

TEMPLE MYSTICISM AND THE TEMPLE OF MEN

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A number of sectarian texts presuppose a union between the earthly temple of men and the heavenly sanctuary, between the officiating members of the *Yahad* below and the angels above. As a liturgical unity the *Yahad* is an earthly counterpart of the heavenly sanctuary where God's angels stand in priestly ministry before the heavenly king. The thesis of this paper is that these concepts represent adaptations of earlier temple theology from the pre-Maccabean temple. An investigation of this background may illuminate how ideas of an earthly and heavenly temple were formative in the crystallizing of sectarian identity.

I. *Foundational Texts from the First Temple Period*

God's heavenly entourage is described in early mountain theophanies, usually connected with the Sinai event. According to Deut 33:2, "YHWH came from Sinai, and dawned over them from Seir, he shone forth from Mount Paran, He came with myriads of holy ones."¹ Similar theophanies are found in Judg 5:4–5; Ps 68:8–9; Hab 3:3. According to Deuteronomy 33, the Lord comes with myriads of holy ones, i.e. angels. Ps 68:18 describes YHWH accompanied by myriads of angelic chariots, while Judges 5:20 portrays the stars as heavenly beings fighting with Israel against her enemies. These theophany descriptions are so vivid and visually drawn that their origin may be sought among early Israelite mystical seers visualizing the Sinai event.

The early Sinai tradition also knows of God's heavenly abode. Exod 24:9–11 preserves the memory of Moses, Aaron and his two sons, and seventy elders of Israel, dining with and receiving a vision of the God of Israel, enthroned above a sapphire floor (cf. רָקִיעַ 'firmament' in Ezekiel and later tradition): "God did not raise his hand against these leaders of the Israelites; they saw God, and they ate and drank." Here

¹ English translations usually follow the NIV.

there is no heavenly entourage, only a vision of God and his throne. As texts contained in the Torah, Exodus 24 and Deuteronomy 33 would carry particular importance for Second Temple visionaries and theologians.

In the Ancient Near East the temple could be perceived as a symbolic mountain and God's abode. Thus, biblical authors transferred traditions and epithets connected to the Sinai revelation to Zion, God's elect place of dwelling. Theophanies connected to Zion in Ps 50:1–4 and Ps 68 (vv. 17, 25–30, 36) are examples of this theological transfer. Subsequently the Priestly Source recognizes a visible revelation of the cloud of God's glory at sacred moments in the Jerusalem temple, modelled upon God's theophanic presence at Sinai (Exod 40:34; 1 Kgs 8:10–11, cf. Exod 24:16; Isa 6:4).

Isaiah 6 bridges priestly and prophetic traditions. In Isaiah's vision earthly and heavenly temple converge. The Jerusalemite Isaiah, his vision and subsequent legitimating report presuppose basic elements of the priestly tradition at home in this temple.² We encounter God's abode in the temple, the enthroned Lord surrounded by angelic beings, angelic praise, smoke filling the temple, the incense altar, man's impurity and need for cleansing and atonement. According to Isaiah 6, priestly procedures go on in the heavenly temple.

Texts with a northern background demonstrate that the tradition of the enthroned God surrounded by his angelic entourage and the heavenly temple is at home also in the northern kingdom. Key texts here are Psalm 68 with its roots in the north before it was adapted to the Jerusalemite tradition after the fall of Samaria,³ and Mika ben Yimla's vision of the the enthroned Lord surrounded by his heavenly

² Israeli scholars such as Haran, Weinfeld, Hurwitz, and Schwartz have for decades viewed (the main elements of) P as a pre-exilic source (while the *public edition* may be post-exilic). Israel Knohl has demonstrated that parts of the Priestly Code should be dated before Isaiah, see *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). For a similar early dating of P see J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 13–35. In contrast, C. Nihan upholds a Persian dating for the Priestly Source, cf. *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch* (FAT 2.25; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). The Ketef Hinnom amulet containing a priestly blessing from ca. 650 BCE demonstrates the antiquity of elements of the priestly tradition, see G. Barkay, M. Lundberg, A. Vaughn, and B. Zuckerman, "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom. A New Edition and Evaluation," *BASOR* 334 (2004): 41–71.

³ Cf. S. Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 497; F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 250.

host in 1 Kings 22. However, these ideas are no Israelite inventions. Rather, biblical authors adapted these concepts from a wider Near Eastern tradition.

II. *Exilic and Post-Exilic Texts*

In Isa 40:1–9, the prologue to the Isaianic Book of Consolation, angelic voices commissioned by the God of Israel are being heard. If Ulrich Berges is right in associating Deutero-Isaiah with a group of Levitic singers rather than an individual, Isaiah 40–55 would be another example of the convergence of priestly and prophetic traditions.⁴ In this context it should be remembered that biblical and post-biblical sources assign a central role in temple liturgies to the Levites.⁵

According to the Priestly Source (Exod 25:9, 40), the tabernacle is built according to the תבנית ('model'/structure') that was shown to Moses on the mountain. For later tradition (see 1 Chr 28:19; Heb 8:5; Acts 7:44 and cf. the eschatological temple in 11QT^a XXIX, 7–10), תבנית is not an architectural drawing or blueprint, but refers to a vision of the heavenly temple given to Moses that serves as a 'model' for the earthly sanctuary.⁶ Given this background liturgical hymns in the earthly temple could easily be linked to the song of the angels in its heavenly counterpart.

