With this short paper I would like to give some insight into my PhD-project about the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The main focus of my project and of this talk as well is the Sabbath Songs' emphasis on the kingship of God and their dedication to the Sabbath. But before I start with my own thoughts, I would like to make some general remarks on the Songs and on the specific subject of my dissertation.

It was John Strugnell who - in 1957 - first published two fragments of a literary work which was unknown by then. He called this work "Angelic Liturgy", or "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice" (Shirot Olat Ha-Shabbat). Thanks to the work of Carol Newsom we know today ten copies of this text: Nine from the caves of Qumran, 4Q400-4Q407, 11Q17 and one single sheet with the rests of two columns from Masada. The oldest manuscript 4Q400 dates back to the first half of the first century B.C. (75-50). In her edition in Harvard Semitic Studies (1986) and later in DJD XI, the editio princeps of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Carol Newsom proposed a reconstruction of one manuscript, 4Q405, which is based on the shapes of destruction or on text parallels to other Shirot manuscripts. In her conclusion Newsom describes the Sabbath Songs as a circle of 13 psalms dedicated to the first 13 Sabbaths of the year, in which priestly angels praise God in the heavenly sanctuary. Each of the songs starts with the formula *LeMaskil, Song of the offering of the first, second* and so on *Sabbath*, followed by the particular date. After this headline the psalm starts with an initial call to praise using the imperative הללו followed by its corpus often consisting of highly formulaic passages.

With regards to the circle of the thirteen songs as a whole Newsom suggests a pyramid-like structure. Since this overall concept of the Sabbath Songs will play an important part in my further explanations, I would like to characterise it somewhat more detailed.

The two main themes of the **songs one to five** are the appointment of the angels as priests by God and the description of their duties such as praising God and serving in front of him in the debir. It is important to know, that there is not much material preserved from the beginning of the work, so that any description of its content necessarily has to be taken as tentative.

With the songs **six, seven and eight** the pyramid structure reaches its climax: The Songs six and eight describe the angels' blessings and praise of God and of those who know him. They also form the framework for the seventh song at the very top of the pyramid. The seventh song contains some special characteristics: Different to the beginning of the other songs, the seventh starts by addressing the angels with a sequence of seven calls to praise. They are called to praise and exalt God, the king of kings and the king of majesty, creator by the words of his mouth and by the utterance of his lips. With the second part of this song the celestial

praise enlarges, because the heavenly temple is summoned to join. All of its parts, corners, pillars etc. are described as joining the glorification of God.

Finally the songs **nine to thirteen,** the declining side of the pyramid, contain descriptions of the heavenly sanctuary. The description proceeds from the outside of the temple to its inner parts: from its courts and walls to the debir (debirim), culminating in the sacrifices of the priestly angels in the 13th song. The text guides its reader into the temple.

One of the most striking characteristics of this circle of psalms is the continuous designation of God as king. The word *melek* for God is mentioned 55 times; the abstractum *malkut,* exclusively used for the reign of God, 21 times. This frequency is unique in texts of ancient Judaism, as stated by Anna Maria Schwemer.

The other remarkable feature is the dedication of the Songs to the Sabbath. This genre is of course well-known from the O.T., that is to say from Ps 92. If we however take into account the strong emphasis on the kingship of God in the Shirot we face an interesting problem, because Ps 92 does not mention God as king.

Therefore my doctoral advisers thought, it might be an interesting idea to have a look at the correlation between the Sabbath and the kingship of God. And as you can see, I agreed. :-)

After a review of the reconstruction of 4Q405, I payed special attention to the Sabbath in the Shirot. Like in Ps 92 the most obvious reason to relate the Songs to the Sabbath is the headline. This is the only explicit notion of the Sabbath. Apart from that the word "Sabbath" is used no more. There are however a few allusions or topics which can be seen in correlation to the Sabbath. The first one is the emphasis on the *holiness* by the frequently used root קדש. To illustrate this point I would like to quote a phrase from the seventh Song: "Let the holiest of the godlike ones (קדושי אלוהים) sanctify (יקדישו) the King of glory who sanctifies (המקדיש) by holiness (בקודש) all his holy ones (לכול קדושו)." In this short phrase the root קדש appears five times.

