

Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord -

The Problem of the Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3

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In the Mesopotamian mythic tradition the creation of the world is connected with the building of a temple. Thus we read in the Babylonian Creation Myth that after the creation was completed, the temple *Esagila* was built for Marduk so that he could rest in it together with his retinue.¹ In *Tarbiz* XXXVII (1968) pp. 109ff. I discussed briefly the association of the Sabbath and the Temple in the Bible, and suggested there that the Israelite priesthood dramatized the conclusion of the creation by means of the Sabbath, just as the peoples of the Ancient Near East dramatized their creation epics in cultic dramas. However, in view of the connection between the Creation and Temple Building in Mesopotamia, it is necessary to inquire as to whether in Israel also there was some connection between the Creation and the Temple.

The Israelite historical consciousness was such that Israelite temples could not be traced back to primordial times, as was the case in Babylonia.² However, several hints scattered throughout the Bible suggest that a connection between the Creation and the Temple was recognized.

1) The first such hint lies in the fact that the entrance of God into his sanctuary was interpreted in Israel as "rest", similar to the rest of God on the seventh day of creation (Ex. 20:11). This is shown clearly by Psalm 132. There we find David declaring, after he had found a sanctuary for the God of Israel: "Arise YHWH to Your resting-place (יָנוּחַ), You

I thank Prof. J. Tigay for a constructive suggestion concerning the structuring of this article.

¹ *Enuma Elish* VI, 41f.: "Come, let us build a shrine (*parakku* = lit. 'pedestal') whose name shall be called 'Lo a Chamber for our nightly rest, let us repose in it'" (cp. *Enuma Elish* V, 119f.). Ea, the father of Marduk, after his victory over the god Apsu, also "rested" in his sanctuary and established there his temple (ibid. I, 71-77).

² Cf. however, the various midrashim concerning the Jerusalemite Temple created before the creation of the world (*Sifre* on Deut. sec. 37 [ed. L. Finkelstein, p. 70] and other references there).

and Your ark of Your Glory."¹ God himself confirms this and says: "This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have desired it" (v. 14).²

The Temple as a resting-place (*st ḥtp*) for the Deity is also found in the Egyptian dedicatory inscriptions and, as in Ps. 132, is also defined as established forever (*mn ḥḥ n rnpwt*)³, cf. I Kgs. 8:13 (מכון לשבתך עולמים).⁴

2) The fact that with the completion of the instructions for the building of the Tabernacle in P, there appears a commandment on the Sabbath (Ex. 31:12-17), shows also the connection which existed between Creation and the Building of the Temple.⁵

Indeed, this connection is well expressed in the congruence which is found between the description of the completion of creation in Genesis, and between the description of the completion of the Tabernacle in Exodus.

¹ V. 8 That *Coz* connotes "glory" will be demonstrated by me on another occasion. According to II Chron. 6:41, it was Solomon who pronounced this verse upon the dedication of the Temple, and there we read:

קומוה ה' אלהים לנוחך

² The word pair *nwh/yšb* is common in Akkadian literature (*šubat nēhtim*), in Phoenician (in the Azittawada inscription: *šbt nht* (KAI I:17-18, II:7-8, 13), and in Ugarit (CTA 6 III:18). See recently Y. Avishur, *Ugarit Forschungen*, 7 (1975), pp. 35-36. In Israel, the rest of God in His Temple was connected with the rest of the people, who were unable to build a Temple for their God without first attaining a state of rest (cp. Deut. 12:9; II Sam. 7:1; I Kgs. 5:18-19). Solomon, during the dedication of the Temple declares "Blessed be YHWH who has given rest to his people Israel" (I Kgs. 8:56). On the connection between the rest of God and the people's rest see G. von Rad, *Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, pp. 101-108.

³ Cf. M. Görg, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten*, 1975, p. 158, and the references there.

⁴ For a similar topos in the Assyrian literature cf. the Esarhaddon inscription "I restored the images of the great gods and caused them to dwell in their sanctuaries as a dwelling forever (*šubat dārāti*)", R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 1956 section II: Bab. A-G, Epis. 32, Fassung b: C and D, ll. 39-41 (pp. 23-24). Cf. also *ki-ni-dub-bu* (= *ašar tapšūti*) "the resting place" referring to the temple in Sumerian hymns (Cf. J. Krecher, *Sumer. Kultlyrik* 1966, 139ff.) which equals *טקוים טנוחה* in Isa. 66:1, and see also W. Mayer, *Orientalia* 47 (1978), 433:39-40.

