



*Getatchew Haile*

# Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History

Festschrift for Getatchew Haile  
Presented by his Friends and Colleagues

Edited by  
Adam Carter McCollum

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden



# A 364-Day Calendar Encapsulated in the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* of the Betä ʿƏsraʾel of Ethiopia

BASIL LOURIE

## Introduction

The liturgical year of the Betä ʿƏsraʾel (Falaša) of Ethiopia is a lunar 354-day year, whose skeleton is composed from classical Jewish feasts with addition of one great feast peculiar to the Betä ʿƏsraʾel, Seged (29 of the lunar month VIII, the 50th day after the Day of Atonement). This calendar is used in harmony with the 365-day calendar of the secular life (the Julian calendar in the Alexandrian recension, the same as that of the Ethiopian Christians).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Betä ʿƏsraʾel observe the Sabbath in their own way—with a specific celebration of each seventh Sabbath and a solemn celebration once per year of the so-called Forty-Ninth Sabbath. This yearly Sabbath cycle is another peculiarity of the Betä ʿƏsraʾel liturgical calendar; it runs independently from both 354- and 365-day yearly cycles.

The prayers for the seventh Sabbaths are collected in a liturgical book called the *Liturgy* (literally, *Prayer*) of the *Seventh Sabbath* (ዩሳብዕት ፡ ሰንበት ፡ ጸሎት ፡). Its title is clearly related to its actual usage once per seven weeks. Monica Devens published in 1995 a critical edition of this book.<sup>2</sup> As she testifies herself, the help of Getatchew Haile in preparation of this edition was for her extremely important (p. xxi). In this way, Getatchew Haile already contributed to the study of this strange liturgical composition belonging to a short list of Betä ʿƏsraʾel's works having no Christian Ethiopian counterpart.

Knowing Getatchew's longstanding interest in the Sabbath observance in Ethiopia in general<sup>3</sup> and the Betä ʿƏsraʾel liturgy of the seventh Sabbath in

1 'Betä ʿƏsraʾel: Calendar', *EAE*, I (2003), 672b–673b (S. Kaplan).

2 Devens 1995; for actual liturgical usage, s. p. xxi. Thereafter will be quoted within the text. Normally, the references to the published document will mean the translation only; otherwise the references to both text and translation will be divided with the slash (e.g. p. 1/156, which means p. 1 for the text and p. 156 for the translation); Roman numbers correspond to the pages of the *Introduction*.

3 Cf. Getatchew Haile 1988.



particular, I am happy to present him this study as a very modest but warm expression of my gratitude for inspiration and wisdom, which I am drawing from his works since my very young years.

## 1. Liturgical Rubrics and 364-Day Calendar

The preserved subdivision of the book *The Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* is at odds with its actual usage. There is no subdivision at all adapted to the present-day once per seven weeks usage. Instead, there is a subdivision into 'about fifty segments' (Devens, p. xvii) called 'section' or 'chapter' (𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥), always without any individual title and number. The meaning of this subdivision remains unexplained, despite the fact that understanding of any liturgical book is impossible without knowing the liturgical meaning of its rubrics.

The positions of the word 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥 in the critical edition are established quite well according to the majority of manuscripts (some manuscripts omit this rubric only seldom). The only somewhat problematic case is the doublet reading under No. 38 (the numeration is mine), where the first 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥 introduces a two-line rubric that ends with the words '... and recite Exodus', and the second 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥 introduces the text of the Exodus reading itself (pp. 101/205).<sup>4</sup> This is the only case when our book contains the text of a biblical reading, and, probably, the second 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥 appeared as a mark of the text of a different nature. I count these two 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥-4-7 as a unique section.

Thus, the total number of the sections separated with the word 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩥 is 53. This number itself, in the context of a Sabbath cycle, indicates the presence of the 364-day calendar: 52 Sabbaths per year plus one additional Sabbath intercalated once per seven years. This is a standard harmonization scheme between the 364-day and 365-day calendars, which compensates the major part (1-day constituent) of the discrepancy between the 364-day year and the solar year containing 365¼ days.

There are 364-day calendars with a very sophisticated intercalation schemes taking into account the ¼-day constituent of the yearly discrepancy as well,<sup>5</sup> but some others (including the 364-day calendar referred to in the homilies of Abbas Giyorgis of Saglā, fifteenth century<sup>6</sup>) do not presuppose any mathematical adjustment for this. Thus, in the Christian calendar of the

4 Cf. also p. 101, notes 2425 and 2430 (variant readings).

5 Cf. VanderKam 1998, 77–84.

6 Lourié 1999, 334–345 with corrections in idem 2016 (with discussion of the variant readings in the critical edition).

Assyrian ('Nestorian') Church of the East, the main liturgical cycle is the weekly one, implying the 364-day liturgical year. The corresponding liturgical book *Hudra* contains, in its actually working part, 53 liturgical weeks (52 per year plus one week for the intercalation in each seventh year). This cycle is harmonised with the feasts celebrated according to the Julian 365-day calendar, such as the Nativity on 25 December.<sup>7</sup> The structure of the *Hudra* is an important parallel to that of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*.

As Helen Jacobus has recently shown, the use of a 364-day calendar does not imply any 'calendar war' against the 354-day and 365-day calendars. All these schemes may be used simultaneously but for different purposes within the same community. The oldest document testifying such a harmonisation is 4Q318, but Jacobus published also a mediaeval Jewish document of this kind.<sup>8</sup> Thus, regardless of the origin of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*, its current adaptation in Betä ʿĪsraʿel's usage can be harmonised with their 354-day liturgical year without problems.

However, the liturgical content of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* is not easily compatible with the Betä ʿĪsraʿel 354-day liturgical year, unless the contents of its prayers (normally unconnected to the Sabbath rest) are almost completely ignored. To start with, it is clear that the Betä ʿĪsraʿel, in their actual usage, ignore the meaning of the subdivision of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*; otherwise they would use this book weekly.

Be this as it may, the number 53 applied to a modulo 7-day cycle is revealing itself. A further analysis of the liturgical contents of the book will reveal that it implies a liturgical year having little to do with the current liturgical year of the Betä ʿĪsraʿel.

## 2. Outline of the Structure in a First Approximation

The *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* contains an introduction about the importance of the observance of Sabbath (pp. 156–157), which is based mostly

7 'Le total des dimanches dont l'office se trouve dans le Hudra est de 60 ..., mais, naturellement, sept ou huit d'entre eux ne sont pas célébrés', wrote Mateos 1959, 16. For more details about the usage of the 364-day calendar in the Assyrian Church, s. Sofonija <Sokolovskij> 1876, 270–275, with the conclusion that the liturgical year according to the *Hudra* consists of 52 or 53 weeks; according to Bishop Sofonija, the total number of weeks in the *Hudra* is 55, not 60, which reveals another manuscript tradition than that available to Mateos.

8 Jacobus 2010, 365–395; eadem 2015, and also her monograph (eadem 2014a).



on the *Təʾazazä Sänbät*,<sup>9</sup> and the 53 'chapters' of a very uneven length, ranged from several lines to several pages of the printed text and the English translation. As a first approximation, the structure can be figured from a comparison of the lengths of different 'chapters'.

In Table 1, all the page numbers related to the non-short 'chapters' are in bold. I have no strict criteria for such a quantitative classification of the 'chapters', but, for the modest purpose of a first approximation, there is no need to have one. It is enough to see where the 'chapters' are especially verbose. The real length of the implied service is not always proportional to the length of the corresponding 'chapter', because some parts of the services are indicated with the *incipit*, but, again for a first approximation only, the number of printed pages is a criterion of the relative importance of the services corresponding to the 'chapters'. We will see that this rule generally works.

For a further interpretation of the liturgical contents, there is a need to relate this sequence of the 53 Sabbaths with a calendar. In the actual Betä ʿĪsraʾel tradition, it is linked to the lunar 354-day liturgical calendar: the celebrations according to the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* starts with a great annual feast in the fifth moon. Its exact place is either the fourth Sabbath of the fifth moon (thus according to the introductory part of the text, p. 156) or the third Sabbath of the same moon (thus according to Wolf Leslau's field research in the middle of the twentieth century<sup>10</sup>). It is reasonable to suppose that this floating date is reflecting, in some way, the original liturgical setting of the whole consequence of the 53 Sabbaths, despite the fact that an annual cycle of the 52 (53) Sabbaths is certainly not fitting with the cycle of the twelve lunations. This supposition must be verified in the further analysis, supposing additionally that the original starting point of the Sabbath cycle was placed somewhere within the fifth month of the 364-day calendar.

### 3. Passover, Pentecost, and Sunday 364-Day Calendar

After having put the first Sabbath into the fifth month of the 364-day calendar, we obtain the **Sabbaths 37**<sup>11</sup> and **38** somewhere in the first month. These solemn (judging from the texts of the corresponding 'chapters') Sabbaths are obviously connected to the Passover. The Sabbath 37 deals with

the Passover lamb,<sup>12</sup> the Sabbath 38 contains the Exodus reading (p. 205, the beginning of the book, Ex 1:1–17a). It seems that the text corresponding to the Sabbath 38 continues that of the Sabbath 37, in such a way that the initial rubric of the Sabbath 37 is still applicable to the Sabbath 38: otherwise one can difficultly realise why 'Hallelujah', which is omnipresent in the solemn celebrations of our book, is omitted here.

#### 3.1. Michael as the Divine Heavenly Priest

The Sabbath 37 contains, near to the beginning, a difficult rubric. In Devens' translation, it is: 'Hallelujah to God, to the King of glory, (from) the great angel Michael, always our King, truly' (pp. 97–98/203). Here, the role of Michael is clearly that of the heavenly priest, as it is in *3 Baruch* 11–16, and not as a companion of Gabriel in standing before the seat of God (as in the liturgy of the Sabbath 10, p. 168; cf. Sabbath 23, p. 185, where the role of the pair Michael and Gabriel is obscure). Thus, it is probable that 'angel Michael' here is not an angelic, but a divine name, as it is in *3 Baruch* and some other Jewish and Christian texts.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the proposition 'from' in the translation above is added by Devens. Devens follows the reading of the ms V where the name Michael stands alone, whereas two other manuscripts add the conjunction 'and' (ወግካኤል) (p. 98, n. 2363), which results in a strange reading (rejected by Devens) 'the great angel and Michael'. This reading is a witness that even the Betä ʿĪsraʾel scribes were uneasy with this verse. Nevertheless, its plain sense is quite understandable, whereas not within known doctrines of the Betä ʿĪsraʾel: God is 'the King of glory, the great angel Michael'. Another angelomorphic appellation of God in our text is 'the Mighty Youth' (s. below, section 8.2).

The angel Michael is the divine heavenly priest who performs the sacrifice of the Lamb and who himself is symbolised by this lamb. This theology is important for understanding of the liturgy of the Sabbath 37,

12 The initial part of the liturgy is based on Ps 77(76):1(2)–10(11): 'I cry out to God ... On the day of my affliction, I seek God ...' etc. (p. 203) with the motives of guard and refuge (Ps. 18(17) etc., p. 204). Then, with the words of Ps 133 (134), the theme of the lamb sacrifice is introduced ('Offer to God young lambs' etc.; p. 204).

13 Cf. Barbel 1964, 34–45; Stuckenbruck 1994; Hannah 1999. The basic collection of the early Christian and Jewish traditions related to Michael has been published by Leuken 1898. Cf. additionally an important evidence of the liturgical invocation of Michael as Christ: Donadoni 1975, 31–39.

9 This Betä ʿĪsraʾel's treatise about the revelation of the personified Sabbath is only seldom quoted in the bulk of the text. There is no real sign of its influence on the liturgical contents of our document.

10 Leslau 1979, xxxi.

11 I will use a bold font to mark the beginning of discussion of every particular Sabbath.



but not for discerning whether our text is Jewish or Christian (it is compatible with both possibilities).

### 3.2. Pentecost

Now, we are allowed to perform the next step which would be quite natural in any other procedure of the reconstruction of calendar, whereas it is not so obvious providing that we are dealing with the liturgy of the Betä Ḥsraʿel: we have to find out the Pentecost. The Betä Ḥsraʿel apparently do not celebrate this feast, but this fact certainly does not preclude its existence in our document.

Normally, the Passover is connected to the Pentecost according to one of the different possible formulas. Indeed, our calendar contains a great celebrity at the Sabbath 44, seven weeks after the Sabbath 37. The topics of the liturgy of the Sabbath 44 (pp. 213–220) are, first of all, the Covenant(s),<sup>14</sup> and, then, the highest of the heavens, the throne of god, the four *ḥayyot* ('living creatures'), and other things typical to the Pentecostal imagery, that is, the things seen by Moses at Sinai when the heavens very opened. Horeb, another name of the Mount Sinai, is mentioned explicitly (p. 218). It is beyond any doubt that the **Sabbath 44** contains a very solemn liturgy (with continuous 'Hallelujah' and with the canticles from Dan 3 as the main hymnographic substrate<sup>15</sup>) of the Pentecost, in the best traditions of the Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic. The imagery of prayer 'in the midst of the furnace/flames of fire' (pp. 219–220; Dan 3:88 LXX, Th, Eth), in the context of the Pentecost is recalling Ex 19:18 ('And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace' KJV). This imagery is made explicit on other occasions: 'And God said to Moses on Mount Sinai in the midst of fire' (Sabbath 53, p. 234; cf. Sabbath 34, pp. 198–199).

14 'O Lord, remember the covenant of Abraham. O Lord, remember the covenant of Isaac. O Lord, remember the covenant of Jacob! Remember! Do not forget all the covenants of our fathers' (p. 213).

15 The liturgical *Sitz im Leben* and early liturgical settings of these canticles remain almost unknown. I agree with the scholars who see in ἐξιλῆσαι of Dan 3:40 (LXX, not Theodotion; Prayer of Azariah) some connexion to the atonement rituals (van der Horst and Newman 2008, 211–212), but our liturgy quotes only the Prayer of the Three Children (Dan 3:52–88 LXX and Theodotion).

### 3.3. Method of Counting the Weeks from the Passover to the Pentecost

Given that the Sabbath 44 is definitively identified as the Sabbath of Pentecost (i.e. the Sabbath on the eve of the Pentecost, s. below), we have to conclude that the solemn Passover Sabbath is the 37th one, not the 38th, because there is no way to count seven weeks between the 38th and the 44th Sabbaths. Then, we are in position to define the exact way of counting of the seven weeks that our document implies. This is one of the basic features of any calendrical structure.