⁴ U. Berges, *Jesaja 40–48: Übersetzt und ausgelegt von Ulrich Berges* (HThKAT, Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 38–43.

⁵ A. Büchler points to a number of sources relating to the role of the Levites in temple liturgy: 1 Chr 23:4; 2 Chr 19:11; Sirach 50, 1 Macc 4:36; 6:54; Ezra 6:16–18; 3 Ezra 4:47–58; *Ant.* 11.59–63; 20.216–218; *m. Middot* 2:5–6; *m. Sukkah* 5:4; *m. Tamid* 7:3; *m. Bikkurim* 3:3; *m. 'Arakin* 2:2, 7, cf. A. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jerusalemischen Tempels* (Wien: Verlag der Israel.-theol. Lehranstalt, 1895), 118–32. I would add *m. Pesahim* 5:7 to his list. According to H. Gese, non-levitic temple singers were included into the levitic guilds during the early Second Temple period, cf. "Zur Geschichte der Kultsänger am zweiten Tempel," in *Vom Sinai zum Zion: Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie* (München: Kaiser, 1974), 147–58.

⁶ M. Wilcox, "'According to the Pattern (tbnyt)...': Exodus 25,40 in the New Testament and early Jewish Thought," *RevQ* 49–52 (1988): 647–56. A. Hurowitz argues that *tabnit* refers to an architectural drawing in Exodus 25 and 1 Chr 28:11f., whereas 1 Chr 28:19 depicts the earthly temple as a replica of the heavenly sanctuary, see *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 168–70. Hurowitz points to the related image of God as builder of the cosmic, eternal temple in Exod 15:17 and Ps 78:69 (*ibidem*, 332–7).

A number of biblical psalms testify to the mystical presence of the divine in the temple. Ps 22:4 depicts the Lord enthroned over the cherubim in the Holy of Holies (cf. Exod 25:22; 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16), presiding over the praises of Israel. This verse could provide legitimation for earthly temple singers envisioning themselves in communion with God's heavenly throne. The יהוה מלך-hymns (Pss 93; 96–99) describe the enthroned Lord marching forth to judge his enemies and redeem his people, comparable to the early theophany descriptions of God from Sinai. At this stage of the tradition the place of God's appearance would be Zion and the temple.

Further, some Second Temple psalms (e.g. Pss 11:7; 25:14, cp. Prov 3:32) demonstrate a charismatic piety where the singer may gaze the face of the Lord and be taken into his intimate council, the סוד אלהים that was previously the prerogative of elect prophets (1 Kings 22; Jer 23:18, 22).⁷ According to F. Nötscher, 'seeing the face of the Lord' reflects an intense seeking of God in the temple, not a visionary experience. The texts surveyed above, however, may suggest that Levites singing these psalms could indeed entertain a hope of visionary experience.⁸ Indeed, Ps 11:4 understands the temple below as an earthly antetype to a heavenly archetype.⁹ Against this background a vision of the above for the pious one below is easily understood.

III. *Post-Biblical Texts*

Priestly and levitic tradition continue to treasure the option of divine revelation to individuals in the temple. Josephus reports revelations to the high priest Jaddus at the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant.*

⁷ F. Nötscher, "Das Angesicht Gottes Schauen" in *biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (Würzburg: C. J. Becker, 1924; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 53–118.

⁸ J. Levenson describes the expectations of pilgrims and those seeking asylum in the temple who could be forced to stay there for years: "The apogee of the spiritual experience of the visitor to the Temple was a vision of God... Psalm 11 asserts a reciprocity of vision: YHWH, enthroned in His Temple, conducts a visual inspection of humanity, and those found worthy are granted a vision of his 'face'," cf. "The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience," in *Jewish Spirituality* (ed. A. Green; London: SCM, 1989), I: 32–61, here 43. Cf. v. 7 ישר יחזו פנימו "the upright shall gaze his face." These singers would certainly take the promise of Isa 33:17 ("Your eyes will see the king in his beauty.") to heart.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 38f.

11:326–8) and to Jochanan Hyrcanus (*Ant.* 13:282–3).¹⁰ Rabbinic tradition refer to an angel appearing to the high priest in the sanctuary during the Yom Kippur liturgy.¹¹ Three Lucan texts can also be mentioned: Zechariah's encounter with the angel (Luke 1:5–23), the story about Simon and Anna in the temple (Luke 2:25–38), and Stephen's vision of the enthroned Son of Man (Acts 7:55f.). Stephen's vision probably took place in *lishkat hagazit*, located in the temple precincts or its immediate surroundings. The Book of Revelation reflects visionary access to the heavenly sanctuary, although in this case the seer is distanced from the earthly temple. It also presupposes levitic traditions about the union between worshippers below and the heavenly sanctuary above since the angelic hymns in chapters 4–5 were probably used in earthly liturgies in Asia Minor.¹²

Qumran texts referring to a union between earthly and heavenly subjects¹³ probably also originated with temple circles. The priestly writings of Aramaic Levi and *Jubilees* conceive of a priestly ministry in unison with the angels. In ALD 6:5 Levi is told by Isaac, "You are near to God and near to all his holy ones." Similarly, *Jub.* 31:14 foresees that Levi will "serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones."¹⁴

¹⁰ R. Gnuse, "The Temple Theophanies of Jaddus, Hyrcanus, and Zechariah," *Biblica* 79 (1998): 457–72.

