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Rabbi Asher Finkel, Ph.D., Seton Hall University



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Asher Finkel
Jewish-Christian Studies Graduate Program
Department of Religion
Seton Hall University
South Orange, NJ

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MILLENNIUM, JUBILEE AND HUMAN HISTORY UNDER GOD FOR JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Asher Finkel, Ph.D.

The year 1240 is the beginning of the sixth millenium in the Jewish calendar. This year witnessed the Mongol invasion from the East, defeating the Germans and Poles, as well as the year that saw the new ascendancy of the Islamic power. The turn of events was perceived by Nachmanides as the appearance of the "fearsome and terrible beast" in Daniel's vision (Chapter 7) that preceded the coming of the Son of Man, the messianic figure in Jewish apocalypticism. Nachmanides portrays the Islamic empire as a "powerful kingdom that is closer to the truth than the former ones," referring to the other theriomorphic empires in Daniel's prophecy. Islam was perceived by Spanish Jewry to be a monotheistic faith, with emphasis on God's unity. Jews faced both Muslims and Christians on the Iberian peninsula, and they were also aware of the distinction between them. The Muslims² rejected Biblical revelation as false due to their doctrine of "Taharif," but with the Christians the Jews enjoyed a common faith in the veracity of the Biblical canon. Nahmanides himself, as grand rabbi of Gerona, was invited to a public debate by King Jose in Barcelona in 1263. He faced the apologetic ordeal of defending rabbinic Judaism against Christian charges about Talmudic claims in support of scriptural witness to Jesus' messiahship. In the debate he demonstrated the distinctions in rabbinic interpretation and the proper way to read their accounts, as he was challenged by a Jewish convert, Pablo Christiani, at the behest of the Dominicans.³ They sought to use the common Biblical tradition in a new way by the utilization of the rabbinic writings to demonstrate the truth of their faith. Nahmanides performed well as he was rewarded by the King but he was made to leave at the old age to the Holy Land in 1267. Palestine then was still held by the Crusaders.

During his lifetime, in the year 1240 the prophet-mystic and messianic figure, Abraham Abulafia, was born in Saragosa.⁴ He was convinced by the apocalyptic teachings that he could produce a beneficial change towards his people, by seeking to convert the very Pope Nicholas III in 1280. In the same period, the great Cabbalist Moshe de Leon lived (1250-1305) who made public the classical account of Jewish mysticism, in the anthological work of the Zohar.⁵ It exerted great influence on Jewry, alongside with much acclaimed, at that time, the mystical writing of the "Temunah." This work was so called by the Biblical reference to Moses, who could gaze at God's image ("utemanat" YHWH yabit, Num 12:8). The Book preserved the mystical imaging of Hebrew letters for the practitioner, like Abulafia, as well as the predictive understanding of human history by apocalyptic design.

The grand rabbi Nahmanides was acquainted with the above writing, as well as the Provence mystical book of the "Bahir" (Illumination). Nahmanides was a disciple of Ezra and Aziel, the spiritual followers of Isaac the Blind, a prophet who enjoyed the gift of the Holy Spirit. He was the son of the great scholar and mystic, Rabbi Abraham ben David (RABAD) II of Pasquier. Nahmanides was well versed with the

¹ See Torah Commentary to Genesis 2:3.

² See Maimonides' Responsa, number 58, where her permits a rabbi to teach the Bible to Christians, who accept its revelatory truth, but not to Muslims, who question its validity although they are monotheists.

³ Refer to Nahmanides own account of the disputation in Barcelona, See the writings of Nahmanides, ed. H.D. Chevell, Jerusalem: Kuk, 1963, pg 299-326.

⁴ See Gershom G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, lecture 4, New York: Schocken, 1954.

⁵ See Gershem G. Scholom, ibid, lectures 5,6. Refer to J. Tishby's edition of Zohar, Jerusalem, 1961.

early Hasidean mysticism⁶, that was transmitted by members of the Klonimous family after the end of the Christian millennium, namely the holy Hasid Shemuel and his son Yehudah the Hasid. Their disciple and relative was Elazar of Worms (1160-1238), whose works⁷ were recently published on the mystical interpretation of the Bible and Jewish prayer.