There is only one way to meet literally all the conditions formulated in Lev 23 for the mutual relationship of the Passover, the Wavering of the Sheaf, and the festival of the Weeks,<sup>16</sup> but also several ways to break some of them when fitting with others. Among the 364-day calendars, the most known is the solution of the *Book of Jubilees* and some Dead Sea Scrolls, where the 364-day calendar begins on Wednesday (I.I), counting of the weeks starts on 26.I and leads to the Pentecost on 15.III, Sunday. Another solution is implied in *3 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*: a Sunday 364-day calendar leading to the Pentecost on 4.III, Sunday.<sup>17</sup> Here, the Pentecost is the 50th day after the Passover (that is, counting of the weeks starts on 15.I, the first day of the Wavering of the Sheaf). Moreover, we know, in Ethiopian sources, an allegedly Jewish calendar where the formula of counting of the weeks is  $p + 50$  (where  $p$  is the date of the Passover), leading also to the Pentecost on 4.III, although we have no direct witnesses to define whether it is a 364-day calendar or not: this is the theoretical 'Jewish' calendar used in the Ethiopian Christian Easter computus.<sup>18</sup>

Only the formula  $p + 50$  gives an interval between the Sabbaths of Passover and the Sabbath before Pentecost (Pentecost itself falls always on Sunday<sup>19</sup>) short enough to be fitting with our data. It is important to recall that, in any Sunday 364-day calendar, the Passover falls always on Saturday (Sabbath).

16 A 364-day Sunday calendar with the start of counting on the next day after the seventh day of the Wavering of the Sheaf, that is, on 22.I, which leads to the Pentecost on 6.III, Sunday. This calendar is implied in *2 Enoch*. Lourié 2012a, 193–194.

17 Idem. 2014.

18 For an up-to-dated review of this calendar, see 'Computus', *E Ae*, I (2003), 784b–787a (B. Lourié); for a detailed description see Neugebauer 1979.

19 According to Lev 23:16. I don't know any 364-day calendar where this rule would be broken, whereas, in the rabbinic Judaism, the feast is celebrated on lunar 6.III regardless of weekday.



If the 364-day implied in our text is a Sunday calendar (I.I is Sunday, not Wednesday), the Sabbath 37 is the Sabbath of the Passover, the Sabbath 38 is the last day of the festival of the Unleavened Bread, and the Sabbath 44 is the Sabbath falling on 3.III before the Sunday of Pentecost 4.III.

No Wednesday 364-day calendar is known which would use formula  $p + 50$  (leading, in this case, to the Pentecost on Wednesday). Moreover, any Wednesday 364-day calendar would put both Passover and Pentecost very far from Saturday (on Tuesday and Wednesday, respectively).

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the implied 364-day calendar is a Sunday one, which uses the formula  $p + 50$  for counting the weeks of the Pentecost. This conclusion is somewhat corroborated by the existence of the theoretical 'Jewish' calendar within the system of the Christian Ethiopian Easter computus, where the Pentecost also falls on 4.III.

### 3.4. Sabbath 39: Counterpart of the Sabbath 19

The Sabbath 39 (28.I) is also a great solemnity (pp. 206–208). The core of the service form the alphabetical Ps 119(118) and Ps 118(117). Frequent mentions of 'ordinances' of God and similar topics, probably, look forward to the Pentecost, whereas the date of the Midpentecost is still too far. The reasons of an especial solemnity on this Sabbath seem to have no relation to the period from the Passover to the Pentecost.

Another similar liturgy, also based on the alphabetical Ps 119(118) is that of the Sabbath 19. The two liturgies will be discussed together (s. below, section 9.4).

### 3.5. Three (or Four?) Sabbaths of the 4 Ezra Cycle

The following three Sabbaths 40, 41, and 42 all contain some quotes from 4 Ezra. The liturgy of the Sabbath 40 (5.II) is a part of the dialogue between Ezra (unnamed) with the Most High (4 Ezra 7:73–91) about the ways of sinners and the way of righteous (pp. 208–209). The liturgy of the Sabbath 41 (12.II) is reduced to several lines, but a quote from 4 Ezra 8:45b is among them (p. 209). The long liturgy of the Sabbath 42 (19.II) quotes 4 Ezra several times (8:32–33, 35b, 36; 7:78) (pp. 209–212, here 210–211). Both Sabbaths 41 and 42 are penitential ones.

All these quotes from 4 Ezra correspond to the third vision, which is to be dated, according to my reconstruction of the calendar implied in 4 Ezra, to 16.II, Wednesday. According to this reconstruction, 4 Ezra shares the

Sunday 364-day calendar.<sup>20</sup> The Sabbath 42 is the next Sabbath after 16.II. It is noteworthy that this is the *third* Sabbath referring to the *third* vision of Ezra. The liturgical cycle implied in 4 Ezra culminates at the Pentecost, and contains, among others, a series of three revelations divided with the intervals of seven days (the cycle implied in 2 Baruch is also very similar).

It is clear that our document does not follow the calendrical structure of 4 Ezra as it is. Nevertheless, it 'respects' this scheme when adapting the vision III to its right place within the pre-Pentecost cycle. Thus, the original liturgical contents of 4 Ezra were still remembered, more or less, by the composers of our text.<sup>21</sup>

There is another reason of importance of the Sabbath 42: it is the final Sabbath of the sixth pentecontad. We will return to this below (section 6.4).

The liturgy of the Sabbath 43 (26.II) seems to be corrupt. Anyway, it is too short for giving ground for any detailed reconstruction (pp. 212–213). Due to its general lamentation tonality and the mention of 'holy Zion', it is not to exclude that it continues the topics of the Ezra cycle.

## 4. Introducing the Four Days: 'Classical' vs 'Tobit' Scheme

Another basic parameter of the 364-day calendrical scheme is the way of introducing the four days additional to the 360-day year.<sup>22</sup> In a great number of Jewish sources including 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Qumranic Temple Scroll, and other Dead Sea Scrolls they are introduced at the end of each quarter, according to the rule  $(30 + 30 + 31) \times 4$ , where 30 and 31 are the numbers of days in the month. I will call this scheme the 'classical' one.

There are, at least, three other possibilities that are actualised in some known Jewish calendars. Two of them can be ruled out on the same ground as those calendrical schemes which were ruled out above: they would result

<sup>20</sup> Lourié 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Probably, the following observation by Devens (p. 212, n. 596) could be of help for future identification of the *Sitz im Leben*: Ps 139(138):9 is quoted with the reading peculiar to the Syriac bible: 'If I take my wings like an eagle' (instead of '... wings of/in the morning' in LXX, MT, Aramaic Targum).

<sup>22</sup> Historically, the 364-day calendar is a modification of the earlier 360-day calendar, first attested in an interpolation in the Mesopotamian astronomical treatise MUL.APIN ('Polar Star'), no later than seventh century BC; see, for details, Ben-Dov 2008.



to an excessively long interval between the Sabbaths 37 and 44.<sup>23</sup> The third one, however, needs to be explored: it is a calendar where the additional four days are introduced immediately after the Sunday of Pentecost in the third month covering the weekdays from Monday to Thursday.<sup>24</sup> An etiological legend for such a structure of the Pentecost cycle is to be found in the Book of Tobit (probably, of Egyptian origin), and some traces of this calendar are found in Coptic papyri of the seventh century. Below I will call this scheme the ‘Tobit’ one.

For the period from the Passover to the Pentecost this calendrical scheme coincides with the classical one. For the remaining part of the first quarter after the Pentecost, the difference is minus four days; for the second quarter the difference is minus three days; for the third quarter, minus two days; for the fourth quarter, minus one day. To be able to choose between the two schemes we have to review the remaining parts of the years, and especially the second quarter, where the difference between the two schemes is maximal.

## 5. The Rest of the Pentecontad of the Pentecost

### 5.1. Closure of the Pentecost Week and Post-Pentecost Topics

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 45** (to be dated to 6/10.III ‘Tobit’/‘classical’ scheme) continues the topics of mighty God and the Three Youths in the flames of fire (pp. 220–221). This is, too, a very solemn festivity. Its final part is called (in Amharic) ‘The thanksgiving of Daniel to the God of heaven and earth’ (p. 221). The whole liturgy looks as a direct continuation of that of the Sabbath 44.

A rather modest liturgy of the next **Sabbath 46** (to be dated to 13/17.III) contains the motives of penitence and an Amharic rubric ‘The service of the song of Solomon’ nearer to the end of the ‘chapter’ (p. 222). The final passage, immediately after this rubric, is: ‘O Lord, You cast us aside and destroyed us. You chastised us, too, and showed us compassion. (This is) the same as he wrote to Jeremiah in the city of Babylon’ (p. 222).<sup>25</sup> It is obvious that the pronominal ‘he’ refers to Baruch, who wrote his letter from Jerusalem to Jeremiah in Babylon. *4 Baruch* (presented in the

23 Those of *2 Enoch* (Lourié, ‘Calendrical Elements ...’) and the calendar with the ‘broken Nisan’, where four days ‘of interval’ are introduced between Tuesday 14.I and Sunday 15.I (Lourié 2008b, 103–133).

24 *Ibid.* 124–132.

25 Devens comments: ‘This sentence is difficult’ (p. 222, n. 725).

Ethiopian Christian Bible) must be included in the list of biblical sources of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*, at least, because of the mention of ‘the words of Baruch and Abimelech’, the principal characters of *4 Baruch*, elsewhere (two times, always within a long list of forefathers: Sabbath 7, p. 164, and Sabbath 36, p. 202). The present letter to Jeremiah may be referring to the same book, but the liturgical setting of the letter is here certainly different: *4 Baruch* 5:33 is explicit that the letter was written on 12 Nisan. The situation where Baruch was writing his letters (here, two letters, one of them to Babylon) in the post-Pentecostal period is that of *2 Baruch*.<sup>26</sup> This is not a proof of any direct impact of *2 Baruch* on our text, but, taking into account the real impact of a similar to *2 Baruch* apocalypse *4 Ezra* (s. section 3.5), one has to conclude that the composers of our text were adapting some liturgical traditions close to both *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. It is certainly that the presence of Baruch (even if his name is dropped from the manuscript tradition) in the liturgy of the post-Pentecostal Sabbath 46 is not accidentally and is unexplainable from *4 Baruch* alone.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 47** (20/24.III) is very meagre; its liturgy is reduced to several lines, probably corrupt. It is clear, however, that its tone is penitent, and so, somewhat in the same line as that of the previous Sabbath.

The following Sabbaths 48–50 form the cycle of celebration of the seventy-seventh Sabbath (s. below, section 6.1), and so, do not belong to the Pentecostal cycle.

### 5.2. Closure of the Pentecontad of the Pentecost

The post-Pentecostal cycle resumes to be ended at the **Sabbath 51** (18/21.IV), which is a great festivity, too (pp. 231–232). The core of the service is Ps 118(117). The final verse is ‘God is the Lord. He revealed Himself to us’ (Ps 118(117):27). Such words are applicable to eventually every great holiday, but, in the present case, the nature of the holiday is revealed by its place in the calendar: the seventh Sabbath after the Sabbath on the eve of the Pentecost.

The liturgy of the Sabbath 51 seems to bring nothing new to the Pentecostal imagery but simply serves to mark the end of the pentecontad after the Pentecost.

26 Lourié 2014.



## 6. Cycle of the Forty-Nine Sabbaths

### 6.1. Forty-Ninth Sabbath: a Three-Week Celebration

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 49** (4/7.IV) is one of the greatest services of the whole book (pp. 223–230), comparable with that of the Pentecost (Sabbath 44). The reason is rather obvious: this must be, as the ordinal number of the Sabbath suggests, the final celebration of the seven-pentecontad cycle. There is, however, a problem: the cycle which starts on the Sabbath 1 and ends on the Sabbath 49 is not synchronised with the pentecontad cycle from the Sabbath of Passover (Nr 37) to the Sabbath on the eve of the Pentecost (Nr 44) and, then, to the seventh Sabbath after the Pentecost (Nr 51). The difference is minus two weeks. This is one of the basic features of the yearly liturgical cycle, which will be discussed below (section 6.4).

The central part of the liturgy is divided into eleven sections according to the canticles which form the principal core of the section (the canticles are never cited in full and are often interpolated):

1. First canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1–19) (pp. 23–224),
2. First canticle of Moses (once more) (pp. 224–225),
3. Second canticle of Moses (Deut 32:1–21) (pp. 225–226),
4. Second canticle of Moses (designated in Amharic as ‘the Prayer of Moses III’), continuation (Deut 32:22–43) (pp. 226–227),
5. Prayer of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) (p. 227),
6. Prayer of Hezekiah (Is 38:10–20) (pp. 227–228),
7. Prayer of Manasseh (2 Chr 1–14 LXX) (p. 228),
8. Prayer of Jonah (Jon 2:3–10) (pp. 228–229),
9. Prayer of Azariah (Dan 3:26–45 LXX) (p. 229),
10. Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab 3:1–19) (p. 229),
11. Prayer of Isaiah (Is 26:9–20) (pp. 229–230).

One can see that this list of nine canticles (the first four points related to Moses correspond to two canticles) normally occur among the Old Testament canticles in the Christian Psalters. Such collections of canticles are known in manuscripts since the fifth century;<sup>27</sup> no data shedding any light on the origin of the canticles as a separate collection could be obtained from the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the origins of this collection are obscure. It is

<sup>27</sup> Rahlfs 1931, 79–80; cf. Schneider 1949. For a survey of the Oriental Christian traditions, still useful is Mearns 1914.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Flint 1997, 228–236 *et passim*.

tempting to interpret its presence in the background of our text by the Christian origin of the latter, but, in the present lack of knowledge, such a conclusion would be too hasty.

Anyway, the idea to conclude the whole cycle of the seven pentecontads with the eventually complete collection of the canticles must be, probably, connected with the structure of the Psalter implied in our text. A hypothesis that the seven pentecontads are here in some correspondence with different parts of the Psalter (in some analogy with 11QPs<sup>a29</sup>) must be carefully checked. This is, however, beyond the scope of the present study.

It is worth noting that it is the Sabbath 49 that is truly the Sabbath of Sabbaths in our text. There is nothing similar in the fifth month, when the Betä ʿĒsraʿel celebrate this feast (called by them ‘Sabbath of Sabbaths’). The importance of this Sabbath is made more perceptible with the two Sabbaths (48 and 50) that flank it.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 48** (27/31.III) is a very short (limited to several verses) introduction to the near Sabbath 48 (pp. 222–223). Its refrain is ‘He is jealous God’ (Deut 6:15a). Its main point is ‘Keep My Sabbath’ (Lev 19:30a). Such an austerity of tone is at place in the preparation period of a great festivity.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 50** (11/14.IV) is solemn, with ‘Hallelujah’ but rather short (p. 231). The two canticles of Moses are its core. It looks as a solemn closure of the week-long feast of the Great Sabbath.

Thus, the feast whose original name was probably (judging from the current practice of the Betä ʿĒsraʿel) ‘Sabbath of Sabbaths’ included one preparative Sabbath, the Sabbath of the major festival, and the closing festal Sabbath.

### 6.2. Closure of the Yearly Cycle of Sabbaths

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 52** (25/28.IV) is partially lost: it is now limited to 2.5 lines in translation, one of them being a rubric in Amharic (p. 232). Nevertheless, its liturgical meaning is quite clear from the rubric: ‘This is what you should say. Say ‘And Moses finished.’ This is the introduction’. The last word in the rubric testifies that the bulk of the text is lost. The words ‘And Moses finished’ (unidentified by Devens) indicate with the *incipit* Deut 31:1*sqq*, that is, the farewell sermon of Moses—clearly an appropriate reading for the final Sabbath of the year.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 192–193.



