

Chapter 17

On the Changing Significance of the Sacred

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“Sacred geography” has been a characteristic of religious creativity in diverse cultures from antiquity to the present. The term refers to the singling out of a particular place, to the exclusion of others, in mythological, cultic, or literary contexts linked to divine revelation or appearance of an angel, election, unique sanctity, and an etiological story whose importance transcends the boundaries of time and space.¹ This sacred geography, which is tied to mythological recollections and the crystallization of a unique national-religious identity,² is not confined to terrestrial realms and actual spaces. On occasion, it has cosmic and cosmographic dimensions. It bases the uniqueness of the sacred terrestrial place in its connection to its cosmic, mythic, or celestial counterpart, situated beyond time and space. And it grounds its premises in sacred writings derived from a heavenly source.³

Because of the importance and centrality of sacred sites—where heaven and earth touch and the divine appears on earth—and because of their links to supernal worlds, cosmic contexts, and terrestrial force-centers—their locations and names are not always the subject of universal agreement within their traditions, which evolve and change over the years. In some instances, the changing traditions regarding sacred sites appear to reflect not chance variation over the course of time but altered hegemonic structures or deliberate changes in the foci of identity and memory. Changing forms of literary expression that recast the myth and use novel imagery to portray the past can emphasize certain dimensions of the story and downplay others in the interest of expunging them from historical memory. Not infrequently, these changes reflect various stages of polemic and dispute over the sacred traditions and their terrestrial representations in changing historical circumstances.

In the Jewish culture of antiquity, the sacred place—that is, the place associated with God’s dwelling, divine or angelic revelation, covenant and temple, cultic sacrifice, and the *aqedah*—was identified with two mountains: Mount Moriah and Mount Zion. The relationship between the two is far from clear. No mountain today bears the name “Mount Moriah”; that mountain is usually referred to as the “Temple Mount.”⁴ The only circles today in which the Temple Mount is referred to as “Mount Moriah” are those associated with *Makhon ha-Miqdash* and *Ne’emane Har Habayit*, groups that want to return to the mountain and build the Third Temple.⁵ Meanwhile, the biblical-period sources throughout the first millennium B.C.E. speak not of the Mount Zion that is known to us today as the site of David’s Tomb⁶ and the Dormition Abbey. They refer, rather, to the mountain that is today called the “Temple Mount.” During the first millennium B.C.E., that mountain was the subject of diverse traditions and was known as *sela zivyon* (Rock of Zion), *har zivyon* (Mountain of Zion), or *har haqodesh* (the Holy Mountain or the Mountain of the Holy.)⁷ In the study that follows, which pertains only to antiquity and aspects of late antiquity, I attempt to show that the changes in the name of the sacred place and in the memories associated with it are connected to a dispute among various groups over the essential nature of the sacred place, the sacred time, and the sacred memory.⁸

Sacred Geography in Second Chronicles

The biblical book Second Chronicles⁹ tells that King Solomon built his Temple on Mount Moriah: “Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in mount Moriah where [the Lord] appeared unto David his father; for which provision had been made in the Place of David, in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite.”¹⁰ The tradition about the appearance of an angel of God in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite during the time of David, and the divine response to the sacrifice David brought there (2 Sam 24:18-25; 1 Chr 21:15-16, 18-30; 22:1) cannot, on its face, account for Mount Moriah as the name used in Chronicles for the site of the Temple.

The book of Genesis, of course, mentions “the Land of Moriah” in connection with a mountain, an altar, a burnt offering, and an angel’s revelation to Abraham. It is the site of the offering known in Jewish tradition as the *aqedah*: “And He said: ‘Take your son, your favored one, Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there

as a burnt offering on one of the mountains that I will point out to you” (Gen 22:2). LXX omits any reference to the Land of Moriah: “[A]nd go into the high land, and offer him there for a whole burnt offering.”¹¹ The omission is prominent as well in the parallel account in *Jubilees* 18:2: “[G]o into the high land [*erets ramah*] and offer him up on one of the mountains that I will make known to you.”

In calling the site of the altar in early monarchic times—associated with the appearance to David of an angel of God (2 Sam 24:16-18, 25)—by the name of the site of the offering and angel’s appearance in patriarchal times, the Chronicler may have meant to invest Solomon’s Temple on Mount Moriah with the sacred memory of the site of the *aqedah* in the Land of Moriah. He may have intended likewise to associate the site with the recollection of a founding moment in the life of the nation and an eternal covenant between God and His people. On the other hand, it is possible that the reference to the Land of Moriah was inserted into MT’s account of the *aqedah* in Genesis (as noted, it is lacking in the pre-Common-Era versions) in order to tie the site of the Temple and altar in Chronicles to the site of the *aqedah* and the altar of burnt offering in Genesis.

The alternative tradition that identifies Mount Zion as the holy mountain and dwelling place of God is much more widely attested. Mount Moriah, as noted, is referred to only once in the context of “God’s house,” and that reference appears in Chronicles, a late composition, in an allusion to the binding of Isaac on the altar of burnt offerings. Mount Zion, in contrast, is referred to frequently, in traditions that pre-date the composition of Chronicles by hundreds of years.¹² Moreover, we know of second-century-B.C.E. traditions that explicitly identify Mount Zion as the site of the *aqedah* and conclude the account with a verse echoing the one in Genesis but making a significant change: “And Abraham called that place ‘the Lord has seen,’ so that it is said ‘in the mountain the Lord has seen.’ It is Mount Zion” (*Jub.* 18:13). These traditions also see Mount Zion as “the navel of the earth” and the sacred dwelling-place of the deity (*Jub.* 8:19); the place where God was revealed to Abraham (*Jub.* 18:14-16); and as the place where the angel of the presence appeared at the time of the *aqedah*. Beyond that, the tradition recorded in the Dead Sea Scrolls emphatically ties “the rock of Zion” to “the House of the Lord, the God of Israel,” Mount Zion to the Temple, and Zion to “the community of the children of righteousness,” as we shall see below.

Sacred Geography in the Prophets and Psalms

In the early prophetic books and in Psalms, Mount Zion is referred to dozens of times as the holy mountain in Jerusalem or as the place selected by God to be sanctified as His dwelling: “from the Lord of Hosts, who dwells on Mount Zion” (Isa 8:18); or “At the place where the name of the Lord of Hosts abides, at Mount Zion” (Isa 18:7; cf. Isa 24:23; Mic 4:7; Isa 31:4; Ps 132:13-14). It is explicitly referred to as the place of eternal blessing—“like the dew of Hermon that falls upon the mountains of Zion. There the Lord ordained blessing, everlasting life” (Ps 133:3; cf. Ps 134:3)—and as the site of divine revelation: (Ps 50:2). Of course, Zion was not limited in biblical memory to the holy site. It became transformed into a synonym for the City of David and a cognomen of Jerusalem. Still, “Mount Zion,” for the most part, is a synonym for the holy mountain, the place where the divine and the terrestrial touch.¹³

During the time of King Hezekiah and the Assyrian King Sennacherib, Isaiah’s prophecies of destruction portray Mount Zion as a place fraught with meaning,¹⁴ and the site is similarly treated in the prophecies of consolation associated with the redemption or the return to Zion.¹⁵ It is mentioned as the site of God’s sovereignty and his holy mountain in various prophecies that clearly convey the identity between the holy mountain and Mount Zion;¹⁶ “And you shall know that I the Lord your God dwell in Zion, my holy mount”;¹⁷ “Blow a horn in Zion, sound an alarm on my holy mount.”¹⁸

Interestingly, not one of the preexilic references to Mount Zion limits God’s place to a particular building. Instead, they all relate God’s dwelling place to the entire mountain, known as “Mount Zion” or “My holy mountain,” and make no mention of the Temple.¹⁹

Texts composed after the destruction of Solomon’s Temple in 586 B.C.E. refer to the dirge imagery in Lamentations, which was used repeatedly in rabbinic literature and *midrash* to convey the intensity of the disaster: “Because of Mountain Zion, which lies desolate, jackals prowl over it.”²⁰ The image is connected to Third Isaiah’s description of the contrast between the source of life and the wasteland: “Your holy cities have become a desert: Zion has become a desert, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy Temple, our pride, where our fathers praised you, has been consumed by fire; and all that was dear to us is ruined” (Isa 64:9-10).

The history of desolation and consolation in regard to the second temple on Mount Zion is further attested at the end of the second and

during the first century B.C.E. in the books of Maccabees, where the temple on Mount Zion is mentioned as the focus of the Maccabean revolt: “Behold, our enemies are crushed; let us go up to cleanse the sanctuary and dedicate it.’ So all the army assembled and they went up to Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary desolate, the altar profaned, and the gates burned” (1 Macc 4:26-40, esp. vss. 36, 37, 38; cf. 5:54; 7:33).

The post-Second-Temple liturgical tradition expressed painfully the profound connection between God’s sacred dwelling place and its various names related to Zion.²¹ But even much earlier traditions, composed while the Second Temple was still in all its glory, contain striking associations between Mount Zion and the sacred site. These expand the biblical tradition, suggest an alternative recollection to that known from rabbinic traditions, and clarify the nature of the sanctity associated with it.

Sacred Geography and Qumran

A further set of references to God’s dwelling place appears in the multi-faceted priestly literature found in the Qumran scrolls—written and preserved in Hebrew and Aramaic during the final centuries B.C.E. by the “the priests of the House of Zadok and the keepers of their covenant”²²—and in the translations of *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, known before their Hebrew and Aramaic originals were discovered. In these texts, God’s heavenly dwelling place, seemingly above Mount Zion, is described as a celestial garden, an expansive source of life encompassing mountains, trees of life, running water, fragrant trees, and holy angels. It is described as well as a house whose expanse extends beyond the boundaries of time and space and that encompasses the chariot and cherubim. The garden is linked to the place from which life flows and to the source of eternal blessing, a sacred expanse where the divine is present and on which death holds no grip, a place subject to no earthly temporal flaws and where the holy angels serve in eternal order.

Jubilees briefly defines the garden and describes its sacred character in association to the sanctuary: “And he knew that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord” (8:18); “. . . the garden of Eden because it is more holy than any land. And every tree which is planted in it is holy” (3:12).²³ It also applies the purity restrictions to this garden that are associated with the sanctity of the Temple (3:9-13).