My account of the Sabbatical-millennial tradition of the Jubilee rests on the writings of Nahmanides, especially his opening chapter of the Torah commentary. It is further elaborated in Bahya ben Asher's four-fold interpretative compendium to the Torah; he was a follower of Nahmanides' disciple RASHBA. I also consulted the works of Eleazer of Worms to gain insight from his hermeneutical examination, the very keys used by the mystic to enter the "gates of knowledge" in studying the Torah in depth.

The Jewish Bible opens with the Story of Creation as the preface to human history under God, theologically defined as the Biblical Heilsgeschichte (salvation history). According to the Hebrew Massorah, it opens with seven paragraphs that conclude with Gen 2:4. This introduction determines the dichotomy of the secular and the holy in human awareness and experience of a weekly period. Secular time of creative events is captured in the depiction of activities during a six-day period. Holy (qadosh) time, however, is portrayed as the Sabbath of rest. Secular time represents the sequential quantitative development in the ordinal account of days. On the other hand, holy time signifies set-apartness. It is different, offering the qualitative experience of human perfection to be close to God and to enjoy the blessing in serenity.

The phenomenenological opening of the Torah holds the key for the believing reader how to read the Biblical history under God. Human events, although they evolve in the secular segment time of the past, present and the future as determined by human free will and choice, still remain enclosed in a cohesive and continuous dimension of total time by God's intention of promise and fulfillment. The "Day" in the story of Creation relates, on one hand, to human beings as they live in the cycle of 24 hours of night and day. On the other hand, from the Creator's perspective the "Day" represents a millennium of years (in Hebrew "Yom" connotes day, year or aeon.). So does the Psalmist (Ps 90:4) formulate the distinction in the prayer of Moses: "For a thousand years are in Your eyes but yesterday that has passed." This is stated in connection with the times of creation, when Adam appeared. Adam, the human creature, emerges on the sixth day and he/she enters the Sabbath Day. Sabbath time, therefore, represents the seventh millenium holding the promise of final perfection for humanity. In early rabbinic view, Sabbath offers a foretaste of the "world to come," a time full of spiritual goodness and bliss.

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During the Seleucid-Maccabean period, Daniel's visions⁹ of the future appeared that depicted mystically the historical development from Alexander the Great through the Temple crisis of early Maccabean martyrs and warriors, ending in the Hasmonean victory on Hanukkah, the rededication of the Temple. A new promise of messianic coming also appears in Daniel's vision of the Son of Man as the new Israel. This Adamic figure will emerge after a succession of four beastly empires, the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian and the Greek. The vision of Daniel was retold by Jesus of Nazareth (Mark 13:14, Matt 24:15

⁶ See Gershom G. Scholem, ibid, lecture 3.

⁷ The recent publication of his works, include Commentary to Jewish Prayer, Commentary to the Pentateuch and the Scrolls and Commentary to the Passover haggadah, in addition to his anthological accounts of Sefer Haroke`ah and Sefer Raziel. Refer to Jewish Mystical Leaders in the thirteenth century, edited M. Idel and M. Ostrow, Ch. 2 by Ivan Marcus, Aronson: Jerusalem 1998

⁸ See Mishnah Tamid (7:4) and Babylonian Talmud Rosh Hashanah 31a. Refer to A.J. Heschel's Sabbath

⁹ Refer to D.S. Russell, Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, Westminster: Philadelphia, 1964, section 3, chapter 10.

adds "spoken of by the prophet Daniel") who also referred to himself as the Son of Man. With this Christological title, Jesus predicted the fate of his first coming and his heavenly exaltation prior to his second coming. Jesus also predicted the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple (Mk 13:2, par. Lk 19:43).

