned in the context of other cultic festivals, (particularly the new moon), and what is the word order in which they appear?

As the introduction of chapter two indicated, these questions are particularly important, because it is the debate on these issues that questions the understanding of the sabbath from which this thesis develops its conclusions concerning the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. It is from the answer to these questions, therefore, that this thesis draws on heavily in demonstrating the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

In addition to examining these specific issues, this chapter also identifies and briefly examines other key aspects of these passages that may be relevant to the understanding of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. The results of this examination are summarised in table form, and the findings for each of these issues are then discussed individually.
The passages referring to the seventh-year festivals and the jubilee are then also examined. The identity and purpose of these cultic festivals is discussed, as well as how they reflect and support the understanding of the seventh-day sabbath.

After this chapter, one more major question concerning the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age remains to be examined; this is, the legitimacy of viewing holiness as perpetual and universal. This question is examined in the final chapter of this section. After examining holiness in this context, chapter five then concludes by demonstrating the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

4.2 EXAMINATION OF SABBATH PASSAGES

GENESIS 2:1-3

While this passage does not explicitly use the term “sabbath”, its place in the understanding of the sabbath has been significant. It has been the source of a rich variety of interpretations and theological development; two frequent themes relevant to this thesis are interpretations that address the sabbath in terms of a creation institution and eschatology.

The interpretation of this passage as a creation institution often involves reading into it many concepts that are found in Exodus 20:8-11 and 31:12-18. While these exodus passages reflect a similar creation tradition as found in this passage, they are not a mere quotation or summary of Genesis 1:1-2:3, as their examination below demonstrates, and their respective differences should be identified. Genesis 2:1-3 does not explicitly present any relevance of the seventh day, or God’s actions on it, for humanity. Nor is there any indication that this period of seven days was to become a repeated cycle. There are, therefore, various opinions as to whether God’s actions on the seventh day have significance for God, humanity or creation as a whole. The blessing and sanctifying of the

---

484 This is in contrast, for example, to the creation tradition found in Genesis 2:4-3:24.
sabbath suggests an action that gains its relevance from the perspective of humanity or creation. That is, it is unlikely that a state of holiness or blessedness\(^{485}\) was created simply for the benefit of God, although it may be the innate result of God’s creative, salvific\(^{486}\) actions. This benefit for humanity and creation, however, does not necessarily need to be interpreted in terms of the establishment of a perpetually recurring sabbath institution. As section 7.3.3 later demonstrates, the state of this seventh day has been interpreted as the ongoing state of pre-fall creation and a state that will be restored in the eschatological age. Others interpret God’s rest on the seventh day as the creation or symbol of an eschatological rest that it is the purpose of humanity to attain. A frequently quoted example of this interpretation is that of von Rad, who states:

> The text speaks, rather, of a rest that existed before man [sic] and still exists without man’s perceiving it. The declaration mounts, as it were, to the place of God himself and testifies that with the living God there is rest. … Thus at creation God prepared what will benefit man in this life, what in fact will be necessary for him, yes, that which one day will receive him eschatologically in eternity.\(^{487}\)

While von Rad says of this interpretation, “this last to be sure, lies beyond the theological purview of the Priestly theology,”\(^{488}\) Doukhan develops this eschatological theme from the passage itself:

> Marking the end of the week, the Sabbath functions as an eschaton, thereby pointing to the cosmic eschaton, the end of time. This eschatological connotation of the Sabbath can be perceived already in Genesis 2:1-3. The idea of “end” is explicitly indicated twice in the verb *klh* (finish), once in relation to the object: “the heavens and the earth and all the host of them were finished” (Genesis 2:1), and once in relation to the subject “God finished” (Genesis 2:2). The idea of the end is also implicitly present in the three occurrences of the word *kôl* (all), to indicate that “all” the work has been “completed.” The three repetitions of “seventh day” have a rhetorical significance. As a rhetorical number, seven expresses the idea of perfection (Zechariah 3:9; 4:2 Revelation 4-5; Leviticus 4:6; 8:11; James 3:17; 2 Peter 1:5-8); and in time it generally indicates the conclusion of a cycle (Leviticus 25:8-10; Exodus 29:25-37; Daniel 7:25; Revelation 11:2; Genesis 4; 7:3-4, 10,

---

\(^{485}\) The concepts of holiness and blessedness are both examined further in chapters five and seven.

\(^{486}\) The connection between creation and salvation is examined in detail in chapter seven.


Ezekiel 3:16-17).\textsuperscript{489} While an interpretation of Genesis 2:1-3 in eschatological terms and in terms of a creation institution are both compatible with the context of this passage, (and in fact with each other\textsuperscript{490}), neither concept is explicitly addressed or referred to in it.

**Rest:** As the above indicates, this passage contains no explicit mention of human rest. As later passages in the Hebrew Scriptures explicitly present God’s rest as a model for human rest, however, how God’s rest is understood in this passage influences our understanding of human rest. Interpreters from early Judaic times have found difficulty in the seeming conflict between the statement in Genesis 2:2-3 that “on the seventh day God finished all the work that he had done”, and the statements that “he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done” and “because on it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation”. While the last two clearly state that God rested on the seventh day, the first may be interpreted that God was working on the seventh day. The Septuagint reading “on the sixth day God finished all the work that he had done” has been presented as a deliberate change by these scholars as a means of avoiding the connotation that God worked on the sabbath.\textsuperscript{491} Hamilton suggests a similar interpretation of the text by reading the verb “וֹלֵכֶת (וֹלֵכֶת) as a pluperfect, God had completed his work ... on the seventh day”.\textsuperscript{492} Such interpretations lean towards an emphasis on understanding the sabbath rest in terms of the absence of work. Other interpretations accept the reading as it stands, and interpret it as meaning that God “finished his work that he had done” (Gen 2:2) by resting


\textsuperscript{490} This is demonstrated by the fact that Doukhan presents the eschatological interpretation from within the Seventh-day Adventist tradition, one that strongly emphasises the sabbath as a creation institution, and the continued obligation of its observance.

\textsuperscript{491} In contrast to this is the Christian interpretation based on John 5:17 that God’s work in fact continued on the Sabbath day. Various interpretations of this verse are examined in the article by Samuele Bacchiocchi, “John 5:17: Negation or Clarification of the Sabbath?”, Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, Spr., 1981, pp. 3-19. Cf. also chapter two and the Orthodox tradition that Holy Saturday is the only sabbath on which God truly rested.

\textsuperscript{492} Hamilton, p. 142, “The most simple and legitimate solution is to read the verb as a pluperfect, God had completed his work ... on the seventh day.”
on the seventh day. That is, this rest is the finale and pinnacle of God's creative work.\textsuperscript{493} Such interpretations lean towards an emphasis on the rest itself, and positive connotations that it may contain.

\textbf{Worship:} When the creation tradition in this passage is used as a model of human sabbath rest, this rest is placed in a strongly religious context. It connects the sabbath with the concepts of holiness and blessedness, and makes both this day and the whole weekly cycle a re-living of God’s salvific creation.

\textbf{Seventh Day:} This text clearly presents the sabbath as occurring on the seventh day, although there is no specific reference to it as an on-going institution. That this passage contains only a reference to the “seventh day” and none to the “the sabbath” is significant. In the wider context of Genesis 1:1-2:3 there is an avoidance of terms that have associations with pagan deities, and this has been interpreted as a polemic against them. Thus Genesis 1:16 speaks of the “greater light” and the “lesser light”, rather than the “sun” (sun deity), and the “moon” (moon deity). The term “sabbath” has also been interpreted as having the meaning “Saturn”. The use of the phrase the “seventh day” rather than the “sabbath” in Genesis 2:1-3, therefore, may also be a means of avoiding the associations of Saturn deity that the term “sabbath” contains.\textsuperscript{494}

The development of the seven-day cycle that is unconnected with any natural cycle is similarly interpreted in terms of anti-pagan polemics as Weinfeld notes:

> Recently, there has been much talk on the ‘seasonal pattern’ of epic myths from the Ancient Near East. According to this view, the Ugaritic and Mesopotamian myths


Cf. John A. Skinner, \textit{A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis}, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994, p. 35, “The writer’s idea of the Sabbath and its sanctity is almost too realistic for the modern mind to grasp: it is not an institution which exists or ceases with its observance by man; the divine rest is a fact as much as the divine working, and so the sanctity of the day is a fact whether man secures its benefits or not.”

\textsuperscript{494} Harrison, p. 142, “It is readily apparent that the term ‘Sabbath day’, (Heb. yôm haš-šabbat) is absent from this paragraph, although the writer uses the verb šabat. Instead, \textit{the seventh day} (yôm hašš ’bêti) occurs. C.H. Gordon has suggested that the writer used the colourless \textit{seventh day} in his desire to continue to demythologize the story. Vestiges of the original connection between šbt and myths of holy days is reflected in the postbiblical Hebrew word ‘Shabbetai,’ [sic] which translates as ‘Saturn,’ [sic] the pagan deity.” Cf. chapter six for similar interpretations of the use of “greater light” and “lesser light” in Genesis 1:14-19.
dramatize the cyclic nature of the changes of the seasons of the year. If this approach is correct, then Gen. 1:1-2:3 is also relevant to this category. But, in contrast to the pagan myth, which was connected with dramatizations of natural processes, there is no connection to the self-renewal of nature in our creation story. Like the Sabbath itself, so also the text which is connected to it is liberated from any relation to climatic or solar-lunar factors, and is transformed into a cultic-religious experience which recurs every seventh day and comes to commemorate the act of Creation and the enthronement of God.495

Creation/Mosaic: This text clearly places the seventh day in the context of creation, and also infers a relevance for all humanity or creation in the blessing of the seventh day. There is no reference, however, of the institution of the sabbath, or an obligation for either Israel or humanity as a whole to observe it.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

EXODUS 16

Rest: In addition to the reference to the sabbath as a “שבות” (v.23), there is also an explicit reference that the “people rested on the seventh day”. Though it is not explicitly stated, the absence of manna on the seventh day, as well as the command that “each of you stay where you are; do not leave your place on the seventh day” (v.29), infers a prohibition against work in general. It may also be interpreted, though it is not explicitly stated, that this command pertains to all individuals in the society.

Worship: Apart from the observance of rest as a form of worship in its own right, no mention of worship occurs in this text. The reference “let no man go out of his place on the seventh day” infers a type of sabbath rest that involves an absence from any activity, but does not suggest any communal or worship context. As this statement is in apposition to the going out to collect manna, however, caution should be exercised to reading it as a more primitive form of sabbath worship.496 This command to observe the sabbath by remaining

495 Weinfeld, p. 511-512.
496 An example of such an interpretation is found in J. P. Hyatt, The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980, p. 178, “It is significant that here the Sabbath is considered to be a
in their tent is confined to the context of the narrative, (and the exodus experience), and is not presented as a general command as to how the sabbath should be observed.

**Creation/Mosaic:** While the sabbath is described as “a holy sabbath to the Lord” (v.23), no reference is found as to the significance of the sabbath. It is not connected with creation, nor is it specifically referred to in terms of being a sign of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.

The chronological position of this passage has frequently been used as evidence of the sabbath as a creation institution. Such interpretations draw on the fact that this passage occurs before Sinai, and argues that Israel already knew of the sabbath, though its observance is sometimes thought to have lapsed during the bondage in Egypt. In support of this position is the fact that there is no “introduction” or “institution” of the sabbath such as occurs for the passover. As Durham notes, however, this passage also contains a reference to the ark of the covenant, which is specifically presented in the book of Exodus as originating at Sinai. This anachronistic reference to the ark of the covenant shows that in Exodus, literary and theological considerations over-ride chronological ones. This would indicate a caution, therefore, in placing too great a significance on the chronological position of the sabbath in relation to Sinai in this passage.

**Seventh Day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

day of cessation from labour; that seems to be the oldest conception of the Sabbath, which eventually became a day of religious observance.”

497 Alan Cole, *Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries: Exodus*, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973, p. 158, “Argument has raged as to the origins and date of sabbath observance: later Jewish commentators tried hard to find evidence of sabbath observance in patriarchal days”. Hyatt, p. 178, “This last passage indicates that the Israelites believed it originated even before the giving of the law on Sinai”.

EXODUS 20:8-11

Rest: This passage clearly contains the reference that “you shall do no work”, as well as the statement that God “rested - נֶפֶשׁ (נָפֶשׁ)” on the sabbath. As section 2.2.1 demonstrated, certain scholars have questioned precisely to whom this sabbath rest pertains, and have postulated that this prescription to rest was not for Israel as a whole. In this regard, Durham suggests that the purpose of this text is to close any loopholes in the commandment.499 It is significant that all the people mentioned – children,500 slaves and resident aliens501 - are likely to have a position of subservience to another. This list may be interpreted, therefore, as a prescription for the hearers both to rest and to facilitate the rest of those in a position of subservience to them.502

Worship: The command to “remember” the sabbath day and to “keep it holy”, as well as its designation as a memorial of the creation week, all portray the sabbath day as more than merely an absence of work. Rather, this absence of work is presented in the context of a memorial of a significant religious tradition. Besides the communal rest itself, however, there is no reference to worship activities on this day.

Creation/Mosaic: This commandment presents the sabbath as a memorial of God’s creation in terms reflective of Genesis 2:1-3. Furthermore it reflects the position of Genesis

499 Ibid., p. 289, “On the sabbath day, nobody is to undertake such ‘usual work.’ The singular pronoun ‘you’ is supplemented by a list of six potential sources of labor taking in family, the employees, the work-animals and even the visitor stopping temporarily with the Israelite. The detailed specification of this expansion is sometimes attributed to humanitarian concerns (so Menes, Vorexilischen Gesetze, 37-40; Rordorf, Sunday, 12-17; cf. Mathys, TZ 28 [1972] 242-55). More likely, it is an attempt to plug obvious loopholes: not only is the Israelite not to work on the sabbath, neither is any one else, or even any animal, that might conceivably be doing work for him.”

500 In addition to referring to children of “minor age”, in ancient Israelite rural society even adult children would be under the control of the patriarch of the family in terms of ownership of the family land and their labour on it.

501 The most likely profession of the resident alien would be a hired servant or tradesperson, although there was legal provision for the temporary ownership of land until the jubilee (Lev 25).

502 It is significant to compare this list with that of the tenth commandment in verse 21 and Deuteronomy 12 and 16. While there is a reference not to covet your neighbour’s wife, there is no prescription for the rest and worship by a wife, although there is such a prescription for daughters and maidservants. As females are obviously included in this rest, this omission suggests that these laws are addressed to females as well, and places them responsible for their own moral conduct.
2:1-3 examined above in that it refers only to God’s rest at creation, but speaks of this rest in terms that are relevant for humans (cf. above, Gen 2:1-3). While this passage strongly reflects the tradition of Genesis 1:1-2:3, however, it is not a direct quotation from this passage, nor a summary of it. The statement in Exodus 20:11 that in six days Yahweh made “heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them” is not directly related to either the Genesis 1:1 phrase “the heavens and the earth”, or the Genesis 2:1 phrase “the heavens and the earth … and all their multitude”. While God “rested - ḥaḇēḇ” in Genesis 2:3, Yahweh “rested - ḥaḇēḇ (ḇāḇ)” in Exodus 20:11.\footnote{The different connotations of these two terms are discussed further in chapter seven.} Genesis 2:2-3 uses only the term “the seventh day”, but Exodus 20:11 alternates it with the term “the sabbath day”. Finally, the whole of the Genesis 1:1-2:3 account uses solely the term “Elohim”, while Exodus 20:8-11, in reflection of the decalogue as a whole, uses the terms “Yahweh” or “Yahweh your God”. This use of God’s name Yahweh, which is closely connected with the covenant, reflects the fact that the ten commandments are clearly presented in the context of God’s unique covenantal relationship with Israel, (cf. esp. Ex 19:3-6; 20:1-2).

While “resident aliens” in Israel are to be given rest, there is no reference to the observance of this sabbath by non-Israelites outside the context of Israel.

**Seventh Day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**EXODUS 23:12**

**Rest:** This passage specifically states that on the seventh day “you shall rest - ḥaḇēḇ”; this rest is contrasted with six days of work, and therefore infers that work is not to occur.
There is no explanation as to who the “you” refers to, but the reference to the purpose of this rest being so that “your ox and donkey may have relief (הנָעַם), and your homeborn slave and alien resident may be refreshed (רַחֲמֵי עַצָּמָם)” suggests that it includes landowners, and extends to their slaves and domestic animals, and to the resident alien; once again, the spectrum of society.

**Worship:** The rest in this passage is not given any direct religious context, and its primary impetus is the social welfare of the underclass. There is no reference to worship ceremonies on this day.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No reference is given as to the significance of the sabbath. Again, while “resident aliens” in Israel are to be given rest, there is no reference to the observance of this sabbath by non-Israelites outside of Israel.

**Seventh Day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals in this immediate passage, although it is in the wider context of a general reference to various festivals.

**EXODUS 31:12-18**

**Rest:** This passage clearly contains a command restricting all work on the sabbath day, along with the prescription of the death penalty for “whoever does any work” (vv.14,15) on this day. It is also described as a sign that God “rested - נַעַם” and was “refreshed - רַחֲמֵי עַצָּמָם”.

**Worship:** The commands to “keep - קָרָאת” (v.14) the sabbath, and to “observe - תָּבִיאוּ” (v.16) it, suggest that this sabbath rest is an active cultic activity. The sabbath is also presented as a reflection of God’s rest. Besides this rest itself, however, there is no
reference to worship activities on this day.

Creation/Mosaic: Again, while this passage reflects the creation tradition of Genesis 1:1-2:3, it is not a mere repetition of either that passage or Exodus 20:8-11. It does not command Israel to “remember - בָּרוּך” the sabbath, but merely to “keep - שָׁמַר” it. In this way, it reflects the terminology of the Deuteronomy decalogue, rather than the Exodus one. The statement that “in six days God made heaven and earth”, is neither an exact quotation of Genesis 2:1-3 or Exodus 20:8-11; the latter passage has a similar phase but uses the title “Yahweh” rather than God. The Genesis 2:1-3 text is reflected in the use of the term שָׁבָת rather than בְּנַח for “rest”. A new phrase to describe God’s activity is also used, however, it is said that God “rested and was refreshed - שָׁבָת וַיִּשָּׁכֵב”.

This passage explicitly combines the sabbath as a symbol of creation (v.15, 17) and as a sign of the Israelite covenant with Yahweh (v.16; cf, v.13,17), and infers a direct correlation between the sabbath as a memorial of creation and the sabbath as a sign of the covenant. The nature of this connection may be interpreted from the position of this passage, as the conclusion of the Sinai covenant.504 Thus, this reference to the sabbath as the sign of the covenant may be interpreted as the concluding seal of God’s original presentation of the covenant and covenantal law on Mt Sinai. The reference to the sabbath as a sign that “the Lord made heaven and earth”, also takes on significant relevance in the context of the wider covenant. The introduction to this covenant contains the statement, “Now, therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for the whole earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation” (Ex 19:5-6).

As the presentation of the covenant is based on the unique place of Israel in Yahweh’s creation, so the sign of this covenant serves as a reminder of God’s creation of “heaven and

504 This is clearly inferred in the verse following this passage, “when God finished speaking with Moses on Mount Sinai, he gave him the two tablets of the covenant, tablets of stone written with the finger of God” (Ex 31:18). The position of this passage at the conclusion of the Sinai covenant, as well as its connection with the building of the tabernacle, is examined further in chapter six.
earth”, as well as God’s rest on the seventh day. These claims that “the whole earth is [God’s]”, and that “the Lord made heaven and earth”, is particularly significant when viewed in the context of the widespread understanding at that time that each nation/land has its own god. These passages infer, however, a unique relationship between Israel and Yahweh, in the context of Yahweh as ruler and God over all the earth; a concept that is more clearly developed by the prophets (cf. Is 41-44).

**Seventh Day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals in this passage. Significantly, however, in referring to the sabbath, it also contains the phrase “שבה שצוה”. As chapter three has demonstrated, this phrase also frequently occurs in references to holy days other than the seventh-day sabbath.

**EXODUS 34:21**

**Rest:** This verse has clear a command against working on the sabbath day, along with the additional statement that, even in the busiest agricultural periods, (plowing and harvesting), this rest is to be observed.

**Worship:** There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

---

505 Cf. Section 4.3.4.
Other Cultic Festivals: There is no reference to other cultic festivals in this passage, although this passage is found in the context of a short list of cultic festivals to be observed. Significantly, while the sabbath and the three major festivals are mentioned, there is no reference to the new moon.

EXODUS 35:2-3

Rest: This passage clearly contains a command restricting all work on the sabbath day, along with the prescription of the death penalty for “whoever does any work” (v.2) on this day. There is also a restriction against the lighting of fires.

Worship: Besides the observance of a “שָּׁבָתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל” to the Lord, there is no reference to worship ceremonies on this day.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

LEVITICUS 19:3

Rest: While there is a command to “keep my sabbaths”, there is no reference as to the nature of this observance in terms of resting or abstaining from work.

Worship: There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is given as to the frequency of sabbath observance.
Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals in this passage, though the term “sabbath” may also be inclusive of various annual festivals.

**LEVITICUS 19:30 / 26:2**

*Rest:* While there is a command to “keep my sabbaths”, there is no reference as to the nature of this observance in terms of resting or abstaining from work.

*Worship:* There is no indication of worship on the sabbath, although its existence in parallel with “reverence my sanctuary” infers a cultic connection.

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of sabbath observance.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals, although the term “sabbath” may also be inclusive of various annual festivals.

**LEVITICUS 23:3**

*Rest:* This passage clearly contains a command restricting all work on the sabbath day, as well as the designation of it as a "שַׁבָּת שֵׁבַת".

*Worship:* The sabbath is referred to as a “שַׁבָּת שֵׁבַת”, a “holy convocation מְצָרָת כְּרוֹת” and a “sabbath to the Lord לְיָהֳרָה שֵׁבַת”, inferring that rest on this day has religious significance. There is no reference to worship ceremonies on this day.

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is
a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** This reference to the sabbath occurs in the context of the most comprehensive list of cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures; at the same time, however, this list contains no reference to the new moon festival. In this list, the sabbath is mentioned first of the various festivals. This order has been interpreted variously: as a reflection of its prominence among cultic festivals, as a result of this list being ordered according to the frequency of these cultic festivals, (weekly, yearly, seventh-yearly, fifty-year jubilee) or as an editorial joining of the sabbath command to the front of this list of annual cultic festivals.506

**LEVITICUS 24:5-9/ 1 CHRONICLES 9:32**

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** This passage speaks of a specific cultic activity occurring on the sabbath day - the changing of the shewbread. This shewbread is set in order and consumed by the priests, and it can be inferred that they also made it. The communal aspect of this symbol is reflected in the reference to it as “a commitment of the people of Israel” (Lev. 24:8).

**Creation/Mosaic:** While no explicit reference is made either to creation or to the covenant, the reference to this offering “as a covenant forever” and its clear connection specifically with Israel infers a connection with the covenant.

**Seventh Day:** There is no explicit reference as to the frequency of this sabbath occurrence.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** No other cultic festivals are referred to in this specific passage. In its wider context, Leviticus 24 occurs between the list of the sabbath and the annual cultic festivals in Leviticus 23, and the references to the seventh-year sabbath, jubilee year, and laws of redemption in Leviticus 25.

---

506 This interpretation is based primarily on the two introductions in verse two and verse four.
NUMBERS 15:32-36

Rest: The prohibition against work on the sabbath is strongly emphasised in the passage in that the death penalty is prescribed for working on the sabbath.

Worship: There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

NUMBERS 28:9-10

Rest: This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is a reference to extra sacrifices specifically for the sabbath day.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: This passage occurs in the context of a comprehensive list of cultic festivals and their sacrifices. The list itself contains the order of sabbath, new moon and annual festivals. An obvious interpretation is that this list is ordered in terms of the frequency of the cultic festivals (weekly, monthly, yearly).

DEUTERONOMY 5:12-15

In this commandment is found the key difference between the two listings of the decalogue in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. The differences between these versions include the
command to “observe - שַׁבָּתוֹת” rather than “remember - זֶכֶר” the sabbath (v.12), the additional phrase “so that your male and female slaves may rest as well as you” (v.14) and the placing of this commandment within the context of the exodus rather than creation (v.15). Various interpretations for these differences have been given, both synchronically and diachronically.\(^{507}\) While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all of these in detail, it is noteworthy to compare this version with the emphasis on equality and provision for every Israelite in Deuteronomy as a whole.\(^{508}\) This emphasis is reflected in this version’s additional phrase “so that your male and female slave may rest as well as you” (Dt 5:15). Deuteronomy elsewhere presents Israel’s exodus experience as a reason for showing similar kindness to others (cf. Dt 10:19; 15:15), and this may also be inferred here. While this thesis would not go as far as Miller’s statement that “the primary impetus to social justice in Deuteronomic theology is the command to keep the sabbath”,\(^{509}\) it considers equality and social justice to be key aspects of the sabbath, as section 5.2.3 examines further.

**Rest:** This passage clearly contains the reference that “you shall do no work”, as well as the purpose of the sabbath being “so that your male and female slave may rest as well as you”. This reference in the sabbath command for combined rest - and therefore worship - on the sabbath reflects the major concern in Deuteronomy that the means be provided for the combined worship of all classes of society.\(^{510}\)

**Worship:** The commands to “observe” the sabbath day, and to “keep it holy”, as well as its significance as a memorial of the exodus, all present the sabbath day not merely as an absence of work, but also as communal rest which is an expression of religious significance. Besides this communal rest, however, there is no reference to worship activities on this day.

---

\(^{507}\) A detailed list of such interpretations is given in Daniel See, p. 36, footnote 9.
\(^{510}\) Cf. especially Deuteronomy 12 and 16.
**Creation/Mosaic:** Though this passage does not explicitly describe the sabbath as a sign of the covenant, it does present it as a memorial of God’s redemption of Israel from slavery.

**Seventh day:** There is a reference to the seventh day, with a contrast between six days of work and one day without work. The context supports the interpretation that this festival is a recurring weekly festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**2 KINGS 4:23**

**Rest:** There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day. Ghana Robinson notes the scholars who anachronistically interpret this passage in the context of later Judaic laws concerning travelling on the sabbath.  

> According to Ex, 23:12 and 34:21, the earliest of the seventh-day-rest commandments, the object of the prohibition of work on the seventh day is “that your ox and your ass may settle down, and the son of your bondmaid, and the sojourner may be refreshed” (Ex. 23:12b). But in 2 Kgs. 4:22f. it is implied that both servants and cattle could still be employed on sabbaths. This again confirms that the sabbath here is not a rest day.”

This interpretation, however, is based on two unfounded assumptions. The first is that had the journey occurred on a sabbath, then a servant and ass would have been used; the story nowhere addresses this issue, but only infers that the sabbath and new moon were the usual days for such journeys. Secondly, it assumes that the use of a servant or animal for sabbath travel would therefore mean that no concept of sabbath rest existed, and is again anachronistically applying to the Hebrew Scriptures later Judaic concepts of sabbath observance. Even during strict Victorian Lord’s day observance, the use of domestic animals for travel to worship, but not for agricultural labour, was generally accepted; and it is plausible ancient Israel made a similar distinction.

---

511 G. Robinson, 1988, p. 52.
512 Ibid., p. 53.
Worship: There is no reference to worship on the sabbath. That the husband asked the reason for visiting the holy man on a day that is neither the new moon nor the sabbath, suggests that these days were the usual times for visiting the holy man, and worship may have been connected with such visits.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is given in terms of the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: This reference to the sabbath is found in the context of the phrase “neither new moon nor sabbath”.

2 KINGS 11:4-16/ 2 CHRONICLES 23:1-15

Rest: There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day. Ghana Robinson states that “the idea of rest is completely absent here. On the contrary, the sabbath is here presented as a day over-crowded with activities - a day on which many people visit the temple, the guards change duties, important events such as the overthrow of the enemy (even murder), the enthronement of the prince, the destruction of the Baal-temple, etc., are undertaken.”513 Once again, this interpretation is assuming that any expression of sabbath rest would reflect later Judaic concepts of this rest. If sabbath rest in the Hebrew Scriptures is defined primarily in terms of a rest from daily occupations, and manual (agricultural) labour, then this passage contains no indication that any such activities occurred. As many of these activities occurred in a cultic context, they may be regarded as sacred duties, and therefore quite fitting for the sabbath day. Moreover, while the destruction of the Baal-temple may be regarded as manual labour, it is also possible to interpret this as an event occurring on subsequent days that is merely mentioned here.

Worship: While these passages contain various references to communal activity in the

513 Ibid., p. 79.
temple on the sabbath day, the context does not make it clear to what extent these activities were for the sabbath, and to what extent they were for the coronation. Activities mentioned include the changing of the guard, the assembling of the people in the temple of the Lord, the crowning of the king, the standing of the king “by his pillar at the entrance / standing by the pillar according to custom”, the praising of the king and celebrations with music and musical instruments. Whether each of these may occur regularly on the sabbath or are part of the coronation deserves examination.

Changing of the guard

Though scholars have presented various interpretations concerning the nature of the changing of the guard, they usually consider that this time was chosen in order to have a double contingent of soldiers to effectuate the overthrow. This changing of the guard is usually interpreted to be the changing of regiments that occurred routinely on the weekly (or monthly) sabbath. It is also plausible, however, that this is a reference to a daily changing of the guard, which in this instance fell on a sabbath day.

The gathering of the people

Some form of general sabbath worship in the temple is strongly suggested by the reference that on this day “all the people shall be in the courts of the house of the Lord”; and that this was the reason for the choice of this day and place for the overthrow. The secret nature of the coronation would mean that such a gathering could not have been called in advance for the coronation.