The Thanksgiving Scroll describes the mystery within the sacred garden: “a watered garden, a plantation of cypress, pine and cedar for Thy glory, trees of life beside a mysterious fountain.”²⁴ This sacred garden, which reflects the eternity of life and the link between eternity and righteousness, is also called “the Garden of Eden,” “the Garden of Righteousness,” “the Eternal Plantation,” and “the Garden of Truth [*pardes qushta*].”²⁵ The garden that contains “trees of life” and the “fountain of life,” which transcend bounds of time and space, is thus tied to the place beyond time that contains the chariot and holy cherubim.²⁶ It is also tied to eternal time, reflected in the quarterly and annual natural cycles observed by the angels and known as the “chariots of heaven,”²⁷ and to weekly cycles known as the “times of the Lord,” the “times of righteousness,” and the “times of freedom.”

The Temple (“house”) is connected to a sacred and pure place, situated beyond the boundaries of time and space. The divine is present there, and death has no dominion over it. It exists in both the celestial and terrestrial expanses. In both the “garden” and the “house,” the divine presence is tied to the “holy cherubim,” the “vision of the cherubim,” the “fiery cherubim,” or the “chariot of the cherubim,” termed the “image of the throne-chariot” or the “firmament of the cherubim.” The mystical-liturgical world of the celestial chariot is described in “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” which describe the sacred place and the cycles of sanctified time in 4Q405 20–21–22, lines 6–14, and the following passage.

The cherubim bless the image of the throne-chariot above the firmament, [and] they praise [the majes]ty of the luminous firmament beneath His seat of glory. When the wheels advance, angels of holiness come and go. From between His glorious wheels, there is as it were a fiery vision of most holy spirits. . . . The whispered voice of blessing accompanies the roar of their advance, and they praise the Holy One on their way of return.²⁹

The chariot or the cherubim represent the sacred, eternal, divine source of life and the hidden divine presence; they are to be found in the Garden of Eden, in which grow “trees of life,” “holy trees,” and fragrant trees,³⁰ and their sacred representation is to be found in the holy of holies in the Temple on Mount Zion.

Situated at the summit of the holy mountain, the Temple is maintained in a strict state of purity that safeguards eternal life and distances it from death. This is necessary because the divine is present within the Temple, linked both to the chariot of the cherubim—which corresponds to the cherubim in the Garden of Eden, to the “trees of life in the foun-

tain of secrets” and to “the fountain of life”³¹—and to the liturgical cycles, which perpetuate the visible and audible cycles of time during which the creatures of the chariot and the holy angels sing praises, as described in *Hymns for the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

The terrestrial Temple is the center for maintaining the sacred cycle of life and for preserving eternal, cyclical time, connected to the weekly and quarterly cultic cycles maintained by the assigned groups of priests who bring the fixed sacrifices and burn incense on a fixed cycle corresponding to the cycles of song described in the Psalms Scroll.³² The celestial sanctuary—containing cherubim, chariot, holy angels, trees of life, and fragrant incense trees, cultic and liturgical cycles—and the terrestrial sanctuary, with its cherubim, chariot, incense-burning priests, and cultic and liturgical cycles, are experienced, on the one hand, as the Garden of Eden, the “garden of truth,” the “garden of righteousness,” and the world of the celestial chariot, and, on the other hand, as the Temple, “My holy mountain” the “holy of holies,” the place of the cherubim (Exod 25; 1 Kgs 6:23-27; 2 Chr 3:10-14). These two sacred venues are linked by various cosmographic, mythic, mystic, and liturgical traditions.³³

The sacred place in its terrestrial context is dramatically described at the beginning of the book of *Jubilees*, where it is explicitly linked to Mount Zion. After the giving of the Torah, as Moses stands on Mount Sinai, God’s mountain in the desert, God depicts for him the future when the Temple will be created on Mount Zion, God’s Mountain in Jerusalem, whose sanctity is given three-fold mention: “And I shall build my *sanctuary* (*miqdash*) in their midst, and I shall dwell with them. And I shall be their God and they will be my people truly and rightly . . . until my *sanctuary* is built in their midst forever and ever. And the Lord will appear in the sight of all. And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon Mount Zion forever and ever. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy . . . until the *sanctuary of the LORD* is created in Jerusalem upon *Mount Zion*.”³⁴

Jubilees provides a priestly retelling of biblical history from creation to the encounter at Sinai; it presents that history as a course of forty-nine “jubilees,” each forty-nine years in duration (cf. Lev 25:10). According to its account, Mount Zion is one of the four places in which God dwells. These places are described to Moses, as he stands on Mount Sinai, in the words of an angel of the presence (*mal’akh hapanim*). Two of the dwelling places are visible and present in the human realm, one in the present and one in the future; two are invisible and are to be found in the divine, cosmic realm: “For the LORD has four (sacred) places upon the earth: the gar-

den of Eden and the mountain of the East and this mountain which you are upon today, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth.”³⁵

The sacred place, in both its heavenly and its earthly contexts, encompasses three mountains, a garden with trees of life, a house of crystal and meteoric stone, and cherubim. Its celestial/terrestrial context—referred to in *1 Enoch* as “the holy mountain” and “the center [lit., navel] of the earth”³⁶ and in *Jubilees* as “Mount Zion in the midst of the navel of the earth”³⁷—establishes its cosmic character as the place where space comes into existence and heaven and earth touch. In *1 Enoch*, the protagonist, the founder of the priestly dynasty, describes his vision of the cosmic Temple linked to the tradition of the chariot and the appearance of the cherubim: “a great house which was built of white marble . . . the ceiling like the path of the stars and lightnings between which (stood) fiery cherubim.”³⁸ Enoch’s account also describes a divine throne and a throne of glory as part of the world of the chariot,³⁹ and the sacred space is described as a mountainous expanse filled with sweet-smelling trees, fragrant plants, and precious stones, inhabited by angels and cherubim.⁴⁰ In *Jubilees*, the place is called “the Garden of Eden.”⁴¹ It is referred to in *1 Enoch* as “the garden of truth,” “the garden of righteousness,” or the “garden of life.”⁴² The place is connected to the beginning of time, the underpinnings of space, and the source of eternal life. It is a place that challenges the boundaries of life and death, breaching the limits of time and space that are fixed in the world of ephemeral beings. In the words of the author of *2 Enoch*, “the Garden of Eden, it is between the ephemeral and the nonephemeral.”⁴³

The Garden of Eden is the place of God’s habitation and the source of life, uniting life and eternity, space and time, sanctity, righteousness, and memory, testimony and knowledge. Its name (*gan eden*) is associated with witness and testimony (*ed, edut*); with time and epochs (*idan, idanim, a’dei-ad*); with delicacy, fragrance, and rejuvenation (*eden, ednah*). It is associated with supertemporal eternity, the eternal cycles of life and their sacred succession, linked to fertility, bounty, life and rejuvenation, holiness and purity, written memory and testimony. It underlies the spatial dimension, for it is the source of space and its bounty. Yet it partakes of the metaspacial, for the laws of reality that bind those who are subject to time and place do not apply in this invisible domain, which is free from the bounds of time. This place sometimes referred to in Aramaic as *pardes qushta*,⁴⁴ equivalent to the Hebrew *gan tsedeq* (garden of righteousness) or *gan ha’emet* (garden of truth).

The Septuagint, written in Alexandria during the third century B.C.E., translates “Garden of Eden” in Genesis as *paradisos*, known in English as “Paradise.”⁴⁵ On occasion, the sacred place is called “a foundation of the Building of Holiness, and eternal Plantation throughout all ages to come,”⁴⁶ for it is the domain of the Tree of Life, the Trees of Life, the holy trees, and the fragrant trees linked to the incense, whose source is in the Garden of Eden.⁴⁷ The sacred place is the domain of cherubim and angels, the “fiery cherubim” and “voice of the cherubim” mentioned in Enoch’s vision of the chariot,⁴⁸ in Ezekiel’s vision of the chariot as described in the Qumran version,⁴⁹ and in Sirach 49:8.⁵⁰ The chariot of the cherubim in the supernal world is described in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, where it is linked to the cherubim that Moses was shown on the Mount (Exod 25:17-20), to the chariot of the cherubim that David was shown in the vision described in the plan for the Temple,⁵¹ to the cherubim in Solomon’s Temple (1 Kgs 6:23-28; 2 Chr 3: 10-13), and to the “heavenly chariots” in *1 Enoch* 75:3.

In the priestly “chariot” tradition, the cherubim, the chariot, and the holy angels represent the mystery and eternity of life connected to the expanses of space and cycles of time and to the source from which they flow. They are the visual representation of the sacred divine domain from which all life flows, a domain protected by strict bounds of purity, which make the visible representation of the sacred practically invisible. They are tied as well to the eternal cycles of visible natural time, which are marked and preserved by the sacred companies of priests (cf. 1 Chr 24), marking the audible cycles of Sabbaths and appointed times in the Temple. The holy angels are appointed over the celestial cycles of time, as described in *Sefer Mahalakh ha-Me’orot* (*1 Enoch* 72–82) and in *Jubilees*. They also serve as the eternal witnesses and scribes who maintain the tablets and books that establish memory, as described in *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The *Community Rule* presents the parallel role of angels and priests as eternal witnesses of sacred memory: “God has given them to His chosen ones as an everlasting possession, and has caused them to inherit the lot of the Holy Ones. He has joined their assembly to the Sons of Heaven to be a Council of the Community, a foundation of the Building of Holiness, and eternal Plantation throughout all ages to come.”⁵²

The priestly cosmographic tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in *Enoch*, and in *Jubilees*—tied to the chariot tradition, the Enoch literature, the Garden of Eden, the Holy of Holies, Mount Zion, and the Temple—deals with the dwelling place of the sacred. It identifies a sacred,

celestial/terrestrial place with its terrestrial representation. The former is suspended beyond the limits of time and space, while the latter crosses the boundaries of time and space and is bound up with the interconnected places of divine revelation: “And he knew that the Garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord. And Mount Sinai [was] in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion [was] in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other” (*Jub.* 8:19).

