THE IMPACT OF THE JEWISH DAY OF ATONEMENT UPON THE THOUGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A thesis presented to the
University of Manchester
in application for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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This thesis is presented to the University of Manchester in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. No portion of the dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree in any university.

After four years study at Avondale College, Sydney, Australia, I graduated B.A. in 1965. The following two years were spent as an assistant minister in N.S.W. and Canberra, A.C.T. Whilst in Canberra I completed a course at B.A. level in philosophy and logic at the Australian National University. I took up studies in Manchester Victoria University in 1968 and subsequently gained my B.D. degree with honours in 1970. Since that date I have been engaged in full-time study on this present thesis. Eight months of the present research has been spent away from Manchester University, namely at the Universities of Uppsala and Tübingen.

ERRATA

p.x.	Line	21	for	"Princton"	read	"Princeton"
p.6	Line	8	for	"Unaffected"	read	"unaffected by"
P.43	Line	6	for	"text ss"	read	"texts"
p.64	Line	6	for	"vorexilishen"	read	"vorexilischen"
p.80	Line	22	for	"Charls's"	read	"Charles' "
P.83	fn.	2	for	"Jerusalem"	read	"the Jerusalem"
p.136	line	11	for	"but"	read	"but also"
p.168	fn.	1	for	"Presicion"	read	"Precision"
p.223	fn.	1	line 8	for "but"	read	"but also"
p.237	line	25	for	"Eucharstic"	read	"Eucharistic"
p.358	line	2	for	"or"	read	"nor"
p.382	line	21	for	"Chruch"	read	"Church"
p.385	line	3	for	"Chruch"	read	"Church"
p.406	for		"Hendhaw"	read	"Henshaw"	

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis is in many ways a history of the interpretation of the Day of Atonement, beginning from the first interpreter, the redaction of the Priestly writer, and culminating in the NT itself.

Chapter one outlines the problem of getting behind the redaction of P in order to establish information about the Day of Atonement in the pre-exilic period. A survey of the various literary attempts to do this comes to a diffident conclusion; though a pre-exilic date for the essentials of the ritual is preferred even for the occasion on the tenth day of Tishri. Chapter two of Part One analyses the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16) by means of a study of its key terms. This indicates how the first interpreter (P) understood his material.

Part Two deals with the post-biblical interpretation of the Day of Atonement in Judaism. Chapter three considers the Palestinian viewpoint. Here we discover the Day of Atonement ritual was employed as a vehicle of either apocalyptic prognostications or ethicized means of expiation. The use made of the Day of Atonement imagery in Qumran is especially illuminating and surprisingly extensive. Chapter four surveys Hellenistic Judaism and here Philo stands out. Philo's use of the Day of Atonement is considerable; by means of his allegorical principles he is able to discover numerous illustrations in the Day of Atonement imagery of the mystical flight of the soul.

The New Testament exegesis of the Day of Atonement is treated in Part Three. The introduction establishes the

addressees of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pauline authorship of Rom. 3:25 (against the Bultmann-Käsemann hypothesis). The first three chapters in this Part (chaps. 5-7) concentrate on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Chapter five limits itself to those texts which use the inviolable nature of the holy of holies, except for the once-a-year entrance of the high priest, as their departure-point. The study here supports those who see in the use of the two-part tabernacle by the Epistle an eschatological purpose, rather than a Gnostic, Platonic, or allegorical meaning. The death of Christ as the fulfilment of the Day of Atonement sacrifice is treated in chapter six. The conclusion is that the whole purpose of Hebrews is to give an interpretation of the cross by this means, not to declare some heavenly oblation as the counterpart to the Aaronic Day of Atonement ritual in the holiest.

Chapter seven takes up those texts which speak of sprinkling of blood. This was the central act of the Day of Atonement and surprisingly Hebrews comes near to ignoring it. This unexpected omission is explained by the preoccupation of Hebrews with the death of Christ on the cross, he knows of no post-calvary blood manipulation. It is difficult, however, to apply "sprinkling" to Christ's death on the cross; we believe Hebrews makes the attempt, noteworthy here is his use of προσφέρω in Heb. 9:7 instead of the LXX ῥαίνω. Hebrews uses the concept of sprinkling in another way, too, that is, for the purification of the people's sins. He enforces his meaning here by conflating (or by using a traditional conflation) the ritual of the red heifer (Num. 19) with that of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16).

After a survey of the provocative study of C.H. Dodd and some of his critics, chapter eight analyses those texts which show the influence of the Day of Atonement in their use of ἱλάσκομαι and cognates, viz., Heb 2:17, 1 John 2:2; 4:10. Rom. 3:25 belongs to this group, but requires a whole chapter to be adequately treated, this is chapter nine. It is strongly concluded that the Vorlage of ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 is the LXX rendering for the mercy-seat.

Chapter ten considers the possibility of the Day of Atonement scapegoat ritual being used as an expression of bearing (away) sin in the NT. Some suggestions of a typical apocalyptic usage being present in the Book of Revelation are also made. The conclusion consists of a comparison and contrast between the way the NT uses the Day of Atonement material as an interpretative tool and the way the pre-NT exegetes used the same phenomena.

Two appendices are added to the thesis to deal with the treatment of the scapegoat ritual and the mercy-seat in the writings of the Church Fathers. These are representative rather than exhaustive.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABR	Australian Biblical Review
AG	Arndt, W.F., and Gingrich, F.W., edd., A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (E.T. Cambridge, 1957)
AV	Authorized Version (1611)
BDB	Brown, F., Driver, S.R., and Briggs, C.A., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1906)
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
CN	Coniectanea Neotestamentica
DBS	Dictionaire de la Bible Supplément, ed L. Pirot (Paris, 1928—)
DCG	Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, ed J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1906-08)
EB	Encyclopaedia Biblica, edd T.K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black (London, 1899-1903)
Enc Jud.	Encyclopaedia Judaica, ed. C. Roth et al. (Jerusalem, 1971-72)
EQ	Evangelical Quarterly
E.T.	English Translation
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
ExT	Expository Times
HDB	Dictionary of the Bible, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1898-1904)
HDB, Rev ed	Dictionary of the Bible, rev. edd. F.C. Grant and H.H. Rowley (Edinburgh, 1963)
HERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, et al. (Edinburgh, 1908-26)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick et al. (New York, 1962)
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly

JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThC	Journal for Theology and Church
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KB	Koehler, L., and Baumgartner, W., Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros (Leiden, 1948-53)
KD	Kerygma und Dogma
LXX	Septuagint version
MM	Moulton, J.H., and Milligan, G., edd., The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (London, 1930)
MPG	Patrologiae Graeca, ed J.P. Migne (Parisiis, 1858-86)
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MT	Massoretic Text
MTZ	Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift
NBD	New Bible Dictionary, ed. J.D. Douglas et al. (London, 1962)
NEB	New English Bible (1961 and 1970)
NKZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NovTest	Novum Testamentum
NRT	Nouvelle Revue théologique
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
PTR	Princeton Theological Review
RE	Revue Ecclésiastique (Liège)
RGG^3	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. K. Galling (Tübingen^3, 1956-1965)
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
RSV	Revised Standard Version (1946 and 1952)
RTR	Reformed Theological Review

SB	Strack, H.L., and Billerbeck, P., Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München, 1922-28)
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
ScEcc	Sciences Ecclésiastiques
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SKGG	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft
ST	Studia Theologica
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (E.T. of TWNT)
TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
ThBl	Theologische Blätter
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThPh	Theologie und Philosophie (Frankfurt)
TR	Theologische Rundschau
ThSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Stuggart, 1933—)
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VD	Verbum Domini
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

PREFACE

New Testament scholars have given close attention to the Jewish Passover ritual and its importance in the world of the first centuries. This is readily defended in the light of the association between the Passover and the Lord's Supper. The same scrutiny cannot be said to have been devoted to the Jewish Day of Atonement ritual. That the Day of Atonement is worthy of the New Testament student's attention is supported by the fact that it is given a major role in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Epistle to the Hebrews represents an important and independent, even if lesser, witness to early Christian beliefs from that found in the Gospels and St. Paul. If one compares the survey of E. Burggaller over the studies of Hebrews in Theologische Rundschau (1910) with that of E. Grässer in the same journal (1964), it will become apparent that NT scholarship has shifted its interest from merely literary problems to a much broader analysis of the epistle's contents. In such a renewed climate a study of the Day of Atonement as interpreted in Judaism and in the Christian Epistle to the Hebrews is not amiss.

The modern scientific study of the OT may have forever destroyed that type of exegesis which has fascinated Christians from Barnabas to Andrew Jukes and beyond. Even so Markus Barth's essay, "The Old Testament in Hebrews: An Essay in Biblical Hermeneutics", in Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation (London, 1962), pp.53 ff., has shown that the methods of Hebrews are not irrelevant to modern readers of the OT This thesis, however, is only aimed at elucidating how

first century exegetes used the Day of Atonement; it is not its task to bridge the gap between the ages, laudable as that task may in itself be.

The word "impact" in the title of this thesis is not my own, but is used in the same connexion by J.C. Rylaarsdam in an article on the Day of Atonement in the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. In order to test its accuracy other areas of the NT besides Hebrews must be investigated. In this investigation we are not primarily concerned with the general atmosphere that the Day of Atonement, along with the rest of the cult, provided for the sacrificial concepts found in the NT. We are looking for more tangible evidence of the way the Day of Atonement may have affected the thought and expression of those early Christian believers, who attempted to proclaim what God had accomplished in the death of Christ.

It is a pleasant duty to here acknowledge the help I have received from many friends and loved ones in the course of writing this thesis. My mother and parents-in-law have helped me financially and in many other ways. Mr. P. Peet of Perth, Australia made several gifts, even though he knows me only slightly. From the same city similar succour came from one who wishes to remain anonymous. The Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst made a grant available, which enabled me to spend a semester in Tübingen, Germany. The courtesy of the library staffs of the Universities of Manchester, Oxford, Cambridge, Uppsala, and Tübingen has both my gratitude and

amazement. I wish to especially mention Mr. David Brady of Manchester

My debt to Professor F.F. Bruce is considerable; firstly, as a B.D. candidate and lately as a research student. The wisdom of his marginal comments was usually immediately recognized by the writer and incorporated into or deleted from his text as the case may be. His incredibly sharp eye prevented not a few errors in transcription, punctuation and style; though, of course, he cannot be held responsible for the errors and solecisms that remain.

Finally, I must express my heartfelt gratitude to my loving wife Elisabeth, who, though confronted by what for her is a foreign language and a near illegible script, courageously typed the first draft, even though she is not a trained typist.

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INTRODUCTION
IN THE FIRST CENTURIES

> The tenth day of this seventh month is the Day of Atonement. There shall be a sacred assembly; you shall mortify yourselves. . . . On that same day you shall do no work because it is a day of expiation, ... Therefore every person who does not mortify himself on that day shall be cut off from his father's kin. I will extirpate any person who does any work on that day. You shall do no work; it is a rule binding on your descendants for all time wherever you live. It is for you a sabbath of sacred rest, and you shall mortify yourselves (Lev 23:27 ff. NEB).

The Day of Atonement[1] is a very serious occasion. Today it is observed by the most nominal of Judaism's sons. "No matter how much else has fallen into desuetude, so strong is its hold upon the Jewish conscience that no Jew, unless he have cut himself entirely loose from the synagogue, will fail to observe the Day of Atonement by resting from his daily pursuits and attending service in the synagogue."[2] This same seriousness characterized Judaism's attitude to the DA in Philo's time; and as well held the reverence of those Jews who had otherwise fallen away from the Jewish ideal.[3] The pattern of synagogue worship which is normal in today's practice, wherein the whole day is devoted to services, was also the case as early as Philo's period.

The fact that the DA had such a hold in Alexandrian Jewry by the time of Philo (*circa* 20 B.C. - 40 A.D.) gives conclusive

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1 From henceforth signified by DA.
2 The Jewish Encyclopedia II, ed. I. Singer (New York, 1902), p.288.
3 H.A. Wolfson, Philo I (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), pp.76 f.

evidence of the place the day must have attained in the worship of the synagogues of Jesus' Palestine. Evidence of this fact is found in the Mishnah Tractate Yoma, for although the Mishnah as a written document dates from the early third century A.D., it is clear in the case of Yoma especially that Rabbi Judah relied on early and reliable sources. Much of the cultic material in Yoma Rabbi Judah derived from Eliezer ben Jacob and Simeon of Mizpah, both of whom were eye-witnesses of the temple ritual.[1] There is, therefore, every confidence that when we read the details of the service as laid down in m. Yoma we are reading an account of the DA as ordered in the temple ritual of NT times.

Independently of Judaism the Samaritans have preserved a tradition of interpretation over the DA which shows parallels with many areas of the literature of Judaism.[2] The DA for the Samaritans is the most solemn day of the year, which is not surprising for a religious group ruled by a high priest. The day is not morbid and, because of its bringing forgiveness, has a decided note of joy. During periods when the temple was out of action, the same kind of substitution of praise and morality for sacrifice took place which also happened for Judaism in similar circumstances. The corporate nature of the DA became very much individualized.[3]

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1 Cf. H. Danby, The Mishnah (Oxford, 1933), pp.xxi f.
2 I have relied solely on J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London, 1964). Cf., idem, A Critical Edition of the Text of the Samaritan Yom ha-Kippur Liturgy, with Translation thereof and Comparison with the corresponding Jewish Liturgies (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Leeds, 1958).
3 Macdonald, Samaritans, pp.267 f.

The Samaritans did not until as late as the seventeenth century have any doctrine of a dualistic evil power opposed to God. In their massive DA liturgy, Macdonald notes; Aza'zel is mentioned but once. It is of course among the apocalyptists that Judaism gives interpretative attention to Aza'zel.[1] Macdonald does make this interesting statement, however, which has parallels in the Apocalypses and Qumran:

> When they say that Belial is driven from the Sabbath they are no doubt using a sort of metaphor based on the biblical belief that the goat was driven into the wilderness 'to Azazel' on the Day of Atonement. . . .[2]

Though a medieval source, the Dream of Abisha has ancient parallels. Abisha dreams about the resurrection scene and sees Aaron perform the DA ritual as an act of intercession for the resurrected. As a result of this, and an inquiry into the obedience to the Law of each person, the people are divided into two groups. One group is for the Garden of Eden and the other for the fire. Because of the proximity of the DA in this vision, it is likely that the division of the resurrected into two groups has behind it the two lots of Lev. 16; one for Yahweh, one for Aza'zel.

In Hebrews 7:27 we have a problem, which we shall discuss below, concerning a daily ministry of sacrifice by the high priest. It is of interest to note that Markah (circa late

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1 The Talmud gives considerable attention to the live goat, but likewise with the Samaritans, Aza'zel has little place. The majority of the Rabbis made it the name of the wilderness precipice over which the goat in later times met its death.

2 Macdonald, Samaritans, p. 301.

third century A.D.) speaks of the high priest making atonement every day for himself and the congregation in the penultimate period before the ideal state.[1] As is well known the DA is the only time the high priest offered for himself and the people.

On the island of Rheneia, quite near Delos, two inscriptions on Jewish gravestones were discovered. The text is in Greek and derives much of its phraseology from a biblical source like the LXX. The two inscriptions are virtually identical and their burden is the invocation of God Most High to avenge the murder of the girl Heraclea (and Marthina). The murder of these two Jewish girls apparently occurred at the same time and at the hand of the one villain, and hence the identical inscription. The crucial line for us is line 10: κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ταπεινοῦται μετ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην.[2]

The date of this text is late second or early first century B.C. The language clearly has affinities with the DA where we may recall Lev. 16:29 and 31 but especially Lev. 23:29: πᾶσα ψυχή, ἥτις μὴ ταπεινωθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ . And further in DA texts from Philo, δεύτερον δὲ ἁπλῶς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη λιτὰς καὶ ἱκεσίας ;[3] and τὸν δεκάτου ἱκετεύουσης θεὸν ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα; καὶ ἄνευ ἱκετείας .[4] If we take the final ἵνα clause in the Delos inscription with the immediately preceding ἱκετείας ,

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1 Ibid., p.379.
2 Dittenberger, Sylloge[3], 1181.
3 Spec. II, 196.
4 Cong. 107. "God the tenth" is a Pythagorean way for Philo of saying "God the all perfect".

then we have, in all likelihood, because of the tragedy of the two girls' deaths, a special assembly for prayer and fasting in order to make petition for the divine recompence. Even if this is the case, there can be little doubt that the phraseology is drawn from the DA texts. However, a very strong case for taking this as an actual reference to the DA itself has been made by A. Deissmann and his arguments are compelling.[1] If Deissmann is right,[2] then we have here evidence of the DA as a day of fasting and supplication with an overtone of judgment in diaspora Jewry as early as 100 B.C.[3]

What is true of diasporic Jewry in 100 B.C. again finds its parallel in Palestine, for the umran texts give evidence that the DA had a considerable part in the thinking of the Dead Sea Sect It is referred to in a number of instances in these writings and we shall discuss them in detail below. In fact there is not a single area of Jewish literature of the first centuries which does not give attention to this sabbath of sabbaths From apocalyptic seers to writers of moral wisdom, from mystical allegorists to Rabbinic codifiers, from sects in the desert to synagogues on the Aegean islands, all give eloquent testimony that in the time of Jesus, and even from the return from the Babylonian exile, the DA ritual was a source of devotion, theological reflection, and reverent awe. When one turns then to the NT one does so virtually certain that the DA has left its imprint there also.

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1 A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East (E.T. London, 1927), Appendix I, pp.413-424.
2 I think he is, but my bias to do so is strong.
3 And it has not a few implications concerning the use of the LXX.

The presumption is of course immediately verified by the Book of Hebrews where the DA imagery plays a crucial role in the projection of the writer's thought. But a cursory reading of the rest of the NT gives the impression that this interest of Hebrews in the DA is as unique as is its use of the title high priest for Christ.[1] We are the more surprised at the involved and large place given to the DA in Hebrews if it is true that the rest of the NT is unaffected by and uninterested in this solemn holy day. That the NT with its emphasis on forgiveness of sins has every reason to be attracted to the language of the DA is beyond question, but expectation and fact are not the same thing.[2]

We shall therefore sift the NT data with an ear open to echoes of the DA, sympathetically expectant of finding traces of the DA ritual because of its grand place and pervasive influence in the contemporary Jewish world. Equally important, is to be alert for DA allusions in the texts of the Epistle to Hebrews which may not have been noticed, or if noticed, not given due emphasis for the Epistle's thought. We should remember that despite the considerable use made of OT quotations in Hebrews there is not a single one from Lev. 16 or any other DA text and that in the face of the attention the writer gives to the DA ritual. C. Spicq, for instance, in his voluminous commentary on Hebrews lists the OT citations in Hebrews under

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1 See however G. Friedrich, "Beobachtungen zur messianischen Hohepriestererwartung in den Synoptikern", ZThK 53 (1956), pp.265-311; J. Gnilka, "Die Erwartung des messianischen Hohenpriesters in den Schriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament", RQ 2 (1959-60), pp.395-426.

2 Cf. C.F.D. Moule's sage remarks (The Birth of the New Testament (London, 1966), pp.81 ff), over the surprisingly frugal use of Isa. 53 in the NT.

two headings, the formal and the virtual. Lev. 16 does not occur in the first, but appears six times in the latter. K.J. Thomas in his Manchester dissertation[1] lists without comment only two allusions to Lev. 16 in the whole of the Epistle. The direct dependence of our author on the DA texts appears at first then to be minimal.

Outside of the Epistle to the Hebrews there is one text of outstanding importance - Romans 3:25. "Every important word in this passage is a battleground".[2] Notorious among these words of scholarly contention is the one that interests our thesis, ἱλαστήριον. This text, "one of the most difficult, as it is one of the most important, passages in the Letter,"[3] is in some ways the worthy goal of our study of the history of the DA in Jewish exegesis. As Deissmann has said, "Dass zur Erklärung dieses feierlichen Paulusbekenntnisses keine Vorarbeit zu schwierig und zu genau sein kann, ist gewiss, wir stehen hier vor dem Zentrum der Frömmigkeit des Apostels."[4]

It is therefore with some dismay that we discover that this text which has occasioned so much controversy and intense study, is now by an increasing number of scholars considered to be a non-Pauline fragment. Instead of representing the heart of Paul's theology, one of the rare occasions where he struggles with the "how" of the Cross, it reflects the thought

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1 K.J. Thomas, The Use of the Septuagint in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Manchester, 1959).
2 V. Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching (London, 1940), p.131.
3 J. Knox, The Epistle to the Romans: Interpreter's Bible (New York, 1954), p.43.
4 A. Deissmann, "ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΣ und ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ : Eine lexikalische Studie", ZNW 4 (1903), pp.208 f.

of pre-Pauline Jewish Christian piety. Beyond serving the part of a backdrop to Paul's thinking, it tells us nothing of the Apostle's theologia crucis. According to this theory Rom. 3:25 is not taken up by Paul because he endorses its content, but to the contrary, because he regrets and, indeed, corrects (v.26) the limited range of its conception of grace and faith. What we learn from Rom. 3:24 f., besides the partial agreement Paul had with Jewish Christianity,[1] is, according to Reumann, "something of Paul's view of tradition and revelation".[2] From this we today who struggle to do theology may witness the value of traditional formulae and creeds.[3] Any theory that reduces what has been universally acospted as a complex effort by Paul to clarify the Cross to these banal considerations is surely at the outset to be critically viewed with suspicion.

In Käsemann's terminology apocalyptic is the mother of Christian theology, in one way or another few today would reject that statement. If one thumbs through Glover's "Life"[4] one cannot but be struck by the way the calm of his study has pervaded and perverted his "history". The invasion of Rome, and now as well the evidence of Qumran, proclaims in very

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1 The Bultmann-Käsemann hypothesis originally referred the fragment to a Palestinian milieu , later followers of this theory relate it to a Hellenistic background - difficult distinctions! Paul himself qualifies as a Hellenistic Jew, so such a background for Rom. 3:25 does not remove the text from Paul's domain.

2 J. Reumann, "The Gospel of the Righteousness of God", Interpretation 20 (1966), p.451. Reumann's article is a very thorough presentation of the theory.

3 Ibid., p.452, G. Schille/Frühchristliche Hymnen (Berlin, 1965), p.60/, includes Rom. 3:25 as an example of an early Christian hymn of the Initiation-Baptism-Confession type.

4 T.R. Glover, The Jesus of History (London^{2}, 1917).

audible tones that the ferment of the first centuries could not, whatever else it could, produce the "liberal Jesus".

The DA attracted the eschatological-judicial zeal of the apocalyptists; this is true of the Qumran literature and also the body of works that men like Charles and Box have so industriously collected. It would again be a surprise if the NT ignored this viewpoint throughout its length, especially seeing as it contains its own Apocalypse. The apocalyptic use of the DA imagery may well supply some interesting clues for an understanding of the same type of literature in the NT.

Christianity celebrates no Yom hakkippurim, as it offers no sacrifice;[1] it did not maintain a DA ritual and liturgy over the centuries as the Samaritans did, nor transpose the ancient cult into the Abodah of the synagogue as in Judaism: ours in a way is the story of why it did not.

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1 I.e. Mosaic, it offers praise of course (Heb. 13:15).

PART I

BEFORE THE DAYS OF JESUS

CHAPTER I

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

A. The Problem of the Old Testament Day of Atonement Law

It may at first seem invidious to begin a study on the NT's use of the Jewish DA festival with the suggestion that the immense labours of OT literary und Gattung criticism are irrelevant for the exposition of this NT theme. However, there is validity in this observation in as much as the NT writers accepted the tradition as it was in their own day, which as regards the OT is virtually as we have it today. Thus the work of OT criticism to trace the literary development of the OT documents and of form criticism to isolate the pre-literary stage, though vitally important in themselves, has no bearing on, say, how the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews exegeted the DA as he found it in the, by then, established OT texts. The NT writers used the OT text in total ignorance of its pre-literary and literary development.

Having said that, it must not be concluded that this chapter on the pre-NT history of the DA is unnecessary. Such a study, in seeming contradiction to the above, provides an important contribution. It establishes the historical framework within which to trace the development of the DA, of which development the NT itself provides an important part. The NT, therefore, does not indulge in a mere academic exposition of the DA but is part of the historical DA religious progression. Thus, though the NT writer may not have been aware of the history behind the documents he received, it was

nevertheless there, and the NT cannot be understood in isolation from these antecedents. A background critical study aids in the understanding of the DA tradition as it was received by the NT writers, such an understanding is indispensable if one is to exegete the NT interpretation of the DA, and indeed to comprehend the NT's place in the historical continuum of the DA's development.

Nor must we think that all came to a standstill with the final redaction of the Pentateuch; modification and adaptation continued during the inter-testamental period, though the sources to trace this part of the history are limited. By the time of the NT the DA had become the holy day par excellence in the contemporary Jewish liturgy;[1] a pre-eminence which has continued, with embellishments, down to modern times in the Synagogue service. This chapter examines the roots and growth of this ancient service.

The oldest documentation of the DA is found within the OT; it is mentioned indisputably in Ex. 30:10; Lev. 16;23:26-32; 25:9. Num. 29:7-11, which texts all belong to the Priestly Code. At one time the exclusive restriction of this ritual to P would have been conclusive evidence for its antiquity, as P was considered the most ancient source. J. Wellhausen (and others) changed the situation, in fact reversed it, and cogently argued that P was the latest of the OT sources. Thus in more recent times the mere fact that the DA ritual is found

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1 Its importance is demonstrated by the separate tractate devoted to this holy day in the Mishnah, and by the title, being simply designated Yoma ("The Day"). We may compare Acts 27:9 (διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν Νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι) where the term Νηστεία is sufficient for identification.

only in P has become sufficient grounds for late dating the DA.[1]

Of course originally the argument was the reverse of this, being rather the application of the lateness of the DA to support the thesis concerning the post-exilic date of P. Wellhausen established the lateness of the DA independently of its attachment to P, and this then constituted another nail by which he hammered home the posterior relationship of P to the other sources. The evolutionary motif which pervades Wellhausen's treatment is questionable[2] but his main conclusion that the order of the sources is JE, D, P, still commands wide assent.

As far as the evidence he draws from the DA is concerned the argument is as follows. In JE and D there is predominantly a rotation of three great festivals, which derive from agriculture, "the basis at once of life and of religion".[3] In D there are traces of a more formal historicizing; the central sanctuary, absent in JE, comes into view, and dating becomes fixed for the first time. The rationale of the feasts is

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1 Cf., G.B. Gray, Sacrifice in the Old Testament (Oxford, 1925), pp.308 f.: "So soon and so far as the theory that the Priestly Code is of post-exilic origin was accepted, the theory of the Pentateuch itself that the Day of Atonement was an institution of Mosaic antiquity became untenable: for outside the Priestly Code the Day of Atonement is never mentioned in the Pentateuch, nor, indeed, in the rest of the Old Testament."

2 For a survey and defence of Wellhausen's philosophical assumptions see L. Perlitt, Vatke und Wellhausen (Berlin, 1965). For a clear summary of Wellhausen's work and a more accurate assessment of his philosophical presuppositions see H.-J. Kraus, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments (Neukirchen-Vluyn^2, 1969), pp.255-274.

3 J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Israel (E.T. Edinburgh, 1885), p 91.

shifted from nature to history, and in consequence from the individual to the nation.[1] On the other hand, P rests on D and develops it, Ezekiel acting as an intermediary. In particular the DA is unknown in JE and D or indeed anywhere else. Wellhausen states his position forcefully:

> Notwithstanding its conspicuous importance, there is nothing known of the great day of atonement either in the Jehovistic and Deuteronomic portions of the Pentateuch qr in the historical and prophetical books.[2]

In embryonic form it is first discerned during the exile in Ezk. 45:18-20. Even Ezra who published the Pentateuch is unaware of the DA. Wellhausen concludes,

> This <u>testimonium e silentio</u> is enough, down to that date [i.e. 444 B.C.] the great day of the Priestly Code (now introduced for the first time) had not existed.[3]

This of course is only a fragment of Wellhausen's masterful synthesis, yet it epitomizes his whole method and reveals both its simplicity and cogency. JE does not know D, but D knows JE and develops from them. Neither JE nor D know P, yet P assumes D and develops its own ideas from D. Wellhausen does not make the mistake of dating the contents late because found in a late source, on the contrary, as mentioned previously, he establishes the date of the contents first and therefore a <u>terminus a quo</u> for the document.[4]

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1 Individuals have their lives oriented by the seasons, while history and events are the chronology of nations.
2 Wellhausen, <u>Prolegomena</u>, p.110.
3 <u>Ibid</u>., p.111.
4 H.-J. Kraus <u>Worship in Israel</u> (E.T. Oxford, 1966), p.6: "Within the framework of the particular approach and aim of the <u>Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels</u> this whole process, which leads to the ritual and legal rigidity of religious life in the period after the Exile, is evidence for the late origin of the specifically legal elements in the Pentateuch."

This is not the place to enter into criticism of the Wellhausen hypothesis as a whole, something which the present writer lacks the competence to do. However, certain observations are pertinent for this present study on the DA. It should be noted that Wellhausen assumes the literary unity of the DA sources (especially Lev. 16), and can therefore restrict the existence of the ritual in its totality to the publication of the Priestly Code in the time of Ezra. If Lev. 16 is demonstrated to be composite the inference is near at hand that P drew on sources, other than JE and D, whose antiquity must at least be left open. As Noth says, "The age of its contents, or the contents of its separate elements, can scarcely be determined with any certainty."[1]

Wellhausen would have agreed with alacrity with one of his modern followers when he said that, "It should be observed that the assignment of P to the post-exilic age does not mean that it is supposed that all the ritual practices laid down in P are of post-exilic invention."[2] Of course not, for Wellhausen's developmental thesis demanded that P contain elements from the older strata, not that it was an absolutely novel innovation in every detail. Yet in the case of the DA the only pre-history allowed by Wellhausen was the pilgrim feasts of JE, the historicizing of D and the embryonic expiatory rites of Ezekiel. From these beginnings to the complex DA ritual of P is a jump of substantial proportions. Rowley maintains that

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1 M. Noth, Commentary on Leviticus (E.T. London, 1965), p.119.
2 H.H. Rowley, The Growth of the Old Testament (London^3, 1967), p.34.

P's post-exilic codification does not mean the rejection of everything from an earlier period,[1] in fact, it may within the dictates of its controlling principles gather "into itself regulations and practices that may be very ancient".[2]

This would indicate that the mere silence of JE and D concerning the DA is insufficient evidence for the non-existence of many of its elements. Though Wellhausen's view may well be maintained on other grounds the support he drew from the DA is overstated. First one may object to the assertion that the DA's origins go directly back only to Ezekiel, and second, that the silence of JE and D is sufficient to deny any existence of the elements of the DA prior to P.[3] We may agree readily with Rowley when he points out that the work of P is mainly one of codification of prior materials, a codification JE, and even D, had not attempted, this being in part the reason for their silence over much of the material in P. The antiquity of P's sources may be considerable. According to O. Eissfeldt much of the OT consists of ritual lists, instruction for worship, in their present form he concedes they may indeed be late and reflect the temple, he goes on to say,

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1 Rowley, Growth, P.34.

2. Ibid. Cf. H.H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament", BJRL 33 (1950-51), p.86: "There can be no doubt that the roots of this ritual lay far back in the past, and primitive practices have doubtless survived in it." Reprinted in From Moses to Qumran (London, 1963), pp.67 ff. Rowley cautions [Worship in Ancient Israel (London, 1967), pp.93 f.], that the presence of an ancient rite like Aza'zel "does not mean that the observance of the Day of Atonement goes back to pre-exilic days."

3 C.R. North ["Pentateuchal Criticism", in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), p.50], states that the assumption of R.H. Kennett and other critics of his time was that "every author was familiar with what his predecessors had written, and always proposed something which should be an 'advance' upon it."

> Thus it is certain that the examples which we have go back in content to ancient times, and in many respects also in form, and there is nothing against the assumption that they even go back into the period of oral tradition.[1]

Wellhausen's error was the assumption that P's treatment of the DA was a literary unit.[2] The codification of the DA according to P's conception of temple and priesthood may still indicate a post-exilic date for the whole, but not for its parts, and this is a considerable modification of Wellhausen's position. One could argue that if large elements of P go back to a contemporaneous period with JE and D, and yet these latter show no cognisance of these elements, then the non-use of P by JE and D does not indicate a time line relationship. They could, as Scandinavian scholars seem to say, be contemporary and isolated traditions. The weakness of this seems to be that what is true for the components is not necessarily true of a synthesis welded together according to certain overruling principles.[3] It should ever be remembered that the recognition of ancient elements in a source has two inferences. One, that the dating of a document does not mean that all the components are of the same date; and two, and just as important, that recognizing ancient elements in a source does not mean that the source is ancient.[4] The only certain

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1 O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: an Introduction (E.T. Oxford, 1965), p.30.

2 I. Sohur [Versöhnungstag und Sündenbock, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Litterarum 6, 3 (Helsingfors, 1935)], observed that even the biblical texts within P manifest such differences as to mitigate against the assertion that the DA is the invention of P.

3 Gray (Sacrifice, p.312), says, "Here, as often, it is of the first importance to distinguish between the antiquity of the component elements in a particular ritual or observance and the antiquity of the ritual or institution in which they coalesce."

4 This is the error of E. Kaufmann, cf. E.A. Speiser, "Leviticus and the Critics", in E. Kaufmann Jubilee Volume, ed. M. Haran (Jerusalem, 1960), pp.29-45.

deduction that can be made is, "Denn wenn der Inhalt späteren Ursprungs ist, muss es notwendig auch die literarische Form sein."[1]

We may conclude that the post-exilic date for P is beyond question, but note with F.M. Cross, that it is still a very valuable historical witness.[2] "Considering the wholesale late dating earlier attributed to it", Von Rad declares, "the discovery that it contains old, and indeed very old, material has come as a surprise".[3]

How damaging then is the silence of the other sources to the assertion that P contains very ancient material and that elements of the DA ritual go back to earlier times, preserved even in the form of 'ritual lists' (Eissfeldt) or 'priestly memoranda' (Ringgren)? The most judicious statement of this argument, which is sometimes under estimated,[4] is that made by G.B. Gray.[5] Literary criticism, Gray says, did not of itself disprove the antiquity of the DA, for an institution may be

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1 S. Landersdorfer, Studien zum biblischen Versöhnungstag, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 10, 1 (Münster, 1924), p.80.
2 F.M. Cross "The Priestly Tabernacle", in Old Testament Issues, ed. S. Sandmel (London, 1969), pp.54 f.
3 G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I (E.T. London, 1962), p.232. We may compare a complaint from a different climate: "Hin und wieder ist denn auch schlichtern behauptet worden, dass z.B. im Lev. vorexilisches Material in exilischer Bearbeitung vorliege, aber man hat solche Verstösse gegen das Schuldogma im allgemeinen überhört" /M. Löhr, "Das Ritual von Lev. 16", SKGG 2, 1 (Berlin, 1925), p.16/.
4 E.g. C. von Orelli in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge I, pp.396 f. Omission of mention of the DA in the historical books is, he says, accidental. This silence of JED and elsewhere is, of course, the crux of Wellhausen's dating of the DA, indeed of P as a whole.
5 Gray, Sacrifice, pp.309 ff.

centuries older than its first literary record: simply because "literature of a kind likely to mention it may not have existed for centuries after the institution had come into existence".[1] "Mere lack of mention is inconclusive", for example it is "of not the slightest significance" that the DA is not mentioned among the pilgrim festivals for the DA is not a חג. Gray concludes,

> The strength of the positive argument against an ancient observance of the tenth day of the seventh month as a Day of Atonement, and also against the existence of any completely similar institution on some other day of the year, rests on two passages which, so far from merely omitting to mention it, appear to exclude it.[2]

The two texts referred to here by Gray are Ezk. 45:18 ff. and Neh. 8 and 9. Ezk. 45:18 ff, is not coercive proof. Ezekiel is obviously picturing an idealized situation with the major feast of the first month (Passover) and the major feast of the seventh month (Tabernacles) being preceded by an expiatory ritual on the first day of each month.[3] His omission of any reference to the DA is probably no more significant than his omission of Pentecost. It is not true to say that Ezekiel is concerned only with the expiation of the temple, while P expands this to include the people.[4] Ezekiel in v.20 makes reference to the sins of the people as being integral to the cleansing of the temple If the people have a larger place in P so also does the temple; P reproduces more fully the

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1 Ibid. p.309. Landersdorfer (Studien, p.12), refers, for example, to the virtual silence concerning any historical celebration of the DA in the literature between Ezra and the NT. Cf. J. Orr, The Problem of the Old Testament (London, 1906), p.305.

2 Gray, Sacrifice, p.309.

3 Reading with the LXX ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ μιᾷ τοῦ μηνός as against MT בשבעה בחדש .

4 As do J.C. Rylaarsdam, IDB I, p. 314; and W.O.E. Oesterley, ~~Sacrifices in Ancient Israel~~ (London, 1937), p.226.

tradition that Ezekiel uses discriminately. There is therefore no direct relationship between Ezekiel and P, they drew on a common Vorlage. We are not limited then to the alternatives suggested by Gray that either Ezekiel reduced P (i.e. the DA as preserved in P) or P expanded Ezekiel.[1]

Nehemiah 8-9 is, even by the most conservative, recognized as strong evidence for the post-exilic date of the DA.[2] The strength of the argument rests on the mention in Neh. 8:2 ff. of the feast on the first day of the seventh month, and then in Neh. 8:13 ff. the feast of the fifteenth day is described. There is no mention of any occasion on the tenth day. In Neh. 9:1 ff. there is the record of a fast day of confession on the twenty-fourth day. "Warum wählte man dafür nicht", asks E. Auerbach, "einfach das Versöhnungs-Fest vom 10. tišrē?"[3] Landersdorfer thinks the reason is simply that the DA in the time of Nehemiah-Ezra did not have the character of a fast. The law containing this Lev 16:29 ff., 23:26 ff., he points out, is well accepted as secondary.[4] This solution is accepted by M. Löhr.[5] R. Brinker lamely argues that Ezra-Nehemiah are

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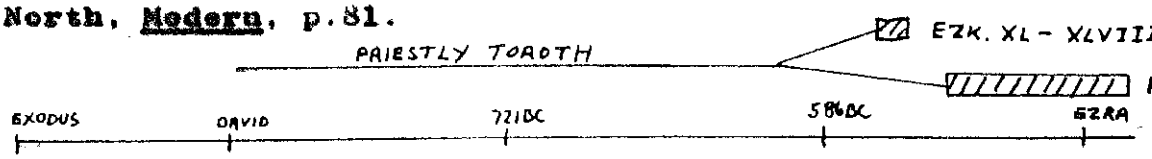
1 This is shown graphically in the diagramatic presentation of North, Modern, p.81.



2 Landersdorfer, Studien, p.60: "Das schwierigste und ernsteste Problem, das der an Problemen so reiche Versöhnungstag bietet, ist und bleibt die Nichterwähnung dieses Festes in Neh. 8" Cf. R.T.A. Murphy, The Great Day of Expiation (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation Pont. Bibl. Comm., Rome, 1950), pp.117 ff.

3 E. Auerbach, "Neujahrs-und Versoehnungs-Fest in den biblischen Quellen", VT 8 (1958), p.342.

4 Landersdorfer, Studien, pp.63 ff.

5 Löhr, Ritual, p.14.

not enumerating all the fasts or festivals.[1] B.D. Eerdmans can only unconvincingly say that because of exceptional circumstances the annual day of mourning was postponed.[2] I. Schur[3] and R.T.A. Murphy[4] accept a post-exilic date for Lev. 16:29 ff. similarly to Landersdorfer. H.-J. Kraus, while accepting the pre-exilic fixing of the 10/VII, thinks that the emphasis for "the ceremonies of expiation were concentrated more on the first day".[5] The evidence of Neh. 8-9 is such as to make it possible that the actual dating and fasting elements are "Novelle" added to Pg in the post-Ezra period. Textual critics do usually ascribe Lev. 16:29 ff., Lev. 23:26 ff. and Num. 29:7 ff. to the later strata of P.

It is reasonable, however, with Kraus to accept that the 10/VII was not a post-exilic invention, but that in pre-exilic times it did not possess the concentration of ritual which later was attached to it, though much of this ritual also existed independently in pre-exilic times.[6]

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1 R. Brinker, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel (Manchester, 1946), p.127.
2 B.D. Eerdmans, "The Day of Atonement", The Expositor 8th Series (1911), p.503.
3 Schur, Versöhnungstag.
4 Murphy, Great, pp.127 ff.
5 H.-J. Kraus, Worship, p.70. It is interesting that the action of the people in worshipping with their faces to the ground performed on the 1/VII (Neh. 8:6) is in Talmudic times performed on the 10/VII.
6 W.O.E. Oesterley, Sacrifices, p.229: "Most of the ideas, as well as the rites, in connexion with the Day of Atonement go back to pre-exilic times: thus, the idea of propitiation, expiation, substitution, and transference of evil, are all ancient; similarly with regard to the burnt-offering, the blood-sprinkling rite, fasting, and the observance of the sabbath."

B. The Literary Analyses of Lev.16

C.R. North notes that in the present state of the situation scholars have come to realize that "the history of any one of the 'documents' may well be as complicated as the history of the whole Pentateuch was conceived to be only thirty years[1] ago".[2] What North declares as true of part of the whole is, in the case of Lev. 16, true of part of one of the parts. The method we shall follow in this section is to summarize the main analyses conducted in the history of research. We do well to bear in mind S.R. Driver's warning concerning I. Benzinger in particular, but true of all such attempts, that "it may be doubted whether the successive stages through which the ritual passed can be recovered by means of a literary analysis".[3] To ignore this advice would be to attempt on a smaller scale Wellhausen's method of making the history of the cult parallel the source analysis. Yet at the same time it would be folly to say source-analysis in no way reflects the historical development of the rite.[4]

The first attack on the, at that time, assumed unity of Lev. 16 was delivered by I. Benzinger in 1889.[5] To demonstrate that the apparent unity of Lev. 16 was deceiving, Benzinger used the same methods which had been applied to the separation of the major sources.

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1 It is now fifty years ago.
2 North, Modern, p.81.
3 S.R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (Edinburgh[9], 1913), p.47.
4 A denial of a Hegelian concept of history does not mean one denies all ideas of progress. It is interesting to notice the difference between the OT and NT in this regard, epitomized in the titles of C.F.D. Moule's and H.H. Rowley's books - The Birth of the New Testament and The Growth of the Old Testament respectively.
5 I. Benzinger, "Das Gesetz über den grossen Versöhnungstag", ZAW 9 (1889), pp.65-89. There had been an earlier challenge to the unity of Lev. 16 from the Dutch scholar H. Oort (Th. Tijdschr. 10, pp.142 ff.).

1. He referred to what is now a critical common-place, that is, the failure of v.2 after את-כפרת to supply "eine nähere Bestimmung der Zeit". A time is given in vv.29 ff., which Benzinger thinks probably displaced the time originally given in v.2, the conclusion is "dass v.2 ff. und 29 ff. ursprünglich getrennte Stücke waren".[1]

2. Noting that v.11 repeats literally v.6, and that the added אשר in v.11 includes nothing not already assumed in the וכפר of v.6, and that והקריב in v.6 means therefore "als Opfer darbringen" and not as v.11 understands "herzuführen", Benzinger concludes,

> Indem so die Handlung in v.11 wieder auf dem gleichen Punkt anlangt wie in v.6, erscheinen die dazwischen liegenden Verse als eingeschoben, als ungeschickte Unterbrechung des Zusammenhangs.[2]

3. A contradictory use of כפר is found, Benzinger declares, between vv.6,11 and vv.14 ff. In vv.14 ff. the purification (כפר) of Aaron and the people is the result of Aaron's entrance into the holiest with the blood; while in vv.6,11 it is the condition for this entrance (cf. vv.2,3,6,12). The blood ceremony so central in the total DA thought is unknown in these latter texts.

4. v.25 is out of place.

5. v.32 inexplicably singles out of all the important ceremonies of the day the wearing of linen garments.

These observations lead to "den stärksten Zweifel an der Einheit des Cap."[3] These features cannot be explained

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1 Ibid., p.67.
2 Ibid., p.68
3 ZAW 9, p.70.

as glosses but indicate an "Überarbeitung" which made something else out of the original law. The total contents also indicate disunity. The chapter begins with a warning to Aaron concerning conditions of entrance into the holiest and then proceeds to describe an annual expiation service within the holiest. At one time these were "zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge".[1]

It is the first law about the precautions Aaron is to take before entering the holiest that explains the connexion with Chap. 10, through the mention of the death of Aaron's sons. The warning is not to emulate their error. Benzinger divides the chapter in the light of this insight:

I. The law concerning the terms of entrance of the high priest into the holiest: v.1-4,6 (resp. 11a), 12-13,34b.

II. The law of the annual expiation ritual. v.5,7-10, 14-28.

III. Law of annual purification of sanctuary and people v.29-34a.

Sections I and III were combined by the original Priestly Code (p^2) and related to the historical occasion of Nadab and Abihu, recorded in Lev. 10, as is the custom of p^2. "Schneller oder langsamer" the blood-ritual develops and along with the Aza'zel ceremony (of unknown origin) it is added to p^2 at the only possible point; not "einfach an v.29-34a anhängen", for it must relate more directly with v.3,4,11-13, "er konnte also seine Zusätze nur zwischen beiden Gesetzen einfügen".[2]

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., pp.88 f.

One may be unconvinced by the force of all of Benzinger's arguments[1] but from his time the disunity of Lev. 16, if not divided in his way, has been universally accepted. Another major contribution of Benzinger was that his analysis probed to the point of making a suggestion of what lay behind p^2.[2] A question of considerable importance and indicative of the fact that the critic's task was not completed once the major sources had been isolated.

Benzinger's results were accepted in the main by the two important commentaries of B. Baentsch and A. Bertholet, and even the Dutch critic A. Kuenen, who previously had assumed its unity, accepted Benzinger's analysis. This position lasted until 1907 when in the same journal a Scandinavian scholar N. Messel criticized Benzinger's attempt and set forth his own interpretation.[3]

Messel began by denying what was crucial for Benzinger's position, that Lev. 16 was related to Lev. 10. Lev. 16:1, concerning the death of Aaron's two sons paralleled in Lev. 10, he dismissed as "Übergangsformel" or "redaktionelle Glosse". Messel's rejection was based on the facts: (a) that

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1 E.g. we may question the validity of the argument for the disunity of Lev. 16 based on the expansion of v.6 by v.11 (cf. Lev. 9:7,12,15). The double meaning of כִּפֻּר is also a poor basis for source differentiation, because the phenomenon is so widely attested in the Priestly material (cf. pp.47 f of this thesis).

2 ZAW 9, p.88: "der ursprüngliche Priestercodex (p^2) hatte hinter der Erzählung von der Einweihung des Heiligthums, Weihe und erstem Opfer der Priester eine nähere Verordnung über das nur beschränkte Recht des Hohepriesters, in Gottes unmittelbare Nähe, das Allh., zu treten (Lev. XVI 1-4,6 11 , 12-13,34b); sowie eine Verordnung über eine jährlich zu wiederholende Sühne des Heiligthums und des Volks (Lev. XVI 29-34a)."

3 N. Messel, "Die Komposition von Lev. 16", ZAW 27 (1907), pp.1-15.

Lev. 10 says anything about the bringing of incense into the holiest (b) that "before Yahweh" (Lev. 10:1) refers to "within the holiest" - Messel refers to v.4 מאת-פני הקדש (c) that Lev. 16 is outlining the only permissible terms of entrance into the holiest in correction to the act of Nadab and Abihu, for if so we should discern a contrast between Chap. 10 and 16; "Ein Gegensatz zu 10, 1 ff. ist dann aber nicht da."[1] (d) that the linguistic parallels found in Lev. 9-10 with Lev. 16 by Benzinger indicate a union of thought. E.g. ולא ימות has, according to Messel, reference to the general danger of drawing near to God found in P rather than any direct reference to Lev. 10.

The conclusion follows, "die Anknüpfung von Lev. 16 an Lev. 10 durch v.1 kann nicht den Ausgangspunkt für eine Scheidung, wie Benzinger sie vornimmt, bilden."[2] Once the independence of Lev. 16 from Lev. 10 is established, it follows that the basis of the ritual is not the terms of entrance into the holiest. What Benzinger took as inserted material between the original Pg details concerning conditions of entrance into the holiest, Messel therefore took as "die Grundlage"; namely vv.3b,5-10 (=A) with the beginning (Zeit bestimmung) and end (Darbringung der Brandopferwidder) now missing. This was probably a law concerning the DA on Tishri 1 the presence of the Aza'zel ceremony indicates this.

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1 Ibid., p.4.
2 Ibid.

The next step is the addition of vv.2,3a,4,11,(12b), 14-16a,17-28 (aB). This author reworks the above and expands the expiation rites on the burnt offering altar to include a blood application in the holiest. In describing the blood application within the holiest as a later development from a simpler rite Noesel agrees with Benzinger. The third stage is the extension of the rite to the Tent of Meeting, and the addition of an incense offering to the ceremony within the holiest vv.12 f., 16b,25. The final stage is vv.29-34a. This section depends on 1-28 and is therefore secondary. The ritual of the DA is assumed as established (v.30), v.33 is dependent on v.16.

In true Wellhausen tradition Noesel now sees in his analysis "ein Spiegelbild der Entstehung und Entwickelung der Feier des Versöhnungstages".[1] The rite over the Asa'sel goat is the "Ausgangspunkt" and therefore the oldest section. This heathenish offering is stripped of its sacrificial connotation by the counterpoise of the goat for Yahweh. In this first stage expiation was only for the priesthood (v.6) and the people (v.10b) not for the sanctuary. This latter is introduced by the author of the second law. This second law does not drop the expiation for the priesthood and people but ties it especially to the living goat and the burnt offering (vv.21,24). With this new cultic purpose is added a new means, the blood manipulation after Ezekiel's precedent (Ezk. 45:18 ff.). Noesel does not discuss the third and final textual stages (viz. v.12 f., 16b,25 and

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1 ZAW 27, p.13.

v.29-34a) in his historical development section. He concludes by saying that neither of the first two laws (A and B), either together or singularly, belong to Pg.

Messel assumed with Benzinger the disunity of Lev. 16 but differed with the latter over the basic law; not an order concerning terms of entrance into the holiest, but a worked over primitive expiation ritual was the original acorn from which the oak developed. The objection that vv.11-28 were merely a detailed exposition of what had only been sketched in vv.6-10 by the same author[1] is met by Messel by pointing out that such a literary method is without parallel in the offering material. Bertholet who had at first accepted Benzinger's treatment now embraced Messel's position. A.R.S. Kennedy in the Century Bible cautiously endorsed it.

In 1924 a Catholic scholar S. Landersdorfer contributed a careful and detailed study of the DA in the OT literature.[2] He argues for the high age of the DA by reference to elements which are indicative of this. For example, Landersdorfer argued that the use of בד in Lev. 16 for the priest's garments as is found in old sources (1 Sam. 2:18,22:18, 2 Sam. 6:14), while P usually uses שש, is indicative of the rite's antiquity.[3] Further, the altar in Lev. 16, Landersdorfer declared, is the burnt offering altar, the incense altar was added to P at the time of the inauguration of the Solomonic temple; he concluded, those sections of P which know no

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1 Cf. B.D. Eerdmans, Alttestamentliche Studien IV (Giessen, 1912), p.75.
2 Landersdorfer, Studien.
3 Messel (ZAW 27, pp.14 f.), used the same argument to demonstrate that Lev. 16:2-28 did not belong to Pg.

incense altar (according to his Lev. 16) are before the time of Solomon's temple. This is Wellhausen's argument from silence in reverse, but lacking the same conviction. Landersdorfer very correctly distinguished between the age of the celebration of a feast and the time of its literary record. From the above evidence he felt justified to conclude that "das Gesetz über den Versöhnungstag, nicht bloss der Versöhnungstag selbst, und zwar in der uns vorliegenden Form"[1] is older than the temple of Solomon.