The coronation and the king’s pillar

There are differing opinions among scholars as to whether the reference to the king’s pillar (2 Chr 23:13) and to the king “standing by the pillar, according to custom” (2 Kgs 11:13) is referring to a coronation or sabbath custom. Some interpretations suggest that this pillar was the customary site for coronations, but it has also been hypothesised that this was the customary site for the king to stand and officiate during the ceremonies of the sabbath and

other festivals. Such an interpretation gains plausibility when a reference to a similar practice in Ezekiel 46:2 is also considered (as shall be shown below).

**Praises and celebration**

The fact that the celebratory activities of rejoicing, blowing trumpets and singing with musical instruments are mentioned in the context of “people running and praising the king” suggest that these were specifically for the coronation rather than a regular sabbath activity (2 Chr 23:12-13). This is supported by the fact that Queen Athaliah came to see the reason for the noise; if such celebrations were usual on the sabbath, they would have been unlikely to attract Queen Athaliah’s attention.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival. This passage is open to the argument that the sabbath in this context is not the weekly sabbath, but rather a major annual festival; possibly one on which coronations or a celebration of kingship were particularly connected.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**2 KINGS 16:18**

This passage contains difficult Hebrew for which various interpretations have been given. In particular, there is a difference in opinion as to whether the text is referring to the house of the Lord (temple), or the house of the king (palace).

**Rest:** There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day.

**Worship:** If this passage is interpreted as referring to the temple, then it could refer to a site from which the king officiated in sabbath worship ceremonies, and may reflect the practices

---

516 The existence of such a practice would give an ironic significance to the absence of Athaliah due to her idolatrous views, and the resultant downfall through this absence from Yahwistic sabbath worship; as well as the connection between the true king and true Yahweh worship.

517 Cf. McKay, 1994, pp. 15-16, for a variety of interpretations.
referred to in 2 Kings 11:4-11 / 2 Chronicles 23:1-15 and Ezekiel 46:2. Whether this site is in the temple or the palace, it suggests some form of communal gathering on the sabbath, at least at a family or court level. Worship and eating are possible activities to have occurred at these gatherings.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

1 CHRONICLES 23:31

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** There is a reference to burnt offerings that are specific to the sabbath day.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is a reference to “whenever burnt offerings are offered to the Lord on sabbaths, new moons, and appointed festivals”.

2 CHRONICLES 2:4

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** There is a reference to burnt offerings that are specific to the sabbath day.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.
**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is a reference to “burnt offerings of morning and evening, on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the appointed festivals of the Lord”.

2 CHRONICLES 8:13

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** There is reference to Solomon offering burnt offerings at the temple altar on the sabbath.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** This passage has a reference to “the sabbaths, the new moons, and the three annual festivals – the festival of unleavened bread, the festival of weeks, and the festival of booths”.

2 CHRONICLES 31:3

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** There is an inference to burnt offerings that are specific to the sabbath day.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is a reference to “the burnt offerings of morning and evening, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, the new moons, and the appointed festivals”.
NEHEMIAH 9:14

Rest: This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

NEHEMIAH 10:31-33

Rest: The absence of work is inferred in that the people agreed not to buy from the merchants on this day.

Worship: The sabbath (and probably its burnt offering) is listed among the items that are part of the “service of the house of our God”.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: The sabbath and the seventh year are paralleled. There is a reference to “the sabbaths, the new moons, the appointed festivals” in the context of temple obligations and sacrifices.

NEHEMIAH 13: 15-31

Rest: Working and selling on the sabbath is described as “profaning the sabbath day”. The gates of the city are locked in order to prevent selling on the sabbath.

Worship: There is an inference to the Levites “purifying themselves” as a precursor to
keeping the sabbath holy.

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

*Other Cultic Festivals:* There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**PSALM 92 (Title)**

*Rest:* This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

*Worship:* This psalm has the title “A Song for the Sabbath Day”. While there is no reference to the sabbath in this Psalm, its title has been interpreted as an indication that it was used in worship on the sabbath day. Such an interpretation of the use of the Psalms in worship is found in section 6.2.1 (footnote 659).

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

*Other Cultic Festivals:* There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**ISAIAH 1:13-14**

*Rest:* This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

*Worship:* This passage connects a number of cultic festivals, including the sabbath, with the appearance at the temple (cf. “trample my courts no more”), and with cultic offerings.

*Creation/Mosaic:* No reference is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.
**Other Holy Festivals:** This reference to the sabbath is found in the immediate context of the phrase “new moon and sabbath and calling of convocation”, and the wider context of a reference to “solemn assemblies” and “your new moons and your appointed festivals”.

**ISAIAH 56:1-8**

**Rest:** There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day; the possible spiritual interpretations of this passage are examined in section 6.2.4.

**Worship:** This passage contains no explicit reference as to the nature of sabbath worship itself, although the result of sabbath worship for the foreigner is an inclusion in cultic worship (v.7).

**Creation/Mosaic:** While the sabbath is not presented as a sign of the covenant, there is a close connection made between the observance of the sabbath and “holding fast to the covenant” (vv.4,6). The observance of the sabbath is also the means of uniting the foreigner with the covenant, and results in the eunuch gaining some benefit from the covenant promise. As section 6.2.1 (esp. footnote 648) examines further, this and other passages have often been used to support the position that sabbath observance equates to the observance of the whole covenant.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**ISAIAH 58:13-14**

**Rest:** There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day; though the call to refrain from trampling the sabbath and pursuing one’s own interests could be interpreted to include rest from work. (As section 6.2.4 examines further, this could also have spiritual interpretations).
**Worship:** This passage contains no explicit reference as to the nature of sabbath worship itself, though the result of sabbath observance may be interpreted in terms of spiritual benefit (cf. section 6.2.4). In this context, a significant and unique aspect of this passage is the reference to the sabbath as a “delight” in verse 13. This noun form occurs only here and in Isaiah 13:22, as well as three occurrences of the adjective and ten occurrences of the verbal form. This root may also have the meaning of “delicate,” “pleasant,” and “mocking,” but when it does have the meaning of “delight” it frequently refers to delighting in the Lord, as it does in verse 14. To call the sabbath a delight, therefore, carries connotations of spiritual delight.

**Creation/Mosaic:** There is no explicit connection with either creation or the covenant, although the result of observance of the sabbath in v.14 may be interpreted in terms of fulfilment of the covenant promise (cf. section 6.2.4).

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

**ISAIAH 66:23**

**Rest:** This verse contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** The reference to humanity coming to worship before Yahweh infers some sort of corporate worship and that this worship took place in the context of Zion and the temple.

---

518 Deuteronomy 28:54,56 and Isaiah 47:1.
520 Isaiah 13:22.
521 Isaiah 57:4.
522 “Take delight in the Lord” (Psalm 37:4); and others, “then you will delight yourself in the Almighty” (Job 22:26); “Will they take delight in the Almighty?” (Job 27:10); “Then you shall take delight in the Lord” (Isaiah 58:14); the other references are “delight themselves in abundant prosperity” (Psalm 37:11); “that you may drink deeply with delight from her glorious bosom” (Isaiah 66:11); and “delight yourselves in rich food” (Isaiah 55:2).
Creation/Mosaic: There is no explicit connection with either creation or the covenant. There is reference to the observance of the sabbath by all humanity, but this is specifically in the context of Yahweh worship and in Zion itself.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: This reference to the sabbath is found in parallel with a reference to the new moon festival, and the new moon is mentioned first.

JEREMIAH 17:24-27

Rest: There is explicit reference in this passage to carrying no burden, or doing no work on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is no explicit reference to sabbath worship, although one result of the observance of the sabbath is that numerous people will come to the temple and perform cultic worship (v.26).

Creation/Mosaic: There is no explicit connection with either creation or the covenant, although the observance of the sabbath results in the fulfilment of the promises of both the Davidic and Sinai covenants (v.24-26). Similarly the lack of sabbath observance evokes the curses connected with the Mosaic covenant.

Seventh Day: No reference is given as to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

LAMENTATIONS 2:6

Rest: This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.
Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: This passage contains the phrase “festival and sabbath”.

EZEKIEL 20:12-24; 22:8,26; 23:38

Rest: There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day. That some sort of cultic expression of sabbath observance is expected is clearly indicated in the frequent statement that the sabbath was profaned, however, and this profaning of the sabbath could take the form of not abstaining from work (20:13,16,21,24; 22:8,26; 23:38).

Worship: There is no explicit reference to sabbath worship. The close association between profaning the sabbath and the disregard for the holy things and the sanctuary, however, may reflect the fact that sabbath worship and the sanctuary have a connection; that is, worship in the sanctuary occurred on the sabbath (22:8,26; 23:38).

Creation/Mosaic: While the sabbath is not presented as a sign of the covenant itself, it is presented as “a sign between me and them, so that they might know that I the Lord sanctify them” (20:12) and that “I am the Lord your God” (20:20). Furthermore, this is given in the clear context of the ancestral promise and fulfilment, and the laws of the covenant.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: There is no connection with other cultic festivals.

EZEKIEL 44:24

Rest: This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is no reference to worship on the sabbath, although its specific observance
by priests infers a cultic context.

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

*Other Cultic Festivals:* The sabbath is connected with other cultic festivals in the context of the priests keeping “all my appointed festivals, and they shall keep my sabbath holy”.

**EZEKIEL 45:17**

*Rest:* This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

*Worship:* The sabbath is one of the cultic festivals on which the prince is to provide offerings (and sacrifices).

*Creation/Mosaic:* No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

*Seventh Day:* No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

*Other Cultic Festivals:* There is a reference to these in “at the festivals, the new moons, and the sabbaths, all the appointed festivals of the house of Israel”.

**EZEKIEL 46:1-8**

*Rest:* The absence of work is inferred in this passage in the reference to another six days as “the six working days” (v.1).

*Worship:* This passage clearly envisages sabbath ceremonies at the temple in which the prince and priests officiate, and “the people of the land” gather for worship. As well as additional burnt offerings, these ceremonies include entry by a gate reserved only for holy festivals, and the priest standing by the post of the gate.
**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** This sabbath is contrasted with “six working days”, and its occurrence on the seventh day is clearly inferred.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** This passage is found in the wider context of descriptions of various cultic festivals. In this passage there is reference to the sabbath and then the new moon, with the specific phrase “on the sabbaths and on the new moons”. In its wider context, however, it is preceded by a reference to the observance of the passover festival in particular, and followed by references to the observance of “appointed festivals” in general. No clear ordering to these cultic festivals can be perceived.

**HOSEA 2:11**

**Rest:** This passage contains no reference to rest or an absence of work on the sabbath day.

**Worship:** There is no reference to worship on the sabbath, though the reference that “I will put an end to her mirth” before the listing of Israel’s cultic festivals suggests that these festivals were being observed by some sort of (possibly inappropriate) communal festivities.

**Creation/Mosaic:** No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

**Seventh Day:** No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

**Other Cultic Festivals:** This reference to the sabbath is found in the context of the phrase “her festivals, her new moons, her sabbaths, and all her appointed festivals, יָמֵיהּ וַרְצָתוֹתָהּ וַרְמַנִיםָהּ וַרְבּוֹתָהּ וַתְּרוּפָתָהּ וַתְּמוֹפִיםָהּ”.

**AMOS 8:5**

**Rest:** There is no reference to rest or an absence of work on the seventh day; though the desire for it to be over in order that “we may offer wheat for sale” suggests that such
commercial activity is not deemed appropriate on the sabbath day.

Worship: There is no indication of worship on the sabbath.

Creation/Mosaic: No mention is made as to the significance of the sabbath.

Seventh Day: No reference is made to the frequency of the sabbath festival.

Other Cultic Festivals: This reference to the sabbath is found in parallel to a reference to the new moon, with this reference to the new moon occurring first.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE WEEKLY SABBATH

4.3.1 Tabulated Findings

These exegetical findings may be presented in the following table:
TABLE THREE: The Nature of the Sabbath

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PASSAGE</th>
<th>Rest</th>
<th>Worship</th>
<th>Creation/ Mosaic</th>
<th>Seventh Day</th>
<th>Other Holy Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 2:1-3</td>
<td>God Rests</td>
<td></td>
<td>Creation</td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 16</td>
<td>Strongly Inferred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 20:8-11</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Creation</td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 23:12</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td>Wider context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 31:12-18</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Creation and covenant</td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 34:21</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td>Wider context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 35:2-3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 19:3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 19:30 / 26:2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Cultic context inferred</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 23:3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td>Wider context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus 24:5-9 / 1 Chronicles 9:32</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Cultic activity described</td>
<td>Covenant activity inferred</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 15:32-36</td>
<td>Strongly Inferred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers 28:9-10</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Extra sacrifices prescribed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Wider context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy 5:12-15</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>Yes (6/7)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 4:23</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings 16:18</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Royal Worship or celebrations inferred</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles 23:30</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>sabbath burnt offerings</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 2:4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>sabbath burnt offerings</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 8:13</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>sabbath burnt offerings</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles 31:3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>sabbath burnt offerings</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah 9:14</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASSAGE</td>
<td>Rest</td>
<td>Worship</td>
<td>Creation/ Mosaic</td>
<td>Seventh Day</td>
<td>Other Holy Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah 10:31-33</td>
<td>No buying</td>
<td>Temple services</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah 13: 15-31</td>
<td>No working or commerce</td>
<td>Purification percursor</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms 92</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Psalm for worship</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 1:13-14</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Temple attendance inferred</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 56:1-8</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Means of cultic inclusion</td>
<td>Covenant inferences</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 58:13-14</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Covenant inferences</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 66:23</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Universal worship at Zion [inferred]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 17:24-27</td>
<td>Strongly Inferred</td>
<td>Results in cultic worship</td>
<td>Covenantal inferences</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations 2:6</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 20:12-24; 22:8,26; 23:38</td>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>Cultic inferences</td>
<td>Covenantal inferences</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 44:24</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Priestly inferences</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 45:17</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Temple offerings</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel 46:1-8</td>
<td>Strongly Inferred</td>
<td>People attend temple</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes (6/sabbath)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosea 2:11</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Festivities inferred</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 8:5</td>
<td>Absence of commerce</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.2 Rest on the Sabbath

As this table indicates, there are six passages in the Pentateuchal laws that explicitly command the absence of work on the sabbath, as well as prohibiting the specific activities of collecting manna and sticks. The death penalty for anyone who works on the sabbath in Exodus 35:2-3 is clearly universal to all members of Israelite society, while the other five references may be interpreted as referring to all classes of Israelites. In Nehemiah and the prophets there are strong indications of the absence of commercial activities on the sabbath day.

In narrative passages, the requirement to rest on the sabbath day is less clear. There is no direct reference to a universal state of rest on the sabbath. At the same time, however, there is no clear reference to those activities prohibited in the Pentateuchal laws occurring on the sabbath day; although there are references to activities that later Judaism prohibited.

4.3.3 Worship on the Sabbath

In many of these passages, the action of resting on the sabbath is presented in a clearly cultic context of reverencing and sanctifying the sabbath, as well as being presented as a memorial of both creation and the exodus. As such, it is in itself an expression of communal cultic worship. Such a concept of worship is clearly reflected in Bacchiocchi’s reference to Massi:

“For the Jews,” as well expressed by P. Massi, “rest was an act of worship, a type of liturgy. This enables us to understand why a series of ritualistic prescriptions were developed to regulate the liturgy of rest.”

In various passages the communal aspect of the rest is underscored by the enforcement of this rest on all members of the society.

There are some indications of sabbath ceremonies occurring at the temple. The similarities between 2 Kings 11:4-16; 16:18 / 2 Chronicles 23:4-11 and Ezekiel 46:1-8 suggests that the king officiating from a designated site, and the people gathering for these services, was a

---

524 That is, Exodus 20:8-11; 23:12; 31:12-18; 34:21; 35:2-3; Deuteronomy 5:12-15.
525 Exodus 16; Numbers 15:32-36.
526 Nehemiah 10:31-33; 13: 15-31; Jeremiah 17:24; Amos 6:5.
customary occurrence. Inferences of communal sabbath worship at the temple may also be made from the reference to the “sabbath covering” in 2 Kings 16:18 and to the future vision of Isaiah 66:23.

### 4.3.4 Creation / Mosaic Institution

**Creation or Mosaic Institution**

This study has shown that, in addition to Genesis 2:1-3, there are only two passages that connect the sabbath with creation, Exodus 20:8-11 and Exodus 31:12-18. Both of these texts, however, are in a wider covenantal context. Exodus 31 refers to the sabbath both as a reminder of creation and a sign of the covenant, and the decalogue of Exodus 20 is placed in the specific context of the covenant. As section 6.2.1 later demonstrates, these two sabbath references have been interpreted as an inclusio around the presentation at Sinai of the covenant and directions for the sanctuary.

Furthermore, in none of these texts is there an explicit reference to the sabbath having relevance for all humanity or to a demand for its observance outside Israel. Only non-Israelites residing in Israel are commanded to observe the sabbath, and its observance by other nations is only envisaged in the context of future Yahweh worship in Zion (Is 66:23, cf. 56:6-7).

On the other hand, there are frequent references to the sabbath as a sign of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel (Ex 31:12-18), as a sign of God’s sanctifying presence in Israel (Ez 20:12-24), and in the context of inferences to the covenant (Is 56:1-8; 58:13-14; Jer 17:24-27). It is legitimate to conclude from this, therefore, that the dominant concept of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures is that of a unique symbol of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. That is, the dominant concept of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures is as a “Mosaic institution” and no explicit reference to the sabbath as a “creation institution” may be found; although there is reference to it as a creation memorial.

**Creation Memorial versus Creation Institution**

The difference between the sabbath as a creation memorial and a creation institution has
been examined in section 2.5. The sabbath as a memorial of creation is clearly present in the Hebrew Scriptures and, as such, is a significant aspect of the whole concept of the sabbath in the Scriptures. As was demonstrated above, there are unique terms and phrases used in each of the three passages that recount God’s rest on the seventh day of creation. The occurrence of such variations in this tradition suggests that it had wide influence. Moreover, while a memorial of creation is not the primary symbolism ascribed to the sabbath, it is unique to it. Among all the cultic festivals, this characteristic is attributed only to the sabbath.

The Connection between the Covenant and the Sabbath

Some scholars propose that the description of the sabbath as a memorial of creation and as a sign of the covenant arose in Israel as separate, and possibly competing, traditions.\textsuperscript{528} It is possible, however, to understand these two concepts as part of the same tradition. A legitimate interpretation is that the concept of the sabbath as a memorial of creation arose in the context of the sabbath as a sign of the covenant and the covenantal relationship with Israel. The reference to Yahweh as the creator of all the earth is found frequently in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is connected with Israel’s covenantal election.\textsuperscript{529} It is also frequently regarded as a later development in these Scriptures.\textsuperscript{530} It is quite possible, therefore, that as this concept of Yahweh’s universal rulership developed, the sabbath as a sign of Yahweh’s covenant with Israel would also develop to incorporate this concept of Yahweh’s universal domain. This concept of Yahweh’s universal domain is a dominant feature of the Genesis one creation account, and this is connected with the sabbath in Genesis 2:1-3.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be stated that the sabbath is primarily found in the Hebrew Scriptures as a sign of the covenant and that the connection with the sabbath as a symbol of creation may be viewed as an aspect of this covenant.

\textsuperscript{528} Meier, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{529} Cf. Exodus 19:5-6.
\textsuperscript{530} Those that advocate this position also identify in the Hebrew Scriptures the earlier concept of Yahweh as one God among many gods. Cf. Psalms 82:1.
4.3.5 Seventh Day

When Ezekiel 46:1 and Genesis 2:1-2 are included, there are nine explicit references to the sabbath as the seventh day of the week. While these are the minority of the total references to the sabbath, there is no clear reference or inference to the sabbath being a monthly interval.531

Explicit reference to the seventh day are either Pentateuchal, (usually considered post-exilic) or in Ezekiel, which is also clearly exilic or post-exilic. While this distribution supports the theory of Ghana Robinson and others that the sabbath changed from a monthly to a weekly occurrence in exilic or post-exilic times,532 it may also be explained in terms of the genre in which the sabbath references occur. While the sabbath references in the Pentateuchal law focus on descriptions of the day itself, those in the prophets focus on its practical observance, and those in the historical books give only incidental references to the sabbath in the context of other narratives. The concentration of sabbath references in the Pentateuch can also be attributed to the fact that they are in the context of descriptive law, rather than because they are post-exilic. In this regard, it is significant that the only passage outside the Pentateuch that explicitly refers to the sabbath as the seventh day is Ezekiel 46, which contains a genre reflective of Pentateuchal law.

As section 3.3 has demonstrated, much significance can be drawn from the connection of the sabbath with the seventh day. The number seven has long been connected with completeness and perfection, and the seven-day period connects the sabbath both with wedding and purification connotations of purity, holiness, and the initiation into a new state.

4.3.6 The Sabbath and other Cultic Festivals

As chapter two demonstrated, the word order of lists of festivals has been used both to

531 As chapter three demonstrated, there are also references to the annual festivals as Sabbaths in Lev 23, and the seventh-year Sabbath of the land in Lev 25.
532 When the dating of “classical” critical scholarship is accepted.
justify and refute the nature of the sabbath as a full moon festival,\(^{533}\) and to question whether the sabbath had a prominent position during the time of the Hebrew Scriptures.\(^{534}\)

From the examination of the sabbath passages above, it can be observed that the word ordering “sabbath and new moon” occurs solely in the context of descriptions of cultic sacrifices at the temple.\(^{535}\) The reverse, however, is not true; that is, the word order “new moon and sabbath” is found in the context of cultic sacrifices in Ezekiel 45:17, and is also found in Isaiah 1:13-14, Isaiah 66:23 and Hosea 2:11, where a context of cultic temple worship may be inferred.

There are three passages that contain the word order “new moon and sabbath” where only these two festivals are mentioned (2 Kgs 4:23, Is 66:23, Amos 8:5), and three passages where this word order is found in the context of other festivals (Ez 45:17, Is 1:13-14 and Hos 2:11). As section 2.1.2 demonstrated, Ghana Robinson used this distribution to argue that the word order “new moon and sabbath” reflects a pre-exilic and exilic context when the sabbath was a full moon festival, while the word order “sabbath and new moon” reflects a post-exilic context when the sabbath was a weekly festival. Using the dating of the texts based on Wellhausen’s school of thought, this distribution generally fits Ghana Robinson’s hypothesis, though some passages are debatable, as his own defence of the dating of various passages indicates.\(^{536}\)

There are other possible hypotheses, however, that may explain these differences. In the two prophetic references to the sabbath and festivals that do not also mention the new

---

\(^{533}\) Cf. section 2.1.1, especially the references of G. Robinson, 1988, and Hasel in footnotes 92 and 93.

\(^{534}\) McKay, 1991, pp. 18-19. McKay interprets the inclusion and order of the sabbath and new moon in these festivals as an indication of the prominence that the author of each list places on these days. Her final conclusion, however, is that the contents and order of these lists (and the attitude of each individual author) are so varied, that no dominant position can be seen.

\(^{535}\) Numbers 28:9-15; 1 Chronicles 23:30; 2 Chronicles 2:4; 2 Chronicles 8:13; 2 Chronicles 31:3; Nehemiah 10:32; Ezekiel 46:3-7.

\(^{536}\) G. Robinson, 1988, pp. 195-246, gives an extended enquiry as to the date and origin of Jeremiah 17:19-17, Lamentations, the Holiness code, and passages in Ezekiel and Trito-Isaiah. We may compare the quote in section 2.2.1 of Hart, p. 325, “in my judgment Ghana Robinson has gone too far. His devaluation of any material he regards as post-exilic is debatable, and in any case his datings would be disputed by many and the allegedly late texts may contain much earlier material.”
moon, the word order is both times “festival and sabbath”.\textsuperscript{537} Similarly, in the references to the sabbath, new moon and annual festivals outside the Pentateuch which are not directly describing cultic offerings, the word order “festival, new moon and sabbath” is found (Is 1:13 and Hos 2:11).

It can be postulated, therefore, that the word order “festival, new moon, sabbath” was the popular word order, while the word order “sabbath, new moon, festival” occurs in references to cultic festivals in the context of tabernacle/temple worship, particularly in the lists of burnt offerings. The reason for the word order in these lists could be that they begin with the daily burnt offering, which is multiplied progressively on sabbath, new moon and annual festivals. This ordering of cultic festivals could have become common practice in a cultic context; explaining its dominance in the Pentateuch. In support of this hypothesis, it is significant that the one explicit reference to lists of burnt offerings which contains the order annual, monthly, weekly (in Ez 45:12), is also the only list of burnt offerings that does not contain a reference to the daily burnt offerings.

While presenting this hypothesis as a plausible option, this thesis acknowledges that there is too much variation in the order in which cultic festivals are referred to, and too few references for each variation, to discern any clear pattern, or to draw definite conclusions from this pattern.

4.3.7 The Prominence of the Sabbath

While its conclusions are tentative, this hypothesis raises questions as to McKay’s presentation of the word order and content of these lists as a reflection of the prominence that the author gives to the sabbath. McKay’s other arguments against the prominence of the sabbath may also be questioned from the findings of this chapter and chapter three. McKay argues for the prominence of the new moon on account of the increased cultic activities that occur on this day.\textsuperscript{538} This thesis questions the extent to which the level of

\textsuperscript{537} There are Pentateuchal references to cultic festivals that reflect a weekly, monthly annual order in Exodus 23:12-15; Exodus 34:21-23 and Leviticus 23-25, (though Exodus 23:10-15 does contain references to festivals in the order seventh-year, weekly, annual festival).

\textsuperscript{538} McKay, 1991, pp. 16-17.
celebration and worship ceremony that occurs on a festival may be used as a means of ascertaining the prominence of a festival. Firstly, because greater celebration on other festivals could equally be attributed to the fact that, because they occur less frequently, greater celebration is more feasible. Secondly, because of the unique nature of the sabbath as a sanctified day, many of the celebratory practices connected with the other festivals may have been considered inappropriate for the sabbath. As chapter three demonstrated, terms such as “rejoice” / משׁחתה, “cheerful”, “praise” / שמח, “give thanks” / יבֹר, “to have joy” / שמח, and “dance” / זְכָרָה, and the occurrence of trumpet blasts are not found in connection with the sabbath. The sabbath could therefore have equal or greater prominence than other cultic festivals, without including the same worship and celebration practices.

The frequency of references to the sabbath and the new moon also yields little indication of their prominence. Reference to the practical observance of the sabbath and the new moon are relatively few in the Hebrew Scriptures. In both prophetic and Pentateuchal literature, references to the sabbath predominate, and both have references to the sabbath (or seventh day) and other cultic festivals without references to the new moon. Significantly, the largest list of cultic festivals found in Leviticus 23-25 has no mention of the new moon (cf. Ex 23:12, Ex 34:21, Lev 23:25, Lam 2:6, Ez 44:24). This, as well as the sabbath being the only cultic festival in the decalogue, suggests the prominence of the sabbath. As chapter three has indicated, there are numerous traits that are unique to the sabbath that may be seen as expressions of its prominence.

4.4 SEVENTH-YEAR FESTIVALS AND THE JUBILEE

This thesis now examines the nature of the seventh-year festivals and the jubilee, and how they may support the understanding of the sabbath presented here.

---

539 It would be equally tenuous to argue that because Christmas has greater celebrations for many Christians than the Lord’s day, that these Christian consider Christmas to be of greater prominence than the Lord’s day.
4.4.1 The Seventh-year Festivals

The precise identity, nature and purpose of these seventh-year cycles in the Hebrew Scriptures are contentious points of discussion among scholars. We may, in fact, identify three aspects to these seventh-year festivals. Two of these practices, the remission of debt in every seventh year and the release of the Hebrew slave after six years of labour, are found together in Deuteronomy 15, as well as separately in Exodus 21:1-6. Deuteronomy 31:9-13 also speaks of the reading of the law during the seventh year of release.

The third practice, the fallow year, is listed in Leviticus 25:1-7 as part of the wider list of festivals. Individual statutes describing it are also found in Exodus 23:10-11 and Nehemiah 10:31, while the result of not observing it is described in Leviticus 26:34-35 and 2 Chronicles 36:21. Although Leviticus 23-25 has the most comprehensive list of cultic festivals in the Hebrew Scriptures, these chapters do not contain a reference to the release of debt or slaves in the seventh year. Rather, they mention such a release as occurring in the jubilee year (even though this was immediately preceded by a fallow year). Caution should be taken, therefore, in presuming that these three practices are a single institution.

This distinction is particularly relevant when the object of the fallow year is understood. While the release of debt and of slaves has a clear human and social orientation, the purpose of the fallow year is less obvious. A clear humanitarian concern is found in the Exodus 23:10 law “in the seventh year you shall let it lie fallow, so that the poor of your people may eat; and what they leave the wild animals may eat.” On the other hand, in Leviticus 25:17 this fallow year is described specifically as “a sabbath rest for the land” and a “sabbath for the Lord”, while the jubilee is described as “a jubilee for you” (Lev. 25:11). In this regard it is significant that the seventh-day sabbath and the jubilee year - which are focused on humans - are to be sanctified, but the seventh-year sabbath is not. While it is not directed to humans, the Leviticus description of the seventh-year sabbath has a close parallel with the sabbath commandment of the decalogue, as the following table demonstrates:
TABLE FOUR: Comparison of the Sabbath and the Seventh-year Fallow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECALOGUE</th>
<th>LEVITICUS 25:1-7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A command to observe</td>
<td>A command to give rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six days of work</td>
<td>Six years of farming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One day of rest</td>
<td>One year of rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities that may not be performed</td>
<td>Activities that may not be performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who may not perform them</td>
<td>People who may not perform them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason for rest</td>
<td>What may be eaten during this time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.2 Purpose of the Fallow Year

Scholars have proposed various theories concerning the purpose of the fallow year. The theories of its purpose as an expression of God’s ownership, as provision for the poor and wild animals, and as a return of the land to its original state, will each be examined in turn, and the theory of its purpose as an expression of the land as a votive offering will then be presented.