Messianic calculations become a concern of Jesus' followers, who penned the Gospels, history of the Church, epistles and apocalypses. Indeed these works are marked by Sabbatical and millennial understanding. For Jesus' own ministry was initiated by a proclamation of the "favorable year of the Lord," to his fellow Jews in the synagogue of Capernaum on the Sabbath. Sabbath time for individuals and sabbatical year for society effect the very nature of his ministry. ¹⁰

Sabbath and Jubilee time is offered in the Bible as utopian time and thereby it comes to determine not only legal understanding for the Jewish praxis in the Biblical system of commandments but also it holds the eschatological promise for humanity in relation to God's redemptive purpose for universal evolvement toward shalom (wholesomeness). Sabbath time in the Bible depicts the weekly experience for individuals who are covenanted to Him as well as opportunity in time so designated for the collective experience of the agrarian society under God. Farming and commerce can be enjoyed in the cycle of six years but on the seventh year, the Sabbatical, land is to be shared by all the inhabitants and monetary debts are cancelled. In this manner society acknowledges God as their creator and as their provider, to whom all belong. With this awareness, all persons remain equal before Him, as they all enjoy this divine image at Creation. Therefore, slavery or the control of other humans must be eliminated on the seventh year.

A period of seven Sabbaticals culminates in the Jubilee. By the blast of the shofar, God's kingdom is ushered in, "proclaiming liberty throughout the land" (Lev 25). All people can now freely declare God is king, namely He is the ultimate reality and authority. This is the basic vision of the Prophets and apocalypticists, who anticipate a universal redemption. "The whole earth then will be filled with a knowledge of God as the water covers the sea," so declares Isaiah (11:9). In their view, theistic knowledge will become intrinsic to the human experience of history.

Biblical eschatological thought sees in the account of Jubilee how history of humanity unfolds by God's intent. Human events remain punctual and segmented in time of experience, but they can produce special meaning when expressed in the great sweep of Jubilees. Developments and consequences can manifest either catastrophe or golden age but the divine intent can only be understood by the continuum of time, representing millennium in God's time. There are six millennia¹¹ associated with God's purpose in creation, and Biblical history only offers the significant part of the development under God, as the model for the future part.

In light of this historiographical view, the Hebrew Bible closes its tripartite canon with II Chronicles 36:21; namely, the prophetic promise of Jeremiah. Chronicles relate the end of Biblical history with the account of the destruction of the Solomonic Temple. For this holy abode was intended by God for his people (Ex 15:17) to build in the realization of the promise to the Patriarchs. Now it is destroyed and

¹⁰ See A. Finkel, Jesus Preaching in the Synagogue on the Sabbath, in Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, ed. Gospels and Scriptures of Israel, Sheffield, 1994 p. 325-342.

Six millennia encompass human civilized history under God that is prefigured by God's design for the Creation in six days. See chart.

the people are expelled from the land. Only the prophetic promise of the Sabbatical holds the key to the historical return. The land has to be vacated for seventy years to compensate the exact number of years (Lev 26:43), when the Jewish people did not practice the Sabbatical year during the monarchical period of the Solomonic Temple.

The chronicler saw in Cyrus' political proclamation a new opportunity in history for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland, with the call to rebuild the Temple fulfilling God's intent. Therefore the Chronicler shares the same understanding and the key for final redemption that Daniel relates in his apocalypse. Daniel's contemplative vision of Jeremiah's seventy years (9:2) projects them on a later era of the Seleucid-Maccabean period. He introduces the interpretative account of the grand Jubilee of 500 years, representing a half of a millennium. The Day of Lord consists of two grand Jubilees that affect Jewish and Christian understanding of sabbatical-millennial reading of history.

Millennialism

The Sabbatical-millennial view of time is connected with the concept of jubilee. From the human perspective, each week produces Sabbath time at the end, inviting the person to relate effectively to God via the release from secular time of work and stress, grief and anxiety. A period of seven weeks, from the morrow of Passover, the day of liberation from physical and spiritual bondage, prepares the individual for the final Pentecostal day, to stand before God and to receive the transformative Law. This period ends in a Jubilee for each person to celebrate the time when God's Torah was given (zeman matan toratenu). Thereby each person is obligated to count "seven weeks" in conjunction with "fifty days" (Lev 23:15, 16) leading to the celebration of the Pentecostal Day or "Shavuoth," the genesis of ecclesiastical Israel.