Landersdorfer begins his literary analysis by dismissing vv.8-10,26-28,29-34 as after-the-exile-Novelle. Next he turns, as so often, to v.2 and the difficulty with כל-עת concerning the lack of a corresponding time stipulation. The word, עת he claimed, does not mean as Benzinger "nicht ohne weiteres", but as Nessel maintained it always refers to "time". However, כל with the negative (לא) can mean "kein"; thus we have in v.2 an absolute prohibition against entering the holiest. This is indirectly related to Lev. 10. This was later alleviated and the mitigation is introduced in v.3 with בזאת. It is wilful to say a time "Bestimmung" is missing, would a reworker of the text not have rectified this, if it was so glaring a fault? The conditions for this new concession of entrance which modifies the previous absolute prohibition are given in v.4,12 f.

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1 Landersdorfer, Studien, p.44.

Previously there had been an independent practice of expiating the sanctuary, it "noch nicht schriftlich fixiert war": so it was "unmittelbar hier einzufugen."[1] Later the offering for the priests and the incense ceremony were incorporated. This development from an initial prohibition against anyone entering the holiest to a concession under strict conditions; and then the insertion of a previous ancient temple cleansing and later an expiatory offering for the priests: Landersdorfer was able to accept, "dass das Ritual mit allen seinen Entwicklungsphasen innerhalb der 38 Jahre der Wüstenwanderung entstanden ist."[2]

Landersdorfer agreed with Benzinger in accepting the kernel of the law to be precautionary instructions over entering the holiest, though their differences are considerable. The key then for Landersdorfer was "in der richtigen Auffassung des בכל-עת und בזאת (v.2 und 3)."[3]

Max Löhr, a critic of the Wellhausen hypothesis as a whole, in 1925 levelled his <u>Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem</u> at Lev. 16 in particular.[4] Löhr begins his critical study of the text by dividing the chapter according to its natural sections, vv.2-10: vv.11-28: vv.29-34a. The following verses are excised as glosses: 2b,11a,12,13,14b,15c,16a,17b, 20,22,24c,25,28,31b, and 33. The historical development of the

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1 <u>Ibid</u>., p.88.
2 <u>Studien</u>, p.90.
3 <u>Ibid</u>.
4 Löhr, <u>Ritual</u>.

ritual is provided with a clue in the use of כפרת in Lev. 16. Its use in the DA ritual indicates a time when it had already become theologically significant. Accordingly vv.2-10,21,23, 24,26 are an "Entsühnung des Zeltes", the ark and mercy-seat play no role in this section; v.26 of course is a gloss. It is completely a service for the priests, the people have no part in it. It is an ancient service, as is indicated by reference to Aza'zel, the tabernacle and the camp of Israel, probably going back to a time prior to the Canaan settlement.

With vv.11b, 14a,15a,16,17a,18 and 19 comes something new a blood manipulation upon the ark and altar. This addition probably derives from the time of David and Solomon. The incense ceremony came in at a time when there was no ark as a replacement for the blood application.

Something completely new is added with vv.29a-31a. Now for the first time the laity are given an active role in the ritual. Resistance to this introduction of the laity into the ritual Löhr sees reflected in Isa. 58:1 ff.[1]

Although accepting that Lev. 16 contains post-exilic data his general conclusion is that "Der Versöhnungstag ist keine Schöpfung der nachexilischen Zeit, er ist vielmehr nach Herstellung der Gemeinde des zweiten Tempels die Erneuerung eines uralten vorexilischen Kultaktes."[2]

G. von Rad in 1934 made an important study of the Priestly writings which included a section on Lev. 16.[3] Von

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1 Similarly J. Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies of the Fourth Century B.C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur", HUCA 24 (1952-53), pp.1-66.
2 Löhr, Ritual, pp.15 f.
3 G. von Rad, Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch (Stuttgart, 1934), pp.85-87.

Rad was concerned to isolate the fraction of the chapter which belonged to Pg. Taking the historical beginning as reliable, he made it the basis of his analysis; von Rad concluded that vv.1 f., 3a,4.12 f. belong to Pg. He thus agreed with Landersdorfer and, in part, Benzinger that the earliest layers are concerned with conditions of entrance into the holiest. This is analysed further by von Rad, because of the surprising waw copulativum /i.e. waw consecutive/ וַיֹּאמֶר, instead of the more usual לֵאמֹר after וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה[1]; and because וְאַל יָבֹא has no logical connexion with what follows - "er wird nicht sterben" (וְלֹא יָמוּת) "In der Wolke werde ich erscheinen." The result distinguished an older layer vv.1,2bβ and a later clarifier vv.2abd,3a,4.12f.

With R. Rendtorff we have a study of major importance because he applies for the first time the methods of form-criticism to the study of Lev. 16.[2] He disregarded vv.1f., 3a,4,12 f. as belonging to Pg (after von Rad) for he was concerned with the law sections not these historical parts. He followed Löhr's division of three sections vv.1-10.11-28, 29-34. The last section Rendtorff agreed was secondary and contained no examples of the ritual Gattungen. This left Rendtorff with vv.5-10 and 11-28 to consider.

Following Benzinger, he noted some of the oddities in

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1 D. Hoffmann /Das Buch Leviticus (Berlin, 1905), p.437/, explains this by saying that after the long parenthesis, וַיֹּאמֶר . . . אַחֲרֵי, the usual לֵאמֹר would have been inappropriate. Cf. K. Elliger Leviticus (Tübingen, 1966), pp.202 f.

2 R. Rendtorff, Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift (Göttingen, 1954), pp.59-63.

these two sections. For example, the apparently completed offerings of v.6 and v.9 are strangely taken up again in v.11a and v.15. In the case of v.15, instead of השעיר אשר עלה עליו הגורל ליהוה there is simply שעיר החטאת אשר לעם, the latter apparently knowing only one goat and no casting of the lots. However both sections have instructions for the second goat - v.10 and vv.20b,21. All these, except v.10, are verbal sentences in the pf. cons., but vv.6 and 9 in the first section do not possess the characteristics of ritual; namely, "die Explikation der einzelnen Opferakte in kurzen pf. cons.-Sätzen."[1]

It is otherwise in section two where v.11 follows the introductory והקריב with משה. After the analogy of Lev 1 ff. there is found details concerning the application of the blood in v.14a, which recalls the manner of Lev.4. The conclusion of the ritual is found in the כפר sentence of v.11a. "So haben wir hier ein Ritual vor uns das alle Anforderungen des Ritualstils erfüllt".[2]

The details concerning the sin-offering goat follows immediately in v.15 with the instruction to kill the animal; in the case of the blood application there is simply a reference back to the previous rite with the bull. Independent existence is therefore impossible. The details for the sin-offering goat show indeed all the typical ritual characteristics and concludes in v.16 with the usual sentence. "Offensichtlich sind also diese beiden Rituale in enger Verbindung miteinander formuliert worden."[3]

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1 Rendtorff Gesetze, p 60.
2 Ibid., pp.60 f.
3 Ibid., p.61.

Finally the details of the second goat in vv.20b,21 are also in the ritual style. V.20b has the introductory וְהִקְרִיב sentence then follows in v.21 the "Semikha", which is missing in the other references, and the further acts in pf. cons. What is the relationship then between w.5-10 and vv. 11-28?

> Wichtig ist dafür die Erkenntnis, dass die beiden Rituale in v 11.14-16 unlösbar mit einander verknüpft sind und dass sie offenbar nur von einem Sündopferbock des Volkes wissen. Demgegenüber ist die ganze Konzeption von v.5-10 als sekundär zu beurteilen. Da ausserdem die Sätze v.6 und 9 den Eindruck von Verkürzungen des Rituals erwecken ist als erste Stufe das Vorhandensein des Doppelrituals v 11-16 anzunehmen.[1]

On the other hand v 20b,21 could derive from the present conception of vv.5-10.

Not only is Rendtorff's method new for Lev.16 but equally his results. He is the first to separate the ritual of blood manipulation as the Grundstock which the other material fills out.

Rendtorff's results were at once praised and accepted as the basis of his own work by K. Koch.[2] "Das Verdienst Rendtorffs war die Entdeckung einer Gattung der Rituale, welche die priesterschriftlichen Schichten aufgenommen und bearbeitet haben."[3] For his own study Koch felt he showed

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1 Ibid., p.62.
2 K. Koch, Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16 (Göttingen, 1959), pp.92-104. Earlier in his Unpublished Habilitationschrift, Die israelitische Sühneanschauung und ihre historischen Wandlungen (Erlangen, 1956), pp.41-54.
3 Koch, Priesterschrift p.96.

"dass eine Sammlung von Ritualen die Vorlage für fast alle Kapitel von Ex 25 - Lev 16 gebildet hat."[1] As far as Lev 16 was concerned this constituted vv (4b),7-9,12 f.,15-24,27. The origin of this, because of the complicated cultic apparatus assumed, he feels, could not go back beyond the time of the kings.

> Von dieser Vorgeschichte her wird Leistung und Arbeitweise von Pg deutlich. Zur Grundschrift gehören. . .16;2-28 (29-34a),34b. Weil nach ihrer Meinung das Heil Israels in einem wohlgeordneten Kult begründet liegt sammelt sie die alten kultischen Regeln, geprägte und ungeprägte, um sie zu einem eindrucksvollen Ganzen zusammenzubauen.[2]

Koch further suggested that Pg stems from Jerusalem, as well as the cultic apparatus (e.g. the incense altar, guilt offering) which it seeks to legitimize. The ritual, however, does not originate from Jerusalem, for according to Jer. 7:22 and Isa. 43:23b the offering laws were unknown there.

It is to be regretted that the considerable commentary (probably the largest so far in the Handbuch zum Alten Testament series) of K. Elliger published in 1966 was not able to discuss the form critical analysis of Rendtorff and Koch at greater depth.[3] Elliger in fact in his introduction apologizes that the progress of his work was such in the late fifties to make this impossible.

Elliger is very much a literary critic and his commentary majors and excels in this area.[4] That he is not unaffected

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1 Priesterschrift, p.96.
2 Ibid., p.98.
3 Elliger Leviticus.
4 See J.A. Emerton for a review of Elliger's Commentary, VT 17 (1967), pp.488-493.

by the form-critics is apparent in his literary analysis, for as belonging to Pg^2 he designates vv.1-2b, (3a),4,11,14 f., 17,20b,22b-24,34b. The first literary critic since H. Oort to consider vv.11,14 f., as primary to vv.5-10. He is influenced by Rendtorff rather than Koch, for the latter thinks the Vorlage was not concerned with a bull but only two goats. Pg was then reworked, Elliger thinks, adding vv.3b, 5-10,16 (minus $a\gamma$), 18-20a,21 (minus $a\varepsilon$), 22a,25-28, which are the results of a reviser and do not constitute a parallel source. The final redaction was responsible for vv.29-34a, $2b\beta\gamma$,12 f.

This survey should at least convince us that the literary criticism of this chapter is far from simple, nor are the results certain. The agreement begins and ends in the recognition that it is not a unity. This agreement is based upon the analysis of Benzinger, but few of his heirs have related their division of the chapter so closely to the arguments for the disunity of Lev. 16 as did Benzinger. Benzinger began with two laws, one over conditions of entrance, the other an expiation for the people. Nessel's Ausgangspunkt was Aza'zel and an expiation for the priests and people. For Landersdorfer and Rendtorff Aza'zel, though ancient in practice, was a new addition to the literature of Lev. 16. Löhr removed most of the difficulties by declaring glosses in fifteen of the thirty-odd verses, expiation was for priests not people. Elliger, like Benzinger, includes the precautionary measures (vv.2b-4) in Pg, but he differs with Benzinger by designating the ritual with the bull (vv.14 f.,17) and the live goat (vv.20b, 22b-24) as part of Pg. Even the two form critical studies

agree over little; Rendtorff claims the ritual with the bull is primary (vv.11,14) but closely bound to the ritual with the goat (vv.15 f.), while Koch's analysis isolates the ritual with the two goats (vv.7-9,15-24) as Pg's Vorlage.

The DA contains laws of expiation for priests, people and sanctuary and rules over conditions of entrance. To separate these is not difficult; to ascertain their relationship in past practice or in literature seems to be impossible. One cannot with confidence depart from M. Noth's agnostic conclusion that the age of the parts is beyond our ken.[1] That they are pre-exilic rather than the invention of P is now incontestable. Neither can one read Lev. 16 and not be impressed by its unity of thought, even if one may feel compelled to doubt its literary unity.

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1 See p.14 of this thesis.

EXCURSUS

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT AND NEW YEAR

J.A. Emerton[1] criticizes K. Elliger for not taking account of views, even if untenable to himself, held by other scholars. One such view was the identification of the old New Year's Day with the 10/VII. This discussion is, if for no other purpose to avoid similar criticism. The evidence for this connexion of New Year with the tenth of Tishri is based on the following:

(a) Ezk. 40:1 refers to בראש השנה as being on the 10/VII.

(b) Jubilees was announced with trumpets on the 10/VII - Lev. 25:9.

(c) The sacrifices of the 1/VII (Num. 28:11-15. 29:1) are exactly the same as those ordained for the 10/VII (Num. 29:7-11).

Wellhausen believed that a change took place here in the dates from the 1/VII to 10/VII during the exile, and this for him was further evidence of the lateness of the DA. In actual fact the evidence for identifying the 10/VII with New Year's Day is not particularly strong as far as evidence within the OT is concerned.[2] Ezk. 40:1 is far from convincing. Kraus[3] points out that Ezekiel's usual pattern of dating is in the following order: year-month-day; and this would indicate that בראש השנה was referring to the month (i.e.

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1 J.A. Emerton, in a review of Elliger's commentary on Leviticus: VT 17 (1967), pp.488 ff.

2 E. Auerbach (VT 8. p.337), denies that the OT knows a New Year feast: "entspringt durchaus der Phantasie und hat keinen Rückhalt in den Quellen."

3 H.J. Kraus, Worship, p.67.

"twenty-fifth year of our exile" = year: "at the beginning of the year" = month: and "on the tenth day of the month" = day). R. de Vaux[1] marvels at the ease with which Ezk. 40:1 is identified as New Year on 10/VII[2] and goes so far as to say it is not Tishri but Nisan that Ezk. 40:1 refers to. The most we can claim for Ezk. 40:1 is that it calls the seventh month, "the beginning of the year", and even this is recognizably far from cogent.

Lev. 25:9 does not mention the 10/VII as New Year. The blowing of trumpets is hardly sufficient evidence for such a conclusion. The "Year of Jubilee" is fittingly announced on the DA, as J. Milgrom says, "since the jubilee is a holy year (Lev. 25:12) it cannot begin until the nation and sanctuary are themselves holy i.e. until the purgation of the Day of Atonement".[3]

The sacrifice calendar of Num. 28-29 does stipulate the same sacrifices for the 1/VII and the 10/VII with the exception that on the 10/VII there is the mention of the special DA goat for a sin offering (Num. 29:11). Likewise the sacrifices on the eighth day of the festival on the 15/VII are identical with those of 1/VII. though in this instance

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1 R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel (E.T. London, 1961), pp.502 f.
2 E.g. N.H. Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival (London, 1947), p.131: ". . .in Ezk. XL 1 where Tishri 10 is called Rosh hashShanah." Snaith explains the apparent oddity of the New Year day on the 10/VII as due to a ten day variation between a lunar and a solar calendar. J. van Goudoever [Biblical Calendars (Leiden, 1959)], accepts the whole ten day period as a transition between the old and new year and similar to Snaith makes reference to lunar-solar calendar variants.
3 J. Milgrom, "Day of Atonement", Enc. Jud. V (Jerusalem, 1971), col.1387.

the details of the cereal offering are assumed as already given (as indeed they are). This would indicate that 1/VII, 10/VII and 15/VII probably all belonged to the one New Year month complex, but certainly not that 10/VII or even 1/VII were celebrated as New Year's day in biblical times.

Whether the king played a part in the celebrations of this month is based on the evidence of Babylonian and, in part Canaanite parallels.[1] Scandinavian scholars almost assume this as an obvious fact.[2] For a denial of the king's role N.H. Snaith[3] and M. Noth[4] can be referred to.

Landersdorfer[5] has an interesting use of the New Year in Israel as part of his attempt to reverse the arguments of the "critics". Landersdorfer accepts the identification of 10/VII as New Year's end but denies that this was the result of an exilic change from 1/VII; rather it is evidence that 1/VII and 10/VII formed one complex. As the former is ancient (even pre-Mosaic) so must the latter, as integral to it, be "Uralt". A similar view is held by Kraus but with a more moderate estimate of its age.[6]

We can only conclude by saying such a New Year complex is possible, even probable, but we must ever caution ourselves that inference, though valid, never loses its tenuous nature. One can only marvel at the ease with which New Year Coronation

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1 As indeed is the supposition that Israel celebrated a New Year at all.
2 H. Ringgren The Messiah in the Old Testament (London, 1956), p.52. S. Mowinckel He That Cometh (E.T. Oxford, 1956), pp.21 ff.
3 N.H. Snaith New Year, pp.205 ff. Cf. R. de Vaux, Israel, pp.504 ff.
4 M. Noth "Gott, König, Volk im Alten Testament", ZThK 47 (1950), pp.157 ff.
5 S. Landersdorfer, Studien pp.44-54.
6 H.-J. Kraus Worship pp.66 ff.

rituals and covenant-renewal celebrations are unearthed and accepted as early while Day of Atonement ceremonies are rejected as late.

CHAPTER 2

THE MEANING OF KEY TERMS WITHIN THE DAY OF ATONEMENT RITUAL

In this section we shall consider some of the words which have importance in the DA texts. This is more appropriate, in what is essentially a NT study, than engaging in a full commentary on Leviticus 16.

The words are not selected free of bias, the NT usage is at the back of the selection, yet it will be discovered that those words which are important for our NT study are indeed those which are central in the DA texts themselves.

The work under this heading progresses under the assumption that the hand which made the final redaction of Lev. 16 did so satisfied that the whole was a unity which coincided with his own theology. Therefore neither literary criticism with its history of the chapter's formation and the coinciding ritual development or form-criticism with its limitation to the Sitz im Leben of Gattungen, or indeed redaction criticism which is properly concerned with the theology of editorial links gives us a satisfactory understanding of the chapter as it was understood at the beginning of the second temple period.

Not every word or aspect of the DA ritual will be discussed here, some which are quite important for the further discussion of the NT can best be discussed later, including the OT background (e.g. כפר).

The whole procedure may be criticized as a "Begriffe" study with an accompanying ignoring of the layers of tradition.[1] However, as one of the criteria used to discern both sources and tradition-layers is the differences of word usage and meaning: that is the vocabulary analysis is prior to the establishment of different sources or traditions, there can be no objection to the results of a study of terms based merely on contextual considerations without any reference to fora criticism.

A. חטאת: Sin and Sin-offering

The Wellhausen structure was supported by five pillars; the centralization of the sanctuary, growth of the festal calendar, the distinction of priests and Levites, the development of the sacrificial cult, and priestly endowments. The DA lacks only the last of these. Ideas of expiatory sacrifice are, according to Wellhausen, a late development found almost exclusively in P. This has of late been challenged and, though not upsetting what may be termed the essential Wellhausen contribution - the ordering of the sources JE, D, P - it certainly modifies his ideas of the history of sacrifice. Thus R.J. Thompson[2] concludes after a detailed analysis of the historical and early sources that expiatory

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1 So D.H. Wiens [JBL 90 (1971), p.244], criticizes H. Thyen in a review of the latter's Studien zur Sündenvergebung im Neuen Testament und seinen alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen.

2 R.J. Thompson, Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law (Leiden, 1963), cf. R. de Vaux, Israel, pp.424 ff.

and penitential elements do exist outside of P, and this element cannot ipso facto be dated late because it occurs in P. This is now generally recognized.[1]

We, however, are concerned with the text rather than its history; and the first striking element that one discovers on reading the texts is the kind of "sin" which demanded a sin-offering. In Ex. 29:10 ff. and Lev. 9:8 ff. the sin-offering is an essential element in the consecration of the priesthood, circumspect gentlemen we may well assume. Even more surprising is the purification of an amoral object (the altar) by the sin-offering (Lev. 8:14 ff.), and this is to be repeated annually (Ex. 30:10).

Then the sin-offering is demanded in Lev. 15 for male and female discharges which are hardly sins; they are to be offered it should be noted, after the person is cleansed, which would indicate that purification is not primary here.[2] We may compare here the post-natal sin-offering of Lev. 12:6, which also is offered after the completion of the days of purifying.[3] Leviticus 15:31 concludes, after such seemingly innocent pollutions, that such uncleanness if not atoned for affects the sanctuary and brings death. This text gives an adequate lead into the purification ritual of Lev. 16.[4] If

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1 H.H. Rowley, The Faith of Israel (London, 1956), p.86; G.B. Gray, Sacrifice, p.66.

2 Contra J. Milgrom, "Sin-offering or Purification-offering", VT 21 (1971), pp.237 ff.

3 H.H. Rowley (Worship, p.130), strangely challenges that this is an unwitting fault; though copulation and delivery may have been conscious acts the accompanying uncleanness is surely "involuntary".

4 Many modern commentators consider chapters 11-15 as a later intrusion between C.10 and C.16. See, however, the Jewish scholar D. Hoffmann, Leviticus, p.433.

the sanctuary became polluted only the intervention of the DA could prevent the penalty of Lev. 15:31 - that is death.

Our difficulty with the range of the sin-offering is of course largely a matter of different concepts of sin, and this must now be considered. In the examples given above the "transgressions" are merely ritual, and as such are automatically ritually removed without any other requirement from the offerer other than correct ritual acts. It is true by the nature of the case, that no really serious sins are expiated by ritual means. This is to the credit of the framers of the law, for if such were possible it would have led to grave abuses indeed. It is also obvious from the protest of the prophets that much abuse did actually take place.[1] The exclusion of ritual reinstatement for "sins of a high hand" is not a lack in the law,[2] but a precaution which is still a necessary emphasis within the gospel of Christ.[3]

Having said all that, Rowley still is completely convincing when he says that the framers of the law did not think that forgiveness operated without a right spiritual attitude in the worshipper.[4] Nor, if we accept the relevance of later Judaism for an understanding of the OT,[5] can we

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1 This is true of any concept of forgiveness; whether the rationale of atonement is pure grace, repentance, reformation, or sacrifice one can still say, "I will sin today and repent tomorrow, reform tomorrow, pray for forgiveness tomorrow or bring a sacrifice tomorrow."

2 Contra H.W. Robinson, The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament (London, 1913), p.145. For a more accurate assessment see H.H. Rowley, Worship pp.133 ff.

3 Mk. 3:28 ff., 1 Jn. 5:16 f., Heb. 10:26 ff.

4 Worship, pp.132 ff.

5 J. Barr, Old and New in Interpretation (London, 1966) p.29. Idem, Judaism - Its Continuity With the Bible (Southampton, 1968).

ignore the necessity of repentance as a prerequisite for forgiveness within the terms of the cult. Likewise the liturgical origin of many of the Psalms indicates the spiritual level that the ritual worship of the OT could attain.

Sin in early Israel was never conceived of, even in the political and social spheres, as something outside the sacral system. In the words of von Rad "Sin was thus an offence against the sacral order. It was therefore always a monstrous act. And wherever it was committed, it was looked on as a direct insult to God and his sovereign rights."[1] Leviticus 16 is "the best that the old dispensation could afford to take away sins",[2] as such it involved more than just "ritual" misdemeanours or automatic purification. Within the limitations of sacrificial ordinances the sins expiated were real, the repentance demanded was deep and the graciousness of Yahweh manifested was evangelical.

The word חטאת properly refers to "sin as such". De Vaux speaks of חטאת as meaning all at once, "the sin, the sacrifice which deletes it, and the victim of such a sacrifice".[3] G.B. Gray on the basis of the usage in Num. 8:5 ff. (מי חטאת) and Num. 19:9 (where חטאת cannot be construed as a sin-offering) concludes, that the basic idea of חטאת is removal of sin.[4] He goes so far as to suggest as a translation

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1 G. von Rad, Theology I, p.264.
2 C.R. North, Leviticus, in Abingdon Bible Commentary (1929), p.289.
3 R. de Vaux, Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice (Cardiff, 1964), p.91.
4 Sacrifice, p.60.

of פר החטאת, "the bullock slain for the removal of sin".[1] Though a paraphrase this is a valid interpretation of the sense.

The ritual followed a sevenfold pattern which is divided after Rendtorff[2] as follows:

1. Darbringen (הקריב, הביא), (offering).
2. Handaufstemmen (סמך), (laying on of hands).
3. Schlachten (שחט), (slaughter).
4. Blutritus (זרק, נתן), (blood-rite).
5. Fettabheben (הרים, הסיר), (removal of the fat).
6. Fettverbrennen (הקטיר), (burning of the fat).
7. Beseitigung des Übrigen (removal of the rest).

The DA, though more complex than this order, in general follows this pattern. We shall examine the Darbringen, Schlachten, Blutritus and what Rendtorff calls "the concluding kipper sentence".

B. קרב, הביא, שחט: Offering and Slaughter

A surprising discovering, in some ways, is made when these words are examined in detail; namely, the fact that the subject of these verbs in their cultic context is mostly a layman rather than a priest. The verb קרב means simply "to draw near someone or something." In P it occurs some 148 times in the hiphil and with only five exceptions always has a cultic context.[3] In Leviticus it is found 89 times in the hiphil and these we have examined personally.

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1 Ibid.
2 R. Rendtorff, Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel (Neukirchen, 1967), pp.212 ff.
3 K. Elliger, Leviticus, p.129.

A typical pattern is where a generalized statement is advanced by a specific qualification. Thus Lev. 1:2 reads,

> When any man of you brings (יקריב) an offering to the Lord, You shall bring (תקריבו) your offering. . .from the herd.

Often the specific qualification designates a definite place, for example, as in Lev. 1:3b where the instruction is to "offer it at the door of the tent of meeting."

In the only other study of this word known to us Rendtorff[1] finds an "Inkonsequenz" in the usage between the "ganz allgemein das Veranstalten des Opfers" and the special meaning of bringing before the Lord, "Herzubringen". This special usage according to Rendtorff is a later development related to the period when specific cultic acts had become the sole perogative of the priest.

That הקריב has a general and specific usage (most verbs do) is clear enough but that it reflects any historical development is unlikely in the extreme.[2] When the subject is a layman הקריב never refers to some specific sacrificial act. Sometimes the object is followed by an indirect object like "before the Lord" and refers to the first step in the ritual performance and as such precedes the שחט and blood manipulation.[3] When the object is a direct object like קרבן, or the specific animal[4] or type of offering[5] often qualified by ליהוה then

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1 Opfer, pp.90-92, 154-155, 184 212-213.
2 We are in complete agreement with S. McEvenue (Biblica 50, p.121), who in a review of Rendtorff says regarding such strata differentiation, "But to build further hypotheses about historical realities other than the text itself upon this delicate basis alone, is not satisfactory".
3 Lev. 3:16.7b.12b.
4 Lev. 3:7, 4:3.
5 Lev. 7:29.

the whole process is included in the term, it means indeed "present" rather than "sacrifice" as such.[1]

The situation is similar where the priest is subject[2] in that often it refers to offering in general[3] sometimes further qualified by a specific direction like לפני-יהוה[4] or "to the altar".[5] With the priest as subject, however, as distinct from the layman, הקריב occasionally refers to some specific sacrificial act after the שחט, like the offering of the fat upon the altar,[6] or even the blood.[7] The latter in denial of S. Lyonnet's contention that blood is never associated with הקריב.[8]

The fact that Lev. 16:6 uses הקריב in the general sense (Darbringen) while vv.9 and 11 uses the same verb in the specific sense (Herzubringen) has been known and used as a means of source-analysis since the time of Benzinger.[9] Rendtorff has shown this phenomenon is widespread in the offering material, and this for the present writer destroys its usefulness for literary criticism. The verb in Lev. 16 thus maintains the general conclusions found elsewhere; it refers either to the offering in general (v.6) with the whole process included, or the specific first step in the ritual performance (vv.9,11).

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1 G.B. Gray, Sacrifice, pp.17 f. We would not press this as evidence that the "gift" idea is the rationale of sacrifice as does Gray. A clear example is Lev. 2:13, על כל-קרבנך תקריב מלח.

2 Excluding the instances where Moses is subject, the priests (or Aaron) are subject of הקריב some 26 times in Leviticus.

3 Lev 7:8, 14:12, 21:6, 17.

4 Lev. 12:7.

5 Lev. 1:15.

6 Lev. 3:3,9, 14; 7:3.

7 Lev. 1:5, 7:33, 9:9.

8 S. Lyonnet and L. Sabourin, Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice (Rome, 1970), p.173.

9 See p.22 of this thesis.

Generally speaking the סמך act, which is related to the laying on of hands,[1] is performed by the offering layman.[2] There are some exceptions,[3] the most notable of which is the DA; and it is not sufficient to say the high priest functions here only as an offerer and not a priest in an effort to evacuate the force of this exception.[4] It may be true in part with the bull for a sin-offering that the high priest functions only as an individual offerer, but obviously this is not the case for the people's goat for a sin-offering. The high priest as Koch observes of the priests in general acts "als Handlanger Gottes, nicht als Vertreter des Menschen."[5] The author of the whole ritual is the sovereign Yahweh operating for the blessing of the people and the removal of sin through the actions of the high priest.

With הקריב we find the subject is almost exclusively a layman. It is found especially in connexion with the guilt and sin-offering in the specific sense (Herzubringen) after the general usage of הקריב (Darbringen).[6] With the priest as subject the reference is to the bringing of the blood within the sanctuary.[7] The application of the blood is contained in the words נתן or זרק.

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1 D. Schötz, Schuld-und Sündopfer im Alten Testament (Breslau, 1930), p.58.
2 S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice and Priesthood (London, 1924), p.65; F.C.N. Hicks, The Fullness of Sacrifice (London^2, 1938), p.12; W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London, 1948), p.236.
3 E.g. Lev. 14:13.
4 S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice p.65.
5 K. Koch, "Sühne und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit", EvTh 26 (1966), p.231.
6 Lev. 4:23,28; 5:6,11,15,18.
7 Lev. 4:5,16; 16:15 (incense v.12 blood assumed) and in the hophal Lev. 6:23; 10:18; 16:27.

We have found then that הקריב has either general reference to presenting an offering or describes specifically the first step of the ritual-Gattung of bringing an offering. Only occasionally, and then with the priest as subject, is some specific act with blood or fat referred to. The DA does not use הקריב with reference to offering the blood, its usage is limited, with priest as subject, to Darbringen (v.6) and Herzubringen (vv.9,11). The verbs associated with the blood in the DA ritual are הביא, הזה, and נתן. The DA forms an important exception to the fact that שחט usually refers to the laymun's act; in Lev. 16 in a sin-offering for the people the high priest does the שחט-act.[1]

We may list the essential DA ritual as follows:

1.	(v.6) הקריב	The whole offering process- Present a sacrifice by means of the ordained ritual service.
2.	(vv.9,11) הקריב	Bring the offering - Step one in the ritual order of service.
3.	(vv.9,11) [עשה] שחט (v.15) שחט	The actual slaying of the animal.
4.	(v.14) לקח, הזה (v.15) הביא, הזה	The taking and application of the blood.
5.	(v.18) לקח, נתן (v.19) הזה	Application of the blood on the altar.

C. דם : Death, Life, Means of Expiation?

The importance of blood in the OT cult becomes immediately obvious from a mere glance at the statistical record of its occurrences in sacrificial contexts. According to L. Morris[2]

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1 F.C. N. Hicks (Fullness[2], p.12), claims that the high priest offers on the DA as one of the people; but as he has his own sacrifice to perform for himself it is clear that he is excluded as an offerer from the sin-offering of the people.

2 L. Morris "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood'", JTS 3 (1952), pp.216-27, Reprinted in The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross (London[3], 1965), pp.112 ff.

דם is used in the OT some 362 times, 203 of these refer to death by violence, of the remaining 159 no less than 103 refer to sacrificial blood. Morris himself is concerned to refute the belief of B.F. Westcott,[1] V. Taylor[2] F.C.N. Hicks,[3] and others[4] that the essence of sacrifice, especially with reference to the blood, is not death but life released and offered up.

Though hesitant in the extreme to take up the position Morris is anxious to rebut, one also realizes truth is not enhanced by dubious argument, and of the latter Morris parades not a few. For instance, when he makes reference to the priests' eating of the flesh of the sin-offerings (Ex. 29:33 Lev. 10:17) or to bloodless atonements (e.g. incense, Num. 16:46)[5] - in the former case no-one, least of all Westcott, etc., denies that after the blood has been released what is left is a carcass;[6] and in the latter, that atonement is occasionally in the cultic material resultant from bloodless

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1 B.F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London[3], 1903).
2 V. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice (London, 1939).
3 F.C.N. Hicks, Fullness[2].
4 E.g. L. Dewar JTS 4 (1953), p.204-208. A rejoinder to Morris' article. S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice. One might mention OT scholars who hold this view of Israelite sacrifice without entertaining any desire to apply this to Christian liturgical ideas; such as James Barr (HDB, Rev. Ed., s.v. Blood), and W.O.E. Oesterley (DCG, s.v. Blood).
5 L. Morris, Apostolic[3], pp.120 f. Cf. E. Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht (Göttingen[2], 1963), pp.21 f.
6 The text speaks as if the eating of the ram (and cereal) is a post-atonement event ואכלו אתם אשר כפר בהם , which places the eating of the flesh at the cultic periphery. That this is so is evident from the fact that the consumption of the flesh is often excluded (Lev. 6:30), which means it could not be the kipper-act as such.

offerings[1] hardly helps us understand those majority of cases where blood is in the foreground. Such bloodless atonements are just as inimical to the idea that the ritual centre is the death of the animal.

The conclusion Morris arrives at is that דם in the OT indicates life violently taken, that is death rather than life, is the basic idea of sacrifice: "sacrifice is inherently the destruction of the victims."[2] Morris cites J. Denney, J. Moffatt, J. Behm and others as supporting his thesis to which one may add A. Snell who devotes an appendix in his book to the topic.[3]

When one turns to the sin-offering texts, however, it becomes immediately obvious that it is not the killing (שחט) of the sacrificial animal but the pouring out of the blood (שפך) at the foot of the altar which constitutes the cultic terminus.[4] There is clearly in the interim a stress on the application of the blood, after the death of the victim has become an irrevocable fact. The high point is not reached with the killing of the animal leaving what follows as a mopping up operation in a class similar to the burning of the bodies. Quite the contrary: the acme of the whole liturgical process is undoubtedly the taking of the blood by the priest (and he alone) and the performing of some subsequent act with

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1 The classic example is the sin-offering composed of fleur. This is not a מנחה and is expressly distinguished from it by the command to have no oil or incense with it (Lev. 5:11b cf. 2:1). It is an exceptive concession to poverty and testifies that in the last analysis atonement depends on God's grace not on the blood of any animal.
2 L. Morris, Apostolic, p.121.
3 A. Snell, New and Living Way (London, 1959).
4 P. Seidensticker, Lebendiges Opfer (Münster, 1954), p.155.

the sacred fluid. That which distinguishes sacrifice from mere slaughter is clearly the manipulation of the blood after the animal's decease.[1]

In the case of Lev.16 the pouring out of the blood at the base of the altar is not mentioned, however, again the cultic emphasis falls not upon the blood shedding as such (שפך)[2] but the blood sprinkling (זרק) and the application (נתן על) upon the altar. R. Rendtorff in his study previously mentioned subdivides the fourth section ("Der Blutritus") of his analysis of the "chattat" into five further divisions:

(a) Nehmen (taking).
(b) Herzubringen (bringing).
(c) Eintauchen des Fingers (dipping of fingers).
(d) Blutesprengen und Blutstreichen (sprinkling and application of blood).
(e) Wegschütten (pouring away).

At the introduction of this rite with the taking of the blood (לקח) the laity ceases to play a part. "Hier wird also jeweils der Priester ausdrücklich als Handelnder eingeführt."[3] The blood rite begins properly with the dipping (טבל) of the fingers in the blood, though this act is absent in the sin-offering for the prince and for individuals as well as in the DA.

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1 This is not the place to discuss NT teaching; it is sufficient to say that Christ's death was not comprehended as any mere decease: whether the OT phenomena give validity to a doctrine of a heavenly liturgy depends more on one's own litugical tradition than any specific NT statement. It seems likely, however, that the שפך and נתן/זרק (or קרב) are understood as united in the one event of the cross. "Erst in der Vermischung dieser kultischen Vorstellung mit der des gewaltsamen Todes beim Sterben Christi werden beide Zeitpunkte wieder vereinigt " (P. Seidensticker, Lebendiges p.155).

2 Which argues against S. McEvenue's view /Biblica 50 (1969), p.119/, that נתן and קרב are only "preparatory gestures" while שפך "is a major sacrificial act".

3 R. Rendtorff, Opfer p.218.

The blood application has two elements חטא and כפר[1], from which, says Rendtorff,

> Man gewinnt also den Eindruck, dass in diesen Texten /viz. Lev. 8:16, Ex. 30, Ezk. 43/ ein Verständnis der beiden Blutriten als Reinigungszeremonien fur das Heiligtum im ganzen (Blutspritzung) und fur den Altar (Bestreichen) zugrundeliegt.[2]

Thus for Rendtorff the use of these rites for the expiation of men's sins represents "ein späteres Stadium".[3] In Lev. 16 he says, "Der Ritus des Blutspringens wird hier also als Reinigungsritus für das Heiligtum verstanden."[4] Rendtorff recognizes that the reason for this purification of the sanctuary and altar was the uncleanness of the people of Israel. Though the sanctuary or altar are the objects of the expiatory act it was he says "kein weiter Schritt, dass die Menschen, derentwegen die chattat-Riten vollzogen werden mussten, sebst zum Objekt der Sühnehandlung und damit zum unmittelbaren Empfänger der Sühnewirkung wurden."[5]

The result of the taking of this step in the history of the tradition was,

> dass die verschiedenen Blutriten nun eine neue Bedeutung erhielten: Der 'kleine' Ritus, der ursprünglich für die Altarsühne verwendet wurde, galt nun fur die chattat von Einzelpersonen, wahrend für die der Priester und der ganzen Kultgemeinde der 'grosse' Ritus der Heiligtumssühne dazutrat.[6]

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1 R.J. Thompson (NBD, art., "Sacrifice and Offering", p.1118), incorrectly limits חטא to the priest and community sacrifice and כפר to the individual sin-offering, when in fact it is a case of both for the former but only כפר for the latter.
2 Opfer, p.220.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p.219.
5 Ibid., p.249.
6 Ibid. Cf., D. Schötz, Sündopfer, pp.121 ff.

Rendtorff's results are attractive; but whether the ideas of sanctuary purification and personal expiation were ever isolated, or if so that the small step that supposedly united them took place in the direction Rendtorff proposes, can only be established rather relatively. It is regrettable that Rendtorff ignored the work of Th.C. Vriezen,[1] for although the latter argues back only to the ritual form of Lev. 4 and does not go behind it as did Rendtorff; as far as Lev. 16 is concerned, Vriezen using the same form critical method comes to exactly the opposite opinion. That is to say, for Vriezen the blood rite for persons has literary priority over the purification of the sanctuary.

Vriezen analysed the blood-ritual use of נזה in several ways; according to purpose (expiatory, lustral and consecratory), by grammatical form, and most significantly, by modus operandi. The latter resulted in the following divisions:

A. Sevenfold hizza-act before Yahweh (Lev. 4:6,17; 5:9; 16:14,15; 14:16,27; Num. 19:4).

B. Sevenfold hizza-act for the sake of a person or object to be cleansed (Lev. 8:11; 16:19; 14:7,51).

C. Simple hizza-act (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:30; Num. 8:7; 19:18,19,21).

The hizza-act is not found throughout the sin-offering material; its presence is restricted to "the most holy sacramentalia". The hizza-act indicates that an offering is of such importance that it requires God's authority not merely that of the priest. ". . .the kipper-expiation-act for himself

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1 Th.C. Vriezen, "The Term HIZZA: Lustration and Consecration", Oudtestamentische Studiën VII (Leiden, 1950), pp.201-235.

and the nation[1] requires a special divine consecration of the blood, so that as it were God Himself by the specially consecrated blood is considered to expiate in these cases the sin."[2]

The rite which is present in all sin-offerings[3] is the application (נתן) of the blood on the horns of the altar and this then, as distinct from the hizza-act, is the kipper-act proper. The hizza-act is a consecratory act / like first fruits / of part before the use of the whole. Vriezen concludes,

> The seven times repeated hizza-rite, with the blood thrown in the direction of sanctum sanctorum is not the real expiatory rite, but an introductory ceremony, which is required in special, most holy offerings, a ceremony that has a special meaning as a consecration-act of the blood of the victim (or of the oil that is used in the case of the purification of the leper).[4]

Noting that the references to the purification of the temple (Lev. 16:16,19-20a) fit precariously into a ritual concerning priests and people, Vriezen expunges these verses from the text. Lev. 16 is classified within the same ritual-Gattung as Lev. 4. The hizza-act in vv.14 and 15, as in Lev. 4:6,17, consecrates the blood; and the application on the

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1 That the sin-offering for the priest and the one for the whole community (Lev. 4:3,13) are closely bound together is apparent from the following facts: (a) Only these two of the sin-offerings enumerated in Lev. 4 have the hizza-act. (b) V.3 indicates that the priest's sin embraces the people (c) The use of כאשם is only in these two offerings. (d) הקריב is restricted to the first two offerings. (e) The concluding וכפר sentence is reserved (v.20) until the ritual detail of both offerings is completed. (f) The altar in the first two offerings is the altar of incense while in the latter the altar of burnt-offering. (g) The ritual for the community (Lev. 4:13 ff.) assumes the ritual for the priest (of vv.20a, 21a), see note of M. Noth, Leviticus, p.40. (h) The first two have the simple לחטאת (cf. 16:3,5) while the second two offerings add וקרבנו. These facts make their independent literary existence, as held by R. de Vaux (Studies, p.101), impossible.

2 Th.C. Vriezen, Lustration, p.216.

3 I.e. where blood is present.

4 Th.C. Vriezen, Lustration, p.218.

horns of the altar of incense[1] in v.18, as in Lev. 4:7,18,25, 30,34, completes the kipper-act. The burning of the fat is mentioned in v.25[2] but the pouring out of the blood at the base of the burnt offering altar has been replaced by the Aza'zel ceremony.

Vriezen appeals to several characteristics to prove the singular nature of the texts in group A,[3] namely: (i) the act is "before Yahweh" (ii) it is performed seven times (iii) blood is splashed towards the sanctuary (iv) the verb is not construed with על.

The fact that Rendtorff and Vriezen arrive at different results concerning the separation of the purification of the sanctuary from the cleansing of priests and people ought to be grounds for lack of confidence in either the legitimacy or at least the possibility of the task. The statement in v.15 that the blood is sprinkled on the ark (וזרק אתן על-הכפרת) in contradiction to Vriezen (point (iv) above) seems to indicate that consecration and purification acts with the blood are intimately related.[4] Likewise the וכפר על in v.18, which

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1 The textual confusion over which altar is meant indicates for Vriezen variant sources.

2 One of the few analyses which does not stigmatize this verse as a gloss.

3 Vriezen has an interesting literary analysis based on his study of וזרק . After the exile two rituals were combined to form a DA liturgy: (a) part of a festival calendar (vv.3,5-10) (b) part of a series of laws of sacrifice (vv.11,14 f.,17b,18 minus וכפר על , 20c-22,24b,25,27). Later a redactor rewrote the text adding (i) a historical introduction and ending (34b) (ii) also some verses stressing the need of precautionary measures of entrance (vv.12 f., 17a,4,23,24a,26,28). Then finally a new rewriting (Ps) of the text which included an ancient purification of the sanctuary (vv.16,19-20a,29-34a). As a <u>formgeschichtliche</u> analysis Vriezen's study preceded those of Rendtorff and Koch.

4 Vriezen notes this anomaly but suggests it is present to show the extreme importance of the blood in the DA ritual.

Vriezen of course must delete as a gloss,[1] the reference is to purification of an object not persons. Vriezen's deletion of v.16 also removes the concluding כפר sentence which Rendtorff has shown is integral to the ritualistic style.[2] Nor should we be over doctrinaire in our assimilation of Lev. 16 to Lev 4:1-21 for there are considerable differences. Taking Rendtorff's analysis as a basis of comparison; Lev. 16 lacks the "Herzubringen", "eintauchen des Fingers", and the "Wegschütten", that is three of the five ritual acts of Lev. 4. This is not to deny[3] the close relationship between the ritual of Lev. 4:1-21 and Lev. 16, but the latter is no mere repetition of the former anymore than it is of Lev. 8-9.

C.-H. Hunzinger's observation is that whatever it was previously the blood ritual (חטא) in Lev. 16 is plainly a purifying of the sanctuary now.[4] Pedersen is less pragmatic, but nevertheless he seems to state what one feels instinctively to be the case no matter how disjointed the literary material appears to be, when he says, "This rite/ viz. Chap.16/ shows

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1 If one understands v.17 in parenthesis then it is not a contradiction to understand v.18 as referring to the incense altar, despite the majority of commentators. E.g. N.H. Snaith, Leviticus, ad loc. For the arguments for the very late origin of the incense altar see A.R.S. Kennedy, HDB; s.v., Tabernacle.

2 Vriezen possibly understands v.17b as the כפר sentence, but it does not follow the usual concluding style and even on his own analysis it is out of place for it should not follow the consecration act (vv.14 f.) but the kipper-act i.e. blood application (v.18).

3 Th.C. Vriezen, Lustration, p.231: "Nobody can deny that the act of Lev. xvi 14 f. resembles very closely the first two of Lev. iv". However it should be noted that the sacrifice in the first two laws of Lev. 4 is in both cases a young bull, thus seemingly the sacrifices of Lev. 16 (a bull and a goat) are related to Lev. 9.

4 C.-H. Hunzinger, TDNT VI, pp.976-984.

the intimate psychic connexion between the sanctuary and the Israelites. The uncleanness of the temple and the sins of the people have the same effect, they are removed together and by the same means."[1] The separation of a purification of the sanctuary and an atonement for the people goes back, as Vriezen recognizes, to the apparently long ago refuted theory of H. Oort.[2] The refutation of Oort came from A. Kuenen[3] who, though later to be persuaded by Benzinger to deny it, at this time argued for the unity of Lev. 16. Though agreeing with the wisdom of his final decision there still seems to be no necessity to abandon this earlier statement:

> In my opinion the cleansing of the sanctuary and that of the people - which surely belong to each other, since the uncleanness of the people pollutes the sanctuary (cf. Ezek. XLV 18-20) - were alike dealt with by the original lawgiver himself.[4]

We can be grateful to Vriezen for demonstrating that Lev. 16 is related to Lev. 4 as well as Lev. 9 and that the consecration of the blood eviscerates any ideas of its validity being merely ex opere operato; but that the placing of the blood on the altar of incense (which Vriezen also gives cogent reasons for accepting) and on the mercy-seat have reference only to purification of persons is doubtful. Verses 16 and 19 may appear to be a non sequitur to us but to the Hebrew mind they were certainly valid conclusions.

The question presses upon us now how and even why was blood thought to purify and expiate? It is soon apparent when

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1 J. Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture IV (E.T. London, 1940), p.454.
2 H. Oort, Th. Tijdschr. 10, pp.142 ff.
3 A. Kuenen, An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch (E.T. London, 1886), p.86.
4 Ibid.

the cultic texts are examined with these questions in mind that the rationale of their practices was never coherently thought out.[1] The summary text of Lev. 17:11 at the end of the cultic details in Lev. 1-16 offers the nearest we have to an explanation. There is no identification of "life" with the blood as many commentators come close to asserting[2] or even as G.F. Moore that "life is in it",[3] but just as נפש is identified as essential to life,[4] so also דם is asserted to be indispensable for life. It is the life of the flesh that is in the blood not just "life" as such. The Hebrew concept of the totality of man is asserted here as elsewhere in the OT.[5] The blood was valuable as the indispensable possession for life, no living creature could surrender more than this essence of vitality; it epitomized life but it is going too far to say that to the Hebrews it was life - at least not to the framers of the Holiness Code in which Lev. 17:11 is embedded.

Life as such even of the lowest creature belongs to God[6] and thus its disposition is at his direct command: "I have given it" has, as Vriezen observes, regarding the pronoun, emphatic front position.[7] The Hebrew mind at no time seems to

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1 A.S. Herbert, Worship in Ancient Israel (London, 1959), pp.15 f: "it is notoriously difficult to determine the exact significance of the language. . .what is everywhere accepted is rarely explained".
2 H.W. Robinson, HDB, s.v. Blood. W.O.E. Oesterley, DCG, s.v. Blood.
3 G.F. Moore, EB, art. Sacrifice, col. 4218.
4 Gen. 6:17, 7:15,22, Ps. 104:29;146:4, Ecc. 12:7.
5 N.H. Snaith, Leviticus, ad loc.; "This has nothing whatever to do with any idea of an immortal soul or even of a man having a soul as distinct from his body or his spirit."
6 Gen. 2:7,9;9:4, Ecc. 12:7.
7 Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology (E.T. Oxford^2, 1970), p.266.

go beyond this stage. Life belongs to God: he commanded its application - to the altar; and its purpose - to make atonement for you. The question we ask "why blood at all?" reveals our origins of thought are not exclusively Hebrew. It is a legitimate question, but it is illegitimate to expect the Hebrew scriptures to answer it. "The more positive the conception of religion becomes, the less motive there is to seek any other explanation of such practices than that God has commanded them."[1] On a lower plain it is like asking why horses have four legs, as B. Russell replied to F. Copleston concerning the origin of the universe, "it just is".

The question as to what ideas of substitution inhere in this whole theology of blood atonement is extremely difficult. L. Morris'[2] book, of which the chapter on "blood" forms a part, is in reality a sustained argument for the idea of substitution based on the study of biblical redemptive terms. L. Moraldi's[3] work is a just as sustained denial of substitutionary ideas. Von Rad is certainly correct in stressing the positive and declaring that "expiation was thus not a penalty, but a saving event."[4] However, the Hebrews also upheld that

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1 G.F. Moore, EB IV, col. 4219.
2 L. Morris, Apostolic[3].
3 L. Moraldi Espiazione Sacrificale (Roma, 1956). Moraldi and other Catholics have enjoyed a spirited debate on this topic. A. Médebielle ("Expiation", DBS XII, pp.1 ff.), argued for substitution, this was firmly denied by A. Metzinger, "Die Substitutionstheorie und das alttestamentliche Opfer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Lv. 17:11", Biblica 21 (1940), pp.159 ff. and R, de Vaux, Studies, p.94. We should also mention that non-Catholic German scholars also assert the belief for example, J. Herrmann, TDNT, s.v. ἱλάσκομαι. For similar views K. Koch in his Habilitationschrift, Sühneanschauung.
4 G. von Rad, Theology, I, p.271.

death was the result of sin so Eichrodt's negative assessment has some basis.[1] Moore's words on Lev. 17:11 should be pondered, if not heeded to the fullest extent. "We should err", he says, "however, if we sought in it the profounder idea of the substitution of the victim's life for the sinner's".[2] The emphasis in the blood ritual is unquestionably on the positive, namely, the removal of sin and therefore a restored covenant relationship. This is born out by the words which are associated with blood in its ritual usage.

In Lev. 14 blood is integral to cleansing (טהר) from leprosy. The "pollution" of childbirth (Lev. 12) demands a sin-offering and the conclusion of the priestly action is an atonement that cleanses (וכפר עליה והכהן וטהרה). Num. 19 which details the ritual for the "water of expiation" (מי נדה) is specifically a sin-offering and, the ashes at least, includes the heifer's blood (v.5).[3] Indeed the whole process is prefaced by a hizza-act of consecration with the blood. The complete ritual is an intense concentration on cleansing (טהר) and cultic-sin removal (חטא). Worthy of notice is the use of מי חטאת at the consecration of the Levites (Num. 8:7).

The profoundest use of blood in relation to cleansing is found in Lev. 16. Here the ritual procedure is cultically richest with its exclusive application of the blood before and on the mercy-seat. The need for this is Israel's uncleanness

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1 W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament I (E.T. London, 1961) p.165: "The substitutionary value of the victim is restricted to the quite general principle that, if a man were to omit the prescribed form of expiation, he would irrevocably fall under the just and annihilating wrath of God".
2 G.F. Moore, EB IV col. 4221.
3 The colour of the heifer may also be significant.

