Where Heaven and Earth Meet:

Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade

179 A passage from the Psalm Scroll discovered in the Judaean Desert

The text of the first six lines reads: I remember thee for blessing, O Zion; with all my might have I loved thee. May thy memory be blessed for ever! Great is thy hope, O Zion: that peace and thy longed-for salvation will come. Generation after generation will dwell in thee and generations of saints will be thy splendor: Those who yearn for the day of thy salvation that they may rejoice in the greatness of thy glory. On [the] abundance of thy glory they are nourished; and in thy splendid squares will they toddle. The merits of thy prophets wilt thou remember, and in the deeds of thy pious ones wilt thou glory.

From Priestly (and Early Christian) Mount Zion to Rabbinic Temple Mount

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For almost a thousand years there was a Temple in Jerusalem that was meant to reflect a complex cosmic order representing the duration of time, the continuity of cycles of life, and the perpetual Divine Presence in creation. The Temple was conceived as the conjunction between heaven and earth and between the macro-cosmic order reflected in the daily cycles of nature and the micro-cosmic worship reflected in the repetitive cycles of sacrificial rites and liturgy.

This focus on eternal cycles and an everlasting divine order was consolidated around a divine solar calendar of fifty-two Sabbaths or fifty-two weeks, forming a year of 364 days which was also divided into four seasons, each consisting of 91 days or 13 weeks. The year, that was carefully observed and monitored in the Temple, was divided into two divisions of time: visible and audible divisions that were combined and synchronized. The order of the perceivable natural *visible* divisions of time related to the movements of the sun and of the *fourfold divisions* of the year (the natural cycles of days and nights, the four seasons, further divided by vernal and autumnal equinox and summer and winter solstice). The heavenly *audible* and ritual divisions of the year related to the numerical, consecutive pre-calculated *sevenfold cycles* (Sabbaths, seven "appointed times of the Lord" in the first seven months of the year, Sabbaths of each seventh fallow year, and Jubilees). Together they constituted the essence of the eternal priestly solar calendar preserved and implemented in the Temple which formed the foundation for the ritual order and sacrificial cycle.

The eternal sequences of time and its predestined, calculated cosmic changes, as represented in the permanent astronomical courses and constant cycles of creation, were noted and preserved by the Levitical priests who were invested with the office of "sentinels of the holy course of time." According to the biblical tradition, the Temple was built in the days of David and Solomon, in the tenth century BCE, in a sacred place designated by divine revelation. The twenty-four priestly watches responsible for Temple worship were mainly intended to preserve the audible and visible divine cycles of time through the cycles of sacrifices and sacred liturgy and were inaugurated by King David and by the High Priest Zadok (1 Chron. 24:3–19) during the same period.

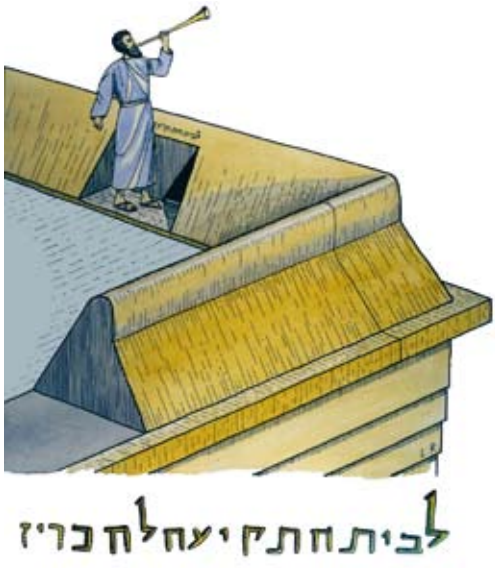
The Jerusalem Temple was destroyed in 586 BCE by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and rebuilt seventy years later in 516 BCE following the Persian conquest of the Babylonian empire. The Second Temple period began with four centuries (516 BCE–175 BCE) in which the priestly hegemony of the biblical House of Zadok continued to prevail. The following three centuries of turmoil and dispute (175 BCE–70 CE) brought the end of the Zadokite priestly leadership and the sacred solar calendar. First, an illegitimate Hellenized priesthood emerged (175 BCE–159 BCE); then high priesthood and kingship were usurped by the Hasmonaeans, who ruled Judaea and officiated in the Temple contrary to the biblical order (152 BCE–37 BCE). The usurpation entailed a bitter dispute between the Hasmonaean regime and the former Temple leadership of the priests of the House of Zadok, later known as Zedokim or Sadducees, followers of the written foundations of divine worship and its ritual implementation. The last hundred years of the Jerusalem Temple (37 BCE–70 CE), marked by Roman rule and the emergence of the Herodian dynasty, generated profound disputes between various religious and political parties. The stormy period that commenced in 175 BCE produced a great body of literature concerning the Temple, the priesthood, and the divine worship.