The people of Israel as a collective again enjoyed life in their promised land, and they entered temporally in a septennial cycle of six years for farming and commerce, as well as to pay their dues and tithes, which ends in a sabbatical. Seven such sabbaticals lead the entire society to a Jubilee year. The year is so designated to mean "restoration." Yovel means leading back to the fountain head, i.e. to be restored again to the time of Jubilee or to the ideal state of living under God. At the beginning of the Jubilee on the Day of Atonement, the blast of the shofar proclaims the restoration of properties to the original owners and the release of slaves to themselves as freedmen. Thus, both the individual and the collective experience living under the rule of the Sabbatical time of Jubilee as life in God's Kingdom.

From God's perspective, the Lord's Day determines the course of a thousand years of human history, which consist of two grand jubilees. The Grand Jubilee also is calculated by seventy Sabbaticals of historical development, as in Daniel's vision. In light of this, the very story of Creation prefigures the Eschatological process of six thousand years ending in the Sabbath Millennium. The sixth "Day" of creation, therefore, projects as in Daniel's vision the archetypal signification of theriomorphic empires followed by the anthropomorphic society, preparing to enter the Sabbath millennium. This view is captured in the apocalyptic account of history, as it appears in early Judaism and Christianity.

Jewish and Christian Calculations

The coming of Jesus emerges as an axial event in the writing of Gentile Christianity, which follows the Septuagintal Greek reading of the Bible. The calculation¹² leads to five thousand years A.M., as the time for the birth of Jesus. His coming, therefore, is prefigured by the first Adam of the Sixth day and he holds the promise of the Son of Man for ushering in the Sabbath millennium of his second coming. This tradition is noted in the works of Hippolytus, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria and Augustine.

The Jewish world followed the rabbinic reading of the Massorah, which adds the years until the birth of Abraham to be only two thousand minus 52. This is in contradistinction to the Septuagintal calculation of 3312 years. Thus, the Tannaitic view determines the end of the fourth millenium to occur 240 years after the birth of Jesus. The fourth millenium ends with the publication of the Misnah by Rabbi Judah the Patriarch. In accordance with Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 972, an apocalyptic account of the School of Elijah¹³ divides the six millennia in three distinct ages. The first segments the chaotic period of idolatry, from Adam to Abraham. The second age depicts the age of Torah, in its dual forms, the written and the oral. Four sub-periods of the two millennia represent the Grand Jubilees. The first five hundred years cover the history of Torah, from Abraham recognizing God as the creator until the Exodus, as fulfillment of the prospect (Gen 15) foretold to Abraham at the Covenant of Pieces. The second covers from the Exodus to the dedication of the Solomonic Temple, which becomes the ultimate event of deliverance (so Ex 15:17). The third Jubilee from the appearance of God's presence in the First Temple to the time of return from Babylonian exile (as the Jewish canon ends). The fourth is from the time of rebuilding the Second Temple until the year of publication of the Mishnah as the second canon for Jewry. The Torah millennium ends.

Each Grand Jubilee of the two millennia of the Torah Age reflects figuratively the cosmic symbols of Creation. The Third "Day" offered twice the divine proclamation of "behold it is good." One represents Torah by the appearance of "Water" (Isa 55:1) and the other is the inheritance of the Promised Land, which is symbolized by the fertile land of three species. The fourth "day" depicts two luminaries; the sun represents the First Temple and the moon represents the Second Temple, while the "stars" appear as the "righteous teachers" (Dan 12:3) who transmitted the six orders of the Misnah (stars enjoy six points). Needless to say, in early Tiberian schools of Galilee during the Amoriac period, rabbi Judah the Patriarch is perceived as a Messianic figure ¹⁴ (Bab. Talmud Sanhedrin 98b, in the name of Ray).

From the year 240, the new era of Messianic travails opens for Jewish history in Diaspora, in accordance with Elijah's apocalypse. The contemporary and later Jewish historiographical writings saw in this year the beginning of the fifth millenium and in the year 1240 the complementary sixth millenium continues. The fifth "Day" of Creation and the first part of the sixth "Day" are prefigured by theriomorphic

¹² Abba Hillel Silver, Messianic Speculations, Ch. 1, He fails to distinguish between the Massoretic and Septuagintal reading of Scriptures for the synagogue and the Church respectively.

¹³ The School of Elijah is cited, which seems to have continued the mystical discipline among the Tannaim. According to Rabbi Pinhas ben Yair, the mystical ladder leads to spiritual inspiration by Elijah the Prophet. See Babylonian Talmud Avodah Zarah 20b and Yerusalmi Talmud Sheqalim, Chap. 3. Refer to the detailed account of Messilat Yesharim by Rabbi Moshe H Luzzato.