Another preferred word is שבע, the number seven. The Sabbath Songs refer to seven chief princes, seven "deputy princes" and seven blessings for each of the chief and deputy princes . We also hear about seven debirim and seven priesthoods, about seven wondrous powers (גבורות) and about a few sevenfold things more. According to Newsom's reconstruction even the overall structure of the circle is based on the number seven: As I mentioned earlier the seventh song can be taken as a climax or – if you want - a turning point in the progress of the Shirot. After its praise for God as king and as creator, the following psalms concentrate on descriptions, that is to say on descriptions of the temple. The only exception is the eighth song, which builds one half of the frame for the seventh song and underlines the significance of it.

In this context the main question for me is: Why this strong emphasis on the temple of the king in the second part of the psalm circle?

In my opinion the temple is the key to understand the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The heavenly sanctuary is the link between the two topics of God's kingship on the one hand and the Sabbath on the other hand - the Sabbath with its characteristic elements of holiness and seven-ness. This triangle, Sabbath, temple and kingship of God is prepared by the Old Testament, though not as obvious as in the Shirot.

The first important text, which is essential for this issue is the revelation of the sanctuary at Mount Sinai in Ex 24-32, followed by the execution of the building plan and the constitution of the cult in Ex 32 to 40. In Ex 24,12 God speaks to Moses and orders him to go up to the top of the Sinai. Moses is said to catch up the two tablets on which God plans to write down his Tora. When Moses reaches the top, the glory of God takes up residence in a cloud on the mountain. After that, nothing happens for a period of 6 days. But - and here it is / please not the parallel here - on the seventh day God starts with the revelation of the model of the sanctuary (תבנית המשכן) and the model or plan of the equipment for the cult (תבנית כל כליו). The encounter between God and Moses ends after 40 days with the descent of Moses carrying the two tablets engraved with Gods instructions. The Hebrew word חרת (to engrave) is a characteristic expression for this scene. This word is undoubtedly connected with the revelation at the Sinai, in the Old Testament as well as in the scriptures from the Dead Sea. As an example I would like to mention 1QS X and another example are the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

At the beginning of the first song, preserved in 4Q400 f1i,5 we find the expression חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח - "he has engraved his statutes for all מעשי רוח".

	[למשכיל שיר עולת השב]ת הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון הללו
2	[לאלוהי]ה אלוהי כול קדושי קדושים ובאלוהותו
3	[ ]בקדושיעד קדושי קדושים ויהיו לו לכוהני
4	[ ] משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו בעדה לכול אלי
5	**[ ]אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח ...**

I checked every single word of this phrase and was able to make some interesting observations. The first, being the obvious link to the revelation at the Sinai by חרת I already mentioned. The second concerns the use of the word חוק. It is mentioned eleven times in the Shirot, but unfortunately the context is not always preserved. Nevertheless sometimes it is possible to catch a glimpse of what could be meant exactly by חוק. The most interesting

evidence is a phrase from the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song. I quote: שבעת גבולי פלא **בחוקות מקדשיו** - "seven wondrous territories according to the ordinances of His sanctuaries" (4Q403 1ii,21). As "ordinances of his sanctuaries" חוק is undoubtedly connected with the temple, which is divided into seven territories.

Another hint can be found at the end of the eleventh song: בחוק יתכלכלו לשרת - *by statute they are steadfast to serve*. (4Q405 20ii-22,2). שרת is a common expression for the priestly service, which is an indication for the cultic understanding of חוק.

The starting point was the phrase חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח - "he has engraved his statutes for all מעשי רוח. I spoke about חרת and the possible cultic meaning of חוק and about the link of both words to the revelation of the temple starting at the seventh day on mount Sinai.

Now it is time to translate and to explain the last term מעשי רוח. As we will see, this expression will lead us to the temple as well. Newsom translates "for all spiritual creatures" in her first edition or "for all spiritual matters" in the later DJD, and argues that this expression could either refer to the recipients or to the content of the statutes.[1]

In the Shirot we can find the expression מעשי רוח twice. It occurs once more in 4Q405 f19,2 as מעשי רוחות. Newsom states that the text of f19 is "extraordinarily obscure", but the theme seems to be a somewhat uncommon description of the temple and I think, she is right.

It might be a good idea to have a closer look at this text, because it can specify the conception of the temple in the Shirot.