¹¹ See the tradition connected with Shimon the Righteous in *t. Sotah* 13:8; *y. Yoma* 5:2; *LevR* 21:12; *b. Yoma* 39b; *b. Menahot* 109b.

¹² T. Elgvin, "Priests on Earth as in Heaven. Jewish Light on the Book of Revelation," in *Echoes from the Caves* (ed. F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 257–78.

¹³ Cf. M. Weinfeld, "The Heavenly Praise in Unison," in *Festschrift für Georg Molin an seinem 75. Geburtstag* (ed. I. Seybold; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1983), 427–37, repr. in M. Weinfeld, *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (LSTS 54; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 45–52; *idem*, "The Angelic Song over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 131–57; E. G. Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 35; ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105; *eadem*, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 48; ed. E. G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47.

¹⁴ English translation from J. C. VanderKam, see *The Book of Jubilees: Translated by James C. VanderKam* (CSCO 511; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 204. Cf. the following remarks by Aschim, "These expressions establish a connection between the earthly cult, performed by Levi and his descendants, and the heavenly cult, performed by angels," A. Aschim, "Melchizedek and Levi," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Major Issues and New Approaches: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: IES,

The non-biblical hymns of 11QPsalm^a and 4QPsalm^f could derive from the pre-Maccabean temple. With the possible exception of the prose David's Composition that reflects the same 364-day calendar as *Jubilees*, the Enochic astronomical book and Yaḥad documents, these hymns do not demonstrate any sectarian characteristics. The Apostrophe to Zion in 11QPs^a and 4QPs^f envisages a future national redemption centred around Zion, which suggests an origin more likely before 164 BCE than the early Hasmonean period.¹⁵ The parallels with Zion hymns in Tobit 13 and Sirach 36 also point to the pre-Maccabean period.¹⁶

Further, two hymns in these scrolls specifically reflect the concept of a union between earthly and heavenly worshippers. In 11QPs^a Hymn to the Creator angelic powers surround God's throne in praise. As Chazon has shown, this hymn forges ideas from Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1–2 that prefigure later hekhalot traditions. In its theophanic description God marches forth accompanied by the tumult of mighty waters (as noted in Ezek 1:24). Angelic powers surround God's throne, and the threefold use of *qadosh* in the first strophe recalls the *trishagion* of Isa 6:3.¹⁷ Chazon demonstrates that the hymn's reworking of Jer 10:17

2000), 773–88, here 780. References to ALD are given according to J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹⁵ On this hymn see M. Morgenstern, "The Apostrophe to Zion—A Philological and Structural Analysis," *DSD* 14 (2007): 178–98; J. Strugnell and H. Eshel, "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaic Hebrew," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441–58. H. Eshel is critical of my early dating of Apostrophe to Zion (oral communication) and suggests that the *mem* and *nun* stichoi display a critical attitude towards misbehaviour in the temple that more likely reflects a period after 175 BCE: "Whom has righteousness ever destroyed, or escaped in iniquity? Man is tested according to his ways, and each repaid according to his needs." I struggle to see in these lines a reaction to serious flaws in the temple management. They express a common sapiential/deuteronomic theology.

¹⁶ The hymnic address to Zion (11QPs^a ApostrZion; Tob 13:8–18; *Pss. Sol.* 11) is a *novum* in Israelite psalmody in this period, see T. Elgvin and M. Hallermayer, "Schøyen ms. 5234: Ein neues Tobit-Fragment vom Toten Meer," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 451–61. Sirach 36:1–22 is probably a pre-Sirachide hymn (similar to 24:1–22; 51:1–12, 13–30) included in ben Sirā's book.

¹⁷ גדול וקדוש יהוה קדוש קדשים לדור ודור "Great and Holy are you Lord, holy among the holy ones from generation to generation" (translation my own). According to Chazon, "The Hymn's appropriation of Isa 6:3's angelic *trishagion* and its description of the angelic song imply that by reciting this Hymn, the human worshippers were joining the angels in praising God," E. G. Chazon, "The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85–96, here 94. On the links between the Hymn to the Creator and later synagogal liturgy, see Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song," 132–49.

(“*Blessed be he* who made the earth by his power, and established the world by his wisdom”), prefacing a description of God’s act of creation with *baruk*, shows a liturgical setting.¹⁸ Chazon does not hint at any *Sitz im Leben* of this hymn. As Isaiah 6, a base text for this hymn, merges the earthly and the heavenly temple, the most illuminating liturgical setting for the Hymn to the Creator would be the Jerusalem temple. The hymn describes the angels singing when they witnessed the act of creation. It is hardly possible that our singers would imagine the angels turning silent in the continuation.