(v.16 חטא). In v.19 the blood cleanses the altar; in v.30 the people are cleansed (טהר). In Ezekiel 43:20 ff. and 45:18 ff. blood cleanses in the specific sense of "desinning" (חטא).

Blood has, as O. Kuss[1] notes, sanctifying and consecrating power (Ex. 29:20 ff., Lev. 8:14 ff.), in which context Lev. 16:19 and 23:27 may be mentioned. In summary it can be said of the DA:

> The dominating thought of Lv. 16 is the awful reality and contagion of sin, which affects not only priest and people, but the sanctuary itself. Its correlate is the intense realization of the need of cleansing and propitiation, as the indispensable condition of right relations with a holy God.[2]

The word, which above all the others hitherto mentioned, used in association with blood in Lev. 16 and in the rest of the sacrificial material to express this cleansing is "kipper",[3] which word is too important to be treated under this head and therefore forms our next section.

D. כפר כפר"ד, כפרת[4] : Expiation, Propitiation or Cultic Sin Removal?

Klaus Koch complains that despite the frequent occurrence of this root in the OT there exist virtually no works dealing with the total question of kipper and cognates.[5] If

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1 O. Kuss, Der Brief an die Hebräer (Regensburg², 1966), excursus "Blut als Heilsmittel", pp.121 ff.
2 J. Bright, IDB, Rev. Ed., art. "Day of Atonement", pp.78 f.
3 J. Barr, IDB, Rev. Ed., s.v. "Blood", p.110: "Most (though not absolutely all) rituals to which the term kipper 'expiate' is attached include the use of blood (He. 9:22)." Th.C. Vriezen (Outline², p.264), is overstating when he says kipper is limited, with the exception of Lev. 1:4, to the guilt and sin offerings. We need only refer to Lev. 16:24; 14:29; we can say always associated with the sin and guilt offering with the exceptions of Lev. 1:4.
4 It is convenient to treat these all together for the arguments for their common root seem more compelling than those against it. For such a denial see K. Galling, "Die Lade und der Aufsatz" in G. Beer, Exodus (Tübingen, 1939), pp.131 ff. Galling relates כפרת to כפף (bedecken).
5 K. Koch, EvTh 26, p.218.

such a comment is true for a German scholar who seems to have some choice of literature,[1] how desperate then is the situation in the English language where there is virtually no choice.[2] The reason for this lack of studies, according to Koch, is "weil es in vorexilischen Geschichtsbüchern und bei den vorexilischen Profeten keine Rolle spielt".[3] The cause of the OT scholar's uninterest in kipper is the reason, on the other hand, for the NT scholar's concern with this word: that is to say, in reverse to the OT situation, the Greek equivalent to kipper occurs infrequently in the NT but unlike the OT it appears in very significant portions of the apostolic writings.[4] Here we are concerned, however, only with the meaning of כפר and not its translation equivalents.[5]

We shall restrict our study here wholly to the P material and in the main to the DA texts. When we remember that the chapter of our concern (Lev. 16) contains three times as many instances of כפר as Ezekiel, the second richest source to P, this restriction would appear to be reasonable.

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1 E. Riehm, "Der Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament", ThSK 50 (1877), pp.7-92. R. Schmoller, "Das Wesen der Sühne in der alttestamentlichen Opfertora", ThSK 64 (1891), pp.205-288. These two essays were a response to the position of A. Ritschl, Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung (Bonn, 1870-74). J. Herrmann, Die Idee der Sühne im Alten Testament (Leipzig 1905). He also contributed the OT section for ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in TWNT. J.J. Stamm, Erlösen und Vergeben im Alten Testament (Bern, 1940). This work deals only lightly with kipper. S. Herner, Sühne und Vergebung in Israel (Lund, 1942). We may also mention again Koch's Sühneanschauung (Erlangen, 1956).

2 Except some excellent dictionary articles above all S.R. Driver, "Expiation and Atonement - Hebrew", HERE V, pp.653-659.

3 K. Koch, RvTh 26, p.218. This is illustrated by the kind of words chosen by N.H. Snaith [The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament (London, 1944)], as distinctive, namely, עתר, פדה, חנן, חסד.

4 There can be no complaint about the number of studies in English dealing with ἐξιλάσκεσθαι.

5 For which see below.

The verb כפר (Pi) occurs ninety-one times in the OT. of these sixty are in P.[1] The substantives כפרים (eight times in OT) and כפרת (twenty-six times[2] in OT) are completely limited to the P material with the one exception of 1 Chr. 28:11. In connexion with the DA the verb occurs nineteen times and the substantives כפרים and כפרת five times and six times respectively.[3] It is no over estimation to say that the DA is an important source for any study of this word group.

Though the two major Hebrew lexicons (BDB and KB) give "cover" as the etymological meaning of the root it cannot be claimed that this opinion is unanimous. Many lexicographers[4] parallel the Hebrew root with the Akkadian "kuppuru" and therefore defend "wipe away", "remove" as the basic root meaning. König's[5] complaint seemed a reasonable one when he protested that Hebrew usage has priority over any conclusions drawn from cognate languages.[6] L. Moraldi[7] has met this

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1 G. von Rad, Theology I, p.262. K. Koch (EvTh 26, p.219), makes it as high as sixty-nine instances within P

2 Twenty-seven times according to F. Maass, Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament (München 1971), p.84.

3 Seven times for כפרת if one associates Ex. 30:6 with the DA.

4 E.g. G.R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT" V JTS 34 (1933) pp.33 ff.

5 For a spirited exchange on this scholarly difference of opinion ExT 22 (1911) can be recommended. Pp.232-234 E. König, "The Hebrew Word for 'Atone'", defends the meaning "cover"; S. Langdon replies pp.320-325 for "to wipe", as does C.F. Burney pp.325-327, to which König answers pp.378-380, and finally S. Langdon and C.J. Ball adding the caveat pp.380-381; pp.478-479.

6 Cf. G.F. Moore, EB IV, col. 4219: "The investigation has frequently set out from etymological assumptions instead of from the plain facts of usage."

7 L. Moraldi, Espiazione. I may here register gratitude to M. Silva, who, though himself engaged on a dissertation, kindly translated large portions of this important work for me. For a convenient summary in a more accessible language see P. Eder, Sühne: Eine Theologische Untersuchung (Basel, 1962), pp.67-74.

challenge front on and, though he does not ignore the cognate Akkadian evidence,[1] concludes that biblical usage indicates the basic idea, at least in the cult, which is what we are concerned with, is not "cover" but "eliminate". This he finds supported by its synonymous usage with חטא, טהר, קדש; on the other hand in the cult it is never in relationship with נשׂא or שׂרף.[2]

D. Schötz[3] long ago observed that in the ritual kipper is a "kultustechnischer Ausdrück" and that it meant "nichts anderes als Sühnezeremonien vollziehen". We can then leave the uncertain task of etymology and turn to our specific cultic contexts and see if the rather limited meaning obtained by Schötz is not capable of enriching.

We turn first to the "vexed problem of the prepositions that follow kipper",[4] because these, as has often been discerned, offer a vital clue to the cultic meaning of kipper. In Lev. 16 the mere thirty-four verses contain every major prepositional construction of kipper. Noth[5] in despair says, "no factual reason is perceptible for the change of construction." We can conveniently list Moraldi's conclusions gained from a total review of the cultic material and see how his results correspond with the usage in the DA texts.

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1 Moraldi accuesses J. Herrmann (Sühne) of "proud ignorance of Assyro-Babylonian literature", which is a little severe on a student effort, though perhaps his TWNT article should have shown more cognisance with this source of knowledge.
2 That כפר is a denominative from כֹּפֶר, though once upheld (J. Herrmann, Sühne), is not now considered likely, see, however, L. Morris, Apostolic[3], pp.161 ff.
3 D. Schötz, Sündopfer, p.104. Earlier J. Herrmann, Sühne, p.1.
4 J. Milgrom, "The Function of Hatta't Sacrifice", TARBIZ 40 (1970), p.1.
5 M. Noth, Leviticus, p.118.

1. Where the object of kipper is a thing - the object is introduced by את.
2. Where the object of kipper is a person - the object is introduced by על.
3. Where the object of kipper is a thing - the object is introduced by על.
4. Where the object of kipper is a person - the object is introduced by בעד.
5. Qualifying the cause or scope of kipper - the object is designated by מן or על.
6. Instrumental usage - with ב.
7. Place of kipper act - with ב.

In summary, a person in the cultic texts is never the direct object of kipper; when a person is the object of the verb kipper a preposition must always follow usually על sometimes בעד having the meaning "for", "on behalf of". When the object is non-human, then either the direct object, על or, ב is used, never בעד.[1] The prepoeition בעד is reserved for the high priest and his family and the people as a whole, though על can be used for both these groups and individuals.

The situation with the DA texts follows this pattern exactly.

1. Kipper with את of a thing - (Lev. 16,20 - מכפר את-הקדש
   (Lev. 16,33 - וכפר את-מקדש הקדש
2. Kipper with על of a thing - (Lev. 16,16 - וכפר על הקדש

These refer to the act of the ritual itself

(Lev. 16:18 - וכפר עליו
(Lev. 16:10 - לכפר עליו
(Ex. 30:10a - וכפר אהרן על-קרנתיו
(Ex. 30:10ab - וכפר עליו

3. Kipper with ב of the place of the act - (Lev. 16:17a - לכפר בקדש
   (Lev. 16:27 - לכפר בקדש

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1 J. Milgrom/ TARBIZ 40 (1970), p.1/, speaks as if this is a recent resolution, it was recorded at least as early as 1930 by D. Schötz, Sündopfer, pp.104 ff.

4. Kipper with על of persons - (Lev. 16:30 - לכפר עליכם
(Lev. 16:34 - לכפר על-בני-ישראל
(Lev. 16:33 - וכפר על הכהנים
(Lev. 23:28 - לכפר עליכם

Verse 33 is an excellent example of the accuracy of this analysis in that the change from the direct object to a preposition (i.e. על) midway through the verse coincides with the change of the object of kipper from a thing to a person.

5. Kipper with בעד of persons - (Lev. 16:6,11 - וכפר בעדו
(Lev. 16:17b - וכפר בעדו
(Lev. 16:24 - וכפר בעדו

Leviticus 16:32 is the only place in the whole of the OT where kipper is used absolutely, it should be noted, however, that it is related immediately to v.33a and the direct objects therein.

The DA texts thus fit into the general pattern that Moraldi found for the total cultic usage, there is consistency here rather than the irrational unevenness of form adduced by Noth.[1] Kipper in the ritual never has sin or transgression as such as the object,[2] always the thing or a person who is polluted, in order to purify, to bring into relationship with Yahweh.[3] The direct object in personal cases is unexpressed, the indirect object ("for someone") stands unqualified. The idea is that the performance of the atonement act upon the cult object works a benefit for the offerer. Thus again we find as with our study on דם, the sanctuary and the people are in an intimate association. The purification of the person, or his forgiveness (סלח) requires the removal of his polluting

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1 This argues for a single redactor not a unified origin.
2 S.R. Driver, HERE V, pp.655 f.
3 Moraldi, Espiazione, p.206.

sin from the sanctuary. This is accomplished by the blood ritual on the altar or mercy-seat.

Kipper then is not identical with forgiveness (סלח) but obviously from its association in the frequent phrase וכפר עליו המאתו ונסלח לו is related to it.[1] This phrase which concludes the sin-offering complex is a divine pronouncement through the priest and Koch is quite correct when he says "dass bei Sühnungen das Subject stets Gott ist der den Menschen im Heiligtum von seiner Sünde befreit."[2] There can therefore be absolutely no idea of man propitiating the deity; but rather the whole act has God as the subject through the priest, and never as object of the verb kipper.[3] In expiation Yahweh actively breaks "the nexus of sin and calamity".[4]

Von Rad is correct in using the word calamity (Unheil) here, for though maintaining that no idea of propitiation of a passive deity by the activity of man[5] is inherent in the word kipper, we do not accept that the nullifying of the cause (sin) is without consequences for the effect (divine wrath). The effective removal of the former through the kipper-complex also halts the action of the latter,[6] but it

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1 J.J. Stamm, Erlösen, pp.59 ff.
2 K. Koch, "Versöhnung im AT", RGG³ VI, p.1370.
3 G. von Rad, Theology I, p.270: "although the priest actually performs the actions for expiation, in the last analysis it is Jahweh himself who effects or refuses expiation."
4 Ibid. p.271.
5 Contra L. Köhler [Theologie des Alten Testaments (Tübingen, 1936), p.170], who says of the cult, "er ist von Menschen begonnen, unternommen, geleistet, ist Werk, nicht Gnade, ein Akt der Selbsthilfe nicht ein Stück des Gottesheils." Even S.C. Gayford (Sacrifice, p.111), who speaks of the blood on the altar as a symbol of the offering of the worshipper's own life to God, if less objectionable than Köhler, is still interpreting the kipper-ritual too much as man's act.
6 J. Barr, "Atonement", HDB Rev. ed. p.78.

must ever be observed that this is not the meaning of kipper as such.

The substantive כפרים adds little to our understanding of the verb; in such phrases as חטאת- הכפרים, יום הכפרים the idea is that on this occasion the kipper-ritual par excellence is observed, or the sacrifice which works kipper is performed.

The word kipper is then confessedly as a cultic technical term untranslatable; "atonement" is inadequate for "reconciliation" is not the primary thought; "propitiation" is misleading for God is the active subject of the verb not its object; "expiation" is not sufficiently variegated, sin is never the direct object of the verb. Yet all these ideas are involved, for when the priest, as representing Yahweh, performs the kipper ritual, sin is removed, wrath does cease, and relationships are restored.

Kappereth "can hardly when the use made of it is considered be dissociated from kipper."[1] The idea that kappereth means simply "cover" or "lid" of the ark should be forever abolished. The golden slab above the ark in the holy of holies was no mere lid of another cult object, but had an importance of its own which supremely, as the name כפרת indicates, was that upon it Yahweh ordained and performed a kipper-cultic act of value above all others.

Properly speaking it means "a place of expiation"[2] or "an object of expiation", to which G. Fitzer objects[3] that this is actually the function of the blood not the kappereth. The kappereth, he maintains, is never "ein Sühnemittel oder

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1 S.R. Driver, HERE V, p.656.
2 For want of a better word.
3 G. Fitzer, "Der Ort der Versöhnung nach Paulus", TZ 22 (1966) p.169. Cf. S.R. Driver, HERE V, p.656.

Sühnegegenstand."[1] On the contrary, however, we have no right to assert apart from its application to altar or mercy-seat, that the blood is a means of expiation.[2]

If kipper means "to perform a ritual of sin removal" (Sühnung vollziehen) then it means "a cultic act with the blood upon the altar or mercy-seat".[3] It was the placing of blood on the mercy-seat on the DA, above all other acts on that annual day of purification, which wrought atonement for sanctuary and people[4] alike.

What this whole complex meant to the final drafter of Lev. 16 is easily discernible when we consider the second part of the sin-offering for the people, which we shall now do in our next section.

E. עזאזל : Demon, Place, Escape Goat?

If the root עזל has an obscure etymological meaning, then עזאזל has a history lost in the long inky vistas of the past. Of course here, despite our heading, we are properly concerned with the second goat, the living goat, not Aza'zel. Some have identified the two, as for instance in the AV's "escape goat" or Aquila's τράγος ἀπερχόμενος . Though עזאזל has all the consonants of עזא (to go away), this interpretation is not very probable. It makes nonsensical tautologies of vv.10 and 26.

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1 See however H.A. Brongers, "Einige Aspekte der Gegenwärtigen Lage der Lade-Forschung", NTT 25 (1971), p.9.
2 S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice, p.92.
3 As Th.C. Vriezen (Instration), showed it was the sevenfold sprinkling of the blood before the sanctuary (kapporeth), which fitted it for its application on the altar and, it should be added, the sprinkling on the mercy-seat wrought expiation.
4 Not Aza'zel (for which see below) despite Rabbinic tradition and some modern commentators.

The same objection seems to be raised against those who understand Aza'zel as a nomen abstractum, as apparently does the LXX in vv.8 and 10 (ἀποπομπαῖος).[1] The LXX text illustrates this tautology especially v.10, ὥστε ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν .[2]

An ancient Rabbinic interpretation was to identify it with the cliff where the goat traditionally met its demise.[3] This has found recent scholarly support in the person of G.R. Driver.[4] Driver argues that the Talmud (Yoma 6:8) with its naming the place where the live goat is sent בי"ת חדודו[5] ("place of jaggedness") and the pseudo-apocryphal reference to the evil demon being bound in "the desert of Dudael" (a corruption of bêt ḥaddûdû) and laid on jagged rocks until the Day of Judgment; have this in common - in both "rough and jagged rocks" crop up.[6] Later Rabbi's like Sa'adyah translate עזאזל by גבל עזאז " - to a hill of rough ground", Abû Sa'îd, "to rough ground". Hence עזאזל originally was a place name, a proper noun from ✓עזז, "rough ground" and strengthened by the additional ל .[7] The א is a mere litera prolongationis.[8]

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1 Most exegetes find no reference to this rite in the NT but some do and therefore within our purposes (see p. 41) is included here.

2 Recently C.L. Feinberg, "The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen", Bibliotheca Sacra 115 (1958), pp.320-333. BDB give the meaning, "entire removal".

3 A few, Ibn Ezra and Naḥmanides, took the position that it was the name of the goat itself.

4 G.R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch", JSS I (1956), pp.97 ff.

5 Identified with Bêt Ḥûdêdûn.

6 The pun is his, though not intentionally.

7 Driver examples כרם = כרמל= terraced land/hill.

8 Driver refers to Targ. Ong. where the reading עזזיל is attested.

Driver's analysis avoids the tautologous nature of the previous two interpretations and preserves adequately the parallel in v.8 by understanding the theoretical place name as a proper name. The present writer finds the intricate theoretical etymology dubious and does not feel a place name quite fits the ritual in the manner that a personal name does.

Quite obviously the etymology is of little value in clarifying the rite. The greatest number, which often means, admittedly, very little, of scholars would see here some sort of supernatural evil power. This certainly makes the most sense of the parallel in v.8 "for Yahweh" and "for Aza'zel".[1]

It is not offered as a bribe to Aza'zel as Feinberg[2] objects against this view nor does it disrupt the unity of the two goats in the sin-offering as evinced in v.5. In the present text at least as Landersdorfer[3] says the meaning is that the second goat depicts what the first has done. The whole transaction is controlled by Yahweh, he chooses the goat and the act with the second goat is performed before the Lord. There is no thought of Jahweh and Aza'zel being forces opposed on equal terms.[4]

Most important in our regard is the relation of the rite over the second goat to the verb kipper. The phrase "to make atonement over it" (v.10) is clarified by vv.21-22,

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1 The desert is the well-known abode of evil spirits. Lev. 13:21; 34:14; ~~17:7, Isa. 13:21~~ Isa.

2 C.L. Feinberg Bibliotheca Sacra 115, cf. C. Lattey, VT I (1951), p.272.

3 S. Landersdorfer says (Studien, p.14). "Der Ritus mit dem zweiten Bock soll die bereits erfolgte Entsühnung nur symbolisieren".

4 E. Nestle ("Aza'zel", HERE II, pp.282 f.), must be accepted here when he says that Yahweh is opposed to Aza'zel only "something of the same way as Ahriman to Ormazd" (emphasis ours).

where it means nothing other than the removal of sins by transferring them onto the goat who bears them away (שלח) to Aza'zel.[1] The important feature of this ritual is the divine action through the priest in eliminating sin, Aza'zel plays the minor role of an obliged recipient.

This being the main emphasis we can agree with Landersdorfer, who, though accepting that Aza'zel is a later gloss,[2] acknowledges that this addition did no harm to the ritual's thought, that is, the removal of pollution. "The demonic identification", says Sh. Ahituv rightly, "would indicate that the original purpose of the ritual was to get rid of the evil by banishing it to its original source."[3] The blood upon the kappereth meant the sanctuary was purified[4] and consequently the people's sins had been banished to their proper realm - the desert, the abode of Aza'zel.

It cannot be overstressed that the ritual is not an offering, certainly not a sacrifice to Aza'zel.[5] It is an "eliminatorische Ritus, Unreinheit wegzuschaffen".[6] It is a

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1 Some have found ideas of substitution here: S.H. Hooke, "The Theory and Practice of Substitution", VT 2 (1952), pp.8 ff., reprinted in The Siege Perilous (London, 1956), pp.204 ff., and C. Lattey, "Vicarious Solidarity in the Old Testament" VT 1 (1951), p.272. This is too strongly expressed and it is more accurate to see, as does W.F. Albright /From the Stone Age to Christianity (Baltimore², 1946), p.252/, and P. van Imschoot /Theologie de L'Ancien Testament, Tournai (1956), p.331/, a rudimentary beginning of that which found its fullness in the Servant of Yahweh. However, G. Fohrer /"Stellvertretung und Schuldopfer in Jesaja 52, 13-53, 12 vordem Hintergrund des Alten Testaments und des Alten Orients", in Das Kreuz Jesu, ed. P. Rieger (Göttingen, 1969), pp.24 f./, maintains that Lev. 16:5-10.20-22 is a reinterpretation of an old ritual in the light of Isa. 53: "In diesem Falle aber läge darin eine Einwirkung der Gedanken von Jes. 52,13-53, 12 auf Lev. 16 vor und nicht umgekehrt."

2 S. Landersdorfer, Studien, p.27.

3 Sh. Ahituv, s.v. "Aza'zel", Enc. Jud. XII, p.1002. E. Kutsch ("Sündenbock", RGG³ VI, pp.506 f.), says that Aza'zel is a desert demon and already "als Urheber aller Sünde gedacht, weshalb der Sünde zu ihm geschickt wird."

part of the sin-offering for the people only in that it depicts what the blood of the first goat did.[1] Its "jämmerlichen Tod. . .in der Wüste" plays no role whatsoever.[2]

Thus once again we find with this aspect of the complex ritual of the DA that the pervading idea is the removal of sin and thus the renewal or maintenance of the covenant relationship. A holy sanctuary (unholy sanctuary would be a contradiction in terms even though a possibility in fact) means the continuing presence of the holy God of Israel amongst his people.

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4 The fact that the second goat is presented only after the sanctuary atonement is completed (v.20) does not mean the service with the living goat is totally independent of the purification of the sanctuary. On the contrary it is indicative of the "psychic unity" that Pedersen refers to in that the bearing away of the people's sins by the live goat is a parabolic representation of what the atonement for the sanctuary meant for them.

5 H.M. Kümmel, "Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock", ZAW 80 (1968), pp.311 f.: "Ein Opfer liegt gewiss nicht vor".

6 Ibid. This is the emphasis of the mass of parallels gathered from near and far by J.G. Frazer, The Scapegoat (1913).

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1 T.K. Cheyne, "The Date and Origin of the Ritual of the 'Scapegoat'," ZAW 15 (1895), p.153. W. Gispen "Aza'zel", in Orientalia Neerlandica (Leiden, 1948), pp.156-161 and R.H. Kennett "The Day of Atonement", in Old Testament Essays (Cambridge, 1928), pp.105 ff. , correctly compare the ritual of Lev. 16 with the thought of Zech. 5:5 ff. As Gispen observes, "This is the second part of the sin-offering to the Lord and this part expresses the idea that the sin has its place in the neighbourhood of the demon of the desert".

2 Contra K. Koch, EvTh 26, p.229.

CONCLUSION

Form-criticism has isolated three sections in Lev. 16 which conform to a ritualistic style; Lev. 16:6-10;11-20a; 20b-24.[1] The historical Sitz im Leben of these pericope is not capable of exact definition, as the differing results of Rendtorff and Koch illustrate. Koch himself has warned us that,

> By no means every break in the continuity of the story justifies a separate attempt to determine its source; the faults in the coherence of the work are often merely an indication that different types of tradition have come together when still at the oral stage. Duplications are intentional in oral transmission: they impress certain points more firmly upon the memory.[2]

The only conclusion one can make with any certainty from the duplications of Lev. 16 is that several priestly memoranda were drawn upon in forming Lev. 16. One possible explanation, first suggested by E. Robertson[3] then developed by R. Brinker[4] and now endorsed by R.E. Clements,[5] is that the different acts of atonement derive from individual local sanctuaries and were combined into one great act when the sacrificial worship was centralized.

Indicative of the antiquity of the essential DA ritual is the scapegoat ceremony, which is indisputably ancient. The central place given to the כפרת, an object non-existent in the post-exilic temple, is also indicative of the fact that

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1 K. Koch, Sühneanschauung, p.42.
2 K. Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition (E.T. London, 1969), p.73.
3 E. Robertson, The Old Testament Problem (Manchester, 1950).
4 R. Brinker, Influence.
5 R.E. Clements, The Broadman Bible Commentary: Leviticus (London, 1971), p.45.

P is recording traditions rather than creating laws.[1] Much of this codifying of material was probably done during the actual exilic period in preparation for the time when the pious hope of the priests for the restoration of the temple was realized.[2]

An annual DA in the autumn month as part of the more extensive New Year's celebration of Israel "must go back to the earliest stages of Israel's life, when a general act of atonement was made for the sins of the past year."[3] The element of penitence, which is given such a large part in the later verses of Lev. 16, cannot be described as a post-exilic addition to the expiatory ritual with quite the confidence as was once common.[4] Whether the tenth day played a part in this New Year atonement custom in pre-exilic times, as Kraus supposes,[5] comes up against the problem of the silence of Ezk. 45 and Neh. 8-9.

Ezekiel, according to his own peculiar idealistic purposes, has preserved elements from the same oral tradition that P has drawn upon. The differences between the two represent their different outlooks and purposes. It is fair to say, however, that P represents the fuller and more reliable preservation of the pre-exilic cultic practices. Nehemiah's silence

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1 Gray's controversy (Sacrifice, p.311), with Eerdmans, where he cites the Talmud as an example where much is written about obsolete cult objects, only has relevance against Eerdmans' claim that P is pre-exilic as a written document; it has no force against the claim that the post-exilic P document largely preserves pre-exilic material.
2 R.E. Clements, God and Temple (Oxford, 1965), p.109.
3 R.E. Clements, Leviticus, p.44.
4 Cf. R.J. Thompson, Penitence.
5 H.-J. Kraus, Worship, pp.66 f.

is more difficult to explain; he mentions the celebrations of the I/VII and the 15/VII, but makes no allusion to the 10/VII even though on the 24/VII he describes a day of general fasting, penitence, and confession of sins.[1] If we accept the force of this silence in Neh. we have problems with texts like Lev. 23:26 ff., which ostensibly is part of the Holiness Code; the usual solution is to say it is a later insertion. It must also be assumed that although P was published by Ezra, the laws it contained over the DA were not yet in force in Nehemiah's day.[2] That the 10/VII played no part in the pre-exilic DA-New Year ritual is, anyhow, a rather large conclusion based on the apparently inexplicable silence of only one text. There may well have been reasons for the silence of Neh. 8-9 which cannot be ascertained, at least dogmatism is excluded. Gaster is even so bold as to suggest a possible circumstance for the omission; he says, "In this case, however, the sanctuary had only just started functioning, so that there was virtually nothing to purge, and the rite had perforce to be abandoned or postponed.[3]

Our study of the key terms in Lev. 16 has shown that whatever the diversity of traditions P draws upon in the DA ritual, its purpose is a singular one. For P the cult proclaims the saving power of Yahweh as forcefully as any other of his mighty acts. Every major term in the ritual of Lev. 16 which we investigated led to the same conclusion: in the cult

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1 Neh. 8:2 ff., 13 ff.; 9:1 f.

2 There is no problem of course if we reverse the traditional order of Ezra and Nehemiah's coming to Jerusalem, see H.H. Rowley, The Servant of the Lord (London, 1952), pp.129 ff. What is true of a publication of a law is also equally true of a republication.

3 T.H. Gaster, Festivals of the Jewish Year (New York, 1952), p.185. The famous Wellhausen argument from silence over the DA receives some slight support from the fifth century B.C. Aramaic papyri see A.E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1923), p.xxiv.

Yahweh actively removed the incubus of sin and restored his people to the covenant relationship. The Priestly writer is just as anxious to combat cultic abuse as the prophets: he does this by emphasizing the sovereignty of Yahweh as the initiating subject of the cultic acts, not the object capable of human manipulation; and by associating personal contrition closely with the ritual itself.

PART II

THE POST-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION OF DAY OF ATONEMENT IMAGERY

CHAPTER 3

PALESTINIAN JUDAISM

A. Introduction

It is convenient to treat Judaism under the dual headings of Palestinian and Hellenistic, though it should be stressed that the dichotomy is not absolute except in a schematic sense. In the words of O. Schmitz, "Die damit gegebenen Unterschiede zwischen dem palästinensischen Spätjudentum im weitesten Sinne und dem hellenistischen Judentum im eigentlichen Sinne sind freilich nur relativ."[1]

The proper method of approach for the study of this literature should be that laid down by E.R. Goodenough for the study of Philo; that is to say, read ~~and~~ the whole through first, then marshal the totality of statements on any one topic before attempting exposition.[2] Goodenough also left a fine example of scholarly humility in that he frankly confessed his ignorance of Rabbinics, though in fact he was by no means unfamiliar with the material. The present writer follows this example not out of humility but through the less worthy reason of plain fact of ignorance.

I have attempted to remedy this defect in part by reading through Danby's edition of the Mishnah tractate Yoma as well as the whole of the Talmudic Gemara on this Mishnah in the Soncino edition. I read J. Winter's German translation of the Siphra on Lev. 16 and virtually all of R.H. Charle's edition of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[3]

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1 O. Schmitz, Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums und die Opferaussagen des Neuen Testamentes (Tübingen, 1910), p.59.

2 E.R. Goodenough, An Introduction to Philo Judaeus (New Haven, 1940), p.19.

3 As well as referring to such tools as Strack-Billerbeck and Montefiore-Loewe, A Jewish Anthology.

In such a vast specialist field one whose discipline is the New Testament must seek the advice of the experts and hesitate to depart from them.[1] The purpose therefore for transgressing into this field is to learn something of possible New Testament backgrounds; not to criticize Judaism or to glorify Christianity.[2]

A Christian should be aware of the truth in such moving indictments as found in C.G. Montefiore's study on the Synoptic Gospels.[3] However, the contrite acceptance of this guilt should not necessitate the reversal of approach, that is, to denigrate Paul and glorify Judaism.[4] If this is the necessary answer to persecution then let such historical inaccuracies be prosecuted with zeal, though the present writer is foolish

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1 I do venture to challenge G.F. Moore, not on his exposition of Judaism (though others qualified to do so have done so) but on his presentation of Paul's criticism of it. see Judaism III, note 209, p.150. Moore contrasts R. Akiba's statement (Sanhedrin 81a), that only one element of the law need be kept to attain life, with Gal. 3:10, to the detriment of the latter. But San. 81a would be just the kind of Pelagian attitude that Paul disputed - if one is committed to Law-Righteousness one is not left with options but is logically indebted to the whole law to do it. Judaism may not have drawn Paul's conclusion but that does not mean Paul is wrong or arguing, as Moore states, totally from Christological presuppositions.

2 R.H. Charles in his introductions to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is guilty of this in characterizing Christianity as the true inheritor of the best spirit of Judaism as witnessed in the Apocalyptic rather than Talmudic elements.

3 C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels I (London^2, 1927) pp.xixf.

4 F.C. Grant /Ancient Judaism and the New Testament (New York, 1959), p.63/, reacts this way to the appalling spectacle of ancient and modern Christian persecution of Jewish people, he goes so far as to say "that Judaism as a whole stands far closer to the teaching of Jesus (cf. his story of the Prodigal Son, Luke 15:11-32) than does, for example, that of St. Paul." Grant misunderstands the term "Spätjudentum" and objects that this implies that first century Judaism was moribund; while of course it is a historical term related to the Wellhausen dictum that P begins not the history of Israel but Judaism. It is late in relationship to the beginnings of the dominance of Torah under Ezra according to this hypothesis.

enough to believe that differences of faith and practice can be maintained without carrying as an axiomatic corollary the necessity of persecution in any form.

The basis of this section is the recognition that historically Christian roots are deep in the soil of first century Judaism. To approach New Testament exegesis through this door is obviously therefore a legitimate enterprise which entails no necessary partisan viewpoint or apologetic purpose.

B. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha[1]

In these writings the cult plays no major part,[2] this is due to the nature of the literature; yet, on the other hand it has frequent if unsystematic mention. The thesis of W. Bousset[3] that in New Testament times law of observance had superseded cultic practices is an inaccurate dichotomy. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraph are not anti-temple[4] and recognize cultic practices as necessary observances of the Law.

There is, as O. Schmitz[5] who develops Bousset's position, observes a tendency in this literature to make law the centre of piety rather than the cult. This should not be construed

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1 The separation of these writings into the groupings of Palestinian or Hellenistic is again not absolute, we include here those generally described as Palestinian.

2 E. Sjöberg, Gott und die Sünder im palästinischen Judentum (Stuttgart, 1939), p.256.

3 W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums (Tübingen[3], 1926), p.113. Bousset gives three proofs to support this: (a) Die Existenz der Sekte der Essener - who of course maintained their piety apart from the cult, of which we now know more than was possible for Bousset. (b) Die allgemeine Tendenz der Verkündigung Jesu - who aimed his criticisms against legalistic niceties and inconsistencies rather than the OT prophetic criticism of cultic observance without the corresponding moral conduct. (c) Die allerentscheidendste Tatsache ist die Wendung, welche die jüdische Religion nach der Zerstörung des Tempels nahm.

4 The destruction of the temple is a great national loss, I Enoch 89:67, IV Ezra 10:21 ff., II Bar. 35:1 ff. Ass. Mos. 4:8, and its pollution a great horror, I and II Macc. esp. III Macc. 1:29.

5 O. Schmitz, Opferanschauung, p.68. Schmitz is speaking specifically of Sirach.

to mean a neglect of the cult or an anti-cultic stance.[1] Such ethicizing was not limited to cultic elements alone but was applied to such material as the patriarchal narratives, the distinction between clean and unclean meats, and the diverse levitical laws such as the care of oxen.

The reasons for this are diverse, not least is the fact of geographical isolation from the temple which forced many Jews to devise cultic substitutes (this may well have begun in Babylon). The influence of Hellenism in the time of this literature encouraged an ethical reading of the Law. The natural processes of thinking minds should not be excluded, we may example the Upanishads of the Hindu world. These processes came to fulfilment after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70.[2]

The DA as part of the cultic services is likewise not frequently mentioned in the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha.[3] In the Book of Sirach[4] there are several references to the temple in connexion with an eulogy of Wisdom.[5] In the section which extols the leaders of the past, Ben Sira devotes a greater portion to Aaron than Moses.[6] Aaron has been appointed to make

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1 Book IV of the Sibylline Oracles is however anti-cult.
2 See, however, K.W. Clark, "Worship in Jerusalem Temple After A.D. 70", NTS 6 (1959/60), pp.269 ff.
3 The conclusion of J. Orr and S. Landersdorfer (p. 18 of this thesis), that this empties Wellhausen's argument from silence of force, has a major weakness: in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha there is no occasion where one would expect a reference to the DA (there are in fact more allusions than either of these two writers allow), but the critical position as carefully argued by G.B. Gray is that in Ezk. 45 and Neh. 9, especially the latter, there are good grounds for the mention of the DA if it existed.
4 For a total view see A. Büchler, "Ben Sira's Conception of Sin and Atonement", JQR NS 13 (1922-23), pp.303 ff. and pp. 461 ff., and especially for sacrifice, ibid., 14 (1923-24), pp.53 ff.
5 Sir. 24:10,15.
6 Sir. 45:6-12.

atonement for his people (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου).[1] The description of his clothing takes on a mystical enthusiasm. In 45:9 there is an allusion to the high priest's annual entrance into the holiest.

καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὸν ῥοΐσκοις,
χρυσοῖς κώδωσιν πλείστοις κυκλόθεν,
ἠχῆσαι φωνὴν ἐν βήμασιν αὐτοῦ,
ἀκουστὸν ποιῆσαι ἦχον ἐν ναῷ [2]
εἰς μνημόσυνον υἱοῖς λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· [3]

In chapter 50, in poetic terms that have become part of the Jewish DA liturgy,[4] Ben Sira gives near erotic, or perhaps mystical, acclaim to the high priest Simon. Oesterley and Box following the Hebrew translate vv.5 ff. as follows:

> How glorious was he when he looked forth
> from the Tent,
> And when he came out from the sanctuary[5]
> Like a morning-star from between the clouds,
> And like the full moon on the feast-days;
> Like the sun shining upon the Temple of the
> Most High.[6]

Here, as is Ben Sira's pattern, he ignores the cultic

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1 Sir. 45:16; Heb.
2 Heb. בדביר : דביר = holiest see IK 6:5,16,17; 2 Chr. 4:20; 5:7,9.
3 The biblical and Mishnah traditions carefully instruct the high priest's attire on the DA to be of plain linen, this is true even for the extra entrance allowed by the Mishnah to retrieve the censer, see m. Yoma 7:4. This mistake is found also in one of the hymns of Miss F.R. Havergal.
4 C. Roth, "Ecclesiasticus in the Synagogue Service", JBL 71 (1952), pp.171 ff.
5 "From the sanctuary" is literally "from the house of the veil", מבית הפרכת , LXX οἴκου καταπετάσματος : possibly a misunderstanding of Lev. 16:2 הקדש מבית לפרכת , though somewhat analogous 1 Chr. 28:11 has בית הכפרת the latter being found in the Targums see SB III, p.176, and in b. Yoma 21a (בית הכפורת).
6 Oesterley and Box refer to Josephus (BJ. V, 222). In BJ. V, 205 Josephus tells of how Alexander, Philo's brother, had enhanced the temple gates by an apparently colossal gift of gold-overlay, this was after Ben Sira's time. Ben Sira has previously called the sun, "God's mighty servant" (43:1 ff).

acts of sacrifice with blood and concentrates on the incense, burnt offering, and drink offering;[1] the whole point of departure is the final exit of the high priest from the sanctuary (Lev. 16:24) rather than his entrance and cultic action within the holiest.

The Book of Sirach uses ἐξιλάσκομαι and ἐξιλασμός with considerable frequency, never, however, in connexion with any blood applications of sacrifice; the mention of sacrifice in 34:19 is general and negative: God is here the subject and the meaning is forgive. "Neither doth He forgive sins (ἐξιλάσκεται ἁμαρτίας) for a multitude of sacrifices." In 45:16,23 priests are subject with indirect object, περὶ τοῦ Ισραηλ (Heb. adds children, LXX v.16 has περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου). The means of atonement are also non-sacrificial; 3:3 honouring one's father, 3:30 almsgiving, 20:28 pleasing the great, 35:3 avoiding wrong. Also unlike the OT cultic texts ἁμαρτία and ἀδικία are used as direct objects to the verb (3:3;3:30;5:6; 20:28;28:5;34:19). God is frequently subject with the meaning of "forgive", as is common also in the OT (17:29;16:11;5:6; 16:7).

The Book of Jubilees has several references to the DA. In a passage expounding the equity and universality of God's judgment we read:

> And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.[2]

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1 Not mentioned in Lev. 16 but see Num. 29:11, m. Yoma 3:4.
2 Jub. 5:17 f., cf. 23:21 where wickedness is said to defile the holy of holies.

The emphasis falls here upon repentance (Lev. 16:29,31) and not the cultic action, the efficacy of the DA is limited to Israel. The scope appears to be absolute, though in 30:10, for the sin of marrying a gentile, there is no limit of days, no remission, and no atonement.

The emphasis on repentance is enforced by the synthetic way the mourning of Jacob for Joseph is given as the reason why "the children of Israel. . .should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month".[1] The text does mention making atonement with a goat once a year on the 10/VII and, although this probably refers to the sacrificed goat,[2] the following verse indicates the point of stress:

> And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year.[3]

The statement in 8:19 that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord, alludes to the Genesis account when Adam was in face-to-face communion with God something now only experienced once a year by the high priest.

The imagery of golden censers and incense in heaven in The Book of Adam and Eve[4] as an accompaniment to the angels' intercession may have DA usage behind it in that the incense veils the firmament allowing the angelic approach to God.

The Book of Enoch is interesting in that it takes the figure of Aza'zel from Lev. 16 and develops it along eschatological or apocalyptic lines. Aza'zel is designated -

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1 Jub. 34:18 f. For an equally ingenious rationale for Pentecost cf. 6:17 f.
2 Jub. 34:12 probably gives grounds for this, as a parallel between the kid killed instead of Joseph and the goat sacrificed on the DA seems to be intended.
3 Jub. 34:19.
4 Adam and Eve 33:4 f. Or Apoc. Mos. Charles II, p.149.

though not consistently - as the originator of all sin.[1] Aza'zel is bound and cast upon jagged rocks in an opening in the desert, there to abide until his final demise by fire. The DA cleansing is taken beyond the personal sphere and given apocalyptic extension in the form of the final judgment: "And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever."[2]

Very similar to I Enoch is the Apocalypse of Abraham,[3] for here again we meet the figure of Aza'zel as the leader of the evil angelic host. In fact Aza'zel in this work is virtually identified with Satan, the source of all evil. His ultimate destiny, and those who are determined to be of his lot, is to be banished into the inaccessible parts of the earth. This apocalypse has a unique teaching at this point, for Aza'zel himself becomes "the burning coal of the Furnace of the earth".

The Greek versions of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs in Lev. 3:5 ff. mention a bloodless expiation of sins in heaven though the Armenian does not preserve such a text. Any reference to the DA here is only circumstantial.

The statement in the Assumption of Moses[4] that the priests work iniquity in the holy of holies is a reference

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1 I Enoch 8:1;10:9;13:1 ff.
2 I Enoch 10:22.
3 G.H. Box, The Apocalypse of Abraham (London, 1918), pp.54 f., and passim.
4 Ass. Mos. 6:1.

to slackness in fulfilling the ritual of the DA.[1] There is no elaboration of the ritual itself.

An interesting allusion is II Baruch 34:1 ff.[2] for it shows us something of the lament of the post 70 A.D. period. Baruch is pictured as going to the site of the desolated temple and sitting where once the holy of holies was situated and there lamenting for Zion:

> Because in that place where I am now prostrate,
> Of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices,[3]
> And placed thereon an incense of fragrant odours.

There is no mention of expiation here. It is notable that "Baruch" should go to where the holiest once stood to enquire of God: a remembrance that there God once met with his people.

The Psalms of Solomon follow the general pattern of this literature in that its interest in the DA is ethical rather than cultic. In one place we read: "He[4] maketh atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul".

The results of our survey tend to endorse those of the wider study of O. Schmitz. In regard to the present literature the sporadic mention of the DA is made to emphasize the sanctity of the holiest where God manifests himself; the necessity of repentance to obtain forgiveness;[5] and in the case of I Enoch, the eschatological hope of a final destructive judgment on the perpetrators of evil. Throughout there is no elaboration of the actual DA cultic acts, not even in ethical forms.

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1 Cf. b. Yoma 19b.
2 II Baruch 6:7, as II Macc. 2, mentions the hiding of the cult objects of the temple.
3 This may be referring to the blood application within the holiest.
4 The "he" refers not to God but "the righteous man". Pss. Sol. 3:9(8).
5 G.F. Moore (Judaism I, p.517), however, says that repentance has comparatively little place in the apocalypses.

C. Tannaitic Judaism

E. Riggenbach arrives at a negative assessment of the understanding of the DA in these sources. He says "Im grossen und ganzen ist indes die Vorstellung von der Wirkung des Versöhnungstages vorwiegend eine äusserlich rechtliche, nicht eine sittliche."[1] G.F. Moore on the other hand, sees in the acts of repentance and confession a recognition that atonement was "an act of divine forgiveness". This for Moore empties "legalism" of any pejorative sense. A. Büchler likewise stresses that the concept of sin entertained was moral,[2] not merely levitical and that after repentance it is God who forgives sin.[3]

When one reads through a tractate like Yoma,[4] one cannot but concur with Riggenbach, the discussions are not only frequently trivial, but sometimes even devoid of any religious connotation. However, it would be wrong to dismiss the whole of the discussion of the DA with the characterization "legalistic".

Büchler takes issue with G.B. Gray over the latter's view that the OT made no distinction between levitical and moral contamination.[5] It is certainly true that the Rabbis

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1 E. Riggenbach, "Der grosse Versöhnungstag der Juden im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", in Bibelglaube und Bibelforschung (Neukirchen, 1909), p.60.

2 G.F. Moore (Judaism I, p.460), compares Tannaism's idea of sin with Calvinistic protestantism.

3 A. Büchler, Studies in Sin and Atonement - In the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century (Oxford, 1928), p.461: "The atonement of sin effected was not identical with its pardon; that was the final grace granted by God, by which the peace between God and man, which had been broken by the deliberate offence of the sinner against Him, is now restored by the forgiveness bestowed by God."

4 The above assessments were stated within discussions of the Rabbinic exposition of the DA so the reading through of this Talmud alone should be sufficient to enable one to make some judgment.

5 A. Büchler, Studies, p.236.

made distinctions of graduation between sins, but in the last analysis their acceptance of the Torah as God's law meant that failure in the least was as serious as failure in the weightier matters.[1] Montefiore speaking of circumcision can say "It is as important as any commandment in the whole law, and the moral commandments are not excepted."[2]

It is this grading of sin which is behind the scale of means of atonement in the classic definition of m. Yoma 8:8:

> The Sin-offering and the unconditional Guilt-offering effect atonement; death and the Day of Atonement effect atonement if there is repentance. Repentance effects atonement for lesser transgressions against both positive and negative commands in the Law; while for graver transgressions it suspends punishment until the Day of Atonement comes and effects atonement.

This is later expanded by the equally famous definition of R. Ishmael and the place of repentance in his definition should be noted:

> R. Mattiah b.Heresh went to call upon R. Eleazar Hakkappar at Laodicea. And he asked him: 'Hast thou heard what R. Ishmael used to teach in regard to the four categories of atonement?'
> 'I have heard ' R. Eleazar replied, 'but they are three and along with each of these there must be repentance.'
> . . . . . .
> If a man transgressed a positive commandment and repented, he is forgiven on the spot, before he has so much as stirred from his place. Of such it is said, 'Return, ye backsliding children' (Jer. 3:22).
> If a man transgressed a negative commandment and repented, repentance suspends the sentence and the Day of Atonement atones. Of such it is said, 'For on this day shall atonement be made for you' (Lev. 16:30).

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1 See G.F. Moore's discussion, Judaism I, pp.460 ff. and b. Yoma 85b.

2 C.G. Montefiore, A Rabbinic Anthology (1938), p.xxx. One may compare 1 Cor. 7:19 and Montefiore's statement (Anthology, p.xiii), "no one misunderstood Judaism more profoundly than Paul."

> If a man transgressed commandments punishable by extirpation or by death from the courts and repented, repentance and the Day of Atonement suspend the sentence and his sufferings during the remaining days of the year atone. And of such it is said, 'Then will I visit their transgression with the rod' (Ps. 89:33).
> But when one profanes the name of Heaven, there is no power either in repentance to suspend his sentence or in sufferings to cleanse him of his sins or in the Day of Atonement to atone. Rather, reprentance and sufferings suspend the sentence, and death along with these, cleanses him of his sins. And of such it is said, 'surely this iniquity shall not be expiated by you until ye die' (Isa. 22:14).[1]

These definitions according to E. Sjöberg were largely theoretical and despite attempted systemization and occasional voices of dissent, "bleibt es dabei, dass das tannaitische Judentum im grossen ganzen von der unbegrenzten Sühnkraft der Umkehr überzeugt war."[2] "Repentance" for Tannaism was as Moore observes, "the conditio sine qua non of the remission of sins."[3] However we ought not to think as Moore does that the DA was merely a day of repentance, for the day itself was a means of expiation even when the cult had ceased.[4]

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1 Aboth R. Nathan 29,44b; Tos. Yoma 5:6 with slight variations b. Yoma 86a, j. San. 10,1,27c, Mek. Ex. 20,6,68b ff., For English translations see A. Büchler, Studies, p.346, J. Goldin, Aboth R. Nathan (New Haven, 1956).

2 E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.144.

3 G.F. Moore, Judaism I, p.498. H. Wenschkewitz [Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe, Angelos IV (Leipzig, 1932), p.32], gives the same conclusion in almost identical words, he says, "dass die Busse conditio sine qua non zur Erlangung der Vergebung ist, nicht aber das Opfer." Tos. Yoma 5:9 says; "Sin-offering and guilt-offering and death and the Day of Atonement, all of them together, do not expiate sin without repentance." Cf. b. Yoma 85b.

4 Siphra 16:30. Sjöberg suggests this conclusion was obtained by reading ביום הזה as instrumental, "by means of this day". Further s. Yoma 8:9, upon which H. Kosmala ["Jom Kipper", Judaica 6 (1950), p.4], comments, "Die Bibel meint: dieser Tag der Versöhnungsopfer im Tempel bringt eure Versöhnung; nun aber wurde die versöhnende Kraft auf die blosse Einrichtung des Versöhnungstages übertragen, ohne Tempel, ohne Hohenpriester, ohne Opfer."

This development of the DA as a means of atonement in and of itself pre-dates the fall of the temple. In the early section of b. Yoma the problem of the destroyed temple is discussed, but not with the anxiety of men at a loss but with the calm of men who already have the solution.[1] The solution that was ready to hand was merely to substitute those acts which had increasingly become central as means of atonement, that is, the day itself, repentance, confession, fasting,[2] almsgiving,[3] suffering, prayer, and the study of the Torah.[4] [5]

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1 The often quoted account of R. Nathan expounding m. Aboth 1:2 reveals this: Once as Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai was coming forth from Jerusalem, Rabbi Joshua followed after him and beheld the Temple in ruins. "Woe unto us!" Rabbi Joshua cried, "that this, the place where the iniquities of Israel were atoned for is laid waste!" "My son," Rabban Johanan said to him "be not grieved; we have another atonement as effective as this. And what is it? It is acts of loving-kindness, as it is said, For I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Hos. 6:6), J. Goldin, The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan (New Haven, 1956). The account goes on to illustrate these acts of kindness from Daniel's experience isolated from the temple in Babylon; they are defined as giving an outfit to a bride to make her rejoice, accompanying the dead, succouring the poor and praying twice daily.

2 "Fasting" as the meaning of עינוי in Lev. 16:29 was obtained by the hermeneutical method of Gezera Shawa; the same word in Deut. 8:3 and Ps. 35:13 means want and hunger, hence it means fasting in Lev. 16:29 (see Siphra Lev. 16:29 and b. Yoma 74b).

3 H. Kosmala, Judaica 6 (1950), p.9: "Almosengeben gilt in seiner Wurzel als ein Ersatz des einstigen Opfers, insbesondere des Opfers am Versöhnungstage. Das hat seinen Ausdruck darin gefunden, dass der Versöhnungstage der Tag des Almosengebens ist."

4 A substitute sacrifice is found among some Jews in the Kapparah-rite: see J.Z. Lauterbach, "The ritual for the Kapparot-Ceremony", in Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut, ed. S.W. Baron and A. Marx (New York, 1935), pp.413-422. According to Lauterbach these differing ceremonies go back not to the sacrificed goat but to the goat for Aza'zel.

5 H. Wenschkewitz, calls this "die jüdische Äquivalenztheorie". It is this that Wenschkewitz maintains was the beginning and basis of spiritualizing of the cult. For a study developing the OT roots of this beyond Wenschkewitz's treatment see H.-J. Hermisson, Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult: Zur "Spiritualisierung" der Kultbegriffe im Alten Testament (Neukirchen, 1965).