⁵ The command to observe the Sabbath comes after six commands (introduced with the formula "The Lord said to Moses") in connection with the Tabernacle (25:1; 30:11; 30:17; 30:22; 30:34; 31:1). See P.J. Kearney, *ZAW* 89 (1977), pp. 380f. Kearney argues that the instructions of these six commands correspond to the six days of creation in Gen. 1, but his arguments are hardly convincing. However, the very phenomenon of six commands involved in the construction of the Tabernacle is highly significant.

Gen. 1:1-2:3 and Ex. 39:1-40:33¹ are typologically identical. Both describe the satisfactory completion of the enterprise commanded by God, its inspection and approval, the blessing and the sanctification which are connected with it. Most importantly, the expression of these ideas in both accounts overlaps:

Exodus 39-40

Genesis 1-2

And when Moses saw that they had performed all the tasks (כל המלאכה) - as the LORD had commanded, so they had done (והנה עשו אֹתָהּ) (39:43)

Thus was completed all (וחלל כל) the work of the Tabernacle of the Tent of Meeting. (39:32)

When Moses had finished the work (ויכל משה את המלאכה) (40:33)

Moses blessed (ויברך) them. (39:43)

... to sanctify (וקדש) it and all its furnishings. (40:9)

And God saw all that He had made, (כל אשר עשה), and found it (והנה) very good. (1:31)

The heaven and the earth were completed (ויכלו) and all (ויכל) their array. (2:1)

God finished the work which He had been doing (... עשה ויכל אלהים) (מלאכתו אשר) (2:2)

And God blessed ... (ויברך) (2:3)

And sanctified it (ויקדש) (2:3)

M. Buber² and U. Cassuto³ discussed this congruence, but did not explain it because they did not see the relationship that exists between the tradition of the Creation and the tradition of Temple Building in the Ancient Near East. Now that this relationship has become clear, the above mentioned congruence receives its full explanation.⁴

¹ Ex. 39:1-31, which contains the formula "did ... as the Lord has commanded" seven times (verse 1,5,7,21,26,29,31), brings the Tabernacle account to an end by describing the carrying out of the commandments concerning Aaron's garments (see below). 39:32-43 describes the presentation of all the holy articles to Moses and Moses' subsequent approval and blessing (vv. 42-43), whereas 40:1-16 adduces God's instructions for consecrating and anointing the holy vessels, as well as the consecration and anointing of Aaron and his sons. 40:17-33, which describes Moses' execution of these instructions, repeats the formula: "did ... as the Lord has commanded" (vv. 19,21,23,25,29,32) again seven times. See Kearney's article cited above (p. 502 note 5), pp. 380f.

² *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung*, 1936, pp. 39f.

³ *Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 1967, chapters 39-40.

⁴ The connection between the completion of the creation and the completion of the building of the Temple is already discussed in the Midrashim. See Pesikta Rabbati VI: "When all the work ... was completed (I Kgs. 7:51), not "the work, but "All the work" - that is, one the day the work on the

3) A relationship between the building of the Temple and the seventh day is found in the Ugaritic Baal Epic. In the description of the building of Baal's sanctuary, which seems to be associated with creation as well¹, we hear of a fire burning for six days, which on the seventh day ceases (CTA 4 VI:22f.)², whereupon Baal rejoices in his house and his sanctuary. This description brings to mind the command "You shall not burn fire in any of your dwellings on the Sabbath" (Ex. 35:5), which comes before the account of the construction of the Tabernacle. In addition, the sanctuary of El in Ugarit is conceived, as in Babylonia and as in Israel, as a seat of rest. Thus we read of El who places his feet on his footstool and says: *atbn ank wanhn* "Now I will sit and rest." (CTA 6 III:18). and the throne of Baal is also called a throne of rest: *gršh lksi mlkh lnht lkh₂ drkth* "Chased him from his throne of kingship, from the restful seat of his dominion" (CTA 3 D:46-47).³

In the Bible the relation between the building of the Tabernacle and the seventh day is seen in Ex. 24:15-16 (P). These verses, which conclude the section on the revelation on Mt. Sinai, are stylistically parallel to the conclusion of the description of the building of the Tabernacle:

Exodus 24:15-16

Exodus 40:34-Lev. 1:1

When Moses had ascended the mountain, the cloud covered (ויכס הענן) the mountain. The Presence of the LORD (כבוד ה') abode on Mount Sinai and the cloud hid it for six days. On the seventh day He called to Moses (משה ויקרא אל) from the midst of the cloud.

