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The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif in the Hebrew Bible: Function and Relationship to the Earthly Counterparts

Elias Brasil de Souza
Andrews University

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THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE HEBREW BIBLE: FUNCTION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE EARTHLY COUNTERPARTS

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Elias Brasil de Souza

April 2005
UMI Number: 3164586

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TO THE EARTHLY COUNTERPARTS

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by

Elias Brasil de Souza

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Date approved
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ABSTRACT

THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE HEBREW BIBLE: FUNCTION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE EARTHLY COUNTERPARTS

by

Elias Brasil de Souza

Adviser: Richard M. Davidson
ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE HEBREW BIBLE: FUNCTION AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE EARTHLY COUNTERPARTS

Name of researcher: Elias Brasil de Souza

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Richard M. Davidson, Ph.D.

Date completed: April 2005

The present dissertation investigates the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterparts, as reflected in forty-three passages of Hebrew Bible. Following an introductory chapter, the second chapter of this dissertation is devoted to a survey of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the ANE literature, as represented by Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts. The investigation of these texts reveals that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif was part of the worldview of the ANE, where the heavenly sanctuary was not only assumed as existing in heaven, but also as functioning in close relationship to the earthly counterparts.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are devoted to the exegesis of heavenly sanctuary/temple passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, according to the canonical divisions of the Hebrew

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Bible (namely Torah, Prophets, and Writings). This investigation reveals the pervasive presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible and provides a broad delineation of its function and relationship to the earthly counterparts. It has been found that the heavenly sanctuary temple functions as a place of divine activities where YHWH supervises the cosmos, performs acts of judgment (sometimes conceived as a two-stage activity in which the execution of the sentence was preceded by an investigative phase), hears the prayers of the needy, and bestows atonement and forgiveness upon the sinners. The perception also emerged of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place of worship, a meeting place for the heavenly council, and an object of attack by anti-YHWH forces, thus playing a pivotal role in the cosmic battle between good and evil.

In terms of its relationship to the earthly counterparts, it becomes apparent that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was understood to operate in structural and functional correspondence to the earthly counterparts. Moreover, some texts reveal a dynamic interaction between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries/temples, inasmuch as the activities of one could affect the other.

Chapter 6 presents a theological synthesis of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif based on the previous chapters. Some consideration is given to the similarities and differences between the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif as found in the Hebrew Bible and in its ANE background. Next, attention is devoted to some theological implications of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif for the notions of judgment, cosmic battle, and covenant. To conclude, the Hebrew Bible conceives of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in functional and structural correspondence with its earthly counterpart with both sanctuaries/temples operating in dynamic interaction.
To Magela

To Guilherme and Gustavo

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................. xiv
LIST OF TABLES .............................................................. xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ....................................................... xv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .......................................................... xxii

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION ........................................................... 1
   Problem ................................................................. 1
   Purpose ............................................................... 2
   Review of Literature .................................................. 2
       G. B. Gray ......................................................... 4
       M. Metzger ....................................................... 5
       Richard M. Davidson ........................................... 6
       N. E. Andreasen ................................................ 8
       William H. Shea ............................................... 10
       F. Hartenstein .................................................. 11
       Sanglae Kim ..................................................... 14
       G. K. Beale ..................................................... 16
   Justification .......................................................... 19
   Methodology ......................................................... 20
   Delimitations ......................................................... 24

2. ANCIENT NEAR-EASTERN BACKGROUND ............................... 26
   Sumerian Literature .................................................. 28
       Royal Inscriptions: The Gudea Cylinders .................. 29
       Hymns and Psalms .............................................. 33
       Other Texts ...................................................... 37
       Summary .......................................................... 38
   Akkadian Literature ................................................ 39
4. THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF
IN THE PROPHETS .............................................. 187

2 Sam 22:1-51 ............................................. 187
Preliminary Observations ..................................... 188
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations .......... 190
The Meaning of פֶּן ............................................. 190
The Meaning of נִשְׂפַּח הָאָדָם .... 192
The Meaning of פֶּן ............................................. 192
The Meaning of מָרְאָה אֵין .................................. 193
The Meaning of מַעֲרָא ....................................... 193
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif ......................... 194
Function ................................................................ 194
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart ....................... 197
1 Kgs 8:12-66 ............................................. 197
Preliminary Observations ..................................... 199
Excursus: The Function of the Earthly Temple and the “Name” Theology .... 202
Prayer versus Sacrifice ........................................ 203
Transcendence versus Immanence .......................... 206
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations ....... 211
The Meaning of יצא ......................................... 212
The Meaning of קֶרֶך ......................................... 212
The Meaning of יָדָיו ......................................... 213
The Meaning of לְצָעֲדֵי ...................................... 214
The Meaning of קֶשֶׁם ....................................... 215
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif ......................... 216
Function ................................................................ 217
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart ....................... 220
1 Kgs 22:19-23 ............................................. 222
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Meaning of כָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus: Effect of the Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple on Earthly Affairs</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 6:1-8</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to the Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 14:12-15</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus: Effect of the Interpretation of the Text</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus: Identity of the King of Babylon</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus: Alleged Mythological Background of 14:12-15 and the Referent of Helel ben Shahar</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of כְָּפָר נָבֹאָה</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to the Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 1:1-28</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to the Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 10:1-22</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE WRITINGS ........................................ 362

Ps 11:1-7 ............................................. 362
Preliminary Observations ................................ 363
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations .... 365
Referent of ריבך ........................................ 365
Meaning of לם ......................................... 366
Syntax of Vs. 5 ...................................... 370
Meaning of Vss. 6 and 7 ............................... 373
Heavenly Sanctuary/Tempel Motif ................. 375
Function ............................................. 375
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart ............... 376
Ps 20:1-10 [9] ......................................... 376
Preliminary Observations ................................ 376
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations .... 378
Referent of דיר ........................................ 378
Referent of ירוסי ..................................... 378
Heavenly Sanctuary/Tempel Motif .................... 379
Function ............................................. 379
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart ............... 379
Ps 29:1-11 ............................................. 380
Preliminary Observations ................................ 380
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations .... 384
Meaning of אמש ...................................... 384
Meaning and Referent of ימויויה .................... 384
Storm Imagery ....................................... 387
Referent of לאכ ...................................... 388
Meaning of לדב ...................................... 391
Heavenly Sanctuary/Tempel Motif .................... 393
Function ............................................. 394
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart ............... 394
Ps 33:1-22 ............................................. 394
Preliminary Observations ................................ 394
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations .... 395
Semantic Connotation and Referent of יבנאו .... 395
Idea of YHWH Looking Down .......................... 397
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 60:1-14 [12]</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent of שֶׁלֶם in vs. 18 [17]</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning and Referent of שֶׁלֶם in vs. 25 [24]</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent of שֶׁלֶם in vs. 25 [24]</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning and Referent of רַאֶם</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent of שֶׁלֶם</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterparts</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 96:1-13</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent of שֶׁלֶם</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent and Meaning of שֶׁלֶם</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterparts</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 102:20-21 [19-20]</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of שֶׁלֶם</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of שֶׁלֶם and שֶׁלֶם</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 150:1-6</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Observations</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to the Earthly Counterpart</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel 7:9-14</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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LIST OF FIGURES

1. Nabuapaliddina's Relief ........................................  48
2. Semiotic Structure of Gen 28:10-22 ..........................  110
3. Literary Structure of Ps 29 .................................  383
4. Vertical Movement of the Little Horn ......................  453

LIST OF TABLES

1. Key Words in Genesis 28:10-22 ...............................  104
2. The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif in the Torah ..........  186
3. The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif in the Prophets ......  360
4. Parallels between Dan 7 and 8 ..............................  442
5. Panel Structure of Dan 7 ..................................  443
6. Literary Structure of Daniel 9:24 ............................  468
7. The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif in the Writings ......  467
8. The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif in the Hebrew Bible 499
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAL</td>
<td>Arbeitsheft zur Altorientalischen Literatur</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Anchor Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>Anchor Bible Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABR</td>
<td>Australian Biblical Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>AcOr</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJBI</td>
<td>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</td>
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<td>ANET</td>
<td>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</td>
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<td>ATD</td>
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<td>AOAT</td>
<td>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</td>
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<td>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</td>
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<td>ATANT</td>
<td>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments</td>
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<td>AUSDDS</td>
<td>Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series</td>
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<td>AUSS</td>
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<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<td>BBR</td>
<td>Bulletin of Biblical Research</td>
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<td>BBS</td>
<td>Biblical and Judaic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDB</td>
<td>The Brown Driver Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon</td>
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<td>BHS</td>
<td>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</td>
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<td>Bib</td>
<td>Biblica</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>BibInt</td>
<td>Biblical Interpretation</td>
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<td>BibOr</td>
<td>Biblica et Orientalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIS</td>
<td>Biblical Interpretation Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKAT</td>
<td>Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Biblische Notizen</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSCS</td>
<td>Bible Study Commentary Series</td>
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<td>BT</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ConBOT</td>
<td>Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series</td>
</tr>
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<td>COS</td>
<td>The Context of Scripture</td>
</tr>
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<td>CQR</td>
<td>Church Quarterly Review</td>
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<td>DARCOM</td>
<td>Daniel and Revelation Committee Series</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DSB  The Daily Study Bible
EC    Epworth Commentaries
ECC   The Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ETL   Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EstBib Estudios biblicos
Exp   The Expositor
ExpTim Expository Times
ETR   Études Théologiques et Religieuses
FOTL  Forms of the Old Testament Literature
GSEAT Geistliche Schriftlesung: Erläuterungen zum Alten Testament für die geistliche Schriftlesung
HAR   Hebrew Annual Review
HAT   Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HALOT The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HCOT  Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
Hermeneia Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HTKAT Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR   Harvard Theological Review
HSM   Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS   Harvard Semitic Studies
IBC   Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC   The International Critical Commentary

xvi

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITC</td>
<td>International Theological Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>JANES</td>
<td>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JANESCUC</td>
<td>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
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<td>JBLang</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>JATS</td>
<td>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>JETS</td>
<td>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</td>
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<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNSL</td>
<td>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review</td>
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<td>JR</td>
<td>Journal of Religion</td>
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<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of Religious Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOT</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOT Sup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JTS</td>
<td>Journal of Theological Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAT</td>
<td>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>KTU</td>
<td>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)</td>
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<td>LB</td>
<td>Linguistica Biblica</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LTQ</td>
<td>Lexington Theological Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>NABC</td>
<td>The New American Bible Commentary</td>
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<td>NAC</td>
<td>The New American Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCBC</td>
<td>New Century Bible Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEBKTAE</td>
<td>Die Neue Echter Bibel: Kommentar zum Altes Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIBC</td>
<td>New International Biblical Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NICOT</td>
<td>The New International Commentary on the Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIDOTTE</td>
<td>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSBT</td>
<td>New Studies in Biblical Theology</td>
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<td>NSKAT</td>
<td>Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar: Altes Testament 24.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Numen</td>
<td>International Review for the History of Religions</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBO</td>
<td>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Or</td>
<td>Orientalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTE</td>
<td>Old Testament Essays</td>
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<td>OTL</td>
<td>The Old Testament Library</td>
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<td>OTMBTC</td>
<td>Old Testament Message: A Biblical-Theological Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue biblique</td>
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<td>RevExp</td>
<td>Review and Expositor</td>
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<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l'histoire des religions</td>
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<td>RNS</td>
<td>Recherches: Nouvelle Série</td>
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<td>RSMS</td>
<td>Religious Studies Monograph Series</td>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>SBLMS</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDABC</td>
<td>Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary</td>
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<td>SEÅ</td>
<td>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</td>
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<td>STIJ</td>
<td>Stulos Theological Journal</td>
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<td>TBC</td>
<td>Torch Bible Commentaries</td>
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<td>TDOT</td>
<td>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</td>
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<td>THBW</td>
<td>Theologish-homiletish Bibel Werk</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTC</td>
<td>The Tyndale Old Testament Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWAT</td>
<td>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</td>
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<td>TWOT</td>
<td>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSN</td>
<td>Studia Semitica Neerlandica</td>
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<tr>
<td>TZ</td>
<td>Theologische Zeitschrift</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBL</td>
<td>Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur</td>
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<td>UF</td>
<td>Ugarit-Forschungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>VTSup</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum Supplement</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAW</td>
<td>Writings from the Ancient World</td>
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<tr>
<td>WBC</td>
<td>Word Biblical Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>WMANT</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>WSRAT</td>
<td>Wuppertaler Studienbibel, Reihe Altes Testament</td>
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<td>WTJ</td>
<td>Westminster Theological Journal</td>
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<td>WUNT</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xerux</td>
<td><em>Xerux: The Journal of Northwest Theological Seminary</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ZAS</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</em></td>
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<td>ZAW</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</em></td>
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<td>ZB</td>
<td><em>Zürcher Bibelkommentare</em></td>
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<td>ZDPV</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins</em></td>
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<td>ZS</td>
<td><em>Zeitschrift für Semitisk und verwandte Gebiete</em></td>
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to mention by name each person who has been a contributor to this doctoral dissertation. Because of that I would like mention those who were more directly involved in the process of bringing forth this study.

Particular thanks go to the members of my advisory committee: to Dr. Richard M. Davidson who supervised this dissertation and manifested sustained enthusiasm for the topic. I also express my thanks to the other members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Jon Paulien, Dr. Roy E. Gane, and Dr. Jiri Moskala, whose comments and criticisms helped me sharpen my views in several important aspects of this work. As the external examiner, Dr. William H. Shea also provided valuable comments and suggestions that helped improve the final presentation of this work.

I also express appreciation to the administration of Northeast Brazil College for financial support during the entire doctoral program, from the course work to the completion of this dissertation. My thanks also go to Dr. Leona Running for meticulous editorial work that saved my manuscript from many blunders; those that remain are, of course, my own responsibility.

Finally, I am most grateful to my wife Mágela, for her support and encouragement, and for my children Guilherme and Gustavo who had to endure my absence in those many hours in which my research claimed my presence in the library.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Though the picture of a heavenly sanctuary/temple in the Hebrew Bible is generally recognized, its full implications are far from clear. Usually critical scholarship tends to view the biblical concept of a heavenly sanctuary/temple as borrowed from ancient Near Eastern mythology in which a correspondence between heavenly and earthly realities is assumed. On the other hand, some Adventist conservative scholars have studied the heavenly sanctuary/temple from a historical-theological perspective without detailed exegesis of the heavenly sanctuary/temple biblical passages. A few studies scattered among chapters of books and journal articles have advanced the understanding of this subject, as noted in the review of literature below.

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Purpose

This dissertation presents an investigation of OT passages containing the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in order to achieve a threefold purpose: (1) to ascertain the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple; (2) to determine the relationship of the heavenly sanctuary/temple with its earthly counterpart, and (3) to provide a comprehensive picture of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible.

Review of Literature

A substantial review of literature has been provided by Sanglae Kim, so a detailed restatement is unnecessary. At the outset, it should be noted that some studies on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif have focused on extrabiblical apocalyptic literature; others have been concerned with the idea of a heavenly temple in the context of a background for the temple or New Jerusalem in the New Testament. A few studies have dealt with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic

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1Cf. Sanglae Kim, "The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2002), 27-44.


4Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, HSS 27 (Atlanta,
literature\(^1\) including early Christianity.\(^2\) For the purpose of this research, attention is given to those works that have focused on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible. An examination of the scholarly literature reveals that although several works touch upon this topic,\(^3\) only a few scholarly studies have been devoted to the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple in the Hebrew Bible. To these latter works, attention is now devoted according to a chronological order.

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The first scholarly work that was devoted to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible was conducted by G. B. Gray. In a thirty-five-page article, Gray discusses the origins of the heavenly sanctuary/temple idea and its relationship to other ideas. After discussing the possible origins of this idea in Babylonian literature, he concluded that the idea of a heavenly temple had no antecedent in the ANE literature; rather, it developed among the Jewish people between about 500 and 100 B.C. Consequently, in his discussion of Isa 6:1 he argued that the temple referred to therein is the Jerusalem temple, since, according to him, "there is no direct evidence for the existence of the belief [in the heavenly temple] earlier than the Testament of the Patriarchs at the end of the second century B.C." With this sweeping generalization, Gray totally denies the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible. He also argued that the "failure of the belief to appear in three writers, Ezekiel, P, and the Chronicler, all of whom had good reason for betraying it if they held it, should receive due weight." Interestingly enough, however, Gray allows for the presence of a "heavenly-palace" motif in certain passages (Pss 11:4, 18:7, Mic 1:2, Isa 63:15) due to the distinction he makes between the idea of temple, on the one hand, and palace, on the other.


\[2\] Ibid., 546.

\[3\] Ibid., 539-40.

\[4\] Ibid., 541.

\[5\] Ibid., 544.
A few comments about Gray’s view are in order. At the outset, it must be pointed out that his efforts to treat the biblical concept of a heavenly sanctuary/temple independently from Babylonian ideas is a step in the right direction. However, Gray’s critical approach prevents him from perceiving the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif as clearly expressed in Isa 6. Furthermore, Gray’s contention that the belief in a heavenly temple fails “to appear in three writers, Ezekiel, P, and the Chronicler” cannot be sustained in the light of passages such as Ezek 1, 10; Exod 25:9, 40; and 2 Chr 30:27. Finally, it should be noted that Gray’s distinction between the idea of temple and that of palace imposes a foreign analytical idea on the synthetic Hebraic concept of temple/sanctuary/palace.

M. Metzger

In 1970, M. Metzger published an interesting article dealing with the heavenly and earthly dwelling place of YHWH. Apparently his main concern was to demonstrate that there is a continuum between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries so that it is almost impossible to draw a line of separation between the two. For Metzger, "heavenly and earthly sanctuary are only two aspects of the same idea." Thus, he argued that "the sanctuary is the place where heavenly and earthly worlds meet and interpenetrate each

1These passages will be discussed later in this dissertation.
3"Himmlisches und irdisches Heiligtum sind hier nur zwei Aspekte desselben Vorstellungskomplexes" (ibid.).
other."1 In other words, "in the sanctuary the border between the earthly and heavenly world is relativized."2 Among other examples of this idea, Metzger mentions Isa 6 as portraying such a merger inasmuch as the throne of YHWH, according to his view, is jutting from earth to heaven so that YHWH is understood as dwelling in both the heavenly and earthly temples at the same time.3

Metzger's article contributed interesting insights about the close relationship between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries. However, his view of an indistinct merge between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries seems overdrawn. Metzger's literalistic interpretation of YHWH's throne jutting up between heaven and earth is not corroborated by a close scrutiny of the passage.4 Furthermore, it must be pointed out that although the Hebrew Bible conceives of the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries as working in close relationship, the distinction between them is kept.

Richard M. Davidson

A significant study on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif has been produced by Richard M. Davidson. In an unpublished paper dated to 1976,5 Davidson undertakes an

1"Das Heigtum der Ort ist, an dem die 'himmlische' und 'irdische' Welt einander begegnen, ja geradezu einander durchdringem" (ibid., 144).

2"Im Heligtum die Grenzen zwischen der irdischen und der himmlischen Welt relativiert sind" (ibid., 145).

3Ibid., 144-45.

4See the exegesis of Isa 6 in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

examination of several passages dealing with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible. Taking a lead from Exod 25:9, 40, he devotes special attention to the vertical typology, that is, the correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. Davidson investigated ten passages\(^1\) which were found to contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, and pointed to some others\(^2\) where this idea may be potentially present. As a result of his study, the perceptions emerged that the sanctuary/temple would function in close relationship to its earthly counterpart, and that the presence of this motif in the Hebrew Bible is much more widespread than previous scholarship had realized. Another contribution by Davidson to the concept of vertical typology was developed in his published dissertation,\(^3\) where he dealt with the characteristics and structures of biblical types and antitypes. Particularly relevant for the present study is his detailed study of tynlb.T; ("model") in Exod 25:9, 40, and its implications for a vertical (earth-heaven) sanctuary correspondence.\(^4\)

Finally, it should be pointed out that Davidson's study on the area of heavenly sanctuary and biblical typology contributed to demonstrate the need and viability of future research on this topic.\(^5\) Thus, the present dissertation takes Davidson's study as a point of

\(^{1}\text{Pss 11:4, 18:7 [6] (par. 2 Sam 2:7); 60:8 [6], 63:3 [2]; 68:36 (35), 96:6 (par. 2 Chr 16:27), 102:20 [19], Isa 6, Jonah 2:8 [7], Mic 1:2.}\)

\(^{2}\text{E.g., Deut 26:5; Jer 25:30; Zeoh 2:17; 6:12, 13; Pss 29:9; 68:6 [5]; 2 Chr 30:27.}\)

\(^{3}\text{Richard M. Davidson, Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τύπος Structures. AUSDDS 2 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981), 367-88. This is discussed further in chapter 2.}\)

\(^{4}\text{See ibid., 367-88, for a detailed discussion of "vertical τύπος structures in Exod 25:40."}\)

\(^{5}\text{See the insightful excursus on vertical "τύπος structures," and a discussion of tynlb.T; in}\)
departure for a more detailed and comprehensive delineation of the vertical typology of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the Hebrew Bible.

N. E. Andreasen

In 1981, N. E. Andreasen contributed a paper in which he discusses the heavenly sanctuary in the Hebrew Bible according to three areas of concern: "the relationship between heaven and earth in the Ancient Near East; God's heavenly and earthly residence in the OT; and prophetic visionary descriptions of the heavenly sanctuary through the earthly." Concerning the first area, Andreasen pointed to ANE materials where the idea of a relationship between heaven and earth is effected by means of the Weltberg (cosmic mountain), or Weltbaum (cosmic tree), which was understood to be the meeting point between heaven and earth. This ANE background of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, so Andreasen implies, was shared to a certain extent by the writers of the Hebrew Bible. In his second area of concern, Andreasen discusses the divine residences on earth and in heaven. He then proceeds to survey several passages containing the idea of YHWH


Ibid., 67.

Ibid.

Ibid. 60
residing in heaven and on earth, especially in cases where the idea is expressed by means of terms such as כָּפָן ("tabernacle"), יִשֹּׁב ("dwell"), שַׁמְיָה ("sanctuary"), כָּוֵר ("house"), דַּוֵּל ("temple/palace"), מֵעָבֹד ("throne"), מִקְדָּשׁ ("place"), and שָׁבָע ("heavens").

According to Andreasen, the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart are so closely connected that, although being "cosmographically distinct, their functions are conceptually inseparable in the OT." In his third area of concern, Andreasen turns to visionary accounts of the heavenly throne room (Isa 6; Ezek 1, 40-48; and Zech 3). These visions throw light on the close relationship between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart inasmuch as the heavenly sanctuary/temple experiences attested in these visions occur in the context of the earthly temple.

Andreasen's investigation provided a glimpse into the ANE background of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, and a general view of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the Hebrew Bible. In the narrow limits of his study, however, he was not able to engage in detailed exegetical investigation of specific heavenly sanctuary/temple passages. Therefore, detailed work remains to be done with specific passages in order to delineate a broader picture of the heavenly sanctuary in the Hebrew Bible and produce an exegetical delineation of the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple along with its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

\[1\text{ibid., 73.}\]
In 1982, William H. Shea touched upon the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in his study on the biblical parallels for the investigative judgment, published as part of a larger study dealing with prophetic interpretation. ¹ Shea surveyed the passages of Pss 11, 14//53, 29, 53, 76, 102, 103, Mic 1, and 1 Kgs 22 which, according to him, depict the concept of judgment issuing from the heavenly temple. Although Shea offered a cursory treatment of these passages, his observation that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a place of judgment needs further consideration.

In a discussion of the term קְבֵלָה in Dan 8:12, Shea observed that this word, which designates either the heavenly or earthly sanctuary, "refers to the sanctuary as the place of God's dwelling, the location of His throne, and the place from which He acts. God's activities described in this manner are specifically those of answering prayer and administering justice and righteousness through the giving of judgment."² Shea's observation that the heavenly sanctuary/temple is a place of divine activities provides motivation for further research on this aspect of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.


²In his discussion of the term קְבֵלָה in Dan 8:12, Shea observed that this word, which is used to refer to either the heavenly or earthly sanctuary, is used in the Hebrew Bible as a sanctuary word. "It refers to the sanctuary as the place of God's dwelling, the location of His throne, and the place from which He acts. God's activities described in this manner are specifically those of answering prayer and administering justice and righteousness through the giving of judgment" (idem, "Unity of Daniel," in Symposium on Daniel, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, DARCOM (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 213-14).
Furthermore, the connection between heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart briefly mentioned by Shea in his discussion of Ps 76 needs further probing in other passages of the Hebrew Bible.\textsuperscript{1} Other works by Shea dealing especially with the sanctuary in the book of Daniel\textsuperscript{3} also provided a significant contribution to the understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, as noted in chapter 5.

F. Hartenstein

In 2001, F. Hartenstein\textsuperscript{3} contributed an article devoted to the topic of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible. In an attempt to delineate the origin and cosmology of the heavenly sanctuary, Hartenstein focuses on 1 Kgs 8, Ps 18/2 Sam 22, Exod 24:9-11, Ezek 1 and 10, Amos 9:5-4, and Ps 104. Methodologically, the author follows the tradition-criticism approach, and evaluates the biblical material in the light of Mesopotamian ideas. In his view, during preexilic times there is no attestation of the heavenly sanctuary idea in the Hebrew Bible. In this context, the Jerusalem temple itself was understood along the lines of ANE mythology according to which the temple

\textsuperscript{1}Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 6.


functioned as the navel of the earth, and as the place where communication with the deity was established.¹

According to Hartenstein, it is only during the Babylonian exile that some early Jewish texts speak explicitly of a "heavenly sanctuary" (himmlischen Heiligtum).² A passage such as Isa 6 that would undermine Hartenstein's view is considered to be a reference to the Jerusalem temple. According to him the passage does not refer to heaven as the abode of YHWH, but only betrays the mythical concept of the Jerusalem temple as the place above which YHWH was enthroned.³ In Hartenstein's words, "YHWH's mythical dwelling towers in a vertical plane above Mount Zion. It reaches heaven, without being located 'in' it."⁴ In the same vein, Ps 18:8-16 and 1 Kgs 8:12-13 are said to express a cosmic understanding of the earthly temple.⁵ When it comes to 2 Sam 22, Harteinstein concedes that the idea of a heavenly "Palace" (Palast) of YHWH is present in that text, but it is a redactional insertion.⁶

In his discussion of Exod 24:9-11 and Ezek 1 and 10, Hartenstein focuses on the cosmological background of these passages. Regarding Exod 24:9-11, Hartenstein

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¹Ibid., 126.
²Ibid., 127.
³Ibid., 127-26.
⁴"JHW Hs mythischer Wohnsitz ragt in der verticale Ebene bergeshoch vom Zion auf. Er reicht hinauf an den Himmel, ohne jedoch 'in' diesem lokalisiert zu sein" (ibid., 128-29).
⁵Ibid., 131.
⁶Ibid.
contends that this pericope, which "is certainly not originally linked with Sinai," displays Mesopotamian connections.\(^2\) Ezek 1 and 10 are deemed to be a combination of Jerusalem-temple tradition in interaction with Mesopotamian concepts.\(^3\) In Amos 9:5-6 and Ps 104, Hartenstein claims to discern the tradition of a connection between heaven and earth along the lines of Mesopotamian cosmic imagery, namely the idea of a vertical linkage between heaven and earth. Such imagery, Hartenstein contends, is also reflected in Gen 28:11-13, 16-19.

Space considerations prevent a more detailed delineation of Hartenstein's views; however, for the purpose of this research the following comments are in order. First, it should be noted that Hartenstein's concern in analyzing the biblical text from the perspective of ANE cosmology prevents him from understanding the Hebrew Bible on its own terms. Second, his contention that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is a late development does not take into account the testimony of early passages. Thus, passages that could undermine his view are deemed to be late, or redactional insertions, which betrays some circularity in his argumentation. Third, Hartenstein does not define his idea of heavenly sanctuary. He deals with the general idea of heaven as the dwelling place of YHWH, with the heavenly throne, but hardly focuses specifically on the idea of a sanctuary/temple located in heaven. As a matter of fact, Hartenstein gives the impression that he is more concerned with the cosmological/mythical understanding of the earthly

\(^{1}\)"Mit Sicherheit nicht ursprünglich mit dem Sinai verbunden" (ibid., 137).

\(^{2}\)Ibid., 139.

\(^{3}\)Ibid., 141.
temple, and the implications of that concept for the heavenly-temple idea, than with a focused attention on the heavenly temple per se.

Sanglae Kim

In 2002, a major study on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif was produced by Sanglae Kim. The major focus of that study was to "examine whether or not a concept of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif exists in the Hebrew Bible." In order to accomplish that goal, Kim undertook a detailed investigation of eighteen passages (Gen 11:1-9; 28:10-22; Exod 15:13, 17; 25:9, 40; 2 Sam 22:7; 1 Kgs 8:23-53; 22:19-23; Pss 11:4; 29:29; 68:36; 150:1; Isa 6:1-8; Ezek 40-48; Jonah 2:5, 8; Mic 1:2; Hab 2:20; Zech 2:17; 3:1-10) usually understood by scholars as referring to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, and concludes that the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple is present in only eight of them (Gen 28:11-22; Exod 25:8-9, 40; 2 Sam 22:7=Pss 18:7 (6); 29:29; 150:1; Isa 6:1-8; Zech 2:17; 3:1-10).

Two important terminological distinctions are worthy of note in this work. First, Kim draws a very detailed semantic distinction between the notion of "temple/sanctuary" and that of "palace." According to his definition, "sanctuary/temple' refers to a place in relation to sacred elements, i.e. 'deity,' 'worship' or 'holy.' On the other hand, 'palace' designates a place in connection with kingly elements, i.e. 'king,' 'rulership' or sovereign." Thus, consistent with his terminological definition, Kim argued that 1 Kgs 22:19-26 and

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1 Sanglae Kim, "The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2002).
2 Ibid, 1.
3 Ibid., 26.
Ps 11:4 contain the idea of a heavenly palace rather than that of a heavenly sanctuary/temple.\(^1\) Second, Kim noted that scholars have used the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple in a rather imprecise way to refer to "sanctuary in heaven," "heaven as a sanctuary," or a "sanctuary like heaven," the latter in reference to the earthly temple. He then makes clear at the outset that his notion of "heavenly sanctuary/temple" is that of a "sanctuary in heaven."\(^2\)

In the subsequent investigation of the eighteen selected biblical passages, Kim successfully accomplished the main goal of his investigation by demonstrating that the Hebrew Bible in fact contains the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. A few observations about his terminological definitions are in order at this juncture. Kim's semantic distinction between the concept of "palace" and that of "sanctuary/temple," however useful it may be from a literary/semantic point of view, seems difficult to apply from a theological perspective. The Hebrew Bible does not make a clear-cut differentiation between "palace" and "sanctuary/temple," using the same word for both. In other words, YHWH does not have a heavenly "sanctuary/temple" apart from His heavenly "palace." As a matter of fact, both temple and palace coalesce in one unified entity. On the other hand, Kim's criticism of the imprecise usage of the idea of "heavenly sanctuary/temple" is to the point, and his decision to investigate the heavenly sanctuary temple motif as the idea of a "sanctuary in heaven" was very appropriate.

\(^1\) Cf. ibid., 129-30; 140.
\(^2\) Ibid., 26.
This dissertation builds upon the foundation laid by Kim's work; however, it departs from the latter in four important ways. First, assuming the validity of previous scholarship, now put on firmer ground by Kim's study, that the Hebrew Bible does contain the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple, this dissertation investigates the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Second, attention is given to the relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. Third, in some passages this dissertation takes issue with Kim's negative verdict about the presence in them of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. Fourth, it attempts to be more comprehensive. While Kim demonstrated the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in eight passages, the present research will base its investigation on forty-three passages.

G. K. Beale

A most recent contribution to the sanctuary/temple theme has been made by G. K. Beale. In a comprehensive study of the theology of the temple and its implications for the church's mission, Beale advanced the thesis that "the Old Testament tabernacle and temples were symbolically designed to point to the cosmic eschatological reality that God's tabernacling presence, formerly limited to the holy of holies, was to be extended throughout the whole earth."¹ Thus, Beale is not concerned with a vertical correspondence between the earthly sanctuary/temple and its heavenly counterpart, but rather with a

horizontal relationship in which the earthly temple/sanctuary foreshadows the future eschatological reality of YHWH's presence among His people.¹

Although not dealing specifically with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, Beale touches upon this topic in a few places during his discussion. Although he provides no clear definition of heavenly sanctuary or temple, it appears that the heavenly sanctuary/temple is understood in the sense of a cosmic temple, or heaven itself rather than a place located in heaven.² Beale also conceives of the entire cosmos (heaven and earth) as a sanctuary/temple,³ as noted in the assertion that "God created the cosmos to be his great temple in which he rested after his creative work."⁴ That being the case, it appears that Beale understands the heavenly sanctuary as a nonstructural entity of cosmic proportions encompassing heaven and earth. For example, in his treatment of Isa 57, Beale has suggested that this passage refers to YHWH's heavenly temple as a nonstructural entity descending upon the earth to encompass the saints.⁵ An inspection of the larger context of Beale's assertion indicates that he has in mind a nonstructural entity which

¹For example, in his treatment of Isa 57, Beale has suggested that this passage refers to YHWH's heavenly temple as a nonstructural entity descending upon the earth to encompass the saints (Beale, The Temple and the Church's Mission, 135, 152). An inspection of the larger context of Beale's assertion indicates that he has in mind a nonstructural entity which basically equates YHWH's presence with the "eschatological sanctuary" (ibid., 154).

²Ibid., 31, 32, 38.

³Ibid., 135.

⁴Ibid., 138.

⁵Ibid., 135, 152.
basically equates the "eschatological sanctuary"\(^1\) with YHWH's presence. This is made explicit in the section on Ezek 40-48,\(^2\) where Beale contends that the heavenly temple depicted in these chapters would "be established on earth in non-structural form in the latter days."\(^3\)

To conclude, one should recognize that Beale has performed a comprehensive study and provided a significant contribution to the understanding of some aspects of the sanctuary/temple motif. A few observations, however, are in order. First, since Beale has focused primarily on the earthly sanctuary/temple as a symbol of YHWH's eschatological presence, other significant aspects of the sanctuary/temple were overlooked, such as its function as the place where YHWH performs activities of judgment and redemption. Second, Beale's understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as mainly a cosmic non-structural entity appears to be at odds with several biblical passages depicting the heavenly sanctuary/temple as an entity located in heaven.\(^4\) Third, as a consequence of the latter, one notices that since Beale focused on the horizontal dimension of the sanctuary/temple, namely its function as a symbol of YHWH's eschatological presence, the vertical dimension has been almost completely overlooked. Therefore, no significant attention has

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\(^1\)Ibid., 154.
\(^2\)Ibid., 335-64.
\(^3\)Ibid., 353.
\(^4\)See chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this dissertation.
been given to the correspondence and connection between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart.¹

**Justification**

There are major reasons that justify an investigation of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible. First, as noted, there is currently no comprehensive study available that investigates the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible and its relationship to earthly counterparts. Second, since the sanctuary/temple is the core of Israelite cult and religion, the study of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Scriptures may advance the understanding of the theology of the Hebrew Bible. Third, this study may also have implications for the field of New Testament studies. The existence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple is assumed by the New Testament writers. The books of Hebrews² and Revelation³ frame vital arguments by presupposing the reality of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as it was spelled out in the Hebrew Scriptures. Hence, this study may contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between the Testaments in the field of vertical typology.

¹In this regard one should note Beale's suggestion that the tripartite division of the earthly sanctuary/temple into outer court, holy place, and holy of holies, represented respectively the habitable world, the visible heavens, and the invisible dimension of the cosmos where YHWH and His hosts dwelt (Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 32-33).


Methodology

In order to situate the topic of this research against the broader backdrop of its Ancient Near Eastern context, chapter 2 is devoted to an exposition of the concept of a heavenly sanctuary/temple in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Ugaritic texts. This chapter is important for two basic reasons. First, although some scholars have denied the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the ANE literature, the textual evidence from the ANE seems to demonstrate otherwise. In spite of most scholars' admission of the presence of this motif in the ANE literature, there is no specific study of this motif covering a reasonable variety of texts. In most cases, there are only assumptions based on isolated passages.

Second, the survey of the ANE background of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is important because the Hebrew Bible did not emerge in isolation from its environment, but in interaction with it, and sometimes in reaction to it. In dealing with these extrabiblical texts, special attention is given to function and relationship to the earthly counterparts. Furthermore, this analysis may expose similarities and differences between Israel and its neighbors in their respective conceptions of a heavenly sanctuary/temple, thus contributing to a better understanding of the biblical data.

Chapters 3-5 of this study are devoted to an exegetical and theological investigation of selected heavenly sanctuary/temple passages found in the Torah, Prophets,

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and Writings, respectively. At the outset it must be established that by sanctuary/temple is meant an association of symbols and practices which evoke the presence of the deity in a piece of sacred space.¹ This notion is usually, although not exclusively, expressed by the concept of an architectural building.² There are cases, however, in which the idea of a temple/sanctuary may be evoked by related concepts such as holy mountain or altar, and also references to worship and cultic allusions.³ By heaven/heavenly is meant the extraterrestrial sphere of the deity. Although scholars sometimes apply the qualification "heavenly" to the earthly sanctuary/temple in the sense of a heaven-like entity, this dissertation employs the concept heaven/heavenly in contrast to earth/earthly. Thus the term "heavenly sanctuary/temple" is used in this dissertation to signify an entity located outside the earthly realm, that is, in heaven.

As for the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart, the following clarifications are in order. By function is meant the kinds of activities YHWH performs in the heavenly sanctuary/temple, as well as those

¹ As Davidson pointed out, "since God is naturally the object of worship in the temple, it seems to follow that whenever God is mentioned in a temple context, then the sanctuary/temple is in view" ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament, 4-5").

² As Beale convincingly argued, "a holy piece of geography or a sacred area can be considered a true 'sanctuary' or 'temple' even when no architectural building is constructed there" (The Temple and the Church's Mission, 97). In this connection, Beale pointed out that the worship areas built by the patriarchs featured five elements: God appears to them, they pitch a tent, build an altar, worship God, and make sacrificial offerings (ibid., 96). The combination of these five elements, "occurs only elsewhere in the Old Testament in describing Israel's tabernacle or temple" (ibid., 96).

activities implied in the attitude of human beings as they reflect on the heavenly sanctuary/temple.

As for the relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and the earthly counterpart, this dissertation seeks to identify functional and structural correspondences between the heavenly and the earthly sanctuaries/temple. In this regard one needs to investigate whether the functions of the heavenly temple/sanctuary correspond with, or parallel, those of the earthly counterpart, in which case the claim may be made that there is a functional correspondence between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries/temple.\(^1\)

Furthermore, the possibility of structural correspondences must also be investigated. Some scholars tend to see the heavenly sanctuary as nonstructural entity, heaven itself, or just a metaphor for YHWH's presence.\(^2\) An investigation of the biblical text must be undertaken in order to determine whether such a nonstructural understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple can be substantiated. Thus special attention is given to the vocabulary used to designate the heavenly sanctuary/temple in order to ascertain whether such a vocabulary connotes a structural entity in the lines of the earthly counterpart. Moreover, since previous studies have suggested a close connection between

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\(^1\)For example, the earthly sanctuary/temple is portrayed in the Hebrew Bible not only as mere place of dwelling for YHWH, but also as a place where YHWH is enthroned as king (see, e.g., Amos 1:2; Ps 99:1-2) and executes judgment (see, e.g. 50:2ff.;). The earthly sanctuary/temple is also portrayed as a place of atonement (see, e.g., Lev 16), worship (Isa 62:9; Ps 99:9; Ezra 3:10), source of help (see, e.g., Ps 20:2). Furthermore the sanctuary/temple is also related to the covenant (Exod 19-26; Ezek 37:26; 1 Kgs 6:19) and may be an object of attack by the enemies (see, e.g. Dan 1:1-2).

\(^2\)So, e.g., Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 135, 152.
heavenly and earthly temples in a few passages, it is instructive to investigate a large number of texts to delineate the contours of this relationship, which seems to consist of a dynamic interaction between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and the earthly counterparts.

Forty-three passages were selected for this investigation, the majority of which contains explicit references to a sanctuary/temple related to heaven. Nonetheless, some passages are also included which, although not containing a specific term for sanctuary/temple, depict a heavenly setting and therefore contribute to illuminate certain activities and roles of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. It must be pointed out, in this connection, that the forty-three passages investigated in this dissertation are by no means an exhaustive inventory of heavenly sanctuary/temple passages. Other passages claimed by scholars to contain the sanctuary motif were not included in this investigation, both because some texts do not seem to contain this motif, and the addition of other passages would exceed a manageable amount of material to be dealt with within the limitations of space and time available for this research.

Due to the large concentration of heavenly sanctuary/temple passages in the Prophets (chapter 4) and Writings (chapter 5), some texts receive more detailed treatment in these chapters, while others, usually short ones, are treated more briefly at the end of their respective chapter. In the exegesis of the passages, wherever appropriate, the

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1E.g. Davidson, on Ps 150 ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 15); Kim on Gen 28:10-22; Is 6:1-9; (181-87); Shea, on Ps 76 (Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 6).

2E.g. Ezek 40-48; Amos 9:6; Zeph 1:7; Zech 4; Ps 23:6; 27:4; 36:9; 47:9 [8]; 63:3 [2]; 65:5 [4]; 78:69; 104:2; 134:2; Dan 11:45.
boundaries of the literary subunits in which the sanctuary/temple motif occurs are identified and analyzed according to their literary form and genre. Attention is paid to rhetorical devices, repetitions, parallelisms, chiastic structures, etc., and their possible contribution to the interpretation of the text. This is especially relevant in the poetic units where rhetorical devices such as parallelismus membrorum, strophe, and repetition play a significant role in the communicative act. Consequently, this dissertation adopts a synchronic approach based on the Massoretic text. Such methodology has been demonstrated as valid by studies in rhetorical criticism and canonical approaches.

In chapter 6, the final chapter, a theological synthesis of this investigation is presented. This contains a summary of the results of this research in terms of exegetical conclusions and theological insights. It is hoped that a deeper understanding of the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, and the relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart in the context of the Hebrew Bible may emerge as a result of this investigation.

Delimitations

The chapter on ANE background will cover sample texts from Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hittite sources. Geographic, chronological and thematic connections with the biblical material are most evident in these sources. As for

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the biblical texts, no exhaustive exegesis of the passages is intended. The exegetical process is restricted to issues immediately relevant for the topic under study. Considerations of introductory matters such as authorship, historical context, and even text-critical issues are omitted unless they are capable of affecting the interpretation of the passage under study. Furthermore, no attempt is made to uncover hypothetical sources which allegedly lie behind the present text in its final canonical form. Finally, it should be added that although this research covers a vast range of texts, it does not claim to be exhaustive. Future investigation may detect the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in passages not included in this study. Nevertheless, one may be cautiously confident that due to the comprehensiveness of this research, further investigation of overlooked passages would not alter the picture of the heavenly sanctuary/temple provided by this research.
CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BACKGROUND OF THE
HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF

This chapter is designed to examine the use of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the ANE literature in order to understand the larger context in which the Hebrew Bible was formed. However, this investigation is not undertaken because of an alleged literary or theological dependence between the Hebrew Bible and the ANE texts, but because it is expected that some points of contact may emerge. In this process, either similarities or contrasts can contribute to the understanding of this motif in the biblical literature, a task to be undertaken in the ensuing chapters of this dissertation.

Although the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple in the ANE has been recognized by several scholars, no attempt has been made to undertake a detailed investigation of the function of the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its relationship to the earthly counterpart. Therefore, the ensuing discussion undertakes a survey of Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite,

Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts in order to grasp the ANE perception of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, with special attention to its function and relationship to the earthly counterpart.¹

Each section is subdivided according to the individual compositions belonging to each literary corpus; and, with due allowance for the uncertainties regarding their date of composition, the texts are presented in chronological sequence. Furthermore, this investigation of ANE texts by no means claims to be exhaustive, since only a sampling of the available evidence is investigated. It is hoped, however, that the data herein investigated is representative of the overall ANE idea of the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif, especially regarding the function of the heavenly temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Prior to the investigation that follows, two observations are in order. First, when faced with texts alluding to a heavenly sanctuary/temple, one has to ascertain whether such a sanctuary/temple is located in heaven, in some unspecified mythical realm, or on earth. Furthermore, some texts may portray an earthly/historical sanctuary/temple as heavenly entity because of its heaven-like quality. Thus, in the survey that follows, priority is given to texts referring to a sanctuary/temple located in heaven. Second, the concept of "heavens" turns out to be more complex and elusive than one might have supposed at first glance. Sumerian incantation texts, for example, reveal a tradition of seven heavens and

¹Due to my lack of expertise in extra-biblical ANE languages, with the exception of Ugaritic, use is made of the standard translations available, with attention to key terms for heavenly sanctuary/temple in the original where possible.
seven earths. In addition, a three-storied universe with netherworld, dry land, and heaven—each with its deities and sanctuaries/temples—seems to be presupposed. Priority is given to texts related to deities associated with the heavenly realm, since, most probably, a celestial deity would have his/her sanctuary/temple in heaven. In a few cases, however, it seems very difficult ascertain whether the sanctuary/temple referred to in the text lies in heaven or some unspecified mythic realm. Nonetheless, even in the latter case, the text under study may be useful for the purposes of this study, since a mythic sanctuary/temple may be functionally equivalent to a heavenly sanctuary/temple.

Sumerian Literature

S. N. Kraemer's claim that "thirty-nine firsts" of human recorded history are found in Sumer justify starting this chapter with Sumerian texts. These written records endorse the contention that the temple was the most important building in the Sumerian city—a city understood by the Sumerian theologians as belonging to its principal tutelary deity

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2 Ibid., 223-362.


since the creation of the world. The centrality of the temple is confirmed by the vast amount of material devoted to temples in the Sumerian written records, which points to the importance of that institution in the religious and social life of that ancient civilization. Hymns, poetry, literary and historical texts, in addition to the archaeological excavations, display the centrality of the temple and its ubiquitous influence on the Sumerian society.

For the purpose of this investigation, it is instructive to note whether the Sumerians had the notion of a sanctuary/temple located in heaven. If so, it becomes instructive to inquire what was the function and relationship, if any, of the heavenly sanctuary/temple with its earthly counterpart. A cross-section investigation is undertaken in the following pages in order to probe the heavenly-temple motif in a sampling of texts belonging to different genres and historical periods.

Royal Inscriptions: Gudea Cylinders

One of the most important Sumerian texts dealing with the temple is contained in the Gudea Cylinders which report a dream in which King Gudea of Lagash is shown a

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4 The Gudea Cylinders, a royal inscription belonging to the genre of temple hymns, were written about 2125 B.C. to commemorate the building of a temple to the god Ningirsu by Gudea, king of Lagash. This document has been the subject of several studies. E.g., Diane M. Sharon, "A Biblical Parallel to a Sumerian Temple Hymn? Ezekiel 40-48 and Gudea," JANES 24 (1996), 99-109; Richard E. Averbeck, "Ritual Formula, Textual Frame, and Thematic Echoes in the Cylinders..."
plan of a temple he is supposed to build for the god Ningirsu. In Gudea's dream "there was a warrior who bent (his) arm holding a lapis lazuli plate on which he was setting the ground-plan of a house."1 Although this "ground-plan" reminds one of the "model" (ותב), the sanctuary Moses was shown on Mount Sinai (Exod 25:9, 40),2 there is a significant difference between the two accounts. Gudea saw a "ground-plan" in the process of being prepared,3 while the biblical text says that Moses was shown a "model" (جامع), implying something existing prior to Moses' experience. Furthermore, Gudea received general guidelines from the deity; the "plan" most probably consisted of a "blueprint" or "ground plan," while the portrayal of the "model" (جامع) shown to Moses implies a tridimensional entity.4

It is difficult to determine whether the "plan" shown to Gudea was understood to be based on some archetypical temple (i.e. a heavenly temple), or was simply an ideal

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3 Edzard, 71-72 (v 2-4). This is corroborated by other translations as well: "He had a bent arm (and held) a tablet of lapis lazuli in his hand, (and) was drawing the plans for a temple (or 'house')" (E. Jan Wilson, The Cylinders of Gudea: Transliteration, Translation and Index, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 244 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996], 28 [v 3-4].); He "hatte die Arme gebeugt, hielt eine Platte aus Lapislazuli in der hand, setzte darauf den Grundriss des Hauses" (Adam Falkenstein and Wolfram von Soden, Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete [Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953], 142 [v 3-4]).

4 See chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of腔.
temple conceived in the deity's mind. This latter possibility seems to be endorsed by the following statement: "Ningirsu had conceived (the House) in his (heart) as a sanctuary from which the seed sprouted."\(^1\) Also the several references to heaven in the text do not indicate a temple in heaven, but are used in relation to the earthly temple, either to emphasize its heaven-like appearance,\(^2\) or as a backdrop to express its cosmic dimensions; or, as J. Wilson has suggested,\(^3\) its function as a link between heaven and earth.\(^4\) It is

\(^1\) Edzard, 95 (B xiii 6).

\(^2\) George Barton's translation of the Cylinders of Gudea, which is no longer deemed reliable by scholars, contain several allusions to a heavenly temple which have vanished in more recent translations. Cf., e.g.:

Barton:

(A xxvii 11-13) the façade of the temple was a great mountain rising from the earth; its interior was as the setting forth of a united feast; its side as the lofty temple of heaven filled with abundance (George A. Barton, The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad, vol. 1 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929], 233).

Wilson:

"(A xxvii 11-13) A temple whose face is like a great mountain rising from the earth. Inside (were) incantations, and harmonious singing (?) (p. 118). Its sides (like) heaven, a mighty wind, risen in abundance (118)."

Edzard:

"(A xxvii 11-13) House whose front is an enormous mountain set on the earth, whose interior (resounds with) incantations and harmonious hymns, whose exterior is the sky (86)."

Falkenstein and von Soden:

"(A xxvii 11-13) Des Hauses Front ist ein großer Berg, der bis zur Erde reicht, sein Inneres eine Beschworung, ein Fest für alle, sein Außenes ist An, der das hohe Haus in Überfluß sich erheben läßt" (164).

\(^3\) Wilson, The Cylinders of Gudea, 49-51, n. 4.

\(^4\) Cf. the following excerpts:

"(A i 11) I will render Eninnu most influential in heaven and on earth (Edzard, 69)."

"(A ix 11-15) The heavens tremble before my House, the Eninnu, founded in heaven, whose powers are the greatest, surpassing all others, before the House whose owner looks out over a great distance, (tremble) as before the roaring Thunderbird (ibid., 74)."

"(A ix 16) the fierce halo (of the house) reaches up to heaven (ibid., 75)."

"(A xvi 18-19) To the house whose halo reaches to heaven, whose powers embrace heaven and earth (ibid., 80)."

"(A xxi 15-16) He sat down beside the door frames: "Huge house embracing heavens" (ibid.,..."
possible, nonetheless, that the idea of Gudea's temple as a heavenly realm may point to some kind of connection with a heavenly archetype. This seems to be corroborated by the observation that "Gudea had painted it [i.e., the temple] (to recall) the splendour of heaven," which might also suggest that the earthly temple was supposed to mirror some reality beyond itself, which might be either a temple located in heaven (though this is never made explicit), or heaven itself.

To summarize, although the Gudea Cylinders are primarily focused on the building of an earthly temple—which is described with cosmic/heavenly connotations—the function of this temple as a link between heaven and earth, and its description with heaven-like features, may well be an echo of the underlying idea that it was related to a heavenly counterpart.

1 Edzard, 86 (A xxvii 1-2).

2 According to Snyder, the key elements of temple theology in the Gudea cylinders are as follows: (1) The temple is to be built by a king; (2) the king is shown the plan of the temple by a deity; (3) the temple displays significant cosmic connotations; (4) the temple grows up between heaven and earth; (5) the construction of the temple would bring about fertility. Barbara Wooten Snyder, "Combat Myth in the Apocalypse: The Liturgy of the Day of the Lord and the Dedication of the Heavenly Temple (Revelation)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 1991), 119.

3 In the description of the Ekur, the temple is thus praised: "Its awesome glow reaches unto heavens . . . Its roof reaches unto the heart of heavens" (Daniel David Reisman, "Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns" [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969], 63 [lines 78, 80]). The connection of the earthly sanctuary with the heavens might well have been triggered by the conception of a sanctuary/temple located in heaven as a counterpart to the earthly sanctuary.
Hymns and Psalms

In a hymn to Nisaba, the goddess is described as the one "(104) who restores the fallen heaven to its place, the stewardess of heaven."\(^1\) That this composition may contain the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple can be perceived in the following, unfortunately fragmented, line: "(107) [...] for you (?) in heaven, you (?) [...] for him."\(^2\) In the sequence of the text, it is stated that "(109) in the house of the great gods they praise you as one."\(^3\)

A hymn to Inana displays the following significant statement: "(126) The good lady, the joy of An, a heroine, she surely comes from heaven. (127) In the ... of heaven she bears the ornament, (128) She consults with An in his lofty place."\(^4\) It seems that the reference to "An in his lofty place" refers to the heavenly abode, which is portrayed as the place whence his decrees/decisions are issued.\(^5\) An important text for the purpose of this research is an eršemmat\(^6\) in which the goddess Inanna laments the destruction of her temple

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1Ibid., 59.

2Ibid., 120. "The context seems to suggest that this line may indicate that the King Isbi-Erra is summoned to exercise leadership of the people on the basis of a decision of the gods" (ibid., 33).

3Ibid.

4Ibid., 172.

5According to Sjöberg, however, the expression "lofty place" (ki-maḥ) refers to the sanctuary of Eninnu (E. Sjöberg, Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der Sumerischen Überlieferung, vol. I [Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1960], 59).

6The texts known as Eršemma consist of lament compositions addressed to the gods. These texts derive from tablets dating to the Old Babylonian period (ca. 2000-1600 B.C.), though they might have been composed much earlier. See Mark E. Cohen, ed., Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma, Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements 2 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College
in Uruk and goes to present her case before Enlil. The relevant portions of the text read as follows:

(10) the genie (?) (of) my house! My house which stands from the very heavens upon the earth! . . . (15) I am the hierodule of heaven . . . my house! My shrine Eanna! (16) I am the lady of the Eanna. My brickwork of Uruk and of Kulaba! . . . (19). I am the hierodule of heaven. [My] great gate of the Enamtar! (20) I am the lady of the Eanna [My] holy "eyebrow" which is raised above the house! (21) I am the hierodule of heaven. My seat in heaven and (my) seat upon earth! (22) I am the lady of the Eanna. My . . . the nation!

This text seems to suggest the concept of a correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries. The hyperbolic language of lines 10 and 15 probably refers to Inanna's shrine—Eanna—in the city of Uruk. One should note, however, her claim to have a seat in heaven, as stated: "I am the hierodule of heaven. My seat in heaven and (my) seat upon earth!" If the "seat upon earth" is understood as the deity's throne in the temple of Uruk, it is reasonable to suppose that the "seat in heaven" would be understood as being located in her heavenly temple. Granting that this inference is correct, the text seems to convey the idea of a correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries.

The next eršemma explicitly reveals the function of the temple. Though it is difficult to determine the meaning or nuance of several words and expressions, the overall thrust of the passage can be perceived. It depicts the goddess Ninisina's visit to Enlil in order to remove a misfortune that had befallen her. Her entrance into the house of Enlil is thus described:


1Mark E. Cohen, 68.
When I Ninisina do not rejoice, (26) so I enter unto my father, into the house where the fates are determined. (27) So I enter unto Enlil, into the house where the fates are determined. (28) So I enter unto the house of judgments, the house of decisions. (29) So I enter . . . of mankind.¹

The text clarifies that the "house of Enlil" was a "house of judgments," a judgment which seems to be related to the process of determining the fates. A few lines below, the text mentions the "tablets of fate," as noted in the following excerpt: "(39) After he removed the (tablets of) fate, [he looked at me]. (40) After he closed shut the housing for the (tablets of) fate, [he spoke to me]: (41) (Your) fate is placed in this . . . place, my lap."²

Thus, the judgment consisted in determining the fate which, it seems, was recorded in the tablets stored in the temple.³

A question that needs to be addressed at this point concerns the location of the "house of Enlil." According to Sumerian mythology, Enlil was the god of the wind, son of An, the god of heaven. Enlil's weapon is the storm-flood, and he is also called "King of lands."⁴ Therefore, since Enlil was not defined as a god of heaven, one cannot say that his temple was understood to be located in heaven. Nonetheless, since the interactions described in the text happen between the deities, Enlil's temple most probably would lie in

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¹Mark E. Cohen, 100.

²Ibid., 101.

³It is instructive to note that a hymn extolling King Sulgi of Ur (ca. 2094-2047 B.C. [57] seems to locate the tablets of destiny in heaven, as can be deduced from the following excerpt: In regard to the temple of Enlil at Nippur, it is remarked that it is a "(25)...[.....]....... shrine where destiny is determined" and "(33) your base serves' heaven and earth" (Åke W. Bergmann and E. Sjöberg, The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, vol. 3 [Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1969], 18).

some mythical place and, therefore, may be regarded as a functional equivalent to a heavenly temple.

An eršemma over the destruction of Sumer and Ur conveys the idea of a judgment in the heavenly temple: "(364) The judgment of the assembly cannot be turned back, (365) The word of An and Enlil knows no overturning."¹ As the text unfolds, it is stated: "(493) May An not change the decrees of heaven, the plans to treat the people with justice."² The "judgment of the assembly" in connection with the "decrees of heaven" probably indicates a work effected in a heavenly temple setting, whence the gods issued decisions affecting the fate of Sumer and Ur.³

¹Piotr Michalowski, The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 59.
²Ibid., 69.
³However, we must note that the concept of judgment is also related to temples clearly located on earth. The temple of Ninurta is claimed to be the "(61) House with the gathered me's of heaven standing on a great place," and "(65) founded by the primeval lord, (temple which makes) a decision through7 the princely's me's" (Bergmann and Sjöberg, 3:113). Your foundations (are like those of) the Abzu, fifty in number, 'seven' oceans (are) within you, (114) Shrine, which looks into the 'heart' of the gods, (115) Your prince, the prince who makes decisions, the crown of the wide heaven, (116) The Lord of heaven Asimbabbar" (ibid., 23). As for the temple of Eninnu, it is qualified as "(251)....  'furious face,' house (full of) splendor, (251) The place of judgment, lord Ningirsu (252) Has filled with radiance and awe." In the same vein, of the temple of Bau in Uruku(g), it is stated that "(264) within you (is) the river of ordeal which vindicates the just man" (ibid., 31-32). The temple of Ninurta is claimed to be the "(61) House with the gathered me's of heaven standing on a great place," and "(65) founded by the primeval lord, (temple which makes) a decision through7 the princely's me's" (ibid., 22). The same statement is also made about the temple of Ninursaga in Hiza—"(496) On the place where destiny is determined you determine destiny." The temple of Ninhursag in Adab is called "(367) Lofty house, 'House of the Universe', suited for its queen." The temple of Utu in Sippar is called "(480) Sanctuary? of heaven, star of heaven, crown, borne by Ningal, (481) House of Utu, your prince . . . . [. . .], he fills heaven and earth" (ibid., 46). Also the temple of Nininsina in Isin is regarded as the "(383) Place where An and Enlil determine destiny, (384) Place where the great gods dine" (385) Filled with radiance and awe" (ibid., 39).
The heavenly temple is depicted as a place of judgment, where the fates are determined. That these functions are ascribed to both heavenly and earthly temples may well indicate that they were understood to function in mutual correspondence. Furthermore, the extolling of the earthly temple as a heaven-like entity\(^1\) may also corroborate this view of an earthly temple in close relationship with its heavenly counterpart.

Other Texts

In the myth of Inanna’s descent to the netherworld there are some significant allusions to the heavenly temple/sanctuary motif. As Inanna decides to come to the netherworld, she thus instructs her messenger Ninshubur: "(33) When I shall have come to the netherworld, (34) Fill heaven with complaints for me, (35) In the assembly shrine cry out for me, (36) In the house of the gods rush about for me."\(^2\) The parallelism observed in lines 33-35 between "heaven," "assembly shrine," and "house of the gods" suggests a place in heaven where the assembly of the gods convenes and makes decisions capable of helping Inanna in her adventure in the netherworld.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Cf., e.g., the literary work "Angim" which relates the return of the god Ninurta to Nippur after his conquering the foreign lands. Ninurta is depicted as returning from the mountains to Nippur and Ekkur. In this context, his temple should "raise its head (as high as) heaven!" (Jerrold S. Cooper and E. Bergmann, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*, Analecta Orientalia 52 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1978], 170).

\(^2\) *ANET*, 53. These words are repeated almost verbatim in lines 172-75 and 302-04.

\(^3\) S. N. Kramer, the translator, opens the possibility that "perhaps, however, the two lines refer to Ninshubur's making the rounds of the gods in Nippur, Ur, and Eridu; if so, 'shrine' and 'house' (lines 35, 36) should read 'shrines,' and 'houses,' and 'rush about' might perhaps be read 'make the rounds'" (*ANET*, 53, n. 14).
The poetic composition "Enki and Sumer" deals with the activities of Enki, the god of subterranean fresh water. The first part of the poem, approximately one hundred lines, is too fragmentary to be read. Its intelligible parts display Enki decreeing the fate of Sumer and the organization of the earth by establishing law and order upon it. The following excerpt is the most relevant for this research:

The king, begotten, adorns himself with lasting jewel,  
The lord, begotten, sets crown on head,  
Thy lord is an honored lord; with An, the king,  
he sits in the shrine of heaven,  
Thy king is the great mountain, the father Enlil,  
Like . . . the father of all the lands.  

Though it is possible that the shrine referred to in this text is an earthly shrine in the land of Sumer, a heavenly setting is more likely since Enki is depicted as sitting with An, the god of heaven. This is further corroborated by the large spectrum of activities performed from the "shrine" wherein Enki decrees the fate of Ur and appoints a god and a goddess to take care of the sea and the winds, respectively. The heavenly "shrine" thus functions as command center whence the deity makes decisions and performs activities related to the administration of his domain.

Summary

The investigation undertaken above allows the following delineation of the heavenly sanctuary in Sumerian texts. The heavenly sanctuary is depicted as a place of divine activities of judgment, and where determination of fates is performed. (In relation to

this, it was noted that the so-called tablets of fate/destiny are stored in the heavenly temple. The heavenly sanctuary/temple is understood as a kind of command center whence the deity would issue decrees and make decisions affecting the earthly/cosmic order. It should also be noted that these texts suggest that the heavenly temple is the meeting place of the assembly of the gods. Furthermore, the implication may also be drawn that the heavenly temple was understood as existing in relationship to its earthly counterpart.

**Akkadian Literature**

The Akkadian literature is largely dependent upon Sumerian themes and motifs. Actually some of its myths and stories go back to Sumerian mythographers. Therefore, this new section on Akkadian texts is separated from the previous one only on the basis of the language employed and ultimately does not represent a major break from its Sumerian predecessor.

**Story of Etana**

The story of Etana,¹ available in Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, and New Assyrian versions, is a myth of the rise of King Etana of Kish to heaven on the wings of an eagle. The trip seems to have had the purpose of consulting the goddess Ištar about the plant of birth needed by the childless king. The New Assyrian version contains the portion

of text most relevant for this research. It reports that Etana and the eagle traversed the
gates of Sin, Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar:

Etana opened his mouth and spoke to the eagle,
My friend, that god showed me [another dream?]
We were going through the entrance of the gate of
Anu, Ellil, and Ea
We bowed down together, you and I.
We were going through the entrance of the gate of
Sin, Shamash, Adad and Ishtar
I saw a house with a window that was not sealed.
I pushed it open and went inside.
Sitting there was a girl
(10) adorned with a crown, fair of face
A throne was set in place, and [...] Beneath the throne crouched snarling lions.1

The heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif emerges from this text in the report of a dream in
which Etana sees the "house," probably the house of Ishtar and her throne. That Etana
goes through the gates of Anu, Ellil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar, to finally be able
to see the splendorous house, indicates that the "house" must be the heavenly temple of
Ishtar.2 That being the case, the imagery portrayed by the text evokes the idea of a
heavenly temple/sanctuary functioning as a royal palace of the deity—a suggestion
corroborated by the reference to the "throne."

Laws of Hammurabi

The prologue to the laws of Hammurabi (c. 1792-1750 B.C.) contains interesting
allusions to the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif. The king claims himself to be the one

1COS, 1:457 (Tablet IV).
2See Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 208, for a geography of heavens in the
story of Etana.
"who made famous the temple of Eabbar which is akin to the abode of heaven [šubat šamaʾ]." The word "abode," šubat, derives from the noun šubtu, and has the meaning of dwelling place, residence of a king, god's residence in temple, in heaven, etc. Thus, the abode of heaven seems to refer to a specific place located in heaven where the deity dwells, and to which the earthly temple of Eabbar was compared.

The analogy between heavenly and earthly temples seems to connote the idea of a relationship or correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. This seems to be corroborated by the qualification of the temple of Ebbabar as "band" of heaven and earth, which seems to depict the connection and cooperation between heavenly and earthly spheres (i.e. between heavenly and earthly temples). The main idea inferred from this text is that of heavenly and earthly temples functioning in close connection.

Epic of Gilgamesh

Although the Epic of Gilgamesh does not yield direct references to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, it seems to contain some allusions to that motif. The gods are

1Martha T. Roth, Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 77 (ii 22-31).


3It must be borne in mind that the city of Nippur is called the "band [markasu] of heaven and earth" (Roth, 77 [i 50-62]) because it hosted the Ekur temple, as the context makes clear. Thus, the concept that the earthly temple is the point of connection, markasu, between heaven and earth might well be based on the assumption that the earthly temple functioned as a counterpart to the heavenly one.
understood to dwell in heaven\(^1\) and on the top of the Cedar Mountain.\(^2\) There are also several references to the assembly of the gods, seemingly to be located in heaven or in some mythic realm. In the first reference, the gods decide to punish Enkidu for having killed the Bull of Heaven. The relevant portion of text reads as follows: "My friend, why are the Great Gods in conference? (In my dream) Anu, Enlil, and Shamash held a council, and Anu spoke to Enlil: 'Because they killed the Bull of Heaven and have also slain Humbaba, the one of them who pulled up the Cedar of the Mountain must die!'\(^3\)

As the conference proceeds it turns out that Enkidu must die since he bore the major responsibility for the facts he is accused of. In the sequence, references are made to "the Assembly,"\(^4\) "the temple of the gods,"\(^5\) and "the temple of the holy gods."\(^6\) Unfortunately these phrases are located in a very damaged section of the tablet, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain what the "the assembly" does, or where it is located.

Nevertheless, the overall context of the passage may give some indication of the location of this temple. In the previous sections, Gilgamesh is searching for Utnapishtim, the only human being to whom the gods granted eternal life. When Gilgamesh eventually found him they started a conversation. The damaged portion is a speech of Utnapishtim to Gilgamesh


\(^2\)Ibid., 41 (Tablet V, line 5).

\(^3\)Ibid., 59 (Tablet VII, lines 1-5).

\(^4\)Ibid., 92 (Tablet X line 61).

\(^5\)Ibid. (Tablet X line 77).

\(^6\)Ibid. (Tablet X line 78).
in which the former deals with issues related to creation, suffering, the inevitability of
death, and the role played by the gods in them. This becomes very clear in the subsequent
lines of the tablet. Granting the plausibility of the previous analysis, it is reasonable to
suppose that "the temple of the gods" is located in the transcendent realm, probably in
heaven itself, where issues of life and death are decided by the gods. It is also likely that
the assembly referred to in line 61 is the assembly of the gods.

The final lines of this tablet seem to reinforce this interpretation. They read as
follows: "After Enlil had pronounced the blessing, the Anunnaki, the Great Gods,
assembled. They established death and life, but they did not make known the days of
death." Additional references to the assembly of the gods occur in tablet XI which
narrates the flood story. In line 7, Gilgamesh asks Utnapishtim: "How is it that you stand
in the assembly of the gods, and have found life?" Utnapishtim does not answer the
question but starts to tell the story of the flood. Lines 119 and 120 refer again to the
"Assembly of the Gods." The words now are spoken by Ishtar, who blames herself for
having said evil things in the "assembly of the gods," thus ordering a catastrophe to
destroy her people. As for the location of this assembly, though it is not specified by the
context, it seems to be in the transcendent realm of the gods, in the heavenly
sanctuary/temple, or heaven itself, where the gods make decisions affecting humankind.

1Ibid., 93-94 (lines 305-09).
2Ibid., 97.
3Ibid., 101.
Thus, if the above interpretation of tablet X is correct, a synchronic reading of the epic would suggest that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a place of decision, since it is portrayed as the meeting place of the assembly of the gods.

Enuma Elish

The so-called Epic of Creation, the Babylonian myth *Enuma Elish*, provides some interesting references and allusions to the concept of a heavenly sanctuary as an entity located in heaven, and also as a reference to the earthly temple as a heaven-like entity.¹ In the following discussion, attention is focused upon the first aspect which depicts the temple as being located in heaven.

¹It is interesting to note how the text portrays the construction of the historical temple of Marduk. The context runs as follows: After the creation of mankind by Marduk, the Anunnaki were liberated from their compulsory work, which was now set upon the recently created human beings (cf. also the Epic of Atrahasis [complete in a Late Old Babylonian recension] which explains the creation of man as intended to free the Igigi-gods from work. Cf. *COS*, 1:450-52). To express their gratitude for what the high god had done, they undertook the construction of the sanctuary of Esagila in honor of Marduk. In the sequence, the sanctuary is identified with the historical temple of Marduk in Babylon. This text shows how closely bound together the heavenly and the earthly temples could be. Although the sanctuary was described as something built by the gods, it is identified as a historical temple located in Babylon, as can be perceived in the excerpt quoted below.

"The Anunnaki opened their mouth(s)
And said to Marduk their Lord:
"Now, O Lord, who hast established our freedom from compulsory service,
What shall be the sign of our gratitude before thee?
Come, let us make something whose name shall be called 'sanctuary.'
It shall be a dwelling for our rest at night; come let us repose therein!
There let us erect a throne dais, a seat with a back support!
On the day we arrive, we will repose in it."
When Marduk heard this,
His countenance shone exceedingly, [lik]e the day,
So(?) shall Babylon be, whose construction ye have desired;
Let its brick work be fashioned, and call it a sanctuary."
The following allusion is significant for the purpose of this research. After Marduk's defeating Tiamat and splitting her into halves, the following statement is found:

(143) The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
(144) He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra,
(145) (In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra, which he built, (and in) heaven,
(146) He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places.¹

This text suggests that the Apsu was conceived as a Great Sanctuary in the likeness of which the Esharra (the earthly temple) was created. But it is interesting to note that in the same text, it is stated that the great sanctuary was also built in heaven.² Thus it seems that, at least in the case of Esharra, the earthly temple was conceived as being in correspondence with heaven above and with the Apsu below.³ Thus the idea of a correspondence between heavenly and earthly temples seems to emerge in this text.

Another important quotation for this research reads, in reference to Marduk, as follows:

He shall establish for his fathers great food offerings,
He shall provide for them, he shall take care of their sanctuaries.

¹COS, 1:398-99 (Tablet IV, lines 143-46).

²Landsberger and Wilson propose the following translation for line 145: "The large abode, Esharra, which he had created, the heavens, He made Anu, Enlil and Ea occupy (as) their holy districts" (B. Landsberger, and J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of Enuma Eliș," JANES 20 (1961): 176, n. 120). If this suggestion is correct, then "heaven" would be understood as syntactically in apposition to Esharra, and not as a reference to the locus of a sanctuary. Nevertheless, when the passage is examined against its immediate grammatical context, one notes that the ancient worldview of a threefold division of the cosmos in the underworld (Apsu), earth, and heaven seems to form the conceptual background of the passage. Since the text speaks of a sanctuary in the Apsu, or the Apsu as a sanctuary, and also the sanctuary of Esharra, the earthly one, it is reasonable to suppose that a third one would be located in heaven, or heaven itself could be in view.

³It must be noted at this juncture that Apsu was the name of the primeval monster killed by Ea (Enki) which was fashioned into a place of sanctuaries. COS, 1:391-392 (lines 69-79).
He shall cause incense burners to be savored, he shall make their chambers rejoice. He shall make on earth the counterpart of what he brought to pass in heaven.\textsuperscript{1}

Another translation reads the last line thus: "May he make a likeness on earth of what he has wrought in heaven."\textsuperscript{2} A close look at the context suggests that the notion of a "counterpart" implies the idea of a correspondence between heavenly and earthly spheres that goes beyond a mere spatial/geographical correspondence and seems to refer to the cultic activities that are performed in both heavenly and earthly sanctuaries. This can be deduced from the references to "food offerings," "sanctuaries," and "incense burners" found in the passage.

At this juncture the views of two eminent orientalists are in order. According to Jeremias, "all the great cities and temples of Babylonia [had] corresponding cosmic originals."\textsuperscript{3} Geo Widengren observed that "the room of destiny of Esagila is then a symbol and a copy of the celestial room of Upšukinnaku, and the earthly king, who is installed upon the former, and from whom comes the decision of the destiny, is an image, a \textit{tam.sil.ili} of Marduk, the king of the gods."\textsuperscript{4}

Summing up, the major contribution of the text surveyed above for this study on the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif is the idea of a relationship or correspondence

\textsuperscript{1}COS, 1:402 (V 109-13).

\textsuperscript{2}ANET, 69.

\textsuperscript{3}Jeremias, \textit{The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell}, 40-41.

\textsuperscript{4}The Italian text reads: "La sala dei destini di Esagila è quindi in simbolo e una còpia della sala celeste Upšukinnaku, e il re terrestre, che qui in essa viene installato e di cui viene deciso il destino, è un'immagine, un \textit{tam.sil.ili} di Marduk, re degli déi" (Geo Widengren, "Aspetti Simbolici dei Tempi e Luoghi di Culto del Vicino Oriente Antico," \textit{Numen} 7 [1960]: 3-4). Interestingly enough, this text reminds one of the "image of the beast" referred to in Rev 13:14, 15.
between the heavenly temple and its early counterpart. This correspondence seems to have been understood, more than in mere structural terms, to involve the idea of a functional correspondence as deduced from the references to "food offerings," "sanctuaries," and "incense burners" in the last-quoted passage.

Excursus: Nabuapaliddina's Relief

Although this research deals with written sources, this excursus exceptionally discusses an important sculptured scene, which may shed additional light on the topic under study, since it apparently depicts the relationship between the heavenly and earthly temples. See fig. 1. This sculptured scene is ascribed to King Nabuapaliddina (870 B.C.) of Babylon, and was found in the temple of the Sun god in Sippar.

In the right part of the relief, there is a throne scene in which the solar deity Shamash is depicted as sitting on a throne under a tent-like sanctuary. Underneath the canopy are pictured the symbols of the three heavenly deities: Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar. Under the throne are a number of wavy lines, which both Metzger and Mettinger interpret as the celestial ocean. The left part of the relief contains a presentation scene which shows the priest Nabunadinshum leading King Nabuapaliddina into the presence of Shamash; the king and the priest are followed by a goddess. The deity is not approached directly; rather, the procession approaches a cultic table with a representation of the sun's disc. Metzger,

1The following discussion is largely based on the studies of M. Metzger ("Himmliche und Irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," Ugarit-Forschungen 2 [1970]: 139-58) and Tryggve N. D. Mettinger ("YHWH SABAOTH—The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne," in Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays, ed. Tomoo Ishida [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982], 109-38), who have devoted considerable attention to the implications of this document for the sanctuary/temple motif.
followed by Mettinger, pointed out that since the wavy lines extend over the entire breadth of the picture, the meaning of the scene would be to indicate "the heavenly associations of the temple,"¹ or "the place where heaven and earth meet, or heaven on earth."² Metzger expressed the same idea by saying that the sanctuary/temple is "the place in which the distinction between heaven and earth, between 'this world' and 'the world beyond' is abolished."³

Thus, Metzger and Mettinger tend to view the relationship between the heavenly and earthly sanctuary/temple as a continuum, where any distinction between heaven and earth collapses. Although this may be true, it seems more likely that the scene reflects the idea of a dynamic relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. If the throne scene at the right side of the relief depicts Shamash enthroned in his "Heavenly Sanctuary,"⁴ as Metzger explicitly recognizes, and the left scene depicts an earthly-temple setting, then the theological thrust of the picture may be simply that of representing a connection—not the abolition of any distinction—between heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. That is, the relief probably depicts a relationship between heavenly and earthly sanctuary/temples, as suggested.

That being the case, it may be hypothesized that what takes place on earth—that is, Nabuapaliddina's presentation in the earthly temple of Shamash—is legitimized by the

¹Mettinger, "YHWH SABAOTH—The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne," 121.

²Ibid.

³"Der Ort, an dem der Unterschied zwischen Himmel und Erde, zwischen 'Diesseits' und 'Jenseits' aufgehoben ist" (Metzger, 144).

⁴"Himmlischen Heiligtum" (Ibid., 142).
deity in the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The earthly temple thus derives significance and legitimacy from its connection with the heavenly counterpart, and idea that possibly lies behind the ANE concept of the earthly temple as "heaven on earth." At this juncture, the following statement by Lindquist, though from a different context, provides an apt summary of the concept of the interconnection of heavenly/earthly temples conveyed by this relief, and suggests a rationale for this interconnectedness.

The basic idea is that there exists in the sky a perfect place, the 'city' of the gods. The goal of human life is both to establish contact with this place, and to return to it after death, thus to share in the life of the gods. The primary way by which the gods share with humans the knowledge of this place, and information on how to get there, it [sic] through the temple. The earthly temple is an exact replica of the heavenly temple.2

Summary

The foregoing survey of Akkadian texts (including the excursus on Nabuapaliddina's Relief) yielded some additional insights into the ANE understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. In terms of function, it was noted that in addition to its serving as a dwelling place of the deity, or royal palace, the heavenly sanctuary/temple was understood as the meeting place of the assembly of the gods, a place where decisions and judgments were pronounced, and wherein cultic activities took place. There is also some evidence of a relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and the earthly counterparts.


Hittite Literature

Although most of the references to temples/sanctuaries in the Hittite literature have in view the earthly/historical temples of the deities, there are several indications that the Hittites conceived of a temple/sanctuary in heaven. Since the gods were understood to live and engage in activities in heaven (as well as upon the earth and on mountains), it is natural that a concept of a heavenly temple/sanctuary would emerge from this literature.

Song of Ullikummi

The text known as "The Song of Ullikummi" displays several references to a heavenly sanctuary/temple. As a strategy to dethrone Tessub, Kumarbi impregnates a rock in order to have a son strong enough to overcome his opponent "and go up to heaven to kingship." The success of Kumarbi resulted in a son named Ullikummi who grows so tall that he "reaches up to the temples (karimmus) and the kuntarra house in heaven." Later, it is reported that "it has blocked heaven, the holy temples (karimmu), and Hebat." Another significant reference to the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif emerges in a

1Tessub was the "supreme Storm God" and "reigning king of the gods according to Hurrian theology" (Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Hittite Myths [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 113).

2Ibid., 58.


4ANET, 123. Hoffner translates it as, "In the sky above it meets temples and (their) kuntarra-shrines" (Hoffner, Hittite Myths, 59).

5Gütterbock, 45.

6Hoffner, Hittite Myths, 64.
confrontation between Tessub and Ullikummi. The latter assures the former that "I will go up to heaven to kingship. I will take myself Kummiya, [the gods'] holy temples (karimmi), and the kuntarra-shrines. I will scatter the gods down from the sky like meal."\(^2\)

Some considerations regarding this text are in order. First, the text clearly attests the concept of a heavenly temple. As Hoffner puts it, the kuntarra-shrine is "the holiest of holies of the chief god Tessub located in heaven."\(^3\) It is worthy of note that the "kuntarra of Tessub" is mentioned in a treaty text as a building in the Anatolian city of Tarḫuntašša.\(^4\) This raises the possibility that the Hittites also conceived of a correspondence between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries along the lines of their Semitic neighbors.

Second, it is possible that, along with the concept of a heavenly temple, the text under consideration points to a heavenly city.\(^5\) Although Kummiya is identified with "the home of the storm god Tessub, located in Northern Syria,"\(^6\) it seems that in the aforementioned text, Kummiya is located in heaven. Two arguments reinforce this possibility:


\(^{2}\)Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 65.

\(^{3}\)Ibid., 111.


\(^{5}\)Güterbock supplies the word "town" (Güterbock, 49).

\(^{6}\)Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 111.
1. Since the purpose of Ullikummi's ascension to heaven was to attain kingship by taking over "Kummiya, [the god's] holy temples (karimmi), and the kuntarra-shrines," it seems reasonable to suppose that Kummiya was located in heaven.

2. In addition, it must be noted that the taking over of Kummiya and the "god's holy temples" will result in his scattering "the gods down from the sky like meal." Therefore, Kummiya and the gods' temples must be located in heaven. Thus, in addition to the concept of a heavenly sanctuary/temple, the text seems to point to the idea of a heavenly city.

Third, the text under consideration also displays a significant indication about the function of this heavenly temple. Since the context displays a struggle for kingship in which Ullikummi wants to take over the kuntarra-shrines of Tessub, it seems reasonable to postulate that the heavenly temple was a token of kingship. By taking over the heavenly temples, Ullikummi would establish his kingship. Although the extant text does disclose the result of this confrontation, Hoffner conjectured that Tessub "apparently will win."1

In addition to the concept of a heavenly temple, the song of Ullikummi displays two references to the assembly of the gods. In a short and fragmented section of the myth which describes Tessub meeting Ea, mention is made of the "assembly."2 Although this text does not indicate where this assembly would be located, another section apparently refers to the "place of assembly" as being located in heaven. The relevant portion of the text reads as follows: "Tasmisu heard and rejoiced. He clapped (?) three times, and up in

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1Ibid., 56.

2Ibid., 63.
the sky the gods heard. He clapped (?) a second time, and Tessub, the valiant King of Kummiya, heard. Then they came to the place of the assembly, and all the gods began to bellow like cattle at Ullikummi.” Along with pointing to heaven as the locus for the assembly, the larger context suggests that this assembly could well take place in one of the heavenly sanctuaries mentioned in the story, or even in the kuntarra-house of the gods.

Other Texts

Volkert Haas refers to a text in which the gods are depicted as bringing iron to build the heavenly palace. The composition known as the "Mursilis Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna" displays some allusions to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. The relevant portion reads as follows:

O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are the source of light. Throughout the lands you are a favored deity, and you are father and mother to all the lands. You are the divine guided lord [sic] of judgment, and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you. Also among the primeval gods you are favored. O Sun-goddess of Arinna, allot the sacrifices to the gods, and the share of the primeval gods you allot as well. They open up the door of heaven for you, and you cross the gate of heaven, O favored [Sun-goddess of Arinna]. The gods of heaven [and earth bow down to you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna. Whatever you say, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [the gods] fall down before you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna.3

The portrayal of the Sun-goddess of Arinna's performance in the "place of judgment" and her crossing the gate of heaven point to a heavenly setting. Although no

1Ibid., 64-65.


3Itamar Singer, Hittite Prayers, Writings from the Ancient World 11 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 51 (A I 29'-ii 2').
specific word for temple/sanctuary (e.g., karimmi-/karimna-, kuntarra) is used, the reference to the "place of judgment" may well convey a temple setting. Additionally, the "door of heaven" may also reinforce the notion of the heavenly sphere as an enclosed space where the deities perform their activities. In sum, the main idea in this text seems to be that of a judgment, which is executed by the deity in a heavenly setting.

In the "Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency" in which Muwatallis invokes the gods for help, reference is made to heavenly and earthly temples. The Sun-god of Heaven is urged to call on the other gods as follows: "Those gods, O Sun-god of Heaven, summon from heaven (and) from earth, from the mountains (and) from the rivers, from their temples (and) their thrones!" Apart from the concept of heavenly and earthly temples, this passage also points to the assembly of the gods as a major motif. Although the text does not make it explicit, it is possible that both ideas are somehow intertwined inasmuch as the heavenly temple(s) might have functioned as the locus for the divine assembly.

1 ANET, 398.

2 Houwink ten Cate, "The Sun God of Heaven and the Hittite King," in Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions, Studies in the History of Religion 51 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 23. The assembly of the gods conveys a notion of judgment, and consequently may be related to the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif. Furthermore, although one cannot be certain about the specific spot where this assembly would convene, the overall ANE evidence allows the possibility that the heavenly temple might be one of its loci.

Hittite literature contains several references to the assembly of the gods, as the following sampling demonstrates. In the bilingual edict of Hattusili I, the monarch pleads for the gods to "take a stand on my side and judge the [legal case] on my side" (COS, 2:88). In a treaty document between Suppiluliumas and Aziru, the assembly of the gods is called to witness (ibid., 95). The same motif occurs in the blessings and curses of the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Kurtiwaza. The text says that "at the conclusion of this treaty we have called the gods to be assembled and the gods of the contracting parties to be present, to listen and to serve as witnesses" (ANET, 205). In a prayer by Mursillis II, all the gods are "summoned to assemble for witnessing an oath" (COS, 2:156). In the Telepinus myth, it is reported that "the gods [were gathered] in assembly under the hatalkešnaš tree " (ANET, 128), assumed to be the hawthorn according to ten Cate (16).
The basic assumption behind the idea of a divine assembly would be that humans can appeal to the gods and win their support. As ten Cate has stated, "the gods were supposed to transmit to their equals complaints which had reached them from human beings."\(^1\) At this juncture, it is worth noting that the assembly of the gods seemed to have its counterpart among humans in the Hittite assembly, which gathered as a judicial body under the will of the king.\(^2\) Thus, the idea developed that as the Hittite king used to convocate his assembly, in like manner his divine counterpart, understood as the sun god, would convocate the other deities to gather in assembly.\(^3\) Therefore, if the Hittites developed the idea of an earthly counterpart for the assembly of the gods, it is reasonable to infer that they might also have entertained the notion of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in correspondence to an earthly counterpart.\(^4\)

**Summary**

Hittite texts portray the heavenly sanctuary as a token of kingship, which functions as a place of judgment and, possibly, as the locus for the divine assembly of the gods. The

\(^1\)ten Cate, 21.


\(^3\)ten Cate, 19.

\(^4\)The connection between heavenly and earthly assemblies suggests a correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple of the deity and the earthly sanctuary/temple (or the palace of the king, for that matter). It is interesting to note that the Sumerian logogram E (from E.GAL: lit. "large house," i.e. "temple/palace") is also used in Hittite, as noted in the Hittite terms ū₄ karimᵐ₄ ṣ-known ᵅ₄ karimᵐ₄ ("temple") and ū₄ kun₄ tarra ("sanctuary") (Johann Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* [Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1983], 407 and 635-36, respectively).
possibility may also be raised that Hittites also conceived of a correspondence between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries along the lines of their Semitic neighbors.

**Ugaritic Literature**

The discovery of the ancient city of Ugarit provided a major venue for the understanding of the religion of Canaan, and consequently opened new vistas to the religious context of the Hebrew Bible. Among the most important finds brought to light by the archaeological excavations of Ugarit are three major works of narrative poetry written in a cuneiform alphabet providing significant insights into the religion of Ugarit—the Epic of Kirta, the story of Aqhat, and the Baal Cycle. These works are the major sources for the following survey of Ugaritic texts.

**Epic of Kirta**

The Epic of Kirta is a story of a royal hero who has to fight against the near extinction of his dynasty. A significant feature of this story is the role played by the gods in the plot. They are deeply involved as the actions of the hero unfold. They feast with him, help him, and are involved in the major decisions regarding Kirta's fortune. Of special interest for the purposes of this research are the references to the dwellings of the gods.

---

The gods are depicted as living in tents, as the following quotation demonstrates:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tbrk': ilm.'tit}' & \quad \text{The gods offer blessing, they go} \\
\text{tity': ilm.'lahhlm} & \quad \text{The gods go home to their tents} \\
\text{dr il'lmshknthm} & \quad \text{The circle of El to their dwellings.}^1
\end{align*}
\]

Although the text does not specify where these houses/tents are located, it may reasonably be surmised that they were understood to be located in heaven or in some mythical place, such as the underworld.\(^2\) The text also alludes to Baal's dwelling located on the mythical Mount Saphon.\(^3\) Although, strictly speaking, this is not a heavenly sanctuary (i.e., a sanctuary located in heaven) its importance lies in the fact that it was probably regarded as the counterpart to the earthly/historical temple of Baal in the city of Ugarit,\(^4\) and therefore plays a role functionally equivalent to that of a heavenly temple.