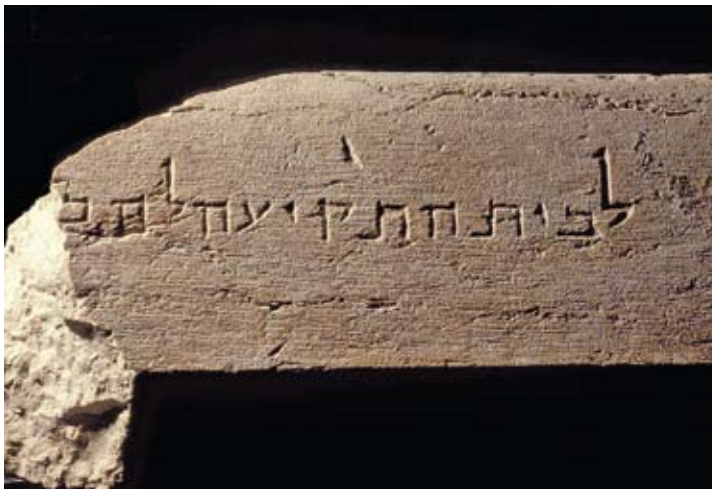
The Temple, while still standing, was the symbol of the archetypal divine order of an ideal mythical past when Divine Presence and human experience were united. After its destruction it was perceived as the symbol of yearned-for redemption and reinstitution of divine order, since from its inception it constituted both the earthly dwelling of the infinite Divine Presence, source of life, and cycles of time, and the representation of the ideal eternal cosmic order within temporal confinements. In the Temple sacred ritual was performed in order to unite the hidden God with an eternal earthly representation in sacred time and sacred place. The Temple was associated with "sacred geography," standing within transcendental mythical space as well as on actual terra firma, invested with ancient memories and sacred history.

Sacred Geography and Changing Names

"Sacred geography" has been a characteristic of religious creativity in diverse cultures from antiquity to the present. The term refers to the singling out of a place in mythological, cultic, or literary contexts linked to divine revelation or angelic appearance, celestial election, unique sanctity, and an etiological story whose sacred importance transcends the boundaries of time and space.[1] It bases the uniqueness of the sacred terrestrial place in its connection to its cosmic, mythic, or celestial counterpart, situated beyond time and space. And it grounds its premises in sacred writings derived from a heavenly source.[2]

Because of the importance and centrality of sacred sites at which heaven and earth touch and the divine appears on earth, their locations and names are not always the subject





180 Right: The Hebrew inscription reads: "Of the house of blowing, [to announce]"
The inscription is engraved on a stone that fell to the street level below the corner of the southwest tower of the Herodian precinct and was discovered during the post-1967 excavations. The stone most probably marks the place where trumpet-blowing priests used to announce the Sabbath

181 Left: A priest blowing a trumpet announcing the Sabbath, standing on the southwest corner of the southwest tower of the Herodian precinct. A reconstruction

of universal agreement within their traditions. The changes repeatedly reflect various stages of tension, disagreement, and dispute over the traditions and their terrestrial representations in shifting historical circumstances.

In Jewish Antiquity, the sacred place, that is, the place associated with God's dwelling, divine or angelic revelation, covenant and Temple, altar of cultic sacrifice, and the Binding of Isaac (*'aqedah*), was identified with two mountains: Mount Moriah and Mount Zion. The relationship between the two is far from clear. Today there is no mountain bearing the name "Mount Moriah"; Judaism's sacred mountain is nowadays referred to as the "Temple Mount (*Har ha-Bayit*; literally, the mountain of the house [of the Lord])." The only circles in which the Temple Mount is today referred to as Mount Moriah are associated with groups that want to return to the mountain and build the Third Temple. The biblical-period sources that speak of Mount Zion throughout the first millennium BCE do not refer to the Mount Zion known to us today as the site of David's Tomb[3] and the Dormition Abbey. They refer, rather, to the mountain that is today called *Har ha-Bayit* or the Temple Mount. In the pages that follow, which pertain only to Antiquity, I attempt to show that the changes in the name of the sacred place and in the memories associated with it are connected to a dispute among various groups over the nature of the sacred place, sacred time, and sacred memory.[4]

The Second Book of Chronicles, written in the fourth century BCE toward the end of the period of return from the Babylonian Exile, tells that King Solomon built his Temple on Mount Moriah.[5] Why did the Chronicler locate the Temple on Mount Moriah? The book

of Genesis mentions "the Land of Moriah" in connection with the offering known in Jewish tradition as the Binding of Isaac: "And He said: 'Take your son, your favored one, Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains that I will point out to you."[6] Noticeably, the Septuagint here omits any reference to the Land of Moriah. It says: "and go into the high land, and offer him there for a whole burnt offering." The omission is prominent as well in the parallel account in Jubilees 18.2 which mentions "the high land" and knows nothing of Mount Moriah.

In calling the site of the altar in early monarchic times—associated with the appearance to David of an angel of God[7]—by the name of the site of the offering and an angel's appearance in patriarchal times, the Chronicler may have meant to invest Solomon's Temple on Mount Moriah with the memory of the site of the Binding of Isaac in the Land of Moriah. He may have intended likewise to associate the site with a founding moment in the life of the nation and the eternal covenant between God and His people.