Similar tunes are heard in 4Q88 (Apostrophe to Judah) where “heavens and earth give praise in unison.” This singer instructs the stars to join the jubilation of Judah at the festivals in the temple. The *Sitz im Leben* of this song was surely temple liturgy.

I would relate the origin and liturgical setting of all the non-biblical hymns in 11QPsalms^a and 4QPsalms^f to the pre-Maccabean temple. These compositions were probably authored in the period 300–180 BCE, perhaps too late to be included in one of the sub-collections that were combined into the growing biblical psalter in the third and second centuries.¹⁹

The sabbath liturgy contained in the pre-sectarian *Words of the Luminaries* also echoes the *trishagion* of Isaiah 6 as well as Ezekiel 1 and envisages heaven and earth praising the Creator (cf. 4Q504 1–2 VII). In the preserved text the root *qadosh* occurs twice, a possible third reference could be restored: “Give thanks...to his holy name forever...all the angels of the holy firmament, [from down below up] to the heavens, the earth and all its schemers, [praise his holy name, yeah, even the]great [abyss], Abaddon, the waters and all that is [in them, praise him]always[, the earth with]all its creatures, forever.” Among those participating in the choir are angels of the holy firmament (רְקִיעַ), a term echoing Ezekiel’s throne vision (1:22–26) and perhaps alluding to Exod 24:9–11. Divre Hameorot’s links with later

¹⁸ Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 91f.

¹⁹ Cf. H. Gese, “Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung des Psalters,” in *Vom Sinai zum Zion*, 159–67. These sub-collections may have been closed units long before the Psalter had reached its final stage of 150/151 psalms. In a forthcoming article A. Lange argues that 11QPs^a Plea for Deliverance is a fourth century psalm since 11Q5 XIX 15 אֵל תְּשַׁלֵּט בִּי שָׂטָן “Let no satan (demonic adversary) have dominion over me” is integrated into Levi’s prayer in the third century Aramaic Levi Document 3:9 (4Q213a 1 17) see “Satanic Verses: The Adversary in the Qumran Manuscripts and Elsewhere,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 35–48.

synagogal liturgy suggest a common Israelite setting for this liturgy. The most likely setting would be the Levitic liturgy in the temple.²⁰

Should we conceive of a temple *Sitz im Leben* (imaginary or real) also for the pre-Qumranic liturgy for morning and evening (4Q503 Daily Prayers)? Here the sons of the covenant sing praise in unison with the “troops of light” and “hosts of angels” and praise God for the regular renewal of the heavenly lights, similar to later synagogal liturgy.²¹ The angels are portrayed as testifying to the congregation on earth from their abode in the Holy of Holies.

I now turn to a composition that is neither hymnic, liturgical nor collective by nature. 4Q541 (4QapocrLevi^bar) should be considered extra-sectarian or pre-sectarian like other Aramaic texts from Qumran. Fragment 9 portrays an end-time priest whose teaching and words are like the words of heaven. Tested through trials, his (or: God’s) eternal sun will shine and its fire burn unto the ends of the earth. Although this priest is earthly, his ministry resonates with the heavenly realms. Such a description suggests a relation to priestly or Levitic circles that conceived of the officiating temple priest as being connected with the heavenly temple and the angels serving above.

A related tradition, evidenced in the Greek *Testament of Levi* 3:4–6; 5:1–2; 8:18–19 and Aramaic Levi 4:4–13, refers to the ascent of Levi to the heavenly realms.²² Moreover, Yahad texts that refer to the officiating high priest standing in the midst of angels in the heavenly sanctuary (cf. 1QSb III–IV,²³ the Self-Glorification Hymn) may have their roots in pre-Maccabean temple theology that conceived of a union between temple liturgy below and angelic priestly service above. The portrayal of the eschatological priest in the pre-sectarian 4Q541 pro-

²⁰ Rachel Elijor regards *Words of the Luminaries* as a sectarian document, disregarding the early date of one of the copies (ca. 150 BCE) and Chazon’s classification of this work as pre-sectarian, cf. Elijor, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford and Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004). Cf. E. Chazon, “Is *Divrei ha-me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (STDJ 10; ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden and Jerusalem: Brill and Magnes, 1992), 3–17.

²¹ Chazon, “Liturgical Communion with the Angels,” 97–8. Similar to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice 4Q503 presupposes a solar calendar of 364 days.

²² See Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 66–9.