\(^1\)Ibid., 26 (KTU 1:15 III 17-19).
\(^3\)Cf. the following passages:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tbkyk' ab' gr b'fl} & \quad \text{Baal's mountain will weep for you, father--} \\
\text{spn' hlm' qds} & \quad \text{Mount Saphon, the holy domain,} \\
\text{n/n} & \quad \text{Mount Nani, the mighty domain} \\
\text{hl rhb mkpt} & \quad \text{A domain stretched as wide as a wingspan.}
\end{align*}
\]

Simon B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, WAW 9 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 31 (KTU 1.16 I 6-9). This text is repeated verbatim by Kirta's daughter Thitmanit in Parker, 35 (KTU 1.16 II 44-47).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{"sh' ngr' il' il'is} & \quad \text{ Summon the herald-god, Illish-} \\
\text{il{[}s]} & \quad \text{Ilish, the herald of Baal's house} \\
\text{wath' ngr' ilh't} & \quad \text{And his wives, herald-goddesses, too!} \\
\text{ysh' ngr' il' il'is} & \quad \text{He summons the herald-god, Ilish,} \\
\text{il'is ngr' bt' b'fl} & \quad \text{Ilish, the herald of Baal's house,} \\
\text{wath' ngr' ilh't} & \quad \text{And his wives, herald-goddesses, too"} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Parker, 36 [KTU 1.16 IV 3-4]). Cf. Parker, 37 (KTU 1.16 IV 10-12).

\(^4\)This idea will be elaborated below.
Summing up, from the few allusions to the heavenly/mythical sanctuary/temple motif found in the Epic of Kirta one gets the impression that the heavenly/mythical sanctuary functions primarily as a dwelling for the deities. Its location is left unspecified except for Baal, whose abode is located on Mount Saphon.

Story of Aqhat

The story of Aqhat reports about the childless king Danel in whose favor Baal intercedes before El to bless him with a son. After Baal's intercession, a son, named Aqhat, was born to Danel. Actually, the major concern of the story is with Danel's son, and not with Danel himself. So in the following survey of the story of Aqhat focuses mainly on the references to the gods' dwellings located both in Ugarit and in heaven or some mythical place. It is instructive to note that El's abode is described as being located at a mythical place, "at the springs of the rivers," as can be seen in the text transcribed below, in which Anat marches towards El's dwelling:

David P. Wright has identified twenty ritual scenes in the Aqhat narrative, the majority of which are "sorted out in (a) feasts, (b) blessings, (c) mourning rites, and (d) retaliation rites" (David P. Wright, Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning, and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001], 13). Although Wright has performed a detailed analysis of this story, with a meticulous identification of the ritual scenes contained therein, unfortunately he paid no attention to the heavenly-temple motif.
Then she sets her face toward El at the springs of the rivers,

Among the streams of the deeps.

She proceeds to the precinct of El,

[Comes to the] camp of the King, the Father of Years.

It is instructive to note that, along with his mythical tent "at the springs of the rivers," El had a house or sanctuary in the city of Ugarit, as the text below seems to demonstrate. The context of the passage depicts Baal interceding before El so that a son would be given to Kirta. The requested offspring was expected

To eat his portion in Baal's house

His share in the house of El.²

For the purpose of this study, it suffices to note that Baal's and El's houses as mentioned in this text most probably refer to the earthly sanctuaries of these deities, since the text is referring to ritual actions to be performed by Kirta's future son. At this juncture three remarks are in order. First, it is clear that the Ugaritic culture understood the abode of the deities in two spheres: El had a "house" (bt) physically located at Ugarit,³ and a "precinct" (dd)⁴ at the cosmic waters. This is in line with ANE theology and cosmology

¹Parker, 62 (KTU 1.17 VI 46-49). The locution "Father of Years" reminds one of the expression "Ancient of Days" in Dan 7:9-10. This passage will receive attention in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

²Ibid., 53 (KTU 1.17 I 31-32).

³Although archaeological excavations have not yet identified a sanctuary/temple belonging to El, several ritual texts have attested the existence of a sanctuary to this deity in the ancient city Ugarit. Cf., e.g., Dennis Pardee, Ritual and Cult at Ugarit (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 51 (RS24.266, lines 6, 14 [Obv.]).

⁴Clifford translates dd as "tent" on the basis of the parallelism of Ugaritic poetry. According to him "the word is probably plural, as frequently in housing terms in Ugaritic. The usual translation is 'area' or 'mountain.' While there is no extra-Ugaritic evidence for dd as "tent,"
according to which the god's earthly "sanctuary" was understood to be a copy or counterpart of the heavenly/cosmic one.1

Second, earthly and heavenly sanctuaries seem to have been understood as operating in dynamic relationship. The following text seems to point to this aspect. After Danel's weeping over the death of his son Aqhat for seven years, the text reports that

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wyq}[ry] \ dbh \ ilm & \text{He presents a meal for the gods,} \\
y[s]ly \ dgt[hlm]? & \text{Into the heavens sends incense,} \\
dgt \ hrnmy \ [bk] \ bkm & \text{[to the ] stars the Harnemite's incense.2}
\end{array}
\]

The picture here seems to be that of Danel entering a sacred precinct in Ugarit and performing some ritual action.3 The clause "into the heavens he sends incense" seems to express the connection between the earthly and heavenly dwellings of the deities (i.e., Danel presents a meal in the earthly temple or sacred precinct and, at the same, time sends incense up into the heavenly sanctuary of the deities). The implication is that both sanctuaries are connected in the same ritual action. Thus the term "heavens" is probably a metonymic expression for the heavenly sanctuary of the deities.

the intra-Ugaritic evidence is strong. \(dd\) appears five times in the cliché for El's dwelling, reprinted in the text. A rigid parallelism is the rule in the cliché: mabbikū [source] // 'apiqū [pool]; naharāmi ["two rivers"] // tihām@ tāmī [double-deep]; īlu [El] // milkū abū šanimā [king, father of years]; tagliyū [roll back] // tabu 'u [enter]. \(dd\) should therefore be parallel to garašū, "tent frame, tent" (Richard J. Clifford, "The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting," CBQ 33 [1971]: 222, n. 4). Clifford notes another proof of this parallelism in lines 51-52 of the the story of Aqhat: agrtn-bat.ḥdēk [pght] bat-b<a>.nlm. "The woman we hired is come to our camp, [ ] is come to our tents" (ibid.). Cf. Parker, 77 (KTU 1.19 IV 51-52).

1 "Among the Canaanites, the high god was thought to dwell in a temple or tent on the holy mountain. The earthly temple of the deity was considered a copy of the heavenly temple on the mountain" (Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament, 177).

2 Parker, 76 (KTU 1.19 IV 22-25).

3 Cf. David P. Wright, 200-03.
There is also the possibility that the term "heavens" may point to the earthly sanctuary itself which, because of its relationship with the heavenly sanctuary, could be called "heaven." Nevertheless, the reference to the "stars" renders the heavenly abode of the deities the most probable referent for the passage and, consequently, suggests a dynamic relationship between earthly and heavenly sanctuaries.

---

1It is instructive to note that an Ugaritic hymn to Anat refers to the sanctuary of the goddess, located on the mythical mount Inbub, as "high heavens" (šmm rm). The relevant part of the text reads as follows:  
"w*p'ldrf(Š) nṣrk  
wrb.global ḥrb-inbb  
at ḡṛk ḥnk ydšt  
[aš/n ntm bk]  
b gg [Š]šmm rm lk  
prz kr [k]bbm  
And fly with your falcons  
and settle on your mountain Inbub,  
come to your mountain (which) I know!  
Lo! Come yourself to your dwelling;  
to the ro[of] of the high [heav]ens go,  
and run towards the stars"  

The Phoenician inscriptions of 'Ešmunazar and Bod'aštar, both from the fifth century B.C., seemingly refer to the precincts of a temple in Sidon as "mighty heavens" (šmm 'drm) and "high heavens" (vmm rmm) respectively. The relevant parts of lines 15-17 of the 'Ešmunazar inscription read: (15) . . . bnn 'yt bt (16) 'inn 'yt bt 'štr bṣdm 'ṛṣ ym wyšrn 'yt bt 'aštrt šmm'drm w'nhn (17) 's bnn bt l šmm [š]d'r qdš 'nydil bhr wyšbny šmm'drm . . . "(15) . . . we built the house of (16) the gods: the temple of Ashtarot in Sidom, land of the sea, and have made Ashtarot dwell in the mighty heavens; and we (17) built a house to Eshmun, the holy prince (?) "NYDLL, on the mountain and made him dwell in the mighty heavens" (H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966], 1:3, inscription number 14). For the English translation I followed with some minor changes the German translation in Donner, 2:19-20. The Bod'aštar inscription, a short text inscribed in the foundations of the Eshmun temple, contains the following words: mlk bdštrt mlk ṣdmm bn bn mlk ḥšmn'zr mlk ṣdmm ḥḏm ym šmm rm [š]d'r ṣpém šd'n mšl 's bn šd'n ṣd'r 'yt ḥbyt z bn lfy ššm šd'r qdš. "King BDAŠTRT, King of the Sidonians, grandson of AŠMNZR, king of the Sidonians, in 'Sidon of the sea,' high heavens, 'land of RŠPM,' 'Sidon rules,' which he built. And Sidon of the hall which he built to his god, to 'EŠMN, the holy prince." Donner, 1:3, inscription number 15. My English translation follows closely the German translation in Donner, 2:23-24. "Sidon of the sea," "high heavens," "land of RŠPM," "Sidon rules," correspond to four quarters of the Sidon according to J. T. Milik, "Le Papyrus Arameens d'Hermopolis et les Cultes Syro-Phéniciens," Bib 48 (1967): 597-98. For something similar in Ebla, cf. Mitchell J. Dahood, "The Temple and Other Sacred Places in the Ebla Tablets," in The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Ancient Perspectives, ed. Truman G. Madsen, RSMS 9 (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1984), 84.
Baal Cycle

Dated to about 1400-1359 B.C., the so-called Baal cycle is composed of six tablets and various fragments of about 1,830 lines, though estimates for the original text go as high as 5,000 lines.1 The research on these tablets has generated considerable debate. Scholars have discussed the order of the tablets, also whether the six tablets should be read as a single story or a group of separate narratives about Baal,2 and the function of this cycle in the Ugaritic religion.3 Nonetheless, in spite of this discussion, no consensus has emerged, and for the purposes of this research no absolute decision regarding these matters is required.

The text narrates "the story of Baal's rise to kingship over the gods by his defeat of the forces of chaos, Sea and Death."4 As the composition unfolds, several themes become prominent such as a council in heaven, battle between the deities, creation, temple

---


2Smith seems to imply that the cycle is a single story when he says that despite the difficulties "the outline of the narrative is clear." Ibid. Clifford has suggested that the six tablets of Baal texts "contain two variants of the same basic myth of the victory of the god rather than, as is often assumed, of a single connected story of a conflict with Sea followed by a conflict with Death." Richard J. Clifford, "The Temple in the Ugaritic Myth of Baal," in *Symposia*, ed. F. M. Cross (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1975), 138.


building, sacral meal, and others.\textsuperscript{1} For the purposes of this research, special attention is devoted to the theme of El's tent and Baal's palace—the most prominent theme in the Baal texts.\textsuperscript{2}

An interesting reference to El's abode occurs in a text in which Anat comes to the mountain of El to request that a palace be built for Baal.

\begin{verbatim}
tgl·d[d]llf·jwbu [She comes to] the mountain of El and enters.
[qr]s·m[l]k·abf·sjm [The tent of the king, the father of years.
[ ]r[ ]t]bu·djm [She] enters the mountain.
[n]n[t]·jn·il· ]
qlh·yšm·t·r[ ]j·l·abn Her voice Bull [E]l her Father, hears;
yf·n·tbšb·t·h[d]rm· E[l] bn[sw]ers from the seven r[oo]ms,
[bt]mn[t·ap]sgt. [from the] eigh[t en]closures.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{verbatim}

Some significant features regarding El's abode deserve discussion. At first, it seems clear that the text refers to El's heavenly/mythical abode. The description of El's sanctuary as a seven-room palace points to grandeur and majesty that exceed an earthly sanctuary. In fact, that El is depicted as being located at the innermost chamber of his abode\textsuperscript{4} recalls the


\textsuperscript{2} Cf. F. Løkkegaard, "The House of Baal," \textit{AcOr} 22 (1955).

\textsuperscript{3} Parker, 116 (KTU 1.3 V 7-12).

\textsuperscript{4} It has been further suggested that "this idiom of seven concentric boundaries surrounding a god's shrine appears to establish its central location; it corresponds to the notion of seven barriers in the underworld of both Egyptian and Mesopotamian tradition. It may also be compared to the seven boundaries represented architecturally in Egyptian temples, most clearly at Edfu. The image of the god here resided in the innermost chamber (the shrine-box) of the building. A similar symbolism, though perhaps not so explicitly developed, probably lies behind the construction of the temples at Ugarit" (Nicholas Wyatt, "The Religion of Ugarit: An Overview," in \textit{Handbook of Ugaritic Studies}, ed. Wilfried G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 533). Cf. also Margerite Yon, " Sanctuaires d'Ougarit," in \textit{Temples et Sanctuaires: Séminaire de Recherche sous la Direction de G. Roux}, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 7 (Lyon: GIS-Maison de l'Orient, Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
layouts of ANE temples in which an image of the deity was housed in the innermost sanctuary.\(^1\)

Another aspect of El's temple that deserves comment relates to its function. Since the context portrays the goddess Anat coming to El in order to request that a temple be built for Baal, the tent of El functions as the place where the deity would make decisions and whence he would issue his decrees. This is reinforced by another text that reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{idk·lttn·pm} & \quad \text{Now she heads out} \\
\text{c·m·il·mbk·nhrm} & \quad \text{For El at the springs of the Rivers} \\
\text{qrb·apq·thmtm} & \quad \text{Amid the streams of the deeps.} \\
\text{tgly·qd·il·wbu} & \quad \text{She comes to the mountain of El and enters} \\
\text{qrš·mlk·ab·šnm} & \quad \text{The tent of the King, the Father of Years.}\(^2\)
\end{align*}
\]

El's dwelling is depicted as being located "at the springs of the Rivers" (mbk·nhrm). Some scholars have advanced the view that the "springs of the Rivers" could be reminiscent of the subterranean waters, and therefore El's abode would be located

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\(^2\)Parker, 127 (KTU 1.4 IV 20-24).
somewhere in the netherworld. Such a view, nonetheless, cannot be sustained upon closer examination. More likely, the phrase "springs of the Rivers" refers to the waters of paradise, the source of life-giving waters. Besides, it seems reasonable to suppose that since El was understood as the chief deity of the Ugaritic pantheon, he would be conceived of as living in some other place than the netherworld. As a matter of fact, Ugaritic literature discloses indications that El was located in heaven. From this place, "the center of the universe . . . El exercises that vital restraining, but essentially benevolent providence ( . . . ) without which everything would collapse in chaos." El's dwelling place functions as the headquarters from where the chief god of the pantheon rules the universe. As noted by Clifford, the tent of El is always described in contexts of messengers or deities asking El's decision or taking orders from him.

---


4 Cf., e.g., the following from Kirta epic: 20, $a\cdot ydl\cdot s\cdot m\cdot d\cdot b\cdot l\cdot f r\ abk il ["Lift your hands to heaven, sacrifice to Bull your father, El"] (KTU 1.14 ii 20). The biblical expressions "El most high" ($\ell b\cdot m\cdot k\cdot r\ h\cdot i$) and "the stars of El" ($\ell b\cdot m\cdot k\cdot r\ h\cdot i$) lend additional weight to the contention that Ugaritic mythology most probably conceived of El's dwelling as located in heaven (or in some mythical place functionally equivalent to heaven).


Now, attention is turned to some of the references to the building of Baal's house, a major theme in the Baal cycle. After Baal's fighting and defeating Yam (Tablets 1-2), El granted the request of Athirat that a house be built for Baal. In gratitude for El's permission, Athirat extolls him and spells out her expectations of what Baal would accomplish from the temple as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wnap•c'dn•mtrh b'jl} & \quad \text{So now may Baal enrich with his rain,} \\
y'dn•'cdn•tr(l)t•bglt & \quad \text{May he enrich with rich water in a downpour.} \\
wtn•qlh•b'rpt & \quad \text{And may he give his voice in the clouds,} \\
$sr'h•lars•brqm & \quad \text{May he flash to the earth lightning.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The words of Athirat seem to imply that Baal temple would be a source of fertility inasmuch as this temple would be the place from which Baal's royal self-disclosure would emanate in the form of rain, thunder, and lightning. Clifford has noted that "apparently, the cosmic function of Baal's temple is the subject. Baal's temple and kingship will bring fertility and cosmic harmony. If this is the function of the heavenly temple, it may also be the function of the earthly shrine which represents the heavenly sphere."\(^2\)

Another text that deserves consideration is the section that describes the actual building of Baal's mythical palace as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
[h's:]bhtl•tbnn & \quad \text{Quickly he builds his house,} \\
[h's:]term•hklh & \quad \text{Quickly he erects his palace.} \\
y[t]l•llbnn•w'sh & \quad \text{He [se]nds to Lebanon for its wood,} \\
l[šrš]yn•mhmd•arzh & \quad \text{To [Sir]yon for its choicest cedar} \\
h[n]'lbn•w'sh & \quad \text{In[deed (?) to Le]banon for its wood,} \\
s[rš]yn•mhmd•arzh & \quad \text{To Siryon for its choicest cedar.} \\
tš[l•jš't•bhtm] & \quad \text{A fire is set in the house,} \\
nb[l'at•bhklm] & \quad \text{A [f]lame in the palace.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)Parker, 129 (KTU 1.4 V 6-9).

\(^2\)Clifford, \textit{The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament}, 106.
There! for a day and a second,
A fire burns in the house,
A flame in the palace.

For a third and a fourth,
[A fire burns in the house,
A flame in the palace.

For a fifth and a sixth,
A fire burns [in] the house,
A flame amid the palace.

Then on the seventh-day,
The fire leaves the house,
The [flame], the palace.

The silver had turned to plates,
The gold had turned to bricks.

Mightiest Baal rejoices:
"My house I have built o[ f silver,
My palace of gold."1

The above-quoted text yields significant information about the nature and function of Baal's mythical abode. As for its nature, it must be noted that the work is described in very human terms. Earthly materials are used in its construction: wood from Lebanon, gold, and silver. A heavenly temple seems to be constructed with the same materials as if it were a palace of a human king.2 However, at the same time a supernatural tone is struck when it is stated that fire contributed to the completion of the work. Elsewhere it is also stated that the house had gigantic dimensions,3 was made of clouds,4 and had a window described as a rift in the clouds (bdqt crrpt).5 An additional detail indicates that Baal's

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1Parker, 133-34 (KTU 1.4 VI 16-38).

2Korpel, 375.

3Parker, 132 (KTU 1.4 V 56-57).

4Ibid., 136 (KTU 1.4 VII 17-20).

5Ibid.
temple is far beyond any human king's mansion. This temple contains eight rooms in which Baal does not store ordinary earthly treasures, but thunder, lightning and snow.¹ Therefore, it may be concluded that although the description of Baal's heavenly² palace is made against the backdrop of his earthly temple located in the city of Ugarit, ultimately, it seems that the earthly language intends to convey the idea of the deity's heavenly/mythical abode. Another possibility is that the myth refers to both earthly and heavenly/mythical temples at the same time, as Stoltz has suggested.³ Thus, the mixing of earthly and heavenly elements seems to operate as a kind of connection between the earthly temple and its heavenly archetype.⁴ At this juncture, one should note that the correspondence between earthly and heavenly temples seems to be substantiated by the correlation of the literary description of Baal's temple with the archaeological data. The literary description attests that one of the interesting features of Baal's palace was a window. Although rejecting it at first, Baal eventually reverses his decision and allows Kothar to make the window in the house.⁵

¹ KTU 1.101:3ff; KTU 1:4 VII 59f. (restored on the basis of KTU 1.8: II.13). Cf. Korpel, 375, n. 76.

² The fact that Baal is a storm-god indicates that he is a celestial deity, and therefore his mythical temple is located in heaven.


⁴ Wyatt, Religious Texts from Ugarit, 106, n. 147.

⁵ This has been understood as the opening of the clouds through which the rain would fall (Norman Habel, Yahweh versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures [New York: Bookman Associates, 1964], 77). T. Gaster has made the interesting suggestion that this incident reflects an actual rain-making ceremony at the Baal temple of Ugarit in which the windows of the temple roof were opened "to simulate the opening of the windows of heaven" (Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis: Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Now, it is worth noting that the temple of Baal uncovered during the excavations at Ras Shamra had a window in the roof,¹ as had Baal's mythical temple on Mount Zaphon. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Ugaritic religion understood the earthly temple to be "the counterpart of Baal's heavenly abode."²

In the sequence of the narrative, the royal functions of Baal's temple become apparent, as can be perceived from the following passage:

\[
\begin{align*}
bkm\cdot ytb\cdot b^*l\cdot lbhth & \quad \text{So Baal is enthroned in his house:} \\
umlk\cdot ubmlk/ & \quad \text{Will either king or commoner} \\
ars\cdot drkt \ y\skn & \quad \text{Establish a land of dominion?}^5
\end{align*}
\]

In this connection Lokkegaard expressed the view that "the house is meant as a step towards absolute power, as a token of supremacy,"⁴ and Clifford argued that "the palace is central. It is a concrete symbol of kingship."⁵ That kingship is a major function of Baal's

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³ Parker, 137 (KTU 1.4 VII 42-44).

⁴ Lokkegaard, 17.


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palace is made explicit by the following statement in which Baal himself claims that "I myself am the one who reigns over the gods" (ahdy dymlk 'îlim). After the construction of his palace, Baal offers a banquet to all the gods. Subsequently, he marches through numerous cities and, in thunder, proclaims his kingship from his palace.

Summary

From the survey of Ugaritic texts undertaken above, the following picture of the heavenly/mythical sanctuary emerges: Although there are allusions to dwellings of the deities located in heaven, the texts dealing with El's dwelling and Baal's temple locate the abode of these deities in mythological places—the "springs of the rivers," and Mount Saphon, respectively. The following functions of the heavenly/mythical temple can be perceived from this study: A place of divine activities of decision whence the deity issues decrees and judgments affecting the earthly and cosmic sphere. The heavenly/mythical temple also seems to function as a source of fertility and a token of kingship, which is made especially clear in the report about the construction of Baal's temple.

Ugaritic texts also attest the idea of a relationship between the heavenly/mythical temple and its earthly counterpart. As the correlation between the literary and archaeological data indicates, a structural correspondence emerges in connection with the "window" of Baal's temple. The textual data also seems to indicate a dynamic relationship, inasmuch as incense offered in an earthly sanctuary goes up to heaven, which suggest

1Parker, 137 (KTU 1.4 VII 40-50).
some kind of dynamic relationship between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly
counterpart.

**Egyptian Literature**

Egyptian texts display a variety of notions regarding the sanctuary/temple motif. Apart from the obvious concept of the earthly/historical temples, Egyptian texts portray concepts such as a sanctuary/temple in heaven, in the underworld,\(^1\) or in some undetermined mythical realm. The idea also emerges of a primeval sanctuary\(^2\) which was

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\(^1\)The Book of the Dead contains several references to the judgment hall (Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37 [Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974], 22 [Spell 15B3]), double sanctuary (ibid., 175), broad hall of Geb (ibid., 204, Spell 185a.), and underworld offerings (ibid., 217, Spell Pleyte 167) which possibly refer to the underworld shrine(s) where the council of the gods would undertake the judgment of the dead. A major motif in the Egyptian texts is that of an underworld tribunal where a council of gods presided over by Osiris would decide whether the person was worthy of eternal life (Stephen Quirke, "Judgment of the Dead," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001], 2:211-14). Worthy of attention at this juncture is the "hall of the two truths" (ibid., 97, 101, Spell 125a). This refers to the netherworld shrine at one end of which Osiris sits upon a throne to perform the judgment of the dead (Alan W. Shorter, *The Egyptian Gods: A Handbook* [London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1937], 52). An assembly of gods was supposed to be present in the course of this judgment. Special reference is made to the forty-two gods in whose presence the deceased person had to deny having committed forty-two specified sins (for a list of the forty-two gods and the corresponding list of sins to be denied by the deceased person, cf. Thomas George Allen, 98-99, Spell 125b) in order to be acquitted. Thus, a major function of the netherworld sanctuary was one of judgment. In this connection, it should be noted that Egyptian religious texts are similar to their ANE counterparts, except that the Egyptians placed greater emphasis on a judgment located in the netherworld (this is not to deny that the other ANE texts postulated the existence of the netherworld. My contention is that Egyptian religious texts seem to give more weight to this concept of judgment performed in the netherworld realm than the other ANE literature).

\(^2\)Some texts allude to the concept of a primeval or cosmic temple. In these texts, the prototypical temple is not depicted as an entity located in heaven, but projected back into the mythical past. This archetypical temple is identified with the first spot to emerge from the waters when the world was created. In a study about the Egyptian temple, Reymond notes that "in some Pyramid texts of the V dynasty, the Earth in its earliest shape was pictured as a mound which
founded upon the first mound when the world began. In latter times even the world came
to be conceived as a sanctuary.\footnote{It has been pointed out that in later Ptolemaic times the Egyptians began to see the temple as a microcosm of the world (Harold Nelson, "The Egyptian Temple," in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, ed. G. Ernest Wright and David Noel Freedman [Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research and Scholars Press, 1975], 150). The holy of holies was seen as the mound which arose from the primeval waters, the floor was conceived as the earth, its ceiling is painted blue for the sky (ibid., 151.4). These developments noted by Nelson are further corroborated by the inscriptions of the pious pilgrim later carved on the temples of the 18th dynasty. One of these inscriptions reads as follows: "The scribe N. came in order to see the beautiful temple of King Snefru. He found it like a heaven in its interior, in which Rê would come out and say: The heaven showers fresh myrrh, it drips frankincense on the roof of the temple of King Snefru" (W. Spiegelberg, "Die Auffassung des Tempels als Himmel," ZAS 53 [1917]: 99).

Furthermore, it is worthy of note that this concept left its mark in the Egyptian language itself, since the Egyptian word for "shrine" (3wy-pf) has the meaning of "doors of heaven" (cf. Jaroslav Černý, "Note on 3wy-pt," JEA 34 (1948): 120; Edward Brovarski, "The Doors of Heaven," Or 46 [1977]: 107-115. As Morenz observed, "In particular the shrine of the deity is simply called 'heaven', or with an eye to its doors 'the doors of heaven'" (Siegfried Morenz, Egyptian Religion [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973], 88). Probably this is the meaning of the following passage from the daily ritual of the temple of Amun in Karnak: "The doors of heaven are open. The doors of the earth are opened. Hail to Geb, as the gods have said, established on their thrones. The doors of heaven are opened so that the Ennead might shine" (COS, 1:56).

These qualifications of the earthly temples as "heaven" might well stem from the belief that the earthly temple was considered to be "a replica of a pattern in heaven" (N. Wyatt, Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East, The Biblical Seminar 85 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 185).}

emerged from the primeval water. This mound was considered a divine being and as the original terrestrial configuration on which the creator, Atum, dwelt and from which he created the four tangible divine beings" (E. A. E. Reymond, The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969], 59). Additionally, the Edfu texts refer to the houses of the gods in the primeval age as prototypes of the historical temples (ibid., 44). These temples are deemed to be the work of the gods and appear to be conceived as actual, physical entities (ibid., 45). As Reymond further notes, "This short record seems to indicate a belief in a historical temple that was a direct continuation, projection, and reflection of a mythical temple that came into existence at the beginning of the world" (ibid., 4).
these ideas—the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif—the notion of sanctuary/temple located in heaven.¹

Pyramid Texts

The following passage comes from a so-called "ascension" text. The relevant portion reads as follows:¹

As for any god who will take me to the sky, may he live and endure; bulls shall be slaughtered for him, forelegs shall be cut off for him, and he shall ascend to the mansion² of Horus which is in the sky; but as for any god who will not take me to the sky, he shall not have honour, he shall not possess a leopard-skin, he shall not taste p3k-bread, and he shall not ascend to the Mansion of Horus which is in the sky on that day when judgment is made [. . .].³

It is interesting to note that the "mansion of Horus" is related to the activity of judgment. This is close to other ANE literature where the heavenly temple is portrayed as a place of judgment. The following text seems to portray a correspondence between heavenly and earthly realities: "My house in the sky will not perish, my throne on earth will


²Egyptian texts use a variety of words to convey the concept of a sanctuary/temple, as can be perceived by the translations. Terms such as mansion, shrine, broad hall, castle, and house are used in the texts to convey the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif, a phenomenon also noted by Nam in his study of the throne motif in the Egyptian texts. Cf. Daegeuk Nam, "The 'Throne of God' Motif in the Hebrew Bible" (Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1989), 104, n. 1.

³Faulkner, 172, Utterance 485.
not be destroyed.1 In this spell, the deified king claims to have a house in the sky and a corresponding throne on earth, which probably should be identified with the living king on the throne of Egypt.2

Another interesting feature of the heavenly-temple motif is portrayed by the following text: "I am the dh3i of the gods who is behind the Mansion of Re, born of 'prayer-of-the gods' who is in the bow of the bark of Re. I sit before him, I open his boxes, I break open his edicts, I seal his dispatches, I send out his messengers who do not grow weary, and I do what he says to me."3 The "Mansion of Re" is depicted as a royal palace whence the god performs his administrative duties and governs his realm. A related text also seems to refer to some cultic activity when it states of the King that "His bread offering is up above with Re."4

Coffin Texts

The coffin texts provide several references to a heavenly or mythical sanctuary of the god(s). The following passage displays an interesting allusion to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif: "O my soul, my spirit, my magic and my shade, open the doors of the sky, throw open the gates of heaven, may your ornament be secured on yourself so

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1Ibid., 91-92, Utterance 302.
3Faulkner, 96, Utterance 309.
4Ibid., 68, Utterance 258.
that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true shape.\textsuperscript{1}

Another text alludes to the heavenly shrine of Re as the place where divine beings praise him:

O Re, great in your shrine, exalted on your pedestal, may you fare southward to the Great Place, may you moor at the very great plain to the south of the horizon of the sky, may you take your seat on it, may praise be given to you by all the gods who are in the sky, the lords of the horizon of the sky, who are upon the upper sky, may these please you every day.\textsuperscript{2}

The mythical sanctuary of Thoth is depicted as the place where the deity receives praises and offerings, as the following passage makes clear: "Thoth goes forth in his brightness with his ritual-book in his hands, and praise is given to him, offerings are presented to him by those who are in the great castle [...].\textsuperscript{3}

The heavenly or mythical temple is also depicted as a source of help, as can be perceived in the following quotation: "O Atum who are in the Great Mansion. Sovereign of the Ennead, save me from that god who lives by slaughter, whose face is that of a hound and whose skin is that of a man.\textsuperscript{4}

Some passages reveal that the most important activity occurring in the heavenly or mythical temple is related to judgment, as perceived in the references to the "Great


\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., 2:137, Spell 498.

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., 3:96, Spell 985.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 1:265, Spell 335, Part II.
Tribunal of the Sky"\textsuperscript{1} and to "tribunals which are in the sky and upon the waters."\textsuperscript{2} The following passages further illuminates this aspect. One text states that the "(soul of the deceased) may go up and see the great god Re\textsuperscript{4} within his shrine on the day of reckoning up all souls, all spirits, all shades and all [magic(?)]."\textsuperscript{3} The text seems to imply the belief in a day of judgment to be performed in the heavenly shrine of Re\textsuperscript{4}. The concept occurs in other passages: "As for him who knows this word of God, he shall be in the sky with Re\textsuperscript{4} among the gods who are in the sky, and vindication shall be given to him in every tribunal into which he goes down."\textsuperscript{4} "I will speak of the requirements of this Great One of yours who is in his shrine, and he will speak and induct himself into the tribunal in company with the Ennead which is about his shrine."\textsuperscript{5} Thus, the heavenly or mythical sanctuary/temple is depicted in these texts mostly as a place where the activity of judgment is performed.

Book of the Dead

Along with the ideas noted above, the Book of the Dead seems to be aware of an earthly/heavenly correspondence, as the following passage from the Book of the Dead shows: "Osiris triumphs against his enemies, and Osiris N. triumphs before the great Council in the sky and before the great Council in the earth."\textsuperscript{6} Although no explicit

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., 2:208, Spell 625.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., 3:11, Spell 820.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., 2:138, Spell 499.
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 2:225, Spell 651.
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., 3:9, Spell 818.
\textsuperscript{6}Thomas George Allen, 103, Spell 127:1.
reference is made to a heavenly temple/sanctuary, the text seems to presuppose some kind of correspondence between an earthly council and a heavenly one that might have obtained for the sanctuary as well.

Other Texts

A hymn to Amon depicts the deity as "Har-akhti who is in the heaven." In some monumental inscriptions the deity is referred to as "Lord of heaven." "Lady of Asheru, Lady of heaven," is probably a reference to the Asherah of Canaanite mythology, since this is found on a stela that commemorates Sethos I's campaign to Yenoan and Lebanon. In the same inscription mention is made of "Neferhotep, the great god, Lord of Heaven." Heaven is also depicted as the place of residence of the Ennead, which, in some texts, is portrayed as a judgment council. In a text probably inspired by Canaanite mythology, Astarte decides "to go to the Ennead to the place where they were gathered." Although this text does not specify where this place is located, another text, which

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1Ibid., 369.
2COS, 2:25.
3Ibid., 27.
4Ibid.

6Cf. COS, 1:35.
7Ibid.
expresses the reaction about the victory of Horus over Seth, seems to locate the Ennead in heaven—"The Ennead is in Jubilee, and heaven is in joy."\(^1\) The Ennead, or council, in heaven is reminiscent of the heavenly-council motif found in other ANE texts.

It is instructive to note that one Egyptian text seems to imply that the statues of the Ennead of gods dwelling in the temple of Abydos were counterparts of those in heaven, as the following quotation seems to convey: "The standards thereof were of electrum, more excellent than their predecessors; more splendid were they than that which is in heaven;\(^2\) more secret were they than the fashion of the nether world; more—were they than the dwellers in Nun."\(^3\)

Possible allusions to the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif are found in the hymn to Amon-Re. In this poetic work the deity is referred to as "Lord of heaven,"\(^4\) and also as the one "whose shrine is hidden"\(^5\) and "grand of appearances in the Mansion of Benben."\(^6\) In a probable reference to Amon-Re's activity as judge in the contest between Seth and Horus,

\(^1\) *ANET*, 17. It should be noted, however, that in "The Great Hymn to Osiris," the Ennead gathers in the hall of Geb, a chthonic deity. Cf. *COS*, 1:42.

\(^2\) The expression "that which is in heaven" by itself is ambiguous and may refer to either the gods, or images thereof, located in heaven. However, the last clause of the text which likens these statues to the "dwellers of Nun" suggests that those statues in Abydos were counterparts of the deities who dwelled in heaven.


\(^4\) *COS*, 1:38.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid., 39.
the hymn refers to Amon as the one "who judges the two contestants in the great broad hall." The reference to the "broad hall" as place of judgment recalls Osiris's activities of judgment in the underworld shrine. Additionally it must be noted that the phrase used to qualify Amun-Re as the one "whose shrine is hidden" followed by "the mansion of Benben" points to an extramundane sphere as the place where the deity carries out his activities. That "mansion of Benben," understood as the primordial mound first risen from the Abyss, may further reinforce the possibility that what is in view in these references is a heavenly/mythical sanctuary.

Summary

Although in a few cases it was difficult to determine whether the sanctuary/temple referred to in the Egyptian texts was conceived as being located in heaven or in some mythical place, the following considerations attempt a synthesis of the main ideas. The heavenly sanctuary emerged from these texts as a place of divine activities, that of judgment being the most prominent one. Egyptian texts also depict the heavenly temple as a place of cultic activities (like praises and offerings), possibly as the locus for the judgment council; and interestingly enough, it was also portrayed as a source of help, a motif virtually absent from other ANE texts. Finally, it should be noted that the texts surveyed above also convey the notion of a vertical correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

1Ibid., 40.

2Ibid., 39, n. 12.
Conclusion

The sampling of Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts surveyed above allows the following synthesis of the heavenly-sanctuary/temple motif in the ANE. As for the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, we noted that in addition to serving as the dwelling of the deities, it is conceived as a place for the following divine activities:

1. Judgment and administration of the world/cosmos—from the heavenly temple the deity issues decrees and makes decision affecting the world/cosmic order. It thus functions as a kind of command center or headquarters for the administration of the earth/cosmos.

2. Meeting place for the divine assembly—the heavenly sanctuary is also conceived as the meeting place for the divine assembly, where the council of the gods would make decisions affecting the earthly/cosmic realm.

3. Cultic activities—some texts also suggest the heavenly temple as a place where cultic activities could take place. At least one text alludes to prayers being directed towards the heavenly temple.

4. Token of kingship—the heavenly temple also emerges as a token of kingship and a sign of power.

As for the relationship between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart(s), the following picture emerged. Overall, ANE texts seem to entertain the notion of a functional and structural correspondence between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries. The textual indications seem to be corroborated by the graphic depiction, as observed.
above in the excursus on Nabuapaliddina's Relief, which conveys the notions of heavenly and earthly sanctuaries functioning in dynamic interaction.
CHAPTER 3

THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF

IN THE TORAH

This chapter investigates the following passages which were found to contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Torah: Gen 11:1-9; 28:10-22; Exod 15:1-18; 24:9-11; 25:9, 40; 32-34; and Deut 26:15. Although, it is hoped that these texts represent a comprehensive inventory of this motif in the Torah, they are not intended to be exhaustive. Future study may well uncover the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in other texts. Since this study is mainly concerned with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, the exegetical procedures to be followed are aimed at this goal. Other themes and motifs contained in the passages under investigation will receive attention only to the extent that they contribute to clarifying the main topic of this research.

Gen 11:1-9

\[\text{Translation of biblical texts follows closely the wording of the NASB, which is sometimes modified to reflect a more literal translation of the Hebrew text.}\]
Now the whole earth used the same language and the same words.

It came about as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there.

They said to one another, "Come, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly." And they used brick for stone, and they used tar for mortar.

They said, "Come, let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower with its top into heaven, and let us make for ourselves a name, otherwise we will be scattered abroad over the face of the whole earth."

YHWH came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men had built.

YHWH said, "Behold, they are one people, and they all have the same language. And this is what they began to do, and now nothing which they purpose to do will be impossible for them.

"Come, let us go down and there confuse their language, so that they will not understand one another's speech."

So YHWH scattered them abroad from there over the face of the whole earth; and they stopped building the city.

Therefore its name was called Babel, because there YHWH confused the language of the whole earth; and from there YHWH scattered them abroad over the face of the whole earth.

Preliminary Observations

The story of Babel comes almost at the end of the prepatriarchal history (Gen 1-11), with its description of how/why the multiplicity of languages upon the earth came into being. Since Gen 10 had already described the diversity of peoples and their distinct languages (vss. 5, 20, 31), it is reasonable to suppose that this is a case of "deliberate dischronologization,"1 since this pericope describes events belonging within the beginning

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of chap. 10. This "chronological displacement" should probably be explained on the grounds of the "literary artistry" of the primeval history, in which blocks of narrative materials are bracketed by genealogies, as has been suggested by Victor P. Hamilton.¹

The boundaries of the pericope are clearly established by the expression which occurs at the beginning and at the end of the narrative, thus forming an inclusio. As for its structure, the text may be divided into two parts: Vss. 2-4, deliberations of men; vss. 5-8, deliberations and actions of YHWH; vss. 1 and 9 are introduction and conclusion, respectively. A more complex structure arranged as a palistrophe with its center at vs. 5 has been perceived by some scholars.² According to this structure, the clause "YHWH came down" (vs. 5) marks the turning point of the narrative as displayed below.


²Hamilton argues that the opening chapters of Genesis are characterized by narrative blocks bracketed by genealogies:

1. (a) 5:32 genealogy (Noah's sons)
   (b) 6:1-8 narrative (the son's of God)
   (a') 6:9-10 genealogy (Noah's sons)
2. (a) 6:9-10 genealogy (Noah's sons)
   (b) 6:11-9:17 narrative (the Flood)
   (a') 9:18-19 genealogy (Noah's sons)
3. (a) 10:21-31 genealogies (Shemites)
   (b) 11:1-9 narrative (Tower of Babel)
   (a') 11:10-32 genealogy (Shemites)


A "The whole earth had one language" (vs. 1)
   B "there" (vs. 2)
   C "each other" (vs. 3)
   D "Come let us make bricks" (vs. 3)
   E "let us build for ourselves" (vs. 4)
   F "a city and a tower"
   G "YHWH came down . . ." (vs 5)
   F' "the city and the tower"
   E' "which mankind had built"
   D' "come... let us mix up" (vs. 7)
   C' "each other's language"
   B' "from there" (vs. 8)
   A' "the language of the whole earth" (vs. 9).

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Gen 11:1-9 contains a few interpretative issues that call for investigation in order to provide the backdrop against which the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif may be perceived. The following points will receive attention in the ensuing discussion: First, the nature of the sin of the builders; second, the nature and purpose of the tower; third, the meaning of several words and expressions; fourth, the relationship of the text under scrutiny to the broad context of the book of Genesis. A clarification of these issues is called for in order to ascertain the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the pericope under study.

The Sin of the Builders

Upon closer examination the text provides verbal and conceptual clues that point to the nature of the sin of the builders. The text says they wanted to make a "name" (Σύμφωνος) for themselves, as 11:4a makes clear: "Come, let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower
whose top will reach into heaven, and let us make for ourselves a name (םש)." The lexeme םש connotes the idea of "fame," "reputation," in 11:4. In the primeval history, םש also appears in Gen 6:4, where the progeny of the mixed marriages between the "sons of God" and the "daughters of man" were "men of renown" (םש רפוא). Since this occurs in the preface to the flood and depicts a situation that prompts YHWH to send the judgment of the flood upon humankind, it is reasonable to suppose that םש in this passage conveys a negative connotation which by virtue of the context is associated with arrogance and desire to avoid accountability to YHWH.3

The injunctive clause כְּּ֣ם שָׁם לָנוּ֔ ("and let us make for ourselves a name") in 11:4 requires some investigation. The noun םש is used in the Hebrew Bible in syntagmatic relationship with several verbs.4 It has been noted that when םש is used with חָכָּם, "it is confined to the king, and to YHWH, working wonders in Egypt."5 The expression as

1This reminds one of the temple of Esagila which means, in Sumerian, "the structure with upraised head" (Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, Genesis [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964], 75). See more on this below.

2םש ("name") occurs about 14 times in the "primeval history" (Gen 1-11). Twelve occurrences carry the "normal" lexical denotation of a word or phrase by which a person, thing, or class of things is known, called, or spoken to or of, while the other two occurrences carry the connotation of "reputation" (11:4) and "renown" (6:4). See Ludwig Köhler and others, The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (HALOT), trans. and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson, 5 vols. (1994), s.v. "םש."


5Claus Westermann, Genesis 1-11: A Commentary (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 348. Cf. 2 Sam 7:9; 8:13; Jer 32:20; Isa 63:12, 14; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:10; also Josh 7:9 with modification.
applied to the builders of the tower of Babel (11:4) thus connotes rebellion against, or usurpation of, YHWH's prerogatives. Therefore, that the builders of the tower were eager to make a "name" attests to their defiant attitude and their willingness to challenge YHWH. Furthermore, their defying הושענ (6:4) echoes the הושענ uttered by YHWH in Gen 1:26, ("Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness"). It seems clear, on the basis of verbal connections and allusions, that the builders of the "city and tower" were usurping YHWH's prerogatives. "To make a name" is YHWH's own prerogative to be conferred on those whom he chooses, as demonstrated by Gen 12:3—"And I will make you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name (ךְָּבָש) great; and so you shall be a blessing." The reader thus learns that what the builders of Babel wanted to achieve by their own efforts, YHWH bestowed freely on his servant Abram.

One should also note that the negative purpose clause in 11:4 הָלָּכַּה מְלַלְמַּה ("lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth") further clarifies the attitude and motives behind the whole enterprise. The "preventive conjunction" הָלָּכַּה which introduces the clause expresses fear or precaution, and indicates a negative wish of the speaker or speakers. It indicates that the building project, in addition to contributing to their reputation, was intended to prevent their being scattered upon the

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1HALOT, s.v. "הלכ".

2Ronald James Williams, Hebrew Syntax: An Outline, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 75.

face of the earth. Although no explicit reason is given for this fear inside the narrative, it is probable that the scattering to be avoided was related to YHWH's command reported to post-flood humanity, or a fear of another flood or some such disaster. If this is so, the building project also represented a deliberate and willful act of disobedience against YHWH, and lack of trust in YHWH's promise that there would not be another Flood.

**Nature and Purpose of the Tower**

Two suggestions have been advanced by scholarship regarding the nature and purpose of the tower. On the one hand, the vast majority of scholars suggests that the tower was a ziggurat; on the other hand, there are some who argue that the tower was meant to be only a fortification. The implication of these views for the present study can be stated at the outset. If the tower was intended to be simply a fortification, it is improbable that the passage would contain any allusion to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. However, if a ziggurat is intended, it is highly possible that the narrative of Gen 11:1-9 alludes to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. Since this aspect relates directly to

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1. Paul Borgman refers to the "fear of being 'scattered over all the earth'" and likens Babel to a neighbourhood full of Cains, Lamechs, Eves and Adams—a grouping together of anxious individuals" (Genesis: The Story We Haven't Heard [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001], 36-37).


5. Although taking the opposing view, Kim admits that "if the Babel story in Gen. 11.1-9 adopts this idea [i.e., Ziggurat, Weltberg, 'cosmic mountain'] in any real sense, it is likely to
the purpose of this investigation, a detailed description and evaluation of the arguments from both sides is undertaken.

Tower as a defensive structure

It has been argued that the Hebrew word מַעֲרָבָּה ("tower") does not refer to a ziggurat, but to a defensive structure¹ "set inside the city as a final place of refuge."² One of his arguments runs as follows: "The word 'tower', מַעֲרָבָּה is not used to designate a temple tower, because v. 4 does not specify that they are building the 'city and tower' for religious purposes."³ This argument is problematic, since it is based on silence: vs. 4 does not specify that they are building the "city and tower" as a fortification structure.

It must be noted at this juncture that the Hebrew language does not contain a word for ziggurat due to the obvious fact that ziggurats were not part of the architectural world of the biblical writers. The closest word the Hebrew lexicon could provide to convey the idea of a ziggurat or temple-tower was מַעֲרָבָּה. As pointed out by John Walton, מַעֲרָבָּה has a similar etymology to ziggurat, being derived from רֹבֵל ("to be large"), while ziggurat is derived from the Akkadian word zaqāru ("to be high").⁴ Seeley has additionally observed that "when Herodotus (1:18-183) needed a word to describe the eight levels of the understand that this narrative conveys the idea of the heavenly temple" (ibid., 48).

¹Ibid., 50-51.
²Ibid., 51.
³Ibid., 49.
ziggurat he saw in Babylon, he chose πύργος, which is the Greek word most commonly used for defensive towers.\(^{11}\)

The argument has been advanced that יִירָבְרוֹן ("city and tower") in 11:4 must be understood as a hendiadys. The focus of the story thus understood is not simply upon a tower, but upon a city with a tower.\(^2\) Although this is probably true, it must be kept in mind that יִירָבְרוֹן could also evoke cultic connotations: The main building of an ancient city was the temple, and life in the city revolved around the temple.\(^3\)

Tower as a ziggurat

The vast majority of scholars support the view that Gen 1:1-9 should be understood against the background of Sumerian-Babylonian urban culture which featured the ziggurat as a major architectural achievement. The Hebrew narrative of the story provides several indications that point in this direction. The most significant pointers are the mention of Shinar, the overall geographic location where the story unfolds, and Babel, the name of the city. Other elements included in the narrative, such as the building techniques and the overall ideology behind the city/tower builders, also contribute to


\(^{2}\)Kim, 49. Cf. Margaret Barker who, in an incidental comment on Hab 2:1-3, suggested that "the tower was a common description of the sanctuary" (\textit{The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem} [London: SPCK, 1991], 128, italics hers). Although she provides no evidence to support this affirmation, it may be true at least regarding the temple-towers of Mesopotamia, as will be argued below.

locate the events reported in Gen 11:1-9 in ancient Mesopotamia. In the discussion below, the main arguments for understanding בabel as a "temple-tower" or ziggurat are presented.

First, the setting of the story should be noted. Everything happens in Shinar (שינר), which refers to the area known to the Mesopotamians as the "land of Sumer and Akkad." Additionally, the reference to Babel (בבל) makes obvious that the setting of the narrative is ancient Mesopotamia. Since the ziggurat was the most prominent structure in a Mesopotamian city, it is reasonable to infer that the "tower" referred to in Gen 11 was some kind of ziggurat. Once the story is placed against a Mesopotamian backdrop, "one of the immediate results of that perspective is the firm conviction that the tower that figures predominantly in the narrative is to be identified as a ziggurat."2

Second, the builders' desire to "make a name" for themselves—"and let us make for ourselves a name" (גנום ליהו עהנ) —echoes the Mesopotamian temple building which was carried out by gods and kings.3 Seely has argued that "Mesopotamian kings often took pride in building ziggurats, but no such pride was taken in defensive towers which

1Cf. James R. Davila, "Shinar," ABD, 5:1220. Still according to Davila, Shinar "corresponds to the portion of modern Iraq S of Baghdad [i.e., Sumer]. This meaning is confirmed by the LXX, Targum Onkelos, and the Genesis Apocryphon. All three sometimes translate 'Shinar' as Babylon(ia)" (ibid., 1220).

2Walton, 155.

were simply parts of the city wall. As a matter of fact, kings also prided themselves in city walls, but they did not single out towers for special mention apart from the walls.

Third, the baked brick and the bitumen corroborate the evidence that the "tower" referred to in the narrative was a ziggurat. Baked brick and bitumen were very expensive in Mesopotamia and consequently were most probably used to build palaces and temples rather than defensive towers.

Fourth, the sequence of the actions described in the narrative recalls Mesopotamian temple-building accounts. In these accounts, baked bricks are mentioned first (vs. 3), and after that, the building of the city and tower with its top in the heavens (vs. 4). Speiser has noted that this is the pattern described in the construction of Esagila: "The first year they molded its bricks. And when the second year arrived they raised the head of Esagila towards Apsu." If the Mesopotamian context has any bearing upon the interpretation of Gen 11:1-9, then it is reasonable to suppose that the tower referred to in the narrative must be a cultic building like a temple or ziggurat.

1Seely, 18.

2"The tower of Babel (Gen 11:4-5) probably represents another case where migdal refers to a temple. There is little doubt that the account recalls the ziggurat temples of Mesopotamia" (E. B. Banning, "Towers," ABD, 6:623-24).


4Seely, 18.

5Speiser, 75-76.
Fifth, the builders intended the tower to reach the heavens. This language also recalls the Mesopotamian temple. The Gudea Cylinders provide an instructive example of the Mesopotamian understanding of the temple and its connection with heaven. The temple built by King Gudea is designated as a "house whose halo reaches to heaven."\(^1\) Another passage reads: "O house that reaches to heaven like a great mountain, whose awe and aura are shed over the Land."\(^2\)

Sixth, by examining the narrative from a perspective of its "spatialization,"\(^3\) one perceives that the narrator placed the city and tower in the very center of the narrative space. The spatial references noted in the narrative can be categorized in concentric circles that move from the broadest circle ("all the earth") to the very hub where the tower is located ("there"). This spatial organization can be thus represented: "All the earth" \(\rightarrow\) "land of Shinar" \(\rightarrow\) "plain" \(\rightarrow\) "there"—the place where the city and tower were built.

In the space conceived by the narrator, the city/tower occupies the center (or "navel") of the world, a concept later applied to the Jerusalem temple.\(^4\) This spatial organization is also working in a vertical direction as the tower is built towards heaven, a

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\(^2\) Ibid, 101 (B xxiv 9-10).

\(^3\) The concept of "spatialization" comes from discourse semiotics. It undertakes to explain how discourse organizes space to convey meaning. "Spatialization is one of the components of "discursivization," i.e., the putting into discourse of deeper semiotic structures. Cf. "Space" and "Spatialization" in Algirdas Julien Greimas and Joseph Courtés, *Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 305-07.


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movement that is opposed by YHWH as he comes down to investigate the matter. This is discussed more fully below. For now, it suffices to note that the spatial organization of the narrative portrays the "tower" as the center of the world, thus evoking the idea of a temple or ziggurat.

Key Words and Expressions

Meaning of ראהש נצג

The phrase יראת נצג ("with its top into heaven") requires investigation.

Scholarship has been divided about the exact meaning of this expression. Von Rad, along with other scholars, argues that "it is only an expression for the special height of the building." On the other hand, John Skinner and S. R. Driver understand יראהש נצג to be literal and to express the real intention of the builders of reaching to heaven, a view that has been adopted by several scholars. At this juncture, an exegetical investigation of this


3The expression is not hyperbolical (as Dt. 1:28) but represents the serious purpose of the builders to raise their work to the height of the dwelling-places of the gods (Jub x. 19, etc.)." John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, 2nd ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1930), 226.

4"The expression is probably meant here, not hyperbolically (Dt. i 28), but literally, 'heaven' (cf. on i. 6) being regarded as an actual vault, which might be reached (Is. xiv 13f) at least by a bold effort" (S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, Westminster Commentaries [London: Methuen, 1943], 135).

5E.g., Ronald F. Youngblood, *The Book of Genesis: An Introductory Commentary*, 2nd
expression is required in order to ascertain its meaning in the context of the passage under study.

As noted, the narrative of the tower of Babel has its focal point in vs. 5 where it is reported that YHWH came down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built. This focal point marks the intersection between the horizontal and vertical movements. On a horizontal level, everything that happens before that point moves towards the center, the place where the city and tower are built. Thus, vss. 1-4 portray the centripetal movement of the people to the spatial center of the narrative, the place where the city and tower were located. In vss. 6-9, one perceives a reversal as if a centrifugal force caused the people to be scattered upon the face of the earth. In other words, the first movement, centripetal, is caused by the intentions and actions of men; the second movement, centrifugal, is caused by YHWH as a reaction against the previous centripetal movement.

At the same time, the narrative portrays a vertical action and reaction. As the protagonists of the story move toward heaven, YHWH descends to investigate their accomplishments. Although the text does not specify the place whence he descended, the implication is that he descended from his heavenly abode (i.e., from his heavenly ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1991), 127; J. P. Fokkelman, Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis, 2nd ed. (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1991), 19-20; Alfred Gottschalk, "The Image of Man in Genesis and in the Ancient Near East," MAARAV 7 (1991): 140; Westermann, Genesis 1-11, 548; Jack M. Sasson, "The 'Tower of Babel' as a Clue to the Redactional Structuring of the Primeval History (Genesis 1:1-11:9)," in The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus Gordon, ed. Gary A. Rendsburg et al. (New York: KTAV and the Institute of Hebrew Culture and Education of New York University, 1980), 219; Frank Michaeli, Le Livre de la Genèse (Neuchâtel, Paris: Delachaux and Niestlé, 1957), 104. Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
sanctuary/temple). As the symmetry of the narrative seems to imply, as people attempt a movement upwards, from earth to heaven, YHWH undertakes a reverse action moving downwards, from heaven to earth. The symmetry of the story, which portrays YHWH as descending from heaven, requires that the builders be understood as moving upwards to heaven. Worthy of note is the alliteration דָּוָן/שַׁמָּיִם employed by the narrator, which seems to convey the idea of a vertical relationship between the "there" where the city and tower were located, and "heavens," towards which the tower was rising up, the place whence YHWH comes down. In this connection, N. Sama has pointed out that דָּוָן ("there") "repeated five times, directs our attention to the central importance of the particular site chosen; at the same time, it should evoke an association with shamaym, 'heavens,' with which the site is supposed to be physically connected, as well as with shem [שם], 'a name,' in vs. 4." N.

Meaning of הנָדֵד . . . .

The text seems to imply that YHWH descended twice. The first reference in 11:5a, יְהֹוָה לְךָ פָּנֵי הַמָּקוֹם וְלָא ("YHWH came down to see the city and the tower"), marks the central point of the narrative, thus initiating a reversal in the story. The second "descent" of YHWH is mentioned in 11:7a יְהֹוָה פָּרְדוּ לָנוּ פָּרְדוּ הָאָדָם אִשֵּׁי ("Come, let us go down and there confuse their language"). In spite of some scholarly conjectures


2Sarna, Genesis, 81.
that these two "descents" are vestiges of two different traditions or redactional levels, an interpretation that respects the integrity of the story and accounts for this "superfluous repetition" is suggested below.

As the narrative makes clear, YHWH first descended in order to investigate the situation. Umberto Cassuto pointed out that "the expression came down [11:5] is only one of the corporeal phrases commonly found in the Pentateuch, and it means that YHWH, as a righteous judge, wished to investigate the matter thoroughly." umberto cassuto, a commentary on the book of genesis (jerusalem: magnes, 1989), 244.

Jacob likewise, commenting on 11:3, speaks of a "formal investigation of the facts." it should be noted as well that YHWH "came down to see (ניון) the city and the tower which the sons of men had built" (11:5). No reference to punishment is made; the purpose of YHWH is "to see" the accomplishments of the "sons of men." The best description for this kind of action is that of an "investigation" or, put differently, an "investigative judgment." It has been observed that according to the Hebrew Bible, YHWH's intervention in history in order to save the righteous or punish the rebels is usually preceded by an investigative phase.

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1 See Bost, 68-69; Claus Westermann, Genesis: A Practical Commentary, trans. David Green (Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans, 1987), 82.

2 Umberto Cassuto, a commentary on the book of genesis (jerusalem: magnes, 1989), 244.

3 Jacob, 78.

4 Cf. Davidson, "Cosmic Metanarrative for the Coming Millennium," 116-17; William H. Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 1-23. According to Moshe Weinfeld, "God accordingly descends to see what the men have built, and returns to his heavenly abode to report to the heavenly council the nature of men's activity and the threat it entails" (Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 200).

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In the second descent, however, YHWH has the purpose of executing judgment.

The chain of volitive verbal forms in 11:7a דנייה לברך ויבהל ("Come, let us go down and there confuse their language") clearly demonstrates that a verdict had been achieved, and now it was necessary to execute the judgment, which is conveyed by the clause מברך ויבהל ("let us confuse there their language").

Contextual Implications

A look at Gen 11:1-9 against the backdrop of its larger context contributes new insights to its understanding. The call of Abram (Gen 12) and Jacob's dream (Gen 28) reverberate motifs already portrayed in the Babel narrative, thus contributing to its understanding. In Gen 12, the reader learns that the "name" which the builders of Babel wanted to achieve by their own efforts was graciously bestowed upon Abram. In Gen

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2 Bost has noted the following parallels between Gen 11:1-9 and 12:1-3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen 11:1-9</th>
<th>Gen 12:1-3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. 1-3: le récit de Babel</td>
<td>v. 1-3: la vocacion d'Abraham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 4-7: les hommes se parlent</td>
<td>v. 6-7: YHWH se parle;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deux monologues parallèles</td>
<td>v. 1: YHWH parle à Abraham;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 2: Les hommes sont un peuple anonyme</td>
<td>l'instauration d'un dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 2: Les hommes ont l'initiative de la parole et de la action</td>
<td>v. 1: YHWH a l'initiative de la parole et de l'action</td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 4: Les hommes, qui se déplaçaient, s'arrêtent et s'installent: sedentarité</td>
<td>v. 1: Abraham, installé dans son pays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 4: les hommes veulent se faire un nom</td>
<td>reçoit l'ordre de partir: nomadisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>v. 2: YHWH rendra grand le nom d'Abraham</strong></td>
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28 the connection with heaven purported by the tower was freely given to Jacob when, in a dream, he saw a ladder linking heaven and earth. The contribution of the latter to Gen 11:1-9 seems almost self-evident: If Gen 28 portrays a connection between heaven and earth, as will be argued below, the Babel story most probably portrays a failed project to achieve such a connection. Furthermore, the name "Bethel" ("house of God") given to the place evokes "Babel" (Akk. "gate of the god[s]/Heb. confusion [pejorative etymology])."

As the observations just made indicate, what happened in the Babel narrative was reversed in Jacob's dream.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

As argued above, several lines of evidence attest the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Babel narrative. A historical and theological reading of the passage yields several indications that the builders of the city and tower intended the construction to function as a point of connection with the heavenly realm. The material they used, the language employed to describe their intentions, the structure of the narrative, and its organization of space having the building at the center, all corroborate

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v. 8-9 YHWH sanctionne l'entreprise humaine. "Toute la terre" est éclatée géographiquement et linguistiquement.

v. 2-3 La vocation d'Abraham est une bénéédiction. "Toute la terre" est rassemblée dans cette bénéédiction "en toi seront béniées toutes les familles de la terre" (Bost, 79-80).

the view that the structure was supposed to achieve some kind of linkage with the heavenly realm.

Two aspects of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif can be detected in the text. First, a negative aspect is attested by the builders in their endeavor to establish a linkage with the heavenly realm, as the tower was raised towards heaven. As this human effort was forestalled by YHWH, a positive aspect emerges, which can be perceived from YHWH's double descent to investigate the works of humanity and to execute judgment, respectively. This double descent of YHWH seems to imply the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. According to Rashi, "He [YHWH] speaks to his heavenly court after having returned to heaven." Thus, one notes that between the first and second descents, YHWH may have held a heavenly assembly session to examine the situation (investigative judgment) and eventually intervene (executive judgment). Summarizing, the heavenly sanctuary/temple as reflected in Gen 11:1-9 seems to have functioned as a place of judgment, the latter apparently being performed in two phases, namely, an investigative and executive phase.

Gen 28: 10-22

1 Jacob, 78. Cf. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, 200.

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Then Jacob departed from Beersheba and went toward Haran.

He came to a certain place and spent the night there, because the sun had set; and he took one of the stones of the place and put it under his head, and lay down in that place.

He had a dream, and behold, a ladder was set on the earth with its top reaching to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it.

And behold, YHWH stood above it and said, "I am YHWH, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie, I will give it to you and to your descendants.

"Your descendants will be like the dust of the earth, and you will spread out to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and in you and in your descendants shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

"Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you."

Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Surely YHWH is in this place, and I did not know it."

He was afraid and said, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and that is the gate of heaven."

So Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar and poured oil on its top.

He called the name of that place Bethel; however, previously the name of the city had been Luz.

Then Jacob made a vow, saying, "If God will be with me and will keep me on this journey that I take, and will give me food to eat and garments to wear, and I return to my father's house in safety, then YHWH will be my God.

"This stone, which I have set up as a pillar, will be God's house, and of all that you give me I will surely give a tenth to you."
Preliminary Observations

The narrative of Gen 28:10-22 forms a text unit clearly delimited by conceptual and verbal markers. It starts by reporting that Jacob stopped in a certain place while journeying to Haran (28:10), and ends at 28:22, since 29:1 clearly marks the beginning of another episode by revealing that "then Jacob went on his journey, and came to the land of the sons of the east." This short narrative belongs to the larger context of the Patriarchal History (Gen 12-50) and stands in the flow of promises and blessings YHWH bequeathed to the patriarchs. The pericope contains conspicuous stylistic features that, once identified, can contribute to its interpretation. Repetition of key words and motifs contributes to its unity and provides clues for meaning. This "dance of key words,"1 as Fokkelman puts it, can be observed in table 1, where it becomes apparent that several words occurring in vss. 11-12 reappear in 16-18. This quasisymmetry on the lexical level may well indicate that the narrator intended both sections to correspond thematically and theologically. For the purposes of this study, it is instructive to note the correspondence between vss. 12 and 16-17, the implications of which will be discussed in due course. Thus, although this study does not aim at a detailed investigation of the various themes and motifs contained in the text, an outline of the pericope is provided below in order to set the discussion of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif against the backdrop of the entire passage.

### TABLE 1

**KEY WORDS IN GENESIS 28:10-22**

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10-11 Jacob's Arrival at "the Place"
12-15 Jacob's Dream
   12-13a Vision
   13b-15 Audition
16-19 Jacob's Response to the Vision
   16-17 Jacob's First Reaction to the Vision
   18-19 Jacob's Second Reaction to the Vision
20-22 Jacob's Response to the Audition

After discussing the structure of the narrative, attention must now be given to its
genre and purpose in the theological-literary context in which it belongs. Scholars tend to
ascertain the function of this text in terms of "cult etiology"¹ and "oracle of salvation."²
Since most of these scholarly discussions are based on the supposition that the text reflects
a conflation of sources and/or traditions,³ it is necessary to assess this issue from the
perspective of the final canonical form of the text.

Although the pericope portrays cultic elements and depicts YHWH accepting Jacob
and making promises to him, thus providing the young man with comfort, neither of these
concepts explains the text as a whole. The contention of this research is that a major

(Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 313; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A
Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 452.

²Hyacinthe M. Dion, "Patriarchal Traditions and the Literary Form of the 'Oracle of
Salvation,'" *CBQ* 29 (1967).

³See Erhard Blum, "Noch einmal: Jakobs Traum in Bethel—Genesis 28,10-22," in
*Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible, Essays in
Honour of John Van Seters*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Thomas Römer, *BZAW* 294 (Berlin:
Walter de Gruyter, 2000); Sean McEvenue, "A Return to Sources in Genesis 28,10-22," *ZAW* 106
117-55; John Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville,
purpose of the narrative is to portray the "reiteration of the covenant," which had been given to Abraham and Isaac, to Jacob. It should be noted that prior to Gen 28, YHWH had become the God of Abraham and Isaac. Now, as the narrative unfolds, YHWH becomes the God of Jacob. This is accomplished by means of a covenant-ratification process made evident by several allusions to the covenant motif found in the text.

Allusions to the covenant are present in the auditory part of the dream. The words of YHWH as he presents himself to Jacob as "the God of Abraham" and "the God of Isaac" recall the covenant promises given to them. Now the same promises are reaffirmed to Jacob. More precisely, the following promises made to the patriarchs are reapplied to Jacob: (1) Blessing—Gen 12:3//28:14b; (2) Seed—Gen 13:16//28:14; (3) Land—Gen 13:15//28:13b; (4) Communion—Gen 17:17; 26:3//=28:15.

Jacob's response to the dream also evinces covenant overtones. The use of the phrase קָנָ֣אְתָּנָ֖י יְהֹוָֽה ("So [Jacob] rose early in the morning") appears to imply a continuation of activity that began in the nocturnal theophany. Several examples in Genesis of the sequence קָנָ֣אְתָּנָ֖י ... וְקָנָ֣אְתָּנָ֖י indicate a continuation of a process initiated during the night, which eventually culminates in the ratification of the covenant. Jacob's response to

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2Livingston has pointed out that "common to visitations of God to man in a covenant context is an opening statement which identifies the One who first speaks." George Herbert Livingston, "Genesis," in Beacon Bible Commentary (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1969), 111.

3It has been pointed out that in Gen 19:27, Abraham rose early in the morning at the place where he had stood before YHWH. In Gen 20:8 Abimelech rises early in the morning, after a nocturnal vision, and proceeds to make a covenant with Abraham. Gen 21:14 and 22:3 report Abraham rising early in the morning after a night vision. In 22:3, he performs a sacrifice. In 26:31, Isaac, Abimelech, and Phicol rise early in the morning after a communal feast in the night and
the dream by means of the vow and the רְשִׁית ("pillar") further reinforces the view that the text reflects a ritual of covenant-making. The רְשִׁית was probably erected for the purpose of "commemorating the conclusion of a covenant." The רְשִׁית provides additional evidence as regards the covenant overtones of the pericope, as noted in the following observation:

The anointing of the witness stone with oil was a symbolic act establishing a contractual bond between Jacob and YHWH. There is widespread evidence from the ancient Near East for the use of oil in international treaty relationships and in effectuating business contracts. It seems to have been a token of peace, friendship, and assuming obligation. In Jacob's case, the anointing is connected with the making of a vow that binds him to a certain commitment. The special connection between the pouring of oil and the vow is explicit in 31:13.3

In 32:1 (31:55), Laban rises early in the morning after spending the night in covenant-making with Jacob. Exod 24:4 and 34:4 should also be mentioned in this connection, where Moses rises early in the morning to perform ritual acts in the context of covenant-making. See Francisco O. Garcia-Treto, "Jacob's Oath-Covenant in Genesis 28," in Trinity University Studies in Religion (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Dept. of Religion 1975), 4.

1The German text reads: "Einen Bundesschluss zu errinern" (J. Alberto Soggin, Das Buch Genesis: Kommentar [Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997], 366).

2Cf., e.g. Gen 31:45-54 where the רְשִׁית "serves as a mute witness of the treaty between Jacob and Laban" (Sarna, Genesis, 199). In Exod 24:4, רְשִׁית also functions in a covenant context. Also, in extrabiblical sources pillars are attested in the context of a covenant, as demonstrated by the eighth-century Inscriptions of Sephire where pillars are used to seal a treaty. Interestingly, the pillar or stone stela was called byy ṭheḇṭeṭh (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire, BibOr 19 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967], 82-83 [Sf II, Face C, lines 7, 9-10]. See Garcia-Treto, 5; Gordon J. Wenham, Genesis 16-50, WBC [Waco: Word Books, 1994], 2: 224).

3Sarna, Genesis, 200.
Covenant overtones can also be perceived in Jacob's allusion to the promise of divine companionship and his return in "peace" (שלום) to his father's house. It has been pointed out that "shalom" is a key word at the conclusion of successful negotiations or treaties. Therefore, the use of "peace" (שלום) by Jacob seems by no means to be incidental. Rather it most likely implies a careful diplomatic procedure that presupposes a covenant relationship. Furthermore, Jacob's promise to give YHWH a tenth of all his possessions further alludes to the concept of a covenant relationship between the patriarch and YHWH.

Therefore, as seen above, the covenant motif functions as the overarching theme of the pericope. Other motifs and themes such as "salvation," and all the evident cultic allusions such as "house of God," the anointing of the pillar, the reference to the tithe—later to become the main source of income to the temple—function within the sphere of covenant relationship between YHWH and Jacob.

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1Donald J. Wiseman, "Is It Peace?: Covenant and Diplomacy," VT 32, no. 3 (1982): 311-26. Wiseman notes about Gen 28:21 that the expression to "return in peace to my father's house" primarily denoted the successful conclusion of the marriage covenant for which he [Jacob] had set out with the blessing and commission of his father" (Wiseman, 325). It is not clear, however, that Jacob is primarily referring to the marriage covenant. It seems more likely that the "return in peace" was connected to Jacob's covenantal relationship with YHWH. Jacob's marriage covenant is better placed under the larger umbrella of his covenant with YHWH, as implied in one of the elements of the covenant—the promise of numerous "seed."

Spatialization

The assumption behind this discussion is that space markers in a text are not peripheral devices, but are employed by narrators to add meaning. Semiotic analysis provides a theoretical framework to analyze and explain the contribution of these features for the meaning of texts. Spatialization can be perceived by such space markers as place names, locative adverbs, and other deictic particles, and verbs of movement. In the discussion undertaken below, it is noted how the text handles space in its horizontal and vertical dimensions.

The text may be conceptualized as a horizontal line: "Jacob departed from Beersheba and went toward Haran" (28:10). On his way along this line, Jacob "came to the place (בֵּית נֵלָה) and spent the night there" (vs. 11). The implication of this latter information, from a semiotic point of view, is that "the place" was located in the middle of the narrative horizontal line. The use of the article in this first occurrence of בֵּית נֵלָה, when an indefinite expression would be more appropriate, may well point to the distinctiveness of this place in

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1The semiotic analysis undertaken in this section takes the article of Hans Jensen as its starting point (Hans Jørgen Lundager Jensen, "Reden, Zeit und Raum in Genesis 28, 10-15," LB 49 [1981]: 54-70). The implications of this analysis for the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, however, are not mentioned in the article just cited. Besides, Jensen deals only with Gen 28:10-15, while the discussion undertaken in this study endeavors to take into consideration the entire pericope of Gen 28:10-22.

2Greimas and Courtés, 306-07.

3That Bethel is not in the geographic middle of the line is not relevant. What matters is that Bethel, in the narrative, lies in the middle, i.e., in between Jacob's point of departure and his destiny—Laban's place. Jensen, 68.
the course of the narrative as the setting for the dream and its sequel. It is noteworthy that "place" turns out to be one of the key words in the text, occurring six times in the pericope. This may well indicate its semantic centrality in the spatial axis of the narrative.

The pericope also conceives of a vertical line which intersects the middle of the horizontal line: "A stairway was set on the earth with its top reaching to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it" (28:12). The stairway thus, from a semiotic point of view, functions as a vertical axis between heaven and "the place" where Jacob was lying down, as fig. 2 illustrates.

![Fig. 2. Semiotic structure of Gen 28:10-22.](image)

**Key Words and Expressions**

This section narrows down on vss. 12-13a and 16-17, since most of the verbal and conceptual indicators of a heavenly sanctuary/temple motif are concentrated on these verses. Furthermore, they provide a description and evaluation of "the place," where the horizontal and vertical axes intersect. For the reader's convenience the text is displayed below.
He had a dream, and behold, a ladder was set on the earth with its top reaching to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it.

And behold, YHWH stood above it.

Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Surely YHWH is in this place, and I did not know it." He was afraid and said, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and that is the gate of heaven."

The meaning of הוהי

Attention is now given to the semantic and syntactic contribution of the deictic particle הוהי. It has been observed that the "Hebrew particle hinne performs a deictic function with emphasis, situates the object in a present field, and claims upon the object the attention of the interlocutor. It "emphasizes the immediacy, the here-and-now-ness, of the situation." Hence, it is no wonder that dream and vision reports are often introduced by הוהי followed by participial clauses. In the text under study, the participial clauses have great consequences for the experiencing of time in the narration, since they signal a shift from the past to the present, since "the narrator withdraws behind the protagonist and in a


3See, e.g., Gen 41:1; Jer 4:24; Dan 8:15; Amos 7:1, 4.
subordinate position he records what his, Jacob's, eyes see." Hence, "there is no longer a narrator who looks back to a past; there is only the present as Jacob experiences it." 

Meaning of מְשִׁקָּה

The precise meaning of מְשִׁקָּה has been debated. Most scholars interpret it as a ladder, ramp, or stairway/staircase. More recently, Oblath has suggested that מְשִׁקָּה should be interpreted as a gate-like structure through which the divine beings traverse vertically or obliquely between heaven and earth. In short, the main argument adduced in favor of this view comes from the context. Oblath argues that the expression מְשִׁקָּה in vs. 17 refers back to the מְשִׁקָּה. Hence his contention that מְשִׁקָּה denotes a gate-like structure. In an excursus at the end of his article, Oblath still conjectures that מְשִׁקָּה might be a corruption of מִשְׁקָע (vestibule) in which case the might have been mistakenly transcribed as an מ. Oblath's suggestion would be the solution for this crux, if it were not for a crucial detail.

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1 Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis*, 51.

2 Ibid.


6 Ibid., 126.
The text reports about a *
מִשְׁמֵיָה* "set on the earth with its top reaching to heaven" (בֳָּמֶשֶׁה). This imagery obviously requires something along the lines of a ladder or a stairway, rather than a gate-like structure.

At this juncture a semantic and etymological analysis of מִשְׁמֵיָה is in order. Since the word is a hapax legomenon, it is necessary to resort to its etymology and possible occurrences in cognate languages in order to clarify its meaning. The root of this word, מָלֵל, which is attested several times in biblical Hebrew, has the meaning "to lift up, cast up." Biblical Hebrew attests three other words derived from this root: מָלֵל "mound," מָלֵל "highway," and the hapax מָלֵל "highway" (Isa 35:8). It seems that the basic denotation of the root is that of something "lifted up," hence "way" or "highway." As for the precise meaning of מִשְׁמֵיָה however, its Akkadian cognate simmiltu may contribute to a more precise interpretation. This word has been attested with the meaning of "staircase," "siege ladders," "ladders to heaven." If there is an etymological and semantic relationship between the Akkadian simmiltu and מִשְׁמֵיָה, the meaning of the latter is considerably narrowed down. Nonetheless, the precise visual image behind the word, whether a ladder or a stairway, remains elusive. Fortunately, this detail is immaterial for this investigation.

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3Cf. *HALOT*, s.v. מָלֵל.

What matters is that the "links heaven and earth and has been placed on the earth presumably near where Jacob was lying."\textsuperscript{1}

As for the symbolic connotations of "links heaven and earth and has been placed on the earth presumably near where Jacob was lying," some scholars have advanced the view that the "stairway"/"ladder" evokes the stairway to heaven from Egyptian sources; others suggest that the inspirational stimulus for the vision comes from the Mesopotamian temple towers or ziggurats.\textsuperscript{3} The Egyptian connection—although, like Gen 28, uniting two cosmic realms—is improbable, since contrary to the stairway of Egyptian texts which functioned as a pathway for the deceased to travel from the netherworld to heaven, the stairway of Jacob's dream is a pathway for the angels of God traversing between heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{4} In like manner, the Mesopotamian background also presents difficulties, for as Hoffner has demonstrated, the ziggurat stairways were used by priests, not by deities\textsuperscript{5} or, as in Jacob's dream, heavenly beings.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1}Wenham, \textit{Genesis 16-50}, 221-22.

\textsuperscript{2}Griffiths, 229-30.

\textsuperscript{3}Millard, 86-87; Speiser, 218; Von Rad, \textit{Genesis}, 284.

\textsuperscript{4}C. Houtman, "What Did Jacob See in His Dream at Bethel?" \textit{VT} 27 (1977): 340.


\textsuperscript{6}Some have tried to establish the Mesopotamian link by means of the Babel narrative which is regarded as being connected with Jacob's dream. Nonetheless, despite the obvious thematic connections between both narratives, it must be noted that there is also a strong opposition between the two entities. The tower of Babel is a product of human fabrication; the stairway of Jacob's dream comes without any human intervention as a way by which YHWH revealed himself to Jacob. Furthermore, had the narrator wanted to evoke a ziggurat, he/she would have probably used the word רב集成电路 (tower), the most appropriate Hebrew word to convey the idea of a ziggurat. Cf. Victor P. Hamilton, \textit{The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18-50} (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 240.
Thus, instead of defining the connotation or symbolical function of the stairway in the light of alleged ancient Near Eastern parallels, a more likely solution can be found in the pericope itself. Those scholars who see the stairway as a symbol of the real "fellowship between God in heaven and his people upon the earth," or a "symbolical expression of the intercourse which, though invisible to the natural eye, is nevertheless ever taking place between heaven and earth," are probably on the right track. If the covenant is a major motif in the pericope, as argued above, then it may be suggested that the stairway with angels going up and down, thereby linking heaven and earth, revealed to Jacob that the promises he received on earth were legitimated by YHWH standing "on the top of the stairway," at "the gate of heaven."(see below for the exegesis of these expressions). In like manner, the earthly spot was the "house of God" because of its connection with the "gate of heaven." In sum, the stairway functions as a graphic illustration of the vertical relationship between heavenly and earthly realities, thus pointing to a mutual correspondence and interaction between both domains.

Syntax of הַלָּכִי

The main concern of this discussion is to determine the antecedent of the pronominal suffix in הַלָּכִי, since it may be understood that the Lord was either "at his side" or "over him" (i.e., Jacob), or that the Lord was "upon it" (i.e., the stairway). Although

1"He dreamed" [Gen 28:12], SDABC, 1:382.
2Driver, The Book of Genesis, 265.
most scholars prefer "at his side" or "over him," it should be noted that this view is largely, though not always, motivated by regarding 28:13 as the beginning of a new source that was ignorant of the ladder. If one takes the passage as a unified composition, the traditional understanding "over it," (i.e., the Lord on top of the stairway) seems preferable for the following reasons:

First, it must be noted that יָרֹם is part of the last of the הָיָה clauses which have led the reader to "enter" the dream and see the events from the perspective of Jacob. Thus it is much more likely that יָרֹם נָגַב יְהוָה ("and behold, YHWH stood above it") describes what Jacob sees in the visual part of his dream (i.e., YHWH over the stairway). Second, from a text-linguistic point of view, it must be noted that יָרֹם is the topical base of 12-13a (i.e., the clauses and sentences are saying something about it). That is why it is introduced explicitly in the first clause, and subsequently referred back to by means of pronominal suffixes. Third, as Wenham pointed out, "the image of YHWH at the top of the ladder forms a fitting climax to the whole and fits in with the idea that angels report back to him after patrolling the earth (1 Kings 22:19-22; Job 1:6-8; 2:1-3; Zech 1:10)."

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1 Driver, The Book of Genesis, 265; Hamilton, The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18-50, 240-41; Skinner, 377; Speiser, 218; Westermann, Genesis 12-36, 455; Saadiah quoted in Sarna, Genesis, 364, n. 6.; NJB, NSRV, JPS.

2 Blum, 33-54; Wenham, Genesis 16-50, 22; J. Alberto Soggin, Das Buch Genesis: Kommentar (Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 363-63; "He dreamed," SDABC, 1:382; Vulgate; Septuagint; Peshitta; Rashi; Ibn Ezra; Ramban; NASB; RSV; NIV. The references to Jewish commentators are from Sarna, Genesis, 364, chap. 28, n. 6.

3 Gunkel, as noted by Wenham, though admitting that "over him" was how J understood the phrase, "in the current context in JE, one is inclined to translate 'on it,' that is, on the ladder." (Gunkel, 310). Cf. Wenham, Genesis 16-50, 222.

4 Wenham, Genesis 16-50, 222.
Function of הַקָּפֶרֶם

As shown in the diagram above, הַקָּפֶרֶם is a key word in the pericope, occurring six times, being thus the most frequent word in this short narrative. By carrying the article in its very first occurrence, its significance is established at the outset. The spatialization noted above has indicated the centrality of הַקָּפֶרֶם as the point of intersection between the horizontal and vertical axes of the narrative. As the story unfolds, what is at first הַקָּפֶרֶם becomes דֵ'נָבְרָק by virtue of its connection with the heavenly realm, a connection represented by the stairway with angels going up and down upon it.

Syntax of מֵעַדָּד

The expression מֵעַדָּד is found in ("This is none other than the house of God, and that is the gate of heaven"). The use of the demonstrative pronouns מֵעַדָּד has elicited some debate. Some scholars argue that the pair should be translated "this... and this" in reference to the same place. Others would translate as "this... and that" in a distributive sense, referring thus to both ends of the stairway, and hence to earthly and heavenly realms, respectively. An examination of the occurrence of this pair in the Hebrew Bible corroborates Waltke and O'Connor's

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observation that "which is used for both the 'near' object and the 'far' when a pair is juxtaposed." A few examples will suffice to clarify this point.

While this one was still speaking, that one came and said, "The fire of God fell from heaven . . . " (Job 1:16)

And YHWH said, "Who will entice Ahab to go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?" And this one said this while that one said that. (1 Kgs 22:20)

As for the western border, you shall have the Great Sea, that is, its coastline; this shall be your west border. And that shall be your north border: you shall draw your border line from the Great Sea to Mount Hor. (Num 34:6-7)

If Jacob wanted both expressions to refer to the same entity, he would have used the pair which . . . which as in a couple of examples noted by Oblath, following Gesenius:

Jacob said when he saw them, "This is God's camp." So he named that place Mahanaim. (Gen 32:3)

Therefore it shall be that he of whom I say to you, "This one shall go with you," he shall go with you. (Judg 7:4)

Had Jacob intended to identify "this place" with "gate of heaven," he would have said,

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2 Cf. also Exod 3:15; Isa 44:5; Ps 75:8; 2 Chr 18:19.


4 This countertext was suggested by Oblath, 122.
"This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

Therefore, on grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic grounds, the statement "This is none other than the house of God, and that is the gate of heaven" refers to two different, albeit interconnected entities. One, "the house of God" (בְּנֵי אַלְחָנוֹן) refers to "the place" (מָקוֹם) where Jacob stood, the earthly spot occupied by Jacob at that moment, and touched by the stairway. The other, "the gate of heaven" (הַרְגָּן) would be the upper end of the stairway, the point where it touches heaven. This analysis, therefore, agrees with Ehrlich's observation that the repetition of הַר in the second half of the verse would be completely obscure, if Jacob referred only to one place, as generally agreed. In fact, however, two distinct places are referred to here; namely, the place upon the earth where the ladder stood, and the point in heaven which, according to v. 12, its top reached. The place upon the earth Jacob named House of God; and the spot in heaven, Gate of Heaven.1

Referent of הֵיכָן

This is the only place in the entire Hebrew Bible where the phrase "gate of heaven" occurs. Some related expressions such as "windows of heaven" and "doors of heaven" appear in a few places in the Hebrew Bible,2 but they relate to meteorological phenomena, being thus of little help to clarify the phrase under study, which is placed in the context of a

1The German text reads: "Die Wiederholung von הַר im zweiten Halbvers wäre völlig unerklärlich, wenn Jakob nur auf eine Stätte hinwiese, wie allgemein angenommen wird. Tatsächlich aber wird hier auf zwei verschiedene Stätten hingewiesen, nämlich auf die Stelle auf der Erde, wo die Leiter stand, und dann auf den Punkt am Himmel, an den sie nach V. 12 mit ihrer spitze reichte. Die Stätte auf Erde nennt Jakob Haus Gottes und die Stelle am Himmel Himmelspforte" (Ehrlich, 1:136).

2E.g., Gen 7:11; Ps 78:23.

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theophany. A close examination of the context in which the phrase occurs probably holds the key to its meaning.

As noted above, the earthly spot, called "house of God" (בֵּית יְהֹוָה), corresponds to its counterpart on the top of the stairway, "gate of heaven" (שער השמים). Since the latter expression is related to the former as heavenly and earthly counterparts of two interconnected sacred spheres, as the analysis of the distributive pair demonstrated, then further investigation is required in order to establish the precise connotation of "שער" ("gate").

At this juncture it is interesting to note that the parallel expressions "house of God" and "gate of heaven" in reference to earthly and heavenly realms, respectively, are used as a formulaic word pair in Hebrew and Ugaritic. It should be noted that word pairs were a common stylistic device by means of which poets could achieve different kinds of parallelism. Thus after using "house" in the first line, Jacob naturally spoke "gate" in the

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1The argument might be advanced that the "gate of heaven" refers to the earthly place itself, since ancient temples might be considered as gates to the heavenly realm (see, e.g., Margaret Barker, The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem [London: SPCK, 1991]). It must pointed out, however, that such an argument does not seem to apply to the present text due to the grammatical structure passage, as argued above.


second line for the sake of parallelism. Therefore, his choice of יָשָׁר in the second line of this short poetic utterance is explained along the lines of ancient literary conventions.

Now, since the word יָשָׁר parallels מִפְּנֵי, it is reasonable to suppose that the expression מִפְּנֵי יָשָׁר ("gate of heaven") most probably alludes to YHWH's heavenly abode/temple/sanctuary. Skinner seems to have had in mind something along this line when he stated that "the earthly sanctuary became as it were the entrance to the true heavenly temple, with which it communicated by means of a ladder." In a similar vein, Von Rad has observed that "in the ancient Orient a rather general distinction was made between the earthly place of a god's appearing and its actual (heavenly) dwelling place." Commenting upon this passage, Jeremias suggested that Jacob saw "the 'high gate,' the heavenly temple, whose earthly counterpart and entrance was formed by the holy site whereupon he stood."

1Kselman has suggested that Gen 28:17 contains a tricolon of poetry which can be perceived in the metric arrangement below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mh nwr'} & \text{ hmqwm hzh} & \text{How awesome is this place} \\
\text{'yn zh ky' & \text{ m byt 'Ihym} & \text{This is none other than the house of God} \\
\text{wzh s'r hsmym} & \text{And that is the gate of heaven.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"The parallelism of the verse, and specifically the presence of the pair יָשָׁר/מִפְּנֵי, formulaic in Hebrew and Ugaritic, points to the poetic nature of this tricolon" (John S. Kselman, "Recovery of Poetic Fragments from the Pentateuchal Priestly Source," JBL 97 [1978]: 161-62).