Tannaism is not, however, with the Apocalypses, anti-temple or cult. "Sie waren ein Teil des heiligen geoffenbarten Gotteswortes, und sie waren darum genau so ernst zu nehmen wie das andere in der Tora."[1] But as such it formed part of the body, not its life-giving heart. Its loss was a wound, but not a deadly one.[2] That which would have meant finis for other ancient religions was not, as Moore states, even a serious crisis for Judaism.[3] The cult was in the Torah, it was to be obediently fulfilled in detail, and accepted as a means of atonement but not apart from the accompanying acts of personal contrition and restitution.[4]

The frequently quoted Tannaitic saying אין כפרה אלא בדם[5] needs thus to be qualified. Sjöberg maintains that the context is referring only to the sacrifice and means that by the blood and not some other accompanying act the expiation is effected. It does not mean that blood is the only and always necessary means of atonement.[6] That Sjöberg at least is right in his conclusion is born out by the Rabbinic exegesis of the DA texts. Leviticus 16:11 for instance is understood as referring to atonement by confession because the statement "and shall make atonement" occurs prior to the bullock's slaughter.[7] That this "atonement" meant an act of confession

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1 E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.175.
2 A. Büchler, Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety From 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. (1922, beautifully reproduced along with other classical volumes by Ktav, New York, 1968). Büchler discusses how many of the pious Jews of this period took a Nazirite vow to be able to offer a sin-offering, his chapter is a corrective to those scholars who think of first century Judaism as anti-cult.
3 G.F. Moore, Judaism II, p.13. One may conjecture a comparison with protestant Christianity, the loss of the sacraments would be severe but not destructive.
4 The DA atones for sins between God and man but between man and man personal reconciliation is additionally required (m. Yoma 8:9).
5 B. Yoma 5a; b. Zeb. 6a; b. Men 93b.
6 E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.180.
7 B. Yoma 36b; Siphra Lev. 16:6.

was established by comparison with the scapegoat in Lev. 16: 10,21.

The Rabbis solved the problem of how the high priest could be aided by attendants when scripture clearly forbade the presence of anyone in the holy place during the high priest's cultic act within the holiest, that is until atonement had been made for himself, his household and all Israel: by noting that such an all encompassing atonement had been obtained before the blood application, namely by the incense. There is therefore, for the Rabbis, no objection against the man standing on the fourth step stirring the blood during the blood sprinkling, because the demands of Lev. 16:17 had been fulfilled by the prior incense rite.[1]

The most striking element in the Rabbinic exegesis, however, is the atoning strength attributed to the living goat which is sent away. The blood of the slaughtered goat atones for the pollution of the sanctuary but all the other transgressions in the Torah, small and great, deliberate and inadvertent, known and unknown, of commands and prohibitions, and death deserving, are atoned for through the ritual with the living goat.[2] The feature that attracted such an interpretation was obviously that it involved the mere act of confession. R. Simeon objected that the confession over the bullock atoned for the priests and limited the confession over the living goat to the non-priests. The confessions indeed as preserved in M. Yoma are in essence identical[3] for the bullock as for the living goat.

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1 B. Yoma 44a. Cf. Wis. Sol. 18:21. The Rabbinic argument is to rationalize what was already necessary practice, especially for older high priests.

2 M. Shebu'oth 1:2-7, B. Shebu'oth 12b, Sifhra Lev. 16:30.

The point to observe in these confessions is that the text (Lev. 16:30) which gives the promise of the annual cleansing of all sins is related not to the blood aspersion within the holiest but to the high priestly confession over the scapegoat and the bullock.[1] Of similar importance is the tradition of the scarlet thread tied to the door of the sanctuary which turned white as a symbolic illustration of the fulfilment of the divine promise, not after the blood ceremony's completion but when the live goat reached the wilderness.[2]

It is no surprise, therefore, in line with this general type of exegesis that the element that is emphasized in the Mishnah is that which was peripheral within Lev. 16 - the elements of fasting (ענה - lit. afflict) and repentance.[3] In fact שוב is not even mentioned in the whole of Lev. 16.

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3 M. Yoma 3:8; 4:2 and 6:2. The twofold confession over the bullock is probably to maintain the distinction between the high priest, his household and the other priests for 4:2 adds ובני אהרן עם קדושך to אני ובית (3:8), cf. b. Shebu'oth 14a. In 6:2 the confession over the living goat is accordingly limited to עמך בית ישראל .

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1 Soon after A.D. 70 the high priestly confession was transferred to the synagogue and to individuals, cf. A. Büchler, Studies, p.353.

2 M. Yoma 7:8. The importance of the living goat for atonement is brought out in the Tosefta statement weighing its importance against the DA itself:

ר׳ לעזר בי ר׳ שמעון אומ׳ חומר בשעיר שאין ביום הכפורים וביום הכפורים שאין בשעיר שיום הכפורים מכפר בלא שעיר ושעיר אין מכפר אלא עם יום הכפורים . חומר בשעיר שהשעיר מיד ויום הכפרים עם השיכה

Tos. Yoma 5:16, . [S. Lieberman, The Tosefta, New York (1962), p.255].

3 It should be noted that these confessions enforce the contention of G.F. Moore and A. Büchler that it is the divine mercy which is the basis of the Rabbinic confidence; thus in the three instances of the confession we read: . אנא השם (בשם) השם) כפר נא בעונות . . . "The Name" stands for the Tetragrammaton, which on the DA was actually pronounced, cf., however, Tamid 7:2). The emphasis on the high priest's act of confession rather than his cultic act with the blood does not destroy the nexus between man's sinfulness and God's forgiving mercy.

It is clear that what is central for Talmudic Judaism are the non-cultic acts such as castigation and confession which had gained pre-eminence, as H. Kosmala says, sometime before the fall of the temple.[1] We come to a result similar to that which we found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[2] There is undeniable validity in O. Schmitz's contention that "die Opfersühne für das rabbinische Judentum trotz allen auf die minutiöse Ausbildung der Opferhalacha verwendeten Fleisses keineswegs als die eine grosse Sühnemöglichkeit im Mittelpunkt des religiösen Interesses stand."

There is the danger in such an emphasis, despite the presence of a doctrine of grace, that the fulfilment of these conditions obliges or indebts God to forgive the sinner. To develop this theme would take us beyond our historical purpose it is sufficient to delineate the means of atonement in Tannaitic Judaism as related to the DA and note that it emphasized man's activity, but not to the exclusion of divine mercy. Before concluding this discussion of Tannaitic interpretation of the DA something more should be said about the actual ritual with the scapegoat and the sanctity of the temple especially the holy of holies.

The two goats for the DA ceremony were to be identical in appearance, size, and value and preferably purchased at the same time. After the completion of the blood applications the high priest made his act of confession over the scapegoat, when the liturgy reached the pronunciation of the divine name the priests and people fell on their faces and called out,

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1 H. Kosmala, Judaica 6 (1950), p.19. Also H. Wenschkewitz, Spiritualisierung, p.45.
2 O. Schmitz, Opferanschauung p.115. Cf. E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.182.

"blessed the name of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever". The goat was then handed over to the one who was to lead him away, who in the time of the second temple was always a priest. They had at this time constructed a protective race to conduct the goat through because Alexandrian Jews had the habit of pulling the goat's hair and crying, "Take and go forth, take and go forth".[1]

There is a diversity of traditions about the scarlet thread;[2] apparently it was tied around the goat for Aza'zel as a mark of identification, when the time of the service over the second goat was reached one tradition transferred it to the door of the temple while another left it on the goat until it was led to the precipice, where half was then tied to a rock.[3] The goat was pushed over the edge of the cliff to be dashed to death on the rocks. this was a preventive measure to stop the sin-laden goat returning, it was not sacrificial in any way.

The Rabbis, as we have said previously, were concerned about the destruction of the temple, but their discussion in b. Yoma 9b is not over the loss of the cult but the justice of such a calamity in the light of the great number who were faithful to the Torah and its precepts. They concluded that this tragedy happened because of the presence of hatred without cause.[4] It is a national tragedy, it is no especially religious loss.[5] The entrance of the high priest within the

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1 M. Yoma 6:4 נשא חוב נשא חוב . Meaning, take our sins and bear them away.
2 B. Yoma 67a.
3 B. Yoma 67a says the first tradition was what was originally done.
4 "But why was the second Sanctuary destroyed, seeing that in its time they were occupying themselves with Torah, [observance of] precepts, and the practice of charity?" b. Yoma 9b.
5 The Temple was a centre of national unity and bond. It is often difficult for example in the Books of Maccabees to separate pious zeal for religion from fanatical nationalism.

inner sanctum was viewed, however, with a holy awe. The high priest underwent seven days of instruction at the hands of two scribes. during this time he was in isolation and protected from any ceremonial defilement. On the morning of the day before the DA they familiarized him with the sacrificial animals and the order of the service. During his seven days of preparation the high priest performed the daily offerings and burning of incense, probably again as a preparation for his DA duties. The high priest was under oath not to deviate in the smallest detail from the order of the ritual.

The Talmud, like the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, is awed by the dreaded privilege of the high priest's drawing near to the presence of God. The high priest is instructed to make his prayer within the holiest brief lest he frighten Israel.[1]

D. The Scrolls of Qumran

If one reads the Mishnah and Pseudepigrapha - Apocrypha and then immediately the Qumran scrolls - all virtually for the first time - as the present writer did, the conviction seems inescapable that one is reading literature belonging essentially to the same genus. It is surprising then to discover the enormous amount of discussion and literature devoted to these scrolls, for though it is true that the NT student ignores them at his peril;[2] the same admonition pertains equally to the other writings of Judaism. This is not to belittle the importance of the scrolls but only to defend the equality of importance of the other pieces in the jigsaw of first century Judaism.

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1 B. Yoma 53 af.
2 G.R. Driver, The Judaean Scrolls (Oxford, 1965), p.6.

The DA as we have already seen from our study of the Talmud, and to a lesser degree the Apocrypha - Pseudepigrapha, had a certain attractiveness for those Jews who were separated from the temple service, either geographically or by status (i.e. laymen). This is understandable, because even without the cultic ritual there remained elements that made it a day of supreme importance: not least was the element of repentance which enabled laymen, whether approximate to the temple or not, to be conscious participants.

If we have a group of priests and not only laymen separated from the temple, not because of deportation, emigration or Roman destruction, but as a purposeful protest against moral decadence and cultic indifference,[1] then, before one reads their literature, one can assume a high evaluation of the DA. Such an assumption soon meets verification. In the words of J.T Milik concerning "Le Jour de l'Expiation", "Cette fête rappelle une date importante pour l'histoire de la Secte"[2] and further and more general "La doctrine et la pratique de l'expiation jouaient un grand rôle dans la théologie et dans la liturgie des sectaires de Qumrân".[3]

The protest of the sect of Qumran was not against the legitimacy of the temple or the supremacy of Torah,[4] but over the halakah of the latter, and, somewhat related the lax,

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1 D.H. Wallace, "The Essenes and Temple Sacrifice", TZ 13 (1957), p.338.
2 J.T. Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Qumrân Cave I (Oxford, 1955), p.153.
3 Ibid.
4 G. Vermes [/] "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture" in The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society 6 (1969), p.87[/], says, "The Torah of Moses was the chapter of the community." And ibid., "For them, the Law of Moses was the only rule of life and the Prophets their only guide to the events of the last days."

immoral priestly conduct of the former. It is obvious that in such a situation where pious priests and laymen are conscientiously cut off from the temple, yet still mentally and legally (i.e. by the Torah) passionately attached to it, that the principle of substitution or equivalence will operate; the "Als - Ob" as Wenschkewitz calls it.[1]

As B. Gärtner in a penetrating study observes, once the desecrated temple ceased to be the centre of holiness in Israel it was necessary to provide a new focus, "This focus was the community, which called itself 'the Holy place' and 'the Holy of holies'."[2] The "holy place" represented the lay order of the community and fittingly the "holy of holies" stood for the priestly members. Thus quite logically to enter the community-cum-temple required the same kind of strictures as a priest entering the sacred precincts, even if the applicant was indeed only a layman. An example of this is the demand for physical wholeness, any bodily blemish automatically excluding one from full membership.[3]

The same kind of thing is present in 1 QS 3:3-13; 6:1 ff. where, as K.G. Kuhn[4] points out the baths and meals replace the temple cult. Gärtner clarifies this even further by postulating that behind the Qumran community meal and bathings

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1 H. Wenschkewitz, Spiritualisierung, p.44.
2 B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament (Cambridge, 1965), p.15, see IQS 9:5 ff; 8:4 ff. Further see G. Klinzing, Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament (Göttingen, 1971), pp.50-93.
3 4QFl 1:1-7; I QSa 2:3 ff. 4QDb. O. Hofius ["Jesu Tischgemeinschaft mit den Sündern" Calwer Hefte 86 (1967), p.31], compares with good effect Luke 14:16-24.
4 K.G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran", in The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. K. Stendahl (New York, 1957) p.68.

were the customs of the priests.[1] The priests were obliged to wash hands and feet on threat of death before entering the tabernacle, especially the high priest on the DA when it seems the whole body was washed (Ex. 30:19-21; Lev. 16:4).[2] To enter the Temple-Community required accordingly the same water lustration (IQS 3:4,9; 5:13), but this was to be no mere external act void of any inward committal to holiness.

If the community is conceived as a kind of temple and those who join it as quasi-priests then of necessity the sect must think in terms of the temple's main function, that is, sacrifice. This means not only the general sacrificial service but also the feasts,[3] and especially the DA for it was this feast which provided the annual cleansing of both congregation, and priests, and temple alike.

Examples of the general use of sacrificial imagery are abundant in the texts; and not surprising in a reform movement emphasizing holiness, it is the sin-offering which is given supreme attention. The verb חטא for example occurs some twenty-five times in these writings according to Kuhn's concordance, mostly in a context of sin expiation. The reason for this attitude is well expressed by Gärtner:

> Since the community has taken over the holiness and the functions of the temple it is now in point of fact the only means of maintaining the holiness of Israel and making atonement for sin. It is necessary that atonement should be made for the sins of the people; the

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1 B. Gärtner, Temple, p.13
2 For the five immersions of the high priest on the DA see b. Yoma 31a.
3 מועד in the sense of feast occurs rather regularly in the Scrolls.

> desecration of the official temple has rendered it useless for these ends; there must be a substitute, and that substitute is the life of the community, lived in perfect obedience to all the precepts of the Law, all its commandments, purifications and prayers.[1]

The substitutes for the literal act of sacrifice are those we found in the other writings of Judaism: in 1QS 3:6 it is through a spirit of true counsels that sins are expiated;[2] 1QS 3:7 the spirit of holiness cleanses all sins;[3] and in 1QS 3:8 the spirit of uprightness and humility expiates sins.[4] In 1QS 9:4 f. we read that the member of the community shall atone (כפר) for transgressions and sins without the flesh of burnt offerings and the fat of sacrifice; the means of atonement shall be the prayer of the lips, a delectable free-will offering.[5] In 4Q Flor. 1:6 f., though the meaning is not altogether clear, the offerings of sacrifice are equated with the works of the law.[6] In 11QPs [a]154:10 f., which we previously knew from the Syriac, we read in words reminiscent of Sirach 35:1 ff.:

> And a man who glorifies the Most High
> he accepts as one who brings a meal offering,
> as one who offers he-goats and bullocks,
> as one who fattens the altar with many burnt offerings,
> as a sweet-smelling fragrance from the hand of the righteous.

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1 B. Gärtner, Temple, p.44. Also G. Klinzing, Umdeutung, pp.63,99 f.,103 f.,116.

2 כיא ברוח עצת אמת אל דרכי איש יכופרן כול עוונותיו. Vermes takes אל as a preposition and translates "concerning". E. Lohse understands אל as "God" and connects it to עצת אמת (= "den Geist des wahrhaftigen Rates Gottes" - the "ways of man" becomes then the object of כפר and "his iniquities" in apposition to it.

3 וברוח קדושה . . . יטהר מכול עוונותו.

4 ועונה תכופר חטתו. The word ענוה was the main point of departure of Rabbinic exegesis of the DA. Cf. Lev. 16:31.

5 Cf. CD 9:20 f. 1QS 10:1 ff.

6 מעשי תורה

The Dead Sea Scrolls are no more anti-cult than the other traditions of Judaism, what they substituted was not mere metaphorical language but services which God accepted as real sacrifices [1] their whole attitude can be paralleled in both the apocalypses and the Talmud. It is within this general framework of the sect's concept of sacrifice that we turn to the DA.

First, we ought to notice that the Qumran community kept the DA according to their own calendar reckoning.[2] This is the point of the emphatic demand in CD 6:18 f. "They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts, and the day of Fasting according to the finding of the members of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus".[3] In light of this one can understand the reference in 1Qp Hab. 11:1 ff. to the Wicked Priest's ability and desire to frustrate the independent celebration of this festival. It was no holy day for him and indeed was a threat to the central authority (see note 2 below).

The doctrinal content in these allusions is not considerable, but the phraseology throws some light on Qumran

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1 Contra J.L. Teicher's extreme view, "Priests and Sacrifices in the Dead Sea Scrolls", JJS 5 (1954), pp.93-99.

2 S. Talmon "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll", Biblica 32 (1951), pp.549-563. Talmon illustrates the importance of calendar reckonings for preserving or destroying unity by reference to Bab. R.H. XXV, a-b, where R. Joshua is forced by R. Gamaliel, the head of the Sanhedrin, to desecrate the day of his own reckoning. The point at issue was the need of an unanimous acceptance of the one central authority irrespective of the objective correctness of its assumed dates.

3 ואת יום התענית כמצאת ב"א הברית החדשה. In the Talmud the DA is referred to as the "Great Fast" (= צומא רבא) and there are Greek equivalents to this in Philo, Josephus and the NT. As far as I know the term יום התענית is not used in the Talmud. The tractate תענית is of course derived from the root ענה, and includes a section on the DA. For "fasting" in Judaism see the excursus in SB IV, pp.77 ff.

ideas. The phrase יום ותענית gives indication that the covenantors understood Lev. 16:31 in the Talmudic manner as fasting and self-denial, and that their celebration of this day took the form of personal rigours. The Habakkuk commentary adds to this observation,[1] the text reads: ובקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים הופיע אליהם לבלעם ולכשילם ביום צום שבת מנוחתם Here the DA is specifically named and then further qualified by calling it the feast of מנוחה, or the Sabbath of מנוחתן, and the Fast Day. Each of these attributes represents those elements of the DA which have always attracted the pharisaic spirit, the more so when separated from the cult.

Not all agree with those like J.M. Baumgarten when he purports to find the DA in 1QS 1:22-23 and 24-25,[2] yet the evidence to me seems compelling. There is only one place in the OT where a priest proclaims the threefold confession of guilt that we have in these texts, and that is the סמך ritual over the living goat in Lev 16:21. A comparison of texts makes this immediately clear:

1QS 1:23 - והלוים מספרים את עוונות בני ישראל וכול פשעי אשמתם וחטאתם בממשלת בליעל

Lev. 16:21 - והתודה עליו את-כל-עונת בני ישראל ואת-כל-פשעיהם לכל חטאתם ונתן אתם על ראש השעיר

The verbal similarity is too close to be accidental, the expansion of פשע by the addition of אשם is just the sort of thing that occurs in liturgical traditions. It is this confession which is given such a large place in m. Yoma (see 3:8; 4:2; 6:2).

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1 The sectarian exegete happily found, or read, מועדיהם for מעוריהם and thus a peg on which to hang his polemic.

2 J.M. Baumgarten "Sacrifice and Worship Among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumrân) Scrolls", HTR 46 (1953) p.158.

There is good reason in fact to go beyond the limitation of the allusion to 1QS 1:22-23 and 24-25 for the whole context of the section 1QS 1:21 through to 3:12 (or even to 4:26) bristles with DA overtones. When humanity is divided into the two groups, אנשי גורל אל and אנשי גורל בליעל, which is found in 1QS 2:2 and 4 f. right after the DA threefold confession of guilt (1QS 1:23-25), we are right in seeing a reference to the גורל אחד ליהוה and the גורל אחד לעזאזל.[1] With I Enoch in mind there should be no hesitation in drawing the conclusion that בליעל[2] here, if not elsewhere in the scrolls, is the Qumran equivalent for עזאזל.

This is subtle use of "equivalence" but not far fetched. The ritual of the DA is now given ethical distinctions, "the Lord's lot" are those chosen by God, who walk in the ways of truth and purity: "the Aza'zel lot" are those rejected by God according to the mystery of his inscrutable will. The first are destined to bliss the second to everlasting fire.[3] Further to keep the temple-community pure of any who may have come within its portals but not within its spirit the DA

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1 גורל occurs frequently in the scrolls; its use in 1QM is instructive for there we meet again the two forces "the lot of God or light" and the "lot of Belial or darkness".

2 Belial (Beliar) occurs frequently in the Pseudepigrapha as a proper name.

3 Cf. I Enoch 10:4-7. P. von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial (Göttingen, 1969), pp.73-80; G. Klinzing, Umdeutung, pp.123 f.; F. Nötscher, Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte (Bonn, 1956) pp.169-174. None of these authors mention the possibility of a derivation from Lev. 16 for בליעל or גורל. An identical interpretation is found in the Apocalypse of Abraham, where Aza'zel and those of his lot are cast into the fiery pit. A.R.C. Leaney [The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (London, 1966), p.129], allows that Lev. 16:8 10 perhaps foreshadow the use here of two lots of men one for God, the other for Belial.

provided the sect with the method and language of maintaining its purity. Such a one whose heart-idols remained unmolested even within the sacred precincts of the community shall be cut off from the midst (מתוך) of the sons of the light, the very penalty (כרת) in Lev. 23:29 for failing to afflict (ענה cf. 1QS 3:8) oneself on the DA

When we read therefore in 1QS 2:19 that they are to do this as long as Satan (בליעל) reigns, year by year (שנה בשנה) to assemble themselves together according to strict order (Lev. 23:27 = מקרא-קדש) are we not correct in finding here Qumran's annual Yom hakkippurim ceremony?[1] In 1QS 3:1-12 the limits of the DA judgment are designated: those who have not maintained the way of rectitude in the community will find no atonement (כפורים) or cleansing (טהר),[2] only those of a true spirit, a spirit of uprightness, holiness and humility of soul (1QS 3:8 ענוה נפש ; Lev. 16:31 = עניתם את-נפשתיכם) shall atone for their sins. To observe the DA at the seasons

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1 Notice the comparison between the DA confession pericope in 1QS 1:23 f. (בתמשלת בליעל) and the present text, 1QS 2:19 (ממשלת בליעל). Therefore 1QS 2:19 refers to the preceding paragraphs as well as forward to the following paragraphs. G. Vermes / The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth[3], 1968), pp.31,44/, also makes the connexion of 1QS 1 with 1QS 2 but sees this annual festival as a Renewal of the Covenant Feast during the period of the Feast of Weeks. D. Lührmann / "Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung", ZThK 67 (1970), p.438/, also compares 1QS 1:16-3:12 with Lev. 16 though he rightly does not think this excludes the Covenant idea. He compares only expiation and annual forgiveness.

2 The association of the water of purification (1QS 3:8 ff.) of Num. 19 with the DA is found also in b. Yoma 14a and the Ep. Heb. B. Yoma preserves a baraitha which says, "that the water takes the place of the blood". It seems unlikely to me that the community actually performed this sacrifice as J. Bowman says, see "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?", RQ 1 (1958-59), pp.73-84.

appointed by God (1QS 3:10 למועדי תעודתו)[1] without deviation is to present a pleasing atonement (כפורי ניחוח); a barb directed no doubt at those who dissented from the sectarian calendar.[2]

Our interpretation of 1QS 1:22 ff. not only finds support from I Enoch and the Apocalypse of Abraham, but also within the Qumran writings themselves. In 4Q 177 in a section dealing with the children of light and the devices of Belial we read of "Belial and all the men of his lot". In 4Q 180 is mentioned Aza'zel[3], the angelic leader who was responsible for the seduction of the daughters of men (Gen. 6:4); an interpretation known in the apocalypses and among some Rabbis. In this fragment Aza'zel appears to be considered as the prime instigator of all sin, similar to sections of I Enoch.

The fragment 4Q 181 contains a teaching exactly paralleled in the Apocalypse of Abraham[4]. Out of the world of sin and rebellion, the sectarian author proclaims, God's glory has brought some to be members of the holy congregation "and in a lot with his holy ones" (ובגורל עם קדושו). The text continues with similar language: "established a man according to his lot" (נת[לאו איש כפי גורלו), "which he had cast for . . .

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1 "Concerning the seasons of His regulating", not as G. Vermes "concerning the times appointed for him". The verb עוד is associated with the feasts by the idea of regular occurring or custom, the sectaries enjoyed playing on the roots עוד and עד". That this text refers to the calendar is also the view of A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran (E.T. Oxford, 1961), p.77. Cf. CD 3:12 ff., 1QH 4:10 ff.

2 P. Wernberg-Møller /The Manual of Discipline (Leiden, 1957) p.60/, also parts company with the prevailing view that the renewal of the covenant in 1QS 1 ff. took place during Pentecost. He feels it is a reasonable assumption that the annual penitential covenant-renewal took place on the DA.

3 The form is עזאזל, apparently understanding the name as from the root עזז/. cf. Aq. εἰς κεκραταιωμένον, and Targ. Jonathan to Lev. 16:10, for the Talmudic views see b. Yoma 67b.

4 Cf. Apoc. Ab. XXXI.

to everlasting life" ([ ] לחי עולם). The second part goes on to speak of the giants being born (Gen. 6:4) as in 4Q 180. We are clearly enough again confronted with an eschatological interpretation of the two groups of light and darkness depicted in the language of the two lots of Lev. 16.

In the light of the evidence of the two lots in 1Q 34bis, 1QS 1:22 ff., 4Q 181 and the Apocalypse of Abraham there seems no reason why we should not classify the frequent use of גורל בליעל and גורל אל found in 1QM as deriving from the same source, namely the two lots of Lev. 16. The frequent mention of the high priest in this work tends to support this. The use made of this symbol is identical with that found elsewhere. The time of the final battle of the nations is a time of salvation for the lot of God but destruction for the lot of Belial (1QM 1:5). God's wrath is against Belial and all those of his lot (1QM 4:2). In 1QM 13:2 ff. is found the same blessing of God's lot and cursing of Belial's lot as occurs in the Prayer of the Day of Atonement (1Q 34bis, cf. 1QS 2:1 ff).[1] Belial's lot is one of darkness, but God's lot is one of light (1QM 13:5). These two divisions and destinies are predestined by the eternal divine choice (ובגורל אור הפלתנו 1QM 13:9), one to blessedness the other to the abyss (עשיתה לבליעל משחת 1QM 13:11).[2] Peace and blessing is the experience of the גורל

1 It is again a priestly blessing, in fact, very likely high priestly. Y. Yadin/The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the sons of Darkness (E.T. Oxford, 1962), pp.223 ff./, connects 1QM 13:1 ff. with 1QS 2:4 ff.

2 The subject of ויפל and עשה is God. The root נפל is used for casting of lots or deciding by lot. The root שחת can mean both the "pit" and "destruction"; if one takes it here as an inf. constr. meaning "to corrupt" it could be the purpose for which God created Belial rather than his destiny, this is preferred by J.H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John", in John and Qumran, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (London, 1972), p.81. This essay originally appeared in NTS 15 (1969), pp.389-418.

אל (1QM 17:7), for the DA is for them the feast of peace (1Q 34bis מועד שלומנו). The two predestined groups of 1QM follows, therefore, the pattern of the other Qumran and apocalyptic expositions of the two lots of Lev. 16, one for the Lord and one for Aza'zel. It goes without saying that Qumran's dualism did not derive from Lev. 16, but their dualistic thought, as with Philo, found in the two lots of Lev. 16 a convenient biblical symbol and language. There is actually no other biblical use of גורל that offers such dualistic categories, there can be then little doubt that the DA use of גורל is Qumran's biblical Vorlage.

We have a clear example of the type of DA liturgy used in Qumran in 1Q 34bis and 1Q 22, 3:10 ff. In the latter text the DA is synthetically joined to the episode of the wilderness wandering, reminiscent of the similar attachment in the Book of Jubilees of the DA to Jacob's mourning for Joseph. The point of departure is clear: the previous lines have spoken about the year of release, which biblically begins on the DA (Lev. 25:9), thus the bondage of the fathers in the wilderness found its release on the tenth day of the seventh month (line 10). The biblical injunction for the cessation of work is given, and it is declared that on this day atonement (כפר) shall be made.

Col. IV of 1Q 22 is fragmentary, the ideas seem to be that atonement for the land and Israel is made within the community (L. 1 ובעדת יאלים [ובסוד קד]ושים cf. 1QS 8:6 ff.).

The allusion in L. 2 to pouring the blood out upon the ground is undoubtedly figurative. The remaining lines are beyond full comprehension for only a few words are extant, the perpetual nature of the ordinance is stressed and the fragment breaks off significantly at the point of the priestly confession (L. 9 וסמך את-יד), over the second goat (L. 11 שני חש [עיר]).

The "Prayer for the Day of Atonement" (תפלה יום כפורים) found in 1Q 34bis contains again as in 1QS 2:2 and 4 f. a separation of the lot of the just (גורל צדיק) and the lot of the impious (רשעים גורל) with the appropriate blessing on the one and cursing on the other. The impious in fact are a ransome for the just (כופר). Column 11 concludes with a praise of the heavenly luminaries[1] and a denunciation on those who do not recognize the order God has ordained through these instruments: an allusion again to the sects preoccupation with calendars and dates after the fashion of Jubilees and IV Ezra. The liturgy of Qumran for the DA was apparently similar to later Synagogue services.

Beyond these clear liturgical texts M. Lehmann[2] has suggested that the following are also DA liturgical texts:

Scroll of Three Tongues of Fire	(1Q 29)
Priestly Blessings	(1Q 28b = 1QSb)
Pesher on Jacob's Blessings	(4Q)
Scroll of Mysteries	(1Q 27)

Lehmann relies mainly on parallels from Sirach 50 to make his case. None of the parallels are coercive enough to attach any of these Qumran texts to a DA liturgy. His strongest parallel is with 1QSb, but even here it is only sufficient to

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1 Cf. 1QS 10:1 ff., I Enoch 72-74, Sirach 33(34):7-9.
2 M. Lehmann, "'Yom Kippur' in Qumran", RQ 3 (1961), pp.117-124.

show that both 1QSb and Sirach 50 belong to a priest-eulogy form, not that both are related to the DA. Before concluding this Qumran section a word should be said about the large use of כפר in the Scrolls.

Unlike the OT the Qumran use of כפר almost never has the priest as subject of the two exception (1QM 2:5 and CD 14:19) only the first is related to sacrifice. Usually the subject is God (twelve times) or the community (five times). The expiating means is God's righteousness or mercy, or in the case of the community, their holiness or repentance (CD 2:5 לכפר בעד שבי פשע). Also unlike the cultic use of כפר in the OT the object is not usually persons or things (indirect object) but guilt or sin (direct object).

The most common preposition is בעד (also unlike the OT for בעד occurs with כפר only eight times, four of which are in the DA text Lev. 16). Of the other prepositions ל occurs twice and על twice. The preposition בעד in the cult, we noticed, was limited to the high priest and his family or Israel as a whole,[1] needless to say Qumran makes no such reservation, though interestingly בעד rarely is connected directly with sin, it relates to the land (הארץ = 1QS 3:6, 8:10, 1QSa 1:3), the congregation (עדת = 1QM 2:5), and personal pronoun (= בעדם i.e. holy elect men = CD 4:6, 4:10). In CD 3:18 בעד relates כפר to עונם and in 1QS 11:14 to כול עוונתי .

The use of כפר in Qumran[2] has thus moved away from any relation to the cult though its predilection for בעד indicates an interest in the atonement ideas of the DA spiritualized

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1 p.67 of this thesis.
2 Sirach also has a large place for כפר, but also almost exclusively devoid of cultic usage; ben Sira, however, never uses בעד with כפר.

along the lines of repentance, holiness, and faithfulness to Torah. That כפר came from a cultic matrix is further supported by the way it occurs in connexion with the major texts depicting the community as a counterpart to the two-part temple (1QS 5:4-7;8:4-8,9-10;9:3-6). Their large use of the verb כפר and cognates, therefore derives ultimately from their priestly ways of thinking, albeit "spiritualized".[1]

There can be no doubt about the large place the DA had in Qumran thinking but likewise there can be little doubt about the changed cultic expression that their DA liturgy took. Of particular interest is the concept of judgment and the association of Satan (השטן) with the DA, which became so strong a point in later Jewish thinking.[2]

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1 F. Nötscher, Terminologie, pp.189 ff., and especially G. Klinzing, Umdeutung, pp.101,116.

2 Already in the Talmud Rama b. Hama said: Ha Sa Ta N in numerical value is three hundred and sixty-four, that means: on three hundred and sixty-four days he has permission to act as accuser, but on the Day of Atonement he has no permission to act as accuser (b. Yoma 20a).

CHAPTER 4

HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

A. INTRODUCTION

The Jewish world of the post-exilic re-establishment saw not only the growth of a strong Jewish population in the holy land, but also flourishing communities sprang up throughout the Greek Mediterranean empire. Here, in a way not unknown in Palestine, yet more intense, Judaism contacted the genius and spirit of Hellenism. In this type of situation one of several procedures is possible.

First, Judaism could become exclusive limit its contact with the non-Jewish world, surround itself with a multitude of protective ordinances, in a word separate to the point of sectarian other-worldliness. Second, Judaism could align itself with the Greek ideal, absorb into itself those elements which she found attractive, adapt itself in those areas which were offensive to the Greek mind, in a word assimilate, become another "denomination" of the Hellenistic religious world. Third, Judaism could, instead of merely maintaining her separateness, actually promulgate her uniqueness by an apologetic procedure which showed that the best of Hellenism was already known by the Hebrew sages before Socrates ever posed a single dialectical question.

This third approach is not of course isolated from the other two, its force was derived from a conviction of the uniqueness and exclusiveness of Jewish beliefs, and its method required a certain hellenizing of Jewish thought - at least in outward expression. The approach is similar to that of some modern Christians who attempt to recommend Christianity, or

specifically the Bible, by showing that atomic-physics or Copernican cosmology was known and anticipated by the scriptural writers.[1] Just as the starting point of these latter is a belief in the veracity of the Scriptures and only secondarily an awareness of the secular mind, so those who defended Judaism along these lines began with a whole-hearted avowal of the Jewish faith. They did not begin as disciples of Greek philosophy and then read the ideas of their own age into the Torah. If they were not rooted in the religion of their fathers, the simplest approach would have been to become adherents of Greek thought; on the contrary, however, their interest in Greek thought, if not totally, for they could not but admire and imbibe some of it at least predominately, was apologetic.

B. Philo Judaeus

To this third approach of Judaism within the Hellenistic world belongs Philo of Alexandria. "Philo's interest, . . . , always remains the same - not to construct a more adequate philosophical system, whether based on those of contemporary schools or in opposition to them, but 'to justify Judaism in terms of contemporary thought' and to read into it as much as was possible of the conventional Hellenistic theology."[2] His whole method endorses this observation of Wilson's; for Philo never departs from the formal control of the biblical text and notably the Pentateuch at that; the prophets are quoted barely twenty times. It is the Torah, the heart of Judaism, that Philo is defending. Despite his apparent criticism of

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1 E.R. Goodenough Introduction, p.124. Theosophy does the same thing, clothing its mysticism in a pseudo-scientific garb.

2 R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (London 1958), p.40. Wilson is quoting W.L. Knox in the latter part.

sacrifice and his spiritual emphasis he belongs decidedly to the Law. When we turn to Philo's exposition of the DA therefore, although naturally showing peculiarities of his own and great differences, we find he is often at one with the Rabbis, Qumran and the Pseudepigrapha-Apocrypha, he is and remains a Jew,[1] an adherent of Torah.[2]

"Höchst merkwurdig ist die Behandlung des Fasttages, wie man den 'Versöhnungstag' in Alexandrien anscheinend schon lange, nicht aber in Palästina nannte."[3] It is the nature of the DA as a fast which seems most noteworthy to Philo; in his longest treatment of the DA this is the element most emphasized.[4] The feast after the "Trumpets" is the Fast (νηστεία). The perverse may ask what sort of feast is this that lacks both the usual abundant table and accompanying music; ah! here the wise Moses showed his discernment and called the fast a feast, a Sabbath of Sabbaths. It has this name says Philo for several reasons:

1. Because of the self-restraint it entails.
2. Because for the whole day prayers are offered to propitiate (ἐξευμενίζω) God and ask for remission of sins.
3. Because it is the time of annual harvest and thus to fast at this time is a mark of extreme piety - Philo continues for some paragraphs eulogizing the mental and spiritual benefits of fasting, then he recognizes his rhetorical excess and concludes, τούτων μὲν δὴ ὅλις .

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1 Goodenough warns us against the approach which begins "Philo is a Jew therefore. . .", see Introduction, p.25. Goodenough of course is not denying that Philo is a Jew, but warning us against inferring wrong conclusions from this premise.

2 For Philo's knowledge of the oral law in general and the DA halakah in particular see S. Belkin, Philo and the Oral Law (Cambridge Mass., 1940), pp.210 ff. I. Heinemann (note 3 below) denies Philo knew any part of the oral Law.

3 I. Heinemann, Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung (Breslau, 1932), p.132. Heinemann's remark that the DA was not known as "The Fastday" in Palestine is not correct, יום התעניות is found in Qumran and יום הכפורים רבא in the Talmud.

4 Spec. II, 193 ff.

The DA is so awesome that the otherwise irreligious observe it with the pious.[1] It has, he says in this place, two aspects, one as a festival and the other as a purification: as a festival Philo, gives one of his numerical jingles on the number of the offerings; as a purification he speaks of the ram burnt by fire, the goat sacrificed and the goat sent away. Only on the latter does he expound; this goat "was to be sent out into a trackless and desolate wilderness bearing on its back the curses (ἀρά) which had lain upon the transgressors who have now been purified by conversion to the better life and through their new obedience have washed away their old disobedience to the law." The place of repentance ought to be noted for the basis of the amnesty is the gracious God "who has given to repentance (μετάνοια) the same honour as to innocence from sin". Repentance is understood as turning from an attitude of disobedience to one of obedience, the latter atoning for the consequences of the former.

Philo compares the Greek gluttonous festivities with the austerity of the Jewish DA and under his pen the Jewish fast is portrayed as the more attractive.[2] The purpose is the control of the passions in order to offer prayers asking for forgiveness of old sins and the seeking of new blessings. This control of the passions, moreover, requires through the exercise of hardy strength the bringing low of the soul, a putting away of boasting, an imploring of pardon for sins voluntary and involuntary.[3] The result of this act of castigation is propitiation (ἱλασμός).

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1 Spec. I. 186 ff.
2 Mos. II. 23 ff.
3 Post. 48.

In none of these passages has Philo been particularly Hellenistic in his idiom; if anything he has been critical of the coarser elements of Greek practice.[1] It is otherwise in a section developing the divine characteristics of the number ten where Philo turns to the propitiation (ἱλασμός) on the tenth day of the seventh month.[2] On this day the soul is suppliant (ἱκετεύω) to God the tenth "and is schooled to know the humiliation (ταπεινότης) and nothingness of its trust in the sagacity of a created reason, and how transcendent and supreme is the Uncreated in all that is good." And thus God becomes propitious (ἵλεως) and this immediately "without their supplication, to those who afflict (κακόω) and belittle themselves and are not puffed up by vaunting and self-pride."

Although here Philo uses Greek terminology to describe God his emphasis on affliction as an act of humility is found also in the Rabbinic sources. It is his preoccupation with the number ten which enables him to connect with this discourse the release (ἄφεσις) of the Jubilee year; for actually fifty is the key number but it begins on the 10/VII, that is the DA. On this he speaks of the release as a freeing from the past wandering and an establishment in the nature which wanders not. This type of exegesis is partly found in Qumran (1Q 22). Philo is speaking Hebrew thoughts in Greek idiom.[3]

Philo's connexion of the verb of Deut. 8:3 (κακόω = LXX, ענה = MT) to the action of the worshippers in fulfilling Lev. 16:29 is precisely what we found in the Talmud. It is

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1 In fact his emphasis on repentance, fasting and self-abasement is good Rabbinical teaching.
2 Cong. 107 f.
3 Naturally it is possible that Qumran and Philo are both giving Greek ideas in their respective expositions, though this I personally do not find here.

through "afflicting" that He propitiates. (καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἱλάσκεται).[1] Also like other groups of Judaism Philo is drawn to the ritual of the living goat. Here, however, he does not appear to be particularly concerned with the act of confession by the high priest. In one place[2] where he speaks of the laying on of hands, it is in connexion with the general worshipper bringing a burnt offering (which he designates the best = ἄριστος). The actual words of the confession are also distinctive though not unparalleled,[3] for they are hardly contrite. "These hands", Philo's confession runs, "have taken no gift to do injustice, nor shared in the proceeds of plunder or overreaching, nor been soiled with innocent blood. . .but have made themselves humble ministers of things excellent and profitable. . .." Wenschkewitz comments "Hier ist der Sinn der Handauflegung einfach in sein Gegenteil verkehrt, man bekennt nicht seine Schuld (vgl. etwa Lev. 16:21), sondern seine Unschuld."[4]

With the two he-goats offered for atonement (ἡ τῶν προσαγομένων τῷ ἱλασμῷ δυεῖν τράγων), Philo says, he is greatly impressed.[5] In the division of these two he discerns two ways of thinking: "one whose concern is with things of divine virtue", the other concerned with "poor miserable humanity". The first is destined for God; the second banishment, "for the lot which fell to creation is called by the oracles the lot of dismissal (ἀποπομπαῖος), because creation is a homeless wanderer, banished far away from wisdom." In this whole section Philo is showing that Moses anticipated

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1 L.A. III, 174.
2 Spec. I, 204.
3 Luke 18:9 ff. or Egyptian equivalents in the "Book of the Dead".
4 H. Wenschkewitz, Spiritualisierung, p.79.
5 Her. 179.

Heracleitus in proposing that "two opposites together form a single whole."[1] The point over the two goats is that man is made of two parts, mind and matter, the intellect in its ability to converse with God is to balance the passions. "That which exalts the First Cause" is another way of describing the way of thinking of the first lot, and the second lot equals "that which exalts creation". The sensual shall be banished from holy places out "amid rocky chasms in trackless and unhallowed regions."[2] Philo is far distant from the exegesis of Qumran over the "Lot of the Just" and the "Lot of the Impious", for Philo's idiom is Greek dualism while Qumran's is Hebraic eschatology.[3]

However when he comments on Gen. 2:24,[4] though talking about Mind being engrossed with sense perception and thus becoming flesh or conversely sense-perceptionbeing led by Mind and thus becoming Mind, his real concern is the worship of God and the denial of the carnal desires. Passion is the portion of the lover of passion but God the portion of the lover of God. The mention of κλῆρος gives Philo opportunity to introduce Lev. 16:8, "one portion for the Lord, one for dismissal", for the portion of the lover of the sensate is indeed

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1 Philo illustrates this from a bewildering variety of Mosaic examples. His conclusion again beautifully expresses his purpose: "Is not this the truth which according to the Greeks Heracleitus, whose greatness they celebrate so loudly, put in the fore front of his philosophy and vaunted it as a new discovery? Actually, as has been clearly shewn, it was Moses who long ago discovered the truth that opposites are formed from the same whole, to which they stand in the relation of sections or divisions" (Her. 214).

2 Plant. 60 f.

3 Even Qumran's concept of the two spirits of man (1QS 4:1 ff.) is not classical dualism.

4 L.A. II,52.

the dismissal /of/ the sensate.[1] Man is not the mid-point here but God, and ethics are subservient to religion not the reverse as in Stoicism.

In a Midrash on Lev 16:10[2] Philo is still concerned primarily with religion, he contrasts two lives: one living in accordance with God, that is, loving him; the other irrational, cut off from the life of God. An example of this irrational, godless life is the scapegoat. There are three words in this text which attract Philo's comments:

1. He shall set him <u>alive</u> before the Lord
2. to make <u>atonement</u> over him
3. so as to send him forth for <u>dismissal</u> afar.

To the word alive he attaches a homily on the greater praise in combating passion when it is alive and vital, "no one of sound sense would applaud old men for abstaining from indulgences".

If nature has given us a healthful inheritance (= "the lot for the Lord") this is to be enjoyed not praised, but if our portion (= "the lot for Aza'zel") is one of "noxious diseases and sicknesses banes to be rid of, let us be in earnest to overthrow and cast them down, for this is to 'make atonement over them'". Here Philo moves on to word two, and atonement is given the meaning of "wilful control of the appetites:) though passions are alive fight them with vigour

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1 τοῦ γὰρ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐστι κλῆρος ὄντως τὸ ἀποπόμπιμον πάθος. G.H. Whitaker misunderstands Philo's use of ἀποπόμπιμος (see Vol. XII appendix p.495) and therefore his rendering is obscure. The thought is Stoical in that those who surrender to πάθος will ultimately lose her enjoyment. Pleasure belongs ultimately to those who are controlled by the higher échelons. Philo, however, thinks these thoughts within the control of devotion to the God of Moses, Isaac and Jacob, he is not merely advocating ἀπάθεια.

2 <u>Post</u>. 70-72.

until completely removed. His use in the last phrase of παντελῶς ἀποδιοπομπησώμεθα is his ethical comment on ἀποπομπαῖος . Though Philo appears in this section to be very man-centred and Greek in his concept of morality his purpose again is not mere control of the passions but a call to return to the life of God.

Philo is a dualist, not in an eschatological sense, but with regard to creation - for him there is the noumenal and the phenomenal. It is on the basis of this that he defends the keeping of the letter of the law (τὰ ῥήματα νόμων) against certain Jewish intellectuals who were disregarding the law on the basis of their concept of its inner meaning. Such an attitude as this Philo warns will lead to an ignoring of the sanctity of the temple. The inner meaning is like the soul, the external like the body; we have to take heed to the body, so also to the outward forms of religion. The symbols rightly observed clarify the things symbolized and silence the censure of the orthodox.[1] Thus it is not true to say either by Philo's own testimony or by his premises that if he carried his ideas through to their conclusion "so wäre er zu einer radikalen Ablehnung des kultischen Opfers gekommen."[2]

This dualism appears in many different connotations. It was this dualism which, as we have seen was behind his interpretation of the two goats of the DA, so likewise it is behind his interest in the divisions of the temple and the change of the high priest's robes on the DA. "These and the like are symbols of a soul which in inward things is undefiled towards

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1 Mig. 92 f. This should be compared with and balanced by Spec. I, 275 f. where the incense offering is praised above the sacrifices.

2 O. Schmitz, Opferanschauung, p.167. Mysticism does not logically have to exclude material symbols as Schmitz implies.

God and in outward things is pure towards the world of our senses and human life."[1] A happy balance between the noumenal and the phenomenal.

The high priest in taking off the glorious robe (the symbol of the material universe) before entering the holiest on the DA is a portrayal of the soul that loves God having disrobed itself of the body and entering the holiest "naked with no coloured borders or sound of bells, to pour as a libation the blood of the soul".[2] Such a flight of the soul into the realm of the divine, as every mystic confesses, was no constant experience. Reason is in the body and cannot forever roam free of its normal abode. As Philo observes "not even the high priest Reason, though he has the power to dwell in unbroken leisure amid the sacred doctrines, has received free licence to resort to them at every season, but barely once a year (Lev. 16:2 34)."[3] And even on this occasional communion Philo infers the view is blurred (i.e. by incense).[4]

When the mind is thus lost within the pure ministrations of God it is not human but divine. The good man is on the borderline of divinity and humanity, bounded by the two extremes, mortal because of his manhood, incorruptible because of his virtue.[5] Philo is not trying to tell us the high priest is sinless, or indeed anything about the high priest, in whom his

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1 Mut. 44.
2 L.A. II, 55 f. Philo does not make Ben Sira's mistake of having bells tinkling within the holiest.
3 Gig. 52.
4 Spec. I, 72.
5 Her. 84, Som. II, 188 f., 230 f., Fug. 106. Philo supports his thesis by a daring piece of exegesis. He takes the statement that no man is to be within the holy place while the high priest is in the holiest as a reference to the high priest "not being a man until he comes out". Cf. Lev. 16:17.

interest is "very slight",[1] but he is expounding about the high priest Reason who alone can enter the holiest - the noumenous realms. The high priest's entrance into the holiest is a symbol of one who is "free from all defects, not wasting himself with any passion great or small, but endowed with a nature sound and complete and perfect in every respect. To him it is permitted to enter once a year and behold the sights which are forbidden to others, because in him alone of all resides the winged and heavenly yearning for those forms of good which are incorporeal and imperishable."[2]

The one who enjoys this mystical bliss is protected from pride, for, as Philo commenting on the ritual of the red heifer in Num. 19 asks, "who, when he lays to heart that ashes and water are for him the beginnings of existence, will be puffed up by conceit and raised aloft?"[3] He who approaches the temple firstly needs his body and soul cleansed, and then with boldness come and present himself as victim. It is this clinging humanness which explains the debated passage on the high priest's sinlessness.[4] The high priest Reason can be and is brought down by the passions from time to time and succumbs to the attraction of sensible things. This does not mean Reason is the source of this "fall" but rather the material sphere. That is to say, when the high priest (Reason) sins it is involuntary, he stumbles because of the errors of the people

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1 R.A. Stewart, "The Sinless High-Priest", NTS 14 (1967-68), p.134. Stewart rather harshly calls Philo's exegesis of Lev. 16:17 "perverse, indeed ridiculous"; in fact it is not exegesis at all.
2 Ebr. 135 f.
3 Som. I, 211 ff., Spec. I, 263 ff., Cf. 1QH 18.
4 Spec. I 230.

(Passion).[1] This is not actually stated in this more prosaic passage in the Special Laws but his allegorical mysticism lies behind it.

In these last texts on the high priest's annual DA entrance into the holiest Philo's mysticism predominates, there seems to be little reference to Judaism.[2] That this is the real heart of Philo's work as Goodenough believes seems very true. Philo does not devise substitutes to replace a valid but absent cult; he interprets the inner, the true meaning of the valid cult well beyond anything in the rest of Judaism including Qumran. Of the festivals, Goodenough says, it "is one of the most important in Philo for the adapting of Jewish rites to mystic ideas".[3] The idea of the soul as a temple of God is only a rationale for ethics but nevertheless "die mystische Schau ist das letzte Ziel."[4]

The other areas of Judaism we have studied were anxious to establish valid expiatory substitutes for the cult; this

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1 Philo himself confesses he had to "take reason along" when participating in banquets or, as did often happen, he became a helpless slave to appetite. See E.R. Goodenough, Introduction, p.9.

2 E.R. Goodenough (Introduction, p.208), goes so far as to say that the DA liturgy has been construed by means of the "inner meaning" to become a mystery-religion-sacrament. Goodenough's thesis of a mystery-religion in Hellenistic Judaism presented in his By Light, Light (New Haven, 1935) and preeminently in the magnificent Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period (New York, 1953-65), I am not competent to assess but the case seems to me to be overstated, well beyond the evidence.

3 E.R. Goodenough, Introduction, p.50. There is no evidence that the DA so interpreted was the sacrament of a Hellenistic Jewish mystery religion. Here Goodenough's fertile imagination has outstripped the facts.

4 H. Wenschkewitz, Spiritualisierung, p.86. O. Schmitz is quite wrong in limiting Philo's treatment of the DA to ethics; "Das Wesen des Versöhnungstages besteht danach vor allem in der Einprägung der Tugend der Enthaltsamkeit" (Opferanschauung, p.148).

is not Philo's purpose. His method of relating the DA ordinances to ethical or pious norms is similar to Palestinian Judaism, but for Philo the object is not expiation but the necessary control, or submersion, of the physical passions in order to attain the mystical beautific vision. Philo is not especially interested in expiation, the DA "wird so eilig von Philo in allerhand Allegorien aufgelöst, dass der Wortsinn nur flüchtig erwähnt wird. Ebensowenig ist Philo an der Blutmanipulation interessiert. Beim Sündopfer, bei Sühne des Versöhnungstages schweigt er sie tot."[1]

Philo's allegorical method which has such a large place in his exposition of the sacrifices "erreicht", as Schmitz says, "seinen Hohepunkt in den symbolisierenden Betrachtungen über das Passahfest und den Versöhnungstag".[2]

Philo, so Jewish in some ways so unique in others,[3] is also found to be an ambivalent figure in his use of ἱλάσκομαι. He does not hesitate, in an unjudaistic manner but good Greek, to have God as object of the verb, this he does in three places of his total usage of a mere ten instances. The texts are as follows: ἵνα διὰ μέσου τινὸς ἄνθρωποι μὲν ἱλάσκωνται θεόν.[4] The man through whom the people are thus to propitiate God is the high priest; apparently Philo is thinking of the cult but the OT cult knows only a ἱλασμὸς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ (or τῶν ἁγίων).