### 6.3. Sabbath of the Sabbatical Year

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 53** is long (pp. 233–235), which one has to expect for the service of the Sabbatical year to be performed once per seven years. Its main topics are especially, the veneration of the Sabbath and the Covenant with Moses on Sinai. Both themes are quite natural on such an occasion (the seventh year being also referring to the numerical symbolism of the festival of Weeks/Pentecost).

It is natural to place the intercalation week as an additional week after the regular weeks of the year, but it is not common to finish and to start the liturgical year near the midsummer. Before discussing the reason of this (s. below, section 6.4), we can note that there is, at least, one 364-calendar where the intercalation week is to be introduced near to the midsummer, the ancient Icelandic ('Old Norse') calendar.<sup>30</sup>

### 6.4. Major Pentecontad Cycle: an Overview

The yearly cycle of 52 Sabbaths consists, as we have seen, of a 49-Sabbath part and three additional weeks. The problem is why it is incongruent with the minor two-pentecontad cycle from the Passover to the seventh Sabbath after the Pentecost (Sabbaths 37 to 51). There is hardly any computational problem to start the major cycle on the present Sabbath 3. In this case, the Passover, the eve of the Pentecost, and the eve of the seventh Sunday after the Pentecost would be three of the seven 'seventh Sabbaths'. If our text does not follow this simplest scheme, there must be liturgical and not computational reasons for this.

Looking at the yearly cycle of Sabbaths, we can notice that eventually all the seven pentecontads of the year are somewhat marked. We have already seen this for the Sabbaths 49 and 42. The remaining five 'seventh Sabbaths' would be the Sabbaths 7, 14, 21, 28, and 35. We will see that the Sabbaths 21 and 28 (and, in a lesser extent, 7) are, indeed, festal, but our yearly cycle prefers another pentecontad scheme, where the marked Sabbaths are 1, 8,

<sup>30</sup> The provenance of this calendar is considered as mysterious, because it differs sharply from other calendars of Germanic peoples. I would add, it is highly improbable that such a calendar could be developed by illiterate vikings and fishers in the land of polar days and polar nights. To my opinion, this was the calendar of the Celtic Church repressed in Ireland in the seventh century, which was imported to Iceland by the Celtic monks (*pápar*) in the eighth century. These monks looked, in the eyes of a Norwegian churchman *ca* 1200, not as Christians but as 'Jews from Africa' (the place name 'Africa' in this phrase remains enigmatic). Cf. so far Lourié 2006, 56–58 (a detailed study in preparation).

15, and so, the cycle of the *seven* seventh Sabbaths interrupts long before the Sabbath 42, where it resumes (otherwise, it would become the cycle of eight 'seventh' Sabbaths). The reasons are liturgical.

## 7. 'New Wine' Liturgical Year

### 7.1. New Wine Liturgy on the Sabbath 2?

The beginning of the year meets us with an anomaly: not the Sabbath 1 but the Sabbath 2 is the major feast among the first seven weeks.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 2** (9/12.V) is a long service (pp. 157–161) whose contents are very similar to those of the Sabbaths 49 and 50. The service is saturated with the same Deuteronomic texts and the repeated *Shema' Israel* in Ethiopic (Deut 6:4). The central part of the 'Mosaic Law' is, of course, the Sabbath (p. 159). All these topics are to be expected in the beginning of the cycle whose conclusion is the Sabbaths 49 and 50, whereas their natural place would be rather the Sabbath 1 than the Sabbath 2.

However, there are, in the liturgy of the Sabbath 2, at least, two peculiar topics, even if they are considerably suppressed by themes of Sabbath and divine commandments in general. These are the themes of wine and vineyard<sup>31</sup> and the renovation of the Covenant after Crossing the Jordan.<sup>32</sup>

The mention of the vineyard could not be arbitrary. The date of the Sabbath 2 is close to the possible dates of the New Wine feast (the second pentecontad after the Pentecost) in the 364-day calendars, even if does not coincide with any of them. However, the date of the Sabbath 1 (2/5.V) is coinciding, in the 'Tobit' scheme (2.V) with the eve of the New Wine feast according to the *Temple Scroll* (3.V),<sup>33</sup> which is, probably, the most ancient date of the feast. Running ahead, we can add that the next pentecontad festival of the *Temple Scroll*, that of New Oil, will be also presented in our

<sup>31</sup> 'Hear, O Israel, the ordinance of God, Adonay. You [dug] a well of water; you planted vineyards. After you ate and were satisfied, after you drank and quenched your thirst, be careful then!' (p. 158).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 'Hear, O Israel, the ordinance of God, Adonay. Behold, he crossed this Jordan' and a similar verse in the next paragraph of the translation (p. 158): here the proclamation of Moses' ordinance is situated after the crossing of Jordan. Moreover, the quotations from Ex 23:22–26 (pp. 159–160) are, too, referring to the situation which will take place after the Crossing the Jordan.

<sup>33</sup> For the liturgy of the *Temple Scroll*, see Maier 1985; as a general introduction to the document, see Wise 1990).



document and, this time, on its right place (Sabbath 8, the eve of the Sunday of New Oil). Thus, we have right to formulate three conclusions, the first two of them being rather obvious and the third somewhat less obvious:

1. The original place of the liturgy of the Sabbath 2 is the Sabbath 1.
2. It is the ‘Tobit’ calendrical scheme which is fitting with our calendar.
3. The rite of Crossing the Jordan is proper to the ‘second Pentecost’ (at least, in some liturgical traditions including that of our document).

We will discuss these points in the next three sections.

## 7.2. Original Demarcation between the Sabbaths 1 and 2

In current Betä Ḥsraʾel’s practice, the Sabbaths 1 to 7 form a unique liturgy of the great annual feast of the Sabbath. All these seven texts are used at the unique service. This is a situation where the boundaries between the ‘chapters’ might be confused.

The most solemn liturgy of the Sabbath 2 is the core of this celebration. The other Sabbath liturgies of this period (‘chapters’ 1 and 3 to 7) are much more modest. Thus, the liturgy of the **Sabbath 1** (p. 157) looks as an introduction to the liturgy of the Sabbath 2. It is limited to ‘Hallelujah’ and several solemn acclamations. However, the final part of the liturgy of the Sabbath 2 is a lamentation,<sup>34</sup> absolutely out of place within the solemn liturgy. In the light of previous calendrical considerations, we have to conclude that it is this final part of the present liturgy of the Sabbath 2, which corresponds to the original liturgy of the Sabbath 2, whereas the liturgies of the actual Sabbath 1 and the actual Sabbath 2 (up to the words ‘Where are your priests?’, p. 160) form together the original text of the liturgy of the Sabbath 1.

## 7.3. New Wine Feast at the Beginning of the Liturgical Year

The New Wine feast, which originally was the feast of the second Pentecost (as it is in the *Temple Scroll* and in variety of apocalyptic literature), is, in our document, detached from the Passover pentecontad cycle. Thus, its duplicate appears on the Sabbath 51, although without any specific topics of the New Wine feast, being a simple conclusion of the first Pentecostal period.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Where are your priests? Where are your prophets?’ and so on, about the kings, the judges, the elderly, the children etc.; all of them turned out to be put to death by God according to His judgment (pp. 160–161). The end of the text is certainly corrupt.

This ‘splitting’ of the New Wine feast occurs because of different method of counting the seven weeks from the Passover and the Pentecost and switching from the Wednesday 364-day calendar to the Sunday one. In the *Temple Scroll*, the 364-day calendar begins on Wednesday and counting the seven weeks from the Passover starts on 26.I.

In our document, the ‘Tobit’ scheme is used to adjust the dates of the major pentecontad cycle with the traditional ones (that is, for the feasts of New Wine and New Oil, those of the *Temple Scroll*).

The original understanding of the New Wine festival as a pentecontad feast is preserved in our document despite a serious conflict with the mathematical core of the seven Sabbaths cycle. Mathematically, the first seventh Sabbath is the Sabbath 7 and neither Sabbath 1 or 2. It is however the Sabbath 1 that is celebrated as the first seventh Sabbath in our document. The ideal yearly structure of  $7 \times 7 + 3$  weeks is broken with the only purpose to preserve the ‘privileges’ of the New Wine festival as a pentecontad feast. This shift of the first seventh Sabbath toward the beginning of the year will lead to the interruption of the whole cycle near the Passover (s. below, section 11).

One can see that, in our document, we have a product of a somewhat forcible intrusion of the Sunday calendar into an originally Wednesday liturgical year comprising seven pentecontads. The Sunday 364-day calendar itself has, probably, in the Jewish world, the same age as the Wednesday one, because it is implied in *3 Baruch* (an apocalypse having a reach Mesopotamian background independent from *1 Enoch*)<sup>35</sup> and in *2 Enoch* (also an ancient calendar, much older than the book *2 Enoch* itself).<sup>36</sup> However, the early history of the seven-pentecontad calendar is unclear. The *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* appeared as a somewhat artificial product of engrafting the Sabbath calendar into the Wednesday seven-pentecontad year.

According to the second law of Baumstark,<sup>37</sup> the priority of the traditional date for the New Wine festival, 3.V, over its connection to the Pentecost and the regularity of the seven seventh Sabbaths cycle reveals an exceptional importance of this festival for the liturgical tradition where our text is elaborated. There are several Jewish apocalypses where the role of the New Wine festival becomes much more important than it is in the *Temple Scroll*

<sup>35</sup> Lourié forthcoming (a).

<sup>36</sup> Lourié 2012a.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit’ (1927); see Baumstark 1953, 30. On applicability of this law to the early Christian and Second Temple Jewish data, see Lourié forthcoming (d).



(e.g., 3 *Baruch*). Moreover, there is, at least, one Jewish apocalyptic text, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where the New Wine festival is the culmination of the whole liturgical year and is not only a renovation of the Pentecost but also absorbs rites of the Day of Atonement.<sup>38</sup> The calendar implied in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is not the same as in our text but it certainly represents a liturgical tradition which would justify the beginning of the liturgical year on the New Wine feast. Moreover, as we will see, our text shares some important peculiarities with this apocalypse (s. below, sections 7.4 and 8.2).

It is significant that the Betä ʿĪsraʾel preserved the ordinal number of the month when the Sabbath cycle starts, despite the change of the very nature of this month (the solar month is replaced with the lunation). This is an example of the relative stability of the important liturgical dates (their numeric parameters) in contrast with much lesser stability of their rites and even lesser stability of their meaning.<sup>39</sup>

#### 7.4. Rite of Crossing the Jordan

The motives of Crossing the Jordan and the renovation of the Covenant under Joshua are explicit in the liturgy of the Sabbath 2 (which is, originally, that of the Sabbath 1), but have no precedent in *Temple Scroll's* rite of the New Wine feast. However, the rite of Crossing the Jordan, whose meaning is (re)entering into the Covenant is described in the Qumranic *Community Rule* (1QS 1:16-2:18). The text of the *Community Rule* has no explicit calendrical indication for the rite. Ordinarily, judging from its contents and the parallels in the *Book of Jubilees*, one supposes that its date is the festival of Weeks (Pentecost).<sup>40</sup>

In our text, Crossing the Jordan is an important part of the rite of the second Pentecost (New Wine feast), which looks more appropriate for the rite of renovation of the Pentecost, which is not a mere commemoration of the first Pentecost of Moses.

This rite will be mentioned, too, in the liturgies of the Sabbaths 12 and 19, which both belong to the Day of Atonement—Tabernacles cycle (s. below, sections 8.3 and 9.3). These facts are understandable in the light of

38 For the liturgical calendar of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Appendix in Lourié forthcoming (a).

39 First described by Delehay 1934 (see Lesson 1, on the 'hagiographical coordinates').

40 Brownlee; cf. Metso 1997, 141; Falk 1998, 219–226; cf. *ibid.* 226–230, for the renovation of the Covenant ceremony in the *Damascus Document* and some other DSS, which is also tentatively dated to the festival of Weeks; Newsom 2004, 117–127.

the mutual diffusion between the New Wine and the Day of Atonement rites, which culminates in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

#### 7.5. Rest of the New Wine Pentecontad

The liturgy of the Sabbath 7 (14.VI; henceforth only the 'Tobit' dates will be provided) is a solemn repetition of acclamations related to the covenant with the 'Fathers', starting from Abraham and going, through Moses, Joshua, Hananiah and Azariah and Michael, and many others, up to the proper renown Fathers of the Betä ʿĪsraʾel community (pp. 163–164). This is obviously the solemn closure of the festival of the renovation of the Covenant on the Sabbath 1 (now 'chapters' 1 and 2). It is not to exclude that this Sabbath is also celebrated as the first seventh Sabbath of the year.

The Sabbath 3 (16.V) is now present with a very short text (p. 161); probably, an important part of contents is lost. Judging from the use of the refrain from Ps 118(117) 'for He is good, for His mercy endures forever', this Sabbath was dedicated to continuation of the major festivity.

The Sabbath 4 (23.V) is clearly a 'Midpentecost' one: its main topics are the Covenant and its heavenly place of origin: the seat of God, heavenly structures, and heavenly Tabernacle—and, of course, the revelation of the Sabbath from there; the whole text is saturated with 'Hallelujah' (pp. 161–162). This Sabbath is placed in the middle between the first Sabbath of the New Wine pentecontad and the last one.

The modest liturgy of the Sabbath 5 (30.V) returns to the motives of compassion, confession, redeeming, righteousness, and judgment—all this in the context of keeping the Covenant (pp. 162–163). Its presence just after the solemn Sabbath 4 reminds the lamentations of the Sabbath 2 (whose liturgy is preserved as the final part of the 'chapter' 2) after the solemn Sabbath 1.

The nature of the even more modest liturgy of the Sabbath 6 (7.VI) is difficult to define: the preserved text (certainly corrupt) is too short (p. 163). Its contents are glorification of God, with a quotation from Deut 4:35 (changing the third person of the original into the second: 'There is no other God beside You'). One phrase seems to refer to the main topic of the next Sabbath 7, the Fathers: 'You are God ... King of ancients'. Thus, this Sabbath may be an introduction to the Sabbath 7.

#### 7.6. Seven Gates of Heavens

The text of the liturgy of the first Sabbath ('chapter' 2) contains a difficult place: 'and without a column You made stand the seven gates [*one ms from*



the four available bas: pillar, sc., 'one pillar'] of heaven (ወዘእንበለ : ዓምድ : ዘእቀምከ : ኧእናቅጸ : [variant reading ዓምድ : ] ሰማያት) (pp. 4/158). The parallel place is in the liturgy of the Sabbath 24: 'and without a column<sup>41</sup> You made stand the seven pillars [variant 'seventh pillar' in 2 mss from the three available] of heaven (ወዘእንበለ : ዓምድ : ዘእቀምከ : ኧእዕማድ : [variant reading ኧዓምድ : ] ሰማያት) (pp. 60/185). The distinction between 'column' and 'pillar' in Devens' translation is misleading, because the Ethiopic uses always the same word.