2Skinner, 377.

3Von Rad, Genesis, 279.

4"die 'Hohe Pforte', den himmlischen Tempel, dessen irdisches Gegenbild und Zugang die heilige Stätte bildet, auf der er liegt" (Alfred Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orient [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930], 361).
The discussion undertaken above made apparent that Gen 28:10-22 contains the heavenly sanctuary temple motif. This investigation agrees with Kim's study concerning the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the text; nevertheless it attempts to go beyond his study in order to ascertain the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as portrayed in the passage, as well as its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

**Function**

YHWH is depicted in the text as being on the top of the stairway, implying that he is located at the gate of the heavenly temple. Although it has been argued that the connotation of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in this text is that of "heavenly house of God," since there is "no evidence that reveals the kingship of God," the text seems to indicate otherwise. If one accepts the presence of the covenant motif in the pericope, it gives a conspicuous picture of a heavenly temple from which YHWH, the Suzerain King, ratifies the covenant with his vassal-servant Jacob. The heavenly temple/sanctuary thus seems to be portrayed not merely as the place where YHWH dwells, but also as the place of divine activities, namely, the place whence YHWH issues his promises of help and prosperity for Jacob in connection with the ratification of the covenant.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The functional correspondence and the dynamic interaction between earthly and heavenly realities and is indicated by verbal connections, spatialization of the text, and the...

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1Kim, 68.
grammatical structure of Jacob's statement. The following verbal connections, for example, suggest a vertical correspondence: Jacob poured oil on the "top" (סָמָך) of the "pillar" (��), which corresponds to the "top" (סָמָך) of the stairway. By contrast, the fact that in Gen 35:14 the narrator simply says that Jacob anointed a "pillar" by simply pouring oil "upon it" (טּוּל) appears to highlight the idea that the reference to the "top" (סָמָך) of the pillar in 28:19 intends to echo the "top" (סָמָך) of the stairway (28:12). Besides, יָסַר (pillar) evokes יָסָר used of the stairway "set" upon the earth, and יָסָר used of YHWH "standing" upon it (i.e., the stairway).

In the spatialization of the text, one perceives that the vertical axis of the narrative, as conveyed by the image of the ladder with angels going up and down, suggests a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. Additional support, however, for a vertical correspondence between earthly and heavenly sanctuary is provided by Jacob's poetic utterance: "This is none other than the house of God, and that is the gate of heaven." Thus what is implied in allusions and verbal connections now becomes explicit. The earthly site, "the house of God," alludes to a heavenly counterpart—"the gate of heaven," which, as argued above, is a poetic reference to the heavenly sanctuary/temple itself. Furthermore, the statements and cultic acts performed by Jacob in response to the dream imply a vertical correspondence between the earthly sanctuary and its heavenly counterpart. Besides, the ladder with angels going up and down indicate a dynamic interaction between both spheres in the context of the dream.
Exod 15:1-18

"Who is like you among the heavenly beings, O YHWH? Who is like you, majestic in the sanctuary, Awesome in praises, working wonders?

A number of scholars have dealt with Exod 15:1-18 from a variety of methodological principles, and with distinct motivations. These have yielded contributions which advanced the understanding of the metric structure, poetic imagery, theological underpinnings, linguistic characteristics, date, and Sitz im Leben of the hymn. The following discussion does not intend to review all these studies, but is limited to the pursuit of the theme of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in this poetic unit.2


2It has been a common procedure to describe the units of Hebrew poetry in terms of poetic lines or cola, and thus a sequence of cola has been labeled as bicolon, tricolon, etc., according to the number of cola in a given poetic strophe. Efforts have also been made to establish criteria to
Preliminary Observations

The range of suggestions advanced by scholars regarding the genre of this text leads one to conclude that this passage cannot be made to fit a single form.¹ John I. Durham has pointed out that this poetic composition "is not comparable to any one psalm, or song or hymn, or liturgy known to us anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible or in ANE literature."² Fortunately, a decision on this issue is not indispensable for this study, and in the course of the following discussion, for variety's sake, the pericope will be referred to as "hymn," "song," "Song of the Sea," etc. On a macrostructural level, it has been argued that the so-called Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-21) stands in the middle of the book of Exodus, serving as the "pivoting center"³ of the book. It provides the appropriate climax for the narrative of the deliverance from Egypt (Exod 1-14) with a proleptic overview of the journey to Sinai...

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²Ibid.

³Mark S. Smith, The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus, with Contributions of Elizabeth M. Bloch Smith, JSOTSup 239 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 183.
(Exod 15:22–40), and ultimately to the promised land (rest of the Pentateuch, and Joshua).

Studies on strophic and metric structure of this song have revealed an artful composition formed by an intricate relationship of strophes and verses. Although no two analyses agree in respect to the details, most scholars recognize the important structural function of vss. 6, 11, 16b, and that the poem is divided into two major structural sections: The first (1–11 [or 12]) focuses on the saving experience at the Red Sea; the second (12 [or 13]–18), deals with the subsequent experience of Israel in its journey to the promised land.

The composition contains three major structural junctures marked by vss. 6, 11, and 16b. Vs. 11, for reasons soon to be explained, plays a more prominent role than vss. 6 and 16. Whereas vss. 6 and 16 are thematically connected with their respective sections, vs. 11 is thematically and verbally disconnected from the events being celebrated by the song.

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2For the purposes of this research, however, it suffices to outline the broad structure of the poem, especially the identification of its center, for reasons that will become clear in due course.

3It has been demonstrated that the poetic unit of vs. 6 includes vs. 7a, a view adopted in the following discussion. Cf. Jon Paulien, "The Sing of Miriam: A Poetic Analysis," TMs, 1981, 8; Russell, 120.


5There is no consensus among scholars about where to start the second major section of the song. Most of them opt for either 12 or 13. For reasons to be explained in due course, vs. 12 is the suggestion of this study.
Thus, vs. 6 proclaims YHWH's power by shattering the enemy, which clearly links it thematically with the first section. In like manner, vs. 16 contains the theme of guidance and therefore stands in the thematic flow of the second section. Vs. 11, in contrast, by being placed at the "center and apex of the poem . . . relates equally to both strophes: The God described in vs 11 is equally responsible for the victory at the sea and for the triumphant march to the Holy Land."¹

An important feature of vs. 11 is the repetition of the rhetorical question נָאֵרֵךְ כִּיּוֹם ("Who is like you") which provides the verse with a staircase parallelism in which YHWH's incomparability is emphasized. Labuschagne has demonstrated that rhetorical questions are frequently used in the Hebrew Bible to express the absolute power, uniqueness, and incomparability of YHWH.² Thus vs. 11 by means of this rhetorical device underscores the absolute power and majesty of YHWH "in the sanctuary"³ and among the "heavenly beings."

Freedman further states that "by being less specific than the other refrains, which relate directly to the theme of their respective strophes . . . vs. 11 serves them both as center and fulcrum."⁴ Interestingly enough, vs. 11 is the only segment of the hymn containing no finite verb. It contains only nominal and participial clauses, thus portraying

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³The translation of the prepositional phrase כִּיּוֹם as "in the sanctuary" will be explained in due course.

distinct time perspective as if the poet, at this point, not only breaks the thematic flow of the hymn, but also steps outside the time frame of the hymn while addressing YHWH who, surrounded by heavenly beings, is present "in the sanctuary."

Other scholars have noted the special structural role of vs. 11 as well. Fokkelman argues that "the hymnal center does not link any of the terms celebrating God to the concrete situation, as if to indicate that God cannot be contained and that his perfections utterly transcend the horizon of human knowing."¹ In the same vein, Propp recognized that "Exod 15:11 is difficult to relate to its context. It seems an ecstatic interjection into the historical résumé of vv 10 and 12."² Georg Fischer added his agreement to the above opinions by saying that vs. 11 "stands in the center of the song,"³ and Jasper Burden argued that "the staircase parallelism of verse 11 serves as a pivot point of the hymn proper emphasizing the most important point the poet wishes to make: Who is like thee, O LORD?"⁴

Therefore, the hymn may be regarded as broadly divided into two major sections (1–10 and 12–18) having vs. 11 in the center. Some verbal and thematic features reinforce this outline. For example, a closer inspection of the composition reveals that the first

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²Propp, 528.

³The German text reads: "im Zentrum des Lieds steht" (Georg Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," Bib 77, no. 1 [1996]: 35).

section (vss. 1-10) abounds in water terms: בָּאָר ("sea"), קָמָם ("water"), מַקְלִים ("flowing waters"), יָרָה ("deep"), יָכָל ("depth"). The second section reverses to land imagery. Vs. 12 mentions ארץ (earth/land) and after that, all the events transpire upon dry land. YHWH is mainly depicted as a shepherd, guiding his people to their goal. At the end of this second section, after references to the mountain and the sanctuary, a "concluding antiphon" (vs. 18) provides a fitting closure to the entire composition by proclaiming YHWH's kingship: יָדָיו יָשָׁר וְיֶעַל לְעַל עַל עַל ("YHWH shall reign forever and ever"). Additionally, we should note that the second section presents several motifs and allusions pointing forward to the subsequent history of the people. Turning to the center of the hymn, one notes that vs. 11 contains heaven imagery as implied by the reference to YHWH

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1 It should be added that these do not depict personal forces, but are only instruments used by YHWH, the divine warrior, to defeat Israel's enemies.

2 Vs. 12 seems to be problematic for the suggested outline, since it apparently refers back to the experience at the Sea: טנטק ויָשָׁר יָשָׁר ("You stretched out your right hand. The earth swallowed them"). This can be explained as follows: vs. 12 does not refer to the destruction of the Egyptian army at the Red Sea, but to the judgment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. If so, the expression יָשָׁר יָשָׁר ("The earth swallowed them") may well be a prophetic allusion to Num 16:32: טנטק ויָשָׁר יָשָׁר ("And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up"). Notice that יָשָׁר is used six times in the Hebrew Bible in reference to the judgment upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. On the other hand, בָּאָר in its 40 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible never refers to the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, unless Exod 15:12 is thus understood. If this suggestion is accepted, there is a perfect coincidence between the thematic flow of the narrative and the structural suggestion made above, since vs. 12 would in fact refer to Israel's experience on the way to the promised land (cf. Fischer, "Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext," 36, n. 14; John D. W. Watts, "Song of the Sea—Ex. XV," VT 7, no. 4 [1957]: 374).


4 15:12 alludes to Num 16; vs. 14 with בֵּית לְדֶשֶׁן, תָּעָיז, נָּרָא, עָדֹב, עִבְּדֶנָּה, and to Deut 2:25; vs. 16 with בֵּית לְדֶשֶׁן and to Josh 2:9, and with בֵּית לְדֶשֶׁן to Josh 4:23; 5:1, 17; vs. 17 with לְדֶשֶׁן to 1 Kgs 8:13.
among the "heavenly beings" (הַהוֹדוֹד) in the "sanctuary" (מְקוֹם). The hymn, therefore, portrays three interrelated environments: vss. 1-10: sea; vs. 11: heaven; vss. 12-18: earth/land. Thus, as noted by Propp, the song "begins in the Sea's depths" and "ends on a mountaintop sanctum, from which YHWH reigns for ever."¹

In view of the foregoing discussion, it may be suggested that the song is formed by two major sections, divided by vs. 11 at the center, as the "pivot point" for the entire song. A simplified structure of the hymn may be thus outlined:² Retrospective experience of Israel—salvation at the Red Sea (15:1-10); pivot point: YHWH surrounded by heavenly beings in the [heavenly] sanctuary (15:11); prospective experience of Israel—guidance through the wilderness to the promised land/sanctuary (15:12-18).

After this overview of the structure of the song, a closer examination of the structure of 15:11 is in order. This verse is organized in a staircase parallelism,³ a literary device quite common in Ugaritic⁴ and Hebrew poetry.⁵ Exod 15:6-7a and 15:11 follow the three-line variety. In this type of poetic structure, as noted above, the second line

¹Propp, 571.


⁴A classical example is the following excerpt from KTU 1:2 IV 8-9:

ht ibk b'lm  Now your foe, Baal,
ht ibk tmhs  Now your foe you must smite;
ht tsmt ɜ̈rk  Now you must destroy your adversary!

Wyatt, Religious Texts from Ugarit, 65.

⁵Cf., e.g., Judg 5; Pss 29; 77:17; 89:52; 92:10; Isa 26:15.
completes the first, and the third stands in parallel with the first two,¹ as demonstrated by

Exod 15:6-7a²:

"Your right hand, O YHWH, is majestic in power,
Your right hand, O YHWH, shatters the enemy.
And in the greatness of your excellence
You overthrow those who rise up against you."

It is instructive to note how the first two lines relate to the third one. The first line stresses YHWH's majestic power, the second line his act of shattering the enemy, and the third one synthesizes the first two by declaring his "greatness," and saying that he overthrows the enemies. As can be perceived, the third line parallels the first two by presenting a synthesis of them. Having observed this, let us turn to 15:11 where, in like manner, a closer inspection supports the argument that the third line presents a synthesis of the first two lines.

"Who is like you among the heavenly beings, O YHWH?
Who is like you, majestic in the sanctuary
Awesome in praises, working wonders?"

The first line portrays YHWH among the heavenly beings, the second depicts him in the sanctuary, the third by referring to הפלות ("praises") alludes to the first line where YHWH is "among the heavenly beings," probably receiving praises from them;³ and הפלות


²Russell, 120.

("working wonders") points back to the phrase נַעֲרָיָה הָעָלֶים ("majestic in the sanctuary"), a probable allusion to YHWH's activities in the heavenly sanctuary.

Following this discussion about the overall structure of the hymn and the specific structure of 15:11, one should examine the structure of the second major division of the text. Therein are found several occurrences of words related to the sanctuary motif. Therefore, an identification of the major structural elements in this section may be useful in the process of ascertaining the contribution of these words to the investigation of the heavenly sanctuary motif.

A study by Howell, further refined by Russell, has proposed that Exod 15:12-17 displays the following chiastic structure:

A 12–13a, c Guidance to the Sanctuary (תִּנְתֶּה לְהַבָּשָׂר) B 13b YHWH's people (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) C 14ab General reference to the peoples (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) D 14cd Inhabitants of Philistia (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) West of Jordan E 15ab Chiefs of Edom (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) East of Jordan E' 15cd Princes of Moab (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) East of Jordan D' 15ef All the inhabitants of Canaan (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) West of Jordan C' 16abcd General reference to the peoples B' 16ef YHWH's People (וֹרָא אֶלּוּ הָעָלֶים) A' Guidance to the Sanctuary (all of vs. 17)

Worthy of note is that the sanctuary motif frames the entire section, since both A and A' are related to the concept of guidance to the sanctuary. This observation, along with

1 Howell, 38. Howell notes that the kernel of her structure C:D:D':C' (i.e., D:E:E':D' in the rearrangement by Russell; pp. 55-56) was proposed by Norman K. Gottwald, The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979), 512.

2 Russell, 55-56.
the perception that vs. 11 is the pivot point of the hymn, will be relevant for the ensuing
discussion.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

The song contains several words and expressions evocative of the heavenly
sanctuary/temple motif. These terms are now investigated in order to ascertain their
contribution to the theme under study.

Syntax and Meaning of יָדַק

The expression יָדַק is formed by combining יָדַק with the preposition ב, which
may be translated as "among the gods," since the noun בָּלָא is a general Semitic word for
"God/god."\(^1\) In view of the context, the translation "heavenly beings" is suggested, since
"gods" might imply a polytheistic idea contrary to the theological outlook of the Hebrew
Bible.\(^2\) The imagery evoked by the text seems to be that of YHWH surrounded by heavenly
beings "in the sanctuary," as will be argued below. But regarding יָדַק a few observations
are in order. Among four other occurrences of יָדַק in the Hebrew Bible,\(^3\) the most relevant
for this study is Ps 89:7-8 [6-7] because it displays the same syntactic structure (i.e.,
preposition ב + noun phrase) and seems to evoke the same imagery as the Exodus text.

\(^1\)HALOT, s.v. "בָּלָא."

\(^2\)Some Jewish scholars opted to render it as "angels." Thus Ibn Ezra, Ramban
(mentioned by Hyatt, 165); Benno Jacob, The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus (Hoboken, NJ:
Ktav, 1992), 430. The JPS Tanakh (1985) seems to imply a similar understanding by translating
יָדַק as "celestials."

\(^3\)Pss 89:7-8 [6-7]; 29:1; Job 41:17; Dan 11:36.
For who in the skies is comparable to YHWH? Who among the sons of the mighty is like YHWH,
A God greatly feared in the council of the holy ones,
And awesome above all those who are around him?

It should be noted in the text above that the syntagm "among the mighty" (้นויה) parallels the expression "in the council of the holy ones" (טֶהֶר). This makes clear that Ps 89:7-8 [6-7] portrays heavenly council imagery. That being the case, it is reasonable to argue that Exod 15:11 expresses the same concept.

Although it is outside the scope of this study to present a detailed analysis of the heavenly council motif, two observations are in order. First, as Gregory A. Boyd put it, "the Old Testament exhibits no reservation in acknowledging the existence of gods [sic]
outside Yahweh and of the gods who form his heavenly council. But even here Yahweh's supremacy is always at the forefront of their thoughts." Second, the imagery of the council of YHWH evokes a temple/sanctuary associative field, since the temple/sanctuary is sometimes portrayed as the locale wherein the divine assembly convenes.

Syntax and Meaning of טֶהֶר

The lexeme טֶהֶר occurs in 382 verses the Hebrew Bible; it often has an adjectival function in genitival constructions. Sometimes it is used as a noun meaning "holiness," or

1By "gods," Boyd means divine beings created by, and under the authority of, YHWH (Gregory A. Boyd, God at War: The Bible & Spiritual Conflict [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997], 117).

2Ibid.

3See the first chapter of this dissertation for an overview of the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in ANE literature. See also Mullen, Jr., 128ff.
"sanctuary," but when governed by the preposition ה, as argued below, שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים has a locative meaning in almost all of its occurrences. Therefore, it is suggested that שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים in 15:11 can be translated as "in the sanctuary."

Most versions and scholars prefer to translate it either as an abstract "in holiness," or as a concrete noun "among the holy ones," the latter being understood either as a collective, or plural, according to the LXX. These translations, however, are problematic for the following reasons: First, it is difficult to relate שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים as an abstract expression "in holiness" with the root רָמַם (as in Exod 15:11), since the latter, as Cohen pointed out, always refers to physical strength in ancient Hebrew poetry. Second, the collective meaning of שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים is not attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Third, as for the emendation of שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים to read הָיִשְׁרָיִם, it must be noted that this plural reading finds no support.

1K. Kornfeld, "שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים qds," TWAT, 6:1186.

2Cf., e.g., ASV, KJV, JPS, NASB, NIV, NKJV, RSV.

3Suggestion advanced by G. Quell in the apparatus of BHS, 111.


5This interpretation is favored by scholars who often refer to Deut 33:3 (Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, 129, n. 61; Trent Craver Butler, "The Song of the Sea": Exodus 15:1-18: A Study in the Exegesis of Hebrew Poetry [Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1971], 72; Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Two Critical Notes on Psalm 68 and Deuteronomy 33," HTR 57 [1964]: 241; Muilenburg, "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh," 244) and/or Ps 77:14 (cf. Mitchell J. Dahood, Psalms II: 51-100: Introduction, Translation, and Notes, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 230; Brian Douglas Russell, "The Song of the Sea: The Date and Theological Significance of Exodus 15:1-21" [Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2002], 21-22)—passages which allegedly employ שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים in a collective sense. The major problem with the appeal to Deut 33:33 is that, despite the textual problems that beset the passage, שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים is clearly in the plural as shown by the connecting ה before the pronominal suffix ה. It should, therefore, be translated as "holy ones." As for Ps 77:14 [13], it must be pointed out that a collective sense of שֵׁם הָאֱ-לֹהִים does not fit the context.
in the other textual witness apart from the LXX.\(^1\) Therefore, due to the difficulties with the "abstract" and "collective" interpretations of שֵׁם, it will be argued that this expression may be adequately translated as a locative "in the sanctuary" for reasons delineated below.

First, although the lexeme שֵׁם displays a wide range of meanings varying from concrete to abstract denotations, it is perceived that when it is governed by the preposition ב it conveys a spatial/locative idea. Out of twenty-eight occurrences of שֵׁם in the Hebrew Bible, twenty-five\(^2\) can be safely translated spatially as "in the sanctuary" or "holy.

\(^1\)There are scholars, however, who prefer to read שֵׁם as a plural according to the LXX. Whether the LXX translators found the plural in the Vorlage, or simply imposed their interpretation upon the text is a moot point; what is clear, however, is that all the other textual witnesses corroborate a singular reading.

\(^2\)Exod 15:11; 26:34; 28:43; 29:30; 35:19; 39:1, 41; Lev 6:23; 10:18; 16:17, 27; Num 4:12, 16; 18:10; 28:7; 2 Chr 29:7; 35:5; Ps 60:8 [6]; 63:3 [2]; 68:18 [17], 25 [24]; 74:3; 108:8 [7]; 150:1; Ezek 44:27. Among these passages, Num 18:10 requires additional comment: The verse reads as follows: "וַיְדַגֶּהוּ שֵׁם שֵׁמְךָ you shall eat it; every male shall eat it. It shall be holy to you." The key issue in this verse concerns whether שָׁם שֵׁם refers to the offerings (so R. Dennis Cole, Numbers, NAC 3b [Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2000], 284; cf., e.g., also the following versions: NIV, NASB, TNK, ASV, BBE, NJB, NRSV), or to the place wherein the offerings were supposed to be consumed by the priests (so George Buchanan Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers, NICC [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956], 223; "In the Most Holy Place," SDABC, 1:883; cf., e.g., the following versions: DRA, ESV, GNV, JPS, KJV, NKJ, ELB). A reference to the offerings is complicated by the use of the preposition ב which seems to imply a space/local connotation for this locution (i.e., "in the שָׁם שֵׁם"). The translation "in the most holy place" is also problematic since only the high priest could have access to it, and exclusively in the day of atonement (cf. Timothy R. Ashley, The Book of Numbers, NICOT [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993], 348). A probable solution would run as follows: Since the offerings had already been qualified in vs. 9 as קְצִי שֵׁם ("most holy"), it is possible that vs. 11 would now refer to the sacred place where these offerings could be consumed. שֵׁם would then probably refer to the court of the sanctuary. Commenting on this verse, Milgrom observed that the offering should be "eaten in the Tabernacle courtyard on the same day by male priests, in accordance with Lev 6, 9, 19 and 7:6" (Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation, The JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990], 150). Thus on the basis of the previous observations, the expression שֵׁם most probably has a local/spatial meaning. Whether this refers to the "court" (see above, Milgrom), or to some other compartment of the sanctuary should not concern us here, since the major task
place" (in reference to the sacrificial court),¹ as attested by versions and commentators.

Three cases are left, which require further comment. In Ps 89:35 and Amos 4:2 the phrase שְׁפִּיךְ, as part of an oath formula, is justifiably translated "by my/his holiness," as translations and commentators usually do.² The other seeming exception is שְׁפִּיךְ in Ps 77:14 [13], read by versions and commentators as "in holiness." This passage is relevant for this discussion due to its conceptual and verbal connections with Exod 15:11, as noted in the ensuing discussion. For the reader's convenience both passages are displayed below.

Ps 77:14-15 [13-14]³

Your way, O God, is in the sanctuary;
What god is great like our God? You are the God who works wonders; You have made known your strength among the peoples.

Exod 15:11

Who is like you among the heavenly beings, O YHWH?
Who is like you, majestic in the sanctuary,
Awesome in praises, working wonders?

Here was to ascertain whether פֶּקֶל is semantically consistent with other usages of the phrase פֶּקֶל in the Hebrew Bible. In summary, for the purpose of this research it shall suffice to note that Num 18:10 is also to be understood spatially, i.e., in reference to a holy place.


²These two references contain the oath formula לַעֲבֹד "swear by" which appears in expressions like "The Lord has sworn by the pride of Jacob, His right hand, by himself," etc. Cf. Deut 6:13; Josh 2:12; Isa 62:8; Jer 51:14; Amos 4:2; 6:8; 8:7. Interestingly enough, in Mishnaic times oaths could also be taken in the name of the temple. See Shalom M. Paul and Frank Moore Cross, Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 129, n. 15.

³The translation of פֶּקֶל by "in the sanctuary" is supported by Vulgate, LXX, ASV, DBY, GNV, NKJ, RWB, ELB, ELO, ARC.
The intertextual connections between both passages being evident, it suffices to demonstrate that יָדָיו in Ps 74:14 [13] corresponds to its parallel in Exod 15:11, and therefore the first line may be thus translated: "Your way, O God, is in the sanctuary," a reading adopted by several ancient and modern versions. Thus, out of twenty-eight occurrences of יָדָיו in the Hebrew Bible, twenty-six can be translated as "in the sanctuary."

Second, the parallelism between יָדָיו and יִשָּׁתֵל suggests that the י in יִשָּׁתֵל should be understood in a locative sense, like the י of יִשָּׁתֵל as noted by Ehrlich, and others. Furthermore, as noted above, that יִשָּׁתֵל evokes the concept of the "heavenly council" which would be located in the sanctuary lends further support to this suggestion.

Third, the occurrence several words and expressions for sanctuary/temple, occurring in the second section of the hymn, strengthens the probability that the structural

1The word "way" (יָדָיו) is frequently found in the Psalms in the sense of "law," "ordinance" (Pss 18:22 [21], 31 [30]; 25:4; 25:8; 27:11; 37:34; 51:15; 67:2; 81:14; 86:11; 103:7; 119:14, 27, 30, 32, 33), hence that YHWH's "way... is in the sanctuary" is a fitting concept in view of the tablets of the ten commandments being stored therein. In addition, it should be kept in mind that the sanctuary/temple, with its priests, rituals, ceremonies, and all the instructions regarding YHWH's purposes for his people, was the most concrete locus for YHWH's ways to be manifested and taught to the people.

2LXX, Vulgate, ASV, NKJ, DBY, DRA, GNV, KJV, DRB, ARC, ACF. Cf. also Albert Barnes, Book of the Psalms (New York: Harper, 1868), 371.

3The German text reads: "יָדָיו ist Ortsangabe wie יִשָּׁתֵל und heisst im Rate der Heiligen, eigentlich im Heiligtum, d.i., im Himmel" (Ehrlich, 1:321).

4Brenner, 113; Propp, Exodus 1-18, 527.
center of the composition (i.e., 15:11) alludes to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, thus
anticipating the major theme of the second section.¹

Fourth, if extrabiblical parallels can shed any light upon the text, then it may be
argued that ANE understanding of the warrior-deity being enthroned in the sanctuary after
a major battle resonates with the overall thematic pattern of Exod 15:1-18.² For example,
Marduk following his victory over Tiamat is proclaimed supreme in the sanctuary.³ Also
Baal, after defeating Yam, is enthroned in his heavenly temple.⁴ If the Hebrew poet
intended a similar pattern in this composition, as several scholars would agree,⁵ then it may

¹See רַכְבָּר (vs. 17), מָכָל לִשְׁבָּרָה (vs. 17), שִׁפְרָה (vs. 17) to be
discussed below.

²P. Schafram argues that Exod 15:1-18 follows the thematic pattern of "Warrior-
Battle/Victory-Kingship" as present in ANE literature, namely, the Baal Epic and Enuma Elish.
The author intentionally used formulaic language of the myths to capture their function and thereby
exalt YHWH and his new creation, the nation of Israel. Philip Matthew Schafram, "The Form and

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951); L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation or the
Babylonian and Assyrian Legends Concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind, vol. 1


⁵Some scholars maintain a connection between Exod 15:1-18 and ANE mythological texts.
See, e.g., Bernard Frank Batto, Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition
The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective: Scripture in Context IV, ed. K. Lawsson,
William W. Hallo, and Bernard F. Batto, Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 11 (Lewiston,

Although some scholars see mythological overtones in Exod 15:1-18, the differences
should not be overlooked. E.g. in the biblical account, the enemy is an historical entity, and the sea
is a mere instrument in the hands of YHWH to execute his judgment. In a sense one might say that
sea is nothing more than a passive instrument in the hands of YHWH, as recognized by Cross in
the following statement: "[The] sea is not personified or hostile, but a passive instrument in
YHWH's control. There is no question here of a mythological combat between two gods. YHWH
defeats historical, human enemies" (Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, 131-32).
be suggested that שָׁרוֹן denotes the sanctuary, more precisely the "heavenly sanctuary," receives further support. The thematic pattern that emerges from the song seems clear—YHWH, the divine Warrior, defeats the Egyptian army, and is immediately portrayed "in the sanctuary."

Fifth, as noted above, the hymn seems to exhibit a threefold spatial structure: sea (15:1-10), heaven (15:11), earth (15:12-18). Therefore, if שָׁרוֹן in 15:11 means "in the sanctuary," then it becomes apparent that this is the "heavenly sanctuary." A similar understanding of the passage was espoused by Ibn Ezra, who translated this expression as "in the holy place—i.e. on His throne of Glory."¹

Last, when שָׁרוֹן is seen in connection with פָּנָיו new insights surface. If, as already noted, the root רָאָה in ancient Hebrew poetry always refers to physical strength, it is difficult to understand its relationship to "holiness."² An interesting use of the root רָאָה is found in Ps 93:4. The intertextual linkages of this passage with Exod 15:11 may contribute to our understanding of the latter.

Ps 93:4 seems to be the only place in the Hebrew Bible, apart from Exod 15:11, where the root רָאָה is followed by the preposition ב in a locative expression (ב כִּפְרָה), a syntactic

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²Chaim Cohen suggested that שָׁרוֹן be read as a collective in the sense of "holy ones" ("Studies in Early Israelite Poetry I: An Unrecognized Case of Three-Line Staircase Parallelism in the Song of the Sea," JANES 7 [1975]: 16, n. 22). This interpretation is favored by other scholars, who often refer to Deut 33:3 and/or Ps 77:14, as noted above.
construction identical to שֵׁבֶט in Exod 15:11. Interestingly enough, this expression in Ps 93:4 occurs in the context of YHWH's exaltation above the waters/sea/rivers (Ps 93:3-4). Moreover, the word שֵׁבֶט occurs in the immediate context (Ps 93:5). To sum up, this intertextual connection is noted here, because it demonstrates that the construction פֶּה יָדוֹ is followed by a locative noun as the object of the preposition.

The foregoing discussion is intended to demonstrate that שֵׁבֶט in Exod 15:11 is better translated as "in the sanctuary," namely, the "heavenly sanctuary," as indicated by the structure and context of the passage. Apart from being supported by the grammatical and thematic context of the song, this interpretation seems to agree in general lines with a well-known ANE pattern where the victorious deity, after defeating the enemy, is enthroned in the temple. Intertextual connections with other Hebrew Bible passages contribute to further reinforce the plausibility of this suggestion.

Meaning and Referent of פֶּה יָדוֹ

The exact phrase פֶּה יָדוֹ occurs only here (Exod 15:13) in the entire Hebrew Bible, and has mostly been translated as "your holy habitation/dwelling/abode." Two versions, however, have translated it as "the dwelling of your sanctuary." While the latter translation seems to have understood פֶּה יָדוֹ in a concrete sense of sanctuary, the former understood it as an abstract noun used to qualify יָדוֹ. This word has the lexical meaning of

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¹Both verses contain basically the same syntactic structure פֶּה יָדוֹ + פ+ N (loc.).

²"Wohnung deines Heiligtums" by the German Schlachter Version, Genfer Bibelgesellschaft (Geneva Bible Society, 1951); "habitación de tu santuario" by The Spanish Reina-Valera Bible, 1909.
"stopping place, settlement,"\(^1\) hence "dwelling/habitation." Although רֵעֵן can be used in reference to the land of Israel, or Jerusalem,\(^2\) there are indications that in Exod 15:13 it evokes temple imagery, as can be noted by the use of שְׁרוּפֶה in connection with יָרְדֶן which echoes temple and cult mentality,\(^3\) and by the structural correspondence between vss. 13 and 17 as well.

A question remains as to the identity of the extratextual referent of רֵעֵן יָרְדֶן. In order to ascertain the meaning of this expression, attention must be given to the structural position of רֵעֵן יָרְדֶן, the thematic movement of the song, and the structural relationship between רֵעֵן יָרְדֶן and three other expressions for sanctuary occurring in 15:17 (the latter two aspects are pursued in connection with 15:17, below). For now, it suffices to note that the chiastic structure of the second part of the poem (Exod 15:12-18) displayed above reveals that vs. 13 corresponds to vs. 17, the implication being that the referent of רֵעֵן יָרְדֶן in 15:13 most probably coincides with the referent of the temple/sanctuary terms in 15:17. The investigation of vs. 17 in the ensuing discussion intends to clarify vs. 11.

It should noted again that the second section of the song prospectively depicts YHWH guiding the people to their ultimate goal, a goal described in four expressions (vs. 13 is included for the sake of comparison):

1HALOT, s.v. "רען."

2Sam 15:25; Jer 50:19; Ps 79:7; Lam 2:2.

3The intertextual connection with Jer 31:23 seems to demonstrate this: "YHWH bless you, שְׁרוּפֶה יָרְדֶן ("O abode of righteousness, O holy hill!"). Although the context of the passage seems to have the whole land in view, since it speaks of all of Judah dwelling on the holy mountain, commentators usually agree that the author has Jerusalem and the temple in mind. Cf. Brenner, 136-37.
As noted, the parallelism between בֵּית הֶבֶל in Exod 15:13 and its parallel expressions in 15:17bce stress the possibility that all of them point to the same referent.¹ This referent has been understood as Mount Sinai,² cosmic mountain,³ the sanctuary at Gilgal,⁴ the land of Canaan as a whole,⁵ Jerusalem temple.⁶ Some scholars have opted for a mixture of two or more options⁷ or remained undecided.⁸

The idea that Gilgal was the immediate goal of the journey has no exegetical basis and therefore does not require further consideration.⁹ Sinai might be a reasonable option in view of Israel’s experience in connection with this mountain, namely the reception of the

¹Watts, 377.
⁴Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, 142.
⁵Terence E. Fretheim, Exodus, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991), 162; Schafran, 93.
⁶Brenner, 136-52; Burden, 34-72.
⁷E.g., Cassuto argues that 15:13 refers to Sinai, and 15:17 to the temple to be built in the "mountain" in Canaan. Umberto Cassuto, A Commentary on the Book of Exodus (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967).
⁸Propp states that "the most we can do is explore the manifold possibilities, acknowledging that several or all may be simultaneously correct" (Propp, 564). He then proceeds to spell out "the manifold possibilities" as Sinai, Zion, Shiloh, Gilgal, Canaan, and Northern Israel (564-68).
⁹For a concise criticism of this idea, cf. Russell, 153-56.
law, and the instructions culminating in the building of the tabernacle. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Sinai was not the ultimate goal of the journey, as implied in the thematic movement of the text. Furthermore, the hymn alludes to a progression of events and destination that goes beyond Sinai, reaching the land of promise. Another option is the land of Canaan as a whole. It should be noted, however, that although the land of Canaan was part of the larger picture of the destination of the people, the textual evidence points to Mount Zion/Jerusalem temple, as the ultimate goal of the journey.

Referent of מַקְטָשׁ "

Although this phrase is used only here in the entire Hebrew Bible, the parallelism with the next phrases seems to point to Mount Zion and Jerusalem as its immediate historical referent. At this juncture, it must be noted that מַקְטָשׁ ("mountain") is one of the most important cultic motifs in the Hebrew Bible and ANE. מַקְטָשׁ may sometimes refer to

1"Sinai is not the final goal of the Exodus, but lying between Egypt and Canaan, it does represent YHWH's mastery over both" (Jon D. Levenson, Sinai and Zion [New York: Harper and Row, 1985], 23).

2This expression occurs in Ugaritic where it parallels Saphon and Sanctuary, thus probably having Baal's heavenly abode as its referent. See the text below.

b tk’ gr’ il spn In the midst of my divine mountain Saphon,
b qds b gr’ il nhlty In the sanctuary, in the mountain of my inheritance,
b n’m’b gb’ tliyt In paradise, on the height of victory.

Wyatt, Religious Texts from Ugarit, 78 (KTU 1.3 iii 29-31).

Sinai, though in most cases it alludes to the locale of the Jerusalem temple, and in a few instances it can even point to the heavenly Zion, or YHWH's heavenly abode.\(^1\)

**Meaning of הֵרִים לֹהֵבָן**

The expression הֵרִים לֹהֵבָן ("place where you sit enthroned") contains the noun לֹהֵב ("place"), and a derivative from the root לֹהֵב (sit, dwell).\(^2\) The term לֹהֵב, which means "site,"\(^3\) "fixed or established place, foundation,"\(^4\) occurs seventeen times,\(^5\) all but one\(^6\) referring to God's dwelling place, either in heaven or on earth. לֹהֵב seems to convey the special nuance of "firmness," as noted in the root לֹל (be established, be permanent, endure),\(^7\) and is sometimes used to designate the sanctuary/temple. As for the derivative of לֹב ("dwell") in the prepositional phrase לֹהֵבָן לֹהֵב, it should be noted that it contains the sense-component "to sit (enthroned), to be throned,"\(^8\) thus connoting the idea of YHWH's

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\(^2\) HALOT, s.v. "לֹהֵב.

\(^3\) HALOT, s.v. לֹהֵב.

\(^4\) BDB, s.v. לֹהֵב.

\(^5\) Exod 15:17; 1 Kgs 8:13; 39; 43; 49; 2 Chr 6:2, 30, 33, 39; Ezra 2:68; Pss 33:14; 89:15; 97:2; 104:5; Isa 4:5; 18:4; Dan 8:11.

\(^6\) Ps 104:5.

\(^7\) HALOT, s.v. לֹל.

"enthronement" in the temple. The combination of קֶשֶׁם and קָפָל occurs nine times apart from Exod 15:17. In two references it points to the temple on Mount Zion, whereas in seven other occurrences it refers to the heavenly sanctuary. In seven other places wherein only קָפָל occurs, it refers once to the site of the Jerusalem temple, whereas in seven other occurrences it refers to the heavenly sanctuary. In seven other places wherein קֶשֶׁם occurs, it refers once to the site of the Jerusalem temple, and one time to the site of Zion, two times it is used metaphorically in connection with YHWH's throne in heaven, two times in reference to YHWH's dwelling in heaven, and in one occurrence it appears outside of a cultic context. In sum, out of sixteen occurrences of קֶשֶׁם in the Hebrew Bible, apart from Exod 15:17, eleven are related either to YHWH's heavenly dwelling (9x) or heavenly throne (2x). Therefore, as Friedbert Ninow pointed out, the occurrence of קֶשֶׁם in Exod 15:17, especially in the phrase קֶשֶׁם לְשֵׁבַת יְהוָה, "may point to a quality of meaning that goes beyond the earthly sanctuary."  

If the presence of קֶשֶׁם points to something beyond the earthly temple/sanctuary, a closer inspection of the phrase קֶשֶׁם לְשֵׁבַת יְהוָה and its intertextual connections may yield

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1 Kgs 8:13, 2 Chr 6:2.
2 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49, 2 Chr 6:30, 33, 39, Ps 33:14 [13].
3 Ezra 2:68.
4 Isa 4:5.
5 Pss 89:15 [14]; 97:2.
6 Isa 18:4; Dan 8:11 (these passages are investigated in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, respectively).
7 See the reference to the foundations of the earth in Ps 104:5.
8 Friedbert Ninow, "Indicators of Typology within the Old Testament: The Exodus Motif" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1999), 158.
further insights. As pointed out above, יִהְיֶה occurs nine times in combination with לֶשׁבֵה, two times in reference to the earthly temple, and seven times in reference to the heavenly temple/sanctuary. Now the possibility may be raised that the Hebrew Bible employs two subtly distinct syntactical constructions with יִהְיֶה to indicate different connotations of sanctuary/temple. The syntagm יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה refers to the earthly temple and occurs in this exact form in 1 Kgs 8:13 (and its parallel text in 2 Chr 6:2), while the syntagm יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה refers to the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The semantic nuance of each construction is subtle, but nonetheless significant. The locution יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה may be translated as "a place for your dwelling" (i.e., another place in addition to the "Place" in heaven where YHWH dwells). On the other hand the construction יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה is definite and should be translated "the palace of your dwelling" (i.e., "the Place" located in heaven where YHWH dwells). Although it may be argued that this syntactic distinction is semantically irrelevant, the fact remains that יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה refers to the earthly temple, and יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה is always used in reference to the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Such consistency suggests that the syntactic distinction was intended to communicate distinct semantic connotations.

To conclude, the expression יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה in Exod 15:17 has primarily the earthly temple in view; nonetheless it should be noted that when יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה is used besides Exod 15:17, it is understood to be in connection with the heavenly counterpart. Furthermore, that the sanctuary (יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה) was made by YHWH, as seen in the larger context of the

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1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49, 2 Chr 6:30, 33, 39, Ps 33:14 [13]. The latter passage has the 3ms pronominal suffix: יִהְיֶה לֶשׁבֵה.

2 Kgs 8:13; 2 Chr 6:2.
phrase פֶּהֱלַת יִהְיֶה שָׁמֶש הָיָה ("A place for your dwelling you have made O YHWH"), seems to point beyond human reality to the heavenly sanctuary.

Referent of שֶׁמֶן

The word שֶׁמֶן ("sanctuary") is found seventy-five times in the Hebrew Bible and can refer to local sanctuaries,\(^1\) the tabernacle of the wilderness,\(^2\) the temple in Jerusalem,\(^3\) and the heavenly sanctuary.\(^4\) In the present text, שֶׁמֶן seems to point primarily to the Jerusalem temple. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Ninow, שֶׁמֶן occurs in parallelism with קֵובֶל in only two passages: in Exod 15:17 and Dan 8:11, where these words appear in the context of the heavenly sanctuary.\(^5\) This is significant, for it indicates that the song not only evokes a yearly gathering at the temple in Jerusalem, but anticipated a fulfillment on a larger, cosmic level.\(^6\)

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Song of the Sea also becomes apparent against the backdrop of the typology of history within the composition. N. Lohfink has noted the typological dimension of the song by asserting that "the narrative

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\(^1\) Isa 16:12; Amos 7:9, 13.
\(^2\) Exod 25:8; Lev 12:4; 16:33 et al.
\(^3\) E.g., 1 Chr 22:19; 28:10; 20:8; Ps 74:7.
\(^4\) Ezek 28:18; Dan 8:11.
\(^5\) Ninow, 159.
\(^6\) Ibid.
contained in the hymn is incomplete and open-ended"\textsuperscript{1} so that "coming generations would be able to see their own experience contained in this song."\textsuperscript{2} Lohfink's basic insights were confirmed by Ninow, who noted that the song "has not only a prophetical element but also an eschatological one."\textsuperscript{3} Ninow further observed that the terminology used to designate the sanctuary in Exod 15:17 indicates that the author anticipated a fulfillment on a larger cosmic level, a \textit{Steigerung}.\textsuperscript{4}

The Song of the Sea was phrased in such a way as to leave room for a projection to the future, and a vertical movement up into the heavenly realm. The text seems to be open, pointing both horizontally to future events in the history of YHWH's people, and vertically to the heavenly realm. For example, the enemy portrayed in the first part of the song is Pharaoh and his army; however, at the same time the portrayal of their defeat is framed with cosmic overtones so that, at the same time, the victory at the Red Sea may point forward to YHWH's final victory over the forces of evil. The victory is achieved by YHWH alone as he employs the forces of nature to judge the enemy. Furthermore, the second part of the song predicts YHWH's victory upon the future enemies, followed by YHWH's bringing his people to his own dwelling.

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{1}Lohfink, 81.
    \item \textsuperscript{2}Ibid., 84.
    \item \textsuperscript{3}Ninow, 155.
    \item \textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 159. \textit{Steigerung} in Typology studies refers to the intensification or escalation in the historical progression from the type to the antitype. The antitype constitutes the climactic and eschatological reality towards which the type points. Cf. Davidson, \textit{Typology in Scripture}, 280-81.
\end{itemize}
The "openness" of the hymn may also be perceived in the use of verbal tenses. All across the composition yiqtol and qatal verbal forms alternate so that the identification of past, present, and future is challenging at best. Engstrom has suggested that the Hebrew tenses were intended to support the "supra-historical element" of the song. It seems clear that later biblical authors understood this aspect of the song as they portrayed new actions of YHWH in favor of his people as a new exodus.

As the tense of verbal forms is indeterminate, so is the identification of YHWH's people. Though some of the enemies are identified by their ethnic designations, YHWH's people remain generic. In Exod 15:13 and 16, they are referred to by their relationship to YHWH, as in נבֵי אֵלֶם ("people whom you have redeemed"), נְעָלֵי ("your people"), נְצֵרָה ("people whom you have purchased"). In 15:17 YHWH's people are referred to by means of pronominal suffixes "them" as in נַעֲרֵי ("You will bring them") and נַעֲמָה ("and you will plant them"). The people of YHWH consisted in those who were the object of his care. Therefore, as the indeterminate language suggests, the identity of YHWH's people could not be restricted to those Israelites who took part in the foundational experience at the Red Sea, but would transcend ethnic boundaries so as to include a

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2 Paul Lee Engstrom, "Deliverance at the Sea: A Reading of Exodus 15 in Light of Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Its Implications for the Assemblies of God" (Th.D. diss., Luther Seminary, 1996), 161.

3 See Ninow, 186ff.

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multiethnic community who in the eschatological times will experience the new exodus. Thus, the movement towards the promised land implies a reality that goes beyond the first exodus and points to another even more significant event which will encompass a larger community.

The foregoing discussion, which focused on the horizontal typology of the song, its "openness" to the future, and Steigerung, has set the stage for the main concern of this research. It is argued that in regard to the sanctuary motif the language of the composition also expresses a similar "openness" and projection to the vertical dimension. The first indication of this "vertical dimension" is found in the phrase שְׁלֹחֵן in Exod 15:11, which occurs in the middle of the song. That the focus of the hymn switches up to the heavenly sanctuary and the council of YHWH at the structural center of the composition bespeaks the interconnection between earthly events and heavenly activities.

Besides, the temple/sanctuary terminology is presented in such a way that Exod 15:17 may suggest a covert allusion to the heavenly temple. The association of מְדֵי and שְׁלֹחֵן seems to indicate heavenly sanctuary overtones. As already noted, apart from Exod 15:17, שְׁלֹחֵן in parallelism with יִבְרֹל appears only in Dan 8:11, where it refers to the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The same may be said regarding the expression נְבֵאל, which, though used to indicate the earthly temple, also may evoke heavenly sanctuary/temple imagery.

As already noted, Dan 8:14 receives a detailed treatment in chapter 5 of this dissertation.
Function

That the heavenly sanctuary/temple is first identified in the structural center of the composition may signify more than a mere rhetorical device. It may point to the centrality of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the context of the struggle between YHWH and the forces of evil, and also its role in relation to the guidance of the people to their ultimate goal—"the sanctuary which thy hands have made" (Exod 15:17). A close reading of the passage suggests that the heavenly sanctuary performs the following functions:

First, as already noted, the parallel between שֵׁבֶט ("sanctuary") and ᐃָּלָם ("heavenly beings") evokes heavenly council imagery. Thus it may be said that the heavenly sanctuary is the locale wherein the council of YHWH convenes.

Second, the phrase תְּרוֹם אַלָּה ("awesome in praises") evokes a liturgical field. The imagery suggested by the context is that of YHWH being worshiped by the "gods," that is, celestial beings (הָלָה). Such representation resonates with other Hebrew Bible passages wherein YHWH receives adoration from the gods (i.e., heavenly beings).1

Third, the phrase אֶלֱּה הֵבָל ("working wonders") seems to be related to YHWH's mighty works in the heavenly sanctuary.2 This receives support from a significant expression in the previous line—שָׁבָעַת הַדָּמָם ("majestic in the sanctuary"). מְבָל may also be translated as "powerful."3 Hence the phrase "powerful in the sanctuary" would be an

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2 These mighty works could by a reference to the plagues, as cautiously suggested by William Shea in a personal communication.

3 HALOT, s.v. מְבָל.
indication of YHWH's activities in the heavenly sanctuary. In short, the heavenly sanctuary functions as a place of divine activity.

Last, since שְׁכַנְיָה in Exod 15:11 anticipates שַכְנוֹן and its synonyms in vss. 13 and 17 as argued above, then the sanctuary functions as a seat of kingship, as explicitly indicated in Exod 15:18: "YHWH shall reign forever and ever"). That the primary referent of vss. 13 and 17 is the Jerusalem temple does not invalidate this suggestion, since the sanctuary referred to in vss. 13 and 17 exists in relationship with the heavenly counterpart. Therefore, Exod 15:18 may not refer exclusively to the earthly sanctuary, but also to the ultimate sanctuary, the heavenly one.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The occurrence of שְׁכַנְיָה at the structural center of the hymn and the terminology employed by the poet in reference to the earthly sanctuary/temple indicates a vertical correspondence to the heavenly counterpart. These points are further elaborated below.

First, as already noted, שְׁכַנְיָה ("[heavenly] sanctuary") in Exod 15:11 anticipates by way of verbal and conceptual connections שַכְנוֹן in 15:13 and שַכְנוֹן in 15:17, respectively. If these terms refer primarily to the Jerusalem temple, as noted above, it seems plausible that the earthly sanctuary/temple was understood to exist in vertical correspondence with the heavenly counterpart. The terms שַכְנוֹן (vs. 11) and שַכְנוֹן (vs.13) suggests a structural correspondence.

Second, that the heavenly and earthly temples are related is further supported by the temple/sanctuary terminology employed in vs. 17. The expressions שַכְנוֹן and the
parallel use of מִשְׁמֵרָת and כְּבָלָה, albeit pointing primarily to the earthly temple, evoke heavenly sanctuary imagery as well.

Third, the portrayal of YHWH in the heavenly sanctuary (and surrounded by the heavenly court) in Exod 15:11 anticipates, in the flow of the song, the depiction of YHWH ruling from the earthly temple in 15:18. The implication is that the heavenly and earthly temples function in close connection and possibly performing interrelated functions.

Last, that the sanctuary was established by YHWH's hands (Exod 15:17) suggests that this sanctuary contains a quality that transcends the earthly temple, pointing to the ultimate sanctuary located in heaven.

Exod 24:9-11

9 Then Moses went up with Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel,
10 And they saw the God of Israel; and under his feet was something like a pavement of lapis lazuli, and like the very heavens for clearness.
11 Yet he did not stretch out his hand against the nobles of the sons of Israel; and they saw God, and they ate and drank.

Preliminary Observations

Exod 24:9-11 belongs to the text unit comprising chaps. 19-24, which has the covenant at Sinai as the major focus. The internal organization of this section has baffled

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It should be noted that the three following passages (Exod 24:9-11; 25:9, 40, and Exod 32-34) belong to the larger section of Exod 19-32. These blocks of material are interconnected by a skilled interweaving of narrative and instructional materials. Although each pericope receives individual treatment in its respective section, there may be some overlap, since issues discussed in relation to one passage may have a bearing upon the others.
scholars because of many literary difficulties, such as, for example, the repetition of the theophany in 20:18 (parallel to 19:16-19), Moses' frequent trips up and down the mountain, the awkward placement of the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant within the narrative, and so on. Some critical have sought to explain these phenomena by appealing to different sources or traditions. More recently, however, the text has been under the scrutiny of scholars who assume the final form of the text as the main parameter for the exegetical task. For example, Chirichigno, Sprinkle, followed by Kim, have found the text to be a homogenous literary work. The apparent awkward and dischronologized redundancies, especially Moses' trips up and down the mountain, are deemed to be intended by the narrator, who crafted the pericope according to the literary device of "resumptive repetition." It should be kept in mind that the intertwining of narrative and


4Kim, 85-101.
regulations is a stylistic device not restricted to Exod 19-24, but is common to the entire
book of Exodus, and extending through Numbers. For the purpose of this research, it
suffices to note the intertwining of narrative and regulations in Exod 19-24, as follows:
Exod 19:1-25 (Narrative); 20:1-17 (Law: Decalogue); 20:18-21 (Narrative); Exod 20:23-

Since the major concern of this discussion is to understand Exod 24:10-11, a
narrative segment in the larger context of the Sinai pericope, attention is now focused on
the narrative sections of Exod 19-24, so that the structural position of Exod 24:9-11 may
and repetition due to the literary technique of "resumptive repetition" thus explained by
Sprinkle: "The essence of this technique is that the narrator tells a story once, then picks up
the story again somewhere in the chronological sequence and retells it, often expanding the
story or telling it from a different point of view."^2

When the narrative is read from the perspective of "resumptive repetition," the
following picture emerges. Exod 19:1-25 contains an overall report of YHWH's offer of
the covenant and Moses' trips up and down the mountain that seems to be presented in

^1 See G. J. Wenham, Numbers (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1981), 14-18; Terence E.
Fretheim, "Because the Whole Earth Is Mine: Theme and Narrative in Exodus," Int 50, no. 3
Biblical Seminar 59 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999); Calum Carmichael, "Law and
Narrative in the Pentateuch," in The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible, ed. Leo G.
Martin Ravnadl Hauge, The Descent from the Mountain: Narrative Patterns in Exodus 19-40,
JSOTSup 323 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 190-246.

^2 Sprinkle, 19.
roughly chronological sequence. Resumptive repetition is noted in the following parallels: Exod 19:16-19 is repeated almost verbatim in 20:18-21. The latter passage presents the same theophanic features reported by the former, except that it focuses on the reaction of the people. Another occurrence of this stylistic device occurs in 19:21-25, which is picked up again in 24:1-3a. After 24:3b the narrative advances chronologically. The subsection 24:3c-8 moves the story forward by reporting the covenant ceremony performed between YHWH and the people.

The narrative moves forward again in 24:9ff., as Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders ascend the mountain. Although the command to ascend the mountain had been spelled out previously (i.e., Exod 19:24; 24:1), it is only in 24:9ff. that Moses actually ascends the mountain with the leaders of the nation.

When the stylistic repetitions are taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that the narrative sequence of Exod 19-24 portrays four trips of Moses up and down the mountain, as shown below.

| First trip: 19:3-8b |
| Second Trip: 19:8c-19; 20:18-21 |
| Third Trip: 19:20-25; 24:1-8 |
| Fourth Trip: 24:9-18 |

Another way of analyzing this structure would yield a total of six trips. In this case the six trips in Exod 19–24 could be added to another trip in 32-34 to make up the meaningful total of seven trips. As for 19–24, this can be thus illustrated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Trip</th>
<th>Second Trip</th>
<th>Third Trip</th>
<th>Fourth Trip</th>
<th>Fifth Trip</th>
<th>Sixth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the first trip, YHWH offers the covenant, and the people accept; in the second trip Moses takes the people's response to YHWH and is instructed to establish boundaries around the mountain, culminating with the theophanic manifestation of thunder and lightning. In the third trip, Moses is instructed to ascend the mountain with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the priests. Back at the mountain's foot Moses performs the covenant ceremony by sprinkling blood upon the people and the altar. This is a preparation for the last and climactic trip reported in 24:9-18, which includes the covenant meal celebrated by the leaders and a vision of the heavenly sanctuary, as argued below. Additionally, it should be noted that the fourth trip contains several significant characteristics which are aptly summarized by Kim:

(1) Up to now, only Moses had been called up the mountain, but this time he is told to come up with Aaron, and his two sons, who are destined to become high priests, and the elders as representatives of the people. (2) Until now the people had only experienced the phenomena that accompany God's presence such as the thundering, the lightning flashes, the sound of the trumpet and the smoking (20:18, 22), but this time the leaders of Israel see God's presence itself (24:9-11a). (3) Until now Moses had gone up the mountain alone. This time, accompanied by the others, he and Joshua climb up the higher slope than the other leaders of Israel, and then Moses leaves Joshua and continues even higher by himself. (4) Up to now, Moses has spoken to God and heard his voice (19.9), but only here for the first time does he go into the midst of the cloud of glory (24:16-18).1

The special features of this last and climactic trip, being especially relevant for the interpretation of 24:9-11, and also for 25:9, 40, need further elaboration here. It must be noted that sanctuary imagery pervades the report of this fourth trip. For example, it is during this trip that the categorization of sacred space up and around the mountain more clearly resembles that of the tabernacle. Access to the mountain was limited to Moses,

1Kim, 95.
Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel, who could go up a certain distance; however, only Moses could ascend to the place where YHWH was standing. Besides, boundaries were set around the mountain and an altar was built at its foot. It is not difficult to see how strikingly this arrangement resembles that of the subsequent tabernacle.¹

The reference to Aaron and his sons, who would soon become priests provides a further link to the sanctuary. Furthermore, if the text of the book of Exodus is taken in its canonical form, it becomes apparent that it was in this fourth trip that Moses was shown the דִּרְנֵא, model of the sanctuary. Therefore, on contextual and structural grounds it becomes apparent that the visio dei depicted in 24:9-11 must be related to sanctuary imagery. At this juncture, semantic and other exegetical considerations are required in order to further ascertain the plausibility of this suggestion.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Several words and phrases occurring in Exod 24:9-11 require closer inspection, since they may provide a clearer delineation of the heavenly sanctuary motif in this passage. At the outset, it must be noted that Exod 19-24 contains several words belonging to the associative field of the sanctuary motif.² The mentioning of Aaron and his sons, together with references to "priests" (ןָּכְלֶּנֶּי),²³ and sacrifices (מֶלֶקֶת, לְעֵלָה, לְהָרָם),⁴ evokes the

² Exod 24:5.
³ Exod 19:6, 24.
⁴ Exod 24:5.
sanctuary. Also, references to "altar" (הַמְדָּר), ¹ "blood" (מַעֲשֵׂה),² and several occurrences of derivatives of שֵׁרֶפֶת³ further reverberate sanctuary concepts.

**Meaning of רַמְעֵץ**

Although it is reported that Moses and the others "saw the God of Israel," there is no attempt whatsoever to describe his appearance; they can only see what was "under his feet" (רַמְעֵץ). The imagery behind the expression "the place under his feet" may be that of YHWH seated as king on his throne, as suggested by Houtman.⁴ Furthermore, the language used to describe the pavement, which evokes heavenly realities, implies that the representatives of Israel saw "the heavenly palace,"⁵ or something YHWH let down,⁶ possibly in a visionary encounter, as suggested by the verb רָאָי, to be discussed below, used to describe that theophanic experience.

**Meaning of לַעֲבֹת הַבֶּן הָאָסִפִי**

There is some consensus that לַעֲבֹת refers to lapis lazuli, a blue stone often associated with heaven.⁷ More important, however, than the identification and translation

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¹ Exod 24:4.
² Exod 24:6, 8.
³ Exod 19:6, 10, 14, 22, 23.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Cf., e.g., Ezek 1.
of "יָדִים" is to ascertain its connotation and contribution to the present text. A brief survey of
this word in the Hebrew Bible and other ANE literature may contribute to uncover its
connotations, as the ensuing considerations intend to demonstrate.

First, it should be noted that lapis lazuli in Ezek 1:26; 10:1 is related to YHWH's
heavenly throne. In this connection, it is significant to note that Ezek 1:16 and 10:1 are also
set in the context of a theophanic vision like Exod 24:9-11. Another reference to lapis
lazuli occurs in Ezek 28:13 as a stone in the covering of the King of Tyre who is in Eden,
the mountain of God. Interestingly enough, the New Jerusalem is also laid with lapis lazuli.1

Second, similar connotations are found in ANE texts where lapis lazuli is mentioned
in connection with temples. In Egypt and Mesopotamia lapis lazuli was associated with the
blue sky; therefore, it comes as no surprise that in a culture where temples were understood
to be connected to the heavenly realm, lapis lazuli came to be related to temple building
and cultic mobiliary.2 From Ugarit one learns that lapis lazuli was used in the construction
of Baal's palace on Mount Saphon.3 Thus, in the Hebrew Bible and ANE literature lapis

1 See Isa 54:11; Rev 21:19.

2 R. E. Clements, Exodus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 159; Friedhelm
Hartenstein, "Wolkendunkel und Himmelfeste: Zur Genese und Kosmologie der Vorstellung des
himmlischen Heiligtums JHWs," in Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen
Kontexte, ed. Bernd Janowski and Beate Ego (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 140. It is worthy of
note that blue was a prominent color in sanctuaries and temples in early Mesopotamia (Pauline
Albenda, "Mesopotamian Art and Architecture," ABD, 1:420) and blue-glazed bricks were used to
decorate the structure of the throne room in a palace found in Babylon (Jean-Claude Margueron,

3 According to KTU 1.4, v 18, the palace was to be built of silver, gold, and "pure lapis
lazuli" (תִּרְקִינִים) (Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Lorentz, and Joaquin Sanmartin, The Cuneiform
Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places [KTU: second, enlarged edition]
lazuli seems to evoke the heavenly realm, or heavenly temple imagery. This is reinforced by the next expression to be discussed below.

Meaning of לּוֹזִיל

If lapis lazuli connotes temple imagery, the qualification "and like the very heavens for clearness" increases the probability that the imagery behind the passage is that of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Its description however is vague. The narrator just mentions what is under the feet of YHWH. If the humblest spot in YHWH's dwelling, namely, the spot where he lays his feet, is so splendid, it goes without saying that the rest of his abode is indescribably glorious and pure. The preposition ב in לּוֹזִיל is better understood as ב of specification which conveys the meaning of "with respect to purity" in the phrase under study. The noun "purity" is a derivative of מָשָׁר and conveys the idea of "purity, clearness" or "ceremonial purifying." In the present context it possibly underscores the "brilliancy" of the heavenly pavement under YHWH's feet.

[Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995], 19). The association of מָשָׁר ("pure") with lapis lazuli recalls Exod 24:10-11, where this precious stone is associated with the Hebrew cognate מָשָׁר.

Waltke and O'Connor, 206-07.

HALOT, s.v. מָשָׁר.

Meaning of נָאִים

The verb נָאִים ("see") is a technical term for a specific divine revelation to the prophets. Its use in Exod 24:10 probably conveys the idea that Moses and the other representatives of Israel had a visionary experience of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Nonetheless, since Moses was the only one to have access to the top of the mountain, he most probably had a deeper perception of the heavenly temple/sanctuary, as implied in Exod 25:9, 40.

Meaning of נָאִים

Although the exact meaning and function of this act has been debated, a contextual interpretation suggests it was a covenant meal. The ritual manipulation of blood performed by Moses (Exod 24:3-8) qualified the people for the final encounter with YHWH and the conclusion of the covenant. Since it would be impracticable for the whole people to ascend


2 Although Dozeman argued that "the leaders of Israel have a direct and immediate vision of God enthroned in the heavenly temple" (Dozeman, God on the Mountain, 114), the text suggests that they had only a glimpse of the heavenly sanctuary. The text reports that they saw the pavement, adding no further detail. Besides, they had to stop halfway, since only Moses was allowed to ascend further to the very place where YHWH was standing, the implication being that Moses saw more of the heavenly temple/sanctuary, as implied in Exod 25:9, 40.

the mountain, the nation in the persons of its representatives shares the covenant meal in
the presence of YHWH, the Suzerain King.¹

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

As noted in the discussion above, the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif emerges as a
place of ratification of the covenant, as indicated by the the covenant establishing ceremony
reported by the pericope.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

From the above discussion the impression emerges that the heavenly temple as
glimped by the elders and more fully experienced by Moses was in a dynamic interaction
with its earthly counterpart, as the latter was functionally represented by the mountain. The
delimitation of sacred space around Sinai, and and the comotion of the mountain seems to
conveys the notion that the heavenly temple was in a dynamic interaction with its earthly
counterpart.

Exod 25:9, 40

⁹ According to all that I am showing you, the pattern of the tabernacle and the pattern
of all its furniture, just so you shall construct it.

⁴⁰ See that you make them after the pattern for them, which is shown to you on the
mountain.

¹Keil and Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: The Pentateuch*, 2:158-
59.
Exod 25:9, 40 contains a significant allusion to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif encoded in the word בְּנֵבָיִם. The foundational study on בְּנֵבָיִם, undertaken by Davidson, is summarized in order to provide an overview of the main issues related to the meaning of בְּנֵבָיִם. This is followed by a suggested reading of Exod 25:9, 40 in the light of its narrative context.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of בוּנֵבָיִם

Semantic analysis

The term בוּנֵבָיִם derives from the root בָּנוּ ("build"), and occurs twenty times in the Hebrew Bible. It is categorized by BDB as construction, structure, pattern, figure, and image. HALOT defines it as pattern, model, copy, reproduction, image, representation, something like, and architectural plan. Davidson organized this variety of definitions under three German terms: Urbild, Vorbild, and Nachbildung. That is to say, בוּנֵבָיִם may refer to an original entity (Urbild), a model to be copied (Vorbild), or a copy of another entity (Nachbildung). It can also do double duty and function as a Nachbildung/Vorbild, that is, be patterned after an original (Urbild), in order to serve as a model (Vorbild) to be copied.

1Davidson, Typology in Scripture, 367-88.
2Especially Exod 24:9-18.
3BDB, s.v. בָּנוּ.
4HALOT, s.v. "בְּנֵבָיִם."
5Davidson, Typology in Scripture, 372-73.
6Ibid.
Davidson summarized the several scholarly views on תֵּבָן in Exod 25:9, 40 under six different positions: (1) *Vorbild* of the earthly sanctuary (in the form of a miniature model; (2) a *Vorbild* of the earthly sanctuary in the form of an architect's plan; (3) a *Nachbild* of the heavenly sanctuary which functions as a *Vorbild* of the earthly sanctuary (in the form of a miniature model); (4) a *Nachbild* of the heavenly sanctuary which functions as a *Vorbild* of the earthly sanctuary (in the form of an architect's plan); (5) the heavenly sanctuary itself (the original or *Urbild*) as the *Vorbild* for the earthly sanctuary; (6) a subjective inspiration (with no communication of propositional facts) as the *Vorbild* for the earthly sanctuary.¹

Position (1) has been more recently defended by Hurowitz. He contends that Moses "was shown an exact model of the Tabernacle, which he was to make. If so, he was not shown the divine heavenly dwelling."² His argument contains a *non sequitur*, since the contention that "Moses was shown an exact model of the heavenly sanctuary" does not necessarily preclude Moses' having seen the heavenly sanctuary itself as well.

In reference to תֵּבָן, Hurowitz argued that "since the word תֵּבָן never designates the 'real thing,' but only a representation of it, it cannot be taken to refer to the heavenly abode of God."³ Taking into consideration ANE comparative evidence, he further argues that "even when the object to be manufactured is to be a copy of a previously

¹Davidson, Typology in Scripture, 372-74.
²Hurowitz, 168, italics his.
³Ibid., 169.
existing object, it is not the preexisting object itself which is revealed to the builder, but a model."

Regarding Hurowitz’s view, a few observations are in order:

1. To say that "never designates the 'real thing" is not quite accurate since Ps 144:12 seems to refer to as the original construction or Urbild.

2. Although arguing that does not refer to the "real thing," Hurowitz admits that it refers to a "representation of it." Therefore one must conclude that evokes the Urbild, and only makes sense if the existence of an Urbild is assumed. As Davidson noted, most usages of in the Hebrew Bible refer explicitly to a Nachbild of an original.

Seven times it has the character of a Vorbild, that is, a pattern after which something

1Ibid., 170.
2For example, Hittite texts refer to a dreamer who sees a god in a dream and is commanded to make an exact earthly replica of what he has seen and dedicate it to the deity.

"As to the god Iarri who in the dream was standing on a lion, his form being, however, like that of the Weather-god, and as to (the fact that somebody) said in the dream to His Majesty: 'This is (the god Iarri) of the father of His Majesty'!—the (priestess) Hepa-SUM said (concerning this dream): 'This statue one should make exactly as (seen) and give it to the Great Deity (i.e. the deity of the sanctuary to which the priestess belonged)" (KUB XV 5 II: 39-45, quoted in A. Leo Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series—Volume 46, Part 3 [Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956], 193).

It should be noted that the text quoted above does not make clear that the dreamer merely saw a copy of what he should make. As a matter of fact, it seems that the dream depicts a vision of the god Iarri himself (the Urbild), whose statue was supposed to be made and placed in the sanctuary. At any event, even if the dream only depicted a "model" of what should be made, what matters is that the "model" ultimately was understood to reflect a heavenly original. As Oppenheim stated: "The creativeness of the Near Eastern artist can derive its authenticity from the fact that his opus reflects faithfully its prototype in heaven which was revealed to him either in a dream or through a specific and special divine intervention" (Oppenheim, 193).

should be made,¹ and in at least one occurrence, as reported in 2 Kgs 16:10-11, וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים signifies both Vorbild and Nachbild.² As for the text under study, it should be noted that the narrative context of Exod 25:9, 40 suggests that Moses and the elders had a vision of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose thatignal וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים was somehow related to this visible reality shown to them. That being the case, position (1) becomes unlikely.

Positions (2), (4), and (6) are highly improbable for two main reasons: First, Exod 25:9, 40 makes clear that the וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים was something "shown" to Moses. Were the וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים an architect's plan, it would have been "given" to him to be brought down to the Israelite camp. As regards position (6), it should be observed that it is difficult to understand how a "subjective inspiration" would have been "shown" to Moses. Second, an examination of the usages of this word reveals that by far most of its occurrences refer to tridimensional entities.³

After these considerations, one is left with positions (3) and (5), which will be evaluated below in connection with the contextual reading of Exod 25:9, 40 and the analysis of וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים.

¹"Patterns/Models" of the sanctuary and utensils (Exod 25:9, 9, 40), the Solomonic temple and its furnishings (1 Chr 28:11, 12, 19); golden chariot of the cherubim (1 Chr 28:18; ibid., 371-72).

²According to 2 Kgs 16:10, Ahaz saw an original altar in Damascus and sent back the וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים of the original which then became the Vorbild for a copy to be made by Uriah, the prophet. The following diagram illustrated: Altar in Damascus (Vorbild) → וְיָרְנוּ הַמִּזְקַנִּים (Nachbild/Vorbild) → Altar in Jerusalem (Nachbild).

³Cf. Deut 4:16; 17, 18; Josh 22:28; 2 Kgs 16:10; Pss 106:20; 144:12; Isa 44:13; Ezek 8:3, 10; 10:8.

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Contextual analysis

As convincingly demonstrated by Kim, the context provides a decisive clue for the understanding of תְכוֹנָה.\(^1\) Thus, as already mentioned in the discussion regarding the context structure of Exod 19-24, chaps. 25-31 contain the instructions YHWH gave Moses during his fourth ascent of the mountain. It is reasonable to infer, therefore, that the תְכוֹנָה was shown to Moses on this occasion. The narrative of Exod 24:9-18 suggests that other representatives of Israel did not have more than a glimpse of the heavenly temple, of which only the pavement is mentioned. Only Moses was allowed to ascend to the very place where YHWH was standing, which implies that he was shown many more details not available to the others, and it was during that time that Moses received instructions for the construction of the tabernacle.

As noted by Kim, the fourth ascent of Moses has distinctive features that set it apart from the previous ascent narrative.\(^2\) Aaron is presented in the spotlight, possibly to demonstrate that the present narrative will focus on the sanctuary. It is in this narrative that the representatives of the people had a glimpse of the heavenly sanctuary. Besides, this fourth ascent contains more salient sanctuary overtones than the previous ones. The arrangement of the sacred space in which a limited group of people could go up to a certain point on the mountain, and only Moses could go up to the top, recalls the sanctuary.

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\(^1\) Kim, 78-100.

\(^2\) Ibid., 95.
Furthermore, as Kim observed, the reference to "the glory of YHWH" (כבוד יهوוע)\(^1\) which dwelt (ךֵּפַש) on Sinai recalls the glory that later filled the tabernacle (שְׁם).

**Exod 24:16a**

**Exod 40:34**

The glory of YHWH rested on Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it for six days.

Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of YHWH filled the tabernacle.

These parallels evoking sanctuary/temple imagery were Moses had entered probably intended to show that, by ascending the mountain this fourth time, the sanctuary, or a functional equivalent of the earthly sanctuary. Freedman has argued that Moses was invited to the heavenly sanctuary, "the true tabnît, the sanctuary which served as a model for all replicas."\(^2\) Although Freedman is most probably right in that Moses saw the heavenly sanctuary, the same cannot be said in regard to his view of the הֵרָאוֹן. According to Freedman, הֵרָאוֹן refers exclusively to the heavenly sanctuary itself (i.e., position [5]). This is difficult to sustain when other references about the heavenly temple are taken into consideration. As Davidson observed, "Elsewhere in Scripture, the heavenly sanctuary is described as a vast, majestic temple, accommodating countless angels,"\(^3\) an observation corroborated by texts such as Isa 6:1, Ps 11:4, and Dan 7:9-14.\(^4\) Besides, one should hold

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\(^1\) As Kim pointed out, the "glory of YHWH" appears in Exod 24:16 for the first time (98).


\(^3\) Davidson, *Typology in Scripture*, 385.

\(^4\) See the discussion of Dan 7:9-14 in the fifth chapter of this dissertation.
in mind that since the earthly temple should be built according to the רְפֵן, it is reasonable to suppose that a miniature model would be much closer to the entity that should be built on earth and, therefore, would be more effective from an instructional point of view.

If so, it seems more reasonable to understand the רפּנ as a miniature model of the heavenly sanctuary intended to function as a model for the construction of the earthly sanctuary, as suggested by position (3) described above. This model was presented in the context of Moses' experience on the top of the mountain, which included a vision of the heavenly sanctuary, as implied in Exod 24:9-11. If this is the case, it may be argued that רפּנ bespeaks a structural correspondence between the heavenly original and its earthly counterpart.

**Meaning of רפּנ**

The causative participial forms רְפֵן/רְפּנ from the root רָא ("see") reveal that the רפּנ was not something YHWH "gave" to Moses, but something YHWH "showed" him, implying "that Moses beheld a visible reality." Thus when Moses came down from the mountaintop, he was not carrying the רפּנ, but only the tablets of the law. The רפּנ was

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1 That is, a Nachbild of the heavenly sanctuary which functions as a Vorbild of the earthly sanctuary (in the form of a miniature model).

2 From the root רָא, "see," in the causatives Hiphil (רָא) and Hophal (רָא) "show," and "be shown" respectively.

3 See BDB, s.v. "רָא.

4 Davidson, Typology in Scripture, 376.

5 Davidson has aptly said: "If Moses had been shown merely architect's plans, it would seem likely that these plans would have been made available to take down from the mountain so that the builder would follow them" (ibid., 376).
shown during his stay there, which, according to the narrative context, lasted "forty days and forty nights" (Exod 24:18).

Num 8:4 adds weight to this suggestion by reporting that Moses made everything "according to the vision" (ןֲכֹּךְ נְקֵקָר) YHWH gave him. The nominal form נְקֵקָר, although translated as "pattern" by most English versions,1 is better translated as "appearance" or "vision."2 נְקֵקָר also occurs in Exod 24:17 to report that "the appearance [or vision] (הַנְּכֹּךְ) of the glory of YHWH was like a consuming fire on the mountain top" and in Exod 25:9 to report that YHWH "showed" (נָקַּת) the תֵּבְנֵי to Moses. It may thus be argued that the term נָקַּת in Num 8:4 and Exod 24:17 most probably indicates that the תֵּבְנֵי was "shown" (נָקַּת) to Moses in the context of a visual or vision experience.4 Such an interpretation accords better with the semantic connotations of the participial forms נָקַּת used in 25:9, 40, and with the narrative context of Exod 24:9-18 as well.

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1E.g., NASB, NIV, NJB, NKJ, RSV, NRSV.

2Cf. BDB, s.v. נָקַּת. It is worthy of note that the prepositional phrase נָקַּת נָכְבְּרִי appears in twenty places outside Num 8:4, and almost always refers to "appearance" vision contexts. Cf. Lev 13:43; Num 8:4; 9:15; Judg 13:6; Ezek 1:13, 26; 8:2, 4; 10:1; 40:3; 41:21; 42:11; 43:3; Dan 8:15; 10:6, 18; Joel 2:4. The only exception seems to be Lev 13:43, which refers to the "appearance" of leprosy.

3In vs. 40, a passive form of the root נָכְבֹּר is used to report that the תֵּבְנֵי was "shown" (נָכְבֹּר) to Moses.

4Cf. Davidson, Typology in Scripture, 375-76.
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

The picture of the heavenly sanctuary/temple which emerged the above discussion is that of a model for the construction of the earthly counterpart. This idea is conveyed mainly by the concept of רפנן in Exod 25:9, 40, which reveals that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as the archetype for the earthly temple. In this context רפנן functions as the Vorbild/Nachbild of the sanctuary Moses was to build upon the earth.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

The usage of רפנן in the above discussion as its connection to the larger context of the book of Exodus suggests a structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. Moses was probably shown the heavenly sanctuary and a "model" of what he should build upon the earth. The רפנן thus presupposes an original reality (Urbild) and, at the same time, also suggests a structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.

Exod 32:1-34:34

Exod 32:1-34:34 has significant interconnections with the sanctuary material displayed in other parts of the Torah. Fretheim, for example, has pointed out that the "sacrificial system in Lev 1-9 must be seen as part of God's response to Israel's sin and

1Edward G. Newing regards Exod 32-34 as the "central pivot of the whole of the Hexateuch [sic]" ("Up and Down—In and Out: Moses on Mount Sinai: The Literary Unity of Exodus 32-34," *ABR* 41 [1993]: 18). It should be kept in mind however that other suggestions have also been advanced, like Rolf Rendtorff, e.g., who regards Lev 16 as the center of the Torah. See Rendtorff, "Leviticus 16 als Mitte der Torah," *BibInt* 11 (2003): 252-58.
God's interaction with Moses, narrated in Exodus 32-34. Interestingly enough, this is the first time in the Torah narrative that forgiveness comes into view.²

Preliminary Considerations

For the purpose of this research, it must be noted that the unit of Exod 32-34 presupposes and continues the narrative of Exod 19-24,³ which portrays Moses' trips up and down the mountain. As a matter of fact, Moses' interactions with YHWH, interceding for the people, occur on the top of the mountain, in the context of the vision experience of the heavenly sanctuary. That being the case, this section of the Torah seems to contain a few perceptions on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif which may indicate a functional correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuary/temple.

The following observations further develop this concept: First, Exod 32:30 reports that Moses intended to ascend the mountain with a very specific purpose in mind: To atone for the people's sin, as the passage makes clear:

On the next day Moses said to the people, "You yourselves have committed a great sin; and now I am going up to YHWH; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin."

Because of the "great sin" (טומא) the people had committed, Moses ascended the mountain to make atonement (חרם) for them. It must be noted that one of the

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¹Fretheim, "Because the Whole Earth Is Mine: Theme and Narrative in Exodus," 230.

²Fretheim, Exodus, 305-07; idem, "Because the Whole Earth Is Mine: Theme and Narrative in Exodus," 230.

³R. W. L. Moberly, At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34, JSOTSup 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 44ff.
most basic functions of the earthly sanctuary was to be the place of atonement for the sins of the people, the verb תوبة being a common term to describe this process. In this regard, the suggestion may be advanced that the atonement performed by Moses on the top of the mountain occurs in sanctuary/temple context.\(^1\) Thus, one may note that soon after being shown a structural correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries,\(^2\) Moses was shown a functional correspondence. It is most significant to note that Moses is performing a function soon to be taken over by the priests in the earthly sanctuary. Additionally, that Moses is on the mountain interacting with YHWH and pleading for forgiveness implies that YHWH is acting from his heavenly sanctuary, as already suggested. Therefore, it may be garnered from the above considerations that Moses is shown a functional correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart, soon to be built.

Second, if the narrative context of Exod 32-34 bespeaks heavenly sanctuary imagery, as argued above, then the allusion to YHWH's "book" (סֵפֶךְ) may add weight to this contention. When interceding on behalf of the people, Moses implores YHWH to forgive them. Moses was even willing to have his own name blotted out "from your book (ךְּפֶךְ) which you have written!" (Exod 32:32). To Moses' plea YHWH answers: "Whoever has sinned against me, I will blot him out of my book (קֵרֶאךָ)" (Exod 32:33).

\(^{1}\)It has been observed that Moses' intercession functions as a cohesive motif which binds all three chapters together, as noted in the following segments: 32:9-14, 30-34; 32:12-17, 18-23; 34:5-10a. Cf. Dale R. Davis, "Rebellion, Presence, and Covenant: A Study in Exodus 32-34," \textit{WTJ} 44 (1982): 71-87.

\(^{2}\)See the previous discussion on מִהתְּנִינָא.
This "book" has been identified as the book of life, which contains the names of those who belong to YHWH.¹ It should be noted that in the Hebrew Bible and other ANE literature, "books" can belong to the associative field of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. For example, Dan 7:10 refers to books in a heavenly sanctuary setting.² In Sumerian literature reference is made to the "tablets of destiny" which were stored in the heavenly temple of the deity.³ This does not imply that the biblical motif was borrowed from the ANE literature; they may well go back to a common tradition, or be independent.⁴ At any event, the idea of "books/tablets" related to the heavenly temple both in the Hebrew Scriptures and ANE literature adds weight to the probability that Exod 32-34 contains heavenly sanctuary/temple imagery.

In sum, since Moses' intercession before YHWH is understood as happening in the context of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, one can assert with Rodriguez that YHWH

²See the discussion of this passage in chapter 5 of this dissertation.
³See chapter 2 of this dissertation.
⁴Additionally, it should be noted that the "tablets of destiny" functioned different from the book of life mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures. While the former were supposed to decide the fate of individuals, the latter was understood as a book of records containing the names of those who were faithful to YHWH. Cf. Shalom M. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," JANESCU 5 (1973): 345-53; Rodríguez, "The Heavenly Books of Life and of Human Deeds," 10-26.
proclaimed "from his most holy place\(^1\) his willingness to forgive his people for their iniquity, and rebellion, and sin."\(^2\)

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

**Function**

The narrative section of Exod 32-34 indicates that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a place of atonement where YHWH deals with the sin problem, judging the sinners, accepting intercession, and bestowing forgiveness on the basis of his grace. In short, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a place of atonement.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

Considering that Exod 32-34 depicts the heavenly sanctuary/temple as place of atonement—a function also ascribed to the earthly sanctuary/temple—the conclusion may be advanced that there was functional correspondence between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.

**Deut 26:15**

Look down from your holy habitation, from heaven, and bless your people Israel, and the ground which you have given us, a land flowing with milk and honey, as you swore to our fathers.

\(^{1}\)Notice that it was a "most holy place" because YHWH was there.

\(^{2}\)Rodríguez, "Sanctuary Theology in the Book of Exodus," 141.
Preliminary Observations

Deut 26 belongs to the larger unit of chaps. 26-28 which contains the concluding appeals of Moses' to Israel. Chaps. 26 presents Moses' instructions regarding prayer at the presentations of the first fruits and tithes. This chapter divides itself into three rhetorical units: the presentation of offerings with an appropriate verbal affirmation (vss. 1-11), an oath of innocence (vss. 12-15), and a declaration of covenant commitments (vss. 16-19).¹ The unit of vss. 12-15 deals with the tithe of the third year and an affirmation of obedience to YHWH's commands; vs. 15 then concludes the unit with an address to YHWH in his heavenly habitation.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

The presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is made explicit by the term "heaven" in apposition to "holy habitation." Crucial for this investigation about the function of the heavenly sanctuary and its relationship to earthly counterparts are the semantic and theological contours of the expression מַעֲקֲבֵה ("from your holy habitation"). Since the lexeme מַעֲקֲבֵה has already been discussed in connection to Exod 15:11, the following investigation deals mainly with מַעֲקֲבֵה ("habitation"). The verb מַעֲקָבַה is also discussed, since it expresses the divine activity performed in connection with the heavenly sanctuary/temple.

Meaning of מָשָׁם

The word מָשָׁם as used in Deut 26:15 has the lexical meaning of "dwelling." It occurs sixteen other times in the Hebrew Bible in reference to the dwelling of YHWH (eight times), of humans (three times), and of animals (five times). Worthy of note is the application of מָשָׁם to the temple/sanctuary as YHWH's dwelling. For example, מָשָׁם ("habitation") in 2 Chr 36:15 and מָשָׁם ("habitation of thy house") in Ps 26:8 indicate the earthly sanctuary. Thus it seems apparent that the expression מָשָׁם carries the connotation of sanctuary/temple, which is reinforced by means of the genitival qualifier מָשָׁם.

It is interesting to note that when מָשָׁם occurs in construct relationship with מָשָׁם, it usually refers to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, as indicated by the other four occurrences of this locution in the Hebrew Bible. It seems, therefore, that מָשָׁם is a technical term for the heavenly sanctuary/temple. In Deut 26:15, this is made clear, as

1HALOT, s.v. "משם."

2This number may vary from 12 to 19 depending on one's view of some disputed passages. Cf. H. D. Preuss, "משם maʾān," TDOT, 8:449-52. In this investigation, emendations and conjectures are not taken into consideration.

31 Sam 2:29; 32; 2 Chr 30:27; 36:15; Pss 26:8; 68:6; Jer 25:30; Zech 2:17.

4Pss 71:3; 91:9; Zeph 3:7. The first two passages refer metaphorically to YHWH as the "dwelling" of the righteous.


6Jer 25:30; Zech 2:17 [13]; Ps 68:6 [5]; 2 Chr 30:27. These passages are discussed subsequent chapters of this dissertation.
noted above, by the appositional expression דָּרוּשׁ הָאָרֶץ ("from heaven"), which further qualifies the phrase יִשָּׁרְתָּה יְהוָה ("holy habitation").

**Meaning of דָּרוּשׁ הָאָרֶץ**

Tigay claims that "the word 'heaven' [in Deut 26:15] emphasizes the Deuteronomic idea that his abode *is* heaven, not the temple."¹ Payne also asserts that "the sanctuary was, so to say, the sky above."² This trend to downplay the reality of a heavenly sanctuary/temple and to make heaven itself a sanctuary has been pursued by some scholars who see the so-called Deuteronomistic name-theology, understood to be an abstract conception of the deity, at odds with the alleged anthropomorphic Priestly conception of YHWH's glory dwelling in the tabernacle.³ It is argued that as a response to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, the putative Deuteronomists conceived of YHWH as dwelling in heaven; only his name dwelt in the earthly temple.⁴ The implication of this view is that the

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⁴The fact that YHWH dwells in the heavenly temple/sanctuary does not rule out his presence from the earthly sanctuary/temple. As already observed, some scholars have drawn a wedge between the so-called Deuteronomistic theology of the "name" and the priestly theology of the "glory." The Deuteronomistic theology, so it is argued, stresses YHWH's transcendence by emphasizing that YHWH dwells in heaven, while only his "name" dwells in the earthly sanctuary/temple. The biblical evidence indicates that transcendence and immanence are kept in

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references to YHWH's heavenly dwelling express YHWH's transcendence, with no intention to convey the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

This view seems to be justified, at first glance, by the syntactic structure of the text. Since יָהֳנָם is in apposition to יָהַנָּה, one might argue that the "sanctuary" referred to in the passage is heaven itself. Nonetheless it should be noted that יָהֲנָה, although in syntactic apposition to the expression יָהֳנָם, is not a synonym of the latter. Due to the clear semantic contours of יָהֳנָם, as seen above, it is more appropriate to understand the appositional "heaven" as a specification of יָהֲנָה, informing the reader that the temple/sanctuary referred to in the passage is the heavenly one.\(^1\) Two examples of syntactic apposition in which the appositional elements are not synonyms add weight to this tension in both the so-called P and D materials. As a matter of fact, the putative D materials are also concerned with YHWH's immanence. Texts depicting YHWH's dwelling in heaven also understand YHWH to be able to "look down" (הָרֵאשׁ) and interact with earthly affairs by hearing the prayers and bestowing his blessing (Cf., e.g., Deut 1:17; 4:36). Hence, the theology underlying these passages keeps in tension transcendence and immanence and should not be pressed to incline to one side or the other. In sum, the emphasis on YHWH dwelling in heaven does not preclude his presence in the earthly temple/sanctuary. In fact, if the narrative context of the Pentateuch is taken seriously, it must be admitted that YHWH is present in both earthly and heavenly temples/sanctuaries. Furthermore, both heavenly and earthly sanctuaries function in vertical correspondence, as discerned in other passages of the Hebrew Bible (see, e.g., the discussion of 1 Kgs 8, Isa 6:1-6, and Pss 20 and 76 in chapter 4). As for Deut 26:15, it seems appropriate that in the context of a prayer for blessings for people and land, with its attendant implications of rain and fertility for the crops, the Israelites would direct their petitions to the ultimate source of these blessings—YHWH in his heavenly temple.

contention. In Exod 14:2, the Israelites are told to camp "in front of Pi-ha-hirot . . . in front of Zaphon." These names, of course, are not synonyms; they are, so to say, coordinates that help to locate more precisely the spot where the Israelites should camp.