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1 H. Wenschkewitz Spiritualisierung, p.86.
2 O. Schmitz, Opferanschauung, p.146. It is surprising in the light of the importance of the DA both in Philo and the Ep. Heb. that the mammoth work of R. Williamson gives very scant attention to this element even though he has a chapter on sacrifice, see his, Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews (Leiden, 1970).
3 The problem of Philo, his Jewish or Greek elements, is a similar difficulty one strikes with the writings of St. Paul.
4 Spec. I. 116.

In a text comparing the more holy use of wine in the worship of old compared with the unbridled indulgence common in his own day, Philo writes: πρότερον γὰρ εὐξάμενοι καὶ θυσίας ἀναγαγόντες καὶ ἱλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον .[1] Again deity is the object of the verb and sacrifice, though coupled with prayer, is the means of propitiation. Sacrifice for Philo always includes of course "the mind, the most essential victim".[2] When speaking of the DA Philo can also describe its purpose as ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς ἀϊδίοις εὐχαῖς ?[3] Such a sentence is impossible for the Talmud, the Rabbis were careful to define the high priest's DA prayer in such a way that God remained the source of the expiating act not its object, the Sadducean high priest was given no occasion to glory.

On the other hand, in conformity with Judaism and the OT but unlike Hellenism, Philo also has God as the subject of the verb. An example from a DA text reads, ἡ κάκωσις αὕτη ἱλαστός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἱλάσκεται.[4] This is the only lonely instance of such a usage. Philo never has sin as the object of the verb, but nor does he then have the cultic usage of "for the benefit of someone" or "something" he never uses the preposition περί with this verb. Thrice the verb is used without a direct object. Such as οὐκοῦν τρισὶ μετανοίας τρόποις ἱλάσκεται [5] and εὐχὰς

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1 Plant. 162.
2 Plant. 164.
3 Mos. II. 24. God is the implied object also in Mos. II. 201: ποτνιᾶται δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἱλασάμενος ταῖς ἀναγκαίοις τῶν αἰσθήσεων.
4 L.A. III. 174.
5 Mut. 235, the three ways are the three alternative sin offerings of Lev. 5 which we should note Philo calls "ways of repentance".

καὶ ἱκεσίας ἱλασκόμενος ποιήσεται ;[1] and finally ἱλάσκεσθαι κριῷ .[2] There is one place where an injured person is the object and the meaning of ἱλάσκομαι is "reconcile",[3] and another where he refers generally to the placating of one of power and authority in order to avoid punishment, though here he is indirectly referring to God.[4] Never, let it be emphasized again, does Philo have sin as the object of the verb, seldom God as subject, and never relates it very intimately to the cult, though he knows the word in the LXX translation of כפר in the Levitical cult.[5]

Philo's use of ἱλαστήριον, which is often referred to as an example of the use of this adjective as a substantive signifying the mercy-seat, derives in his four examples of this substantive directly from the LXX. He always prefaces his usage by some such remark as τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις (Mos. II, 95). Generally, therefore, in Philo's use of ἱλάσκομαι ,[6] though taking it from the LXX, he loses the latter's influence of the Hebrew and understands the verb in its usual Greek way [7] which was well known to him.

C. Flavius Josephus

There was a time, says H. St. John Thackeray, when almost every English home possessed two books: a Bible and a

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1 Praem 56.
2 Spec. I, 234.
3 Spec. I, 237.
4 Abr. 129.
5 O. Schmitz (Opferanschauung p.171) says quite rightly, "In rein kultischem Sinne = Sühnegebräuche vollziehen wird ἱλάσκεσθαι bei Philo, so viel ich sehe, nie gebraucht." The nearest approach to it is Spec. I, 234.
6 His use of ἐξιλάσκομαι is limited to two or so instances when quoting the LXX.
7 Philo does use ἵλαος frequently referring to God as gracious. The ἱλαστήριον in fact is a symbol τῆς ἵλεω δυνάμεως (Fug. 100).

Whiston's Josephus.[1] Josephus is an example of the arbitrariness of our separation of Hellenistic and Palestinian Judiasm: he was born in Palestine just before Philo in his old age made a trip to Rome to voice an Alexandrian protest to Gaius,[2] and there he remained except for a brief visit to Rome (64 A.D.) until the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.). His environment during the formative years was decidedly Palestinian, the brief trip to Alexandria in 69 A.D. with Vespasian is hardly sufficient to explain diasporic influence upon him.[3] His family origins likewise were such as to encourage a propensity towards "orthodox" Judaism: he was of the royal Hasmonaean line as well as being a priest a son of a priest. It was not, however, the Sadducean segment which claimed his ardent support, but (after a period of "taste and see" in his teens of the differing Jewish groups) the sect of the Pharisees.

Josephus is a totally committed adherent of Judaism and that for him meant the Law: this is despite the rather bad press he had with his fellow countrymen due to his taking an anti-revolutionary stance and, therefore, in their eyes, a seemingly pro-Roman position.[4] His history of the Jewish War was but a sustained plea for diaspora Jewry (especially the eastern groups) to submit to the power of Rome, and the compulsion behind this was the conviction that this was the best for his people. Subsequent history has endorsed his opinion. In Against Apion and Jewish Antiquities he is very much the

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1 H. St. John Thackeray, Josephus: The Man and the Historian (New York, 1929), p.3.

2 H. St. John Thackeray (Vita Loeb 1, p.vii) makes the unlikely suggestion that Josephus as a lad may have remembered the threat of Caligula's erection of his statue in the Temple.

3 It was of sufficient duration to court and wed wife number two (Vit. 414).

4 J.A. Montgomery, "The Religion of Flavius Josephus", JQR 11 (1921), pp.302 f., compares Josephus' experience with Jeremiah

defender of the faith and the recommender of the one Religion to those who know it not.

Why then include him in Hellenistic Judaism? Because he wrote in Greek? Hardly, his first draft of the History of the War was in Aramaic. His Greek apparently was good enough to act as interpreter for Titus but not up to literary standards His more fluent and grammatically nice style he gained during his exile in Rome, and even then he was indebted to constant aid from his assistants.[1] The reason for including him here is that his ideas and methods of approach have more affinities with the diaspora than with Jamnia but this does not mean he is really non-Palestinian.[2] If history had endowed her scholarly devotees with a wider range of sources no doubt we would find many a "Josephus" writing from Jerusalem. Naturally the forces from Hellenism were stronger upon the Josephus in Rome than the Josephus in pre-A.D. 70 Palestine. His Antiquities indeed is borrowed in its structure from Dionysius' History of Rome,[3] a work, which along with others, he perused in Rome.

When we turn to Josephus' works we have every reason to expect from this ex-priest and doughty defender of the faith a rich source for the details and procedures of the cult in the first century. The fact is, in the words of Thackeray, "the author's contribution to our knowledge not only of the deeper religious aspect of Judaism, but even of its ritual

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1 Josephus in a rare moment of self-effacement confesses his inability to pronounce the Greek language accurately (AJ XX. 263).

2 J.A. Montgomery /JQR 11 (1921), p.300/, warns us that the fact that Josephus used the allegorical method, albeit sparingly, "should caution us, against drawing too fast a line between 'Palestinian' and Hellenistic."

3 H. St. John Thackeray, Josephus, pp.56 f.

customs and antiquities, is somewhat disappointing."[1] Perhaps if he had produced his proposed opus magnum on Jewish theology and cult this sad situation would have been corrected, but Josephus like many another scholar learnt that man proposes and God disposes.[2]

Besides brief mention of the falls of Jerusalem on "the Fast"[3], we are limited to only one major reference to the DA. Josephus' chronology concerning the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey and Herod on the DA is probably an error due to a confusion over the use of "Fast day" by his non-Jewish sources for Sabbath and his own understanding of it as referring to the DA.[4] At least it indicates again that fasting was the characteristic element in the DA for Judaism. When Pompey attacked the temple the sacrifices and worship (on Josephus' understanding the DA) were not halted even though many of the worshippers were being slaughtered. Josephus actually mentions the entrance of Pompey into the holiest, unlike the Psalms of Solomon which refer only to his men in the outer courts. An act of great calumny and not lawful but for the high priest alone. Josephus clears Pompey in later sections stating that he did not plunder the temple and permitted the resumption of its services.

In the section of his Antiquities dealing with the sacrifices he includes a paragraph on the DA.[5] Again he emphasizes the fast, νηστεύοντες ἕως ἑσπέρας . He gives a list of

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1 H. St. John Thackeray, Josephus, p 76.
2 AJ. XX, 268.
3 AJ. XIV, 66,487.
4 M.B. Dagut, "The Habbakuk Scroll and Pompey's Capture of Jerusalem", Biblica 32 (1951), pp.542 ff.
5 AJ. XXI, 240 ff.

the sacrifices of the day and devotes, as we have found almost universally elsewhere in Judaism, special attention to the scapegoat, ὧν ὁ μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἐρημέαν πέμπεται ἀποτροπιασμὸς καὶ παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους πάντος ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐσόμενος . The idea of dismissal is included within παραίτησις , a meaning found in Dio Cassius, though it more often means "pardon", and so ideas of "remission" and "forgiveness" are closely bound to the concept of dismissal.[1] Josephus may be influenced by the LXX translation of שלח (= ἀποπομπαῖος) in his use of ἀποτροπιασμός , the meaning is "to avert wrath or punishment by sacrifice", but Josephus seems to be primarily thinking of the dismissal of the people's sins, though with overtones of averting the evil consequences.

Josephus knows, not surprisingly, the Rabbinic interpretation of the phrase "the bullock which is for himself" (Lev. 16:6,11), and understands this as an obligation for the priest to supply his own bullock. Unlike most Jewish sources outside the Talmud, he gives details of the sprinkling of the blood within the holiest. The account contains several embellishments but is basically accurate though he says nothing of the mercy-seat nor indeed gives the act any expiatory value. No doubt such expansions would have been dealt with in the proposed book on the cult.

Josephus is eminently Greek in his use of ἱλάσκομαι , even more so than Philo. He uses the verb consistently with God as the object: εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν προθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ ;[2] ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεόν .[3] In one place Josephus has Saul swear

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1 The word is used for the remission of sins by Josephus with the sin-offering see AJ. III 238.

2 BJ V, 19.

3 AJ. X, 59; XII 112.

that he will propitiate God by the death of the offender even though it be his own son.[1] A perfect example of profane usage is the following: ἱλάσασθαι μηνίοντα , which is in a context where the speech is of the Hebrew people and their God.[2] There is no contradicting Schlatter's conclusion "Nie ist bei Josefus Gott der, der das ἱλάσκεσθαι übt".[3] The middle or passive is never found with Josephus, that is the use of the verb in the sense of "forgive".

He uses ἱλαστήριον once and that not for the mercy-seat, but for a memorial.[4] For the mercy-seat he uses ἐπίθεμα .[5] Josephus seems to be unaware of, or unconcerned for, the care with which ידכ is used in the OT; ἱλάσκομαι is not an act of the gracious God but, for Josephus, an act of man to make God gracious. Never with Josephus is the means of propitiation sacrifice, he mentions only supplications and, on the lips of Saul, the death of the culprit.

For the rest we have but allusions: the inviolability of the temple from even the presence of the noble Jews is raised to rebut Apion's contention that within the holiest a Greek was fattened for an annual sacrifice;[6] the sobriety of the Jewish cult compared with the Greek carouses;[7] and a passing reference to the DA where John Hyrcanus received a divine message when burning incense.[8] These are the sum of

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1 AJ. VI, 124: ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἱλάσασθαι.
2 AJ. XVII, 112.
3 A. Schlatter, Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus (Gütersloh, 1932), p.115.
4 AJ. XVI, 182. τοῦ θεοῦ [or perhaps θεοῦ] ἱλαστήριον μνημα
5 AJ. III, 137.
6 C. Ap. II, 104.
7 C. Ap. II, 193 ff.
8 AJ. XVII, 282.

Josephus' contribution to our theme. He gives two descriptions of the temple[1] and here indulges in some Philonic allegorization though using his own imagination. His description of the holiest is enthusiastic, ἔκειτο δ' οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ ἄβατον δὲ καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσιν, ἁγίοω δὲ ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο.[2]

The destruction of this edifice, the bond of national unity and pride, is related, understandably, with a certain pathos; it was God who had sentenced the temple to the flames, the soldiers were moved δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ, Titus is blameless, the responsibility lies with God's own people. The last note places Josephus if not among the prophets at least within the prophetic tradition.

D. The Septuagint

"The importance of this book, which was the Bible of the apostolic Church is beyond all exaggeration."[3] Its value lies in its supreme place as the means of disseminating the Semitic OT faith in the Greek world. Jellicoe's[4] judgment is sound when he concludes that the work is a product of conscientious translation rather than the attempt to import Hellenistic thought patterns into the ancient Scriptures. What guided the translators in their choice of verbal equivalents is not always readily clear.[5] Here and there Hellenistic

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1 AJ. III, 102 ff. and BJ. V, 206 ff.
2 BJ. V, 219.
3 C.K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents (London, 1956), p.208. Cf. B.J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff, 1951), p.101.
4 S. Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford, 1968), p.316.
5 For a study of the LXX's method and reasons for its choices of cultic terms see S. Daniel, Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante (Paris, 1966). She strangely does not deal with ἐξιλάσκομαι .

idiom smothers the Hebrew,[1] but on the whole it is an honest translation attempt.

Translation is always a precarious task, words are not interchangeable entities, the English phrase "I sacrificed much. . ." would mean something different if translated literally into the language of some cultic practising group. When the LXX translators chose ἐξιλάσκομαι as the major term for כפר they almost certainly were aware that they were using it differently from the surrounding Greek world.[2]

In so translating they ran the risk of Jewish, and especially non-Jewish, Greek language readers misunderstanding the meaning. Outside the cult the danger was perhaps minimal, but the danger was considerable in the cultic texts where כפר is so frequent with the priest as the subject and a person or a cult-implement as the indirect object. Philo and Josephus give evidence of the resulting confusion and perversion of the great Hebrew insight that the gracious God requires no placating by the bribes of sinful men.

Whether the NT writers were Hebraic or Greek in their usage of this word-group will be discussed later when we face the problem of Rom. 3:25. We should note however, that the regular translation of the Hebrew כפרת in the LXX was ἱλαστήριον. The five instances in Ezekiel where the Hebrew is עזרה[3] is due to the fact that the translators understood

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1 The classic example is the translation of Ex. 3:14 where the Hebrew phrase אהיה אשר אהיה is rendered by ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν.

2 With hardly an exception ἐξιλάσκομαι in the profane literature means propitiate, the object is inevitably a god or hero.

3 In Ezk. 43:14,17,20. Ἱλαστήριον in Amos 9:1 is based on a misreading of כפרת for כפתור.

the ונפש in Ezekiel's reconstruction as the functional equivalent of the Priestly שבת. The LXX translation of Lev. 16 is on the whole good. There are a few expansions[1] and one case of mistranslation,[2] but mostly a literal rendering is given. Theological considerations possibly controlled the choice of ταπεινόω for ענה (Lev. 16:29,31). In Num. 29:7 ענה is translated by κακόω as it is in Deut. 8:3, which harmonizes with the Rabbinic use of these two texts by means of the principle of Gezera Shawa.

E. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

The DA has very little notice in those writings of the apocryphal literature which are usually termed Hellenistic In the Letter of Aristeas (96-99) there is an enthusiastic description of the high priest's garments, but no mention of the DA. In II Macc. 3:1 ff. there is the interesting account of how a disgruntled ex-temple servant of Onias, the high priest, through the mediation of Apollonius of Tarsus, attempted revenge by disclosing to Seleucus, king of Asia, the promise of easy wealth from the temple safety deposit. The king appointed one Heliodorus to go and fetch this easy wealth. The sequel emphasizes the sanctity of the temple witnessed throughout this literature.

On arrival at Jerusalem Heliodorus was told that it was true that there were moneys in the temple for safety

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1 E.g. in Lev. 16:1 LXX adds πῦρ ἀλλότριον ; Lev. 16:11 adds καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ μόνον ; Lev. 16:20 adds καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερέων καθαριεῖ; Lev. 16:24 adds καὶ περὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ . . . ὡς περὶ τῶν ἱερέων; Lev. 16:31 adds ἀνάπαυσις .

2 Lev. 16:34. The active ועשו, which is connected to עשה, is taken as a passive (ποιηθήσεται) and wrongly taken with ונשבת שבתון (ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ).

belonging, he was told, to appeal both to his mercy and fear, to widows, orphans and a man of high station. It was also pointed out that the sanctity of the temple was honoured "over all the world". This did not deter Heliodorus from his mission and he proceeded with his design to confiscate the treasure, immediately priests and people as one thronged the area with hands stretched to heaven, the high priest's appearance was particularly pathetic.

As Heliodorus approached the treasury a mystical apparition manifested itself before him, which not only prevented access, but by two accompanying ghostly aides beat Heliodorus almost to the point of death.

On returning to the king, Heliodorus recommended only crown enemies be used for such future missions to Jerusalem "for the Place is really haunted by some power of God. He who dwells in heaven above has his eye upon that Place and defends it, smiting and destroying those who approach it for ill ends."[1]

Here we have no direct reference to the DA except in the oblique allusion to the absolute exclusion of all but the priests from entering the sanctuary. The allusion becomes concrete however in a parallel account of how Ptolemy purposed to enter the sanctuary.[2] Ptolemy is warned that this is impossible as not even Israelites are so permitted, or indeed even all the priests, save the high priest alone, and he but once in the year.[3]

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1 II Macc. 3:38 f., cf. IV Macc. 4:1 ff. and Ps. Sol. 2:1 ff., the latter referring to Pompey's desecration which somewhat later met divine retribution, see Ps. Sol. 2:30.

2 III Macc. 1:10 = ναός.

3 III Macc. 1:11, τοῦτο διὰ τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξεῖναι εἰσιέναι μηδὲ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ τῷ προηγουμένῳ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ τούτῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ. Cf. Lev. 16:34, Ex. 30:10, Heb. 9:7.

Here is an uncompromising doctrine of the sanctity of the temple,[1] the thought of its desecration causes bridegrooms to leave the marriage chamber in an immodest state, nurses and mothers to leave the new born, virgins to forsake their secluded chambers, and to rush through the streets in vocal protest.[2] Simon's prayer of intercession mentions the temple as the place of God's supreme manifestation on earth and centre of forgiveness, though the latter is tied to prayer there is no mention of sacrifice.[3] The mention of the DA is limited to the statement of the inviolability of the holiest except for this annual occasion.

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1 What W.H. Brownlee (IDB III, p.206), says of II Macc. is true also of III Macc., "The sanctity of the temple is the unifying theme of the entire narrative. . . ." Cf. The Book of Judith.

2 III Macc. 1:18 ff.

3 III Macc. 2:9-10,15 ff. Simon also recognizes the impossibility of a temple made with hands being the absolute abode of God.

PART III

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

TWO PROBLEMS

Of the DA in the New Testament J.C. Rylaarsdam has said that "the passion narratives, the Letter to the Hebrews, and the writings of Paul are all in various ways under its impact."[1] That is a substantial claim and before we attempt to investigate its correctness there are two problems of introduction which must first be studied. Because of the importance of the Epistle to the Hebrews for any study of the cult, we must turn to the vexed question of the author's purpose; and the other problem which we must discuss concerns an equally key part of the NT, namely, Rom. 3:25 and the fragmentary hypothesis of R. Bultmann and E. Käsemann.

A. The Purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews

We may for our study acquiesce with the agnostic confession of Origen over the authorship of this epistle. If it could be established that Barnabas, Apollos or some other of the scholarly guesses wrote Hebrews, it would change our understanding of the epistle hardly at all.[2] To whom it was written is a question of a different kind, because this is closely bound with the reason why it was written. If it was written to Gentiles, then immediately we can reject the idea that its purpose is to save the addressees from apostasy back to Judaism by means of a comparison between Christianity and Judaism.

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1 J.C. Rylaarsdam, art. "Day of Atonement", IDB I, p.313.

2 Even if the epistle could be proved to be Pauline the effect would be more on our understanding of Pauline theology than on the meaning of Hebrews. That Paul did not write it is at least one of the certainties of Introduction-Studies.

That it was written to Gentiles is the opinion of a growing number of scholars,[1] generally speaking with the accompanying belief that its aim was to encourage the flagging faith of Gentile Christians by demonstrating the superiority of the religion of Christ. Such a procedure is certainly not impossible, even today it is not uncommon to see books exalting Christianity at the expense of other religions, in the nineteenth century it was very common. Likewise the early church knew such approaches and even Judaism could present its self-justification somewhat in the same vein. The presence of a great interest in the cult is not contrary to a Gentile readership; Josephus and Philo, though admittedly writing in defence of Judaism rather than against it, were not reticent to use large portions of the cultic sources to completely Gentile audiences.

It seems, however, incredible[2] to believe that the author of this sustained and intense tract was only using the cultic procedures of the DA merely as a foil, a backdrop, for his christological intention. Are we to believe that this

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1 C. Büchel, "Der Hebräerbrief und das Alte Testament", ThStK 79 (1906), pp 542 ff. H. Windisch, Der Hebräerbrief (Tübingen^2, 1931); J. Moffatt, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Edinburgh, 1924); E.F. Scott, The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Doctrine and Significance (Edinburgh, 1922); A.H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Rev. ed. C.S.C. Williams (Oxford^2, 1953); G. Vos, The Teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Grand Rapids, 1956); O. Kuss, Hebräer^2, W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (E.T. London, 1966). Further see E. Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963", TR 30 (1964), pp.147 ff.

2 H.A.A. Kennedy [The Theology of the Epistles (London, 1919), p.184], says, rightly, that to prove the finality of Christianity by wearisome detail of the Jewish cultus would be an extraordinary method, if the readers were not of a Jewish origin. See E. Riggenbach Hebräerbrief^3 (1922), note 5 p.144 below , for those texts which seem to assume a Jewish pre-history of the hearers.

exhortation written with a very urgent, immediate, and specific crisis in view has at the heart of its message only a general apologetic for the uniqueness of the Christian faith? That his apparent purpose to show the superiority of Christianity over Judaism is really not so, he has only the positive aim of demonstrating the supremacy of Christ and the significance of his death?[1] His language is too intense, too pastoral, too specific to believe the DA was merely a convenient type from which to develop the thesis of Christ's incomparableness in order to strengthen his readers' faith.

It is the fact that Hebrews addresses a real and concrete situation where faith in Christ is in imminent danger of being jettisoned that refutes many of the theories of its purpose. We may think, for example, of H. Kosmala's theory[2] that the receivers of the epistle were Qumranites on the brink of accepting Christ rather than, as is the case, on the brink of rejecting him. A.A.T. Ehrhardt's idea[3] that it was written to encourage Jewish-Christians after the fall of Jerusalem, though it gives a good broad base - weep not over the destroyed temple the Christian centre of worship is heavenly and indestructible - fails again to do justice to the element of apostasy.[4]

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1 E.g. O. Kuss, "Der theologische Grundgedanke des Hebräerbriefes", MTZ 7 (1956), pp.233-271, reprinted in Auslegung und Verkündigung I (Regensburg, 1963), pp.281 ff.

2 H. Kosmala, Hebräer-Essener-Christen (Leiden, 1959).

3 A.A.T. Ehrhardt, The Framework of the New Testament Stories (Manchester, 1964), p.109.

4 One can make any number of plausible cases that deal with some of the facts but fail to do justice to the apostasy, like T.W. Manson's celebrated attempt ["The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews", BJRL 32 (1949), pp.1-17; reprinted in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles (Manchester, 1962), pp.242 ff.], to relate the argument to the heresy of the Lycus Valley. Where Manson sees the Epistle as an answer to a type of Gnosticism, Käsemann (Wandernde) sees Gnosticism as the source of the Epistle's ideas, such are the

The supposition that the addressees are Gentile Christians likewise does not give sufficient importance to the threat to faith which Hebrews attempts to combat. It is not sufficient simply to appeal to the wide use of the OT among Gentiles and its validity for Christian exposition (e.g. I Cor. 10:1 ff.), for Hebrews is not merely using the OT cultic texts, but is a sustained argument that Christianity is better than them. A proposition hardly worthy of emphasizing to Gentile Christians who never believed otherwise. It would be no more relevant than a missionary proclaiming to the Arunta tribe the supremacy of Christianity over Maoism. That is the very point; if the writer, as most agree, is attempting to exalt Christianity by means of a comparison, then the contrast he chooses must be a belief that his addressees value otherwise his effort is in vain.[1]

To say that the author had no interest in showing the shortcomings of the ancient cult but only the purpose of

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variations in scholarship. Even T. Manson's thesis [The Epistle to the Hebrews: An Historical and Theological Reconsideration (London, 1951)], that the purpose is to excite a Jewish-Christian group to embrace the world Christian mission, fails as well to do justice to the danger of falling away. I once considered the idea that the recipients were Ebionites, for they seemed to fit so well to the arguments of the Epistle: they believed Jesus was the new Moses (Heb. 3:1-6), gave death of Christ little place (Heb. 9:15-23), had an adoptionist Christology (Heb. 1-2); rejected the divine origin of the sacrificial law (Heb. 10:1;9:1-7); had intense adherence to Levitical food laws (Heb. 13:8-14); considered the tabernacle superior to the temple (Heb. 9:1-4), and there are other parallels; but the flaw is that Hebrews is not written to show the OT cult has a typological validity (as some moderns teach) against a hostility to the cult, but that the OT cult is only a shadow. To that last conclusion the Ebionites needed no convincing. For the teaching of the Ebionites see H.J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Juden-christentums (Tübingen, 1949), and the review of this work by T.W. Manson, JTS 2 (1951), pp.96 ff.

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1 The writer's use of the hermeneutical principle a minori ad maius (קל וחומר) almost demands a high assessment of the old cult on the part of his readers.

unfolding the uniqueness of Christianity, is like saying Paley had no thought for Hume when he wrote his Evidences or that Butler was unconcerned for Deism when he wrote his Analogy. It is inconceivable that any Pastor would write to his old flock in an effort to protect them from slipping away without giving attention to the source of the distraction, whether that was another religious belief or secularism - the former is more probable in the ancient world.

Our author is no shuffler of empty words; he contrasts Christianity not with some eastern religion that pleases his fancy, but with one his readers esteem. Indeed that is the problem, they esteem it too much. This affection is hindering their progress, in fact there is danger they will slip back. What called forth this epistle was not merely the "failure to recognise the grandeur of Christianity and so live worthily of it",[1] but a live situation where a small community was near to making shipwreck of their faith. Nearly two millenniums later that may appear to be "some obscure side-current", rather than "the main stream of Christian progress"[2] (and what then of Galatians and circumcision?); but if the problem was parochial, local, and urgent the answer is universal, timeless, and vital.

The glory of the temple, or the necessity of circumcision (i e Galatians), may no longer constitute threats to the faith, but that the death of Christ brought a forgiveness so radical that sinful man may have fellowship with the holy God without fear, is a message still worthy of proclamation with the same seriousness witnessed in this great word of exhortation.

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1 E.F. Scott, Epistle, p.16.

2 E.F. Scott, Epistle, p.20.

If the intrinsic probability from the argument of the Epistle itself so strongly indicates an audience from a Jewish background,[1] what are the forceful reasons for abandoning this hypothesis for the Christian-Gentile one? Surprisingly the weight of the argument falls nearly always on two texts which have time and again been given a reply. The two texts are Heb. 3:12 and 6:1 f. To the first it is sufficient to give again the answer so often before presented; to reject Christ for the tangible cult would be to go back to the very "shadow" which the Epistle declares is moribund; and that is equivalent to falling away from the living God.

There is no necessity to understand Heb 6:1 f. as a description of Christian preaching to Gentiles, it lists equally well the characteristic beliefs of Judaism, which were indeed the shadow of the Christian reality, or as he says, τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον .[2] It is hardly possible on the basis of Heb. 9:10 that βαπτισμῶν διδαχήν represents a basic part of the Christian message as such, but as part of the Judaistic foundation of Christianity it

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1 E.F. Scott (Epistle, pp.17 f.), tries to reverse the argument that the reasoning of the Epistle itself requires a Jewish-Christian milieu by objecting that first century Judaism was "not a matter of ritual but of fidelity to the Law." In other words the argument from the cult had no more intrinsic value for Judaism than Gentiles. That the cult was, and had been for centuries, "a mere survival" is not born out by the sources. Cf. A.C. Purdy, "The Purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Light of Recent Studies in Judaism", in Amicitiae Corolla, ed. H.G. Wood (London, 1933), pp.253 ff. If Gentiles could be enticed by "days" (Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16), how much more Jewish converts.

2 J.C. Adams "Exegesis of Hebrews VI, 1 f., NTS 13 (1966-67), pp.378-85, takes τοῦ Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive, "The teaching from Christ", which teaching, he says, was consistent with Judaism - a dubious thesis.

is perfectly sensible.[1]

That the letter does not mention circumcision implies nothing,[2] and the absence of the terms Jew and Gentile and any reference to a tension between them, indicates, if anything, a Jewish milieu.[3] That he argues from the OT tabernacle rather than the Jerusalem temple is typical of the Alexandrian methods to which he belongs. There is no coercive reason to reject the idea that the general pre-Christian background of the readers was Jewish, though equally clear, one of the more "unorthodox" segments. The writer's purpose therefore is not only to proclaim the supremacy of Christ,[4] but also to warn and exhort against the hindering attachment his readers had to the old order.[5]

B. The Bultmann-Käsemann Hypothesis

The importance of this bold conception cannot be overrated, for its conclusion is that one of the most crucial logia in the Pauline Corpus is not originally from Paul's

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1 H. Montefiore [A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London, 1964), p.106], explains βαπτισμῶν as an evidence of Apollos' authorship. Apollos, according to Montefiore, was rebaptized into Christ, for originally he knew only the baptism of John (Acts 18:25); such an experience motivates his choice of the plural here to denote Christian baptism, concludes Montefiore.

2 Circumcision has but minor mention in the Qumran scrolls and these, one would think, are Jewish.

3 So D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction: Hebrews to Revelation (London, 1962), p.28.

4 Christ is the "climax of the ongoing, historic purpose of God, the culmination of Israel's long pilgrimage" G.B. Caird, "The Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews", CJT 5 (1959), p.51 .

5 For a survey of this widely held opinion see the commentaries of F.F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London, 1964), pp. xxiiiff.; E. Riggenbach, Der Brief an die Hebräer (Leipzig[3], 1922), pp.xviiiff., 152 f, C. Spicq [L'Epître aux Hébreux I (Paris, 1952), pp.226 f.], even tries to go so far as to identify the readers with ex-Jewish priests.

pen. It derives indeed, the hypothesis hazards, probably from a Jewish-Christian matrix, which in content is not really in harmony with Paul's ideas, but he tries valiantly to mould it into his theological forms by inserting some of his own typical phrases.

Since it was first promulgated by R. Bultmann,[1] and then further elaborated by E. Käsemann,[2] this theory has in Germany been increasingly accepted, until today when it can be said to be nigh universal.[3] The only dissenting voice of any note is the Catholic scholar O. Kuss.[4] In England the scholarly reaction has been of the most devastating kind -

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1 As early as 1936 he proposed it as a possibility in an article, "Neueste Paulusforschung", TR 8 (1936), p.12, and then with certainty in his Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Tübingen, 1948), pp.47 f.

2 E. Käsemann, "Zum Verständnis von Römer 3, 24-26", ZNW 43 (1950-51), pp.150-154. Reprinted in Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen I (Göttingen, 1960), pp.96 ff.

3 E.g. G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath", in Early Christian Experience (E.T. London, 1969), p.65; H. Conzelmann, Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments (München, 1968), p.90, see also EvTh 28 (1968), pp.389-404 and Interpretation 22 (1968), pp.177 ff.; J. Jeremias, "Zwischen Karfreitag und Ostern", ZNW 42 (1949), pp.197 f. also TWNT V, p.704; K. Kertelge, "Rechtfertigung" bei Paulus (Münster, 1967), pp.48-62,71-84; D. Lührmann, Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden (Neukirchen, 1965), pp.150 f. also ZThK 67 (1970), pp.437 ff.; E. Lohse, Märtyrer, pp.149 ff.; Ch. Müller: Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk (Göttingen, 1964), pp.110 ff., with reserve O. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen[12], 1963), pp.103 f.; P. Stuhlmacher, Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus (Göttingen, 1965), pp.88 ff.; E. Schweizer, "Dying and Rising with Christ", NTS 14 (1967-68), p.12. Reprinted in New Testament Issues, ed. R. Batey (London, 1970), pp.171 ff., see also EvTh 26 (1966), p. 255; H. Thyen Studien, pp.163 ff.; K. Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen (Neukirchen, 1962), pp.76-79; et al.

4 O. Kuss, Der Römerbrief I (Regensburg[2], 1957), p.161.

dead silence.[1]

For our purposes it is naturally in a general way of some importance to know whether we are dealing with an original Pauline formulation or not. In a specific sense the necessity becomes more acute, for if Rom. 3:25 is part of a non-Pauline fragment from a Jewish-Christian milieu, then the likelihood of ἱλαστήριον having connexions with the DA, at least before Paul took it up, increases. Of course Paul, according to the fragment-thesis, makes corrective additions, so the original meaning of ἱλαστήριον may then well be modified.

Bultmann's reasons for presuming that Rom. 3:24 f. stemmed from the "Urgemeinde" are based mainly on the occurrence of a large number of hapax legomena in the pericope. He notices that ἱλαστήριον occurs only here with Paul; that αἷμα, outside of Rom. 5:9, is found with Paul only in traditional sentences (1 Cor. 10:16; 11:25,27), Paul rather preferring σταυρός; finally the idea of the divine δικαιοσύνη requiring expiation for sins committed formerly is with Paul otherwise strange. Apart from δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι and διὰ πίστεως Rom. 3:24 f. is therefore a non-Pauline fragment.

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1 It is not mentioned for example, possibly because of their popular nature, in F.F. Bruce, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (London, 1963); E. Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans (Cambridge, 1967). V. Taylor, The Epistle to the Romans (London, 1955); nor in the less popular commentaries of C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (London, 1957); and T.W. Manson, Romans, in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, Rev. ed. (1962). Further one may refer to the absence of any reference to Bultmann's hypothesis in E. Kenneth Lee, A Study in Romans (London, 1962); A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London, 1958); D.E.H. Whiteley, The Theology of St. Paul (Oxford, 1964). The only one to discuss the hypothesis in England that I know is A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London[2], 1961), pp. 120 ff. Hunter accepts

It is Käsemann, however, who takes up this hint from Bultmann and develops it into the cogent hypothesis that it recognizably is. He begins by pointing out that v.24 of the legion is immediately discontinuous; the δικαιούμενοι is unexpected and hardly smooth. The antithesis with v.23 properly demands a corresponding πάντες in v.24. In addition to the non-Pauline words that Bultmann noticed Käsemann advances πάρεσις, προγεγονότα ἁμαρτήματα, προτίθεσθαι in the sense of manifestation, δικαιοσύνη as a divine attribute in v.25, ἀπολύτρωσις as signifying an already accomplished redemption found only in set formulae 1 Cor. 1:30, Col. 1:14 (liturgical). Further the overladen style with its genitivalconstructions and prepositional connexions, reminiscent of the deuteropauline style, which is similar to the hymnic-liturgical tradition of the near-east (des vorderen Orients).

To this rather overwhelming list Käsemann adds his major argument - the exegetical difficulties. Unmistakably vv.25b and 26a are parallel, but is such a parallel really solid? Following Zahn, Käsemann outlines the usual exegesis: the δικαιοσύνη in v.26a is no longer the divine attribute as in v.25b, but the eschatological salvation-event. In v.25b it speaks only of the past and its guilt and a mere overlooking of sin, but in v.26a the argument is of the present time and its salvation and here for the first time is mentioned a real grace. On this understanding διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν begins a parenthesis and πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν takes up again the argument from εἰς ἔνδειξιν.

This position is not incontestable, says Käsemann, the idea of the past as πάρεσις and ἀνοχή is at odds with

Rom. 1:18 which characterizes the past as a time of God's wrath. The explanations that it refers to individuals as under divine judgment but not nations (Jülicher), or that the past alternated between times of grace and wrath (Zahn) are not acceptable to Käsemann. Nor is the solution of Lietzmann that πάρεσις means "forgiveness", that is forgiveness of past sins in the present time, precisely pertinent, for it fails to do justice to the contrasting nature of vv.25b and 26a. It is indeed this remarkable fact of the actual digression of v.25b and 26a in face of the apparent parallel nature of the texts which lands the expositor in insoluble difficulties.

M.-J. Lagrange, Käsemann notes, applies both vv.25b and 26a to the present time, and the otherwise damaging criticism of Lietzmann that that makes v.26a a senseless repetition is removed once we accept Bultmann's thesis; for what we have is a citation in v.25b which speaks of the death of Christ in non-Pauline terms while in v.26a we have Paul's comments on it. The method of exposition is to treat these verses separately; v.25 must be exegeted according to its Jewish presuppositions, while v.26 must be expounded as Paul's comments where he disagrees and corrects the fragment. The insoluble problem of the antithetical alliance between vv.25b and 26a is now understandable, the disagreement arises out of the differing Sitz im Leben of the texts. The tension between the two verses is basic for one is a quotation, with which Paul does not wholly agree and so he adds his corrective comments.

Käsemann exegetes the Jewish-Christian fragment along the lines of the covenant trustworthiness of God. In the event of Christ's death the hope of Jewish piety is fulfilled.

This occurrence separates two epochs, namely, the previous time of guilt and the present time of forgiveness and justification, and at the same time it inaugurates a New Covenant relationship on man's side. The basis of this New Covenant is a "means of expiation". God's righteousness is revealed in his faithfulness to the covenant and as the basis of the renewal of his people.

Paul's corrections in v.26, according to Käsemann, give a different meaning to δικαιοσύνη , for to Paul God's righteousness is not primarily - or at all - restitution of the covenant. He distinguishes the present (ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ) more sharply from the past than did v.25. The opposite to the present time is no longer the Salvation-history of Israel from Moses, but the world of the fall from Adam, which is under the wrath of God. Justification is not just limited to the former sins but is justificatio impii. Paul's universalism adds to the sola gratia of the Jewish fragment his sola fide. For Paul the Jewish-Christian Vorlage was important "weil sie das Heilsereignis als durch Christi Tod begründete Rechtfertigung beschrieb."[1]

This is not the first thesis which discovers non-Pauline sections in the early chapters of the Romans. D. Völter[2] declared, as long ago as 1909, that Rom. 1:17 and 1:18-4:25 (except, note, 2:14-15 and 3:22b-26!) were insertions. The Bultmann-Käsemann thesis is quite brilliant and demands respect not only for the cogency of its argument, but also because of the ability of its progenitors and the wide

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1 E. Käsemann, ZNW 43, p.154.
2 D. Völter, "Die Verse Röm 3, 22b-26 und ihre Stellung innerhalb der ersten Kapitel des Römerbriefs", ZNW 10 (1909), pp.180 ff.

acceptance it has received. Despite this, and the fact that it would in many ways support our later treatment of Rom. 3:25, the present writer respectfully dissents, because he finds the arguments on examination not sufficiently compelling.

The surprising δικαιούμενοι does not indicate that v.24 begins a quotation, but, as many commentators[1] have recognized, it points to a typical Pauline digression, namely vv. 22b-23, while δικαιούμενοι continues the thought of v.22a.[2] If v.24 began a quotation we would not remove the difficulty of the sudden δικαιούμενοι, but add to it; for then we would have to accept that v.24 is an unrelated and unprepared citation that Paul just shoved in. If we say the fragment is related to the preceding verses then we must believe that Paul was careful enough to add δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι but not neat enough to change δικαιούμενοι. Because of these weaknesses many who accept the fragmentary-thesis limit it to v.25 (see note 2 below).

The force of the argument here (i.e. v.25) is the large number of words which are either singular in their usage or

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1 V. Taylor, Romans, p.32; J. Murray, The Epistle to the Romans I (London, 1960), pp.113 f.; W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans (Edinburgh[5], 1902), pp.85 f.

2 C.H. Talbert ["A Non-Pauline Fragment at Romans 3:24-26?", JBL 85 (1966), pp.287-296], maintains that the fragment is limited to vv.25,26 and the awkward δικαιούμενοι then links with ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις in v.27, once the fragment is removed. The fragment is then of course a post-Pauline insertion put in as a summary of the apostle's thought. This fails, however, to really explain the unexpected δικαιούμενοι, for it is its awkwardness with what precedes that is the problem not with what follows. G. Fitzer [TZ 22 (1966), p.163], concludes that the phrase in v.25, εἰς ἔνδειξιν . . . τοῦ θεοῦ, is an insertion. H. Conzelmann, at least in his article in Interpretation 22 (1968), though not in every place where he deals with this thesis, accepts v.24 as a Pauline transition and the fragment's beginning in v.25. Cf. also E. Lohse (Märtyrer, p.150), who notes τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ in v.24 is particularly Pauline.

nuance. Two of them, ἱλαστήριον and πάρεσις, are rare in any context and are not made more common by calling them traditional or liturgical; we merely put their rare usage back to an unknown predecessor[1] rather than the known St. Paul. There is no reason to think these unusual words could not have been employed originally by Paul without dependence on a liturgical pre-usage. Equally προγίνομαι is a word not widely used, but neither is it one that belongs to the prerogative of the early church or Jewish-Christians.[2] There are only two other occurrences of προτίθημι in the NT, both in Paul (Rom. 1:13, Eph. 1:9),[3] which hardly gives us sufficient quantity to say the usage here is a radical departure from his customary practice. Perhaps Eph. 1:19 is not so far from Rom. 3:25.[4]

Δικαιοσύνη in Paul has a variety of nuances as both Bultmann and Käsemann[5] recognize; the manifesting of his righteousness in the present time because of past sins is not so un-Pauline; Col. 2:14 f., for example, is speaking of Jews and Gentiles when it speaks of the death of Christ as the annulment of the past debt of sin. The whole argument

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1 Liturgical forms do not mysteriously grow in the minds of the worshipping group, some poetic pen and mind produced them.

2 It is infrequent in the LXX.

3 If we consider Eph. as non-Pauline, as Käsemann does (RGG^3 II, pp.517 ff.), then we have only Rom. 1:13, which hardly constitutes the necessary requirements to conclude a Sprachgebrauch. In a seminar paper read in Manchester University (Nov. 14, 1972), Mr. John Williams noted a number of words which are rare with Paul in verses above and below Rom. 3:24 f.

4 Cf RSV ad loc.

5 R. Bultmann, "Δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ", JBL 83 (1964), pp.12-16; E. Käsemann, "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus", ZThK 58 (1961), pp 367-378, reprinted in New Testament Questions of Today (E.T. London, 1969), pp.168 ff. See especially the note on page 168 where he states his agreement that the specific term δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ has various connotations.

of Gal. 3 is that the past tied men up under the burden of sin, if this is not so then Christ died in vain (v.21). The parallel text to Rom. 3:21 ff. namely Eph. 2:1 ff. enforces this view of God acting in mercy (v.4) to save those dead in trespasses.

It is only when we understand ἔνδειξις as strictly meaning only "prove"[1] that the sense of δικαιοσύνη in vv.25 and 26 goes wide apart. Taken more generally as "demonstrate" or "manifest" v.25 harmonizes with v.26. Ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον, describes the action of God, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ , declares the result of the action; it manifests God's righteousness in his saving activity. The very reason that it refers back to the saving act of God in advancing Christ as a ἱλαστήριον means we cannot think of δικαιοσύνη in v.25 merely as a static attribute which God had to prove he possessed. The necessity for this manifestation of God's righteousness is in harmony with the argument of Rom. 1-2 and, as we said above, elsewhere in Paul; that is, that sin had not in the past been finally and absolutely dealt with, God had patiently let it build up until the fulness of times.

This characterizing of the past under terms like ἀνοχή and πάρεσις is not out of harmony with the context as those who embrace the fragmentary hypothesis assert. Rom. 1:18 is not in fact the beginning of a long digression which describes the past as a time of wrath, it proclaims what is happening

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1 Not that vindication of the divine justice is excluded, the term is inclusive not exclusive; C.K. Barrett (Romans, p.72) translates, "to show forth and vindicate his righteousness".

now in the realized end-time.[1] If then we accept that v.18 is speaking of the present activity of God, and the juxtaposition with v.17 makes this tenable, then v.18 counterpoises beautifully with the past seen as a time of ἀνοχή and πάρεσις. God's righteous activity in the present is not only salvific, but also is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

There are two remaining arguments, one the use of αἷμα, and the other, the large occurrence of prepositional connexions and genitival constructions. In fact αἷμα is used in Rom. 5:9, as Bultmann observes, and that is the end of the force from that point. The word preferred by Paul, according to Bultmann, is σταυρός, but this is mainly limited to Galatians and Corinthians; it does not occur in Romans. Once one uses a word like ἱλαστήριον, αἷμα springs quickly to mind.[2] For the prepositional and genitival argument Käsemann appeals to E. Percy, but that author[3] designates the heaping up of genitives and prepositions as frequent with Paul in general and characteristic of Col. and Eph.[4] [5] We must conclude

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1 This is forcefully presented by C.K. Barrett, Romans, p.33: "Paul does not say that the wrath of God was revealed in the old time before the promulgation of the Gospel, or that it will be revealed at the last day. He says that God's wrath is being revealed from heaven now. . . ."

2 See p. 63 of this thesis where the frequent connexion between blood and the ἱλάσκομαι word group is discussed.

3 E. Percy, Die Probleme der Kolosser-und Epheserbriefe (Lund, 1946), pp.27,191.

4 Colossians is certainly Pauline; Ephesians, though contested, is also just too clever to be a forgery: however, without these two books it still remains true that the liturgical phenomenon of an accumulation of genitival and prepositional phrases is by no means limited to Rom. 3:25 in the Pauline Corpus.

5 E. Percy, Probleme pp.212 ff.: "Nirgends dürften uns aber sonst Anhäufungen von Präpositionsausdrücken in solcher Ausdehnung begegnen wie im Epheserbrief sowie in den anerkannten Paulinen; . . ." (p.212).

that either Paul had a predilection for quoting near-eastern liturgical hymns or that he was capable of producing such a style - he probably did both, but more frequently the latter.

Because there is no indication in the text that Paul quotes and corrects a liturgical fragment, and because the fragment hypothesis does not solve the difficulties in the logion, the thesis of Bultmann and Käsemann is considerately, but firmly, rejected.

CHAPTER 5

THE ACCESS THROUGH THE VEIL

> Aaron. . .must not enter the sanctuary within the Veil. . .except at the appointed time, on pain of death (NEB. Lev. 16:2).

The temple and its cult was for the Israelites at the same time: the cause and sign of national unity, the centre of a festive worship, which rose at times to beautiful expression in Psalms of praise, and the symbol of the divine presence from which radiated both the demand and the succour of a covenantal piety for the people in whose midst the holy God graciously dwelt.[1] There was one feature — though it never seems to have been the occasion for complaint or the cause of a compelling curiosity except among foreign conquerors — which must have given continual reason for reflection. That feature, of course, was the oddity of a place of worship divested of both an image and worshippers; a place where God graciously appeared, but with no-one there to adore Him or greet his manifestation with awe, a temple surrounded by circles of increasing sanctity, the outer permitting access to all[2] the inner excluding all except the lonely, hasty, once-a-year visit of a frightened high priest.[3]

The Jewish attitude to this, as our preliminary survey has shown, was one of awesome and absolute obedience to the inviolable sanctity of this holy of holies. The people could draw near (קרב), they could not, dare not, enter (בוא). To

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1 R.E. Clements, Temple, pp.110 ff. R.J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford, 1969), pp.1 ff.

2 A state of ceremonial purity was required, but all nations and women were permitted into the peripheral circle of holiness.

3 After the ordeal in Talmudic times the priest threw a party for his friends, such was his relief after the trials of the day.

do so was to invite the consequences incurred by Nadab and Abihu - a story which prefaces the DA text of Lev. 16 as an appropriate warning. The priesthood was permitted beyond the burnt-offering altar to the area before the veil on a few occasions to place blood on the incense altar; and daily for a period to fulfil certain ministrations. Into the holy of holies, however, only the annual representative stepping of the high priest was permitted, while the people waited with bated breath only to release it with a shout as he came forth. And he, it should be said, was under the threat of death if he attempted to enter within the veil on any but the ordained day, and by the given means.

At the time Christ died all three of the Synoptic Gospels record that τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω .[1] Whether we understand this as the development of some actual physical event which occurred around the time of the crucifixion[2] or as a "legendary addition"[3] does not alter the fact that it is recorded because of its doctrinal relevance. There can be little doubt that it is a stark epigram for God's judgment of the temple and all it symbolized. "Mit seinem Tode zieht Gott aus dem Tempel aus, und das Gericht am Tempel beginnt."[4] To limit the phrase only to this grim announcement seems to miss the strong positive assessment of Christ's death which runs throughout the NT.

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1 Mk. 15:38, cf. Mt. 27:51, Lk. 23:45.
2 Such disturbances are related in b. Yoma 39b and also Josephus. See H.W. Montefiore, "Josephus and the New Testament" NovTest 4 (1960), pp.148 ff.
3 V. Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London^{2}, 1966), p.596.
4 W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus (Berlin, 1962), p.316.

This positive assessment is that God abandoned the temple not only as a graphic act of judgment on a disobedient people,[1] but also as a declaration that the way into the holiest had been opened by the death of Christ to an extent unattainable by the old ritual.[2] This raises the question of which curtain was meant, for καταπέτασμα was occasionally used in the LXX for the outer curtain.[3] When one considers the fact that the Synoptics are concerned to make a doctrinal statement it is near to certain that καταπέτασμα is used in its more frequent way as a reference to the dividing curtain between the holy place and the holy of holies. "Der zerrissene Vorhang sah nicht anders aus, als ob das Allerheiligste aufgehört habe Wohnung der Schechina zu sein und als ob es vorbei sei mit dem auf dem Unterschied des Heiligen und

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1 The symbol of the rent veil was widely used by Christian writers usually depicting the two aspects of anguish and departure. C. Bonner ["Two Problems in Melito's Homily on the Passion", HTR 31 (1938), pp.175-190], lists as well as Melito and sources dependent on it, Tert. Adv. Marc. iv, 42; Clem. Recogn. 1, 41; Test. Levi 10,3; Test. Ben. 9,3-5; Hilarius Comm. Mt.; Jerome Comm. Mt. In an additional note M. Rist (pp.249-250), adds II Baruch VI-VIII and Evodius, the latter in M.R. James's edition of NT Apocrypha, p.195. II Baruch of course is not Christian but gives a similar verdict on the destruction of Jerusalem as we found in Josephus. The deserting of the temple and ultimate destruction of it was Yahweh's act in the understanding of both Jews and Christians. We can add also the allusion to the rent veil found in the Christian interpolation to BJ. V, 214 in the Slavonic version.

2 J. Schneider, "καταπέτασμα", Kyrios 1 (1936), pp.57-73 and idem, TDNT III, pp.628 ff.

3 Th. Zahn ["Kleine Beiträge zur evangelischen Geschichte", NKZ 13 (1902), pp.729-756], argues strongly for the outer while H. Laible ["Der zerrissene Tempelvorhang und die eingestürzte Oberschwelle des Tempeleingangs vom Talmud bezeugt", NKZ 35 (1924), pp.287-314], argues for the inner. For the Jewish tradition see SB I, 1043 ff. The Talmud mostly has two curtains separating the two apartments: the high priest on the DA entered on the south side through the first curtain then travelled along the two curtains as through a corridor and finally entered the holiest through the aperture of the inner of the two curtains at the northern end. For the Rabbinic debate see b. Yoma 51b.