God’s Ownership

Stalker takes the dominant interpretation of this fallow year when he states that “according to Lev. 23:4, the reason was religious, the acknowledgment of God’s ownership of the soil by renouncing the use of it every seventh year.”\(^{540}\) The interpretation that the seventh-year fallow symbolises the ultimate ownership of the land by God is highly plausible considering the general emphasis this theme has in the Hebrew Scriptures, particularly the Pentateuch. It is tenuous, however, to present this as explicitly expressed in the words of Leviticus 25:4, “but in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath for the Lord”; particularly as the phrase “to the Lord” is used of cultic festivals and cultic offerings in general. The statement that the land ultimately belongs to Yahweh is made later in this chapter in verse 23: “The land shall not be sold in perpetuity,

---

for the land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants”. The context of this verse, however, is clearly that of the jubilee year, and the return of land in the jubilee year, rather than the jubilee year as a fallow year.

**Provision for Wild Animals and the Poor**
The statement in Exodus 23:11 that “in the seventh year you shall let it rest and lie fallow, so that the poor of your people might eat; and what they leave the wild animals may eat” has sometimes been interpreted as expressing that the secondary purpose of this fallow year is to provide for the poor and wild animals.\(^{541}\) Such an interpretation reflects the focus on the welfare of humans and animals in the surrounding texts. The practicality of a year in which the sowing of grain and intensive cultivation of crops does not occur as an institution specifically for providing for the needs of the poor can be questioned. This is particularly so in the light of such institutions as the yearly provision of gleanings and the storage of the third-year tithe for the needy in the village.\(^{542}\) Because of this, as well as the fact that reference to the fallow year in Leviticus 25:6-7 does not contain any reference to the poor, an openness to other interpretations is advisable.

Stalker makes the plausible interpretation of this verse, not in terms of provision for the poor in general, but rather in terms of provision for the poor specifically in this seventh year. He notes that:

> In the seventh year the poor man would be in the worse case of all. The rich could lay up provision against it, and the slave was cared for by his master. But the poor man, if he were an agricultural labourer, was done out of even his livelihood. Hence that which came up self-sown was reserved for him.\(^{543}\)

Such an interpretation, however, still leaves unanswered the question of the significance of the seventh fallow year itself.

Of specific interest in this fallow year law is the express provision for “wild animals -

---

\(^{541}\) Cf. with the quote by Clements on the text below (footnote 545).

\(^{542}\) Anthony Philips, *Deuteronomy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, p. 104, notes that this practice of the fallow year is not referred to in Deuteronomy. He suggests that its practice may have lapsed, and that “its social benefits appear to have been taken over by 14:28ff.; 24:19ff.” (the third year tithe and the gleanings).

\(^{543}\) Stalker, p. 232.
especially considering that in the Hebrew Scriptures the presence of “wild animals” is usually a symbol of the chaotic forces of nature. This concept is reflected eighteen verses below, verse 29 states “I will not drive them out in one year, or the land would become desolate and the wild animals would multiply against you”. While Leviticus 25:6-7 does not mention the provision of food for the poor, or any category of person not living with the landowner partaking of what the land itself produces in the fallow year, it does speak of the wild animals partaking of it. These passages are possibly unique in the Hebrew Scriptures in terms of their prescription for the sustenance, or even of concern, for wild animals.544

Return to Original State

Clements suggests that:

the institution of a fallow year for the land is a very ancient practice, and originated out of a religious regard for it as belonging to God. In every seventh year it had to be restored to the original state in which God had given it. This reason now lies hidden in the background, and the more directly social benefit of providing food for the poor, i.e. the non-land-owning members of the people, is placed in the forefront. What they did not take the wild animals were to have since they also formed a part of God’s ordering in the natural world.545

Such an interpretation that the fallow year represented “the original state in which God had given it” is problematic, however, in that it is applying to the verse a category that many scholars considered to be absent from the Hebrew Scriptures. The concept of an ideal “original” or “natural” state of nature, separate from the influence of humanity, is one that has primarily emerged after significant urbanisation of society with the industrial revolution, and was particularly developed by the nineteenth-century Romantic poets. In Hebrew thought, however, creation external to the influence of humans was considered a chaotic - if not potentially dangerous - state; a force that was constantly held in place by humanity’s agricultural toil. The ideal state at the conclusion of creation in Genesis 1, therefore, was one in which humanity’s domination was an innate part. Genesis 2 similarly places humanity’s role to “till the ground” at the heart of the creation account. The promise

544 A possible exception to this is the law that one may not take the mother bird with the young (Dt. 22:7). Whether the motive of this practice is ethical concern for the bird itself, or simply “sustainable resource use”, however, is open to interpretation.

of the land to Israel, in particular, was the promise of a land in a state of agricultural productivity; as the description “a land flowing with milk and honey” suggests (cf. Dt 6:10-11, 8:7-10). There are also references to the eschatological age as one of agricultural activity and abundant harvest (cf. Is 65:21-23).

Land in a State of Votive Offering
An alternative way to interpret the state of the land in the seventh year is not in terms of it representing the “original state” of the land, but rather representing the land in a state of full votive offering. Significantly, the absence of this statute in Deuteronomy is in keeping with the emphasis in this book on the centrality of worship and the presenting of all sacrifices and offerings in this context. In this context of the seventh year fallow as an offering, the land is not to be worked with the purpose of personal or economic reward, and the fruit of the land is not to be gathered and stored or sold with “common” food, as it is votive and holy. It may be consumed by all, just as many offerings are consumed by the worshippers before the Lord (cf. Dt 12, 14, 16). Any leftover produce from the fallow year, however, is governed by the same requirements as offerings to be discarded; in this case by leaving it to be consumed by wild animals or to decompose back into the ground. Such a votive offering could be an expression of God’s ultimate ownership of the land, and thus reflect the majority interpretation of the purpose of this fallow year. At the same time, however, it also includes other aspects of this fallow year addressed in the other interpretations. Section 6.2.5 develops this fallow year further in the context of its agricultural benefits for the land.

If the fallow year is connected with the year of remission, then the reading of the law at the feast of tabernacles in this year can also be interpreted as an expression of this total dedication of the land (Dt 31:10-11). The feast of tabernacles is most likely the time when Israel either presented the tithe before the Lord, or vowed before the Lord that the third year tithe had been put into the local storehouse (cf. Dt 12:17-19; 14:22-29; 26:12-15). This tithe is commonly interpreted as an expression of God’s ultimate ownership of the land and its produce. In the seventh year, when no produce is harvested, this reading of the

---

546 As it has been shown in section 4.4.1, these two seventh-year practices are not ever explicitly connected in the Hebrew Scriptures, although to do so is a legitimate reading of the text of Deuteronomy in its final form.
whole law may be considered a replacement for tithe, and a means of expressing the fallow year as a total offering of the land back to God.

*The Fallow Produce and the Lord’s Concern for Wild Animals*

In support of the fallow year being a votive offering, it is significant that, while the sustenance of wild animals is not generally considered a concern of humans, they are provided for by God. Moreover, the animal world finds rest (and presumably sustenance) in the house of the Lord, and the mountain of the Lord is presented in a future state of harmony between humans and the animal world (cf. Ps 84:3; Is 11:6-9; 66:25; cf. Job 38-39).

In this interpretation, the Exodus 23:10-11 reference to the seventh year as a means of providing for the poor and wild animals in Israel is presented as an aspect of this festival, rather than its primary motive or symbolism. Such an interpretation is in keeping with the following two verses in which the seventh-day sabbath is presented primarily in terms of benefiting domestic animals, slaves and resident aliens. While this passage may reflect an early development in the sabbath in which its primary nature was the provision of rest, it may also be that the basic nature of the sabbath as a cultic festival to Yahweh is presumed in this passage.547

4.4.3 Simultaneous or Concurrent

Another significant topic of discussion among scholarship is whether the fallow, remission and release years were intended to be simultaneous or concurrent. An example of the latter position is Philips, who presents the provision of the poor as the primary purpose of this ordinance, and then expresses the necessity of this seventh year being staggered by a system of rotation in order “to provide permanent sustenance for the poor and wild

---

547 Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, Dorothea Barton, tr., London: SCM Press, 1966, p. 105, “This custom was determined not primarily by social, still less by economic considerations, but was a definitely sacral arrangement.” Clements, 1972, p. 151, similarly presents the primary significance of this statute in terms of cultic context, yet also notes that “This reason now lies hidden in the background, and the more directly social benefit of providing food for the poor, i.e. the non-land-owning members of the people, is placed in the forefront.”
animals”.  

Many other scholars are more hesitant in their conclusions. Concerning Exodus 23:10-11 Clements states that “it is not clear whether all the land or a whole region was subject to the same seventh-year sabbath, or whether some system of rotation of fields was used”.  

Stalker suggests that “in the later usage (cf. Lev 25:2-7), the fallow year is represented as to be observed in the same year throughout the country. Exodus 23:12, with its mention of the sabbath, which all observe simultaneously, could suggest that the same is meant here in Exodus 23:10”.  

This thesis leaves open the possibility that some references to the fallow, remission or release years were originally concurrent. It accepts the position of Stalker, however, that Leviticus 25 contains a clear reference to this seventh year being observed simultaneously. Moreover, the caution in Deuteronomy 15:9 against withholding money when the year of remission is near, and the reading of the law in the remission year in Deuteronomy 31:10-11, both clearly indicate that in Deuteronomy this remission year is simultaneous.  

In the following chapters, this thesis interprets these festivals as if they were kept simultaneously and develops from this communal observance a reflection of the eschatological age. While there is no explicit reference to the fallow, release and remission practices happening together in the seventh year, they are all explicitly connected in the jubilee.  

4.4.4 The Jubilee  

Although the term “sabbath” is not directly used of the jubilee, the jubilee may be connected with the sabbath on two counts. The first of these is that it derived from a “sabbath” of seventh-year sabbaths. This alone is not sufficient to justify it as a sabbath, as

---

548 Philips, p. 104, “For since the purpose of letting the land lie fallow was clearly to provide permanent sustenance for the poor and wild animals, fallowing cannot have taken place simultaneously throughout Israel, but must have been staggered by a system of rotation.”
549 Clements, 1972, p. 151.
the feast of weeks is also derived from a “sabbath” of weekly sabbaths. The terminology connected with the jubilee, however, is also strongly reflective of the sabbath. Israel is “to hallow - קָרָאתם” the jubilee, and it is to be “holy - קָרֵשׁ” for Israel. As the previous chapter illustrated, there is a unique connection between the sabbath and the term “קָרֵשׁ”.

While there are no biblical or extra-biblical references to the jubilee taking place in Israel, it still contains significant theological meaning from which a symbol of the eschatological age may be developed.

4.4.5 Connections with the Weekly Sabbath

The jubilee year, and the fallow, release and remission seventh years, all add to the understanding of the sabbath in the following ways.

**Rest:** Rest of the land can be considered the main aspect of the fallow year.

**Worship:** The initiation of the jubilee has clear connotations of communal worship with the blowing of trumpets. The nature of the jubilee as a year long celebration by all society throughout the land is itself a communal act of worship. The year of remission also initiates increased worship activity, with the reading of the law during the feast of tabernacles in this year (Dt 31:10-13).

**Seventh Year:** The seventh-year festivals are in a cycle of six years and then the seventh year, reflective of the sabbath.

**Mosaic or Universal:** The jubilee has a clear connection with the covenantal promise of the land and the ultimate ownership of the land by God (Lev 25:23). The jurisdiction of the ordinances specifically to Israel is even more explicit in these cultic festivals than in the weekly sabbath. For while weekly sabbath rest is required of foreigners and is even

---

551 Oswald T. Allis, “Leviticus”, in D. Guthrie, J. A. Motyer, A. M. Stibbs and D. J. Wiseman, eds., *The New Bible Commentary: Revised*, London: Inter-Varsity Press, 3rd edition, 1970 (first published 1953), p. 165, states of this verse, “According to Dt. 31:10 this year is not to be spent in idleness, but to be used for the teaching and training of Israel in the law of God.” Such an interpretation is reminiscent of the teaching of the Early Fathers on the meaning of the Sabbath and caution should be shown in attributing such an understanding of worship to time of the Hebrew Scriptures. It rightly identifies, however, the seventh year as a time uniquely delegated for the reading of Scripture.
described as for their benefit, the redemption from slavery in Israel is restricted to Israelite slaves, and the return of the land benefits only Israelites. The jubilee would only affect the foreigner by giving foreign slaves of landowners a rest from agricultural activity.

We may conclude, then, that the seventh year and the jubilee practices reflect the understanding of the weekly sabbath found in the Hebrew Scriptures.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the examination in this chapter has demonstrated the following concerning the nature of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures.

- A clear presentation of the sabbath as a day of rest, is found in these Scriptures (particularly in the Pentateuch and the prophetic literature), and it is also presented as being universal to all social classes of people in Israel (and also to animals).
- A few passages\(^552\) give clear indications that on the sabbath corporate worship occurred - or should occur - at the temple. Moreover, the nature of the sabbath as a universal day of rest, as well as the commands to sanctify it and to remember the uniqueness of Yahweh’s creation and covenant with Israel in the context of this rest, all suggest that the sabbath rest itself is a form of communal worship.
- The sabbath is primarily found in these Scriptures as a sign of the covenant; that is, it can legitimately be regarded as a Mosaic rather than a creation institution. While there is found no clear presentation of the sabbath as a creation institution, a memorial of creation is found here, and this reminder that Yahweh is creator may be viewed as an aspect of the covenant with Israel.
- The sabbath is connected in numerous instances\(^553\) with the seventh day. This connection with the number seven carries with it connotations of completeness and perfection. Similarly, its connection with the seven-day ritual purity and wedding ceremonies brings with it connotations of purity, holiness, and the initiation into a new state.
- Moreover, there is no clear indication of the sabbath being a monthly interval. In particular, an examination of the word order of references to various cultic festivals

\(^{552}\) 2 Kings 11:4-16 / 2 Chronicles 23:4-22; Ezekiel 46:1-8; Isaiah 66:23; Cf. 2 Kings 16:18.

\(^{553}\) As section 4.3.5 has stated, there are nine of these including Genesis 2:1-2 and Ezekiel 46:1.
shows that there is little clear pattern from which to form a hypothesis that the phrase “new moon and sabbath” refers to monthly new moon and (sabbath) full moon festivals.

- Similarly, this word order in references to various cultic festivals has been shown to be an insufficient basis from which to draw clear indications as to the prominence of the sabbath in Israel. The level of celebration that occurs on the sabbath in contrast to other festivals has also been presented as a questionable criteria from which to form conclusions as to the prominence of the sabbath.

- The seventh-year and jubilee practices reflect this understanding of the sabbath as a day of rest, worship and a Mosaic institution, as well as its connection with periods of seven time units\(^{554}\).

From these conclusions, the end of this section in 5.7 is able to demonstrate the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

\(^{554}\) In this case time units of days, years and weeks of years (or seven-year time units).
chapter five: universal and perpetual holiness

Interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age frequently present this age as a state of eternal sabbath. As a key aspect of the sabbath is its holy nature, the eschatological age is also, therefore, presented as a state of eternal holiness. This raises the question as to whether the concept of holiness being universal and perpetual is a legitimate reflection of the understanding of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures. Challenges to such an understanding can arise from two angles. The first of these is the interpretation reflected in Westermann (cf. ch 2) that there was in-built into creation a polarity between holy and secular time. That is, holiness is not perpetual through time. The second of these is the understanding of the etymological origins and the basic nature of holiness as that of separation (cf. below). Of particular relevance is the election of Israel as a holy people that identifies it as unique among the nations. That is, holiness is not universal through space. While these two interpretations examine the spheres of time and space respectively, they both have at their heart the question of whether the essence of holiness is a state of distinction and separation, and whether holiness therefore requires the existence of the contrasting secular.

This chapter therefore examines the nature of holiness, and whether it can exist as a universal and perpetual state. As it is beyond the scope of this chapter to do a detailed analysis of all references to holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures, it simply examines whether there is any indication that such an understanding of holiness may be found within these Scriptures. In so doing it asks the following three questions:

- May such an understanding of holiness be developed from the references to holiness found in the Hebrew Scriptures?
- Is there any indication of this understanding of holiness in these Scriptures?
- Have other scholars developed such an understanding of holiness from these Scriptures?

From the answer to these questions, conclusions may be drawn as to the legitimacy of viewing holiness as universal and perpetual, and therefore also of viewing the “eternal sabbath” in the eschatological age as a time of universal and perpetual holiness. Having
made this final examination of section one, the end of this chapter then concludes this section by demonstrating the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

5.1 THE CENTRALITY AND BREADTH OF HOLINESS IN BIBLICAL STUDIES

The examination of holiness has been a significant topic of scholarship both in the study of religions as a whole, and in biblical studies in particular. As Brent Strawn has noted, holiness has been given a major, if not central, place in critical research on the Bible and biblical theology. Although scholars agree as to the prominence of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures, there have been differing positions as to its essential nature, and the identification of a variety of holiness traditions in these Scriptures.

Gammie’s Three Categories of Holiness

A recent comprehensive study of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures is the work Holiness in Israel by John Gammie. In this work, Gammie identifies three major concepts of holiness in the three main traditions of the Hebrew Scriptures; that of the priestly, prophetic, and wisdom traditions. He asserts that these three traditions each view holiness

---


For the phenomenology of religion the holy reveals itself in whatever is not profane (Eliade 1959:14). It is experienced in hierophanies or manifestations of power (Van der Leeuw 1963 1:23-36). In principle everything may disclose the holy: time, space, action, word, plant, animal, or person (Eliade 1963:1-4). For the sociology of religion holiness marks status within a community, maintains boundaries vis-à-vis outsiders, and creates group identity (Hodgson 1986:65-91). For traditional scholastic philosophy holiness remains a fundamental ontological category, designating what belongs to or is united with God and the divine will.”


primarily in terms of the cultic, social justice, and personal morality, respectively. Moreover, in each tradition, there may be found variations in each understanding of holiness. While he presents these three traditions of holiness as having a common theme—that of cleanness—it does not present them as being integrated together, but rather as existing in tension with each other.

The Continued Relevance of Cultic Holiness

Gammie’s work leads to the initial hypothesis that understanding holiness as separation is characteristic of earlier cultic traditions, and has been superseded by later, more universal, understandings of holiness in the prophetic, wisdom and Christian traditions. Further research, however, shows that this is not the case. The identification of these three aspects of holiness can be found in many scholarly works on holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures, although they are not as clearly categorised as in Gammie’s work. While some scholarly works, such as Jenson’s *Graded Holiness*, focus on one concept of holiness, others examine two or more together. Of particular interest is the following quotation from Procksch:

In post-exilic Judaism the concept of holiness gives evidence of two intermingling streams, the priestly and cultic on the one hand, and the prophetic and ethical on the other. The former is predominant in the legal literature, the latter in the poetic. In the Jewish priest-state, the Israelite Law became more and more a ceremonial Law in which the popular elements were overshadowed by the cultic. … On the basis of this cultic system, however, there is built in the Psalter a more spiritual world which has drawn from the riches of prophecy and especially Deutero-Isaiah, and in which the holy is conceived personally, whether in the person of the Holy One of Israel (Ps. 71:22; 78:41; 89:18) or of the saints of Israel (34:9; 89:5). Yet there is still frequent mention of the sanctuary of God (5:7; 138:2). And if the priesthood remains relatively in the background, it is easy to see that the collection of the Psalter belongs to the same period as the formation of the priest-state. The cultus was the envelope of faith, though without any sense of conflict between them.

All three of Gammie’s categories are found here, and Procksch presents a greater degree of connection and development between these three traditions.

Given the emphasis in the New Testament on the fulfilment in Christ of the sacrificial

---


system and many other cultic institutions (cf. Col 2; Heb), it would be justifiable to assume that the Christian tradition contains a movement away from the cultic aspects of holiness in favour of an emphasis on personal morality and social justice. As Bockmuehl notes, the concept of purity - (and other cultic expressions of holiness) - are often presented as having little relevance for contemporary Christianity. He goes on to assert, however, that “orthodox Christian doctrine” has affirmed such cultic concepts of holiness.

This “orthodox” understanding is reflected in Procksch. In his examination of holiness in the New Testament he states that “we thus see that neither in the OT nor the NT is the cultic basis of the concept ever denied. In both a cultic element is retained in the people of God. This is spiritualised, but can never disappear”. Similarly, by noting that certain traditions in Christianity have emphasised one of these concepts of holiness, Gammie implicitly states that all three of these concepts of holiness are found in the Christian tradition as a whole. The fact that these three concepts are found together in the Hebrew Scriptures, and have all been both reinterpreted and incorporated into Christian tradition, suggests that they are more than merely three traditions or means of expressing this concept of holiness, but rather are all essential aspects of holiness.

The “Communicable” Nature of Holiness

In his article “The X-Factor: Revising Biblical Holiness”, Brent Strawn examines and develops Gammie’s concept of holiness. Strawn refers to Gammie’s three strands as various mentalités of holiness, and the common theme in the various mentalités as the esprit of holiness. While for Gammie the esprit is cleanness, Strawn defines it as

---


562 Procksch, p. 110.


564 While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine this further, this thesis suggests that these three aspects of holiness may also be found in the concept of holiness of other religions. Cf. Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 5749/1989, p. 257. Mary Douglas describes the nature of purity in a variety of religions and cultures in *Purity and Danger*. 238
difference. Strawn then takes the concept of holiness a step further by suggesting that the purpose of this difference is to present holiness to those from whom the holy have been separated.

By describing the purpose of “separation to holiness” in this way, Strawn presents the basis for an understanding of universal holiness in the eschatological age. At the same time, however, his definition of the esprit of holiness in terms of difference is a definition that becomes obsolete once this state of universal holiness has been achieved; for then there is nothing “unholy” to be different from. Moreover, this thesis suggests that this concept of difference is far more evident in the cultic traditions. While such a definition of the esprit of holiness is clearly not sufficient, the continued prevalence of its cultic expression in the Hebrew Scriptures in later Jewish and Christian tradition would suggest caution at totally disregarding it as part of a definition of holiness. This begs the question, therefore, whether the term holiness is simply a description of the process of moving to this different or separated state, or whether it also describes the nature of this state itself. If this is the case then, how should the nature of this state be defined?

5.2 A DEFINITION OF HOLINESS IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

5.2.1 Holiness as the Sphere of the Divine

A common definition of holiness in both biblical studies and in the wider study of religion is to relate it to the sphere or essence of the divine. Gammie and Strawn are among the many scholars of the Hebrew Scriptures who equate holiness with God, God’s name and God’s essence. This equation between holiness and God is further strengthened when the

565 Strawn, pp. 74-79.
566 Ibid., p. 79.
567 Gammie, p. 3, quotes Ernst Sellin, “God is holy. Herein we touch on that which constitutes the deepest and inner most nature of the God of the Old Testament.” Cf. also p. 195. Strawn, p. 76, “Holiness is part of the Bible’s grammar; to borrow Walter Brueggemann’s terminology, it comprises part of Israel’s core testimony about God.” Norman Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, London: Epworth Press, 1944, pp. 21-32, esp. p. 30, examines the etymological roots of the word “holiness” and concludes the most likely root of the word to be that of “separation”. He notes, however, that they should be interpreted not primarily as separation from others, but rather as separation to God. Muilenburg, p.622, says of the divine name “Holiness as the personal nature of Yahweh finds living expression in the worship and theology of the Name”. Cf. Procksch, p. 91.
references to God’s glory are taken into account. As Muilenburg notes, “Holiness and Glory (כבוד) are closely related. The latter is employed for the external manifestation of Yahweh”.  

In his book *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, Snaith demonstrates that it is common in religion to view the divine in terms of holiness. As Israel’s concept of Yahweh shares in common with other deities such attributes as transcendence and power, so its concept of holiness shares in common such concepts as mystery and awe. Snaith asserts, however, that the development of the distinctive Israelite concept of holiness began with the concept that “holiness” refers to Yahweh alone. He considers that it was an easy step from here to use it “to refer to those manifested characteristics which belong to Jehovah uniquely”. He then identifies and examines such unique characteristics of Jahweh as righteousness, salvation, and love (both “covenant love – חסד” and “election love – נחית”). As Birch reflects, it is this חסד that could be described as the dominant characteristic - if not the essence - of God in the Hebrew Scriptures (cf. Ex 34:5-7; Ps 136).

The Limitations of Such an Interpretation

In defining holiness in terms of the sphere or essence of the divine, it is important to keep in mind the hesitancy by later Jewish and Christian theologians to refer to the essence or character of God, and to consider these to be ultimately beyond human understanding or

---


569 Snaith, pp. 42, 45-46.

570 Ibid., p. 46.

571 Snaith, p. 95, describes this חסד as the cause of the covenant, and חסד as the means of its continuance.

experience. This hesitancy may be behind the following tradition:

In the Jewish tradition, the predominant view has been that this statement [Lev. 19:2] was not intended to describe God’s essential nature, but, rather, His manifest, or “active,” attributes. To say that God is “holy” is similar to saying that He is great, powerful, merciful, just, wise and so forth. These attributes are associated with God on the basis of His observable actions: the ways in which He relates to man [sic] and to the universe. The statement that God is holy means, in effect, that He acts in holy ways: He is just and righteous. Although this interpretation derives from later Jewish tradition, it seems to approximate both the priestly and the prophetic biblical conceptions of holiness.

This thesis affirms both that God’s nature is ultimately beyond human comprehension, and also that holiness is expressed in God’s actions. At the same time, however, the saying that “a person’s actions are a reflection of her character” is most true in regard to God, who cannot lie (Num 23:19). To the extent that God’s essence or character is comprehensible to humans, therefore, this character may be perceived though God’s actions. Various scholars have also noted that in the Hebrew Scriptures, not only is human holiness discernable from God’s holiness, it is also dependant on God’s holiness. This suggests that the uniqueness of God’s holiness goes beyond actions into the actual character of God. Furthermore, humanity’s own imitation of God’s holiness requires both holiness of nature and of action; thereby suggesting that God’s holiness is likewise inclusive of both.

*God’s Love as Holiness, and God’s Hate*

In taking a definition of holiness that has ὅσιος as a central characteristic, it is also necessary to acknowledge references to God’s actions in the Hebrew Scriptures that seem to run counter to this ὅσιος. On this topic Muilenburg states “it is in this context that we must read passages which refer to Yahweh’s ‘hate’ (Ps 11:5; Is 1:14; Hos 9:15; Amos 5:21; Mal 1:3);


574 Levine, p. 256.

575 Wright, p. 237. “The P and non-P writings both consider God the ideal manifestation, indeed the source, of holiness. Holiness is not inherent in creation but comes by God’s dictates.” Cf. Paul Evdokimov, “Holiness in the Tradition of the Orthodox Church”, in Michael Plekon and Alexis Vinogradov, eds. and trs., *In the World, of the Church: A Paul Evdomikov Reader*, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001, pp. 95-97. “Only God is holy, and a creature is such only in a derived sense. The sacred and the holy can never be of the creature’s own nature but only and always by participation in the nature of God. ‘Be holy, as I am holy.’ Every degree of consecration and sanctification is through participation in the one, unique divine source.”
he cannot tolerate worship, the human response to his manifested holiness, that is in
defiance of his essential and innermost nature”. He later goes on to demonstrate from the
book of Hosea the subsuming of God’s abhorrence of sin and punishment in God’s
redeeming love.

The personal inwardness of the holy relations, as well as the defiance of
conventional structures, give him [Hosea] a place in Israel’s holiness surpassed by
no other. While full justice is given to the destructive and punitive activities of
holiness, it now finds deeper expression in the conquering love rooted in the
covenantal bond of grace:

I am God and not man,
the Holy One in your midst,
and I will not come to destroy.577

5.2.2 Human Holiness

Human Holiness as a Reflection of God’s Holiness
As Gammie’s categories of holiness clearly demonstrate, there are various expressions of
human holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures, and these likely reflect a development through
time as well as a diversity across traditions. One significant concept of human holiness in
the Hebrew Scriptures, however, is that it is a reflection of God’s holiness. The means of
attaining this holiness is through observance of God’s law. This is clearly demonstrated
in the holiness code of Leviticus 19. This passage starts with the statement “You shall be
holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.” The frequent refrain “I am the Lord (your God)”
throughout this passage may be considered a shorthand expression that “I am the Lord your
God who is holy, if you would be holy, you shall reflect me by acting as this law

576 Muilenburg, p. 618.
577 Ibid., p. 621. Cf. also Procksch, p. 93, on holiness in Hosea. “The opposition of God’s holiness to Israel
thus works itself out in His love which is quite incomprehensible to human nature. In Hosea, therefore, the
concept of holiness takes up into itself as the fullness of deity the thought of love – an insight never again
attained in the OT. As Hosea himself in his shattered happiness learned to know love as the indestructible
force which could save even his lost wife, so Yahweh’s holiness as the sum of His being must contain the
creative love which slays but also makes alive again (cf 6:1 f.) In the older Hebrew concept the divine stands
in mortal opposition to the human and especially the sinful. This opposition remains in Hosea’s view of God,
but it is absorbed into the opposition of holy love to unholy nature. What God in virtue of His holiness may
do to love unholy nature.” [Italics mine].
578 Levine, p. 256, “In order to achieve a holiness of the kind associated with God and His acts, Israel would
have to observe His laws and commandments.”
describes”.579 A similar concept is also reflected in the following phrases from Deuteronomy:

For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty and awesome, who is not partial and takes no bribe, who executes justice for the orphan and the widow, and who loves the strangers, providing them with food and clothing. You shall love the stranger for you were strangers in Egypt. … [concerning remission of slaves] Remember that you were a slave in Egypt, and the Lord your God redeemed you; for this reason I lay this command upon you today (Dt 10:17-19; 15:15).