The same can be said of Exod 30:6, in which the golden altar is to be put "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that is over the testimony." It is obviously clear that the two appositional elements are distinct items of the tabernacle furniture. Summing up, £TD©n should not be identified as £JO; rather £TD©n functions as a coordinate to locate £JO.

**Meaning of £TP**

The verbal form £TP is the imperative piel of £T ("bless"). When YHWH is the subject of this verb, as in Deut 26:15, it means "to endue someone with special power." For the purposes of this study it will suffice to note that this verb governs two objects: "the people" (£TP נֵּחַ) and the land" (£TP נֵּחַ). The verb indicates that £TP is more than a static dwelling place; in fact, it is a place of divine activities, a place wherein YHWH interacts with his people, hears their prayers, and blesses them and their land.

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1These examples are noted by Ian Wilson (*Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy* [Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995], 175-76), although in a different context.

2HALOT, s.v. "£TP."

3For the temple as a source of fertility in ANE temple theology, see chapter 1.
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is clearly portrayed in Deut 26:15. The contextual placement of מָקוֹם הָאָרֶץ, further qualified by the appositional מִמְנָה, makes clear that it is the heavenly sanctuary which is in view in this passage. Furthermore, from the semantical and exegetical survey of the expression מֶרֶץ and its appositional qualifier מְנָה, it follows that מֶרֶץ conveys the notion of a place in heaven, and therefore should not be confused with heaven itself. The appositional מִמְנָה further specifies מָקוֹם as the sanctuary/temple located in heaven, in contradistinction to its counterpart located on earth.

Function

In the discussion undertaken above, it has become apparent that the heavenly sanctuary as portrayed in Deut 26:15 is not a mere place of dwelling, but also a place of divine activities: hearing prayers, and blessing people and land. The fact that the prayer is directed to YHWH in his heavenly temple/sanctuary indicates that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as YHWH's headquarters (i.e., as the command center from which he exerts his rulership). Although YHWH can be and act at any other place, the text implies that there is a specific location in heaven where he undertakes his divine activities. This is reinforced by the ablative sense of the preposition מִן ("from") governing both מָקוֹם и מְנָה.

1The suggestion has been advanced that "the words 'from heaven' seem to be an explanatory appendage intended to prevent misconstruing the expression 'holy habitation' as referring to the sanctuary" (Moshe Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 198). Cf. Duane L. Christensen, Deuteronomy, WBC 6b (Waco, TX: Word Books, 2002), 642.
and Q: "Look down from your heavenly dwelling." The implication is that the "heavenly dwelling" is the place "from" where YHWH interacts with the human situation, by "looking down" and bestowing "blessings." If is allowed to play its full role in the passage, then it must be concluded that functions not only as a place of dwelling, but as place of divine activities, whence YHWH blesses his people and bestows fertility upon the land.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

As noted above, the term ("habitation") is also applied to the earthly temple/sanctuary as YHWH's dwelling, as noted in 2 Chr 36:15 and Ps 26:8. Thus, the implication emerges that the heavenly sanctuary/temple exists in a structural relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Summary

This chapter has discussed several passages containing the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Torah, and reached a number of insights concerning its function and relationship to earthly counterparts. It has become apparent that the heavenly sanctuary/temple as depicted in the Torah functions as the locus of divine activities, such as judgment, ratification of the covenant, worship, atonement, and source of blessings and fertility. The perception also emerged of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as the meeting place of the heavenly council and model for the construction of the earthly sanctuary. As for its relationship with the earthly counterparts, the heavenly sanctuary/temple seems to have been understood in functional and structural correspondence to the earthly
counterpart. Such a relationship has also emerged as a dynamic interaction since the heavenly temple may be portrayed as affecting, or interacting with, its earthly counterpart. These findings are summarized as shown in table 2:
# TABLE 2

**THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE TORAH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vertical Correspondence</td>
<td>Dynamic Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 28:10-22</td>
<td>ša'ar haššámayim</td>
<td>Ratification of covenant</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 15:1-18</td>
<td>qōdes</td>
<td>Heavenly assembly, worship, kingship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 24:9-11</td>
<td>[libnat hassappir, haššámayim]</td>
<td>Kingship, covenant</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 25:9, 40</td>
<td>tabnit</td>
<td>Model for the construction the earthly sanctuary</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 32-34</td>
<td>[implied]</td>
<td>Place of atonement</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 26:15</td>
<td>mē 'on qodšēkā</td>
<td>Prayers, blessings, fertility</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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CHAPTER 4

THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF

IN THE PROPHETS

The present chapter provides an investigation of the following passages of the prophetic corpus containing the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif: 2 Sam 22:1-51; 1 Kgs 8:12-66; 22:19-23; Isa 6:1-8; 14:12-15; Ezek 1:1-28; 10:1-22; 28:11-19; Mic 1:2-3; 3:1-10; Zech 3:1-10. In order to provide a broader data base for this investigation, a more cursory treatment is reserved for shorter passages at the end of this chapter: Isa 18:4; 63:15; Jer 17:12; 25:30; Hos 5:15; Jonah 2:5 [4] and 8 [7]; Hab 2:20; Zech 2:17.

Although these texts are not claimed to be an exhaustive inventory of heavenly sanctuary/temple passages in the Prophets, they do claim to represent a fairly comprehensive overview of the theme under study in this section of the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, it is hoped that even if future research claims that other passages contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, their investigation will not change the basic picture suggested by this study.

2 Sam 22:1-51

בְּחַעַדְּלִי לְאָכַּה אֱלֹהִי וַאֲלָחֵנִי לְאָכַּה אֱלֹהִי וַשּׁוֹמֵעַ מִיָּמִיךְתָּל קָעָלֶנִי בַּעַדְּלִי

7 In my distress I called upon YHWH, Yes, I cried to my God; and from his temple he heard my voice, and my cry for help came into his ears.

187

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The presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in 2 Sam 22:7 has been recognized by several scholars and further investigated and endorsed by Kim in his recent dissertation. Nevertheless, further study remains to be done to ascertain the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its possible relationship to the earthly counterpart. In the ensuing discussion, after some preliminary observations on the text unit and genre of 2 Sam 22:1-51 are provided, a semantic analysis of some key words and expressions in vs. 7 and its immediate context contribute to a delineation of the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Preliminary Observations

2 Sam 22, usually referred to as a "royal song of thanksgiving," is claimed by the text itself to have been composed by David when YHWH delivered him from the hands of his enemies. The song is naturally divided into two parts (vss. 1–30 and vss. 31-50). The first part contains expressions of praises to YHWH and a description of David's mortal perils, followed by a theophany which concludes with an affirmation of YHWH's justice.

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1Kim, 102-12.


3As a matter of consistency with the canonical/narrative approach adopted in this study, the superscription of the song which ascribes it to David is taken at face value. Regardless of one's opinion regarding the authorship, it seems clear that the song as it stands in the Hebrew Scriptures was intended to be understood in the context of David's personal experience of deliverance by YHWH.

4Alberto R. W. Green, The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East, BBS 8 (Winnona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 269.
The second part praises YHWH for granting victory over the enemies and dominion over foreign peoples, and concludes with an expression of thanksgiving.

Although some scholars view this composition as an amalgam of two different poems, there are compelling reasons to take this song as a unity, as demonstrated by several scholars. Among these, one should mention Kuntz, who, by means of rhetorical analysis of the parallel text in Ps 18, demonstrated that the song should be regarded as a unified composition.

The date of the song has also been a matter of discussion. Although there are scholars who date the text to the postexilic period, the broader consensus is that it displays several archaic features which might reach back to a time as early as the tenth century B.C. This consensus being accepted, there is nothing in the composition that

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3 Kuntz, 3-31.


precludes its ascription to David himself. After all, its placement alongside the last words of David seems to indicate that its association with David goes back to an old tradition.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of הֵיכַל

The word הֵיכַל, usually translated as "temple/palace," comes from Sumerian E-
gal, "great house," via Akkadian, ēkallû, hence "palace"1 or "temple."2 In the Hebrew Bible, הֵיכַל may connote a royal palace or residence;3 and also a cultic center of worship (i.e., a temple for the deity).4 Thus, on the basis of the definition of temple/sanctuary already spelled out,5 one can safely affirm that הֵיכַל has the connotation of "temple/sanctuary" since it clearly refers to YHWH's dwelling and contains cultic allusions and temple imagery, as pointed out later in this discussion.

As for the location of the הֵיכַל, it should be noted that despite some scholars affirming that the הֵיכַל referred to in this passage is the earthly temple,6 the following reasons may be adduced in favor of its referring to the heavenly temple of YHWH. First,

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1 Palace of deity, with deity regarded as royalty.

2 HALOT, s.v. "הֵיכַל.


4 E.g., 1 Sam 1:9; 2 Kgs 18:16; 23:4; 2 Chr 3:17; Ezra 3:6; Neh 6:11; Pss 5:8; 11:4.

5 See chapter 1.

from a narrative perspective one should not ignore that the song is composed by David; and that by itself would exclude the Jerusalem temple as the referent of the דְּרוֹסֶל. Second, the subsequent actions of YHWH, undertaken in response to David's cry for help, are issued from the heavenly realm, as clearly expressed by several words and expressions. Two subsequent prepositional phrases in the paradigmatic field of רוֹסֶל will suffice to indicate a heavenly location for the דְּרוֹסֶל. In 22:14a, the text says: יָהָשׁ הַמַּעֲשֵׂה איִוּדֶה ("YHWH thundered from heaven"); and in 22:17a, it is found that רַנְבַּל מְפֶסֶדֶי בּוֹדֶה ("he sent from on high, he took me"). These two expressions parallel 22:7b which reads: דְּרוֹסֶל מַעֲשֵׂה מָעָסֶל כְּלָי ("and from his temple he [YHWH] heard my voice"). Since the actions of YHWH, as described in the song, issued "from heaven"/"from on high," it is reasonable to understand that דְּרוֹסֶל refers to the heavenly temple.

Third, the rhetorical-spatial imagery adds further weight to heaven as the location of the temple. For example, the psalmist describes his distress as a "Sheol" experience in the sense of exposure to despair and death. From a rhetorical-spatial perspective Sheol is understood as the lowest place to which someone could descend. Therefore it is natural to suppose that help would come from the highest realm one could imagine—heaven itself. Furthermore, vss. 11 and 12 expressed in verbs such as "bowed," "came down," "rode," "flew" more naturally point to the heavenly realm as the location of the דְּרוֹסֶל.

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1The same concept also appears in Jonah 2:5 [4], 8 [7], as noted later in this chapter.

2Kim, 110.
Meaning of דְּם נִמְרְוֹן

The reference to דְּם נִמְרְוֹן ("coals"/"coals of fire") in 22:13, which is part of the larger picture of the manifestation of YHWH in response to David’s prayer, not only stresses the splendor of the theophany, but also contains a subtle allusion to temple/sanctuary imagery. The expression "coals of fire" occurs only in three other places in the Hebrew Bible (apart from Ps 18), and always in contexts where activities of judgment from the sanctuary/temple are in view.\(^1\) In Lev 16:12, it is used in connection with the day of atonement in the earthly sanctuary; and in Ezek 1:13 and Ezek 10:2 in a context of judgment from the temple. Such references to fire in connection with sanctuary/temple imagery reinforce the probability that the reference to "coals of fire" in 2 Sam 22:13 also connotes temple imagery.

Meaning of ישן/ועז

The imagery of "darkness," frequently associated with the day of YHWH, also had its counterpart in the temple, as seen in 1 Kgs 8:12:

Then Solomon said, "YHWH has said that he would dwell in the thick cloud."

Therefore, in addition to the other terms and expressions, the motif of "darkness" also contributes to reinforce the temple imagery reflected in the passage.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)See Lev 16:12; Ezek 1:13; 10:2.

Meaning of "cherub"

The reference to "cherub" (Cherubim) in 2 Sam 22:11 further reinforces the sanctuary/temple imagery present in the text. If the plural reading of the LXX is accepted, as suggested by Cross and Freedman, temple connotations become even more obvious, in view of the even more obvious allusion to the two overlaid images of cherubim that covered the ark in the most holy place of the tabernacle (and later Solomon's temple).

Additionally, one may argue that this reference to cherubim points more specifically to most-holy-place imagery, a connection reinforced by the cherubim related to God's throne, as one can deduce from Ezek 1:5-28 and 28:14, passages also pervaded by other aspects of temple imagery.

Meaning of "Tent"

This word should probably be read "Tent" or "Tent", according to Ps 18:12. That being the case, this reference to "his tent" would be a further allusion to the sanctuary motif. This lexeme, together with "Tent", is frequently used in the Psalms as a metaphor for the "protective throne-room" of YHWH.

3See the study of these passages later in this chapter.
4See the critical apparatus of BHS on 2 Sam 22:12.
5"Schützenden Thronraum" (Hartenstein, 130).
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

As seen above, the term רֵאֵי עַלְמָנוּ refers to the heavenly temple, rather than to the earthly counterpart. Furthermore, the text displays several references and allusions to the temple motif. The mentioning of "coals of fire," "cherub," and "darkness" indicates that temple imagery permeates the song. It should also be noted that temple imagery and theophanic representation are interconnected in the text. After all, it is from the heavenly temple that YHWH "came down" to intervene in favor of the petitioner.¹

Function

Several scholars avoid translating רֵאֵי עַלְמָנוּ as "temple," preferring instead to translate it as "palace" or some other term connoting "dwelling."² It seems that behind these translations lies the unstated assumption that רֵאֵי עַלְמָנוּ in this passage is nothing more than a place of dwelling for the deity, by analogy with the palace of earthly kings.³ A closer inspection of the passage, however, yields further insights. First, as noted above, temple

¹"In diesem Abschnitt finden sich neben der Gewittermetaphorik auch Elemente der Tempelsymbolik" (Hartenstein, 130).


³Cf., e.g., Briggs and Briggs who argue that although רֵאֵי עַלְמָנוּ is "sometimes conceived as a heavenly temple, where He is worshipped (sic) . . . by heavenly beings"; in the present context it should be understood "as a palace because royal help is given, rather than response to worship" (Briggs and Briggs, 142).
imagery pervades the pericope. This seems to suggest that the יָרָךְ as depicted in this text functions as temple/sanctuary with its attendant implications. It should be noted that the cry of the psalmist to the יָרָךְ implies cultic connotations. As pointed out by Davidson, "prayer, even in the form of a cry for help, is a form of worship." In the same vein, Kim observed that "the place in which human crisis is resolved is the temple." The fact that YHWH heard David "from his [i.e. YHWH's] temple" seems to imply that the temple had a special function, otherwise, the psalmist could have simply said "YHWH had heard me" without any reference to the temple. The connection of YHWH with the temple as the specific place whence he hears/answers prayers and intervenes in favor of David points to the significance of the temple in the context of YHWH's actions.

The heavenly temple, as depicted in this pericope, functions as the place whence "royal help" is granted to the king. Also, on the basis of the subsequent verses, this function is expanded. The other two expressions parallel to יָרָךְ yield complementary perceptions of the heavenly temple. In 22:14 and 15 one learns that YHWH thundered "from heaven (הַרְamily) the Most High uttered his voice. And he sent out arrows, and scattered them, lightning, and routed them." This suggests that the heavenly temple is the place whence YHWH sends judgments to punish the enemies of the petitioner.

In 2 Sam 22:17, again, the concept of help from the sanctuary is implied in the expression המָרְבִּים: "He sent from on high (הָעָלָה), he took me; he drew me out of many


2Kim, 111.
waters." In the sequence of the text it is stated that YHWH "has rewarded me (יִרְבֶּא) according to my righteousness (יִרְבֶּא), according to the cleanness (כֹּל) of my hands he has recompensed (יִרְבֶּא) me" (22:21), and "therefore YHWH has recompensed (יִרְבֶּא) me according to my righteousness (יִרְבֶּא), according to my cleanness (כֹּל) before his eyes" (2 Sam 22:25). It should be noted that these actions of YHWH in favor of his servant are placed in the context of his intervention "from on high" (פָּיֵא), which in the light of 22:7 should be understood as "from the [heavenly] temple." The heavenly temple thus emerges in 2 Sam 22 as the place whence YHWH vindicates the psalmist. This judicial aspect can be further deduced from the lexemes נָפָל and נָפָל ("righteousness") and נָפָל ("recompense"). which in connection with statements connote divine judgment. Also the word נָפָל in David's claim to "cleanness (כֹּל) of hands " connotes cultic imagery, thus contributing to reinforce the temple connotations of the text.

Summing up, the heavenly sanctuary/temple as portrayed in this composition emerges with the following functions: the place whence YHWH answers prayer, thus

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1Cf. Jonah 2:4 [3].


3Cf., e.g. Joel 4:4, 7 [3:4, 7]; Obad 15; Jer 51:6, 56; Isa 59:18b; Ps 7:5 [4]; Prov 3:30.


5However odd David's "cleanness of hands " may be, such claim should be understood in the light of Ps 51. If this prayer song was uttered by David towards the end of his life, as the canonical placement of the text seems to suggest, then it may be argued that David could claim what he claimed, not on the basis of self-justification, but rather on the premise that YHWH had forgiven and purified him.

6Wilfried Paschen, Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1970).
granting "royal help" to the king; the place whence YHWH issues judgments to punish the enemies of the petitioner; and the place where YHWH vindicates the righteousness and cleanness of his servant. Thus the heavenly sanctuary/temple is not a mere place of dwelling, but a place where divine activities of answering prayers, judgment of the wicked, and vindication of the righteous take place.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

Although the primary referent of the passage is the heavenly sanctuary/temple, several elements seem to point to a vertical correspondence. Davidson has noted an earth-heaven correspondence in the allusion to the cherub-chariot.1 Thus, the reference to "darkness under his feet" and the term רוח, as noted above, suggest a structural correspondence with the earthly sanctuary/temple as portrayed in the Hebrew Scriptures. The functions of the heavenly temple as discerned in the text also had their parallels in the earthly temple, thus indicating a functional correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. At this point, Stuhlmueller's statement is an apt conclusion for these considerations: "Not only did the Jerusalem sanctuary reflect God's heavenly abode, but its magnificent liturgy also mirrored God's celestial wonder."2

1 Kgs 8:12-66


2Carroll Stuhlmueller, Psalms 1 (Psalms 1-72), OTMBTC 21 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 129.
Hear the supplication of your servant and of your people Israel when they pray toward this place. Hear from heaven, your dwelling place, and when you hear, forgive.

It has been argued that there is no evidence of heavenly sanctuary/temple in this text. According to him "although 'heaven' and 'heavenly dwelling place' are expressed in connection with the Jerusalem temple, they are not used to deliver a notion of the temple itself. Rather, they are used to represent the transcendence of Yahweh."¹ He further concludes his study by saying that "the phrase, 'heaven' and 'heaven God's dwelling place' is irrelevant to my [i.e., his] concerns about the heavenly sanctuary. It is used in this narrative as a technical term to designate God's transcendence."² Regarding the earthly temple he also expressed the view that "the earthly temple in 1 Kings 8 is neither the locus of offering sacrifices nor a place of divine manifestation. It is not a place of Yahweh's hearing prayer, but a place of prayer."³ However, despite Kim's affirmation to the contrary, it is argued below that 1 Kgs 8 does contain allusions to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif,⁴ as well as indications of a relationship between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

¹Kim, 119.
²Ibid., 122.
³Ibid., 119.
The ensuing investigation dwells on the assumption that 1 Kgs 8 is a unified composition. Therefore, the narrative framework is also taken into consideration in the course of this study. The cogent arguments in favor of the literary unity of this chapter, as argued below, make this approach methodologically justified. Some preliminary observations on the unity and structure of the pericope are provided below, followed by an excursus about two theological aspects related to the passage. This theological discussion tackles the issues of transcendence versus immanence and prayer versus sacrifice, which are relevant for this study. Thereafter semantic and exegetical considerations pave the way for further ascertaining the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the passage as well as its function and relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Preliminary Observations

Although from the perspective of critical scholarship, 1 Kgs 8 displays a complex process of composition and revision through the hands of several authors/editors,¹ there is

substantial evidence for the literary unity of this text as shown by some scholars.¹ In an insightful article, Knoppers has convincingly demonstrated that a deliberate authorial strategy lies behind the composition of the text.² This strategy consists mainly of a symmetric organization of seven literary frames having Solomon's fourth petition in the center, as displayed below.³

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²Knoppers, 229-54.

³This outline follows Knoppers, although with some slight modifications in the layout in order to make some details more explicit.
1. Assembly (8:1-3) "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel... at the feast, in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month."

2. Sacrifice (8:5) "And King Solomon and all the congregation of Israel... before the ark, sacrificing so many sheep and oxen."

3. Blessing (8:14-21) "Then the king faced about and blessed all the assembly of Israel."

4. Solomon's Stance (8:22) "Then Solomon stood before the altar of YHWH."

5. Invocation (8:27-30) "Yet have regard to the prayer of your servant and to his supplication... that your eyes may be open toward this house."

6. Three Petitions (8:31-36)

7. Generalizing Petition (8:37-40)

8. Three Petitions (8:41-51)

9. Invocation (8:52-53) "That your eyes may be open to the supplication of your servant and to the supplication of your people."

10. Solomon's Stance (8:54) "When Solomon had finished... he arose from before the altar of YHWH."

11. Blessing (8:55-61) "And he stood and blessed all the assembly of Israel."

12. Sacrifice (8:62-64) "Now the king and all Israel with him offered sacrifice before YHWH."

13. Dismissal (8:66) "On the eighth day he sent the people away."

As shown above, verbal and conceptual correspondences between both halves of the text bespeaks its literary unity. Two additional observations regarding this structure are in order. First, the passages marked with (A), (B), and (C) inside blocks are material which, albeit contributing to the development of the text, do not have a counterpart in the other half of the text. Second, it might be argued that frames (6), (7), and (6') are rather
artificially distributed, since it is difficult to find a clear correspondence between (6) and (6′) apart from the obvious reason that they are petitions. What remains clear, however, is that the fourth petition stands out by virtue of its generalizing features, which may justify its being placed at the center of the structure. However, even if one does not accept this distribution, it remains clear that the seven petitions remain at the center, thus keeping the unity of the composition intact.¹

Excursus: The Function of the Earthly Temple and the “Name” Theology

Before proceeding to probe the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in 1 Kgs 8, it is necessary to discuss two aspects that may have implications for this study. The first relates to the function of the earthly temple and the contention that the text depicts a situation in which sacrifice was replaced by prayer.² The second aspect relates to the view that YHWH’s “name” dwelling in the temple underscores transcendence, which therefore tends to deemphasize the reality of YHWH’s dwelling in the earthly temple.³ A by-product of this view is that the text does not contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, since the references to heaven and heavenly dwelling are intended to connote YHWH’s

¹That the seven petitions stand at the structural center of the composition is also acknowledged by other scholars. Cf. Richard D. Nelson, First and Second Kings, 50; Walsh, 108-09.


³Cf., for example, Seow who asserts that “this is anti-temple theology, as it were: God is enthroned, not in the earthly temple, but in heaven. Yet, the biblical writer confesses that not even the heaven and the highest heaven can contain the deity. . . . Locality in not at issue in all this talk of God’s realm. God’s transcendence and sovereignty are” (Seow, 3:75).
transcendence. These issues need to be further assessed since they affect the way one understands the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the pericope and the relationship between heavenly and earthly counterparts.

There are two major implications which should be stated at this point: First, if the Jerusalem temple is only a place of prayer, then this represents a major departure from, not to say contradiction to, the so-called Priestly theology of the function of the temple/sanctuary. In this case it seems that even the possibility of a relationship between earthly and heavenly sanctuary/temple evaporates, since there is neither priestly ministry nor expiatory work being performed in the earthly temple. Second, if the references to "heaven" and heavenly "dwelling place" are merely intended to denote YHWH's transcendence, then there is no heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in this pericope.

Prayer versus Sacrifice

Based on the assumption that the text, or parts thereof, evinces an exilic situation, some scholars have tended to see the emphasis on prayer in Solomon's dedication speech as a devaluation of "cultic sacrifice." Since the text would reflect a time in which the temple had been razed to the ground, so the argument goes, it portrays a worship situation in which sacrifice was replaced by prayer. Thus according to Noth, "the temple is little more than a place towards which one turns in prayer." Jon Levenson adds his voice to the

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2Ibid. Cf. also Roger Tomes, "'Our Holy and Beautiful House': When and Why Was 1 Kings 6-8 Written?" *JSOT* 70 (1996): 36.
debate by arguing that although classically the temple had been the locus of "legitimate sacrifice" and of "divine revelation,"¹ Solomon's third address presents the temple as "principally a place of prayer."² This, he suggests, is due to an implicit "polemic against the idea that God is literally, even physically present therein, as he was in Isaiah 6."³

Further discussion of this understanding of God's presence in, or rather absence from, the temple is undertaken below in the treatment of transcendence versus immanence. For the moment, this apparent dichotomy between prayer and sacrifice needs to be assessed in the light of the larger context, that is, 1 Kgs 8 as a whole.

Admittedly, Solomon's dedication speech contains a strong emphasis on prayer and conceives of the temple as a conduit of prayer. Nonetheless, to see this emphasis on prayer as a devaluation of the temple as a place of sacrifice, or as a polemic against an older theological view, which conceived of YHWH as dwelling in the temple according to other texts of the Hebrew Bible, is misleading. If one takes into account the narrative frames of the prayer, which are intrinsically connected with the prayer itself, a more nuanced picture emerges.

It should be noted, for example, that Solomon and the people offered sacrifices at the dedication of the temple.⁴ A closer inspection of the literary structure displayed above reveals that these sacrifices occurred at corresponding places in the literary structure, that

¹Levenson, "From Temple to Synagogue," 158.
²Ibid.
³Ibid., 159.
⁴1 Kgs 8:5 (מענה, המלך נבך); 8:62 (מענה, המלך נבך); 8:63 (מענה, המלך נבך); 8:64 (מענה, המלך נבך).
is, (B) and (B'). Additionally, references to the "altar" in (4) and (4') further reveals that the concept of sacrifice should not be excluded from the theological horizon of the text.

Furthermore, other Hebrew Bible passages, and also ANE texts, make a connection between prayer and sacrifice. For example: Isa 56:7 and 2 Chr 7:12 clearly connect prayer with sacrifices. Besides, Miller and McKenzie have perceived this connection in an Ugaritic text in which a prayer to the god Baal is framed by a ritual text. Although it is improbable that 1 Kgs 8 would have any connection with the Ugaritic text, the argument may be advanced that in the ANE religious milieu, prayer and sacrifice could stand side by side.

Summing up, Solomon's ceremony of dedication of the temple, although placing a strong emphasis on the temple as a place of prayer, does not preclude the temple from functioning as a place of sacrifice. As Knoppers aptly argued, "Prayer in an ancient context [should not] be disassociated from sacrifice." Although specific references to

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1 Kgs 8:22 and 54 respectively.

2 Halpem has remarked that in 1 Kgs 8:62-64, "Solomon demonstrates how to make petitions effective by a sacrifice" (Baruch Halpem, The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History [San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988], 179, n. 48).


5 KTU 1:119.

6 Knoppers, 231.
sacrifice are absent from the prayer itself, one may reasonably suggest that there is nothing in the prayer that excluded the cultic sacrifices which were performed in the temple. On the contrary, on the basis of the literary frame of the prayer, one gets the impression that the sacrifices were an integral part of the temple ritual and are simply assumed by Solomon in his prayer.

**Transcendence versus Immanence**

As noted in the discussion of Deut 26:15, undertaken in chapter 3 of this dissertation, most critical scholars would agree with the view that the so-called "name theology" was coined by the putative Deuteronomists to express the theologoumenon that God dwells in heaven, while only his name dwells in the temple. It is argued that this elaboration came into being as a corrective to the immanent theologies of the "glory" (kabod theology) championed by the priestly circles, and the concept of God dwelling in the temple current in the Zion tradition (sabaoth theology).¹ According to Mettinger, this reaction was made necessary by the tragic reality of the exile and the consequent destruction of the temple.² A reelaborated theology which asserted that only God's name dwelt in the temple (God himself dwelt in heaven) was more palatable to those who reflected on the temple theology in the light of the events of 586 B.C. Other scholars would place the origins of the name-theology already in preexilic times simply as a


²Ibid., 116-34.
correction of more "crude" views of God dwelling in the temple. At any event, the large consensus is that the concept of God's "name" abiding in the temple came to be used as a pointer to God's transcendence.

This understanding of the name-theology has not remained unchallenged. Roland de Vaux, followed by H. Seebass and Ernst Würrthwein, contended that the "name" formula has its background in ANE literature where the idiom to "place a name on/to make the name dwell in" connotes possession. Therefore, in the so-called Deuteronomistic History the "name" formula did not intend to convey transcendence, since this was never in question; rather, the "name" functioned to provided assurance of God's efficacious presence in the temple where he was present by virtue of his name. De Vaux further


3Ernst Würrthwein, Das Erste Buch der Könige: Kapitel 1-16, Das Alte Testament Deutsch 11/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), 102-03.

remarked that "according to the Semitic and biblical mentality, the name is an extension of the personality."¹

In a detailed study, S. Wheeler found "no indication in I Kings 8 that the 'name' is a deliberate substitution for YHWH or is designed to undermine a too crude theology of presence in the temple. It seems to be used rather as a way of enhancing the meaning of the temple's significance."² Along the same line, F. Kumaki examined the name-theology and found no evidence that it was formulated as a polemic against pre-Deuteronomic ideas about God's presence in the sanctuary/temple; rather the "name" functions as a theological argument that "the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem is the legitimate sanctuary for all Israel."³

A recent study by Sandra Richter has further investigated the meaning of the so-called name-theology. She contends that previous studies of the "'name' language in the D[euteronomic] H[istory] have been crippled by the inability to recognize and respect idiomatic boundaries, largely because of what James Barr has named 'illegitimate totality transfer.'"⁴ According to her, the "name" motif in 1 Kgs 8 conveys mostly the notion of

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²Samuel Billings Wheeler, "Prayer and Temple in the Dedication Speech of Solomon, I Kings 8:14-61" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977), 316. The only exception according to him is vs. 27, "which is probably later [sic]" (ibid.).


⁴Sandra L. Richter, The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology: יָשִׁיקִן יַשְׁמוֹ יָשָּׁם in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, BZAW 318 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002), 78.
"honor," "reputation," "fame," "commemoration," and "ownership." After probing several occurrences of the "name" imagery in 1 Kgs 8, Richter concluded that Solomon's oration announces that the temple is both the symbol and the embodiment of the place promised to Israel, which is marked by YHWH's name. This dedicatory prayer makes clear that the bayit built by Solomon is the ultimate symbol of YHWH's past and present relationship with his people—a symbol which serves to memorialize and perpetuate YHWH acts of redemption in the midst of Israel and the nations.

She further declared that "the majority of name idioms used in this text have nothing to do with divine presence." Richter's contention that the "name" imagery should not be understood in the traditional lines of the name-theology," in which YHWH is relocated to heaven, or "dethroned" from his earthly temple is supported by the larger context of the passage. 1 Kgs 8:10-11, for example, asserts that "the cloud (אַלֵי) filled the house of YHWH" and the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud (אַלֵי), for the glory of YHWH (כְּבָּרָה יְהוָה) filled the house of YHWH." The "cloud" (אַלֵי) and "the-glory-of-YHWH"

"Illegitimate totality transfer" is "an error that arises, when the meaning of a word (understood as the total series of relations in which it is used in the literature) is read into a particular case as its sense and implication there" (James Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language [Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1961], 218). Or, to put it differently, "illegitimate totality transfer" is a "somewhat awkward phrase intended to express the simple fact that any one instance of a word will not bear all the meanings possible for that word" (Moisés Silva, Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics, Rev. and expanded ed. [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994], 25).

1Richter, 79.
2Ibid., 84.
3Ibid., 90.
4Ibid.
5Mettinger, The Dethronement of Sabaoth, 134.
motifs recall the inauguration of the tabernacle as it was filled by the "cloud" and the "glory of YHWH" (Exod 40:34-35). This verbal and conceptual connection with Exod 40 implies that the same understanding of YHWH's presence in the sanctuary/temple underlies both passages. Another important reference in this connection is 1 Kgs 8:13, which contains Solomon's assertion that "I have surely built you a lofty house (כִּבָּרָה), a place for your dwelling (כִּבָּרָה לְשֵׁבָתָךְ) forever." This latter passage seems to suggest that YHWH is present in the temple along the lines of the "older theological conceptions of Israel," and not only through the "name" as understood by the proponents of the name-theology.

This discussion by no means should be understood as a denial that the text evokes God's transcendence. God's transcendence is clearly reflected in 1 Kgs 8:27: "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain you, how much less this house which I have built!" One must bear in mind, however, that God's transcendence as expressed in the above passage implies that neither the Jerusalem temple nor heaven itself can contain YHWH. It thus seems that when "transcendence" is the issue, both the earthly and heavenly temples are on the same level. Nonetheless, the fact remains that YHWH dwells in his heavenly abode as well as in his earthly temple. Therefore, to say that the references to YHWH's dwelling place in heaven are intended to connote transcendence to the exclusion of his dwelling in the earthly temple; and/or that the allusions to heaven/heavenly dwelling place intend only to denote transcendence, cannot be sustained by a close examination of the text. As F. Downing aptly put it,
It must be noted that there appears in the theology of the Solomonic temple an element of tension between the transcendence and immanence of Yahweh. Yahweh was transcendent in the sense that the temple was his "house." The symbolism of the temple tended to indicate his cosmic domain and his immanence. An overemphasis of either would have been a distortion.1

Summing up, from what has been discussed thus far, it has become evident that 1 Kgs 8 does not display a view of the temple and God's presence in it in contradiction to earlier traditions of Israel, which allegedly favored a more concrete mode of divine presence. Although the text conceives of the temple as a place of prayer, it does not preclude other cultic activities, as noted above. The special occasion of Solomon's speech certainly called for a selection of topics to be addressed. Also, the concept of the "name" does not imply that because YHWH dwelt in heaven, only his name dwelt in the temple. The tension is kept. True, neither heaven nor earth can contain YHWH. Nonetheless he is present in the heavenly temple as well as in the earthly counterpart. Furthermore, his presence in the temple is reminiscent of his presence in the tabernacle, thus making the temple a natural successor to the desert tabernacle.

In the discussion that follows, close attention is given to some specific words related to the topic under study.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Despite the claim that the temple depicted in 1 Kgs 8 is no more than a house of prayer, an examination of the terminology used to define this temple in the broad context of the prayer seems to demonstrate otherwise. Besides, some of these terms are used of

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both earthly and heavenly realms, which probably indicates some kind of connection between earthly and heavenly temples, apart from the obvious allusion to this relationship expressed in the prayer, as noted in the ensuing discussion.

Meaning of דביר

The locution דביר in 1 Kgs 8:6 refers to the inner sanctum, and thus hints at the cultic purposes of the building, which certainly would go beyond that of a mere house of prayer. Although דביר has an uncertain etymology, it clearly refers to the back room of the temple, usually designated as "inner sanctuary," corresponding to the שִׁפְתֵי ("most holy place") of the desert tabernacle. The "inner sanctuary" in the temple was a perfect cube of 20 cubits on a side filled by two enormous cherubim made of olive wood and covered with gold. Their protective outspread wings sheltered the ark of the covenant, which was the specific representation of God's presence.

Meaning of פִּינְחַס שְׁפָתֵי

The expression פִּינְחַס שְׁפָתֵי ("most holy place") in apposition to דביר (vs. 6) establishes a verbal and conceptual link with the tabernacle. By using this term the author

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1 There may be a possible connection with Arabic "dubr back," or "dabr behind" (cf. Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English [New York: Macmillan, 1987], s.v. "דבֵיר II"). Another possibility is raised by an Egyptian text of the 21st dynasty which refers to the dbr as an object of the temple (H. Schult, "Der Debir im Salomonischen Tempel," ZDPV 80 [1964]: 45-54). Along the same line Ouellette suggested that דביר designated originally the wooden screen which separated the rooms of a given structure (Jean Ouellette, "The Solomonic D'bir according to the Hebrew Text of 1 Kings 6," JBL 89 [1970]: 228-43). Ouellet also observed that in Ugaritic dbr may also designate shrine. Cf. ibid., 340, n. 15.

seems to indicate that the "most holy place" of the tabernacle. In other words, the temple built by Solomon is depicted as a continuation of the Mosaic tabernacle. The explicit references to the cherubim, and the ark of the covenant being brought to the temple, add further weight to the contention that the theology of the temple contained in 1 Kgs 8 does not contradict the basic view of that of the tabernacle.

Meaning of בָּט הָרָּעַב

The word בָּט הָרָּעַב in the genitival construction בָּט הָרָּעַב (8:13) has the meaning of "habitation, dwelling." This root is attested in Ugaritic with a locative meaning of "elevated place" or "lofty residence." Additionally, zbl is a common Ugaritic word for "prince," being frequently used of Baal. Therefore, it is reasonable to deduce that the distinctive semantic nuance of בָּט הָרָּעַב is that of "exaltation." Thus it contributes to the expression הָהֵיכָא בָּט הָרָּעַב with the idea of an exalted or princely dwelling. Interestingly enough, the Hebrew Bible never uses בָּט הָרָּעַב in reference to a human habitation. Taking this into account...


3The Hebrew Bible contains five occurrences of בָּט הָרָּעַב. It is used in our text and its parallel in 2 Chr 6:2 as God's earthly dwelling; in Isa 63:15 as God's heavenly dwelling; in Hab 3:11 a reference to the dwelling of the sun and the moon. Ps 49:15 [14] seems to be an exception; however, because of its many textual problems, one cannot be sure what בָּט הָרָּעַב means in this passage.
consideration, the expression b3T JT3 should be translated as "princely house" or "exalted house."\(^1\)

For the purpose of this research, it should be noted that this expression conveys the idea that the temple is the earthly dwelling of YHWH; hence 1 Kgs 8 should not be understood as presenting a distinct and contradictory theology of God’s presence in the temple. If the semantic contours of b3T JT3 (exalted/princely house) are taken at face value, one must conclude that the temple, like the Mosaic tabernacle, was understood to be YHWH’s earthly dwelling. This does not contradict the fact that YHWH is transcedent or that he dwells in heaven. As noted, both immanence and transcendence are kept in tension in 1 Kgs 8. What the text seems to communicate is that YHWH dwelt in the earthly temple and in its heavenly counterpart, and that both earthly and heavenly realms operate in relationship, as noted below.

**Meaning of מִלָּחַם הְיָעשׁו לֵאֶבֶן versus מִלָּחַם לֵאֶבֶן**

As already noted, a slight semantic distinction between מִלָּחַם יִשְׁבַּן ("a place of your dwelling/enthronement") and מִלָּחַם לֵאֶבֶן ("the place of your dwelling/enthronement") should be pointed out. The text refers to the earthly temple as מִלָּחַם יִשְׁבַּן ("a place for your enthronement"), a periphrastic construction in which the preposition ב breaks the construct chain, making it indefinite. The earthly temple is "a place for your enthronement" (that is, one place among others). On the other side, in reference to the heavenly temple, the text uses the expression מִלָּחַם לֵאֶבֶן, a construct

\(^1\)Cf. the following translations: "lofty house" (NASB), "magnificent temple" (NIV), "princely dwelling" (NJB), "exalted house" (RSV), and "stately house" (TNK).
chain which is made definite by the pronominal suffix, which seems to connote the sense of "the place of your enthronement," that is, "the" place in heaven where YHWH sits enthroned over the Universe—that is, the heavenly sanctuary/temple.\(^1\) Those expressions convey the notion that YHWH is enthroned in the earthly temple as well as in the heavenly one. On the one hand, the similarities seem to express a connection between the earthly and the heavenly places of enthronement; on the other, the slightly different syntactic constructions establish a subtle distinction between the earthly and the heavenly place of enthronement: the earthly one is a place, while the heavenly one is the place where YHWH is permanently enthroned.

**Meaning of פָּקֻסָה**

The expression פָּקֻסָה is used in 1 Kgs 8:30 in reference to the heavenly sanctuary. It has the same semantic connotation as מָקוֹם פָּקֻסָה, discussed above. As a matter of fact, when in relationship to both פָּקֻסָה and מָקוֹם פָּקֻסָה are stylistic options conveying basically the same meaning.\(^2\) It should be noted that פָּקֻסָה also refers to the earthly temple; in 8:21, it refers to the place of the ark in the expression נִסָּת לְאָדָם פָּקֻסָה ("a place for the ark"); and in 8:29, פָּקֻסָה refers to the earthly temple.

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\(^1\)Although the semantic distinction between the periphrastic construction with ל and the construct chain may seem irrelevant, it seems that the periphrastic construction is used of the earthly temple, while the construct chain is reserved for the heavenly sanctuary/temple. For instance, the periphrastic construction is used consistently in the parallel text of 2 Chr 6:2 and in Exod 15:17 in reference to the earthly temple.

To summarize, three major perceptions may be gained from the considerations undertaken above. First, the earthly temple was understood as a place of dwelling, and not exclusively as a place of prayer. The lexical items used to refer to this temple imply that it was understood as a place wherein YHWH would manifest himself in a concrete way.

Second, the vocabulary employed in the text suggests that there was a heavenly counterpart to the earthly temple, as implied in pairs of expressions such as "a place (קַדְמָן) of your enthroning" (earthly temple) // "the place (קֵדֶם) of your enthroning" (heavenly temple); "this place ( הַשָּׁמַיִם)" (earthly temple) // "place (שָׁמַיִם) of your enthroning" (heavenly temple). Third, the lexical and semantic similarities between words used in reference to the earthly and heavenly temples indicate a vertical correspondence between the earthly temple and its heavenly counterpart in structural and functional terms.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

From what has been discussed thus far, it is possible to argue that 1 Kgs 8 does contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. Expressions such as קֶדֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל ("your dwelling place") used in parallelism to לְוֵי הָעָד ("this place") and לְכָנָה הָעָד ("this house") seem to convey not only the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple, but also imply a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. As Walsh put it: "When one invokes Yahweh's name in prayer at or toward the temple, Yahweh, in his heavenly abode, will hear and heed."¹ The discussion below focuses on

these issues, taking into consideration the preceding discussion together with additional exegetical and theological observations.

**Function**

A close examination of the structural center of 1 Kgs 8, the seven-petition prayer by Solomon, allows one to discern some of the possible functions of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. It is obvious from the text that YHWH hears prayer from the heavenly temple/sanctuary, as expressed several times by Solomon's plea: "Listen to the supplication of your servant and of your people Israel, when they pray toward this place; hear in heaven your dwelling place; hear and forgive" (8:30). Nonetheless the function of "hearing prayers" expresses only a general function related to YHWH's activity in the heavenly temple/sanctuary. Although Kim has asserted that "it is almost impossible to define 'heaven' in this case as anything other than the place where God hears,"¹ we need to go further and inquire about what YHWH does or, to put it differently, is requested to do in response to prayer. As this inquiry is pursued, several interrelated functions emerge:

A first function perceived is that of forgiveness expressed in the five occurrences of the verb הָנִיחַ ("forgive")² exemplified 1 Kgs 8:30.

Listen to the supplication of your servant and of your people Israel; when they pray toward this place; hear in heaven your dwelling place; hear and forgive.

¹Kim, 121.

²1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 36, 39, 50.
It is instructive that Solomon requested YHWH to "hear and forgive" in the "place of your enthronement" (i.e., the heavenly temple). That the prayer goes up to the "place of your enthronement" makes the locale where YHWH is enthroned important in the context of his activities. If the purpose of the references to heaven were simply to convey God's transcendence, there would be no need to pray towards the earthly temple and beg YHWH to respond from the place of his enthronement, in heaven. However, the repeated petition that YHWH hear from his heavenly dwelling points to the significance of "this place" in the bestowal of forgiveness and the execution of other functions to be noted below.

Another instructive reference to YHWH's activities in the heavenly temple is provided by 1 Kgs 8:32, which is part of the first petition.

Then you will hear in heaven and act and judge your servants, condemning the wicked by bringing his way on his own head and justifying the righteous by giving him according to his righteousness.

A few points are relevant here. The text mentions activities that YHWH supposedly would perform in "heaven." As clarified by the context, this refers to an interpersonal dispute brought to the earthly temple. In this situation, the ultimate judgment belonged to YHWH who in heaven (i.e., the heavenly/temple) would judge (השנ) in order to condemn (כתר) the wicked, and to declare innocent (נודע) the righteous one. From this passage emerges the perception that the heavenly temple/sanctuary functions as a place of

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1Cf. Deut 25:1.
judgment, a notion reinforced by the verb תבש and the causative forms of רצונ. which seem to convey a forensic notion related to the courtroom. The same idea is suggested by 8:39 which reads as follows:

וַתִּשְׁמַע אֶל-הוֹצֵא לָכֶם אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶל הַמַּחֲתָה בַּעֲבוֹדָתֵיכֶם לְאֵל שִׁלֹחֵנוּ

Then you will hear in heaven your dwelling place, and forgive and act and render to each according to all his ways, whose heart you know, for you alone know the hearts of all the children of men.

The concept of retributive justice seems to be implicitly included in the expression "render to each according to all his ways." Also in the situations of war against enemies (8:45) or exile (8:49), the prayer requested that YHWH in his heavenly temple/sanctuary vindicate his people's cause (זֶרֶם מֶשֶׁם).

Finally, as already noted above, the term referring to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in our text, מֵמֶלֶךְ שֵׁבֶת, contains the semantic component of "being enthroned."

That being true, one can also assert that the heavenly sanctuary/temple has royal functions, thus connoting the idea of a place, wherein YHWH sits enthroned as heavenly king. In short, the heavenly sanctuary/temple emerges in 1 Kgs 8 as a place where YHWH hears the prayers of his people and performs activities of "forgiveness," "judgment," and other royal functions.

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1Cf. HALOT, s.v. "יבש.

2Cf. HALOT, s.v. "רצון.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

A close examination of 1 Kgs 8 and its immediate context yields two lines of evidence as regards the relationship between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. A first line of evidence comes from 1 Kgs 8 itself. That the prayers were to be directed to the earthly temple, and YHWH would answer in his heavenly temple/sanctuary, seems to indicate that heavenly and earthly temples were understood to work dynamic interaction. 1 Kgs 8: 30 provides a fitting example:

Listen to the supplication of your servant and of Your people Israel, when they pray toward this place; hear in your dwelling place, in heaven; hear and forgive.

As the prayer is directed to "this place" (הֵרָעָב הַזָּה), YHWH would answer from "your dwelling place" (כֹּלְכֶם שְׁבַתָּה). The verbal parallelism suggests that "your dwelling place" functions as the heavenly counterpart to "this place." This idea recurs several times across the text in the repeated injunction that the prayers should be directed towards the earthly temple followed by the refrain וְאַחַר הָשָּׁמֵם ("then you will hear in heaven"),¹ or its longer form וְאַחַר הָשָּׁמֵם יְשָׁמֵם מֵאָרֶץ שְׁבַתָּה ("then you will hear in heaven your dwelling place").² This seems to further corroborate the existence of a dynamic interaction between heavenly and earthly temples.

A second line of evidence can be perceived in the symbolism contained in the earthly temple itself. Although it is not the purpose of this research to engage in a

¹ 1 Kgs 8:32, 34, 36, 45.
² 1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49.
discussion of the symbolic meaning of the temple furniture, decoration, and architectural layout, a few remarks are in order. It is argued that the symbolism behind the temple furniture, decoration, and layout may reveal that the earthly temple was understood to be in structural correspondence to the heavenly counterpart.¹

Thus, at the outset one should note that the temple, being built upon a mountain, replicates God's heavenly abode which, according to Isa 14:13 and Ezek 28:14,² is also located upon a mountain. Other elements that point to a structural correspondence are the exuberant presence of floral motifs such as palm trees and open flowers used to decorate the interior and doors of the temple,³ and lampstands which were probably stylized trees, as Carol Meyers has noted.⁴ The presence of vegetation motifs in the temple possibly was intended to represent "the paradise garden where Yahweh dwelt,"⁵ a concept implied in Ezek 28:13, where the heavenly sanctuary/temple is depicted as a garden.⁶ Also, one


²These two passages are discussed later in this chapter.

³Cf. 2 Kgs 7:18, 24, 29, 32, 35.


⁵Clements, God and Temple, 65.

⁶M. Barker asserts that "the temple interior was a garden representing the heavenly garden on the mountain of God, the original Garden of Eden. Ezekiel described it in his oracle against Tyre (Ezek 28); the jeweled trees are those of the temple" (Margaret Barker, The Gate of Heaven:
should note that the presence of the ark of the covenant, covered by the two cherubs in
the holy of holies, was intended to represent YHWH's heavenly throne, and therefore
stood as "the earthly model of Yahweh's heavenly enthronement as king and symbol of his
universal power." Finally, it should be observed that the layout of the temple may well
have been conceived to portray a structural correspondence with the heavenly counterpart.
In his study of the architecture of the Jerusalem temple, Monson noted that "the striking
resemblance between gate design and temple layout" may suggest that the "temple was
literally a gate into the cosmic realm." If so, it might be argued that this further
corroborates the idea of a note only of a structural correspondence but of a dynamic
interaction between earthly and heavenly temples.

1 Kgs 22:19-23

Micaiah said, "Therefore, hear the word of YHWH. I saw YHWH sitting on his
throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right and on his left.
20 "Who will entice Ahab to go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said this while another said that.


1David Lemoine Eiler, "The Origin of Zion as a Theological Symbol in Ancient Israel"
(Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1968), 147.

2John M. Monson, "The Temple of Jerusalem: A Case Study in the Integration of Text and
Artifact" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 346.

3Ibid., 347.
Then a spirit came forward and stood before YHWH and said, 'I will entice him.' And YHWH said to him, 'How?'

And he said, 'I will go out and be a deceiving spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' Then he said, 'You are to entice him and also prevail. Go and do so.'

The pericope of 1 Kgs 22:19-22 reports interactions happening at the heavenly court of YHWH while the kings of Israel and Judah prepare for their last battle against the king of Aram in the attempt to recapture Ramoth Gilead. After having received a favorable oracle from the court prophets concerning the battle, the king of Judah inquired:

1 An interesting aspect 1 Kgs 22:19-22, although outside the scope of the present investigation, deserves some brief consideration. It concerns the nature of the lying spirit in YHWH's heavenly assembly, and the fact that this lying spirit works for the accomplishment of YHWH's purpose. Some scholars' contention that the "lying spirit" (רְפֵּס נַפּוּךְ) of vs. 22 was one of several evil spirits, who functioned as obedient servants in YHWH's heavenly council (cf., e.g., Neil Forsyth, The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987], 112), or a demonic entity in rebellion against YHWH, but nonetheless being used by YHWH to accomplish his will (cf., e.g., Gregory A. Boyd, God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict [Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1997], 81) seems problematic in view of the Hebrew Bible's conception of YHWH. Only if one understands the concept of "lying" (רְפֵּס) spirit in an ontological sense does such a view that YHWH entertains evil entities in his council hold up. As a matter of fact, "lying" spirit is better interpreted as a functional attribution, that is, "lying" does not describe the nature of the "spirit," but portrays his function in accomplishing YHWH's purpose of using the false prophets to bring judgment upon the king. In this connection, one should remember that in Isa 45:7, YHWH introduces himself as the "one forming light and creating darkness, causing well-being and creating evil." In Isa 45:7, the concept of "evil" is obviously related to the "calamities" or judgments that YHWH would bring upon impenitent sinners, not evil in its ontological sense. It may be argued, mutatis mutandis, that the same principle applies to the "lying" spirit. He is a "lying" spirit not in the ontological, or ethical sense, or because he is a demonic entity at the service of YHWH—an idea at odds with the overall portrayal of YHWH throughout the Hebrew Bible—but in the sense that the spirit would induce the false prophets, who were already under evil influences to feed the king's own self-destructive ends by means of their delusive prophecies. Therefore, in view of the previous considerations, the view expressed by some commentators (cf. Simon J. DeVries, 1 Kings, WBC 12 [Waco: Word Books, 1985], 268; C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, The Books of the Kings, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952], 276f.; James Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings, ICC [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1951], 339; Richard D. Patterson and Hermann J. Austel, "1, 2 Kings," The Expositor's Bible Commentary 4, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988], 165) that the "lying spirit" is the personified spirit of prophecy (cf. 1 Sam 10:10-12; 19:23-24; Zech 13:2; 1 John 4:6) that works in accordance with the sovereign will of YHWH accord better with the overall theology of the Hebrew Bible and its portrayal of the character of YHWH.
of Ahab whether there was "not yet a prophet of YHWH here that we may inquire of him?" The king of Israel then mentioned a certain Micaiah son of Imlah whom he hated because this prophet never prophesied good concerning him. Eventually Micaiah was brought to their presence and, as the narrative unfolds, pronounced a fateful oracle concerning the battle, an oracle that came from the heavenly "council of YHWH."

The similarities of this vision with other passages which conjoin the imagery of heavenly council and heavenly sanctuary/temple may well have been a significant reason for some scholars to concede the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in this passage. Kim, however, has concluded that "it is not only illegitimate, but also misleading to use the 'heavenly temple' here to explain the meeting place of the 'heavenly council.'" As the discussion of the pericope proceeds, this claim is evaluated in the light of the textual data.

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2 E.g., Isa 6:1ff.


4 Kim, 130.
Preliminary Observations

The text unit relevant for this study is Micaiah's oracle contained in 1 Kgs 22:19-23. Special attention is given to vs. 19, since it describes the "parabolic vision" of the heavenly court scene. Burke Long has described this pericope as a "report of dramatic word-vision," which he divided into the following segments:

a. Narrative introduction (19αα)
b. Report of vision (19αβ-22)
   1) Summons to attention (19αβ)
   2) Vision (19β-22)
      a) Announcement of vision (19βα)
      b) Vision sequence (19βα-22)
   3) Interpretative conclusion: evil on Ahab (23).

The similarities of this text with other reports of heavenly council sessions, notably those of Isa 6:1-6, Ezek 1:1-28, and 10:1-22 have been perceived by several scholars.

Edwin C. Kingsbury, particularly, has noted five elements that are common to all three accounts: (1) Yahweh as King; (2) heavenly creatures surrounding Yahweh; (3) the prophet saw Yahweh; (4) the oracle merely communicated what the prophet saw; and (5)

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1Richard D. Patterson and Hermann J. Austel, "1, 2 Kings," The Expositor's Bible Commentary 4, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 165.


3Ibid.

the vision happens at the time of Yahweh's enthronement. Kingsbury's arguments are compelling except for the last element, which presupposes an alleged New Year's festival that culminated in the enthronement of YHWH. This conjecture, which had Sigmund Mowinckel as one of its major proponents, has fallen into disfavor in recent scholarship. The other points, however, are well taken, and find solid support in the text. That the vision of the heavenly realm hinted at YHWH's functioning as King is implied in the passage, as indicated by the portrayal of heavenly creatures and the visionary experience of the prophet in connection with the heavenly realm. Finally, the prophet communicated what was shown to him in the vision. For the purposes of this study, the first two elements are more important because of their affinities with temple/sanctuary imagery, as noted below.

It should be remarked at this point that although the text does not refer explicitly to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, the imagery reflected therein implies that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was the locus of the heavenly council session. This idea is more clearly expressed in other passages of the Hebrew Bible where it is indicated that the heavenly council of YHWH convenes in the heavenly sanctuary. The ensuing discussion argues


4E.g., Isa 6:1-8; Zech 3:1-10; Dan 7:9-14.
that this passage do contain the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, and inquires about the its function and relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of בְּשֵׁם יְהֹוָה

The root בָּשֵׁם stresses the stability and the duration of YHWH's residence.¹ As Nam pointed out: "Quite often this verb is used as a technical term to imply that the one who is sitting (yōšēh) is the ruler."² In the text under scrutiny this concept is stressed by the lexeme קְדָם ("throne") which further substantiates the kingship imagery. In sum, the verbal phrase בָּשֵׁם יְהֹוָה ("sitting upon his throne") "describes the regal majesty"³ of YHWH in his royal functions.

The royal imagery, however, does not rule out sanctuary/temple imagery. In fact, it should be observed that the idea of "enthronement" conveyed by בָּשֵׁם is related to the sanctuary/temple in several places where YHWH is described as the one who בָּשֵׁם ("is enthroned on the cherubim").⁴ Since this clearly refers to YHWH's enthronement in the most holy place of the sanctuary/temple, one could argue that the notion of enthronement is closely connected to the idea of sanctuary/temple and not exclusively to the concept of "palace," as implied by Kim in his study of this passage.⁵ Other important

¹Gerald H. Wilson, "בָּשֵׁם," NIDOTTE, 2:551.
³M. Gorg, "בָּשֵׁם, yāšāh," TDOT, 6:436.
⁴1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:15; 1 Chr 13:6; Pss 80:2; 99:1; Isa 37:16.
⁵Cf. Kim, 122-30.

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indication in this regard are found in Isa 6:1 and Ps 11:4, wherein אָדָם ("throne") occurs in parallel with בֵּית אָדָם ("temple"), thus closely linking both concepts together. As Nam aptly said, "the sanctuary was God's dwelling place on earth in which he sat upon his throne. Therefore, the sanctuary and the throne of God are two concepts which cannot be separated from each other."2

Meaning of נַעֲרֵי הַגֵּן

The expression בְּנֵי הַגֵּן occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible in reference to the stars, usually as an object of illegitimate worship.3 In the current passage, however, this phrase refers to the celestial beings who surround YHWH at his heavenly court, a concept which may also be implied in the expression בְּנֵי הָאָמְרָה ("YHWH of hosts")4 which appears 247 times in the Hebrew Bible. It is interesting to note that נַעֲרֵי ("hosts") can also convey cultic imagery, as noted by Rodriguez.5 We should also note that נַעֲרֵי parallels נַעֲרֵי הָאָמְרָה ("his [YHWH's] ministers") in Ps 103:21. The agentive participle נַעֲרֵי הָאָמְרָה refers to the celestial beings who surround YHWH at his heavenly court.

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1 See below further discussion on the concept of נַעֲרֵי "temple/palace."


3 The following passages convey a negative connotation, since the host of heaven are referred to as the object of illegitimate worship: Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3; 21:5; 23:4, 5; 2 Chr 33:3, 5; Jer 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5. These other passages seem to convey a more neutral connotation of stars or astral bodies: Isa 34:4; Jer 33:22; Neh 9:6. The passage of Dan 8:10 is dealt with in chapter 5.

4 Boyd, God at War, 131.

5 Rodriguez mentioned the following biblical passages, where נַעֲרֵי occurs in a cultic setting: Num 4:3, 23, 30; 8:24-25 ("Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," 531).
derives from קָרַח, which conveys the meaning of "ritual service in the cult. Moreover, in Ps 148:2 the heavenly "hosts" are also depicted as standing before יְהֹウェּה and praising (וֹלְדוֹר) him. Furthermore, the cultic overtones of הבניאו/צְבָא are reinforced by several uses of the root צָעַב in connection with the tabernacle/temple service.

Meaning of טָמְרוּת קְדָם מְרִימִית רְמֶשֶׁמַּאֵל

The text adds that all the "host of heaven" was נְמָרוּת קְדָם מְרִימִית רְמֶשֶׁמַּאֵל ("standing by him on his right and on his left"). This intends to convey the idea of subordination. In an oriental court the King is usually depicted as sitting while his attendees are standing around him. This reinforces the royal imagery portrayed in the text.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The conspicuous presence of royal imagery coupled with the seeming absence of cultic activities in our text has led Kim to conclude that the text depicts the idea of a royal palace, not that of a heavenly temple. This sharp disjunction between temple and palace is very difficult to sustain for two main reasons:

1 Cf. HALOT, s.v. "חרן."
2 E.g., Exod 38:8; Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43; 8:24; 31:6; 1 Sam 2:22.
4 Kim, 129-30.
1. the Hebrew Bible seems to conceive of the temple as a unified entity with cultic and royal functions. It has been argued before that the temple/sanctuary is defined by the presence of the deity in it. Therefore, any temple/sanctuary is a palace; and conversely, every palace which hosts the deity is a temple/sanctuary.¹

2. A few observations on the terminology used in the text indicates that it may bespeak sanctuary/temple overtones. For example, the root בָּשָׂר is used in connection with the Jerusalem temple as the dwelling place of YHWH.² A participial form of this root is used in reference to YHWH's enthronement above the cherubim, a clear reference to the earthly temple. Thus, the idea of a royal palace where YHWH dwelt and the concept of a cultic place where YHWH was worshiped cannot be separated. They seem to have always coalesced in the understanding of the temple/sanctuary. Thus, one should avoid a strict dichotomy between heavenly temple versus heavenly palace since both represent at most only different aspects of the same palace-temple entity. If the earthly temple functioned in the capacity of both palace and sanctuary, one has a compelling reason to understand the heavenly counterpart as a temple with both cultic and royal functions.

¹The concept of "palace" usually conveyed by the term בְּשָׂר, although not occurring in 1 Kgs 22:19-22, provides an apt illustration of the Hebrew idea of temple/palace. As noted earlier (see above, in chapter 3), בְּשָׂר is etymologically related to Sumerian E.GAL ("large house") and may be used to indicate either the "palace" of earthly kings (1 Kgs 21:1; 2 Kgs 20:18; 2 Chr 36:7; Pss 45:9 [8], 16 [15]; 144:12; Isa 13:22; 39:7; Dan 1:4; Hos 8:14; Amos 8:3; Nah 2:7), or the temple of YHWH (1 Sam 1:9; 3:3; 2 Sam 22:7; 1 Kgs 6:3, 5, 17, 33; 7:21, 50; 2 Kgs 18:16; 23:4; 24:13; 2 Chr 3:17; 4:7f, 22; 26:16; 27:2; 29:16; et al.).

²See the discussion on Exod 15:1-18 in chapter 3.
3. It is important to note that the vision reported in 1 Kgs 22:19-23 parallels in many respects Isa 6:1ff.,¹ as recognized by several scholars.² Thus, assuming that Isaiah's temple vision contains the heavenly sanctuary-temple motif, as argued below, the probability increases that Micaiah's vision also contains the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

**Function**

In view of the arguments advanced above, it may be noted that 1 Kgs 22:19-23 presupposes the following functions for the heavenly temple/sanctuary:

1. The imagery of YHWH sitting on his throne evokes royal connotations since YHWH is depicted as king exerting his royal authority. It might be said that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as YHWH's headquarters whence he interacts with earthly affairs and issues decrees to direct historical events according to his plans, as noted in the excursus below.

2. The portrayal of the divine council, "the host of heaven," suggests that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as the meeting place of the heavenly council, a function implied elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures.³

¹See the discussion on Isa 6:1ff., below.


3. The portrayal of YHWH surrounded by heavenly beings may also imply cultic connotations, since in other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures this imagery conveys a worship setting.¹

4. Since the ultimate result of the heavenly council session was the judgment upon Ahab, the heavenly sanctuary/temple in this passage emerges as a place of judgment.

Relationship to Earthy Counterpart

The notion of judgment and the concept of YHWH sitting on his throne corresponds to the earthly temple, which was conceived not only as a place of judgment, but also as a place where YHWH dwelt among the cherubim. Thus, the suggestion may be advanced that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was understood to exist in functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart.

Excursus: The Effect of the Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple on Earthly Affairs

The heavenly scene develops in a remarkable relationship to the earthly events. It is interesting to note that the portrayal of YHWH surrounded by the "host of heaven" is matched by the kings of Israel and Judah surrounded by the host of prophets. Also, as pointed out by Nam, there is a "close relationship between the earthly thrones and the throne of God in heaven" as can be seen in two verses from the same chapter.

1 Kgs 22:10

¹E.g., Exod 15:11; Isa 6:1ff.; Ps 150:1.
Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah were sitting each on his throne, arrayed in their robes, at the threshing floor at the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets were prophesying before them.

1 Kgs 22:19

Micaiah said, "Therefore, hear the word of YHWH. I saw YHWH sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right and on his left.

Another verbal parallel worthy of note is found in 1 Kgs 22:27 and 22:15 which reads קָרָא אֲבִנְיָן וַיֹּאמֶר לְאָבָא ("Thus says the King [Ahab]") and קָרָא אֲבָא וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה ("thus says YHWH"). These parallels seem to indicate a correspondence between the scene at the heavenly courtroom and its counterpart on earth.

However, it should be noted that this relationship is not an ideal one, since the earthly scene does not reflect its heavenly counterpart in some crucial aspects. The earthly kings seem to be working in opposition to their heavenly counterpart. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the earthly counterpart is not a sanctuary/temple, but a threshing floor which provides the setting for the court scene where earthly kings are planning a military enterprise. As the story proceeds, the deliberations of the heavenly court overrule the decisions and intentions of its earthly counterpart and the ultimate intentions of YHWH are executed. In short, although there is a correspondence between the earthly

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2 Cf. 1 Kgs 22:10.
3 The absence of the earthly temple in the interactions between heaven and earth in this text should not come as a surprise, since the story happened in the territory of the northern kingdom of Israel, where there was no legitimate temple of YHWH.
scene and its heavenly counterpart, the ultimate outcome depended upon the deliberation of YHWH in his heavenly sanctuary/temple.¹

**Isa 6:1-8**

1 In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord seated on a throne, high and exalted, and the train of his robe filled the temple.

The pericope of Isa 6:1-8 contains remarkable indications not only of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, but also of a relationship between the heavenly and its earthly counterpart, as already demonstrated by Davidson,² and more recently by Kim in his dissertation.³ Admittedly, the text contains several exegetical issues that have been a matter of debate among commentators, which were thus summarized by Kim:

(1) whether the chapter is Isaiah's "self report" (Selbstbericht) or an Isaian "memoir" (Denkschrift); (2) whether the vision is actually a prophetic call or Isaiah's commissioning for a specific political mission; (3) if this is a call vision, which is delayed until the sixth chapter of the book; (4) when the year that king Uzziah died was and what theological indication that has; (5) whether the words "holy, holy, holy" of v. 3 are a trishagion or a dishagion and what its origin is; (6) how this vision is related to the other visions, and (7) whether אתּהוֹלֵךְ represents the heavenly temple or the earthly temple.⁴

Fortunately the ensuing discussion does not depend upon resolving all these issues, although some of them may need brief discussion along the way. The first task is to

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¹Hartmut Schmid, *Das erste Buch der Könige*, WSRAT (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 2000), 594.


³Kim, 166-91.

⁴Ibid., 168-69, with a brief explanation of each item and bibliographic information in the footnotes.
undertake some preliminary observations regarding text unit and structure. Then, specific words and expressions, which contribute to illuminate the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, receive semantic and other exegetical considerations. Finally, the function of the heavenly sanctuary its relationship to the earthly counterpart receive attention.

Preliminary Observations

The text unit of 6:1-8 can be singled out as a literary subunit of chap. 6, which consists of a first-person account of Isaiah's temple vision. The unit of vss. 1-8 focuses on Isaiah's vision of YHWH enthroned in the temple with the accompanying liturgy of the

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1The categorization of Isa 6:1-8 as "prophetic call" or "inaugural vision" has been suggested by some scholars (Norman Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," ZAW 77 [1965]: 297-323; Rolf Knierim, "The Vocation of Isaiah," VT 10 [1968]: 47-68), while others have argued that it is not a call because prophets like Moses and Jeremiah were never given a choice (e.g., H. L. Ginsberg, "Introduction [to Isaiah]," in The Book of Isaiah [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973], 15). This issue is made more acute by the location of the pericope here and not at the beginning of the book. This has led some scholars to conjecture that it was originally at the head of an independent collection of Isaianic materials (Otto Kaiser, Isaiah 1-12, trans. John Bowden [from the German], OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983], 121; John Mauchline, Isaiah 1-39: Introduction and Commentary, TBC [London: S.C.M. Press, 1962], 88-89; Hans Wildberger, Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary, trans. Thomas H. Trapp, CC [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 252). The problem with this view, according to Oswalt, is that it presupposes that the book of Isaiah is a patchwork of independent scrolls put together without concern for order and coherence (C. v Orelli, The Prophecies of Isaiah [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1895], 172). A reasonable option consists in understanding Isa 6 functioning like a hinge, containing as it does words of judgment, but also a note of hope inasmuch as the cleansing of the prophet could be a harbinger of what YHWH could do for the whole people. Thus, this section seems to function as a suitable conclusion to chaps. 1-5 and a fitting introduction to chaps. 7-12 (cf. John Oswalt, The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986], 173). From a historical perspective, one should note the contribution by Kaplan to this discussion. Noting the similarity of Isaiah's vision with Micaiah's vision (see the discussion of 1 Kgs 22:19-23, above) Kaplan cogently argues that the vision reported in Isa 6:1ff. "was experienced by Isaiah after he had been active as a prophet for some time" (Kaplan, 253).

2The verb רתֵּעֲךָה ("and I saw") implies that the prophet had a visionary experience. Actually, some other derivatives of רָעָה are also related to the semantic field of "vision" as indicated by the nominal forms רָעָה ("seer") and ראֵה ("vision"). For רְעָה, cf. 1 Sam 9:9; Isa 28:7; 1 Kg 22:19 et al; for ראֵה, cf. Num 12:6; 1 Sam 3:15; Ezek 11:24; 43:3; Dan
Scaphirim proclaiming the trishagion and the reverberations of their voice in the temple.

The vision culminates when the prophet, purified by the burning coal, volunteers for the task of being YHWH's messenger.

The unit is delimited by the repetition of הָעַנְיָא in vss. 1 and 8, thus forming an inclusio. Furthermore, these two verses also display syntactic similarities: both are formed by an imperfect consecutive, followed by a participial phrase. The verbal form הָעַנְיָא ("and I saw") in vs. 1 corresponds to רָאָא ("and I heard") in vs. 8, suggesting that the vision consisted of visual and auditory elements. Thus, in vs. 1 the prophet declared: "I saw the Lord sitting," (בְּמַדְתִּי הַלַּאֹרָא); in vs. 8 he said: "I heard the Lord speaking" (הָאָשִׁיר הַלַּאֹרָא). From a literary perspective, this inclusio clearly sets vss. 1-8 off as a subunit inside chap. 6. At this point, a further look at 6:1-8 is called for in order to lay bare the structural organization of the text under study. Kim suggested the following structure: vss. 1-3 depict a scene in heaven, vss. 4-5 portray the effects of the heavenly temple on its earthly counterpart, and vss. 6-8 portray the intercommunication between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.¹ For the reader's sake, the entire pericope with the divisions just mentioned is displayed below.

1. Scene in Heaven:

1. Scene in Heaven:


¹Kim, 172.
1 In the year of King Uzziah's death I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, lofty and exalted, with the train of his robe filling the temple.
2 Seraphim stood above him, each having six wings: with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew.
3 And one called out to another and said, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is YHWH of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."

2. Effects of the Heavenly Temple on Its Earthly Counterpart:

4 And the foundations of the thresholds trembled at the voice of him who called out, while the temple was filling with smoke.
5 Then I said, "Woe is me, for I am ruined! Because I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips; For my eyes have seen the King, YHWH of hosts."

3. Intercommunication between Heavenly Temple and Its Earthly Counterpart:

6 Then one of the seraphim flew to me with a burning coal in his hand, which he had taken from the altar with tongs.
7 He touched my mouth with it and said, "Behold, this has touched your lips; and your iniquity is taken away and your sin is forgiven."
8 Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for Us?" Then I said, "Here am I. Send me!"

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

A closer examination of the temple/sanctuary vocabulary employed in the text can contribute insights into the picture of the heavenly sanctuary/temple portrayed in the pericope. Issues such as heavenly versus earthly temple, relationship between earthly and heavenly, and function of the earthly sanctuary can be grasped from a semantic investigation and other exegetical observations.
Meaning of רֹאֵשׁ

The declaration by the prophet that he saw "the Lord sitting on a throne, lofty and exalted" sets the vision in a heavenly setting, since this expression seems to be more appropriate to indicate the heavenly throne of YHWH than the ark in the Jerusalem temple. This is supported by the similarity of this passage to 1 Kgs 22:19, discussed above, where virtually the same expression—ְ��ֵב יַעֲלָל הַכְּתֵּב יְהֹוָה—occurs in a heavenly setting. The reference to the "throne" seems to emphasize the royal aspects of YHWH's activities, especially that of judgment.1

Meaning of בֵית

The בֵית ('temple') referred to in connection with the throne has been variously interpreted. Scholars have understood it as referring to the heavenly temple or earthly temple, or both.2 The evidence seems to point to an original Jerusalem temple

1Knierim noted the points of contact between the current text and other passages which feature YHWH's appearance in judgment: Pss 11:4-7; 12; 18:7 [6]; 45:7 [6]; 50; 86; 95; 98:9; 122:5; Amos 1:2f.; 1 Kgs 22:19; Dan 7:9f; Mal 3:1-5 (Knierim, 54-56).


Both heavenly and earthly temple: see, e.g., Wildberger, 263; Barry G. Webb, The...
setting for the vision, as can be inferred from the opening statement, which situates the event in the year of the death of King Uzziah. However, as far as the first three verses are concerned, the focus of the vision immediately zooms in on the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The reference to the Seraphim (שַׁרְפִּים) as part of YHWH's retinue seems to reinforce the view that the רֹאשׁ referred to here is the heavenly one. Were the Jerusalem temple in view, the reference would be to Cherubim, not to Seraphim.

Meaning of רֹאשׁ

Contrary to b's homicide, the word רֹאשׁ, if used for the temple, "always refers to the temple on earth." In like manner, the occurrence of רֹאשׁ in vs. 4 seems to point to an earthly sanctuary setting. That "the foundations of the thresholds trembled at the voice of him who called out" (vs. 4) seems to be much more appropriate for the Jerusalem temple than the heavenly one. Although it is not impossible that similar phenomena may happen in the heavenly temple, the context favors an earthly setting, since at this point the prophet seems to speak from the perspective of someone who is located on earth, namely, in the earthly temple. His exclamation of distress also seems to reflect an earthly environment as


1Davidson, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 16.

2Leupold, 129. Kim aptly noted that the "seraphim in this narrative are not mere images but living creatures [while] the cherubim in the Jerusalem temple were man-made images . . . . If Isaiah had seen Yahweh sitting on the throne located within the debir of the Jerusalem temple, he would have seen sculptured cherubim" (178, italics his).

3Knierim, 51. This bold claim made by Knierin seems to be supported by those passages which unambiguously refer to the heavenly temple/sanctuary.
he exclaimed: "Woe is me, for I am ruined! Because I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips" (vs. 5).

**Meaning of נַחֲלָם**

The altar has been interpreted as either the altar of holocaust\(^1\) of the Jerusalem temple, or a heavenly altar,\(^2\) or more precisely the altar of incense of the heavenly temple.\(^3\) A close reading of the passage seems to favor a heavenly context for this altar.

Then one of the seraphim flew to me with a burning coal in his hand, which he had taken from the altar with tongs.

Since one of the Seraphim flew to Isaiah in order to touch the prophet with the burning coal, it is much more reasonable to imagine that the divine being came flying from the heavenly temple than from the altar of holocaust or incense of the Jerusalem temple:

Were the altar located in the earthly temple there would be no need for the Seraph to fly; it would be enough to walk and touch the prophet's lips. Besides, the *qatal* verbal form (נס) suggests a pluperfect meaning,\(^4\) indicating that the Seraph had taken the coal from

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\(^2\)Delitzsch, 1:196; Orelli, 48.

\(^3\)Wolf expressed the view that "the prophet was transported into the presence of God in the heavenly temple, a scene similar to that viewed by John in Revelation 4" (86).

the altar prior to flying (יָרְדָא) to the prophet. That being the case, the altar referred to in the text most probably is altar of incense\(^1\) located in the heavenly temple.\(^2\)

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif**

The investigation conducted above has indicated temple/sanctuary imagery in the text under study, which is conveyed by several terms and expressions employed by the author to communicate the idea of a sanctuary/temple. As already noted, the presence of the seraphic choir suggests that the יְרוֹמִי is the heavenly sanctuary. Moreover, in vs. 4 the scene shifts to the earthly temple, where רֹבֶץ is used instead of יְרוֹמִי. Finally vss. 6-8 portray a close interconnection between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. In view of these aspects, the function of the heavenly temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart are investigated below.

**Function**

The picture of the heavenly sanctuary/temple conveyed by the pericope under study suggests royal and cultic functions. The heavenly sanctuary/temple is the place where YHWH is enthroned as King. The image of the attendant seraphim seems to echo

\(^1\)It is improbable that Isaiah would conceive of an altar of holocaust in heaven. Besides, the "tongs" (סֹתֵן) used by the Seraph to take the burning coals are mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible always in connection with activities related to the first compartment of the temple/sanctuary (see Exod 25:38; 37:23; Num 4:9; 1 Kgs 7:49; 2 Chr 4:21). Interestingly, Ezek 10:2 mentions "coals of fire from between the cherubim" that should be scattered upon Jerusalem.

\(^2\)The altar of incense os the heavenly sanctuary/temple seems to be related to intercession. Note that John saw prayers of repentant sinners presented with incense before the throne of grace (Rev 8:3-4). See "The altar" [Isa 6:6], SDABC, 4:128-29.
that of the "hosts of heaven," indicated by the "us" in the interrogative expression "Who will go for us?" (vs. 8). The reference to the temple in relation to the "throne," the "king," and the "seraphim" evokes a judgment session of the heavenly council. This seems to be reinforced by the context, which portrays Isaiah as the bearer of a message of judgment for the people.2

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the heavenly sanctuary/temple portrayed in the pericope is not limited to royal functions. It also displays interesting cultic dimensions noted in the verbal and conceptual affinities of the passage with the cultic language of the Hebrew Bible. Particularly interesting is that Isaiah's recognition of his sinfulness was immediately followed by expiatory actions in the heavenly temple, culminating in atonement and forgiveness. This expiatory action can be deduced from the reference to the heavenly altar from which the Seraph took the "burning coal." At this moment the expiatory procedures in the heavenly temple started:

6 Then one of the seraphim flew to me with a burning coal in his hand, which he had taken from the altar with tongs.

7 He touched my mouth with it and said, "Behold, this has touched your lips; and your iniquity is taken away and your sin is forgiven."

As noted, these verses display several verbal and conceptual affinities with the language of atonement and forgiveness. Worthy of mention are terms such as כיבר ("purge") and נטה ("take away") which have as their objects כלא and נרה, respectively. It is interesting

1See 1 Kgs 22:19.

2See especially Isa 6:9ff.
to note that the last two clauses of vs. 7 are organized chiastically in Hebrew, as shown below:

("purged") רָפַם (B) ("your sins") דִּבְרֵי נְשָׁמָה (A)
("your iniquity") דִּבְרֵי נְשָׁמָה (A') ("taken away") יְשָׁם (B')

Although the prophet was possibly standing in the Jerusalem temple, the flying Seraph came with coals from the heavenly altar in order to effect forgiveness and purification. In this connection, one should note that the verb רָפַם ("purge") an important cultic term used in relation to the removal of sin or defilement,\(^1\) occurs in a passive form רָפַם, indicating that purging/forgiveness comes from YHWH.\(^2\) Furthermore, that the coal came from the heavenly altar probably indicates that the legitimacy of the atoning procedure stemmed from the heavenly temple, and ultimately from YHWH himself. The heavenly sanctuary thus emerges as a place wherein YHWH acts to "purge" (רפָם) the prophet,\(^3\) an act that effects the removal of the evil that disturbs a relationship, as part of a process of reconciliation.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Cf. R. L. Harris, "דִּבְרֵי נְשָׁמָה," TWOT, 2:453.

\(^2\) Willem A.M. Beuken, Jesaja 1-12, HTKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 174.

\(^3\) What happened to the prophet seems to be a harbinger of what YHWH was willing to do for the people as a whole. The four lexemes of vs. 7 (דִּבְרֵי נְשָׁמָה, רָפַם, דִּבְרֵי נְשָׁמָה, יְשָׁם), the chiastic arrangement of which was displayed above, appear only one more time in the entire Hebrew Bible—in Isa 27:9, where YHWH promised to forgive his people. The implication seems to be that what was available to Isaiah was available to the people as well.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

It is remarkable how the heavenly and earthly temples are interconnected in this text. The prophet receives a vision in the earthly temple, but in the course of his experience the vision expands to encompass the heavenly original. And Isaiah, who was standing either physically or only in vision in the Jerusalem temple, is allowed to have a glimpse of the throne of YHWH in the heavenly temple. This dynamic interaction is shown in the effects of the heavenly temple upon its earthly counterpart as reflected in vss. 4-5. In this regard, vs. 4 need closer attention:


And the foundations of the thresholds trembled at the voice of him who called out, while the temple was filling with smoke.

It should be noted that the previous verses are depicting heavenly sanctuary imagery. The seraphic choir that fills the heavenly temple now reverberates into the earthly temple—"and the foundations of the thresholds trembled at the voice of him who called out, while the temple was filling with smoke." It seems obvious that הָשָּׁם הַמַּכָּל הַכֹּלַּה האַלֶּה יְהוָה טוֹב יִשָּׁא: ("at the voice of him who called out") points back to "וַיּוֹם הָיָה וַיָּשֶׂה ("And one called to the other"), a reference to the Seraphim's trishagion (ךְשֶׁבֶד צי אֶרֶץ קְדֹשֶׁת קְדֹשֶׁת קְדֹשֶׁת) in the heavenly temple. Therefore, what was transpiring in the heavenly temple reverberated in the earthly counterpart as if to show the effects of the heavenly temple upon the earthly counterpart. As Kim pointed out, "vv. 4-5 describe, in a vision, how the earthly temple at Jerusalem is affected by the praising of the Seraphim in the heavenly court and how the prophet himself is affected by seeing the King, YHWH of hosts."1 This dynamic interaction may be also

1Kim, 182.
perceived in the movement of the Seraphim who flew with the coal taken from the heavenly altar and came to the earthly temple where the prophet was standing.

Finally, one should note that the text also implies structural and functional correspondences between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. The mention of the "altar" of incense in the heavenly ("temple"), and the "tongs" used to remove the "burning coals" from it, conveys a picture of a heavenly temple structurally similar to its earthly counterpart. The activity performed by the Seraph which reflected YHWH's forgiveness of the prophet points to a functional correspondence as well. In short, the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart are portrayed in a structural and functional relationship, in addition to the dynamic interaction observed above.

**Isa 14:12-15**

> 12 "How you have fallen from heaven, O star of the morning, son of the dawn! You have been cut down to the earth, You who have weakened the nations!
> 13 "But you said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven; I will praise my throne above the stars of God, And I will sit on the mount of assembly in the recesses of the north.
> 14 'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will make myself like the Most High.'
> 15 "Nevertheless you will be thrust down to Sheol, to the recesses of the pit."

Although a detailed study of Isa 14:12-15 was undertaken by J. M. Bertolucci in the framework of the controversy between good and evil,¹ some additional investigation is

needed in order to ascertain the presence of sanctuary imagery in this pericope. Davidson's observation that in this passage one has "a spotlight upon the heavenly sanctuary" further reinforces the need for an examination of the pericope in connection with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

After some preliminary observations dealing with the context of the pericope, its unit and structure, three excursuses tackle some issues relevant for the exegesis of the passage. The first excursus is devoted to the meaning of הָעַיִן (māšāl), which is the Hebrew designation for the genre of 14:4-21; the second discusses the identity of the King of Babylon; and the third excursus deals with the alleged mythological background of 14:12-15. Thereafter, a section on semantic and other exegetical considerations investigates the terms related to sanctuary/temple imagery. Finally, the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif which emerges in the course of the discussion is further expounded, with a special consideration of its function and relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Preliminary Observations

Although Isa 14:12-15 is the focus of this study, a brief analysis of Isa 13:1-14:22 is undertaken, since it constitutes the immediate context of the pericope under study and can, therefore, contribute to the understanding of Isa 14:12-15. Overall, the text can be

1Davidson makes this affirmation as he notes the connections among Rev 12, Isa 14, and Ezek 28. See Davidson, "Cosmic Metanarrative for the Coming Millennium," 106.
divided into two parts: the "oracle" (בֵּית הַנְּוָלִים) of Babylon (13:1-14:3), which focuses on the city and its sins, and the mashal (בְּשָׂל), describing the arrogance of its king (14:4-23).¹

The first section (13:1-14:3), which proclaims judgment against Babylon, is pervaded by day-of-YHWH imagery (13:6). Local and universal language are interwoven throughout the text, pointing beyond the historical city to a universal/cosmic Babylon. Several expressions seem to transcend the historical city. In 13:5 "YHWH and the instruments of his wrath" come to destroy "all the earth" (בָּאָרְלִי). Although בָּאָרְלִי may sometimes denote "country" or "land," the lexeme בָּאָרְלִי ("world") in 13:11² favors the view that a cosmic judgment is included.³ Additionally, the upheaval of the stars, sun, moon (13:10), heaven, and earth (13:13) further points to an event of universal proportions. As Otto Kaiser aptly said: "In 13:2-22 the prophecy of the judgment of the world that is to take place on the day of Yahweh and that of the conquest and destruction of Babylon are remarkably intermingled."⁴ Therefore, it may be inferred that the judgment announced upon the historical/local city of Babylon also applies to the cosmic/eschatological city, inasmuch as Babylon is understood as an embodiment of the opposition to YHWH and his people.

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¹Probably the term בֵּית הַנְּוָלִים ("oracle") refers to an entire section of Isa 13 and 14, with the term בְּשָׂל ("mashal") being a more specific definition for the section 14:4-21.

²Used exclusively in poetic texts, בָּאָרְלִי "conveys the cosmic and global sense in which 'eres is also sometimes used; i.e., the whole earth or world considered as a single entity" (Christopher J. H. Wright, "בָּאָרְלִי (tebah)," NIDOTTE, 4:272-73).

³G. B. Gray recognizes the presence of "eschatological features" in Isa 13, since it is not merely Babylon which will be punished, but the whole world (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 1-39, 238).

The second section (14:4-21) focuses on the King of Babylon. The genre employed throughout is that of lamentation (qinah) which is framed by an introduction and conclusion in prose. Although there are major disagreements about the strophic divisions of this latter part, J. Oswalt, followed by B. Webb, has argued for the following strophic divisions: 4b-8 Earth; 9-11 Sheol; 12-15 Heaven; 16-21 Earth. Bertolucci divided 16-21 into two strophes, 16-19 and 19-21, and proposed the following arrangement for the entire unit:

A. Earthly (4b-8)
B. Underworld (9-11)
C. Heavenly (12-15)
B. Underworld (16-19a)
A. Earthly (19b-21).


4Cf. also Ewald, 162; Bertolucci, 151.

As noted, the apex of the poem is on the third stanza,¹ which portrays what happens in the heavenly realm when Helel ben Shahar attempts to take over the "mount of assembly." This structural arrangement indicates a vertical movement. The key issue seems to be the rebel's ambition to take over the heavenly "mount of assembly" in order to establish his throne thereon. As persuasively demonstrated by Bertolucci, this should be understood in the context of the controversy between good and evil. According to him, Helel ben Shahar is to be identified with Satan, and the events portrayed in the passage are related to a rebellion which happened in the heavenly realm.² What remains to be done is to determine the presence and role of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the passage. In order to accomplish this, a close examination of 14:12-15 is required. This section is "that point in the poem where the prophet, in a clearer way, gives the impression that the implications of the poem transcend mere historical figures in the human earthly realm. Those verses seem to pertain to the heavenly realm or the sphere of the heavenly being.³² It is in this section that are found several terms alluding to the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Thus, a close examination of its structure may yield further insights into the understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the passage.

¹ Seth Erlandsson, although suggesting different divisions for this section (i.e., vss. 4b-8; 9-11; 12-15; 16-21), also recognizes that vss. 12-15 "constitute the core of the song" (The Burden of Babylon: A Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23 [Lund: Gleerup, 1970], 123).

² Bertolucci, 192.