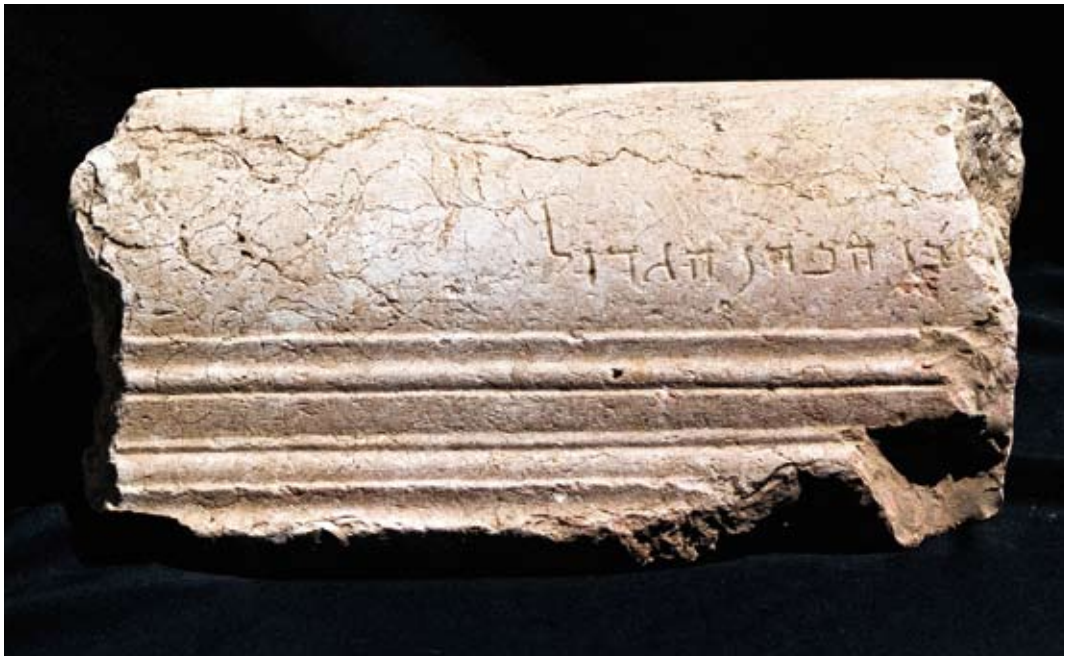
The alternative biblical tradition that identifies Mount Zion as the holy mountain and dwelling place of God is much more widely attested, frequently appearing in traditions that predate the composition of Chronicles by hundreds of years.[8] Still, some second-century-BCE traditions explicitly identify Mount Zion as the site of the Binding of Isaac. These traditions also see Mount Zion as "the navel of the earth" and the sacred dwelling-place of the deity;[9] the place where God was revealed to Abraham;[10] and as the place where the angel of the presence appeared at the time of the Binding of Isaac and rescued him from sacrifice.[11]

In the early prophetic books and in Psalms, Mount Zion is referred to dozens of times as the holy mountain in Jerusalem or as the place selected by God to be sanctified as His dwelling. It is explicitly referred to as the place of eternal blessing and as the site of divine revelation. Zion became also a synonym for the City of David and a cognomen of Jerusalem. Yet, for the most part "Mount Zion" is a synonym for the holy mountain, the place where the divine and the terrestrial touch.[12]

In about 700 BCE, Isaiah's prophecies of destruction portray Mount Zion as a place fraught with meaning,[13] and the site is similarly treated in the prophecies of consolation associated with the return to Zion.[14] It is mentioned as the site of God's sovereignty in prophecies that stress the identity between the holy mountain and Mount Zion: "And you shall know that I the Lord your God dwell in Zion, my holy mount"[15]; "Blow a horn in Zion, sound an alarm on my holy mount."[16] Interestingly, not one of the pre-exilic references to Mount Zion limits God's place to a particular edifice. Instead, they all relate God's dwelling place to the entire mountain, and make no mention of the Temple.

Texts composed after the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 BCE refer to the dirge imagery of Lamentations, used repeatedly in rabbinic literature and *midrash* to convey the intensity of the disaster: "Because of Mount Zion, which lies desolate, jackals prowl over it."[17] The image is connected to Third Isaiah's description of the contrast between the

182 A stone weight incised with the word *qorban* ("offering") and a drawing of a dove, discovered during the post-1967 excavations



183 Part of a sarcophagus lid with the inscription "Son of the high priest"
The lid, probably dating from the last decades of the Second Temple, was found in 2008 in excavations northwest of Jerusalem

source of life and the wasteland: "Your holy cities have become a desert: Zion has become a desert, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy Temple, our pride, where our fathers praised You, has been consumed by fire; and all that was dear to us is ruined."[18] Desolation and consolation in regard to the Temple on Mount Zion is further attested at the end of the second and during the first century BCE in the books of Maccabees, where the Second Temple on Mount Zion figures as the focus of the Maccabaean revolt: "'Behold, our enemies are crushed; let us go up to cleanse the sanctuary and dedicate it.' So all the army assembled and they went up to Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary desolate, the altar profaned, and the gates burned."[19] And the post-Second-Temple liturgical tradition dwelled time and again on Zion as God's sacred dwelling place.[20]