Just as equating holiness with God also equates holiness with numerous attributes, so also to connect humanity with the sphere of God’s holiness and holy law is to connect them with such attributes as love, truth, righteousness and justice. It also connects holiness with the results of these attributes, such as blessings, rest and shalom, as section 7.2 further examines. This connection between holiness, obedience to the law, and love is clearly expressed in Muilenburg’s interpretation of Leviticus 19:

Lev.19 is a superb example of the meaning of holiness in the life of the faithful son of the covenant. Here, as elsewhere in the Holiness Code, the solemn words “I am Yahweh your God” are repeated again and again, but it is the topic sentence which give point and substance to this mighty self-asseveration: “You shall be holy; for I am holy, Yahweh your God” (vs 2). These words are now applied to every facet of Israel’s existence, but wherever men are involved with each other holiness means love - love to neighbour, to the resident alien, the blind, the deaf, and the slave.580

**Holiness as the Difference Between Israel and the Nations**

With this definition of the esprit of holiness being the character of God, a rich concept of the state of holiness for humanity may also be developed. At the same time, the difference between this state and the normal human state justifies the definition of this state in terms of “difference”. In describing both this difference and its purpose, Strawn states the following:

In short, in my judgment, laws like those found in the Holiness Code function both

---

579 Cf. H. Seebaas, “Holy”, in Colin Brown, ed., *Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, Vol. 2, Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1976, p. 226, “As, in the last analysis, it is the whole Torah that distinguishes Israel from the foreign nations, Deut. 26:18 f. declares that through keeping the whole Torah Israel will become a people holy to Yahweh. The underlying thought here finds particularly fine expression in the ‘Law of Holiness’ (Lev 17-26). Leviticus 19 which probably combines groups of laws different kinds is headed, “You shall be holy for I am holy” (v.2; cf. also 20:7).”

580 Muilenburg, p. 622. The combining of cultic and personal/ethical holiness is also examined in Procksch, p. 92, “If the cultic character of holiness is prominent in this code, c.19 shows us that cultic qualification is inconceivable without purity. Cultic purity, however, demands personal purity. The ἔγινα must be ἔγινα τ. Hence the sphere of ethics is taken up into that of religion.”
theologically and sociologically to simultaneously separate Israel unto itself, and to attract and call others unto Israel."  

This reflects the words of the Hebrew Scriptures in Deuteronomy 4:5-7,

See, just as the Lord my God has charged me, I now teach you statutes and ordinances that I am teaching you to observe in the land that you are about to enter and occupy. You must observe them diligently, for this will show your wisdom and discernment to the peoples, who, when they hear all these statutes, will say, “Surely this great nation is a wise and discerning people!” For what other great nation has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is whenever we call to him? And what other great nation has statutes and ordinances as just as this entire law that I am setting before you today? 

Holiness as the Difference between Humans and God

Two aspects of the concept of difference now become evident. There is the difference between those who are separated to holiness and those from whom the holy are separated. This difference is transitory, and no longer exists when holiness becomes universal. There is also the difference, however, between the holiness of humans and that of God; a difference that is permanent. It is as an expression of these two aspects of holiness that more ritualistic cultic traditions of holiness may be related with the moral and ethical aspects of holiness. The two views of Gammie and Strawn regarding the esprit of holiness may then be viewed as complementary. Gammie’s esprit of cleanness describes the nature of this difference; moral and ethical cleanness that is symbolised in cultic cleanness. In this regard, it is significant that Schwartz presents two distinct meanings of the word ‘holiness’; that of ‘separated, belonging to, designated for’, and that of ‘clean, purified’.

5.3 UNIVERSAL HOLINESS IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

Holiness has been demonstrated to be a reflection of God’s character, especially such attributes as צדakah and righteousness, and to initiate a state of שלום. When such a definition of holiness is accepted, the suitability of describing the eschatological age as an age of universal holiness becomes evident. This thesis now addresses whether such a concept of

---

581 Strawn, p. 79, italics his.
582 Cf. also the quote of Seebaas in footnote 579, particularly the phrase, “in the last analysis, it is the whole Torah that distinguishes Israel from the foreign nations”.
holiness is to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. Section 7.3 then further develops this concept by interpreting the original creation and eschatological re-creation as a state of continual sabbath; that is, universal and perpetual holiness.

**Israel’s Attitude to the Surrounding Nations**

Behind the question of whether universal holiness may be found in these Scriptures is the question of their attitude to the surrounding nations. Gowan examines this question, and demonstrates that with the exodus, the exile and repeated invasions due to its geographical position, the foreign nations held a significant place in Israel’s history. He then continues:

Given this precarious national existence, beginning with nothing, gaining a little and then losing everything, it is not at all surprising to find that the nations play a prominent role in the OT. Moreover, they are often represented as hostile to both Israel and Israel’s God, so that God will have to do something about them if there is to be any future for Israel. That is only natural and to be expected. What is not so natural among human beings is the appearance within that same group of tormented people of a conviction that their God was also the God of the enemy, of a willingness to accept proselytes from other nations into their community, and (just once in a while) of a desire for a future in which Israel and her enemies would live peaceably as equals.  

This tension between the eschatological age being a time when the nations are judged for their oppression of Israel, and a time when holiness and peace will extend to these foreign nations is also well expressed by Gammie:

It would be cynical as well as incorrect, in my judgment, to say that the apocalyptic writers’ concern for the nations is more sadistic than gracious. There is, undeniably, a certain ethnocentricity among them (see e.g., Ezek. 39:17-27; Dan. 7:27). But, there is also a great universalism; for example, in Trito-Zechariah where all the nations will go up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles (Zech. 14:16-19). Nonetheless, the concern of the apocalypticists – whether more or less universalistic – remains global.

Keeping in mind these two aspects to Israel’s attitude to the nations, therefore, an examination of universal holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures can now be made.

**Universal Holiness**

When the concepts related to divine and human holiness are examined, (such as

---

584 Donald E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000, p. 44.

585 Gammie, p. 190.
righteousness etc), expressions of them as a universal state can be found. While some of these references may be regarded as poetic, others have a clear eschatological context. Thus Isaiah 6:3 states that “the whole earth is filled with God’s glory”, Amos 5:24 makes the call to “let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream”, and Daniel 9:24 presents among its requirements, “to bring in everlasting righteousness”.

In regards to the concept of universal holiness itself, there is a clear expression of it extending to the whole of Israel, though its extension to the surrounding nations is less certain. Isaiah 4:3\textsuperscript{586} speaks of the future remnant in Zion all being called holy, while Isaiah 11:6-9; 65:25 speaks of this transformation on the holy mountain extending to the animal kingdom as well.

Zechariah 14:20-21 gives the following future image:

On that day there shall be inscribed on the bells of the horses, “Holy to the Lord”. And the cooking pots in the house of the Lord shall be as holy as the bowls in front of the altar; and every cooking pot in Jerusalem and Judah shall be sacred to the Lord of hosts, so that all who sacrifice may come and use them to boil the flesh of the sacrifice. And there shall no longer be traders in the house of the Lord on that day.

This passage presents the image of holiness extending to all of Jerusalem and Judah, with the express purpose of extending the holiness of the temple in order to cater for the worshipping of all the surrounding nations. In the context of this text, however, it is ambiguous whether the nation’s annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem should be interpreted in terms of (holy) righteous obedience, or as an expression of political subservience.

Zechariah’s concept of the nations worshipping Yahweh in Israel is a recurring theme in the prophetic literature, and may be found again in Micah 4:1-4 and Isaiah 2:1-4, 66:22-23. The vision of a new heaven and a new earth in Isaiah 65-66 is particularly significant. In regards to this vision Procksch states, “since Yahweh as קָרֵית is God and not man, since He stands in antithesis to the natural law of creation, since His thoughts and ways are different from those of men (55:8f.), His holiness corresponds to a καίνη κτίσις in which He is all in all, the תָּחֹת or τὸ ἄρχοντα having passed away and all things become

\textsuperscript{586} Cf. Procksch, p. 93, for a further examination of holiness in this text and in Isaiah in general.
new”. A universal state of holiness is implied in the fact that God’s glory, (the physical manifestation of his holiness), is revealed to all humanity (Is 66:18f), and that all humanity will come to worship him. At the same time, this vision is somewhat marred with the final image of the nations going forth from worship to see the bodies of those who have rebelled, and this worship may therefore have connotations of political subjugation.

The clearest expression of holiness, and its results extending to all nations, is found in Micah. Micah 4:1-4 speaks of the law going out from Zion, with the result of shalom in the form of the cessation of war and social conflict.

5.4 OTHER SCHOLARS ON UNIVERSAL HOLINESS

As Strawn himself states, his concept of the separation of Israel to holiness as a means of bringing holiness to the other nations is “not altogether new”. The concept of Israel’s election being for the benefit and salvation of the other nations has had a long history in Christian tradition. As Hayes and Prussner note, back in the 17th century Johannes Cocceius presented the concept that the Mosaic law “separated the Hebrews as the bearers of the kingdom from the surrounding heathen groups and so preserved the people for Christ”. At the start of the 20th century George Adam Smith similarly states:

We have seen that the gradual ethical development, which thus differentiated Israel from their neighbours, appears to have begun with the introduction to the nations of Jahweh as their God; and that every stage of its progress was achieved in connection with some impression of His character. It seems to me that there are here the lines of an apologetic, for a Divine Revelation through early Israel, more sure and clear than any which the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament ever attempted to lay down.

This concept is most clearly connected with holiness in the following conclusion to Levine’s “biblical” concepts of holiness:

587 Procksch, p. 94.
588 Strawn, p. 89, footnote 48.
590 George Adam Smith, Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament, New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1901, p. 142.
591 As this book is from the Jewish tradition, “biblical” here equates to the Hebrew Scriptures.
The gulf between the sacred and the profane was not meant to be permanent. The command to achieve holiness, to become holy, envisions a time when life would be consecrated in its fullness and when all nations would worship God in holiness. What began as a process of separating the sacred from the profane was to end as the unification of human experience, the harmonizing of man with his universe, and of man with God.592

Strawn also notes, however, that this communicative function of holiness - as well as the question as to whether there was a message to communicate, and a means by which it might be communicated - “is obviously a source of intense debate in the history of Israelite religion”.593 The existence of this communicative function of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures is an area in which many scholars would, in Strawn’s words, “remain skeptical”.594

5.5 THE SABBATH IN THE ESCHATOLOGICAL AGE

Now that it has been shown that it is legitimate to view the eschatological age as a state of universal sabbath and holiness, this also asks whether this concept of universal holiness is compatible with the position that weekly sabbath observance will continue in the eschatological age. The continued observance of the sabbath in this age is reflected in Isaiah 66:22-23 and is also found in certain Christian traditions.595 This question is one that the Hebrew Scriptures itself does not directly raise, however, and in answering the question this thesis draws from later Christian traditions.

While this thesis accepts in chapter four (section 4.3.4) the sabbath as a Mosaic institution,

592 Levine, p. 257.
593 Strawn, p. 79.
594 Strawn, p. 79; cf. George Adam Smith, Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament, London: Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 142-143.
595 Ellen G. White, The Desire of Ages, Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1940 (first published 1898), p. 283, “The Sabbath was not for Israel merely, but for the world. It had been made to man [sic] in Eden, and, like the other precepts of the Decalogue, it is of imperishable obligation. ... So long as the heavens and earth endure, the Sabbath will continue as a sign of the Creator's power. And when Eden shall bloom on earth again, God’s holy rest day will be honored by all under the sun. ‘From one Sabbath to another’ the inhabitants of the glorified new earth shall go up ‘to worship before Me’, saith the Lord. Matt 5:18; Isa 66:23.” Ellen G. White, Early Writings, Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1945 (first published 1851), p. 217, “The Sabbath was instituted in Eden before the fall, and was observed by Adam and Eve, and all the heavenly host. God rested on the seventh day, and blessed and hallowed it. I saw that the Sabbath never will be done away; but that the redeemed saints, and all the angelic host, will observe it in honor of the great Creator to all eternity.”
it is not the sabbath as a creation institution that this thesis considers incompatible with
universal holiness, but rather the further interpretation that the polarity of holy and secular
time was built into the pre-fall creation itself. Similarly, the observance of the sabbath in
the eschatological age is compatible with this thesis’ concept of the eschatological age as a
time of universal holiness, provided that it does not connect with this sabbath the
dichotomy of holy and secular time as existing in the eschatological age.

While presenting the eschatological age as an age of universal and perpetual holiness, this
thesis is still open to an understanding that increased holiness and spiritual growth may
occur in a universally holy or sinless state. This becomes possible when holiness is
understood not only in terms of the absence of evil, but also as the character of Yahweh,
and the expression of ἀρετή. Such an understanding of holiness is found the Orthodox
understanding that humanity was created sinless, but in an “immature” state, from which
the process of deification was to occur; and that this process of deification continues in the
eschatological age.596 The possibility of continued sabbath observance in the
eschatological age, both as a reminder of past salvation and as a means to continued
spiritual growth, is therefore hypothetically acceptable. At the same time, however, those
various aspects of the sabbath that pertain to social justice and renewal will become
obsolete. That the seventh-year release and concern for the poor in general should be
obsolete in the ideal Israel is hypothesised in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves (Dt 15:4-5).

5.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown that it is legitimate to view holiness as a universal and perpetual
state. While holiness does contain connotations of separation and difference, its primary
attribute is its connection with the sphere of the divine, and the divine trait of ἀρετή. While
holiness in humans has cultic expressions, its main characteristic is obedience to God’s law,

596 Orthodox tradition speaks of the necessity of repentance and sanctification preceding deification, and this
repentance and sanctification may be considered the means of restoring humanity to the pre-fall condition,
from which positive growth may occur. Certain fathers went so far as to hypothesise that while the
 crucifixion was a result of the fall, that even if humanity had not fallen, the incarnation would have occurred,
as the means of deification. Early expressions of the concept of deification can be found in the frequent
statement of the fourth century Athanasios, “God became human so that humans may become God”. Cf.
Jules Gross, The Divinization of the Christian: According to the Greek Fathers, Paul A. Onica, tr., Anaheim,
which is itself a reflection of Yahweh. While the difference between the holiness of God and creation is permanent, the separation of creatures and objects to holiness is transient, with the purpose of this separation being to bring holiness to those from whom the holy are separated. The Hebrew Scriptures present obedience to God’s law, holiness and *shalom* as being universal to the other nations, though this attitude to the nations is not the dominant one in these Scriptures. That holiness is by nature intended to be communicative and universal has also been affirmed by various scholars in the context of the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, though such a position is far from universal.

### 5.7 THE LEGITIMACY OF THE SABBATH AS A SYMBOL OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL AGE

It is now possible to draw together the findings of this section and to address the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. As section 1.5.2 has indicated, this thesis has defined “the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age” as demonstrating the validity of the understanding of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures that is used to build a theology of the sabbath as a symbol of this age.

Chapter two, therefore, identified issues of scholarly debate concerning the origins and nature of the sabbath in ancient Israel and the Hebrew Scriptures. In so doing, it focused on issues that question the understanding of the sabbath from which this thesis develops its conclusions concerning the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.

Chapter three then laid the groundwork for an extensive examination of the sabbath in chapter four. Its comparison of the sabbath with other cultic festivals gave a clear demonstration of the unique nature of the sabbath, and helped to define more clearly the concept of the sabbath itself. Its findings were also incorporated into chapter four’s examination as to the nature of the sabbath itself, particularly its connection with the number seven, and the question of its prominence among other cultic festivals.

It is from the findings of chapter four itself, however, that the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age is demonstrated. This chapter shows that the sabbath is a
day of both rest and communal worship, and that this sabbath rest is a key aspect of this communal worship. Chapter six develops from this concept of communal sabbath rest an expression of the state of equality and fellowship that is present in the eschatological age.

The Hebrew Scriptures have been shown to contain no explicit references to the sabbath as a creation institution, but merely as a memorial of creation. It does, however, frequently present the sabbath as a later sign of the covenant between God and Israel. This allows chapter seven to present the interpretation that the creation sabbath was an unending state before the fall and that the goal of salvation history is the eschatological age in which this sabbath state will be restored.

When examining the lists of cultic festivals, and the sacrifices and offerings performed during these, this thesis calls into question whether any great significance can be drawn from either the word order of these lists, or from the number of offerings they ascribe to each festival. In particular, it sees in these little clear evidence that the sabbath was less prominent than other cultic festivals, and finds elsewhere evidence of its prominence. With the conclusion that limited significance can be drawn from the word order of the sabbath in lists of cultic festivals, this thesis also weakens the validity of those interpretations that use this word order as evidence that the sabbath was once a full moon festival. By demonstrating that there is no evidence of the sabbath festival being a monthly rather than a weekly occurrence, strength is also given to the connection between the uniqueness of this seven-day weekly cycle in the ANE, and the uniqueness of both the sabbath and the covenant that it represents. The foundation is therefore also laid for chapter seven to present the sabbath as more than an arbitrary sign of the covenant, and to argue that, as the purpose of Israel’s election and the covenant is to initiate a state of shalom in Israel and then the other nations, the sabbath is an actual foretaste of this state.

Furthermore, the observance of the sabbath on the seventh day connects it with the connotations surrounding the number seven: those of perfection and completeness. It also connects the sabbath with the connotations from the other seven-day cycles of purity rites and wedding ceremonies, particularly those of cleansing, holiness and the initiation into a new state. These are all connotations that are picked up and applied to the eschatological

251
Finally, this chapter’s examination of the nature of holiness itself has shown the legitimacy of viewing holiness as universal and perpetual. As such, it is also legitimate for chapter seven to present the sabbath as a symbol of the eternal sabbath of the eschatological age, in which there will be universal and perpetual holiness.

In conclusion then, by demonstrating the legitimacy of its concept of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures, this thesis also demonstrates the legitimacy of viewing the sabbath as a symbol of the “eternal sabbath” of the eschatological age in a number of areas. It demonstrates the legitimacy of viewing the eschatological age as a time of universal and perpetual holiness, rest and equality. This eschatological age may also be regarded as a return to the pre-fall state of creation; a re-creation that it is initiated through the Mosaic covenant with Israel of which the sabbath is a prominent symbol. It also connects the eschatological age with connotations of completeness, perfection, purity, holiness and an initiation into a new state.

In addition to demonstrating the legitimacy of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, this section has presented other valuable ground work from which section two may draw. In particular, the examination of the history of the understanding of the sabbath and the Lord’s day in the second half of chapter two are the basis for chapter seven’s examination of the later Christian interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. Similarly, chapter three’s identification of the unique attributes of the sabbath as a holy day, as blessed, and as a memorial of creation, and the positive concept of rest that is connected with the sabbath, lays the foundation for chapter seven to examine how these unique attributes make the sabbath particularly suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age.
SECTION TWO:

THE SABBATH AS AN ESCHATOLOGICAL SYMBOL

CHAPTER SIX: THE SABBATH AS AN ESCHATOLOGICAL SYMBOL IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

Having demonstrated in section one that it is legitimate to view the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, section two now examines the suitability of this symbol. This examination has two aspects. The first is to examine the similarity between the nature of the sabbath and eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures itself. The second is to examine how later traditions may have considered the sabbath such a suitable symbol of this age; specifically in the context of the unique terms connected with the sabbath that were identified in chapter three. Chapter six begins this task by briefly describing the field of eschatology, particularly in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, and forming its own definition of eschatology. It then demonstrates the similarity of the sabbath and the eschatological age by demonstrating how many of the themes connected with the eschatological age may also be found in connection with the sabbath passages.

6.1 ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

6.1.1 The Hebrew Concept of Time and Eschatology

The concept of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures develops from the Hebrew concept of time. As a precursor to examining the subject of eschatology itself, therefore, this thesis first examines recent scholarly understandings of this concept of time. Over the last century, scholars have generally presented the understanding of time in Israelite thought, and in the thought of its Judaic and Christian successors, as unique in the ancient world. There are several themes in this understanding of Hebrew time that are relevant for an

---

understanding of eschatology, which are now examined in turn.

**Linear Time vs Cyclical Time**

Scholarship has long held the understanding that the Hebrew concept of time was historically based and linear, while the almost universal understanding of time in the surrounding nations was based on the natural cycles and was cyclic. This later concept of time is frequently referred to as the Greek concept of time.\(^{598}\)

Recent scholarship has questioned the extent to which this strict dichotomy may be applied to the ancient understanding of time. As Gowan has stated:

> the supposed helpfulness of those concepts, as they have been used to attempt to explain the difference between Greek and Hebrew thought, or between the ancient and modern mind, has been shown by careful study to be dubious indeed. It has been shown that both Greeks and Hebrews show evidence of acknowledging repetitive events, that is, essentially the same thing recurring periodically (sun, moon, seasons, and the corresponding holy times celebrated in the cult) and also in identifying significant events which were unprecedented and brought lasting change.\(^{599}\)

Possibly a more useful description of the Hebrew concept of time is the model of time as a spiral.\(^{600}\) Such a model contains the natural cycles and life cycles, but also has the concept that history is moving forward. While acknowledging the limitations of describing the Hebrew concept of time as predominately linear, and the Greek concept as predominately cyclic, they are still a useful means of describing these various concepts of time as they relate to eschatology.

This emphasis on each concept of time is reflected in their respective understandings of creation. While the Greek understanding maintained that matter was eternal, the early Christian Church developed the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, which it understood to be the


\(^{599}\) Gowan, 2000, p. 147.

correct interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was this understanding of time that allowed the concept of eschatology to develop to such a degree in Hebrew thought; for where there is a beginning, there can also be an end. A place where the Hebrew concept of linear time is most clearly evident – and possibly where it developed – is in the concept of salvation history, and God’s progressive actions in history.

The Hebrew Emphasis on Time

Jewish and Christian religion have often been presented as unique, not merely for its concept of time, but also for its emphasis on time. While this developed in Judaism to a significant degree after the destruction of the second temple, scholars also consider that it was present from the time of the Hebrew Scriptures. Heschel illustrates this clearly, though this thesis would express caution that this emphasis on time should not be overstated.

Judaism is a religion of time aiming at the sanctification of time. … The mythical mind would expect that, after heaven and earth have been established, God would create a holy place – a holy mountain or a holy spring – whereupon a sanctuary is to be established. Yet it seems as if to the Bible it is holiness in time, the Sabbath, which comes first. … It was only after the people had succumbed to the temptation of worshiping a thing, a golden calf, that the erection of a Tabernacle, of holiness in space, was commanded. The sanctity of time came first, the sanctity of man [sic] came second, and the sanctity of space last. Time was hallowed by God; space, the Tabernacle, was consecrated by Moses.

Hebrew Time as Event-Based

In this regard, the Hebrew concept of time has closer affinities with contemporary Western concepts time than with Greek ones. Scholars generally affirm, however, that there is not found in Hebrew thought the concept that is present in (but not necessarily universal to) Western thought of “time” as an abstract or absolute concept. Hebrew time was always

---

601 This is not to say that the concept of creation ex nihilo is actually explicit in the Hebrew Scriptures, themselves, but that its emphasis on Yahweh as the only god and the creator and sustainer of all creation facilitates such an interpretation, cf. section 2.4, Mantzaridis, pp. 4-5.
602 Cf. Heschel, Between God and Man, New York: Free Press, 1959, p. 216, “One of the most important facts in the history of religion was the transformation of agricultural festivals into commemorations of historical events.”
connected to an event or action.\textsuperscript{605} The relevance of this fact for an understanding of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures shall become evident below. There is absent from this the concept of the commencement of an eternal or timeless age, which is a dominant concept of many later understandings of eschatology.

\textit{God’s Rulership over Time}

The theocentric nature of time in the Hebrew Scriptures is underscored when it is examined in the context of the understanding of the sun and moon that control and regulate human time. In the surrounding nations, these were deified and worshipped; the affirmation of time as eternal cycles being part of this worship. The clear presentation of these heavenly bodies as merely creations of Yahweh, however, is found in the Hebrew Scriptures. This is particularly evident in Genesis 1:14-19, where the sun and moon are not created until the fourth day, three days after the creation of light. Here the terms “greater light” and “lesser light” are also used rather than the terms “sun” and “moon”, which are also the terms for the sun-god and moon-god.\textsuperscript{606}

Such a clear delegation of the natural cycles of time as part of Yahweh’s creation reflects the frequent theme in the Hebrew Scriptures that Yahweh rules over time, and the events in it. This is reflected is such passages as Daniel 2:21 (cf. 4:17), that the Lord rules over the affairs of humans, or the affirmation in Psalms 31:15 that “my times are in your hands”. This focus on the rulership of Yahweh is at the heart, also, of the understanding of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures.

\textit{The Relevance to Eschatology}

From this examination of the Hebrew concept of time it can be seen how the Hebrew concept of linear time and history predisposed Hebrew thought to a concept of eschatology.

\textsuperscript{606} Von Rad, \textit{Genesis: A Commentary}, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976, p. 55, notes that the common Semitic word for “sun” was also a divine name. Karl Barth, \textit{Church Dogmatics}, Vol. III.1, J.W. Edwards, O. Bussey and Harold Knight, trs., Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 1958, p. 120, states that the creation of the sun and moon on the fourth day was “an open protest against all and every kind of sun worship, or the worship of other heavenly bodies”. Cf. Derek Kidner, \textit{Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries: Genesis}, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1967, p. 54. Section 4.2, “Genesis 2:1-3”, also argues for similar use of the term “seventh day” rather than “sabbath” in Genesis 2:1-3.
Moreover, the emphasis on God’s actions in human history and control of human time would suggest that eschatology is also initiated by God’s actions. At the same time, however, the event-based nature of Hebrew time should serve as a caution against attributing to Hebrew eschatology the concepts of an abstract eternity or timeless age that are attributes of various later eschatologies. This caution has been raised by various scholars, as the examination below reveals.

6.1.2 The Emergence and Definition of Eschatology

The General Field of Eschatology

“Eschatology” as a term and a distinct topic of theology emerged in the nineteenth century and has been used with widely different meanings. Aune notes that it was first formed by theologians to “refer to the part of systematic theology which deals with Christian beliefs concerning death, the afterlife, judgment, and the resurrection; that is, individual eschatology. The term is now used more broadly to refer to the whole constellation of beliefs and conceptions about the end of history and the transformation of the world which particularly characterized early Judaism, and early Christianity, and Islam; that is, cosmic eschatology.”

Aune reflects perhaps the most “generic” understanding of cosmic eschatology in his definition that eschatology “refers to a time in the future when the course of history will be changed to such an extent that one can speak of an entirely new state of reality”. Many understandings of eschatology, however, contain a greater influence of traditional Christian systematic theology, particularly in the understanding of eternity. This is reflected in this definition given by Geerhardus Vos in his book The Pauline Eschatology:

It deals with the teaching or belief, that the world-movement, religiously considered, tends towards a definite final goal, beyond which a new order of affairs will be established, frequently with the further implication, that this new order of affairs will not be subject to any further change, but will partake of the static character of the eternal.

---

608 Ibid., pp. 594-609.
As the next section shows, it is this more “generic” understanding of eschatology that is appropriate in the context of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Study of Eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures

The study of eschatology was soon applied to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. This is evident in the subject “Eschatology of the Old Testament” taught by Geerhardus Vos in the early decades of the twentieth century, and his examination of other scholars who had already done work in this field. In recent decades, however, there has been frequent criticism that many of the definitions of eschatology applied to the Hebrew Scriptures contain concepts that are foreign to it. In his article on Old Testament eschatology, Petersen states that “the term, as applied to OT literature, dates only to the 19th century; and despite the previous point; the term sounds vaguely archaic today, reminiscent of overly systematic treatments of ancient Israelite thought”. Similarly, von Rad notes that eschatology is frequently defined beyond the scope of the world’s history, but that this concept is exclusive to most of the Old Testament, and applies to it a view that is alien to the prophets themselves. As Hebrew time is understood primarily in terms of events, and not as an abstract concept, the later concepts of eschatology being an eternity outside of time is particularly foreign to it.

If such caution is justified in the examination of cosmic eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures, it is even more appropriate in the context of applying these passages to an examination of individual eschatology. Scholarly opinion generally perceives a very limited expression of the after-life in the Hebrew Scriptures, and considers these Scriptures to contain primarily a concept of communal rather than individual identity. As the next chapter demonstrates, this concept of individual eschatology became much more evident in

---


613 See the critiques of Gowan’s work below.
Judaism in the last centuries BCE, and in the apocalyptic literature that this era produced.

Gowan’s Framework of Eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures

Eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures has been examined in numerous smaller scholarly works. Apocalyptic literature, which generally has significant eschatological content, has also been the topic of various recent works. The major English work to emerge in recent decades that makes a comprehensive examination in the area of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures is Gowan’sEschatology in the Old Testament in 1996. In this work, Gowan expresses caution about applying to the Hebrew Scriptures all aspects of eschatology found in systematic theology, and then endeavours to develop a definition and structure of eschatology that stems from the context of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves.

Gowan reflects the broader definition of eschatology as a new order or state of reality in his definition of eschatology as “those promises that speak of a future with significant discontinuities from the present”. He asserts that in the Hebrew Scriptures, however, the primary characteristic of this discontinuity is the end of evil. Gowan identifies his work as differing from previous major works in that he is examining the beliefs of Israel, rather than that of individual authors. While examining eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures as a

616 The wide acceptance of this work is indicated by the fact that it has been reprinted in 2000 with an expanded preface, (pp.vii-xi), and an Appendix on “The Problem of Time”. All page numbers of the main text (pp. 1-144) remain the same between the two editions.
617 Donald E. Gowan, Eschatology in the Old Testament, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996. pp. 1-2. This is even more explicit in the Preface to his new edition. Gowan, 2000, p.viii, states “If a better word than “eschatology” could have been chosen for the title of this book, it surely would have been preferred. The word is not commonly used outside of theological scholarship and those who use it disagree over its meaning. As yet, however, no better technical term to denote the special hope for the future which appears in the Old Testament prophets has been proposed.”
618 Gowan, 2000, p. 2.
whole, he pinpoints two “discoveries” as to its nature, around which he forms the outline of his book.\textsuperscript{620}

The first of these is recognition of a threefold eschatological transformation in Ezekiel 36:22-38; that of the human person, human society and nature itself; a pattern that he finds occurring elsewhere and that “includes everything that the Old Testament needs to say about the future”.\textsuperscript{621} The second discovery he made was of the centrality of Jerusalem and Zion in these eschatological passages.\textsuperscript{622} Gowan then examines the themes of the centrality of Jerusalem, and the transformation of society, the individual and nature as they are expressed in their non-eschatological and eschatological form in the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as their occurrence in subsequent Jewish and Christian tradition.