The three sacred quarters—the Garden of Eden, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion—correspond to the foci of the priestly myth and to its seven protagonists, who transcend the boundaries of heaven and earth: Enoch and Melchizedek (Garden of Eden); Moses and Aaron (Mount Sinai); and Abraham, Isaac, and David (Mount Zion). The Garden of Eden, as noted, is God’s eternal heavenly dwelling place. It is the heavenly “Holy of Holies,” “God’s habitation,” the place of the cherubim and angels, “the Plantation of Eternity,” the source of the sacred fragrant trees, and the abode of the man who attained immortality, since Enoch son of Jared, the founder of the priesthood was assumed into heaven (*Gen* 5:21-24; *Jub.* 4:23). Enoch was the first to master reading, writing, and counting and to burn incense in the heavenly Temple. It was he who established the priestly ritual when he brought the calendar of Sabbaths and seasons from heaven to earth.⁵³

In describing the vision of Enoch’s ascension heavenward, *1 Enoch* tells that Enoch reached “the navel of the earth”: “And from there I went into the center [the navel] of the earth and saw a blessed place shaded with branches . . . and there I saw a holy mountain; underneath the mountain in the direction of the east, there was a stream. . . . And I saw in a second direction (another) mountain which was higher than (the former). Between them was a deep and narrow valley.”⁵⁴ Some believe that the foregoing vision is referring to a place whose topography corresponds to that of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period⁵⁵ where, according to *Jubilees*, “Mount Zion is within the center [navel] of the earth.”

In addition to Enoch, another individual of crucial importance in priestly myth resided in the Garden of Eden—Melchizedek the King of Shalem, the son of Enoch’s great grandson. According to the tradition recorded in *2 Enoch*, Melchizedek was taken to the Garden of Eden before the flood and “kept there” so as to transmit to Abraham and his descendants the ancient priestly tradition going back to Enoch.⁵⁶

Mount Sinai is associated with God’s revelation outside the borders of the Holy Land and with the eternal covenant between God and His

people. The covenant was entered into in the wilderness, when they were given the divine Law—an eternal, written Law transcending boundaries of time and space and establishing sanctity within the human world. In an introductory passage, *1 Enoch* states that “the God of the universe . . . will march upon Mount Sinai and appear in his camp emerging from heaven with a mighty power” (1:3-4).⁵⁷ In *1 Enoch* and in *Jubilees*, the divine Law is tied to the sevenfold cycles of sacred time made known at Sinai, called “the times of the Lord” and the “times of liberty,” and to the fourfold cycles of nature, called the “chariots in heaven.”⁵⁸ Both cycles kept by angels and priests, guide the sevenfold cycle of rest, freedom, and liberty in relation to the fourfold eternal cycles of nature.

In biblical tradition and Jubilees, Mount Sinai is associated with the figure of Moses—the man of God and founder of prophecy, who brought the Law from the heavens—and with the memory of Israel’s coming into being as it emerged from slavery to freedom. According to *Jubilees*, Mount Sinai is associated as well with the angels. God’s seven festivals and the cycles of time based on the number seven,⁵⁹ made known to Moses at Sinai, had been observed by angels and by the Patriarchs for forty-nine jubilees before then, from creation until the revelation at Sinai.⁶⁰

Mount Zion is God’s dwelling place within his Land. It is the sacred mountain chosen by God for that purpose. In the priestly and prophetic tradition, it is also the site of the Holy of Holies within the Temple, to be found on “Mount Zion in the midst of the navel of the earth.”⁶¹ That tradition associates the first divine revelation at the site with Abraham and Isaac, in the episode of Isaac’s binding. The second revelation there is tied to David and the establishment of the monarchy in Zion and Jerusalem from the time David conquered the “Rock of Zion,” as we shall see.

The site is associated as well with “the place of Aronah,” mentioned as the site from which Enoch was transported heavenward in order to learn the tradition of the sacred calendar and as the site to which he returned in order to teach his sons, the priests, what he had learned from the angels. The place of Aravna/Aronah is the name of the site of the angelic revelation to David, where the Temple will be built on Mount Zion (2 Sam 24:16-25; 1 Chr 21:15, 18-30). Moreover, the mystical priestly tradition attributes to David, “the sweet singer of Israel,” the sacred songs sung by the priests in the Temple as well as the psalms in praise of Zion sung by the Levites, linked to preservation of the cycles of sacred time and the bounds of the sacred place.⁶²

Transformation of Sacred Space in early Judaism and Christianity

The priestly tradition draws interesting connections among sacred place, sacred time, and sacred memory, in both celestial and terrestrial contexts; it departs noticeably from the traditional formulation. This priestly tradition has a subversive element, tied to an implicit and explicit conflict over the annual calendar. It is no coincidence that biblical figures are linked to the Garden of Eden, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion. These three sacred places of the priestly myth are presented in contexts that are controversial with respect to calculating the festivals associated with them and are even linked to places where the angel of the presence speaks with the protagonists of the biblical story. This tradition regarding God's revelation on sacred mountains connected to covenants, to places concealed from the eye, to the revelation of angels, and to sanctity and eternity is alluded to in the words of Ezekiel ben Buzi the priest, who prophesies obscurely about the mountain of God, the holy mountain of God, the Garden of Eden, the cherub, and the Temple: "in Eden, the garden of God . . . [you were] on God's holy mountain . . . among stones of fire . . . from the mountain of God . . . shielding cherub from among the stones of fire . . . your sanctuaries."⁶³

In *Jubilees*, which begins with the sanctity of Mount Zion as the future site of the temple (1:27-29), the angel of the presence describes for Moses the deeds of his predecessor who merited assumption into heaven—Enoch son of Jared, of the seventh generation of man. He does so as Moses stands on Mount Sinai on a Monday, the sixteenth day of the third month, following the giving of the Torah the day before, at the midpoint of the third month, that is, Sunday, 15 Sivan, in contrast to the rabbinic tradition that the Torah was given on 6 Sivan.

The chapter of Genesis that begins, "This is the record of Adam's line" tells that "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24). That heavenly taking is interpreted in *Jubilees* to mean that he reached the Garden of Eden: "And he was taken from among the children of men, and we led him to the Garden of Eden for greatness and honor. And behold, he is there, writing. . ." (*Jub.* 4:23). Enoch was taken to heaven at a sacred time in the priestly calendar, the first day of the first month⁶⁴—the day on which Levi was born and the day on which the desert tabernacle was erected (Exod 40: 2). It is the first day of the year in the biblical calendar and in that of the Dead Sea Scrolls—the 364-day calendar, beginning on Wednesday, the first day of

the first month. That day, which is the vernal equinox in the Enochic tradition of the calendar, had been a matter of controversy from the time that the Seleucid rulers replaced the biblical-priestly solar calendar with the imperial lunar calendar.⁶⁵

Enoch's elevation into the Garden of Eden is recounted in both books of Enoch, in Jubilees, and in the Genesis Apocryphon, where he learns, from the angel of the presence, the underpinnings of knowledge; reading, writing, and arithmetic; the priestly tradition and the calculation of the calendar; the written annals; the covenant and the ritual cycles. In addition, he offers incense in the celestial Temple on the mountain of the south/east. (*Jub.* 4:17-25).⁶⁶

Dwelling in the Garden of Eden on the mountain of the south/east and having attained eternal life, Enoch, the founder of the priesthood, disports himself as a high priest in the celestial temple. According to the angel of the presence who describes his activities, Enoch "offered the incense which is acceptable before the Lord in the evening at the holy place on Mount Qater [Qater from *Qetoret*, incense in Hebrew]" (*Jub.* 4:25). The only other person to enter the Garden of Eden did so four generations later—Enoch's great-great-grandson, Melchizedek, the founder of future priesthood.⁶⁷ As Moses stands on Mount Sinai, the angel of the presence recounts for him, over the course of fifty chapters of the book of *Jubilees*, the unfolding of history from Creation to the revelation at Sinai (*Jub.* 1:27, 29, etc.). In so doing, he mentions, as already noted, four sacred places tied to God's dwelling place: "For the Lord has four (sacred) places upon the earth: the garden of Eden and the mountain of the East [sun-rise] and this mountain which you are upon today, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth."⁶⁸

Moses stands on Mount Sinai, the mountain of God,⁶⁹ on the sixteenth day of the third month, the day after the Shavuot festival according to the priestly calendar of Sabbaths (*Jub.* 1:1-3), at the place where the historic covenant had been entered into between God and the children of Israel on the preceding day—the fifteenth day of the third month, the festival of Shavuot. It is also the place where God speaks to Moses,⁷⁰ gives him the tablets on which the written Law is inscribed, and informs him that He will reign on Mount Zion forever (*Jub.* 1:1-28).

As noted, the prophetic and poetic literature of the First Temple period refers to Mount Zion as God's terrestrial dwelling place. As a general rule, however, it is not associated explicitly with the Temple itself. Rather, it is tied to the sacred area called Mount Zion or "My holy

mountain.”⁷¹ In *Jubilees*, on the other hand, Mount Zion is the future site of the Temple, emphatically described to Moses by the angel of the presence who records God words (*Jub.* 1:26-28).⁷²

Even more, it is a site of great importance in the sacred historical-geographical past, a site on which a unique national identity is grounded: Mount Zion is the mountain on which, seven generations earlier, Isaac was bound by his father and then rescued by the angel of the presence.⁷³ The story of the *aqedah*—which took place, according to *Jubilees*, on Mount Zion—links Abraham and Isaac to Mount Zion, the place where the sacrifice was offered, and to the angel of the presence, who is revealed at the time of the Passover festival, at the middle of the first month, and who rescues Isaac at the very place where the Temple is to be built (*Jub.* 18:9–19; 1:28). The story of Isaac’s binding is a foundational story in the battle between life and death and in the promise of everlasting progeny. It is the place where the angel of the presence, acting at God’s command, rescues Isaac from the death to which he had been sentenced by the prince Mastema.⁷⁴

Not only is Mount Zion connected to sacred space, it is tied to sacred time, too—the time of Isaac’s binding, according to *Jubilees*. That time, bound up in testing, in sacrifice at the altar, and in covenant, falls at the middle of the first month on the biblical calendar, that is, the festival of Passover (*Jub.* 17:15-17, 18:1-19).⁷⁵

Jubilees, written within priestly circles during the second century B.C.E., presents an alternative to the familiar biblical account of the origins of the date of Passover festival. It describes “the feast of the Lord” as a seven-day festival at the middle of the first month. It begins on the twelfth of the month, and the day of the *aqedah* is three days thereafter, on the fourteenth (corresponding to the biblical paschal festival) or the fifteenth (corresponding to the biblical feast of unleavened bread). The account advances the institution of the seven days of the memorial festival that correspond to the date of Passover to the time of Abraham and Isaac. The narrative connects it to Mount Zion and the binding of Isaac in the book of Genesis rather than to the time of Moses in the book of Exodus, after hundreds of years of Egyptian slavery.