¹⁴ In contrast to J. Neusner, who claims there is no Messiah in the Mishnaic tradition, whereas Rabbi Yehuda's own disciple verifies that the editor of the Mishnah himself achieved the Messianic profile. I prefer the contemporary witness.

creatures, prior to the appearance of Adam in the latter part¹⁵ of the sixth "Day". Medieval Jewish calculations of the messianic time begin with a depiction of great travail and suffering, as encountered by Jewry among the nations of the world. Especially in the last quarter of the fifth millennium European Jewry was decimated by the march of successive crusades. The first crusade was heralded by Pope Urban II in 1095, following the first Christian millennium leading to the Sabbath Time. However, the new age for the Church was desecrated by the Muslim's destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, 1009. This calamity appeared but a jubilee of fifty years, after Pope John XII crowned the German King Otto I as the head of the Holy Roman Empire, in 962. The Jubilee of celebration and joy ends in religious disaster; the very place of Jesus' tomb is desecrated.

During the late tenth century and early eleventh century the Church celebrated the ideal epoch of Pax Dei and the Islamic destructive action in Jerusalem provoked a strong response from Christian Europe in the "Bellum Romanum." The First Crusade in 1096 was launched by Peter the Hermit with half a million peasants. Only 25,000 survived after the great massacre by the Seljuk Turks. Eventually a coalition of nobility from the great European states led a holy war which ended in the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. This year was precisely a millennium removed from the prospect of the Apocalypse of Ezra¹⁶ as the final appearance of the Son of Man, who rises from the sea to conquer the holy mount of Zion. By this successful campaign, the faithful believed that they have entered the final millennium of the Sabbath. However, Jerusalem is recaptured by Saladin in 1187, after approximately one century of Christian occupation that cleansed the city of its Jewish inhabitants. After the Eighth Crusade in 1280, the Mamluks conquer Acre, the port city of the crusaders in the year 1291. These successive events dampened the religious hopes of Christian Europe.

The Final Millennium

A new approach to the millennial vision emerged in the Middle Ages which influenced greatly the historical trends in Europe this past Christian second millenium. New orders emerged with mendicant preachers, who enjoyed in their ranks recent Jewish converts. The latter also became active polemicists and disputants with the rabbinic teachers of their days. The Franciscan order was recognized by Rome in 1209 and the Dominican in 1215. Wild enthusiasm strengthened the ideal of spiritual life for European society by these mendicant preachers and teachers.

Joachim of Fiore (1145-1202) was one of them. He was a hermit and a Calabrian abbot, who was inspired by Apocalyptic writings of the past. After many years of study and reflection, he presented a three-fold millennial process that held the promise of predicative nature. The three stages of millennia as in the early Talmudic apocalypse of Elijah, are captured as the unfolding history by a Trinitarian design of three persons in God. For these represent God's intentionally in human history and so such humanity can enter the millennium with a purpose and a goal. The first age of the Father or Law (=Torah) was prior to the birth of Jesus (see Matt 11:13 and Lk 16:16). The second age, the millennium just passed, was the age of the Son or of the Gospel. The third age, the millennium now approaching, will become the age of the Spirit. This age is the final millennium, the Great Sabbath when humanity will enjoy the gifts of the Spirit, its joy and freedom, its serenity and peace.

¹⁵ The hours of the creation of Adam are detailed in the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer, chap. 11 and in contemporary time, Elijah Gaon of Vilna developed an apocalyptic account of its meaning for our days; see Kol Hator by Yosef Rivlin, Jerusalem, 1994 and compare Hatekufah Hagedolah by M. Kasher, Jerusalem, 1969.

¹⁶ Fourth Ezra chap. 11. Note the preceding chapter utilizing the theoriomorphic symbol of eagle for Rome.