... the cloud covered (ויכס הענן) the Tent of Meeting, and the Presence of the LORD (וכבוד ה') filled the Tabernacle. Moses could not enter because the cloud had settled upon it. (cf. I Kgs. 8:10-11). The LORD called to Moses (ויקרא אל משה) ... from the Tent of Meeting.

Temple was finished, God declared the work of the six days of creation as finished, for the text in Genesis, 'He rested ... from all His work which God created to make' (Gen. 2:3), does not, as one would expect, say 'and made', but 'to make', that is, another work remained to be made (for creation to be considered as finished). Only when Solomon came and built the Temple would the Holy One, blessed be He, say: Now the work of creating heaven and earth is completed: 'Now all the work ... is completed.' This is why he was called *שליטה* ('he who is destined to finish') because it was through the work of his hands that the Holy One, blessed be He, completed the work of the six days of creation.'

¹ See L.R. Fisher, VT 15 (1965), pp. 313f. and cf. most recently T. Fenton, *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East I* (Festschrift E. Loewenstamm), 1978, pp. 345f. (Hebrew).

² See my article in *Tarbiz*, xxviii (1968), p. 130, n. 7.

³ Compare CTA 16:23f. For *nht kh₂* as a hendladys see Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 156, n. 26.

U. Cassuto¹ indicated the identity of these descriptions and concluded that the Tabernacle is a reflection of Mt. Sinai, an idea which is found already in Nachmanides.² This identification is confirmed in our opinion by a comparison of Lev. 1:1 to Lev. 7:38. Many critics have paid attention to the apparent contradiction which is said to exist between these two passages. According to Lev. 1:1, the laws of sacrifices were proclaimed in the Tent of Meeting, whereas according to Lev. 7:38 these were proclaimed on Mt. Sinai.³ In our view there is no contradiction here, since there is an identity between Mt. Sinai and the Tent of Meeting: the revelation on the mountain and the revelation in the Tent of Meeting are one and the same.⁴ The sanctuary of God on earth is patterned after the sanctuary of God in heaven which was shown to Moses on the Mount.⁵ In Mesopotamia too the Esangil, the Babylonian temple, is seen as 'the mirror (*mattalātu*) of the Apsu, the image (*tamšil*) of Ešarra, the counterpart (*mehret*) of Ea's dwelling, the image of the Iku constellation'.⁶ In the Mesopotamian epic we similarly hear that the worship in the temple below should be like the worship in heaven (*En. eliš* vi: 111f.), an idea amply attested in the Jewish tradition.⁷

¹ See U. Cassuto, *Commentary on Exodus*, 1967, pp. 476ff.

² See his commentary to Exodus 24 and also his introductions to Leviticus and Numbers. On this matter see also J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, I, 1970, pp. 44f.

³ See the discussion of D.Z. Hoffmann, *Das Buch Leviticus*, 1905, I, pp. 68ff.

⁴ Especially instructive in this regard is the stylistic identity between the passages describing the revelations at the burning bush, at Sinai and at the Tent of Meeting:

Exod. 3:4: ויקרא אליו אלהים מתוך הסנה

Exod. 19:3: ויקרא אליו ה' מתוך ההר

Lev. 1:1: ויקרא אל משה... מאהל מועד

⁵ Cf. Ex. 25:9; 26:40; I Chr. 28:18-19; Wisd. Sol. 9:8; and see A. Aptowitzer, "The Heavenly Temple in the Aggadah", *Tarbiz* 2 (1931), pp. 137-153 (Hebrew).