\textit{Criticisms of Gowan’s Work}

The numerous reviews of Gowan’s work reflect the widespread acceptance of his work. These reviews express, on the whole, a positive assessment of Gowan’s main approach and findings.\textsuperscript{623} They frequently acknowledge both that his work targeted an area in which literature was lacking, and also that it contained a valuable new approach.\textsuperscript{624} Terms such as “fresh”,\textsuperscript{625} “new”,\textsuperscript{626} “innovative” and “engaging”\textsuperscript{627} appeared frequently in regard to his

\textsuperscript{620} Gowan, 2000, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{621} Ibid., p. 2. He goes on to note “except possibly providing a place for the resurrection of the dead. That subject doesn’t fit the pattern very well, but it is also is a rare topic for the OT, so perhaps that is appropriate.”
\textsuperscript{622} Ibid., p. 3.
\textsuperscript{626} Mary Reaburn, “Review of \textit{Eschatology in the Old Testament} by Donald E. Gowan”, \textit{Pacifica}, Vol. 1, Oct., 1988, p. 238, concludes “The topic is something which concerns us today and this new approach to the study of eschatology will interest many people”.

260
work, as well as Baker’s rather effusive “This is a really marvellous book”,\textsuperscript{628} and Brueggemann’s equally positive but more constrained affirmation “The book … is an exceedingly helpful, sober and reliable presentation of the main resources concerning hope in the OT”.\textsuperscript{629}

Along with this wide-scale acceptance of Gowan’s work, however, there have also been various criticisms. Perhaps the most frequent criticism of Gowan’s work itself concerns his treatment of the transformation of the individual. Despite the fact that Gowan acknowledges the limited reference to - and emphasis on - the transformation of the individual in the Hebrew Scriptures,\textsuperscript{630} some reviewers assert that he still over-emphasises this aspect. Kesterson notes that Gowan’s discussion of the transformation of human society (ch.2) deals with the restoration to the promised land, kingship, and the nations, but that he says little about other dimensions of social interaction. He points out that, while Gowan himself characterises Old Testament eschatology as emphasising “human society more than personal salvation”, his earlier discussion does not underscore the importance of community. In Gowan’s chapter on the transformation of the human person, for example, he deals with the subject of the transformation of the human person as a largely individual matter involving forgiveness of personal sin. He nowhere offers an extended discussion of justice or of righteousness as a communal reality.\textsuperscript{631}

Reaburn also notes in regard to this chapter that “the ‘Human Person’ is not really an Old Testament category, and the use of this term remains ambiguous throughout the chapter”.\textsuperscript{632} In later general criticisms she also notes, “he tends to direct insights regarding the transformation of the human person to both the individual and corporate person without reference to the context of Ez 36:25-27, which is clearly addressed to the person as a


\textsuperscript{628} Baker, p. 211, also describes the book as “engaging and incisive” and “fresh, sensible and creative”.


\textsuperscript{630} Cf. Gowan, 2000, p. 21, “Instinct or logic suggests to the modern author that the appropriate place to begin a discussion of the major eschatological themes ought to be with those inner changes in the lives of individuals. A careful consideration of where the emphasis lies in the OT itself, however, leads to the conclusion that it is more appropriate to begin with those institutions of the future that were expected to enable human beings to live in harmony. These are the eschatological themes that appear most regularly and are most fully developed.”

\textsuperscript{631} Kesterson, p. 297.

\textsuperscript{632} Raeburn, p. 347.
Many reviewers also comment on the brevity of Gowan’s work. While this is frequently presented as appropriate given its purpose and target audience, scholars also frequently express the sentiment that considering the short length of the book, Gowan perhaps attempted to cover too much, and that the need remains for a more in depth examination of the topic. Various lesser criticisms – one of which is discussed further below – have also been made by individual scholars.

For the main part, however, while it is well accepted that eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures is an area in which further scholarly work is required, Gowan’s work has been acclaimed as the most recent authority on the area. It is therefore used as the basis of this thesis’ definition of eschatology.

This Thesis’ Adaptation and Utilisation of Gowan’s Work

In its use of Gowan’s work, this thesis acknowledges the criticisms of other scholars and adapts his work in the following two ways in order to take these into account.

Individual vs Spiritual Transformation: As has been shown above, the major criticism of Gowan’s work is his use of the category of the individual, and his emphasis on individual

---

633 Ibid., p. 348.
634 Walter Wifall, “Review of Eschatology in the Old Testament by Donald E. Gowan”, Interpretation, Vol. 41, No. 4, Oct., 1987, p. 422, refers to the book as “in this short study”. C. Vander Kam, “Review of Eschatology in the Old Testament by Donald E. Gowan”, Bible Review, Vol. 4, Apr., 1988, p. 10, refers to a “rather comprehensive, yet brief, study”. Travis, p. 116, states that the book fills “a significant gap for students”. Raeburn, p. 348, states “I find this lack of detailed attention to the texts problematic, yet perhaps generality is a necessity in a work which covers such a breadth of texts in only 150 pages”. John J. Collins, p. 131, concludes that “This rather elementary book can be recommended for beginning students because of its clarity and readability. It highlights the need for a contemporary theological treatment of Old Testament eschatology, but that treatment will require greater length and more depth.” He also begins this review (p. 130) by stating that Gowan has two quite different and possibly incompatible objectives (to provide a guide to Old Testament eschatology for interested nonspecialists, and to provide a comprehensive introduction to the subject that will update and replace the classic works of Charles and Klausner), and that the first objective is in fact the controlling one. Baker, p. 212, states that “I would fault Gowan’s study with its brevity (it is not comprehensive as he notes in the preface)”. Towner, pp. 67-68, states that “as a 'survey,' this book suffers something from the limitations of space”, while at the same time affirming the book with the concluding statement that “I intend to ask my students to read this book again next year!” Brueggemann, p. 167, identifies further areas in the field of Old Testament eschatology yet to be addressed, but adds “but this simply leaves another book for Gowan to write”. He further asserts “by such an observation I do not want to diminish my impression that this is a first rate book that fulfils an important pedagogical need”. 

262
transformation. An examination of Gowan’s section concerning the transformation of the individual shows that, while he also discusses such aspects as the transformation of physical health, his major focus is on repentance, forgiveness and the inner transformation of a “new heart and new spirit” that allows humans to worship Yahweh and to keep the covenantal laws. In comparing his categories of social and spiritual, therefore, the differentiating factor is not between communal and individual transformation, but rather between external and internal transformation; that is, on spiritual transformation.

This thesis is hesitant in affirming that the concept of the individual and individual spiritual transformation was absent from Hebrew thought; even though it accepts that it was much less developed, and had much less emphasis than it does in contemporary Western society. If the question is asked whether there is an understanding of individual repentance, forgiveness, righteousness and spiritual transformation in these Scriptures, then the answer to all of these is a qualified “Yes”. At the same time, however, there is found the punishment of the community for individual sins (Josh 7), the punishment of the righteous individual living in a generally sinful community (Dan 1), and the salvation and transformation of a community through the intercession of the righteous individual (Gen 18:6-33; Ex 34:8-10). All of these are presented as occurring at both an individual and a communal level. When the eschatological age in the Hebrew Scriptures is examined, however, this spiritual transformation clearly occurs at a communal - if not universal - level, and it is this wide-scale transformation that initiates this new age.635

This thesis suggests, therefore, that a more suitable term than “individual transformation” is “spiritual transformation”. In using this phrase, it is acknowledged that the term “spiritual” is difficult to define, and its meaning differs in various contexts. Yet finding a totally appropriate term is not to be expected. Though the task of examining eschatology according to these categories is a useful one, it is also an artificial one. It is asking questions that do not arise from the text, and is using categories that come from Western

635 This concept of communal spiritual transformation is also found in later Christian tradition. Although evangelical Protestantism has focused on the spiritual transformation of individuals, the concept of spiritual transformation at a communal level is argued for in the influential work, Walter Wink, *The Powers that Be: Theology for a New Millennium*, New York: Doubleday, 1998. Eastern Orthodox theology has long taught that not only humanity, but all of creation is connected spiritually, cf. the reference to St Symeon the New Theologian in chapter five.
culture. Some discrepancy of understanding between Hebrew and Western thought, therefore, is difficult to avoid. This is demonstrated in the fact that the separate category for the transformation of nature is not totally in line with Hebrew thought either; the concept of “nature” as something from which humanity is external is one that developed significantly in the last few centuries.

In defining this term “spiritual”, therefore, this thesis uses it primarily as a designation of an internal rather than an external transformation. It acknowledges that this transformation can be either an individual or communal one; in the case of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures, it is communal, although in the case of later individual eschatology, it can also be regarded as individual. At the same time, however, it also understands this inner transformation to result in a physical and emotional transformation of humans. This fits well with the understanding of the human in Hebrew thought. There is in the Hebrew Scriptures a general connection between one’s spiritual well-being and one’s physical and emotional health.636 In the Psalms in particular, emotional, physical and even economic hardship are inter-connected with a lack of spiritual wellbeing.

Zion vs God’s Presence: This thesis also makes its own criticism of Gowan’s work in regard to its emphasis on the centrality of the Zion tradition. When examining this tradition, Gowan frequently makes reference to God’s presence in Zion.637 He does not go so far, however, as to equate the significance of the Zion tradition with the presence of God. This thesis asserts that the significance of Zion rests primarily in its position as the chosen earthly dwelling place of God. Thus the centrality of the Zion tradition in eschatology is, in fact, the centrality of the presence of God. Significant here is Towner’s observation that “the Zion theme which Gowan presents as the ‘center of Old Testament eschatology’ reappears in the book only infrequently after its origin and history are thoroughly canvassed in the first chapter”. He goes on to state that Gowan’s assertion “that it also permeates all other Old Testament thought about the future to the point of being the central theme of that literature seems to me to be more of an assertion than a proven

---

636 Cf. the descriptions of “righteousness” and “shalom” in the following chapter; although these should also be balanced with the message of Job, that the lack of health, wealth or family does not necessarily reflect the lack of a righteous spiritual state.
637 Gowan, 2000, pp. 12, 13, 15-16.
fact”. The prevalence of the presence of God in this literature, however, is a widely accepted theme. This thesis suggests, therefore, that it is more appropriate to speak of the centrality of the presence of God, rather than the Zion tradition, per se, in the eschatology of the Hebrew Scriptures.

This Thesis’ Definition of Eschatology

In developing its own definition of eschatology, this thesis draws heavily on Gowan’s work. In so doing, however, it takes into account the criticisms noted above. It emphasises the centrality of the presence of God in the eschatological age and interprets the frequent references to Zion/Jerusalem in terms of it being the dwelling place of God. It also considers the category of spiritual transformation a preferable term to that of individual transformation.

This thesis, therefore, defines eschatology as the initiation of a new age in which the end of sin and the presence of God are primary features, and where there is also found spiritual transformation, social transformation and the transformation of nature. Such a definition of eschatology is suitable not only for this present chapter’s examination of the Hebrew Scriptures, but also for subsequent chapters which examine the connection between sabbath and eschatology in later traditions. While later Jewish and Christian concepts of eschatology vary greatly, the basic features found in this definition - the end of sin, the presence of God, and transformation on the spiritual, social and natural dimensions - are typically present.

6.2 THE SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

This thesis now compares the references to the sabbath, seventh years and jubilee years in the Hebrew Scriptures with the main aspects of eschatology that have just been identified. In doing so, it demonstrates that the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures reflects similar themes to eschatology. The presence of God, the absence of sin, and the transformation of society and nature may all be found or inferred in the context of sabbath references.

638 Towner, pp. 66-67. A. H. W. Curtis, p.148, also states that “some of the conclusions in the final short section on the City of God may be questionable”, though he does not expand upon this statement at all.
Interestingly, the numerical occurrence of spiritual transformation in these sabbath references reflects that of eschatology; in that both are relatively few, and those that may be identified are predominantly communal - rather than individual - in their focus.

6.2.1 God’s Presence

The connection between the sabbath and God’s presence may be seen in three contexts; firstly, creation; secondly, the redemption of Israel from Egypt and the subsequent covenant between God and Israel, of which the sabbath is a sign; and thirdly, the connection between the sabbath, the tabernacle/Zion, and Eden.

Creation

Genesis 2:2-3 is generally translated that “[God] rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done … because on it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation”. It may also be translated, however, “[God] rested in the seventh day from all the work that he had done … because in it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation”, as Wenham has done. The preposition used here is “ב” and has the primary connotation of “in” rather than “on”. Though this is the standard preposition used in Hebrew for time, it also carries with it connotations of the other meanings of “ב”. It is legitimate, therefore, to interpret God resting in the sabbath day as God’s presence somehow being imbued in the nature of the seventh day itself. Similarly, the conjunction “ב” in Genesis 2:3 can also be translated “when” rather than the more usual “because, for”, thus the text may be translated “So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it when in it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation”.

---

639 Wenham, 1991, p. 3, translates Genesis 2:3 “God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for in it he rested from all his work which God had created by making it”.
641 This is also reflected in the Septuagint rendering of Genesis 2:3, “καὶ ἡμέρας ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἔβδομην καὶ ἤγιόσας αὐτήν ὃτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἑργῶν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἠρέσατο ὁ θεος ποιήσαι”. Again, “ἐν” is the usual preposition used with time, but it also carries with it the connotations of the usual meaning of “in” rather than “on”, for which “ἐν” is the usual preposition. Lancelot C. L. Brenton, The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, facs. of London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851, p. 2, translates this verse as “and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it he ceased from all his work which God began to do”. This is made more significant
Such an interpretation is strongly supported by the fact that God sanctified the seventh day. The concept of God’s presence as a sanctifying event is a frequent one in Hebrew Scriptures. Significant examples include the appearance of God in the burning bush and the designation of the surrounding area as holy ground, as well as the later appearance of God on Mt Sinai and the designation of the whole mountain as holy. The fact that the sabbath is sanctified, therefore, also gives it strong connotations of God’s presence.

Exodus and the Israelite Covenant

Section 4.3.4 demonstrated that the sabbath is both a memorial of the exodus, and a sign of the covenant. As the exodus is a key event on which the covenant between Yahweh and Israel is based, the presence of God in the exodus is incorporated into its significance in the covenant. The presence of God is a significant aspect of the covenant from its initial conception; God’s promise of the covenant to Abraham is joined with promises that God is with him. The exodus event is also presented as a time of the revelation of the name “Yahweh” to Israel, this itself being a significant self-revelation of God (cf. section 5.2.1). The plagues of Egypt are portrayed as having the purpose of showing that “there is no one like [the Lord] in all the Earth” (Ex 9:14), and the exodus itself is a significant revelation to Israel of God’s character and power. Exodus 33:14-16 presents the presence of God in Israel as a necessary prerequisite for continuing towards the promised land, and as a distinguishing feature of its uniqueness among the other nations. It is also expressed in the visible symbol of the pillar of cloud/fire, and its subsequent connection with the tabernacle by the fact that he had translated verse two, “καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρα τῇ ἑκτῆ ἐργα αὐτῶν ἃ ἐποίησεν”, as “and God finished on the sixth day his works which he made” [italics mine].


643 Exodus 19, especially verse 23. Cf. also Genesis 28:10-22. Perhaps the classic example of this is the sanctuary/temple and God’s sanctifying presence within it. The connection between the Genesis 2:1-3 account, the Sabbath, and the sanctuary is examined in further detail below. Weinfeld, pp.501-502, and Gordon J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story”, in Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura, ed., I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994, p. 403, express this connection between God resting on the seventh day of creation and in the sanctuary.


and temple, particularly the ark of the covenant.\textsuperscript{646} The purpose of the building of the tabernacle, including the ark of the covenant, is described as follows:

I will dwell among the Israelites, and I will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them; I am the Lord their God. (Ex 29:45-46)

The significance of God’s presence in the covenant context is further demonstrated in that the breaking of this covenant results either in its departure or in it becoming a source of judgement to Israel (Ex 33; Ez 1-10).

As with the seventh day of creation, God’s presence with Israel results in its sanctification. The sabbath is described as the sign of this sanctification as the following verses express:

You shall keep my sabbaths, for this is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, given in order that you may know that I, the Lord, sanctify you (Exodus 31:12).

Moreover, I gave them my sabbaths, as a sign between me and them, so that they might know that I the Lord sanctify them. . . . and hallow my sabbaths that they may be a sign between me and you, so that you may know that I am the Lord your God (Ezekiel 20:12, 20).

As has been demonstrated in chapter five, this presence of God in Israel and God’s sanctification of Israel is reflected in the nature and purpose of Israel itself. Israel is told that if they obey God’s voice and keep his covenant, they will be a “priestly kingdom and a holy nation” (Ex 19:5-6). Deuteronomy further indicates that a result of Israel’s obedience to this covenant and the nearness of God to Israel is the acknowledgment by the surrounding nations of the greatness of God and God’s people (Dt 4:5-8).

In several passages that call for obedience to God’s law, and describe the results of obedience and disobedience, there is found a particular emphasis on the keeping of the sabbath. Given the close connection between the sabbath as a sign of the covenant, and obedience as a requirement of the covenant, the reason for the development of this is clear. This demand of obedience to the covenant law, and its connection with the sabbath, is

\textsuperscript{646} Exodus, 13:21-22; 14:19,24; 33:9-10; Numbers 10:33-36; 12:5; 14:14,44; Cf. 1 Kings 8:10.
particularly evident in the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Though this thesis would be hesitant to be dogmatic about such an interpretation, it is significant to note that Ghana Robinson interprets this emphasis as equating sabbath observance with the observance of the entire law:

The observance of the sabbath is equivalent to the fulfillment of all the statutes and the commandments, and it ensures the people sustained life in the promised land (Is. 58:13f; Jer. 17:19-27). The acceptance of the sabbath alone qualifies a foreigner to become a member of the house of Yahweh (Is. 56:1-8).

The designation of the sabbath as a sign of the covenant and the exodus, therefore, closely connects it with the covenant themes of God’s presence in Israel, of obedience to this covenant, and of the sanctification resulting from such obedience.

_Sabbath / Temple / Eden_

The third place in which a connection between the sabbath and the presence of God is found is in the association between the temple, sabbath and Eden. The connection in the Hebrew Scriptures between the sabbath and the tabernacle is one that has been recognised since early Judaic times, although not all the interpretative methods used to make these connections would be considered valid by modern academic criteria. A major basis for

---

647 Isaiah 56:1-8; 58:13-14; Jeremiah 17:19-27; Ezekiel 20:12-20; cf. 22:8,26; 23:38. In Jer. 17:19-27, in particular, the observance of the Sabbath results in the perpetuity of Jerusalem, the kingship of David’s line, and of temple worship.

648 G. Robinson, 1988, p. 21. Also p. 262, “In later Jewish thinking the law of the sabbath is equal to all the other laws and commandments in the torah. those [sic] who observe the sabbath are ranked with those who give tithes and honour the law, and their rewards are identical: ‘The observance of the sabbath outweights all the commandments of the torah’.” P. 271, ft. 6, “God said ‘If ye virtuously observe the Sabbath, I will regard you as observing all the commands of the law, but if you profane it, I will regard you as if you had profaned all the commands’ - Midrash Rabbah, Exodus XXV, 12 in S.M. Lehrmann (trans.) Midrash Rabbah III, Exodus, London, 1939, 315”. See also, Claus Westermann, _Isaiah 40-66_, London: SCM Press, 1969, p. 310.

649 While the examples examined here are those traditions that make this connection from arguments based on the Hebrew Scriptures, this connection has been made by other means. Green, p. 297-303, makes this evident in his examination of the thirteenth-century Kabbalists and later Hasidic writers. The Kabbalist interpretation in particular has a mystical rather than scriptural basis. Note especially the writing of the Hasidic Rabbi Moses Hayyim Ephraim of Sudilkov, quoted in p. 301:

The children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, observing the Sabbath throughout their generations as an everlasting covenant; it is a sign forever between Me and the children of Israel” (Ex. 31:13). The _Ba‘al ha-Turim_ notes that the words _‘et ha-shabbat le-dedoratam_ may be abbreviated as _‘HL_ (consonantally) _‘ohel_, ‘tent.’

In commenting on this we must first recall the verse ‘They shall make Me a tabernacle and I will dwell in their midst’ (Ex.25:8). We might think that without a tabernacle it would not be possible for the _shehkinah_ to dwell amidst us! But the matter must be understood thus: ‘A foretaste of the world
this is found in similarities between the Genesis 1:1-2:3 creation account and the exodus account of the building of the tabernacle. From the 3rd century CE or earlier, the parallels in the description of the actions of creation mentioned in Genesis 1:1-2:3 with those of the building of the tabernacle in Exodus have been noted.\(^650\) The position of the reference to the sabbath at key points of the account of the building of the tabernacle is also considered significant,\(^651\) as is the occurrence of the sequence “six days – seventh day” in both narratives.\(^652\) The parallel between God resting on the seventh day/sabbath and God resting in the tabernacle/temple has long been observed.\(^653\) This perceived connection between the sabbath and temple is reflected in the Talmudic tradition that the 39 sabbath prohibitions are those activities required to build the temple.\(^654\)

Weinfeld examines the connection between creation and temple in the Babylonian creation myth, and inquires whether the Israelite creation myth in any way reflects this myth or contains similar connections. Weinfeld hypothesises some significant additional connections in this context.\(^655\) Firstly, he notes that in both the Hebrew Scriptures and the Mesopotamian tradition the earthly temple and its worship are presented as an image of the heavenly temple and worship. Later Jewish literature as early as the writings of Josephus to come is the Sabbath day of rest.’ The best counsel is to keep the Sabbath properly. In this way may we merit, as it were, the indwelling of the Presence, for the Sabbath is a sort of sanctuary. In that way too is it a foretaste of the future world.

Quoted from Degel Mahaneh Ephraim, the collected homilies of Rabbi Moses Hayyim Ephraim of Sudilkov, first published 1810/11.


\(^651\) Green, p. 294.

\(^652\) Weinfeld, p. 504-505, points out the relation between the building of the tabernacle and the seventh day in Exodus 24:15-16. He further notes that “these verses, which conclude the section on the revelation on Mt. Sinai, are stylistically parallel to the conclusion of the description of the building of the Tabernacle in Ex. 40:34 - Lev. 1:1”. Cf. Green, p. 296-297, who comments on the significance between the completion of creation and the tabernacle. Of particular interest is his quote from the Midrash Tanhuma, p. 297, “‘On the seventh day: Heaven and early were completed.’ And in the tabernacle: ‘All the work was completed’ (Ex. 39:32). Of Creation: ‘And God blessed (the seventh day),’ and of the tabernacle: ‘And Moses blessed them’ (Ex. 39:43). Of Creation: ‘God completed,’ and of the tabernacle: ‘On the day when Moses completed’ (Num. 7:1). Of Creation: ‘And He made it holy,’ and of the tabernacle: ‘He anointed it and made it holy’.”


\(^654\) Green, p. 294.

\(^655\) This Genesis 1:1-2:3 creation myth, however, is also frequently interpreted as a polemic against other religions and even the Babylonian creation myth itself.
and Philo clearly present the temple and its worship not only as an image of heaven, but of the whole universe.  Secondly, Weinfeld notes:

The connection between Creation and Temple building is rooted in an ancient Near Eastern tradition concerning the victory of the god over his enemies which brings about his enthronement. This enthronement entails the establishment of a “throne of kingship” or “dwelling place”, which is the god’s temple.

He further describes how creation, God’s victory over his enemies, and enthronement are inter-related in the Hebrew Scriptures, (cf. Ex 15; Pss 29, 89, 93), and that in the liturgy of the second temple period, these Psalms are connected with the sabbath.

There is also a secondary connection between the temple and the primeval creation, of which the seventh day was the culmination. This is particularly evident in the eschatological description of the holy mountain in Isaiah 11:6-9. This reference to the lion eating straw like an ox is reflective of the creation narrative in Genesis 1:30; though scholars note that it draws from a widespread concept of the past and a hope of a future return to it. This connection between harmony in nature and the temple is reflected in passages such as Psalm 84, “How lovely is your dwelling place, … even the sparrow finds a home, and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young”.

This connection between the creation accounts, and sanctuary symbolism as a whole, (both within and outside Israel), has been examined by Wenham in the article “Sanctuary

656 Weinfeld, pp. 505-507.
657 Ibid., p. 507.
658 In the use of this term “enthronement”, this thesis acknowledges their connection with the theory of Mowinckel that Israel had an annual enthronement festival/ceremony. While it accepts the now common position that the evidence for such a festival is severely lacking, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the extent to which the concept of the action of enthronement itself is present in the Hebrew Scriptures. The concept that Yahweh is enthroned as ruler over Israel, the nations and the whole of creation, however, is clearly present in these Scriptures.
659 Weinfeld, pp. 507-510.
660 R. E. Clements, The New Century Commentary: Isaiah 1:39, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1982, p. 124, “The image is very probably traditional, deriving from a mythological picture of the primal age of the world.” Gray, p. 218-219, also sees this as speaking of the return of the golden age of the past, as found in Genesis one. He further states that it was an image that was widespread, and found also in Virgil. Cf. Virgil, Eclogue IV, 18-25 in Virgil, I ECOLOGUES GEORGICS AENEID I-VI, H. Rushton Fairclough, tr., Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986, p. 31, “But for thee child, shall the earth untilled pour forth, as her first pretty gifts, straggling ivy with foxglove everywhere, and the Egyptian bean blended with the smiling acanthus. Uncalled, the goats shall bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the herds shall fear not the lions; unasked, thy cradle shall pour forth flowers for thy delight. The serpent; [sic] too, shall perish, and the false poison-plant shall perish; Assyrian spice shall spring up on every soil.”
Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story”. He notes various sanctuary parallels in Genesis 1-3, and states that “these parallels suggest that the garden itself is understood as a sort of sanctuary”. Of particular significance is his statement that:

First the verbal hints that suggest that the garden should be viewed as an archetypical or ideal sanctuary. The first of these is the verb hithallēk ‘to walk to and fro’ (Gen 3:8). The same term is used to describe the divine presence in the later tent sanctuaries in Lev 26:12, Deut 23:15, 2 Sam 7:6-7. The Lord walked in Eden as he subsequently walked in the tabernacle.

This quote clearly expresses the concept of the presence of God in both the temple and Eden. Significantly, Weinfeld hypothesises that the *Sitz im Leben* of Gen. 1:1 – 2:3 is cultic-liturgic, and that this creation account was used in the temple worship.

**6.2.2 The Absence of Evil**

The unique designation of the sabbath as a sanctified day also brings with it connotations of an absence of evil. As the previous chapter demonstrated, holiness in humans has been connected with obedience to the covenantal law and righteousness. When holiness is connected with obedience to law (or the absence of evil), the sabbath as a holy day can also be understood as a day free from evil.

The designation of the sabbath as a sign of the covenant indirectly connects it with the absence of evil; for obedience to the laws of the covenant equates with an absence of sin. This connection is reflected in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. As the previous section demonstrated, various passages equate sabbath observance, (or lack of it), as an expression of observance (or non-observance) of the whole law.

This connection between the sabbath and the absence of evil may be implicitly present in

---

661 Wenham, 1994, pp. 400-401, these include use of the verb hithallēk, the reference to cherubim guarding the entrance, the imagery of the tree of life, and the use of the phrase “to till and to keep it” in regard to the labour of both Adam and Levites ministering in the temple (Gen 2:15; Ex 25:31-35).


663 Weinfeld, pp. 510-511.

664 It is acknowledged, however, that such an understanding of holiness is not necessarily present in all occurrences of the term in the Hebrew Scriptures or as developed in later Jewish and Christian thought.

various sabbath passages, particularly that of Isaiah 1:12-17. While sometimes interpreted as an expression of a negative attitude to ritual worship, including the sabbath,\textsuperscript{666} this passage may also be interpreted as an expression of what should be the nature of true sabbath worship.\textsuperscript{667} The occurrence of “solemn assemblies with iniquity” (Is 1:13) are such a burden to God because the nature of these festivals is to express the opposite state. The ideal of the festivals as a means of inclusion of all people into society is a recurrent theme in Deuteronomy,\textsuperscript{668} and the connection between the sabbath, social justice and inclusion is a frequent theme of sabbath passages and their later interpretation, as shall be examined below. Festivals observed in the context of the social injustice described in Isaiah 1, therefore, would be particularly offensive.

When its connection with social justice and transformation is examined, further relevance in the sabbath as an expression of observance of the whole law becomes apparent. The prophetic message, as reflected in passages such as Micah 6:1-8, places social justice at the heart of righteous living and true obedience to the covenant. The sabbath, then, is not merely a symbol of the covenant and its laws, it also contains in its nature the essence of these covenant laws. Such an interpretation leads to the identification of a significant reason for the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of eschatological age, as the next chapter develops further. Just as a key aspect of eschatology is the absence of evil, so the nature of the sabbath itself is an expression of the core of righteous living on a social dimension.

\textbf{6.2.3 Social Transformation}

In the three cycles of the seventh-day sabbath, the seventh-year festivals and the jubilee year, there is found social transformation on a progressively larger scale.