²³ The blessing of the high priest in 1QSb that sees him serving among the angels may be the result of an adaptation of earlier (high-)priestly concepts on the part of the Yahad. A related rabbinic tradition judges the officiating high priest as more important than the angels: according to *y. Yoma* 5:2, neither angels nor the son of man are present in the Tent of Meeting on Yom Kippur, only the high priest and God.

vided the matrix that enabled a sectarian author to compose the ‘Self-Glorification Hymn’ modelled upon the Teacher who was understood as a priestly figure of the end-times.²⁴

We continue with another pre-sectarian text, partly hymnic by nature. 4Q301 (4QMyst^c?) is either a copy of Mysteries (so Lange), another edition of Mysteries (Tigchelaar), or a related writing drawing from the same pool of material (Elgvin). While Lange dates Mysteries to the mid-second century BCE, Tigchelaar and the present writer have argued that Mysteries should be located close to temple circles in the pre-Maccabean period (regardless of whether the four scrolls reflect one or two compositions).²⁵ 4Q301 combines didactic material and hymnic, hekhalot-like passages. I have argued that this scroll opened with a call to attention and two or three didactic columns.²⁶ On the second sheet the composition continues with hymnic material, a change evident in fragment 2b. This fragment opens with a series of rhetoric didactic questions and ends with references to praising with the angels: הללים[מ...] במלאכי “with/among angels of [...p]raising” (lines 6–7, while line 5 refers to those “seeking the presence of light, so that the luminaries [will shine upon you]). Scholars have noted ways in which fragment 3 displays similarities with later hekhalot texts.²⁷ It repeatedly praises God as the exalted and honoured one. He who reigns on earth is honoured by his holy people below, his holy and chosen community. Although the fragment does not explicitly mention angelic praise, its parallels with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice indicate that 4Q301 did not separate angelic praise from earthly doxol-

²⁴ Cf. C. Newsom’s discussion of the Teacher Hymns in *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 287–346.

²⁵ See A. Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel,” in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (BETHL 136; ed. A. Schoors; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 113–59; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1–4QMysteries,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Tradition* (BETHL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 69–88; T. Elgvin, “Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 51; ed. J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 67–87, here 78, n. 40.

²⁶ “4QMysteries^c: A New Edition,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel, and É. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 75–85.

²⁷ Cf. T. Elgvin et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 113, 117–19.

ogies. In a context of God's splendour and highness fragment 4 speaks about angels knowing the Lord.²⁸ Fragment 5 contains a description of the royal temple where God is surrounded by great light. This combination of didactic and hymnic material, of earthly and angelic praise, in 4Q301 again points to a priestly or Levitic setting.

We could further point to the detailed description of the gleaming divine chariot in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel^a (4Q385 6).²⁹ This passage belongs to a group of texts describing throne visions from the third and second centuries: *1 Enoch* 14, Daniel 7, and a passage from the Enochic *Book of Giants* (4Q530 2 II). The origin of the *Book of Watchers* is usually sought in scribal priestly or Levitic circles.³⁰ Thus, the vision of the divine throne in *1 Enoch* 14 shows how temple mysticism was still thriving in the third century.

Against the background of the biblical and post-biblical material surveyed here, one would expect to find liturgical material of the kind found in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and 4QBerakot in the Jerusalem temple rather than in peripheral sectarian sources. I therefore concur with those scholars who view the Sabbath Songs as a presectarian document.³¹ I would classify the Sabbath Songs as a pre-sectarian

²⁸ כּוֹל רוּחַ בִּינְתּוֹ should be interpreted "all the angels who have knowledge of him" rather than "every spirit of His discernment", thus *Qumran Cave 4*. XV, 20, 120. Cf. the use of בִּינְתּוֹ דַּעַת connected to praising angels in the sabbath songs (4Q405 23 II, 12) and Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song," 149–53.

²⁹ D. Dimant locates 4QPseudo-Ezekiel in priestly circles that were precursors of the Yaḥad, cf. "New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390," in *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21. March 1991* (2 vols.; STDJ 11; ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2: 405–448.

³⁰ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 67; M. E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479–92; B. G. Wright, "Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira," *SBLSP* 35 (1996): 133–49.

³¹ Thus, C. Newsom in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, vol. 4B. Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999). Newsom tends "to assume that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* originated outside of and probably prior to the emergence of the Qumran Community but was appropriated by the Qumran Community and influenced the composition of the sectarian texts, Berakot and Songs of the Sage" (5). Cf. Elgvin, "Priestly Sages?" 78, n. 40. P. Alexander takes the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice to be a Yaḥad adaptation of earlier tradition, cf. *The Mystical Texts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2006), 128–31. Alexander here follows the lead of scholars such as Maier and Gruenwald. See also C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2001) and Elior, *The Three Temples*.

levitic hymnal.³² The ascription לַמִּשְׁכִּיל in the introduction of each song probably signals an adaptation by the Yaḥad community.³³ Both the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and 4QDaily Prayers presuppose the 364-day calendar. They could only have been used as temple liturgy if this calendar was followed in the pre-Maccabean temple, as has been asserted by scholars such as Jaubert and VanderKam. Alternatively they could have been composed as ‘temple liturgies to be’ by oppositional levitic groups.

Based on biblical images, the concepts of the celestial sanctuary as the model and counterpart of the earthly one, of communion between heaven and earthly choirs, and human insight into angelic liturgies were part and parcel of the priestly temple milieu long before the crystallisation of the Yaḥad.