³ Ibid., 192.
Vss. 12 (A) and 15 (A') frame the entire unit as they display verbal, syntactic, and conceptual parallels. The alliteration between אַהֲבֶּהָ ("how") (A) and אֱלֹהֵיךָ ("nevertheless") A' provides a alliterative parallel between A and A'; on the syntactic level one should note that both elements of the structure contain exclamatory sentences with 2ms verbs; and semantically the clauses are expressions of wonderment before the fall of the tyrant. A cluster of grammatical constructions expressing the idea of "descent" further reinforces this idea:*np יָפָלֶהָ ("you have fallen from heaven") and נָגְרוֹ לְאָרְיוֹת ("You have been cut down to the earth") in vs. 12; יָפָלֶהָ אֹלֶלֶה ("you will be thrust down to Sheol") and יָפָלֶהָ אֹלֶלֶה ("to the recesses of the pit") in vs. 15.

B (vss. 13 and 14) forms the center of the pericope, and is set apart from A by a disjunctive vav. Its six verbal clauses are thus structured: The first clause, which contains the transitive verb יָשָׁה ("say"), is complemented by five object clauses describing the pretensions of the tyrant. These clauses, except the last one, are also structured in a


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chiastic arrangement. B1 (vs. 13b) parallels B1' (vs. 14a) in that both contain the verbal phrase נב פ"ע ("heaven") parallels נב פ"ע ("heights of the clouds"). Finally, one notes that B2 (vs. 13c) and B2' (vs. 13d) make the apex of the structure.

At this point it should be observed that these two central members also parallel each other by containing two words which are syntagmatically related throughout the Hebrew Bible (i.e., נב פ"ע and נב פ"ע respectively). Thus, B2 (vs. 13c) refers to the tyrant’s intention of raising his "throne (גֵּשֶׁם) above the stars," and B2' (vs. 13d) refers to his pretension of "sitting" (גֵּשֶׁם) on the "mount of the assembly." As for 14b (B*), although it parallels the four previous clauses, it does not fit into their chiastic arrangement and therefore should be left out as an anacrusis. At that position, at the end of a list of five pretensions, it can appropriately function as a fitting expression of the ultimate intention of the tyrant, as implied in previous clauses—"to be like God." It is instructive to note that at the very apex of the entire structure is revealed the tyrant's ambition of reaching heaven (i.e., the "mount of assembly"). The ensuing discussion will attempt to lay bare the implications of this fact for the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

Excursus: הַרְשָׁעִים and the Interpretation of the Text

The entire section of 14:4-21 is classified in vs. 4 as a הַרְשָׁעִים, a word with the basic meaning of "simile," or "comparison," often employed with a negative connotation. For

1Interestingly, this echoes the pretensions of the builders of Babel in Gen 11:1-9. Cf. Mauchline, 140; Leupold, 260.

21 Kgs 9:7; Jer 24:9; Ezek 14:8; Joel 2:17; Ps 44:15 [14]; 2 Chr 7:20.
example: "You make us a בָּעָלֶה among the nations, a laughingstock among the peoples" (Ps 44:15 [14]). It seems that the idea is that of someone or something being held as "a negative example in order to discourage others from following the same path." In other words, the person or situation object of the בָּעָלֶה becomes paradigmatic in a negative sense.

In Isa 14:4-21, "the comparative idea conveyed by the word בָּעָלֶה indicates that the prophet was comparing the king of Babylon to a certain proverbial figure." The implication of this view is that Isaiah is portraying two intertwined persons and situations. The primary event, the rebellion of a supernatural being, functions as a paradigmatic negative example to the King of Babylon. To use the language of typology, Helel ben Shahar is the antitype (Urbild/Vorbild), and the historical king of Babylon is the type (Nachbild). It thus becomes apparent that, as the בָּעָלֶה is delivered, two overlapping figures emerge—"A foolish king and a cosmic usurper." The expression "King of Babylon" thus seems to transcend its historical referent, pointing to the character and actions of another tyrant, whose rebellion against YHWH affected the cosmic realm.

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1Gerald Wilson, "בָּעָלֶה (מְשִׁל)," NIDOTTE, 2:1135.

2Besides, it should be noted that in several instances the mashal depicts an historical or factual person/situation (1 Kgs 8:2; Jer 24:9; Ezek 14:8; Joel 2:17; Ps 44:15 [14]; 69:11; 2 Chr 7:20). In fact, it seems that for the mashal to be persuasive it must be based upon factual persons/events.


Excursus: Identity of the King of Babylon

Several historical figures such as Tiglathpileser III,1 Sargon II,2 Sennacherib,3 Assurbanil,4 Nabonidus,5 Nebuchadnezzar,6 and Belshazar7 have been proposed as the tyrant referred to in the pericope. However, each of these proposals faces insurmountable difficulties. As Oswalt observed, "no single personage can be found, the events of whose life fully correspond to those of the individual in the song. None of the kings of the Neo-Babylonian empire (e.g. Nebuchadrezzar or Nabonidus) fits, nor do any of the Assyrian kings of Isaiah's day (Sargon II or Sennacherib)."8 Furthermore, as Wolf pointed out the

1Charles Boutflower, The Book of Isaiah, Chapters [I-XXXIX], in the Light of the Assyrian Monuments (New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Macmillan, 1930), 79.


4Auvray, 163.


7Ridderbos, 144.

8Oswalt, 314.
fact that "neither the rulers of Assyria nor Babylon claimed to be divine" makes very
difficult an exclusive application of the passage to a human referent.¹

Some scholars have suggested a collective or corporative application for the king
of Babylon, according to which the song does not refer to a single individual, but to a
class.² According to this view, "the King of Babylon here, like Babylon itself in chapter 13,
is a representative figure, the embodiment of that worldly arrogance that defies God and
tramples on others in its lust for power."³

However, this collective or corporative view also has its problems. A close reading
of the passage seems to indicate that Isaiah is speaking of an individual. It is difficult to
imagine how a collective entity would try to put his "throne" above the stars, or "seat" on
the Mount of Assembly. It should also be noted that this entity is contrasted and compared
to the other (individual) kings of the earth who had already gone down to Sheol.
Furthermore, the rhetorical question "Is this the man (םָּשָּׁא) who made the earth tremble?" (14:16c) indicates that the referent is an individual, and not a collective entity.⁴ Although

¹Herbert M. Wolf, *Interpreting Isaiah: The Suffering and Glory of the Messiah* [Grand
Rapids: Zondervan, 1985], 113).

Wolf, 112.


⁴As noted by McCosmiskey, שָׁא "connotes primarily the concept of man as an *individual*
and thus differs in that regard from the more general concepts inherent in the words 'enôš and
שדָּם (mankind)" (T. E. McCosmiskey, "שָׁא 'ysh," *TWOI*, 1:38, emphasis supplied). The use of
שָׁא nevertheless does not necessarily restrict the referent to an individual of the human race. It
should be noted that שָׁא is also applied to YHWH as in the expression קֹדֶשׁ לְכָל הקָנָה ("YHWH
is a warrior"), in Exod 15:3.
none of these arguments is by itself decisive, their combined effect makes a collective or corporative interpretation rather improbable.

What seems reasonable in view of the nature of the pericope and its overall context, is that the prophet intermingles historical and cosmic realities. That is, behind the local historical king of Babylon emerges the figure of the cosmic king of Babylon, the real power which stands behind the local tyrant. This possibility is reinforced by the use of the term הַמַּשָּׁל (mashal) to qualify the "genre" of the text under study, as noted above.

**Excursus: Alleged Mythological Background of 14:12-15 and the Referent of Helel ben Shahar**

Several suggestions have been advanced in an effort to link the pericope of Isaiah with ancient Near Eastern mythology. Connections with Sumero-Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, Greek, Ugaritic, and South Arabic have been proposed. However, a major

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problem remains—there is no single myth which matches the Isaiah passage in its totality.\footnote{1}

Tentative reconstructions are based on fragments from different myths which are put together in an attempt to provide a parallel to the Isaiah pericope.

After surveying the extrabiblical literature on the alleged mythological background of the pericope, Bertolucci concluded that "there is no myth of Helel ben Shahar which reflects the Isaian account in its totality."\footnote{2} Bertolucci allows that in framing his lament against the tyrant, Isaiah may have used the imagery of Venus, the morning star, which appears early at dawn, but vanishes as the sun rises.\footnote{3} Yet, the possibility of a common tradition shared by Israel and its neighbors also remains a possibility, as shown in the imagery and motifs contained in the pericope. For example, the motif of the "mount of assembly" and the "north" as the dwelling of the deity are also found in Ugaritic texts;\footnote{4} and Hittite texts allude to a battle in heaven when a member of the heavenly council tried to

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}


\footnote{Cf. Bertolucci, 109.}

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{For a survey of Ugaritic texts, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.}

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overthrow the chief deity of the pantheon.\textsuperscript{1} Mention is also made of an attack on the sanctuary of the deity.\textsuperscript{2} Probably the best explanation for the similarities and differences involving this and other passages of the Hebrew Bible would be that Israel and its neighbors shared some common traditions.

The question then emerges as to who is the referent of Helel ben Shahar. As noted in the previous section, attempts to identify the king of Babylon with a single human individual have been found wanting. Also, as noted above, the pericope cannot be made to fit into mythological figures known from ancient Near Eastern texts. Taking the context into consideration, It becomes apparent that Isa 14:12-15 deals with events transpiring in the heavenly realm. What emerges seems to be the attempt by one of the members of the divine council to overtake YHWH's position on the "mount of the assembly," or, in other words, to overtake the heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH, as noted below. The figure of Helel ben Shahar, therefore, should probably be identified with that of a superhuman rebel who turned himself against YHWH and in the process was expelled from heaven.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

The three expressions selected for investigation are potentially related to the semantic field of sanctuary/temple. Since the context of the entire pericope, as

\textsuperscript{1}See Page, 120-40.

\textsuperscript{2}See Roy Gane, "Hurrian Ullikummi and Daniel's 'Little Horn'," in Shalom Paul Festschrift, forthcoming. See the discussion on the "Myth of Ullikummi" in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
demonstrated above, points to the heavenly realm, an investigation of these expressions may contribute to a better perception of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

 Meaning of מִלֶּחַ

Scholars have long noted the widespread ancient Near Eastern concept of a cosmic mountain which functioned as the abode of the deity. Ugaritic texts refer to Mount Zaphon, on top of which Baal's temple was located, and the mount of El's abode at the source of the two rivers. Although these traditions should not be used as a hermeneutic key to unlock the meaning of מִלֶּחַ ("mount of assembly") in Isa 14:13, it should be kept in mind that the concept of a mount functioning as the locus of a temple/sanctuary was a common tradition which Israel shared with its ancient Near Eastern neighbors. However, it should be noted that Israel interpreted this tradition within the framework of the Yahwistic faith. This makes it necessary that the expression מִלֶּחַ ("mount of assembly") be understood in the context of the Hebrew Bible.

The exact expression מִלֶּחַ ("mount of assembly") occurs only in Isa 14:13 in the entire Hebrew Bible. Yet its component parts, מִלֶּחַ ("mount") and מְלַחְתָּה ("assembly"), occur several times in connection with sanctuary imagery. The lexeme מִלֶּחַ evokes temple/sanctuary imagery in many Hebrew Bible texts, and, as noted by Vogel, "the climax of the usage of the mountain motif as referring to a cultic location in the OT

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context undoubtedly has to be seen in the tradition of Mt. Zion. Yet one should note that it was mainly the presence of the temple on the top of it that made Mt. Zion a cultic location par excellence. Therefore, since the sanctuary was situated on the mountain, the two are frequently used interchangeably; and as Vogel aptly pointed out, "whenever the holy mountain is being mentioned, the sanctuary is being perceived at the same time and vice versa." That being the case, it becomes apparent that the lexeme מַכָּר in our text ("mount") evokes the idea of a sanctuary/temple.

As for the lexeme מֵלֵאך, it means either place of meeting, or time of meeting. Koch's suggestion that in Isa 14:14 מַכָּר connotes a "fixed time for the assembly (of the gods)" is mistaken. In the present context, its association with מַכָּר ("mount") conveys the idea of a specific place, which recalls the use of מַכָּר to denote the sanctuary or temple in several biblical passages. Besides, the syntagmatic relationships and the parallel terms clearly show that the emphasis is on the spatial dimension. For example, the verbs convey spatial and vertical movement. Helel ben Shahar intended to "go up" (טוּל) above the

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3 Vogel, 39.

4 Cf. Klaus Koch, "מֵלֵאך mo'ed," TDOT, 8:168.

5 Ibid., 171.

6 For example, in Ps 74:4 מֵלֵאך ("your meeting place") is just another term for sanctuary. In Lam 2:6, מֵלֵאך denotes the Jerusalem temple. Also the frequently used term מֵלֵאך מָנוּחַ ("tent of meeting") is another expression used for the "tabernacle" or "sanctuary" which occurs 146 times in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Exod 27:21; 28:43; 29:4, 10f., 30, 32, 42, 44; 30:16, 18, 20, 26, 36; 31:7; 33:7; 35:21; 38:8, 30; 39:32, 40; 40:2, 6f, 12, 22, 24, 26, 29f., 32, 34f., et al.).
stars, "raise" (יהוה) his throne, and "sit" (כתר) on the mount of the assembly; and as a result of his ambition he "fell" (יהוה) and "went down" (יהוה) to the pit. The parallelism of the "mount of assembly" to "heaven" as demonstrated in the structural arrangement of the pericope further indicates the spatial connotation of מלך in the passage under study.

In addition to expressing the temple/sanctuary idea, מלך also seems to connote some more specific aspects or function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. If the etymology can be of any help, one should note that the idea behind מתח, מַכָּח, "appoint, meet") may indicate a place of meeting. The term מַקָּח reminds one of the cultic expression מַקָּח ("tent of meeting"), which seems to suggest that the "mount of assembly" functioned as a place of cultic activities, among which worship may have been a prominent one. In this connection Davidson pointed out that Isa 14:13 "calls the Heavenly Sanctuary 'the mount of the congregation'—implying the original worship function of the Sanctuary before sin." Another idea that seems conveyed by the term מַקָּח is that of the assembly, or council of YHWH, reflected elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. That being the case, the "mount of assembly" would also be the place in heaven where the council of YHWH would convene under the leadership of YHWH himself. Therefore, on the basis of the foregoing

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1See the structural arrangement above.

2Davidson, "Cosmic Metanarrative," 107.

3E.g., Isa 6:1ff., Ps 82, Job 1:1ff., Dan 79ff.

4It seems difficult to determine with certainty whether the heavenly assembly of YHWH would consist of a selected group of heavenly beings or would include the entire host of unfallen creatures. Dan 7:9-14—"thousands upon thousands were attending him, and myriads upon myriads were standing before him"—seems to indicate that a great multitude of heavenly beings would form YHWH's entourage. It is not clear, however, whether Daniel depicts the full number of heavenly beings or just a selected group that stands closer to YHWH (more the discussion of Dan 7:9-14 in
discussion, it has become apparent that the phrase לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה ("mount of assembly") carries evident cultic connotations, indicating the place where YHWH receives worship and praise,1 and suggesting the idea of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as meeting place for the council of YHWH.

The task now is to ascertain the spatial location of "Win. The occurrence of "heaven" in the parallel line in vs. 13 points to heaven as the location of לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה. This is reinforced by the presence of such other terms as נְבֵיה ("heights of the clouds") and כַּלּוֹת־אֱלֹהִים ("stars of God"). However, the "mount of assembly" should not be identified with heavens, as suggested by Watts. His contention that לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה is "synonym to heavens"2 is linguistically imprecise. It would be more correct to say that לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה is a hyponym. Although לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה parallels "heaven," and may overlap with it in significant ways, לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה is not coextensive with heaven, but is better understood as a place located in heaven. As a matter of fact, the very term נְבֵיה, which is related to the root יֵעָש ("to appoint"), carries the connotation of a specific/appointed place. In other words, the term נְבֵיה points to a particular place in heaven where the heavenly beings gather together to worship YHWH. Thus, on the basis of the foregoing consideration, the suggestion may be advanced that לֹא־מִזְקֵינָה indicates that heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH.

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1Davidson has observed: "Isa 14:12 calls the Heavenly Sanctuary ‘the mount of the congregation,’ implying the original worship function of the Sanctuary before sin" ("Cosmic Metanarrative," 107).

2Watts, Isaiah 1-33, 211.
Meaning of יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה

The exact expression יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה ("recesses of the north") occurs four other times in the Hebrew Bible. In Ezek 38:6, 15; 39:2, it seems to indicate one of the cardinal points of the compass; and in Ps 48:3 [1], it refers to mount Zion. Isa 14:13, however, seems to be distinct from these other usages. It seems improbable that יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה ("recesses of the north") would refer either to mount Zion or one of the points of the compass. The parallel expression יִכְבִּית בָּה ("recesses of the pit"), as noted by Ginsberg, suggests that the יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה ("recesses of the north") should be understood as the polar opposite of יִכְבִּית בָּה ("recesses of the pit"),\(^1\) namely, the sky,\(^2\) an idea favored by the context and the structure of the passage. Furthermore, the parallel between יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה and לְמָשָׁפֶה אַל ("stars of El") suggests that יִכְבִּית יְבוּנָה should be understood as a celestial location.\(^3\)

Moreover, the concept of "north" is often associated with the dwelling of the deity both in the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Near Eastern texts. Ezek 1, for example, contains several references to the glory of YHWH coming from the north, thus locating YHWH's dwelling place in the north. Ugaritic literature also contains references to the north as the dwelling of the deity. Mt. Zaphon is mentioned in Ugaritic texts as the

\(^{1}\)Bertolucci, 202.

\(^{2}\)Ginsberg pointed out that "'sky' is precisely what spwn means in Job 26:7, where between its being governed by the verb nty (which so frequently governs šāyim, the commoner word for 'sky') and its standing in antithesis to 'earth' it admits no other interpretation. Our passage offers a bit of additional evidence: yarktē sāpōn [sic] stands in antithesis to yarktē bôr, and the polar opposite of the netherworld is the sky, Amos 9:2; Ps 139:8. Nothing is gained by resisting this logic" (Ginsberg, "Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 B.C.E," 51, n. 26). Cf. J. de Savignac, "Note sur le sens du terme sāpōn dans quelques passages de la Bible," VT 3 (1953): 95-96; Bertolucci, 203.

\(^{3}\)Cf. Savignac, 95-96.
dwelling of Baal. It is, however, improbable that the Isaiah text reflects any borrowing from the Ugaritic literature. A likely explanation would be that the ANE motif of the "north" as the locus for the dwelling of the deity was a common tradition used by Isaiah to fit his own theological purposes.

Summing up, in the Isaiah passage the opposition between בירתא and נ (!(i.e., Sheol) and the parallel between "north") and לכתבי אל ("stars of El") suggest that ים be understood as heaven.

Meaning of נבטי והב

Cloud imagery, when associated with the presence of YHWH in the Hebrew Bible,¹ may function either for concealment² or transportation for the deity.³ As observed by Futato, "God's theophanic presence in or on the מים may bring judgment (Isa 19:1) or salvation (2 Sam 22:12 // Ps 18:13 [12]."⁴ It has also been suggested that the association of יב ("cloud") with כנפיי ("heights of") may convey cultic connotations, since the Hebrew Bible often mentions the ב.blur ("high places") in connection with sacrifices


²Job 22:1.

³Pss 68:5 [4], 34 [33]; 104:3; Deut 33:26.

⁴Mark D. Futato, "ים, יב, ויב," NIDOTTE, 3:333. There are other passages worthy of mentioning in this connection. Exod 19:9 and Ezek 1:4 display the cloud motif in connection with the theophanic manifestation of YHWH. Another text is Dan 7:13, which mentions the "Son of man" coming "with the clouds of heaven."
offered to the gods. Although it may be difficult to determine exactly which of these connotations the Isaiah passage intended to communicate, it seems reasonable to suppose that the cloud imagery is somehow linked to YHWH's abode. As a close look at the structural arrangement of the pericope demonstrates, the expression "heights of the clouds" (B1, vs. 14a) matches "heaven" (B1, vs. 13b). If so, the "height of the clouds" would function in parallelism to "heaven," further defining or describing the realm of YHWH's abode.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The discussion undertaken above allows the following perceptions about the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. The expression נֵרֶם ("mount of the assembly") is to be understood as a spot located in the heavenly realm and, being suffused with sanctuary imagery, most probably connotes the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple.

Function

An interesting aspect that emerges from this investigation is the role of the heavenly sanctuary in the context of the controversy between good and evil. The heavenly sanctuary/temple as conveyed by the imagery of the "mount of the assembly" is the object of attack by Helel ben Shahar. This attack and the reaction to it are indicated by verbs connoting vertical movement: "go up", "raise", "fall down", and "go down"). Moreover, the use of שלש ("hew, hew down or off") in the expression

1 Oswalt, 3222.

2 BDB, s.v. שלש.
("you have been cut down to the earth")\(^1\) also suggests the idea of a combat which resulted in the expulsion of the rebel. It is thus possible to affirm that at the very root of the controversy between good and evil as portrayed in Isa 14:12-15 lies the issue of who will control the mount of the assembly, that is, the heavenly sanctuary/temple.\(^2\)

Summing up, the heavenly sanctuary/temple as reflected in the pericope through the imagery of the "mount of the assembly" functions in the following capacities: (1) as the dwelling place of God, (2) the meeting place of the heavenly assembly, and (3) the site of the cosmic war which resulted in the expulsion of the tyrant.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The sanctuary/temple presupposed in the pericope functions in vertical correspondence to its earthly counterpart. This is indicated by the notion that the heavenly sanctuary/temple is a place of worship, a prominent function of the earthly temple, which indicates a functional correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

\(^1\)Isa 14:12.

\(^2\)The notion of a cosmic conflict between YHWH and an opponent who attacks his sanctuary/temple appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, as noted in the activities of the little horn of Dan 7:8-14 and 8:9-14 (an investigation of these passages in carried out in chapter 5). Furthermore, it should be noted that the concept of a cosmic conflict involving the sanctuary is not restricted to the Hebrew Bible. The mythology of the ancient world attests the idea of a conflict between the deities, or of an attack to the chief deity and his sanctuary/temple by a rebel god. In this connection, Roy Gane has contributed an insightful study in which he compares the Hurrian-Hittite myth of Ullikummi (on the myth of Ulikummi, see chapter 2 of this dissertation) with the activities of the little horn in the aforementioned passages of Daniel. By means of Gane's study, it becomes apparent that the ancient world "would be familiar with many of the conceptual building blocks, which often involved cosmic and transcendent themes" (Gane, "Hurrian Ullikummi and Daniel's 'Little Horn,'" forthcoming).
Ezek 1:1-28

The first chapter of Ezekiel is beset with textual and linguistic difficulties that have drawn the attention of several scholars. Fortunately it is not necessary to solve or review these issues, since they do not affect the present research. For the purpose of this study, it will suffice to make some preliminary observations on the structure and purpose of the pericope, followed by some considerations of its contribution for the understanding of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

It should be kept in mind that Ezek 1:1-28 and 10:1-22 (to be discussed below) belong to the section of Ezek 1-11. This passages, although lacking explicit references to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, seem to convey the idea of a heavenly counterpart to the earthly Jerusalem temple as attested in the temple imagery portrayed in these chapters. In vision of the movable throne, which reveals a relationship between the realia of the earthly temple and their heavenly counterparts.

Preliminary Observations

The vision reported in Ezek 1 has been generally considered as part of the call narrative,1 which includes chapters 2 and 3. With some minor divergences several scholars would favor a fourfold subdivision of the pericope as follows: vss. 1-3 (heading), 4-14 (four living beings); vss. 15-21 (wheels), vss. 22-28 (the glory of YHWH).2 The introduction (vss. 1-3) needs further consideration. These opening remarks introduce the call narrative and provide a chronological point of reference3 and outline what follows. By asserting that the experience of the prophet consisted of "visions of God" (1:1), "the word of YHWH" (1:3), and "the hand of YHWH" (1:3), the text establishes at the outset the main points to be developed in the first three chapters of the book. As noted by Low,


2Alvin A. K. Low, "Interpretive Problems in Ezekiel 1" (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1985), 7-8.

3A significant point of debate is the connection between the two chronological notes provided by the text in Ezek 1:1-3: "Now it came about in the thirtieth year, on the fifth day of the fourth month, while I was by the river Chebar among the exiles, the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God. On the fifth of the month in the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's exile, the word of YHWH came expressly to Ezekiel the priest, son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and there the hand of YHWH came upon him" (emphasis supplied). The task here is to ascertain what event this "thirtieth year" refers to. Although several explanations have been advanced to solve this problem, the most likely solution was proposed by Origen, according to whom the "thirtieth year" would refer to the age of the prophet. This has been supported by several scholars. Cf. Block, 82; Low, 58-124; Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 13; Bruce Vawter and Leslie J. Hoppe, A New Heart: A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 25; Christopher J. H. Wright, The Message of Ezekiel: A New Heart and a New Spirit, The Bible Speaks Today (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 2001), 44. It should be kept in mind that at the age of thirty a priest would begin his duties in the temple (cf. Num 4:3). Belonging to a priestly family (Ezek 1:1), Ezekiel must have felt in a special way the impact of the vision. Although exiled and therefore excluded from the temple ministry, the prophet was granted the privilege of glimpsing the "glory of YHWH" as the "heavens were opened" and he received "visions of God." Not surprisingly, throughout his book Ezekiel displays considerable interest in priestly matters.
these three concepts are thus expanded: "visions of God:" 1:4-28; "word of YHWH:" 2:1-3:11; "hand of YHWH:" 3:11ff.¹ For the purpose of this research it should be noted that the "visions of God" were received from the heavenly realm, as made clear by the following statement: "the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God" (Ezek 1:1). Therefore, the vision reported in 1:4-29 is structurally connected with events transpiring in the heavenly realm. The implication of this observation becomes clear in the ensuing discussion.

Some brief considerations about the purpose of the text are in order. Most scholars view it positively as a medium of consolation for the prophet and his people in exile, assuring them that YHWH is not circumscribed to the Jerusalem temple.² However, some commentators have argued for a negative purpose according to which the vision should be understood as a message of judgment for YHWH's own people.³ It is beyond the scope of this study to rehearse this discussion; however, a few observations are in order.

It has been observed that the intertwined motifs of "storm theophany" and "throne theophany" reflected in the vision are frequently associated with YHWH's judgment in the

¹Low, 4-8.


Hebrew Bible. In the prophets, "the storm theophany genre is used to convey the intervention of Yahweh to bring judgment upon Israel." Furthermore, as argued by Allen on the basis of 1 Kgs 22:19-23 and Isa 6, the throne theophany evokes judgment. This seems supported by the reference to "fire" (Ezek 1:27), which may also be a subtle allusion to one of the instruments of YHWH's judgment.

The context of Ezek 1 also seems to favor the view that the vision intends to convey a message of judgment. One should keep in mind that Ezekiel was called to a "stubborn and obstinate" people (Ezek 2:4), and that eventually, the "glory of YHWH" would abandon the temple (Ezek 9-11). Therefore, Leslie C. Allen seems to be on solid grounds by emphasizing that the vision of Ezek 1 connotes judgment. However, it is not necessary to assume an either-or stance regarding this issue, as he seems to imply. The vision may have indeed functioned to bring both comfort and hope to the exiles and to serve as harbinger of the judgment soon to be poured out upon Jerusalem. One should not forget that judgment and salvation are two major poles of the Ezekiel message. Overall the prophetic message implies that although YHWH would leave the temple, he would also come back to a temple built anew, as shown in Ezek 40-48. Thus in the light of the broad context of the book of Ezekiel, it could be argued that the inaugural vision might well

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2Ibid., 154. The following passages referred to by Leslie C. Allen seem to support the connection between storm theophany and judgment: Amos 1:2; Mic 1:2-7; Isa 59:15-20; Mal 3:1-5.
3Ibid., 155.
4Ibid., 153.
have displayed this tension between judgment and salvation—a tension that appears throughout the entire book.\(^1\)

**Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations**

A fuller understanding of Ezek 1 must await the discussion of Ezek 10 below, where some significant themes and motifs reappear. For now, it should be noted that Ezek 1 seems to contain subtle allusions to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. For example, that "the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God" (1:1b) seems to imply the heavenly sanctuary. According to Zimmerli, this is the "only text in the book of Ezekiel which presupposes so clearly the heavenly dwelling place of Yahweh."\(^2\) Moreover, this is the only passage in the entire Hebrew Bible which mentions the opening of the heavens. This implies that the phenomena of the chariot and the cherubim supporting a platform with the throne of the "one like the son of man" should be understood in relation to heavenly realities. The movable throne approaching from the "north" (יָמִן)\(^3\) comes from heaven and brings down the realities of the heavenly temple of YHWH to the fray of human history.

The four living beings, later identified by the prophet as cherubim, were the living counterparts of the cherubim stationed at the holy of holies of the temple, as Ezek 10 makes clear. However, a most significant allusion to the temple/sanctuary motif is that of

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\(^2\)Zimmerli, 116.

\(^3\)See above, the discussion on יָמִן ("north") in connection with our study of Isa 14:12-15.
the "glory of YHWH" (לַעֲגֹת ה' יְהוָה). The "glory of YHWH," a concept widely used in the Hebrew Bible to convey the reality of YHWH's presence in the earthly sanctuary/temple, appears in the vision as coming from the heavenly realm and being carried by the heavenly beings whose earthly counterparts were located in the most holy place of the Jerusalem temple. Thus the mention that the "heavens opened" along with the reference to the "living beings," later identified with cherubim carrying the "glory of YHWH," evokes heavenly temple imagery. The implication is that the throne of YHWH leaves its location in heaven and comes to interact with the dynamics of human history.

At this juncture, it is instructive to consider the intertextual connections of Ezek 1 with other texts which convey the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. The "glory of YHWH" and the pavement of his throne echo Exod 24:10-18; the presence of YHWH on his heavenly throne reminds one of 1 Kgs 22:19; the living beings carrying the "firmament" with the glory of YHWH reminds one of YHWH riding on a cherub in 2 Sam 22:11 (par. Ps 18:11 [10]). It is instructive to note that all these passages contain allusions or direct references to the heavenly sanctuary/temple and, although they should not determine the exegesis of Ezek 1, they do demonstrate that the concepts and imagery conveyed by the Ezekelian vision are those frequently conjoined with the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Nevertheless, in distinction to other references to heavenly sanctuary imagery, Ezek 1 presents a situation in which the heavenly realities come down to interact with human affairs and, in a special way, with the earthly temple, as noted below. In this regard, one must keep in mind that the context in which these heavenly realities intersect with human affairs is that of judgment. As argued in the previous section, the imagery and motifs
reflected in the pericope seem to suggest that YHWH comes as a judge, which is congruent with the context, as shown by the next chapters of the book.

Thus, although the vision of Ezek 1 does not focus primarily on a sanctuary/temple located in heaven, it presupposes and evokes such an entity. The entire manifestation of YHWH has heaven as its point of departure, as implied in the statement that "the heavens were opened" and further corroborated by the reference to the "north." Furthermore, the "living beings" (i.e., cherubim) carrying the throne platform, and the majesty of the "glory of YHWH" altogether undoubtedly convey heavenly temple/sanctuary imagery.1 The major focus of the vision, however, seems to be on the interaction between the realities of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and the affairs of human history—an interaction which manifested itself in acts of judgment upon YHWH's temple and his impenitent people.

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1 Some scholars have tried to find the background of the imagery employed in the vision of Ezek 1 in the ancient Near Eastern iconography (e.g., Christoph Uehlinger and Susanne Müller Trufaut, "Ezekiel 1, Babylonian Cosmological Scholarship and and Iconography: Attempts at Further Refinement," TZ 57 [2001]: 140-71; Othmar Keel, Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4 [Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977]). In this regard the observation of Taylor is well taken: "It is tempting to search for some kind of prototype for these creatures among the composite animal figures carved on Babylonian temple and Hittite city-gates, but there is no evidence for anything more than a general influence from Egyptian and other Near Eastern art-forms with which Ezekiel must have been familiar. Almost certainly the final form is Ezekiel's own, and it reflects his passion for the symmetrical which we shall see again in the architecture of the future temple" (Taylor, 55). Craigie seems to concur with Taylor when he says that "the beings bearing the chariot are inevitably reminiscent of the cherubic figures that supported the ark of the covenant (1 Sam 4:4) which was kept in the temple in Jerusalem. And the chariot-like vehicle of the vision recalls that the ark itself was called a chariot (1 Chron. 28:18)" (Craigie, Ezekiel, 11).
Function

From the brief discussion undertaken above, it has become apparent that the main function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple is that of judgment. The glory of YHWH and the attendant heavenly beings come to the earthly temple to undertake a work of investigative judgment against Judah.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

The previous discussion of Ezek 1 allows the inference that the heavenly temple exists in a functional correspondence to the earthy counterpart. This may be perceived in the notion that the glory of YHWH comes down to perform a work of judgment. Additional details regarding other aspects of this vertical correspondence are treated in the next section.

Ezek 10:1-22

Ezek 10 is closely connected with Ezek 1, inasmuch as the latter depicts the coming of the "glory of YHWH" from the east, and the former its interactions with the Jerusalem temple. When chaps. 1-11 are taken as a whole, one perceives that the coming of the "glory of YHWH" depicted in chap. 1 is directional and eventually finds its way into the holy of holies of the Jerusalem temple.1 Therein it sits for a short while to perform a

1Shea observed that "the principal point of the vision in the first chapter of Ezekiel is that God was in transit by means of his celestial chariot to the site of his earthly residence, his temple in Jerusalem" (Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 1:44). Cf. Idem, "The Investigative Judgment of Judah," 283-91.
work of judgment. At the end of the trial, as an ultimate expression of the doom of the
temple and city, the glory of YHWH moves from the golden cherubs of the holy of holies
to their living counterparts' stationed at the entrance of the temple, thus abandoning the
temple and the city.

Preliminary Observations

Ezek 10 displays a well-crafted structure, which is integrated to the larger section
of chap. 8-11. Parunak has suggested the following structure for this section.\(^2\)

8:1–4 Convocation of the Trial
  8:5–9:11 Lawsuit of the Lord against Israel
  10:2 Temple
  10:3 Chariot
  10:4 Temple: *The glory of YHWH moves from the cherub*
  10:5 Chariot
  10:5–7 Temple
  10:8–17 Chariot
  10:18 Temple
  10:19a Chariot: *The cherubim move from the earth*
  10:19b Temple
  10:20–22 Chariot
  11:1–21 Lawsuit of the Lord against Israel
  11:22–25 Convocation of the Trial

\(^1\)The correspondence between the living cherubim (i.e., the four living beings mentioned in
Ezek 1), who bore the glory of YHWH, with the pair of golden cherubim statues in the most holy
place of the earthly temple has been noted, e.g., by Menahem Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim:
Their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual," *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959): 91; Shea,

\(^2\)Henry V. D. Parunak, "The Literary Architecture of Ezekiel's *Mar'ōt ’Elōhīm*," *JBL* 99
(1980): 61–74. The layout of this structure was rearranged for the sake of simplicity.
As can be observed in the structure displayed above, Ezek 10 is the apex of a larger chiastic arrangement focusing on the "sacral judgment." Moreover, as the structure shows, Ezek 10 consists of two parallel chiasms, the foci of which are 10:4 and 10:19a. The former shows the "glory of YHWH" moving from the "cherub" to the threshold of the temple. The latter depicts the heavenly cherubim bearing the "glory of YHWH" moving from the earth. Thus, as can be noted, vs. 4 focuses on the "cherub," namely the golden cherubim placed upon the ark of the covenant in the most holy place of the temple, while vs. 19a focuses on the heavenly cherubim stationed with the heavenly chariot at the entrance of the temple. This structure seems to demonstrate a correspondence between the heavenly cherubim and their earthly counterparts. Both the living ones and their reflex on the golden counterparts seem to have functioned in a similar fashion since both sets were supposed to work in connection with the "glory of YHWH."

It is worth noting at this juncture that the entire passage portrays a situation of judgment. William Shea has referred to it as an "investigative judgment," according to which YHWH came to perform a special work of investigation in the temple before the final pouring out of divine wrath. In this "investigative judgment," two superimposed pictures emerge. One picture would be that of the earthly/historical entities who would act to judge the nation by killing the people and destroying the city and temple. These were the historical enemies embodied by the Babylonians. The other picture would be a

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1Ibid., 68.

"glimpse of the 'upper story' of events," which portrays YHWH himself acting in the supernatural realm that could only be perceived by the prophetic eye.

Thus when the Babylonians came, the destiny of the people had already been sealed by decisions in the supernatural realm. The movable throne bearing the glory of YHWH had come down to interact with its earthly counterpart and eventually to void the latter as an expression of the ultimate doom to fall upon the nation.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

As noted above, the main function of the temple in Ezek 10 is that of judgment. YHWH came down from the heavenly temple to perform the investigative judgment of Judah prior to the destruction of the nation and its earthly temple.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

As noted above, although Ezek 10 does not portray a sanctuary/temple located in heaven, this chapter (along with Ezek 1) depicts heavenly realities coming down to interact with the earthly temple. This dynamic interaction can be observed in the heavenly chariot and its heavenly cherubim bearing the glory of YHWH. It can be inferred by the context that the heavenly chariot brought the glory of YHWH to the temple where it took residence for a few months to carry out a work of judgment.

As the vision unfolds, the correlation between the heavenly re\textit{alia} and the earthly temple becomes clear. First, it should be noted that the place of YHWH's enthronement

\footnote{Greenberg, \textit{Ezekiel 1-20}, 202.}
above the cherubim in the most holy place corresponds to his heavenly enthronement above the heavenly chariot. Second, the living cherubim of the heavenly chariot correspond to their golden counterparts in the most holy place of the Jerusalem temple. It is instructive to note that the "living creatures" referred to in Ezek 1 are explicitly called "cherubim" in Ezek 10. By means of this terminological specification the prophet makes clear the connection between the heavenly cherubim and their earthly counterparts.

Therefore, the text implies a structural correspondence between the holy of holies of the earthly temple and the heavenly realities expressed by the heavenly chariot borne by the live cherubim. As noted above, it has been recognized that the cherubim stationed in the inner sanctum of the earthly temple were intended to represent their heavenly counterparts. That being the case, it may be argued that the heavenly chariot and its cherubim were the heavenly antitypes of the earthly temple. If so, it may be argued that the heavenly temple would exist in functional and structural correspondence to its earthly counterpart.

Besides, the text also allows one to infer a functional correspondence between heavenly realia and their earthly counterpart. As already noted, the special work performed in connection with the temple in Ezek 10 is that of judgment. As William Shea pointed out, YHWH came to the temple to perform a work of judgment. This judgment obviously involves a work executed in/from the most holy place of the Jerusalem temple, and at the same time is connected with the heavenly chariot stationed at the entrance of the temple. It is worthy of note that the fire of judgment to punish the city is taken from the midst of the living cherubim who bore the heavenly chariot.
Summing up, although Ezek 10 does not depict a clear picture of a sanctuary/temple located in heaven, it shows a dynamic interaction and a vertical correspondence (functional and structural) between the heavenly realities and the earthly counterparts.

**Ezek 28:11-19**

The word נֵעַ לָא לְאֵלָי has an Akkadian cognate, taknitu, and means "careful production" or "Vorbild/paragon" (HALOT, s.v. "טְקַנִית"). It occurs again in 43:19 where it clearly means "plan" or "pattern." G. R. Driver proposed the phrase to be translated as "seal of perfection" which would qualify its referent as "a perfect work of art" (Linguistic and Textual Problems, 159). Although, the text is admittedly difficult, Driver's suggestion seems to make sense in view of the context, which emphasizes the beauty and perfection of the cherub.


3 נָכַפְּקִים might be understood either in the sense of the precious stones being placed on the garments, or of their being part of the topography. If נָכַפְּקִים is understood to derive from the root כֶּפֶן, "to fence" or "hedge," the stones might belong to the topography, or be part of the wall of the sanctuary. On the other hand, if נָכַפְּקִים comes from the root כָּפֶן, "to screen," "cover," they might be part of the garments of the cherub. The intertextual connections with the garments of the high priest seem to favor the latter possibility. Besides, since the context suggests that the cherub describes his beauty, it seems more plausible that the stones were part of his garments.

4 This is one of the most problematic verses of this passage. The first word in the phrase according to the consonantal text could be read either as a pronoun or a preposition: (1) LXX translates נָכ as μετά (with): "With the anointed cherub I placed." This reading is favored by those scholars who regard the text as a variant version of the Eden "tradition" in Gen 3. According to this view, the cherub in Ezek 28 would not be the subject of the lamentation, but another being, "the first man" (Walther Eichrodt, Ezekiel: A Commentary, 392-93; John B. Taylor, Ezekiel: An...
11 Again the word of YHWH came to me saying,
12 "Son of man, take up a lamentation over the king of Tyre and say to him, "Thus says YHWH God, "You had the seal of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty.
13 "You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering: The ruby, the topaz and the diamond; the beryl, the onyx and the jasper; the lapis lazuli, the turquoise and the emerald; and the gold, the workmanship of your settings and sockets, was in you. On the day that you were created they were prepared.
14 "You were the anointed cherub who covers, and I placed you there.
15 You were on the holy mountain of God; you walked in the midst of the stones of fire.

Introduction and Commentary, TOTC [Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1969], 196-97; Walther Zimmerli, Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48, trans. James D. Martin, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983], 89-95). The problem with this view is that it makes a distinction—not supported by the text—between the "king" and the "cherub." Actually a look at vss. 12 and 13 reveals that (2) רָע is a pronoun: "You are the anointed cherub." The problem with this view is that the רָע is vocalized as feminine while "cherub" is masculine. However, a plausible solution was advanced by Van Dijk, who argued that "the stylistical and idiomatic similarity of vss. 12-13 and vs. 14 suggests strongly the vocalization of 'attă [masc.] instead of 'et, 'with,' favored by many modern scholars" (H. J. van Dijk, Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre [Ez. 26:1-28:19]: A New Approach, BibOr 20 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968], 119).

The LXX agrees with MT and translates as תּוֹרַתְךָ as רָע לְפָנֶיךָ ("your sanctuaries"). Targum and Syriac read דְּתַנְבִּיךָ as singular "your sanctuary"; and the critical apparatus of BHS also suggests "my sanctuary" without pointing to any manuscript evidence. Although it is difficult to determine with certainty which is the best reading, it seems more prudent to keep the MT reading, and understand the plural to "denote a single sanctuary with its precincts," as suggested by A. S. Cooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1951), 324. That the plural "sanctuaries" could represent a single "sanctuary" seems to be favored by references to the Jerusalem temple in the plural. For example, in Ps 68:35 שְׁמֹלֶת הַיָּרָה ("sanctuaries") is used to refer to the Jerusalem Temple; and in Jer 51:51, the expression מֵלֶט הַיָּרָה ("sanctuaries of the house of YHWH") apparently denotes the several precincts of the Temple. Cf. also Lev 21:23; 26:31; Ps 73:17.
15 "You were blameless in your ways from the day you were created until unrighteousness was found in you.
16 "By the abundance of your trade you were internally filled with violence, and you sinned; therefore I have cast you as profane from the mountain of God. And I have destroyed you, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire.
17 "Your heart was lifted up because of your beauty; you corrupted your wisdom by reason of your splendor. I cast you to the ground; I put you before kings, that they may see you.
18 "By the multitude of your iniquities, in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries. Therefore I have brought fire from the midst of you; it has consumed you, and I have turned you to ashes on the earth in the eyes of all who see you.
19 "All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you; you have become terrified and you will cease to be forever."

Preliminary Observations

A reception formula, "the word of YHWH came to me saying" (ויהוה אליעזר לאמר), marks its beginning in vs. 11; and the refrain "and you will cease to be forever" (ויהוה אלהיך נפרת), which occurs also in 26:21 and 27:36, closes the pericope at vs. 19. As for the literary structure, Davidson has demonstrated that Ezek 28:12-19 is composed in a chiastic structure:¹

A. Inclusio (vss. 12b-13)
  B "The anointed cherub who covers" (vs. 14)
  C "I establish you" (vs. 14)
  D "on the holy (qodesh) mountain of God" (vs. 14)
  E "In the midst of the stones of fire" (vs. 14)
    F "Perfect in your ways from the day you were created" (vs. 15a)
    F' "Till iniquity was found in you, and you sinned" (vss. 15b, 16)
    E' "From the midst of the stones of fire" (vs. 16)
  D' "From the mountain of God a profane thing (hll)" (vs. 16)
  C' "I will destroy you" (vs. 16)
  B' "O covering cherub" (vs. 16)
A' Inclusio (vss. 17-19).

¹Davidson, "The Chiastic Literary Structure of the Book of Ezekiel," 75.
The first half of the structure (A-F) reveals the condition/origin of the cherub, while the second half (F'-A') reveals the condition/destiny of the cherub before and after his expulsion, respectively. Thus, this structure highlights the two-phase experience of the king/cherub characterized, respectively, by perfection and corruption, presence in Eden/the holy mountain of God (sanctuary), and expulsion from the holy mountain. In the first phase, the cherub acted as a coverer in the sanctuary; in the second, he defiles it. Davidson's study also revealed that Ezek 28:11-19 stands at the apex of the chiastic structure of the entire book of Ezekiel. In this literary arrangement the first section of the chiasm reports the judgment from the sanctuary and YHWH's departure from it (Ezek 1–11). This matches the last chapters (Ezek 40-48) which portray YHWH coming back to the restored temple to establish his dwelling among his people. Thus it should not be surprising that sanctuary/temple imagery would also occur at the apex of the entire literary structure.

Regarding its context, it must remembered that Ezek 28:11-19 is part of a larger section, comprising chaps. 25-32 with several oracles against foreign nations. In its more immediate context the pericope under study belongs to the section about the judgment of Tyre (chaps. 26:1-28:19). For the purposes of this research, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between 28:1-10 and 28:11-19. These two sections are closely connected in the literary context of the book, and display close affinities. The most obvious is the judgment on the king of Tyre designated as יִשֵּׂרְאֵל (“prince”) in the former, and יֵשׁבָּע (“king”) in the latter.

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
Bertolucci pointed out that "the books of the Former Prophets seem to have understood the terms דָּרִי ("prince") and כִּינָם ("king") in the beginning of the Israelite monarchy, as connoting rulership on two different levels. Several times the writers present God as saying that Saul, David, or other Israelite leaders would be the דָּרִי over his people, while the true King of Israel was the Lord." A contextual analysis of 28:2 and 28:12 points to the same distinction employed by the Former Prophets. Ezek 28:1-10 suggests that the דָּרִי is a human being, as 28:2 and 9 make clear, "yet you are a man and not God." This seems to emphasize that despite all the pride and glory of the historical "prince" (דָּרִי) of Tyre, he remains a mere human being. Additionally, vs. 2 and 8 locate the "prince" in "the heart of the seas," a fitting expression for the geographical location of Tyre which matches the actual location of the human ruler.

Ezek 28:11-19, however, presents a different picture. The ruler of Tyre is designated as "king" (כִּינָם) and described as a "cherub" (כרוב). As several scholars have noted, here a distinct personage is being spoken of. The designation "cherub," used elsewhere in the book of Ezekiel of members of the divine entourage, further indicates that here another figure is in view, an idea corroborated by critical scholars. Skinner asserts that "it almost seems as if the prophet had in mind the idea of a tutelary spirit or..."
genius of Tyre," while Page suggests that "Yahweh's trusted associate, who was without equal in the created order, is compared to the king of Tyre. Both are fated for destruction because of their pride and their vanity." These statements are instructive inasmuch as they indicate that the text refers to a supernatural being.

Besides, it is worth noting that the "king" of Tyre/cherub is described as being "in Eden, the garden of God." It has been recognized that "this phrase 'you were in Eden, the garden of God' (vs. 13) is the most difficult obstacle to the interpretation of the king of Tyre as the literal king of the city." In like manner, Ezek 28:15—"You were blameless in your ways from the day you were created (חַי), until unrighteousness (שִׂדְי) was found in you"—also poses problems for the identification of the king/cherub with any historical ruler of Tyre. It seems very unlikely that there had been a time in which the human ruler of Tyre was "blameless" (חַי), having no "unrighteousness" (שִׂדְי). Additionally, the verbal phrase חַי, ("you were created") would make more sense as a reference to a supernatural being designated as "cherub"/"king," than to a historical ruler. When all the evidence is weighed, the probability increases that the referent of king/cherub in Ezek 28:11-19 is some supernatural figure who is acting behind the historical ruler of Tyre described in Ezek 28:1-10.

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2 Page, 157.


4 The "king" is referred to as "cherub" two times (28:14, 16).
This picture is very similar to the one presented in Isa 14:12-15, which also contains a similar vertical dynamic focusing on the fall of a supernatural figure behind the historical King of Babylon. This personage, after a failed attempt to overtake the "mount of assembly," the heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH, is expelled from heaven. It seems apparent that the same event is being described by Ezekiel, though with a more varied imagery. The essentials, however, remain the same—in both texts, the sin of the rebellious creature is related to improper actions towards the sanctuary/temple. In the Isaiah pericope, the King of Babylon attacks the "mount of assembly," namely, the sanctuary; in the Ezekiel passage, the cherub defiles the "sanctuary." It thus seems reasonable to suppose that both texts portray the same event from different perspectives.

Although this vertical dimension in Ezek 28:11-19 and Isa 14:4-21 is not accepted by many scholars, some of them have proposed a mythical background for the language.

1 Although a study of Isa 14 has been provided earlier in this chapter, it may be useful to summarize here three basic arguments advanced by Bertolucci to support this view: (1) The use of the word גֵּרָה to introduce the message against Babylon suggests a typological interpretation of the text. (2) The term Babylon has been used in the Bible with different connotations. It may point to the historical city or empire, or could also be used to refer to Babylon as an entity in opposition to God, as is the case in the narrative of the tower of Babel, and the application made by the Revelation of John. The use of מָשָׂל (mashal) to define the overall tenor of the message seems to endorse this latter possibility. (3) The passage of Isa 14 presents an interconnection of historical, underworld, and heavenly realms. Especially vss. 12-15 display characteristics of an "apocalyptic-like vertical dimension" (Bertolucci, 289-91). If this is true, then it might be argued that the prophet is speaking about a power that goes beyond the mere earthly/historical level. The following expressions are difficult to understand in reference to a human ruler; however, they seem to be better understood as reference to a supernatural power. Isa 14:12: "How you have fallen from heaven, O star of the morning, son of the dawn!" Isa 14:13: "But you said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God, and I will sit on the mount of assembly in the recesses of the north.'"

2 Regarding the mythical interpretation of Ezek 28:11-19, the same observations, mutatis mutandis, already made in connection with Isa 14:12-15, apply. It is a plausible idea that Ezekiel was aware of a common tradition of a cosmic rebellion or cosmic transgression which culminated...
and imagery of these texts. This seems to be a tacit recognition that the realities portrayed by the text transcend the historical domain, a view that contributes to reinforce the position that the king/cherub represents a supernatural being. Thus, in view of the considerations undertaken thus far, it becomes apparent that in Ezek 28:11-19, the prophet shifts the focus from the human ruler of Tyre to the supernatural power behind the historical ruler of that ancient city.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Garden of Eden

As noted below, Garden-of-Eden imagery pervades the pericope. The expression "in Eden, the garden of God" (כָּבוֹד ה' הַגֵּן) in vs. 13 echoes "and YHWH God planted a garden in Eden" (וְיָשָׁב יְהוָה בְּגֶן עֵדֶן) in Gen 2:8. Ezekiel also refers to "all precious stones" (כֶּסֶף וְשָׁלְאָנָה) and "gold" in this connection (vs. 13) which seems to echo the precious stones in the Garden of Eden. Another possible allusion to the Garden of Eden can be perceived in the Hithpael of הָיָה in 28:14. Referring to the cherub in vs. 14, the prophet says: "You walked (כָּבוֹד הַגֵּן) in the midst of the stones of fire." The same

in the expulsion of a divine being from heaven to earth. This common tradition would be couched by the prophet in accordance with his Yahwistic faith.


2Cf. Gen 2:12; "bdellium" (רָכַל) and the "onyx stone" (בְּדֵלֵל).
verbal stem is used in reference to YHWH walking in the garden in Gen 3:8: "and they heard the voice of YHWH God walking (תִּמְגֹּל) in the garden." The mention of the king of Tyre as a "cherub" (כֶּרֶבּ) seems to resonate with the "cherubim" (כְּרוּבִּים) stationed at the east of the garden to guard the way to the tree of life (Gen 3:24). It has also been observed that the expression found in Ezek 28:18, "I will give you to the dust upon the earth" (לָסֹּף הָאָרֶץ), echoes Gen 3:19, "You are dust and to the dust you shall go back" (כַּיָּדוֹת אָדָם אל-אָרֶץ תַּחַת הָאָרֶץ). In this connection it must be observed that Gen 3:14 also relates the dust to the serpent: "And you shall eat dust all the days of your life" (כַּיָּדוֹת תַּחַת אָדָם, חֹלֵל הָאָדָם). Conceptual linkages can also be observed between the pericope of Ezekiel and the Garden narrative. For example, both the king of Tyre and serpent seemed to be extremely notable among their peers; the king was full of "wisdom" (חֵכָּה), the serpent was "crafty" (עָוֹן). The king became corrupt in his wisdom and sinned. The serpent used his craftiness to lead humanity into sin, promising "knowledge" to them.

Along with the foregoing considerations, one should hold in mind that the allusions to the Garden of Eden contribute to corroborate the sanctuary setting of the passage. As several scholars have noted, the Garden of Eden is described in Gen 2 with language reminiscent of the sanctuary/temple. Davidson conveniently summarized seventeen lines of evidence for this conclusion, noting key terminological linkages ("to plant," "in the midst," YHWH "walking around," "onyx," "bdellium," "light"), thematic parallels (common

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1Kalman Yaron, "The Dirge over the King of Tyre," ASTI 3 (1964): 54.
eastward orientation, three spheres of space in ascending degrees of holiness, river, portrayals of nature), and structural parallels (seven sections concluding with the Sabbath, and the verbal series at the conclusion: "saw the work," "made/did," "finished the work," "blessed").

Sanctuary

The nine stones mentioned in Ezek 28:13 provide a strong link with sanctuary imagery. Yaron noted that "seven of the nine stones mentioned in Ezekiel and Exodus appear only in these two places: in connection with the Garden of God and with the stones on the breast-plate of the high priest." Although MT and LXX diverge in the listing of

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2Yaron, 36.
these stones,¹ it seems reasonably clear that a connection with the stones used by the high
priest was intended. As noted by Barnes, Ezekiel

specifies nine varieties of precious stones . . . . They are identical with the nine
varieties which formed the first, second, and fourth rows of the jewels carried on the
breastplate (hoshen) of the Aaronic high priest (Exod. xxviii 17 ff.; xxxix 10 ff.). The
stones of the third row are not represented in Ezekiel's list according to the M.T.,
though they appear in the LXX. Whichever text we adopt we cannot doubt that
Ezekiel sees a connection between the protecting breastplate of Exodus and the
protecting wall of the Tyrian temple.²

The clause "You were an anointed covering cherub" (אֲרוֹם מְכֻרֶּד הָגֶן יַעֲנֵשָׁה) in
Ezek 28:14 seems to echo the cherubim over the mercy seat in the holy of holies of the
tabernacle.³ The passage of Exod 25:20 seems to be the closest parallel: "And the
cherubim shall have their wings spread upward, covering (כְּלַכְיָם) the mercy seat with
their wings." The references to "holy mountain" and "mountain of God" in 28:14 and 16,
respectively, also display sanctuary/temple connections.⁴ Also the clause "in the midst of
the stones of fire you walked (וְהָלֹא בְּהַר תֶּפֶן)" may reflect sanctuary imagery, as suggested by
Lev 26:12, where the same verbal form occurs in connection with YHWH going with the
people by means of the tabernacle.

Two more key expressions linking our text with sanctuary or cultic motifs deserve
some considerations. The verb הָלֹא ("profane") occurs in Ezek 28:16 and 18. In vs. 16, it

¹Ezek 28:13 (MT) provides nine of the twelve stones of Exodus in a modified sequence. Ezekiel (LXX) presents all the stones mentioned in Exodus.


⁴See the discussion on the "mountain" motif in connection with the discussion of Isa 14:12-15 above.
occurs in the clause, "I have cast you as profane from the mountain of God" (혼나א ליהיה רג ייל). Here the verb is employed in the so-called "pregnant construction," a form in which the preposition imparts some action to the verb. The idea is that God expelled the cherub from the mountain/garden as a profane entity. The same verb ליהיה occurs again in vs. 18 where it is stated, "You [i.e., the cherub] profaned your sanctuaries" (ליהיה נבנ). The use of ליהיה and the explicit mention of the "sanctuary" make the cultic connections even more evident. The verb ליהיה is employed in the Mosaic law in the Piel stem to convey the idea of profanation or desecration. It can have as subject either the Israelites or the pagan nations; and as objects, ליהיה can govern "the altar" (Exod 20:25), "the Sabbath" (Exod 31:14), "the name of YHWH" (Lev 18:21; 19:12); "the sanctuary" (Lev 21:12; 21:23); and the "holy things" (Lev 22:15; Num 18:32), possibly those things associated with the sacrifices. Thus the verb ליהיה in Ezek 28:18 seems to evoke a cultic concept, since it has the "sanctuary" as its object (28:18).

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2In this case the preposition מ', which connects ליהיה with its adverbial modifier, implies the idea of movement "from" some place.


4See, e.g., Lev 21:12: "Do not profane (ליהיה) the sanctuary (ליהיה) of his God," and Lev 21:23, "and he shall not profane (ליהיה) my sanctuary (ליהיה)."

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Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Since the discussion undertaken above has revealed that sanctuary/temple imagery pervades Ezek 28:11-19, it remains to ascertain the locale of the sanctuary/temple alluded to in the pericope. The text contains four parallel expressions to denote the place where the cherub was located: "Eden, garden of God"; "holy mountain of God"; "mountain of God"; and "sanctuaries." Yaron pointed out that "the garden of Eden and the House of God are interchangeable" and "there is no clear dividing-line between the mountain of God and the House of the Lord. Indeed, we can conclude from Isa 14:13 that there is no differentiation between Heaven, Eden, the side of the North and the temple."¹

It must be noted that since vs. 17 reports that the cherub was cast to the earth, he must have been located in some place outside the earth. Additional, that the "cherub" was covered with "precious stones" among the "stones of fire" indicates a location at the very presence of YHWH, as implied in Ezek 1:13 and 10:2. Moreover, the connections with Isa 14:12-15 also indicate a heavenly setting for Ezek 28:11-19, which strengthens the probability that the sanctuary referred to in the latter pericope is the heavenly sanctuary. Therefore, granting that the passage refers to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, it is necessary at this juncture to investigate which aspects of the sanctuary/temple emerge from the text.

¹Yaron, "The Dirge over the King of Tyre," 43-44.
Function

An important function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple emerges in connection with the accusation that "you [i.e. the cherub's] defiled your sanctuaries (מֵכִיר)." If the plural is understood with a singular meaning as convincingly argued by Cooke,¹ it may be inferred that the heavenly "sanctuary" was the object of some improper action on the part of the cherub, as suggested by vs. 18a:

By the multitude of your iniquities in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries.

The profanation of the sanctuary was brought about by the "iniquities" of the cherub. Although the exact nature of these "iniquities" is not explained, the parallel expression "the unrighteousness of your trade" may help clarify what happened. Although the expression "your trade" ( אתכם רכש) may not seem fitting to describe activities in the heavenly realm, Davidson's suggestion that "trade" (רכש) can also mean "slander"² clarifies the meaning of that expression. If the cherub was involved in actions of "slandering," it is possible that he may have aimed his derogatory claims at YHWH himself, a sin which brought about the "profanation" of the sanctuary. Also one should not exclude the possibility that this profanation involved an attack on the sanctuary/temple similar to what is portrayed in Isa 14:12-15. The verb בָּלַל ("profane")³ allows this

¹See the textual observation on this expression earlier in this section.


³The verb בָּלַל may occur in the context of a pagan military assault on the Israelite sanctuary, which results in its profanation (Ezek 7:21-24; Ps. 74:7).
possibility, since it is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in reference to the contamination of the Israelite sanctuary by a military assault.\(^1\) Also, the observation that the cherub's heart was full with "violence" (וָגוֹז) may imply some violent action against YHWH and his temple/sanctuary (Ezek 28:16). The heavenly sanctuary/temple thus emerges in this passage as the setting for a cosmic war between the king/cherub and YHWH, a picture very close to the one portrayed in Isa 14:12-15.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

It seems reasonable to suppose that the reference to the sanctuary as "your sanctuaries" (תֵּיאָרִים) denotes the special relation of the cherub with the sanctuary, which further emphasized by the designation "covering (יָקָטָר) cherub." As Bertolucci pointed out, it is beyond doubt that "this marvelous being seems to have his functions related to a temple or sanctuary."\(^2\) A close look at the Israelite sanctuary/temple with its cherubim "covering" the ark of the covenant in the most holy place is instructive. It may indicate that a similar structure obtains for the heavenly sanctuary, where the cherub had a special function described by the adjectival participle יָאָטָר ("covering"). The cherubim of the earthly sanctuary were also described as כְּבָשִׁים ("covering") the mercy seat (Exod 25:20; 37:9). In view of the foregoing observations, that view may be advanced that the use of the lexeme הַשָּׁרוֹן ("sanctuary") in vs. 18 and the portrayal of "covering cherub" indicates a structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.

\(^1\) Cf. Ezek 7:21-24; Ps. 74:7.

\(^2\) Bertolucci, 270.
It should also be noted that the contamination of the heavenly sanctuary/temple by the sins of the cherub in a way corresponds to the contamination of the earthly sanctuary/temple, thus pointing to a functional correspondence. Finally, it must be pointed out that the description of the heavenly sanctuary/temple by means of Garden-of-Eden imagery may indicate that the heavenly sanctuary/temple existed in relationship not only with the Israelite sanctuary/temple, but also with the Garden of Eden, inasmuch as the latter seems to have functioned as a sanctuary.

Mic 1:2-3

Hear, O peoples, all of you; listen, O earth and all it contains, and let the Lord YHWH be a witness against you, the Lord from his holy temple. For behold, YHWH is coming forth from his place. He will come down and tread on the high places of the earth.

Perusal of commentaries and articles dealing with Mic 1:2 reveals that the vast majority of scholars regard the "temple" mentioned therein as the heavenly temple. Kim, Margaret Baker speculates that the "the judgement of the proud prince [i.e., the cherub] must have had its counterpart in temple rituals" (The Gate of Heaven, 27). This conjecture may contain some grain of truth, if one examines the judgment context of the activities of the earthly sanctuary in the Day of Atonement (Lev 16), when goat for Azazel was sent to the wilderness, carrying away the iniquities (נִקְשׁוֹת) of the congregation. Cf. Roy Gane, Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy (Winonna Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), forthcoming.

however, has concluded that the passage refers to the Jerusalem temple. Notwithstanding his meticulous investigation, Kim's exegesis of this passage calls for reassessment, since the text seems to point to a heavenly location for the temple referred to in the text. After some preliminary observations, a critical analysis of two objections advanced by Kim against the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the passage is undertaken. In the sequence, some key words and expressions are investigated in order to clarify some aspects of the text. And finally the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is delineated with special attention to the function of the heavenly temple as portrayed by the passage.

Preliminary Observations

Mic 1:2-3 belongs to the text unit of vss. 2-7, which is usually divided by most scholars into two subsections: vss. 2-4 containing an announcement of judgment against the gentile peoples, and vss. 5-7 describing the judgment against Israel and Judah. The


1Kim, 238.

problem with this traditional understanding of the text is that the first section announces a judgment which is not described; and the second, a judgment which is not announced.¹

Some scholars have tried to explain this tension by suggesting that vss. 2-4 were inserted by an exilic redactor.² Nonetheless, there are compelling reasons to understand vss. 2-4 as an integral part of the text.³ A close look at the Hebrew text reveals a fine literary continuity with smooth transitions by way of connective particles and expressions⁴ which substantiate the integrity of the passage. The major difficulties are not related to the linguistic texture of the pericope, but to its contents.

Other scholars have tried to explain this tension by suggesting that the reference to "peoples" in vs. 2 is intended to provide a broader background and legitimation for YHWH's actions against Israel and Judah.⁵ Furthermore, the nations are, so to say,  

¹Cf. ibid.

²T. K. Cheyne, The Two Religions of Israel, with a Re-examination of the Prophetic Narratives and Utterances (London: A. and C. Black, 1911), 366; Robert Henry Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), 590, 93; B. Stade, "Streiflichter auf die Entstehung der jetzigen Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Prophetenschriften," ZAW 23 (1903): 163; John Marsh, Amos and Micah (London: SCM Press, 1979), 87; Wolfe, 6:902. Interestingly enough, Hillers cautiously suggests that it is the reference to Judah and Jerusalem in vs. 5 that is a later addition. It was possibly "made already by Micah or an early collector of his sayings" (18).

³Cf. Willis, 372-79.

⁴In vs. 3 provides a continuation from vs. 2; the expression "all this" (דַּעְנֵבָם) in vs. 5 seems to refer back to the previous verse; vs. 6 starts with a weqatal verb, and vs. 7 with a conjunctive vav. The text thus flows nicely by way of these syntactic linkages, which provide smooth linguistic texture, and a coherent piece of literature.

involved in transgressions similar to those of Israel and Judah. However, it should be noted that vs. 5, which introduces the judgment against Israel and Judah, is closely linked to the previous verses by way of the expression "all this" (আমাদি in "All this is because of Jacob's transgression, because of the sins of the house of Israel." The text thus says that the transgressions of YHWH's people are the motivation for what transpired previously in the text. This being so, it is difficult to regard the "peoples" referred to in vs. 2 as gentile nations.

The task ahead, therefore, is to explain why vss. 2-4 announce an oracle against "all the nations of the earth," while the oracle itself reported in vss. 5-7 addresses Israel and Judah. A solution that respects the integrity of the text and keeps the line of thought flowing smoothly across the text is to postulate that "all the peoples" and "the earth and all that is in it" in vs. 2 refer to Israel and Judah, and not to the gentile nations. This view has been suggested in the past by several scholars, and has more recently been substantiated

1Barker and Bailey, 49.


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by Kim. It has the merit of explaining the text without excisions or forced harmonizations. Besides, from a linguistic point of view, the expression "O peoples, all of you" and "O earth and all it contains" in vs. 2 can be applied to the Israelites, as shown in due course.

At this juncture, granting that the pericope is a unified composition with a coherent flow of thought, the following arrangement can be suggested: Announcement of the judicial procedure against the peoples (Israel and Judah) in the temple (vs. 2); YHWH comes forth/down from the temple in order to manifest his presence on earth and execute the judgment (vss. 3-4); the reasons for the previous action are spelled out with a description of the execution of the judgment (vss. 5-7). Keeping this in mind, attention must be given to the genre of the pericope.

Scholars have identified a variety of genres in the pericope of Mic 1:2-7. In vs. 2, as noted by several studies, the diction apparently echoes a covenantal lawsuit, or judicial 'peoples" as the people of YHWH, both Israel and Judah, and have the pronominal suffix refer back to it. Andersen and Freedman, after an exhaustive investigation of this expression, have pondered that 'v 2 is not an unequivocal call to the (other) nations of the world to listen or adjudicate. The plural thus matches Samaria and Jerusalem in the title. Both cities come under attack in what follows, but no further word is addressed to the international community. The tantalizing ambiguity in the language of v 2 is not resolved until v 5' (Andersen and Freedman, Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, 150).

1Kim, 237-38.

2Hillers has suggested the following outline: vs. 2: YHWH in the divine council; vss. 3-4: the theophany; vss. 5: the reason for his wrath; vss. 6-7: the resulting overthrow of Samaria (19).

procedure,¹ as can be deduced from the use of the term יָשָׁה ("witness") and the call-to-
attention formula.² Although the text does not give a description of the judicial
procedures, the implication is that those procedures are about to begin in the heavenly
temple,³ where YHWH would act as litigant against Israel and Judah because of their
unfaithfulness to the covenant.

In vs. 3-4 the genre switches to that of a theophany,⁴ as can be seen in the two
significant features of a theophany contained in these verses: The coming of YHWH from
a certain place, namely, the heavenly temple; and the reaction of nature to his approach.⁵
This change of genre in vs. 3-4 by no means implies textual discontinuity, as implied by
Kim.⁶ As a matter of fact, the theophanic language of these verses is the logical

¹The term "covenantal lawsuit" has been avoided by recent scholarship on the grounds that
the term "lawsuit" is a "modern technical term that has no Hebrew equivalent" (Michael DeRoche,
"Yahweh's Rib against Israel: A Reassessment of the So-called 'Prophetic Lawsuit' in the Preexilic
Prophets," JBL 102 [1983]: 564). Nonetheless, even those scholars who avoid using the term
"covenantal lawsuit" for Mic 1:2 would agree that the pericope evokes a judicial setting. Cf. James
Luther Mays, Micah: A Commentary (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976); B. Renaud, La
Sweeney, 2:40-41; Barker and Bailey, 48.

²"Hear, O peoples, all of you; listen, O earth and all it contains, and let the Lord YHWH
be a witness against you" (נַעֲשֵׂנּוּ שְׁמֹהוּ כָּלְכָלֶל שְׁמֹהוּ אַלְלוֹ שְׁמֹהוּ אַלְלוֹ שְׁמֹהוּ אַלְלוֹ שְׁמֹהוּ אַלְלוֹ שְׁמֹהוּ אַלְל

³Andersen and Freedman, Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, 140. Hillers's suggestion that vs. 2 portrays "YHWH in the divine council" (19), although not
clearly expressed by the text, can be inferred from other passages where judicial procedures are
undertaken in the context of the heavenly council of YHWH. Cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19; Ps 82; Dan
7:9-14. The latter passage is discussed in chapter 5.

⁴Rainer Kessler, Micha, Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg
im Breisgau: Herder, 1999), 86-87; Renaud, 28-29.

⁵Jörg Jeremias, Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung, 2nd ed.,
WMANT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag), 11-13, 15.

⁶Kim, 234, 235.
development of vs. 2. It must be noted that after the judicial deliberations in the heavenly temple, implied in vs. 2, YHWH comes down to execute the sentence. If this is the case, the theophany is probably the most suitable genre to portray the execution of the judgment by YHWH's direct and personal intervention in the situation.

After the transitional vs. 5, which spells out the reason for the punishment, vss. 6-7 present a "judgment speech" of YHWH announcing the resultant overthrow of Samaria. Thus when the text is examined as a literary unit, one perceives that the variety of genres employed in the pericope of Mic 1:2-7 contributes to a dramatic and coherent portrayal of YHWH's judicial procedures. First, the covenant lawsuit genre tells of YHWH's judicial procedures in the heavenly temple; second, the theophany informs about YHWH's intervention following the deliberations in the heavenly temple; third, the "judgment speech" makes clear the eventual overthrow of Samaria.

Before proceeding to semantic and other exegetical considerations of some key words and expressions, it is necessary to address two objections advanced by Kim against the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the passage under study.

Excursus: Two Objections against the Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

It has been argued that vss. 2d and 2e are not to be related to vs. 3, but should be read with 2a and 2b instead. He implies that there is no parallelism between vs. 2d

1Andersen and Freedman, Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, 135.

2Kim, 234.
("YHWH from his holy temple") and vs. 3 ("coming forth from his place" and "he [i.e., YHWH] will come down"), since vs. 2 is a "self contained unit." This being true, the argument in favor of the heavenly temple would disappear, and vs. 2 should be understood as a reference to the Jerusalem temple, rather than to the heavenly one. However, the disjunction between vss. 2 and 3 cannot be supported on exegetical grounds. The conjunction "ו" at the beginning of vs. 3 seems to link both verses together, making such a disjunction improbable.

Another argument adduced to support the view that the passage refers to the Jerusalem temple is related to the meaning of "peoples" (נ邈ים) in vs. 2. According to him, since the term "peoples" (נ邈ים) refers to Israel, the temple referred to in the passage is the Jerusalem temple. In this connection, approvingly mentioning A. Petrotta, Kim states that "if the addressee is Israel and Judah, it is probable to think that these lines have a provincial reference, the temple in Jerusalem." This argument, however, contains a non sequitur. The fact that vs. 2 refers to Israel and Judah does not require that the "temple" referred to in the same verse be the Jerusalem temple. As a matter of fact, Hebrew Bible also portrays the heavenly temple in connection with YHWH's people on earth. At this juncture, an investigation of some key words and expressions is undertaken in order to

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1Ibid., 235.
2Ibid., 237-38.
4Cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19; Jer 17:12; 2 Sam 22:7, par. Ps 18:7 [6].
gain additional perceptions from the text, and thus obtain a more precise delineation of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

Semantic and other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of נב痳

Since the term "people" (םב) is used in the Hebrew Bible with different connotations and referents, its specific meaning in a given passage must be determined by the context.¹ In Mic 1:2, as noted above, the expression "peoples" (נבימה) has been understood by most commentators as referring to gentile nations, which gives the passage universalistic overtones. Kim rightly argues that "peoples" (כמימה) here refers to the people of Israel and Judah, an interpretation supported by the immediate context, since vss. 5-7 contain the actual description of the judgment upon these two nations. At this juncture, it is also important to note that this usage of the term "peoples" (נבימה) is not an idiosyncrasy of Micah, but appears in other parts of the Hebrew Bible as well. An instructive example is found in Isa 3:13-14: "YHWH arises to contend, and stands to judge the peoples (כמימה). ² YHWH enters into judgment with the elders and princes of his people (כמימה). 'It is you who have devoured the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your houses.'" As can be noted in the parallelism, the peoples (כמימה) referred to in the passage


²The LXX and the Peshitta translate כמימה as singular λαός and 'mmb respectively. Although it is difficult to determine whether the singular came from their Hebrew Vorlage or was a harmonization introduced by the translators, the latter option seems more probable on the basis of the text-critical principle of lectio difficilior preferenda est. It should be noted, however, that IQIsaa and Targum Jonathan agree with MT here.
are none other than YHWH's own people (דֵּעַ). Another interesting passage that can be adduced in this regard is Deut 33:19, which uses "peoples" (בֵּיתוֹ) apparently in reference to the tribes of Israel. "They will call peoples (בֵּיתוֹ) to the mountain; there they will offer righteous sacrifices; for they will draw out the abundance of the seas, and the hidden treasures of the sand." Thus, on the basis of this brief survey, the "peoples" most probably refers to Israel and Judah, rather than to gentile peoples.

Meaning of אֶארנּהוּ בֵּיתוֹ

Although at first glance the expression "earth and all it contains" (אֶארנּהוּ בֵּיתוֹ) seems to indicate the entire world, it can also have a restricted referent. The same expression occurs in Deut 33:16 in reference to "precious things" of the land of Canaan; in Ezek 19:7, to the devastation of the land of Judah; in Ezek 30:12, to the devastation of the land of Egypt. Furthermore, as noted, the context and the flow of the text seem to indicate the land of Canaan as the referent of this expression. Thus, on the basis of its immediate context, and its usage in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, the expression "earth and all it contains" (אֶארנּהוּ בֵּיתוֹ) in Mic 1:2 most probably refers to the land of Israel.

Meaning of הַיִּשָּׁרִים

A semantic analysis of this expression has been undertaken elsewhere in this dissertation and does not need to be repeated here.\(^1\) It suffices to elucidate the referent of the locution and its function in the present context. First, it seems reasonably clear, as

\(^1\)See above the discussion of 1 Kgs 8.
understood by most commentators, that the expression refers to the heavenly temple of YHWH. The connection between vss. 2 and 3 effected by the conjunction י נ makes it highly probable that what happens in vs. 3 presupposes vs. 2. Therefore the mention of YHWH "coming down" in vs. 3 indicates a descent from the heavenly temple.

**Meaning of מָקְרָם**

The prepositional phrase "from his place" (מָקְרָם) adds additional support to the understanding of the "holy temple" in the previous paragraph. The word "place" (מָקֶם) is used in the Hebrew Bible as a technical term for the temple of YHWH.1 And, as noted by J. Gamberoni, "in its theological usage [it] rarely occurs apart from some connection with the temple theology."2 In Mic 1:3, the lexeme מָקֶם has the same referent as "the holy temple" mentioned in the previous verse. The verbs used in connection with "place" (מָקֶם) suggest that the referent of the word is the heavenly temple, as can be noted in the following sequence of verbs in vs. 3: "coming forth" (נָגַר) . . . "and will come down" (נָגַר) . . . "and will tread" (יָדַע). The actions that follow "coming forth" (נָגַר) are sequential, as expressed by the perfect-consecutive verbal forms. The text implies that YHWH comes down "from his place" (מָקְרָם), namely, from his heavenly temple, already referred to in vs. 2.

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Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The linguistic evidence suggests that the expressions "holy temple" and "his place" refer to the heavenly temple of YHWH. Vss. 2 and 3 allow one to infer that when YHWH "comes down," he does so by departing from his heavenly temple. Therefore, on exegetical grounds is seems beyond any reasonable doubt that the temple referred to in the text is the heavenly one.

Function

The function of this heavenly temple needs consideration at this point. Granting that the entire pericope (1:2-7) focuses on Israel and Judah, as argued above, a coherent picture of the heavenly temple and its function in relation to earthly events emerges. This scenario suggests a logical progression of YHWH's actions emanating from the heavenly temple. First, the covenant lawsuit genre employed in vs. 2 announces to the nation that YHWH is about to undertake a judicial process (against Israel and Judah) in the heavenly temple. Second, on the basis of what was decided therein, the theophanic language of vss. 3-4 portrays YHWH coming down and shaking the elements of nature with his awesome presence in order to execute the punishment of his people. Finally, after the transitional vs. 5, the judgment speech of vss. 6-7 spells out the final overthrow of Samaria, thus consummating the execution of the judgment. So, the heavenly temple emerges as the

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1It should be noted that as YHWH comes down, he does not go to the earthly temple to perform a judgment from there, as implied by Kim's view. Rather YHWH comes from the heavenly temple to execute on earth a decision already taken in the heavenly temple.
place where YHWH undertakes a judicial process, before executing the sentence upon the condemned sinners.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The heavenly temple in Mic 1:2-3 emerges in functional and structural relationship to its earthly counterpart. Thus, in its function as a place of judgment, the heavenly temple stands functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart; and in its designation as חֵרֵס ("his holy temple") the heavenly temple exists structural correspondence to the earthly counterpart.

**Zech 3:1-10**

1 This expression is also applied to the earthly temple in Ps 5:8 [7]; 79:1;
1 Then he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of YHWH, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him.

2 YHWH said to Satan, "YHWH rebuke you, Satan! Indeed, YHWH who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is this not a brand plucked from the fire?"

3 Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments and standing before the angel. He spoke and said to those who were standing before him, saying, "Remove the filthy garments from him." Again he said to him, "See, I have taken your iniquity away from you and will clothe you with festal robes."

4 Then I said, "Let them put a clean turban on his head." So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with garments, while the angel of YHWH was standing by.

5 And the angel of YHWH admonished Joshua, saying,

6 "Thus says YHWH of hosts, 'If you will walk in my ways and if you will perform my service, then you will also govern my house and also have charge of my courts, and I will grant you free access among these who are standing.

7 "Now listen, Joshua the high priest, you and your friends who are sitting in front of you—indeed they are men who are a symbol, for behold, I am going to bring in my servant the Branch.

8 "For behold, the stone that I have set before Joshua; on one stone are seven eyes. Behold, I will engrave an inscription on it,' declares YHWH of hosts, 'and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.

9 "In that day,' declares YHWH of hosts, 'every one of you will invite his neighbor to sit under his vine and under his fig tree.'"

There is overall agreement among scholars that Zech 3:1-10 depicts a heavenly court scene. Kim has drawn attention to this matter by using the expression "heavenly court-temple," which aptly describes the setting and procedures depicted in the vision.

The ensuing discussion intends to survey the evidence for a heavenly court-temple setting in the passage. In order to accomplish this, some preliminary observations on the text unit,

1Although the presence of the article in the term יָשָׁן indicates that may function as a title, rather than a personal name, the malicious character of this figure seems to identify him with the "Satan" of Judeo-Christian tradition.

2An exception to this is Leupold, who denies that the text portrays a trial scene. According to him "what the vision does represent is Joshua ministering to the Angel of the Lord" (H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Zechariah [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1971], 66). As for the setting of the vision, he seems to imply that it transpires in the Jerusalem temple (ibid., 67).

3Kim, 266-67.
structure, and context are undertaken. Next, semantic and other exegetical issues will receive some consideration; and finally, an attempt is made to delineate the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif as portrayed in the passage, with a view to its function and relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Preliminary Observations

The vision of 3:1-10 is the fourth in the series of eight vision reports found in the first part of the book of Zechariah. As noted by Tidwell,¹ three characteristics make this vision report unique among its peers:

1. The introduction does not contain the form found in the other visions. Here a Hiphil verbal form יָנַשֵׁר ("then he showed me") is employed without the following יֵה ה ("behold").

2. Another interesting feature of the fourth vision is that, unlike the others, it features no mysterious objects or figures. Its imagery is straightforward and portrays a historical figure—Joshua—as its central character.

3. Another distinctive feature of this vision is the conspicuous absence of the Interpreting Angel. In the other seven visions, this figure plays a prominent role in explaining to the prophet several aspects of the visionary experience. The fourth vision, however, portrays the Angel of YHWH, who is part of the visionary world.

Due to its distinctive features, as noted above, some scholars suggest that the pericope was inserted later into an original seven-vision set. Other scholars, however, have pointed out that Zech 3:1-10 fits into the book as a whole. Baldwin found two chiastic structures in each of the two major divisions of the book. More recently, Kline has shown that the entire book of Zechariah is built upon a three-hinge framework formed by Zech 3:1-10, 6:9-15, and 11:1-17. Since it is beyond the scope of this research to engage in a full evaluation of these studies, it suffices to keep in mind that they support the coherence of the canonical text.

The text divides itself into two parts: The vision (1-5), and the oracular section (6-10). In spite of the debate about the unity of the pericope, one should note that vss. 6-10 flow naturally from the vision, which seems to support the canonical shape of the text. For

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4 Although the scholarly debate about the unity of the pericope and especially the discussion on whether vss. 6-10 were originally part of the vision are outside the scope of this research, the following observations are appropriate. James C. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 558, presents the following summary of different proposals: Petitjean and Meyers-Meyers think that 3:8-10 form a supplementary oracle (Albert Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie: Un programme de restauration pour la communauté juive après l’exil* [Paris/Louvain: Lecoffre J. Gabalda et Cie, Éditeurs/Louvain Éditions Imprimerie orientaliste, 1969], 161; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987], 178); Beuken contends that 3:8-10 is the original oracle, while vss. 6-7 were added later (Wim Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 10 [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967], 290-300); Petersen argues that there are three oracular responses: vss. 6-7, 8 and 9 are two responses which did not belong originally with the vision; and vs. 10 is a deuteroprophetic response which builds upon the earlier two (David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*, 202).
example, the mention of the Angel of YHWH, the injunction and promise to Joshua, would not make sense apart from the vision. Therefore, the canonical form of the text is still the most objective foundation for the exegetical task ahead.

Turning to the context of the passage, two points need attention. First, as E. Conrad and M. Prokurat have pointed out, Zech 2:17—"Be silent, all flesh, before YHWH; for he is aroused from his holy habitation"—indicates the setting, or functions as a prelude, for what is depicted in Zech 3. This observation is significant for this study because if, as already noted, "holy habitation" refers to the "heavenly temple" of YHWH, the heavenly council setting of Zech 3:1-10 should be located therein.

Second, the connections between the fourth and fifth visions are contextually relevant, as perceived in the following similarities: (1) Both differ from the other vision reports by containing a different introductory formula, and (2) both are suffused with sanctuary/temple imagery; furthermore, (3) the main characters of each vision are related to the temple—Joshua as high priest; and Zerubbabel as temple builder, respectively. In an insightful study, William Shea has demonstrated that the fourth and fifth visions form

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1 Edgar W. Conrad, Zechariah, Readings, a New Biblical Commentary (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 90. He implies, however, that the scene depicted in Zech 3:1-10 is set in the Jerusalem temple.

2 Michael Prokurat, "Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Form Critical Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1988), 322.

3 Cf. the Hiphil verbal forms הָלַךְנָה ("then he showed me") in 3:1 and הָלַךְנָה ("and he [i.e., the angel] roused me") in 4:1.
the apex of a chiastic structure involving the entire set of eight visions. This makes
apparent that the similarities just noted are part of a larger literary purpose.

Although all the eight visions emphasize that "it is time to build the temple," as
pointed out by Shea, the fourth and fifth visions seem to be concerned with the temple in
a special way since they contain more explicit temple imagery. The fourth vision has a
heavenly temple focus; it portrays the purification and forgiveness of the high priest, and
the acceptance of his ministry in the heavenly tribunal. The fifth is focused upon the
earthly temple since it refers to the building and completion of the Jerusalem temple by
Zerubbabel. Thus one can perceive in this literary connection a link between the heavenly
temple and its earthly counterpart.

1 "A. Vision One—Zech 7-11 Messenger horse-riders come in: The world is at peace.
This peace provides an opportunity to build the temple.
B. Vision Two—Zech 1:18-21 The four horns broken. The political conditions
that led to the Babylonian exile have been reversed. It is time to build the temple.
C. Vision Three—Zech 2:1-5 Man with the measuring line. The unmeasured
blessing that will come with the building of the temple.
D. Vision Four—Zech 3 Message to Joshua the high priest. You are
forgiven and cleansed so that you may minister in the new temple.
D'. Vision Five—Zech 4 Message to Zerubbabel the governor. You are to
build the temple and I will give you the strength to do it.
C'. Vision Six—Zech 5:1-4 The flying scroll. Measured curse for those who
continue to violate the Ten Commandments.
B'. Vision Seven—Zech 5:5-11 The flying epha basket with the wicked woman.
Religious reasons for the Babylonian exile reversed. It is time to build the temple.
A'. Vision Eight—Zech 6:1-8 War chariots and riders go out to establish peace so that
the temple can be built" (William H. Shea, "The Literary Structure of Zechariah 1-6," in
Creation, Life, and Hope: Essays in Honor of Jacques B. Doukhan, ed. Jiri
Moscala [Berrien Springs, MI: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist
Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2000], 84).

2 Ibid., 83-100.

3 That this act had implications for the people is noted below.
Summing up, the reference to the heavenly temple in 2:17 [13] paves the way for the fourth vision. This anticipates not only the heavenly setting of the fourth vision, but also may specify that this setting is the heavenly temple itself. Interestingly enough, the fifth vision also features temple imagery and explicitly refers to the completion of the Jerusalem temple. Thus from a contextual point of view, the emphasis placed on the temple in the framing of Zech 3:1-10 further underlines the temple overtones of this passage. One should also note that when the fourth and fifth visions are read side by side, a vertical correspondence between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart seems to emerge inasmuch as both visions deal with the heavenly and earthly temples respectively.

Semantic and other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of the Root דָּאָם

Derivatives of the root דָּאָם (stand) appear six times in the pericope (vss. 1, 3, 4, 5). This is a special term to indicate the technical procedures of a judgment setting. It refers to Joshua who "stands" before the Angel of YHWH (vss. 1, 3); to Satan who "stands" at the right of Joshua to accuse him (vs. 1); to "those who stand" (דַּעַת), presumably the other heavenly beings who take part in the heavenly court (vss. 4, 5); to the Angel of YHWH who "stands." Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that the

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1 Cf. H. Ringgren, "דָּאָם ' âmâd," TDOT, 11:179-80. See also the occurrence of this term in Ps 109:6, which is mentioned below.
mention of several figures "standing" (תַּחַבִּים), along with Satan as the accuser, points to a judgment setting.¹

**Role of the Angel of YHWH**

Contrary to the other seven vision reports where the Interpreting Angel plays a prominent role, this vision portrays "the Angel of YHWH" (ךָּלְמָן יְהוֹ הֵא) as a leading character in the visionary world. Here the Angel of YHWH does not explain elements of the vision to the prophet; rather he himself is part of the visionary world. The distinctive function of the Angel in this pericope along with the qualification " of YHWH" may raise the question whether or not the Interpreting Angel and the Angel of YHWH are the same figure. Although it is beyond the scope of this research to engage in a detailed discussion of this issue, the distinctive role played by the Angel of YHWH in this text may indicate that two different figures are in view.