Jubilees thus explicitly associates a sacred site tied to Mount Zion, called “the place of God’s mountain,” with a burnt offering and the binding of Isaac. Likewise, it associates a sacred time called “the feast of the Lord” with the time of the Passover holiday and the lamb offered as a sacrifice. It thereby calls to mind another tradition—later than that of *Jubilees*—that uses that place, that time, and the story of a human sacri-

ficial offering as the background for a founding story. I refer, of course, to the crucifixion of Jesus, “the lamb of God,” at the paschal festival, in the midst of the first month, connected to Mount Zion.

Within the Christian tradition, there is a significant departure as well as an intertwining of several traditions regarding the burnt offering, the lamb, the binding of Isaac, the Passover, and Mount Zion. Using a typological mode of interpretation that regards past events as a mirror reflecting the future, the Christians identified Jesus as “the bound lamb” on Mount Zion and as the paschal sacrifice—that is, they identified the crucified one as the lamb given as a burnt offering instead of Isaac, and they set the fifteenth of Nisan as the time of the crucifixion.⁷⁶ The biblical Passover, at the midpoint of the first month, is regarded in Jubilees as the time of Isaac’s binding. In Christian tradition, it becomes a prefiguring of the crucifixion at Passover, and Jesus corresponds allegorically to both Isaac and to the bound lamb, *agnus dei*, the lamb of God. According to the legends about Isaac’s binding, Isaac was sacrificed, died, taken up to the Garden of Eden, and returned when he was healed.⁷⁷ Similarly, Jesus, once crucified, entered the celestial Temple or the Garden of Eden, and his terrestrial symbol, the lamb, stood opposite the Garden of Eden on Mount Zion: “Then I looked, and there was the Lamb, standing on Mount Zion!” (Rev 14:1).

In some verses in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mount Zion is removed from terrestrial geography and transformed into part of the sacred Christian tradition: “But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven . . . and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant (Heb 12:22-23). In Christian tradition, Mount Zion, the sacred place, becomes the place where the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles on Pentecost, as described in Acts 2: 1-4. In the fourth-century *Book of Travels* by the Spanish-Christian pilgrim Agaria, who went to Jerusalem and described the holy places: “Mount Zion is situated to the south...[there the Lord dined with his disciples] and there he sent the Holy Spirit upon the disciples”; “the other side of Mount Zion . . . for there, as the Lord had previously promised, they were filled with the Holy Spirit.”⁷⁸

Some writers describe the relationship between the Jewish and Christian traditions during the first centuries of the Common Era as one of mutual rejection and mutual acceptance: “[Judaism’s] historical formation [took] shape through the rejection of the alternative offered

by Christianity to the crisis of the Destruction of the Second Temple. The confrontation with Christianity lies at the very heart of Midrashic and Talmudic Judaism, which deal intensively with a renewed self-definition of who is a Jew and what is Judaism, as part of determining the reverse definition—namely, who is not a Jew. . . . Self-definition is an extensive and open process, one based not solely on automatic denial, but also on absorbing new religious ideas, ceremonies, and symbols from the outside.”⁷⁹

An example of this sort of process is provided by the transformations in the tradition of the sacred place that is the object of our inquiry here. “The name Mount Zion, known to all contemporary Jews as the name of Jerusalem’s upper city, is Christian (or Jewish-Christian) in its origin. It is always used to annul the sanctity of the Temple Mount following the destruction of the Temple and to transfer it to an alternative mountain—the mountain on which is located the traditional burial place of King David, the prototype of Jesus.”⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the Jews used, and to this day still use, the name “Mount Zion,” evidently oblivious to the absurdity of doing so, even though the name “Mount Zion” at the outset was the name of the Temple Mount itself. They adopted the Christian nomenclature because their conflict with Christianity was not solely a matter of rejection but also of absorption and assimilation of traditions, names, rituals, and symbols.⁸¹

Quite likely this dialectic of appropriation and rejection characterized the Jewish Christian relationship during the rabbinic period in the first centuries of the Common Era. However, one must never disregard the Christian tradition’s adoption of Jewish elements and the complex question of fragmentation within the old religion in the centuries preceding the growth of Christianity.

The pre-Christian priestly tradition expressly identified the Temple’s location with Mount Zion, as stated in *Jubilees*, written while the Temple was still standing. The site, however, had been defiled—in the view of the Hasmonean regime’s opponents and of those who sided with the House of Zadok—to the point that the priests of the House of Zadok and their allies abandoned the Temple. Their separatist stance is documented in the scroll known as *Miqzat ma`asei ha-torah* (*MMT*) and in other scrolls that do battle over the sacred time and sacred place associated in their minds with Mount Zion.⁸² The author of *Jubilees* describes the Temple on Mount Zion as the Temple of the future. Other writers in his camp—with respect to the battle over the sacred time and sacred place—preferred to imagine celestial sanctuaries in which holy

angels served, as depicted in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Scroll of Blessings associated with the tradition of the chariot described earlier.

In the view of the scrolls' writers, the desecration of the Temple resulted in large part from the changes in the sacred, biblical, and priestly calendar that had been followed in the Temple until 175 B.C.E. In that year, Antiochus IV, who called himself "Theos Epiphanes," imposed the Seleucid lunar calendar on Jerusalem, displaced Honyo ben Simeon, the last of the Zadokite high priests to serve in the Temple in accordance with the biblical scheme of high priesthood, and appointed Hellenizing high priests who acquired their priesthood by purchase or force. They were replaced by the Hasmonean priests improperly appointed from 152 B.C.E. and onward by the heirs of Antiochus IV—Alexander Balas and Demetrius II—who also imposed the Seleucid lunar calendar. The Hasmonean priests served in the sanctuary until the end of their dynasty in 37 B.C.E. The author of the Psalms of Solomon—an adherent of the biblical-priestly arrangements and a harsh opponent of the Hasmoneans, whom he describes as having "acted according to their uncleanness, just as their ancestors; they defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been consecrated to the name of God"⁸³—bitingly depicts the takeover of the government by force of arms:

Lord, you chose David to be king over Israel and swore to him about his descendants forever, that his kingdom should not fail before you. But because of our sins, sinners rose up against us, they set upon us and drove us out. Those to whom you did not (make the) promise, they took away (from us) by force; and they did not glorify your honorable name. With pomp they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance; they despoiled the throne of David with arrogant shouting.⁸⁴

The future he hopes for is symbolized by the verse "Sound in Zion the signal trumpet of the sanctuary; announce in Jerusalem the voice of one bringing good news."⁸⁵ He is alluding to the priests who sound the horns (Josh 6:9; 7:4-16), to the words of the prophet Joel: "Blow the trumpet in Zion; sound the alarm on my holy mountain! Let all the inhabitants of the Land tremble, for the day of the Lord is coming, it is near" (Joel 2:1), and to the psalms recited in the Temple, in which the priests sounded trumpets and horns and Levites sang (Ps 47:7; 81:4; 150:3).

In contrast to the chaotic reality of the expulsions and displacements depicted in the Psalms of Solomon, the proper state of affairs is reflected in the words of the priest Joshua Ben Sira, who wrote during the second

decade of the second century B.C.E., before the Antiochian revolution, about the Zadokite priests serving in Zion: "Give thanks to him who makes a horn to sprout for the house of David, for his steadfast love endures forever. Give thanks to him who has chosen the sons of Zadok to be priests, for his steadfast love endures forever."⁸⁶ Earlier, Ben Sira had written, "In the holy tent I ministered before him, and so I was established in Zion. Thus in the beloved city he gave me a resting place, and in Jerusalem was my domain."⁸⁷

A later priestly tradition, known as *2 Enoch*, dating to the later part of the first century C.E., identified the "place of Aronah" (connected to the foundation of the Temple in David's time)⁸⁸ with the "navel of the earth" and Mount Zion, "the dwelling of the holy." It also linked it to the priestly dynasty that began with Enoch, the founder of the priesthood, who was taken to heaven from the place of Arona, later to be identified with Mount Zion. The priesthood was renewed in the days of Abraham with Melchizedek, the priest of priests forever, also connected to Mount Zion: "His abode has been established in Salem, his dwelling place in Zion" (Ps 76:3); "And King Melchizedek of Salem . . . he was priest of God Most High" (Gen 14:18); "The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind, you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4); *2 Enoch* proclaims that "Melchizedek will be the priest to all holy priests, and I will establish him so that he will be the head of the priests of the future. . . . And behold, Melchizedek will be the head of the 13 priests who existed before. . . . He, Melchizedek, will be priest and king in the place of Akhuzan,⁸⁹ that is to say, in the center of the earth, where Adam was created."⁹⁰

This tradition continues with a statement that connects past with future, celestial holy site with terrestrial: "The Lord said to Michael, 'Go down onto the earth to Nir the priest [Melchizedek's father] and take my child Melchizedek, who is with him, and place him in the paradise of Eden for preservation.'⁹¹ It continues, "I will place him in the paradise of Eden, and there he will be forever,"⁹² and concludes with the renewal of the priesthood in the city of Salem, through Melchizedek's descendants.

The preceding Qumran "Melchizedek Scroll" describes "the Sons of [Light] and the men of the lot of Mel[chi]zedek"⁹³ and says "It is the time for the year of grace of Melchizedek and his armies, the nation of the holy ones of God."⁹⁴ Melchizedek is referred to in Qumran as "Melchizedek the priest in the assembly of God . . . who 'announces salvation, saying to Zion 'your God is king.'"⁹⁵ He is referred to in

Qumran as “the chief of the princes of the wonderful [priesthoods] of Melchizedek,”⁹⁶ which asserts that “Zion is the congregation of all the sons of justice, those who establish the covenant . . . and your God is Melchizedek who will free them from the hand of Belial.”⁹⁷ Bridging the mythological, antediluvian, priestly past and the priestly future at the end of days, Melchizedek plays an important part in the priestly tradition of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which we see also in the Christian tradition when the Epistle to the Hebrews associates Jesus with Melchizedek.