Most of us who are sceptical about the theory of the Righteous Teacher as the deposed high priest from 152 BCE acknowledge the presence of priests and Levites in the Yaḥad from the very beginning. The scrolls testify to the threefold division of the sons of Aaron, sons of Levi, and Israel. Based on my survey of pre-Yaḥad texts and traditions describing the heavenly temple it seems likely that deposed or exiled priests and Levites would by necessity experience a deep identity crisis after being deprived of the communion with the divine realms above. Onias IV tried to overcome this crisis by building another temple for YHWH in Leontopolis in Egypt and would find support for this in scriptures such as Isa 19:19–21. Such an option would be politically impossible in the Hasmonean state. For exiled Yaḥad priests and Levites the only feasible option would be a spiritualisation of their own temple theology. Therefore Yaḥad theology of the spiritual temple, the temple of men,³⁴ is no incidental development over time. Nor did it develop only as a substitute for the physical temple. It is rather a *theology*

³² The thematical and terminological links between the Sabbath Songs and the Hymn to the Creator support this assertion: God and his throne are surrounded by angelic beings. Terms that recur in both are the angels rejoice (רָגַן), holiness, praise (בְּרִיךְ), God’s greatness (גִּדְּלוֹ). The many parallels with the sabbath liturgy in the pre-sectarian *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504 1–2r VII) point in the same direction.

³³ לַמִּשְׁכִּיל is restored in the title of the sixth Sabbath Song in MasShirShabb I, 8. The main line of argument in this paper does not require a pre-sectarian dating of the sabbath songs.

³⁴ Cf. A. M. Schwemer, “Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran,” in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 45–118, here 74f.

of crisis that emanated from the Teacher and his followers, a theological reinterpretation by priests and Levites who desperately wanted to continue to sing in unison with their liturgical counterparts above.

Eschatological temple imagery in Yahad texts that are not mystical by nature may shed more light on our theme. The Teacher-Hymn containing flourishing Eden motives in 1QH^a XVI, 4–26 displays a rich garden symbolism that reflects biblical temple ideology. The Garden of God in Genesis 2–3 is related to the image of God’s temple, a common connection in Ancient Near Eastern symbolism.³⁵ Both garden and sanctuary are connected to waters of life and are guarded by cherubs. A number of biblical texts associate fountain and temple.³⁶ This tradition continues in the post-biblical period.³⁷ The land of Israel or the people within it can be designated as a garden or a planting.³⁸ But in a number of biblical and post-biblical texts ‘garden’ and related terms

³⁵ See D. E. Callender Jr., *Adam in Myth and History: Ancient Israelite Perspectives on the Primal Human* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 50–54; T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 111–38, 307–10, 372–7, 409–54, 466; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (New York: Seabury, 1978), 116–18; 140–43, 186–8 (cf. especially illustrations 153a, 185–191 and 256); M. Görg, “‘Wo lag das Paradies?’ Einige Beobachtungen zu einer alten Frage,” *Biblische Notizen* 2 (1977): 23–32; U. Berges, “Gottesgarten und Tempel: Die neue Schöpfung im Jesajabuch,” in *Gottesstadt und Gottesgarten: Zur Geschichte und Theologie des Jerusalemer Tempels* (ed. O. Keel and E. Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 69–98.

³⁶ Cf. Gen 2:6; 10–14; Isa 32:2; 33:20–21 (cf. Isa 35:6–11; 41:17–20); Ezekiel 47; Joel 4:18; Zech 13:1; 14:8; Pss 65:10; 46:5. Cf. B. Janowski, “Die heilige Wohnung des Höchsten. Kosmologische Implikationen der Jerusalemer Tempeltheologie,” in Keel and Zenger, eds., *Gottesstadt und Gottesgarten*, 24–68; J. C. VanderKam, “Adam’s Incense Offering (Jubilees 3:27),” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V–VI. A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute Haifa University Press, 2007), 141–156.

³⁷ 1 Enoch 13:7; 26:1–2; John 7:37–38; Rev 21:6; 22:1–2; 4 Ezra 5:25. On 1 Enoch 13 see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,” *JBL* 100 (1981): 575–600: “If Mount Hermon is the ladder from the heavenly sanctuary (12:4; 15:3) to earth, the waters of Dan stand in polar relationship to the gates of heaven and, through them, to the sanctuary and the throne of God.” (584).

³⁸ Isa 5:1–7; Jer 2:21; 31:28; 32:41; 42:10; Ezek 17:22–24; Amos 9:13–15; Ps 44:3. On the garden as image for salvation in the Bible, see W. Berg, “Israels Land, der Garten Gottes. Der Garten als Bild des Heiles im Alten Testament,” *BZ NF* 32 (1988): 35–51; G. M. Müller, *Gottes Pflanzung—Gottes Bau—Gottes Tempel: Die metaphorische Dimension paulinischer Gemeindeftheologie in I Kor 3,5–17* (Meisenheim: Josef Knecht, 1995), 67–80; cf. N. M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Schocken, 1966), 23–28.