⁶ R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons*, 1956, 21:47f., compare *En. eliš* vi:61-66. For the clarification of the problem involved see W.L. Moran, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959) III, pp. 257-265. The notion of the Temple which descended from heaven or of a heavenly replica of the Temple, is found already in the Sumerian literature. Cf., e.g. Sjöberg-Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, 1969, no. 13, p. 27:169: "house which comes forth from heaven"; no. 16, 29:200: "shrine descending from the midst of the heaven"; Keš Temple Hymn, *ibid.*, 169:35; "temple whose halo (*mūš*) is suspended from heaven" (for *mūš* as 'halo' cf. W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 23 (1970) p. 59); A.W. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna* etc., 1960, p. 39 ll. 11-13: "Ur, the mountain temple, the temple ... which the god Anu established" (compare Ex. 15:17). Compare M. Weinfeld, *Shaton* 4 (1980), pp. 285-286.

⁷ Cf. A. Aptowitzer, *Tarbiz* 2 (1931), pp. 257ff.

For our purposes, we see that according to the priestly tradition in Ex. 24:15ff., Moses' going up to the Mountain, which comes mainly in order to receive the instructions concerning the construction of the Tabernacle (cp. Ex. 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; Num. 8:4), was bound up with a waiting of six days¹, similar to the six days required in order to bring the work of creation to completion.

The idea of the Tabernacle as a symbol of the Universe is most clearly expressed in later Jewish literature. Thus Josephus declares that each of the objects of the Tabernacle "is intended to recall and represent the Universe" (*Antiq.* III, 180, compare III, 123; *B.J.* V, 212f.).² Philo elaborates the same idea (*De Vita Mos.* II, 80f.; *De Spec. Leg.* I, 66f.) and so does the Midrashic literature.³

According to these sources not only do the different parts of the Temple and its objects represent the heavenly abode, but even the priests of the Temple represent the divine retinue, i.e. the angels. Thus we hear Philo stating that the Temple of God represents the whole Universe: the inner shrine represents heaven, the votive objects are the stars and the priests are the angels, the servants of his power (*Spec. Leg.* I, 66). The high priest, who in his view has been consecrated to the Father of the world, wears a vesture which represents the world (*Vita Mos.* II 133f.; cp. *Wisd. Sol.* 18:24) and when he enters before the Lord, the whole universe enters with him (*ibid.* compare Josephus, *Antiq.* III, 184f.).

In the Qumran scrolls the high priest is described as the angel of the inner shrine in heaven (מלאך פנים במעון קודש), serving in the royal chamber (היכל מלכות) and constituting the big luminary (מאור גדול)⁴ (IQSb

¹ Compare Jesus' ascending the mountain after six days in the story about the transfiguration (Marc. 9:2, Matt. 17:1). For the Sinaitic pattern of that story see my article in *Immanuel*, Bulletin for Relig. Thought and Res. in Israel, 8 (1978), p. 18.

² Cf. Pseudo-Jonathan to Ex. 28:17,20; 39:37; 40:4. Most instructive is Ps. Jon. to Ex. 39:37 where the lamps of the Menorah are said to be corresponding to the seven stars in the heaven which move according to their written courses (שיטריהון) in heaven. The term שטר 'script' applied to the stars in heaven is most common in Mesopotamia (šitir šame) and appears there in the context of the cosmic symbolics of the Babylonian temple, see E. Unger, *Babylon, Die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier*, 1930, p. 22f. For the stars as heavenly script see Job 38:31-33:
החציא מזרות בעתו... אם חשיט משטרו בארץ

³ Cf. L. Ginsberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, VI, p. 67.

⁴ The 'big luminary' is the sun.

4:25f.). A similar picture of the high priest emerges from Ben-Sira 50:6f., where the high priest is depicted as the morning star, and as the sun shining on the Temple.

The symbolic features of Aaron's priesthood may be recognized in the Biblical accounts themselves. The section dealing with the priesthood of Aaron (27:20-30:10) opens with the "light" (אור) kindled by Aaron (27:20-21) and concludes with "lamp", "incense", and "atonement" (30:7-10).¹ These features are not incidental.² The high priest as the symbol of light is, as we have seen, very prominent in the second Temple literature. On the other hand, incense and atonement, which are usually associated together (cp. Num. 17:11-13), characterize here the function of the high priest who serves in the inner shrine (מלאך הפנין).

4) The connection between Creation and Temple building is rooted in an ancient Near Eastern tradition concerning the victory of the god over his enemies which brings about his enthronement. This enthronement entails the establishment of a "throne of kingship" or "dwelling place", which is the god's temple.