Much earlier traditions, composed while the Second Temple still existed, contain associations between Mount Zion and the sacred site that expand the biblical tradition,

suggest an alternative recollection to that known from rabbinic traditions, and clarify the nature of the sanctity associated with it. These appear in the multifaceted priestly literature found in the Qumran scrolls—written and preserved in Hebrew and Aramaic during the final centuries BCE by the "the priests of the House of Zadok and the keepers of their covenant"[21]—and in the books of Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which had been known in the pseudepigraphic literature before their Hebrew and Aramaic originals were discovered at Qumran.

In these texts, God's dwelling place, suspended above Mount Zion, is described as a heavenly garden, an expansive source of life encompassing mountains, trees of life, running water, fragrant trees, and holy angels. It is described also as a magnificent house, a heavenly sanctuary, whose expanse extends beyond the boundaries of time and space and encompasses the chariot and cherubim. The garden is linked to the place from which life flows and to the source of eternal blessing, a place subject to no earthly temporal flaws and in which the holy angels serve. The house (Temple) is connected to a sacred and pure place, situated beyond the bounds of time and space. The Divine is present there and death has no dominion over either the garden or the house. In both, the Divine Presence is connected to various traditions surrounding the chariot of the cherubim, whose first representation in a cultic context is as "two cherubim of gold" with outstretched wings, mounted on the cover of the Ark of the Covenant in the desert sanctuary, and as standing in the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple.[22]

The terrestrial Temple is the focal point for maintaining the sacred cycle of life and for preserving eternal, cyclical time, connected to the weekly and quarterly cultic cycles maintained by the assigned groups of priests who bring the fixed sacrifices and burn incense on a fixed cycle corresponding to the cycles of song described in the Psalms Scroll found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[23] God's celestial sanctuary is the Garden of Eden, while the Temple is the terrestrial one, the sacred mountain chosen by God for His dwelling place within His Land; the two sanctuaries are linked by cosmographic, mythic, mystic, and liturgical traditions.[24]

The terrestrial sanctuary is described at the beginning of the Book of Jubilees, where it is explicitly linked to Mount Zion. After the giving of the Torah, as Moses stands on Mount Sinai, God's mountain, God depicts for him the future in which the Temple will be created on Mount Zion, whose sanctity is given threefold mention:

> And I shall build my *sanctuary* (*miqdash*) in their midst, and I shall dwell with them. And I shall be their God and they will be My people truly and rightly … until My *sanctuary* is built in their midst forever and ever. And the Lord will appear in the sight of all. And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon **Mount Zion** forever and ever. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy … until the *sanctuary of the Lord* is created in Jerusalem upon **Mount Zion**.[25]

The Book of Jubilees also asserts that Mount Zion, along with the Garden of Eden and Mount Sinai, is one of the three or four places in which God dwells.[26] The author states explicitly, describing Noah's knowledge about the portion of Shem: "And he knew that the Garden of Eden was the Holy of Holies and the dwelling of the Lord. And Mount Sinai (was) in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion (was) in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other" (Jub. 8.19–20).

The Garden of Eden, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion correspond to the foci of priestly myth and its seven protagonists who transcend the boundaries of heaven and earth: Enoch and Melchizedek (Garden of Eden); Moses and Aaron (Mount Sinai); and Abraham, Isaac, and David (Mount Zion). The Garden of Eden is the heavenly "Holy of Holies," the place of the cherubim and angels and the abode of the man who attained immortality, known as Enoch son of Jared, the founder of priesthood, who was assumed into heaven in the 1/1 month, (the first of the first month, Alef Nisan [Exod. 12.2]) on the day that the calendar commenced.[27] He was the first to burn incense in the heavenly Temple and the first to master reading, writing, and counting. It was he who brought the calendar of Sabbaths and seasons from heaven to earth.[28] A further individual of crucial importance in priestly myth resided in the Garden of Eden: Melchizedek the King of Shalem, the son of Enoch's great-grandson, on whom it was said in the Melchizedek Scroll in Qumran[29] that he will be a high priest on Mount Zion. According to the tradition recorded in the concluding chapters of 2 Enoch, Melchizedek, priest of God Most High, was taken to the Garden of Eden and "kept there" so as to transmit to Abraham and his descendants the ancient priestly tradition going back to Enoch.[30]

Mount Zion is associated with "the place of Araunah," the site from which Enoch was transported heavenward in order to learn and bequeath the tradition of the solar calendar (2 Enoch, chapters 16–23), as well as the site on which his son, Methuselah, was consecrated as a priest and offered sacrifices on the altar upon the return of his father from heaven. The place of Araunah is the site of the angelic revelation to David, where it was disclosed that the Temple will be built on Mount Zion.[31]

Transformation and Appropriation of Holy Place and Holy Time in Early Christianity

The Book of Jubilees explicitly associates Mount Zion with the Binding of Isaac, which it places in the middle of the first month—that is, the time of the future Passover holiday.[32] Likewise it associates a sacred time called "the feast of the Lord" with the time of the Passover holiday and the lamb offered in sacrifice. It thereby calls to mind a religious tradition, later than that of Jubilees by more than two centuries, that uses that place, that time, and the story of a human sacrificial offering as the background for a founding story of sacred time, sacred

place, and sacred memory. I refer, of course, to the Crucifixion of Jesus, "the lamb of God," at the paschal festival, in the midst of the first month, connected to Mount Zion.