\textsuperscript{666} G. Robinson, 1988, p. 261, “in the pre-exilic period the sabbath was a popular festival; but the attitude of true Yahwism was always against it. The eighth-century prophets not only condemned its corrupted practice, but even advocated its discontinuance (Is. 1:13; Hos. 2:11) because of its association with the corrupted kingship in Israel.”

\textsuperscript{667} Cf. also with Amos 8:5-6, where the performance of acts of social injustice immediately after the sabbath day are condemned. Ez 22:8, 26; 23:38 also speaks of the profaning of the sabbath in the wider context of disobedience, including acts of social injustice.

\textsuperscript{668} Notice the frequent reference that family, slaves, Levites, strangers, widows and orphans should be included in the rejoicing (Dt 12:12,18; 14:27; 16:11,14).
Seventh-day Sabbath

The social aspect of the sabbath is well evidenced in Exodus 20:8-11; 23:12 and Deuteronomy 5:13-15. As chapter four has already demonstrated, the sabbath commandments may be interpreted as ensuring that sabbath rest is extended to all classes of society. The impetus for this call for an absence of labour on the sabbath so that “your male and female slave may rest as well as you” clearly identifies a humanitarian or social concern in these passages. This humanitarian aspect of the sabbath is one that scholars have frequently identified, and this has even been presented as the impetus for its development.

This call for universal rest, however, can be interpreted as extending beyond a humanitarian concern. The occurrence on the sabbath day of this combined rest of both owner and slave, together with combined worship, may in itself be interpreted as a means for a miniature social transformation. In this abstention from labour, it is possible to leave for a moment the economic perspective that views all creation – including humanity – in commercial and

---

669 Exodus 20:8-11 (v.10); Deuteronomy 5:12-15 (v.13).
670 G. Robinson, 1988, p. 21, “It must be observed as the sabbath for Yahweh, and as a day of rest for the welfare of all people, particularly for the welfare of the dependent classes in the community (Ex. 20: 8 - 10; Dt. 5: 12 - 14), by abstaining from all work, both occupational and domestic (Ex. 16: 29; 20: 10; 31: 14f; 35: 3; Dt. 5: 12 - 14)”. Ibid., p. 29 “According to Menes, the sabbath is a humanitarian measure, arising out of the increasingly unbearable social conditions prevailing late in the divided kingdom of Israel. Its basic purpose is the equality of all creatures. This is further confirmed by the Jubilee Year institution, which is a restitutio in integrum.” The original reference is found in Abram Menes, Die Vorexilischen Gesetze Israels, (Beihefe zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Vol. 50), Töpelmann in Giessen: Verlag Von Alfred, 1928, p. 36, 39. “Die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Sabbatinstitution ist für das Verständnis des Bb von größter Bedeutung, denn die Sambatidee legt sich wie ein Rahmen um die ganze Sammlung der zivilrechtlichen Bestimmungen des Bb, die mit dem Gesetz über die Freilassung der Sklaven im siebenten Jahre beginnen und mit den Sabbathbestimmungen schließen. Über den ursprünglichen Charakter des Sabbats gehen bekanntlich die Meinungen der Forscher weit auseinander. Nach den meisten sollen die Israeliten ihn von den Kanaanäern übernommen haben, die ihn ihrerseits wider den Babylonern entlehnt hätten.” Asher Eder, “The Sabbath Commandment: Its Two Versions”, Jewish Bible Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1997, p.191. “Let us remember that both versions of this Commandment entail a tremendous social revolution. Put into practice, it abolishes the right of slaveholders to push slaves, laborers, and even cattle, to incessant work like machines; it gives human status to the underprivileged; and at least on the seventh day, by proclaiming a day of rest for all, social differences are equalized. It began a process still far from completion of bringing equality before the Creator to all men for all times. Consequently, Isaiah visualised that each Sabbath shall all flesh come to worship before Me (66:23) of course unhampered by any kind of enslavement.” (Italics his). Bacchiocchi, 1977, p. 61, “Christ reaffirms the fundamental principle that the Sabbath was instituted to ensure man’s well-being, and therefore any denial of human needs on account of the Sabbath commandment would be a perversion of its original purpose.”
671 The Sabbath as a day of rest and worship has been examined in chapters two and four, cf. especially sections 2.2, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.
exploitative terms. With the absence of labour, commercial and professional dealings, many of the social roles connected with labour also disappear. People no longer relate to one another as employer and employee, or master and slave. Employees on this day need not be viewed in terms of units of production and economic viability, nor employers viewed as a means of survival. Rather, all can stand as fellow worshippers before the Lord.

Lohfink makes a noteworthy interpretation of the sabbath, and the social transformation contained in its prescription for universal rest, in his article “Arbeitswoche und Sabbat in der Priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung”. In his abstract of this article, Thomas Hieke notes:

The ancient world allocated work to slave and women, and leisure to free men. The biblical commandment to keep the Sabbath holy changed this distribution of labor fundamentally. Work and leisure are not distributed among different social groups, but over time: six days for work, one day for rest. This revolution is mirrored in the OT’s way of speaking about God. In the ancient Near Eastern epic of Atrahasis, the gods create human beings as cosmic slaves who work for the gods. The Priestly (P) account of creation is quite different: God does all cosmic work alone and then rests on the seventh day (Genesis 2:2). … For P, human work continues the divine creation, while human rest is sanctified by communication with God.

This interpretation of the sabbath day in terms of the equality and fellowship of Israel reflects a wider theme in the Hebrew Scriptures, particularly in Deuteronomy, and it is significant that the additional phrase “so that your male and female slave may rest as well as you” (Dt 5:15) occurs in the Deuteronomy account of the sabbath commandment. This

---

672 Eugene H. Peterson, “The Pastor’s Sabbath”, Leadership, Vol. 6, 1985, pp. 54-55, “The reason given in Deuteronomy for remembering the Sabbath is that our ancestors in Egypt went four hundred years without a vacation (Deut. 5:15). Never a day off. The consequence: they were no longer considered persons but slaves. Work units. Not persons created in the image of God but equipment for making bricks and building pyramids.

Lest any of us do that to our neighbour or husband or wife or child or employee, we are commanded to keep a Sabbath. The moment we begin to see others in terms of what they can do rather than who they are, humanity is defaced and community violated. Sabbath-keeping is commanded to preserve the image of God in our neighbours so that we see them as they are, not as we need them or want them.”

Kahn, p. 124, “The exploitation to which slaves were submitted in ancient times and in not so ancient times is well known. Against this exploitation of man by man [sic], Moses, for the first time in the history of civilization, rises and proclaims as law the principle that all living beings, animals included, must be treated humanly and with understanding. … On the Sabbath day, these people are once again their own masters because the dignity that follows from being a free creature is entirely restored to them.”

reference in the sabbath command for combined rest and worship on the sabbath reflects also the concern in Deuteronomy that the means be provided for all classes of society to share in worship celebrations (cf. section 4.2, footnote 508).

In the examination of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures in an eschatological context, Ghana Robinson carries this concept even further. After examining passages in which the sabbath is presented as an eschatological hope for all humanity, he goes on to say:

In the sabbath the whole humanity stand before the Creator in unity and equality with a common need, the need for salvation and freedom, the need of a sabbath rest.\(^{674}\)

According to this interpretation then, the sabbath becomes more than the means of levelling the inequities in human society, it is also the means of uniting humanity in the fulfilment of a common need.

**Seventh-year Release and Jubilee Years**

This concern for the equality of Israelites that is temporarily expressed every seventh day finds a more permanent expression every seventh-year release and jubilee year.\(^{675}\) The fall of Israelites into debt and slavery, if at all possible, was to be avoided. Leviticus 25:35-55 contains the provision for debt-free loans to avoid slavery, and the redemption by the kinsperson of those who have become a slave (cf. Dt 15). This state of slavery – whether of the person or by debt – was to have universal and permanent remission, however, every seven years.\(^{676}\) Deuteronomy 15:14 also commands slave-owners that, when they release a slave, they are to “provide liberally out of your flock, your threshing floor, and your wine press, thus giving to him some of the bounty with which the Lord your God has blessed you”. This allows for the slave to make an independent start in society.


\(^{675}\) The same interpretations concerning the Sabbath as a means of equalising society many be found concerning the seventh-year release, and jubilee year. Konrad Raiser, “What ‘Jubilee’ Might Mean Today”, Perspectives, March, 1996, p. 18, “The Deuteronomic interpretation is a response to the distortion of social relationships through an imbalance of power and an accumulation of wealth. The Sabbath Year is intended to restore just relationships in society.”

Cf. Waskow, 1996, p. 19, “Society is commanded to institute a rest - which means that the poor become equal with the wealthy, that we enjoy a communal anarchy where for a spell we have no bosses or institutions to obey.”

\(^{676}\) Cf. chapter four as to the question of whether these feasts occurred simultaneously or on rotation, as well as the fact that release from slavery occurs only every 50\(^{th}\) year in Leviticus 25.
This concept of universal equalising, and an independent start in society finds even greater expression in the jubilee year, where all lands revert back to their original owners or to their descendants. This three-fold equalising of society through the remission of debt, the release of slaves, and the return of original properties is therefore a significant expression of the transformation of society.677

The lack of agriculture on the seventh-year sabbath and jubilee years, and the interpretation of the purpose behind it, also facilitates an expression of equality among Israelites. As section 4.4.2 demonstrated, this fallow year can be interpreted as a votive offering of the land to the Lord, as a reminder that the land ultimately belongs to God. This reminder of Yahweh’s ultimate ownership of the land, and Israel’s relationship to the land under Yahweh, may also be expressed in the command to read the Deuteronomy law book in this year.678 This constant reminder of the relative nature of land-ownership would thus have an equalising effect on social classes that might otherwise develop from land ownership, as Finkel aptly describes:

The Sabbatical legislation affects three areas of socio-economic life that in secular time give rise to conflict: class difference, enslavement and war. Property, possessions and territorial claims exclude the poor and the stranger while promoting human control and self-aggrandizement. These in turn invite violence and show of power in order to confiscate goods. Political history of nations and tribes is written by the struggle for land and possessions. Collective society in secular time knows this violent development that also gave rise to a mythical philosophy that sanctions worship of self (defied monarchy) and nature (polytheism). ... People are but tenants on Earth who remain responsible to God’s creation and enjoy its blessings. ... Thus, all properties during the sacred year revert to God and no one can claim land ownership for the use of its produce.679

This reminder also has the capacity to extend to the relationship between Israel and the resident alien. Israel is reminded that it is only on account of their wickedness that the nations before it were expelled, that Israel inherited the land, and that disobedience by

677 This jubilee concept continues to be a symbol of temporal social transformation today. It has been a topic of significant academic works in recent times and was used as the impetus for the Jubilee 2000 movement, which called for the new millennium to mark the cancellation of national debt for the poorest countries of the world.
678 Cf. Deuteronomy 30:11. Such an interpretation is reliant on the connection of the fallow year with the release and remission laws of Deuteronomy.
679 Finkel, 1986, p. 120.
Israel would result in the same fate (Lev 18:24-30). Such a reminder has the potential to counter arrogant attitudes by Israelites towards resident aliens. During the fallow year, the manner in which all Israelites lived off whatever the land itself produced, also had the potential of equalising all society – including the resident alien - and allowing them together to remember the ultimate ownership of the land by God.680

6.2.4 Spiritual Transformation

The Hebrew Scriptures contain little explicit reference to the sabbath in terms of spiritual transformation, though there are many aspects of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures that have since been developed in terms of spiritual transformation. The most prominent ones are the sabbath as a sanctified day, and the sabbath as a day of rest and worship. By connecting the sabbath with the seventh-day purification laws, Meier has made a significant interpretation of the sabbath as a re-sanctification and spiritual transformation. The interpretation of the sanctified sabbath as a means of spiritual renewal, however, is a common one. Section 4.3.2 has shown both that the sabbath rest itself is a significant expression of worship, and also that there are strong indications in the Hebrew Scriptures of the sabbath being a day of corporate worship. This worship can likewise be understood as a means of spiritual transformation. Some expression of the sabbath in terms of spiritual benefit and transformation, however, are found in Isaiah.

Isaiah 56:3-8

It has been shown that the focus on spiritual transformation in the Hebrew Scriptures is predominately communal rather than individual. This gives significance to the inclusion in community of the sabbath-keeping eunuch and foreigner in Isaiah 56:3-8. The reference to the foreigner and the eunuch is a reference to those in society who are either originally outside the covenant or would least feel the personal relevance of the covenant promise of the gift of the land in perpetuity (as they have no children to inherit their land) and would be at the fringes of Israelite society. The exclusion of the individual from the presence of

680 If the seventh-fallow year is equated with the seventh-year release, then these two events, in fact, occur together. As has already been noted, however, the fallow year and release year are not explicitly connected in the Hebrew Scriptures.
God and from the community are both presented in the Hebrew Scriptures as a state of spiritual “death”.\(^{681}\) Conversely, the inclusion of an individual in Yahweh worship (cf. v.7) and in the Israelite community as a whole, (cf. v.3) is equated with spiritual life. In Gowans’s discussion of Isaiah’s eschatological vision, he makes the following interesting observation concerning references to the physically handicapped:

The conclusion seems inescapable that physical health in itself is not their principal concern. Their intent is to promise complete and unhindered participation to all in the good life of the community, no matter what their condition might be. Whether that requires full healing is not always said, except in Isa. 29:18; 35:5-6; and 42:7, but it is probably safe to assume that is implied in the other texts. What is made explicit, however, sheds light on one of the principle tragedies of the disabled – they tend to be left out of the mainstream of community life. Those who expressed those hopes for a better future in Israel understood that and affirmed their belief in a God who will not have anyone denied the opportunity to participate fully in the good life.\(^{682}\)

The same would be true of the inclusion of the eunuch and the foreigner in society on the sabbath.

*Isaiah 58:13-14*

Isaiah 58:13-14 also comes close to equating the sabbath with spiritual benefits and transformation. The statement that “then you shall take delight in the Lord” refers to a spiritual rather than a material benefit. Similarly, the close connection of “if you call the sabbath a delight … then you shall take delight in the Lord” (v.13-14)\(^{683}\) may also be interpreted as portraying delighting in the sabbath as a means of delighting in the Lord. Spiritual connotations may also be found in the remainder of verse 14:

and I will make you ride upon the heights of the earth; I will feed you with the heritage of your ancestor Jacob. (Is 58:14)

While these may be interpreted in terms of the covenantal promises, they are not the usual term for the covenant promise of the gift of the abundance of the land and the supremacy of Israel. Rather, the first line is reminiscent of Isaiah 40:31, which is clearly speaking of spiritual transformation. The second line also reflects the theology of the book of Isaiah as a whole in speaking of spiritual - as well as mere physical - sustenance (cf. Is 12:3, Is

\(^{681}\) Psalm 13; Psalm 30; Cf. Psalm 27:13 and Exodus 31:12-15.

\(^{682}\) Gowan, 2000, p. 90.

\(^{683}\) Chapter four makes a detailed examination of the occurrence of this word in the Hebrew Scriptures.
Isaiah 61:1-3 and the Jubilee

A similar spiritualisation of the jubilee year is found in Isaiah 61:1-3. The “acceptable year of the Lord” in this passage is frequently understood as a reference to the jubilee. Of this passage Micklem says:

In Isaiah 61:1-3 the conception of the year of Jubilee is lifted above the sphere of economics. It is applied to the restoration of Israel, which itself is conceived partly in temporal, partly in spiritual terms.\(^{684}\)

The last verse of this passage, in particular, contains powerful images of spiritual healing and transformation.

6.2.5 The Transformation of Nature

Seventh-day Sabbath

The Genesis 1:1-2:3 account presents the sabbath as the conclusion of the transformation of the heavens and the earth from “formless and void, טבּוּר חוֹֽלָה ֵֽ֖בַּֽהַּבָּרִי” to “very good יָדֹֽוַ֣מָּא רָֽבָּבָּמָּה”. The sabbath as a creation memorial is therefore a memorial of this transformation of the whole of creation.

The purpose of the sabbath is presented as that of rest, not only of humans but also of non-human creation. The sabbath commandments in both versions of the decalogue expressly prohibit work by “your livestock” (Ex 20:10) “your ox or your donkey or any of your livestock” (Dt 5:14). In these passages it is possible to interpret the focus of these commandments in terms of rest for humans, of which the rest of domestic animals is a necessary precursor. This is especially the case in the Deuteronomy decalogue which contains the specific reference, “so that your male and female slaves may rest as well as you”. In Exodus 23:12, however, is found the clear expression of sabbath rest for the benefit of non-human creation in the words “so that your ox and your donkey may find relief”.

Just as the cessation of labour on the sabbath by all classes of humans in Israel can be considered the means of a temporary transformation of society, so also the cessation of labour on the sabbath day by both humans and animals, particularly the cessation of agricultural labour, can also be a means of a temporarily transformed relationship between humans and the rest of nature. During this time, domestic animals and nature need not be viewed as objects of labour and a means of survival and economic reward, but may be related to as fellow members of God’s creation.

Seventh Year
As section 4.4.1 has shown, while Leviticus 25:2-7 states that “the land shall observe a sabbath for the Lord”, there is no reference to this as a year of rest for humans. There is a strong indication that not only is the purpose of the seventh-year sabbath to allow rest for the benefit of the land; it is also an innate right of the land.\(^{685}\) This is clearly evident in Leviticus 26:34-35, 43 where it is stated that if human inhabitants deny the land rest, this rest will be given to the land at the expense of humans themselves, and in 2 Chronicles 36:21 where the expressed purpose of the seventy years of exile is to allow the land to make up for the sabbaths that had not been kept earlier.

In the Hebrew Scriptures the state of the land and of Israel are inter-related; there are frequent references to Israel’s sins polluting the land itself, the result of this sin being the exile of Israel from the land and the promise of the healing of the land as a part of Israel’s healing and forgiveness.\(^{686}\) The land observing its missed sabbaths, therefore, may be interpreted as a means of the re-sanctification of the land during the exile. As section 3.3 has shown, Meier suggests that the sabbath may be a means of re-sanctification. It is similarly possible to interpret the seventh-year sabbaths as an on-going means of re-sanctifying the land from the abuses of humanity. In the context of such an interpretation, the fallow year contains a significant symbol also of the transformation of the land.

\(^{685}\) Waskow, 1996, p. 19, “But the Jubilee also states that the land itself is entitled to a Shabbat (Lev. 25:4). The social commitment is linked to an environmental commitment, and both are rooted in a cosmological reality.”

\(^{686}\) Genesis 4:10; Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 29, esp. vv.38-40; 2 Chronicles 7:13-14.
In both scholarly and popular circles, there is a frequent acknowledgment of the agricultural practice in many cultures of leaving land to lie fallow, and the suggestion that the fallow year of the Hebrew Scriptures reflects a similar practice for the benefit of the land. Such an interpretation may be connected with this more spiritual interpretation of the fallow year. In Hebrew thought, the physical and spiritual condition are inter-related; the reference to the land as defiled could also be referring to a very real state of infertility. Moreover, this infertility could easily be the result of social injustice and disobedience to the law. In contemporary times, the dispossession of land by traditional individual farm-owners and the resulting “corporate” farming of the land, means that there is a loss of respect of the land as an inter-generational legacy.687 This results in the economically motivated over-farming practices and the viewing of the land as a “disposable resource”. This disposition and “conglomeration” of the land in Israelite society688 could have resulted in a similar reality. The detrimental results of this over-farming and the lack of a regular fallow year on the land may have been recognised by the Israelites; although this reality was expressed in terms of the desecration of the land by disobedience to the covenant, which was also indirectly the case.

Jubilee Year
A fallow year is also celebrated in the jubilee year. Unlike the seventh-year fallow which was only expressed explicitly as a sabbath for the land, however, the jubilee is clearly a festival for humans. This return of the land to its original owners, however, can also be interpreted as a return of the ideal relationship between humanity and the land. While the

687 Cf. Jürgen Moltmann, “Reconciliation with Nature”, Word & World, Vol. XI, No. 2, Spr., 1991, p. 123, “This is the remarkable ecological interpretation of Israel's exile in Babylon: God wanted to save the land! God let the people be deported to give the land rest to recreate. The sabbatical year is God’s conservation strategy for the earth and all its creatures. All the old agricultural systems knew the wisdom of fallowing to ensure the fertility of the soil. Only the great empires have exploited fertile regions in order to supply the capital and the army until the soil was exhausted and turned into desert, and the empire fell to pieces (Babylon, Persia, Rome). Today the principle of fallowing has almost entirely disappeared from agricultural practice. The industrialization of farming has replaced systems of crop rotation. The result is heavier use of artificial fertilizers and progressive poisoning of the soil and crops.

The result will also be similar to the experience of ancient Israel. Non-stop exploitation will lead to the exile and extinction of humankind. After the death of humankind, nature and the earth will get its sabbath rest, which modern humankind has so far denied. Thus, if we wish our culture and our soil to survive, let us be warned; let us again respect the ‘sabbath of the solemn rest for the land.’ Such a celebration of the Sabbath can become a rescue for us and for the earth upon which our life depends. This simple sabbatical restraint of the self from intrusion into the creation, this act of praise of ‘let it be’ will help the land and us.”

original order of creation in the Hebrew Scriptures is one in which humanity has
domination over the land, this dominion should be a reflection of God’s dominion; i.e. that
of “לְמַעַן” love and caring. Thus the return of the land in the jubilee year allows each
Israelite family unit to experience personally such a relationship with the land. It is also the
return of the land to a state of ownership that may produce a personal relationship between
the owner and the land, rather than that of corporate ownership and paid workers where the
land is more prone to be abused. The jubilee fallow immediately follows a seventh-year
fallow. This additional jubilee fallow becomes a time in which each Israeliite may relax and
enjoy a relationship with their newly acquired land without regarding it as a means of
economic advancement, similar to the exemption from military service in the initial year of
marriage.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

An examination of scholarly literature in the area of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures
shows the valuable contribution that Gowan has made in this field. From his work, and
scholarly critiques of it, this chapter is able to identify the basic nature of eschatology in the
Hebrew Scriptures, and to build on this to demonstrate that the sabbath, seventh years and
jubilee years in these scriptures reflect similar themes to eschatology.

The presence of God, the absence of sin, and spiritual transformation, social transformation
and the transformation of nature have all been found in the context of sabbath references.
God’s presence is found in three contexts.

- Firstly, God’s presence is found in creation, especially in God’s rest on the seventh
day.
- Secondly, the sabbath is a sign of the exodus, which is itself a revelation of God,
  and of the ensuing covenant between God and Israel. A significant aspect of this

---

689 This thesis acknowledges that the usefulness of the concept of humanity having dominion over creation
has been called into question in recent times; especially in the field of ecology and ecotheology. Lynn White,
concept of the dominion of humanity in the Judeo-Christian tradition being the reason for the present
destruction of the environment and the ecological crisis. Lynn White’s theory has been the subject of
significant subsequent discussion in the Christian tradition. Cf. Paul Collins, God’s Earth: Religion as if
Ecology”, pp. 87-123.
covenant is that God would dwell with Israel.

- Thirdly, there is found a connection between the sabbath, the tabernacle/Zion, and Eden; the latter two having God’s special presence as a significant aspect.

The sabbath is connected with the absence of evil by its attribute of holiness, and its indirect connection with the covenant’s requirement of obedience. The social inclusion, justice and transformation connected with the sabbath, seventh-year and jubilee institutions can also be viewed as the heart of righteous living and true obedience to the covenant, as passages such as Micah 6:1-8 indicate. As such, therefore, these institutions also reflect the cessation of evil.

Social transformation is a significant aspect of every sabbath institution. On the seventh-day sabbath there is a temporary elevation above the categories dividing humans that are created by economic endeavour. This transformation receives a more permanent expression with the remission of debt, the release of slaves and the return of the land in the seventh year and jubilee institutions. With these practices there is a universal equalising of the socio-economic status of all Israelites, particularly in terms of their access to land; that is, to the primary resource necessary for economic production.

Though not a dominant feature, elements of spiritual transformation may also be found in connection with the sabbath. Its attribute of holiness, and its indirect connection with the seven-day purification laws allow the sabbath to be interpreted in terms of re-sanctification and spiritual transformation. Indications of the interpretation of the sabbath in terms of spiritual transformation may also be found in the book of Isaiah.

The transformation of nature is reflected in the sabbath as a memorial of creation from a state of nothingness and chaos to one of being “very good” and of completeness. As well as being a time of rest for non-human creation, the seventh-day sabbath is also a time when economic activity ceases, and when humanity can relate to nature as a fellow creation of God; a relationship that was experienced on a more extended scale in the seventh-year and jubilee fallow years. The fallow years may particularly be regarded as a means of transformation of the land. On a spiritual level it is a means of re-sanctification of the sins
of humans committed in and against it; on a practical level it is a means of allowing the land to rest and recover from the abusive practices of human agricultural activity. The jubilee year is a further transformation of the land in that it transforms the unequal social structure that facilitates agricultural abuse of the land, and once again places the land under the direct ownership of the humans who work it and who can form a relationship of loving dominionship with it.

This chapter has therefore shown that the major themes of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures may also be found in connection with the sabbath references in these Scriptures. This demonstrates the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, and may have facilitated the sabbath becoming the dominant symbol of this age. To put it in the context of the definition of a sign and symbol in section 1.5.3, the sabbath is not merely a sign that signifies the eschatological age. Rather, it is a symbol in the truest sense that in its nature itself it is a means of demonstrating and experiencing the concept of the eschatological age. Chapter seven now examines other traits that make the sabbath a particularly suitable symbol of the eschatological age; specifically the unique terms that are connected with the sabbath.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION

The previous chapter examined the similarity between the nature of the sabbath and the nature of the eschatological age in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. This chapter now examines how later traditions may have considered the sabbath such a suitable symbol of this age. In particular, it examines the terms identified in chapter three that were unique among the holy festivals to the sabbath alone, and how these may be used in developing an interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. In doing so, this chapter focuses on the concept of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, and on later Jewish and Christian interpretations of these concepts. In terms of the three foci of author, text and reader, therefore, the focus moves much more to that of the reader-community; that is, into the area of reception history.

As section 1.5.2 has indicated, however, the question of why a tradition may have chosen the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age is ultimately beyond definite proof. While this chapter presents a variety of Jewish and Christian interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the age to come, therefore, this chapter is ultimately a presentation of why the sabbath may be considered so suitable as a symbol of this age. Thus, the author of this thesis is ultimately also the reader of the text in this section.

When examining the various concepts connected with the sabbath, this chapter draws heavily on an understanding that may be held by a reader who is “biblically literate” or well-read in the Hebrew Scriptures. This thesis does not present these findings, however, as the understanding of these concepts in the context in which these Scriptures arose. A presentation of what connotations a particular term or concept may have had to an original author or community is beyond the confines of this thesis, and possibly inaccessible to scholarship from this distance.

In the period immediately following the close of the Hebrew canon, there developed the
concept of individual eschatology. As this significantly affected interpretations of eschatology, this chapter begins by briefly acknowledging the appearance of this concept. It then examines the concepts of blessing, rest, holiness, remembrance, righteousness and shalom, that are either directly or indirectly connected with the sabbath. Drawing from these concepts, it is shown how it is possible to interpret the sabbath as a symbol of creation and re-creation, and thus also as a symbol of the eschatological age. It is in this interpretation that this chapter shows most clearly how the sabbath is so suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age; that is, it is a means of expressing and experiencing the nature of this age itself.

While later Jewish and Christian interpretations of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age have taken a number of forms, there occurs in both traditions two significant forms that arose in early Judaism prior to the Christian era; those of the millennium and the eighth day. As these traditions arose so closely after the era of the Hebrew Scriptures, and as they may be developed from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, they are also briefly examined before conclusions to this chapter are drawn.

An excursus then briefly examines the new layers of meaning that this symbol gained in the Christian era, as the concept of sabbath and Lord’s day also underwent significant development. The purpose of this excursus is two-fold. It shows further areas for research concerning the sabbath and Lord’s day as a symbol of the eschatological age. It also helps demonstrate more clearly the difference between the concepts of the symbol that has developed from the Hebrew Scriptures and later Christian concepts of this symbol.

PART ONE: THE SABBATH AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

7.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL ESCHATOLOGY

The period of Jewish tradition that followed the completion of the Hebrew canon also marks the appearance of individual eschatology. While the Hebrew Scriptures contain little
reference of the afterlife, a clear expression of this is found in the Greek Deutero-canonical books and early Judaic literature that immediately follow. Along with these references to the after-life there also first appears a clear expression of the resurrection of the dead and of a heaven and hell external to this present reality. Two clear strands concerning the eschatological future emerge in Judaism. The first strand develops the concept found in the Hebrew Scriptures of the eschatological age as a transformation or re-creation of this present world. The second strand presents an eschatological age that is a “paradise” external to this world. As Mauser notes, both of these concepts are reflected in the New Testament.690

Some scholars have suggested that these concepts developed in Israel as the result of Hellenistic influences. The concept of the afterlife, however, was a significant feature of the religions of the nations surrounding Israel, and it is highly likely that Israel encountered this belief well before the Hellenistic era. Various scholars have suggested that the appearance of this concept during this period was a result of the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It was during this period that Judaism first encountered in large numbers the martyrdom of the righteous, and seriously addressed the question of their reward.692

Along with this appearance of the resurrection of the dead and the afterlife, there is also found an emerging emphasis on the individual and individual salvation, as well as an increased emphasis on the individual righteous, blessed, or holy person. With this increased emphasis on the afterlife and a heaven external to the present reality, the sabbath, with its unique concepts of rest, blessedness, and holiness, becomes an especially fitting symbol of this afterlife. This chapter now examines these concepts as they are found in the Hebrew Scriptures and uses them to develop an interpretation of the sabbath as a memorial of both creation and the re-creation of the eschatological age.