Another unknown priestly text found at Qumran, known as “Joshua’s apocryphon,” describes a link between the “rock of Zion” and the Tabernacle and the House of the Lord. It emphasizes the connection between the sacred place and the House of David—who conquered Jerusalem and initiated the building of the Temple—as well as the connection between the House of David and the House of Zadok—the priests who served there:

We could not come to Zion to place there the Tent of Meeting and the Ark of the Covenant until the end of times. For behold, a son is born to Jesse, son of Perez, son of Judah, son of Jacob, and he will capture the rock of Zion and expel from there all Amorites, from Jerusalem to the sea; and he will set his heart on building the Temple for the Lord God of Israel. He will prepare gold and silver, copper and iron, and will import cedar wood and cypress from Lebanon; and his small child will build it, and Zadok the priest will be the first to serve there; he of the descendants of Phineas and of Aaron; and he will be pleasing all the days of his life and be blessed with all from the heavenly dwelling; for he will be a friend of the Lord, securely dwelling in Jerusalem for all days, and He will dwell with him forever.⁹⁸

In a prophetic tradition ascribed to Joshua and pertaining to the construction of the Temple of David and the beginning of the Zadokite priesthood, this priestly tradition considers the fate of the Tent of Meeting and the Ark of the Covenant. They were supposed to reside in Zion upon the Israelites’ entrance into the Promised Land, but Joshua sees in his vision that the conquest of the Rock of Zion will be completed only in King David’s time and that the House of the Lord will be built on it only in the time of David’s younger son, Solomon. He also foresees that Zadok will serve there as first among the priestly descendants of Levi through the line of Phineas and that his descendants—thereafter called Zadokites—will serve in Jerusalem forever.

This vision seems to have been written by Zadokite priests after they had been displaced from the Temple by the Hasmoneans, but it preserves the term “Rock of Zion” (*sela tsiyyon*), unique in the priestly tradition

and not mentioned in scripture. The expression “foundation stone” (*even shetiyyah*) (*m. Yoma* 5:2), known in later traditions and related to the huge rock at the base of the Temple Mount, may be a later incarnation of this unique term. In any event, Joshua’s vision intertwines David and the Rock of Zion with Jerusalem and the House of God, and it even sees continuity between the Tent of Meeting and the House of God and its associated priestly dynasty.

The Zadokite priesthood is associated with the Tent of Meeting, the Temple, Jerusalem, Mount Zion, and the Rock of Zion, as noted earlier. An additional statement that establishes continuity between the Tent of Meeting and the Temple appears in *MMT*, where the Zadokite priests say that “we consider the Sanctuary [miqdash, the Temple] as the tent of meeting.”⁹⁹

A text entitled *Divrei ha-me’orot* (“The Words of the Heavenly Luminaries”) includes an instructive passage on Zion the holy city and the house of God’s glory. The passage appears to have been written around the time the House of David—which had entered into a covenant with the Zadokite priests—was divested of the monarchy. The monarchy was then improperly transferred to the Hasmoneans, who had forcibly assumed both priesthood and kingship:

Thy dwelling place . . . a resting-place in Jerusalem, the city which Thou hast chosen from all the earth that Thy Name might remain there for ever . . . Thou hast chosen the tribe of Judah and hast established Thy Covenant with David that he might be as a princely shepherd over Thy people and sit before Thee on the throne of Israel for ever. . . . Thou who hast sanctified Thyself in the midst of Thy people Israel . . . , that they might glorify Thy people, and Zion Thy holy city and the House of Thy majesty. And there was neither adversary nor misfortune, but peace and blessing.¹⁰⁰

The rabbinic tradition in these matters stands in contrast to the priestly tradition. The priestly tradition assigns critical importance to “Zion My holy mountain,” “Mount Zion, the navel of the earth,” “the Rock of Zion,” and “the place of Aronah.” Rabbinic tradition transformed “Mount Zion” to *har babyit* (the mountain of the house) and did so after a time when there was no longer a house. The “Temple Mount,” was addressed in this fashion after its destruction. The rabbinic tradition suppressed Mount Zion’s name and discarded the tradition regarding Enoch and Melchizedek, who were dwellers in Eden and associated with Mount Zion, Salem, and the place of Aronah. It declined to maintain the tradition of the place of Aronah as the sacred place of the altar of the

sacrifice and of the angelic revelation in the time of David (2 Sam 24:16-25; 1 Chr 21:15-28; 22:1), the place where the temple was built in the days of Solomon (2 Chr 3:1), the place from which Enoch and Melchizedek were taken to paradise¹⁰¹ in order for Enoch to study the priestly calendar, the priestly ritual, and the priestly written memory¹⁰² and for Melchizedek to keep the priestly dynasty and to impart it to Abraham.¹⁰³

Rabbinic tradition exchanged the priestly calendar, commencing in the spring, and moved the place of Isaac's binding from Mount Zion to the Land of Moriah and its time from the first month to the seventh—the month associated with the New Year festival (Rosh Hashanah), a holiday not mentioned in the Torah or the Scrolls and instituted with this name by the rabbis in *m. Rosh HaShanah*.¹⁰⁴

What accounts for these far-reaching changes in sacred times, sacred places, and sacred memories? Were they made by the rabbis only vis à vis Christianity, which transferred Mount Zion to a new place (today's Mount Zion) and tied it to the "Lamb of God" and to the ancient time of the *aqedah*, at Passover? Or were they made also vis à vis the ancient priestly tradition, which had maintained its hegemony for hundreds of years, from the time of Moses and Aaron through the First-Temple Zadokite priestly dynasty down to the governmental changes of the Hasmonean period? Those governmental changes were intertwined with the replacement of the biblical solar calendar by the Seleucid lunar calendar (Dan 7:25) and the ascendancy of a new priestly dynasty lacking biblical legitimacy. That dynasty, the Hasmoneans, came to power during the second century B.C.E. under Seleucid patronage and usurped both the high priesthood and the monarchy. It remained in power until 37 B.C.E., disrupting the ancient order of Zadokite priesthood and other aspects of the biblical world.

The struggle by the ancient Zadokite priesthood to retain its standing during the Hasmonean and early rabbinic periods is actually the struggle between Sadducees and Pharisees. The Sadducees are "the Zadokite priests and their allies," whose writings appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As the source of their authority, they look to the biblical tradition assigning the high priesthood to Aaron's descendants in a direct line to the end of the biblical canon,¹⁰⁵ and to traditions related to angels, the calendar, the world of the celestial chariot, and the Temple on Mount Zion. The Pharisees, who interpreted the Torah through the use of sovereign human power and ancestral tradition, shaped a social order distinct from the biblical priestly way of life and the ancient priestly

calendar—the calendar that had begun in the first month (Nisan) on a Wednesday and was based on a fixed, solar year, reckoned in advance, having 364 days divided into 52 weeks. That calendar was preserved by squads of priests and angels connected to the sacred place called “Mount Zion” on earth and the “Garden of Eden” in the heavens, a place whose guardians saw time as a sacred, eternal, divine element not subject to human dominion.

For the Pharisees and the rabbis, in contrast, time is based on a new social order, headed by sages who reckon according to a new lunar calendar, beginning in the seventh month (Tishri). That calendar neither fixes in advance the number of days in a year or any particular month, nor does it states the number of weeks in a year. Time is given over to human dominion and is based on ad hoc determinations related to the appearance of the new moon, unrelated to any specific celestial or terrestrial sites.¹⁰⁶ As noted, the priestly calendar maintained by the Zadokites was connected to Enoch son of Jared, who had been taken up to heaven from the Place of Aronah, on Mount Zion, on the first of Nisan. The Pharisee calendar, which began on the first of Tishri, was not linked to a particular place or a particular person and lacked all support in biblical tradition, which continued consistently counts Nisan as the first month (cf. Exod 12:2).

Did the sages move the binding of Isaac from Passover to the seventh month because the Christians identified Passover with the crucifixion and Jesus’ ascent to heaven? Did these considerations lead them to move, as well, the site of the *aqedah* from Mount Zion, where the Lamb of God was “standing” (Rev 14:1-3; cf. Heb 12:22), to the Land of Moriah, which had no other claimants? Or were the changes the result of old disputes between Sadducees and Pharisees: Did the year begin at the first month of Passover or at Rosh Hashanah on the seventh month? Is the sacred place to be identified with Mount Zion or Mount Moriah, with the eternal dwelling place of the sacred tied to the chariot tradition or with the destroyed Temple Mount? Did the *aqedah* take place during the first month or the seventh? Was leadership to be vested in Zadokite priests (Sadducees) or in Pharisees? Was the calendar an eternal reckoning of precalculated, sacred time brought down from heaven by Enoch son of Jared or a variable reckoning based on human time, reckoned in accord with tractate *Rosh ha-Shanah*?

The Sadducees and the Pharisees represent two opposing traditions regarding sacred space, sacred time, sacred memory, and sacred service.

Each group encompassed a range of voices, not necessarily uniform, as well as texts written in various circles from various viewpoints, reflecting different memories. Early Christianity adopted some of the concepts of the Zadokite priestly tradition related to Mount Zion as a place tied to the *aqedah* and the crucifixion, to Passover and the revelation of angels, and to the sacred place of ascent to heaven. These appropriations may well have brought about the displacement of that tradition from the central stream of the rabbinic tradition.

Christians likewise associated some of the ancient priestly tradition's heroes—the immortal Enoch and Melchizedek, who breached the boundaries of time and space and dwelled in the holy of holies, the Garden of Eden—with Jesus, who came to be regarded by the new tradition as immortal. This, too may, have led to the rejection of the priestly tradition involving the heavenly sanctuary and the chariot, the Garden of Eden and the Garden of Truth, which encompassed all of the foregoing. It is certainly logical to infer that the dispute between Sadducees and Pharisees over the time of the Festival of Shavuot—the central festival in the priestly covenant tradition as reflected in Jubilees and in the Rule of the Community—led to the sages' rejection of the Shavuot tradition associated with the chariot and with the renewal of covenant. And it may be inferred as well that the new place assumed by Shavuot in the Christian tradition, as Pentecost—the time when the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles (Acts 2)—contributed to its displacement from the rabbinic tradition. That Mount Zion was consecrated by the nascent Christian tradition is already evident in Hebrews 12:22-24.