Most important for the purpose of this study, however, is to understand the role of the Angel of YHWH in the judicial and cultic procedures depicted in the text. In this regard, some scholars argue that the Angel of YHWH is the one who presides over the judgment.² Nevertheless, the reference in vs. 5 to "the Angel of YHWH standing"

¹Meyers and Meyers pointed out that רָאָש ("stand") "is the most common word in Hebrew literature for reflecting the technical procedures of participating in the Court. Just as people appear before the king and enter his court (cf. 1 Sam 16:21-22, where 'David came to Saul and stood before him,' and Jer 52:12), so heavenly figures are admitted to the assembly over which Yahweh presides" (Meyers and Meyers, 182-83). Cf. 1 Kgs 3:16; 22:19, 21; Ps 109:6.

He was probably not the presiding figure, but a member—albeit the most prominent one—of the heavenly tribunal. The text seems to carefully avoid mentioning YHWH, who is veiled by a refusal of the narrator to describe him. However, the pronominal subject implied in some of the verbs may indicate that YHWH is the one conducting the procedures. The Hiphil verbal form יָרַא ("and he showed me"), which opens the pericope, most probably has YHWH as its subject.

Likewise, the speaker in vs. 4—"he spoke and said to those who were standing before him, saying, 'Remove the filthy garments from him.' Again he said to him, 'See, I have taken your iniquity away from you and will clothe you with festal robes'"—may well be YHWH.

Nonetheless, the Angel of YHWH seems to play a far more conspicuous role in the procedures than any other member of the heavenly council. He is the one who takes the initiative to defend Joshua from Satan's accusations, thereby acting as an advocate, as

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1If the connotation of "standing" is to be understood according to the context of the pericope, the idea is not that the Angel of YHWH "was in the vicinity, standing by" (Conrad, 95, italics his), but that the Angel of YHWH was in YHWH's presence.

2The figure of the Angel of YHWH seems to evoke the "Son of Man" of Dan 7:9-14 (see the study of this passage in chapter 5 of this dissertation).

3Contrary to 1 Kgs 22:19 and Isa 6:1, Zech 3 does not contain a graphic depiction of the divine throne; however, YHWH's presence is certainly implied throughout the vision. See Sweeney, 2:594.

4Meyers and Meyers have pointed out that in Amos 7-8, YHWH is four times the subject of the same verb in the Hiphil (180).

5Prokurat, 333.
proposed by Meyers and Meyers,¹ and cautiously suggested by Blocher.² As the vision develops, one gets the impression that the Angel of YHWH and YHWH himself share a mysterious identity. The Angel, though distinct from YHWH, acts as YHWH himself, thus virtually blurring any distinction between them.³

**Analysis of הָאֵלָה**

The basic meaning of הָאֵלָה is that of "adversary" or "accuser." The occurrence of this term in Ps 109:6 helps illuminate the judicial function of this figure: "Appoint a wicked man over him, and let a הָאֵלָה ("satan") stand at his right hand." The imagery is that of an ancient court of law, where the "satan" would stand at the right hand of the accused person. Thus it is no wonder that Satan takes his stand at the right hand of Joshua (vs. 1). Moreover, the appearance of this figure in two other places in the Hebrew Bible may cast additional light on his role and function in Zech 3:1-10. Basically, Satan appears to designate a divine being who functions as an opponent. He appears at YHWH's court to act as an adversary against Job (Job 1-2) and David (1 Chr 21:1). A detailed discussion of the nature and function of the satan, whether just a role to be filled by any member of YHWH's heavenly court, or a specific divine figure who had access to the court

¹Meyers and Meyers, 185.


³As Merrill pointed out, the Hebrew Bible witnesses the "interchangeability of YHWH and the Angel of YHWH" (Merrill, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 132, n. 7).
proceedings to perform this exclusive task, would exceed the scope of the present research.¹

Nonetheless, it could be argued on the basis of the broad context of the Hebrew Bible that Satan does not appear in the court merely to oppose human beings, but YHWH himself.² Although this may not be so apparent in 1 Chr 21:1, it seems more evident in the prologue of Job, where Satan calls into question the fairness of YHWH in his relationship with the patriarch. The picture in Zech 3:1-10 is similar. Satan is rebuked by YHWH, which makes apparent that Satan ultimately acts in opposition to YHWH. That being the case, the identification of Satan with the Devil, as effected by later Jewish³ and Christian tradition, is a reasonable inference from the biblical text.⁴ For the purposes of this research it will suffice to note that the portrayal of Satan in Zech 3 is an additional evidence that the pericope portrays a judgment setting. Furthermore, as pointed out by Kim, "The presence


²A comprehensive biblical theology deduces that he [satan] was incarnated in the serpent of the temptation account in Genesis 3. How and why he became the adversary remains a mystery, but it is plain throughout the Scriptures that he is subservient to the sovereignty of God and his pernicious conduct as the accuser is something permitted to him by an all-wise God" (Merrill, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 133).

³Nel, 1-21.

⁴Cf. Merrill, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 132-33.
of Satan makes clear that the setting of this account is heaven." This latter observation is endorsed by the presence of the heavenly beings as implied in the participial phrase "those who were standing" (נ abolish). This expression refers to the members of the council of YHWH and therefore indicates a heavenly setting.

Implications of Changing Clothes

The purpose and significance of the replacement of Joshua's filthy clothes by "festal garments" (מִשְׁפָּלוֹת) has been the object of some debate. It should be noted at the outset that in the ancient Near East, garments were deemed to have more than mere aesthetic or practical significance. It has been observed that the "garment is an extension of a person's personality." Thus a change of garments may point to symbolic connotations that easily elude Western perceptions. As attested in the Hebrew Bible, a change of garments may represent a change of status, as observed, for example, in marriage ceremonies, and the ordination of the high priest. Thus, in the light of its biblical use and

1 Kim, 263.
2 Three similarities of this scene with Job 1, 2 have been noted by Tidwell: (1) The satan's appearance before YHWH as the accuser; (2) YHWH's speech to the satan; and (3) the presence of other angels in the group (Tidwell, 346).
5 Cf., e.g., Ruth 3:9; Ezek 16:8.
6 Cf. Exod 28; Lev 8.
the overall ANE background, the change of Joshua's filthy garments to festal clothes most probably indicates a change of his status from that of a contaminated sinner, to that of a cleansed high priest. That was the process that qualified him to exert high priestly functions in the Jerusalem temple.

As for the specific ceremony that lies behind the description of Zech 3:1-10, at least two major options vie for acceptance: Some scholars favor an installation ceremony in which Joshua was invested as high priest;¹ others prefer a Day of Atonement setting.² Both of these ceremonies involved changing the clothes of the high priest. However, either option faces exegetical difficulties, since the cursory description of Joshua's enrobing does not provide enough information to point either to the installation ceremony of the high priest,³ or the procedures of the Day of Atonement.⁴ A reasonable solution is to understand that by the change of garments, Joshua is made fit for the activities he is supposed to perform in the temple. Thus instead of looking for a specific background in


²E.g., Blocher, 264-70; Tidwell, 353.

³In contrast to the account of Joshua's enrobing which mentions only "festal robes" (ךנשנש, "turban" (גנ"כ), and "garments" (םיירמ) (Zech 3:4-5), the installation ceremony of the high priest in Lev 8:7-9 mentions the "tunic" (ךמקס), "sash" (םאבר), "robe" (ךמקס), "ephod" (ךמקס), "breast place" (ךמש), "Urim (מקס) and Tumim (מקס), "turban" (ךמקס), "golden plate" (ךמקס), "holy crown" (ךמקס) (vss. 7-9).

⁴The prescription for the enrobing of the high priest in the Day of Atonement, in Lev 16:4, reads as follows: "He shall put on the 'holy linen tunic' (ךמקס) and the 'linen undergarments' (ךמקס) shall be next to his body, and he shall be girded with the 'linen sash' (ךמקס) and attired with the 'linen turban' (ךמקס). These are 'holy garments' (ךמקס). Then he shall bathe his body in water and put them on" (Lev 16:4). Note that no reference is made to the "festal robes" (ךנשנש) and "turban" (ךמקס), mentioned in Zech 3:4-5.
installation or Day of Atonement procedures, one can agree with the plausible suggestion that this is an "ad hoc cleansing ritual" in which YHWH vindicates Joshua from Satan's objections, thereby making him fit for the temple ministry. In short, the changing of clothes signaled the change of status of Joshua, and symbolized the removal of iniquity from him and from the people. These procedures were a response to a situation experienced by the high priest in the context of the temple ministry.

**Removal of Iniquity**

In connection with the change of garments, and probably symbolized by it, a removal of "iniquity" (יִשְׁ 우리는) is effected. As noted in Zech 3:4:

He spoke and said to those who were standing before him, saying: Remove the filthy garments from him. Again he said to him: See, I have taken your iniquity away from you and will clothe you with festal robes.

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1 Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*, 201.

2 The text may contain elements which are common to the installation ceremony, and/or Day of Atonement, but there is not enough evidence of them in the text to limit the imagery to either of these settings.

3 Cf. Kim, 264.

4 According to Roy Gane, "in the Hebrew Bible, 'awon ("iniquity") can refer to any part of the process of wrongful act → blame → punishment, whether the act is intentional or not. However, in Leviticus 1-16 its usage is restricted to blame in the sense of 'culpability,' that is, liability to punishment that the sinner must bear (Qal of ns; 5, 1, 17; 17:18) unless/until it is transferred to an officiating priest through a purification offering, who bears (ns') it (10:17), presumably until it is borne (ns') out of the camp by the live goat on the Day of Purgation (16:21-22). It is important to recognize that in Lev 1-16 'awon ("iniquity, culpability") arises from an act of hatta' ("expiable sin"), rather than from a separate wrongful act. This is clear in 5:1, 5-6, where a witness who commits a sin (verb and noun from the root ht) bears his 'awon as a consequence until he or she receives expiation (cf. 5:17; Ps 32:5)" (Roy Gane, *The NIV Application Commentary: Leviticus, Numbers* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004], 280-81).
The expression חניך מעליהו ("I have taken your iniquity away from you") seems to evoke the similar expression אֶתְפּוּרַ ("bear iniquity") used mainly in Leviticus and Numbers. Baruch Schwarz pointed out that the phrase אֶתְפּוּר has one linguistic image ("bear sin") with two uses:

When the sinner himself 'bears' his sin. He may suffer its consequences if such there be. In this usage the phrase is a metaphor for the sinner's unrelieved guilt. It is at most an oblique way of saying that the sinner deserves punishment per se. However, when and if another party—most often, but not necessarily God—'bears' the sinner's burden, it no longer rests on the shoulders of the wrongdoer; the latter is relieved of his load and of its consequences, once again if such there be. In this second usage, the "bearing" of the sin by another is a metaphor for the guilty party's release from guilt.1

A similar dynamic seems operative in the phrase קָבָל as used in Zech 3:4. It is interesting to note that this phrase also seems to have two distinct uses. Like קָבָל, it may connote the burden of the culpability over the sinner (in Qal: קָבָל) as in Ps 38:5: "For 'my iniquities are gone over' (קָבָל לָשֵׁנְתי) my head; as a heavy burden they weigh too much for me"—or (in Hiphil: קָבָל) to connote the act of YHWH relieving the sinner by removing the guilt, as in 2 Sam 24:10 (par. 1 Chr 21:8): "And David's heart troubled him after he had numbered the people. So David said to YHWH, "I have sinned greatly in what I have done. But now, O YHWH, please take away the iniquity (קָבָל אֵין אֶרֶץ) of your servant, for I have acted very foolishly."2 Although, it may be difficult to establish whether קָבָל is an exact semantic equivalent to

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The impression emerges that at least the expression רָצוֹן לְדָא in Zech 3:4 conveys the same meaning of רָצוֹן לָךְ ("remove the iniquity," with YHWH as its subject) to connote a situation in which YHWH himself "removed the iniquity" from Joshua.1

Another significant observation regarding רָצוֹן לָךְ lies in the possibility that it functions as a performative utterance. As suggested by Petersen, the removal of the iniquity from Joshua "is not just a performative utterance, a pure word-event. The mal'ak effects the removal of guilt by commanding and eliciting action."2 In view of the previous considerations, it becomes apparent that the expression רָצוֹן לָךְ ("remove the iniquity") evokes temple/sanctuary activities. Therefore, since the sanctuary/temple was the locus par excellence of purification and forgiveness, it follows that the procedures of Zech 3 portray the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place where YHWH grants purification and forgiveness to the sinner.

Turban and Stone

Two elements possibly related to the high priest's apparel echo a temple setting. Although the Hebrew word for "turban" (סִנָּה) in 4:5 is different from the one found in

1Some scholars have suggested that the "iniquity" (תַּעֲנִיָּה) removed from Joshua was not caused exclusively by his own "sins" (רָעָה), but probably included the "sins" (רָעָה) of the people represented by him (cf. Joyce G. Baldwin, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary [Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1972], 113; Michael Prokurat, "Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Form Critical Analysis" [Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1988], 338; Robert T. Siebenick, "Messianism of Aggeus and Proto-Zacharias." CBQ 19 [1957]: 219). Notice that the high priest was supposed to bear the iniquity of the people, as stated in Lev 10:17: "Why did you not eat the sin offering at the holy place? For it is most holy, and he gave it to you 'to bear away' (תַּעֲנִיָּה לְאָדָם) the guilt of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the YHWH." On the other side, one should notice that the sins of the high priest could affect the whole people, as if the whole people had sinned. See Lev 4:3-12.

2David L. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1-8, 194.
Exod 28:4 (מִשְׁמַרְתּ), it probably refers to the same item; after all, both words derive from the same root (מִשְׁמָר). What is most relevant for the present research is that the mention of the turban underlines the sanctuary/temple imagery that pervades the passage.

Another item that needs some consideration here is the stone mentioned in 3:9. Several views have been advanced regarding the meaning of this stone. Two of them seem to be more favored by scholarship. First, since the garments of Joshua are a major focus in the previous verses, it would be natural to understand vs. 9 as a continuation of the previous topic, which would imply that the stone is somehow related to the high priest's apparel, probably associated with the crown or turban. Another option would be to read Zech 3:9 with the next chapter, which mentions a stone in connection with the


building of the temple. According to this, both passages refer to the same stone, which represents the divine sanctions for the building activities of the temple.

It is very difficult to decide which option, if any, is correct. The term "stone" by itself is ambiguous and could be used to indicate an item of priestly garb, or a part of the temple. Notwithstanding, one should keep in mind that either option contains temple/cultic connotations, and further emphasize the sanctuary/temple atmosphere that pervades the vision.

Excursus on Zech 3:7: The Purpose of the Vision and the Privileges of Joshua

Three major reasons make Zech 3:7 significant for this study: First, it reveals that the actions undertaken in favor of Joshua in the heavenly temple/sanctuary aimed at his ministry in the Jerusalem temple. This implies a dynamic interaction between the latter and the former temples. Second, the text says that one of the privileges granted to Joshua in connection with his ministry in the Jerusalem temple would be "to judge," thus implying a functional similarity between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. Third, the verse says that Joshua is granted the privilege of being a member of the divine council, an assertion that further reinforces the connections between heavenly and earthly realms, and informs about the special privilege granted to the purified high priest. In the discussion that follows these issues are investigated.

In order to facilitate the explanation, the verse is displayed below, and divided into clauses which will henceforth be referred to by their respective numbers.

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Thus says YHWH of hosts

If you will walk in my ways

and if you will perform my service

then you will also judge in my house

and also have charge of my courts,

And I will grant you free access among these who are standing.

Purpose of the vision

In this verse one learns that Joshua was cleansed and forgiven in order to serve in the temple, provided that he met certain conditions, as can be deduced from the two conditional clauses (see #2 and #3 above). Thus it becomes apparent that the judicial and cultic procedures performed in the heavenly temple/sanctuary were intended to prepare Joshua for his ministry in the earthly temple. If this is true, it could be argued that heavenly and earthly temples were understood to work in dynamic interaction. In this case, the ministry of the heavenly temple validated the service of the earthly temple.

Joshua and the privilege of judgment

One can perceive that one of the privileges granted to Joshua, provided he met the conditions (see #2 and #3 above), is to "judge in my [i.e., YHWH's] house" (#4). The significance of this privilege seems to be highlighted by the grammatically redundant personal pronoun כְּּ֔ךָ ("you") in #4: כָּאָ֑יִן לֹ֖ךַי לֶּֽהֶֽפְסֹֽד ("then you will also judge in my house"). The focus on the pronoun seems to convey an idea that could be thus paraphrased: "Indeed, it is you (not somebody else), who will judge in my house."

The translation of the Hebrew verb מָשֵּׂ֣כָה as "judge" has been debated since it has the word "house" as its object, which is unusual in the Hebrew Bible. Because of this some
scholars\(^1\) and versions\(^2\) have translated this verb as "govern," or "rule," implying that the major point is that Joshua would be in charge of the administration of the temple. It must be pointed out, nonetheless, that virtually all occurrences of יִמְנוּן outside Zech 3:7,\(^3\) in both its verbal or nominal forms, connote judicial overtones. יִמְנוּן is most often associated with judgment by YHWH,\(^4\) occasionally of the judgment of various officials,\(^5\) but also of the judgment exercised by kings;\(^6\) it may also connote the idea of strife, contention,\(^7\) rights, or cause.\(^8\) Therefore, in view of the consistent use of יִמְנוּן in the Hebrew Bible within the semantic field of judgment, it is very unlikely that it connotes the administration of the temple in #4.\(^9\)

From a contextual and grammatical point of view, יִמְנוּן is better understood as conveying the idea of judgment. Joshua would have the privilege of judging "in my house [i.e., the Jerusalem temple]." As Mason noted, "the special privileges given to Joshua in

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\(^{2}\)ESV, NRS, RSV, TNK. NASB, NIB, NIV, NJB.

\(^{3}\)That is, forty-four times in thirty-eight verses.


\(^{5}\)Isa 10:2.

\(^{6}\)Jer 21:12; 22:16; Prov 20:8; 31:9.

\(^{7}\)2 Sam 19:10; Job 35:14; 36:17; Prov 20:10; 29:7; Eccl 6:10.

\(^{8}\)Prov 31:5; Isa 10:2; Jer 5:28; 30:13; Prov 31:8.

\(^{9}\)Meyers and Meyers make a strong case for "the important juridical content" of the passage (195).
the development of the vision suggests" that he "is charged with executing judgment."\(^1\) A connection of judgment with the temple also appears in Deut 17:9-10, where the Levites are said to work as judges of the people.\(^2\) Therefore, that in #4 this idea is associated with the high priest should not come as a surprise, since the sanctuary/temple could also be understood as a place of judgment.\(^3\) Also from a grammatical point of view, the use of the locution רדסה ("my house") in syntagmatic relationship to מ ("judge") should cause no surprise, since it functions here as an adverbial accusative\(^4\) to indicate the place where the action of "judging" is performed. Therefore the translation to "judge in my house" fits in both the context and syntax of the passage. In addition, the term "my house" (לֵודָה) in #4 is most probably a reference to the Jerusalem temple, due to its parallelism with "my courts" (ֶֽלֶכֶת) in #5. Notice that the term לֶכֶת ("court") is usually associated with the temple in the Hebrew Bible.\(^5\)

The relevance of the above observation for the present study is that it reveals a functional correspondence between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. It should not be forgotten that since the vision describes judicial procedures

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\(^3\) See, e.g., Isa 6:1ff.; Ezek 1: 8-11.

\(^4\) That the direct object marker (י ל) may be used with adverbial accusatives has been noted by Bruce K. Waltke and O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 181.

\(^5\) Cf., e.g., Pss 65:5 [4]; 84:11 [10]; 92:14 [13]; 116:19; 135:2.
being performed in the heavenly temple, the indication that Joshua would undertake similar actions in the earthly temple suggests a functional correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart.

Joshua and the privilege of access to the heavenly council

The last clause seems to speak of a special privilege granted to Joshua—he would have access to the heavenly council of YHWH, as implied in the statement "And I will grant you free access among these who are standing" (#6). Access to the heavenly council was deemed to be a privilege of the prophets, as noted in Amos 3:7, "Surely the Lord YHWH does nothing unless he reveals his secret counsel (תירה) to his servants the prophets."¹ That the high priest is granted such an honor is of major significance: Joshua would not only be a priest, but a priest-prophet.² Since some scholars argue that #6 does not depict Joshua's access to the assembly of YHWH in the heavenly temple/sanctuary, but to his ministration in the Jerusalem temple,³ a brief exegetical investigation of the passage is in order.

At the outset it should be noted that clauses #2 through #6 form a conditional sentence as is clearly implied by the conditional conjunction נח ("if") at the beginning of clauses #2 and #3. The task ahead is to determine whether clauses #4 and #5 are part of

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¹Cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19-23; Amos 3:7.

²Possibly like Aaron, who, as Num 12 implies, was a prophet.

³Sweeney speculates that "the 'right of access' mahalakim apparently refers to the high priest's right of access to the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem Temple" (2:599); McNicol claims that Joshua will be a chief cultic officer in the rebuilt temple ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in Judaism," 78).
the protasis or belong to the apodosis, in order to better understand the last clause, which is the main goal of this analysis. The shift from בָּנָא to בָּנָי in #4 seems to indicate that the apodosis starts here and culminates with Joshua's being granted access to the Heavenly Court (#6) which, as noted above, is related to the heavenly sanctuary/temple.

The main issue in this connection is to determine the meaning of #6: "And I will grant you free access (פָּנִים לָאָב) among these who are standing (דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב)." We should determine whether the access to be granted to Joshua refers to the privilege of ministering in the Jerusalem temple and thus having access to its most holy place, or the privilege of access to the heavenly council/temple of YHWH. The reference to "these who are standing" (דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב) seems to favor the latter option. The term "stand" appears in Zech 3:1-10 in reference to Joshua, Satan, the Angel of YHWH, and the locution "these who are standing" (דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב) refers to the members of the heavenly council, since they were standing in the heavenly-court scene (Zech 3:4). Thus it seems appropriate to understand this expression in #6 as referring to the heavenly beings, the members of the heavenly council of YHWH. That Joshua's colleagues are later referred to as those "who are sitting" (vs. 8) further reinforces the idea that "these who are standing" (דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב) are the heavenly members of the council of YHWH. If this is so, the privilege granted to Joshua is access to the heavenly realm. Nonetheless, how or why this access would happen is not explained. But one may surmise that this probably means that Joshua's judgments (and probably his ministry as a whole) in

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1The word דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב, if repointed דֹּרֶךְ לָאָב, is a Piel participle. Otherwise it is a noun from the root "בָּנָא ("to go, walk"). Either way it conveys an intransitive meaning like "goings" or "wanderings" and would thus express the notion of free "access" or right of "access" as translated in some versions. Cf. NASB, RSV, ASV, ESV, JPS, NJB.
the earthly temple would have the benefit of his being privy to YHWH's judgments in the heavenly sanctuary/temple. So, the heavenly temple and earthly counterpart would work in dynamic interaction, since the latter would reflect the procedures of the former.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

On the basis of the previous discussion, it is reasonable to suppose that the scene portrayed in Zech 3:1-10 has its setting not only in heaven, but more specifically, in the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The presence of the high priest Joshua being accused by Satan and the presence of heavenly beings convey a graphic picture of the judicial proceedings of the heavenly tribunal. Additionally, we can also note, especially in regard to the forgiveness of Joshua as symbolized by the changing of his clothes, that the actions connote heavenly sanctuary/temple imagery. Thus, it is reasonable to say that the fourth vision of Zechariah depicts judicial and cultic procedures performed in the heavenly temple/sanctuary.

Function

The function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple can be delineated as follows: First, the judicial function is perceived in the court scene, where the heavenly temple functions as a court of law. The defendant, in spite of the accusations of Satan, is eventually vindicated and made clean. This imagery portrays the heavenly temple/sanctuary as a place of judgment. Second, the heavenly temple also functions as a place of cultic activity. This is revealed in the action of cleansing and forgiveness as symbolized by the changing of Joshua's clothes.
Nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that the distinction between judicial procedures, on the one hand, and cultic, on the other, is largely artificial and is adopted only for the sake of analysis. As a matter of fact, the temple was understood as the locus not only of cultic, but also of judicial activities, which seem to have been conceived of as a unified set of procedures. In the description of the Day of Atonement (Lev 16), for example, one perceives an interconnection of cultic and judicial elements. Although the cultic aspect may seem more apparent, upon closer inspection, the judicial element can be clearly perceived. Solomon's prayer is also worth noticing in this regard. There the temple emerges as a place where cultic and judicial questions are settled, prayers and sacrifices are offered (2 Kgs 8:31-32). Another example may be found in the parallel chapters of Dan 7 and 8, portraying the same set of activities with judicial and cultic imagery, respectively. From this it follows that it is more accurate to say that the heavenly temple functions for a complex set of procedures that can only be grasped by analogy with human institutions. Although for the purposes of analysis one may separate judicial from cultic activities, in biblical thought these are two aspects of an indissoluble set of procedures undertaken by YHWH in his heavenly sanctuary/temple.

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1 Roy Gane has demonstrated how cultic and judicial aspects are interconnected parts of the same system: "By treating moral evil both as relational/legal breach and as pollution, the Israelite system of rituals ('purification offerings'=so-called 'sin offerings') addresses both the standing and state of YHWH's people. This system shows the way not only to freedom from condemnation, but also to healing of character, which is defined in terms of loyalty to YHWH" (Roy Gane, Cult and Character, forthcoming).

2 See the analysis of this passage above.

3 See the investigation of Dan 7 and 8 below, in chapter 5 of this dissertation.
Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

The relationship between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart can be perceived in two aspects. First, the judicial and cultic procedures to be performed by Joshua in the earthly temples point to a functional correspondence inasmuch as both heavenly and earthly temple are portrayed as a locus of judicial and cultic procedures.

The text also indicates a dynamic interaction with the Jerusalem temple. Joshua's purification in the heavenly temple had the purpose of making him fit for his ministry in the earthly temple. The vision apparently intended to provide heavenly sanctions for the activities soon to be performed in the earthly temple. In other words, by the procedures in the heavenly sanctuary/temple, the ministry of the earthly temple was legitimated inasmuch as the high priest was vindicated by YHWH. Furthermore, Joshua's right of access to the heavenly court may also imply a dynamic interaction between heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart, thus indicating a dynamic interaction.

As pointed out by Kim, "the heavenly setting functions as surety and validity of Yahweh's promise. This means that in spite of the absence of a detailed description of its pattern, the heavenly temple is closely connected with the earthly temple, guaranteeing its efficient function. In other words, the former stands before or above the latter as its assurance."2

1 Meyers and Meyers cautiously suggested that the vision occurred in the context of a ceremony in the Jerusalem temple. Thus an "earthly investment plus prophetic vision of heavenly investment, worked in tandem to achieve the desired effect" (222). However, despite its attractiveness, this suggestion finds no support in the text.

2 Kim, 267.
Other Texts

For the sake of completeness, this section undertakes a brief survey of several other passages that refer or allude to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.

Isa 18:4

For thus YHWH has told me, I will look from my dwelling place quietly like dazzling heat in the sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.

The "exceedingly obscure" pericope of Isa 18 contains several difficult and cryptic expressions whose historical identification has challenged the exegetes. A plausible

1The preposition ב in the prepositional phrase יָנְגוּת אֱלֹיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל should be translated as "from" according to most versions. This meaning is consistent with the context of the passage which implies that YHWH looks "from" his dwelling. Besides, other Hebrew Bible passages which contain the concept of YHWH looking down from heaven or the heavenly temple use the unambiguous preposition ל (e.g., Deut 26:15; Pss 80:15[14]; Isa 63:15). It is also worthy of mention that הב meaning "from" is commonly attested in Ugaritic texts. See Mark D. Futato, "The Preposition 'beth' in the Hebrew Psalter," WTJ 41 (1978): 68-83; S. Segert, A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language with Selected Texts and Glossary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 181.


3For example: The "people feared far and wide, a powerful and oppressive nation whose land the rivers divide" mentioned in vs. 1 has been understood as the Assyrians (R. E. Clements, Isaiah 1-39, NCBC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980]; Watts, Isaiah 1-33, 246; W. Jansen, Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle, BZAW 125 [New York: de Gruyter, 1972], 60), the Medes (Edward J. Kissane, The Book of Isaiah, Translated from a Critically Revised Hebrew Text with Commentary [Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1941]), or the Ethiopians (so Kraeling, 96-97; Hans Wildberger, Isaiah 13-27: A Commentary, Continental Commentaries [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 212). Also the identity of the messengers (מֵלָאכִים) in vs. 2 has been debated. If they are the same as the "ambassadors" (מִלְאָכִים) referred to previously in the same verse, they may probably be Ethiopians (Wildberger, Isaiah 13-27: A Commentary, 210-11). Kaiser argues that this is an ideal scene and implies that the messengers are those sent by YHWH to deliver the message found in vs. 5 to the lands that lay south of Egypt (Otto Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974], 90-97). Another suggestion was put forth by Jansen according to which these מֵלָאכִים are heavenly messengers who bring a message from the heavenly court of YHWH (W. Jansen, Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle, BZAW 125 [New York: de Gruyter, 1972], 60-61; John Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
reconstruction of the historical context of Isa 18, as suggested by several scholars, runs as follows: An Ethiopian delegation went to Jerusalem to persuade the Judeans to join an anti-Assyrian coalition. In this connection YHWH sent a message to Isaiah urging the people not to join the Ethiopians, because YHWH himself would take care of the enemy at the right time.1

For the purpose of this research it should be noted that YHWH is portrayed as exerting control from his "place" (מֶרֶץ). As noted above,2 the term מֶרֶץ, which means "site,"3 "fixed or established place, foundation,"4 can refer to either the earthly or the heavenly temple. The word seems to convey the special nuance of "firmness," as noted in the root כֹּס (be established, be permanent, endure).5 The translation of מֶרֶץ as "dwelling" or "abode" followed by most versions6 thus seems justified by the several uses of this word to indicate either the heavenly or earthly temple.7


1Cf. Blenkinsopp, Isaiah 1-39, 310; Leupold, Exposition of Isaiah, 1:301-08; Motyer, 135-38; Oswalt, 360.

2See the discussion of Exod 12, in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

3HALOT, s.v.

4BDB, s.v.

5HALOT, s.v.

6Cf., e.g., NAS, RSV, NIV, TNK, ASV, DRA, ESV, JPS, KJV, NKJ, NRS.

7See the discussion of מֶרֶץ in connection with the discussion of Exod 15 in chapter 3 of this dissertation. See also the section on 1 Kgs 8 above.
Three aspects related to the "dwelling" of YHWH as referred to in this passage need further clarification: the location of this "dwelling place"; its function in the context of the passage; and the relationship between "the dwelling place" (יִהְיוּם) referred to in vs. 4 and the "place of the name of YHWH" (שם יְהוָה) mentioned in vs. 7. First, although the "dwelling place" (יִהְיוּם) of YHWH in this passage could be either the Jerusalem temple\footnote{Slotki, 86.} or his heavenly dwelling/temple,\footnote{Brevard S. Childs, 	extit{Isaiah}, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 138; Kaiser, 	extit{Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary}, 95, implicitly; Dieter Schneider, 	extit{Der Prophet Jesaja}, WSRAT (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1988), 1:291; Widyapranawa, 106; Wildberger, 	extit{Isaiah 13-27: A Commentary}, 220; Edward Young, 	extit{The Book of Isaiah}, 3 vols., NICOT 23 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 1:477.} the latter view seems more appropriate in light of the immediate context and imagery portrayed by text. The focus of the passage on world affairs with YHWH supervising foreign nations seems to suggest that יִהְיוּם is the heavenly dwelling place of YHWH. Moreover, the picture of YHWH looking from his "dwelling place" seems appropriate for a place in heaven. Additionally, when the Jerusalem temple is referred to in the passage, the prophet refers to it as "the place (שם) of the name of YHWH of hosts" (vs. 7).

Second, it is instructive to inquire about the function of YHWH's dwelling place as portrayed by the passage. Since the heavenly dwelling is the place from where YHWH "will look quietly" (יִשְׂמַע) some attention must be given to this expression. It has been argued that this expression means that "the Lord will passively let things take their course,"\footnote{Kraeling, 97.} or that YHWH will remain neutral, that is, "from his heavenly dwelling..."
Yahweh will neither support Egypt-Ethiopia, nor yet uphold Assyria. Nevertheless, although the root נָצָה ("look") may refer to either "God's inactivity" or "his freedom from annoyance or care," the context favors the latter possibility. The use of harvest imagery (vss. 4 and 5) conveys the idea of judgment. As vs. 5 further clarifies, YHWH would soon create havoc amid the enemy. Eventually, foreigners would bring a gift of homage to the temple on Mount Zion (vs. 7). Thus YHWH, far from being passive or neutral, will evaluate the situation and intervene—from his heavenly dwelling/temple—at the appropriate time. It is neither passivity nor neutrality, but the control that YHWH exerts from his heavenly dwelling (מלת) that seems to be the main point. He not only watches, but actually "presides over the process." In this connection, it should be remembered that the concept of YHWH "looking" (נָצָה) down from heaven, or from his heavenly temple, upon the world is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. This imagery seemingly intends to depict YHWH's sovereignty over the created order. Nothing escapes his vigilant supervision. Thus, the explicit reference to the "place" (מקום) whence YHWH exerts this "looking" upon creation seems to underscore the role of the heavenly dwelling as a center of command, or headquarters of

1Clements, Isaiah 1-39, 165.
2Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 1-39, 313.
3According to Blenkinsopp, the harvest depicted in the text is the grape harvest, "one of the more persistent images of judgment in the biblical literature" (Isaiah 1-39, 311).
4Motyer, 162.
5Cf., e.g., Deut 26:15; Isa 63:15; Ps 80:15 [14].
YHWH. In this case, the מַשְׂרָה is not merely a place of dwelling, but a place from where YHWH supervises world affairs. As can be perceived in vss. 5-7, YHWH will intervene, and the nations will bring gifts "to the place of the name of YHWH of hosts, even Mount Zion" (vs. 7).

Third, it is worthy of note that both heavenly and earthly temples are referred to in the short chapter of Isa 18. While vs. 4 refers to the heavenly dwelling/temple of YHWH, vs. 7\(^1\) mentions the Jerusalem temple, here designated as "the place of the name of YHWH," thus indicating the notion of a vertical correspondence. It is instructive to note that the reference to the Jerusalem temple as "the place of the name of YHWH of hosts" displays a concept similar to 1 Kgs 8, where the dynamic relationship between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart is clearly affirmed.\(^2\) Therefore, the reference to YHWH's dwelling "place" in heaven (Isa 18:4), along with the mention of the "place of the name of YHWH" on earth in (Isa 18:7), indicates a vertical correspondence between the heavenly dwelling/temple and its earthly counterpart. Such a correspondence appears to be functional—inasmuch as the function of the heavenly temple parallels that of the earthly

\(^{1}\)That this expression refers to the Jerusalem temple is made clear by the use of Zion in apposition to it (vs. 7). It should be noted that there has been some discussion among critical scholars about the authenticity of, e.g., vss. 2b\(^{\text{a}}\), 6b, 7. It is argued that these verses or fragments thereof are later additions (cf., e.g., Wildberger, Isaiah 13-27: A Commentary, 209). Consistent with the canonical approach adopted in this dissertation, the text is treated as a unified composition.

\(^{2}\)See the discussion on 1 Kgs 8, above.
counterpart—and structural, since the term בְּעֵית ("place, foundation") can also designate the earthly temple.¹

Isa 63:15

Look down from heaven and see from Your holy and glorious habitation; where are your zeal and your mighty deeds? The stirrings of your heart and your compassion are restrained toward me.

The present pericope belongs to the text unit of Isa 63:7-64:11 [12], which according to most commentators belongs to the genre of lamentation.² The prophet, embodying the community, laments the devastation caused by the enemy and prays for YHWH to intervene on behalf of the people. Isa 63:15 marks a change of perspective in the flow of the text. As Watts pointed out, "thus far God is seen as moving within the continuum of history. Now the perspective is vertical. He is in heaven looking down or coming down to his people."³

Commentators have usually understood the parallel expressions "heaven" and "habitation" as overlapping completely so that "Your holy and glorious habitation" would

¹See the discussion of 1 Kgs 8, above.

²Childs, 519; Paul D. Hanson, Isaiah 40-66, IBC (Louisville: John Knox, 1995), 235; John L. McKenzie, Second Isaiah, AB 20 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 188, 192; R. N. Whybray, Isaiah 40-66, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1975), 255. Westerman considers this text to be "probably the most powerful lamentation in the Bible" (Claus Westermann, Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary [London: S.C.M. Press, 1969], 392). A more nuanced view is suggested by Watts, who although recognizing signs of the lamentation genre in 63:15-64:1, 9-11, contended that "the controlling genre is that of the sermon-prayer which is well known from Deuteronomy and Chronicles. This shows itself in 63:7-14, 64:3[4]-8[9]" (Isaiah 34-66, 328-29).

³Watts, Isaiah 34-66, 333.
be identical to heaven. Nonetheless, as noted before, the parallelism between "heaven" and "habitation" does not require that "heaven" be understood as the "habitation"; rather it seems more logical to understand heaven as the broad area where the "habitation" is located. It instructive to hold in mind that the term "habitation" (בַּיִת), which is qualified by the adjectival expressions "holy and glorious" (טומאתוֹתָא יִשָּׁר), connotes the idea of "temple/sanctuary." These same adjectival expressions are used in Isa 64:10 [11] to qualify the Jerusalem temple in the expression "Our holy and beautiful house" (אֲנַיִן). If these qualifying expressions have any bearing upon the interpretation of the passage, it must be admitted that the text most probably refers to the "habitation" (בַּיִת), not merely as "heaven," but as a place located in heaven—namely, the heavenly temple. As McKenzie noted, Isa 63:15 contains "an allusion to the heavenly temple, of which the earthly temple is the counterpart."3

Additionally, it is worth noting that the term בַּיִת ("habitation") is also applied to the earthly temple (1 Kgs 8:13). Therefore it seems apparent that the usage of בַּיִת indicates that YHWH is expected to respond from a specific place in

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1See the discussion on Deut 26:15 in chapter 3.
2The NIV translation of בַּיִת here as "throne" seems to limit the semantic range of the word beyond evidence. The idea behind בַּיִת is that of something high, lofty, exalted, and although this can include the throne it is by no means restricted to it. Actually, בַּיִת is never used in the Hebrew Bible in relation to the throne. As a matter of fact, apart from Isa 63.15, this word occurs only five times in the Hebrew Bible as a common noun (1 Kgs 8:13; 2 Chr 6:2; Ps 49:15; Hab 3:11). In 1 Kgs 8:13 (par. 2 Chr 6:2) it refers to the Jerusalem temple; in Ps 49:15 it seems that the idea is that of habitation, mansion, or princely dwelling, as conveyed by most translations; and in Hab 3:11 it is used metaphorically of the dwelling place of the sun and the moon.
heaven—the heavenly temple—from where he is expected to intervene. The implication of the above considerations is that the heavenly temple is understood to exist in structural correspondence to its earthly counterpart.

As for its function, one notes that the heavenly temple emerges in this passage as a place where the prophet, in his lament, turns to YHWH for intervention. The basic idea seems to be that the heavenly temple works as a place of divine activities, a place from where YHWH supervises earthly affairs and hears prayer, which also indicates that the heavenly temple works in functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart.

Jer 17:12

A glorious throne is on high; from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary.

1 Scholars have been reluctant to note the important role of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in the context of the Hebrew Bible. This may probably be due to an unstated intention to avoid a localized idea of YHWH, which is obviously wrong. For example, in discussing this passage Pieper refers to the "heaven as the holy and glorious dwelling place of the Lord" (August Pieper and Erwin E. Kowalke, Isaiah II: An Exposition of Isaiah 40-66 [Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Pub. House, 1979], 645); Whybray just notes that "the idea that Yahweh dwells in heaven was an ancient one" (260); Westermann argues that the reference to YHWH's habitation here "means the far-off sovereign realm of God on high" (Westermann, Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary, 393); Muilenburg declares "that the prophet envisages God remote in his heaven" ("Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah 40-66, 736). However, the Hebrew Scriptures present YHWH as capable of being active in the most remote and improbable places (cf. Obad 4; Job 38:4; Amos 9:3) and localized in the heavenly/earthy temples.

2 Some scholars see in this verse only a complaint against YHWH's indifference to the situation of his people (James Muilenburg, "Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah 40-66," in The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick [New York: Abingdon, 1956], 5:736; Whybray, 260; Young, 486; J. Ridderbos, Isaiah [Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library, 1985]). Nonetheless, the context of the passage suggests that the suppliant expected YHWH to intervene and put an end to those troublesome circumstances. This seems implied in rhetorical questions in 64:11 [12] which imply that the suppliant expected an intervention of YHWH.
This passage belongs to the section of Jer 17:12-18, which is composed in the style of a lament.¹ YHWH is implored to vindicate the prophet since the latter is being despised by those who have rejected YHWH himself.² The opening lines of this section (vs. 12) seem to contain an allusion to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif.³ Although several scholars have seen here an allusion to the Jerusalem temple,⁴ a close investigation indicates the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. In spite of its syntactic difficulties,⁵


²Ibid.


⁵The clause divisions of the passage are complicated by a string of six morphological units without any verbal form. Thus, the versions tend to translate the text as a single nominal clause, as can be exemplified in the NIV: "A glorious throne, exalted from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary." However this one-clause translation entails metric problems for a poetic passage such as this. The TNK tries to bypass the syntactic complications by understanding "throne" (קַדְשָׁה) as a vocative: "O Throne of Glory exalted from of old, Our Sacred Shrine!" This translation also has its problems, since the use of "throne" in the vocative presupposes that metonymic understanding of throne where it means YHWH himself. This usage lacks any support in the other 136 occurrences of this word in the Hebrew Bible. As Nam aptly observed, the "throne of God" motif in the Hebrew Bible "is never deified or identified with God himself," and also "is never called 'God' or worshiped as a cult object" (Nam, "The 'Throne of God' Motif in the Hebrew Bible," 460). All in all, the best option seems to understand the string of words in the verse as forming a bicolon of two nominal clauses, which renders the verse as a parallelism of two bicolon with a syntactic chiasm, as in the translation adopted above. Cf. Holladay and Hanson, 501.
the text becomes clear, once its poetic nature is taken into account. Such poetic nature manifests itself as a bicolon of two nominal clauses, as shown below.

A glorious throne is on high;
From the beginning is the place of our sanctuary

Holladay noted a chiasm in which two adverbial predicates "on high" and "from the beginning" are framed by the subjects "glorious throne" and "our sanctuary" respectively.1 "Throne" and "sanctuary" are parallel terms which frame the entire verse and allude to the same entity, namely, a "throne" connected with the "sanctuary." It is now necessary to determine if this "sanctuary" is located in heaven or on earth.

The words "beginning" (םָאַרָאָב) and "high" (נָוְה) may help to elucidate this inquiry. A sanctuary which was since the "beginning" indicates something other than the Jerusalem temple. The latter, built by Solomon, could hardly be considered to have been "from the beginning," an expression much more appropriate to indicate the heavenly temple. Additionally, the term "high" (נָוְה)2 used in the previous line in connection with the throne of YHWH seems more fitting for a place in heaven than to the Jerusalem temple.

At this juncture, it would be useful to bring the larger context of the book of Jeremiah to bear upon our text. As noted by McKeating, Jeremiah seems to display a very

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1Holladay and Hanson, 501.
2Although the word נוְה (height, elevation, elevated place) may point to the site of the Jerusalem temple, it is also used to indicate נוְה (cf., e.g., Isa 24:21; Pss 71:19; 93:4; 102:20; 148:1; Job 16:19).
negative attitude towards the Jerusalem temple. He was probably not attacking the temple per se, but the kind of worship performed therein. In view of his overall stance towards the Jerusalem temple, it seems more reasonable to understand such lofty expressions as on "high" and "from the beginning" as qualifying the heavenly temple. It may be not far off the mark to suggest that Jeremiah was turning the attention of his audience from the earthly temple to the true throne and the true temple of YHWH located in heaven, not in Jerusalem.

If the above arguments for the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the passage under study are accepted, then two further issues deserve consideration—the function of the heavenly sanctuary, and its relationship to the earthly counterpart. As for its function, it is instructive to note that the heavenly "sanctuary" (םְדַנָּה) is associated with the concept of "throne" (כִּסִּים). This seems to evoke the basic idea of "kingship." If so, the heavenly "sanctuary" is the place whence YHWH exerts his kingly functions. Furthermore, as a place of kingship the sanctuary would naturally encompass the function of judgment. Thus vss. 12-13, which "articulate a doxology of judgment," would provide further corroboration that the heavenly sanctuary functions as a place of judgment.

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2Huey, 62.

3Cf. Holladay and Hanson, 501.

As for the relationship to the earthly counterpart, the picture emerges of a vertical correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. In the concept of judgment one perceives a functional correspondence; and in the designation of the heavenly temple as מקדשנו ("the place of our sanctuary") one perceives the notion of a structural relationship.1

Jer 25:30

Therefore you shall prophesy against them all these words, and you shall say to them, YHWH will roar from on high and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he will roar mightily against his fold. He will shout like those who tread [the grapes], against all the inhabitants of the earth. This passage belongs to the section of 25:30-38 that consists of a series of poetic sayings on the theme of universal judgment. The entire pericope is packed with images of destruction and anger, thus forming a fitting conclusion to the series of oracles against the nations in the previous section of the book of Jeremiah (i.e., 25:17-26).2 The reference to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in vs. 30 is thus a fitting conclusion to a section dealing with the theme of universal judgment. This verse, according to most scholars,

1It should be noted that that the text implies a tension between the earthly temple and its heavenly counterpart. If the broad context of the book of Jeremiah is taken into consideration, one gets the impression that the prophet is here turning the attention of his audience to the ultimate temple located in heaven, thus relativizing the importance of the Jerusalem temple. In a sense it seems that Jer 17:12 anticipates what the author of Hebrews would state more explicitly six centuries later when referring to "the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation" (Heb 9:11).

2As Thompson observed, Jer 25:30-38 continues in poetic form the section on the nations (25:17-26), but without any reference to the specific countries referred to therein. Thompson, 519.
portrays a heavenly setting, a view corroborated by the parallelism and the context of the passage. For example, the two parallel lines demonstrate that "from his holy habitation" parallels "from on high," as noted below.

YHWH will roar from on high
and utter his voice from his holy habitation

The parallelism between "from on high" (יִרְעָה מַכְרַה מָלָא) and "his holy habitation" (מַקְרַ וְכֵרְשַׁה קַרְלָא) indicates that the "holy habitation," namely, the sanctuary/temple, is the heavenly one.

This is corroborated by the term מַרְבֶּה ("high"), which can also refer to heaven, as noted above. Furthermore, the immediate context contains a message of judgment, couched in "apocalyptic language," not only against Israel, but against "all the inhabitants of the earth." As vs. 31 makes clear, "YHWH has a controversy (ריב) with the nations. He is entering into judgment (שׁם) with all flesh." This universal/cosmic context of judgment makes a temple located in heaven more appropriate than an earthly temple.

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1 Bright, 161; Holladay and Hanson, 679; Jones, 334; Thompson, 519; Wanke, 234.

2 Interestingly, the LXX translates מַקְרַ וְכֵרְשַׁה as διὸ τοῦ άγιού αυτοῦ ("from his sanctuary").

3 Brueggemann has suggested that the referent of מַקְרַ וְכֵרְשַׁה ("his holy habitation") "could be either Jerusalem or heaven" (A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming, 226), while Robert Carrol suggested a "dual reference to heavenly and earthly sanctuaries" (Robert P. Carroll, Jeremiah: A Commentary, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], 507). It is interesting to note that all the other four occurrences of מַקְרַ וְכֵרְשַׁה in the Hebrew Bible refer to the heavenly temple. See Deut 26:15; Zech 2:17; Ps 68:6; 2 Chr 30:27 (all these passages are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation).

4 Carroll, 507. In the expression "apocalyptic language," Carroll seems to use the term "apocalyptic" not in the sense of a literary genre, as usual in the scholarly literature, but in the sense of "diction" or "imagery" used in the apocalyptic genre.
The above considerations indicate that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a place of judgment and thus seems to be understood to exist in functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart. Moreover, the designation קֶרֶשֶׁת seems to convey the notion of a place in heaven and thus points to a structural correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

Hos 5:15

אָלֻ֣כְתֵּנִי אֶלֶּ֛ה יַעֲכַבְתֵּנִי עַלָּּ֥י יַעֲכַבְתֵּנִי בְּכָּלָּּ֥י יַעֲכַבְתֵּנִי וַיְלַכְּנֵנִי בְּכָּלָּּ֥י יַעֲכַבְתֵּנִי. I will go away [and] return to my place until they acknowledge their guilt and seek my face; in their affliction they will earnestly seek me.

The pericope of Hos 5:15 belongs to a transitional point in the flow of the book. Placed between a message of punishment (5:10-14) and a song of penitence (6:1-3), the passage of 5:15 constitutes an appropriate transition from punishment to salvation inasmuch as it depicts YHWH's strategy to bring his people back to him. The main thrust of the passage seems to be that YHWH will become absent until his people realize they need him. In this connection it should be noted that YHWH's absence is characterized by his "return to my [i.e., YHWH's] place."

For the purpose of this research we need to inquire about the referent of the expression "my place" (בְּכָלָּּ֥י). Some scholars argue that, consistent with the lion

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1Amos 1:2, which says that "YHWH roars from Zion" (that is, the earthly temple), further reinforces the concept of a functional correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

2Mays, Micah: A Commentary, 92.
metaphor applied to YHWH in the previous verses, יִקַּבֶּל should refer to his lair. It seems, however, that in 5:15 the lion metaphor gives way to cultic language. YHWH is no longer depicted as a lion ready to devour the impenitent prey, but as the personal God calling his people back.

At this juncture, one must undertake an examination of the lexeme קַבֶּל ("place") in order to determine its meaning in the present context. It is improbable that this word means lair, as noted above. Moreover this word is used in the Hebrew Bible as a technical term for the temple of YHWH, a usage that seems consistent with the sanctuary/temple language contained in the passage under scrutiny. The following terms seem to point in this direction: The verb הרפ (offend, be guilty) is a technical term employed in the context of the temple cult to connote ritual and moral impurity. Also the verb חָקַק ("seek") is employed to indicate the worship of YHWH or an oracular inquire of YHWH.

Furthermore, the reference to distress (יָדַע) indicates a situation of "cultic lament" in which


3This has been aptly noted by Sweeney to whom I am indebted for the argumentation conducted in this paragraph. Cf. Sweeney, 1:68-69.


52 Sam 21:1; Pss 24:6; 27:8; 105:4; 1 Chr 16:11; 2 Chr 17:14; Sweeney, 1:68.
the people seek YHWH in the temple.\textsuperscript{1} Also the verb רָאָשׁ appears in cultic contexts where the people appeal to YHWH.\textsuperscript{2}

Since the "place" (מקום) most probably refers to the temple, as noted, the task now is to ascertain whether the text refers to an earthly or heavenly temple. It seems that, if YHWH is going to be absent, this absence must be understood in reference to the place where his presence among the people was realized, namely, the Jerusalem temple. That is, YHWH's absence might be understood in terms of a departure from the earthly, namely, the Jerusalem temple,\textsuperscript{3} an idea also present in the first chapters of Ezekiel.\textsuperscript{4} Therefore, the place to which YHWH returns must be his heavenly sanctuary/temple.\textsuperscript{5} We should note that this understanding of "place" (מקום) to indicate YHWH's heavenly temple is reflected in the Targum Jonathan, which translates "my place" (מקום) as "my holy dwelling which is in heaven" (לְמָרוֹאֵר רַבְּשָׁמָיו קָדָשׁי).\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1}Pss 6 and 7; Sweeney, 1:68.

\textsuperscript{2}Ps 78:34; cf. Isa 8:20; 47:11; Sweeney, 1:68-69.

\textsuperscript{3}Tg. Jonathan thus translates the first part of our verse: "I will remove my presence (שֶׁקִינַּת), I will go back to my holy dwelling which is in heaven" (אֲנַמֶּךָ יִשָּׂכֶתוּת אֲשַׁר־לָמֶרֶאָר בְּשָׁמַיִּים).\textsuperscript{7}


\textsuperscript{5}Some scholars suggest that "place" (מקום) may refer to Sinai (Henry McKeating, \textit{The Books of Amos, Hosea and Micah} [Cambridge: University Press, 1971], 108) or to Yahweh's mount (James Luther Mays, \textit{Micah: A Commentary} [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976], 92-93).

\textsuperscript{6}Miqra'ot Gedolot (New York: Pardes, 1951), 9:92 (Hos 5:15).
On the basis of the discussion undertaken above, it is highly probable that the "place" (דַּקֶּר) referred to in the passage is located in heaven, and consequently indicates YHWH's heavenly dwelling place, or in other words, his heavenly sanctuary/temple.

Although the text does not elaborate the function of this heavenly "place" (דַּקֶּר), it seems to function as YHWH's dwelling, and the place whence he would observe and watch his people's response in order to save them, as implied in the subsequent verses.


 lâuי אָנִי אֲמָרָה נֵגְשָּׁתָה, מַעְרָה, שָׁעִינָה, אַךְ יָשָׂרָה, לְהָבֵית אֶל-יִהוּדָה.
4 So I said: I have been expelled from your sight. Nevertheless I will look again toward your holy temple.

 בָּרְצָה אֲנִי, תַּאֲשָׁר הָיָה בְּיָדִי, יְרוּשָׁלָיְם.
7 While I was fainting away, I remembered YHWH, and my prayer came to you, into your holy temple.

The expression נֵרוֹת אֵל ("your holy temple") in Jonah has been said to refer to the Jerusalem temple,\(^1\) since the expression "I will look again" in vs. 5 and the mention of "sacrifices" in 2:9 seem to indicate an earthly setting.\(^2\) Although at first glance these arguments seem compelling, a close examination of the immediate and large context of the passage indicates that the heavenly temple may be in view. Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify that נֵרוֹת אֵל ("your holy temple") in vs. 5 [4] probably indicates


\(^2\) So Kim, 228-29.
the earthly temple, as implied in the expression "I will look again." Turning to vs. 8 [7], however, a different picture emerges. There seems to be some evidence to indicate that the temple mentioned there is the heavenly one, as noted in the arguments that follow.

First, that Jonah cries for help from the depth of 'מַתְמִים ("Sheol"), seems to imply that help will come from the polar opposite, that is, from the heavenly temple. A similar situation involving polar opposites (heavenly temple/Sheol) is reflected in 2 Sam 22:6, where the suppliant cries from the Sheol to the heavenly temple. Also worthy of note is Isa 14:11-15, where it is reported that although the king of Babylon wanted go up to the mount of the congregation, yet he was brought down to Sheol.

Second, in line with the previous argument, it should be observed that the cosmological language and imagery describing the distress of Jonah calls for some help beyond earthly geography: Note for example that "he was thrown into the "deep (דַּיְתֵי), into the heart of the seas (בֵּית הַיָּם)" (vs. 4 [3]), "the great deep (גָּלוֹת) engulfed" him (vs. 6 [5]), and "the earth (דַּיְתֵי) with its bars was around" him. Although a prayer in such a situation might have been offered towards the earthly temple, the heavenly temple seems to be much more appropriate as a counterbalance to the cosmic proportions of Jonah's distress.

1 Although the possibility exists that vs. 5 [4] refers to the earthly temple in view of the expression "I will look again toward your holy temple," a brief consideration of the root עָנָן ("look") in וַעֲנָן may be instructive. This verbal root appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible to indicate YHWH "looking" down from his heavenly sanctuary/temple. The picture in Jonah is reversed; out of distress, it is Jonah who "looks" to YHWH. The irony of this situation becomes more evident if the "holy temple" referred to in the passage is the heavenly one.
Third, as Davidson pointed out, when YHWH addressed Jonah for the first time, asserting that "their wickedness (i.e. Nineveh's) has come up before me (יְהוָ֣ה רְעָתוֹ) (1:2), the phrase יִהְיֶהוּ . . . יְהוָ֣ה יְהוָ֣ה undoubtedly points to the heavenly dwelling place of YHWH.1 Turning to Jonah 2:7 [8], "it is not the wickedness of Nineveh, but Jonah's prayer that comes to God, and it would seem logical that the prayer would reach God [in] the same place as the wickedness, that is, his heavenly sanctuary."2

Fourth, a look at the large context of the Hebrew Bible reminds one of David, who in a situation of distress cries for help from the heavenly temple (1 Sam 22:7). If David's prayer can shed any light on the supplication of Jonah, one may argue that when Jonah turns toward the temple for help, it is probably the heavenly temple that is in view.

The cumulative force of the arguments advanced above reveals that those scholars who admit the presence of the heavenly temple in this pericope may be right.3 If so, one learns that the heavenly temple functions in the passage as a source of help for the suppliant in times of distress. This indicates a functional and structural correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. It is functional inasmuch as the function of the heavenly temple seems to mirror that of the earthly temple. As noted elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the earthly temple is also portrayed as a source of help. In


2Ibid.

addition, it should be noted that the term בֵית יִרְאָה ("temple"), which indicates both the heavenly temple (2:8 [5]) its earthly counterpart (2:5 [4]), conveys the notion of a specific place in heaven and thus indicates a structural correspondence. Finally, it should be noted that the shift from the earthly (vs. 5 [4]) to the heavenly temple (8 [7]), and back to the earthly temple, as implied in the reference to "sacrifices" (vs. 10 [9]), may indicate a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

Hab 2:20

וְיָשָׁר יְהֹウェָה בֵּית יִרְאָה. לְכָל אָרְצוֹ נְטֻנָה מִפָּנֶיהוּ.

But YHWH is in his holy temple. Let all the earth be silent before him.

Different scholarly views have been expressed regarding the location of the temple (בֵית יִרְאָה) in Hab 2:20. Some scholars understand it as the heavenly temple, others contend for the Jerusalem temple, and a third group admits the possibility that the text may refer to both. In support of the view that the passage refers to the Jerusalem temple, Kim adduced three lines of argument, which can be summarized as follows:

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3Andersen, Habakkuk: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, 256; Barker and Bailey, 349; Patterson, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, 209; "His holy temple," [Hab 2:20], SDABC, 4:1055.
1. There is a contrast between YHWH in vs. 20 and the idols in vss. 18-19. In other words, while the Chaldean temples contained only dead idols, the Jerusalem temple was marked by YHWH's presence. The passage is thus understood as expressing a vindication of the Jerusalem temple.1

2. "If there is a temple in heaven, why does he expect that all the earth including both the Chaldeans2 and his Judean audience or readers would need to keep silence before Yahweh?"3 Hence, it is more natural to understand "keep silence" as applied to the Jerusalem temple.

3. The final major argument is drawn from Hab 3, where YHWH's horizontal movement on earth is described. Since this movement is not a vertical one (i.e., from the heavenly temple), but from Teman, to presumably the temple in Jerusalem, it is suggested that the temple referred to in 2:20 is the Jerusalem temple.4

Although the arguments advanced by Kim are framed by substantial exegetical analysis, the following discussion will interact with these arguments in order to probe their validity. First, the possible contrast between "idol gods in the Babylonian temples, and the

1Kim, 247.

2The identification of the wicked in Hab 2 as the Chaldeans is based on a reasonable inference based on the reference to them in 1:6. It must be noted, however, that the text does not mention any specific historical references in chap. 2. As Gowan pointed out, "what is described there has occurred over and over again, and not only in antiquity" (Donald E. Gowan, The Triumph of Faith in Habakkuk [Atlanta: John Knox, 1976], 57). In view of this, one gets the impression that "the text has purposely been expressed in general terms so that it could be applied to tyranny in many forms" (ibid.).

3Kim, 248.

4Ibid., 251.
one true God Yahweh in the Jerusalem temple"¹ can be seen along different lines. It seems that the contrast lies in contrast between powerless pagan gods who could be found in the pagan temples, and the almighty God YHWH who dwelled in the heavenly temple and from there ruled the world.² Second, it is far from clear that the injunction to keep silence is more appropriate to a temple in Jerusalem than to a temple in heaven. For example, the same injunction appears in Zech 2:17 [13] and is formulated in the context of the heavenly temple.³ Third, the horizontal movement of YHWH from Teman (Hab 3:3) to, presumably, the Jerusalem temple would favor the latter as the referent for the temple mentioned in 2:20. However, in this regard one should ask how much weight should be placed on the highly poetic imagery of Hab 3:3ff. to determine whether the temple mentioned in 2:20 is the heavenly or the Jerusalem one.

¹Ibid., 247.

²According to Barker and Bailey, there is a "contrast between those who are no god and the one who is in heaven ready to respond to human need and to human questions" (349). A century prior to Barker's observation, Duhm had pointed out that when "the heathens think that the Jews do not have any god because nobody sees God in an aniconic religion; while every heathen temple houses a visible god. The Jews answer: Our God is in heaven and, therefore, can do anything he pleases. As the one who lives in heaven, he is almighty. In contrast, the images of the heathen temple are dead and nothing. And when a pious Jew trembles, he says to himself: Yahweh is in his holy palace and looks down from his heavenly throne to the earth Ps 21:4, comp. 2:4." The German text reads: "die Heiden meinen, die Juden haben gar keinen Gott, weil man einem solchen in deren bilderlosen Religion niemals zu sehen bekommt, während ja jeder heidnische Tempel einen sichtbaren Gott beherbergt, die Juden antworten: unser Gott ist im Himmel und kann darum alles tun, was ihm gefällt; als Himmelsbewohner is er allmächtig, dagegen sind die Bilder der heidnischen Tempel tot und nichtig. Und wenn dem frommen Juden bange wird, sagt er sich: Jahve ist in seinem heiligen Palast und blickt von seinem Himmelsthron auf die Erde herab Ps 11:4 vgl. Ps 2:4" (Duhm, Das Buch Habakuk, 69).

³See the investigation of this passage below.
As discussed in the previous paragraphs, the possibility remains that Hab 2:20 may contain an allusion to the heavenly temple. The following arguments seem to substantiate this view.

1. As Davidson pointed out, the text implies a contrast between YHWH in his (heavenly) temple, and "all the earth" (תָּמָם יָתֵר), which is to keep silence. The implication of this assertion is that the temple is outside the earth, and is not a part of it.¹

2. In the broad context of the book it is implied that "it is from heaven that YHWH 'looks' (1:3, 13) at events in the world,"² thus it would be logical that 2:20 would point to the heavenly temple of YHWH.

3. The diction of 2:20 is very close to Zech 2:13,³ which clearly locates the temple in heaven.

4. Due to the overall conception that the earthly temple was patterned after a heavenly antitype, one must reckon with the possibility, suggested by some scholars,⁴ that

¹Davidson, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 23.


⁴Note the following statements: "If this composition dates prior to 587/6, when the Jerusalem temple was completely destroyed, one may doubt whether the prophet made such a distinction between the earthly temple and its heavenly prototype" (J. J. M. Roberts, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1991], 128). "The two identifications of the temple are not incompatible. There was a nexus between the heavenly shrine and its earthly replica. The construction of the latter according to the plan or model of the former was intended to symbolize and to facilitate this combination. Both loci are recognized in Solomon's great prayer toward the Jerusalem Temple and God hears in heaven" (Andersen, Habakkuk, 256). Cf. Also "His holy temple" [Hab 2:20], SDABC, 4:1055; Barker and Bailey, 349.
even if there is an immediate reference heavenly temple, the Jerusalem temple may also be in view.

Granting that Hab 2:20 contains an allusion to the heavenly temple, one should inquire about the function of this temple and its relationship with the earthly counterpart. The thematic elements of the book of Habakkuk with their cry for justice, together with the view that Hab 2:20 reflects a "call to worship from the temple liturgy," allows two inferences to be drawn. First, the idea of YHWH in the heavenly temple appearing at the end of a series of woes in 2:5-20 may connote the idea of judgment. The mention of the temple at the conclusion of the section seems to imply that despite the arrogance of the wicked, the judgment will come. YHWH is in the heavenly temple, he is in control of earthly events, and will eventually bring judgment upon the wicked.

Second, the liturgical setting just mentioned implies that the congregation has gathered to worship YHWH at the Jerusalem temple. According to Roberts, this communal worship in the temple suggests that "the prophet included the earthly temple in Jerusalem in his conception of Yahweh's holy temple." It seems reasonable to infer, then, that the probable allusion to both the heavenly temple and the Jerusalem temple in this passage suggests a liturgical correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

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1McComiskey, The Minor Prophets, 2:876.

2The Pesher of Habakkuk makes a connection between 2:19-20 and the Day of Judgment when "God will eradicate all the idolaters and the wicked from the face of the earth" (William Hugh Brownlee, The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1979], 212 [1QpHab 13:2-4]).

3Cf. Roberts, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, 128.

4Ibid., emphasis supplied.
counterpart. Davidson expressed this idea as he referred to "a link between cosmic judgment and (earthly sanctuary) liturgy."1 This linkage between heavenly and earthly temples resembles the one portrayed by Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8), where a dynamic interaction between the heavenly and earthly temples is delineated.2

Finally is should be noted that Hab 2:20 indicates a functional correspondence between the earthly temple and its earthly counterpart, as seen in the judgment and worship functions of both heavenly and earthly temples. A structural correspondence is also observed, inasmuch as the יִרְאֶל יְהוָה יָרֵא לָשֵׁת מָקוֹם הַקָּטָן indicates a place in heaven. Finally, the text also implies a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart along the lines of Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 8 and Ps 150.3

Zech 2:17 [13]

בְּשֶׁנֶּדֶר הָעָם בָּא לַפְּקָדָה בָּא לַפְּקָדָה בָּא לַפְּקָדָה
Be silent, all flesh, before YHWH; for he is aroused from his holy habitation.

Despite a few dissenting voices who suggest that the passage refers to the Jerusalem temple,4 most commentators favor a heavenly referent for the expression "his holy habitation" (ִמִּטְבָּן כֶּלֶי יְהוָה "מְנִחָה") in Zech 2:17 [13].5 The passage under consideration occurs

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1Davidson, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 23.
2See the discussion of 1 Kgs 8 earlier in this chapter.
31 Kgs 8 is discussed above in the present chapter, and Psalms 150 is treated in chapter 5.
5Baldwin, 112; Kenneth L. Barker, "Zechariah," The Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed.
in the transition between the third and fourth night visions (2:5-17) reported in the first part of Zechariah.¹ This pericope brings a message of assurance that Jerusalem would be rebuilt and that YHWH himself would dwell in it again. In 2:14-15 [10-11], as aptly noted by Kim, the occurrence of the verb יְסֹרֵעַ ("dwell") in the context of YHWH's promise to dwell among his people evokes sanctuary/temple imagery,² and contains the implication that YHWH would restore the temple.³

The context thus indicates that Jerusalem had been abandoned. Therefore if YHWH "is aroused from his holy habitation," this must be a reference to his heavenly

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According to Petersen, these visions share three essential themes: "They depict activity between heaven and earth, they present a world in which things are on the move, and they provide a perspective that is universal" (David L. Petersen, "Zachariah," The HarperCollins Bible Commentary, ed. James Luther Mays [San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2000], 677). Petersen has also pointed out that these themes emphasize that YHWH's imminent action is truly universal (note the phrase "all the earth" in 1:11, and 4:14) and will result in the restoration of Judah. Cf. Ibid., 677.

²Cf. the several occurrences of the root יְסֹרֵעַ to express the concept of YHWH's dwelling among his people (Exod 24:16; 25:8; 29:45f; 40:35; Lev 16:16; Deut 12:5; 1 Kgs 6:13; 8:12; Ps 68:17 [16], 19 [18]; Zech 2:15 [11]; 8:3, 8). Cf. also M. Görg, "יְסֹרֵעַ sākān," TWAT, 7:1338-47.

³Kim, 256.
temple, as has been perceived by several scholars. The overall picture then is that of YHWH coming from his heavenly temple to dwell again in the Jerusalem temple.

After these brief considerations about the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in Zech 2:17 [13], one needs to consider the function and relationship of the heavenly temple with its earthly counterpart. Again, it is instructive to note YHWH's promise to "dwell" (ךָּבּ) in the Jerusalem temple. This implies that the temple would be restored with its corresponding cultic functions. Therefore, it may be inferred that this movement of YHWH from his heavenly temple to dwell in the Jerusalem temple implies some functional and structural correspondences between the latter and its heavenly counterpart. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that certain functions of the heavenly temple would be operative in the heavenly temple and vice versa. Since YHWH is portrayed as coming from his heavenly temple to dwell in the Jerusalem temple, the implication is that both loci share some basic functional and structural similarities.

Summary

The investigation undertaken above has revealed that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is not a marginal theme in the prophetic section of the Hebrew Bible. The presence of this motif in the various passages investigated indicates the relevance of heavenly sanctuary/temple to the theology of the Hebrew Bible. As an object of an attack by the king of Babylon and profanation by the king of Tyre, the heavenly

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1Ibid., 257-58; Baldwin, 112; Merrill, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 128; H. G. T. Mitchell and others, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah, 145; Petitjean, 154; Redditt, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, 62; Tidiman, 107; Watts, "Zechariah," 319.
sanctuary/temple emerges as the pivot center of the cosmic battle, that is, the great controversy, between good and evil.

The texts investigated above also conceive of the heavenly sanctuary/temple to function in a number of different, but complementary, ways. Apart from being conceived as the dwelling of YHWH or his center of command as King of the Universe, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as locus of judgment or tribunal, whence YHWH exerts his judicial functions by vindicating the righteous and punishing impenitent sinners. The judgment is sometimes conceived as a two-stage process, namely, an investigative phase preceding the actual execution of the sentence. In close connection to this judicial function, the heavenly sanctuary/temple is also understood as the meeting place of the council of YHWH. The heavenly sanctuary is also depicted as a place of worship where heavenly beings adore YHWH, source of help, and place of atonement, where cleansing and forgiveness are granted.

An interesting feature of the heavenly temple/sanctuary that emerged from the texts investigated above is its functional and structural correspondences with its earthly counterpart. For example, the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place of judgment, forgiveness, atonement—functions that are also in the domain of the earthly sanctuary temple—suggests that the heavenly temple operated in functional correspondence to its earthly counterpart. In addition, a structural correspondence was also observed. In addition to terminological indications that point to such structural similarities, one should note that the heavenly sanctuary/temple would contain an altar (Isa 6:1-8) and cherubim who correspond to the golden cherubim of the earthly temple. If so, it

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may be argued that the correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart was understood as extending beyond functional aspects to include some formal dimensions.

Finally, this vertical correspondence goes beyond mere static terms, or in terms of two entities operating side by side without mutual interaction. Rather, as inferred from the texts, there was a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. That is, the heavenly temple was understood as providing legitimacy to the activities of the earthly temple and was capable of affecting and interacting with the activities of its earthly counterpart. Table 3 below provided a summary of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the prophets.
### TABLE 3

**THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE PROPHETS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vertical Correspondence</td>
<td>Dynamic Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sam 22:1-51</td>
<td>hēkāl</td>
<td>Source of help, judgment, vindication of the righteous, other cultic aspects</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kgs 8:12-66</td>
<td>mēḳōn šibtkā mēqōm šibtkā</td>
<td>Answering prayer, judgment, forgiveness, kingship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kgs 22:19-23</td>
<td>[yāḥ, kisṣeʾ, šēbaʾ haššāmāyim]</td>
<td>Judgment, meeting place of the heavenly assembly, kingship, worship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 6:1-8</td>
<td>hēkāl</td>
<td>Kingship; place of cleansing, forgiveness, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 14:12-15</td>
<td>har mōʾēd</td>
<td>Object of attack in the cosmic battle; place of worship, meeting place of the heavenly assembly</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 18:4</td>
<td>māḳōn</td>
<td>Supervision, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 63:15</td>
<td>zēbūl qodšēḵā wetipʾ arteḵā</td>
<td>Supervision, intervention, source of help</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 17:12</td>
<td>mēqōm miqḏāšēnu</td>
<td>Kingship, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 25:30</td>
<td>mēʾôn qodšō</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 1</td>
<td>[niptahu haššāmāyim, sapon, marʾēʾh iber sappir, kabod YHWH]</td>
<td>Kingship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3—Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Relationship to Earthly Counterparts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vertical Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 10</td>
<td>kabod YHWH, kĕrubûm</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 28:11-19</td>
<td>'cdên gan élôhîm har qodesh élôhîm miqdasû</td>
<td>Object of improper actions in the cosmic battle, cultic aspects</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 5:15</td>
<td>mûsqôm</td>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah 2:5 [4], 8 [7]</td>
<td>hêkâl</td>
<td>Source of help, salvation</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mic 1:2-3</td>
<td>hêkâl qodûô</td>
<td>Judgment (covenant lawsuit): investigative + executive</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab 2:20</td>
<td>hêkâl</td>
<td>Worship, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 2:17</td>
<td>mê'ôn qodûô</td>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 3:1-10</td>
<td>implied in the heavenly council</td>
<td>Judgment, cultic aspects: atonement</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF
IN THE WRITINGS

The present chapter provides an investigation of the following passages containing
the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the writings: Pss 11:1-7; 20:1-10 [9]; 29:1-11;
8:9-14; and 9:24. In order to provide a broader data base for this investigation, a more
cursory treatment is reserved for shorter passages at the end of this chapter: Pss 14:1-6;
73:17; 76:8-9; 82:1-8; Job 1:6 and 2:1; and 2 Chr 30:27.

Although these texts are not claimed to be an exhaustive inventory of heavenly
sanctuary/temple passages in the Writings, they do claim to represent a fairly
comprehensive overview of the theme under study in this section of the Hebrew Bible.
Consequently, it is hoped that even if future research claims that other passages contain
the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, their investigation will not change the basic picture
suggested by this study.

Ps 11:1-7

4 YHWH is in his holy temple; as for YHWH, in heaven is his throne; his eyes behold,
his eyelids test the sons of men.

362

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Preliminary Observations

Despite being fraught with textual and exegetical difficulties, Ps 11 contains a clear message of trust in YHWH amid the most dire circumstances faced by the psalmist. For that reason, this psalm has appropriately been counted among the so-called "psalms of trust." Most commentators agree that the text divides itself into two parts: vss. 1-3 and 4-7. This demarcation is clearly indicated by a spatial and conceptual shift in vss. 4-7. As noted by Limburg, "the first words of this second part of the psalm take the focus away from the enemies and the psalmist and portray a scene in heaven." Interestingly enough, this change of focus occurs precisely in the middle point of the psalm's structural arrangement, as seen in the following outline:

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1These have been summarized as follows: (1) Whether the first direct speech ends with vs. 1 or continues through vs. 3. (2) Whether the "righteous" in vs. 3 is a human being or YHWH. (3) Whether ṣaḥṣiṯ (vs. 6) should be interpreted as a jussive or an indicative. (4) Whether the speaker of the psalm is a pious person harassed by enemies, or an individual who by virtue of misconduct had to seek asylum in the temple to seek for a decision from YHWH, or even a cultic prophet who utters judgment against the enemies of Israel. Cf. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, Die Psalmen I, Psalm 1-50, NEBKAЕ (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993), 88-89.


4Limburg, Psalms, 34.

5This structure was suggested by Samuel Terrien, The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 147.
Although other structures have been proposed by Alden¹ and Auffret,² they agree on the pivotal role of vs. 4. This verse is the structural center of the pericope and corresponds to the spatial turning point where the focus of the psalm shifts from earth to heaven and proceeds to describe YHWH's activities in/from his [heavenly]³ temple.

The ensuing discussion undertakes an investigation of semantic and other exegetical aspects of the text under study. Special attention is given to the referent of הָרֵעְב, the meaning of the root יָרֵב, the syntax of vs. 5, and the meaning of vs. 6 and 7. On the basis of these exegetical procedures, a delineation of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is set forth.

¹A The Lord is my refuge
  2-3a B Wicked punished
  3b C Righteous suffer
  4a D Lord in Temple in heaven
  4b D Lord adjudicates everywhere
  5a C Righteous vindicated
  5b-6 B Wicked punished
  7 A Lord the righteous


²Pierre Auffret suggests an envelopment of vs. 4 by vs. 2-3 and 5-6, then by vs. 1 and 7 ("Essai sur la structure littéraire du Psaume 11," ZAW 93, no. 3 [1981]: 401-18).

³The arguments to support this suggestion will be presented in due course.
Referent of הֵיכָל

The task now is to determine whether הֵיכָל ("temple") refers to the earthly or heavenly temple. Although some commentators argue in favor of an earthly referent, there are compelling arguments pointing to a heavenly setting, as noted in the following discussion.

At the outset it must be emphasized that the parallelism between יְהוָה בֵּית הַקְּסִינָה ("YHWH is in his holy temple") and יְהוָה בֵּית הַקְּסִינָא ("YHWH, his throne is in heaven") indicates that the הֵיכָל ("temple") of the first line must be located in heaven, as expressed by the parallel expression עֵם הַקְּסִינָא ("heaven") in the second line. It should be noted that vs. 4 marks a shift of perspective in the structure of the psalm. As noted by Kim, "the change of mood between vv. 1-3 and vv. 4-7 demands that הֵיכָל in v. 4αα should be beyond the earthly dimension. It is not that v. 4αα describes the earthly and v. 4αנו the 'heavenly', but that vss. 1-3 describes the 'earthly' and vss. 4-7 the heavenly." The

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2 The syntactic structure of each line differs markedly. While the first line consists of a straightforward nominal clause in which "YHWH" functions as the subject, the second line contains an extra clausal constituent "YHWH," which anticipates the referent of the pronominal suffix in the noun phrase כִּיָּם which is the syntactic subject of the clause. Thus, from a syntactic point of view the parallelism is not so precise as it seems to be at first glance. However, from a functional perspective it must be stressed that "YHWH" is the topic of both clauses. Additionally it must be noted that both lines are composed by the same types and sequence of morphological units, i.e., noun, prepositional phrase, and noun phrase respectively. To sum up, although each line contains a different syntactic structure, both are headed by the same topic (YHWH), and display the same sequence of morphological units.

3 Kim, 139.
major thrust of the argument presented by the psalmist is that despite the dire circumstances of his personal life, and the destruction of the foundations of society,¹ "YHWH is in his holy [heavenly] temple." This view is supported by the context. As vs. 5 makes clear, it is from heaven that YHWH "tests/investigates/looks" at the wicked and the righteous; and vs. 6 says that YHWH "will rain fiery coals and burning sulfur," thus implying a judgment from above, that is, from the heavenly realm. Thus if the judgment is portrayed as coming from heaven, it is reasonable to suppose that it comes from the heavenly temple, the locus of YHWH's presence according to vs. 4.²

Meaning of בֵּית

בֵּית is one of the terms used to express the divine activities performed by YHWH in/from the temple in heaven, hence its significance for the present study.³ Having the basic

¹The sentence כִּי לֹא בֵּית טוֹבָא יְהוָה יִצְבָּא אֲשֶׁר-לָוָי ("If the foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?") in vs. 3 is difficult to interpret. The lexeme לָוָי in הַיָּדָעֶה possibly means "base, foundation" (HALOT, s.v. "לוּי"). This may suggest a metaphorical connotation as in the phrase פְּלַשְׁתִּים כֵּן בֵּיתוֹ in Ps 82:5, which refers to the foundations of society. A similar situation of disruption of law and order seems to be presupposed in Ps 11:3, which is the backdrop for the anguished cry: "If the foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?" Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 202; H. C. Leopold, Exposition of the Psalms (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1959), 126.

²As stated by Limburg, "The first words of this second part of the psalm take the focus away from the enemies and the psalmist and portray a scene in heaven" (Psalms, 34). Cf. Davidson, The Vitality of Worship, 48; Erhard Gerstenberger, Psalms Part 1 with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry, FOTL 14 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 78; Derek Kidner, Psalms 1-72 (London: Inter-Varsity, 1973), 73; Mays, 76.

³For the motif of YHWH "looking down" from his heavenly dwelling/temple, see the discussion of Isa 18:4 and 63:15 in chapter 4 of this dissertation.
meaning of "test,"1 "examine, scrutinize,"2 the root בָּהַר appears thirty-one times in the Hebrew Bible, mostly in the books of Jeremiah, Psalms, and Job.3 An inspection of its occurrences discloses, on the one hand, that its paradigmatic field contains lexemes such as רָעָה ("refine"); דָּמַם ("remove/rescue"), נֶמֶש ("test"), חֵקָר ("investigate"), יִדֵּה ("know"), אֶכָּל ("taste"), פֶּס ("inspect").4

On the other hand, an examination of its syntagmatic field reveals that בָּהַר may take the following lexemes as verbal complements: לֶבֶב ("heart"), עַל ("kidneys/mind"), רְאֵי ("way, course of life"), רְאוּע ("righteous"). In several cases בָּהַר is complemented by a pronominal suffix pointing back to the speaker, or to the people of YHWH in general. Furthermore it can be observed that generally בָּהַר describes a positive activity of YHWH in "proving/investigating" the righteous.5 In some cases this

1HALOT, s.v. "בָּהַר."

2BDB, s.v. "בָּהַר."

3Cf. Gen 42:15, 16; Is 28:16; Jer 6:27; 9:6; 11:20; 12:3; 17:10; 20:12; Ezek 21:18; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:10, 15; Pss 7:10; 11:4, 5; 17:3; 26:2; 66:10; 81:8 [7]; 95:9; 139:23; Job 7:18; 12:11; 23:10; 34:3, 36; Prov 17:3; 32:14; Chr 29:17.

4See the passages referred to in the previous note.

5See, e.g.:

Jer 20:12 O YHWH of hosts, you who test the righteous, who see the mind and the heart; let me see your vengeance on them; for to you I have set forth my cause.

Zech 13:9 And I will bring the third part through the fire, Refine them as silver is refined, and test them as gold is tested. They will call on my name, and I will answer them; I will say, "They are my people," and they will say, "YHWH is my God."
activity seems to be connected to judicial procedures, as deduced from terms such as בָּחַן and בָּרָא, which also inform the syntagmatic field of בָּחַן.¹

Thus from this brief survey of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic fields of בָּחַן, the following observations may be advanced: First, concerning the paradigmatic field, which displays an interesting variety of lexemes, Jenni provides an apt summary by saying that "par[allel] verbs and usages of bḥn point to a rather general meaning 'to test = to investigate (critically)."² Interestingly enough, the two occurrences of nominal derivatives of בָּחַן convey the idea of "observation" and "testing," as in Isa 28:16: בָּחַן ("tested stone"), and 32:14: בָּחַן ("watchtower"). Second, as for the syntagmatic field, it should be observed that most of the theological usages of בָּחַן indicate that although this verb may also govern an unspecified or generic object,³ in most of its occurrences the object denotes

Ps 7:9 O let the evil of the wicked come to an end, but establish the righteous; for the righteous God tries the hearts and minds.

¹See Jer 20:12 in the previous note.

²E. Jenni, "בָּחַן to test," Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 1:208. Additionally, Terry L. Brensinger noted that in those passages where בָּחַן lacks a clear theological connotation, "the key concern involves evaluating the dependability of something" ("bḥn," NIDOTTE, 1:623). In the context of Joseph's reunion with his brothers, Brensinger further observed that "the contrived scene—Joseph already knows their identity and therefore the truthfulness of what they say!—depicts him testing his brothers in order to discern the validity of their claims" [Gen 42:15-16]" (ibid.). Brensinger still points out that "both Job and Elihu suggest the need to test or evaluate the dependability of the spoken word. In both instances, to test [בָּחַן] a claim or word involves determining its truthfulness [Job 12:11; 34:3]" (ibid.). It should also be kept in mind that in its theological usages, בָּחַן "expresses the concept of divine examination and divine knowledge" (M. Tsevat, "בָּחַן bḥn," TDOT, 2:70).

³Job 7:17-18; Prov 17:3; 1 Chr 29:17. 

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YHWH's own people,1 or an individual2 in relationship to him.3 That being said, attention is turned to the meaning of בּוֹזָנ in vss. 4 and 5.

Vs. 4 says that YHWH "proves/investigates" (ְפֹז) the "sons of men" (בֹּזָנ אָדָם), and vs. 5 reveals that YHWH "proves/investigates" (פֹז) especially the "righteous" (יְשֵׁעָה).4 Then it seems evident that the diction of the passage is that of judgment, as further corroborated by the reference to "fire" and "brimstone" in vs. 6. In this regard, the present study agrees with Kim, who made clear that the major tenor of the pericope is that of judgment.5 Nonetheless there is an interesting aspect of this judgment as expressed by the term פֹז (vs. 5) that deserves further consideration. Richard Davidson advanced the suggestion that פֹז in Ps 11 may designate a specific aspect of the judgment (namely, the investigative judgment),6 and E. Jenni pointed out that פֹז means "investigate" (critically).7 Now, since the analysis of פֹז conducted above has corroborated the observations by Davidson and Jenni, attention is turned to some syntactic and pragmatic aspects of vss. 5 and 6. By means of this exegetical procedure, the insights gained from

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2Sometimes the referent of an object in the singular may indicate a collective entity, and thus refer to the people as a whole. An examination of this aspect, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

3Job 23:10; Pss 7:10 [9]; 17:3; 26:2; 139:23.

4The emphasis on "righteous" will become apparent in the discussion of the word order and the syntax of vs. 5 below.

5Cf. Kim, 140.


7Jenni, 208, emphasis supplied.
the semantic study of בְּרוּחַ in order to provide a more precise definition of the concept of judgment portrayed in the passage.

**Syntax of Vs. 5**

The discussion of vs. 5 focuses on two aspects: First, the difficulties regarding its clause divisions will be investigated, aiming at a clear delineation of the syntactic structure. Second, attention is devoted to the order of the constituents, particularly the first clause, in order to draw some implications for the understanding of the text in its pragmatic level.

Commencing with the syntactic issues, one notes that there are at least three distinct ways to divide the clauses of this verse:

1. YHWH is righteous | he proves even the wicked | and those who love violence his soul hates.¹
2. YHWH proves the righteous and the wicked | and those who love violence his soul hates.²
3. YHWH proves the righteous | but the wicked and those who love violence his soul hates.³

The task now is to determine which option aligns itself best with the grammar and context. Upon close examination it seems that the last option has some advantages on the basis of its syntax and context, and additionally seems to be favored by the Masoretic pointing. Starting with the last, one notes that the verb מִזְמַר ("proves") is pointed with the

² Cf. LXX, NASB, NAB, NJB, NLT.
³ Cf. ASV, DBY, ESV, JPS, KJV, NKJV, NIV, NET, RWB, TNK.

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strong disjunctive accent 'olé wēyōrēd (equivalent to 'atnāh in the other books)\(^1\) thus indicating a major pause at this point. Second, the phrase yāshâr ("and the wicked") is more naturally connected to what follows since it pairs up with nēfēhām ("and one who loves violence"). Third, the vaw conjunction in yāshâr seems to establish a contrast with the previous constituent, that is, the righteous. Fourth, although Auffret has argued that yāshâr is dislocated for emphasis with the so-called emphatic waw,\(^2\) the text does not indicate any emphasis on yāshâr ("wicked"). In fact, it is the term ērēkōm ("righteous") that receives the emphasis, as will be noted below. When these factors are taken into consideration, it seems more reasonable to understand the vaw in yāshâr as a disjunctive particle expressing YHWH's contrasting attitudes toward the righteous and the wicked. That is to say, YHWH "proves/investigates" the righteous, but (1) "hates" the wicked. Thus, the cumulative effect of the arguments just mentioned favors the syntactic arrangement of vs. 5 suggested in option #3, above: "YHWH proves the righteous; but the wicked and those who love violence his soul hates."

Turning to the pragmatic dimensions of the text, attention is focused on the order of its constituents. A close inspection of the first clause of vs. 5 reveals the significant fact


that the direct object הירש ("righteous") is placed before the verb, a salient position according to a pragmatic perspective. Since the first constituent of the clause, YHWH, is clearly the topic of the clause, the term "righteous" is the marked focus. If so, the following understanding of vs. 5a emerges: "It is the righteous [not the wicked] whom YHWH proves/investigates." This contrasts with vs. 5b: "But the wicked and those who love violence his soul hates." Consequently, on the basis of the pragmatic arrangement of the text, manifested in the focal position of הירש, the implication may be drawn that the work of "proving/investigating" relates in a special way to the activity that YHWH performs in favor of the "righteous" (i.e., his people).