Allerheiligsten beruhenden Tempeldienst."[1] To this statement one must immediately add that the departure of Yahweh and the cessation of a cult based on the distinction between the two temple sections, did not mean that only a religious void remained, but the substitution of a new and living way; for Mark can very soon continue, Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε.[2] There is no reason to accept Windisch's pessimistic conclusion that there is no allusion to this Markan logion in Hebrews.[3] Certainly the dependence is not direct, but its wide dissemination in Christian writers and the fact that all three Synoptics record it, gives every reason to suppose we have here a tradition which made a deep impression on the early Christians and that it pre-dates Gospels and Hebrews alike.[4]

It is in Hebrews, however, that the whole idea of a break through the barrier imposed by this division of the temple is most diligently and interestingly worked out. The first use of the word "to enter" (εἰσέρχομαι) is in a quotation from Psalm 95:11 (אשר נשבעתי באפי אם-יבאון אל-מנוחתי), which seems at first to have precious little to do with entering the temple. Yet the flow of ideas from one to the other in Hebrews is easy

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1 H. Laible, NKZ (1924), p.306.
2 Mk. 16:6.
3 H. Windisch, Hebräerbrief, p.93: commenting on Heb. 10:19 f., he says, "Auf keinen Fall liegt eine Anspielung an Mc 15:38 vor, da der Verfasser ja Beziehungen Jesu zu dem sinnlichen Heiligtum gar nicht kennt." Cf., however, R.J. McKelvey, Temple, pp.72-74, further C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments (London², 1944), pp.45,51.
4 This is the conclusion of the Swedish scholar G. Lindeskog ["The Veil of the Temple", CN 11 (1947), pp.132-7], after a careful analysis of the texts. Hebrews, he says, is too allegorical to be the first stage of the traditional development and he thinks the Gospels and Hebrews have a common source which he calls a cultic pattern. This cultic pattern the Gospels historicize and Hebrews spiritualizes.

and natural as chap. 4:14 make apparent, Ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς... κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας, which follows closely behind his final exhortation in connexion with the "rest" theme in v.11, Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν. R. Williamson says concerning the very clear relationship of these two enterings in Hebrews, one into God's rest, one into God's presence, that "rest was a thought connected in the mind of the devout Jew with atonement and in particular with the Day of Atonement." It was such, he goes on to say "because on it the barrier of sin between earth and heaven was broken down and man and God were at one, at peace."[1]

The strong exhortations concerning[2] God's rest are anything but unconnected with the admonitions to enter the holiest. C.K. Barrett in his fine and in many ways Bahnbrechend study is surely wrong when he says that Heb. 4:14 "might follow immediately upon ii. 18 and the intervening passage must be regarded as a digression, complete in itself."[3] We agree wholeheartedly with O. Hofius when he asserts that it is essential to recognize that κατάπαυσις and τὰ ἅγια (holiest) symbolize the same thing, in order to relate 3:1-4:13 to the rest of the epistle; he strongly opposes those who characterize this pericope as an independent

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1 R. Williamson, Philo, p.552.
2 From Heb. 3:11 to 4:11 the writer uses εἰσέρχομαι eleven times.
3 C.K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews", in Festschr. C.H. Dodd ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube, The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (Cambridge, 1956), p.366. Cf. 1Qp Hab. 11:7 f.

Midrash on Ps. 95.[1] Hofius' weakness is that his anxiety to refute Käsemann's[2] Gnostic interpretation leads him to understand Hebrews' eschatology almost exclusively in futuristic terms.[3]

The relationship between "rest" and "God's temple" is not one invented by the writer of Hebrews. Ps. 132:7 (LXX 131:7) not only invites the worshippers to enter (LXX εἰσελευσόμεθα = ונבואה) his sanctuary (lit. dwelling cf. v.5), but also invokes Yahweh to come to his resting place (LXX τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου = למנוחתך).[4] The declaration of Acts 7:49 (= Isa 66:1), though polemical, is nevertheless based on the idea of the temple as God's resting place (τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου).[5] Schierse even notes the use

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1 O. Hofius, Katapausis: Die Vorstellung von endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief (Tübingen, 1970), p.54. On pp.53 f. he says; "Der Vergleich mit zwei Stellen unseres Briefes, an denen ebenfalls von einem eschatologischen εἰσέρχομαι des Gottesvolkes gesprochen wird, lehrt jedoch, dass mit der κατάπαυσις nichts anderes gemeint sein kann als das Allerheiligste des himmlischen Tempels selbst." For the same view N.A. Dahl, "A New and Living Way - The Approach to God According to Hebrews 10:19-25", Interpretation 5 (1951), p.402.

2 E. Käsemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk (Göttingen[4], 1961), relates the whole of the Epistle to Gnostic ideas; the pilgrim people depict the ascent of the soul, the high priest Christology is really the Gnostic Anthropos-Mythos, the veil is the flesh which hinders the ascent of the soul.

3 O. Hofius (Katapausis, p.54), where he says, "wir haben die 'zuversichtliche Hoffnung', dass wir bei der Endvollendung in das himmlische Allerheiligste als den Ort der unmittelbaren Gegenwart Gottes eingehen werden."

4 This Psalm may be an annual commemoration of the bringing of the ark to the Jerusalem temple, see H.-J. Kraus, Psalmen II (Neukirchen, 1960), pp.879 ff. For the idea that it celebrates a Coronation of Yahweh as king of Israel see S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II, pp.109 ff.

5 F.J. Schierse, Verheissung und Heilsvollendung (München, 1955), p.113. For a provocative if exaggerated thesis relating this verse as well as Stephen's polemic as a whole to the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, see, W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London, 1951), pp. 34-36. Cf. 1 Chr. 28:2 οἶκον ἀναπαύσεως τῆς κιβωτοῦ διαθήκης κυρίου.

of κατάπαυσις in Solomon's dedicatory prayer in connexion with the temple (1 Kings 8:56).[1] When we approach, therefore, the exhortations of Heb. 4:14 f., 6:19 f., 10:19 f., and the great doctrinal exposition in chapter nine on which all these are based, we should realize that we are dealing with ideas which are basically identical with those in chapters three and four.[2]

C.K. Barrett[3] has established that Hebrews is truly within the early Christian eschatological tradition with its paradoxical emphasis on the present possession and the future hope. This is immediately apparent in Heb. 6:19 f.; Christians have a hope that has already entered within the holiest, but it is only "hope" that has gone beyond the veil, the future awaits its fullness. It is not, however, a "pie-in-the-sky by and by" kind of hope, it is like an anchor sure and steadfast, because Jesus the Christian's forerunner has entered there. The subject referred to by the statement καὶ εἰσερχομένην εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος is ἐλπίς not ἄγκυρα, which commonsense should really make unnecessary to state, as well as the obvious intention of the writer.

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1 F.J. Schierse, Verheissung, p.113. For the importance of Psalm 95 in the context of Hebrews see S. Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Amsterdam, 1961), pp.35 f., 85 f., 106 ff.

2 Our writer, though he never expresses it, for he is interested in Melchizedek, is probably aware that the name Joshua refers not only to the Mosaic leader, but also to a high priest of the post-exilic reconstruction (see Zech. 3). The high priest of Zech. 3, however, was clothed in garments depicting sinful unfitness, quite unlike Jesus, cf. 7:26. It is noteworthy that he begins chapters 3-4 with the admonition to consider the "high priest of our confession", what follows must be related to that statement.

3 C.K. Barrett, Eschatology.

The Hebrew phrase behind τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος is מבית לפרכת which, according to K. Elliger,[1] always refers to the inner veil. There is one ambiguous example found in Num. 18:7, which is either an exceptional use of מבית לפרכת for the outer veil, or an exceptional permission for the ordinary priests to tread within the holiest.[2] As this latter text does not concern the high priest it is obviously not the source of Heb. 6:19 and, moreover, the LXX translation for מבית לפרכת in Num. 18:7 is τὸ ἔνδοθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος, which means we must look elsewhere for the writer's source.

By almost universal agreement the source of the phrase is Lev. 16 where the LXX translating מבית לפרכת has [τὸ] ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος three times in vv.2,12 and 15.[3] The thought is based clearly then on the DA cult, the once-a-year entrance of the high priest into that holy inner sanctum. There are several significant differences, however, between the original text and its Midrash. There it was Aaron and his order who entered; here it is one Jesus of the Melchizedek order. There Aaron was representative of the people (περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ); here Jesus is the forerunner.[4] There, therefore, the people remain ever outside the holiest; here, therefore, they are to follow their leader within the veil. There, a momentary ministry within the veil by a mortal high priest;

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1 K. Elliger, Leviticus, p.211. מבית לפרכת occurs only in five texts, Ex. 26:33, Lev. 16:2,12,15 and Num. 18:7, the LXX renders ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος except in Num. 18:7. See note 3 below.

2 E.M. Good ("Veil of the Temple", IDB IV, p.748), takes it to mean at one time all priests could enter the holiest.

3 Ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος occurs only in one other place, namely Ex. 26:33, though Num. 3:10 has ἔσω τοῦ καταπετάσματος, neither of these have the stress on the cultic entrance as in Lev. 16.

4 C. Spicq, "Ἄγκυρα et Πρόδρομος dans Hébr. vi. 19-20", ST 3 (1950-51), pp.185-187.

here, we may assume, a continuous abiding within the veil by one who has become high priest εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα .

There is another significant difference, especially seeing as the phrase ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος is quoted from the LXX, and that is the fact that the verb εἰσέρχομαι of the clause in Heb. 6:19 does not derive from the LXX of Lev. 16. In Lev. 16:2, which speaks of entering in general (בוא qal), the LXX has εἰσπορεύομαι; in vv.12 and 15, speaking of bringing in the incense (and blood implied) and blood (בוא hiphil), the LXX translates with εἰσφέρω . In fact, each time in Lev. 16 bringing of blood within the sanctuary is mentioned the LXX renders with εἰσφέρω .[1] In Hebrews εἰσφέρω is used only once, quoting Lev. 16:27,[2] which the writer limits to the historic event of Aaron entering with the blood; for he applies to Christ not this event, but the burning of the bodies outside the camp. The fact that the writer chooses throughout his epistle the verb εἰσέρχομαι rather than εἰσφέρω to speak of Christ entering the holiest, even to the point of changing it when quoting the LXX (i.e. Heb. 6:19), should discourage the loose way commentators often speak of Christ taking his own blood within the veil.[3]

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1 There are three occurrences vv.12 (incense, blood implied), 15,27. There are only three other examples in Leviticus all referring to bringing blood within the sanctuary and here also the LXX uses εἰσφέρω , Lev. 4:5,16;6:30 (LXX 23). The six instances of εἰσφέρω in Leviticus therefore refer to bringing in of blood (though once only implied), each time the Hebrew is בוא, four times in the hiphil and twice in the hophal.

2 Heb. 13:11.

3 H. Windisch (Hebräerbrief^{2}, p.70) says, "Nachdem Christus auf Erden sich selbst als Opfer dargebracht hat, steigt er mit dem so gewonnenen Opfer blut in den Himmel." We may refer also to the unfortunate RSV rendering of Heb. 9:12, "taking not the blood of goats and calves but his own blood".

It may well be that the use of εἰσέρχομαι in Heb. 6:19 as in chapters three and four is taken from Ps. 95:11 (LXX) and thus gives us another reason for relating this section to the whole. One of the key words in the doctrinal exposition of the Epistle's heart (chapters 8-10) is enter (εἰσέρχομαι); the writer's choice of the same verb in both sections (i.e. 3-4 and 8-10) enforces our contention for the Epistle's unity. Whether or not the writer was consciously influenced by the εἰσέρχομαι of Ps. 95:11 (LXX) when he changed the εἰσφέρω of Lev. 16:12,15 (LXX)[1] in his quotation of the latter in Heb. 6:19[2], it remains true that he is interested in "entering in" not "carrying in". His avoidance of εἰσφέρω is therefore deliberate[3] and the presumption is near that his choice of εἰσέρχομαι was equally conscious.[4]

In his magnificent commentary on Hebrews Otto Michel asks whether section Heb. 4:14-16 is to be taken as conclusion,

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1 Assuming he is quoting vv.12 or 15; if quoting v.2 then he changed εἰσπορεύομαι, the former is more likely.

2 Εἰσέρχομαι occurs also in Lev. 16 in four places: vv.3,23, 26,28. None of these are related to going within the veil or to any cultic action in the sanctuary. V.3 is stating the general sacrificial prerequisites for Aaron's entering of the sanctuary; v.23 refers to the change of attire by the high priest in the holy place after the Aza'zel ceremony; and vv.26,28 speak only of entering the camp, not the sanctuary.

3 When quoting Lev. 16:27, which speaks of Aaron, he leaves the quotation unmolested including εἰσφέρω; but when quoting the identical word from Lev. 16:12,15 and applying it to Christ, he alters the verb (see Heb. 6:19 and 13:11).

4 Philo also avoids εἰσφέρω when referring to the DA cultic action. His aversion to the bare sacrificial act unrefined by his own mystical concepts is well known. He uses εἰσέρχομαι (L.A. II 55 f.) but more often εἴσειμι (Som. II, 188 f., 230 f., Ebr. 135 f., Her. 84); this verb is used also in Heb. 9:6.

connexion, or new beginning,[1] and then supplies the correct answer, "Er wäre möglich, in 4:14-16. . .eine selbständige Paränese zu sehen, die zwei grössere Abschnitte miteinander verbindet."[2] Heb. 4:14-16 then concludes fittingly the exposition on the "rest" Christians are to strive to enter and introduces the treatment of the temple concepts in what follows,[3] these are not unrelated thoughts as Michel maintains.

Older commentators often found in the words ὁ θρόνος τῆς χάριτος an allusion to the כפרת of the priestly tabernacle. This is rather rare today among German commentators since the strong denial of such a reference by Bleek[4] and Delitzsch;[5] nor is it often found among English commentators.[6] There are good reasons for thinking such a connexion with the כפרת was not so far distant. Though Old Testament scholars are not agreed whether the ark as such was a throne or not, there is some agreement that as far as the Priestly writer was concerned the כפרת fulfilled such a function.[7] Strack-Billerbeck give many examples from Rabbinic sources of the כפרת as the place of the divine presence and revelation.[8]

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1 O. Michel, Der Brief an die Hebräer (Göttingen[12], 1966), p.204.
2 Ibid. The use of οὖν makes it clear that vv.14 ff. are a conclusion, cf. C. Spicq, Hébreux II, p.91.
3 B.F. Westcott (Hebrews[3], p.106), in his usual perceptive way says, "we have a High-priest who has Himself entered the rest of God".
4 F. Bleek, Der Brief an die Hebräer II (Berlin, 1840), p.17.
5 F. Delitzsch, Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer (Leipzig, 1857), pp.167 f.
6 B.F. Westcott (Hebrews[3], p.110), allows the glory over the earthly כפרת to be a "faint symbol" of the heavenly reality. F.F. Bruce (Hebrews, p.86), includes the thought of the completed act of atonement and accepts the author's "throne of grace" as an antitype of the earthly mercy-seat.
7 R.E. Clements, Temple, p.31.
8 S B III, pp.172 ff.

Though "throne of grace" is unexampled as a title for the כפרת such a description by Hebrews of the place where the Shekinah glory was thought to reside is very appropriate.[1]

Further the context gives us some confidence in such an understanding of ὁ θρόνος τῆς χάριτος for the basis of the exhortation to confidently approach this throne is the fact that Christians have a sympathetic high priest who has passed through the heavens. Many have recognized, and rightly, that ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς is based on the high priest's entrance into the holiest on the DA.[2] This being the case the admonition to draw near[3] with confidence to the throne of grace is given a powerful basis in the picture of a sympathetic[4] high priest present at the right hand of the grace-dispensing God.

Both Philo[5] and Josephus[6] understand the outer tent as a

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1 R. Marcus gives as the probable Greek behind the Armenian version of Philo's description of the כפרת (Quaest. Ex. II, 60) the following, τῆς ἱλεῴ καὶ εὐεργετικῆς δυνάμεως σύμβολον. Cf. Mos. II, 96.

2 E.g. H. Strathmann, Der Briefe an die Hebräer (Göttingen, 1963), pp.98. H. Windisch, Hebräerbrief², pp.37,70. K. Galling, "Durch die Himmel hindurchgeschritten (Heb. 4:14)", ZNW 43 (1951), pp.263 f. Galling supports this by appealing to Josephus' allegorical interpretation of the inner veil as the "heavens". He even goes so far, indeed too far, and relates κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας to the DA confession of sin.

3 Προσέρχομαι is often the translation of the Hebrew קרב which is frequent as a cult word. B.F. Westcott (Hebrews³, p.110) and O. Michel (Hebräerbrief¹², p.209) refer to the cultic usage, Westcott even describing the Christian's drawing near as a priestly act. H.W. Montefiore (Hebrews, p.92) denies any primary cultic meaning. קרב (qal) occurs in Leviticus cultically in 9:5,7,8;16:1;21:17,18;22:3. Except for Lev. 16:1 the LXX is always προσέρχομαι . The subject is the priest except in 9:5 where it is the community. Elsewhere in P קרב (qal) occurs seven times cultically.

4 Συμπαθῆσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν as a description of the high priest is not from the OT, certainly not the Talmud, where exact performance of the ritual alone is demanded, but Christian and pastoral.

5 Mut. 44, Quaest. Ex. II, 91 and 94. Cf. Mos. II, 88 and 117 f., Spec. I, 66 (νεὼ μὲν ἔχοντα τὸ ἁγιώτατον τῆς τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μέρος, οὐρανόν).

6 AJ. III, 181 and 123; BJ. v, 212 f.

symbol of the sensible world and the inner tent of these things truly divine and though there is some weight for understanding such a view here, it is unexpressed, and we should be careful before attributing this view to the writer.[1] When he does tell us expressly what the fore-tent represents (i e. 9:8) his terms are not cosmological but eschatological and soteriological.[2] The series of heavens witnessed in Jewish apocalyptic[3] form no strong parallel, Michel gives them weight to show that such ideas are "vorgnostische", but English commentators are little concerned for Käsemann's Gnostic interpretation of Hebrews and so have no need to stress the similarity. Though our author here resembles Alexandrian methods there is no pronounced dualism as found in Philo, he but joins the Christian belief in the Ascension of Jesus[4] using his own idiom.

It is in order to strengthen the idea of movement from one sphere to another that our author in chapter nine gives the Mosaic tabernacle the unusual description of being composed of two tents. He prefaces his interpretation by a nomenclature of the objects found in the respective compartments of the tabernacle. On these like the author we cannot

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1 It is especially dubious to interpret 9:11 by 4:14 which is so common.

2 O. Hofius [/"Das 'erste' und das zweite 'Zelt' - Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung von Hebr. 9:1-10", ZNW 61 (1970), p.276/], makes this pertinent comment: the "Unterschied zwischen den Vorstellungen des Josephus und denjenigen des auctor ad Hebraeos liegt aber darin, dass die Stiftszelt-Symbolik des ersteren kosmologisch, die des letzteren hingegen heilsgeschichtlich orientiert ist."

3 Test. Lev. 3; II Enoch 3-21.

4 The earthly life and death of Jesus are not, however, relegated to necessary preliminaries as G. Bertram maintained, "Die Himmelfahrt Jesu vom Kreuz aus und der Glaube an seine Auferstehung", in Festgabe A. Deissmann (Tübingen, 1927), pp.187-217 .

speak in detail.[1] The description of the cultic procedure is theologically more relevant for our author's purpose. Into the first tent, he correctly notes, the priests in general are continually going in order to fulfil their duties; but into the second steps only the high priest, and this but once a year, and not without the precaution of blood for his and the people's sins. The author then draws his unique conclusion: τοῦτο δηλοῦντος τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου, μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδὸν ἔτι τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς ἐχούσης στάσιν, ἥτις παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα (Heb. 9:8 f.).

The first problem to be faced is whether the πρώτης σκηνῆς is used with the identical meaning as v.6 (and v.2) or has he in the same "lengthy periodic sentence" changed his meaning from the outer compartment now to signify the tabernacle as a whole. O. Kuss is confident that the meaning has an ambivalence. He says, "das erste Zelt meint hier etwas anderes als v.6: es ist nahezu unmerklich Bildwort für die gesamte unzulängliche Heilsordnung geworden."[2] J. Héring is very adamant when he states:

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1 Concerning the mistake of placing the θυμιατήριον (this is to be identified with Josephus and Philo with the incense altar not the less important incense ladle) within the holiest rather than in the holy place, it may be sufficient to say that his thought is that its function belonged primarily to the holiest especially on the DA. Cf. A. Harnack, "Zu Hebr 9,3.4", ThSk 49 (1876), pp.572-574. Precision of speech in these matters does not always reach our own attempted level e.g. Philo's imprecise statement in Spec. I, 72 concerning the high priest alone being allowed into the holy place, the context shows he means the holiest. O. Moe's ["Das irdische und das himmlische Heiligtum", TZ 9 (1953), pp.23-29], attempt to distinguish between ἐν τῇ (v.2) and ἔχουσα (v.4) as if the latter defined possession rather than position is unconvincing.

2 O. Kuss, Hebräer[2], p.116.

> The majority of scholars have yielded to the temptation of translating these words here [i.e. v.8] as in v.6 by 'the first part of the earthly sanctuary', i.e. the Holy Place, still separated from the Holy of Holies. This takes no account of the facility with which our author sometimes manipulates expressions with various senses. In fact it is not only the exterior part of the earthly tabernacle which has lost its value, which ceases to 'stand up' (ἐχούσης στάσιν), but the whole of the earthly sanctuary.[1]

It must be admitted surely, that the grammatical argument for taking "first tent" as applying to the same entity when occurring in the one sentence, is strong. If the author changes the way Héring maintains what we have is not facility but confusion. But equally, it must also be conceded that on the writer of Hebrews' premises the whole tabernacle - lock, stock, and barrel - has been abolished. It is not partial demolition that he is contending for, but the complete denial of the old cult's rationale for existence. The question remains, however, if this is what he is attempting to establish here in 9:8.

It seems inappropriate to take the "first tent" in v.8 as the whole sanctuary because his argument in chapter 8:1-5 is to establish the fact that the "first tent" is in heaven the Mosaic tabernacle was secondary, an image, a mere copy but not the original, archtype, first tent.[2] πρῶτος does not refer to time (which it would have to in order to apply to be whole sanctuary)[3] but to position -

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1 J. Héring, The Epistle to the Hebrews (E.T. London, 1970), p.74. Cf. F.F. Bruce, Hebrews, pp 194 f. C. Spicq, Hébreux II, pp.253 f.

2 True, the Mosaic tabernacle was dedicated before the heavenly sanctuary, but still the statement of chapter 8 would seem to make the description of the wilderness tabernacle as "first" inappropriate. The first covenant had an earthly, material, temporary sanctuary; the second had the eternal, permanent abode of God in the heavens.

3 E.g. the NEB translation has "earlier tent".

foretent.[1] The argument develops from the actual facts of the earthly sanctuary, of which, if one conceives of the inner veil as the back wall of the first compartment rather than the front of the holiest, physically it is true to say as long as the first stood the entrance into the second was blocked.

Our author is concerned with more than this mere physical encumbrance, however, for this is a parable of the present time (ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐνεστηκώς = עולם הזה) in which are ordained rites of outward purification, which are incapable of removing sin. The first tent symbolically is "the place of cultic performances which are not only insufficient for salvation, but also conceal the true way into the inner sanctuary".[2] Hebrews thus departs from the Alexandrian exegesis, for the outer tent is not identified with this present world as a physical entity, but symbolically as the eschatological contrast to the new aeon (ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων = עולם הבא): the time of outward ritual acts, "sie ist ein Gleichnis oder Sinnbild für den alten Äon."[3] An old aeon that was still present for many,[4] but the new wine of the gospel was bursting the old structures, what was old and decaying was soon to vanish.[5]

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1 This usage is found in Josephus BJ. V, 193-194, 208 f. In the first instance he is describing the forecourt and the court of the Israelites. In BJ. V, 216 he calls the holy place τὸ πρῶτον μέρος . O. Hofius (ZNW 61, p.275), argues for the translation "der erste Teil (Raum) des Zeltes der zweite Teil (Raum) des Zeltes" on the basis of these examples from Josephus, though not very convincingly. When Josephus means "part" he says so, BJ. V, 216, this text Hofius ignores.

2 H. Koester, "'Outside the Camp': Hebrews 13:9-14", HTR 55 (1962), p.310.

3 O. Hofius, ZNW 61, p.276.

4 The ambiguity of ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐνεστηκώς maintains the tension in the age of transition; the old age was really past but not all yet realized it.

5 Heb. 8:13. H. Windisch (Hebräerbrief^2, p.77), finds this tension inexplicable and makes v.9 a parenthesis.

In verses 2 and 6 "first tent" meant the outer compartment in the tabernacle, the reference is to first in position, not first in existence. To take v.8 as meaning the first in time, that is the earlier sanctuary as a whole, without any allusion to the division into two sections, not only contradicts the usage in verses 2 and 6, but also eviscerates the writer's parallel between the two aeons and the two tents.

It was the division of the temple which attracted our writer,[1] a division which symbolized that the worshippers were excluded from God's presence. The DA ritual did not even relieve momentarily this distance from God, but emphasized it. The high priest, and he alone, went into the divine presence, not without the blood of another (ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ 9:25);[2] it did not give access to any others or qualify them to enter and serve the living God (εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι 9:14). Perhaps the DA should have been a ray of hope, our author sees it as an annual reminder of the people's sinful unfitness to enter into the divine presence,[3] and even the high priest entered not by his own right but by the blood of others and animals at that.

Our author's eschatology is in ascendancy here rather than his Alexandrian Platonism. So long as the first tent (= present age) was valid, so long as the first tent ritual

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1 F.J. Schierse, Verheissung, p.28. E. Klappert, Die Eschatologie des Hebräerbriefs, TEH 156 (München, 1969), p.25: "Die Stiftshütte ist nicht nur unvollkommenes Abbild des himmlischen Urbildes, sondern mit ihrer Trennung in zwei Zelte auch Hinweis auf den gegenwärtigen Äon (καιρὸς ἑνεστηκώς 9:9), der durch den καιρὸς διορθώσεως (9:10) abgelöst wird."

2 Cf. Lev. 16:1 (LXX).

3 Jewish exegesis saw it as the annual cleansing. However, there was never any doubt that into the holiest went the high priest and he alone.

(= outward ordinances) was legitimate, the way of the inner tent (= immediate communion) was not open. But now the age of reformation has dawned, for an offering belonging to the new aeon (= inner tent) has occurred which makes the way into the holiest, into the presence of God, accessible to all. These verses say nothing about a one or two compartment sanctuary in heaven, the argument is related to the two aeons as reflected in the division of the tabernacle. For our author the crisis of the cross meant something was now available that was not present before that event: namely, direct access to God, and the tangible evidence of this is the cessation of the old cult (= first tent). The crucifixion, of course, belongs to the new aeon, the age of the Spirit, the inner tent, the eternal order.

The words Χριστὸς δέ stand at the beginning of the section 9:11-14 to give emphasis to the series of antitheses the author now assembles in contrast to the picture he has drawn of the old tabernacle arrangement and service. Christ is the high priest of the eschatological good things of the new aeon[1] within the more perfect and greater tabernacle of the heavens. With this last description our author has bequeathed to posterity a source of differences of

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1 Whether we take the reading τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν (p^{46} BD*) or τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν (ℵAI) it remains true that "es sind Heilsgüter des Neuen Äons, die uns durch den Tod Christi zugängig werden" (O. Michel Hebräerbrief[12], p.310); that is to say, if the reading μελλόντων is accepted the reference is descriptive (the good things of the eschatological new age), not time oriented (cf. Heb. 6:5). For a contrary view see H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.151 and B. Klappert, Eschatologie, p.15.

interpretation which are both large in number and dissimilarity.[1] Is the διά in v.11 to be taken locally (through) or instrumentally (by means of)? Does σκηνή refer to the whole tabernacle or just the holiest or holy place? If διά is local what is the "tent" Christ goes through? the heavens? his incarnation? And if we take διά instrumentally is the "tent" the church? the glorified body of Christ? Christ's eucharistic body?[2]

First, we can say categorically that σκηνή when unqualified by "first" or "second" or by a phrase like μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα, should be understood as meaning "sanctuary" or "tabernacle" without distinction of parts.[3] If then, the tent in v.11 means not just the fore-tent, but the tabernacle as such, there can be no idea of "going through" it; for obviously the local interpretation of διὰ τῆς . . . σκηνῆς requires the meaning fore-tent for σκηνή, unless we understand Christ passed through the whole tabernacle, which is the <u>reductio ad absurdum</u>.

This equally rules out the understanding of the "tent" as the "heavens" through which Christ passed; Heb. 4:14 is not a parallel, for there is no identification there of the heavens with the fore-tent. Though we may understand "tent"

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1 Catholic scholars have recently had a merry time with this text, see A. Vanhoye, "'Par la tente plus grande et plus parfaite. . .' (He 9,11)", <u>Biblica</u> 46 (1965), pp.1-28; J. Swetnam, "'The Greater and More Perfect Tent' - A Contribution to the Discussion of Hebrews 9,11", <u>Biblica</u> 47 (1966), pp.91-106; P. Andriessen, "Das grössere und vollkommenere Zelt (Hebr 9,11)", <u>BZ</u> 15 (1971), pp.76-92; L. Sabourin "'Liturge du Sanctuaire et de la Tente Véritable' (Héb. viii. 2)", <u>NTS</u> 18 (1971-72), pp.87-90.

2 Some of these can only be listed, not because of their intrinsic value, but, like Harnack's suggestion of Priscilla as the authoress of the Epistle, because of the statue of some of the commentators who make the suggestion.

3 Cf. Heb. 8:2; 9:2; 13:10. H. Koester [<u>HTR</u> 55 (1962) p.309], however, says σκηνή is never the whole tabernacle.

as the heavens beyond this creation and thus avoid such an interpretation being ruled out by the qualification our author makes, οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως ,[1] it seems unlikely that this "intermediary heaven"[2] between the earthly creation and the heaven of heavens would be called ὁ μείζων καὶ τελειότερος. Our author certainly distinguishes two heavens, the visible heaven (Heb. 1:10-12; 12:26-27) and the heaven of God (Heb. 9:24); there is no reason to introduce a third heaven, for in Heb. 4:14 the visible heavens are all that is meant.

Hebrews makes it quite clear that the cosmological heavens are created (ὡς πεπτοιημένων = Heb. 12:27, ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου = Heb. 1:10) and transitory (τῶν σαλευομένων μετάθεσιν = Heb. 12:27, ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται = Heb. 1:11) and not capable of being called greater and more perfect.[3] We are obliged then to consider not the idea of

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1 Philo says the temple is made with hands (τὸ χειρόκμητον) Spec. I, 67, cf. Jos. AJ. XV, 324; BJ. VII, 294.

2 O. Michel (Hebräerbrief[12], pp.311 f.), understands a threefold order of spheres; die Schöpfung (κτίσις), die Himmel, durch die Christus hindurchschreitet (σκηνή), den Himmel als den eigentlichen Wohnort der Gottheit (ἅγια). P. Andriessen (BZ 15, p.86), has a similar scheme, the high priest on the DA "ging. . .durch den ersten Vorhang (Sternenhimmel), durch das Heilige (Engelhimmel), durch den zweiten Vorhang (= die dunkle Wolke) in das Allerheiligste hinein." The greater tent of Heb. 9:11 for Andriessen of course is the heaven of the angels. This at least answers A. Vanhoye's (Biblica 46, pp.7 ff.), objection that "not made with hands" rules out the application to the heavens.

3 F.J. Schierse (Verheissung, p.57), though maintaining the local use of διά in 9:11 relates the "fore-tent" not to the "heavens" but the total life of Christ from incarnation to ascension, which he had to pass through as "die absolut und unumgänglich notwendige Basis fur den Eintritt in das Allerheiligste." See also his commentary, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London, 1969). For a similar view see U. Luck, "Himmlisches und irdisches im Hebräerbrief", NovTest 6 (1963), pp.192-215. Tent in 9:11 does not mean "first tent" no matter how allegorically interpreted, and even if taken literally as W. Michaelis (TDNT VII, pp.376 f.), of a two-part tent in heaven, it must be objected "tent" does not mean "fore-tent".

"going through" but "by means of", that is taking διά instrumentally.

First, it is possible to connect διὰ τῆς . . . σκηνῆς with τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν [1] as if it was the "good things that have come" that were procured by means of the better tent. Further the phrase could be attached to χριστός [2] with the idea that through the better tent Christ became high priest of the "realized good things". Both these opinions are vulnerable to Riggenbach's[3] criticism that to isolate the first διά-phrase like this breaks up the unity with the twofold διά-phrase in v.12. We could answer this (no-one has been foolish enough to do so) by connecting v.12 as well to χριστός (or perhaps παραγίνομαι) which would mean, "Christ having become high priest. . .by means of the better tent. . .and not by the blood of goats and bulls but by his own blood [then] entered. . ."[4] This is immediately to be rejected, it fails to do justice to the emphatic position of εἰσέρχομαι at the end of the series of διά-phrases; or to the antithetical nature with vv.7-8, which is concerned not with the means of becoming high priest, but the means of the high priest's entrance.

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1 A. Nairne, Hebrews, p.89. J. Chr. von Hofmann, Die Heilige Schrift V (1873), p.335.

2 A. Seeberg, Hebräerbrief, p.100. B.F. Westcott (Hebrews[3], p.258), does not attach the first διά-phrase to χριστός despite J. Moffatt (Hebrews, pp.120 f.). Naturally, if one attaches the διά-phrases (vv.11 and 12) to εἰσέρχομαι instrumentally then Christ is the subject of the phrases.

3 E. Riggenbach, Hebräerbrief[3], p.258.

4 One would then think of the contrast being with Lev. 9 rather than Lev. 16, where it could be said Aaron became high priest by the blood of goats and bulls. Christ became, then, high priest by his own blood and by a heavenly oath i.e. a more perfect tent.

The most natural way to read the sentence is "by means of the more perfect and greater tent not made with hands, that is not of this creation, and not by means of the blood of goats and bulls but by his own blood he entered. . . ."[1] It is just such a reading of the text with the strong parallel between "by means of the perfect tent" and "by means of his own blood" that led A. Vanhoye to maintain that "tent" must be related to the "body" of Christ as a term along with "blood" signifying the instruments by which he gained access into the holiest.[2] Vanhoye tries to avoid the objection to this patristic type of exegesis [3] – that Christ's body in Hebrews is considered very much of this creation – by saying it is not only his incarnate, crucified body, but also his glorified body.[4]

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1 To take the first διά as local, though not impossible, is very harsh especially when the series builds up to the one concluding verb.

2 A. Vanhoye, Biblica 46, p.2. See also idem, La Structure Littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux (Paris, 1963), pp.149 ff., where he beautifully unfolds the parallel structure of these verses.

3 This patristic view finds erudite but unconvincing support in B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], pp.258 ff. Perhaps it is dismissed too easily by a reference to Heb. 5:7 f., for Heb. 10:5 gives support to the idea that the body of Christ was not "created with hands". Close to this view is the body-church concept, but this is more Pauline than Hebrews (despite 3:6); Hebrews keeps the tent and the people distinct though very much related, somewhat as Revelation. It cannot be said that Christ entered the holiest either "by means of" or "through" the church; for this interpretation see J. Ungeheuer [Der Grosse Priester über dem Hause Gottes (Würzburg, 1939), pp.118 ff.] who appeals to Heb. 3:6; 10:21; 12:22-23.

4 J. Swetnam (Biblica 47, pp.97 ff.), says the "more perfect tent" is Christ's eucharistic body which is likely to appeal only to fellow Catholics, and only to few of them.

The trouble with this exegesis is that while "tent"[1] is interpreted allegorically, "blood" is taken literally. Montefiore has a fine statement which deserves consideration, he is aware that to enter the tent (ἅγια) by means of the tent (σκηνή) is a bit odd, he explains this by saying:

> But the emphasis of the sentence is not on his entry into the Tent, but on the eternal salvation that was procured there, and the sanctuary is mentioned instrumentally as well as locally[2] so as to form a contrast with the means whereby the mode and the place of the earthly cultus was maintained.[3]

The emphasis is, contrary to this fine statement, very much on the entrance, but the last part of the quotation is surely right. The μείζων καὶ τελειοτέρα σκηνή is the eschatological antithesis of the one discussed in Heb. 9:1-7.[4] There, there was a distinction of parts depicting the inaccessability; there, there was only outward ordinances; now this has passed. Christ is the high priest of the good things of the καιρὸς διορθώσεως and has entered into the holiest by means of a spiritual cultic institution and by the sacrifice of himself. The better tent is the eschatological fulfilment of all the other ritual paraphernalia as the blood of Christ is the eschatological fulfilment of the blood of bulls and goats. By means of a sinless life obedient unto death and not outward

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1 The author can do this when he wishes, e.g. 10:20, but this does not give us the licence to allegorize his words without his authority.

2 Montefiore means διὰ τῆς . . . σκηνῆς is instrumental while εἰς τὰ ἅγια is local.

3 H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.153.

4 A. Vanhoye (Structure, p.151), says 9:11-14 and 9:1-10 constitute not so much a "parallélisme rigoureux" as Spicq suggests, but a "parallélisme antithétique".

ordinances of a mundane priesthood, washing of the body, burning of incense and changing of clothes, he entered once for all into τὰ ἅγια .[1]

The μείζων καὶ τελειοτέρα σκηνή is the heavenly contrast to the whole earthly institution of the tabernacle, the eschatological reality of which the material counterpart was but a σκιὰν . . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν . The Aaronic high priest entered into the holiest by means of a mundane temple-institution and by means of the blood of goats and calves, but Christ entered by the divine-temple-institution and sacrifice of himself into the heavenly holiest. The distinction between tent and blood is really blurred;[2] they both, like altar (13:10) and curtain (10:20), refer to the eschatological sacrifice of Christ, which truly was not of this creation but was offered διὰ Πνεύματος αἰωνίου. This interpretation maintains the parallel between "by means of the more perfect tent" and "by means of his own blood" without allegorically relating it to the person of Christ, but eschatologically to his work - by a better cult and by a better sacrifice. The awaited heavenly realities have now arrived in the sacrifice of Christ.[3]

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1 O. Hofius (ZNW 61, pp.275 ff.), also interprets Heb. 9:1-11 eschatologically, cf. C.K. Barrett, Eschatology, pp.385 and 389.

2 This does not require an allegorical interpretation of "tent" as those who interpret it to mean "body", for the "tent" is related to the cult literally. L. Sabourin (NTS 18, p.88) says, "Nous savons maintenant en quel sens le Christ fut 'liturge de la tente véritable' (viii. 2): il fut le prêtre et la victime (cf. vii. 27: ix. 14) du grand acte de la rédemption sacrificielle chrétienne que notre auteur inspiré représente comme 'la tente véritable', par contraste avec la tente mosaïque de l'ancienne liturgie périmée." Sabourin rightly contends that the "tent" of 8:2 is the same as that in 9:11.

3 We may think of the "better tent" and the Mosaic tent as two arrangements (κατασκευάσματα) or two systems, we are then near to our author's further contrast of two covenants. K.J. Thomas (Ph.D. thesis, Manchester, 1959), thinks the change of tense (perfect to aorist) in the quotation from Ex. 25:40 in Heb. 8:5 indicates that the tent and the cult of the earthly order have no more significance. It may of course be due to a change in historical perspective but the theological motive is tenable.

In Heb. 9:14-10:18 the author concentrates on the sacrifice of Christ; its necessity, its intrinsic superiority, and its greater cleansing potency. Not until 10:19 ff. does he take up the problem of the blocked access into the holiest. When at last he does, it is still the sacrifice of Christ that predominates in his thinking. It is in fact his continual relating of ancient and diverse images to this one central event which makes it so hard to always maintain consistency. He is guilty of the "fault" noted by C.H. Spurgeon in his "Commenting and Commentaries" of one commentator who, as Spurgeon says, "sees Jesus where Jesus is not legitimately to be seen - but he sees Jesus."[1]

Hebrews 10:19 introduces a statement that is not only without parallel in Judaism,[2] but an offence to its whole theology; for not only are οἱ ἀδελφοί (not a priestly term) invited to enter the holiest,[3] but to do so boldly (παρρησία).[4] Παρρησία according to Peterson[5] had its origins in Attic political democracy and the "Redefreiheit" in which one took the right (ἐξουσία) to say everything. As such it was merely the privilege of the "free" not slaves. It was also applied to the

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1 Quoted by A. Lukyn Williams, Talmudic Judaism and Christianity (London, 1933), p.31.

2 Qumran approaches it with the idea of the temple community, but even there "the holiest" was of limited access.

3 τῶν ἁγίων = τὰ ἅγια, which if we exclude 9:2 as fem. sing. always means the holiest. A.P. Salom's study "TA HAGIA in the Epistle to the Hebrews", Andrews Uni. Seminary Studies 5 (1967), pp.57-70 attempts to establish with the exception of 9:2,3 that τὰ ἅγια always means "sanctuary as a whole", but this is wrong.

4 Παρρησία has had two fine studies devoted to it in E. Peterson, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von Παρρησία", in Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift, ed. W. Koepp (Leipzig, 1929), pp.283-297 and W.C. van Unnik, "The Christian's Freedom of Speech in the N.T.", BJRL 44 (1962), pp.466-486.

5 Seeberg festschr. p.283.

openness or frankness of speech between friends of equal status, not, however, between slave and master.[1] In Hellenistic thought it was used in the setting of the confidence of those who were "free" through their moral life.

It is in Hellenistic Judaism, however, that we find παρρησία used in a religious way. Peterson says the use of παρρησία towards God is not found in the general Greek literature.[2] Both Josephus and Philo relate παρρησία to συνείδησις.[3] Philo especially limits the παρρησία that lowly man can have towards God to those who possess a clear conscience.[4] It is just such a παρρησία born of a clear conscience that we have here in Hebrews, but with this tremendous difference; in Josephus and Philo the knowledge of a pure conscience was the result of an ethical rectitude but in Hebrews it is the result of the sacrifice of Christ or, to use his words, ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ.[5] It was just this ability to cleanse the conscience that constituted the contrast between the old cult and the new (9:9,14).

It is the assessment of the old cultic order of which he said, μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν , which now finds

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1 See Philo's condemnation of such a restriction on slaves' παρρησία Spec. III, 138.
2 Seeberg festschr. p.289.
3 AJ. II, 52. Her. 6,21.
4 Her. 7.
5 "Because by the open declaration of God in His promises and in Jesus' sacrifice there is no hindrance, the Christians have the free right to enter; they can do so with a good conscience, not because they are not aware of misdeeds, but because they have been cleansed" (W.C. van Unnik, BJRL 44, p.484). There is thus as N.A. Dahl (Interpretation 5, p.403), observes both an objective and subjective element, παρρησία includes "both the God-given permission and the personal confidence and frankness arising from it."

its dramatic contrasting fulfilment in the new order. For now not a nervous high priest is to enter the holiest, but the Christian community as a whole, and boldly,[1] by virtue of the blood of Christ. It is the new and living way,[2] which Christ himself has opened[3] for us, through the curtain that once draped the division of the tabernacle, behind which was the holy of holies. Here the writer makes a daring allegory which asserts again the centrality of the death of Christ for the author.[4] This addition, which likens the curtain to the flesh of Christ (impossible not to think of Mk. 15:38), has not always been accepted at face value and we turn now to discuss this interesting allusion and its interpretation.

When C. Holsten[5] wrote his study on Hebrews 10:20 as long ago as 1875 he commented that the phrase διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ "ist seit alters Gegenstand unendlicher Erörterungen gewesen".[6] Holsten's own conclusion – based on the fact that nowhere else in Hebrews is such a parallel between καταπέτασμα and σάρξ found – that the phrase is a gloss,[7] has done nothing to halt the discussion.

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1 παρρησία still maintains something of its limitations to the privileged for the writer is adamant that this bold access is only available to those who hold fast to the confession of Jesus.

2 It is confusing to take ὁδός as topographical as W. Michaelis does: see TDNT V, pp.75ff.

3 N.A. Dahl (Interpretation 5, pp.403 f.), notes that ἐγκαινίζω is a cultic term, a cultic act of consecration, identical with the ratification of the New Covenant.

4 Yet surprisingly one occasionally reads the contrary, e.g. M. Dibelius, "Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebräerbrief", ThBl 21 (1942), pp.1-11.

5 C. Holsten, Exegetische Untersuchung über Hebräer 10:20 (Bern, 1875).

6 Untersuchung, p.6.

7 "Wir haben in diesen Worten also eine epexegetische Glosse. Nicht die ursprüngliche Gedankenbildung des Verfasser, sondern eine fremde Reflexion,. . ." (Untersuchung, p.15).

The grammatical problem turns on which preceding word or phrase the words τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ are to be related.[1] The most common connexion is to take τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ as an appositional phrase to τοῦ καταπετάσματος .[2] On the other hand it can be understood as a genitive of dependence referring back to ὁδόν,[3] that is to read ὁδὸν. . . τοῦτ'ἔστιν [ὁδὸς] τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ .[4]

A natural usage of τοῦτ'ἔστιν is where it introduces a phrase explicative of the preceding sentence as a whole.[5] O. Hofius has recently made a detailed attempt so to interpret Heb. 10:20, referring the phrase under discussion back to the whole of v.20a, especially to the verb ἐγκαινίζω .[6]

The major objection made against taking τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ with ὁδόν has been that of the word-order.[7] Westcott was cognizant of this, and attempted to empty the force of the objection by appealing to the similar use of τοῦτ'ἔστιν in Heb. 7:5 where τοῦτ'ἔστιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν refers not back to the immediate τὸν νόμον but to the prior τὸν λαόν .

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1 The hermeneutical difficulties are over whether σάρξ refers to the incarnation or crucifixion, and whether καταπέτασμα is to be understood as a hindrance or a means of access.

2 Of the commentators on the Epistle to the Hebrews one may name H. Windisch (1913[1], p.87), E. Riggenbach (1922[3], pp. 315 f.), J. Moffatt (1924, p 143), T.H. Robinson (1933, p. 142), F.F. Bruce (1964, pp.248 f.) and O. Michel (1966[12], p. 345).

3 This is strongly advanced by B.F. Westcott (1903[3], pp.321 ff.) and finds support in A. Seeberg (1912, p.113), A. Nairne (1913, pp.161,381 f.), C. Spicq (1954, II, p.316), J. Héring (1954, p.98 - Héring does not, as Hofius says, entertain C. Holsten's drastic solution) and H. Montefiore (1964, pp.173 f.). Montefiore unwarrantably calls this the majority view.

4 One can also relate τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ as a genitive of dependence to καταπέτασμα = τοῦτ'ἔστιν [τὸ καταπέτασμα] τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ though this hardly commends itself.

5 E.g. Rom. 9:8;10:7.

6 O. Hofius, "Inkarnation und Opfertod Jesu nach Hebr 10,19 f.", in Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde, Festschr. J. Jeremias ed. E. Lohse (Göttingen, 1970), pp.132-141.

7 Cf. F.F. Bruce, Hebrews, p.247.

More recently a Catholic scholar P. Andriessen[1] has analysed Hebrews further in an attempt to establish that it is a habit of the Epistle not to unite the immediately neighbouring substantives by τοῦτ'ἔστιν . He refers, as few others have, to the total usage of τοῦτ'ἔστιν by the Epistle to the Hebrews, namely 2:14; 7:5; 9:11; 11:16; 13:5.[2] He rightly brackets 9:11 with a question-mark, but maintains that the other four instances support his contention that the writer of Hebrews uses τοῦτ'ἔστιν to refer back to a substantive other than the immediately preceding one.

On examination two of these fail to stand up. In Heb. 2:14 τοῦτ'ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον refers back to the whole and directly preceding participial clause τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου. The fact that it is a noun clause rather than a single substantive that precedes τοῦτ'ἔστιν hardly makes it an example of Andriessen's thesis. Nor can one adduce Heb. 11:16 as evidence merely because the verb ὀρέγω interposes between κρείττονος and τοῦτ'ἔστιν ἐπουρανίου . Here τοῦτ'ἔστιν conjoins ἐπουράνιος with the immediately preceding comparative κρείττων.

However, Heb. 13:15 is an example, as Andriessen asserts, where the immediate substantive is not the one qualified; thus τοῦτ'ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων refers back to θυσίαν αἰνέσεως not the immediate διὰ παντὸς τῷ Θεῷ. On the basis of

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1 P. Andriessen, "Das grössere und vollkommenere Zelt (Hebr 9,11)", BZ 15 (1971), pp.76-92, and "Quelques passages difficiles de l'Épître aux Hébreux", Biblica 51 (1971), pp.207-220.

2 τοῦτ'ἔστιν occurs eighteen times in the New Testament, six times in Heb., seven times in Paul, and five times elsewhere, a fact against Holsten's view that Heb. 10:20b is a gloss.

Heb. 13:15 and 7:5,[1] the latter exampled as well by Westcott, it can be maintained that word-order is not decisive, the question between ὁδός and καταπέτασμα remains open at this point.[2]

We return for the moment to Hofius' article. First, Hofius observes that a literary brevity [Brachylogie] appertains to the phrase τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ and must be completed by the addition of διά .[3] Second, he maintains that along with such examples as Heb. 9:11 f., 1 Pet. 3:20b f., Rom. 4:25; 11:28, 1 Cor. 15:47 there is in Heb. 10:20 an "Inkonzinnität im Präpositionsgebrauch". Such a variation in the meaning of διά is possible he holds once the non-appositional nature of Heb. 10:20 is accepted.[4] The usage of διά involves, he says, the two different instances of a local and an instrumental meaning. "Während das διά vor τοῦ καταπετάσματος lokal zu fassen ist, hat es im τοῦτ'ἔστιν - Satz instrumentale Bedeutung."[5]

Hofius' third point is that the structure of the verse is "chiastische" and that the [διά] before τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ is related to ἐνεκαίνισεν and the total statement of v.20a. He demonstrates this as follows:

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1 Andriessen's claim of support from Heb. 9:2 and 7:11 is not compelling; nor that the absence of the article from ὁδός makes it the worthy object of the epexegetic phrase of 10:20b.

2 In saying word-order is not decisive does not mean it is irrelevant. In the case of Heb. 7:5 and 13:15 the substantives qualified by the τοῦτ'ἔστιν phrase are the only ones that could be so qualified; whereas with Heb. 10:20 one must bypass the first possibility (καταπέτασμα) if one wishes to relate τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ dependently to ὁδόν .

3 Cf. C. Spicq, Hébreux II, p.316. Hofius offers only Justin, Dial. 118, 3: διὰ τῆς κλήσεως τῆς καινῆς καὶ αἰωνίου διαθήκης, τοῦτ'ἔστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ , which is probably a genitive of dependence related to διαθήκης .

4 "Fasst man die Worte τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ nicht von vornherein als Apposition zu διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος auf, so ist durch nichts gefordert, für διά in beiden Fallen die gleiche Bedeutung anzunehmen" (Inkarnation, p.136).

5 Ibid.

ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν (a)
ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν (b)
διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος (b)
τοῦτ'ἔστιν (διὰ) τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (a)

This provocative essay has been approved and corrected by the mentor to whom it was originally offered, that is to say, J. Jeremias.[1] Jeremias hails Hofius' study as possibly solving this crux interpretum. He approves of Hofius' examples of inconsistent prepositional usage (not all would) and adds Rom. 2:25 f. to the list. He stresses also that once this inconsequence is accepted as present in Heb. 10:20 "dann besteht keine Notwendigkeit, ja nicht einmal die Möglichkeit, die Worte τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ als Apposition zu διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος zu fassen, also als Näherbestimmung des Vorhangs."[2] He goes on to endorse Hofius' contention that the τοῦτ'ἔστιν phrase refers to the whole statement of v.20a. From here on Jeremias with exegetical acumen corrects Hofius.