It is clear that the numerous corruptions (hypercorrections) of the phrase were inspired by Prov 9:1 'Wisdom has built her house, she has hewn her seven pillars' (NRSV). Devens is right when following the *lectio difficilior* 'seven gates'. Indeed, for an Ethiopian (Christian or Betä Ǝsra'el) scribe it was difficult to understand what gates are meant. Such number of heavenly gates is uncommon in the Jewish and Christian traditions, whereas appears as implied in some texts due to reworking of their ouranology.<sup>42</sup> It is tempting to understand the seven gates of heaven as an indication of the sevenfold structure of the heavenly sanctuary (containing, in this case, seven Holies of Holies instead of one),<sup>43</sup> but, even in this case, the phrase 'without a column/pillar/tower<sup>44</sup> You made ...' remains unclear.

41 This word is distorted in some manuscripts; cf. p. 60, n. 1457 for other variants (all of them present obvious corruptions).

42 Thus, Adela Yarbro Collins does not enumerate any Christian or Jewish text mentioning seven heavenly gates: Yarbro Collins 1995, but refers only to the Mithraic tradition and the *Chaldaean Oracles* (pp. 81–83). In the Mesopotamian cosmological and mythological traditions, only the seven gates of the otherworld are known (*Descent of Ishtar* etc.), but the number of the gates of heaven is never equal to seven. However, the idea of the seven inter-heaven gates is readable in some recensions of 3 *Baruch* and *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where some of such gates were mentioned already in the original recensions, but, then, the original number of heavens (three, corresponding to the three 'paths' of heaven in the Mesopotamian astronomy) was increased, in some recensions, up to seven; cf. Lourié forthcoming (a).

43 For this kind of organisation of liturgical space, see Lourié 2008a, 256–260; for its possible connexion to the sevenfold literary (and implied liturgical) structure of some apocalypses, including 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, see Lourié 2014.

44 Or even 'temple' (one of the meanings of 'tower' in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian texts).

## 8. New Oil Pentecontad

### 8.1. New Oil Festival

The liturgy of the Sabbath 8 (21.VI) falls on the eve of the New Oil festival according to the *Temple Scroll* (22.VI, Sunday), and so, it reveals features of this feast (pp. 164–167). This is a solemn and long liturgy, where the most of acclamations begin with 'Our Strength, O Father, our Strength ...' Especially prominent topics are 'compassion' and 'mercy' (and also salvation, protection, judgement, redemption, penitence), which is very close to the topics of the Day of Atonement. Among the key words of the whole service are 'show me compassion' (ተሥሃለኒ) and 'have mercy on me' (መሐረኒ) (pp. 21–24/165–167), both going back to the verb ἐλεᾶω of the Septuagint (which is here and elsewhere the ultimate source of the biblical quotations in our text).<sup>45</sup> An especially festal nature of the service is expressed, among others, in the pair of acclamations: 'Our Strength, O Father, our Strength. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for the sake of your holy Sabbath. Our Strength, O Father, our Strength. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for the sake of your glorious festivals' (p. 166). However, there is no indication of a first fruit festival. It is not to say that, in the liturgy taken apart from its calendrical context, there is no trace of the New Oil feast at all. It is only to say that the feast probably ceased to be considered as one of the first fruit festivals.

The trend of convergence between the New Oil festival and the Day of Atonement is already traceable in the *Temple Scroll*.<sup>46</sup> In 3 *Baruch*, the New Oil festival lost its original place (the end of the third pentecontad after the Passover) and is transformed into a Day of Atonement's introductory rite.<sup>47</sup> In our text, references to both Pentecost<sup>48</sup> and Day of Atonement mark the original connexions of the New Oil festival with, respectively, the pentecontad cycle and some atonement rituals.

45 To the sources of quotes indicated in the footnotes to the translation it is to add Ps 51(50):1(3) for 'Show me compassion, O Lord, according to the greatness of Your compassion' (p. 165).

46 Thus, Jacob Milgrom enumerates as the first among the two main 'unanswered questions concerning the sacrificial order of the first fruit festivals' in the *Temple Scroll* the following: 'Why is a purgation bull prescribed for the New Oil Festival and not for the others?' (Milgrom 1980, 16).

47 Lourié forthcoming (a).

48 The verse 'Have mercy on me, O Lord, for the sake of Your Book [አራትከ, lit. 'Your Covenant'] of Exodus' (pp. 15/166) is here clearly a Covenant-Pentecostal motive, even if 'Covenant of Exodus' is the habitual name of the Book of Exodus in Ethiopic.



Moreover, behind the use of the derivatives of ἐλεᾶω, one can discern a wordplay with Greek ἔλεος ‘mercy’ and ἔλαιον ‘oil’, which has a close parallel in the New Oil liturgy in 3 *Baruch* 15:1–2.<sup>49</sup> Slightly paraphrasing Alexander Kulik, we can say, that, in our text, too, ‘the way of expression may be characterized by the extreme mythopoetic concreteness and visuality of the narrative: ... mercy is oil, danger is wine’<sup>50</sup> (cf. section 7.1, mention of the vineyard in the ‘chapter’ 2).

Thus, the Sabbath 8 is, basically, the New Oil feast, even if this title may sound as somewhat inappropriate because it has lost its nature of a first fruit festival. Its atonement motives are especially strong because it opens the pentecontad which encompasses the Day of Atonement and the feast of Tabernacles.

A very modest liturgy of the **Sabbath 9** (28.VI) continues the motive of the Pentecost connexion of the previous feast: ‘For God descended in a pillar of cloud on Mount Sinai in the midst of fire. Further Hananiah stood, and Azariah stood, and Mishael stood, truly’ (p. 167). This mention of the Three Children is referring to the Pentecost liturgy. Within the whole structure of the New Oil pentecontad cycle it serves as the closure of the New Oil feast.

## 8.2. Day of Atonement and Its Heavenly Priest

The Sabbaths roughly corresponding to the Day of Atonement—Tabernacles cycle are those from 10 to 12. All the three, but especially the third one are important festivities. Their reconstructed dates are, respectively, 5.VII, 12.VII, and 19.VII. These Sabbaths are fitting with neither dates of 10.VII and 15.VII themselves or their eves. However, the relevance of these Sabbaths to the celebrations of 10.VII (Day of Atonement) and 15–22.VII (eight-day festival of the Tabernacles) is clear from the contents of their liturgies.

The main topic of the **Sabbath 11** (pp. 169–170) is remission of sins. The text of the liturgy is based on Ps 103(102):10–22, starting from ‘He deals not with us according to our sins, and He does not repay us according to our transgressions’ and passing through an important for the Day of Atonement ritual topic of throne of God (‘God has established His throne in the heavens ...’). The final verses of the liturgy mention God’s ‘holy name, His

49 Kulik 2010, 11, 362 (with a list of other Jewish and Christian works in Greek using this wordplay).

50 *Ibid.* 49 (Kulik writes, in conformity with his source, ‘evil is wine’, not ‘danger’).

living name’, and so, in this way, are referring to the major theme of the previous Sabbath 10, which is the name of God.

In the relatively long text of the liturgy of the **Sabbath 10** (pp. 167–169) each verse without exception is dedicated to the name of God. An exceptional role of the name of God in the Day of Atonement ritual is a feature known from the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where the personified Name of God appears as the angel Yahoel.<sup>51</sup> This Yahoel appears as well in our text under the name Iya’el (יֵאֵל), after having lost his central /h/ when passing through the Greek intermediary<sup>52</sup>: ‘Your name, too, is Iya’el’ (pp. 26/168). The name Iya’el is not common in Betä Ḥsra’el’s texts, although it is known in some other than the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Jewish texts of the Second Temple and Gaonic (seventh to eleventh cent.) periods. It will appear once more in the liturgy of the Sabbath 28 (s. below, section 11.2).

Another revealing name mentioned in the liturgy of the Sabbath 10 is ‘Mighty Youth’ (מַגִּיד יְנוּחַ): ‘Your name, too, is ‘A mighty youth is Adonay’ ...’ (pp. 28/169),—ultimately going to Hebrew נוער ‘youth’, which is known as a name of different divine or deified figures, especially in the *Hekhalot* literature, but also in some rabbinic and Second Temple Jewish sources, including, e.g., 2 *Enoch*.<sup>53</sup> However, the exact phrase ‘Mighty Youth’ is, to my knowledge, never used elsewhere as a set expression. The only known to me occurrence of its constituent words is an early (or even the earliest, according to Davila) *Shi’ur Qomah* recension *Siddur Rabbah* 13-14: ‘And His [God’s] hand rests on this Youth (הַנּוֹעַר) (who is) brave, mighty (גִּבּוֹר), holy and blessed ...’<sup>54</sup> In this and some other *Hekhalot* texts, the Youth is the principal angel before the throne of God, sometimes a heavenly priest. This sense is coming close to that of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*, even if, in the latter, the Mighty Youth is clearly identified with God himself. All the three occurrences of ‘Mighty Youth’ appear in the context of the open heavenly sanctuary: beside the Sabbath 10 (related to the Yom Kippur ritual), these are the Sabbaths 15 (p. 175; also related with the Yom Kippur ritual, s. below) and 44 (p. 213; the Sabbath before the

51 Scholem 1995, 68–69, 366; Halperin 1988, 105 and n. 47. For the Yom Kippur rituals in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Orlov 2009, 79–111.

52 The same situation is in the Slavonic (the only available) text of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where this name is rendered as /iaoil/.

53 Cf. Davila 2003, 248–274; Orlov 2005.

54 Cohen 1985, 39.



Pentecost, another day when the heavenly sanctuary is open). It is clear that 'Mighty Youth' is a very important, even if not very clear to us, theological term and a hallmark of the specific understanding of monotheism in the original milieu of our text.

The heavenly priest Mighty Youth in the liturgy of the Day of Atonement is similar to Michael as the divine heavenly priest in the liturgy of the Passover (Sabbath 37, s. section 3.1). Possibly, this is the same divine figure. It is noteworthy that, in *3 Baruch*, the New Oil—Yom Kippur ceremony (forming a festal continuum in this apocalypse) is performed by the divine heavenly priest named Michael.

One verse of the liturgy of the Sabbath 10 is of special interest: 'Your name, too, is 'This says God of the Hebrews: 'Send out My people so that they may observe My feast' [Ex 5:1] and so that they may offer My sacrifices and so that they may burn My incense' ...' (pp. 168–169). In the proper context of Ex 5:1 it is the feast of Passover that was meant, but here it is obviously another festival. Such assimilation between the Nisan festivities of Passover and Unleavened Bread and the Tishri festivities of the Day of Atonement and Tabernacles seems rather natural,<sup>55</sup> and therefore, this is one more argument for identification of the Sabbath 10 as a part of the Yom Kippur cycle.

One has to conclude that the Sabbaths 10 and 11 belong both to some kind of Yom Kippur cycle, close to the ritual implied in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. The Sabbath 10 is more important than the Sabbath 11, which one can see from its liturgy containing a developed theology of atonement performed by God himself. God is here acting as the heavenly priest, who is, moreover, the personified name of God and, thus, the addressee of the prayers on the Sabbath 10. Most probably, the very ordinal number of this Sabbath, 10, is understood, in our liturgy, as a counterpart, within the Sabbath cycle, of the ordinal number of the day that is the Day of Atonement (10.VII).

### 8.3. Tabernacles

The Sabbath 12 (19.VII) comprises a long liturgy (pp. 170–173). Its first part (pp. 170–172) is related to the death and the second part (pp. 172–173) to the eternal life and the 'righteous men and martyrs in Paradise' (p. 173). These are topics of the feast of Tabernacles. Moreover, everything is turned out to be linked with harvest: 'The boundary of heaven and earth, and the boundary of the sea and the dry land, and the boundary of night and day, and the bounda-

55 Cf. Segal 1963, 117–127.

ry of the rainy season and the dry season, and the boundary of sowing and harvest, but rather the boundary of the sea of fire and Hell' (p. 173).<sup>56</sup>

The motives of death and resurrection in the feast of Tabernacles became especially important for the Christian tradition,<sup>57</sup> but, as we now know from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the interpretation of the fallen and risen Tabernacle of David (Amos 9:11) in connexion with resurrection (cf. Act 15:16) is going back to the Second Temple Judaism (CD 7:16 and 4QFlorilegium 1:12) and has an affinity with Tabernacles' liturgical topics.<sup>58</sup> The imagery of sowing and harvest in our text, where it is put in the context of the death, the judgment, and the final destiny of the righteous and sinners, is probably pointing out toward the belief in bodily resurrection.

Such motives as rain ('rainy season'), harvest, and cosmology ('boundary of heaven and earth ... of night and day') are classical motives of the feast of Tabernacles.<sup>59</sup>

The motive of renovation of Covenant and crossing the Jordan is unusual for the Tabernacles. This is not a mere recalling of the Law after the judgment which was performed according to this Law. The biblical words mentioning Moses on Sinai are reformulated for referring to crossing the Jordan: 'Who will go up into heaven for us?' [Deut 30:12b] And 'who will go across the Jordan [*instead of sea in Deut*] for us, and we shall heed it and observe it and keep it? For behold the word is exceedingly close to you, in your mouth, and even in your hands, and even in your feet, and even in your heart. Thus you will keep' [cf. Deut 30:13b–14] this law ...' (pp. 172–173). In the original biblical text, it is said that there is no longer necessity of ascending the heaven and crossing the sea to obtain the Law, as it was under Moses. In the edited text, the rhetorical questions are referring to somebody (Moses) who entered the heaven for obtaining the Law, and somebody else (Joshua) who crossed the Jordan—obviously, to renew the Covenant of Moses. The appearance of such references here must be interpreted in the light of atonement overtones in the Crossing the Jordan ceremony, which was even in the Dead Sea Scrolls sharing some features of Day of Atonement's rituals<sup>60</sup> (not to say about

56 I don't see here any specific connexion with *Jubilees* 6:4 (*pace* Devens, p. 173, n. 167).

57 Cf. Daniélou 1957; idem 1966, 17–27, 116–126.

58 Brooke 1985, *passim* and 174 (hypothesis about use of Am 9:11 in the liturgy of the feast of Tabernacles).

59 Cf., especially for the Second Temple period, Vicent 1995. For the history of the feast, cf. Ulfgard 1998. For the Sukkot imagery behind the Gospels, see Fletcher-Louis 2001, 262–265.

60 See above, section 7.4, and Klawans 2000, 79–91.



atonement meaning of the later baptism rituals). Thus, this mention of Jordan is certainly an atonement motive, more proper to the Day of Atonement but interfering with the feast of Tabernacles.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 13** (26.VII) is limited to several lines (p. 173). Its main part is Ps 104(103):1–6. In the context of the previous Sabbath, the words ‘You spread out the heaven like a sackcloth’ must be understood as referring to the heavenly Tabernacle. Thus, this Sabbath is a closure of the Tabernacles feast, even if it falls later than 22.VII.

#### 8.4. Closure of the New Oil Pentecontad Cycle

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 14** (3.VIII) is very short, too (pp. 173–174). It is almost exclusively limited to the quotation *4 Ezra* 8:19b–24a. These verses are a part of the penitential prayer ritual (*S<sup>e</sup>lihot*) included in *4 Ezra* (7:102–8:36),<sup>61</sup> and so, continue the theme of atonement. This Sabbath forms the conclusion of the whole New Oil pentecontad.