Within Christian tradition, there is a significant departure from, as well as an intertwining of, several traditions regarding the burnt offering, the lamb, the Binding of Isaac, Passover, and Mount Zion. Using a typological mode of interpretation that regards past events as a mirror reflecting the future, the Christians identified Jesus as "the bound lamb" on Mount Zion and as the paschal sacrifice—that is, they identified the crucified one as the lamb given as a burnt offering instead of Isaac, and they set the fifteenth of Nisan as the time of the crucifixion.[33] While the biblical Passover, at the midpoint of the first month, is regarded in Jubilees as the time of Isaac's Binding, in Christian tradition it prefigures the Crucifixion at Passover, and Jesus corresponds allegorically to both Isaac and to the bound lamb, *agnus dei*, the lamb of God. According to legends about Isaac's Binding, Isaac was sacrificed, died, taken up to the Garden of Eden, and returned from there when he was healed.[34] Similarly, Jesus, once crucified, entered the celestial Temple or the Garden of Eden, and his terrestrial symbol, the lamb, stood opposite the Garden of Eden on Mount Zion: "Then I looked, and there was the Lamb, standing on Mount Zion!"[35]

In some verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mount Zion is removed from terrestrial geography and transformed into part of the sacred tapestry of Christian tradition: "But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem …"[36] In Christian tradition, Mount Zion, the sacred place, becomes the site where the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles on Pentecost, as described in Acts 2.1–4.

The relationship between the Jewish and Christian traditions during the first centuries of the Common Era has been described as one of mutual rejection and mutual acceptance.[37] An example of this process is provided by the transformations in the tradition concerning Mount Zion. At the present, Jews identify Mount Zion with Old Jerusalem's upper city; but this notion is Christian, reflecting the wish to annul the Temple Mount's sanctity and to transfer it to the mountain on which the tomb of King David, the prototype of Jesus, is traditionally located.[38] Jews who regard Jerusalem's upper city as Mount Zion are oblivious of the fact that originally Mount Zion was the name of the Temple Mount itself.

The Dispute over Holy Time and Holy Place

The rabbinic tradition, consolidated in the centuries that followed the destruction of the Second Temple and the Bar Kokhba Rebellion (132–35 CE), stands in contrast to the priestly tradition that united holy time and holy place, or the solar priestly calendar and the tradition of the chariot of the cherubim on Mount Zion. Rabbinic tradition suppressed Mount Zion's name, declined to maintain the many biblical-priestly foundational

traditions which located central events on it, and discarded the tradition regarding Enoch and Melchizedek and their relations to the solar calendar and Mount Zion.

The rabbinic tradition likewise obliterated the idea that Mount Zion was the sacred site of Isaac's Binding and adopted the biblical Land of Moriah as an alternative site lacking prominent priestly associations. It even adopted a new calendar, replacing the biblical-priestly calendar, said to have been brought down from the heavens by Enoch. In this ancient priestly calendar the year began on the first day of the first month, the month of Aviv (or Nisan). That was the day on which Enoch was taken to Paradise to study the calendar.[39] The first month was associated with Passover, the festival of redemption and the time of Isaac's Binding. The rabbis' new lunar calendar, on the other hand, began the year on the first day of the seventh month, the month of Tishri—the day, according to rabbinic tradition, on which Enoch was killed by God.[40] Rabbinic tradition also moved the time of Isaac's Binding to the month of Tishri—the month associated with the New Year festival (*Rosh ha-Shanah*), a holiday not mentioned as such in the Torah or the Scrolls.[41]

What accounts for these far-reaching changes in sacred time, sacred place, and sacred memory? Were they made by the rabbis only vis-à-vis Christianity, which transferred Mount Zion to a new place (today's Mount Zion) and connected it to the "Lamb of God" and to the ancient time of Isaac's Binding at Passover? Or were they made also vis-à-vis the ancient priestly tradition, which had maintained its hegemony through the First-Temple Zadokite priestly dynasty down to the Hasmonean period?