1 [ ]מ[
2 ושבחהו בדני אלוהים רוחי ק[ודש קודשים]מ[ ]ר֯י[לבדני]כבוד מדרס
3 דבירי פלא רוחי אלי עולמים כול[ ]◦◦◦[ ]בד[דב]יר מלך מעשי רו[חות] רקיע פלא
4 ממולח טוהר [רו]חי דעת אמת[ו]צדק בקודש[ק]ודשים [צ]ורות אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות
5 מאירים כ[ו]ל[מעשי]הם ק[וד]שי דבקי פלא[רוחי]רוקמ[ת] ב]דני צורות אלוהים מחוקקי
6 סביב ללבני [כ]בודם צורות כבוד למעשי ל[בנ]י הוד והד[ר]אלוהים חיים כול מעשיהם
7 וצורות בדניהם מלאכי קודש מתחת לד[בירי] הפלא קול דממת שקט אל[והי]ם ברכים
8 [ ]◦◦◦ המלך ◦◦◦[ ]ל[ ]◦ק[ ]ל[ ]אלו[הי]ם

(4Q405 (4QShirShabb-f) 19 a–d:1—8)

The text starts with a call to praise by שבח.[2] Than the subject בדני אלוהים follows with an apposition רוחי קודש קודשים. The question is, what are בדני? With regard to two other occurrences[3] in the War Scroll the expression seems to be some kind of a picture or an ornament. Thus Newsom translates "And the figures of the Devine (beings) praise him, the

[1] First translation HSS 27,93, second DJD XI, 178.
[2] Newsom proposes to read שבחוהו.
[3] 1QM V,6.9.

most holy spirits". We know from other texts and descriptions of the temple, that the walls in the inside were decorated with different ornaments. 2Chr 3,5-7 describes the big hall of the temple as decorated with palms and flowers, and the walls with carvings of Cherubim. It seems that the Sabbath Songs visualize these figures as "spirits" praising God. My main focus lies on this relation, on the notion of a part of the architecture of the temple and the following designation as "spirits". The same is true at the end of the line, where a sequence of appositions to בדני כבוד follows. The first one is מדרס דבירי פלא. The word מדרס is not easy to translate, but it might be understood as a floor or a treading place or tread. The second apposition is רוחי אלי עולמים - spirits of eternal Elim. All these expressions seem to be connected to the only verb mentioned: שבח, suggesting that the architectural features like the ornaments on the walls and on the floor of the temple are spirits or godlike-beings praising God.

Finally at the end of line 2 the term in dispute מעשי רוח occurs. And in the same way as in the former lines, a sequence of appositions describes the heavenly sanctuary: דביר מלך מעשי רוחות רקיע פלא ממולח טוהר: "*debir of the king, work of the spirits, wondrous firmament, brightly blended*" - and again followed by רוחים in line 4. To summon it all up, even the phrase מעשי רוח is associated to the temple as well as חרת and חוק from our starting point at the beginning of the first Sabbath Song.

In line 5 the term מעשי occurs once more, here with the suffix of the 3.pl., which has to be associated with the spirits. Following Newsom's translation for line 5 and 6: *All their workmanship (is of) holy wondrous mosaic, spirits of mingled colours, figures of the shapes of god-like beings, engraved 6. round about their glorious brickwork, glorious images of the brickwork of splendour and majesty.* An finally line 6 to 7: *Living god-like beings (are) all their constructions 7. and the images of their figures (are) holy angels.*

Yet again we see here the relation between an architectural feature and the singing or praying spirits: glorious brickwork and wondrous mosaics as spirits of mingled colours, and as climax the text states: "*Living god-like beings (are) all their construction.*" The temple, praising angels and god-like beings are the same, that is to say the temple is build up by the praises of the angels. It is a work of the singing spirits - מעשי רוחות - as it had been ordered by God in his engraved instructions.

Another hint for this thesis and a nice detail is the use of the word "mingled colours, colourful" (רוקמה) - you can find it in line 5 of f19. It occurs thirteen times in the Sabbath Songs and describes either the decoration of the temple, or the praising spirits themselves.

Due to the parallels in wording and the thematic relationship, the general background of this topic in the Sabbath Songs is the narration of the revelation and constitution of the temple and its cult in the Old Testament. The concept of the priestly source, to arrange this revelation as an inversion of the creation in 6 days with a seventh day as a day of rest, enables the authors of the Shirot to link the theme "temple" to the theme "Sabbath", which is present in the prominent use of the number Seven - of course among other things like the emphasis on holiness.