The rabbis, for their part, did not mention the name “Shavuot” (they called it Azeret) and did not write a tract on Shavuot. They forbade study of the account of the chariot (*t. Hag.* 2:1) and disallowed use of Ezekiel's vision of the chariot as the prophetic reading for Shavuot (*m. Meg.* 4:8). They, thereby, declined to direct attention to the world of the sacred, the world of the cherubim and the chariot, or to the concealed sanctuaries where one may find cherubim and angels in a sacred celestial expanse called the “Garden of Eden” or the chariot where Enoch son of Jared is situated—a heavenly expanse whose earthly embodiment is called “Zion” and “the sacred dwelling place”: “[T]he Garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord. And Mount Sinai [was] in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion [was] in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other” (*Jub.* 8:19). The Psalms scroll from Qumran says of this

place, where heaven and earth commingle: “I will remember you, O Zion, for a blessing; with all my might I love you. . . . Be exalted and increase, O Zion; Praise the Most High, your Redeemer! May my soul rejoice in your glory”;¹⁰⁷ “Like the dew of Hermon that falls onto Mount Zion, for there the Lord directed the eternal blessing; peace be upon Israel.”¹⁰⁸

In contrast to the priests and prophets who excelled in their praise for Mount Zion and in the mythic and mystical dimensions associated with it, the sages neutralized the priestly-mystical chariot tradition and denigrated its hero. In their version of events, Enoch son of Jared—Metatron, the celestial High Priest (*Num. Rab.* sec. 12), the hero that was taken to heaven from Mount Zion—was displaced from his celestial dwelling in the Garden of Truth and struck with sixty pulses of fire (see *B. Hag.* 15b). The hero of the priestly solar calendar is also spoken of disparagingly in *Tg. Onq.* on Genesis 5:24 and in *Gen. Rab.* sec. 25; his eternal righteous life in paradise, in the priestly tradition, was exchanged with punishment, humiliation, and death, in the rabbinic tradition.

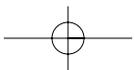
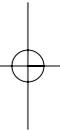
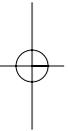
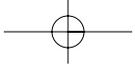
In opposing the tradition of the chariot, the sages suppressed the sacred historical status of Mount Zion as the eternal holy mountain of the priestly tradition. This tradition is described in *Jubilees* (4:26), in the priest Joshua ben Sira’s book (*Sir* 24:10-11), and in the accounts of the “navel of the earth” in *1* and *2 Enoch*. The sages transformed the desolate Mount Zion, on which the Temple no longer stood, into *har habayit* (“the mountain of the house”), though no house now stood there. They eliminated the word “sanctuary” or “temple” from its name. They listed the cultic recollections associated with the lost Temple, which had been on Mount Zion, but they did so in past tense, associated with the tradition of the destruction, in accord with the verse “because of Mount Zion, which is desolate; jackals prowl over it” (*Lam* 5:28).

Moreover, the sages declined to participate in the mystical consciousness that transcends the bounds of terrestrial time and space. They forbade directing attention to the heavenly counterpart of the Temple, situated in the Garden of Eden, in the world of the divine chariot of the cherubim. Even though, the celestial temple continued to operate in the world of the chariot and of the angels, and it continued to figure in the ramified Enoch literature and in the poetic world of the *beikhalot* and *merkavah* literature that developed in parallel to the Mishnah and the Talmud,¹⁰⁹ the sages shied away from involvement with it.

Concluding Remarks

Consideration of the priestly Enoch literature in its entirety and of its associations with Mount Zion, the navel of the earth, is beyond the scope of this article. However, it appears to reflect a set of alternative memories to those that coalesced in rabbinic thought. The latter, which gained hegemony within the Jewish world following the destruction of the Temple, blurred the biblical vision of the sacred Mount Zion and the associated mystical-priestly memory related to the chariot, the Garden of Eden, the navel of the earth, the *aqedah*, Enoch, Melchizedek, the place of Arona on Mount Zion as the place of the heavenly ascent, and the place where the calendar was brought from heaven to earth. The alternative memories embodied in the rejected priestly-mystical literature serve to link the tradition of the chariot, the Garden of Eden, Mount Zion, the place of Aronah, and the priestly tradition with, on the one hand, the *hekhalot* literature and, on the other, Christian literature.

The various groups generated endless arabesques associated with Mount Zion as the dwelling of the sacred and with the traditions regarding a priestly cult of incense and altars of sacrifice. These ideas were associated with the Garden of Eden, Enoch son of Jared, his great-grandson Melchizedek, the *aqedah* and the navel of the earth, with the Lamb and Mount Zion, and with David, the Rock of Zion, and Zion as “the assembly of all sons of righteousness.” Their development, begun during the years before and after the start of the Christian era, continued throughout the first and second millennia C.E. along the various paths of mystical creativity, recalling through written memories what had ceased to exist in a physical sense.



- 57 So, e.g., Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. John Bowden; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1974), 1:141; Moshe Tzvi Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem* (2d corrected and expanded ed.; Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1958), 29. Compare Le Moyne, *Les Sadducéens*, 40 (and n. 11), who sees Ben Sira as continuing earlier biblical beliefs in his side-by-side juxtaposition of freewill with determinism.

Chapter 17

- 1 Unless otherwise noted, quotations from *Jubilees* are taken from the translation by O. S. Wintermute in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 35–142. Cf. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510–11; Leuven: Peeters 1989). Unless otherwise noted, quotations from *Enoch* are taken from the following translations: 1. (Ethiopic) *Enoch*, translated by E. Isaac, in Charlesworth, vol. 1, 5–90; 2. (Slavonic) *Enoch*, translated by F. I. Anderson, in Charlesworth, vol. 1, 91–222; 3. (Hebrew) *Enoch*, translated by P. Alexander, in Charlesworth, vol. 1, pp. 223–316. For 2 *Enoch*, reference is provided as well to the Hebrew edition, in A. Kahana, *Ha-sefarim ha-hitsoniyyim* (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha) (Tel-Aviv: Kahana Nasada, 1937). Translated from the Hebrew by J. Linsider. Except as otherwise noted, translations from original Hebrew and Aramaic sources are by the present translator. Except as otherwise noted, quotations from the Hebrew Bible are from the New Jewish Publication Society Tanakh (NJPS), copyright ©1985, 1999 by the Jewish Publication Society. Quotations from the Apocrypha and the New Testament are from the New Revised Standard Version Bible, copyright ©1989 by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

J. Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); idem, *Imagining Religion, from Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); J. Scott and P. Simpson-Housely, eds., *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

- 2 On the connection between sacred spaces and the formation of nationalism, see B. R. O’Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).
- 3 On cosmography in religious thought, cf. M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (trans. from the French by W. R. Trask; New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), esp. 6–17. On the relationship between mountains and cosmic mountains on which heaven and earth commingle and

on which the deity makes a terrestrial appearance, see R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965); R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972).

- 4 *har habayit*; lit., “the mountain of the house [of the Lord]”; the familiar English designation “Temple Mount” is used in this article. See B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975); C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple* (London-New York: Routledge, 1996). Cf. also n. 8 below.
- 5 See Y. Shapira, *El giv`at halevonah* [To the hill of frankincense] (Yitshar: Agudat el Har Hamor, 1999); Shapira and Y. Pel’i, *El Har Hamor* [To the mountain of myrrh] (Yitshar: Agudat el Har Hamor, 1997); Y. Ezion, *Bein levanon le-levanon: Le-fesher qilelat ha-damim shel hitvardut ha-orqim* (Ofrah: published by the author, 1999). The *Targum on Song 3:6* connects the Temple with “the mountain of myrrh . . . the hill of frankincense.” The Samaritans identified Mount Moriah with Mount Gerizim. The name “Temple Mount” reflects the vision of destruction described in Mic 3:12, dating from the time of King Hezekiah: “Assuredly because of you Zion shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruins and the Temple Mount [*har habayit*] a shrine in the woods” (cf. Jer 26:18). It refers to the sacred mountain following the destruction; later, when the Jews no longer had the holy city within their reach (following the Bar-Kokhba rebellion), it provided a poignant description of what was lacking rather than what actually existed. The original source for the name was the prophetic usage *har beit adonai* (Isa 2:2), “the Mount of the Lord’s house”; it was shortened after the destruction by its dissociation from God’s name. cf. *b. Git.* 56a; cf. *b. Ber.* 3a.
- 6 On David’s tomb, whose identity as such developed first in Christian myth and was later adopted by the Jewish tradition, see: I. J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (trans. from the Hebrew by B. Harshav and J. Chipman; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 23–24; and see below, text at n. 67.
- 7 Much has been written about Mount Zion in its various historical, literary, and archaeological contexts. See Y. Z. Eliav, *God’s Mountain. The Temple Mount in Time, Place, and Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). In his introduction, Eliav maintains that only after the Temple had been destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. did the Temple Mount in Jerusalem become an important concept invested with religious significance. He notes that the term *har habayit* (Temple Mount) as a routine designation for the site of the no-longer-extant temple took shape only in the first century, though it is based on an ancient tradition (10). Eliav there also reviews the complex relationship between mountain and temple and discusses the various names used for Mount Moriah,

- Mount Zion, and the Temple Mount at various times. The book contains a thorough bibliography on each of these sites.
- 8 For background on the nature of the controversy over sacred time and sacred space within the Jewish world of the second and first centuries B.C.E., see R. Eilior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (trans. from the Hebrew by D. Louvish; Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004)
 - 9 On Chronicles and the time of its composition in the fourth century B.C.E., see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. A. Barber; Frankfurt-am-Main and New York: P. Lang, 1989); idem., *I and II Chronicles: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993); W. Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993).
 - 10 2 Chr 3:1. The translation is from the Old Jewish Publication Society version (OJPS) (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917), which captures the sense of MT; NJPS translates in accord with the emendation next described. “The Lord” is bracketed in the English translation because the word does not appear in MT; LXX includes it. MT here appears corrupt and should be emended per LXX: “And Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared to his father David, in the place which David had prepared in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite” (*The Apostles Bible: A Modern English Translation of the Greek Septuagint*, ed. P. W. Esposito [<http://www.apostlesbible.com>]). Other ancient translations read “in the place which David had prepared in the threshing floor” or “the threshing floor of Aronah.” See Y. Zackowitz, *David* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshaq Ben-Zvi, 1995), 139. On the tradition regarding the altar built by David in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite (or Arnia or Arona), see 2 Sam 24:18-25; 1 Chr 21:15, 18-30. No place at all is mentioned in the parallel tradition in 1 Kgs 6 regarding the construction of Solomon’s Temple. Another interesting tradition on the “place of Aronah,” connected to burnt offerings by the priestly dynasty of Enoch son of Jared, appears in 2 En. 21 and 23 (Hebrew version).
 - 11 Apostle’s Bible (above, n. 11).
 - 12 See above, n. 9. Zion is mentioned hundreds of times in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Zechariah, Psalms, and Lamentations.
 - 13 2 Sam 5:7; 1 Kgs 8:1; 1 Chr 11:5; 2 Chr 5:2; Isa 8:18.
 - 14 2 Kgs 19:31 and parallel in Isa 37:32. Cf. J. D. Levenson, “The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience,” in *Jewish Spirituality From the Bible through the Middle Ages*, (ed. A. Green; New York: Crossroad, 1986), 32–61, quote on 47.