This throne, of course, can be built only after the creation of the world. In Babylonia, as is known, the creation of the world is the result of the victory of Marduk over his enemies, and this victory brings about his enthronement. In Ugarit, the building of a temple is related after the victory of Baal, and as has been indicated above (p. 504), seems to be associated with Creation. This tradition of the enthronement of the god and the building of his temple after victory over an enemy is reflected in Israel in the "Song of the Sea". After the victory over the sea we hear about "the holy abode", and a "sanctuary" which God had established in the "mountain of his inheritance" (הר נחלתך; Ex. 15:13,17), and following this comes a declaration that "YHWH shall reign for ever and ever" (v. 18). We should mention in this context that the place of Baal's sanctuary is also "in the holy abode" (bqdš) and "in the mountain of his inheritance" (b'yr nhl't, CTA 3 C:26-27).

¹ Cf. Kearney, *art. cit.*, pp. 375f.

² According to Kearney (*ibid.*) this framework makes the instructions concerning the Aaronite priesthood in 27:20-30:10 correspond to the creation of light in Gen. 1:2-3.

5) We find therefore in Israel a relation between Temple and Creation on the one hand, and between Temple and God's victory over his enemies, on the other. Is it possible to find in Israel a direct relationship between the creation of the world and the enthronement of God, as we found in Mesopotamia? On this point also it is possible to give an affirmative answer. The enthronement psalm, Psalm 93 (in the background of which stands God's overcoming the "rivers", mighty waters" (נהרות, מים רבילים) - concepts familiar from the Ugaritic myth: *nhr il rbm'*) - speaks of the establishment of the world², and moreover, of the throne of God, which is established following his enthronement and is mentioned in proximity to the "house of the LORD" and "holy abode" (נאוה (נוה) קדש).³ We find therefore in this psalm the three motives: victory and enthronement, Creation and Temple⁴ connected together, as they are in the Mesopotamian epic.

The victory over "mighty waters" and the enthronement of God in his "sanctuary" are found also in Psalm 29 (vv. 3,10). In Ps. 89 too we find the foundation of the world together with the victory over Rahab, the *Teru^cah* (v. 16) and kingship.⁵

6) We learn of the relationship of the Sabbath to the enthronement of God from the liturgy of the Second Temple period. The problem of this relationship is essentially similar to the problem of the relationship of the New Year Festival to the enthronement of God. On these two important matters there is little scriptural evidence, but the Halakhah of Second Temple times is helpful in understanding them. Concerning Rosh HaShanah we find in the Bible only that it is a "day of *Teru^cah*" (Num. 29.1). The real significance of this definition is clarified by the liturgy of Rosh HaShanah, as

¹ Cf. most recently T. Fenton, *art. cit.* (p. 504 note 1), p. 350.

² See Cassuto, *op. cit.*

³ In Qumran scroll 4Q Psb we find "נוה קדש" instead of Massoretic "וה קדש" (see Skehan, *CBQ* 26 (1964) p. 314). It is then possible that נוה serves in apposition to רבילת.

⁴ See also M. Dahood, *Psalms*, II, 342-343. It is difficult to establish whether the heavenly or an earthly Temple is intended, since they are identical. Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 1972, p. 196, n. 1.

⁵ "Truly the LORD is our shield, the Holy One of Israel our king." The *lamed* in the last verse is asseverative: Truly the LORD is our shield and truly the Holy One of Israel our King." See Dahood in his commentary, where references are given to opinions on this issue.

it is found in the Mishnah¹, and the same holds for the Sabbath. Psalm 93, in which we find a clear relationship between the creation of the world, the enthronement of God, and his sanctuary, bears, according to the Septuagint, the title "For the eve of the Sabbath" (τοῦ προσαββάτου). This tradition appears also in Mishna Tamid VII, 4: "On the sixth day they would say **לכש מלך גאוח לבש**" (i.e. Ps 93). In the Talmud it is stated in the name of R. Aqiba that this psalm is said on the sixth day "because He finished His work and ruled over them" (B. Rosh HaShana 31a). In Aboth de Rabbi Nathan text A chap. I (Schechter, p. 3) we read: "What is recited on the sixth day? 'The Lord Reigneth' ... He completed all His works and ascended and sat in the heights of the universe." This last reading lies behind the Piyyut of the Yozer prayer in the Sabbath liturgy **לאל אשר שבת** in which we read "on the seventh day he ascended and sat on the throne of His Glory ... this is a song of praise of the seventh day ... and the seventh day gives praises and says 'a Psalm (מזמור שיר) for² the Sabbath, it is good to give thanks to the Lord.'" The poem and the praise sung by Creation (including the heavenly retinue) to the Creator at the time of His enthronement upon the completion of His work, which we find here, are also rooted in Rabbinic sources. Thus we read in an addition (in the Cambridge MS) to Mishnah Tamid VII, 4 referred to above: "On the seventh day they all praise³ His glory and say 'a Psalm (מזמור שיר) for the Sabbath, it is good to give thanks to the Lord and to sing (to your name O Most High) ...". In Aboth de Rabbi Nathan text A chapter chap. 1: "At that time three groups of ministering angels came down, and in their hands were lutes and lyres and all kinds of musical instruments. And they sang the song of praise with Adam; as it is said, 'a Psalm for the Sabbath, it is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord ...'".