The thesis of a sanctuary of praises in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice was first formulated by Philipp Alexander in his book about the mystical texts from Qumran. I would like to use and to assimilate it for my concern to bring light to the correlation of Sabbath and kingship of God. The latter, the kingship of God, shall be the last point of my talk.

At the beginning I pinpointed the fact that God is called 55 "king" times, the abstractum *malkut* is used with 21 times.

The paradigm for this topic and semantics are of course the psalms and other passages of the Old Testament describing and praising God as king, for example Ps 29. 93.95-99.

The oldest parts of these psalms characterise God as ruling over the forces of nature. As the creator He rules over the flood, his voice is like thunder. He is enthroned - over the flood (Ps 29,10) or above the cherubim and he is king of all the godlike beings (Ps 95,3). As Hermann Spieckermann argued, the main message of this kind of theology in the psalms is the presence of Jahwe in his temple. Originating from canaanite myths, these topics were assimilated and reinterpreted in the texts of the Old Testament. One of those canaanite texts for instance is the ugaritic Baal epic. This epic deals with the God Baal, who establishes his reign as king after the death of his antagonist Jam. One of the continuous themes in this narrative is Baal demanding a temple from El, the highest God in the divine family. Werner H. Schmidt argued that the temple as residence and palace of the deity is one constituting element for the concept of the kingship of God. In the case of the ugaritic epic it is Baal, in the case of the psalms it is Jahwe. Put in a nutshell: Without a palace - no kingship.

Anna Maria Schwemer, author of an important essay about the kingship of God in the Sabbath Songs, states that the Shirot continue the psalms way of speaking about God. In the Sabbath Songs God is called Elohim and understood as creator. He is enthroned above the Cherubim, that means according to my former demonstrations he is enthroned above the praises of the Cherubim. It might as well be possible, that God had to fight for his kingship perhaps together with his angelic forces as one fragment suggests. In this fragment (4Q402 f4)

the terms מלחמה or כלי מלחמה are preserved. And there are a lot of semantic parallels to the War Scroll, a text that also deals with the concept of the kingship of God. 1QM XII praises the divine king after the victory against the sons of darkness and describes the joy at mount Zion, the mountain of the temple.

Last not least I would like to mention another interesting work from Qumran showing the correlation of temple and kingship of God in a very pointed and uncommon way. This text is 4Q174 the so called Midrasch zur Eschatologie.

[ישיא בוא ע]וֹד אויבֵ[ו ולוא יוסי]ף בן עוֹלה[לענות]וֹ כאשר בראישונה ולמן היום אשר
2 [צויתי שופטים] עֹל עמי ישראל הואה הבית אשר[יכין] ל[וא] בְּאַחרית הימים כאשר כתוב בספר
3 [מושה מקדש] יהוה כוֹננו ידיכה יהוה ימלוך עולֹם וְעֹד הואה הבית אשר לוֹא יבוא שמה
4 [ערל לב וערל ב]שר[עד]עֹולם ועֹמוני ומואבי וממזר ובן נכר וגר עד עולם כיא קדושי שם
5 יהה[ו]ה [ימלוך]עוֹלם תמיד עליו יראה ולוא ישמוהו עוד זרים כאשר השמו בראֹישונה
6 את מקד[ש י]שראל בחטאתמה ויואמר לבנות לוא מקדש אדם להיות מקטירים בוא לוא
7 לפניו מֹעשי תודה ...

In column III (according to the reconstruction of Annette Steudel) it is said, that God will erect a house in the last days (l.2: אחרי הימים). Then, a quotation from Ex 15,17.18 follows in line 3: *"The sanctuary, YHWH, which your hands have established*. The Lord will reign as king forever and ever." The rest of the text describes this sanctuary as a temple of man (l.6: מקדש אדם) filled with praise and deeds of gratitude. The combination of the themes kingship of God and sanctuary is striking and I understand this sanctuary as built of praises the same way it is in the Sabbath Songs. Otherwise a sanctuary of man is difficult to explain. It is a nice little detail that the psalm of Ex 15 as Schwemer argues was recited at the Mincha on Sabbath.

The shortest summary of all this is Ps 22,4: *Yes you are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel.* The erection of a sanctuary of praises for the divine king is my key to explain the dedication of the praise of the king to the Sabbath.

There are a lot of things and details I didn't mention in this paper, the angels, the question of the earthly community, the importance of knowledge for the angels and so on. But of course I wanted to leave something for my book.