Our document is not sufficient to realise the entire structure of the liturgical year to which it was originally designated, because it contains the services for the Sabbaths only. This is why we are severely limited in our suppositions about the structure of the corresponding Tishri cycle. Nevertheless, we can conclude that, in this cycle, the role of the Sabbaths was especially important. The Sabbaths 8 and 9 were dedicated to the New Oil festival, the Sabbaths 10 and 11 to the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbaths 12 and 13 to the feast of Tabernacles. The Sabbath 14 was a common conclusion of the whole pentecontad cycle.

### 9. Post-Tabernacles Six-Week Period

#### 9.1. Overview

In the course of this period, the abnormality of the pentecontad cycle caused by the need of preserving the traditional dates of the New Wine and New Oil festivals is corrected. This period starts on the Sabbath 15, in conformity with the previous part of the yearly cycle, but ends on the Sabbath 20 instead of the Sabbath 21, because the latter belongs to the next pentecontad. Thus, this ‘pentecontad’ is, in fact, a six-week period.

The nature of the Sabbath 21 as the opening Sabbath of the next pentecontad and not the closing Sabbath of the post-Tabernacles pentecontad

<sup>61</sup> Boyarin 1972.

will be seen from the structure of the whole period between the Sabbaths 21 and 37 (Passover).

#### 9.2. Repetition of the New Oil/Atonement Motives

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 15** (10.VIII) shows that it is an important festivity (pp. 174–176). Such topics as names of God, the throne of God, and the Mighty Youth sound as an epitome of the Sabbath 10, but they are interwoven with the motive of God as ‘merciful and compassionate’, which is familiar to us by the Sabbath 8. Indeed, the Sabbath 15 is the seventh Sabbath after the Sabbath 8. It is almost certainly that its date 10.VIII is understood, in our liturgy, as a repetition of the Day of Atonement one month later.

A similar but more modest liturgy is prescribed for the **Sabbath 17** (24.VIII) (pp. 178–179). It looks as a partial repetition of the Day of Atonement and Tabernacles liturgies, with a special emphasis on the theme of covenants<sup>62</sup> (cf. Covenant/atonement topics in the liturgy of Tabernacles, Sabbath 12) and with the topics of ‘compassion and mercy’ in background.

It is hardly by accident that such a liturgy is prescribed to the Sabbath 17 which is the seventh Sabbath after that of the Day of Atonement. Nevertheless, this solemnity is not comparable with either Sabbath 19 (the Pentecost after the Sabbath of Tabernacles) or the great festival peculiar to the Betä Əsra’el called Seged, which is the Pentecost after the Day of Atonement (29 of the moon VIII).<sup>63</sup> In our calendar, the Sabbath 17 which is the Pentecost after the Sabbath of the Day of Atonement (Sabbath 10, 12.VII) is remarkable but far from splendour.

#### 9.3. Pentecost and Midpentecost after the Tabernacles

The **Sabbath 19** (8.IX) is the seventh one after the Sabbath 12, that of the Tabernacles. It is a great feast with ‘Hallelujah’ (pp. 179–182). The core of the liturgy is the alphabetic psalm 119(118) according to the Septuagint with such topics as righteousness, judgment, and omnipotence of the God creator. It is noteworthy that our liturgical document provides a 50-day cycle from the Tabernacles, whereas the actual Betä Əsra’el’s calendar provides a 50-day cycle from the Day of Atonement (up to the Seged).

<sup>62</sup> E.g., ‘O Lord, remove the wrath of Your anger from us. O Lord, establish the covenant forever’ (p. 178); ‘Remember the covenant of Abraham. Remember the covenant of Isaac. Remember the covenant of Jacob. Remember! Do not forget all the covenants of our fathers’ (p. 179).

<sup>63</sup> Abbink 1983, 789–810.



There is a difficult passage in the liturgy of the Sabbath 19: 'The Holy Spirit descended from above the Jordan and sanctified us. Furthermore, we have a gift. God is the Vigilant (Watcher) of vigils (watchings)<sup>64</sup> (ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲧ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲏⲧⲟⲩ)' (pp. 50–51/180). The latter phrase is probably recalling a peculiar Jewish tradition about the Watchers, where they were good and never fallen angels, which intermediated in transmitting the Law to Moses.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, the context of sanctification of the people in Jordan is referring to the renovation of the Covenant, and so, such a tradition about transmitting the Covenant would be at place. Devens consider the words 'the Holy Spirit descended from above the Jordan' as a paraphrase of the gospel passages about the Baptism of Christ,<sup>66</sup> but it is sanctification of people in Jordan that is meant, not a revelation of the Messiah, and the wording is not specifically Christian. We do not know the source of the exact wording, but it is certainly connected to the 'Baptist' Jewish movements, quite widespread in the Second Temple period and far from being limited to John the Baptist's and Jesus' communities.<sup>67</sup> The whole passage refers to the renovation of Covenant under Joshua, that is, the main theme of the New Wine festival and an important theme of the feast of Tabernacles (s. above, Sabbath 12).

The **Sabbath 16** (17.VIII) is an important festivity within the post-Tabernacle Pentecontad, marking the middle between the Sabbaths 12 and 19. The Sabbath 15, which is also near to the middle of this period, is one of the yearly seventh Sabbaths, and so, is not so suitable for such a Midpentecost. The liturgy is solemn, marked with 'Hallelujah' and relatively long (pp. 176–178). In the final part, Eccl 1:2–3 is quoted, and the words 'All is vanity' (Eccl 1:2) serve as refrain; moreover, Eccl 7:12a (13a) is quoted near to the middle of the service (pp. 177–178). In the current Jewish rabbinic rites, the Book of Ecclesiastes is one of the five *megillot*, whose liturgical place is the feast of Tabernacles<sup>68</sup> (cf. Eccl 8:13, where a 'tabernacle/tent/shadow' is mentioned). We do not know very much about the liturgical use of *Ecclesiastes* in the Second Temple period, but it seems reasonable to conclude that, in our text, it

64 Rather than 'the Vigilant of the vigilant' (cf. Devens 1995, 180).

65 Lourié 2012b, 243–259.

66 She writes in a footnote (p. 180, n. 247): 'Cf. Matthew 3:16, Mark 1:10, Luke 3:21–22'.

For other places which Devens treats as connected with the New Testament, see below, section 13.1.

67 A still important outline of such movements was provided in pre-Qumranian scholarship: Thomas 1935; cf. Vigne 1992.

68 This practice is traceable, in rabbinic sources, back to the eleventh century, but it may be much older; its origins remain unclear; cf. Christianson 2007, 30–31.

is quoted in connexion with the feast of Tabernacles rites. There is no citation from *Ecclesiastes* in other liturgies of Sabbaths.

#### 9.4. 140 + 264 Partition of the Year

Now it is time to recall the Sabbath 39, whose solemn character remains so far unexplained. Its date is 28.I. This day and the Sabbath 19 (8.IX) divide the year into two parts, 140 + 264 days. This is an important but still mysterious feature of some 364-day calendars. Previously I described it under the name 'asymmetry of solstices' in 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Baruch*,<sup>69</sup> because, in the cosmology of these apocalypses, in blatant disregard for the empirical knowledge of their time, the dates of the two solstices are shifted in such manner that the year became divided into two parts, one of 140 and another of 264 days. In our text, the Sabbaths 19 and 39 seem to be far enough not only from the solstices but also the equinoxes (unless our calendar radically detaches the Passover from the spring equinox). Nevertheless, the scheme of partition 140 + 264 is the same, whereas turned around near 90°.

Concerning this partition of the year, there is the only thing that we can now take for sure: it is important.<sup>70</sup> Thus, it is flanked, in our liturgy, with the solemn services of the Sabbaths 19 and 39.

#### 9.5. Remaining Sabbaths of the Period

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 18** (1.IX) in its present form seems to be corrupt: it is limited to several lines, and the final part is condensed in a rubric in Amharic (p. 179). Probably, it continued the 'cosmological' motives of the feast of Tabernacles: 'Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, who does great things ...' etc.; cf. the *incipit* of an unknown hymn in the Amharic rubric: 'And they say, 'Thus will He illuminate for them stars and lights' ...'.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 20** (15.IX) is also short and, seemingly, corrupt (contains frequent interruptions in Agau) (pp. 182–183). The Day of Atonement (such as 'comfort' and 'release': Ps 119(118):82, 84) and the Tabernacles (such as '... You who restored me to life') motives are united together, as it expectable for the concluding Sabbath of the corresponding period. The core of the service is, in continuation with the Sabbath 19, Ps 119(118), and so, this liturgy looks as the closure of the pentecontad feast

69 Lourié 2012a, 215–216, and idem 2014.

70 In 2 *Enoch*, it follows from the specific path of the sun between the two solstices.



after the Sabbath of Tabernacles—rather than the closure of the period opened with the Sabbath 15.<sup>71</sup>

## 10. Pentecontad of the Temple

### 10.1. Overview

The following pentecontad is the last complete pentecontad of the year. Its only solemn festivity is the main Sabbath of the whole period, that is, the Sabbath 21. The liturgies of the Sabbaths from 22 to 27 are short. Against such a modest background, the Sabbath 21 and, then, the Sabbath 28 appear as outstanding festivities, which can be easily recognised as seventh Sabbaths. Thus, our interpretation of the previous six-week period as a result of shifting to a different counting method for seventh Sabbaths must be considered as reliable.

One Sabbath of this pentecontad (Sabbath 26) marks the Winter solstice.

The Sabbaths 21 to 24 share the leitmotiv of destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple, divine punishment of the people, and, by contrast, the heavenly Temple and the throne of God. Given that the Sabbath 21 (22.IX) is close to the date of the Hanukkah (25.IX), it would be tempting to interpret the whole pentecontad in this vein, but such a decision would be an oversimplification. Our text shows no contact with the books of Maccabees, the Book of Judith or any other specific Jewish source related to the Hanukkah.

There is, however, almost exact parallel to our pentecontad in the Syrian Christian rites (best preserved in the Eastern Syrian rite, but existing, in a more reduced form, in the Western Syrian rite, too): the Sundays of Dedication (Consecration) of Altars.<sup>72</sup> In the Eastern Syrian rite, the number of these Sundays is four, and they fall between 30 November and 25 December (Julian calendar). They form a remnant of the earlier pentecontad structure of the liturgical year, still discernible in this rite.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Devens explains the reading ‘Their hearts curdled like milk’ (Ps 119(118):70) instead of ‘like fat’ (MT) with referring to the Syriac Bible (p. 182, n. 290). This is, however, the reading of LXX based on a different vocalisation of the root *hbl*.

<sup>72</sup> Khouri-Sarkis 1955, 186–193; Botte 1957, 65–70.

<sup>73</sup> Botte’s hypothesis that the Sundays of Churches were originally a Palestinian festal cycle of the fifth century (Botte 1957) is probably basically right, although the real date seems to be much earlier. The existence of such cycle in Palestine in the fifth century would almost certainly lead to its preservation in Armenian liturgical documents, but the silence of the Armenian sources is a powerful demonstration of the contrary. Cf. Renoux 1969, 196–197. Botte’s hypothesis concerning polemical origin of the Christian festivities (as directed against the Jewish Hanukkah) is a pure specu-

### 10.2. Fourth Seventh Sabbath

The relatively long (pp. 183–184) liturgy of the Sabbath 21 (22.IX) is distinguished with, first of all, quotations from *Lamentations* (p. 183), rather unusual in our text. The only other Sabbath quoting *Lamentations* is the Sabbath 46 (13.III), which mentions Jeremiah and Babylon and refers to *4 Baruch*. Thus, the presence of the quotes from *Lamentations*, especially such as Lam 4:22 (‘Taw, the sin of the daughter of Zion has departed and so the transgression of our heads [*biblical text has your exile*] shall not come again’) is a mark of the lament over the sins of the past but also the joy for the return from Exile and restoration of the Temple in present. Accordingly, the whole service is joyful, accompanied with ‘Hallelujah’. The final part of the service is a vision of God in the flames of fire with thousands of thousands of angels standing at his both sides (p. 184).

### 10.3. Three More Temple Sabbaths

It is certainly noteworthy that the total number of the Sabbaths connected to the Temple (explicitly, mostly heavenly Temple) is four, the same as that of the ‘Church Sundays’ in the Eastern Syrian rite.

The liturgy of the Sabbath 22 (29.IX) looks as an immediate continuation of the final part of the liturgy of the previous Sabbath (p. 184): ‘His seat is fire roundabout, and His curtain is lights before the face of the Most High ...’ The service is positioned as participation in the angelic liturgy (‘The singing angels say: ‘Praise befits You. You will have worship, glorification, and blessing always, forever’).

The liturgy of the Sabbath 23 (6.X) continues the angelic liturgy (p. 185). The angels Michael and Gabriel take part in the service with solemn acclamations. This pair of angels was previously mentioned in the service of the Sabbath 10 (p. 168), where they were standing before the seat of God in the service related to the Day of Atonement. This Michael is certainly non-divine, and so, not to be confused with the homonym divine celebrant of the Passover liturgy (Sabbath 37); the latter has no Gabriel as his companion.

Presently, we do not know enough the Second Temple Jewish liturgical traditions related to the end of the month IX. At least, however, they certainly were not uniform. Kislev dates for the events related to the restoration of the Temple are mentioned in Neh 1:1 and Ezra 10:9, and so, the tradition to start some liturgical cycle related to the Temple in the month Kislev (IX) must be ancient.



The liturgy of the **Sabbath 24** (13.X) is the last one among the four liturgies of the heavenly Temple (p. 185). The phrases ‘Where is the God of Elijah? Where is the God of Elisha?’ refer to 2 Kgs 2:14, that is, to the Merkabah, the heavenly chariot of God and his heavenly seat. The phrase about the seven ‘pillars’ (which turned out to be ‘gates’) is discussed above (section 7.6).

#### 10.4. Three Penitential Sabbaths and the Winter Solstice

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 25** (20.X) comes down to earth (p. 186). Its basic text is Gen 18:23-33, starting from ‘Do not destroy, O Lord, the righteous with the sinners!’ and, then, enumerating different numbers (from fifty to one) of righteous sufficient to preserve the whole community. This service continues motives of the Sabbath 21 related to restoration of Zion, which was destroyed for the sins of the people.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 26** (27.X) starts with the verse ‘(You are) the Mighty One, and Oryas and Tomyas (ወኣርያስ : ወተምያስ)’ (pp. 186–187, here 62/186; one of the three mss has ወያርያስ ‘and Yaros’, p. 62, n. 1509). Devens rightly comments that Oryas and Tomyas are names for the sun in *1 Enoch* 78:1 (p. 186, n. 334, 335). Indeed, in the *Astronomical Book* preserved within *1 Enoch*, the sun has two names, Oryares (ኣርያራስ) and Tomases (ተምያስ), with a variant reading Tomas (ተማስ).<sup>74</sup> Both names are in Hebrew, although only the first of them has a convincing etymology<sup>75</sup>: from either אור הרים ‘light of sun’ (Dillmann)<sup>76</sup> or אורי הרים ‘my light sun’ (Neugebauer). According to Neugebauer, the two names correspond to the two seasons: Oryares to the ‘wet’ season (winter, spring, and early summer) and Tomases to the ‘hot’ season (summer and autumn).<sup>77</sup> The seasons are divided with the solstices. On the winter solstice, the season of Tomas is changed to the season of Oryares.