Joachim preached that Christians should be prepared to enter a contemplative life style and to be moved by the Spirit to stand before God. His influence encouraged others to formulate new options in the pursuit of the millennium. For it holds a prospect of change and great promise for the masses, as the ideologue places the blame on the establishment, the ecclesiastical and monarchical systems. This development eventually led to the Marxist Manifesto of the dialectical three stages, with a Communist takeover in Eastern Europe as well as it also led to the Hitlerian vision of a fascistic "Third Reich" to last for a thousand years in Europe.

Joachim's account of three ages reappeared in various forms in the historical evolution as expounded by German idealistic philosophers, such as Lessing, Schilling, Fichte and, to some extent, Hegel. Indeed the Franciscan spirituals began to spread the apocalyptic teaching of Joachim among the people and it was largely due to them that the role of chastiser of the Church on the Last Days came to be assigned in popular imagination to the emperor Frederick II. His grandfather was Frederick I, Barbarosa, who perished in the Third Crusade of 1190. Regrettably it was Hitler who in modern time used the popular role of the ideal leader to declare himself a Fuehrer, in the reincarnation of Frederick I.

Joachim calculated the end of the Age of the Son around 1240. This year coincides with the Jewish calculation but in the rabbinic tradition it represented the beginning of the sixth millennium and not the Great Sabbath. For the Jews, the sixth millennium will end in 2240, ushering in the new age of universal redemption. For Jews, the sixth millenium holds the promise of Messianic coming, which engaged rabbis with messianic calculations, but now in a new way by linking them to Cabbalistic secrets. For this very millennium introduced the mystical writings by the Provence and Catalanian Hasideans of the Middle Ages.

The sixth millennium for Jewry emerges out of centuries of Crusades that produced disturbing events of forced baptism and massacre of Jews in Europe. In 1233, the inquisition began by Pope Gregory IX who assigned the Dominicans to be responsible for combating heresy of Judaizing. Torture and auto de fe are introduced in 1252 and the Grand Inquisition eventually forces full conversion or expulsion of Jews from the Iberian peninsula in 1492. Thus, the year of expulsion closes the first half of a Grand Jubilee with its severe development of messianic travails for Jewry. It heightened ¹⁷ great expectations, not only with the discovery of the new world by Jewish marranos and translators, but also in the promise of the return to the Holy Land. In Safed appeared a mystical community, which was guided by spiritual standards during the 16th century¹⁸. As in Joachim's vision, that a new millennium ushered in the spiritual age for Christian Europe, so in the Jewish view of the Adamic age the sixth millennium. The Adamic age begins with the second Grand Jubilee, which is prefigured by the Creation of Adam after midday. This becomes the period that is paved with purgation and suffering in their history. It related to inwardness, a mystical life style to be guided by a righteous figure (the saddiq). Practical Kabbalah too gave rise to a messianic figure with a mystico-charismatic appeal, namely the false Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi in 1660. He called for all Jews to depart to the Holy Land.

His failed attempt, however, generated new attitudes toward mass emigration to Palestine, as the only solution to Jewish suffering and persecution in Europe. These appeared already in the eighteenth century with the rise of Polish Hasidism and the Lithuanian yeshiva orthodoxy. The masters promoted such

¹⁷ Refer to H. Wiesenthal's study on Columbus' journey to America due to messianic speculation in light of the expulsion decree.

¹⁸ Refer to S. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, 2nd series, 1908 pp. 202-306 on Safed in the Sixteenth Century.

journey, as they themselves pursued it, and the followers of R. Israel, Baal Shem Tov, and the disciple of R. Elijah of Vilna indeed settled the Holy Land. Religious Zionism emerged and the secular nationalistic form followed in the late nineteenth century.

Secular Judaism reflects the assimilationist and liberal life style of Jewry that witnessed the effects of Antisemitism in European society. Herzl's publication of Altneuland is the result of Dreyfus Affair in France. He was outlining a set of political agenda that will organize Jewry in their realization of a Jewish Homeland. The establishment of the State of Israel grew out of the ashes of European Jewry, following the Holocaust. Significantly for religious Zionism, the year 1948 became the year of Jewish independence after hundred and one sabbaticals from the beginning of the sixth millennium in the Jewish calendar. Sabbatical-millennial vision can unite Biblically oriented people to be receptive to transformative changes that hold the promise of wholesome restoration, the shalom of Jubilee.

ASHER FINKEL Seton Hall University