Summing up, vs. 5 conveys the idea that YHWH's work of "proving/investigating" חפיש in/from his heavenly temple is especially related to the הירש ("righteous"). This is not to deny that "his eyes behold, his eyelids test (מ閱) the sons of men" (vs. 4). The picture suggested by the text is that although in a general way YHWH


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"proves/investigates" the sons of men (םֵּאָרְיָו בְּנֵי), namely, human beings in general, there is an emphasis/focus on the fact that "it is the righteous" whom he "proves/investigates."

**Meaning of Vss. 6 and 7**

As noted by several commentators, vs. 6 evokes the "fire" and "brimstone" that YHWH rained over Sodom and Gomorrah¹ and the prophetic passage describing the eschatological judgment of Gog and Magog in Ezek 38. A comparison between these passages and vss. 6-7 may prove useful.

Ps 11:6 Upon the wicked he will rain (כְּפַסְוֹר) snares; fire (שָׁא) and brimstone (חָסִידֵי) and burning wind will be the portion of their cup.

Gen 19:24 Then YHWH rained (ךָסָר) on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone (חָסִידֵי) and fire (שָׁא) from YHWH out of heaven.

Ezek 38:22 With pestilence and with blood I will enter into judgment with him; and I will rain (ךָסָר) on him and on his troops, and on the many peoples who are with him, a torrential rain, with hailstones, fire (שָׁא) and brimstone (חָסִידֵי).

It should be noted that these are the only places in the Hebrew Bible where all three lexemes "to rain", שָׁא ("fire"), and חָסִידֵי ("brimstone") occur together. Thus Ps. 11:5 contains intertextual linkages with two other passages where the motif of judgment plays a major role. Gen 19:24 reports the judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah, an executive judgment portrayed as the ultimate action of YHWH to eradicate the wicked. In the words of Schaefer, "Both the story of Sodom and Gomorrah and Psalm 11 have in common a cosmic punishment for a moral imbalance."² The same can be argued in relation

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¹Cf., e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 91-92; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 203-04; Schaefer, 29.

²Schaefer, 29.
to Ezek 38:22, regarding the judgment of Gog. This passage provides a prophetic glimpse of the eschatological judgment upon the enemies of YHWH's people. Thus, on the basis of the intertextual connections just pointed out, it seems evident that the imagery portrayed in Ps 11:6 intends to depict YHWH's executive judgment against the wicked.

Turning to vs. 7, one is informed that the righteous will be vindicated, as expressed in the last clause of the psalm: "The upright will see his [YHWH] face" (תָּשֵׁר יְהוֹ .

Attempts to interpret this statement as a reflection of the pagan cults where the worshipers could behold the image of the god seem to be farfetched. The view of Dahood that the text contains the idea of "an afterlife in the presence of Yahweh" may be accepted with some qualifications. Since vs. 6 portrays an image of the ultimate annihilation of the wicked, it is reasonable to infer that vs. 7 points to the ultimate reward of the righteous conveyed by the idiom of "behold[ing] the face of YHWH." The implication is that while the wicked are utterly destroyed, the upright are introduced in the presence of YHWH "as trusted courtiers to the presence of [the] sovereign."

Summing up, the work of "proving/investigating" carried out by YHWH in/from his heavenly temple (vss. 4-5) eventuates in the final judgment which results in the

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1 Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 204.


annihilation of the wicked (vs. 6) and the acceptance of the righteous into the very presence of YHWH (vs. 7).

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif**

**Function**

The foregoing discussion has confirmed that a conspicuous function of the heavenly temple is that of judgment. In this regard, this investigation agrees with Kim, who also postulated the same idea in his discussion of Ps 11:4. Nonetheless, a closer examination of the text uncovered some interesting aspects of this work of judgment. As observed above, the semantic connotations of הָרַע convey the idea of an investigative judgment, which is conducted by YHWH in/from the heavenly temple, and the syntactic and pragmatic investigation of vs. 5 has revealed that the "righteous" are the special object of the investigative judgment. On the other hand, one should note that vss. 6 and 7 depict the executive aspect of the judgment, as underscored by the allusion to the judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Gog. Thus by means of these allusions, the psalmist provides a portrayal of the executive judgment when YHWH will annihilate the wicked and bestow his salvation on the "upright." Thus, the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif emerges in Ps 11 as a place where YHWH performs the activity of judgment, which manifests itself in two dimensions: an investigative aspect aimed specially at the righteous, and an executive aspect which consists in the final elimination of the wicked and the vindication of the upright.

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Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

A vertical correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart may be inferred from Ps 11. The specific use of the term קֵדוֹמָה, a term also used to designate the earthly temple, seems to indicate that the heavenly temple was understood as a place in heaven in a manner similar to the earthly Solomon's Temple, and thus seems to have been understood to exist in a structural correspondence to the earthly counterpart. Moreover, that the temple is understood as a place of judgment indicates functional correspondence between heavenly and earthly temples.

Ps 20:1-10 [9]

Now I know that YHWH saves his anointed; he will answer him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand.

Preliminary Observations

Ps 20 was probably "written in connection with an event in the life of the king,"¹ as suggested by the explicit mention of מְשַׁל מְשַׁל ("his anointed" in vs. 7 [6]) and מְשַׁל מְשַׁל ("king" in vs. 10 [9]). This psalm may have functioned as a prayer for the king before his going out to battle.² This seems implied by the reference to the weakness of military appurtenances which is contrasted with the salvation provided by YHWH (vss. 8-10 [7-9]). Therefore the designation of "royal prayer"² seems fitting in view of its contents. In

¹Limburg, Psalms, 62.
²Cf. Davidson, The Vitality of Worship, 74-76.
³Gerstenberger, 105.
addition, the possibility should not be rejected that the text under study might also have had some liturgical usage in the context of worship in the Jerusalem temple.¹

From a literary point of view, this text is a closely integrated and coherent unit² and divides itself naturally into two parts: vss. 1-6 [5] and 7-10 [6-9]. The first part contains an intercession in which help is expected from the Zion sanctuary. The second section, introduced by the term הָנוֹמָן ("now") in vs. 7, contains an oracular response in which the salvation previously envisioned as coming from the Zion "sanctuary" is now depicted as already accomplished from heaven (i.e., the heavenly sanctuary). This can be portrayed as follows:

A. "May YHWH send help from the [earthly] sanctuary" (שִׁמְךָ). Vs. 3a [2a]
B. "May [YHWH] remember" (עַד). Vs. 4a [3a]
C. "We will sing for joy over your salvation" (זָכַר). Vs. 6 [5]

A'. "YHWH will answer from the heavenly sanctuary" (שִׁמְךָ נְפֹלָה) Vs. 7a [6a]
B'. "We will remember" (זָכַר). Vs. 8b [7b]
C'. YHWH saves (דָּוִד) the king." Vs. 10 [9]

The ensuing discussion undertakes an analysis of שִׁמְךָ (vs. 3 [2]) and שִׁמְךָ נְפֹלָה (vs. 7 [6]) in order to ascertain the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in this passage, as well as its function and relationship to its earthly counterpart.

¹Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 279.

²This can be perceived in the repetition of key terms, such as אֲנִי ("answer") and הָנוֹמָן ("day") that occur in vss. 1 and 10, thus forming an inclusio. There are also three references to the בְּנֵי ("name") of God in vss. 2, 6, 8. Also some words occur more than once, such as מִלְךָ ("fulfill"), זָכַר ("remember"), וֹשֵׁה ("save") and, most relevant for this research, the lexeme שִׁמְךָ ("sanctuary") in vss. 3 [2] and 7 [6]. Cf. Craigie, Psalms 1-50, 185.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Referent of שָׁמַיִם

The inverted parallelism between the two halves of vs. 3 [2] indicates that שָׁמַיִם refers to the earthly sanctuary on Mount Zion, as noted in the diagram below.

(B) שָׁמַיִם (A)
(A') מַעְלָה

May he send you help (A) from the sanctuary (B)
And from Zion (B') your support (A')

Therefore it is clear that it is the earthly temple that is here envisaged as a source of divine help for the king. After these brief considerations, attention needs to be turned to מַעְלָה, vss.1-7 [6].

Referent of מַעְלָה

The expression מַעְלָה (vs. 7 [6]) is usually translated "from his holy heavens." At first glance this seems an appropriate rendering, and commentators usually do not elaborate on it. Yet three observations are in order. First, it should be noted that the genitival qualifier מַעְלָה attached to "heavens" is the same word employed for "sanctuary" in vs. 3 [2] and thus seems to qualify not only "heaven" in a generic sense, but probably implies a reference to the heavenly sanctuary/dwelling of YHWH.1 Second, it is instructive to note that very similar construction occurs in Obad 3 (וְנָפַל מִמָּשְׁמֹר כָּל הַשָּׁמַיִם "lofty

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1Several scholars have recognized the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in vs. 7. Kraus, e.g., asserts that "כֹּל הַשָּׁמַיִם מָשְׁמֹר כָּל שֶׁהָיִם serves notice that Yahweh himself is enthroned in the heavenly sanctuary, hears the bidding prayer there, and finally carries out his saving interventions from on high" (Psalms 1-59, 281). Cf. also Arnold Albert Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 2 vols., NCB (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981), 1:178; Marc Girard, Les Psaumes: Analyse Structurelle et Interpretation: 1 – 50, 182; Hossfeld and Zenger, Die Psalmen I, 138; J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, Psalms 1-50 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 92.
abode"). Here the element in construct functions adjectivally in relation to its genitival component. If the same grammatical logic is applied to יָהָוָא, the translation "heavenly sanctuary" would emerge naturally. Third, the parallelism of קֶרֶשׁ in vs. 3 [2] with the locution יָהָוָא מְּשַׁמַּשׁ in vs. 7 [6] seems to indicate that the latter should also be understood in the sense of "sanctuary," namely the heavenly sanctuary.¹

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

The heavenly sanctuary emerges in the text as a source of royal help, since it is portrayed as the place whence YHWH answers prayers and sends help to his anointed king. As Kraus pointed out, "The statement יָהָוָא מְּשַׁמַּשׁ serves notice that Yahweh is enthroned in the heavenly sanctuary, hears the bidding prayer there, and finally carries out his saving intervention from on high."²

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

One of the interesting perceptions of this passage is the implied interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart, which can be delineated as follows. In the first section of the psalm, it is revealed that help is to come from the Zion


²Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 281.
sanctuary; in the second half, one learns that YHWH answered from the heavenly sanctuary.\(^1\) Far from being contradictory, these two assertions complement each other.

The underlying assumption is that the temple on Mount Zion corresponds to the temple in heaven and works in dynamic interaction with it. Thus it is not surprising that a petition made in the context of the earthly temple is answered from the heavenly sanctuary.

Furthermore, the verbal and conceptual correlations between the sanctuary idea in vs. 3 [2] and vs. 7 [6] indicated the notion of a functional and structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.

**Ps 29:1-11**

9 The voice of YHWH makes the deer to calve and strips the forests bare; And in his temple everything says, "Glory!"

**Preliminary Observations**

Ps 29 has been classified as a "hymn of victory"\(^2\) or "cosmic hymn"\(^3\) to YHWH, and, in view of similarities of themes and motifs, it has been considered by some scholars to be dependent upon Canaanite literature. Since this idea was first published by Ginsberg

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\(^1\) As Kidner puts it, "the dimensions of the scene are enlarged: the help sought from Zion . . . is now sent from heaven itself" (*Psalms* 1-72, 102).

\(^2\) Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 245.

in 1935, a string of responses has come forth. Among these, the suggestion advanced by Peter Craigie should be noted. He contended that Ps 29 is a "song of victory" belonging to the oldest traditions of Israelite poetry, such as are represented, among others, by the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1-18). This view has much to commend, since it is based on analogies with similar texts of the Hebrew Bible, rather than upon less objective and, rather frequently, speculative comparisons to alleged ANE parallels. It must be noted, however, that Craigie does not understand the psalm to be composed in a historical vacuum, inasmuch as he admits that "the poet has deliberately utilized Canaanite-type language and imagery in order to emphasize the Lord's strength and victory, in contrast to the weakness of the inimical Baal."n

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3Craigie, "Psalm xxix in the Hebrew Poetic Tradition," 144; Craigie, Psalms 1-50, 246.

4Craigie, "Psalm xxix in the Hebrew Poetic Tradition," 144.

5Craigie, Psalms 1-50, 246.
Structurally, Ps 29 contains a central section with a sevenfold repetition of the phrase "voice of YHWH" (קול יְهوֹヴァָ), framed by an introduction and conclusion. As shown in fig. 3, this composition displays a well-crafted structure with parallelism and repetition of key words and expressions at regular intervals. For example, the phrase קול יְהוָֹה ("voice of YHWH") appears seven times across the poem, while the Tetragrammaton occurs eighteen times—ten times in the central section (vss. 3-9), four times in the introduction, and four times in the conclusion. Whether this numerical pattern is just a coincidence, or has some rhetorical purpose is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. What seems clear, nonetheless, is that such a numerical rhetoric contributes to the literary beauty of the composition.

All this contributes to provide a well-balanced structure in which the central section of the psalm is framed by heavenly scenes at the introduction and conclusion. The introduction portrays the "sons of God" as they are summoned to praise and glorify YHWH, while the final section frames the entire composition by depicting YHWH enthroned "over the flood" and bestowing blessing and peace upon his people. The central section portrays the theophanic thunderstorm traveling from north to south across the Promised Land and provoking the commotion of the elements of nature.

For the purpose of this research, special attention will be given to the terms בְּנֵי אֵל ("sons of God") and הָרְחוֹב עָלֵי הָעָנָן, which convey the heavenly scene in the introduction. Thereafter, attention will be given to the expressions הָרְחוֹב עָלֵי ("and in his temple") and לֶחֶם הָאָרֶץ ("since/over the flood"), followed by an excursus on the central
1a Ascribe to YHWH, O sons of God,
1b Ascribe to YHWH glory and strength.
2a Ascribe to YHWH the glory due to his name;
2b Worship YHWH in the **GLORIOUS SANCTUARY**.

3a *The voice of YHWH* is upon the waters;
3b The God of glory thunders,
3c YHWH is over many waters.
4a *The voice of YHWH* is powerful,
4b *The voice of YHWH* is majestic.

5a *The voice of YHWH* breaks the cedars;
5b Yes, YHWH breaks in pieces the cedars of Lebanon.

6a He makes Lebanon skip like a calf,
6b And Sirion like a young wild ox.

7 *The voice of YHWH* hews out flames of fire.
8a *The voice of YHWH* shakes the wilderness;
8b YHWH shakes the wilderness of Kadesh.

9a *The voice of YHWH* makes the deer to calve
9b And strips the forests bare;
9c And in **HIS TEMPLE** everything says, "Glory!"

10a YHWH sat as King above the flood;
10b Yes, YHWH sits as King forever.
10a YHWH will give strength to his people;
10b YHWH will bless his people with peace.

Fig. 3. Literary structure of Ps 29. Adapted from Marc Girard, *Les Psaumes: Analyse Structurelle et Interpretation: 1-50* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1984), 234.
section of the psalm. After these exegetical procedures, a delineation of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif as depicted in Ps 29 will be attempted.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of סְעָלוּי הָאָרֶץ

The locution סְעָלוּי הָאָרֶץ ("sons of God") most probably points to the heavenly beings who serve at YHWH’s heavenly court, an idea found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, as already pointed out in this dissertation. Therefore no further elaboration of this concept is needed at this point. For the purpose of this study, it suffices to point out that the reference to the סְעָלוּי הָאָרֶץ contributes to setting the opening scene of Ps 29 in the heavenly realm, the implications of which will be noted in due course.

Meaning and Referent of שְׂרֵלָתְרוֹדָה

The genitival expression שְׂרֵלָתְרוֹדָה occurs only four times in the Hebrew Bible in connection with the cult either in the earthly or heavenly temple/sanctuary. The precise meaning of שְׂרֵלָתְרוֹדָה has remained elusive, as attested by different translations: "holy array," "holy attire/robes," "holy splendor," "beauty/splendor of [his] holiness,"

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1See, e.g., Exod 15:11; Ps 86:8; et al.
2Pss 29:2; 96:9; 1 Chr 16:29; 2 Chr 20:21.
3ASV, NASB, RSV.
4NET, BBE.
5DBY, NAB, NRS.
6ESV, JPS, KJV, NIV, NIB, NJB, NKJ, NLT.
"majestic in holiness,"
"glorious sanctuary,"
"holy court." In order to decide which option fits better in the text, some semantic and syntactic issues need to be addressed, such as (1) the meaning of the lexeme הַזֶּרֶם; (2) the semantic connotations of the genitival expression רוֹאֵשׁ יְהוָה, and (3) the referent of the latter expression.

Concerning the meaning of הַזֶּרֶם, the standard lexicons define it as an "adornment, glory." Although some versions have הַזֶּרֶם as "array" and "garments/attire," as mentioned above, it must be noted that this is an inference based on a presumed extended meaning of the word. Another possibility was raised by Cross, who argued that הַזֶּרֶם means "appearance," a suggestion based on the alleged Ugaritic cognate bdrt which appears in parallel with הַלֶּחָׇ ד ("dream"). This suggestion, however, depends on an Ugaritic parallel which occurs only once, in a difficult text. Thus, in view of the difficulties of the options just mentioned, it seems that "adornment, glory" remains the most likely meaning for הַזֶּרֶם.

1TNK.

2GNV, SRV.

3 The LXX rendered הַזֶּרֶם by αὐλὴ ("court")—followed by Vulgate and DRA—which may indicate the presence of the lexeme הָרֹאשׁ ("court") in the Hebrew Vorlage. However, the possibility also exists that the LXX translator was simply attempting to interpret the passage in the light of the Jerusalem temple, where worshipers and singers would be positioned in the court.


The task now is to ascertain the meaning of the genitival expression בְּ[טַחְתֵּי הָיִשְׁרָיִם. In this regard, at least four options are available:

1. The *nomen rectum* may function adjectivally in relation to יְהוָה. This would result in the translation "holy splendor" or, if the *nomen regens* is understood adjectivally, "splendor/beauty of [his] holiness." In either case the expression בְּ[טַחְתֵּי הָיִשְׁרָיִם would function syntactically as an adjunct to, and semantically as an attribute of, YHWH.

2. The phrase may be translated as "holy attire/robes" or "array" in reference to the garments or disposition of the temple singers, respectively. In this case, the expression under study would qualify not YHWH, but the outfit of those who are summoned to "praise" him.

3. If Ugaritic is followed, בְּ[טַחְתֵּי הָיִשְׁרָיִם would refer to the "holy appearance" or, in other words, to the theophany of YHWH. However, for the reasons expressed above, this option is untenable.

4. A more likely option would be to interpret בְּ[טַחְתֵּי הָיִשְׁרָיִם in a spatial sense and translate it as "glorious sanctuary." In this case, יְהוָה is taken in its natural lexical meaning and בְּ[טַחְתֵּי is understood as "parallel or complementary to *hykl* [בְּ[טַחְתֵּי in vs. 9c." As can be deduced from Hab 2:20, מַעְלֵה and בְּ[טַחְתֵּי are closely related terms clearly

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2Cf. GNV: "glorious Sanctuarie (sic)"; SRV: "glorioso santuario."


4"But YHWH is in his holy temple. Let all
pointing to the temple. Furthermore, the parallelism between נְרוֹרִים נְרוֹרִים and the lexeme רֶפֶן ("court") in Ps 96:8-9 corroborates the view that the former points to the temple. Thus, in view of the previous considerations, it is highly probable that נְרוֹרִים connotes the idea of "sanctuary/temple," a literal translation of which may be "glorious sanctuary" as suggested above.

As for the referent of this "glorious sanctuary," in view of the heavenly imagery evoked by the context in which the "sons of God" are summoned to worship YHWH, this sanctuary must be located in heaven. Therefore, Ps. 29:2 not only portrays a heavenly scene, as admitted by the vast majority of scholars, but relates this heavenly scene to the "glorious [heavenly] sanctuary."

Storm Imagery

The central verses of the psalm portray a storm that comes to hit Canaanite territory. As William Shea pointed out, from the heavenly sanctuary YHWH sends the earth be silent before him."

1 See the discussion of this passage in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

2 Ps 96:8-9:

8 "Ascribe to YHWH the glory of his name; bring an offering and come into his courts.
9 Worship YHWH in holy attire; tremble before him, all the earth." 8

3 Freedman and Hyland, 244.

4 Cf., e.g., Fensham, 89, 92; Kidner, Psalms 1-72, 124; Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 348; Macholz, 325-26; Schaefer, 71-72.
storm and flames of fire (vss. 5-9) to strike the Canaanites. It is instructive to note that all the place names mentioned in the text belong to Canaanite territory. As Shea expressed, "the description tells how the storm was ordered by God from His heavenly temple as the angelic host stood by (vs 1-2, 9b). In response to this demonstration of His power all the host in Yahweh's heavenly temple ascribe glory to him as they were exorted to do at the beginning of the psalm." It thus becomes apparent that the heavenly temple functions as the place from where YHWH sends judgment upon the enemies of his people.

**Referent of יָכֵבָל**

At the outset it must be pointed out that the injunction to give יָכֵבָל to YHWH in vs. 2 is matched by vs. 9c, in which everything says יָכֵבָל. As noted by Limburg, "what is called for in vs. 2 is executed in vs. 9c as all in the temple sing glory!" Furthermore, both verses evoke the notion of YHWH being worshiped in the "sanctuary/temple." In this regard, it is interesting to observe that the שֶּׁנֶּק in vs. 2 corresponds to the יָכֵבָל in vs. 9c. Furthermore, there seems to be a structural linkage between vs. 9c and the opening scene.


2The reference to Kadesh (Ps 29:8), which might be at first glance identifies a location in the in the south, most probably refers to a location in Syria, as argued by the following scholars: Ginsberg, 472-76; Oswald Loretz, *Psalm 29: Kanaanäische El- und Baaltraditionen in jüdischer Sicht*, Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur 2 (Altenberg: CIS-Verlag, 1984), 91-92. However, the view that Kadesh should be identified with the location on the way from Egypt to Palestine (see Deut 1:19) was argued by Deissler on the basis that "the average Israelite could not understand it otherwise" ("Zur Datierung und Situierung der 'kosmischen Hymnen' Pss 8 19 20," 54). Cf. also Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 126; Weiser, 264.


4Limburg, *Psalms*, 94.
In this regard it must be remembered that the position of vs. 9c in the structure of the psalm has been debated. At first glance, it appears that vs. 9c is a piece of material loosely related to its immediate context, since there is no parallel to it, and its connection with either the preceding or following material is not apparent. This has led some scholars to hypothesize that vs. 9c does not belong originally to the psalm. However, there is no text-critical basis for this conjecture, and this dissertation is concerned with the final form of the text. So Ps 29 must be treated as a unified composition. That having been said, two options remain: vs. 9c belongs either to the previous section or to the final one.

The verse divisions of the Masoretic text support the former possibility. Also, the vav conjunction in נִבְּרֶתָא seems to link this phrase with the preceding material. On the other hand, the content of the entire clause—"And in his temple everything (עול) says, "Glory!"—seems more related to what follows, inasmuch as the entire participial clause seems to function as a formula to introduce not only the liturgical shout רְבָעָן, but also the contents of vss. 10 and 11. Therefore, it is more likely that vs. 9c belongs to the final section. However, one should not rule out the possibility that it may have been intentionally placed at that position as a transitional marker in order to signal the point where the scene moves from earth to heaven. The importance of vs. 9c has been recognized by Von Rad, who argued that this "is the key-verse of the whole psalm—it leads us away from the commotions on the earth up to the heavenly sanctuary where the

1Cf., e.g., Briggs and Briggs, 1:254.

2Freedman and Hyland hold that "9c while belonging to the main section of the poem, nevertheless serves as the transition from the Introduction to the Conclusion, which constitutes the utterance referred to in vs. 9c" (241).
company of the heavenly beings recognizes and glorifies these very occurrences on the
earth as revelation of the glory of Jahweh.1

It can also be suggested that although órgão primarily points to the heavenly
temple, it may include the earthly temple. In this regard one should note that the phrase
ﻇل might also encompass the earthly temple.2 Although the antecedent of the pronominal
suffix ی is understood as referring primarily to órgão, the possibility remains that it may also
refer to YHWH, who is the topic of the clause. In this case, ﻇل would include "everything
that belongs to YHWH," thus encompassing the earthly temple and the worship offered
therein. Such an idea seems corroborated by Ps 148, where the earthly congregation joins
the heavenly beings to praise YHWH.3 As James L. Mays put it, "The doxology that is
offered in the heavenly temple is a model and motif for what must occur in the
corresponding earthly temple; the congregation in its praise is led by and joins in the
doxology sung by the 'sons of God.'"4

Summing up, although the term órgão in vs. 9c refers primarily to the heavenly
temple, its structurally ambivalent position, coupled with the syntax and semantics of the
phrase ﻇل, leaves open the possibility that the earthly temple may also be in view.

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1 Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, trans. D. M. G. Stalker, 2 vols. (New York:

2 As pointed out by Hossfeld and Zenger, "Das Lob des himmlischen Hofstaates wird hier
durch den Hinweis 'ein jeder, alle' órgão auf die Menschen im irdischen Tempel ausgeweitet" ("In
the allusion to 'every, all' órgão the praise of the heavenly court broadens to include the human
beings in the earthly temple") (Die Psalmen I, 185).


Meaning of לְמַבֶּל ח琮

Although etymology of לְמַבֶּל ח琮 cannot be established with absolute certainty,¹ the fact outside Ps 29, לְמַבֶּל ח琮 occurs only in Gen 6-9, indicates that לְמַבֶּל ח琮 in Ps 29:10 most probably refers to the Genesis Flood,² and not to the heavenly ocean as suggested by some scholars.³ Thus, granting that לְמַבֶּל ח琮 refers to the Genesis Flood, attention must now be given to the elusive prepositional phrase לְמַבֶּל ח琮. The question arises whether the preposition connotes a temporal or locative idea. In the former case it should be translated "since the Flood"; in the latter, "on/over/above the flood."

In this connection, Dahood has proposed that לְמַבֶּל ח琮 may connote the idea of "from the flood"⁴ on the basis of the Ugaritic meaning of לְמַבֶּל ח琮 as "from/since." However, such a position is difficult sustain in view of D. Pardee's observation that Ugaritic ytb l is not attested as meaning "to be seated since."⁵ An additional objection is that the locution

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¹This situation is reflected in the several suggestions for the etymology of לְמַבֶּל ח琮: Akkadian abūba (“flood”); bûbûla, bibûla, bibbulula (“high tide”); napatû napatû (“destroy”); general Semitic bbl (“to mix, mingle”); a maqtul form from ybl II (“to rain strongly”; cf. Arabic wabl ["cloudburst"]); Egyptian wbn (“to overflow”). Cf. P Stenmans, "לְמַבֶּל ח琮 mabbûl," TWAT, 4:634-38.


⁴Dahood, Psalms I, 184.

is a standard expression to convey locative meaning in biblical Hebrew. Therefore, it seems more natural, from a linguistic point of view, to construe לֶךְ לָם as a locative expression (i.e. "over the Flood"). This locative idea receives contextual support from vs. 3c where it is stated that "YHWH is over many waters (לֶךְ לָם רֵעֵים)."

Assuming the validity of the previous suggestion that לֶךְ לָם conveys a locative connotation, one has a semantic problem the locative view seems to conceptualize לֶךְ לָם as a "throne," an idea incongruent with semantic common sense. In this regard, Pardee seems to clarify the issue by pointing to an Ugaritic text in which appears the expression bkm ytб b'lh bhth ("with Ba'lu enthroned at his house"). Since it is unlikely that ytб l+ house means to seat upon the house, as if it were a chair (as with the Flood), the suggestion may be advanced that that ytб l+ house means to "seat in regards to the house," that is, to seat upon a throne in order to rule over the house. Turning to Ps 29:10, Pardee summarized by saying that the Hebrew idiom לֶךְ לָם "does not indicate that YHWH sat upon the Flood, treating it like a chair, but that he sat upon his kingly throne with respect to the Flood, i.e. acted as sovereign towards it."

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1 See Judg 5:17; 1 Kgs 2:19; Isa 47:1; Pss 9:5 [4]; 110:1; 132:12; Prov 9:14; Lam 2:10.
2 Cf. Gen 1:7: "God made the expanse, and separated the waters which were below the expanse from the waters which were above the expanse; and it was so."
4 See ibid., 171-72.
5 Ibid., 172.

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Summing up, the expression ירבעיל contributes to reaffirm the heavenly setting of the ירבעיל mentioned in vs. 9b, and implicitly points to the heavenly temple as the place wherein YHWH has performed his activities as cosmic king ruling over the Flood and bestowing blessings upon his people.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

The above investigation allows the following delineation concerning the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple in Ps 29 is made evident by the heavenly imagery depicted in the opening and closing scenes. In the opening scene the "glorious sanctuary" functions as the locus of worship and praise, as deduced from the injunction to the heavenly beings to worship YHWH (vs. 2). The closing scene portrays YHWH receiving the adoration called for in the opening section (vs. 9c). It should be kept in mind, however, that the praise expressed in the psalm come as a result of YHWH's judgment upon the Canaanites, as represented by the storm that strikes Canaanite territory. Thus, the heavenly sanctuary/temple also emerges as the place from where YHWH sends judgment upon the enemies of his people. The heavenly temple is portrayed as the place where YHWH exerts his kingship, as implied in the affirmation that he is enthroned "above the flood" (vs. 10a), and explicitly noted in the utterance that "YHWH sits as King forever" (vs. 10b). Furthermore, in vs. 11 the heavenly temple functions as the place whence YHWH grants blessing and peace upon his people.
Summing up, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a liturgical/cultic place where worship and praises are given to YHWH, from where he sends judgment upon the enemies of his people, exerts his kingship over the cosmos, and bestows blessing and peace upon his people on earth.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The portrayal of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place of worship, judgment, kingship, source of help, and blessings places it in functional correspondence with its earthly counterpart. In addition, the reference heavenly יִרְכָּל may also indicate a structural correspondence, as already noted.

**Ps 33:1-22**

13 From heaven YHWH looks; he sees all the sons of men;
14 From his dwelling place he gazes at all the inhabitants of the earth,
15 He who fashions the hearts of them all, he who understands all their works.

**Preliminary Observations**

Ps 33 consists of a "song of praise" alluding to the nature of YHWH and the creative power of his word. It is structurally arranged with an introductory call to praise (vss. 1-3) followed by the main section spelling out the reasons for the rejoicing (4-19). The following investigation deals mainly with the subunit of vss. 13-15, which alludes to

1Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 374.

YHWH's "dwelling place" (מִנְחַת). The parallelism between מִנְחַת ("From heaven") and מִנְחַת ("his dwelling place") makes clear that this "dwelling place" should be located in heaven. Thus the ensuing discussion deals with the connotation of מִנְחַת and the idea of YHWH looking down. Finally, the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is delineated.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Semantic Connotation and Referent of מִנְחַת

The main goal of this section is to determine the semantic contours of the locution מִנְחַת ("his dwelling place") and its referent. Some versions have understood this expression as connoting the idea of "throne."\(^1\) Dahood has suggested that the locution מִנְחַת should be understood as the foundation for the throne or the throne itself by metonymy.\(^2\) He seems to have drawn this idea from the occurrence of מִנְחַת in connection with מִן ("throne") in two other passages of the Hebrew Bible.\(^3\) Nonetheless, although the idea of "throne" may be part of the overall complex of ideas connoting temple/sanctuary, one has to determine more specifically whether מִנְחַת has the connotation of "throne" or "dwelling" (that is, temple/sanctuary). If the latter is the case, then this passage should be included in the present study.

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\(^1\) Cf. e.g.: "royal throne" (NAB); "where he sits enthroned" (ESV, NRS); "the place where he sits" (NJB); "throne" (NLT).


\(^3\) Cf. Pss 89:15 [14]; 97:2.
It is important to note that when יָסָא ("place, site")\(^1\) is connected to the lexeme יָשָׁב,\(^2\) as in the text under examination, it most probably carries the connotation of "dwelling" (i.e., temple/sanctuary). As already noted, the term יָסָא derives from the root כָּל, which connotes the idea of firmness.\(^3\) It is used seventeen times in the Hebrew Bible,\(^4\) fourteen of which are in connection with the sanctuary, as pointed out by Rodriguez.\(^5\) Seven times it designates YHWH's "dwelling place" in heaven (i.e., the heavenly sanctuary).\(^6\) Worthy of note is the expression יֶהֶנֶם which appears in Exod 15:17, where it parallels יָשָׁב ("sanctuary"), and in 1 Kgs 8:13 in apposition to בֵּית יָשָׁב ("lofty house").\(^7\) In the latter passages the expression יֶהֶנֶם יִשְׁבָּה clearly connotes the idea of "temple/sanctuary." Additionally, in Dan 8:11 the related expression יָסָא יִשְׁבַּת occurs with the connotation of sanctuary/temple. In view of the usage of this expression in other

\(^1\)HALOT, 2:579, s.v. יָסָא.

\(^2\)The form יָשָׁב is the infinitive construct of יָשָׁב.

\(^3\)Cf. HALOT, s.v. כָּל.

\(^4\)Exod 15:17; 1 Kgs 8:13, 39, 43, 49; 2 Chr 6:2, 30, 33, 39; Ezra 2:68; Pss 33:14; 89:15 [14]; 97:2; 104:5; Isa 4:5; 18:4; Dan 8:11.


\(^7\)See the study of Exod 15:17 and 1 Kgs 8:13 in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, respectively.
passages of the Hebrew Bible, one can safely assume that the idea behind קְרָאתְךֶם is most probably that of "dwell ing" (i.e., temple/sanctuary, rather than throne).

Finally, some brief considerations should be devoted to the referent of the locution מִמְדָּר ("from his dwelling place"). In this regard, it should be noted that the explicit parallelism between מָשְׁבוֹת ("from heaven") and מִמְדָּר ("from his dwelling place") points undoubtedly to the heavenly sanctuary as the referent of the latter. So it may argued that the expression מִמְדָּר connotes the idea of "dwelling"/temple rather than throne, and thus most indicates the heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH.

Idea of YHWH Looking Down

The idea of YHWH looking down is expressed by three different verbs: נָבָא ("look"), רָאָה ("see"), and לַצֵּאת ("gaze"). The hiphil of נָבָא ("look"), when having YHWH as its grammatical subject, is used to express the idea of his looking down from heaven to earth to hear grievances and free prisoners.¹ The verb רָאָה ("see"), among several other usages, has connection with the conceptual realm of the courtroom, whence comes the notion that YHWH sees injustice, oppression, and idolatry.² According to Fuhs this "seeing means God's intervention as judge, with judicial examination preceding execution


of the judgment."1 As for נָבוּד ("gaze"), it means "more precisely to look at closely and to examine critically."2

Thus, by using these three distinct verbal roots the psalmist seems to emphasize three basic ideas. First, everything in the world is under the scrutiny and supervision of YHWH. Second, the notion of supervision may entail the idea of judgment, or, as Kraus puts it, "universal judgment."3 This may also be implied in vs. 5 where YHWH is referred to as One who "loves righteousness and justice." This seems to be corroborated by vs. 10, which says that "YHWH nullifies the counsel of the nations; he frustrates the plans of the peoples." Third, the concept of help/salvation also seems to be implied, as suggested by vss. 18 and 19: "But the eyes of YHWH are on those who fear him, on those whose hope is in his unfailing love, to deliver their soul from death and to keep them alive in famine."

Summing up, the picture of "looking down" connotes the notion of supervision, judgment, and help/salvation exerted by YHWH from his heavenly "dwelling place" (i.e., the heavenly sanctuary).

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

As noted above, the locution הַכְּפַלְפַל ("his dwelling place") points to the sanctuary/temple of YHWH located in heaven. The task now is to delineate the function

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1Ibid.

2HALOT, s.v. "הָנַשֶּׁה".

3Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 378.
of this heavenly temple. As the text says: "From heaven YHWH looks; he sees all the sons of men; from his dwelling place he gazes at all the inhabitants of the earth" (vss. 13-14).

Since idea of YHWH looking down from his heavenly "dwelling place" indicates that the latter would functions as place of dwelling, supervision, judgment, and help/salvation. It is from his heavenly temple that YHWH examines and evaluates the affairs of humankind, and bestows help and salvation on those who seek him.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The heavenly sanctuary temple seems to have been understood in structural correspondence with its earthly counterpart. This is suggested by the term מַעֲרֹת הַשֵּׁבָת, which, in slightly modified way (מַעֲרֹת לְשֵׁבָת), appears in Exod 15:17 and 1 Kgs 8:13 in reference to the earthly temple. Additional some functional correspondence may also be inferred, inasmuch as the earthly temple may also function as a place of dwelling, supervision, and judgment.

**Ps 60:1-14 [12]**

8 God has spoken in his sanctuary: I will exult, I will portion out Shechem and measure out the valley of Succoth.

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1 Par. Ps 108:8 [7].

Preliminary Observations

Scholars have classified Ps 60 as lamentation, corporate prayer for help, or national complaint recited in a time of national crisis. The superscription ascribes this poem to David and relates it to the times of his wars against the Arameans and Edomites. Structurally the psalm divides itself into three sections: 3-7 [1-5]; 8-11 [6-9]; 12-14 [10-12]. The word הָלֹא ("God") in the first line of each section provides a verbal marker for these divisions, which also tallies with the thematic divisions. In the first and

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3Schaefer, 146.


5Although the superscriptions of the Psalms have been considered inconclusive by most scholars (cf., e.g., Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 1:43-46; H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Forms and Meaning* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967], 205-12), Dahood expressed confidence that "the superscription, language and contents permit a tentative dating in the Davidic period" (*Psalms II*, 76). Nonetheless, whatever opinion one may entertain about the actual date of composition of this psalm, it should be borne in mind that since the superscription is part of the final canonical form of the text, it should be taken into any interpretation that aims at understanding the composition in its final form.

6The wars of David against the Aramean kingdoms are described in 2 Sam 8:3-8; 10:6-18; 1 Chr 18:3-11; 19:6-19.

7See 2 Sam 8:13; 1 Chr 18:12.

8Cf. Tate, 103.
third sections, which develop the same theme of the abandonment of the nation by God,\(^1\) the worshipers address the deity as "you" and identify themselves by means of the plural "us." Furthermore, the second section ends with a plea for salvation—"Save with your right hand, and answer us!" (vss. 7 [5])—which is then responded to in the central section. Here God addresses the people in the first person, assuring them of his relationship and reaffirming his lordship over Canaan, Edom, Moab, and Philistia (vss. 8-11 [6-9]).\(^2\)

For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that the reference to God "in his sanctuary" (תלשם"כ) occurs exactly in the central section, or "central oracle,"\(^3\) of the psalm as part of a formula introducing God's direct speech. Interestingly enough, when God utters his word of assurance in the midst of a crisis, he does so "in his sanctuary" (תלשם"כ). Thus, in the ensuing discussion, the prepositional phrase תלשם"כ receives attention in order to ascertain the semantic connotation and referent of תלשם"כ, followed by considerations on the function of the heavenly sanctuary and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

As already observed, this section attempts to ascertain the referent and connotation of the lexeme תלשם"כ in the phrase תלשם"כ. Some translations have rendered this phrase as an

\(^1\)The term God is used here instead of YHWH because the former is the term employed in the text.

\(^2\)According to Kraus this central section, the "oracle of salvation," was conveyed by a priest or cultic prophet in the sanctuary (Psalms 60-150, 4).

abstract expression "in his holiness" while others have opted for a locative meaning "in the sanctuary." Among scholars who have opted for the latter, some entertain the possibility that לְאֵלֶּה refers to the earthly sanctuary/temple, while others favor the heavenly sanctuary. In view of these differences of opinion, it will be instructive to ascertain the semantic connotations and the referent of לְאֵלֶּה, before turning to the delineation of the function of heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Concerning the semantic connotations of לְאֵלֶּה, it was pointed out above that this word can denote either the abstract concept of "holiness," or the locative idea of "sanctuary." The following arguments can be advanced in favor of a locative meaning. First, the syntactic similarity between לְאֵלֶּה in Ps 60:8 [6], and בְּקַעַר לְאֵלֶּה in Ps 99:7 contributes to clarify this issue. As can be observed, the prepositional phrase בְּקַעַר לְאֵלֶּה in Ps 99:7 has a clear locative meaning. This illuminates the syntactically similar construction לְאֵלֶּה in 60:8 [6], which most probably should also be understood as connoting a locative meaning. Second, it should be remembered that the

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1Cf. NASB, KJV, ESV, JPS, NKJV.
2Cf. NIV, RSV, NET, NRSV, TNK.
3Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 5; Tourney, 18; Briggs and Briggs, 2:59.
5See chapter 3 of this dissertation.
6Dahood translates בָּא as "from" as already noted (Psalms II, 75, 79).
7Ibid., 79.
prepositional phrase יִשָּׁטַה יָם connotes a locative sense in the majority of its occurrences.¹

And the passage under study seems to follow this trend, since the locative connotation "in his sanctuary" seems to fit better in the context: As noted in the text (Ps 60:8 [6]), the prepositional phrase יִשָּׁטַה יָם clearly refers to the locale whence God utters his word.² Third, although the testimony of ancient versions does not represent the final word on exegetical issues, it is interesting to note that the Targum to Psalms translated מַעֲרַשְׂתוֹ שֶׁב קְפַרְשָׁה (lit. "in the house of his sanctuary"),³ thus corroborating the locative connotation of קְפַרְשָׁה.

It must be noted, at this juncture, that the expression under study belongs to the central section of the psalm (8-10 [6-8]), which, as noted above, stands out from the text as an oracle in which YHWH addresses the people. As noted by Gerstenberger, the introductory expression יִשָּׁטַה יָם רָבָּה (“God spoke”) seems to be "an assertion of divine communication, a reference to well-known fact, almost like later reference to Scripture."⁴ If so, then it may be suggested that this well-known fact is the certainty that God/YHWH would intervene from "his sanctuary."

¹See the discussion of Exod 15:11 in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

²On the basis of Amos 4:2 and Ps 89:36 [35] where God swears by his holiness, it has been suggested that in Ps 60:8 [6] it means that God speaks in "his holiness" which is "equal to an oath 'by His holiness'" (Franz Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Psalms [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959], 2:198). Cf. Albert Barnes, Book of the Psalms (New York: Harper, 1868), 2:283. The problem with this view, as Richard M. Davidson pointed out, is that the text "uses רָבָּה and not specific words for swearing" ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 8).

³Miqra'ot Gedolot, 10:36 (Ps 60:8 [6]).

⁴Gerstenberger, 240.
As for the referent of קָרָא in בַּכָּרָא, it seems difficult to ascertain whether קָרָא refers to the earthly or to the heavenly sanctuary. Nonetheless, a close examination of the text suggests that the kind of situation depicted in the text seems more appropriate to the heavenly sanctuary than to its earthly counterpart. The text reads:

6 God has spoken in his sanctuary: "I will exult, I will portion out Shechem and measure out the valley of Succoth.
7 "Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine; Ephraim also is the helmet of my head; Judah is my scepter.
8 "Moab is my washbowl; over Edom I shall throw my shoe; shout loud, O Philistia, because of me!"

The passage speaks about subjugation of neighboring nations and partition of territory, and portrays the imagery of a gigantic God who considers Moab his "washbowl." This broad scope of activities and lofty picture of God seem more appropriate to a heavenly sanctuary context rather than a local earthly temple. Other passages of the Hebrew Bible when using such diction usually depict YHWH as located in heaven. This view also seems to be corroborated by passages of the Hebrew Bible in which YHWH’s response to the afflictions of his people is depicted as coming from the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Additionally, if one reads the psalm with the superscription in

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1 This may be an allusion to the Dead Sea according to Schaefer, 147.
2 See, e.g., Isa 6:1ff., and 63:1.
3 Cf. Pss 11:4; 33:14.
mind, thus placing it in the time of David when the Zion temple had not yet been built, the view that the text refers to the heavenly sanctuary may gain additional corroboration.

In addition to the above observations, further insights may be gained from the parallel passage of Ps 108.¹ For the purposes of this research it suffices to note that Ps 108:7-14 [6-13] is a copy with very small alterations of Ps 60:7-14 [5-12]. Therefore it will be instructive to note what understanding of שֵׁם emerges from its placement in Ps 108.

4 For your mercy is great above the heavens, and your truth reaches to the skies.
5 Be exalted, O God, above the heavens, and your glory above all the earth.
6 That your beloved may be delivered, save with your right hand, and answer me!
7 God has spoken in his sanctuary: "I will exult, I will portion out Shechem and measure out the valley of Succoth.

As noted, vss. 5-7 [4-6] contain several expressions of exaltation in a heavenly context. As Davidson pointed out, "The psalmist longs for God to be exalted in a heavenly context, that he may answer his cry (v. 6), and in this progression, God answers 'from his sanctuary,' indicating that he is indeed exalted, and the psalmist can be confident of deliverance."² It thus seems reasonable to suppose that when the text says that "God has spoken in his sanctuary," it is the heavenly sanctuary that is in view. That being the case, the parallel occurrence of the text under study in Ps 108 corroborates the view that שֵׁם refers to the heavenly sanctuary.

¹Ps 108 is a copy of Pss 57:8-11 [1-5] and 60:7-14 [5-12].
Function

Granting the plausibility of the above suggestion that the term 'Temple Motif' refers to the heavenly sanctuary, one needs to inquire about the function of the heavenly sanctuary. It is important to note that it is "in his [heavenly] sanctuary" that God issues the word of assurance for his people. This places the heavenly sanctuary in a salient position in the context of the passage, since it is portrayed as the locus whence divine help is bestowed. In other words, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as the place where God takes decisions in response to prayers, in other words, the heavenly sanctuary is the headquarters or command center from where YHWH governs the earth.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

Although Ps 60 does not provide a clear reference or allusion to earthly-temple/sanctuary imagery, the parallel passage of Ps 108 may provide some hint of a vertical relationship. In Ps 108:12 [11], the reference to God not marching with the armies of Israel may well point to an earthly context, since it evokes the imagery of the ark accompanying the Israelite army to battle. If such is the case, it may be suggested that the parallel text of Ps 108:12 [11] might imply some vertical correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart as represented by the ark of the covenant.²

¹This situation fits the period of David, before the ark found its permanent resting place in Solomon's temple.

A father of the fatherless and a judge for the widows, is God in his holy habitation.

O God, you are awesome from your sanctuary. The God of Israel himself gives strength and power to the people. Blessed be God!

Preliminary Observations

Ps 68 is comprised of a mix of various styles such as hymn, prayer, and summons to praise God. Containing a disproportionate amount of rare expressions and syntactic constructions, this psalm has been regarded as one of the most difficult passages of the Psalter. Another difficulty lies in the alleged lack of a thread holding together the composition as a whole. In the face of these problems, Kraus asserted that "there is hardly another song in the psalter which in its corrupt text and its lack of coherence precipitates such serious problems for the interpreter as Psalm 68." Several explanations have been advanced. Albright suggested that one should see Ps 68 as a list of opening lines of early Hebrew poems. Other scholars have hypothesized that the composition reflects a long

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1Cf. Schaefer, 163.

2Hossfeld and Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 246.


4Ibid.

5Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 47.

process of growth in which it was supplemented by the addition of new material in order to attune it from the alleged previous setting of a northern sanctuary, probably on Mount Tabor, to the Jerusalem tradition. However, in spite of these negative assessments, some scholars have argued for the coherence of the pericope as it now stands in the Psalter.

Schaefer, for example, discerned the following structure which, with slight modifications, is adopted in the ensuing discussion.

X. Introduction (1-4 [1-3])
A. Hymnic invocation (vss. 5-7 [4-6])
B. From Sinai to Zion (vss. 8-19 [7-18])
C. Acclamation and Oracle (vss. 20-24 [19-23])
B' Procession toward the temple (25-32 [24-31])
A' Hymnic invocation—conclusion (vss. 33-36 [32-35])


3Schaefer, 163.
This structure reveals that explicit references and allusions to the sanctuary/temple occur in A (vs. 6 [5]) and A' [vs. 36 [35], and also in B (vss. 17, 18, 19 [16, 17, 18]) and B' (vs. 25, 30 [24, 29]). The sanctuary/temple idea thus seems to function as an element of cohesion across the various sections.\(^1\)

In view of the prominent presence of the temple idea in Ps 68, the following discussion attempts to ascertain whether the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif can be deduced from this text. In order to accomplish this, an examination of the several occurrences of the temple/sanctuary concept in this text will be undertaken. Finally a delineation of the function of the heavenly temple as well as its relationship to the earthly counterpart will be provided.

**Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations**

References and allusions to the temple/sanctuary motif pervade the text, as can be noted in the terms connoting the idea of "sanctuary/temple/dwelling," such as עליון ("holy habitation"), שער ("sanctuary"), בית ("temple"), and פנים ("sanctuary").\(^2\) In the following discussion, attention is devoted to these terms in order to accomplish the purpose expressed above of ascertaining the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

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\(^1\)The repeated mention of the sanctuary/temple motif in this psalm, especially the reference to the Jerusalem temple (vss. 17, 30 [16, 29], the choral singers and the players of stringed music (vs. 26f. [25f.]), the repetitive prayer style, and the call to the community to sing praises to YHWH have led Weiser to suggest that "the psalm presupposes a communal act of worship in the course of which it was recited" (482).

\(^2\)Note also other terms such as "הר" ("mountain") and "רגל" ("height").
Referent of נפשוּך קָרֵישׁוּה

Although the expression in vs. 6 [5] is clear enough, scholars are divided as to its referent. The locution נפשוּך קָרֵישׁוּה ("his holy habitation") has been understood as referring to the heavenly sanctuary,\(^1\) to the earthly sanctuary,\(^2\) to both heavenly and earthly sanctuaries,\(^3\) or to an unspecified referent.\(^4\)

A contextual examination of the locution נפשוּך קָרֵישׁוּה ("his holy habitation") yields the impression that it refers to the heavenly temple. The following arguments support this view: First, the expression נפשוּך קָרֵישׁוּה pertains to the hymnic invocation (vss. 5-7 [4-6]), which addresses YHWH/God as the רֶפֶס 337 ("rider upon the clouds").\(^5\) Since the


5Despite some scholars' understanding of the phrase רֶפֶס 337 as "rider on the steppe" (so, e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen 51-100*, 242), one should note that nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible is the lexeme רֶפֶס associated with "steppe" or "wilderness." Rather, as can be deduced from the functional equivalent רְפִּס 337 ("the rider of the ancient heaven") in vs. 34 [33], this expression most probably means "rider on the clouds." This is further corroborated by other references in the Hebrew Bible which portray YHWH/God as riding on a "cherub" (2 Sam 22:11, par. Ps 18:11 [10]), or "cloud" (Isa 19:1). In addition, the occurrence of the expression רְפִּס 7ח (KTV 1.2 IV 8) in Ugaritic indicates that "rider of the clouds" was an epithet used for Baal. This being so, it should come as no surprise that the psalmist employed a stock ANE expression to manifest fear and reverence for the One true God YHWH.
latter locution evokes the heavenly realm, it seems reasonable to infer that היטהות ("his holy habitation") refers to the heavenly temple/sanctuary.¹ Second, it should also be noted that this expression always refers to the heavenly sanctuary in its other four occurrences in the Hebrew Bible.² Third, this seems further corroborated by the fact that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif recurs in the final section of the poem where again God is depicted as כבש לארחיהו ("rider of the ancient heavens"), as noted below.

Meaning and Referent of יְהֵם in Vs. 18 [17]

The lexeme יְהֵם in Ps 68:18 [17] deserves attention at this point. For the purpose of this research, it is instructive to determine whether יְהֵם means "holiness"³ or "sanctuary/holy place."⁴ If the latter proves to be the case, further inspection will be done in order to ascertain whether יְהֵם refers to the heavenly or earthly temple. The text reads as follows:

The chariots of God are myriads, thousands upon thousands; the Lord is among them [as at] Sinai, in holiness/the sanctuary.

Note that although BDB renders בְּרֹד as "desert-plain, steppe" (BDB, s.v. "IV סְרֵד"), HALOT notices that this lexeme can be related to the Ugaritic lexeme "רִנпор meaning "clouds" (s.v. "II וַיִּנֶּפֶר") (cf. Dahood, Psalms II, 136). As for the Hebrew p instead of the Ugaritic b, it should be noted that it is a mere nonphonemic mutation of consonants (since these two letters are labials, they can easily interchange). Cf. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 1:484.

¹The following scholars favor a heavenly setting for יְהֵם ("his holy habitation"): Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 1:485; Briggs and Briggs, 2:97; Tate, 176.

²Deut 26:15; Jer 25:30; Zech 2:17; 2 Chr 30:27. These passages are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

³So NASB, JPS, TNK.

⁴So ASV, KJV, NAB, NIB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV. Cf. Hossfeld, 245.
Several readings and emendations have been proposed for this difficult verse; however, no compelling manuscript evidence has been produced against the text as it stands. So the ensuing discussion assumes the reliability of the MT and attempts to interpret it as such. Starting with the semantic contours of סֵפֶר, a locative meaning "sanctuary" seems more appropriate in view of the context, namely vss. 17-19 [16-18]. In these latter verses one finds the lexemes קֶסֶר, תָּכֹא, and דְּרִימָה, which evoke sanctuary/temple imagery. Thus, in a context where YHWH is extolled for choosing Mount Zion to establish his dwelling thereon, it is fitting that סֵפֶר connotes "sanctuary."1

As for the referent of סֵפֶר, a more complex picture emerges. Although the mention of the mountain that "God chose" in vs. 17b [16b] favors an earthly referent (i.e., Mount Zion), the affirmation that "the chariots of God are myriads, thousands upon thousands"2 in vs. 18a [17a] conveys an imagery more appropriate for the heavenly realm. This ambivalence may also affect the understanding of the clause יָגוּד אֶל ("you have ascended on high") in vs. 19 [18]. Although at first glance one gets the impression that this clause must refer to Mount Zion—the place where YHWH is eventually enthroned—closer inspection reveals that יָגוּד may include a heavenly setting. Hossfeld and Zenger have referred to יָגוּד as "den hohen, emporragenden Ort, an dem Himmel und Erde ineinander übergehen,"3 while Kraus has conjectured that behind vs. 17f. [16f.] lies a

1Terrien considers vss. 17-19 the "core strophe" of Ps 68 with its "focus on the holy place" (The Psalms, 486, 494).

2See, e.g., Ezek 1:1; Ps 18:10-14; Dan 7:9-14.

3The German reads: "The high and lofty place where heaven and earth merge" (Hossfeld and Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 253).
mythological fragment which told of a heavenly rebellion." Although such statements may be speculative, they do reflect the awareness that the temple imagery conveyed by the text goes beyond the earthly temple to encompass its heavenly counterpart. Thus, instead of postulating a "merging" of heaven and earth, or suggesting that behind the text lies a "mythological fragment of a heavenly rebellion," it seems more plausible to speak of a dynamic interaction between the earthly temple and its heavenly counterpart.

Referent of שָׁרָק in vs. 25 [24]

The term שָׁרָק in vs. 25 [24] refers to the earthly temple, as indicated by vss. 25-26 [24-25]:

24 They have seen your procession, O God, The procession of my God, my King, into the sanctuary.
25 The singers went first, the musicians after them, in the midst of the maidens beating tambourines.

The mention of the "procession" into the sanctuary seems to clearly evoke the service of the earthly temple. Furthermore, the reference to "musicians" and "maidens" beating tambourines certainly connotes a Jerusalem-temple setting.

Meaning and Referent of יְרוּשָׁלַיִם

The term יְרוּשָׁלַיִם in vs. 30 [29] seems at first glance to refer to the Jerusalem temple, since the immediate context talks about the kings of the earth bringing gifts to God (vs.

1 Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 54.

2 According to Terrien, vss. 17-19 are the "core strophe" with a focus on the holy place (The Psalms, 486, 494).
30b). However, upon close examination, the entire syntagma \( \text{הָלָּלָה} \ \text{עַל-רְאוֹשֵׁי} \) reveals an ambivalence that calls for further inspection. The preposition \( \text{לְ} \) governing \( \text{רְאוֹשֵׁי} \) may connote that the temple stands either "at or by Jerusalem" or "above Jerusalem." For a temple located "in Jerusalem," one would expect the preposition \( \text{בּ} \), not \( \text{לְ} \), as attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.\(^1\) The use of \( \text{לְ} \) in the sense of "located in" Jerusalem appears to be unique to Ps 68:30 [29]. The impression then arises that the preposition \( \text{לְ} \) in the present text may convey an ambivalent meaning "in/above." In addition, it must be noted that the gifts are brought not "to the temple," but "because of the temple."\(^2\) If the Jerusalem temple were the only referent in view, one would expect it to be the destination of the gifts. This is not the case, however, since the temple is clearly portrayed as the cause that motivates or impels the kings to bring gifts to God. The concept behind the expression seems to be that the kings of the earth would bring gifts to God (i.e., to the earthly temple), because of the temple above Jerusalem (i.e. the temple that granted legitimacy to the earthly temple).

The possibility that the expression \( \text{לְ} \ \text{רְאוֹשֵׁי} \) may also imply the idea of a temple "above Jerusalem" seems to be tacitly recognized by Tate as he asserts that this text reflects a "synergistic merger of thought in which there is no absolute difference between the two [i.e. heavenly and earthly temples].\(^3\) Although to speak of a "synergistic merger"

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\(^1\)See 1 Kgs 2:36; 12:27; 2 Kgs 23:9; 1 Chr 5:36; 6:17; 2 Chr 1:4; 3:1; 28:27; 30:1, 14; 33:15; 36:23; Ezra 1:2, 5; 2:68; 7:27.

\(^2\)Note causal meaning of the preposition \( \text{לְ} \) in \( \text{רְאוֹשֵׁי} \). Cf. Williams, Hebrew Syntax, 54.

\(^3\)Tate, 183.
may be somewhat exaggerated, it seems reasonable to suppose that this ambivalent language may indicates a dynamic interaction between the earthly temple and its earthly counterpart. Summing up, the phrase יְרוּשָׁלַיִם may indicate not only the temple "in," but also the temple "above" Jerusalem in dynamic interaction.

Referent of מַקְדִּישׁ

As for מַקְדִּישׁ ("sanctuary") in vs. 36 [35], some scholars favor a heavenly referent, while others contend for an earthly referent, that is, the Jerusalem temple. In view of this situation, a reassessment of the referent of מַקְדִּישׁ is in order. At this point, it is instructive to examine vs. 36 [35] in its immediate context (vss. 33-36 [32-35]).

1Interestingly, the similar expression יְרוּשָׁלַיִם ("above Israel") occurs in parallel with מַקְדִּישׁ ("in the skies") in vs. 35bc [34bc]. See the discussion of this verse below.

2E.g., Dahood, Psalms II, 152; Richard M. Davidson, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 11-12; Metzger, 140.

This entire unit consists of a hymnic invocation closing the poem.\(^1\) The presence of heavenly imagery in this unit is relevant for ascertaining the referent of שֵׁם יְهوֹウェה\(^{2}\) ("sanctuary") in vs. 36 [35]. Here, God (יוֹהֵוֶה) is portrayed as the one who "rides upon the ancient heavens" (vs. 34 [33]), and whose "strength is in the skies" (vs. 35c [34c]). This heavenly imagery strengthens the probability that שֵׁם יְהוֹウェה refers to the heavenly sanctuary. In fact, the entire syntagma נַעַר הַבָּהירִים\(^{3}\) ("from your sanctuary")\(^2\) parallels נַעַר הָאָדָם\(^{3}\) ("in the skies") and נַעַר צָרִי ("over Israel") as locative expressions\(^3\) in syntagmatic relation to נַעַר הַבָּהירִים. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that the sanctuary referred to in vs. 36 [35] is the heavenly one.\(^4\) Additional corroboration comes from the fact that the other hymnic invocation of

\(^1\)This corresponds to A' in the structure displayed above. In the following chart the correspondences between vss. 5-6 [4-5] and 33-36 [32-35] are summarized by Kim:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vss 5-6 in the prologue</th>
<th>Vss. 33-36 in the Epilogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vs. 5a &quot;Sing (רָפָא) to God&quot;</td>
<td>vs. 33a &quot;Sing (רָפָא) to God&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. 5ab &quot;Sing praises (רָפָא) to his name&quot;</td>
<td>vs. 33b &quot;Sing praises (רָפָא) to the Lord&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. 5b &quot;to him who rides (רָפָא) on the clouds&quot;</td>
<td>vs. 34a &quot;to him who rides (רָפָא) in the heavens&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. 6b &quot;God in holy habitation&quot;</td>
<td>vs. 36a &quot;God in his sanctuary&quot; (158).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\)The form תֶּלֶט מָכוֹת is translated in the singular (and with 3ms suffix) by most scholars. The plural form most probably is a plural of amplification, as noted by Anderson (The Book of Psalms, 1:499) following GK 124c. Dahood has also contended for a plural meaning "on the ground that names for fortifications, like names for dwellings, are sometimes plural in form, though singular in meaning" (Psalms I, 128.) Cf. also idem, Psalms II, 152. Along these lines, Davidson has put forth the plausible suggestion that "possibly what is in view here is the plurality of the heavenly sanctuary (Holy Place and Most Holy Place) as in the earthly type" ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," 11).

\(^3\)Note that the two clauses in vs. 35bc [34bc] נָעַר הָאָדָם // נַעַר הַבָּהירִים ("[A] Over Israel is [B] his majesty // [B'] and his strength is [A'] in the skies") are organized in an inverted parallelism. Thus, it seems clear that A and A' parallel each other in expressing a locative idea.

\(^4\)Kim rejects the parallelism between נָעַר הָאָדָם in vs. 35 [34] and נָעַר הַבָּהירִים in vs. 36 [35] on the grounds that the word "sanctuary" contains a pronominal suffix in the second person. This, he argues, makes vs. 36 [35] a petition, not a description. Therefore each phrase belongs to different "poetic sense units and so are not to be paired" (Kim, 156). Regarding Kim's position, two criticisms are in order. First, the disjunction between vss. 35 [34] and 36 [35] seems rather farfetched, since fluctuations of grammatical person in pronominal suffixes and verbs are a natural
vss. 5-7 [4-6]—which correspond to vss. 33-36 [32-35] in the structure of the psalm\(^1\)—also contains heavenly imagery and an explicit reference to the heavenly temple.\(^2\)

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif**

Having determined the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in Ps 68, the task now is to delineate the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

**Function**

Kim in his brief treatment of vs. 6 [5]—his main concern was vs. 36 [35]—refers to the heavenly abode (שְׁרוֹן מְנוּשָׁה) as the starting point of God's movement towards the Jerusalem temple.\(^3\) Nonetheless it must be noted that מֶנְחָה ("his holy habitation") also emerges as the place where God undertakes activities of judgment in favor of the weak and dispossessed. Thus the main point of vs. 6 [5] is not that God departs from the heavenly sanctuary, but that he acts as "a judge (יִרְשַׁד) for the widows in his holy

feature of Hebrew literature and do not necessarily mark transitions of theme, topic, or "poetic sense unit" (cf., e.g., the switch from second to third person in vss. 8 and 9). Second, the argument that the second person pronominal suffix turns vs. 36 [35] into a petition cannot be sustained upon closer examination of the text, since the latter contains no jussive or imperative verbal forms, which would be expected in a petition. Rather, there are only participial forms which continue and conclude the hymnic invocation commenced at vs. 33 [32].

\(^1\) See the structural arrangement of Ps 68 and the discussion of מֶנְחָה ("his holy habitation") in vs. 6 [5] undertaken above.

\(^2\) Kim, although accepting the parallel between sections 5-6 [4-5] and 33-36 [32-35], denies that the "holy habitation" mentioned in vs. 6 [5] and the "sanctuary" referred to in vs. 36 [35] are the same place, on the grounds that "the former refers to the starting point of God's coming, whereas the latter designates his destination.

\(^3\) Cf. Kim, 158.
The fact that this active and benevolent concern for the "widows" and dispossessed is ascribed to "God in his holy habitation" (vs. 6 [5]) reveals that the heavenly sanctuary plays a significant role as the locus of God's judicial and saving activities. In like manner, vs. 36 [35] also reveals that the heavenly sanctuary functions as the place of divine activities inasmuch as God "gives strength and power to the people" from his "sanctuary."

Summing up, the heavenly sanctuary/temple as portrayed in Ps 68 functions as the place wherein God performs activities of judgment that result in salvation and protection for, and bestowal of power upon, his people.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

The investigation conducted above has revealed a vertical correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. Two major indicators of this relationship may be mentioned. First, it was noted that the perspective on the sanctuary/temple shifts from the heavenly sanctuary in vs. 6 [5] to its earthly counterpart in vss. 18 [17], 25 [24], 30 [29], and again to the heavenly sanctuary at the end of the psalm in vs. 36 [35]. The implication may be drawn that both the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart function in dynamic interaction. This is reinforced by ambivalent grammatical constructions and imagery. The description of God's chariots in vs. 18 [17] seems to be contextually related to the earthly temple, but at the same time, this imagery seems to evoke a heavenly setting, as noted. The reader is left with the impression that both heavenly and earthly temples/sanctuaries work in close
connection and what happens in one affects the other. Likewise, the reference to the temple "in/above" Jerusalem in vs. 30 [29], though pointing primarily to the earthly temple, may also evoke the temple above Jerusalem (i.e., the heavenly temple). This being the case, the expression "because of your temple 'above' Jerusalem" (vs. 30 [29]) might imply that the temple "above Jerusalem" (i.e., the heavenly temple) would provide legitimacy to its earthly counterpart. Thus the fluctuation of temple imagery between heavenly and earthly temple/sanctuary imagery and by employing ambivalent language, Ps 68 seems to indicate that the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart would function in dynamic interaction.

It is also to be noted that this vertical correspondence seems to indicate structural and functional correlations. Terms such as הַרְפָּאִים and מִשְׁפָּט, which are also used to designate the earthly sanctuary/temple, seem to point to the heavenly sanctuary/temple as place in heaven, rather than a mere metaphor for YHWH's presence, and suggest a structural correspondence between the earthly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. The text also suggests a functional correspondence, inasmuch as the judgment performed by YHWH in the heavenly temple corresponds to the same function in the earthly counterpart.

Ps 96:1-13

6 Splendor and majesty are before him, strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.
Preliminary Observations

In a slightly modified form this psalm appears in 1 Chr 16, a composite hymn sung by the choir in connection with the bringing of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem. On the basis of language and content Ps 96 may be categorized as a hymn celebrating the kingship of YHWH. The composition divides itself into four sections: (1) Vss. 1-3 contain a summons to praise and lead into (2) the hymnic celebration of the greatness of

1Mowinckel included this psalm among the so-called "psalms of the enthronement of Yahweh," i.e., Pss 47; 81, 93; 95, 96; 97; 98; 99, which were allegedly recited at the time of a hypothetical New Year's festival (Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992], 106). According to this hypothesis the Israelites, like their ANE neighbors, carried out an enthronement ceremony in which YHWH was again proclaimed as king over the world. Mowinckel's idea has faced many criticisms, the most devastating of which is that there is no mention of such a festival in the calendar of feasts in the Pentateuch (Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 8ff.), or in other parts of the Hebrew Bible (cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 86-9; Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965], 502-06). As B. Anderson and S. Bishop have observed, "it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Israelite faith, even in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Jerusalem, adopted wholesale the ancient mythical views. The notion that Yahweh is involved in the cycles of the cosmos and must fight to win kingship anew at the turn of the year is completely alien to Israel's faith" (Bernard W. Anderson and Steven Bishop, *Out of the Depths: The Psalms Speak for Us Today*, 3rd rev. and expanded ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster; John Knox, 2000), 158).

To circumvent these objections, other hypotheses have been formulated to explain the setting and origin of these psalms. Weiser has suggested cultic situations in which a renewal of the Sinai covenant was celebrated (29, 35-52), and Kraus advanced the idea of an annual covenant festival to celebrate the election of Zion and David (Psalms 60-150, 86-89). However, this alternative view also faces objection, inasmuch as the Hebrew Bible does not seem to contain any description of an annual covenant-renewal festival. Although it is highly probable that these were hymnic compositions used in connection with the worship at the temple, it must be admitted that a precise determination of their Sitz im Leben remains elusive.

YHWH in vss. 4-6; and (3) the summons in vss. 7-10\(^1\) leads into (4) the hymnic celebration in vss. 11-13. Each of these divisions is marked by specific linguistic features. For example, all the clauses of section 1 (vss. 1-3) commence with imperative verbs. Section 2 (vss. 4-6) is formed almost exclusively by nominal clauses extolling the greatness of YHWH. Section 3 again contains mainly imperative verbs; and section 4 (vss. 10-13) contains mainly jussive verbs exhorting the created order to celebrate the kingship of YHWH.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

This section deals with the referent of שִׁכְרוּ (vs. 6) and the phrase יְשִׁירֵתָה יְהוָה (vs. 9) in order to ascertain the presence of the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its relationship to its earthly counterpart.

Referent of שִׁכְרוּ

The term שִׁכְרוּ ("sanctuary") in the phrase יְשִׁירֵתָה יְהוָה ("in his sanctuary") needs attention at this point. Although most scholars regard it as a reference to the Temple in

\(^1\)Contrary to Robert Davidson, who considers vs. 10 as commencing the next section (The Vitality of Worship, 318). My reasons are the following: First, vs. 10 linguistically parallels the previous verses, since it starts with an imperative. Second, thematically, vs. 10 fits better as a continuation of the previous verses in which animate beings, i.e., peoples and nations, are summoned to worship YHWH. Third, it should be noted that vs. 11 starts a series of several clauses beginning with jussives, being therefore linguistically distinct from the previous section. Fourth, vs. 11 begins a series of injunctions to the elements of nature, i.e., the heavens, the earth, and the sea, to rejoice before YHWH.
1 a close examination of the context seems to indicate otherwise. In fact, some scholars have admitted that the סַּדָּרוֹן ("sanctuary") may refer to the heavenly sanctuary. 2

A perusal of the context of the passage reveals that the previous verses depict cosmic imagery. 3 YHWH is presented as creator of the heavens in contrast with the

1 Cf., e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 669; Weiser, 629.

2 E.g., Davidson has presented some cogent arguments in favor of a heavenly referent for סַדָּרוֹן ("sanctuary") in our passage ("The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament"). Anderson conjectured that סַדָּרוֹן may designate either "God's heavenly dwelling or the restored temple," or "the reference may be simply to the temple in general" (The Book of Psalms, 2:683). Kissane also suggests a heavenly referent. However, he defines sanctuary as "heavens where he [YHWH] reigns as king over all the whole world" (The Book of Psalms, 446). Rogerson and McKay also seem to allow for a heavenly referent, as can be perceived in his comment on vs 6: "The probable meaning is that Majesty, splendour, might and beauty are personified, and seem to be God's royal attendants at his court, both in his heavenly sanctuary and in his temple which symbolizes his earthly dwelling" (Psalms 51-100, 96). Kidner suggests that the reference is probably to both earthly and heavenly sanctuaries, for "the earthly one was a copy and shadow of the heavenly (Heb 8:5)" (Psalms 73-150 [London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1975], 348). Robert Davidson cautiously advances the idea that "his sanctuary' could mean either the temple in Jerusalem or his heavenly temple, or both" (The Vitality of Worship, 318).

3 In vss, 4-6, the cosmic imagery is reinforced by means of several nominal clauses describing YHWH's superiority above all gods and emphasizing the fact that YHWH created the heavens, stands above the gods of the nations, and is Creator of the heavens. A look at the structure of this section is instructive. One notes that vss. 4 (A, B, C) and 5 (A', B', C') are arranged in a chiasm, as shown:

A. הַרְחוֹב יִרְדֵּד יִרְדֵּד ("Great is YHWH")
B. יִרְדֵּד וְיִרְדֵּד הַרְחוֹב יִרְדֵּד ("and greatly to be praised, he is to be feared")
C. יִרְדֵּד יִרְדֵּד ("above all gods")
C'. יִרְדֵּד וְיִרְדֵּד הַרְחוֹב יִרְדֵּד ("For all the gods of the nations")
B'. יִרְדֵּד יִרְדֵּד ("are idols")
A'. יִרְדֵּד וְיִרְדֵּד הַרְחוֹב יִרְדֵּד ("but YHWH made the heavens")

(Modified from Pierre Auffret, "Splendeur et majesté devant lui: étude structurelle du Psaume 96," OTE 6 [1993]: 151). As suggested by the fulcrum of the structure (C and C'), the main idea seems to be that YHWH is above all gods. The unit is framed by the claim that YHWH is great (A), and (A') made the heavens. These two verses are then followed by vs. 6, which presents a remarkable portrayal of YHWH: הַרְחוֹב יִרְדֵּד ("Splendor and majesty are before him, strength and beauty are in his sanctuary"). The universalistic and cosmic context of the preceding section seems to indicate that the sanctuary referred to here is located in heaven, as noted in due course. For now, it will suffice to mention that, in the sequence, the text presents an injunction for

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"gods" of the nations who are mere טנור תונזר ("idols"). Besides, the expression דרור יזג ("splendor and majesty") seems to emphasize the royal splendor of YHWH, who stands above the whole world. Although לארשי is used in other passages in reference to what clothes YHWH, here the text depicts דרור יזג as standing "before him" (気軽י). This has led some scholars to suggest that the locution לארשי is here personified to evoke "what manner of beings are in attendance before him." If so, דרור יזג would recall YHWH's heavenly assembly, thus adding further corroboration for a heavenly setting in the passage under study.

Splendor and majesty are before him, Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary. An important observation that may help to ascertain the referent of אַלֵלָה can also be derived from the flow of the text itself. As pointed out by Tate, in vss. 7-13 YHWH is coming to judge the earth, which indicates that YHWH's point of departure must be some

the peoples of the earth to worship YHWH (vss. 7-9) in the "glorious sanctuary" (vs. 9). The referent of the latter expression seems to be the earthly sanctuary, as implied in the summons to bring offerings and come into "his courts."

1A derogatory expression to convey the notion that the gods of the nations are worthless, impotent, and therefore unworthy of any consideration. As a matter of fact, אַלֵלָה is translated as "worthless" (NASB, NIV) in Job 13:4, "futility" (NASB), and "delusion" (NIV) in Jer 14:14.

2Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 253.

3Cf. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 1:683; Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 253; Rogerson and McKay, Psalms 51-100, 96.

4Leupold, Exposition of the Psalms, 684.

5Cf., e.g., Isa 6:1ff.

6Tate, 514.
place other than his earthly sanctuary. The implication can thus be drawn that the
sanctuary (םִנְחָה) referred to in vs. 6 must be the heavenly sanctuary, whence YHWH
comes forth to judge the earth.

Referent and Meaning of בְּנֵחָה

The expression בְּנֵחָה in vs. 9 has been translated so as to convey the idea of
"holy attire," "holy robe," "holy splendor," and "splendor of holiness." Some versions,
however, read a locative idea in בְּנֵחָה. The LXX and the Vulgate, for example,
translate בְּנֵחָה as "in his holy court," a translation that may indicate the presence of
בַּבּוֹרָה in the Vorlage. Other versions read "in the beauty of the sanctuary"¹ and "in the
glorious Sanctuaries"² (sic). The possibility that this expression conveys a locative
connotation of "sanctuary" seems to be favored by the injunction to praise YHWH in his
courts, as noted below.

8 Ascribe to YHWH the glory of his name; bring an offering and come into his courts.
9 Worship YHWH in the glory of the sanctuary; tremble before him, all the earth.

Since the locution בְּנֵחָה seems to parallel the locative expression בְּנֵחָה ("to his
courts"), it seems reasonable to expect that בְּנֵחָה would also convey the locative
meaning of "glorious sanctuary" or "in the glory of the sanctuary," as in Ps 29:2. Such a
meaning seems more appropriate for the context than "in the beauty of holiness" or "in
holy attire." There seems to be an escalation as the people are summoned to "bring an

¹Cf. SRV.
²Cf. GNV.
offering," "come into his [YHWH's] courts" (vs. 8), and "worship YHWH in the glory of the sanctuary" (vs. 9). In addition to the observation that בֵּיתֵהוֹן has the locative meaning "sanctuary," it must be noted that the that injunction to "bring an offering and come into his [i.e., YHWH's] courts" (vs. 8) indicates that this sanctuary is the earthly one.¹

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The foregoing discussion indicated that the text refers to both heavenly (vs. 6) and earthly sanctuaries (vs. 9), as conveyed by the expressions בֵּיתָיו and בֵּיתוֹ, respectively. In what follows, an attempt is made to delineate the function of the heavenly sanctuary and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Function

A prominent aspect of the heavenly sanctuary that seems to emerge from the text is that of a place of enthronement for YHWH, who is depicted as a king, an idea clearly expressed in the exclamation יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה ("YHWH reigns") in vs. 10. The terms "splendor and majesty" reinforce notion, since they are descriptive of the glory of a king. Moreover, along with royal aspects, the concept of judgment also emerges from the text. As noted in vs. 13, YHWH "is coming to judge the earth," which presupposes that the verdict had already been reached in heavenly sanctuary.² Additionally, this psalm contains several

¹Nonetheless, the invitation for the "entire earth" to "worship YHWH" may also suggest that בֵּיתוֹ encompasses the heavenly sanctuary.

²If the broad context of the Hebrew Bible may be used to illuminate this passage, it may be stated that when YHWH comes to execute judgment, he does so as a result of previous judicial
injunctions to praise YHWH, which seems to indicate liturgical/cultic activities in the heavenly sanctuary. For example, statements such as YHWH is "greatly to be praised" (יְהֹוָה יָדֶה יְהֹוָה) and he is "in his sanctuary" portray the heavenly sanctuary as a place where YHWH receives the praises and adoration of his creatures.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

From the foregoing discussion, it may be suggested that heavenly sanctuary is understood as existing in functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart, as conveyed by the notions of kingship, worship, and judgment associated with the heavenly sanctuary. Furthermore, that the heavenly sanctuary is designated סְנַפָּא may indicate a structural correspondence.

The fact that the text refers to both heavenly (vs. 6) and earthly (vs. 9) sanctuaries indicates a vertical relationship that goes beyond functional and structural correspondences. The description of YHWH majestically enthroned "in his [heavenly] sanctuary" (יְהֹוָה יִתְנַחַם לְפָם), along with the summons for the people to come into the "glorious [earthly] sanctuary" (יְהֹוָה יִתְנַחַם לָא), may indicate that heavenly and earthly sanctuaries are understood to work in dynamic interaction.¹

¹It should be remembered that a similar picture is more explicitly conveyed by Isa 6:1f., in its portrayal of heavenly and earthly sanctuaries functioning in close relationship, as delineated in chapter 4, in the context of the discussion of Isa 6:1ff.
Ps 102:20-21 [19-20]

19 For he has always looked down from the height of his sanctuary; YHWH, from heaven he has always gazed upon the earth,
20 To hear the groaning of the prisoner, to set free those who are doomed to death.1

Preliminary Observations

A "bewildering multiplicity of interpretations have been offered for this complex psalm,"2 especially in regard to its Sitz im Leben, unity, and time of composition.3 Fortunately for the purpose of this research, it is not necessary to delve into all these issues, since the concern of this study is with the final form of the text. According to its superscription, Ps 102 is categorized as a "prayer of an afflicted" (vs.1) individual who, as the text goes forward, turns out to be the community directing a plea towards YHWH in a time of affliction due to the devastation of Zion.4

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1This translation, especially the insertion of always, will be justified in due course.
3Sitz im Leben: The main issue here is whether or not the composition had the cult as its setting. Sigmund Mowinckel (Psalmenstudien, 2 vols. [Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers N.V., 1966], 1:166) and Weiser (652-53) have understood this psalm as intended for cultic use, while Kraus (Psalms 60-150, 283) and Robert Davidson (The Vitality of Worship, 332), among others, believe it to be the lament of an individual.
4Unity: Some critics believe that the abruptness of the thematic changes indicates that the psalm is a combination of two or more independent sources. See, e.g., Briggs and Briggs, 2:316ff. Moses Buttenweiser, The Psalms Chronologically Treated with a New Translation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 384-86.
5Time of composition: The reference to the temple in ruins has led the majority of scholars to suggest that the psalm was composed in the exilic or early postexilic times. So Terrien, The Psalms, 699; Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 285-86; Robert Davidson, The Vitality of Worship, 332.
6This may be an indication that this psalm was composed during the time of the Babylonian exile when Zion was in ruins. See, e.g., Terrien, The Psalms, 699.
From the point of view of its genre, this psalm consists of a blend of prayer and praise. Thematically, the first and last sections of the psalm have the impermanence of the suppliant as the main subject, thus framing the central section which deals with the permanence of YHWH. Thus, on a thematic basis, the following structure can be discerned: (1) The transitoriness of human existence (1-11); (2) the permanence of YHWH (12-22); (3) the transitoriness of human existence (23-28). Consequently, the focus of the psalm is on the second/central section, where YHWH is extolled as the One who lives forever.

Attention now is turned to the structure of the small unit comprising vss. 21-22 [20-21]. This unit becomes important for this discussion because it is here that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif emerges, as made clear by the expression מֶרְכָּז הַיָּהָשׁ. Starting with vs. 20 [19], it may be noted that this verse contains two clauses arranged as an inverted parallelism, as shown below.

A. spporns ("For he has always looked down")
B. itznj? DilDD ("from the height of his sanctuary")
C. רבים ("YHWH")
B.' מֶרְכָּז הַיָּהָשׁ ("from heaven upon earth")
A.' רבים ("he has always gazed")

It should be observed that the Tetragrammaton is syntactically ambiguous in the sense that it may belong to either the first or the second clause. This may have a rhetorical purpose since "YHWH" functions not only as the logical grammatical subject of both clauses, but also as the structural center of the verse, functioning as a hinge between both clauses.
As for vs. 21 [20], it expresses the purpose of the previous verse by means of two infinitive phrases expressing the activities of YHWH in his heavenly sanctuary.¹

A. לְשֵׁם עֲנָקָה אַצִּיוּ ("to hear the groaning of the prisoner")
B. לְשֵׁם בֵּין הָעַצְמוֹת ("to set free those who are doomed to death")

The text thus clearly discloses that the dynamic presence of YHWH in the heavenly sanctuary involves the activities of "hearing" and "setting free" those who are oppressed.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

Meaning of מַקְדִישָה מָרָשָׁה

The expression מַקְדִישָה מָרָשָׁה ("from the height of his sanctuary") seems to be an explicit reference to the heavenly sanctuary, as indicated by the synonymous parallelism between מַקְדִישָה מָרָשָׁה and כְּרָשָׁה. The task ahead is to determine the meaning of the locution כְּרָשָׁה מַקְדִישָה, especially of the term כְּרָשָׁה. Some versions have construed כְּרָשָׁה adjectively as in "his holy height."² Others have preferred the concrete meaning of "sanctuary" as in "the height of his sanctuary,"³ "his sanctuary above,"⁴ "his sanctuary on

¹The reasons for interpreting the locution כְּרָשָׁה מַקְדִישָה as the heavenly sanctuary will be spelled out below.

²NASB, RSV, ESV, TNK.

³JPS, DBY, KJV.

⁴NET.

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high,"1 "heights of his sanctuary,"2 "his heavenly sanctuary."3 Some scholars seem to concur with this view, but use synonymous terms such as "dwelling place," or "heavenly abode" instead of "heavenly sanctuary."4

Although an abstract rendition of שבת as "holiness" is semantically possible, the concrete meaning of "sanctuary" seems more probable. First, as Davidson pointed out,5 the poetic parallelism in the psalms and other passages of the Hebrew Bible usually would have "heavens" in parallelism with "sanctuary/temple," a construction in which one term enlarges the other.6 Second, when in construct relationship, קֵרְם ("height") is usually followed by a concrete word specified by it.7 The following examples may help clarify this point: Judg 5:18: מַרְאוֹמִים קֵרְם ("heights of the field"); 2 Kgs 19:23: מַרְאוֹמִים קֵרְם ("height of the mountains"); Isa 37:24: קֵרְם ("the height of its extremity"); Jer 31:12: קֵרְם ("the height of Zion"); 49:16: מַרְאוֹמִים קֵרְם ("height of the hill"); Prov 9:3: קֵרְם ("height of the hill").

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1 NIB.
2 NJB.
3 NLT.
4 Cf., e.g., Leupold, Exposition of the Psalms, 712; Erhard Gerstenberger, Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations, FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2001), 213.


6 See, e.g., Deut 26:15; Isa 63:15; Ps 11:4. However, it should be noted that קֵרְם can also be used as a poetic term for "Heaven" or in parallelism to it. What makes the passage under scrutiny distinctive is the fact that the term קֵרְם appears only here in connection with קֵרְם.

7 An apparent exception to this occurs in Jer 51:3 where קֵרְם קֵרְם parallels קֵרְם קֵרְם; however, the possibility remains that the expression קֵרְם ("strength") may have been used in the concrete sense of "fortress." Cf. HALOT, s.v. "קֵרְם."
("heights of the city"). As the examples mentioned make clear, an abstract term fits better as a qualification for a concrete noun than for another abstract term.¹

Third, also relevant for the understanding of שָׁמְרִי is the statement in 13 [12] that "You, O YHWH, sit enthroned forever" (יהוה יושב על כסא כבודך). This undoubtedly indicates a heavenly setting, since vss. 14-15 [13-14] presuppose that the earthly temple is in ruins. If such is the case, the allusion to YHWH being enthroned in heaven would reinforce the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple, since the Hebrew Bible conceives of the heavenly throne of YHWH as located in the heavenly sanctuary.² A final consideration is in order. Even if one prefers to understand מַרְאוֹן כְּפֶרֶן as "his holy height," it may still be argued that this implies sanctuary imagery, inasmuch as it might evoke the heavenly "Mount of the Assembly." This idea is closely related to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, as shown in the discussion of Isa 14:12-15 in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Summing up, in view of the foregoing, the term שָׁמְרוֹן in the construction מַרְאוֹן כְּפֶרֶן should be understood in the concrete sense of "sanctuary." Consequently, the phrase מַרְאוֹן כְּפֶרֶן could be literally translated as "height of his sanctuary" or "his high/elevated sanctuary." Finally it should be noted that, as indicated by the context, this sanctuary is the heavenly one.


²See, e.g., Isa 6:1ff.; Ps 11:4.
Meaning of הָנַן and נַכָּר

At this juncture, the semantic implications of the lexemes הָנַן ("look") and נַכָּר ("gaze") need attention. As noted in the discussion of Isa 18:4, the concept of YHWH "looking" down from heaven, or from his heavenly temple, upon the world is a common motif in the Hebrew Bible. In Ps 102:20-21 [19-20], this imagery is employed to connote YHWH's attitude and actions in favor of the prisoner. The implication is that the action that YHWH undertakes to "set free the prisoner" is preceded by an examination or investigation. That is, YHWH "looks down" and "gazes" on the earth before "setting free those doomed to death." In other words, YHWH's actions in the heavenly sanctuary/temple seem to be performed in two steps, namely an investigation of the situation ("look/gaze") followed by the execution of his work of "setting free the prisoner, which contextually refers to the restoration of Zion/Jerusalem.

Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

Function

As delineated in Ps 102, the heavenly sanctuary functions as a source of help or salvation, which in this text refers to the restoration of Zion/Jerusalem and, by implication, the earthly temple. Therefore, it seems logical to assume that the heavenly sanctuary functions as a place where YHWH undertakes activities of supervision of world

1See chapter 4 of this dissertation.

2Cf., e.g., Deut 26:15; Ps 80:15 [14]; Isa 63:15.

3See Ps 102:17 [16], 22 [21].
affairs by "looking down" and "gazing from heaven to earth" in order to "hear" the prisoner, and to "set free those who are doomed to death." In this process, an investigative phase (looking down/gazing) is followed by an executive phase (setting free). In addition, it should be kept in mind that the reference to YHWH as the one who has sat forever emphasizes the royal functions of the heavenly sanctuary.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

Although the psalm presupposes a time during which the temple was in ruins, there appears to be some indication of a vertical relationship in the reference to Zion/Jerusalem in vs. 22 [21]. In its function as a place from where YHWH bestows help and salvation upon the suppliant points to a vertical correspondence between the earthly temple and its earthly counterpart. Moreover, the designation of the heavenly sanctuary by the lexeme יִשְׁרֵי may indicate that it is understood in structural correspondence with the earthly counterpart.