Thus, the date of the Sabbath 26 must be in some correspondence (closeness but not necessarily identity) with the date of the winter solstice. It is difficult to know what exactly date of the winter solstice is meant. Obviously, it is not the theoretical date of the winter solstice in either *2 Enoch* (17.X) or *3 Baruch*

74 Knibb in consultation with Ullendorff 1978, I, 251.

75 For the etymology of ‘Tomases’, see Leslau 1987, 576, *s.v.*

76 Quoted according to Knibb in consultation with Ullendorff 1978, II, 182.

77 O. Neugebauer in: Black 1985, 417.

(15.X) (both are close to the Mesopotamian mainstream tradition),<sup>78</sup> not to say of *1 Enoch* (31.IX), but, nevertheless, it may be some other date, not necessarily having any connexion with the astronomical reality (for instance, an adaptation of some Julian date near to 25 December).

Be this as it may, the date corresponding to the lowest point of the ecliptic gives pretext to recall the future destiny of the sinners who ‘will be tormented because of their sins’. The penitential motives of the whole service are related to the eternal punishment of the sinners. This is clearly a mark of the cosmology that places the Hades (Sheol) in the lowest part of the heaven (e.g., *3 Baruch* and Christian apocalypses of Peter and of Virgin).

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 27** (4.XI), concluding the whole pentecostad, continues the theme of the previous Sabbath (mentioning ‘the sinners’, who ‘are thrown down like locusts in the sea of the fire of judgement’) but resumes the theme of the first four Sabbaths when recalling, at the end of the service, the place of God in the highest heaven (p. 187).

The general course of the liturgy throughout the pentecostad is from the earth to the heaven (Sabbath 21), in the heaven (Sabbaths 22-24), on the earth (Sabbath 25), in the Hades (Sabbath 26), and back to between the earth and the heaven (Sabbath 27).

#### 10.5. Problem of *Arfe Asart*

Kay Kaufman Shelemay discovered, in her field studies in 1973, that the enigmatic Betä Ḥsraʿel monthly festival *Arfe Asart* has also the annual (lunar) date 13.X, and so, Semitic *asart* in its title is to be comprised as ‘tenth’ (month), whereas previously unexplained *arfe* as a Qemant (Agau language spoken by the Betä Ḥsraʿel) word meaning ‘moon/month’. Shelemay’s informants explained to her this feast ‘as a *yazahāy baʿāl* (the sun holiday)’, of course, not without etiological legends.<sup>79</sup> The sun holiday in the tenth month, be this month lunar or solar, is certainly the winter solstice.

The older etiological legends about *Arfe Asart* come closer to our liturgy of the Sabbath 26. Thus, d’Abbadie recorded in 1843–1844: ‘Ceux qui observent cette fête [...], obtiennent aisément les faveurs de Dieu, car le

78 In *3 Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the date of the summer solstice has especial importance because of its correspondence to the highest point of the ecliptic.

This is the place from which the seer observes the ‘machinery’ of the universe (cf. Lourié forthcoming (d)).

79 Shelemay 1989, 54–55.



portier du ciel se laisse fléchir ce jour-là'.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the festival was considered as a day of penitence and supplication. Almost in the same years, d'Abbadie recorded, among the answers of the Falasha to the questions posed by F. Luzzato, the following explication of the feast: 'c'est une fête secrète הכו בעל et elle fut établie par les prêtres qui survécurent à la destruction du temple'.<sup>81</sup> Such an explanation is fitting perfectly with the structure of our pentecontad, whose main theme is the Temple.

These explanations were forgotten by the Betä Ǝsra'el themselves no later than to the middle of the twentieth century. It is, nevertheless, very probably that the solar feast *Arfe Asart* originated from the penitential solar feast on our Sabbath 26.

## 11. Fifth Seventh Sabbath and Its Six-Week Period

### 11.1. Overview

The next pentecontad period would begin, theoretically, on the Sabbath 28, which shares all the features of a seventh Sabbath. However, the shift of the beginning of the whole pentecontad cycle to the traditional date of the New Wine festival resulted in shortening of the interval between the Sabbath 49 and the Sabbath 1 and, therefore, stretching of the interval between the Sabbath 28, which is the fifth among the seventh Sabbaths, and the sixth seventh Sabbath, which is the Sabbath 42. The Sabbath 35, very modest, does not belong to the number of seventh Sabbaths, regardless of arithmetic. The Sabbaths from 34 to 36 form a self-standing unit of the pre-Passover Period, where the nearness of the Passover overcomes other liturgical connexions.

### 11.2. Fifth Seventh Sabbath and Its Closure

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 28** (11.XI) is extremely long (pp. 187–191) and very interesting in different respects (unfortunately, its detailed study is beyond my capacities). It is obviously the fifth seventh Sabbath of the yearly Sabbath cycle. The service is partially similar to those of Sabbaths 19 and 39, because it is opened with the first verse of the alphabetical psalm 119 (118):1 and, then, it runs very long with the verses marked with the Hebrew letters in alphabetical order (pp. 64–69/187–189). However, these verses are taken from different psalms or, sometimes, are original. In some cases, as it seems, retroversion from Ethiopic into Hebrew would lead to the words which begin

80 Aešcoli 1961, 119–120.

81 Abbadie 234–235.

with the corresponding letters of the acrostic, but this question must be studied separately. All these verses have the same refrain in Hebrew אלהים /la'el/ ('to God') and also the parallel refrain in Ethiopic 'Merciful One'.

The following parts of the liturgy contain series of acclamations to God using his different names, including Iya'el (s. above, Sabbath 10), sometimes with 'Hallelujah' (pp. 190–191). The words '... in the image of the Purifier of sin and the Destroyer of (iniquity), (for) the salvation of the soul and the body' are also, together with other penitential motives and appellations to the divine mercy, echoes of the Day of Atonement. Nevertheless, the general character of the service is joyful. It ends with the verse 'Zion heard and rejoiced' (Ps 97(96):8).

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 29** (18.XI), apparently corrupted, continues and almost paraphrases the final part of the previous liturgy (p. 191). It is obviously the closure of the previous feast.

### 11.3. New Exodus: Return from Exile

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 30** (25.XI) is not very solemn or very long, but it is saturated with important narratives (pp. 192–193). The initial scene is recognised by Devens as referring to the Exodus ('My angel goes before you'; Ex 32:34b), followed by a digression on guardian angels and prayers for 'sparing from the stranger' (Ps 19(18):13(14)) and motives of atonement ('Purify me from my hidden faults and I will be purified from any great sins'; Ps 19(18):12–13(13–14), the verses of Ps 19(18) are rearranged), guidance, and terror of death (with quotations from other psalms<sup>82</sup>).

Then, follows a passage whose meaning is not so evident: 'They built tombs and they built new tombs ... They left good houses ... the affairs of this world'.<sup>83</sup> This is a reminiscence of the situation of return from the Exile, which is introduced in Neh 2:5 as following: 'Then I said to the king, 'If it pleases the king, and if your servant has found favor with you, I ask that you send me to Judah, to the city of my ancestors' graves, so that I may rebuild it'' (NRSV) (cf. Neh 2:3). Thus, our text refers to the return from the Exile, and recollections of the Exodus in its beginning are, too, referring

82 Identified by Devens in her notes (p. 192). For the words 'You, hear the prayer of the poor!' (p. 193) one can add reference to Ps 21:25 LXX, where the Hebrew original permitting to translate either 'afflicted' or 'poor' is disambiguated.

83 The short inclusions in Agäw (Kəmant) are omitted and replaced with the dots. Devens did not translate them; this language is inaccessible to me.



to the return from the Exile as a New Exodus. Rites of atonement are, too, a necessary part of the rites of restoration.

However, the calendar of the return from the Exile is normally fitting with the interval from Nisan to Tishri, in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* as well as in pseudepigrapha (*4 Baruch*). Our document follows a different tradition, which was inspired by the chronological computations in 'weeks' of years.<sup>84</sup> Thus, in the *Testament of Levi* 17:10 we read: 'And in the fifth week they shall return to the land of their desolation, and shall restore anew the house of the Lord'.<sup>85</sup> In our text, the week is still fifth, too, even if it is not a week of years.

The final passage of the liturgy needs some commentary. Devens translates according to the dictionary of Leslau: 'Reward me with the reward of righteous. Give me the magic names of God' (p. 193),<sup>86</sup> but our text is not a magical scroll, and so, its meaning is to be found in the realm of high theology. The final phrase is: 'አስማተ ፡ ሀብኒ' (p. 77), literally, 'Give me (the) names'. Indeed, these are sacral names of God, but they are mentioned here not for any standard magical purpose. In the context, these names must be understood as a kind of reward of righteous. The tradition presupposing such a reward (instead of more common visions of God etc.) is preserved in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* (*Synopse* §§ 489–517).<sup>87</sup> The presence of this tradition in a developed form in the literature of *Hekhalot* by no means precludes it from being datable to the Second Temple period. Later, in the liturgy of the Sabbath 36, these names will be enumerated (s. below, section 12).

#### 11.4. Joy of Return

The two following joyful Sabbaths seem to express the joy of return. Both liturgies are not long but solemn.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 31** (2.XII) is saturated with praises of God and 'Hallelujah' (p. 193). The praises of angels and different categories of people are enumerated (priests, prophets, ancient and people of latter days, Levites, poor and strangers, and others) and even east and west and south and north.

<sup>84</sup> On these traditions related to the Exile, see Knibb 1976.

<sup>85</sup> Translated by Charlesworth (1983, 794). Greek text: de Jonge 1978, 45.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Leslau 1987, 504, s.v. *samaya*: 'asmāt ... secret names (of God, angels, demons used in magic against diseases, evil eye, and so on), magic, witchcraft'; see, for more details, 'Asmat', *EAE*, I (2003), 381a–b (S. Chernetsov).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Schäfer 2011, 304–306; cf. also *ibid.* 290: 'Hekhalot Zutarti's Aqiva [...] is much less concerned with the vision of God as such than it is with the revelation of the divine names and how this knowledge can be used'.

This is a universal gathering after the end of the Exile. The words 'Hallelujah, 'the spring of life is near You' [Ps 36(35):9(10)] for the fountain of life is near You', in this context, may be an allusion to the Temple of Ezekiel with its fountain/river running from the Holy of Holies (Ez 47).

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 32** (9.XII) is introduced with the rubric in Amharic: 'This is a sweet chapter. This is the place that you say 'And full of mercy'' (pp. 194–195). The core of the liturgy is the refrain taken from Ps 102(101):27a(28a): 'But You, You are the same'. This is a thanksgiving service.

#### 11.5. Closure of the Post-Tabernacles Pentecontad Cycle

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 33** (16.XII) is long and solemn but full of penitential motives (pp. 195–198). It has striking similarity with the liturgies of the Sabbaths 12 and 19. One can wonder why the Sabbath 26 is dropped from this chain of the seventh Sabbaths counted from the Tabernacles (theoretically, this cycle must contain Sabbaths 12, 19, 26, and 33).<sup>88</sup>

The service begins with praises and 'Hallelujah' to God on behalf of the sun, the moon, the luminaries (based on Ps 148:1–4) (p. 195). The next part is based on the prayer of Ezra from *4 Ezra* 7:92–98 and 78 (about the chosen people). Then, the liturgy proceeds with a prayer about Zion and the sanctuary painted in penitential tones (based mostly on the psalms 6 to 19(18)) (pp. 196–197). The service ends with a confession of transgressions, remembrance of 'Your terrible judgment', and asking for mercy (pp. 197–198). The passage 'Where are the priests? Where are the prophets? Where are the kings? Where are the judges?' (p. 196) is repeated from the liturgies of the Sabbath 2 (see above, section 7.2) and 19 (p. 171). The supplication 'For the sake of Your Book of Exodus, have mercy on me' (p. 198) is familiar by the Sabbath 8 (s. above, section 8.1); it is a mark of a pentecontad (or, more precisely, Pentecost-related) festival.

In sum, the service presents an amalgam of Tabernacles and atonement motives inscribed into a frame of a pentecontad festival. The latter is certainly a hallmark of the minor pentecontad cycle that begins on the Sabbath 12 and, then, proceeds through the Sabbath 19 skipping the Sabbath 26.

#### 12. Pre-Passover Period

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 34** (23.XII) has distinctive marks of beginning of a new cycle related to the Passover (pp. 198–200). One of the supplications

<sup>88</sup> If the available text of the liturgy of the Sabbath 26 is representative enough, the most probable explanation seems to be a special importance of the winter solstice festivity.



in the initial part of the service is 'The first Sabbath, be for me a guarantor on the last day' (p. 198); the ordinal number 'first' is here a mark of a new Sabbath cycle.<sup>89</sup> The final part contains a relatively long citation from Deut 5:22b-25, where Moses recalls to the people the Sinai revelation in order to prepare them to entering the Promised Land and to perform there the 'sacrifices according to His law' (Ps 50(49):5) (pp. 199–200). This is clearly a mark of the pre-Passover liturgical setting.

The bulk of the service, beside praises to God and 'Hallelujah', mentions Moses, 'the law of Torah' and Mount Sinai. Moreover, it contains a relatively long digression dedicated to Noah: 'Father Noah, (it is) a covenant forever. A covenant, and (it is) for his descendants forever. The covenant, His mercy is accomplished today, a covenant forever. [...] Do not forget the covenant of Your servants, You who made with Noah the covenant of the bow of the cloud, My sign [cf. Gen 9:13]. 'I will establish My covenant' [Gen 6:18, 9:11]' (p. 198). The quotations from *Genesis* refers to the moment of the sacrifice of Noah and the rainbow after the Deluge, whose dates, according to all accessible chronologies, belong to the month II. Given that this is the only specific commemoration of the covenant with Noah throughout the whole text, its date presents an important difficulty. A hypothesis worth to be explored could be formulated in development of Helen Jacobus' hypothesis about the calendar of the Deluge in the Septuagint.<sup>90</sup>

89 I think that this supplication opposites the Sabbath as the first day (of some liturgical cycle, but also as the beginning of the calendar on 1.I) to the 'last day', and so, 'first Sabbath' here is not the common Ethiopian (originally, Christian, but adopted by the Betä ʿĪsraʾel) name of the Saturday Sabbath (in contrast with the 'second Sabbath' which is Sunday).

90 Jacobus 2014b. According to Jacobus, the Septuagint harmonises different calendars, one of them being with 27-day months (with either 12-month or 13-month year). Our 364-day calendar date 23.XII would correspond, in the 12-month 27-day calendar, to 17.II, the date of the end of the Deluge, but according to MT and 4Q252, not to LXX (where this date is 27.II)! However, the *Book of Jubilees* recognises both dates (earth dry on 17.II, disembarking of beasts on 27.II). It is not to exclude that the calendar with 27-day months and 12-month years was accepted in some tradition where the Deluge was ending on 17.II. Anyway, it would be natural to leave the Ark on the Sabbath.