- 15 Isa 35:10; cf. 51:11 and see 52:1, 7; 4:3-5.
- 16 Obad 1:21.
- 17 Joel 4:17; cf. 4:21—"And the Lord shall dwell in Zion"; 3:5—"for there shall be a remnant on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, as the Lord promised."
- 18 Joel 2:1; cf. 3:5 and 4:16.
- 19 The cosmic mountain traditions that portray a high place where heaven and earth meet and the divine manifests itself on earth often note a correspondence between the mountain and a sanctuary (see Clifford and Clements, above, n. 3). The biblical traditions, however, make no such specific reference.
- 20 Lam 5:18; cf. Jer 26:18; *Lam. Rab.* 5:18 (Buber 80a); *Sifrei Devarim* 43 (Finkelstein, 95); *b. Mak.* 24b.
- 21 See, e.g., "[B]ring us to Zion Your city in song; to Jerusalem Your holy house in eternal joy"; "Have mercy, our God, on us and on Israel Your people; on Jerusalem Your city; on Zion, dwelling place of Your glory; on Your sanctuary and Your habitation." (From the blessing after meals and the blessing Nahem, added to the standard prayers on the Ninth of Ab, the day commemorating the destruction of the first and second temples.
- 22 On the meaning of this term, see *Community Rule* 1:19-21; 2:2-4; 5:1-3, 5, 8; *Damascus Document* 3:1, 4-21; 3:4; 5:5. (Except as otherwise noted, quotations from the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997). On the significance of the tie between the Zadokite priests and the Sadducees, see Y. Sussman, "The History of Halakhah and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on MMT," in *DJD X, Qumran Cave 4. V* (eds. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 179-200. On the significance of this priestly context in the literary history of Jewish mysticism, see Elior, *The Three Temples*, 24-28.
- 23 The Qumran version of Jubilees states, "[for] the Garden of Eden is sacred and every young shoot which is in its midst is a consecrated thing," in *DJD XXXV, Qumran cave 4* (ed. J. Baumgarten; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 70. On the *Book of Jubilees*, see above, n. 1. For an up-to-date study of *Jubilees*, including a comprehensive bibliography, see M. Segal, "The Book of Jubilees" (Ph.D. diss, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 2004); M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange, eds., *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).
- 24 Hymn 18 (formerly 14); Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 278. The hymn includes a detailed account of the Garden of Eden. The citation above, which lists seven types of trees, alludes to Isa 41:9.
- 25 "Garden of Eden": see *Jub.* 8:29; cf. *2 En.* 5:3; "Garden of Righteousness": see *1 En.* 77:3; "Eternal Plantation": see *Thanksgiving Scroll*, Hymn 18 (formerly 14), Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 278

- (“everlasting Plant”; “Fountain of Life”: see Vermes, 279 (“well-spring of life”). On Garden of Truth, see below, n. 44. (In Licht’s Hebrew edition, see Hymn 16, page 8, lines 6 and 12.)
- 26 *1 En.* 14:11; cf. C. Newsom, ed., *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 303. On the tradition of the chariot, see *Songs of the Sabbath*, 1–80; and cf. Elijah, *The Three Temples*, 63–81.
- 27 *1 En.* 75:3–4.
- 28 See Newsom, *Song of the Sabbath Sacrifices*, 303–21 for the Hebrew text, discussion, and translation. Translation by the present author, based on the translations of D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 52, 524–25; J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran-4Q Serek Sirot Olat hassabat,” *Congress Volume*: Oxford, 1959 (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1959–1960), 318–45; and L. H. Schiffman, “Merkavah Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q Serekh Shirot Olat Ha-Shabat,” in *Mystics, Philosophers and Politics, Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann* (eds. J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski; Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1982), 15–47. The unique poetic Hebrew syntax and mystical content makes this text particularly hard to translate; it can, therefore, be rendered in more than one way.
- 29 Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 328.
- 30 On holy trees and fragrant trees in the Garden of Eden, which are associated with the sacred tradition of Temple incense, see *1 En.* 24–32 and 17–18; cf. *2 En.* 5:1–4; *Jub.* 3:12, 27.
- 31 For both terms, see Hymn 18 (formerly 14), Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 278–79 (“mysterious fountain” and “well-spring of life”). (Hymn 16 in Licht.)
- 32 On the Psalms Scroll from Qumran and the cycle of songs associated with the cycle of sacrifices, see J. A. Sanders, “The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11(11QPs) col. xxvii:2–11,” *DJD IV* (Oxford: Clarendon: 1965), 48, 91–93. Cf. Elijah, *The Three Temple*, 50–55.
- 33 See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (above, n. 31), introduction; and cf. M. Himmelfarb, “The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, The Book of Watchers and the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*, 63–78.
- 34 *Jub.* 1:17, 28–29 (emphasis supplied). Although Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Pentateuch itself, it is referred to explicitly (as in the quotation above) in *Jubilees’* retelling of the stories of Genesis and the first half of Exodus. The Dead Sea Scrolls version of *Jubilees* contains a slightly different reading from the one quoted above: “Until my sanctuary is built [among them for all the ages of eternity. The Lord will appear in the sight of] all; and [all] will know [that I am the God of Israel, father of all Jacob’s [children], and king [on Mount Zion for all the ages of eternity]; Then Zion and Jerusa]le[m will be holy].” (*DJD XIII, Qumran*

Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts [part 1; eds. H. Attridge, J. VanderKam, et.al.; Oxford: Clarendon 1994], 11–12).

- 35 *Jub.* 4:26.
- 36 *1 En.* 26:1–3. On Enoch and his heavenly journey, cf. G. W. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (ed. K. Baltzer; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 279–80; J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of Apocalyptic Tradition* (Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series, 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 176–77; Elijior, *The Three Temples*, 88–110.
- 37 *Jub.* 8:19. Cf. *2 En.* 71:35–36 in Charlesworth 23:45–46 in Kahana. On the meaning of the idea of “navel of the earth,” see S. Terrien, “The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion,” *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 315–38.
- 38 *1 En.* 14:10–11.
- 39 *1 En.* 71:5–7; cf. *1 En.* 14:8–23 and 25:3; see also above, n. 24 and below, n. 47.
- 40 See *1 En.* 24–32 and 17–18; cf. *2 Enoch* 5:1–8.
- 41 *Jub.* 3:12, 3:27, 29; 4:23–26; 8:19.
- 42 See *1 En.* 24–36. For “garden of righteousness,” see *1 En.* 77:3. On “garden of truth” see below, n. 44.
- 43 5:4 in Kahana; 8:4 in Charlesworth: “[P]aradise is in between the corruptible and the incorruptible.”
- 44 4Q209, Frag. 23:9, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and F. Garcia Martinez, “209.4Q Astronomical Enoch ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXVI* (eds. P. Alexander et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 159. That is the name used for the Garden of Eden in the Aramaic *Enoch* found at Qumran. In the Hebrew translation, the Aramaic *pardes qushta* is rendered as *gan hatsedeq*; in English it is the “garden of righteousness” (Charlesworth, 1:56). In the Palestinian Aramaic translation of Genesis, the verse “Enoch walked with God” (5:22) is rendered *ufelah bequshta* (“[Enoch] served with righteousness”).
- 45 See M. Zipor, *The Septuagint on Genesis* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 2006) (Hebrew), 81; J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 53–56.
- 46 *Community Rule* 11:8 (Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 115).
- 47 See *1 En.* 24:3–6; 29:2; 30:2–3; 31:1–2; 32:1–6; *2 En.* 5:1–4 in Kahana; 8:1–8 in Charlesworth; Elijior, *The Three Temples*, 128, 180.
- 48 *1 En.* 14:8–25; for discussion on the vision see studies mentioned above, n. 36. “Voice of the cherubim” (v. 18) is per the translation in Charlesworth; the word rendered “voice” has been translated in other ways, including “vision.”

- 49 “The vision which Ezek[iel] saw . . . a radiance of a chariot and four living creatures.” Trans. per *DJD XXX, Qumran Cave 4 XXI: Parabiblical Texts*, Part 4 *Pseudo-prophetic Texts* (eds. D. Dimant and J. Strugnell; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 44. This Qumran version of Ezekiel, includes the word “chariot,” which is missing in MT. See the MT Vision of the Chariot, Ezek. 1 and 10:9-19.
- 50 “It was Ezekiel who saw the vision of glory, which God showed him above the chariot of the cherubim.”
- 51 “Gold for the pattern of the chariot . . . the cherubim,” 1 Chr 28:18 (OJPS).
- 52 *Community Rule* 11:7-9 (Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 115). In my book *The Three Temples*, I consider the priestly chariot tradition at length.
- 53 See *1 En.* 1–36; *Jub.* 4:17-20. See also above, n. 36; cf. R. Elior, “You have chosen Enoch from among men,” in *On Creation and Re-creation in Jewish Thought: Festschrift for Joseph Dan* (eds. R. Elior and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 15–64 (Hebrew). *Jubilees* 4 considers the biblical verse that is the point of departure for the Enoch tradition—“Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him” (Gen 5:24) and, interpreting “walked” in a literal sense, states that Enoch spent three hundred years with God’s angels. The Qumran version of *Jubilees* has the angel of the presence refer to “Enoch, after we taught him six Jubilee of years. . . . And he wrote all the sky and the paths of their host and the [mon]ths so that the righteous should not err (4Q227; *DJD* XIII, 174); see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 12. The Septuagint renders “And Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and was not found, for God translated him” (*Apostles Bible*).
- 54 *1 En.* 26:2-3. On navel of the earth, see above, n. 37. Rabbinic midrash preserves traditions about the holy mountain as the navel of the earth, situated at the center of concentric circles of increasing holiness: “The Land of Israel is situated at the center of the world, and Jerusalem at the center of the Land of Israel, the Temple at the center of Jerusalem, the sanctuary at the center of the Temple, and [the] ark at the center of the sanctuary, and the foundation stone [*even ha-shetiyah*] before the sanctuary, on which the world is founded” (*Tanh. Qedoshim* 10). On the foundation stone at the center of the Temple, cf. “From the foundation stone the world was created” (*b. Yoma* 54b). (*M. Yoma* 5:2 teaches that in the Second Temple, the foundation stone was the replacement for the ark-cover, the ark, and the cherubim.)
- 55 Thus Milik, the editor of the *Aramaic Book of Enoch* found at Qumran; see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 37–38, n. 3. Others disagree with him; see K. Coblentz Bautch, *The Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch*, “No one has seen what I have seen” (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003), 6.