¹ Mowinckel was the first to see this: *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* I-II, 1962; see recently, the discussion by J. Licht, "Rosh HaShanah" in *Encyclopedia Mikra'it*, vol. 7.

² With respect to the piyyut **לאל אשר שבת** note that the text reads **וביום השביעי** ... **וייום השביעי משבח** as the translations seem to take it. Translated literally the text means: "The seventh day offers praise ...", from which it follows that the piyyutan understood the **לamed** of **ליום השבת** to mean 'composed or recited by' the Sabbath day. The same must be the meaning of the preceding phrase in the piyyut: "this is the praise (recited) by the seventh day". Ps. 19:3 can also be taken to imply that days (and nights) recite God's praises (vs. 2): the midrash also has the Sabbath day speak when it complains that it alone of all the days has no partner. (Note of Jeff Tigay).

³ The term "praise" (קלט) is found in connection with the middle Amidah prayer of the Sabbath in Tractate Soferim XIX, 7.

Indeed, it seems that Psalm 92, which immediately precedes the Psalm "The Lord has reigned" (Ps. 93), was entitled "A Psalm for the Sabbath" with good reason. **וַאֲמוֹנָה חַסֵּד** proclaimed in the morning and evening (v. 3), signify the redemptive act of creation (cf. Ps. 33:4-6).¹ The continuation of the Psalm: "For YHWH has caused me to rejoice in the works of his hands ..." also points to creation, although afterwards the poet shifts from the sphere of the Creation to the sphere of history.²

7) In view of what has been said it seems to us that the *Sitz im Leben* of Gen. 1:1-2:3 is indeed cultic-liturgic. The recurring formulas: "And he saw that it was good", "and it was evening and it was morning", are a type of refrain which imparts to the chapter a liturgic character.³ We know today that the Babylonian Creation Epic *Enuma Elish* was customarily read in ceremonies in the sanctuary⁴, whereas the Persians recited their Theogony while sacrificing (Herodotus I, 132). Also in Israel (at least in Second Temple times) the priestly courses (**מַשְׁמֵרוֹת**) and the **אֲנָשֵׁי מַעֲמֵד** who met at the time sacrifices were being offered in Jerusalem, customarily read portions from the account of creation, and on the sixth day they recited **וַיִּכְלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם** ⁵ (Gen. 2:1).

¹ On **וַאֲמוֹנָה חַסֵּד וְצִדְקָה** and **מַשְׁפָּט וְצִדְקָה** in the context of the three divine redemptive acts: Creation, Exodus and the Eschaton, cf. my forthcoming study in the volume of the *XXV Rencontre Assyriologique Internat.* Berlin, 3-7 July, 1978.

² It appears that a similar process is found in Psalm 89. The poet opens the psalm with the cosmic **חַסֵּד** "Your steadfast love is confirmed forever; there in the heavens You establish your faithfulness" (the phrase **וַאֲמוֹנָה חַסֵּד** is split up here in order to create the parallelism) (v. 3), and passes to the **חַסֵּד** shown to David (v. 4-5). In the continuation of the Psalm too, we find God's acts of **חַסֵּד** in creation first (v. 7-19) and afterwards the **חַסֵּד** shown to David (vv. 20f.).

³ For liturgic elements in Gen. 1 see also A. Toeg, *Beth Mikra*, 60 (1972), pp. 288-296.