The general meaning of the service is a pre-Passover reminder of the Covenant (of both Noah and Moses).<sup>91</sup>

The short liturgy of the **Sabbath 35** (30.XII) contains some important references but without properly explaining them (p. 200); probably a part of the text is lost. The service ends with a quotation from Neh 9:6: 'And Ezra said: You alone made the heaven of heavens'. This Ezra's sermon has an exact date, 24.VII (Neh 9:1, after having finished the celebrations of the Day of Atonement and the eight-day feast of Tabernacles, Neh 8). There is nothing strange, however, in its appearance on the Sabbath before the first week of the Nisan (which starts on Sunday 1.I), because Nisan and Tishri are often equivalent in liturgical respect (s. above, section 8.2, for this phenomenon in our document).

The central part is referring to the *Aqedah* ('binding' of Isaac),<sup>92</sup> a normative typology for the Passover lamb, although the syntax of the text is not ideal: 'As for me, my house is the house of Abraham, my father, My [sic!] helper and My faithful one and My chosen one. Who are Abraham and Isaac? All that I said to you, for he is My friend. As for me, my house is the house of Isaac, Your youth, Your servant'.

The liturgy of the **Sabbath 36** (7.I) is long and solemn (pp. 200–203). Its main sections are the following: praises to God with his different names (p. 200); praises starting with 'O Lord, God of ...' (to insert the name of a forefather) (p. 201); supplications to God 'for the sake of the covenant with ...' (again, to insert the name(s) of forefather(s), but from an enlarged list) (p. 202); an eschatological digression mentioning the messianic king Nathanael (most probably, a later interpolation<sup>93</sup>) (pp. 202–203), and, finally, a partially repetition of the first section (p. 203).

### 13.2. Barababel, a Divine Priest

91 Here I am not taking into account the relatively long rubric in Amharic introducing this liturgy (p. 198). It enumerates with *incipit* several hymns, which seem to express motives of the Day of Atonement–Tabernacles cycle ('Tabernacle', 'Sin', 'Mercy', 'Compassion', and even some enigmatic 'Xadrun'). Such an elaborated liturgical sequence looks as a later addition.

92 As it is seen because Abraham and Isaac are mentioned without Jacob, and Isaac is called 'youth'.

93 Devens, following Leslau, interprets this figure as the legendary messianic king Tewodros (Theodore), but named in Hebrew (pp. 202–203, n. 524). It is important to know whether the following eschatological citation from Joel 2:31a (p. 203) belongs to the original text or not. It certainly demonstrates the presence of eschatological expectations for the feast of Passover, but it remains uncertain, genuine to our text or not.



The names of God (አስግቲዮ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር, p. 93; cf. Sabbath 30, section 11.3) are here enumerated, and so, one can see that they contain nothing 'magical'<sup>94</sup> *per se*: they are such names as Adonay and Elohe and other names which are translated (but not transliterated into Ethiopic).

The forefathers mentioned in the series 'O Lord, God of ...' are Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here Enoch and Noah between Abel and Shem look somewhat out of place. Probably, the original number of these forefathers was seven,<sup>95</sup> and so, these praises originally formed a seven-partite section of the liturgy. It is more difficult to judge whether the next series of supplications ('for the sake of the covenant with ...') was originally sevenfold, too. Seven-partite liturgies are known, at least, in the early Christian Jerusalem tradition.<sup>96</sup>

### 13. Excurses

#### 13.1. 'Apparently-New-Testament Citations'

Monica Devens writes in the *Introduction* concerning the 'possible Christian origin of the text': 'Certainly the apparently-New-Testament citations reinforce this idea' (p. xxi). Above (section 9.3, n. 66) we dismissed one of such citations as going back to a non-Christian Jewish source. Several other alleged citations must be dismissed, too. Namely, the alleged citation Rom 11:34 = 1 Cor 2:16, indicated by Devens three times (cf. index, p. 251), is, in Paul, a verbatim quote from Is 40:13, but LXX, not MT. An analogous case is the passage 'Is there anything which is impossible for the work of Adonay? For there is nothing, there is nothing impossible for the work of Adonay' (Sabbath 32, p. 194), to whom the closest biblical parallel is not

<sup>94</sup> Devens adds this word in her translation.

<sup>95</sup> Thus, the enigmatic expression 'Paradise of Elisha' may also be a later addition and, moreover, a misreading. It occurs twice in this series: first, about Adam ('Committing one transgression, he went out of the Paradise of Elisha'), second, about Enoch ('God placed him in the Paradise of Elisha until the Redeemer comes'), but, this time, with a variant reading (one ms against two) 'Elijah'. 'Paradise of Elijah' applied to Enoch is certainly the Paradise ascended with the divine chariot (Merkabah). Probably this interpolation about Enoch was repeated, in the corrupted form, concerning Adam.

<sup>96</sup> Cf., for the liturgy of the dedication of the basilica on Holy Zion (Zion) in 394, van Esbroeck 1984, and, for another source of the late second or early third century, Lourié forthcoming (a). The sermon of Barsabas of Jerusalem is divided into seven parts dedicated to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses.

Luke 1:37 (*pace* Devens, p. 194, n. 425), but Zech 8:6 LXX (in MT 'wonderful/difficult' instead of 'impossible' in LXX).

The reference to Rev 4 Devens herself prefaces with reference to Ez 1 (p. 218, n. 67; Sabbath 44, the eve of the Pentecost); in fact, even the latter reference could be superfluous, because the four living creatures bearing the throne of God became a common place of the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. In the same way, Devens herself provides a Hebrew Bible source with the alleged quote from Mark 9:48 (Is 66:24; p. 186, n. 337).

However, the phrase 'the stars will fall from the heavens, and all the hosts of the heavens will shake' (Sabbath 36, p. 203) is difficult to explain otherwise than as a quote from Mat 24:29 (as Devens did: p. 203, n. 526), and the wording of the phrase 'My beloved in whom My soul delights' (Sabbath 53, p. 234) follows Mat 12:18 and not its ultimate source Is 42:1 (as Devens points out: p. 234, n. 830). Moreover, the phrase 'O foolish people, you preferred darkness over light ...' (Sabbath 53, p. 234) is still better explained as a paraphrase of John 3:19b (p. 234, n. 834) than any other known Jewish 'Two Ways' text.<sup>97</sup>

In sum, three probable New Testament citations remain. Two of them are within the liturgy of the Sabbath 53, which is the final section of the book and a kind of liturgical postface to the whole book placed symmetrically to the preface. Given that the latter is a secondary addition or, at least, radical reworking of a previously existed text, there is a high probability that the former was subjected to some editorship in the Betä Ǝsra'el milieu. Anyway, the general level of stability of the text is not enough to be sure that one New Testament quote in the 'chapter' 36 and two quotes in the 'chapter' 53 belong to the original composition.

#### 13.2. Bərsəbahel, a Divine Priest

Among the divine names dissipated throughout our text, occur repeatedly those of Bərsəbahel (ብርሰባሔል) and 'Shepherd of Bərsəbahel' (ኖላዊ ፡ (van ኖላዊ ፡ ) ብርሰባሔል); each time Devens adds to 'Bərsəbahel' the same footnote: 'This is a magical name of God familiar from other Betä Israel texts'.

The contexts of appearance of these names are always the same: celebration in the heavenly sanctuary, before the altar which is the throne of God. Thus, Bərsəbahel appears in the liturgies of the Sabbaths 10 (p. 168, near the name Iya'el in an atonement ritual) and 28 (p. 190, in the context of

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Bauckham 2000.



atonement imagery), and 'Shepherd of Bərsəbahel' in the liturgies of the Sabbaths 12 (p. 172, in the Tabernacles ritual), 15, 22, and 42 (p. 175, 184, and 210, all the three in the context of atonement imagery). Bərsəbahel of a properly Betä ʾƏsraʾel text, *Təʾəzazä Sänbät*, is one of the angels of the third heaven, and so, certainly not the God himself.<sup>98</sup> However, in the authoritative in the matter of divine names Christian *Bandlet of Righteousness*, Bərsəbahel is again one of the names of God.<sup>99</sup>

In the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath*, the role of Bərsəbahel is quite similar to that of the Iyaʾel, that of the divine heavenly priest. The role of the 'Shepherd of Bərsəbahel' is the same; this name could be explained as 'the Shepherd of the (divine) Shepherd' (somewhat opposed to Bərsəbahel). All these names of the divine priestly figures belong to the variations of the Second Temple Jewish monotheism, which had different continuations in Christianity and *Hekhalot* traditions. The personified Sabbath is also a divine figure of this kind. The genuine theology of our text still waits for proper studies.

The priestly figure of Bərsəbahel is, however, of specific interest. He reminds us the legendary Christian high priest of Jerusalem (bishop) Barsabas, unidentifiable with either of the two New Testament figures having the name Barsabas as the patronymic (Acts 1:23; 15:22). This Barsabas is the alleged author of the late second- or early third-century sermon *On Christ and the Churches*, preserved only in Georgian.<sup>100</sup> This treatise is an important testimony of the early Christian tradition of Jerusalem. Its implied liturgical structure is heavily relying on the seven-day cycles.<sup>101</sup> With all probability, this mythical Christian high-priest of Jerusalem is a Christianised and Grecised descendant of the Jewish divine priest Bərsəbahel.

## 14. Concluding Remarks

### 14.1. Relation to the Betä ʾƏsraʾel

It is difficult and beyond the scope of the present paper to propose any explanation of appearing of the *Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath* in the hands of

<sup>98</sup> Leslau 1979, 35.

<sup>99</sup> § 57 acc. to critical ed.: Euringer 1940; cf. 'Ləfəfä şədəq', *EAE*, III (2007), 542a–543a (B. Burtea).

<sup>100</sup> Barsabée de Jérusalem 1982.

<sup>101</sup> Lourié 2014; for an avatar of the same person in the Christian Byzantine Jerusalem calendar, St Baripsabas, see Lourié forthcoming (c).

the Betä ʾƏsraʾel. It is enough to notice that it encapsulates a liturgical cycle having very little to do with their actual liturgy and calendar. The most important intersections (beside Sabbaths themselves and classical Jewish feasts non peculiar to our document) are the feasts 'Sabbath of Sabbaths' and probably *Arfe Asart*.

### 14.2. *Sitz im Leben*

There is no weighty evidence of Christian origin of the text. On the contrary, the text is fitting perfectly with the Second Temple Judaism. It is either dated to the Second Temple period or must be attributed to an otherwise unknown enclave of early Judaism in the mediaeval world; the latter is much less probable than the preservation of an early text in Ethiopic version. The language of our text has no traces of possible Arabic original, which is an indirect argument for an early date of translation.

Given that the Bible of our text is mostly the Septuagint (including the Odes as a separate subdivision, cf. Sabbath 49), it is most probable that its original language was Greek or, at least, the text was translated into Greek from a Semitic (Hebrew/Aramaic) original in an early epoch, already in a Jewish milieu (cf. textual history of, e.g., *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*). The latter possibility provides the simplest explanation for the liturgy of the Sabbath 28 (otherwise we have to postulate for it an independent source in Hebrew) and the presence of one reading peculiar to the Syriac Bible,<sup>102</sup> which turns out to be explainable *via* the common milieu of origin.

The other parallels with Syrian sources, sometime striking (especially in the case of the four weeks dedicated to the Churches, cf. the fourth pentecontad of our text), are always explainable with reference to possible common sources in Palestinian Jewish traditions. Affinities with the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (including such an important but uncommon one as the personality of Iyaʾel) are also pointing toward Palestine. Another weighty argument for Palestinian origin of our text is the continuation, in early Christian Jerusalem, of the tradition concerning the high priest whose name is almost the same as Bərsəbahel (Barsabas/Baripsabas).

Affinities with the 'Jewish' calendar of the Ethiopian Easter computus are not especially strong: they are limited to the formula for finding the day of the Pentecost, *p* + 50, but the specific dates of this 'Jewish' calendar have no traces in our text. The same method of counting is implied in *3 Baruch* (the *Sitz im Leben* of which remains unknown). The 'Tobit' method of introducing the

<sup>102</sup> See above, n. 21; cf. n. 71 concerning the second case of an allegedly Syriac reading.



four days added to the twelve 30-day months is, too, hardly very promising in defining the place of origin (for *Tobit* itself it is not absolutely clear).

Therefore, the balance of probabilities opts for Palestine as the *Sitz of Leben* of our text. This conclusion, however, must be checked anew with further studies.

Table 1: Liturgical Structure of the Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath

Sabbath Nr	Pages (translation)	Meaning	Restored date	Minor cycles	Yearly Cycle
1	157	First Seventh Sabbath: Eve of the New Wine festival (3.V)	2.V	Pentecost of the New Wine	First Pentecontad (Sabbaths 1–7)
2	157–161	(Text mostly misplaced here from the Sabbath 1.)	9.V		
3	161		16.V		
4	161–162	Midpentecost	23.V		
5	162–163		30.V		
6	163		7.VI		
7	163–164	Closure	14.VI		
8	164–167	Second Seventh Sabbath: Eve of the New Oil festival (22.VI)	21.VI	New Oil Cycle	Second Pentecontad (Sabbaths 8–14)
9	167	Closure of the New Oil festival.	28.VI		
10	167–169	Main Sabbath of the Day of Atonement cycle	5.VII	Day of Atonement Cycle	
11	169–170	Second Sabbath of the Day of Atonement cycle	12.VII		
12	170–173	Sabbath of Tabernacles	19.VII		
13	173	Continuation	26.VII	Tabernacles Cycle (absorbing atonement rituals) and the First Post-Tabernacles Pentecontad	Post-Tabernacles Six-Week Period (Sabbaths 15–20)
14	173–174	Penitential/atonement liturgy	3.VIII		
15	174–176	Third Seventh Sabbath	10.VIII		
16	176–178	'Midtabernacles'	17.VIII		
17	178–179		24.VIII		
18	179		1.IX		
19	179–182	First Seventh Sabbath from the Sabbath of Tabernacles; counterpart of the Sabbath 39 in 140 + 224 partition of the year	8.IX	First Seventh Sabbath from the Sabbath of Tabernacles Cycle	
20	182–183	Closure	15.IX		
21	183–184	Fourth Seventh Sabbath (1st Sabbath of Temple)	22.IX	Temple—Heavenly Temple—Hades Cycle	Fourth Pentecontad (Sabbaths 21–27)
22	184	2nd Sabbath of Temple	29.IX		
23	185	3rd Sabbath of Temple	6.X		

24	185	4th Sabbath of Temple	13.X	(Fourth Pentecontad)	
25	186	Penitence	20.X		
26	186–187	Winter Solstice and Hades <sup>103</sup>	27.X		
27	187	Closure of Pentecontad	4.XI	Fifth Seventh Sabbath Cycle	Six-Week Period after the Fifth Seventh Sabbath (Sabbaths 28–33)
28	187–191	Fifth Seventh Sabbath	11.XI		
29	191	Closure	18.XI	Return from Exile Cycle	
30	192–193	Return from Exile	25.XI		
31	193	Joy of return	2.XII		
32	194–195	Joy of return	9.XII	Closure of the Post-Tabernacles Pentecontad Cycle (Sabbaths 12–19–33)	
33	195–198	Third Seventh Sabbath from the Sabbath of Tabernacles	16.XII		
34	198–200	'First Sabbath': Covenants with Noah and Moses	23.XII		
35	200	<i>Aqedah</i> : Covenant with Abraham and Isaac	30.XII		
36	200–203	Covenants with all forefathers	7.I	Covenant Cycle	Pre-Passover Period (Sabbaths 34–36)
37	203–204	Passover (falling on Sabbath)	14.I		
38	205–206	Second Sabbath of Passover	21.I	Passover–Unleavened Bread Cycle	Passover–Pentecostal Period (Sabbaths 37–43)
39	206–208	Counterpart of the Sabbath 19 in 140 + 224 partition of the year	28.I		
40	208–209	1st Sabbath of 4 <i>Ezra</i> cycle	5.II	4 <i>Ezra</i> Cycle (Sabbaths 40–42 and probably 43)	
41	210	2nd Sabbath of 4 <i>Ezra</i> cycle	12.II		
42	209–212	Sixth Seventh Sabbath, 3rd Sabbath of 4 <i>Ezra</i> cycle	19.II		
43	212–213	4th Sabbath of 4 <i>Ezra</i> cycle (?)	26.II		
44	213–220	Eve of the Pentecost (4.III) <sup>104</sup>	3.III	Pentecost Short Cycle (Sabbaths 15–20)	Pentecost Pentecontad (Sabbaths 21–27)
45	220–221	Second Sabbath of Pentecost	6.III		
46	222	Letter of Baruch	13.III		

<sup>103</sup> The second Seventh Sabbath from the Sabbath of Tabernacles is skipped.