- 56 *2 En.* 23, 25–45, 52–63 in Kahana; 71 J:17–23, 28–37; 72A+J:1–6 in Charlesworth. See discussion below.
- 57 Cf. the similar imagery in Deut 33:2.
- 58 *1 En.* 75:3–9; *Jub.* 4:17–18; 50:1–4.
- 59 That is, Sabbath, sabbatical year, jubilee year, seven holidays in the first seven months of every year.
- 60 On Jubilees and the seven-based cycles of time observed from the days of Enoch and Noah until the time of Abraham and his descendants, see Elior, *The Three Temples*, 6–29, 82–87.
- 61 *Jub.* 8:19.
- 62 See 11QPs col. xxvii:2–1: *DJD IV: The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11(11QPs)* (ed. J. A. Sanders; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 91–93. See also S. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147–85; Elior, *The Three Temples*, 29–60.
- 63 Ezek 28:13–18. On the significance of the “shielding cherub,” cf. “shielding the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord,” attributed to the cherubim in 1 Chr 28:18.
- 64 *2 En.* 19:2 in Kahana; 68:1 in Charlesworth.
- 65 See Dan 7:25 and J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) ad loc. Cf. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within*, 147–85.
- 66 There are variant readings on “south” or “east”; see comment in Charlesworth on v. 25.
- 67 *2 En.* 23:37–45 in Kahana; 71–72 in Charlesworth.
- 68 *Jub.* 4:26. In contrast to the three familiar places—the Garden of Eden, Mount Zion and Mount Sinai—the fourth place, referred to as “the mountain of morning” (*bar haboqer*), “the mountain of the east,” “the mountain of the south,” or “the mountain of incense” is not identified consistently. The terms refer to a mountain located within the Garden of Eden, at whose top is an altar on which incense is offered; it is the celestial model of the terrestrial Temple to be built opposite it on Mount Zion.
- 69 The *heikhalot* literature connects the crown of Torah received by Moses and the crown of priesthood received by Aaron with Mount Sinai: “[T]he privilege of Aaron son of Amram, a lover of peace and pursuer of peace, who received the crown of priesthood from before Your glory on Mount Sinai” (P. Schäfer, ed., *Synopsis of the Heikhalot Literature* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981], par. 1); “[A]ll the storehouses of wisdom were opened to Moses at Sinai so he might learn [it] in forty days, as he stood on the mountain” (Schäfer, *Synopsis*, par. 388). It associates as well the mountain with the tradition of the chariot (“and the chariot within it on which the Holy One blessed be He descended on Mount Sinai” [84R]).

- 70 A parallel tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls describes in exalted terms the dramatic encounter on Mount Sinai among God, Moses, and the angel of the presence. See Elior, *The Three Temples*, 149–50; and see the text itself: D. M. Gropp et al., *DJD XXVIII, Wadi Daliyeh, II, The Samaria Papyri and Qumran Cave 4 XXVIII Miscellanea* (part 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 213–14.
- 71 See Isa 8:18; Mic 4:7; Ps 74:2; “Joel 4:17.
- 72 Cf. *DJD XIII*, p. 12.
- 73 *Jub.* 18:13. See M. Segal, “Jubilees,” ch. 9. The seven generations elapsed from the time of Abraham to that of Moses: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Qehat, Amram, Moses.
- 74 *Jub.* 17:15–17, 18:1–19. The Prince Mastema is mentioned in the scrolls; see *Community Rule III* 17–24; cf. Vermes, *CDSSIE* 101; cf. 4QBer. frg. 6, 1–11 (*DJD XI* 57–58); 4Q495 frg. 2, xiii, 9–12 (*DJD VII*, 55).
- 75 For a comparative analysis of the account and dates mentioned in it, see M. Segal, “Jubilees,” 168–78. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* 15:11: “And in it [that is, in the month of Nisan, during which the exodus from Egypt took place] . . . and in it Isaac was born, and in it Isaac was bound.” In *Jewish Antiquities* 1:226, Josephus cites a tradition tying the site of Isaac’s binding to the site on which the Temple is to be built: “[O]n the third [day], when the mountain was in view, he left his companions in the plain and proceeded with his son alone to that mount whereon king David afterwards erected the temple.”
- 76 On the fourteenth of Nisan as the time of the crucifixion, see John 19:31, stating that the crucifixion took place on Friday, the fourteenth of Nisan, and the eve of Passover, when the paschal sacrifice was offered. On that time in the early eastern Christian tradition and on the time of the crucifixion on a Friday that fell on the fifteenth of Nisan in the three synoptic gospels, see Yuval, *Two Nations*, 60–61, 210, 229. On the identification of the paschal sacrifice with Jesus, the Lamb of God, see Yuval, 73.
- 77 See Sh. Spiegel, “From the Legends about Isaac’s Binding: A Piyyut by R. Ephraim of Bonn on the Slaughter and Resurrection of Isaac,” in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), 471–547 (Hebrew); and *The Last Trial: On the Legends and Lore of the Command to Abraham to Offer Isaac as a Sacrifice* (trans. with an intro. by J. Goldin; new preface by J. Goldin; Woodstock, Vt.: Jewish Lights Publishing, 1993). Spiegel cites legends telling of Abraham actually killing Isaac; and while those legends, derived from tannaitic midrash, postdate the New Testament, it is possible that they preserve earlier traditions. Yuval takes an opposing view, maintaining that these legends represent a Jewish effort to present Isaac as a substitute for Jesus as one who is killed and resurrected. See Yuval, *Two Nations*, 57, n. 62.

- 78 O. Limor, *Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 1998), 122, 159 (Hebrew).
- 79 Y. Yuval, *Two Nations*, 23, fn. omitted.
- 80 Yuval, *Two Nations*, 38; A. Limor, "Christian Sanctity—Jewish Authority," *Cathedra* 80 (1997): 31–62 (Hebrew).
- 81 Yuval, *Two Nations*, 23–24.
- 82 See *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Maase Hatorah, DJD X*: "we have separated from the mass of the peo[ple]" (Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 227). The beginning of MMT sets forth the House of Zadok's priestly calendar of Sabbaths regulating service in the Temple, expressing the view of the scroll's writers of what was most important and most urgent.
- 83 *Pss. Sol.* 8:22 (J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1985], 2:660).
- 84 *Pss. Sol.* 17:4-6 (Charlesworth, *The Old Testament*, 2: 665–66).
- 85 *Pss. Sol.* 11:1 (Charlesworth, *The Old Testament*, 2:661).
- 86 Sir 51: unnumbered verses between 12 and 13 designated "Heb. Adds."
- 87 Sir 24:10-11.
- 88 2 Sam 24:16-25; 1 Chr 21:15, 18-30.
- 89 Kahana: the place of Aravna.
- 90 2 En. 71:29-35 in Charlesworth, vol. 1; cf. ch. 23 in Kahana.
- 91 2 En. 72:1; cf. ch. 23 in Kahana. I corrected "Edem" to "Eden."
- 92 Ch. 23 in Kahana, v. 5.
- 93 Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 501.
- 94 *DJD XXIII*, 229. See F. Garcia Martinez et al., eds., 11Q13 in *DJD XXIII, Qumran Cave 11* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 225–26 (Hebrew); 229–30 (English).
- 95 11Q13; *DJD XXIII*, 229.
- 96 11Q17; *DJD XXIII*, 270.
- 97 *DJD XXIII*, 230.
- 98 4Q522 frag 9ii: 3–9 *DJD XXV, Qumran Grotte 4 XVIII Textes Hebreux* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 55–56. See the discussion of this passage, 57–62, and the article by its editor, E. Puech, "La Pierre de Sion et l'autel des holocaustes d'après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522)," *Revue Biblique* 99 (1992): 676–96. The translation in the text is by the present translator; cf. *DJD XXV*, 55–56.
- 99 4Q394 3 7ii 6 *DJD X* (Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 224; brackets indicating reconstruction omitted).
- 100 M. Baillet, ed., *DJD VII* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 143–44; (Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 365; brackets omitted).
- 101 2 En. 21:4; 23:37-46 in Kahana; 67:2-3; 68:5; 71:35; and 72:69 in Charlesworth.
- 102 1 En. 33:3-4; 75:2-4; 82:6-7; *Jub.* 4:17-20, 21-25; 2 En. 18–21 in Kahana; 68:1-5; and 72:69 in Charlesworth.

- 103 2 *En.* 23 in Kahana; 68–72 in Charlesworth.
- 104 Views are divided on the transfer of Isaac's binding from Nisan to Tishri. See P. R. Davies, "Passover and the Dating of the Aqedah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30, no. 1 (1979): 59–67.
- 105 See 1 Chr 5:27–41; 6:35–38; Ezra 7:1–5; cf. D. W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 106 See Elior, *The Three Temple*, 1–28, 201–31.
- 107 Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 305–6.
- 108 Cf. Ps. 133:3 in MT, which reads "mountains of Zion" rather than "Mount Zion."
- 109 On the Enoch literature, see above. On the *heikhalot* literature, including 3 *Enoch*, see G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1954), 68ff.; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1960), 41–42; D. R. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot, Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1988).

Chapter 18

- 1 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.
- 2 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.
- 3 "The endurance of the Jews lasted till Gessius Florus was procurator. In his time the war broke out. Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria, who attempted to crush it, had to fight several battles, generally with ill-success. Cestius dying, either in the course of nature, or from vexation" (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5). Similarly Suetonius comments, "The rebellious Jews . . . murdered their governor, routed the governor of Syria when he came down to restore order, and captured an Eagle" (*Vesp.* 4).
- 4 Josephus, *War* 4.30–35.
- 5 Josephus, *War* 4.491.
- 6 Josephus, *War* 4.497–98.
- 7 Suetonius, *Galba* 16.
- 8 T. E. J. Wiedemann comments on the rapidity of the succession: "The Senate formally recognized Otho as the man who controlled the imperial household and the empire at a meeting held on the same evening [as Galba's death]" ("Nero to Vespasian," in *CAH* 10: *The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69* [2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 268).
- 9 Suetonius, *Otho* 10–12.
- 10 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8–9.
- 11 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8.
- 12 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 9.
- 13 Suetonius, *Vesp.* 10.