The struggle by the Zadokite priestly tradition to retain its standing during the Hasmonaean and early rabbinic periods is the struggle otherwise known as that between Sadducees and Pharisees—a conflict not always fully understood. The Sadducees are "the Zadokite priests and their allies," whose writings appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As the source of their authority, they look to the biblical tradition assigning the high priesthood to Aaron's descendants in a direct line to the end of the biblical canon,[42] and to traditions related to angels, the world of the celestial chariot and a calendar based on a fixed solar year. The Pharisees, who interpreted the Torah through the use of sovereign human power and ancestral tradition, are those who shaped a social order distinct from the priestly way of life and pre-calculated calendar. They and the rabbis reckoned time according to a new lunar calendar that does not fix in advance the number of days in a year or any particular month. As noted, the priestly calendar maintained by the Zadokites was connected to Enoch son of Jared, who had been taken up to heaven from the Place of Araunah, on Mount Zion, on the first of the month of Nisan; the Pharisee calendar, which began on the first of the month of Tishri, was not linked to a particular place or person and lacked all support in biblical tradition, which consistently counts Nisan as the first month.[43]

Christians associated some of the priestly tradition's heroes—the immortal Enoch and Melchizedek, who breached the boundaries of time and space and dwelled in the

holy of holies, the Garden of Eden—with Jesus, who came to be regarded as immortal. This too may have led to the rabbinical rejection of the priestly tradition involving the heavenly sanctuary and the chariot, and the Garden of Eden "facing" Mount Zion. One may assume that the dispute between Sadducees and Pharisees over the time of the Festival of Shavu'ot—the central festival in the priestly covenant tradition as reflected in Jubilees and in the Rule of the Community—led to the sages' rejection of association of Shavu'ot with the tradition of the chariot and with the renewal of the covenant. And it may be inferred as well that the new role assumed by Shavu'ot in the Christian tradition as Pentecost—the time when the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles—and as the renewal of the covenant that took place on Mount Zion according to later tradition, is what brought about its displacement from the rabbinic tradition.

It is almost certain that the disagreement over the holy place and holy time predates the rise of Christianity. From the time the Second Temple was destroyed and the terrestrial center ceased to be a meaningful sacred site, various dislocations took place in the Jewish world and outside it. During the first centuries CE, priestly groups called Descenders to the Chariot produced the *Heykhalot* literature focused on the seven eternal, heavenly sanctuaries that preserve the glory of the destroyed terrestrial Temple. The celestial protagonist of this literature is Enoch son of Jared, the hero of the priestly tradition, who resides in the Garden of Eden or Garden of Truth, "facing Mount Zion." The literature carries on the tradition of the chariot and the cherubim situated in the seven heavenly sanctuaries, a tradition that began with texts written after the destruction of the First Temple and continued in the literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which connected the tradition of the chariot to the Festival of Shavu'ot and to Ezekiel's vision of the chariot.

The rabbis, for their part, forbade study of the account of the chariot[44] and disallowed use of Ezekiel's vision of the chariot as the prophetic reading for Shavu'ot.[45] They thereby declined to direct attention to the world of the sacred, a heavenly expanse whose earthly embodiment is called Zion. In contrast to the priests and prophets who excelled in their praise for Mount Zion and the mythic and mystical dimensions associated with it, the sages neutralized the priestly-mystical "chariot of the cherubim" dwelling place tradition and denigrated its hero. In their version of events, Enoch son of Jared—Metatron, the celestial High Priest,[46] the hero of the priestly solar calendar—was displaced from his celestial dwelling in the Garden of Truth facing Mount Zion and struck with sixty pulses of fire;[47] Enoch is also spoken of disparagingly in *Targum Onqelos* on Gen. 5.24 and in *Genesis Rabba* sec. 25. In these rabbinical texts his eternal righteous life in Paradise attested widely in the priestly tradition, was exchanged with punishment, humiliation, and death in the rabbinic tradition.

Moreover, the sages transformed the desolate Mount Zion, on which the Temple no longer stood, into"the mountain of the house" (*Har ha-Bayit*) on which no house any

longer stood, thus accentuating the empty void. Having eliminated the word "sanctuary" or "temple" from the site's name, they prohibited public discussion of the chariot of the cherubim that had stood in it.[48] Though listing the cultic recollections associated with the lost Temple, they did so using the past tense. Yet, they forbade directing attention to the heavenly counterpart of the Temple situated in the Garden of Eden. Even though the celestial temple continued to operate in the realm of the chariot and of the angels and to figure in the ramified Enoch literature and in the poetic world of the *Heykhalot* and *Merkavah* literature that developed in parallel to the Mishnah and the Talmud,[49] the sages shied away from involvement with it.