(נטע, מטע, גפן, כרם) are associated with the temple.³⁹ When these images ‘overflow’ in selected circles in the second century BCE, as seen in *1 Enoch*, the Genesis Apocryphon, 4QInstruction,⁴⁰ and Yaḥad writings,⁴¹ they represent an eschatological interpretation of both Eden and the temple. One may note also that the pro-Hasmonean 1 Maccabees ascribes eschatological-messianic connotations to the reign of Simon (142–135 BCE): “He established peace in the land, and Israel knew great joy. Each man sat under his own vine and his own fig tree, and there was no one to make them afraid... He gave new splendour to the temple,” (14:11–15).⁴²

Few scholars see an intrinsic connection between the images garden, planting, fountain, and the Yaḥad’s self-understanding as a spiritual

³⁹ Genesis 2–3; Exod 15:17; 2 Sam 7:10; Isa 27:2–6; 51:3; 60:21; 61:3, 11; Jer 11:15–17; Ezek 28:12–19; 31:2–9; Ps 80:9–18; 84:7; *1 Enoch* 24–25; *Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo) 12:8–9; 1 Cor 3:9; 4 *Ezra* 5:23–26; *t. Sukkah* 3:15; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Isa 5:2.

⁴⁰ Cf. *1 Enoch* 10:3 (Greek text of Syncellus), 10:16, 84:6, 93:2.5, 93:10; 1QapGen XIV, 13f.; 4Q418 81 10–14; 4Q423 1–2 7.

⁴¹ See 1QS V, 5–7; VIII, 1–10; IX, 3–6; CD III, 19–4 1; 1QpHab XII, 1–6; 4Q164 (4QpIsa^d) fragment 1; 4Q174 (4QMidrEschat^a) 3 6–7. On the spiritual temple in the thinking of the Yaḥad, see O. Betz, “Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde,” *ZNW* 48 (1957): 49–77; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965), 1–46; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple* (Oxford: OUP, 1969), 36–8, 46–57; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 11–166; D. Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–89. מטע/מטע עולם recurs in sectarian literature as a designation for the remnant community; 1QS VIII, 5–6; XI, 8; 1QH^a XIV (VI), 15; XVI (VIII), 4–26. מטע/מטע is used as an image of the community in 1QH^a XVI (VIII), 5, 9, 20, 21; see also CD I, 7 שורש מטע. On the imagery of the eternal planting in Qumran literature and rabbinic tradition, see J. Licht, “The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance” in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Hekhal ha-Sefer, 1961), 1–27 [Hebrew]; D. Flusser, “He has Planted it [i.e. the Law] as Eternal Life in Our Midst,” *Tarbiz* 58 (1988–89): 147–53 [Hebrew]; D. Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT II, ii; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen/Maastricht Minneapolis: van Gorkum Fortress, 1984), 483–550, 539; S. Fujita, “The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” *JSJ* 7 (1976): 30–45; P. A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35.

⁴² The blessings of the land and the peaceful living under the vine and the fig tree refer to the promise in Mic 4:4. See also the description of Judah Maccabee in messianic terms according to 1 Macc 3:3–9, cf. T. Elgvin, *Mine lepper spiller fløyte: Jødiske bønner for Jesus* (Oslo: Verbum, 2003), 90–92, 144–5.

temple.⁴³ The hymn in 1QH^a XVI⁴⁴ demonstrates that ‘planting’ can designate both the physical temple as well as the community as temple.⁴⁵ Instead of those priests who triumphed illegitimately in ‘their planting’ (the physical temple, lines 9–10), God has established the new community of the Teacher as an ‘eternal planting’ (line 6),

⁴³ Fujita hints at it: “Of great significance in the Qumran metaphor of the plant is that the righteous plants (the sectarians) themselves are in a symbolic way considered a temple.” “The Metaphor,” 40. In his dissertation Fujita connects the source imagery in this *hodayah* with the temple source in Ezekiel 47, cf. *The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.* (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton, 1970), 279–84. Gärtner sees no logical connection between the combination of plant and temple images in some post-biblical texts (1QH^a XIV [VI], 15–18; 1QS XI, 6–9; 1 Enoch 24–26) and attributes it to “Jewish speculations on the subject of the rock of the temple and Paradise,” *The Temple and the Community*, 27–9. Klinzing comments “Es ist anzunehmen, dass Pflanzung und Tempel als eschatologische Vorstellungen miteinander verbunden wurden,” *Die Umdeutung des Kultus*, 55.

⁴⁴ J. H. Charlesworth presents a fine analysis of the first part of this hymn in “Jesus as ‘Son’ and the Righteous Teacher as ‘Gardener,’” in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 140–175. He notes that the Teacher is the ‘eternal fountain,’ his disciples are ‘trees of life,’ the community is the ‘garden’ and the ‘planting.’ Charlesworth acknowledges that the polemic against the “tre[es] of water who shall exalt themselves in their planting, but their roots do not reach the stream” (lines 9–10), refers to the present priests in the temple, opponents of the *Yahad*. But he does not recognize the temple symbolism inherent all through the *hodayah* through the repeated use of the images of garden, fountain and planting. On this hymn, see further J. R. Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four who Entered Paradise,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 457–78; M. C. Douglas, *Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1998), 144–170. In her analysis of this poem J. A. Hughes recognizes allusions to temple passages such as Ezek 47:1–12 and Isa 60:13, see *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 135–83. She concludes, “the poem... reflects how the community interpreted its identity in light of scripture.” Further, allusions to garden images in Second Isaiah “encourage the reader to simultaneously interpret the planting metaphor as the community of God’s righteous people, the garden of the Lord, and the temple sanctuary” (180, 168).