**Ps 150:1-6**

1 Praise YHWH! Praise God in his sanctuary; Praise him in his mighty expanse.

**Preliminary Observations**

Ps 150 is a hymn of praise formed by ten imperative sentences[1] and a concluding jussive, each of them a summons to praise YHWH. As such, it functions as a fitting

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conclusion for the entire book of Psalms. Commentators have observed that this psalm addresses some or all of the following aspects: 1 who is to be praised (vs. 1a "YHWH/God"), where he is to be praised (vs. 1bc "in his sanctuary"), why is he to be praised (vs. 2 "for his mighty deeds" and "his excellent greatness"), how he is to be praised (vss. 3-5 with all kinds of musical instruments and dance), and finally who is to praise him (vs. 6 "everything that has breath").

The text displays a clear structure consisting of an introduction (vss. 1-2), main section (vss. 3-5), and a conclusion (vs. 6). 2 A close look at the structural interconnections reveals that vss. 1-5 are tied together by the ninefold repetition of the preposition ב, as well as the tenfold summons to praise. The psalm moves toward a climax as vs. 3 presents one pair of musical instruments, vs. 4 two pairs, while in vs. 5 the twofold reference to כּוּלִים ("cymbals"), the loudest instrument, takes it further. Eventually, vs. 6 with its inclusive summons, "Let everything that has breath praise YHWH," takes the psalm to its climatic conclusion, implying that heavenly and earthly sanctuaries are united in the praising of YHWH, 3 as argued below. Finally, it should be noted that יי and בָּשָׂ in vs. 1, and the twofold יי in vs. 6 create an inclusion that envelops the entire composition.

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2 So Allen, Psalms 101-150, 323.

3 Ibid., 323-24.
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

This section will focus on the meaning and referent of the phrase שִׁירְפָּה. Some scholars have suggested to translate this expression as "in his holiness/sanctity" while others opt for "in his sanctuary." The former alternative seems difficult to sustain in view of the parallelism of שִׁירְפָּה with the locative phrase יִישַׁר. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to regard שִׁירְפָּה as expressing the locative meaning "in his sanctuary."

The next step is to determine whether the referent of שִׁירְפָּה is the heavenly temple or its earthly counterpart. Although some scholars contend for an earthly referent, there are compelling reasons to understand שִׁירְפָּה ("sanctuary") as referring to the heavenly sanctuary, a view also supported by several commentators. First, it should be noted that the synonymous parallelism between שִׁירְפָּה in vs. 1b andņוּן ("firmament") in vs. 1c indicates that שִׁירְפָּה must be located in heaven. At this juncture it should be remembered that the view that the parallelism here is synonymous receives support from the fact that the entire hymn employs synonymous parallelism, as noted by Dahood. It is illuminating that a similar parallelism is found in the closely related Ps 148:1. In this latter passage the

1E.g., Briggs and Briggs, 2:544.
2E.g., Terrien, The Psalms, 928; Baethgen, 435; Kidner, Psalms 73-150, 491.
4ניוּן ("firmament") in this verse "is simply a synonym for 'heavens'" (Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 2:956).
prepositional phrase מִן הַמְּרָצוֹן ("from the heavens") is paired to מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם ("in the heights") as noted by Kim.¹

Psalm 150
vs. 1b 'Praise God in his sanctuary'

Psalm 148
vs. 1a Praise the Lord from the heavens
vs. 1c 'Praise him in his mighty firmament'

Second, the use of בְּלִי־הַשָּׁמַיִם ("God") in connection with בְּלִי־הַשָּׁמַיִם ("Praise God in his sanctuary") adds additional weight to the possibility of a heavenly referent. As noted by Allen, the term בְּלִי ("God") "not infrequently has celestial associations in the Psalter."²

Third, further support for the heavenly setting of בְּלִי is provided by Kim's insightful critique of the earthly-sanctuary argument in this passage. Kim argued that those who argue that vs. 1b refers to the earthly temple and vs. 1c to the heavenly sanctuary overlook the "significant point" that in the Hebrew Bible when "heaven" and "earth" are used side by side, heaven always precedes earth.³ Thus it would be very unusual that Ps 150:1 would be an exception to this rule. In view of the foregoing considerations it appears that בְּלִי in vs. 1b refers to the heavenly sanctuary.

¹Kim, 164.

²Allen, Psalms 101-150, 322-23. See Pss 19:2 [1]; 29:3; 82:1; 89:8 [7]); cf. 90:2; 95:3).

³Kim, in a note, adds that "there is no exception throughout the Bible from Gen. 1:1 to Rev. 21:1" (162, n. 167).
Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif

The discussion undertaken above has made apparent that the term שְׁכָנָיָה refers to the heavenly sanctuary. The task now is to determine the function of the heavenly sanctuary and its relationship to the earthly counterpart.

Function

In order to delineate the function of the heavenly sanctuary, attention needs to be given to the phrase שְׁכָנָיָה in the clause "Praise God in his sanctuary." The question that arises concerns whether שְׁכָנָיָה modifies ("God") or the verb ("praise"). In other words, it must be determined whether it functions adnominally or adverbially. If שְׁכָנָיָה is understood adnominally, it would function primarily to express that praise should be rendered to "God in his sanctuary," that is, the sanctuary is depicted primarily as the locus of God's presence, namely his dwelling place. Anderson favors this possibility when he asserts that "it seems that verse 1 describes not the place where God is to be praised but rather the 'place' where he dwells."

On the other hand, if שְׁכָנָיָה is understood adverbially—that is, as modifying the verb—the thrust of the verse is to "praise [God] in the sanctuary," that is, the sanctuary would function primarily as the "locus" wherein praise is rendered to God. This view has the support of Leupold, who argued that "the phrase 'in his sanctuary' does not modify the noun 'God' but the verb 'praise." Leupold further argued that "the parallelism of the

1 Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 2:955.
2 Leupold, Exposition of the Psalms, 1006.
second member of the verse supports this view. Those who are to be found in the heavenly sanctuary who are capable of singing God's praises are the holy angels."\(^1\)

Although the alternative between either an adnominal or adverbial function of יִשְׂרָאֵל may seem at first glance trivial, the argument of Leupold carries considerable weight. The parallelism between יִשְׂרָאֵל and בְּרֹאשׁ suggests that the "sanctuary" functions primarily as the locus of worship to God, in that the heavenly beings are summoned to praise God "in the sanctuary." Consequently, the heavenly sanctuary emerges as a place of worship activities.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

Although no explicit mention of the earthly temple is found in Ps 150, the liturgy of the Jerusalem temple is most probably presupposed. In vss. 3-5, the mention of several musical instruments\(^2\) and dance evokes the liturgical setting of the earthly temple.\(^3\) That being the case, the psalm would be a solemn invitation not only for the heavenly beings to praise God in the heavenly sanctuary (vs. 1), but also for his people on earth to join the heavenly chorus in the earthly temple. Such a connection between heavenly and earthly liturgies is reinforced by the concluding summons: "everything that has breath praise YHWH" (vs. 6).

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\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)One is here reminded of the Chronicler's account of the temple worship, with its variety of musical instruments. See, e.g., 1 Chr 15:16; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:6.

\(^3\)See W. T. Purkiser, "Psalms," *Beacon Bible Commentary* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1967), 448. See the list of instruments depicted in vss. 3-5.
The picture emerges of a correspondence between liturgical activities in the heavenly temple and their counterparts in the Jerusalem temple, which suggests a vertical and dynamic interaction between heavenly sanctuary and the earthly counterpart. That is to say, the worship of the heavenly sanctuary reverberates with the cultic activities of the earthly counterpart. As Davidson remarked, "the close connection between the worship in the heavenly sanctuary and the worship in the earthly is manifested, and the reality of the heavenly sanctuary is accentuated."¹

It is instructive to note that this connection between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart has been overtly or implicitly recognized by several other scholars. Schaefer, for example, argues that "the poet makes no distinctions between earth and heaven, and the temple liturgy imitates the heavenly."² Deissler talks about a "correspondence" (Übereinander) and "togetherness" (Zusammen) of the earthly and heavenly liturgy.³ Kidner says that "earth and heaven can be utterly at one in this."⁴ According to Craig Broyles, "the liturgist is summoning both the earthly and heavenly congregations to worship."⁵ For Anderson, both heavenly and earthly temples are here "closely associated."⁶ In the opinion of Weiser, "all the voices on earth and in heaven unite

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²Schaefer, 345.
³Deissler, Die Psalmen, 572.
⁴Kidner, Psalms 73-150, 491.
to the accompaniment of the triumphant strains of the entire orchestra of the temple music (v. 1a)." And Gross and Reinelt expressed the idea that the praise to God "effects a fusion of horizons (Horizontverschmelzung) between the heavenly and earthly world."2

Finally, it should be pointed out that the worship function of both heavenly and earthly temples indicates a functional correspondence, and the designation of the heavenly temple by the term שֶׁרֶן probably presupposes a structural correspondence.

Dan 7:9-14

9 I kept looking until thrones were set up, and the Ancient of Days took his seat; his vesture was like white snow and the hair of his head like pure wool. His throne was ablaze with flames, its wheels were a burning fire.

10 A river of fire was flowing and coming out from before him; thousands upon thousands were attending him, and myriads upon myriads were standing before him; the court sat, and the books were opened.

11 Then I kept looking because of the sound of the boastful words which the horn was speaking; I kept looking until the beast was slain, and its body was destroyed and given to the burning fire.

12 As for the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away, but an extension of life was granted to them for an appointed period of time.

1Weiser, 841.

13 I kept looking in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven One like a Son of Man was coming, and he came up to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him.
14 And to him was given dominion, glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations and men of every language might serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which will not pass away; and his kingdom is one which will not be destroyed.

Preliminary Observations

Before the analysis of Dan 7:9-14, it must be kept in mind that the interpretation of this pericope may be illuminated by its connection with Dan 8. As has been demonstrated by William Shea, the apocalyptic visions of Dan 7 and 8 are closely linked by time elements, thematic, and verbal connections. For the discussion that follows, one should hold in mind, as other scholars have noted, that Dan 7 and 8 are parallel vision accounts

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outlining roughly the same sequence of events and displaying several common themes and motifs, as demonstrated by table 4

### TABLE 4

**PARALLELS BETWEEN DAN 7 AND 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daniel 7</th>
<th>Daniel 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The lion: Babylon</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The bear: Medo-Persia</td>
<td>The ram: Medo-Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leopard: Greece</td>
<td>The goat: Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopard's four heads</td>
<td>Goat's four horns:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified beast</td>
<td>Horizontal work of the little horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th beast's little horn</td>
<td>Vertical work of the little horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heavenly Judgment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Heavenly Sanctuary</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burning of the little horn</td>
<td>Breaking of the little horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son of man receives kingdom</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saints enter his kingdom</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Thus, a study of the heavenly sanctuary/temple needs to take Dan 7:9-14 and 8:9-14 into consideration. The former provides a graphic depiction of the heavenly sanctuary in activity, the vindication of the "saints of the Most High," and the annihilation of the power that attacks the sanctuary. The latter reports the anti-YHWH activities of the little horn, its attack on the sanctuary, and announces that the "[heavenly] sanctuary" would be cleansed.1

1The consensus among critical scholars is that Dan 8:9-14 refers to the desecration of the Jerusalem temple perpetrated by the Seleucid King, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Louis Francis Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, for example, dogmatically assert that "there is not the
Turning to the pericope of Dan 7:9-14, a brief examination of the literary structure of Dan 7, with attention to the thematic elements is in order. Arthur Ferch identified three panels in Dan 7,¹ as shown in table 5.

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PANEL STRUCTURE OF DAN 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vss. 2-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Oppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vss. 7-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Judgment (court and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>execution; vss. 9-12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Kingship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vss. 13-14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹ The following structure has been suggested for the entire chapter:

A. Prologue (vss. 1-2a)
B. Vision (vss. 2b-14)
  C. Seer's reaction to the vision (vss. 15-16)
  D. Brief interpretation (center of chapter [vss. 17-18])
  C'. Seer's reaction to and elaboration of vision (vss. 19-22)
B'. Lengthy interpretation (vss. 23-27)
As noted, the theme of "judgment forms the very center of the structure [B] and becomes the apex of a pattern that finds its broadest base in the vision of heavenly judgment (vss. 9-14)."¹

Since the discussion that follows is especially concerned with the heavenly judgment scene portrayed in vss. 9-14, it is instructive to keep in mind that this pericope belongs to the second half of the entire vision reported in vss. 2b-14, as shown below:

2b-13 four creatures appear
   4-6 the first three creatures
      7 the fourth creature with its ten horns
         8 a small horn on the fourth
            9-10 a throne scene
            11a the small horn
               11b the fourth creature
      12 the first three creatures
     13-14 a manlike figure appears²

As the above structure indicates, the scene of the heavenly judgment appears at the structural center of the entire vision and occupies the entirety of its second half. And, as indicated in 7:26-26, this judgment aims at the annihilation of the little horn and the consequent rendering of a favorable verdict for the saints of the Most High, granting them the kingdom.

Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

As noted, the pericope portrays a judgment setting in which the heavenly tribunal convenes to decide matters related to the activities of the little horn and vindication of the

²Goldingay, Daniel, 153.
saints of the Most High. The discussion below undertakes a brief examination of the vertical dimension of the text, followed by an examination of judicial and cultic terms contained in the pericope.

**Vertical Dimension**

Dan 7:9-14 presents a correlation between earthly events and heavenly procedures, as noted in the following outline: vss. 9-10: heaven; vss. 11-12: earth; vss. 13-14: heaven.¹ The vision presents a clear vertical dimension, as the seer's glance shifts from earthly events to the heavenly tribunal, where the Ancient of Days presides over the judgment. One perceives that heaven and earth are interconnected, as the heavenly assembly convenes to deal with issues affecting the earthly realm. This judgment intends to "reach a decision about the final disposition of the little horn,"² and to vindicate the saints of the Most High. The picture thus emerges of the heavenly sanctuary interacting with earthly affairs, an interaction that culminates with the heavenly tribunal bringing the little horn to its demise and granting the everlasting kingdom to the saints of the Most High.

**Judicial and Cultic Motifs**

The identity of אֶלֶסֶךְ אֵל שִׁירָאִים.

The figure introduced in Dan 7:9 as אֶלֶסֶךְ אֵל שִׁירָאִים ("Ancient of Days") must be identified with YHWH, as is obvious from the context. The expression probably indicates

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¹A detailed diagram portraying the vertical dimension in Dan 7 and 8 is found in Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 201.

YHWH's "longevity and eternal existence."\(^1\) Thus, it seems entirely appropriate that in the context of the heavenly tribunal YHWH is depicted as an "Ancient of Days." As the eternal one, YHWH holds the credentials to preside over the judgment session of the heavenly tribunal.

Implications of יבש and רוח

An interesting connection with sanctuary imagery emerges in the term יבש ("fire") in the expression "rivers of fire" and also in the reference to the "fire" in connection with the wheels of the throne, an imagery that reminds one of the vision reported in Ezek 1.\(^2\) Another expression evoking sanctuary imagery is עננים יהב ("clouds of heaven"). Shea pointed out that "[t]he clouds and fire draw upon the imagery and phenomena connected with the manifestation of the divine presence over the earthly sanctuary. These manifestations of God are seen in the heavenly sanctuary."\(^3\) Fletcher-Louis suggested that the fire and clouds evoke sanctuary imagery\(^4\) and the Son of Man in Dan 7:13 is a "priestly figure."\(^5\) This priestly figure, Fletcher-Louis suggests, is portrayed as undertaking his

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\(^1\) Ferch, "The Judgment Scene in Daniel 7," 164. See Ps. 9:7; 29:10; 90:2; Isa 9:6. A similar expression appears in Ugaritic, in reference to El as "father of years." Interestingly, the Ugaritic expression is applied to El in contexts of judgment, when El is sought to make a decision. See the survey of Ugaritic texts in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

\(^2\) On Ezek 1, see chapter 4 of this dissertation.


\(^5\) Fletcher-Louis, 169ff.
activities on the Day of Atonement "when the true high priest will come to the Ancient of Days surrounded by clouds of incense" in order to "remove the impurity which has contaminated sacred space." Although Fletcher-Louis based his arguments on different presuppositions than those adopted in the present work, his suggestions imply that Dan 7:9-14 may portray Day-of-Atonement imagery and, therefore, correspond to the parallel passage of Dan 8:9-14, as argued below.

Implications of דַּמֶּלֶת

The idea of heavenly דַּמֶּלֶת ("books") is reminiscent of other passages of the Hebrew Bible. There are references to "book of the living" (Ps 69:28), "book of remembrance" (Mal 3:16), and "books" (Exod 32:32; Ps 56:9 [8]; Dan 12:1). Some texts indicate that YHWH keeps records of good (Neh 5:19; 13:14) and bad deeds (Isa 65:6; Ps 109:14). The general idea seems to be that of heavenly records being kept by YHWH for purposes of judgment. In a study, mentioned earlier in this dissertation, Angel Rodriguez undertook a detailed study of heavenly books, categorized as books of life and books of human deeds. According to Rodriguez, the books mentioned in Dan 7:10 are books of

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1Ibid., 186.
2Ibid., 181.
3E.g., Fletcher-Louis assumes the similarities of the passage with extracanonical literature, ANE mythological background of Dan 7, and the assumption that the temple of Jerusalem is the referent of the passage. Cf. Fletcher-Louis, 161-93.
4For books related to the ANE concept of heavenly temple/sanctuary, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.
human deeds, the primary function of which is "judiciary," since they "preserve evidence that will be used in the divine tribunal to determine the nature of the commitment of the individual" to YHWH. As Ferch pointed out, "the books are somehow related to the verdict that divides good and evil."2

Meaning of נבש (the judgment),3 emphatic form of נבש, appears in Dan 7:10 and 23, indicating "those who judge," as required by the verb בוש ("sit"). The clause בוש נבש must be translated as "the judgment [i.e. those who judge] sat,"4 implying heavenly beings, who possibly act as "associate judges."5 It is possible that the plurality of thrones referred to in vs. 10 was intended to be occupied by these celestial beings. It is instructive to note that apart from its occurrence in vs. 10, where נבש indicates the opening of the heavenly judgment session, this term reappears two other times in Dan 7. In vs. 22, נבש is passed in favor of the saints of the most High, while in vs. 26, נבש will sit to take away the dominion of the little horn and to destroy it. From this it follows that the activities of the heavenly tribunal have a double purpose: to vindicate people of YHWH depicted as "saints

1Ibid., 21.


3HALOT, 1:220, s.v. "ניבש."

4In vs. 22 however, נבש possibly means verdict, as contextually determined by the verb בוש ("give") and other surrounding terms: בוש נבש ("the judgment [i.e. the verdict] was given to the saints of the Most High"). Cf. Arthur J. Ferch, "The Judgment Scene in Daniel 7," 164.

5Hartman and Di Lella, 218.
of the Most High" and to annihilate the power that persecutes them, represented by the "little horn."

Referent of "son of man"

Although some scholars apply the expression "son of man" to the "saints of the Most High," Arthur Ferch has presented solid evidence for interpreting this figure as an individual eschatological heavenly being. The correlation between Dan 7 and 8 identifies the one like "a son of man" in 7:13 with the "the prince of the host" referred to in 8:11 (see below). Furthermore, Shea observed that "the references to clouds in connection with the person of God elsewhere in the OT indicate that the Son of Man possesses divine attributes."

Summing up, the pericope of Dan 7:9-14 contains mainly judicial language, with some indications of a cultic setting. The activities of the heavenly tribunal are tantamount to the activities of the heavenly sanctuary, as noted in the discussion that follows.

Heavenly Sanctuary Temple/Motif

Function

Although Dan 7:9-14 does not contain explicit references to the sanctuary/temple, its language, imagery, and connection with Dan 8 make it apparent that the notion of a

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3See the discussion of Zech 3:1-10, above, where it was pointed out that judicial and cultic procedures consist of integrated components of sanctuary activities and, therefore, cannot be separated.
temple/sanctuary underlies the pericope. Having said that, it becomes apparent that the heavenly tribunal portrayed in Dan 7:9-14 is related to the heavenly sanctuary/temple. As such, it becomes clear that the most prominent function of the sanctuary/temple presupposed by the pericope is conceived as a place of judgment and in the context of the heavenly council of YHWH.

Relationship to Earthly Counterpart

Although Dan 7:9-14 does not contain an explicit reference to a sanctuary/temple, the cultic motifs found in the pericope seem to evoke sanctuary/temple overtones, which may indicate a vertical correspondence. Such a correspondence may be perceived in the Son of Man, who evokes a priestly figure in the Day of Atonement. This may indicate a functional correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart.

Dan 8:9-14

9 Out of one of them came forth a little horn which grew exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the Beautiful Land.
10 It grew up to the host of heaven and caused some of the host and some of the stars to fall to the earth, and trampled them down.
11 He even magnified himself to be equal with the Prince of the host; and the regularity was removed from him, and the place of his sanctuary was thrown down.

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12 And a host will be given upon/with the regularity by means of transgression; and it will cast truth to the ground and will perform and will prosper.¹
13 Then I heard a holy one speaking, and another holy one said to that particular one who was speaking, "Until when is the vision, the regularity, and the establishing of the transgression that causes horror, and the trampling of the host and the sanctuary?"
14 He said to me, "Until 2,300 evenings and mornings; then the sanctuary will be justified."

Preliminary Observations

The following thematic structure has been identified in Dan 8: vss. 1-2, introduction; vss. 3-12, general vision; vss. 13-14, heavenly audition; vss. 15-26, first part of Gabriel's explanation of the revelation; vs. 27: conclusion.² The investigation that follows will focus on vss. 9-14, which comprises the part of the general vision dealing with the little horn, its anti-YHWH activities, and the audition. This section, as Gerhard Hasel asserted, "lies at the thematic heart of chapter 8 in the book of Daniel."³

¹The understandings of "host" in vs. 12 depends on the interpretation of the ambiguous syntactic structure of the passage. Two main suggestions have been advanced: (1) The "host" in vs. 12 (as distinguished from the "host of heaven" in vs. 10 [cf. "prince of the host" in vs. 11]) is an evil power, somehow related to, or identified with, the little horn (So Roy Gane, "The Syntax of Tet V... in Daniel 8:13," in Creation, Life, and Hope: Essays in Honor of Jacques B. Doukhan, ed. Jiri Moscala (Berrien Springs, MI: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2000), 367-82; and William H. Shea, "Spatial Dimensions in the Vision of Daniel 8," 497-526, 516. (2) Another possibility is to understand the "host" referred to vs. 12 as the same entity mentioned in vss. 10, 11 and 13, as negatively affected by the activities of the little horn. For a detailed defense of this view, see Martin T. Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," JATS 7, no. 1 (1996): 86-93; Paul Birch Petersen, "The Theology and the Function of the Prayers in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University Theological Seminary, 1998), 204-08; Richard M. Davidson, "The Meaning of Nisdag in Daniel 8:14," JATS 7, no. 1 (1996): 114-17.


³Ibid.
Semantic and Other Exegetical Considerations

The ensuing discussion deals with the cultic language, the vertical dimension, and some key words and expressions occurring in Dan 8:9-14 and its immediate context. It is hoped that this will contribute to delineating the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif contained in this pericope.

**Vertical Dimension**

Like the parallel vision of Dan 7, Dan 8 contains indications of both a horizontal and a vertical dimension (earth-heaven). In vs. 9 the horizontal movement of the little horn is described. The text says that it "came forth" (בָּא) and "grew exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the Beautiful Land." As noted by Hasel, the verb בָּא ("came forth") appropriately indicates the horizontal movement of the horn.\(^1\) As portrayed in vss. 10-11, however, the expansion of the little horn's power also occurs by means of two vertical actions.\(^2\) In the first action (vs. 10), the little horn attacked the host of heaven and threw down some of the stars. In the second (vs. 11), "he even magnified himself to be equal with the Prince of the Host (מֵלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִים); and the regularity (פְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) was removed from him, and the place of his sanctuary (נַחַל הָאָדָם) was thrown down." This vertical movement is shown in fig. 4.


\(^{3}\)In vs. 11 the grammatical gender of the verbs referring to the horn changes to masculine (in the previous verse they are feminine, thus agreeing with the feminine subject "horn"). This may imply that now the text is referring to the reality behind the symbol, as suggested by Hasel, "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14," 392-93.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Vertical Action (8:10)</th>
<th>Second Vertical Action (8:11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation place of the Prince's Sanctuary</td>
<td>&quot;Takes away the continuance&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;the host of heaven&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The Prince&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;unto, even to&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;as high as&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;exalted&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;exalted himself&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The little horn</td>
<td>The little horn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It seems clear then that the actions of the little horn aim at the heavenly sanctuary. In the first action, the target is the host of heaven, probably a metaphorical expression for the people of YHWH.1 The second action is even more defiant. The little horn exalts himself as high as the Prince, and dares to throw down the "place of his [i.e., the prince's] sanctuary" (מִקְדָּשֹׁת יָהָעִיר). This locution will be discussed below. For now it will suffice to keep in mind that the "sanctuary" (מִקְדָּשָׁה) referred to in the passage must be other than the Jerusalem temple, since the actions of the little horn are depicted as moving in a vertical direction. The presence of words such as "heaven," "stars," and "host of heaven" in the context indicates that the "sanctuary" (מִקְדָּשָׁה) must be located in heaven.2

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1Cf. Dan 12:13, where the "stars" feature as a symbol of the saints.

2It interesting to note that the idea that Dan 8:14 refers to the heavenly temple was suggested by John Everard (ca. 1575 to ca. 1650; also called Ebrard). According to Keil, Ebrard understood vs. 11 as referring "to heavenly events, to a putting away of the sacrifice from before
Interpretation of רָאִּיָּמָה in 8:13

The examination of the interrogative phrase רָאִּיָּמָה ("Until when?") of 8:13 provides an interesting indication that contributes to clarify the referent of sanctuary in vs. 14. After all, the "cleansing" of the sanctuary mentioned in vs. 14 comes as a response to the question introduced by תַּעֲשֶׂה יְצִירָא ("Until when") in vs. 13. This verse reads as follows: רָאִּיָּמָה הָאֱלֹהִים תַּעֲשֶׂה יְצִירָא יַעֲשֶׂה יְצִירָא אֱלֹהִים ("Until when is the vision, the regularity, and the transgression ... "). Some syntactic and semantic issues in the interpretation of this verse need to be noted.

The interrogative phrase רָאִּיָּמָה is not to be translated "how long?" as many versions and commentators usually do, but "Until when?" The emphasis, as Hasel demonstrated, is not upon the duration of a period of time, but upon its culmination. This leads to the next point. The syntactical relationship between רָאִּיָּמָה ("the vision") and יַעֲשֶׂה יְצִירָא ("the regularity") has usually been overlooked. These two words are not in construct relationship—as the article in the first word clearly shows—but in apposition.


1E.g., NASB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, TNK.


4Ibid.
The expression does not concern the "vision of the regularity," but the "the vision, the regularity." This has significant implications for the interpretation of the passage since the word "vision" (הזהה) used in 8:1 to refer to the totality of the visionary description of Dan 8—implies that the scope of time involved in the question reaches back to the period of the Persian ram. Therefore, the period of "2,300 evenings and mornings" referred to in 8:14 cannot be restricted to a literal three and a half years, or 1150 days, as suggested by some scholars. Rather, the "2,300 evenings and mornings" must be a long period of time stretching back to the world power represented by the ram. Furthermore, this period cannot be interpreted as referring merely to the duration of the actions against the sanctuary, since it includes the time spanning the entire "vision" (הזהה).

1Cf. Dan 8:20.


4It is instructive to note that Dan 8 contains two different Hebrew words for vision. The word הזהה refers to the events encompassing the entire time span of the vision from the Persian ram until the "cleansing of the sanctuary." The term תֵּבְעֵנ refers to the appearance of the two angelic figures talking about the "2,300 evenings and mornings" (vss. 13-14), hence it is called "the vision (תֵּבְעֵנ) of the evenings and mornings" (vs. 26). It was the תֵּבְעֵנ that troubled Daniel (8:27) and is the object of explanation by Gabriel in 9:23: "At the beginning of your supplications the command was issued, and I have come to tell you, for you are highly esteemed; so give heed to the message and gain understanding of the vision (תֵּבְעֵנ)." Cf. Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 241-46.
The context, therefore, indicates that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" was to occur after a period of 2,300 evenings and mornings had elapsed. This seems corroborated by the preposition "Until" in "Until 2,300 evenings and mornings; then the sanctuary will be justified." In the explanation of the vision by Gabriel, it becomes apparent that the vision covers a large period of time, starting with the Persian ram and culminating with the "cleansing" of the sanctuary.

Cultic Language

From the above considerations it has become apparent that the "sanctuary" referred to in the text must be the heavenly sanctuary. That being the case, further investigation is needed in order to determine the function of the heavenly sanctuary and its relationship to the earthly counterparts. As Rodriguez pointed out, Dan 8:9-14 is packed with cultic terminology.1 For the purposes of this research it suffices to review the following words and expressions: "regularity," "place of his sanctuary," and "and the sanctuary will be vindicated".

Meaning of תדוש

The word תדוש ("regularity")2 appears several times in the Hebrew Bible in cultic contexts. This word is frequently used in adjectival genitive constructions with הַלְוִי for the

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1Rodriguez, "Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," 527-49.

2As adverb, "lasting, continually" (HALOT, s.v. תדוש). Because of its connection with the regular burnt offering (הַלְוִי), i.e., the morning and evening sacrifices, several versions have translated תדוש to connote regular or daily sacrifice/burnt offering, thus supplying the term "sacrifice" as if תדוש was restricted to only this aspect of the cult (cf., e.g., KJV, NASB, NIV, RSV, TNK). This interpretation faces major difficulties, as argued below.

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whole burnt offering, with כֵּסָם, the continual incense; with מִשְׁבָּח, the continual bread; with נְחָלֶה, the continual lamp, and מָרָא, the continual grain offering. It is used as an appositional qualifier for מַעֵץ, the continual cereal offering, and for מִשְׁמָא, the continual burnt offering. It is also used adverbially to denote regularity in some cultic duties. It refers to the "bread of presence" set regularly (once per week) before YHWH, the lamp that should burn continually; the continuous carrying by Aaron of the names of the sons of Israel, the Urim and Thummim, and the plate of pure gold; and it also indicates the fire that should burn continually on the altar.

In view of these observations, it becomes apparent that לְדָיָן should not be restricted to one specific aspect of the sanctuary service, namely, the daily sacrifice.

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1Exod 29:42; Num 28:6, 10, 15, 23; Ezra 3:5; Neh 10:34; cf. Ezek 46:15.
2Exod 30:8.
3Num 4:7.
5Num 4:16.
7Num 28:3.
8Exod 25:30; Lev 24:8.
9Lev 24:2-4.
10Exod 28:29.
11Exod 28:36-38
12Exod 28:36.
Rather, as Rodriguez pointed out, "was used in connection with the many activities the priest was commanded to perform continually in the sanctuary."\(^1\) Rodriguez also observed that these activities are related "with the ministry of the priests in the first apartment of the sanctuary."\(^2\) The absolute usage of רחובות in the text may have been intended to point to the daily service related to the first apartment of the sanctuary, with its focus on the continual intercession by the priest on behalf of the people. Assuming that the referent of שך in the passage is the heavenly sanctuary, one may infer a priestly ministry being carried out in the heavenly sanctuary along the lines of the earthly sanctuary/temple.

Meaning of פָּסַךְ

Although its component terms occur several times elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the exact locution פָּסַךְ occurs only in Dan 8:11. This locution can be translated as "foundation/place of his sanctuary," according to the well-established meaning of פָּסַךְ ("foundation/place") and להלֵאל ("sanctuary"). The antecedent of the pronominal suffix ב ("his") in פָּסַךְ ("his sanctuary") is most probably the "Prince of the Host" referred to in vs. 11. That the "sanctuary" is qualified by this pronominal suffix may indicate that the actions undertaken by the little horn against the sanctuary are ultimately directed against the "prince."

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\(^1\) Rodriguez, "Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," 533.

\(^2\) Ibid., 528.
Moreover, if the sanctuary referred to in the passage is the heavenly sanctuary, it seems more reasonable to understand the מָסָרוֹן ("foundation") not in terms of a physical/material foundation, but in metaphorical or theological terms. This sense of מָסָר is corroborated by the occurrence of this term in Pss 89:15 [14] and 97:2, where one learns that "righteousness and justice" are the "foundation" (מָסָר) of YHWH's throne.¹ If the same metaphorical/theological usage obtains for Dan 8:11, it becomes apparent that the little horn does not attack a physical structure, but the theological foundation of the heavenly sanctuary, that is, YHWH's righteousness and justice.

If the connection between Dan 7 and 8 has any bearing upon the interpretation of the present pericope, the suggestion may be advanced that the attack on the foundation of the sanctuary in Dan 8:11 is related to the change of "times and law" referred to in Dan 7:25. It may also be said that the little horn, or the entity or institution represented by it, diverts human attention from the "righteousness and justice of YHWH" to "righteousness and justice" achieved by human efforts. Thus, it is not the "sanctuary" which is thrown down, but its "foundation/place."² Hence it seems reasonable to suppose that the removal of the עם נָרָת ("regularity") indicates that this attack is related to the little horn's taking over prerogatives that belonged to the "prince" of the sanctuary.

¹Pss 89:15 [14]; 97:2.
Meaning of סְדָּאָ֣ה כִּ֥ם מָרֵ֖ד

Since the semantic contours of סְדָּאָה ("sanctuary") have been dealt with in chapter 3, the following discussion focuses on the verbal form סְדָּאָה and the noun סְדָּאָה ("sanctuary"), which functions as the semantic object of the verb. Starting with סְדָּאָה, it must be remembered that the verbal derivatives of this root appear forty-one times in the Hebrew Bible. The Niphal stem סְדָּאָה occurs only in Dan 8:14 and most probably has a passive meaning. Several studies have pointed out that the root סְדָּאָה contains a broad semantic range.

Jerome Justesen noted a parallelism between סְדָּאָה and derivatives of roots such as רָדָּא ("be clean, pure"), בָּרוּ ("be pure") and בָּרוּ ("purge out"). Although this by no means establishes an absolute definition, it certainly reveals some overlap between סְדָּאָה and the roots just mentioned. Worthy of note is the parallelism between סְדָּאָה and מָרֵ֖ד ("be righteous").

1 Qal: "be in the right, be right"; Niphal: "brought to its justice, justified"; Piel: "make someone to appear righteous," "prove oneself upright," "declare as in the right"; Hiphil: "obtain rights for," "admit as right," treat as innocent"; Hithpael: "prove oneself innocent" (HALOT, s.v. "סְדָּאָה"). Cf. BDB, s.v. "סְדָּאָה.


4HALOT, s.v. "סְדָּאָה." 

5 Ibid., s.v. "סְדָּאָה." 

6 Ibid., 1:163, s.v. "ברוך" (a by-form of בָּרוּ).
clean, pure") in Job 4:17. This latter verb (םֵּאָרָן) is a "typical term for the cultic-ritual cleanness," and is used of the cleansing of the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement.

Consequently, it may be suggested that the use of רָפָא in relation to the sanctuary most probably depicts Day-of-Atonement imagery.

The above suggestion is reinforced by the use of the term שָׁלֹם ("sanctuary") in connection with רָפָא. Actually, the term שָׁלֹם is the word for "most holy place" in Lev 16 in the context of the cleansing of the sanctuary, namely, on the Day of Atonement. Hence, it is instructive to note that the terminological shift from שָׁלֹם ("sanctuary") in Dan 8:11 to שָׁלֹם ("sanctuary") in 8:14 may have been intentional. In other words, the term שָׁלֹם ("sanctuary") is used in connection with the דֶּקוֹר ("regularity"), that is, priestly activities related to the first apartment of the sanctuary (Dan 8:11), while the term שָׁלֹם appears in connection with "cleansing" of the "sanctuary" (שָׁלֹם) in Dan 8:14. As noted, שָׁלֹם ("sanctuary") is the very term used in Lev 16 to designate the "most holy place" in the Day of Atonement.

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1 "Can mankind be just (םֵּאָרָן) before God? Can a man be pure (רָפָא) before his maker?"


3 Cf. Lev 16:9-30. Angel Rodriguez has convincingly shown that "the usage of sdq, especially in the Psalms, indicates that it expressed in the cultus the same idea expressed by tābēr in Leviticus." He further suggested that "Daniel was aware of this fact and felt free to use sdq to refer to the priestly work in the most holy place during the Day of Atonement" (Rodriguez, "Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," 549).

4 Another connection with the day of atonement can be perceived in the term לְפֹש "transgression" ("offence concerning property," "crime," also "used for violation of cultic law"
At this juncture the question emerges as to why a derivative of יריר (and not יעיר or another) is used in connection with the sanctuary, and what kind of activities ייריר intends to communicate. This issue was addressed by Hasel, who suggested that ייריר was used because of its broad connotations. Thus, in Hasel's words:

It appears that Daniel chose the term nisdaq—a word from a root with rich and broad connotations, widely employed in judgment settings and legal procedures—in order to communicate effectively the interrelated aspects of the "cleansing" of the heavenly sanctuary in the cosmic setting of the end-time judgment. The narrow and limited aspects of other available terms did not seem to do justice to the far-reaching implications of the divine activity in the heavenly court.1

At this juncture, one needs to recall the connection of Dan 8:9-14 with Dan 7:9-14. As noted, the heavenly judgment scene depicted in Dan 7 parallels the "cleansing" of the heavenly sanctuary in Dan 8:14. In this regard, it should be pointed out that the connection between ייריר and ייירה (in verbal and nominal forms), as pointed out by Davidson,2 further corroborates the idea that the heavenly sanctuary scene in Dan 8:9-14 corresponds to the heavenly judgment scene depicted in Dan 7:9-14.

Hence, the impression emerges that the "cleansing" of the heavenly sanctuary referred to in Dan 8:14 corresponds to the judgment undertaken by the Son of Man3 on

[HALOT, s.v. "YIRIR"]] in Dan 8:12. This is a strong word which is used in connection with the Day of Atonement in Lev 16:16, 21.


2Davidson, "The Meaning of Nisdaq in Daniel 8:14," 112-15. The following passages are mentioned by Davidson as containing ייריר and ייירה in parallel constructions: Pss 82:3; 103:6; 97:2; Isa 32:1; 43:9; 45:25; 50:8; 59:14; Jer 22:13; 22:15; 23:5; Ezek 45:9; Amos 5:24; 6:12; Prov 21:3 (ibid.).

3Although some scholars may regard him as a collective designation for the "saints of the Most High" (Dan 7:18), Arthur J. Ferch has demonstrated that the Son of Man is "an individual,
behalf of the saints as portrayed in Dan 7—a cultic/judicial activity that recalls Day-of-Atonement procedures described mainly in Lev 16.\footnote{1} Thus the implication may be drawn that the cleansing of the sanctuary (שְׁפֵלָה) referred to in 8:14 consists of judicial procedures undertaken by the Son of Man in the heavenly court, namely, the heavenly sanctuary.

Referent and function of נְגָפָה

Some critical scholars have sought the referent of נְגָפָה ("the Prince of the Host") in the High Priest Onias III, assassinated in 171 by order of Antiochus IV.\footnote{2} However, if the sanctuary referred to in the passage is the heavenly temple, as indicated above, one needs to look for the referent and function of the "the Prince of the Host" in the context of the passage itself, instead of reading some historical figure/event into the text.

At the outset, it should be remembered that the locution נְגָפָה ("the Prince of the Host") is a common expression in the Hebrew Bible for a human military commander.\footnote{3}

\footnote{1}J. Doukhan has pointed out that the ram and the goat, mentioned previously in Dan 8, in addition to representing Persia and Javan [i.e., Greece] respectively, also evoke Day-of Atonement imagery since the dual offering on the Yom Kippur consisted of a goat and a ram (Lev 16:5) \cite{Doukhan}.\footnote{2}R. H. Charles, \textit{A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel} (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 204; James A. Montgomery, \textit{A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, ICC} (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1950), 335.\footnote{3}As exemplified in Josh 5:14-15 where it refers to a heavenly being who identifies himself as "the Prince of the Host of YHWH." See also Gen 21:22, 32; 26:26; Deut 20:9; Judg 4:2, 7; 1 Sam 12:9; et al.

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Jacques Doukhan pointed out that the term "Prince" is used as a technical term for "high priest" and "in the context of the book of Daniel the word [*T0*] refers to Michael who is dressed with linen clothes like the high priest in the Day of Kippur." Additionally, the connections of the "Prince" with the "sanctuary" and the "regularity" suggest that the "Prince" is a priestly figure, a notion that can also be substantiated by the parallel passage of Dan 7:9-14.

Summing up, the "Prince of the Host" should be identified as a heavenly figure who is related to the sanctuary by means of his priestly duties. The parallel passage of Dan 7:9-14, which designates this figure as the Son of Man, implies that he is a priestly figure performing his duties in the heavenly sanctuary in a Day-of-Atonement setting. Finally, it should be pointed out that other passages of Daniel favor the identification of the "Prince of the Host" with Michael.

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif**

**Function**

The heavenly sanctuary is perceived as the locus of priestly/cultic activities. As noted, Dan 8:9-14 conceive of a priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. The figure of

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1Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 37-38; cf. Ezra 8:24; 1 Chr.15:22; 24:5.

2Cf. Dan 10:5, 13, 21; 12:1. Lacocque also identifies the "Prince of the Host" with Michael; however, his view that Onias III is also included finds no support in the text. Cf. Lacocque, 162. For cogent arguments identifying the "Prince of the Host" with Michael, see Lewis Anderson, "The Michael Figure in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1997), 296-317.

the "Prince of the Host," which on linguistic and contextual grounds was found to indicate a priestly, heavenly individual, corroborates this view.

Moreover, as the connection of Dan 8:9-14 with 7:9-14 makes apparent, the Day of Atonement reflected in the Dan 8 corresponds to the judgment scene depicted in Dan 7. The heavenly sanctuary thus functions as a locus of judgment in which the heavenly books were opened in order to pass judgment "in favor of the saints of the Most High."

Finally, it becomes apparent that according to Dan 8:9-14, the heavenly sanctuary plays a significant role in the context of the "great controversy" or "cosmic battle" between good and evil, inasmuch as the "foundation of the sanctuary" is attacked by the little horn. Thus, along with Isa 14:12-15 and Ezek 28:11-19, the heavenly sanctuary emerges in Dan 8:9-14 as a pivotal issue in the cosmic war between good and evil.

**Relationship to Earthly Counterpart**

A vertical correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart may be perceived in the cultic language and the priestly activities in Day-of-Atonement activities portrayed in Dan 8:9-14. It seems apparent that the activities of the heavenly sanctuary are in line with those of its earthly counterpart, and therefore a functional correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries may be established.

Furthermore, the priestly/cultic activities performed in the heavenly sanctuary seem to follow a two-apartment ministration along the lines of the earthly sanctuary/temple. This suggestion is favored by the usage of שִׁפָּיִם versus שִׁפְיָא. It was observed that שִׁפְיָא occurs in connection with the רְגֻלִּים ("regularity") activities—activities connected to the
daily ministration of the tabernacle cultus, and thus related to its first-apartment ministry—that were removed from the "Prince of the Host." Interestingly enough, when the text shifts the focus from the attack of the little horn to the "cleansing" of the sanctuary, the terminology shifts to \( \text{Shan} \), the word used to designate the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement in Lev 16. The text thus seems to envisage a heavenly temple with holy-place and most-holy-place activities, which indicates both functional and structural correspondences with the earthly sanctuary/temple.

Dan 9:24

Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to make an end of sin, to make atonement for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the holy of holies.

Dan 9:24 also calls for some consideration, since, as argued below, it contains an explicit reference to the heavenly sanctuary that may contribute to this discussion.

Furthermore, its connection with Dan 7 and 8\(^1\) justifies its inclusion here. Thus this brief discussion intends to ascertain the meaning and referent of the \( \text{Shan} \) ("holy of holies") mentioned in Dan 9:24, and draw implications for the present study of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. On the basis of 1 Chr 23:13, which seems to apply the locution \( \text{Shan} \) ("holy of holies") to Aaron, it has been suggested that \( \text{Shan} \) ("holy of holies")

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("holy of holies") must also have a personal referent in Dan 9:24. This interpretation, however, has been rejected on the basis of the syntactic uncertainties surrounding the Chronicler's passage. As Th. Chary asserted: "It is in fact the temple that should be understood as the 'holy of holies,' which will be anointed. The expression qōdeš qodāšīm is never applied to human beings. The only exception, 1 Chr 23:13, rests on an uncertain text." An examination of the other twenty-nine occurrences of the phrase מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת תֵּינָלָפֶס ("holy of holies"), apart from Dan 9:24 and 2 Chr 23:13, indicates that this phrase always refers to locations or objects (the tabernacle, temple, most holy place, incense, sacrifice, and objects pertaining to the sanctuary/temple). Thus, it has been rightly argued that מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת תֵּינָלָפֶס carries the meaning of sanctuary/temple. As Delcor aptly summarized, "the

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1 Lacocque, 193-94.

2 The text of 1 Chr 23:13, מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת תֵּינָלָפֶס מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת, can be translated in either of two ways. First, the third pronominal suffix 1 ("him/his") in מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת מִשְׁרְפְּתֶסֶת may be interpreted subjectively, as referring to Aaron as the one performing the act of consecrating (שְׁרִית) the מִשְׁרְפְּת ("holy things"), in which case מִשְׁרְפְּת תֵּינָלָפֶס functions as the direct object of the verbal phrase מִשְׁרְפְּת. "Aaron was set apart to consecrate the most holy things (lit. 'to his consecrating of the most holy things')" (ASV, KJV, NIV, NJB, NJV, NLT, NRSV, RSV). Another possibility is to interpret the pronominal suffix in מִשְׁרְפְּת (as objective, in which case מִשְׁרְפְּת תֵּינָלָפֶס would refer to Aaron as the object of the act of consecrating (שְׁרִית): "Aaron was set apart to consecrate him as most holy" (cf. NASB, JPS, TNK). Thus, due to this uncertain syntactic situation, a particular reading of 1 Chr 23:13 should determine the interpretation of מִשְׁרְפְּת תֵּינָלָפֶס in Dan 9:24.

3 The French reads: "C'est en effet le temple qu'il faut entendre par le 'Saint des Saints' qui recevra une anointment. L'expression qōdeš qodāšīm ne s'applique jamais à de personnages humains. La seule exception éventuelle: 1 Chron., 23, 13 repose sur une texte incertain" (Théophile Chary, Les Prophètes et le Culte à partir de l'Exil [Paris: Desclée et Cie, 1955], 43).

4 Exod 26:33; 29:37; 30:10, 29, 36; 40:10; Lev 2:3, 10; 6:10, 18, 22; 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13; 24:9; 27:28; Num 4:4, 19; 18:9; 1 Kgs 8:6; Ezek 41:4; 43:12; 45:3; 48:12; 1 Chr 6:34; 2 Chr 3:8, 10; 5:7.

simple explanation is to recognize here the consecration of a sanctuary."\(^1\) In the same vein, William Shea pointed out that מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם in Dan 9:24 "may thus be taken to refer to the sanctuary, and to the sanctuary as a whole rather than to any part of it."\(^2\)

Additional corroboration for the idea that מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם points to the sanctuary can be found in the literary structure of Dan 9:24, as shown in table 6.

### TABLE 6

**LITERARY STRUCTURE OF DAN 9:24**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. &quot;For your people&quot;</th>
<th>B. &quot;And your holy city&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Seventy weeks have been decreed&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Seventy weeks have been decreed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(ספְּעֵמִים שֶבֶטֶשֵׁים נוֹחָה)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(ספְּעֵמִים שֶבֶטֶשֵׁים נוֹחָה)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) to finish the transgression,</td>
<td>(1) to bring in everlasting righteousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(킬לֵים אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
<td>(רָאָבָא אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) to make an end of sin,</td>
<td>(2) to seal up vision and prophecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(רָאָבָא אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
<td>(רָאָבָא אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) to make atonement for iniquity,</td>
<td>(3) and to anoint the holy of holies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(רָאָבָא אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
<td>(רָאָבָא אֵין הָאָדָם)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As the structure shows, the two themes of the pericope are clearly stated: For your people "And your holy city." The fact that the expression מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם lies in the second column on the side of "holy city" seems to define מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם as sanctuary.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Delcor, 196.


\(^3\)Doukhan pointed out that the same associations of מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם and מָרֵא אֵין הָאָדָם occur only.
As for the referent of הָרְשִׁיָּהוּ הָיֵשׁ, one needs to ascertain whether it refers to the earthly or heavenly sanctuary. Because of their views and presuppositions on issues such as predictive prophecy, prophetic inspiration, and the date of the book of Daniel, most scholars argue for an earthly referent, that is, the Jerusalem temple during Maccabean times. Assuming, however, that Daniel 9:24-27 is predictive prophecy—not vaticinum ex eventu—and interpreting this prophecy within an historicist framework, a more plausible view emerges. At the outset, one notes that the prophecy foretold the rebuilding of the temple; the same prophecy also informed that the temple would be destroyed (vs. 26). Thus, ruling out an earthly referent, one is left with the heavenly sanctuary as the most probable referent for the הָרְשִׁיָּהוּ הָיֵשׁ mentioned in Dn 9:24.

A final issue to be addressed in this brief discussion concerns the implications of the anointing of the heavenly sanctuary. An examination of the earthly counterparts indicates that a sanctuary/temple was anointed to inaugurate the ministrations to be carried out within it. Thus, in connection with the inauguration of the tabernacle, one learns that "on the day that Moses had finished setting up the tabernacle, he anointed it and consecrated it with all its furnishings and the altar and all its utensils; he anointed them and

\[
\text{in Exod 29:36-37. This passage deals with the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood and also involved the anointing of a הָרְשִׁיָּהוּ הָיֵשׁ ("holy of holies"), namely, the altar of holocaust (ibid., 11).}
\]

1See the discussion of Dan 8:9-14, above.


consecrated them also" (Num 7:1). As one turns from the type to the antitype, it becomes apparent that this anointing of the heavenly sanctuary must be correlated with the commencement of the priestly ministry of the Messiah in the heavenly sanctuary after his death and resurrection.\(^2\)

To conclude, Dan 9:24 indicates that the heavenly sanctuary may be understood in vertical relationship with its earthly counterpart. Thus, while the inauguration of its ministrations presupposes cultic aspects and point to a functional correspondence, the designation יָדָן suggests a structural correspondence.

**Other Passages**

To broaden the basis of this investigation, a few more passages are included below. Although some of these passages may not contain explicit references to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, they are contextually and functionally related to sanctuary/temple activities and therefore contribute to complement the previous discussion.

**Ps 14:1-6**

YHWH has looked down from heaven upon the sons of men to see if there are any who understand, who seek after God.

Although the text contains no specific term for "sanctuary/temple," the reference to Zion (vs. 7), which evokes the Jerusalem temple, indicates that the temple motif underlies the passage. If so, the term "heaven" implies the idea of YHWH's heavenly

\(^1\) Cf. Exod 40:9; Lev 8:10.

\(^2\) Cf. Heb 8 and 9.
abode, namely his temple in heaven, and the concept of YHWH looking down recalls other biblical texts where YHWH is portrayed as looking down from the heavenly temple/sanctuary.\(^1\) This idea, as already observed, indicates YHWH's supervision and judgment in the context of his interactions with earthly affairs. As connoted by the infinitive phrase לְצָאֹן in vs. 2, this "seeing" evokes a judicial examination which precedes the execution of the judgment.\(^2\)

The text also seems to reveal that a dynamic interaction would exist between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart. Thus, while vs. 2 reports that "YHWH has looked down from heaven," vs. 7 expresses the desire "that the salvation of Israel would come out of Zion!" The parallelism between "heaven" and "Zion" indicates that heaven (namely, the heavenly sanctuary/temple) and Zion were understood to work in close connection. Besides, the concept of judgment implied in the concept of YHWH "looking" down may indicated a functional correspondence.

Ps 73:17 and 25

17 Until I came into the sanctuary of God; then I perceived their end.
25 Whom have I in heaven but you? And besides you, I desire nothing on earth.

Ps 73 contains some interesting insights about the function of the sanctuary. As spelled out in vs. 17, it is in the sanctuary that the psalmist found the decisive explanation

\(^1\)See Deut 26:15 (discussed in chapter 3); Isa 18:14; 23:15 (discussed in chapter 4); Pss 11:4; 33:13-14 and 102:20 [19] elsewhere in this chapter.

for the vexing problems of the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous. The context implies that the sanctuary was the locus of some kind of judgment,¹ which allowed the psalmist to perceive the "end" of the wicked (vs. 17). As Margaret Barker suggested, "the psalmist hints that the judgment took place in the temple; when he was overwhelmed by the wickedness of his enemies and their apparent prosperity, he admitted that he could make no sense of it. 'But when I thought how to understand this, it seemed to me a wearisome task, until I went into the sanctuary of God; then I perceived their end' (Psalm 73:16-17)."²

At this point one must address the issue of whether the הֵיכָלֹים refers to the earthly or heavenly sanctuary. Although at first glance the impression arises that the sanctuary is the earthly temple, the term הֵיכָלֹים ("sanctuaries of God")³ may indicate that the heavenly sanctuary is also in view.⁴ Additionally, the reference to "heaven" in vs. 25a ("Whom have I in heaven but you?") suggests that the heavenly sanctuary was somehow involved in the experience of the psalmist. Unfortunately, the text does not provide information about the kind of experience the psalmist underwent in the sanctuary. A reasonable suggestion would be that the psalmist, while in the earthly sanctuary, had a vision (cf. Isa 6:1-8)⁵ by means of which he was allowed to see the

¹See vss. 18ff.
²Barker, On Earth as It Is in Heaven, 50-51.
³The plural "sanctuaries" also occurs in Ezek 28:18. See the study of this passage, above.
⁴As noted by Allen, the term הֵיכָלֹים ("God") "not infrequently has celestial associations in the Psalter (19:2 [1]29:3; 82:1; 89:8 [7]); cf. 90:2; 95:3)" (Psalms 101-150, 322-23).
⁵See chapter 4 for a discussion of this passage.
activities of the heavenly sanctuary. If so, it may be advanced that the text portrays the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries as working in dynamic interaction. Finally, as noted, the heavenly sanctuary functions as a place of judgment, and consequently the place where answers for the ultimate questions of life are provided. Such a concept indicates a functional relationship between the earthly temple and its earthly counterpart.

Ps 76:8-9

8 You caused judgment to be heard from heaven; the earth feared and was still, 9 When God arose to judgment, to save all the humble of the earth. Selah.

Ps 76 contains an interesting indication of the connection between the earthly temple and its heavenly counterpart. As Shea aptly noted, vss. 1-2 refer to the Jerusalem temple as the place where YHWH defeated the enemies of his people:1 "His tabernacle is in Salem; his dwelling place also is in Zion. There he broke the flaming arrows, the shield and the sword and the weapons of war. Selah." Yet, one learns that the judgment also came down from heaven, as clearly stated in vss. 9-10 [8-9]: "You caused judgment to be heard from heaven; the earth feared and was still, when God arose to judgment, to save all the humble of the earth. Selah." If the term "heaven" presupposes the heavenly temple/sanctuary, as implied in the parallelism with "tabernacle/Zion," then it may be argued that this text depicts a close relationship between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. That is to say, the judgment in the "tabernacle" in Zion was a reverberation of the judgment executed in the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Summing up,

1Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, 1:6.
the text reveals a dynamic interaction and a functional correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart.

Ps 82:1-8

Psalm of Asaph. God takes his stand in the divine congregation; he judges in the midst of the heavenly beings.

For the purpose of this research, it is not necessary to dwell on the several interpretative issues raised by this psalm. It suffices to point out that although the Ps 82 refers explicitly only to the heavenly assembly or heavenly council of YHWH, the large context of the Hebrew Scriptures indicate that such an assembly would convene in the heavenly sanctuary/temple. The heavenly sanctuary is here portrayed as the locus of judgment, as conveyed by the statement that YHWH "judges (מַעֲבַד) in the midst of the heavenly beings." It may then be suggested that Ps 82 provides an interesting glimpse of the judicial activities performed in the heavenly sanctuary/temple, which indicates a functional correspondence to the earthly counterpart.

Job 1:6 and 2:1

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before YHWH and Satan also came among them.


2 For a detailed study of this motif in the Hebrew Bible, see Mullen, 44.

3 See, for example, Isa 6:1-13; Zech 3:1-10. See also 2 Kgs 22:19-23; Job 1:6; 2:1.
The prologue of the book of Job (Job 1 and 2) depicts Satan going along with the other "sons of God" to present himself before YHWH (1:6 and 2:1). Satan's statement that he had come "from roaming about on the earth and walking around on it" (1:7) indicates that this meeting occurred not on earth, but somewhere in heaven. This is corroborated by the notion of a heavenly assembly/council session, as implied in the statement that the "sons of God came to present themselves before YHWH." Moreover, that this meeting was to happen on a specific day (נַעַר) not only underscores a heavenly assembly/council setting, but seems also to suggest that the locus of this meeting was the דֶּשֶׁר (Mount of the Assembly), where the heavenly beings convened under the headship of YHWH.

That being the case, the suggestion may be advanced that although the prologue of Job does not contain specific terminological indications of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, it certainly presupposes this idea, as noted by James McCaffrey. This being so, it is instructive to note that Satan comes to the heavenly sanctuary/temple to bring accusations against YHWH, an idea that underscores not only the judicial function of the heavenly...

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2See Isa 14:13 (cf. Ezek 28:14, 16). It should be remembered that since the component מֵעָלָה in this expression connotes the idea of an appointed place or time, the מֵעָלָה would then be the appointed place/time where/when a cultic meeting would occur.

3This suggestion was put forth by Davidson, "Cosmic Metanarrative for the Coming Millennium," 113.


5A similar situation is also reflected in Zech 3:1-10, which reports Satan's accusations against the high priest Joshua and his eventual vindication by YHWH. For an exegetical discussion...
sanctuary/temple, but, by portraying Satan's opposition to YHWH, also echoes the motif of the cosmic battle between good and evil. Thus Job 1:6 and 2:1 provide additional support for the idea that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as a pivotal spot in the context of the great cosmic battle between good and evil.1 As such, it functions as the place where not only YHWH, but also his people, are vindicated from Satan's accusations. Finally, it may be suggested that the judicial function implied Job 1:6 and 2:1 suggests a functional correspondence between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.

2 Chr 30:27

Then the Levitical priests arose and blessed the people; and their voice was heard and their prayer came to his holy dwelling place, to heaven.

The books of Chronicles display at least two allusions to the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif: one in connection with Solomon's prayer at the inauguration of the temple, and the other in the context of the Passover celebration promoted by King Hezekiah. Since the former passage was discussed in connection with the parallel text of 2 Kgs 8, in chapter 4 of this dissertation, the present consideration will be restricted to 2 Chr 30:27.

1For the connection of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif with the concept of the great controversy or cosmic battle between good and evil, see the discussion on Isa 14:13 and Ezek 28:14, 16 in chapter 4 of this dissertation. For a discussion of the cosmic battle in Job 1 and 2, see Boyd, 143-49.

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It should be remembered that some major concerns of the book of Chronicles are the Jerusalem temple, its cultic procedures, and other activities related to the proper functioning of the Temple. The theological centrality of the temple in the books of Chronicles is borne by the fact that, in large measure, the kings of Judah are evaluated on the basis of their relationship to the Temple. Therefore, it is against this backdrop that the allusions to the heavenly temple in this passage should be understood.

Two important observations should be made at this point: First, the "dwelling place" (יָשָׁם) referred to in the text is the heavenly one, as is made clear by the appositional phrase מִיעֵיתֵו ("to heaven") which specifies that the "dwelling place" is located in heaven. Second, this dwelling place, since it is related to YHWH, that is "his [YHWH's] holy dwelling place," should be understood as a sanctuary/temple. This idea is corroborated by the fact that the term מִישָׁמ ("habitation") is also applied to the Jerusalem temple in 2 Chr 36:15. It become apparent that idea conveyed by יָשָׁם is that of a sanctuary/temple.

For the purpose of this study, inquiry should be made about the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple referred to in 2 Chr 30:27 as well as its relationship to the

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3 See the definition of sanctuary/temple in chapter 1 of this dissertation.
earthy counterpart. The statement that "their prayer came to his holy dwelling place, to heaven" suggests that the heavenly temple functions as the place where YHWH hears (and answers) prayer, an idea that appears in several other places of the Hebrew Bible.¹

As for the relationship between the earthly temple and its heavenly counterpart, the text indicates a vertical correspondence and a dynamic interaction. The notion that prayers offered in the earthy temple came to the heavenly temple indicates a functional relationship, and the designation of the heavenly temple as הֵיכָל הַקּוֹדָם indicates a structural correspondence. A dynamic interaction emerges in the fact that the heavenly and earthly temples appear to function in close connection. So, when the Levites prayed in the earthly temple, their "prayer came to his holy dwelling place, to heaven," which reveals a dynamic interaction between earthly temple and heavenly counterpart. That is, the prayers offered in the earthly temple resonate with the heavenly one from which YHWH responded.²

Summary

The investigation undertaken above has revealed that the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is not a marginal theme in the third section of the Hebrew Bible. As a matter of fact, the presence of this motif in the various passages of the Writings has


²This idea is also reflected in the prayer of Solomon (see chapter 4), and several other places in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. Isa 6ff.; Ps 150:1-6.
revealed its relevance for this section of the Hebrew Bible. The investigation undertaken in the present chapter further corroborates the basic picture delineated in chapters 3 and 4.

The texts investigated above also conceive of the heavenly sanctuary/temple to function in a number of different, but complementary, ways. Apart from being conceived as the dwelling of YHWH or his center of command as King of the Universe, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as locus of judgment or tribunal, whence YHWH exerts his judicial functions by vindicating the righteous and punishing impenitent sinners. The judgment is sometimes conceived as a two-stage process, namely, an investigative phase preceding the actual execution of the sentence. In close connection to this judicial function, the heavenly sanctuary/temple is also understood as the meeting place of the council of YHWH. Moreover, the heavenly sanctuary/temple emerged as a place of worship where heavenly beings adore YHWH, source of help, and place of atonement, where cleansing and forgiveness are granted. It was also noted that as object of attack by anti-YWHW forces, the heavenly sanctuary/temple emerges an important element in the context of the cosmic battle between good and evil.

As for the relationship between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart, some functional and structural correspondences have become apparent. For example, the function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place of judgment, forgiveness, atonement—functions that are also in the domain of the earthly sanctuary/temple—suggests that the heavenly temple operated in functional correspondence to its earthly counterpart. In addition, structural correspondences were
also observed. In addition, terminological indicators point to structural similarities between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries/temple.

Finally, this vertical correspondence goes beyond what would be expected of mere analogical entities. Some texts portray a dynamic interaction between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. That is, the heavenly temple seem to function in connection and interaction with the earthly temple, or conversely, activities of the earthly temple would reverberate in the heavenly counterpart.

Table 7 below provides a summary of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Writings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Relationship to Earthly Counterparts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps 11:1-7</td>
<td>hēḵāl</td>
<td>Judgment (two phases): Investigative + executive</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps 14:1-6</td>
<td>[sāmāyīm]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 20:1-19</td>
<td>šēmē qodšō</td>
<td>Source of help</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 29:1-11</td>
<td>hadrat qōdoš, hēḵāl</td>
<td>Worship, praise, judgment, kingship, source of blessings</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps 33:1-22</td>
<td>mēḵōn šibtō</td>
<td>Dwelling, supervision, judgment, salvation</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 60:1-14</td>
<td>qodeš</td>
<td>Source of help</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 68:1-36</td>
<td>mē ṣōa qodšō</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 73:17, 25</td>
<td>miqṣē- ʾel</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 76:8-9</td>
<td>[sāmāyīm]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 82:1-8</td>
<td>[ʿādat ʾel]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 96:1-13</td>
<td>miqḏāš</td>
<td>Kingship, worship, Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps 102:20-21</td>
<td>mērōm qodšō</td>
<td>Source of help, judgment (investigative + executive), kingship</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ps 150:1-6</td>
<td>qodeš</td>
<td>Worship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 1:6; 2:1</td>
<td>implied</td>
<td>Heavenly council, cosmic battle, judicial aspects</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 7—continued.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Passage</th>
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<th>Function</th>
<th>Relationship to Earthly Counterpart</th>
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<td>Vertical Correspondence</td>
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<td>Dan 7:9-14</td>
<td>Implied</td>
<td>Judgment, heavenly council</td>
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<td>Dan 8:9-14</td>
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<td>Judgment, cultic functions, cosmic battle</td>
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<td>godesh, godashim</td>
<td>Cultic functions: inauguration/consecration</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Chr 30:27</td>
<td>me'on qodso</td>
<td>Worship</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
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</table>

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CHAPTER 6

THEOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

In the first chapter of this dissertation, it was found that the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple was a significant motif in the ANE literature. In like manner, as the forty-three biblical passages investigated in the subsequent chapters have demonstrated, this idea is by no means marginal to the Hebrew Scriptures. In this last chapter, the insights from the previous chapters are synthesized and summarized so that a theological synthesis of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible may be delineated.

At first the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif is placed against the background of ANE literature so that the biblical usage of this motif may be brought into a sharper focus. Next, attention is given to the function and role of the heavenly temple/sanctuary in relation to the theological themes of judgment, cosmic battle, covenant, and the experience of the individual. Finally, the theological implications of the connection between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterparts will be delineated; the focus will be on the dynamic, functional relationship, and structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart.
The study conducted in the first chapter of this research allowed some instructive glimpses into the ANE perception of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. It was found that the ANE understanding of the heavenly temple/sanctuary resembles closely that of the Hebrew Bible in some aspects. Overall the heavenly temple/sanctuary is understood not only as the dwelling place for the deity/ies, but also as a place of divine activities whence the deity/ies would issue decrees and commands to deal with the created order. In other words, the heavenly sanctuary/temple would function as a place where judicial activities toward the created order are executed. In this regard it is worth noting that the heavenly temple/sanctuary functions as the meeting place for the heavenly council of the gods, which should also be understood within the general idea of judgment, since the divine council convenes to take part in a process of decision or judgment. According to ANE texts, the heavenly sanctuary/temple was also understood as a place of cultic/ritual activities wherein prayers and offerings could be presented to the deity.

Nonetheless, in spite of the similarities between the Hebrew Bible and the ANE literature in the portrayal of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif, some significant differences emerge. The most conspicuous and obvious distinction emanates from the fact that the ANE literature is rooted in polytheistic and mythical conceptions, while the Hebrew Bible presupposes the reality of One God, YHWH. Thus while ANE texts conceive of several heavenly or mythical dwellings for a plurality of deities, the Hebrew Bible conceives of a single heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH. It may be conjectured
that because of this, the heavenly sanctuary/temple plays a more prominent role in the sphere of individual piety, than it seems the case with its ANE counterparts. Thus, for example, the prayers of the psalmist with a plea for YHWH to answer from the heavenly sanctuary/temple are conspicuously absent from ANE literature. The impression thus emerges that the idea of a heavenly temple was significantly more practical and relevant for the Israelites than it was for their neighbors. Interestingly enough, in the ANE literature the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif was mostly confined to mythical accounts describing interactions among the gods, whereas in the Hebrew Bible this motif occurs in a variety of literary types such as, for example, historical, poetic, and prophetic texts.

To conclude, it was found that, despite some dissimilarities, both the ANE literature and the Hebrew Bible share some basic aspects of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif. These commonalities, however, by no means suggest that the biblical authors borrowed the idea of a heavenly sanctuary/temple from their ANE counterparts. The differences in theological outlook between the monotheism of biblical literature and the polytheism reflected in ANE texts make any theory of literary dependence extremely unlikely. What may explain the similarities and differences, however, is that both the Hebrew Bible and the ANE literature shared some common traditions regarding the heavenly sanctuary/temple. Thus, for example, the notion that the heavenly sanctuary/temple would function as a place of judgment, or was attacked by an enemy of

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1 A seeming exception occurs in an Egyptian text in which the heavenly sanctuary/temple is portrayed as a source of help. See the chapter 2 of this dissertation.
the deity most likely reaches back to a common tradition that preceded in time the formation of both ANE literature and the Hebrew Bible.

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple and Judgment**

As noted, a prominent function of the heavenly sanctuary/temple is that of being a locus of judgment. Indeed, it is from the heavenly sanctuary/temple that YHWH evaluates and judges humankind, taking crucial decisions concerning the punishment of the wicked and the salvation/deliverance of the righteous. The frequent reference to prayers being directed to YHWH in the heavenly sanctuary/temple further corroborates the notion that the heavenly sanctuary/temple functions as the place where YHWH takes decisions and actions concerning the lives of those living upon the earth. The fact that several texts explicitly mention the heavenly sanctuary/temple (or some other analogous term) as the place where YHWH issues judgments seems to emphasize the importance of the sanctuary/temple as the locus of YHWH's activities.

The examination of several passages conveying the idea of judgment from the heavenly sanctuary/temple reveals that this judgment, in some cases, occurs in a two-stage process. Thus, as implied in Gen 11:1-9 and made more explicit in passages such as Mic 1:2-3, Pss 11:4, 102:19-20, the actual execution of the judgment is preceded by an investigative phase in which the facts of the matter are weighed and evaluated. The same idea can also be discerned in Dan 8:9-14 which, as suggested by the contextual indications of Dan 7, portrays the purification/vindication of the heavenly sanctuary in the context of the judicial activities of the Day of Atonement. In this regard, the connection of the
heavenly council of YHWH in conjunction with the heavenly sanctuary/temple allows one to infer that the heavenly beings were also involved as assistants or witnesses in this process of judgment, an inference that can be made on the basis of texts such as 1 Kgs 22:19-23, Zech 3:1-10, Dan 7: 9-14.

**Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple and the Cosmic Battle**

The heavenly sanctuary/temple emerges in the Hebrew Scriptures as the “cosmic battleground” of the great controversy between good and evil. It becomes apparent, as noted in Isa 14:12-15 and Ezek 28:11-19, that the heavenly temple was the object of an attack and profanation caused by a figure identified as the King of Babylon and the King of Tyre, respectively. From Isa 14:12-15, the picture emerges of an attack on the Mount of Assembly by the King of Babylon. Granting that the Mount of Assembly refers to the heavenly sanctuary/temple, as cogently argued by Davidson, and further corroborated by the investigation conducted previously in this dissertation, the picture emerges of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a crucial spot which the forces of evil, personified by the King of Babylon, attempted to take over. The crucial issue seems to be that of worship. The "Son of the Morning" coveted to receive the adoration due only to YHWH. It is

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2. Ibid., 102-119.
observed that, in order to accomplish his sinful intention, that rebellious creature made an attempt to take over the Mount of Assembly, namely the heavenly sanctuary/temple, or place of worship in the heavenly realm.

In the passage of Ezek 28:11-19, it was noted that the King of Tyre, also designated as "the anointed cherub who covers," profaned the heavenly sanctuary. The implication thus emerged that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was the object of an improper action by the one who was supposed to "cover." It must be remembered that in the earthly sanctuary/temple, the covering cherubim were located in the most holy place as coverers of the Ark of the Covenant, in the holiest compartment of the sanctuary/temple wherein YHWH would manifest his presence in the most concrete way. Thus, assuming a structural parallel with the heavenly counterpart, it is reasonable to suppose that the "covering cherub" of Ezek 28:14 was a creature with access to, and entitled to special functions in, the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary/temple. That being the case, the rebellious action of that creature represented the ultimate transgression, since it affected the most sacred spot of the heavenly realm.

Along the lines of the previous passages, one should note that Dan 8:9-14 also depicts the heavenly sanctuary as an object of attack by the little horn, which represents an anti-YHWH power. So, again the heavenly sanctuary is placed in the center of the controversy between good and evil; or, in other words, the cosmic war between YHWH and the forces of evil.
Heavenly Sanctuary/ Temple Covenant

The heavenly sanctuary/temple motif also intersects with covenant theology. As noted in the study of Gen 28:1-11, when YHWH ratifies the promises of the covenant with Abraham (and Isaac) to Jacob, the picture emerges of a ladder uniting the heavenly sanctuary/temple (the gate of heaven) with the earthly spot which in that precise moment was operating in the capacity of the earthly sanctuary, namely Beth-el. In that situation the heavenly sanctuary/temple was functioning to validate the procedures being taken in the earthly one.

Another connection between heavenly sanctuary/temple and covenant can be perceived in the narrative of the Sinaitic covenant. In the context of the instructions to build the tabernacle, Moses was shown a הֵיכָל ("model") of what should be built on earth. This הֵיכָל, as argued before, most probably involved a vision of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, as implied in the appearance of the throne of YHWH and the sapphire pavement (cf. Exod 24:10). Also, it was noted that the covenant meal celebrated by the seventy elders of Israel at a certain distance from the top of the mount happened in the context of a heavenly sanctuary/temple vision. The implication can be drawn that the Sinaitic covenant occurred in the context of a heavenly sanctuary/temple experience. This indicates that the establishment of the covenant between YHWH and the people of Israel at Sinai was an event ratified and legitimated by actions of YHWH in the heavenly sanctuary/temple.

An interesting correlation between heavenly sanctuary/temple and covenant is found also in Exod 32-34. In the episode of the golden calf, the covenant transgression
was atoned for by YHWH's action in the heavenly temple/sanctuary, as implied in the context. Thus the notion emerges of a heavenly sanctuary/temple as the locus of actions bearing upon the covenant between YHWH and Israel. In this case, the focus is on the atonement and forgiveness executed by YHWH in the heavenly temple/sanctuary. In Mic 1:2-3 one finds a connection of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif with the covenant. In this passage, the heavenly sanctuary/temple activities are described as a covenant lawsuit, whereby YHWH in the heavenly temple judges his people for their breaking of the covenant.

From the foregoing observations, the impression emerges of a heavenly sanctuary/temple fully active in the covenantal experience of ancient Israel. These covenantal activities may be thus classified in three categories. First, the heavenly sanctuary/temple functioned as a surety for the covenant, as implied in Gen 28:1-11 and Exod 24:9-11. Second, the heavenly sanctuary functioned as a place where YHWH granted atonement and forgiveness to his people in the context of covenant transgression. Third, the heavenly sanctuary/temple relates with the covenant inasmuch as it is depicted as the place wherein YHWH undertakes a covenant lawsuit against his people because of their breaking of the covenant.

Summing up, it may be concluded that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was a significant element in the context of the covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel, and as such, the heavenly sanctuary does not belong exclusively to the "New" Covenant,
but was fully operative during the establishment and enforcement of the "Old" Covenant as well.¹

**Relationship to Earthly Counterparts**

In this section attention is given to three aspects that were perceived in the relationship and correspondence between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterparts. First, it was noted that there is a dynamic relationship, namely, the heavenly sanctuary/temple interacts with, and affects the proceedings of, the earthly temple. Second, there is a functional correspondence between both sanctuaries, in that both execute corresponding functions. Third, some passages imply a structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterparts, as elaborated below.

**Dynamic Interaction**

As noted previously, the heavenly sanctuary was understood to be in dynamic interaction to its earthly counterparts. The first explicit indication of this relationship occurs in Gen 28:11-22. In this passage, the ladder shown to Jacob in the dream effected not only a connection between heaven and earth, but a linkage between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterparts. This seems to be a natural inference considering the terminological and conceptual links with sanctuary language present in the pericope. Thus, the incipient sanctuary built by Jacob is linked up to its heavenly counterpart. Whatever the function of this linkage in the immediate context of the dream,...

¹This is further corroborated by the dynamic relationship between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart, as will be noted below.
it seems apparent that a principle is established that henceforward the subsequent sanctuaries would be characterized by the connection with the heavenly one.

In Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8:22ff.), the notion emerged that the petitions offered toward the earthly temple would be answered from the heavenly one. Moreover, activities of atonement and forgiveness, along with judicial procedures, performed in the earthly temple would ultimately be validated in the heavenly counterparts. Also, in 1 Kgs 22:19-23, it was noted that procedures taken in the heavenly court/temple affected earthly circumstances. In Isa 6:1-7, one learned how closely connected heavenly and earthly temples could be. Here the heavenly temple was shown to interact with and affect the earthly temple. Thus it was perceived that, as Isaiah came into the Jerusalem Temple, he saw a vision of the heavenly temple. As the vision proceeded, actions undertaken in the heavenly temple effected the purification of the prophet.

Significant passages in this connection are Ezek 1 and 10. The prophet receives a vision in which heavenly realities come down to interact with the realities of the earthly temple. The implication is that the Glory of YHWH left the heavenly temple in order to occupy its corresponding place in the earthly temple. Another passage indicating this dynamic relationship is Zech 3:1-10. Here it was perceived that ritual actions performed in the earthly temple caused the purification of the high priest Joshua, thus making him fit for the ministry of the Jerusalem temple. This passage is important in that it demonstrates how actions in the heavenly temple could affect the performance of its earthly counterparts.

A close interaction between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart is also evident in 2 Chr 30:27. Here one learns that as the Levitical priests arose and blessed the
people, "their voice was heard and their prayer came to his holy dwelling place, to heaven." This passage is significant inasmuch as it depicts the liturgical activities of the earthly temple interacting with the heavenly counterpart. Not only was the heavenly temple able to affect the earthly counterpart, but the reverse was also possible, as is clearly demonstrated by the last passage.

Other passages, by means of rhetorical devices and ambivalent expressions, seem to imply a relationship between the heavenly temple/sanctuary and its earthly counterpart. Ps 68:1ff. seems to alternate references to the heavenly temple with allusions to the earthly temple, thus implying that both were operating together. And Ps 150 implies a close connection between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart in that the appeal to praise YHWH in his heavenly sanctuary (vs. 1) includes the worship to be offered in the earthly temple.

Summing up, it may be stated that the heavenly sanctuary/temple was understood to function in close connection to its earthly counterpart. It was found that the vertical movement of this dynamic relationship could operate either from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, or in both directions simultaneously. That is to say, the heavenly sanctuary could affect the earthly counterpart; be affected by it, or work in close connection with mutual cooperation.

Structural Correspondence

The injunction that Moses should build a tabernacle according to the תֵּבָנֶת ("model") shown on the mount (Exod 25:9) seems to indicate that the correspondence
between the earthly sanctuary and its *Vorbild* reflected not merely functional aspects, but included structural similarities. As observed in chapter 3, it is very probable that the concept of רמב"גנ ("model") included a vision of the heavenly temple/sanctuary. That being so, the notion of a structural correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart is further underscored. After all, a visual representation of the heavenly sanctuary would not only function as a major guideline for the different rituals and functions of the sanctuary ministry, but would indicate a structural correspondence insofar as the structure of the earthly sanctuary would somehow mirror that of the רמב"גנ ("model") or heavenly temple.

Indeed, this structural correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart is corroborated by subsequent passages of the Hebrew Bible. In Isa 6:6 one learns of an altar (of incense) in the heavenly temple, which seems to correspond to the altar of incense located in the earthly temple. In Ezek 1 and 10 one can perceive a corresponding relationship between the heavenly cherubim and their earthly counterparts, namely, the golden cherubim of the earthly temple. Another important indication of a structural correspondence is found in Ezek 28:16. The reference to the "covering" cherub in the heavenly sanctuary seems to indicate that the heavenly sanctuary/temple would be served by a "covering" cherub corresponding to the golden cherubim in the holy of holies of the sanctuary/temple, and the cherubim stationed at the entrance of the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24). That being the case, one can reasonably infer a structural correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterparts. One should note, however, that while the earthly sanctuary temple would contain a golden cherubim, the heavenly
counterparts were living beings. Thus it becomes apparent that an intensification or escalation from the type to its antitype obtains in regards to this vertical typology.

In addition to the particular structural elements noted above, it should be observed that the vocabulary used throughout the Hebrew Bible to designate the heavenly temple/sanctuary corroborates the basic notion of a structural correspondence indicated by the concept of מֵדֶל ("model"). Terms such as תֵּemple"), שְׁנֵה ("sanctuary"), קָר ("sanctuary") and others may designate either the heavenly sanctuary/temple or its earthly counterparts suggest that the heavenly referent of these terms should be understood in structural correspondence to the earthly counterpart. Nonetheless, it must be noted the Hebrew words מִקְר ("tent"), וִי ("house"), and מְסַכֶּל ("tabernacle"), which are sometimes applied to the earthly sanctuary/temple, do not seem to be applied to the heavenly temple/sanctuary. It is probable that the notion of contingency and temporariness connoted by מִקְר ("tent") and מְסַכֶּל ("tabernacle"), and the common word for human habitation מִקְר ("house") are not fit to designate the permanent heavenly sanctuary/temple of YHWH. It may thus be concluded that although the heavenly sanctuary/temple corresponds structurally to the earthly counterpart, it is far greater than the earthly counterpart. An intensification from type to antitype is thus indicated.

Functional Correspondence

By functional correspondence is meant that the functions executed by YHWH in his heavenly temple are closely related to the functions being executed by the priests in the

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1For a list of the sanctuary/temple terms, see the summary charts at the end of chapters 3, 4, and 5.
earthly temple. Thus one may note the function of judgment, which is a major function of the heavenly temple, as already pointed out. Also, along the lines of its earthly counterpart, the heavenly temple is depicted as a place of worship wherein the heavenly assembly worships YHWH. Cultic activities such as atonement, forgiveness, and cleansing have also been clearly ascribed to the heavenly temple (Exod 32-34, Isa 6:1-8; Zech 3:1-10). The passage of Dan 8:9-14, which depicts Day-of-Atonement activities in the heavenly sanctuary, also provides some compelling evidence for the functional correspondence between the heavenly temple and its earthly counterpart. It should be noted that this functional correspondence reveals an intensification from type to antitype. Thus, for example, the limited scope of the activities performed in the earthly temple is a reflex of the cosmic actions undertaken by YHWH in the heavenly temple.

In addition, it should be remembered that the allusion to the heavenly sanctuary as "Eden, the garden of God" (Ezek 28:13), along with the evidence that the Garden of Eden described in Gen 2 functioned as a sanctuary/temple, suggests a functional correspondence between the heavenly sanctuary and the Garden of Eden.

Summing up, it may be stated that a dynamic interaction, structural and functional correspondences with an intensification from type to antitype was identified to exist between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart.

**Summary and Conclusions**

After surveying forty-three passages dealing with the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible, the following conclusions may be drawn (see table 8, at the end
of this chapter for a summary of the heavenly sanctuary/temple passages investigated in chapter 3, 4, and 5 of this dissertation):

1. The Hebrew Bible conceives of the heavenly sanctuary/temple as a place of divine activities, from which YHWH performs actions of judgment and government of the cosmos, grants help to the afflicted, and executes actions of atonement and forgiveness.

2. The heavenly sanctuary/temple was understood as existing in structural and vertical correspondence to the earthly counterpart, and an intensification from type to antitype was observed. In addition, the notion also emerged of a dynamic interaction between the heavenly sanctuary/temple and its earthly counterpart.

3. The heavenly sanctuary/temple seems to play a prominent role in the cosmic controversy between good and evil, inasmuch as it is portrayed as an object of attack by anti-YHWH forces.

4. The heavenly sanctuary/temple also emerges in connection with the covenant idea, since it is presented as a place where YHWH ratifies the covenant.

5. The investigation conducted above claims to have provided a broad exegetical and theological basis for the concept of a vertical typology of the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible.

6. A further implication of this research is that the heavenly sanctuary/temple is a place in heaven and, therefore, should not be interpreted as a metaphor for YHWH's presence or as a reality coextensive with heaven.¹

¹In contrast to Greek philosophy and its notion of a timeless God, the biblical idea of YHWH's involvement with creation and his temporal actions in history suggests that the concept of YHWH's heavenly sanctuary/temple should be interpreted at face value. See Fernando Luis
Suggestions for Further Study

It would be instructive to investigate the heavenly sanctuary temple motif in later texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and later Jewish literature in order to ascertain how the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in was understood in different contexts. In addition, a detailed study of this motif in the New Testament might be illuminating. Such a study might help clarify to what extent the New Testament writers used the Hebrew Bible in their formulating of the heavenly sanctuary/temple idea.

# TABLE 8

THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY/TEMPLE MOTIF IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TORAH</th>
<th>Vertical Correspondence</th>
<th>Dynamic Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 28:10-22</td>
<td>ša’ar haššāmāyim</td>
<td>Ratification of covenant ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 15:1-18</td>
<td>qōdeš</td>
<td>Heavenly assembly, worship, kingship ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 24:9-11</td>
<td>[įbınaš hašappir, haššāmāyim]</td>
<td>Kingship, covenant ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 25:9, 40</td>
<td>tabnit</td>
<td>Model for the construction the earthly sanctuary ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 32-34</td>
<td>[implied]</td>
<td>Place of atonement ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 26:15</td>
<td>me’ón godšēkā</td>
<td>Prayers, blessings, fertility ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPHETS</th>
<th>Vertical Correspondence</th>
<th>Dynamic Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sam 22:1-51</td>
<td>hēkāl</td>
<td>Source of help, judgment, vindication of the righteous, other cultic aspects ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kgs 8:12-66</td>
<td>mēkōn šibtkā mēqōm šibtkā</td>
<td>Answering prayer, judgment, forgiveness, kingship ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kgs 22:19-23</td>
<td>[yśb, kisse’, sēba’ haššāmāyim]</td>
<td>Judgment, meeting place of the heavenly assembly, kingship, worship ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vertical Correspondence</td>
<td>Dynamic Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 6:1-8 hĕkāl</td>
<td>Kingship; place of cleansing, forgiveness, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 14:12-15 har mō'ēd</td>
<td>Object of attack in the cosmic battle; place of worship, meeting place of the heavenly assembly</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 18:4 mākôn</td>
<td>Supervision, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 63:15 zĕbul qodšēkā</td>
<td>Supervision, intervention, source of help</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetip 'artekā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 17:12 mēqōm miqdāšēnū</td>
<td>Kingship, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 25:30 me'ōn qodšō</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 1 [niptahu haššamayim, sapon, mar'e'h' eben sappir, kabod YHWH]</td>
<td>Kingship</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 10 kabod YHWH, kērūbīm</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 28:11-19 'edēn gan ēlōhīm har qodeš 'ēlōhīm miqdāš</td>
<td>Object of improper actions in the cosmic battle, cultic aspects</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 5:15 mēqōm</td>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah 2:5 [4], 8 [7] hĕkāl</td>
<td>Source of help, salvation</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8—Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPHETS</th>
<th>Vertical Correspondence</th>
<th>Dynamic Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mic 1:2-3 hēkāl qodšō</td>
<td>Judgment (covenant lawsuit): investigative + executive</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab 2:20 hēkāl</td>
<td>Worship, judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 2:17 mēʿōn qodšō</td>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 3:1-10 Implied in the heavenly council</td>
<td>Judgment, cultic aspects: atonement</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WRITINGS</th>
<th>Vertical Correspondence</th>
<th>Dynamic Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 11:1-7 hēkāl</td>
<td>Judgment (two phases): investigative + executive</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 14:1-6 [sāmayim]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 29:1-11 hadrat qodesh, hēkāl</td>
<td>Worship, praise, judgment, kingship, source of blessings</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 33:1-22 mēkōn šibtō</td>
<td>Dwelling, supervision, judgment, salvation</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 60:1-14 [12] qodesh</td>
<td>Source of help</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 68:1-36 [35] mēʾōn qodšō miqādēš</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 73:17, 25 miqādēš-ʾel</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 76:8-9 [sāmayim]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 82:1-8 [ʾādat ʿef]</td>
<td>Judgment</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| Ps 96:1-13          | *miqdaš* | Kingship, worship, Judgment | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Ps 102:20-21 [19-20] | *mērôn qodṣô* | Source of help, judgment (investigative + executive), kingship | ✓ | ✓ |
| Ps 150:1-6          | *qodes* | Worship | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Job 1:6; 2:1         | Implied | Heavenly council, cosmic battle, judicial aspects | ✓ |
| Dan 7:9-14           | Implied | Judgment, heavenly council | ✓ |
| Dan 8:9-14           | *qodes, miqdaš* | Judgment, cultic functions, cosmic battle | ✓ | ✓ |
| Dan 9:24             | *qodes, qodâsim* | Cultic functions: inauguration/consecration | ✓ | ✓ |
| 2 Chr 30:27          | *meʿôn qodṣô* | Worship | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |


503


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