691 Abundant expression of this is found in the funeral practices and pyramids of the Egyptians.
7.2 CONCEPTS CONNECTED WITH THE SABBATH

As chapter three has demonstrated, there are a number of unique concepts connected with the sabbath. These provide a rich wealth that interpreters may draw on when describing the significance of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. Directly connected with the sabbath are the concepts of blessing, rest, holiness and remembrance. In addition to these concepts being inter-connected, they are also closely connected to the concepts of righteousness and shalom. These concepts will be examined in turn.

7.2.1 Blessing

The connection of the sabbath with the concept of “blessedness - הרברג” is one that provides the sabbath with both uniqueness and richness. While it occurs over 300 times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and had gained significant meaning, the sabbath is the only day to which this term is applied. This section examines the concept “to bless” in the Genesis 1:1-2:3 narrative and sabbath passages.

The Blessing of the Seventh Day, Genesis 2:3

While the Genesis 2:3 account does not specifically connect the concept of “blessing” with the “sabbath”, but only with the seventh day, this connection is explicitly found in Exodus 20:11. The blessing of the seventh day in Genesis 2:3 occurs in the Genesis 1:1-2:3 creation account in the wider context of the blessing of the whole of creation. God blesses the creation of the sea and land creatures at the conclusion of the fifth day, and the creation of humans at the conclusion of the sixth day. In both of these cases, the nature of this blessing is to “be fruitful and multiply” (Gen 1:22,28), with humans being given the additional blessing to subdue the earth and have dominion over living creation.

In the context of this passage, therefore, blessedness is defined in terms of fruitfulness and fertility. While all creation is deemed good, it is only animate creation and the sabbath that

---

693 This thesis acknowledges that the term הרברג is also frequently translated “Blessed”; as this term is not connected with the sabbath however, it is not included in this study.
694 This includes the verb and noun forms; this and later figures are calculated using Wigram, The New Englishman’s Hebrew Concordance, Hendrickson, 1984.
695 Chapter three demonstrated that the sabbath is the only cultic festival to be connected with the term “blessed”. Cf. also Wenhem, Genesis 1-15, p. 36.
is blessed. This characteristic of fruitfulness is something that is bestowed on animate creation from the moment of its creation; on the fifth, sixth and seventh days, God blessed the creation of that day.\textsuperscript{696} After describing how God created humankind, Genesis 1:28 states “God blessed them, and God said to them, ‘Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth’ ”. In this text, the command to be fruitful and multiply may be interpreted as part of humanity’s blessing and instruction to subdue the earth. Humanity’s dominion over the earth may therefore be seen as the means of producing this blessing of fruitfulness. In these passages, humanity’s agricultural efforts are presented as a means of controlling the chaotic forces of nature, and thereby producing fruitfulness for both themselves and for creation.

Interestingly, no blessings are specifically bestowed on the land creatures. It is possible to interpret their blessing as being implicitly included in the blessing of humanity, just as the subsequent designation of humanity’s food also contains the designation of food for animals. It is also possible, however, to interpret this lack of blessing as an indication that these creatures have a more immediate relationship with humanity. Their situation is connected with that of humanity, and a blessed situation of humans would also be a blessed one for animals. Such an interpretation reflects the concept in the Hebrew Scriptures that the condition of the land is connected with the spiritual condition of its human inhabitants.\textsuperscript{697}

The Understanding of Blessings in the Hebrew Scriptures as a Whole

This emphasis in Genesis 1:1-2:3 on human blessing, and the inference that it may be a means of extending this blessing to creation, reflects this wider usage of the term “blessing”. Scharbert notes that “only rarely does the OT say that God blesses things or

\textsuperscript{696} This concept is reflected by Hermann W. Beyer, “εὐλογεῖν”, in Gerhard Kittel, ed., Geoffrey W. Bromiley, tr., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. II, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1964, p. 756. “God’s blessings rules over creation. As soon as God has created living creatures which did not come forth out of the earth like the plants and beasts of the earth, He blessed them: ‘Be fruitful and multiply’ (Gn. 1:22)”.

\textsuperscript{697} Cf. section 6.2.5. This concept is also a classic feature of Eastern Orthodox theology, and was particularly developed in the works of St Symeon the New Theologian, which are examined in Keselopoulos.
animals.” He later continues:

Thus, to be sure, the blessing of things (food) is testified in 1 S. 9:13, but in the OT as a whole it is rare, and denotes a “benediction” by God rather than thanksgiving for food. … When legal sanctions and isolated passages elsewhere in the OT speak of blessings on fields, cattle, and the “work of one’s hands,” the idea is that benedictory powers are released on them because of people that have been blessed.

Scharbert also defines the intention of these blessings to be the solidarity of individuals and groups. He contrasts this with the curse which is intended to destroy a man’s solidarity with others when he grossly transgressed the basic ethical norms of his clan, religious community, or people, or to prevent his resisting powerful enemies. This connection between blessings and human solidarity supports the connection between blessings and shalom which is examined below.

Although he also perceives an emphasis on humanity’s blessing, Beyer places greater significance on the blessing of non-human creation, (animate and inanimate), and makes the pronouncement that “God’s blessing rules over creation”. He also connects the state of being blessed with God’s presence:

This blessing comes particularly on man [sic] as one who is active in history. Adam, Noah, the patriarchs and Moses are all blessed by God. The simplest and fullest expression of this is to be found in the promise of God in Gn 26:3: “I will be with thee,” or Gn 17:7 f.: “I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.” This blessing pronounced over Abraham and all that he has is the promise of God fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Between Abraham and Christ it rests on the people of Israel.

This connection between blessedness and God’s presence supports the connection between blessings, righteousness and holiness that is demonstrated below.

7.2.2 Rest

Chapter three has already shown that, while an absence of work is a characteristic feature of most cultic holy days, the sabbath is unique in that it is specifically referred to in terms of

---

699 Ibid., p.295.
rest. An examination of the concept of rest in the Hebrew Scriptures reveals that this term contains a much fuller meaning than merely the absence of work.

In Genesis 2:2, where God was said to “rest” on the seventh day, the Hebrew word is the verb “שתת” – generally considered to be the verbal form of the noun “שָׁתָה”. It is generally accepted that the verb “שתת” has the primary meaning of a cessation of a specific or general activity. In all other references to God “resting” on the seventh day, however, the verb used is not “שתת” but “נָדַר” (Ex 20:11; 31:12-17).

This verb and its cognate noun occurs over 70 times in the Hebrew scriptures. An examination of these occurrences shows that “נָדַר” does not primarily indicate a cessation from activity, but rather a positive sense of well being, peace and absence of external evil forces. This is evident in the frequent promises in Deuteronomy that Israel shall have rest when it enters the promised land. In 2 Chronicles 14:6-7 rest from enemies is presented as the situation that allows Israel to actively build cities and prosper. Its meaning is similar to the word “shalom”, and is actually paralleled with shalom in 1 Chronicles 22:9.

The sabbath as a day of rest, then, contains connotations of an absence of evil forces and a state of peace. Such connotations make it eminently suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age. The connection between rest and the eschatological age is reflected in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. In Isaiah 11:1-10 this rest takes on both salvific and eschatological dimensions that extend to the entire creation. Isaiah 11:10 reads literally in the Hebrew, “His rest (נהר) shall be glorious” (cf. Is 32:16-18).

Such an understanding of rest in the Hebrew Scriptures is reflected in scholarly literature. While von Rad hypothesises that the theme of rest developed from the concept of national

---

701 There are some scholars, however, who question any etymological link between the verb “שתת” and the noun “חת”. One explanation as to the different uses of “חת” and “חת” in Gen 2:1-3 and Ex 20:8 is that the primary reason for the use of the verb “שתת” in Genesis 2:3 is to draw the link between God’s action in the creation account and between the noun “חת”. At the same time, the noun “חת” itself may have been avoided in order to avoid any pagan / idolatrous connotations connected with it. Cf. chapters four and five.

702 The other term for God’s action on the seventh day is that he was “refreshed, נָדַר”. 

703 Cf. Deuteronomy 12:10, “when he gives you rest from our enemies all around so that you live in safety” (also Dt 25:19; 1 Kgs 5:4; 1 Chr 22:9,18).
and political peace (Dt 12:9; 25:19) to a spiritual peace and “wholly personal entering into God’s rest” (cf. Ps 95:11), he clearly identifies that these Scriptures contain all these aspects of rest. Heschel also clearly draws out the themes mentioned above:

“Menuḥah” which we usually render with “rest” means here much more than withdrawal from labor and exertion more than freedom from toil strain or activity of any kind. Menuḥah is not a negative concept but something real and intrinsically positive. … To the Biblical mind menuḥah is the same as happiness and stillness, as peace and harmony. … It is the state wherein man lies still wherein there the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are to find rest. It is a state in which there is no strife and no fighting, no fear and no distrust. The essence of the good life is menuḥah. … In later times menuḥah became a synonym for the life in the world to come for eternal life.

This connection between the sabbath and God’s rest developed further in the Septuagint translation of the passages just examined, as the distinction between the two verbs describing God’s rest disappeared. God’s act of resting on the seventh day is consistently translated with the verb “καταπαύω” whether the original Hebrew was “休憩” or “休憩”.

This is of particular significance as the Septuagint was used by much of early Judaism and Christianity during the period when the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age developed.

### 7.2.3 Holiness, Righteous Living, Blessings and Shalom

*The Connection Between these Concepts*

As section 5.2.1 has indicated, holiness can be defined in terms of the character of Yahweh, of which יְהֹוָה is an essential feature. Human holiness is also expressed by the observance of the law. As such, the expression of holiness is closely connected with righteousness and righteous living. This is reflected in Psalm 15 where numerous righteous actions are described as conditions for living on God’s “holy hill”. The result of righteous living is not described primarily as material prosperity, however, but as blessings and shalom; a state of total well being. God makes with Israel a covenant of “peace / shalom”. Shalom is frequently presented as the result of righteous living and righteousness and is frequently
connected with God’s blessing and gifts. Shalom is also closely connected with ֶלַוְם, thus relating it to the esprit of holiness described in chapter five.

The Concept of Shalom

As the previous examination of “rest” indicated, shalom and rest have similar connotations. Just as “rest” means more than a mere absence of work, so also the concept of “peace ֶלַוְם” denotes more than an absence of disruptive and oppressive influences. Both denote a state of emotional and spiritual peace and well being. The overlap in meaning, however, is not complete. The term shalom contains greater connotations of fruitfulness and material abundance, and as such it is closely connected with being blessed. This state of shalom involves a sufficiency of life’s material necessities and an absence of physical danger, but focuses also on physical and spiritual well being, a prosperous family life, and rich relationships with other people.706 Such a state of shalom is reflected in the description of the righteous man in Psalm 128.

Shalom and the Sabbath

While there is no direct connection between the sabbath and shalom in the Hebrew Scriptures, it has frequently between connected in subsequent Jewish and Christian tradition. The Jewish afternoon prayer for the sabbath contains the words “a restfulness (rooted) in love and compassion, a restfulness (expressing) truth, faithfulness, a restfulness of Shalom (that bespeaks) tranquility, serenity and confidence, a restfulness that is wholesome which Thou (God) desirest”.707

706 This concept of shalom is examined in greater detail in the author’s Honours thesis; Anne-Maree Hope, The Attitude to Wealth in Psalms and the Wisdom Literature, Griffith University: Brisbane, 1996. Cf. also Finkel, 1986, p. 115, “The Biblical word for peace in Hebrew, Shalom, does not connote only a cessation of conflict and end of war. Its meaning points to completion, wholesomeness and the achievement of perfection. Thus, the pedagogical aim of the Torah, the Pentateuchal tradition and legislation, is to guide the people in the paths of Shalom (Prov 3:17). God in the revealed Scriptures intends for the person, singular or collective, to pursue Shalom, as the only road to harmonious relationship with the Creator, whose very attribute is Shalom (Jud 6:24). The only blessing that God's people can truly enjoy is this blessing of Shalom (Ps 29:11), as a divine gift that produces human enrichment and wholesome living.”

707 Finkel, p. 119. He later continues on p. 123 “The Biblical tradition governing Jewish and Christian life offers through Sabbatical legislation an opportunity to realize the eschatological expectation of the prophets and to achieve an era of Shalom in human history. The Jews recognize that the coming of the Messiah will restore the Sabbatical order in the life of the people, and as long as they live in times of persecution and oppression, the Sabbatical reality has not been realized but demands patient waiting for the believing community until the final coming of the Messiah. The Christians see in Jesus the promised ‘Prince of Shalom’, whose first advent inaugurated a transformational age for humanity that comes to realize the
Shalom and Eschatology

A number of eschatological passages in the Hebrew Scriptures contain the concept of *shalom*. Jeremiah 33:9 speaks of the future city of Jerusalem and “all the good and prosperity (shalom)” that God will provide for it. Haggai 2:9 similarly says of the temple “The latter splendor of this house shall be greater than the former, says the Lord of hosts; and in this place I will give prosperity (shalom)”. Zechariah 8:12 focuses more on the rural setting with its statement that “there shall be a sowing of peace; the vine shall yield its fruit, the ground shall give its produce, and the skies shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things.”

The Righteous Life as a Microcosm of the Eschatological Age

The individual who is holy, righteous or blessed is frequently presented as one who obeys the covenantal law, and therefore lives in a state of shalom. In this regard, the righteous life may be considered a microcosm of the eschatological age to come. As well as being a time of universal shalom, the eschatological age that the prophets envision results from Israel’s observance of God’s law. The significant difference, however, as Gowan brings out, is that now Israel is given a new heart to enable it to keep the law, and thus bring about this age (cf. Jer 31:31-34).

7.2.4 The Holy and the Blessed

The fact that “ешׁהל” “holy one” or “saint” is derived from the verb “շׁהך” further highlights the connection between the sabbath as “holy” and the eschatological age. The use of this term can already be found in the Hebrew Scriptures in Psalm 16:3 and Daniel 12:3; and its usage became increasingly common in later Jewish and Christian tradition. There also developed a strong tradition of using this term “the holy” or “the saints” to refer

---

Sabbatical time, which consummated reality for universal experience will take place with the second advent. Both Judaism and Christianity converge meaningfully on the dynamic reality of the Messianic final coming, while both can promote affectively the ‘way of Shalom’ through a Sabbath experience for Jews and through a Sabbatical realization for Christians.”


708 Cf. section 6.1.2 and Gowan, 2000, pp. 69-73.
to those in the eschatological age. This became particularly evident in those Christian traditions that affirm the veneration of the saints and the communion of the saints.

From this term שַׁדַּךְ is found an indirect connection between the sabbath and the eschatological age. Because this eschatological age is where the holy ones will dwell, it is fitting that it be symbolised by a holy day. As holiness is a unique characteristic of the sabbath among cultic festivals, and is also a dominant characteristic of the sabbath day, it makes the sabbath an especially fitting symbol of the age in which the holy ones dwell.

A similar development of the term “the blessed” may also be found. This development is more easily facilitated in English translations than in the Hebrew Scriptures, Septuagint and Greek New Testament. In these Scriptures, a distinction is maintained between the term “עֲרָבָא, εὐλογέω” and “רֶשְׁפָּא, μακάριος”. The former was used to describe the blessing of creation and the sabbath while the latter was the dominant term used in the phrase “Blessed is the …”. In English, however, these terms are both translated as “blessed”. It is an easy development, therefore, from “blessed is the ..” to “the blessed”. This phrase has also been used to describe those in the eschatological age as is reflected in the hymn “Happy the rest, in the home of the blest”. Again, an indirect connection may drawn between the sabbath and the eschatological age. As the only day described as blessed, the sabbath is also especially fitting as a symbol of the eschatological age in which the blessed dwell.

7.2.5 Remembrance

The connection of the term “remember/remembrance” with cultic festivals is limited to the sabbath and the passover. Significantly, there is also an indirect relationship between these two objects of remembrance. The exhortation to remember the sabbath is found in the context of its designation of a memorial of creation. The sabbath is also a memorial of the exodus as is the passover. As the next part further examines, these two remembrances become united in the Easter event and Lord’s day.

---

709 Psalms 1:1; 32:2; 65:4; Pr 3:13; Mt. 5:4-11.
Remembrance as a Re-living, the Passover Example

The concept of remembrance in the Hebrew Scriptures may be defined not only as a logical recollection of an event, but also as a reliving of this event. This is clearly evident in the passover as a remembrance of the exodus experience. The passover meal is very much a re-enactment of the exodus event. The remembrance of the exodus event is also often used as an impetus for present action. This occurs frequently in laws pertaining to the concern for the socially needy (Dt 10:19; 15:12-15). Israel’s remembrance of their redemption from slavery is to be re-lived and internalised to the extent that it results in them performing similar actions.

The Sabbath as Past and Future Remembrance

Similarly, in the context of the sabbath, the call to “remember” the sabbath has connotations of reliving the original sabbath and creation. As section 6.2.1 demonstrated, a connection between the sabbath, Eden and the temple in the Hebrew Scriptures has long been identified. Isaiah’s portrayal of the eschatological age uses images that reflect the original Eden state to describe the temple mount, and by inference, the whole creation. As the eschatological age is portrayed as a return to the original Eden state, the remembrance of the sabbath and the original creation is also a remembrance of the new creation of the eschatological age; as is developed further below.

When the sabbath becomes a symbol also of the eschatological age, this remembrance takes on a new dimension, and becomes both a backward and forward-looking action.710 Such an understanding of “remembrance” was further developed in the Christian tradition and its understanding of the Eucharist, as the next chapter demonstrates.

7.3 THE SABBATH AS CREATION AND RE-CREATION

Drawing from these concepts just examined, it is possible to interpret the sabbath as a

---

710 Such an understanding of the sabbath is reflected by Miller, pp. 87-88, “the Sabbath as rest looks backward and forward. It looks backward to the Exodus ... as rest the Sabbath also looks forward to the promised rest of God.” Italics his. Doukhan, p. 163, “First, the Sabbath compels us to move out of the confines of our present existence to relate to the remote past and to the distant future – to remember and to hope.”
symbol of creation and re-creation, and thus also as a symbol of the eschatological age.

7.3.1 The Seventh Day as the Continual Pre-fall State

The Uniqueness of the Seventh Day
In Genesis 1:1-2:3 there is a difference between the description of the seventh day and the previous six days. While the description of the previous six days of creation contain the pattern “and there was evening, and there was morning”, the seventh day has no such statement as to its duration. It is possible to interpret from this feature that this seventh day - or the state initiated on the seventh day – originally had no conclusion, but was the ongoing state of creation that was lost at the fall.  

Genesis 1:1-2:3 as a Salvation Event
The creation narrative of Genesis 1:1-2:3 has been interpreted as a salvation event which culminates with the sabbath. This narrative describes the creation of the earth from a state of “תתת תאת” at the start of the first day, to a state of “very good” at the end of the sixth day. At this stage the “heaven and the earth” are described as “finished”. It is significant that the forces of nature found in this state of “תתת תאת”, particularly those of darkness and water, are frequently used in the Hebrew Scriptures as symbols of chaotic and evil forces. These symbols should not be taken as far as to infer that the original state of creation was evil, or to insinuate that God created an original state of evil. None the less, this primordial state of Genesis 1:1 can be considered an undesirable one, even though it is not an “evil one” in the later understanding of the term. This creation narrative describes the development of the earth from a situation in which any form of life was unsustainable, to a situation abounding in plant and animal life. As such, this creation can be considered salvific in nature and is presented in the Hebrew Scriptures as a demonstration of God’s power and gracious character.

711 In making such an interpretation, it is acknowledged that some contemporary scholars have questioned whether the concept of “the fall” is necessarily present in Genesis 1-3 or the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole. Such an interpretation of these Scriptures can be found within later Judaism, however, and is a dominant interpretation in many Christian traditions. As such, the utilisation of this concept of the fall is justified in the development of this interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.
The Sabbath Rest and the Pre-fall State

The creation event, therefore, may be interpreted as the negation of the inhospitable aspects of the primordial state, and the creation of fruitfulness, rest and *shalom*. God’s rest indicates a state of peace with no further need for his creative work. While the Genesis 2:1-3 account states that God “שבת” on the sabbath, other accounts of the sabbath speak of God’s rest as “מנוחה”, and is thus similar to the state of rest attained by Israel from its enemies (cf. 2 Chr 14:6). As this rest from external enemies was the means of creative activity, so also the state of creation at the conclusion of God’s activity was one of fertility and fruitfulness.

God’s Rest as God’s Presence

Section 6.2.1 presented the possible interpretation that the sanctification of the seventh day results from God’s act of resting in it. This action can be compared with God dwelling in the midst of Israel through God’s presence in the sanctuary, and brings with it connotations of fellowship with God. This element of fellowship with God was a significant aspect of the Genesis 3 account of the original creation before the fall. It is also found in descriptions of holy people (especially Moses) and of the future eschatological age. The interpretation of God’s sabbath rest as an expression of God’s on-going presence thus describes well the state of the pre-fall Creation.

7.3.2 The Eschatological Age as a Re-creation of the Pre-fall State

A common interpretation in Jewish and Christian tradition is that the eschatological age is actually a re-creation of, or return to, the pre-fall state. This is inferred in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves in Isaiah’s reference to the creation of “a new heavens and a new earth” in which the wild animals will consume the plant diet pronounced in the original creation. There are also reflections of the Genesis 2 creation account in the Revelation 21-22 description of the “a new heaven and a new earth”. This is particularly evident in reference to a river flowing from the centre of the garden, and the presence of a tree of
The church fathers explicitly stated this. In *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, St Gregory of Nyssa wrote “resurrection … is the restoration (apokatastasis) of our nature with its original condition”.713 The continued use of this concept in the Eastern Orthodox tradition is clearly demonstrated in the first three verses of the memorial service for the dead:

The choir of the Saints has found the fountain of life and the door of Paradise.  
May I also find the way through repentance.  
I am the sheep that is lost; Saviour, call me back and save me.

Of old you created me from nothing  
and honoured me with you divine image.  
But when I disobeyed your commandment, Lord,  
You returned me to the earth from which I was taken.  
Lead me back again to your likeness, and renew my original beauty.

I am an image of your inexpressible glory,  
Though I bear the scars of my transgressions.  
In your loving kindness, Master, have compassion  
And cleanse the person you have formed.  
Grant me the homeland for which I long,  
and once again make me a citizen of Paradise.714

When the eschatological age is understood as a re-creation of the original creation state, then the sabbath as a memorial of creation becomes also a memorial of this eschatological age. It has been shown how the concept of “remembrance” may have a forward looking as well as a backward looking focus. As such, a remembrance of the sabbath becomes both a reliving of the original creation, and a future expectation of the eschatological re-creation.

---

712 This passage also reflects the eschatological vision of Ezekiel 47. Although Ezekiel 47 contains both the river flowing from the temple/throne of God, and the presence of leaves for healing, it does not actually refer to these trees as the tree of life.

713 Gregory of Nyssa, *The Soul and the Resurrection*, Catharine P. Roth, ed. and intro., Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1993, p. 22. This thesis is more reticent to accept Gregory’s understanding that “The original condition in paradise was free from evil and passion, from alimentation and reproduction, from birth, growth, old age, and death. All of these belong to the ‘garments of skin’ which Adam and Eve received after the Fall.”

Israel’s Election and the Sabbath as a Symbol of the Covenant

As chapter five’s examination of holiness indicated (esp. section 5.2.2 and 5.4), a number of scholars support the position that the purpose of Israel’s election and redemption was to initiate holiness, righteousness and *shalom*, not only among themselves, but also to all humanity. As such, Israel is the means of this re-creation of the original creation. When Israel is understood to be the means through which this re-creation will be initiated, the sabbath can be seen as a particularly fitting symbol of Israel’s covenant with Yahweh. The presentation of the sabbath as a memorial of creation means that the sabbath is also a symbol of re-creation, which it was Israel’s divine purpose to initiate.

7.3.3 The Sabbath as a Foretaste of the Eschatological Age

As a memorial of creation and future re-creation, the sabbath can be considered a symbol of the eschatological age in the truest sense of the word; that is, it can be understood to be an actual experience of this state. The previous section of this chapter demonstrated how the related states of holiness, righteousness, blessings, rest and *shalom* – which are directly or indirectly connected with the sabbath – may be considered a microcosm of the eschatological age. Chapter six has also demonstrated how many of these themes connected with the eschatological age may also be found in sabbath references. To keep the sabbath, therefore, is to experience to a certain extent the reality of the eschatological age itself. This may be the reason why the sabbath and the observance or disobedience of the covenant are so closely interconnected in the Hebrew Scriptures (cf. Jer 17:19-27; Ex 20:10-22).

The sabbath is also a means of extending this “foretaste” of the eschatological age to the rest of the week. This is a frequent theme in contemporary interpretations of the sabbath. Lowery states that “impoverishment and degradation are unnatural in the sabbath view” 715. Bass similarly speaks of a sabbath-keeping community as “a community in which this injustice would not occur”. 716 Ghana Robinson develops a sociology of the sabbath and

---

asserts that “a true sabbath rest-day presupposes days of ‘good works’”\textsuperscript{717} and presents the sabbath as a call for “the Fundamental Rights of Man”,\textsuperscript{718} for “a Creative Ethos of Work”,\textsuperscript{719} and for “Universal Brotherhood and Justice”.\textsuperscript{720} Such an understanding of the sabbath is reflected in the Judaic tradition that if the sabbath was kept faithfully for a day, then the Messianic age would be initiated (cf, ch.2).

7.4 THE MILLENNIUM AND THE EIGHTH AGE

Within early Judaism there arose two significant forms of the interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age; those of the millennial sabbath and the eighth age. At the base of the millennial interpretation of the sabbath is the understanding of world history as a series of millennia or thousand year periods that reflect the seven days of creation. This is based on the biblical concept that to God a day is as a thousand years (Ps 90:4). While the first six days of creation are generally related to six thousand years of temporal human history, there have been variations to the interpretation of the millennial sabbath since early Judaic times. As section 2.6 demonstrated, some interpretations view this millennial sabbath as the eschatological age, some consider it a thousand years of primeval silence before the eschatological age, while others view it as a thousand years of the Messianic age before the eschatological age. This concept of the millennial sabbath has also been incorporated in a number of Christian interpretations of future eschatology; although these chiliastic interpretations have been condemned by most church fathers.\textsuperscript{721}

Along with these interpretations of the eschatological age as the period of time following the seventh age, there is also the designation of the eschatological age as the eighth age. As section 2.6 has shown, the number eight has been presented in Judaism as even more a symbol of completeness than the number seven, and examples of this have been drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves and the Maharah. The latter reflects the understanding that while seven is the number of perfection, eight is the number of a new

\textsuperscript{717} G. Robinson, 1988, p. 359.  
\textsuperscript{718} Ibid., p. 357.  
\textsuperscript{719} Ibid., pp. 358-360.  
\textsuperscript{720} Ibid., pp. 360-361.  
age. The eighth day was a prevalent title for both the Lord’s day and the eschatological age in early Christianity, and the connection between the number eight and eschatology was clearly present in Judaism before it developed in Christianity.

It is also possible that this concept of seven plus one, and the connection of the number eight with eschatology, have also been influenced from other sources in the Hebrew Scriptures. Vernoff examines how the feast of tabernacles had a cycle of seven plus one, and that the eighth day also had eschatological connotations in early Judaism. Similarly, the feast of Chanukah is referred to in 2 Maccabees as a delayed celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and the eighth day of this feast has similarly been given eschatological connotations (cf. section 2.6, footnote 137).

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that many concepts connected with the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures make it particularly suitable as a symbol of the eschatological age. These include the (often) unique concepts of blessedness, rest, holiness and remembrance connected with the sabbath, as well as the related concepts of righteousness and shalom. Each of these concepts can be used in its own right in developing a connection between the sabbath and the eschatological age.

These concepts can be used to develop an interpretation of the sabbath as a memorial of both creation and the re-creation of the eschatological age. As such, the sabbath becomes a symbol of the eschatological age in the truest sense of the definition of symbol. That is, it is a representation of the reality of the eschatological age itself, and indeed a means of experiencing in foretaste the eschatological age. It is in this context that the sabbath becomes a particularly suitable symbol of the eschatological age.

Two common forms in which these interpretations of the sabbath and eschatology are found in both early Judaism and Christianity are those of the eighth age, and the millennial sabbath. With the emergence of the Christian tradition, there developed also additional layers of meaning of sabbath, which are explored in the excursus.
EXCURSUS: LATER CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATIONS

With the Christian era emerged new layers of meaning both of the sabbath, and of eschatology itself. Christ was presented as the true sabbath and sabbath rest, while the development of realised eschatology meant that this true eschatological rest could be experienced in the present reality. The Christian sabbath or Lord’s day also became connected with various Christian concepts that added to its suitability as a symbol of the eschatological age. This section examines the nature of realised eschatology, the connection between the sabbath and the Lord’s day, and the unique Christian concepts connected with these days.

REALISED ESCHATOLOGY

A significant concept in the New Testament is that of the present reality of the Kingdom of God. It has also had prominence in various Christian traditions, particularly in that of the early Church, though it has had a more limited understanding in other Christian traditions.

The present reality of the kingdom of God is more than an expression of individual salvation and eschatology. Rather, it is the concept of two ages – the present and the eschatological age – overlapping and existing concurrently. That this contemporary kingdom of God can be considered truly an eschatological age is demonstrated by comparing it with the definition of eschatology in section 6.1.2. The end of sin, the presence of God and transformation on the spiritual, social and natural dimension can all be found in the kingdom of God, as is now demonstrated.

The Presence of God

The presence of God - par-excellence – is evident, in that the Gospel of John and the Epistles equate Christ with God. In contrast to the prominence of the temple in the eschatology of the Hebrew Scriptures, Christ identifies himself as the true temple (Mk 14:58; Jn 7; Cf. Rev 22). The presence of God is also reflected in the emphasis on

---

722 This concept has been the focus of much theological examination. A significant explanation being that of the dual existence of Chronos and Kairos time.
receiving the Holy Spirit at the inauguration of the Christian Church (Acts 2).