⁴ *Enuma Elish* was recited by the priests of Babylonia not only on the fourth of Nisan (the New Year's Festival) but also on the fourth of Kislev, and it is possible that it was read on the fourth day of every month. Cf. W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 (1968), pp. 104f.

⁵ Mishnah TaCanit IV 2-3; Tosefta TaCan. IV (III) 3-4. Perhaps it is possible to find a trace of this recital in Theophrastus (cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I, 1974, no. 4, p. 10) who relates that the Jews used to gaze at the stars, talking about God, at the time of sacrifice. In the same context fastings are mentioned, and this has already been compared to the fast of the **אֲנָשֵׁי כִּיכֹזַר** (related in the Mishnah, *ibid.*). In the Fragment Targum and in Targum Neofiti we

The festive reading of ויכלו השמים (Gen. 2:1) was incorporated into the Amidah prayer of the Sabbath Eve¹, and there are versions in which the formula ישמחו במלכותך "they shall rejoice in Your Kingdom" immediately follows it², which also testifies as to the affinity of Sabbath and the enthronement of YHWH.

In the liturgy of the Sabbath eve the enthronement Psalms 95-99, 29, 92 and 93 are included. The origin of this custom is unknown. It is difficult to suppose that this custom began arbitrarily in the last centuries.³ In view of what has been said here it is possible to assume that this custom has ancient roots. It is even possible that the practice of going out to receive The Queen Sabbath (Shabbat HaMalkah), of which we read in BT Shabbat 119b and in Baba Kama 32b, was already related with the recitation of Psalms of this kind. The title "Shabbat HaMalkah", in any event, testifies to a connection between the enthronement of YHWH and the Sabbath.

Recently, there has been much talk on the "seasonal pattern" of epic myths from the Ancient Near East.⁴ According to this view, the Ugaritic and Mesopotamian myths dramatize the cyclic nature of the changes of the seasons of the year. If this approach is correct, then Gen. 1:1-2:3 is also relevant to this category. But, in contrast to the pagan myth, which was connected with dramatizations of natural processes, there is no connection to the self-renewal of nature in our creation story. Like the Sabbath itself, so also the text which is connected to it is liberated from any relation to

find added to the refrain: "and it was evening and it was morning" the words סדר עובד בראשית "the Order of the Work of Creation" which apparently refers to the liturgical use of the Genesis passages by the אנשי סעוד

¹ On the importance of reciting Gen. 2:1-3 cf. B. Shabbat 119b. "Raba - others state, R. Joshua b. Levi - said: Even if an individual prays on the eve of the Sabbath, he must recite 'and [the heaven and the earth] were finished [etc.]', for R. Hammuna said: He who prays on the eve of the Sabbath and recites 'and [the heaven and the earth] were finished', the Writ treats of him as though he had become a partner with the Holy One, blessed be He, in the Creation ...". According to Persian Jewish custom, the liturgy of Sabbath Eve contains the whole section of Gen. 1:1-2:3 (JQR X (1898), p. 606).

² Cf. I.M. Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1931, p. 110.

³ For a study on the subject cf. יוסף כהן, קבלה שבה ופזמון לכה דודי. "ספר זכרון לא.נ. בראון, חש"ל" 331ff. במנהגי ישראל,

⁴ Cf. J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, 1971.

climatic or solar-lunar factors¹, and is transformed into a cultic-religious experience which recurs every seventh day and comes to commemorate the act of Creation and the enthronement of God.

We may now summarize the points presented in this paper:

- 1) God's dwelling in his sanctuary is considered as "rest", parallel to the concept of the sanctuary in the ancient Near East, and to the seventh day's rest in Genesis.
- 2) The completion of the Tabernacle is parallel to the completion of the universe in Genesis.
- 3) The seventh day as the day of completion appears both in the Tabernacle accounts and in the Creation stories.
- 4) Creation and Temple building in the Ancient Near East are associated with and tied to the notion of enthronement.
- 5) Creation and the Enthronement of God are interrelated in the Old Testament.
- 6) The Sabbath and the enthronement of God are related together in Jewish liturgy.
- 7) The Sitz im Leben of Gen. 1:1-2:3 is to be sought in Temple liturgy.

¹ On the uniqueness of the biblical sabbatical cycle in contrast to the lunar cycle, which dominated the Mesopotamian festival, cf. W.W. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-study in the contrastive Approach", HUCA 48 (1977) pp. 1-18.