Hofius asserted that the enigmatic phrase τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ applies to the acceptance of the flesh and thus the incarnation. Jeremias counters that it points to the devotion of the flesh, that is, the crucifixion. This he supports by clarifying the analogous structure between v.19 and v.20, with the difference that in the former the believers are the subject while in the latter their Πρόδρομος is the subject. Each verse treats successively of (a) the new way (b) its purpose (c) its opening through the sacrificial death of Christ. Jeremias lists the comparison as follows:

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1 J. Jeremias, "Hebräer 10:20: τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ", ZNW 62 (1971), p.131.
2 Ibid.

v.19 Ἔχοντες οὖν, ἀδελφοί, παρρησίαν v.20 ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν

(a) εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον (a) ὁδὸν προσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν

(b) τῶν ἁγίων (b) διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος

(c) ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησου (c) τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ

The comparison at (c) gives strong support to Jeremias' position that it is the death of Christ to which Heb. 10:20b refers.

The acceptance that σάρξ here is alluding to the cross, which is the meaning in the context, does not solve the difficulty of the word or phrase which to refer back v.20b. Montefiore agrees with Jeremias' exposition entirely but can still hold that τοῦτ'ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ is tied to ὁδόν [1] not to ἐνεκαίνισεν and the whole of v.20a. And on the other hand, those also who take v.20b appositionally usually understand σάρξ as a reference to the death of Christ.[2]

We need to examine once again the total usage of τοῦτ' ἔστιν in the Epistle to the Hebrews and establish what varieties or harmonies are apparent in the writer's usage. Τοῦτ'ἔστιν in Heb. 2:14 connects the accusative τὸν διάβολον appositionally to the accusative participial clause τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου . In Heb. 7:5 we find another example of an appositional accusative linked by τοῦτ'ἔστιν , namely, τὸν λαόν and τοὺς ἀδελφούς . The genitive negation οὐ ταύτης κτίσεως is connected appositionally by τοῦτ'ἔστιν to the preceding genitive οὐ χειροποιήτου in Heb. 9:11. We have also a genitive of apposition in Heb. 11:16 and again

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1 Hebrews, p.173.
2 The suggestion that σαρκός is related to ἁγίων made by O. Glombitza ["Erwägungen zum Kunstvollen Ansatz der Paraenese im Brief an die Hebräer X 19-25" NovTest 9 (1967), p.135], can be dismissed.

connected by τοῦτ'ἔστιν , that is to say ἐπουρανίου is in apposition to κρείττονος .[1] Finally, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως is qualified by the appositional accusative καρπὸν χειλέων, which is once more introduced by τοῦτ'ἔστιν (Heb. 13:15). There is therefore a strong presumption that the sixth and remaining instance of τοῦτ'ἔστιν (Heb. 10:20) also introduces an appositional phrase.

If Heb. 10:20b. was an example of a genitive of dependence attached to ὁδός we could expect a repetition of ὁδός before τῆς σαρκός , as for example in Rom. 10:8 (τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τοῦτ'ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως) where τὸ ῥῆμα is repeated. This is especially so because of the distance of ὁδόν from τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ .[2] But even more damaging is the fact that Hebrews uses τοῦτ'ἔστιν as a customary habit (Sprachgebrauch) to introduce an appositional statement. There are therefore weighty grammatical reasons from within the Epistle itself for accepting τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ as in apposition to καταπετάσματος. It is of course impossible to connect σαρκός appositionally to ὁδόν, for the former is a genitive and the latter an accusative.[3] This also rules out any direct relationship with ἐγκαινίζω.

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1 Ὁρίζω of course takes the genitive.
2 In contrast to the example from Justin previously mentioned.
3 The case endings become decisive only after it is established that τοῦτ'ἔστιν in Heb. 10:20 introduces an appositional phrase. Because σαρκός can be attached to ὁδόν as a genitive of dependence, it is not sufficient merely to appeal to the different case endings of σαρκός and ὁδόν as does F.W. Grosheide, Hebreeën (1955²), p.238: "Hoewel het een goeden zin zou kunnen geven met A. Seeberg τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ op ὁδόν te laten slaan, is dat onmogelijk, omdat de genet. op den genet. καταπετάσματος moet zien."

If we accept the appositional relationship between καταπέτασμα and τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, are we obliged along with Jeremias and Hofius[1] to demand that διά must then be interpreted uniformally? Strictly speaking this would seem to be the case, for τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ has no preposition of its own and if in apposition to καταπετάσματος it must be governed by the same διά which is before τοῦ καταπετάσματος .

The διά before τοῦ καταπετάσματος is clearly local and it would, as F. Gardiner says, "on the face of it. . .be grammatically insufferable to change its meaning from local when it is expressed, to instrumental where it is implied in the same clause."[2]

On the other hand, the close relationship between σάρξ (v.20b) and αἷμα (v.19) presses on us to understand the appositional phrase instrumentally; for αἷμα is in Hebrews a means of access (cf. 9:11,12).

These two elements are irreconcilable if we pedantically maintain grammatical niceties, but to one who knew Greek as the writer of this Epistle did the ambiguity of διά would be close to mind as he added the appositional phrase. The problem was for the present writer solved as long ago as 1868 when F. Gardiner wrote:

> In other words, while by the exact force of the words and the precisely literal construction both genitives must be taken locally, yet really there was a gliding of the thought from one position to the other, so that while the διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος is to be taken locally, the following genitive

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1 Cf. H. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.173. L. Sabourin "Sacrificium ut liturgia in Epistula ad Hebraeos", VD 46 (1968), p.247.
2 F. Gardiner, "On Heb. X 20", Journ. of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exeg. 5 (1885), p.142.

> τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ is to be understood instrumentally, so that the real thought of the writer is precisely that which it is impossible to allow to the exact grammatical force of his expression.[1]

The grammatical grounds for taking τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ as an appositional explicative to καταπετάσματος are coercive, as are also the reasons for the interpretation that the death of Christ is meant by the comparison. Why then do we find from time to time scholars balk at this conclusion? Mainly because the "daring, poetical touch"[2] is for modern minds often found too daring.

It is here in v.20 of the pericope, as N. Dahl observes, that "the difficulties are to be found".[3] Provided, however, one is sober in one's exegesis the "poetic touch" makes a sublime addition. What was once limited to the high priest, and once restricted to one day in the year, is now open to all and for ever,[4] and the means is no longer the death of a sacrificial beast but the obedient death of the Son.[5]

One of the great objections to this identification of the flesh of Christ with the curtain has been its inappropriateness. The curtain in Hebrews, it is said, is always understood as a block, a hindrance to the access into God's presence; while Christ's incarnation was conceived by the writer as a means of the revelation of God, that is, not an obstacle in any way.[6] There have been two rejoinders: one accepts that the curtain is a barrier and then tries to demonstrate that

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1 F. Gardiner, JBLE 5 (1888), p.146. This is contra O. Hofius, Inkarnation, p.136; J. Jeremias, ZNW 62, p.131; and W. Michaelis, TDNT V, p.77.
2 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.143.
3 N.A. Dahl, Interpretation 5, p.403.
4 Taking ὁδὸν . . . ζῶσαν as meaning "der immer gangbar ist (= ὁδὸς μένουσα)", rather than "der zum Leben führt (= ὁδὸς ζωῆς)", see O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p.345.
5 U. Luck, NovTest 6, p.209: "Das Leiden und Sterben Jesu ist der Vorhang".
6 See B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], pp.321 f. H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.173.

the flesh of Christ was also a barrier which excluded him from the Father's presence while on earth;[1] the other denies the veil was always construed in Hebrews as an obstacle, sometimes it was seen as the means of access parallel to the death of Christ.[2]

A most zealous attempt has been made by E. Käsemann[3] to maintain the idea that both the curtain and the flesh of Christ were hindrances which required removal before access to the Father was possible. The curtain is the "Grenze und Scheidewand zwischen Erde und Himmel".[4] The "veil" is similar then to the μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ (Eph. 2:14) and the Gnostic myth of the demonic barrier, which prevents the free ascent of the soul to God. This Gnostic sphere of the material is for man the unbreakable "Bann der Materie".

Christ accepted this "Bann" at his incarnation but broke through it by his Ascension by again being free from the life of the flesh. At death Christ broke through the hindrance of the Vorhang, like the high priest on the DA, he is therefore high priest at death. Thus death and high priesthood are closely bound together and "diese Verbindung nur von der gnostischen Anthropos = ἀρχηγός = Spekulation her zu ermöglichen vermag."[5]

If this is what Hebrews is saying then the writer has all but succeeded in hiding his Gnostic purpose, he certainly could have made the ascent of the soul motif clearer. That

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1 N.A. Dahl, Interpretation 5 (1951), pp.404 ff.
2 C.F.D. Moule, The Sacrifice of Christ (London, 1956), pp.22 ff.; C. Maurer, TDNT VI, p.767.
3 E. Käsemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk (Göttingen[4], 1961), pp.140 ff.
4 E. Käsemann, Wandernde, p.145.
5 Wandernde, p.149. To Käsemann's exegesis of the curtain in Heb. 10:19 f., O. Hofius has promised an extended reply.

the DA imagery does not contain all the concepts portrayed in Hebrews is, as Käsemann says, true, but we need not go to Gnostic tradition to explain this, the Christian Kerygma with its emphasis on the death and exaltation of Christ sufficiently explains the author's exegetical expansions.[1]

Nowhere in fact does the author picture the curtain as a hindrance to access, basically the problem is sin and the old cult's inability to remove it. The symbol of this inability is not the veil, but the blood of bulls and goats and the fore-tent (9:8). Neither 6:19 or 9:3 describe the veil as an encumbrance. If the writer glided so easily from "through the curtain" over to "by means of his flesh" (διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ), then such an addition would tend to transform "through the curtain" into "by means of the curtain" (διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος). The way into the holiest is no longer through the hanging lifeless curtain but the Living One crucified.[2] Though the author uses "flesh" we should not introduce the idea of de-incarnation, it is the result of the death of Christ he is concerned to detail, not its method. The great outcome is "access" and that has nothing whatsoever to do with a divestment of the flesh.

The εἰσέρχομαι and εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον have, like all coins, another side, both for Christ and Christians, and that is the fact that Christ ἔξω τῆς πύλης ἔπαθεν (Heb. 13:12)[3] and Christians have the exhortation ἐξερχώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔξω

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1 Cf. C.H. Dodd, Apostolic, pp.45 f.
2 On the DA in Talmudic tradition the veil was actually sprinkled with blood (m. Yoma 5:4).
3 W. Thüsing, "Lasst uns hinzutreten. . .(Heb. 10:22)", BZ 9 (1965), p.10.

τῆς παρεμβολῆς .[1] This going out will, as it did for their Master, involve suffering; but the old order which attempts to mediate salvation by means of the tangible cult is profitless, the time has come to abandon ship and launch out into the new religious world unsupported by these mundane props of the faith,[2] suffering the reproach of Christ. Undergirded now by a much more vital religion, in the apocalyptic spirit if not its terms, the Christian endures τὸν . . . ἀόρατον ὡς ὁρῶν(Heb. 11:27).

The transfer of the privilege which was once exclusive to the high priest on the DA finds its most graphic description in the Apocalypse.[3] That the writer is thinking within the category of the feasts has been recognized since I. Newton's days.[4] It is the Feast of Tabernacles that commands his attention,[5] but this with the cognizance that the DA has passed and left the "nation" clean.[6] Moreover, this cleansing was so effective that it has, as in Hebrews, permitted an unprecedented access to the presence of God. Where Hebrews never states that those who enjoy this confident access are priests the Apocalypse, contrariwise, expresses this frequently.[7] Again, similar to Hebrews, the condition of

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1 For παρεμβολή see F.C. Fensham, "'Camp' in the New Testament and Milhamah", RQ 4 (1963-64), pp.557-562.
2 A fine study on this theme is H. Koester, HTR 55, pp.299-315. Koester modifies the usual view, though nearly all that he says need not really contradict it. The comparison is between an inadequate Judaism and "the new and living way", not some abstract contrast like worldly and unworldly or even Koester's "sacred and secular".
3 The motif of persecution in both Revelation and Hebrews gives a common need for the use of the same concept.
4 I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John (London, 1733).
5 R.J. McKelvey, Temple, pp.163 ff.
6 Rev. 7:14-15; 1:6.
7 Rev. 1:5-6,9; 20:6.

entrance is the blood of Christ.[1] McKelvey summarizes the teaching of the Apocalypse nicely:

> Admission to the new priesthood depends no longer upon racial descent but upon the blood of the Lamb (7:14 f.). Furthermore, those who comprise it are not simply priests but high priests: they stand before the throne of God (7:9,15),[2] i.e. inside the holy of holies (cf. 22:3-4).[3]

Here then is the secret of the patience of the saints, they have the testimony of Jesus, who as their forerunner, gives them a firm hope beyond the veil and beyond the power of what men can do to them; "going out" is the condition and precursor for Christ and the Christian to "going in".

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1 Rev. 7:9.
2 Cf. Heb. 4:16.
3 R.J. McKelvey, Temple, p.165.

CHAPTER 6

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT AND THE DEATH OF CHRIST

> Aaron shall present his bull as a sin-offering . . . . He shall then slaughter the people's goat as a sin-offering. . .(Lev. 16:11a,15a NEB).

The large place sacrifice and sacrificial terms play in the Epistle to the Hebrews in comparison to the limited role attested elsewhere in the NT is immediately apparent from a mere count of the occurrences of προσφέρω and προσφορά. Excluding the Synoptic Gospels, where the word group is also frequent (especially Matthew), the words occur only nine times outside of Hebrews where they are found twenty-seven times. In some of the key passages of Hebrews where this word is used the writer is drawing on the DA ritual background. Before examining the texts in detail there is a scholarly difference of opinion that must preface our treatment of the relevant verses.

In 1962[1] there appeared an article dealing with Hebrews' use of προσφέρω which attempted to answer the often voiced assertion that Hebrews teaches, in some manner, a heavenly liturgical counterpart to the blood aspersion before and on the mercy-seat on the DA. The basis behind this contention is the fact that not the death of the victim but the application of its blood on the altar or mercy-seat constituted the essential expiatory act. The point of W. Stott, the writer of the article mentioned above, is that:

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1 W. Stott, "The Conception of 'Offering' in the Epistle to the Hebrews", NTS 9 (1962-63), pp.62-67.

> in the ritual of the Day of Atonement the technical word for offering הקריב only occurs before the bullock and the goat were slain,[1] and that in the entrance into the Most Holy Place this term was not used, but non-sacrificial terms were used. This suggests that where in Hebrews the word προσφέρω is used of Christ it points quite clearly to what was done on the cross, that Christ's undergoing death was conceived of as the 'offering' (προσφορά).[2]

This plausible argument bristles with fallacies despite the reasonableness of its conclusion. First, just because הקריב occurs prior to the slaughter does not mean it cannot embrace the total subsequent ritual activity. As we have seen previously הקריב can be a general as well as a specific term.[3] As a matter of logic, if the priority of הקריב is sufficient reason to exclude the blood application from within its term of reference, then it should also exclude the death of the animal; for as Stott observes this is likewise a subsequent act to הקריב , but this he does not do for he wishes to apply הקריב (προσφέρω) to the death of Christ.

There is an even more damaging criticism to be made of this argument; Stott maintains, and rightly, that behind προσφέρω in Hebrews when referring to sin is the DA ritual. Stott continues, that on the DA when taking of blood within the sanctuary is mentioned the words used are the non-sacrificial לקח and הביא not הקריב ; so when we read προσφέρω

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1 This is similar to the Rabbinic interpretation which applied Lev. 16:11a, "Shall make atonement for himself and for his house " to the act of confession, because v.11a occurred before the slaughter had taken place (v.11b).

2 NTS 9 (1962-63), p.65.

3 See pp.46 ff. of this thesis where we concluded that in v.6 of Lev. 16 was general (Darbringen) and vv.6 and 11 specifically referred to the bringing the animal to the sacrificial area, the actual beginning of the ritual order of service (Herzubringen). Cf. K. Weiss s.v. προσφέρω , TWNT IX, p.69.

in Hebrews behind it is קרב and the DA ritual, which means that προσφέρω, as well as קרב, has nothing to do with the offering of blood within the holiest. The assumption of this argument is that there is a direct relationship between קרב in the DA and προσφέρω in Hebrews. This assumption is false.

The verb προσφέρω occurs only once in Lev. 16 translating not קרב but שחט,[1] which applies specifically to the act of slaughter. In Lev. 16 קרב is always translated by προσάγω, a word which does not occur in Hebrews. It is therefore quite invalid to define the meaning of προσφέρω in Hebrews on the basis of the use of קרב in Lev. 16, for there is no direct linguistic link.[2] What is behind Hebrews' use of προσφέρω is the total use of this word in the LXX translation of the cultic terms and its meaning, in the last analysis, must be ascertained by the contexts within the Epistle itself.

When the use of προσφέρω in Leviticus as a whole is examined we find a much more variegated picture than the one Stott tried to impose on Lev. 16. We find προσφέρω some seventy times in Leviticus, fifty-one of these translate קרב and fourteen instances have נגש behind them - Stott's non-sacrificial term.

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1 This is the only place in the LXX where προσφέρω translates שחט.

2 προσφέρω is used to translate קרב in connexion with the burnt offering on the DA in Num. 29:8 (והקרבתם עלה ליהוה), but this is hardly pertinent and Stott anyway limits himself to Lev. 16.

Surprisingly the LXX translators seem to have been well aware of the double nature of הקריב that R. Rendtorff noted[1] (Darbringen - Herzubringen), because they used almost exclusively in P two words to translate הקריב, namely, προσάγω and προσφέρω. Προσφέρω is usually used where הקריב has general reference to bringing an offering, while προσάγω (thirty-seven times in Leviticus for הקריב) relates to the specific act of presenting the offering to the priest, or bringing it to the Lord.

This is not a hard-and-fast rule: προσφέρω is used in the specific sense and προσάγω appears where one would have expected προσφέρω; naturally the difference between "present" (προσφέρω) and "bring" (προσάγω) is not great. It can be said, however, that προσάγω never means "offer" in the sense of "perform sacrifice" as προσφέρω does. Προσφέρω contains προσάγω, but the reverse is not true.

In those few cases where הקריב refers to some actual act of offering the LXX translates with προσφέρω; thus Lev. 1:5; 7:33; 9:9, where the language speaks of offering blood, have προσφέρω. We may also add Lev. 9:12,18, where προσφέρω translates זרק and the reference is to blood. Finally, the offering of the fat Lev. 7:3 is rendered by προσφέρω.[2]

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1 Of course the LXX translator's analysis of the texts is not in agreement with Rendtorff's understanding. The LXX is anything but consistent, but generally, like Rendtorff, translates with προσάγω (Herzubringen) where the verb is qualified by לפני, though not in connexion with the meal-offering where προσφέρω is used throughout for obviously one must bear (φέρω) meal not lead (ἄγω) it.

2 The kind of variety, which is impossible to systematize, that one finds with the LXX is illustrated by the translation of the offering of the fat in Lev. 3:3,9,14. Verse 3 is προσάγω, v.9 προσφέρω and v.14 ἀναφέρω, the Hebrew is consistently הקריב.

It is obvious that the Epistle to the Hebrews could not use the LXX rendering of הקריב in Lev. 16 to speak of the work of Christ, προσάγω is far too limited in its sacrificial range being generally limited to the first step in the sacrificial liturgy - the bringing of the offering to the Lord or sanctuary, etc. Hebrews chose the other LXX term for הקריב, namely προσφέρω, with its much richer semantic field. Behind προσφέρω stands, therefore, not the limited usage of הקריב understood as the bringing to the priest or tabernacle of an offering, as in the LXX when it renders הקריב with προσάγω. K. Weiss's conclusion is thus justified when he says of προσφέρω, "Das Wort bedeutet im Hebräerbrief immer das Opfer vollziehen, nicht das Darbringen der Opfergaben zum Altar oder Priester."[1]

The problem in regard to Hebrews is whether the performance of the offering act characterized by προσφέρω is limited to the cross or involves some concept of the blood application to the altar (or mercy-seat); for these latter are not excluded in the generalized use of the word in its translation of הקריב in the LXX, indeed as we have seen both הקריב and προσφέρω can have "blood" as their object. A quite sustained and forceful attempt to show that προσφέρω in Hebrews embraces Christ's "life, death and entry into heaven" has been made by J.H. Davies.[2]

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1 K. Weiss, TWNT IX, p.69.

2 J.H. Davies, "The Heavenly Work of Christ", in Texte und Untersuchungen 102 (1968), pp.384 ff. He does not present this view in the Cambridge Bible Commentary where he is the author of the volume on Hebrews; see J.H. Davies, A Letter to Hebrews (Cambridge, 1967). Cf. W.E. Brooks, "The Perpetuity of Christ's Sacrifice in the Epistle to the Hebrews", JBL 89 (1970), pp.205-214.

The strong point of this argument is where he maintains that Christ's death is not isolated from what follows, the entry into heaven is often the critical event, and προσφέρω is used sometimes of this entry as if this were the most important element of the oblation. Thus Heb. 9:7 speaks of the Levitical high priest offering (προσφέρω) blood in the holy place; and Heb. 9:25 has an antithesis that makes προσφέρῃ ἑαυτόν and εἰσέρχεται . . . ἐν αἵματι synonymous. In Heb. 13:11-13 Jesus' death is related to the burning of the bodies outside the camp; but the work of redemption, the sanctifying of the people by his blood, corresponds to the bringing of the blood into the holy place.[1]

It is certainly true that προσφέρω is used in Heb. 9:7 in a context that can only apply to the high priestly act with the blood upon the mercy-seat on the DA. This is quite an unusual usage.[2] We should not immediately conclude that this meaning is always present in the verb when the writer uses it, especially must we beware of paralleling his understanding of the old cultic ritual to his interpretation of Christ's ministry. Already it has been noted how the author could leave εἰσφέρω unaltered when related to Aaron, but changed it in connexion with Christ; contrast is the essence of his methodology.[3]

At first glance the antithesis between οὐδ' ἵνα πολλάκις προσφέρῃ ἑαυτόν and ὥσπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ (Heb. 9:25), seems to

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1 J.H. Davies, Texte und Untersuchungen 102, p.387.
2 S. Lyonnet (Sin, p.173), suggests it was used because of metonymy.
3 F.F. Bruce "The Kerygma of Hebrews", Interpretation 23 (1969), p.15 , remarks that the author "deliberately changes his construction" (Heb. 9:7,25,12) from ἐν to διά when he alters his speech from Aaron to Christ.

indicate that the contrast to the high priest entering the holiest with blood, is Christ entering to offer himself.[1] On closer examination it becomes clear that this is not so. The contrast is between a repeated sacrifice followed by a repeated entrance in virtue of it,[2] and a once-for-all offering with an accompanying once-for-all entrance. That the stress is on the finality of calvary rather than the uniqueness of some self-oblation in the heavenly holiest is immediately clear in the following verses.

Negatively he would have to have suffered (πάσχω) frequently (πολλάκις v.26 as in v.25) if his sacrifice was not of this "once-for-all" kind. Πάσχω relates to Christ's crucifixion (Heb. 13:12), not to any heavenly event. Positively he has appeared at the end of the ages and abolished sin διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ . The comparison with man's destiny to die once makes it clear that ἡ θυσία αὐτοῦ and ὁ Χριστός , ὥπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας , as must therefore the contrasted πολλάκις προσφέρῃ ἑαυτόν , refer to calvary, the irrepeatable historical death on the cross. As Moffatt says, "What is meant precisely by προσφέρειν ἑαυτόν here (as in v.14) is shown by παθεῖν in v.26. . . . προσφέρειν ἑαυτόν is inseparably connected with the suffering of death upon the cross."[3]

This may seem a rather injudicious parallel between the once-for-all death on the cross and the repeated going into

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1 Cf. Philo L.A. II 55 f., "to pour as a libation the blood of the soul and to offer as incense the whole mind to God."
2 Ἐν ἀίματι ἀλλοτρίῳ is an instrumental ἐν , "by virtue of", "by means of", not an ἐν of accompaniment, "with", cf. 10:19.
3 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.132.

the holiest on the DA by the high priest. The fact is that our author unites the twofold ritual with the blood on the DA with the single act of the crucifixion. It is not the historical data of Christ's sacrifice that is controlled by the type but the very reverse. This is the reason why in Heb. 9:7 he can use προσφέρω for the blood application by Aaron, the type is altered to fit the προσφορά of Christ. Because the προσφορά of Christ fulfils both the sacrificial death and blood application, our writer can speak of Aaron's act as a προσφέρειν ; to argue the reverse[1] is to miss our writer's point. Admittedly this changes the sequence for originally the order was sacrifice → entrance → blood aspersion, now it is sacrifice - blood - application (= offering) → entrance. Our author's exegesis of the OT is dominated by the facts of the death of Christ; too many of his successors have allowed the types to take the exegetical lead.[2]

The thought is, that because Christ's death on the cross (προσφέρω) belongs to the new aeon of the inner tent, our writer can apply to the act within the holiest the word he has used for the death of Christ, that is προσφέρω . In using προσφέρω both for Aaron's aspersion in the holiest (9:7) and for Christ's offering (9:14), the author enforces his parallel that the death of Christ belongs to the new aeon, the eternal

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1 That is, to argue that the use of προσφέρω in Heb. 9:7 for Aaron's DA aspersion means Christ's προσφέρειν is also a blood application in the holiest. He uses προσφέρω in Heb. 9:7 so he can apply that act to the προσφορά on the cross.

2 This is especially true of Anglicans like many of those at the Oxford Conference of 1899, see Priesthood and Sacrifice, ed. W. Sanday (London, 1900), pp.69 ff., 100 ff., note Canon J.H. Bernard's valuable criticism on pp.113 f. Cf. the non-Anglican W. Milligan, The Resurrection of our Lord (London[4], 1894), pp.136 ff.

spirit, the inner tent. It is, in other words, the προσφορά on the cross that fulfils the asperaion (or προσφέρειν) in the holiest. No heavenly act is conceived of other than the heavenly act on the cross.

Davies' exegesis has force only when the exposition is confined to v.25[1]; once the context is consulted his position collapses. His interpretation of Heb. 13:11 ff. is without foundation. There is no warrant whatsoever for connecting διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος (Heb. 13:12) with the εἰσέρεται . . . τὸ αἷμα (v.11). There is much more validity in taking v.12 as another indication that for our author the blood shedding and blood application coalesced in the one event of the cross. In Lev. 16:19 it was the altar which was sanctified (קדשׁ = ἁγιάζω) by the blood of the bull and goat because of the uncleanness of the Israelites, now it is the people themselves who are sanctified by a death of ever so much greater significance than that of a bull or a goat. He suffered outside the gate, not in order to obtain the necessary "blood" to apply to the heavenly mercy-seat, but in order by his death to sanctify the people once-for-all (Heb. 10:14).

The almost universal translation of קרבן in the LXX of Leviticus is δῶρον and for זבח it is θυσία ; this general usage is behind our author's statement of the function of the high priest in Heb. 5:3, though he has one aim in mind rather than the Levitical variety of purposes - ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν.

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1 F. Schröger, Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger (Regensburg, 1968), p.237, applies προσφέρειν ἑαυτόν to Christ's heavenly offering by the same ignoring of the context and over addiction to the DA type. Cf. W.E. Brooks, JBL 89, p.208.

Though his terms for the high priestly function are general his intention is specific, the removal of sins. It is this same purification of sins which we found was the essence of the DA ritual complex at every point. The DA is not far from our author's mind here, for he is concerned to elucidate the ministry of the high priest in particular. The fact that he uses the plural form ἁμαρτιῶν is a further indication of this, for the plural form is only found in the LXX rendering of the cultic texts in connexion with the DA.[1]

The further qualifications of the high priest that our author enumerates have, as we remarked earlier on the preceding pericope (Heb. 4:15 f.), no basis in the OT or Judaism, but are very relevant to the pastoral endeavour of the Epistle. Verse 3 moves deeper into the DA ritual imagery. It is only on the DA that it can be said that the high priest is bound to offer sacrifice for his own sins as well as for those of the people. This was done through a twofold sin-offering of a bullock for the priest and his household and a goat for the people. Our writer mentions them but does not tarry here to expound the dual DA sin-offerings, he does do so, however, in some detail in chapter nine. Here he is concerned - especially in the later chapter seven after the digression of chapter six - to reveal the superiority of Christ's high priesthood on other grounds. He gives an enigmatic hint of what is to come, however, in Heb. 7:27.

The puzzle in this text is over the declaration that Christ has no need to offer sacrifices daily as did the Aaronic high priests. That the thought is derived from the

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1 H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.94. Especially Lev. 16:16,21, 30,34; v.25 is referring to the actual sin-offerings. The Hebrew is חטאת throughout.

DA is made immediately clear because of the further qualification that the high priest did this first for his own sins and then for those of the people, an occurrence limited to the annual DA ritual. Therein is the problem, how can an annual event be described as daily? A lapse of memory seems hardly likely, Heb. 10:11 indicates, as well as 5:3 and 9:6 f., that he was quite familiar with the yearly conditions of the DA.

The various ingenious solutions have been conveniently tabulated for us by O. Michel,[1] he lists them as follows:

1. "Daily" is literal - Christ has no need to do daily what the high priest must do yearly. The "daily" is especially related to Christ, its thought is theological.

Others think a misunderstanding of an original Aramaic is involved. Those under this group think either a linguistic or stylistic inexactitude is present.

2. Another line is to refer to the daily offering (Tamid) which the high priest could offer at pleasure, and did so the week before the DA. "Daily" therefore combines the double offering of the DA and Tamid morning and evening oblation.

3. The meal-offering for the high priest (Lev. 6:12-16) is often combined with the people's Tamid offering (Yoma 2:5;7:3; Ta'anith 4:6). The Rabbinic tradition gives meal-offerings expiatory value. In actual fact however the meal-offering came after the Tamid offering so it hardly fits the statement, "first for his own sins".

4. It must be admitted that Heb. 5:3 and 7:27 only fit the DA. Perhaps our author saw the DA as so singular that it encompassed all other daily offerings, ". . .

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1 O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], pp.281 f.

> alle anderen Opfer, Speis-und Tamid-opfer, stehen für ihn im Licht dessen, was am grossen Versöhnungstage geschieht."[1]

Although one must beware of finding a theological intention behind every deviation from his OT sources, it seems hard to avoid the conclusion here that our author has once again moulded his description of the type to fit the theological significance of Christ's death. Most of the proposed solutions concentrate on the word θυσία and try to obtain a "daily" sacrifice by reference to dubious meal-offering parallels. It is much better to attend to the word high priests.[2]

In the climactic act of the high priest on the DA all the daily expiatory acts of the priests in general culminate. The procedure of the DA is extended to the whole year, as E. Lohse says, "um den Kontrast zum priesterlichen Handeln Christi um so scharfer herauszuarbeiten."[3] G. Schrenk notes that " ἱερεύς is thus a generic word; the exposition always has the ἀρχιερεύς in view."[4] Schrenk later denies, correctly, that καθ' ἡμέραν refers to the sacrifice of the DA; its reference is to the whole sacrificial ministry,[5] not as he says

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1 O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p.283.

2 D* has the reading ὁ ἀρχιερεύς which makes no significant difference. J. Héring (Hebrews, p.64), incorrectly takes the reading of D* in v.27 as ὁ ἱερεύς and mentions that this would solve the exegetical problem - it would if it was there

3 E. Lohse, Märtyrer, p.173. The thesis of G. Schille ("Erwägungen zur Hohenpriesterlehre des Hebräerbriefs", ZNW 46 (1955), pp.81-109, that the oscillation between high priest and priest is evidence that our author is reworking in Heb. 7:1-25 a priest-hymn tradition is better explained by the premise that Christ on one hand fulfils the daily function of the priests and on the other the annual work of the high priest, the stress falling mainly on the latter.

4 G.Schrenk, TDNT III, p.277.

5 Ibid., p.280.

the meal-offerings of Lev. 6:12-16, but the daily sin-offerings offered by the priests.

The writer of Hebrews wants to draw one of his major contrasts, the ἐφάπαξ of Christ's offering in comparison to the repeated ritual of the old order. καθ' ἡμέραν is a stronger contrast than κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, while the LXX of Lev. 16:34, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ would have been for his aims disastrous. In the daily offerings of the priests there is something of the high priest's annual work, though he speaks of "daily" his added statement, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν θυσίας ἀναφέρειν, ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ, makes it clear that the DA is uppermost in mind and for him pervades and sums up the whole ritual order. In the daily offerings the DA was present. In fulfilling the one Christ abolishes them all, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἐφάπαξ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας, ὅπου δὲ ἄφεσις τούτων, οὐκέτι προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας[1] (Heb. 7:27b and 10:18b).

It goes without saying that a high priest who can be described as ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος, κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, καὶ ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος (Heb. 7:26), has no need to offer first for himself; Christ's ministry is totally disinterested, its objective is exclusively the solution of the human predicament. It was the Law's inability to cope with the problem of sin which made the divine intervention imperative. The situation fulfilled the requirements of Horace's rule for bringing God onto the scene.[2] The old

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1 Περὶ ἁμαρτίας is in the LXX the technical term for sin-offering.

2 "Do not bring a god on to the stage unless the problem is one that deserves a god to solve it", Horace, Ars Poetica, 191 f., quoted F.F. Bruce, Romans, p.101.

sacrifices could not touch the offerer's inner being (μὴ δυνάμενα κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι τὸν λατρεύοντα Heb. 9:9), they were repeated year after wearisome year, an endless cycle of cleansing, pollution, recleansing (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς οὐδέποτε δύνανται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι Heb. 10:1).[1]

The phrase εἰς τὸ διηνεκές is to be attached to προσφέρω not προσέρχομαι or τελειόω ,[2] for it is the continual repetition of the DA ritual that is in mind, not the eternal perfection of the worshippers; we should not allow 10:14 to impose another context upon the text before us. In fact by so harmonizing the text we may destroy his intended pun. The old order repeated itself in a vicious cycle (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές v.1), because it never succeeded in removing sins (περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας v.12); but the new order in Christ has a once-for-all sacrifice (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές v.12), for it has succeeded in removing sins forever (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές v.14).

It is this accomplishment of the offering of Christ, the purging of sin, that brings to our author's attention the covenant teaching of the OT, especially the New Covenant[3]

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1 SB II, p.422 gives an interesting Rabbinic quotation from Midrash Tanchuma, "Wenn also der Israelit am Versöhnungstage Busse tut, sieht ihn Gott an als eine neue Kreatur, wie ein eben geborenes Kindlein, dass frei ist von Sünde und Schuld . . .die Sünde ist vergeben, und eine neue Rechnung beginnt. Diese füllt sich zwar auch wieder mit Schuld, aber auch der nächste Versöhnungstag naht und lässt den Bussfertigen abermals als eine neue Kreatur erscheinen, und so geht es fort bis ans Ende". Cf also Midrash R. Lev. 30:7 where in connexion with the DA we meet again this ledger concept with the repeated phrase, "Let bygones be bygones; from now we shall begin a new account."

2 The NEB relates εἰς τὸ διηνεκές to τελειόω and considers προσέρχομαι in the margin.

3 Qumran also related covenant renewal to the DA as we noted, see 1QS 2 f. and the discussion on pp.104 ff. of this thesis.

adumbrated by Jeremiah. Here, as at other points, our author is leaning on Christian tradition.[1] The New Covenant made three promises: first, an internalizing of the law within men's hearts; second, a new and personal relationship with God on an unprecedented intimate basis; and third, a radical forgiveness of sins. Each one of these is more-or-less directly related to his exposition of the DA. The tie between the forgiveness of the New Covenant and the failure of the old is summed up by the ordinances of divine service which the first Covenant possessed, but which proved inadequate for solving the incubus of sin. This failure of the old order was epitomized by the repetitive nature of its most august ritual, the DA, while the success of the new in bringing forgiveness is manifest in its hapax nature.

Furthermore, the great truth which our Epistle propounds with such force, that the cessation of the cultic ritual, the removal of the fore-tent so to speak, opens up for the mass of worshippers an undreamed of access within the holiest to God himself, is but another way of saying, "For all of them, high and low, shall know me".[2] The fellowship of the New Covenant, to know God directly, is the same thing as boldly entering the holiest by the blood of Christ.[3]

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1 See the discussion of this in E. Lohse, Märtyrer, pp.180 f.
2 Heb. 8:11 NEB.
3 The writer never spells out the belief in the priesthood of believers as the book of Revelation does, however, it is assumed. The Norwegian scholar O. Moe, gathers what evidence there is beyond the presumptive, though some of his examples are strained; see, "Der Gedanke des allgemeinen Priestertums im Hebräerbrief", TZ 5 (1949), pp.161-169. Cf. T.W. Manson, Ministry and Priesthood Christ's and Ours (London, 1958), pp.63 f.

Finally, the law of sacrifice is now internalized and finds expression in the exhortation of Heb. 13:15: Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ παντὸς τῷ Θεῷ ; here is an aspect of the old order which is not reduced to a ἅπαξ , but is something more than an annual repetition (πολλάκις), it is perpetual (διὰ παντός). The joyous praise,[1] the sacrifice of the lips, is the communal response to sins forgiven through him (δι' αὐτοῦ), their high priest,[2] who suffered outside the gate in order to consecrate the people by his own blood.

The whole offering theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, just as the DA, centres around the one burning issue of the forgiveness of sins, and all that that implies for man's relationship with God. It is not surprising then to find an emphasis in Hebrews on the sin-offering and we may surmise that, though the term is general, the thought concentrates on the sin-offering of the DA. "Der kultische Opfergedanke des Hebr ist im wesentlichen konzentriert auf das Sühnopfer des Hohenpriesters am Versöhnungstag."[3] Von Loewenich goes on to say that it is only this high priestly offering that is a type of Christ's sacrifice. This is extreme, for the daily service is just as certainly summed up in the DA imagery, and

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1 The DA had decidedly joyous overtones for Judaism because on this day sins were forgiven, see Ta'anith 30b. J. Elbogen /Studien zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gottesdienstes (Berlin, 1907), p.53/, remarks that after midday when reconciliation was a reality the day was one of "serene joy" (Heiterkeit).

2 C. Spicq (Hébreux II, p.429.), compares δι' αὐτοῦ in 13:15 with διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως in 13:11 and notes the contrast between the old sacrifice and the new spiritual offering; which is to say between the DA ritual and the praise resulting from Good Friday.

3 W. von Loewenich, "Zum Verständnis des Opfergedankens im Hebräerbrief", ThBl 12 (1933), p.168.

it is hardly true to say that Hebrews quickly dismisses the other offerings.[1]

The word "sin-offering" occurs rather frequently in Lev. 16, some nine times, the Hebrew is always חטאת and the LXX περὶ ἁμαρτίας, with the exception of v.25 where περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν correctly understands חטאת as referring to both sin-offerings. The first sin-offering is a bull for Aaron himself (v.6 περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ = ולחטאתו אשר-לו), the second, a goat, is for the people (v.15 περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ = וחטאת אשר לעם [LXX]). In the sense of sin-offering, περὶ ἁμαρτίας occurs in Hebrews six times (5:3; 10:6, 8,18,26; 13:11).

The import of Hebrews' use of these we have already generally discussed, his outgoing point is the impossibility of sin being removed by the blood of bulls and goats (Heb. 10:4).[2] These two animals are those prescribed for the DA. This method of expiation with bulls and goats is annulled and a new approach is introduced. To elucidate this new way he appeals to Ps.40.[3] This is interpreted as a Messianic confession on the lips of Christ; he is supported in this by the inaccurate LXX rendering of כתוב עלי (= prescribed for me), γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ (written about me). That his main comparison is not between the σῶμα[4] of Christ and the animal sacrifice, but the voluntary

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1 Besides von Loewenich's texts Heb. 9:9 f.; 13:9, we may add 7:11,27; 10:11, where the daily sacrifices are in view.

2 H. Wenschkewitz (Spiritualisierung, p.134), thinks that Hebrews' criticism is unfair (unbillig) because the old cult never claimed to be able to remove "Sündhaftigkeit", but this is our author's point as G.B. Caird [CJT 5 (1959), p.47], says, the writer of the Epistle is interested in the cult's own confession of inadequacy.

3 F. Schröger, Verfasser, pp.172 ff.; S. Kistemaker, Citations, pp.124 ff.; K.J. Thomas, "The Old Testament Citations in Hebrews", NTS 11 (1964-65), pp.314 f.

4 Contra C. Büchel, ThSK 79 (1906), p.512, and J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.138.

obedience of Christ in contrast to the offerings demanded by the Law, is indicated by some textual adaptations that our author makes. The verb ἐβουλήθην is omitted and so ποιῆσαι connects with ἥκω, instead of as previously ἐβουλήθην. The reason for this is to indicate clearly the purpose of Christ's coming, it is to do God's will. God did not will (οὐκ ἠθέλησας v.5) sacrifices and offerings, but Christ came to do whatever he willed (τὸ θέλημά σου v.7),[1] and that will (ἐν ᾧ θελήματι v.10) was to sanctify his people by the death of Christ (ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμὲν διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐφάπαξ v.10). So once more our author highlights the death of Christ over the ritual of the Old Covenant. We meet here again his characteristic [ἐφ] ἅπαξ (v.10),[2] and his opposing of the πολλάκις (v.11) of the old order; both are εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, the old in its repetition the new in its effect.

We turn now in conclusion to this chapter to the frequently discussed question in the past, and even the present,[3] as to when Christ became high priest. Heb. 2:17 should not be construed as if it meant that before his suffering and death he was not a high priest.[4] The stress is on his becoming a

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1 K.J. Thomas [NTS 11 (1964-65), p.314], says the emphatic final position of the phrase in the citation is conscious.

2 Cf. Heb 7:27; 9:12,26,28; 10:12,14 (εἰς). This is traditional see Rom. 6:10, I Petr. 3:18. E. Riehm, Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes (Basel, 1867), p.573, maintains that ἐφάπαξ (Heb. 10:10) belongs to ἡγιασμένοι not to προσφορᾷ, cf. O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p.339. The context (vv.11-12) seems to support the connexion with προσφορᾷ, though it is an axiom that the once-for-all offering has a corresponding once-for-all effect. The Christian is ever a "saint" provided, as this Epistle strongly teaches, he holds to his confession of faith.

3 G. Vos, "The Priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews", PTR 5 (1907), pp.423-447, 579-604; E. Käsemann, Wandernde, pp.140 ff.

4 G. Vos, PTR 5 (1907), pp.582 ff.

sympathetic high priest not his becoming high priest as such. Neither is it convincing to assert that as προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (Heb. 5:10) comes after his being made perfect (v.9) that Christ's appointment as high priest therefore post-dates his death. Verse ten refers back to v.6 where the calling Christ a high priest by God is related to Ps. 110, it is in other words a pre-crucifixion appellalation.

The γενόμενος in Heb. 6:20 means that Christ was high priest before he entered the shrine, not after as Vos supposes. Heb 8:4 is not stated to show that Christ firstly became a high priest at the ascension, but to underscore the fact that what he necessarily had to offer (v.3) to fulfil the function of a priest belonged not to the mundane sphere, but that of the Spirit; it was without spot he offered himself through the Eternal Spirit to God (9:14).

The conclusion seems clear that, though Christ was designated by the divine call or oath sometime prior to his death,[1] it was the act of this high priest after the Melchizedek order in offering himself that occupies our author's attention. Those writers who on the basis of this Epistle undervalue the historical death of Christ in favour of some heavenly oblation[2] have

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1 Essentially he was so designated in the Psalms, at what point in the historical life of Christ this was reiterated is not clear, but either at his "coming into the world" or his baptism, where the Gospels apply the text of Ps.2:7 which our author conflates with Ps. 110.

2 F. Schröger, Verfasser, p.238 f.; A. Cody, Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews (St. Meinrad, 1960), pp.181 ff. S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice, pp. 64 f., 149 f. et al. Gayford, on the basis of the fact that in the sin-offering ritual the offerer performs the ΟΠΩ -act, tries to demonstrate that Christ became high priest after his death, his death being, according to Gayford, the layman's ΟΠΩ -act. Against this we note that on the DA the high priest performed the ΟΠΩ for both sin-offerings and that προσφέρω , the usual word in Hebrews for Christ's sacrifice, never translates ΟΠΩ in the LXX, it is therefore illegitimate to define προσφέρω in the Epistle to the Hebrews by ΟΠΩ.

reversed the actual teaching of this Letter to the Hebrews.[1] [2]

In one of Westcott's[3] finest statements he summarizes the superior efficacy of Christ's sacrifice in the following way.

Christ's sacrifice was:

1. Voluntary, not by constraint as in the case of the animal sacrifices of the Law.
2. Rational, and not animal.
3. Spontaneous, not in obedience to a direct commandment.
4. Moral, an offering of Himself. . .and not a mere mechanical performance of a prescribed rite.

With this statement we may fittingly conclude our treatment of the death of Christ as the fulfilment of the DA offering.

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1 The significance of the Ascension or Heavenly Session of Christ is treated below.

2 Seeing as the heavenly oblation is a frequent idea among Catholic scholars, we should refer to three significant exceptions: J. Bonsirven, "Le Sacerdoce et le Sacrifice de Jésus - Christ d'après l'Épître aux Hébreux", NRT 66 (1939), pp.641-660, 769-786 especially pp.769 f.; A. Vanhoye, "De 'aspectu' oblationis Christi secundum Epistolam ad Hebraeos", VD 37 (1959), pp.32-38, Vanhoye possibly puts too much weight on the aorist tense in his argument, cf. F. Stagg, "The Abused Aorist", JBL 91 (1972), pp.222-231; thirdly, O. Kuss, MTZ 7 (1956), pp.233-271.

3 B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], p.263.

CHAPTER 7

THE SPRINKLED BLOOD

> He shall take some of the bull's blood and sprinkle it with his finger both on the surface of the cover, eastwards, and seven times in front of the cover. . . .he shall sprinkle some of the blood on the altar with his finger seven times. So he shall purify it from all the uncleanness of the Israelites and hallow it (Lev. 16:14,19 NEB).

S.C. Gayford[1] has asserted that whenever we read of "sprinkling" the blood of Jesus in the NT we should immediately relate it to the high priest's annual aspersion within the holiest. His reason for maintaining this is that the act of sprinkling the blood belongs essentially only to the sin-offering on the DA. There is, however, a linguistic difference that should warn us that a simple correlation does not exist, for the word in Lev. 16 throughout is ῥαίνω translating נזה, but ῥαίνω never occurs in the NT.[2]

Formally it is Num. 19 and the water of purification that seems to be behind the NT usage; but then that is water not blood, so in practice what we have is an amalgamation of a complex of ideas. In the LXX the verb ῥαίνω occurs mainly in the cultic texts: Lev. 4:6 (προσραίνω); 4:17; 5:9. 8:11; 14:16,27; Lev. 16:14,15,19; Num. 19:4, and the consecration of Aaron Ex. 29:21, Lev. 8:30 (προσραίνω). In all these texts the Hebrew is זרק, in Lev. 8:11 (consecration of the tabernacle) and Lev. 14:16,27 (cleansing of the leper) the sprinkling substance is oil. The use of ῥαίνω in Isa. 45:8 is of no importance (Heb. נטף).

Περιραίνω is also limited to the cult and translates only זרק; Lev. 14:7,51; Num. 8:7; 19:18,19,21. The last three

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1 S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice, pp.72 f.
2 Except as a variant reading in Rev. 19:13.

verses refer to sprinkling the נדה מי . The verb ῥαντίζω, which is used exclusively in the NT, is found only in Lev. 6:20 (6:27) (once in the form ἐπιῤῥαντίζω); 4 Kings 9:33 (נזה) and Ps. 50:9 (51:7 =אזוב). The mention of hyssop in the Psalm shows the origin of the metapher is the נדה מי of Num. 19, though not exclusively, for hyssop is also mentioned in Lev. 14:4 ff. and even Ex. 12:22. Verse 10 of Ps. 51 reveals a concept similar to that found in Ezk. 36:25 f.

In Ezk. 36:25 ῥαίνω is used to translate זרק, and here we find already a mixture of ideas. Despite Cooke,[1] the Vorlage is to be found in the cultic texts. The word זרק is a frequent cultic term referring to the throwing of the blood against the altar, usually translated in the LXX by προσχέω. Ezekiel himself uses זרק (LXX προσχέω) in Ezk. 43:18 in this way. A more important background is Num. 19:13,20, for here זרק is used to describe the action of the rite of נדה מי; the LXX translates ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ and περιῤῥαντίζω, and we should note the correlate ideas of cleansing and uncleanness in Num. 19 and Ezk. 36:25 (Heb. אזוב).[2] There is every likelihood that Ezekiel's מי טהורים (LXX ὕδωρ καθαρόν) is his interpretation of the נדה מי. The following verses make an important connexion (vv.27 ff.), for they relate the cleansing action of Yahveh with the New Covenant. We have in Ezk. 36:25 ff. therefore a mixture of ideas from the ceremony with the red heifer, the establishment of the covenant, and possibly the DA.[2]

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1 G.A. Cooke, The Book of Ezekiel (Edinburgh, 1936), pp.390 f.
2 A possible reference to the DA is mentioned by W. Zimmerli [Ezechiel. BK XI (Neukirchen, 1969), p.879], for the plural form מטהרות (LXX καθαρσιῶν) is only found in one other place besides Ezk. 36:25,29, namely, Lev. 16:16,19.

The examples of Ezekiel and Psalm 51 already indicate the manner in which in metaphorical expression a complex of cultic usage was assumed. This is true also in the Talmud, Qumran, and Philo where the DA and sprinkling of the ashes of the red heifer are related. The relationship becomes in Heb. 9:13,[1] however, a fusion:

εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων καὶ σποδὸς δαμάλεως ῥαντίζουσα τοὺς κεκοινωμένους ἁγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι.[2]

The conflation of these two cultic concepts is not done unconsciously or purposelessly.

It is, of course, just not true that the blood of goats and bulls was sprinkled on defiled persons to sanctify them. If the conjunction is not merely formal, then on the DA the blood of goats and bulls was sprinkled on the altar (incense?) to purify it (Lev. 16:19) from all the uncleanness of the children of Israel. If the conjunction is not to be so pressed, then it was the mercy-seat that was sprinkled, first with the blood of the bull then the blood of the goat, in order to make atonement for the sanctuary because of Israel's uncleanness. We have seen in our study of the OT that the cleansing of the temple on the DA was not something isolated from the purification of the people.

It is the people that Hebrews patently desires to have as the object of the sprinkling, hence his conflation of the DA

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1 C.-H. Hunzinger (s.v. ῥαντίζω , TDNT VI, p.982), says Heb. 9:13 primarily has the DA in view.

2 There is a similar argument a minori ad maius in the Talmud, though not referring to the sprinkled blood, but the sprinkled person. "If sprinkling upon an unclean makes clean, how much more shall sprinkling upon a clean [keep or make more] clean" (b. Yoma 14a).

with the ashes of the red heifer. The recipients of the latter cleansing, though not exclusively, yet in the main, were the defiled persons. Our writer is again carefully protecting himself from the misunderstanding that Christ's offering involves a metaphorical sprinkling in the heavenly holiest. The use of ἁγιάζω somewhat enforces this. Admittedly ἁγιάζω is a broad term in Hebrews, too manifold to claim it derives exclusively from Lev. 16:19, though its cultic origins are not to be denied, as is sometimes done. It seems, however, that Lev. 16:19 was a major source, though not the only one, of his use of ἁγιάζω and even καθαρίζω (cf. Ex. 30:10).

In Lev. 16:19 in connexion with the hallowing of the altar with the blood of the sin-offerings both καθαρίζω and ἁγιάζω are used.[1] This is the only use of ἁγιάζω in Lev. 16, in Num. 19 ἁγιάζω is not used. In connexion with the sprinkling of the blood on the mercy-seat the verb is ἐξιλάσκομαι not ἁγιάζω, nor indeed καθαρίζω. Our author elsewhere (Heb. 2:17) has shown that he has no intrinsic objection to ἐξιλάσκομαι, his meagre use of this key DA term is explained by the fact that he has taken his terminology from the act upon the altar, that is, the sprinkling outside the temple. Thus once more we are led to the conclusion that our author is consciously avoiding the idea that Christ entered the holiest to complete his atonement: by drawing on the last blood ritual on the DA, that upon the altar, he affirms that Christ entered the holiest having made an end of the work of atonement (v.20), or purification as he prefers.