*The Absence of Sin*

In the ministry of John the Baptist, the kingdom of God is preceded by a message of repentance of sin. A major aspect of Christ’s divinity is his claim to be able to forgive sins, and he similarly preaches the need for repentance, rebirth and obedience to the commandments as a prerequisite for entry into the kingdom of God. Thus the kingdom of God is also an eschatological age in which the absence of evil is a key feature.\(^{[724]}\)

*Spiritual Transformation*

Transformation on the spiritual dimension is evident in the forgiveness of sins mentioned above, as well as in the casting out of devils. Christ’s healing of physical infirmities is also frequently accompanied by the forgiveness of sins; as such it can be considered the transformation of the whole person, including spiritual transformation.

*Social Transformation*

In the social sphere, the kingdom of God is a two-edged sword. On the one hand it causes sharp division between people of the two different ages. On the other hand, however, it is also based on radical new principles of social interaction, in that love is its under-girding principle (Jn 15:12; 1 Jn 3:11; 4:7-21).

*The Transformation of Nature*

The transformation of nature is more limited in the New Testament, although the dominion of Christ over nature is attested.\(^{[725]}\) Later Christian tradition, however, reflects a belief in this transformed relationship with nature by those deemed to be citizens of the age to come, as is evident in the stories of the saints’ peaceable relationships with usually dangerous animals.\(^{[726]}\)

\(^{[723]}\) Cf. also Matthew 1:21-23, and the name of Jesus being “Emmanuel” or “God is with us”.

\(^{[724]}\) Although it may be argued that the main focus of this eschatological age is life in Christ, of which the absence of sin is a result.

\(^{[725]}\) Cf. the changing of the water into wine (Jn 2:1-11), the calming of storm (Mt 8:23-27) and the feeding of the 5000 (Mark 6:35-44).

\(^{[726]}\) John Bookser Feister, “Stories about St Francis and the Animals” http://www.americancatholic.org/Features/Francis/stories.asp; Bonaventure, *The Life of St Francis*, Chapter
THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY

Before examining unique Christian concepts that connect the sabbath and the eschatological age, it is necessary to define the relationship between the sabbath and the Lord’s day. As the second part of chapter two demonstrated, the sabbatisation of the Lord’s day resulted in the sabbath and the Lord’s day becoming synonymous. In such Christian traditions where this sabbatisation occurred, the concepts connected with the Lord’s day are also automatically connected with the sabbath.

In those Christian traditions where the sabbath and the Lord’s day have maintained separate identities, understandings of the relationship between them are more complex and diverse. While a difference between the two days is maintained, a connection between the two days is also frequently affirmed. As section 2.12 demonstrated, the continued separation of these two concepts in the Orthodox tradition has allowed for the development of the connection of the sabbath with the dead. At the same time, however, the Holy sabbath tradition of Christ redeeming the dead from Hades is a redemption consummated in the resurrection of Easter.

A significant connection between the sabbath and the Lord’s day is also found in the works of Augustine. In *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus* he presents sabbath as a rest from sin, and as spiritual “tranquillity and serenity of a good conscience” that the Christian experiences in this present age, while the eighth day is the “greater eternal peace” awaiting the Saints in the future eschatological age. As such, the sabbath is an expression of realised eschatology, while the Lord’s day is an expression of the future consummation of the eschatological age. In other interpretations, the Lord’s day or the eighth day is

---

8 Other interpretations of the connection between the Sabbath and the Lord’s day can be found in the following works: Eugene J. Fisher, “The Influence of Jewish Liturgical Spirituality on Christian Traditions: Some Observations”, in Leon Klenicki and Gabe Huck, eds., *Spirituality and Prayer: Jewish and Christian Understandings*, New York: Paulist Press, 1983, p. 145, “Both Sabbath and Sunday contain a dynamic tension between the celebration of creation and an eschatological foretaste of the Kingdom of God. ...
frequently presented as the eternal sabbath. As such, it is a state similar to the sabbath in character, but eternal in duration. In both these interpretations, unique Christian concepts can still be applied to the sabbath. In the former interpretation of the sabbath as a state of realised eschatology, this state is initiated through the reality of Christ. In the latter interpretation of the Lord’s day or eighth day as the eternal sabbath, the unique concepts attached to the Lord’s day are indirectly connected with the concept of the sabbath as well.

This thesis now examines unique Christian concepts connected with either the sabbath or the Lord’s day in three stages. Firstly, concepts connected directly with the sabbath are examined; secondly concepts connecting the sabbath and Lord’s day are examined; finally concepts connected directly with the Lord’s day are examined.

SPIRITUALISATION OF THE SABBATH

Christ as the True Sabbath

The sabbath references in the New Testament have been the source of significant scholarly discussion and difference of opinion as to whether they are either an affirmation or negation of the sabbath institution. Another significant interpretation of these passages, however, is of Christ as the fulfilment of the sabbath, as Searle demonstrates:

But Jesus himself was neither purifying the sabbath law nor destroying it. Rather, he seems to be proclaiming that the sabbath represented a vision whose time had come. The “rest” of God and the definitive liberation from slavery have arrived in the messianic age, present in the person and work of Jesus. The new age, which he inaugurated by his death and resurrection, has a sabbatical character, and is properly understood as a new creation and a new exodus in which we are all invited to share.729

Sabbath and Sunday, like Judaism and Christianity themselves, are profoundly related spiritual realities. But they are not the same reality. Each has a distinctive meaning which can be illumined by dialogue with, but never subsumed into, the other.” Russell J. Chandran, “Sunday: Biblical and Theological Perspectives”, Pacific Journal of Theology, Series II, No. 3, 1990, p. 64, “The resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ was the fulfillment of what was begun on the seventh day.” Mark Searle, “Sunday: The Heart of the Liturgical Year”, in Lawrence J. Johnson, ed., The Church Gives Thanks & Remembers: Essays on the Liturgical Year, The Liturgical Press: Minnesota, 1984, p. 29, “Sunday also differs from the sabbath. Whereas the sabbath is a day of rest from labor, a momentary participation in the rest of God which preceded creation and will follow history, Sunday represents the altogether more radical ideal that the life of the world to come is already here, It lasts, not twenty-four hours, but from the resurrection of Christ unto the ages of ages. ….”

729 Searle, p. 18.
There are various passages in the New Testament which are interpreted in terms of Christ as the fulfilment or true expression of the sabbath. The first of these is the statement in Matthew 11:28-30 of Christ giving rest. Scholars have noted how this passage immediately proceeds two narratives concerning the sabbath, and interpret this as a juxtaposition of true rest and the sabbath rest observed by the Pharisees. True sabbath rest, according to this interpretation, finds its expression in Christ himself.

A similar concept is found in Luke 4:14-30 where Jesus reads from Isaiah 61. Although it is not explicitly stated in either passage, this reference to “the year of the Lord’s favour” is frequently interpreted as the year of jubilee. In such an interpretation of the passage, therefore, Christ is placing his ministry in the context of the redemption and transformation found in this jubilee year, and is declaring himself the fulfilment of the year of jubilee.

Christ as the fulfilment and true expression of the sabbath is explicated stated in Colossians 2:16-17:

\[
\text{Therefore do not let anyone condemn you in matters of food and drink or of observing festivals, new moons or sabbaths. These are only a shadow of what is to come, but the substance belongs to Christ.}
\]

It was also to become a significant interpretation by later church fathers, as section 2.8 demonstrated.

Christ as the fulfilment of the sabbath gains a fuller richness in the context of the interpretation of Christ as the ultimate expression of Israel, the Israelite and Davidic covenant, and all that Israel was to accomplish. Section 7.3.2 has presented the sabbath as an especially fitting symbol of the covenant because the sabbath itself was an expression of the reality that Israel was to initiate. As Christ is understood as the fulfilment of Israel and its mission, it is particularly suitable to view Christ as the fulfilment of the sabbath.

**The Sabbath as Spiritual Rest**

As the quotation from Augustine has already demonstrated, the sabbath is also presented as a spiritual rest from sin that Christians experience in the present age. This interpretation of
the sabbath rest as a continual state that the Christian will enter through obedience is found in the New Testament itself in Hebrews 4; although this passage is not totally clear as to whether believers have already entered it, or strive to enter it at some future time (cf. Heb. 11:39).

CONCEPTS SPANNING THE SABBATH AND THE LORD’S DAY

The Paschal Baptism

While Sunday is now the preferred day for baptisms in many Christian traditions, when a yearly baptism of converts at Easter was the dominant practice, this baptismal service in fact occurred on the Saturday night of Holy Week prior to the pascha service. This position of the baptism between Holy Saturday and the pascha reflects the symbolism of the baptism itself. The descent in the baptismal waters indicates the partaking of Christ’s death, and the redemption of souls that Christ effected in his descent into Hades on Holy sabbath. Similarly, the ascent out of the baptismal waters indicates the partaking of Christ's resurrection on the pascha, and a resurrection into the eschatological kingdom. This understanding of baptism as an entry into the eschatological kingdom is expressed in the practice of making eight-sided baptismal fonts, as a sign of the eighth day. This paschal baptism, therefore, links together Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday, as well as presenting them both as a symbol of the eschatological age.

The Eucharist

*The Eschatological Connotations of the Eucharist*

In the New Testament itself, two symbolisms of this sacrament are presented, which have both continued through subsequent Christian tradition. One is as a memorial of the death of Christ, and the other is as a foretaste of the eschatological age and the “heavenly

---

730 Vroon, p. 24, “The good news is the reason baptisms were most often administered in the early centuries of the Christian era on Easter Sunday, and to this day are usually administered on Sundays.”

731 Liturgically speaking, sabbath usually ends at sunset Saturday. During holy week, however, the actual resurrection, or beginning of Pascha Sunday, was traditionally celebrated around midnight. Thus the Saturday night prior to the midnight Pascha service can still be considered that time of transition between “Holy Saturday” and the Pascha, when Christ raises from the dead, and brings with him those in Hades.
banquet”. Brown notes that the Western Church is often presented as focusing on the crucifixion in its liturgy, while the Eastern Church focuses on the resurrection and the foretaste of heaven, although he also considers this contrast to be exaggerated. Brown’s position is supported by the fact that contemporary Western scholars frequently make a connection between the eucharist and the eschatological age. Indeed, the crucifixion and resurrection may be regarded as aspects of the same symbol. To speak of the eucharist as a partaking of Christ’s death is to implicitly include, rather than to be in competition with, an understanding of the eucharist as a partaking of Christ’s resurrection into the eschatological age, (and vise versa).

Sabbath and Lord’s Day Observance of the Eucharist
While the eucharist is now predominately celebrated on the Lord’s day, chapter two (sections 2.8, 2.10, 2.12) has shown that there has also been a strong tradition, particularly in the East, of it being celebrated on both the sabbath and the Lord’s day. This practice is still reflected in the contemporary Orthodox tradition of celebrating full eucharistic liturgies only on the sabbath and Lord’s day in Lent, and performing pre-sanctified liturgies on lenten week days. The theological significance of this eucharistic celebration on both the sabbath and the Lord’s day, and how each of these days was understood during this period, is an area open to further research. A number of possible interpretations could be given to the unique symbolism of each day, however, and to how these may relate to the eschatological age. The sabbath is the memorial of the original creation, while the Lord’s day is an expectation of the re-creation. The sabbath symbolises the Christian experience of realised eschatology, while the Lord’s day symbolises the future consummation of the eschatological age. The sabbath symbolises the salvation of humanity from sin, while the

732 The eucharist as a memorial of Christ’s death is found in 1 Corinthians 5:7; 11:23-26, while the Last Supper is also connected with the heavenly banquet in Matthew 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25 and Luke 22:14-23.
733 David Brown, “The Christian Heaven”, in Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Christopher Lewis, eds., Beyond Death: Theological and Philosophical Reflections on Life After Death, London: MacMillan, 1995, p. 51, “One commonly made contrast between liturgies of the Western and Eastern Church is that, whereas the former focus on the crucifixion, the latter have the resurrection at their heart. The result has been that, whereas Western eucharistic imagery has been of the crucified Christ coming down to ‘tabernacle’ with us once more, Orthodoxy has seen the liturgy as a foretaste of heaven, as a matter of the believer being caught up into its worship. Put that starkly, the contrast is certainly exaggerated. Western medieval liturgies for instance include the request: ‘We beseech thee, Almighty God, that Thou wouldst command these offerings to be borne by the hands of thy holy angel unto thine altar on high’ (retained in eucharist Prayer 1 of the modern Roman Mass).”

311
Lord’s day symbolises humanity’s glorification.

*The Eucharist as the New Covenant and Remembrance*

The eucharist as the symbol of the new covenant can be compared with the sabbath as a symbol of the Mosaic covenant with Israel. Section 7.3.2 has demonstrated that the sabbath was not merely a symbol of the covenant with Israel, but could be understood as actually experiencing the state that the Israelite covenant was to produce. So also the eucharist is presented not merely as a symbol of the new Christian era, but as both a partaking of Christ who is the means of initiating this new era, and also as a foretaste of the final consummation of the eschatological age; i.e. the past, present and future all rolled into one.

Just as both the sabbath and the eucharist are significant symbols of the reality that these covenants are to initiate, so it is fitting that both of these covenants are to be “remembered”, considering the significant experiential connotations that are connected with this word. This concept of remembrance is a significant aspect of the eucharistic liturgy, and an understanding of it as both a backward and forward remembrance is reflected in the words of the Eastern Orthodox liturgy of St John Chrysostom said just before consecrating the Eucharist:

> Remembering, then, this commandment of the Saviour and all that has been done for us, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascent into heaven, the sitting at the right hand, the second and glorious coming again.

This strongly expresses the concept of the eucharist as partaking of the eschatological age.

---

734 The words “do this in remembrance of me” are characteristic, if not universal, in the Protestant communion service. This concept of remembrance is particularly developed in the Eastern Orthodox liturgy. As well as the eucharist being presented as a remembrance of past, present and future events in Christ’s ministry, the consecrating of the eucharist is surrounded by prayers for the remembrance of the whole Church, living and departed. This is also symbolised in the communion bread itself; the stamp on the eucharistic bread consists of a cross with symbols of Christ, the living, the dead, and of the angels. A piece of bread from each symbol is included in the communion cup to symbolise the uniting of the whole of the Church, visible and invisible, through the eucharist. Cf. K. M. George, “Towards a Eucharistic Theology”, in Gennadios Limouri, ed., *Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation: Insights From Orthodoxy*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1990, pp. 48-49, who states that the eucharistic bread symbolises the universe, and that all creation is sanctified in the eucharistic cycle.

THE LORD’S DAY AND THE ESCHATOLOGICAL AGE

The Eighth Day and the First Day

Perhaps the strongest eschatological concepts connected solely with the Lord’s day are its titles as the eighth day and the first day. Section 7.4 has already indicated that the eschatological connotations with the number eight had early Judaic roots. The concept of the eighth day indicates a stage beyond the temporal sabbath; that is, a state of eternal sabbath. It also indicates, however, a stage beyond the weekly cycle and temporal time; that is, the new reality of the eschatological age. Similarly, the Lord’s day is also titled the first day – the start of the re-created eschatological age.

The Sabbath and Weekly Celebration of the Resurrection

While some scholars have questioned whether the observance of the Lord’s day on Sunday originally arose as a result of a reverence for the Lord’s day as the day of the resurrection, there is little question that this came to be regarded as the dominant understanding of the Lord’s day by the end of the early church period (in the fourth century CE). The connection between the Lord’s day and the resurrection most likely gained emphasis with the conclusion of the quartodeciman debate and the widespread observance of Easter on Sunday. This observance of the paschal tridium consistently over Friday-Sunday was an important precursor in the development of the weekly liturgical cycle as a mini

736 Bacchiocchi, 1977, p. 78, argues that “in the immediate post-New Testament literature, the resurrection is similarly not cited as the primary reason for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper or for the observance of Sunday”. Searle, p. 21, also argues that the first Sunday services were not Saturday evening but Sunday evening, perhaps to do with the appearances of Jesus. “Moreover, there is no explicit attempt to relate the weekly assembly to Christ’s resurrection early in the morning on the first day of the week until the late second century. Thus, while the tradition of linking Sunday observance with the resurrection of Jesus is ancient and valid, it is important to remember that it is not the original understanding of Sunday and could be misleading. … Recent scholarship has tended to place more emphasis on the encounters with the Risen One and to see the accounts of the empty tomb as secondary. It also underlines the fact that there are no descriptions of the resurrection of Jesus, only encounters with Jesus after his resurrection from the dead. The focus, then, is not on the resurrection itself, but on encountering the Christ.”

commemoration of Holy Week and Easter.

When a veneration of the resurrection is extended beyond the historical event to include the theological realities that it initiates, then the resurrection can also be a significant symbol of the eschatological age. This has probably been a significant factor in the prominence of the Lord’s day as the day of the Eucharist.

THE PASCHA EVENT AND OTHER FESTIVALS

The prominence of the sabbath and the Lord’s day as symbols of the eschatological age can also be attributed to their connection with the pascha event in both the weekly and annual cycle of the Christian festival. The occurrence of the original pascha during the passover festival, the institution of the eucharist at the passover feast, and the place of the sabbath at the heart of the pascha tridium, all serve to unite together the key Hebrew festivals of the sabbath and the passover with the Christian concepts of sabbath, pascha and Lord’s day.

With the development in Christian liturgical tradition of the paschal season extending to pentecost, the feast of weeks (or pentecost) also becomes included in this period. While it is far less prominent, there also exists a liturgical description of the paschal season as both the symbolic period of the eschatological kingdom, and as the period of the feast of tabernacles. This connection is reflected in the Eastern Orthodox liturgical tradition of reading John 7:14-30 during the feast of mid-pentecost.

This incorporation of the other Jewish annual festivals into the paschal season could well have prevented the development of an interpretation of these festivals as symbols of the eschatological age in their own right. In support of this theory, it is significant that some Christian traditions, which do not contain these liturgical traditions, have presented

738 Scholars have questioned the origins of the eucharist in the passover meal, and have instead postulated origins in the chabûrôth or the sabbath kiddush. Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. 156-179. As chapter two has shown, more recent Judaic scholarship questions how much can be known of the nature of these practices in the New Testament era. Whatever historical origins may be hypothesised, however, the theological connection of the passover with the last supper and the pascha event as a whole is clearly indicated in Scripture. (Cf. Mt 26:2,17-29; Mk 14:12-16; Luke 22:1-2,7-15; Jn 13:1; 1 Cor 5:7).
interpretations of the biblical festivals as reflections of Christ’s ministry, with the feast of tabernacles as symbolic of the eschatological age.

CONCLUSION

This section has given a brief overview of some new layers of meaning that Christianity has brought both to eschatology itself, and to the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. In Christianity the sabbath and the Lord’s day have been directly interpreted as symbols of the eschatological age. Christological and spiritual interpretations of the sabbath have also indirectly connected the sabbath with the eschatological age; to find true rest in Christ, and to observe a spiritual rest from sin, are both experiences of realised eschatology.

Because of the numerous understandings of the sabbath and the Lord’s day found in the Christian tradition, the significance of these Christian interpretations of the sabbath differ from tradition to tradition. Traditions also vary both in their understanding of eschatology, and in their emphasis on it. The connection between the sabbath and eschatology in the Christian tradition is an area for significant research in the future. In particular, further research could examine how these various traditions’ understanding of the sabbath, the Lord’s day and eschatology has affected their interpretation of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.
8. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter now summarises research that has been undertaken, draws conclusions as to the legitimacy and suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, and indicates the relevance of this thesis for further research.

8.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

This thesis has demonstrated both the legitimacy and the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. As chapter two has shown, there is a diversity of opinion among contemporary scholars as to the origin and nature of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and in ancient Israel. Its overview of the sabbath in Jewish and Christian tradition has likewise shown that the history of these traditions contains numerous understandings of the sabbath and how it is to be observed. This has facilitated in various later understandings of the sabbath being read back into the sabbath as found in the Hebrew Scriptures.

A detailed examination of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures has been undertaken. In doing so, this thesis has demonstrated the legitimacy of the concept of the sabbath that it uses in developing the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, and therefore the legitimacy of this symbol itself.

Chapter three’s examination of the sabbath and other holy festivals demonstrated that the sabbath shares with other holy festivals the connection with the number seven, the proscription against work and even the title “sabbath - שָׁ bíם”. It is unique, however, in that it is connected with the attributes of blessedness, rest and holiness, and is presented as a memorial of creation and as a sign of the covenant between God and Israel. The connection with the concept of “remembrance” is also confined to the sabbath and to the passover.

In its detailed examination of the sabbath itself, chapter four showed that it is legitimate to
regard the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures both as a day of rest, and as a time of worship. It also demonstrates that there is no clear indication of the sabbath occurring at any other interval than a recurring seven days. This strong connection of the sabbath with the number seven also connects it with concepts of completeness and purity. As no evidence of this weekly cycle has been found elsewhere in the ancient Near East, the sabbath as a seventh day is therefore unique to Israel; supporting its designation as a sign of the unique covenantal relationship between God and Israel. While the Hebrew Scriptures present the sabbath as a memorial of creation, the sabbath as a sign of the covenant has dominance in these Scriptures and the creation memorial can be interpreted as an aspect of this covenant sign. There is no explicit reference to the sabbath institution prior to the Israelite covenant, or to its observance by foreign nations outside the context of Yahweh worship in Israel. Although few references to the observance of the sabbath are found in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is little clear evidence that the sabbath was of relatively minor importance in these Scriptures or the ancient Israel in which they developed. On the contrary, there are clear indications of its prominence. The legitimacy of this thesis’ use of these concepts of the sabbath in its later development of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age has therefore been demonstrated.

The examination of holiness in chapter five has similarly shown that implicit in the Hebrew Scriptures is an understanding that holiness may one day become both a universal and perpetual state. While separation is a major aspect of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures, it can also be shown that the purpose of separation is to bring holiness to those from whom the holy one has been separated. Human holiness has also been characterised in these Scriptures in terms of obedience to the law and “דָּם” (dam). While the attitude to other nations in the Hebrew Scriptures is not predominantly positive, there are descriptions of these nations worshipping Yahweh, and dwelling in peace in the eschatological age. Israel’s call to holiness can be viewed as a means to bring holiness to other nations. This chapter therefore demonstrated that it is legitimate to view an eschatological state of eternal sabbath as a state of universal and perpetual holiness.

Chapter six then examined the concept of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures and has compared the nature of the eschatological age with that of the sabbath. Drawing heavily on
Gowan’s work *Eschatology in the Old Testament*, this thesis has identified the primary themes of the eschatological age to be the end of sin, the presence of God, and transformation on the spiritual, social and natural dimensions. Each of these themes are also found in connection with the sabbath. That is, the nature of the sabbath is in many respects similar to the nature of the eschatological age. This makes the sabbath an especially suitable symbol of this eschatological age.

Chapter seven demonstrated how the attributes of rest, blessedness, holiness and remembrance, as well as the sabbath’s connection with both creation and the covenant, might all be used to present the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. The concept of rest in the Hebrew Scriptures is more than an absence of work, but is also a positive sense of well-being, peace, and absence of external evil forces, that initiates creative activity. Blessedness has similar connotations of fruitfulness and fertility. As holiness is closely connected with righteousness and *shalom*, it can also be described as resulting in a state of physical and spiritual well-being, a prosperous family life, and rich relations with other people. As such, these terms may be used to describe both the eschatological age, and those who dwell in this age.

Taking the supposition that the eschatological age is a restoration of the original creation, chapter seven used these attributes of rest, remembrance and *shalom*, to interpret both pre-fall creation, and the eschatological re-creation, as a state of continual sabbath. The sabbath is thus both a memorial of creation and expectation of re-creation; that is, the eschatological age. Remembrance of the sabbath also becomes a re-living of the original creation and a foretaste of this future age. This demonstrates the suitability of the sabbath as a sign of the covenant; for the purpose of Israel’s election and obedience to the covenantal law is to initiate the eschatological age, of which the sabbath is both a sign and a foretaste. In this regard the sabbath is a symbol of the eschatological age in the truest sense, in that it is an experiencing of the reality of the eschatological age itself.

An excursus in chapter seven then examined the new layers of meaning that the Christian era has added to the sabbath, with Christological, spiritual and eschatological interpretations. Just as various Christian traditions have understood the sabbath and the
Lord’s day in numerous ways, so also have numerous connections between the sabbath, Lord’s day and eschatology developed.

8.2 CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis has made a detailed examination of the sabbath in the Hebrew Scriptures and has demonstrated the legitimacy of understanding the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age. In making this examination, an approach distinct from the many comprehensive studies that already exist is taken, in that the text is approached in its final form. The examination of holy festivals from such a perspective has revealed pertinent findings as to the unique nature of the sabbath, and has also provided the basis from which similar conclusions concerning other holy festivals may be made.

The suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age has been demonstrated from two perspectives. Firstly, the nature of eschatology in the Hebrew Scriptures has been compared with that of the sabbath. Utilising Gowan’s recent, well accepted work, the dominant themes of this eschatology have been identified, and the sabbath examined in the context of each theme. In so doing, the similarities between the nature of the eschatological age and the nature of the sabbath are shown.

Secondly the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age has been demonstrated by examining and developing the attributes connected with the sabbath. The attributes of rest, blessedness, holiness and remembrance, as well as the sabbath’s connection with both creation and the covenant, might all be developed to symbolise both the eschatological age and those who dwell in it. The use of one or more of these attributes has been a frequent aspect of interpretations of the sabbath and eschatology. It is this thesis’ presentation of all of these attributes together, however, as well as its identification of the uniqueness of these attributes to the sabbath, which demonstrates so strongly the suitability of the sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age.
8.3 APPLICATION OF THIS THESIS

In the introduction it was stated that in “examining the ‘suitability’ of this symbol, this thesis examines not only why such an interpretation may have been chosen, but also how it can be developed to be suitable and meaningful”. This thesis has demonstrated how the sabbath is a particularly fitting symbol of the eschatological age, in that it contains characteristics of the nature of this age; that is, it is a foretaste of this age. As such, the sabbath is a potential means of sanctification and renewal at both an individual and communal dimension, and may have significant relevance and meaning for the contemporary reader.

The connection of the sabbath with seven days, and therefore with the purification cycles, as well as its attribute of holiness, gives the sabbath a significant potential as a means of individual and communal repentance and re-sanctification. Chapter seven (section 7.3.3) presented the position of various scholars that the social reality of equality that is experienced on the sabbath should also be expressed in social justice in the life of the sabbath keeper as whole. Various scholars similarly state that the sabbath rest from work should be more than a means of refreshment and therefore greater productivity. Rather, it should affect attitudes to work, the attainment of material possessions, and to one’s ultimate reliance on God.739

Another significant area of relevance for this symbol is the area of ecotheology and ecology. As chapter six (section 6.2.3) indicated, both the sabbath and the sabbatical year are a means for humans to cease from viewing the material world as units of production and profit, and to relate to it as God’s creation of which humanity is a part. The necessity and ecological ramifications of humanity rethinking its perceived relationship with creation has been the topic of numerous works in ecotheology. While this literature frequently examines the need for the re-sanctification of space, little has been done on the re-sanctification of time. Yet the saying that “time is money” well reflects a prevalent attitude of contemporary society, and unsustainable practices are frequently performed rather than

739 Bass, p. 81, “According to those who live each week shaped by *Shabbat*, however, it is a practice that powerfully alters their relationships to nature, work, God, and others”. Cf. Miller, p. 91.
sustainable ones in order to “save time”. The sabbath as a symbol of the eschatological age, therefore, has much to offer a discussion on the re-sanctification of time and ecotheology.

With the emergence of the concept of realised eschatology in the Christian tradition, this concept of the sabbath as an experience of the eschatological age takes on new dynamics, and opens additional avenues of research and relevancy. This thesis has therefore identified major connections between the sabbath and eschatology that have emerged in the Christian tradition, and indicates how these can be the basis for further research.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Belonick, Steven, *Holy Saturday: Descent into Hades*, a thesis submitted to the Faculty of St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Divinity, 1977.


Bobulsky, S., *Evolutionary Theory, Creation Science and Orthodoxy*, a paper in partial requirement for the degree M.Div, St Vladimir’s Seminary, 1981.


Crawford, Jeremy, *Orthodox Responses to the Ecological Problem*, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Masters of Arts at St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, Crestwood, New York, 1996.


Green-McCreight, Kathryn, “Restless Until we Rest in God: The Fourth Commandment as


_______, “‘New Moon and Sabbath’ in Eighth-Century Israelite Prophetic Writings (Isa 1:13; Hos 2:13; Amos 8:5)”, in Matthias Augustin & Klaus-Dietrich Schunck, eds., *Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden: Collected Communications to the XIIth Congress of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament, Jerusalem 1986*, 332
Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988, pp.37-64.


Hope, Anne-Maree, Poverty and Wealth in Psalms and the Wisdom Literature, a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree BA: Honours, Brisbane: Griffith University, 1996.

Hopko, Thomas, The Lenten Spring, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1983.


Kim, Sanglae, The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple in the Hebrew Bible, a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Department of Biblical Studies of the University of Sheffield in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2002.


1991, pp. 117-123.


Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, The Lenten Triodion, South Canaan, PA: St Tikon’s Seminary Press, 1994.


Oesterley, W. O. E., and Theodore H. Robinson, Hebrew Religion: It’s Origin and


Φιλίας, Γεώργιος Ν, Ἱ Ἐννοια τῆς Ὁγδός Ἡμέρας: στὴ Λατρεία τῆς


Shivarov, Nikolai, “The Eschatology of the Old Testament-Appearance, Development and
Significance: An Orthodox Biblicistic Study (Summary)


Smith, George Adam, Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament, New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1901.