⁴⁵ The same is reflected in 1 Cor 3:5–17 “you are God’s planting, God’s building” (v. 9). Also, 4Q500 (4QpapBen) connects the planting with the temple, as it uses the phrases “your planting and the streams of your glory” with reference to the temple (4Q500 1 5). This text connects Isa 5:1–7 with the temple, as does *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Isa 5:2 (“And I built My sanctuary among them and also My altar I gave as atonement for their sins”); and *t. Sukkah* 3:15 (“And He built a tower in the midst of it—this is the sanctuary; And hewed out a vat therein—this is the altar; And also hewed out a vat therein—this is the pits.”) See Brooke, “4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 268–294; J. M. Baumgarten, “4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord’s Vineyard,” *JJS* 40 (1989): 1–6; *idem*, “Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (STDJ 15; ed. G. J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–10.

i.e. a temple that will last forever. This planting will have access to 'everflowing water' and become an 'everlasting fountain' (lines 7–8, 16). The community can be portrayed as 'trees of life' that are connected to the 'secret source' (lines 5f.), but also as the 'source of life' (מעין חיים, מקור חיים, lines 12, 14). This source is the eschatological source of the temple mount (Ezekiel 47; Zech 14:8, cf. 13:1) that now nourishes an exiled priestly community who sees itself as the eschatological temple in communion with the heavenly sanctuary and the officiating angels.⁴⁶

These non-mystical texts supplement the temple dimensions in the other texts discussed here. In the Yaḥad divine liturgy is eschatological. The Yaḥad had to conceive of itself as an end-time community of Aaron, Levi, and Israel, which continues to enjoy union with heavenly counterparts, and therefore confirms the Yaḥad's nature as a temple of men on earth. Angelic liturgies now had to be sung outside the physical temple to secure pure liturgical partners for the angels. And no wonder that the Self-Glorification Hymn sees an earthly priestly leader elevated to a prime position among the heavenly counterparts of his community. For the community hymns, the purified one "can take his stand in Your presence with the perpetual host and the spirits... in a jubilating union" (1QH^a XIX, 16–17).⁴⁷ These purified singers may be direct successors of purified priests and Levites in sacrificial and liturgical service in the temple.

The Yaḥad's angelic communion provided a venue where lay Israelites could partake in Levitic traditions. The spiritualisation of temple ideology thus opened up a democratisation of mystical experience previously cherished by Levites.⁴⁸ A member's identification with the praying 'I' in the Hodayot would give the faithful access to the source of mystical revelation and communion with God. As part of a community where praise and supplication rise like incense before the heav-

⁴⁶ The Community could still hope for an eschatological restoration of the physical temple resulting in a reconstituted unity of spiritual and physical temple, as evidenced in the War Scroll.

⁴⁷ Cf. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 43–45.

⁴⁸ Already the pre-sectarian 4QInstruction re-interprets the prerogative of Aaron/Levi on the (faithful's relation to the) Lord himself as the spiritual inheritance of the elect (4Q418 81 3, cf. Num 18:20; Deut 10:9). Charismatic communities will by necessity bring about changes in the religious status and self-understanding of their members and enable unprivileged lay members to 'climb' in religious status. Cf. B. Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970), 22–23.

enly throne (4Q174 מעשי תודה; 1QS VIII, 9–10; cf. Rev 5:8; 8:3–4), the non-priestly member is transformed into attaining some kind of priestly status, experienced in particular during the liturgical performance of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and 4QBerakot.⁴⁹

The early stages of the Yaḥad may have given rise to a charismatic democratisation of religious experience by giving lay Israelites access to Levitic enthusiasm. Such an outpouring of the spirit would be seen as a sign of the community of the end-time (Joel 3:1–5, cf. Num 11:25; Acts 2:14–36). If this suggestion indeed holds true, the experiences of an enthusiastic community could in their turn have led to the need for more control on the part of community leaders, as evidenced in the growth of more hierarchic structures within the community.⁵⁰

The mystical prayer and praise of the Yaḥad may be seen as a precursor of the Pharisees' and early Jewish Christians' realization of the idea of a 'kingdom of priests' in Exod 19:6 (cf. 1 Pet 2:5; Eph 2:21f.; Rev 1:6; 5:8,12).

⁴⁹ Cf. C. Newsom's observations, "This ideal realm is made vividly present through the human community's act of worship in invoking the angelic praise and describing it in sensuous and evocative language." In "He has Established for Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath *shiroṭ*," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 100–120, here 117.

⁵⁰ Thus, Kugler, Metso, and Bockmuehl have argued that the growing stages of the S tradition show a steadily more hierarchic structure of the Community, see R. A. Kugler, "Priests," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: OUP, 2000), 2: 688–93, 691f.; *idem*, "The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; ed. D. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 465–79; M. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541–60; Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in Schiffman, Tov, and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, 377–84; *eadem*, *The Serekh Texts* (LSTS 62; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 15–19. According to Max Weber, rational religion will have a tendency to control and suppress ecstatic and passionate religiosity, cf. *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Methuen, 1965), 160f. For a similar process in early Christianity note Paul's control of charismatic enthusiasm in 1 and 2 Corinthians.