Their opposition was certainly nourished to a substantial degree by the fact that in the early centuries CE, the Christians transformed Mount Zion into an aspect of their myth, connected to the Lamb of God, the Binding, and the Crucifixion.[50] The Christians likewise depicted Jesus as a high priest[51] and as a priest to the Most High God on the pattern of Melchizedek,[52] situated in the celestial temple.[53] Jesus is also associated with Enoch son of Jared, the founder of the priesthood who serves as heavenly high priest offering incense in the Temple in the Garden of Eden, and with his great-grandson Melchizedek, described as a priest dwelling forever in the Garden of Eden.[54]

The priestly traditions reviewed above that connected holy place (Mount Zion as the place of the altar of the Binding and the place of the chariot in the Temple Mount), with holy time (the 364-day calendar kept in the Temple by the priestly watch) and with holy memory of a priestly dynasty starting with Enoch who brought the solar calendar from heaven and continued with Melkizedek who officiated as high priest on Mount Zion, reflect a set of alternative memories to those that coalesced in rabbinic thought. The latter, which gained hegemony within the Jewish world following the destruction of the Temple, blurred the biblical vision of the sacred Mount Zion and the associated mystical-priestly memory related to the chariot, the Garden of Eden, the navel of the earth, the Binding, Enoch, Melchizedek, and the 364-day solar calendar. The rabbinical circles preferred Mount Moriah, lunar calendar, and the seventh month to Mount Zion, solar calendar, and the first month. Alternative memories of the priestly mystical tradition from before the Common Era linked these motifs with the mystical *Heykhalot* literature that was written after the destruction of the Temple. This literature included Enoch-Metatron, seven heavenly sanctuaries, chariot tradition, solar calendar, and angelic liturgy that were supressed by the rival rabbinic tradition. Some parts of the chariot tradition associated with Mount Zion, the Binding in the middle of the first month, and Melkizedek as eternal priest were continued within Christian tradition.

Notes

* This article is an abbreviated version of a longer monograph that has been published in Hebrew in *Eretz Israel* 28: *The Memorial Volume for Teddy Kollek* (2008), pp. 1–13. A full version was also published in English in *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. David Capes, April DeConik, Helen Bond, and Troy Miller (Waco, TX, 2007), pp. 277–302, 439–49.

1 Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1978); idem, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago, 1982); *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housely (New York, 1991).

2 On cosmography in religious thought, see Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1954), esp. pp. 6–17. On the relationship between mountains and cosmic mountains on which heaven and earth commingle and on which the deity makes a terrestrial appearance, see Ronald E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia, 1965); Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1972).

3 On David's tomb, whose identity as such developed first in the Christian tradition and was later adopted by the Jewish one, see Israel J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley, 2006), pp. 23–24; Ora Limor, "The Origins of a Tradition: King David's Tomb on Mount Zion," *Traditio* 44 (1988), 453–62.

4 For background on the nature of the controversy over sacred time and sacred space within the Jewish world of the second century BCE, see Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, trans. David Louvish (Oxford, 2004).

5 2 Chron. 3.1.

6 Gen. 22.2.

7 2 Sam. 24.16–18, 25.

8 Mount Zion is mentioned hundreds of times in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Zechariah, Psalms, and Lamentations.

9 Jub. 8.19.

10 Jub. 18.14–16.

11 Jub. 18.13.

12 2 Sam. 5.7; 1 Kings 8.1; 1 Chron. 11.5; 2 Chron. 5.2 ; Isa. 8.:18.

13 2 Kings 19.31 and parallel in Isa. 37.32. Cf. Jon D. Levenson, "The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience," in *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible through the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Green (New York, 1986), pp. 32–61, quote on p. 47.

14 Isa. 35.10; cf. 51.11 and see also 52.1, 7; 4.3–5.

15 Joel 4.17; cf. 4.21—"And the Lord shall dwell in Zion"; 3.5—"for there shall be a remnant on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, as the Lord promised."

16 Joel 2.1; cf. 3.5 and 4.16.

17 Lam. 5.18; cf. Jer. 26.18; *Lam*. Rab. 5.18 (Buber 80a); *Sifrei Devarim* 43 (Finkelstein, p. 95); b. Mak. 24b.

18 Isa. 64.9–10.

19 *1Macc. 4.26-40, especially vss. 36, 37, 38*; cf. 5.54; 7.33.

20 See, e.g., "Have mercy, our God, on us and on Israel Your people; on Jerusalem Your city; on Zion, dwelling place of Your glory; on Your sanctuary and Your habitation." (From the blessing *Nahem*, added to the standard prayers on the Ninth of Av, the day commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples).

21 On the meaning of this term, see Community Rule 1.19–21; 2.2–4; 5.1–3, 5, 8; Damascus Document 3.1, 4–21; 3.4; 5.5. Except otherwise noted, quotations from the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from Géza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York, 1997). On the significance of the tie between the Zadokite priests and the Sadducees, see Yaacov Sussman, "The History of *Halakhah* and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on MMT," in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD)X, Qumran Cave 4. V*, ed. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell (Oxford, 1994), pp. 179–200. On the significance of this priestly context in the literary history of Jewish mysticism, see Elior, *The Three Temples* (above, n. 4), pp. 24–28.

22 1 Kings 6.23–35; 8.6–7.

23 On the Psalms Scroll from Qumran and the cycle of songs associated with the cycle of sacrifices, see James A. Sanders, "The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11(11QPs) col. xxvii:2–11," in *DJD IV* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 48, 91–93. Cf. Elior, *The Three Temples*, pp. 50–55.