<sup>104</sup> Four days additional to the 360 days are introduced after the Pentecost, Sunday 4.III, covering the weekdays from Monday to Thursday and followed by 5.III Friday. These days are called 'days of interval' and are not counted among the days of the third month.



47	222		20.III	44–47)	44–51)
48	222–223	Preparatory Sabbath	27.III	Sabbath of	
49	223–230	Seventh Seventh Sabbath	4.IV	Sabbaths Cy-	
50	231	Closure	11.IV	cle	
51	231–232	Closure of the Pentecostal Pentecontad	18.IV	Closure of the Pentecostal Pentecontad (Sabbaths 44–51)	
52	232	Final Sabbath	25.IV		Closure of the Yearly Cycle (Sabbath 52)
53	233–235	Sabbath of the Sabbatical year			Intercalated Sabbath for the seventh year (Sabbath 53)

## Bibliography

- d'Abbadie, A. 1851. 'Réponses des Falasha dits Juifs d'Abyssinie aux questions faites par M. Luzzato, orientaliste de Padoue', *Archives Israélites de France*, 12 (1851), 179–185, 234–240, 259–269.
- Abbink, J. 1983. 'Seged Celebration in Ethiopia and Israel: Continuity and Change of a Falasha Religious Holiday', *Anthropos*, 78 (1983), 789–810.
- Aeşcoli, A.Z. 1961. 'Notices sur les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie, d'après le «Journal de Voyage» d'Antoine d'Abbadie', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 2 (1961), 84–147.
- Barbel, J. 1964. *Christos Angelos: die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums; zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ursprungs und der Fortdauer des Arianismus* (2nd edn, Bonn: P. Hannstein, 1964).
- Barsabée de Jérusalem 1982. *Sur le Christ et les églises. Introduction, édition du texte géorgien inédit et traduction française* par M. van Esbroeck, *Patrologia orientalis*, 41/2 (187) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982).
- Bauckham, R. 2000. 'The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John', in L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 105–115.
- Baumstark, A. 1953. *Liturgie comparée: Principes et Méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes*, 3<sup>ème</sup> éd. revue par B. Botte, Coll. Irénikon (Chevetogne–Paris: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1953).
- Ben-Dov, J. 2008. *The Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in Their Ancient Context*, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Black, M. 1985. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Translation. In Consultation with James C. VanderKam. With an Appendix on the 'Astronomical' Chapters*

- (72–82) by Otto Neugebauer, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985).
- Botte, B. 1957. 'Les dimanches de la Dédicace dans les Églises syriennes', *L'Orient Syrien*, 2 (1957), 65–70.
- Boyarin, D. 1972. 'Penitential Liturgy in 4 Ezra', *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*, 3 (1972), 30–34.
- Brooke, G.J. 1985. *Exegesis at Qumran. 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series*, 29 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1985).
- Brownlee, W.H. 1982. 'The Ceremony of Crossing the Jordan in the Annual Covenanting at Qumran', in W.C. Delsman et al., eds, *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. Dr. J.P.M. van der Ploeg, O.P., zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 4. Juli 1979. Überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 211 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 295–302.
- Charlesworth, J.H., ed. 1983. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1983).
- Christianson, E.S. 2007. *Ecclesiastes through the Centuries*, *Blackwell Bible Commentaries* (Oxford et al.: Blackwell, 2007).
- Cohen, M.S. 1985. *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum*, 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985).
- Daniélou, J. 1957. 'La fête des Tabernacles dans l'exégèse patristique', *Studia Patristica*, 1 (1957), 264–268.
- 1966. *Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne (Les Testimonia)*, *Théologie historique*, 5 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1966).
- Davila, J. 2003. 'Melchizedek, The 'Youth', and Jesus', in J. Davila, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, 46 (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, 2003), 248–274.
- de Jonge, M. 1978. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, 1/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).
- Delehaye, H. 1934. *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique*, *Subsidia hagiographica*, 21 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1934).
- Devens, M. 1995. *The Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath: A Betä Israel (Falasha) Text. Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation*, *Äthiopistische Forschungen*, 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).
- Donadoni, S. 1975. 'Les graffiti de l'église de Sonqi Tino', in K. Michałowski, ed., *Nubia. Récentes recherches. Actes du colloque nubologique international au Musée National de Varsovie. 19–22 juin 1972* (Varsovie: Musée National, 1975), 31–39.
- EAe = S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; III: He–N (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2007).
- Euringer, S. 1940. 'Die Binde der Rechtfertigung (Lefäfa Şedek)', *Orientalia*, n.s. 9 (1940), 76–99, 244–259.



- Falk, D.K. 1998. *Daily, Sabbath, & Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 27 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1998).
- Fletcher-Louis, C. 2001. 'The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man. The Genre, History of Religious Context, and the Meaning of Transfiguration', in F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger, eds, *Auferstehung-Resurrection: The Fourth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium: Resurrection, Transfiguration, and Exaltation in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism, and Early Christianity (Tübingen, September, 1999)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2nd series, 135 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 247–298.
- Flint, P.W. 1997. *The Dead Sea Psalm Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 17 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1997).
- Getatchew Haile 1988. 'The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church,' *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 33 (1988), 233–254.
- Halperin, D. 1988. *The Faces of the Chariot. Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, 16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988).
- Hannah, D.D. 1999. *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2nd series, 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).
- Jacobus, H.R. 2010. '4Q318: A Jewish Zodiac Calendar at Qumran?', in C. Hempel, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 90 (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, 2010), 365–395.
- 2014a. *The Aramaic Zodiac Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Reception: Ancient Astronomy and Astrology in Early Judaism*, IJS Studies in Judaica, 14 (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, 2014).
- 2014b. 'Noah's Flood Calendar (Gen 7:10-8:19) in the Septuagint', *Enoch*, 36/2 (2014), 283–296.
- 2015. 'Calendars in the Qumran Collection', in S.W. Crawford and C. Wassen, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, Biblical Studies, Ancient Near East and Early Christianity, 116 (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, 2015), 215–243.
- Khouri-Sarkis, G. 1955. 'La fête de l'Église dans l'année liturgique syrienne', *Irenikon*, 28 (1955), 186–193.
- Klawans, J. 2000. *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford–New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Knibb, M.A. 1976. 'The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period', *The Heythrop Journal*, 17 (1976), 253–272.
- in consultation with E. Ullendorff 1978. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)
- Kulik, A. 2010. *3 Baruch. Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin–New York, NY: W. de Gruyter, 2010).
- Leslau, W. 1979. *Falasha Anthology*, Yale Judaica Series, 6 (2nd edn, New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1979 (first publ. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1951)).

- 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1987).
- Leuken, W. 1898. *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898).
- [Lourié, B. 1999] Лурье, В. 1999. 'Авва Георгий из Саглы и история юлианизма в Эфиопии (Abbas Giyorgis of Saglā and the History of Julianism in Ethiopia)', *Христианский Восток (Christian Orient)*, 1/7 (1999), 317–358.
- 2006. 'Toward a reconstruction of a common ground of the Celtic Church calendar and the so-called 'Old Norse' calendar', in *Celto-Slavica—2. Second International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica. Abstracts. Moscow, 14–17 September 2006* (Moscow: Max-Press, 2006), 56–58.
- 2008a. 'Calendrical Implications in the 'Epistle to the Hebrews'', *Revue biblique*, 115 (2008), 245–265.
- 2008b. 'Les quatre jours «de l'intervalle»: une modification néotestamentaire et chrétienne du calendrier de 364 jours', in M. Petit, B. Lourié, and A. Orlov, eds, *Église des deux Alliances: Mémorial Annie Jaubert (1912–1980)*, Orientalia Judaica Christiana, 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 103–133.
- 2012a. 'Calendrical Elements in 2 Enoch', in A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J.M. Zurawski, eds, *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, Studia Judaoslavica, 4 (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, 2012), 191–219.
- 2012b. 'An Unknown Danielic Pseudepigraphon from an Armenian Fragment of Papias', *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 21/4 (2012), 243–259.
- 2014a. 'The Calendar Implied in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra: Two Modifications of the One Scheme', in G. Boccaccini and J.M. Zurawski, eds, *Interpreting 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: International Studies*, Library of Second Temples Studies, 87 (London et al.: Bloomsbury, 2014).
- 2014b. 'Barsabas of Jerusalem, on Christ and the Churches: Its Genre and Liturgical Contents', *ფილოსოფიურ-თეოლოგიური მიმოხილვები/Philosophical-Theological Reviewer*, 4 (2014 (publ. 2015)), 28–32.
- 2016. 'An Archaic Jewish-Christian Liturgical Calendar in Abba Giyorgis of Sägla', *Scrinium*, 12 (2016).
- forthcoming (a). 'Cosmology and Liturgical Calendar in 3 Baruch and Their Mesopotamian Background', in A. Kulik and A. Orlov, eds, *Harry E. Gaylord Memorial Volume* (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, forthcoming).
- forthcoming (b). 'The Jewish Matrix of Christianity Seen through the Early Christian Liturgical Institutions', in D. Bumazhnov, A. Toepel et al., eds, *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Christian East in Tübingen, 2008* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).
- forthcoming (c). 'John II of Jerusalem's Homily on the Encaenia of St. Sion and Its Calendrical Background', in C.B. Horn, B. Lourié, and B. Outtier, eds, *Karen N. Yuzbashian Memorial Volume* (Leiden–Boston, MA: E.J. Brill, forthcoming).



- Maier, J. 1985. *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series, 34 (Sheffield: The University of Sheffield, 1985).
- Mateos, J. 1959. *Lelya-Şapra: Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 156 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1959).
- Mearns, J. 1914. *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914).
- Metso, S. 1997. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 21 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1997).
- Milgrom, J. 1980. 'Further Studies in the Temple Scroll', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 71 (1980), 1–17, 89–106.
- Neugebauer, O. 1997. *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 347 (Wien: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1979).
- Newsom, C.A. 2004. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 52 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2004).
- Orlov, A.A. 2005. *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
- 2009. 'Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*', *Scrinium*, 5 (2009), 79–111.
- Rahlf's, A. 1931. *Septuaginta, X: Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931).
- Renoux, A. 1969. *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121, I: Introduction aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine. Lumières nouvelles*, Patrologia orientalis, 35/1 (163) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969).
- Schäfer, P. 2011. *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Schneider, H. 1949. 'Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum', *Biblica*, 30 (1949), 28–65; 'Die Biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel', *ibid.* 433–452; *ibid.* 479–500.
- Scholem, G. 1995. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (2nd edn, New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1995) (first publ. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1946).
- Segal, J.B. 1963. *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, London Oriental Series, 12 (London–New York, NY–Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Shelemay, K.K. 1989. *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, Ethiopian Series, Monograph, 17 (2nd edn, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1989).
- [Sofonija <Sokolovskij> 1876] Софония (Соколовский) 1876. *Современный быт и литургия христиан инославных Иаковитов и Несториан ... (Contemporary Customs and Liturgy of the Heterodox Christians Jacobites and Nestorians ...)*, St Petersburg: 'Strannik' magazine, 1876.
- Stuckenbruck, L.T. 1998. *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2nd series, 70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994).

- Thomas, J. 1935. *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C.–300 ap. J.-C.)*, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Dissertationes ad graduum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae, Series II, 28 (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1935).
- Ulfsgard, H. 1998. *The Story of Sukkot: The Setting, Shaping, and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese, 34 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).
- van der Horst, P.W. and J.H. Newman 2008. *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin–New York, NY: W. de Gruyter, 2008).
- van Esbroeck, M. 1984. 'Jean II de Jérusalem et les cultes de S. Étienne, de la Sainte-Sion et de la Croix', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 102 (1984), 99–134.
- VanderKam, J. 1998. *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls (London–New York, NY: Routledge, 1998).
- Vicent, R. 1995. *La fiesta judía de las Cabañas (Sukkot): Interpretaciones midrásicas en la Biblia y en judaísmo antiguo*, Biblioteca Midrásica, 17 (Estella: Verbo Divino, 1995).
- Vigne, D. 1992. *Christ au Jourdain: Le Baptême de Jésus dans la tradition judéo-chrétienne*, Études bibliques, n. s., 16 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1992).
- Wise, M.O. 1990. *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 49 (Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990).
- Yarbro Collins, A. 1995. 'The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses', in J.J. Collins and M. Fishbane, eds, *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995), 59–94.

... of the text and an English translation into the hands of translators and because of the textual content, scholars of biblical and pseudepigraphical literature, in whose more capable hands I leave the task of sifting among the relevant texts this newly published work. I had the pleasure of reading this text together with Getatchew Haile, and I hope he finds this modest contribution to be a token of my gratitude for his friendship and encouragement.

### The Manuscript

Roger Schneider photographed some manuscripts from the Gunda Gunda monastery in 1961 and 1962, and these photographs later became part of the collection put together by Donald Davies.<sup>2</sup> The whole collection of the

<sup>1</sup> I hereby express thanks to Getatchew Haile, with whom I read and discussed this text, and who encouraged me to publish it. Aaron Michael Butts, Ted Erbe, Ryan Kurranga, and Annette Yoshiko Reed offered helpful comments on earlier drafts of the paper. I am also grateful to Wayne Torborg, who with his usual skill retouched the manuscript photos for clarity.

<sup>2</sup> Davies 1987, 288 n. 2.