24 See Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: a Critical Edition* (Atlanta, 1985), Introduction; cf. Martha Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, The Book of Watchers and the Wisdom of Ben Sira," in *Sacred Places* (above, n. 4), pp. 63–78. See also Lea Mazor, "The Two-direction Connection between Garden of Eden and the Sanctuary," *Shenaton le-heqer ha-mizrah ha-qadum* 13 (2002), 5–42 (Hebrew); Jacques T. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4–3:24 in the Book of Jubilees," in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden, 1999), pp. 63–94.

25 Jub. 1.17, 28–29 (emphasis supplied).

26 Jub. 4.26.

27 Gen. 5.21–24; Jub. 4.23. 2 Enoch 19.2 (Hebrew version); *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1983–85, vol. 1, chap. 68; henceforth: Charlesworth).

28 See 1 Enoch chapters 1–36; Jub. 4.17–20. See James Vanderkam, *Enoch—A Man for Generations* (Columbia, SC,

1995) and cf. Rachel Elior, "You Have Chosen Enoch From among Men," in *On Creation and Re-creation in Jewish Thought: Festschrift for Joseph Dan*, ed. Rachel Elior and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 15–64 (Hebrew).

29 11Q13. *DJD XXIII* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 221–42

30 2 Enoch 23, 25–45, 52–63 in *The Apocrypha*, ed. Avraham Kahana, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv 1937) (Hebrew; henceforth: Kahana); 71 J:17–23, 28–37; 72A+J:1–6 in Charlesworth, vol. 1.

31 2 Sam. 24.16–25; 1 Chron. 21.15, 18–30.

32 Jub. 18.13.

33 On the fourteenth of Nisan as the time of the Crucifixion, see John 19:31, stating that it took place on Friday, the fourteenth of Nisan, and the eve of Passover, when the paschal sacrifice was offered. On that time in the early eastern Christian tradition and on the time of the Crucifixion on a Friday that fell on the fifteenth of Nisan in the three synoptic gospels, see Yuval, *Two Nations* (above, n. 3), pp. 60–61, 210, 229. On identification of the paschal sacrifice with Jesus, the lamb of God, see ibid., p. 73. During the fourth and fifth centuries, the descent of the Holy Spirit on Jesus' apostles on Pentecost (Acts 2,1–4) was associated with Mount Zion, as implied by Christian pilgrims in late antiquity; see John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), p.191.

34 See Shalom Spiegel, "From the Legends about Isaac's Binding: a *piyyut* by R. Ephraim of Bonn on the Slaughter and Resurrection of Isaac," in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1950), pp. 471–547 (Hebrew); idem, *The Last Trial: On the Legends and Lore of the Command to Abraham to Offer Isaac as a Sacrifice*, translated with an introduction by Judah Goldin; new preface by Judah Goldin (Woodstock, VT, 1993). Spiegel cites legends telling of Abraham actually killing Isaac; and while those legends, derived from tannaitic *midrash*, postdate the New Testament, it is possible that they preserve earlier traditions. Yuval takes a an opposing view, maintaining that these legends represent a Jewish effort to present Isaac as a substitute for Jesus as one who is killed and resurrected; Yuval, *Two Nations*, p. 57, n. 62.

35 Rev. 14.1. Quotations from the New Testament are from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible*, 1989.

36 Heb. 12.22–24.

37 Yuval, *Two Nations*, p. 23.

38 Ibid., p. 38; Ora Limor, "Christian Sacred Space and the Jew," in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 55–77; Yaron Z. Eliav, *God's Mountain: The Temple Mount in Time, Place and Memory* (Baltimore, 2005).

39 2 Enoch 19.2 in Kahana; 68,1 in Charlesworth, vol. 1.

40 *Tg. Onq.* on Gen 5.24; Gen. Rab. 25.

41 Views are divided on the transfer of Isaac's Binding from Nisan to Tishri. See Philip R. Davies, "Passover and the Dating of the Aqedah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30, 1 (1979), 59–67.

42 See 1 Chron. 5.27–41; 6.35–38; Ezra 7.1–5; cf. Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood* (Oxford and New York, 2000).

43 cf. Exod. 12.2.

44 T. Hag. 2.1.

45 M. Meg. 4.8.

46 Num. Rab. sec. 12.

47 Hag. 15b

48 M. Hag. 2.1.

49 On the *Heykhalot* literature, including 3 Enoch, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1954), pp. 68ff; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1960), pp. 41–42; 3 (Hebrew) Enoch, translated by Philip Alexander, in Charlesworth, vol. 1, pp. 223–316; David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*, (Tübingen, 1988). Cf. Rachel Elior, *Heykhalot Literature and Merkavah Tradition: Ancient Jewish Mysticism and Its Sources* (Tel Aviv, 2004) (Hebrew).

50 Rev. 14.

51 Heb 3.1; 4.14; 10.21.

52 Heb. 5.5–6; 6.20; 7.1.

53 Heb. 7–8.

54 2 Enoch 23.24–26 in Kahana; cf. chapters 68–72 in Charlesworth, vol. 1.