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1 A. Büchler (Studies, pp.360 f.), informs us that behind R. Meir's stress on the removal of sin and the words he used to convey this, "purging" and "sanctifying", is probably Lev. 16:19 and the DA cleansing of the altar.

That this is not far fetched finds confirmation in Heb. 1:3 where we read that Christ καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. The aorist participle ποιησάμενος [1] emphasizes that the work of Christ was finished, as far as the purification of sins is concerned, before his ascension. The phrase καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν has often been connected with the DA.[2] H.W. Montefiore[3] makes the decisive observation that this phrase is used only once in the whole of the LXX, that is, in connexion with the sacrifice on the DA which purifies the altar: Ex. 30:10(B), ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ ἐξιλασμοῦ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καθαριεῖ αὐτό cf. Ex. 29:36 LXX.

It is rather clear, therefore, that our author is labouring to modify the type to fit Christian beliefs about Christ's death; in the old cult the high priest comes out from the holiest to the altar before the Lord in order to complete the blood aspersions, now the high priest of the good things that have come enters the holiest having once-for-all performed the act of cleansing. We must emphasize again that to interpret the work of Christ woodenly from the DA imagery is to reverse the method of Hebrews.[4]

The sprinkled blood of the DA sin-offerings on the altar is a type for the death of Christ on the cross, the sprinkled ashes of the red heifer on a defiled person is an image of the

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1 Ποιέω sometimes translates עשׂה in a cultic context of making sacrifice, e.g. Lev. 4:20. Worthy of note is Lev. 16:34.
2 E. Riehm, Lehrbegriff, p.562; E. Lohse, Märtyrer, pp.167 f.
3 H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.38.
4 The phrase ὁ καθαρισμὸς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν also occurs in 2 Pet. 1:9, but in the face of the lack of contextual support it would be precarious to assert that the DA ritual lies behind it here as well. It remains but a possibility.

results of that death: to use an old reformed phrase, "Redemption accomplished and applied". The type, however, is notable for its flaws, while the fulfilment excels in its perfection. The outward purification of the flesh has in its fulfilment found an offering which purges down into the recesses of heart and mind - the συνείδησις . The weakness of the old cleansing, as with the offering, was proclaimed by its inefficacy; the promise of Lev. 16:30, καθαρίσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν ἔναντι κυρίου, καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε remained ever unfulfilled, because it was done over and over again, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ποιηθήσεται (Lev. 16:34 cf. Ex. 30:10).

This is the background to the unanswerable question of our author in Heb. 10:2, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο προσφερόμεναι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἔτι συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν τοὺς λατρεύοντας ἅπαξ κεκαθαρισμένους . If we keep the polemical nature of Hebrews in mind[1] we will not draw extreme conclusions like one author who wrote, "If no further sacrifice is possible, no further sin is forgivable."[2] Such a position would exclude all post A.D. 30 generations from the benefits of calvary; for in the opinion of our writer further sacrifice became anachronistic from the time of Christ's death. The once-for-all cleansing is related indissolubly to the event of the cross, it does not mean forgiveness is an impossible post-calvary occurrence.

The interpretation is best understood in contrast to the annual DA where year by year there was repeated a sacrifice, an entrance into the holiest, a blood application, and a cleansing; but now one sacrifice, one cleansing, and one entrance (Heb. 9:26;

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1 Contra, of course, those who limit Hebrews to a "meditation to Christians as Christians".

2 C.E. Carlston, "Eschatology and Repentance in the Epistle to the Hebrew", JBL 78 (1959), p.301.

10:14; 9:12). The reason for this comparison is to show the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice; it needs no repetition.[1] There is no necessity to think our writer has gone to excess because of his eschatology.[2] He does not in fact say, "no further sacrifice is possible, no further sin is forgivable", he says, "where there is forgiveness of sins there is no longer any sin-offerings" (Heb. 10:18).

In the self-oblation of Christ there is an offering ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν for ever, the sinlessness of the Christian is a reality contingent on his continuing relationship with the Author and Perfector of the faith, who endured the shame of the cross.[3] Because this sacrifice is efficacious, it really does what Lev. 16:30 had promised, it removes sin completely, because of that fact, it need not, indeed cannot, be repeated. It is not a question of the impossibility of a post-baptismal sin but the impossibility of a post-calvary sin-offering. If the old cult had cleansed the worshippers then it would have ceased as

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1 The Rabbinic exegesis also stressed the annual nature of the DA cleansing, e.g. Cant. Rab. 1,5; 8,8. Gen. Rab. 65:15. Pesikt. Rab. 47,191a. The last text is similar to the others, each stresses the build up of sins during the year and the DA cleansing, it says, "Good for thy children, when they soil themselves throughout the year with sins, for when they offer two he-goats on the Day of Atonement, atonement will be granted to them" (Quoted A. Büchler, Studies, p.302).

2 E. Gräßer, TR 30 (1964), pp.323 f.

3 The comparative nature of the Epistle to the Hebrews with its special stress on the DA gives considerable support to W. Manson's (Hebrews, p.131) contention that "the Jewish Day of Atonement [may have been] a central element in the appeal which the elder means of grace were still making to these Christians at Rome to whom the Epistle to the Hebrews was written." This is a more cogent position than that of G. Fitzer [Auch der Hebräerbrief legitimiert nicht eine Opfertodchristologie", KD 15 (1969), pp.294-319], who maintains that Christianity as the New Israel inherited the OT, and Hebrews takes up the task of explaining how the Old Covenant cult continues in the New, an apologetic forced on to Christianity by circumstances, which is of no value for Christology. This ignores the concrete situation Hebrews confronts, whatever else Hebrews is it is not a formal dissertation.

an annual remembrance,[1] it did not cleanse the worshippers therefore it continued; the New Covenant has the promise "I will remember their sins no more", therefore it is not a repeatable event.

Such an understanding also helps loosen, though not release, the "harten Knoten" (Luther) of the Epistle's teaching concerning the impossibility of a second repentance.[2] It has been noted that repentance was the centre of the DA ritual throughout the writings of Judaism; from Qumran to the Talmud, from the Apocrypha to Philo, all exegeted the ענה of Lev. 16:29, 31 to mean fasting, bodily denial and repentance. If repentance was the conditio sine qua non of the forgiveness of sins, the DA was the conditio sine qua non of repentance.[3]

Judaism did not of course teach that the conduct of one's life throughout the year could be profligate or that the annual repentance was all that religion meant. There was, however, as the sources of Judaism have eloquently revealed, a tremendous emphasis on the once-a-year act of afflicting the soul in order to make atonement for sin and reconciliation with God. This stress was especially present in the synagogue service of Diaspora Judaism to which our author belonged.

The warnings in Heb. 6:4-6; 10:26-31; 12:16 f. are too earnest to be explained as hypothetical or hyperbole, the author meant what he said. For our writer the rejection of Christ by a Christian was a terribly real possibility, which for him was no light thing like swapping from Presbyterianism

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1 D. Jones, "ἀνάμνησις in the LXX and the Interpretation of 1 Cor. XI. 25", JTS 6 (1955), p.186.
2 For a survey of the problem see E. Grässer, TR 30 (1964), pp.231 ff. and idem, Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief (Marburg, 1965), pp.192 ff.
3 See SB II, p.422 for the annual nature of repentance.

to Anglicanism. There was no thought of relieving this warning, for to do so would destroy its pungency, by saying, "Naturally if you do threw away your confidence you can repent again sometime and take up Christianity once more like nothing had happened". Such an obsequious Pastor our writer is not.

Could it not be, however, that added to the warning, stated in such uncompromising terms, is the idea that the Christian repentance, like the Christian sacrifice - blood sprinkling - cleansing - entrance, is a once-for-all-time act in contrast to the annual ritual and repentance of the typical DA? The severity of the teaching would not then only be related to the seriousness of the error opposed - apostasy from Christ - but also, because polemical statements are apt, if viewed in isolation, to appear one sided. If viewed as an affirmation of the once-for-all nature of Christian repentance in contradistinction to Judaism's annual humiliation of the soul, the teaching softens somewhat. Christian repentance is not cyclic and is ever rooted in the one event of the cross. Repentance has a once-for-all nature for our author because he wishes to contrast the finality of Christianity with the recurring pattern of Judaism.

In Heb. 9:19 ff. our writer declares that Moses at the time of the institution of the Sinai covenant took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool, and hyssop; and sprinkled the book of the covenant, all the people, the tabernacle, and the vessels used in worship. Now this conglomeration of cultic ideas cannot have been accidental, even if it is true that our author's knowledge of the cultic ordinances is only booklearning, he could not be guilty of such unintentional confusion. The degree of the departure from his basic source,

Ex. 24:3 ff., is considerable. He adds goats[1] to the Vorlage's calves (Ex. 24:5): he introduces water, scarlet wool, and hyssop to the original limitation to blood only; further the objects which were sprinkled are modified, in Ex. 24:6 ff. the blood is cast against the altar and over the people, in Hebrews the book of the covenant replaces the altar and a sprinkling upon the tabernacle and its implements is inserted. There is a linguistic change of some importance also; for in Ex. 24:6 the LXX has προσχέω and in v.8 καταskεδάζω (the Hebrew in each case is זרק) for the throwing of the blood, not ῥαντίζω as our author uses.

There are three traditions again at work here as with Ezk. 36:25; the establishment of the covenant, the DA, and the ceremony of מי נדה.[2] The predilection for ῥαντίζω probably derives from the LXX rendering of מי נדה, namely, ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ. The present context gave our author an excellent opportunity to speak in detail of the atonement and cleansing resulting from the DA sprinkling within the holiest. This was the day when the act of sprinkling blood reached its cultic zenith, yet our author gives no hint of this aspersion despite the presence of DA sacrificial imagery in the mention of calves and goats. It

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1 This reading is probably to be accepted. Either P^{46} ℵ* KL Ψ 1739 omitted τῶν τράγων to harmonize with Ex. 24:5 or the majority reading harmonized with 9:12, though in reverse order (some readings correct the order). To add τῶν τράγων would have to have been done in the face of the resulting contradiction with Ex. 24:5, which is hardly the work of a harmonizer. The deletion of τῶν τράγων, however, not only harmonizes with Ex. 24:5 but causes no conflict within the Epistle itself, it is therefore to be judged that τῶν τράγων belongs to the original text, because it is the harder reading.

2 The mention of water, hyssop, and scarlet wool is more likely to be related to Num. 19 and the red heifer ritual than Lev. 14 and the cleansing of the leper for the former has been expressly quoted in Heb. 9:13.

is to be regretted that our writer's reserve has not always been emulated.

Why did he replace the altar with the book of the covenant? The easiest solution is to conclude with Moffatt that it is an error.[1] Perhaps because the altar is now in his thinking more the place of Christ's death, he finds it inappropriate to use it as the place of sprinkling. For him מזבח and [illegible] are amalgamated in the one act of the προσφορά of Christ, so he disassociates all ideas of sprinkling from the altar even in discussing the typical shadows. It is the casting or sprinkling of blood on the people that really concerns him and for this thought his use of Num. 19 and Ex. 24 is eminently suited.

Verse 21 comes in apparently as an anti-climax after the discussion of the death of Christ as Mediator of the New Covenant and the appended statements about blood being an essential element in the inauguration of the Old Covenant. The sprinkling of the tent and its vessels is not immediately in the context of Ex. 24, but our writer could happily move to the dedication of the first covenant sanctuary without giving any indication of the change. More puzzling is the source of our writer's information. The tabernacle was in fact anointed with oil at its consecration, not sprinkled with blood (Ex. 40:8 ff.). Leviticus 8 (cf. Ex 29:21) comes nearest to the statements of Heb. 9:21. In the account of the anointing of the Aaronic priesthood is attested several of the words in Heb. 9:21. In

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1 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.129. He could be drawing on some sort of traditional Midrash, but that can only remain a surmise, there is only circumstantial evidence of such a Midrash.

Lev. 8:11 we have πάντα τὰ σκεύη , σκηνῆς , ῥαίνω (Hebrews = ῥαντίζω) and in Lev. 8:15 αἷμα and ἐκχέω (cf. Heb. 9:22).

There is, however, one rather significant difference, whereas Hebrews speaks of blood the actual consecrating substance in Lev. 8 was oil. We may recall the earlier quoted Rabbinic statement that the water substitutes for the blood;[1] so our author, dictated to by the facts of the gospel, unhesitatingly thinks of the sprinkled oil as blood.[2] Our author seems to have lost sight of the DA mentioned in v.19 with the blood of calves and goats and become engrossed with the dedication of the tabernacle; vv.23 ff. indicates that this is not the case.

In all our writer's references to sprinkling is an oblique allusion to the DA blood aspersion, only oblique because, as we have repeated ad nauseam, he is anxious to define the cross as the final and once-for-all cultic act with blood. If there is any post-calvary application of the blood it is in the act of Christ's intercession and the cleansing of Christian worshippers; but these are results of the cross not continuations of it or subsequent cultic acts, they have nothing to do with a blood application in the heavenly holiest not even metaphorically.[3] This, then, is why he chooses to speak of the inauguration of the tent rather than directly of the DA cleansing. The mention of the tent in v.21 prepares the way for vv.23 f. and the fulfilment of the DA inner aspersion by the death of Christ.[4]

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1 B. Yoma 4a.
2 Josephus (AJ III, 206), speaks of oil and blood as the consecrating substances.
3 E. Riggenbach (Hebräerbrief[3], pp.457-460), has a fine excursus discussing the problem of the tension between a twefold cultic act in the DA type and the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ.
4 See pp.201 f. of this thesis.

That he can say that almost (σχέδον) all things are cleansed by blood according to the law indicates he is aware that some things were purified by oil (Lev. 8:11 f.) or water (Num. 19:18).[1] His further expression is a well-known Talmudic aphorism;[2] but there it is quoted only to give the Rabbinic casuistry opportunity to produce substitutes, our author is speaking of the situation κατὰ τὸν νόμον but his eye is upon the ὁδὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. His use here of ἄφεσις defines for us what he means by καθαρίζω, the absolute is unusual but from Heb. 10:18 it seems clear he means "forgiveness of sins".[3]

T.C.G. Thornton[4] has on the basis of the unique word αἱματεκχυσία made yet another attempt to leave the cultic possibilities of Christ's post-calvary intercession an open question. He maintains correctly that of the eight instances of ἐκχέω in the cultic texts dealing with blood it always means "pour out the blood at the base of the altar".[5] It includes, he concludes on the basis of Rabbinic parallels, the action of sprinkling.[6] In Heb. 9:22 the context is obviously sacrificial and therefore " αἱματεκχυσία should be translated as 'pouring out of blood', and that it refers to the application of sacrificial blood to the altar to effect atonement. This 'pouring out of blood' presupposes the death of a sacrificial victim, but does not primarily refer to the victim's death itself."[7]

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1 This text in the Hebrew is similar to Heb. 9:21 but the LXX uses οἶκος to translate בַּיִת.
2 B. Yoma 5a, b. Men. 93b, b. Zeb. 6a.
3 The replacement of ἀδικία by ἀνομία in Heb. 10:17 may be due to the influence of the DA, cf. Lev. 16:21 and Jer. 38:34 (LXX).
4 T.C.G. Thornton, "The Meaning of αἱματεκχυσία in Heb. IX. 22", JTS 15 (1964), pp.63-65.
5 Ex. 29:12. Lev. 4:7,18,25,30,34; 8:15; 9:9. The first six = שָׁפַךְ, the last two = יָצַק.
6 The use of προσχύσεις in Heb. 11:28 in the sense of "sprinkle" supports Thornton. Cf. 2 Chr. 35:11.
7 T.C.G. Thornton, JTS 15 (1964), p.65.

In some contexts ἐκχέω means "pouring out of blood in death",[1] however, Thornton is quite right in stressing the sacrificial background of the use here in Heb. 9:22. The earlier analogy with the death of the testator, and the meaning of vv. 25 ff., which we have discussed,[2] warn us against the view that the fulfilment of the ancient ἔκχυσις was something posterior to Christ's death. The יסד was, as Windisch[3] says, "kein besonderer ritueller Akt", the main expiating means was the נתן - זרק act with the blood on the horns of the altar.[4] Thornton is quite amiss in relating the atoning effect to the יסד (ἐκχέω) blood disposal at the end of the sin-offering.[5]

The point to emphasize is that v.22 is still concerned with the situation κατὰ τὸν νόμον,[6] of which it may be said in the words of Lev. 8:15, the text which our author has just recently conflated with Ex. 24:8 καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεεν ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτὸ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Our author knows just as διαθήκη can mean "covenant" and "will", that ἐκχέω can refer to blood poured out in an obedient death as well as the pouring out at the foot of the altar. It would be wrong-headed to take the blood canon

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1 Gen. 37:22, Lev. 17:4 and notably Num. 35:33, cf. Rom 3:15.
2 P.199f. of this thesis. We may compare Rev. 6:9 where the θπω (σφάζω) is related to the altar.
3 H. Windisch, Hebräerbrief[2], p.82.
4 J. Behm (TDNT I, p.176), goes too far in denying any reference to the pouring of blood at the base of the altar. Cf. O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p.321.
5 Thornton confers to the יסד the same atoning ability as the נתן - זרק but even the Rabbinic sources he refers to from Zebachim actually carefully distinguish the terminal blood disposal from the זריקה applications.
6 H. Windisch, Hebräerbrief[2], p.84 and O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p 321; unsuccessfully find a contradiction between Heb. 9:22 and 10:4. Our writer recognizes the cults ability as far as a purification of the body is concerned (Heb. 9:9 f., 13) but for purging of the conscience, the real seat of the problem, the old cult is useless (Heb. 9:14; 10:4).

of Heb. 9:22, which sums up the Old Covenant, and force its details upon the sacrifice of the New. Our author used ἐγκαίνω to conclude his section on blood aspersions during the Old Covenant period (Heb. 9:13 ff.), even though it was cultically a minor word, because it contained the added meaning of a shedding of blood unto death; and the statement "a death has occurred which redeems" is the guideline for all his OT exegesis.

In his literary analysis of this central passage of Hebrews A. Vanhoye[1] describes v.23 as a linking verse between the two major sections of 9:15-23 and 9:24-28, which, as well, refers back to vv.13 and 14. That being the case, and Vanhoye's work has all the marks of truth,[2] v.23 contains in its backward glance ideas of the DA, red heifer ashes, and covenant sprinkling; and in its forward look, concepts of heavenly sanctuary and the once-for-all oblation of Christ. It should therefore be a complex text and difficult to exegete, it does not disappoint us.

The copies (ὑπόδειγμα) must be all the items mentioned previously; book, tent, vessels of worship and people; then τούτοις presumably means the blood of the covenant, the blood of bulls and goats, the blood (oil) of dedication, and the ashes of the red heifer. For their heavenly counterparts there must be a sacrifice of value surpassing these.

The logic is unimpeachable, if the mundane required these blood purifications, then the heavenly things, because of their inherent superiority over the mere copies, demanded a correspondingly greater sacrifice. That this κρείττοσιν θυσίαις

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1 A. Vanhoye, "La Structure Centrale de L'Épître aux Hébreux (Héb. 8:1-9:28)", RSR 47 (1959), p.60.
2 See the tribute paid Vanhoye by H.W. Montefiore, Hebrews, p.31.

(generic plural) is the obedient death of Christ is not open to doubt. What is very uncertain is why the ἐπουράνια required any catharsis at all.

One thing that can be confidently asserted at the outset is that whatever τὰ ἐπουράνια refers to, the cleansing of them is as a result of Christ's death, not by some later cultic action in the heavenly holiest, the writer could not be clearer on that point. It can also be stated that the contrast falls mainly on the cleansing means (animal blood - blood of Christ) rather than on the objects cleansed (earthly sanctuary - heavenly things). Some of the Church Fathers had a neat solution; τὰ ἐπουράνια meant the church, or life within the church.[1] This view, however, fails to really grapple with the context where the speech is about a heavenly abode (v.24), which, though not unrelated to the church on earth (Heb. 12:22 f.), is hardly to be equated with it. Moffatt takes this heavenly cleansing at face value and, with his typical frankness, calls "the idea. . .almost fantastic."[2]

Another understanding is to relate the cleansing to apocalyptic images of Satan being cast out of heaven, which view, if it were not for the fact that it is proposed by one whose erudition is beyond dispute,[3] could be termed, as one has in another context, "a curiosity which has no place in serious Bible study." This interpretation is close to being more fantastic than the image it purports to explain.

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1 F. Bleek (Hebräerbrief II, p.586), lists some of those taking this view.
2 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.132.
3 O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], pp.323 f. Cf. J. Héring, Hebrews, p.82. The idea seems to have originated with F. Bleek, Hebräerbrief II, p.588.

A widely held interpretation is to apply the verse not to the cleansing of the heavenly temple of sin, as in the DA ritual, but to the dedication, inauguration ceremony of the tabernacle.[1] There is validity in this for our writer has referred to this in the previous verses (vv.21 f.). Westcott's objection that "cleansed" is demanded in the second clause rather than a general term like "inaugurated"[2] is not cogent, because "cleanse" does not exclude ideas of "dedication" (Ex. 29:36, Lev. 8:15).[3] The new and living way which he inaugurated required a better sacrifice; it was by his death that the way into heaven itself[4] was opened up,[5] or sanctified ready for use. The fact that v.24 immediately speaks of Christ's entrance gives support to this exposition, he enters through the new way his own death has dedicated. The ἄφεσις of v.22, however, prevents us from being satisifed with this view; vv.19 ff. contain too many images for us to be happy that the anti-type embraces only one.

The cleansing of the heavenly things may well involve the idea of dedication, but the purification of sin as the concrete

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1 F.V. Filson, 'Yesterday': A Study of Hebrews in the Light of Chapter 13 (London, 1967), p.46; J.H. Davies, Hebrews, p.91; H. Strathmann, Hebräerbrief[8], p.126; C. Spicq, Hébreux II, p.267.

2 B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], p.272.

3 R.E. Clements (Temple, p.121), says that the anointing of the cult objects with the oil was due to the concept of holiness in P's theology. "They are none of them holy in themselves, but are made so by divine action. . . ."

4 E. Riggenbach (Hebräerbrief[3], p.283), has the unusual view that the access of the sinners into the heavenly sanctuary would pollute it if it were not that the polluting force of their sins had been robbed by the previous expiating sacrifice. He concludes that it is not a question of removal of an actual impurity but the warding off of a threatening pollution. Cf. H. Wenschkewitz, Spiritualisierung, p.140.

5 Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, Twelve New Testament Studies (London, 1962), p.172.

experience of man, is obviously also our author's intented teaching. The writer has often enough shown that it is the sins and consciences of men that the offering of Christ cleanses, this is very much his purpose here also (cf. vv.26,28).[1] We ought not, however, think that because the cleansing of the τὰ ἐπουράνια involves and results in the removal of the πολλῶν . . . ἁμαρτίας (Heb. 9:28), that the τὰ ἐπουράνια and the συνείδησις ἁμαρτιῶν (Heb. 10:2) are identical. Uppermost in our author's mind is the high priestly ministry on the DA.[2] As Westcott states, "The reference is definite to the purification of the earthly sanctuary on the one hand by the High-Priest, and of the heavenly sanctuary by Christ."[3] We have already in our study of Lev. 16 found that the cleansing of the sanctuary and the people are so closely entwined that the attempts of criticism to establish their independent literary existence have had little success. Petersen referred to the "psychic unity" between people and sanctuary.

Our writer uses the language of the type, the cleansing of the τὰ ἐπουράνια (the heavenly sanctuary and cult objects), because he is happy with the conclusion: "on this day shall atonement be made for you to cleanse you from all your sins you shall be clean before the Lord" (Lev. 16:30). There is no thought, let us add once more, that the heavenly things awaited the ascended Lord to be cleansed, that unequivocably was the work

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1 This is the view of H. Windisch, Hebräerbrief^2, p.85; F.F. Bruce, Hebrews, p.219.
2 The dedication of the tabernacle was in fact the work of Moses (Ex. 40, Lev. 8, Num. 7:1) not the high priest Aaron.
3 B.F. Westcott, Hebrews^3, p.273.

of the cross (vv.25 ff.).[1] The language should not be pushed to extremes here,[2] any thought of a heavenly pollution is to conceive of the terms more materially than the writer himself. It was hardly true of the typical DA ritual that sin was deposited in the sanctuary, how much less for the heavenly sphere, it resided in the people - "because of the uncleanness of the people" (Lev. 16:16,19).

The method of our writer is quite unobjectionable provided his antitypical applications are not pressed in every detail to conform to the processes of the type. The cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary is a striking way of saying sin is removed; it becomes erroneous only when forced to mean a blood aspersion or offering in the heavens (no matter how spiritually conceived) was required, instead of our author's view that the cleansing was the act of the cross.[3]

The context of Heb. 10:22, which speaks of entering the holiest (vv. 19 f), gives us every warrant to look to the DA for the metaphors of washing[4] and sprinkling. The verb προσέρχομαι is, as we have noted, a rather common cultic word, which our author uses several times,[5] that he has not lost the cultic overtones is clear from Heb. 10:1. The word never occurs in connexion with the DA, the nearest is the reference in

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1 A. Cody (Heavenly, pp.187 ff.), correctly draws on the DA background to explain this text but follows the type beyond the Letter to Hebrews, for he thinks the first priestly function was a purification of the heavenly sanctuary (p.193). Cf. F.J. Schierse, Verheissung, p.47.

2 Thus warns T.H. Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London, 1933), pp.133 f.

3 O. Kuss (Hebräer[2], p.125), speaks of the use of language suitable to the earthly tent but not wholly applicable to the heavenly tabernacle as a "zeugma".

4 B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], p.325.

5 Heb. 4:16; 7:25; 10:1,22; 11:6; 12:18; 22. Cf. 7:19 (ἐγγίζω).

Lev. 16:1 to the sons of Aaron drawing near (προσάγω = קרב) with strange fire. Their presumptuous "drawing near" strikes a contrast with the Christian's bold approach; for the latter's boldness is begotten not of themselves but by the atoning offering of Christ and by faith (Heb. 11:6).

According to b. Yoma 4a[1] during the seven day consecration period before the DA the high priest, and indeed his understudy, were sprinkled with the מי נדה, which was conceived as a continuation of the original ordination ritual, the water substituting for the blood. So intimately was the red heifer sprinkling identified with the DA[2] that the Mishnah's stipulation (1:2), that the high priest throughout the seven days of consecration should cast the blood of the daily offerings, becomes an occasion for the Gemara (b. Yoma 14a) to speak exclusively about the sprinkling of מי נדה, even to changing the verb from זרק to נזה. Though we must use such parallels with care when it comes to the NT,[3] there does seem some reason here, and elsewhere, to modify the often-read assertion that the writer of Hebrews knew only the ritual of the biblical record.[4]

On the basis of the Rabbinic parallels, and were important the teaching of the Epistle itself (9:13 f.), the phrase ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς should not be related to Num. 19 or Ezk. 36:25 without an awareness that the verb ῥαντίζω contains for our author a reference to the crucifixion; v.22 refers back to v.19, ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ .

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1 Cf. Philo, Som. I, 214 f.
2 Some of the Rabbinical authorities allowed only the high priest to burn the red heifer (Parah 4:1; b. Yoma 42b).
3 See the protest voiced by A.A.T. Ehrhardt, Framework, p.103.
4 There are parallels in Qumran also which O. Michel (Hebräerbrief[12], p.557), conveniently gathers together in an appendix, see 1QS 3:4,9 4:20 f. The criticism of H.W. Montefiore (Hebrews, p.175), cautions us not to neglect the sublime contrasts.

The mixture of ideas, DA, covenant, and red heifer continue to be held together, the sprinkled blood of goats and calves hovers in the background in the background, because he wants the blood of Christ to touch the people, not the mercy-seat. "The writer consistently avoids any suggestion that Christ's blood is materially carried or sprinkled."[1] We may, indeed, exclude even a figurative suggestion.

Ezekiel 36:25 uses ὕδωρ καθαρόν for the זרק and that may be the influence of the choice of words in Heb. 10:22; however, in Ezk. the water was sprinkled here it refers to washing. Numbers 19 includes a washing as well as the sprinkling with water for the defiled person to become clean (v 19 λούσεται ὕδατι). Equally pertinent is Lev. 16:4 which was so greatly expanded in the Talmud to include ten lustrations and five washings: the biblical text says καὶ λούσεται ὕδατι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ (cf. v.24). Those who enjoy the universal access into the holiest of the new aeon are reminded, in the terms of the old high priestly preparations, that their own qualifications are correspondingly more sublime as the admission is more privileged and awesome.

It is irresistible not to think our author has Christian baptism in mind and, that being the case, he interprets the initiation ritual as a single event, bound closely to the death of Christ, which continues to have pertinence for the Christian approach to God The Christian can go boldly[2] into the holiest

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1 J.H. Davies, Hebrews, p.100.

2 Philo can also speak in this manner: expounding the rite of the red heifer, he says it indicates that those who resort to the temple must have their bodies cleansed, and before the body the soul, the means to purify the latter is "wisdom"; thus prepared the worshipper may "come with boldness (θαρρῶν) to the sanctuary" (Spec I, 270).

because he has been washed, sanctified, cleansed of an evil conscience from dead works; not by מנדרו, nor blood of bulls and goats, nor Sinai's aspersion, but by the offering of Jesus Christ once-and-for-all, as testified in the act of baptism.

Speaking of the changes in the DA ritual in the last decades of the second temple J. Elbogen writes:

> Der Eintritt des Hohepriesters ins Allerheiligste, an sich schon ein Gegenstand heiliger Scheu für das versammelte Volk, erhält noch tiefere religiöse Bedeutung dadurch, dass er von einem Gebet begleitet wird, das der Hohepriester für das Wohl der Gesamtheit dort verrichtet.[1]

The high priest's Abodah was the highlight of the DA liturgy,[2] which was particularly concerned with intercession for the people. Characteristically, when Hebrews takes up this interesting function of the high priest on the DA, it ceases to be an annual event but a constant privilege, πάντοτε ζῶν εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.[3] Christ has entered not an earthly sanctuary but into the true, heaven itself, νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (Heb. 9:24).

The work of Christ within the veil is modelled not on the biblical record of blood sprinklings but the contemporary emphasis upon the high priest's intercessory prayer.[4] W. Stott[5] rightly draws the contrast between the earthly priests' standing position and the seated posture of Christ. He connects this with 2 Sam. 7:18 where David sits before the Lord, and concludes that Christ's seated position indicates that his expiatory

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1 J. Elbogen, Studien, p.53. Cf. b. Yoma 53b.
2 M. Lehmann, RQ 3 (1961-62), p.117.
3 Heb. 7:25. Cf. Rom. 8:33 f.
4 Another evidence that our writer is not ignorant of the post-biblical practices. This contradicts the frequent assertion (cf. F.C.N. Hicks, Fullness, pp.240 f.), that for contemporary Judaism and Hebrews the blood manipulation was the high point on the DA.
5 W. Stott, NTS 9 (1962-63), pp.66 f.

work is finished and he has taken his place as the Priest-King. There is therefore no thought of Christ pleading a sacrifice, yet contrariwise his intercession is not divorced from his passion. This appears to be the thought behind Heb. 12:24: καὶ αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ κρεῖττον λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Αβελ .

Behind this formula is again the same diversity of cultic traditions,[1] DA, covenant, red heifer, that lay behind Heb. 9:13 ff. Though there can be permitted no concept of a heavenly high priest pleading his passion towards a reluctant Father: he who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, will he not also give us all things with him? Who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus who died for us .[2] The blood of Christ speaks eloquently for the Christian's fitness to enter the holiest and of his purity, it silences the Accuser who may, as against Joshua (Zech. 3), protest over their right to be before the throne of God day and night - and all that is better than Abel's blood which cried out for revenge.

Blood is a word of frequent occurrence in Hebrews: often it refers to the DA (Heb. 9:7,12,13,19,25; 10:4; 13:11), or the covenant (Heb. 9:18,20 = τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ; 10:29; 13:20), once historically to the Passover (Heb. 11:28). The blood of Christ is well attested, often in contrast to the DA (Heb. 9:12, 14; 10:19; 13:12); the point of the contrast is the ability of the blood of Christ to cleanse the conscience, a real ἄφεσις , and that is why it speaks better than the blood of Abel. We do a disservice to Hebrews if we think the term "blood" was merely

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1 C.-H. Hunzinger (TDNT VI, p.982), says on this verse, "The expression αἷμα ῥαντισμοῦ is not, then, fashioned ad hoc but is a formula. It is based formally on the OT ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ but materially it embraces a reference to many OT rites, as may be seen more precisely from Hb. 9:13 f., 18-21."

2 Cf. Rom. 8:32,34. RSV.

a "plastic word symbol" or a sustained metaphor,[1] or a symbol of Christ's devotion[2] or martyrdom.[3] Our writer no doubt knew that sacrificial categories were limited vehicles for conveying the riches of the gospel, but these tell us much more about God's act of salvation through Christ than any of the proposed substitutes.[4]

According to H. Koester[5] Heb. 13:9-14 "is among the most difficult passages of the entire New Testament", and with that pronouncement any who have laboured long with our unknown author's word of exhortation would quickly agree. We stand before this section confesses F.J. Schierse at first "in völliger Ratlosigkeit."[6] This may or may not be immediately understandable on reading the text, but a study of the interpretations offered soon endorses these assessments of the difficulties. What for instance is meant by the θυσιαστήριον ? The table of the Lord! the cross! the offering place in heaven! Christ himself! a union of these!

Even the apparently simple phrase οἱ τῇ σκηνῇ λατρεύοντες has been construed in opposite ways. One group of interpreters sees the servers as those under the Old Covenant or the priests, others refer the phrase to Christian worshippers under the New Covenant. The general significance of the legion, as with the details, is understood in contrary ways. For some the contrast is clearly between the privilege Christians possess in their Eucharistic meal as against the corresponding lack of such a

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1 O. Schmitz, Opferanschauung, p.299.
2 J Behm, TDNT I, pp.174 f.
3 E. Lohse, Märtyrer, passim.
4 M Barth /Was Christ's Death a Sacrifice? (Edinburgh, 1961)/, makes a cogent case for the value of sacrificial concepts. Cf. P. Seidensticker, Lebendiges.
5 H. Koester, HTR 55 (1962), p.299.
6 F.J. Schierse, Verheissung, p.184.

feast in Judaism's DA. For others, however, a contrary opinion prevails, for it is said Heb. 13:10 ff. teaches that Christianity is free of any dependence on meals.

The necessary point of departure is to grasp something of what βρῶμα in v.9 means. This is not easy, because so little information is given. It is not likely that the βρώματα teaching was related to the Christian sacrament.[1] It went back to an un-Christian reliance upon the tangible (cf. 9:10), it was a cultic meal rather than asceticism,[2] and had certain dire results. It led to a failure to maintain the other-worldliness of the eschatological community (v.14), it misunderstood the nature of God's worship (v.15), it engendered a selfish spirit (v.16).[3] This cultic, or perhaps mystical meal, was partaken in a spirit which was devoid of χάρις , perhaps it was magical, to our writer it was profitless, but serious enough for him to counter it with the broadside he unleashes in v.10.

In v.10 there has been some contention over whether ἔχομεν refers to Jews or Christians,[4] there can be no doubt that it refers to Christians for he consistently uses "let us" and "we" in reference to Christians.[5] A greater problem is what θυσιαστήριον denotes. The larger number of Catholic writers

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1 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, p.234.
2 If it was asceticism that was the problem, then, as H. Koester says /HTR 55 (1962), p.304/, 13:10 would be a strange rejoinder telling people they cannot eat what they already do not eat.
3 F.J. Schierse, Verheissung, p.188.
4 W.H. Spencer, ExT 50 (1938-39), p.284.
5 For ἔχομεν cf. Heb. 4:15; 6:19; 8:1 and in close proximity to Heb. 13:10 note v.14.

find here a clear reference to the Lord's table.[1] Appeal can be made to the OT where the altar is occasionally called a table (Mal. 1:7,12; Ezk. 41:22),[2] and to the Fathers where the Lord's table is named an altar, Irenaeus (Adv. Haeres. IV. xxxi, 5), Tertullian (De Orat. XIX) and Cyprian (passim).[3] These parallels would have some weight if there was support for this identification in the Epistle itself, but there is not. The comparison is not "we Christians have something to eat which you Jews do not have", but "we have a sacrificial institution which mediates grace direct to our hearts apart from any tangible ritual means".

Once it is discerned that the writer is not trying to claim that Christians have something which they can eat, all Eucharistic interpretations are excluded, even those which do not go so far as identifying the θυσιαστήριον with the Lord's table.[4] O. Michel finds the statement that Christians have an altar "a new and striking thought".[5] We have already noticed, however, that our author draws in part upon the DA cleansing of the altar for his ideas of purifying and sprinkling (cf. Heb. 1:3; 9:13) and he also uses the altar in Heb. 7:13 to epitomize the old ritual system. The θυσιαστήριον can be none other then than the eschatological cultic order of the more perfect tent, which is so much better than the old, because it is based on

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1 Though we should record the reserve with which B. Haensler "Zu Hebr 13, 10", BZ 11 (1913), pp 403-409 , treats this interpretation. Of Protestant exegetes who support this view one may name the Scandinavian scholar O. Moe, "Das Abendmahl im Hebräerbrief", ST 4 (1951-52), pp.102-108; and further S.C. Gayford, Sacrifice, pp.78,166 f.; H. Windisch (Hebräerbrief[2], pp.118 f.), leaves the possibility open.

2 In Ezk. it is the table of shewbread that is called an altar.

3 O. Moe (ST 4, p.106), also mentions several texts from Ignatius.

4 B.F. Westcott, Hebrews[3], pp.439 f. and the additional note pp.463 ff.; S. Aalen, "Das Abendmahl als Opfermahl", NovTest 6 (1963), pp.146 f.

5 O. Michel, Hebräerbrief[12], p.498.

the efficacious death of Christ.[1]

Those who serve the earthly tent cannot eat of this sacrifice, because it belongs to the realm of invisible things, it is apprehended by faith. Many commentators take σκηνῇ here as figurative and interpret the οἱ λατρεύοντες as Christians.[2] "Tent" in Hebrews by no means always refers to the heavenly tabernacle and the contrast[3] here demands that σκηνῇ be taken as a reference to the old order and those who serve under its ritual means. "The writer is concerned merely to state the incompatibility between the two kinds of worship the earthly and the heavenly."[4] The writer is not therefore primarily trying to demonstrate that neither the Jewish nor the Christian DA sacrifices are eaten; or even less, that contrary to the Jewish DA offering the Christian offering is eaten.[5]

The writer's illustration of this from the facts of the DA becomes now readily comprehensible. According to the Levitical law the sacrifices whose blood was brought into the

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1 It is more than just the cross as a bare fact, it is an interpretation of the cross. It is perverse, in my opinion, to maintain as does F.V. Filson (Yesterday, p.49), that the true altar is in heaven with the true sanctuary. Though the sacrifice of Christ for Hebrews was no mundane event, it was certainly historical.

2 J. Moffatt, Hebrews, pp.234 f.; T.H. Robinson, Hebrews, p.202; F.V. Filson, Yesterday, pp.53 f.; with reserve J.M. Creed, "Great Texts Reconsidered", ExT 50 (1938), pp.13-15. Creed's reserve is taken up and enforced by J.P. Wilson, "The Interpretation of Hebrews xiii, 10", ExT 50 (1939), pp.380-381.

3 E. Riggenbach (Hebräerbrief[3], p.441), draws attention to the change of person with ἔχομεν and ἔχουσιν.

4 J.E.L. Oulton, "Great Texts Reconsidered Heb. xiii. 10", ExT 55 (1944), p.304.

5 A. Snell ["We Have an Altar", RTR 23 (1964), pp.16-23], tries to find the Eucharist in the praise sacrifice of v.15.

sanctuary should not be eaten by the priests,[1] but burnt by fire. The DA offerings were sin-offerings of this type, the centre of which was not a meal but a blood aspersion that sanctified the people. The Christian offering is also a sin-offering after this similitude. The phrase, "those who serve the tent have no right to eat", simply means, those attached to the old order have no share, do not participate, in the benefits of the sacrifice of Christ (= "we have an altar"), just as the priests had no share in the DA offering.

The fact that attracts the author is not only the non-edibility of the DA sacrifice, but also that it involves an action outside the camp. The red heifer was also sacrificed outside the camp and its blood was sprinkled seven times towards the tabernacle, these two rites may possibly, as before, still be conflated by the author. The word "outside" appeals to him for two reasons: first, it parallels the geographical details of the place of our Lord's demise; and second, it gives him occasion to exhort those who are fascinated by cultic meals to sever connexions with such rites, which belong to the old order, and follow Christ outside the walls of Judaism, relying only on the blood of Christ to sanctify them.[2]

Hebrews brilliantly demonstrates the superior nature of the forgiveness that Christ's death made available and, though

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1 Lev. 6:30; 10:18.

2 Often the writer's negative attitude to sacred meals is taken as an implied criticism of the Lord's Supper. Anti-ritual meal is not the same as anti-Eucharist anymore than Rom. 14, 1 Cor. 8:8 f.; Col. 2:21 ff., Mk. 7:19 are anti-Eucharistic. Hebrews would become anti-Eucharistic, if and when the Lord's Supper became an alternative or competitive means of sanctification to the death of Christ; but immediately the Epistle is not concerned either positively or negatively with the Eucharist.

using the image of sprinkling, which was so central in the DA ritual, he consistently avoids the bizarre notion of a heavenly aspersion. His fusion of DA, covenant and red heifer sprinklings is not accidental, nor unprecedented, but to aid him in his effort to concentrate the "sprinkling" on the idea of the purification of the people.

CHAPTER 8

EXPIATION OR PROPITIATION? THE SEPTUAGINT, 1 JOHN, HEBREWS, AND THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

> He shall make for the sanctuary the expiation required by the ritual uncleanness of the Israelites. . .and he shall do the same for the Tent of the Presence. . . . He shall then come out to the altar which is before the Lord and make expiation for it. . . .because on this day expiation shall be made on your behalf to cleanse you, and to make you clean before the Lord from all your sins (Lev. 16:16,18,30 NEB).

It has already been established that כפר in Lev. 16, as elsewhere in P, is a cultic technical term for the performance of a ritual whereby sin is removed and right relations are established between Yahweh and his people, as a whole and individually. As briefly noted earlier, the LXX when faced with the problem of translating this complex stem chose a word (ἐξιλάσκομαι) which, because of its usual meaning, ran the risk of being understood in the cult as a ritual act by the priest which assuaged Yahweh's anger and won his benign disposition.

J. Jeremias[1] prefaces his magisterial study on the parables with a tribute to the equally great contribution made by C.H. Dodd. Jeremias remarks that it is inconceivable that future studies will go back behind Dodd; his work, in other words, is the turning point of parable studies, the place of departure for all subsequent investigations. The same is true of Dodd's essay[2] on ἐξιλάσκομαι. At first reading he appears to have

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1 J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus (London[2], 1963).
2 C.H. Dodd, " ἱλάσκεσθαι, Its Cognates, Derivatives, and Synonyms, in the Septuagint", JTS 32 (1931), pp.352-360. Reprinted in, The Bible and the Greeks (London, 1935), pp.82 ff.

said the last word on this debate; the years have not endorsed that first impression. If it has not proved definitive, it remains, however, true, that it is impossible to go back behind Dodd's study. It may not be final, but it is the point of departure for any present-day study.

A. C.H. Dodd and His Critics

(i) Dodd's Thesis

Dodd establishes the meaning of ἐξιλάσκομαι and cognates by a threefold method of approach. He investigates firstly the other Greek terms which translate כפר besides (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι. Second, he researches those words other than כפר which (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι renders; and third, he considers (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι as the basic LXX translation of כפר. Under the first heading he discovers כפר is translated by variants from (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι like ἁγιάζω, καθαρίζω, ἀπαλείφω, ἀθῳόω; "words which give the meaning 'to sanctify', 'purify' persons or objects of ritual, or 'to cancel', 'purge away', 'forgive' sins."[1] Dodd concludes, "We should therefore expect to find that they regard the ἱλάσκεσθαι class as conveying similar ideas."[2]

In the second approach Dodd discovers that (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in the middle with a human subject renders נשא, and with divine subject נשא, the latter also being translated by the passive and ἵλεως εἶναι. Ἱλεωσγίνεσθαι and εὐίλατος γίνεσθαι are also used for נשא with divine subject. Further, Hebrew words like נחם and נחם are rendered by ἱλάσκομαι in the passive or ἵλεως γίνεσθαι where the subject is divine.

In this section Dodd meets four examples which threaten his thesis, for in Zech. 7:2; 8:22 and Mal. 1:9 ἐξιλάσκομαι

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1 C.H. Dodd, JTS 32, p.353.
2 Ibid.

translates חלה with the typical pagan meaning; and the context of Ps. 105:30 (LXX) also indicates the same construction for that passage. The first three Dodd explains as exceptions, and notes that the context speaks of pagans and in two cases is probably used with a note of derision. The text from the Ps. has no object and elsewhere this is indicative of the meaning "to perform an act of expiation". Dodd concludes that with the exception of these last four texts the ἱλάσκομαι class of words when rendering roots other than כפר translates words either with human subject meaning "to cleanse from sin", "to expiate" or with divine subject "to be gracious", "to have mercy", "to forgive". The many LXX examples where the act of expiating sin has a divine subject, in essence an act of forgiveness, is without parallel in pagan sources and Dodd declares that it is a development whose origins are theological rather than philological.

Dodd arrives at a similar result for his analysis of ἐξιλάσκομαι as the translation of כפר, that is to say, that כפר when used as a religious term was not understood by the LXX translators "as conveying the sense of propitiating the Deity, but the sense of performing an act whereby guilt or defilement is removed, and accordingly rendered it by ἱλάσκεσθαι in this sense."[1] Thus the three lines of enquiry, Dodd claims, lead to a common conclusion:

> Hellenistic Judaism, as represented by the LXX, does not regard the cultus as a means of pacifying the displeasure of the Deity, but as a means of delivering man from sin, and it looks in the last resort to God himself to perform that deliverance, thus evolving a meaning of ἱλάσκεσθαι strange to non-biblical Greek.[2]

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1 Ibid., p.359.
2 Ibid.

All that remains, outside the four exceptional examples, of the usual Hellenistic usage are "faint echoes or reminiscences of a dead meaning."[1]

These results of his LXX inquiry Dodd applies to the NT texts and finds that these can be classified according to one or other of the categories he has defined from the LXX; the net result being that the common rendering of "propitiation" is illegitimate throughout the NT.

Though falling on somewhat prepared soil, the power of Dodd's thesis can be assessed by a comparison between pre-1935 and post-1935 commentaries and translations, where it will be discovered on the one hand that "propitiation" is well nigh universal while on the other "expiation".[2] No matter what one's reaction to Dodd's short essay may be, it remains an outstanding testimony to the learning of this, as he has been called, doyen of British NT scholarship.

(ii) L. Morris

The evangelical scholar L. Morris first challenged Dodd's study in an article in the Expository Times,[3] and later expanded this in a lengthy chapter in his investigation of biblical redemptive terms.[4] Morris agreed that the use of ἱλάσκομαι and cognates in the LXX could not be understood absolutely in

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1 Ibid.

2 As early as 1939 V. Taylor could assert that "C.H. Dodd's careful investigation of ἱλάσκεσθαι and its cognates has conclusively proved that" the word is used in an unclassical sense. See "Great Texts Reconsidered: Romans 3,25 f.", ExT 50 (1939), p.296. Reprinted in New Testament Essays (London, 1970), pp.127 ff.

3 L. Morris, "The Use of ἱλάσκεσθαι etc. in Biblical Greek", ExT 62 (1950-51), pp.227-233. Cf. idem, "The Wrath of God", ExT 63 (1951-52), pp.142-145.

4 L. Morris, Apostolic (1955), pp.125-185. The third edition (1965), pp.144-213, contains slight modifications and additional material. Our references are to the third edition.

the usual pagan sense. The paucity of examples where God is the object of the verb, the occasions where God is subject, the Hebrew words besides נכה translated by (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι all support the contention that (ἐξ)ιλασκομαι is not directly related to the pagan terms without modification. What Morris wishes to contend for is that there is continuity despite the change, and that the LXX does not represent a volte-face or a standing of the term (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι on its head.

His first point is obvious but nonetheless cogent: propitiation is the well-nigh universal meaning of the ἱλάσκομαι group throughout the abundant examples attested in the Greek literature. If the translators did not mean propitiation, Morris queries, why choose a word which was bound to be misunderstood, which, in fact, has been misunderstood until Dodd's correction.[1] The problem is that Morris' own modification of the meaning of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in the LXX is a radical departure from profane usage, and is open to his own objection; either way (ἐξ)ιλασκομαι could be, and has been, misconstrued by later generations. The translators when faced with the Hebrew contexts of נכה could not have failed to realize that often they were using (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in an unusual sense; the argument is over the degree of the departure.

The second issue Morris raises is really his major contention, that is, that Dodd's linguistic study is too rooted to words and fails to do justice to the ideas as projected in the contexts. When the context is consulted, Morris claims, then it is discovered that "the averting of anger seems to represent a stubborn substratum of meaning from which all the usages can

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[1] 1 Apostolic[3], pp.148 f.

be naturally explained."[1] Elsewhere Dodd[2] has tried to face this difficulty by reducing "wrath" to the inevitable effect of sin in a moral universe, that is, to evacuate it of all personal content. This effort of Dodd's is useful but not biblical.[3] Generally speaking Morris is right, wrath or a term like it, is often a major aspect in the contexts where (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι occurs, though frequently Morris must dig deep down the verses (or even climb high!) to locate his "stubborn substratum". Morris was right to remind Dodd, and those who hailed his work as conclusive, of this element in the texts; he was wrong to think that it demonstrated that "propitiation" was the meaning of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in the LXX. He succeeded in showing that the statement of G.B. Gray, which he quotes, is not to be quickly dismissed: "The ideas of expiation of sin and propitiation of God are in Hebrew thought closely related".[4]

Surprisingly Morris does not give much attention to Dodd's method of approach. It is this which gives Dodd's work the appearance of strength, his threefold examination of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι really claims that no matter in which direction one traces this root, the result leads to expiation not propitiation. If one is to challenge Dodd's work this is the point where the debate begins and ends. Morris does, however, say some things. He observes that it is incorrect to argue meanings for (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι from other Greek words which render כפר, or from Hebrew words besides כפר which (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι translates.

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1 Apostolic[3], p.173.
2 C.H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans (London, 1932), pp.21 f.
3 Cf. C.F.D. Moule, "Punishment and Retribution", SEÅ 30 (1965), p.23.
4 G.B. Gray, Sacrifice, p.74. Cf. J. Barr, HDB, Rev. ed. p.77; L. Moraldi, Espiazione, pp.220 f.; S. Lyonnet, Sin, pp.122 f.

In a wise statement he notes that "the very reason for the choice of the different word may be that the second context demands a word differing in meaning from that appropriate to the first passage."[1] Cleansing or purging may be demanded by the context, but, states Morris, that does not mean that "averting of wrath" is lost sight of.

(iii) R.R. Nicole:

The conservative scholar R. Nicole[2] takes issue with Dodd on the very point of the legitimacy of his method. The first line in Dodd's argument was that where other words are used to translate כפר they mean "sanctify", "cleanse", "cancel", "forgive", and that probably the ἱλάσκομαι class conveys similar ideas. Nicole challenges the force of this and accuses Dodd of choosing examples to fit his case and ignoring sixty-four per cent of the Greek words which translate כפר other than ἐξιλάσκομαι. If the totality of Greek variants are assembled the differences are so considerable as to make Dodd's conclusion meaningless, asserts Nicole.

The strength of Nicole's argument is reduced by an unfortunate and incredible linguistic error which he makes; he confuses the distinction between identical radicals, but which are in fact different words. He lists, for example, as words Dodd ignores κώμη (1 Sam. 6:18; Song 7:12), but this does not

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1 Apostolic[3], p.156. In this third edition Morris adds a footnote claiming support from J. Barr, Biblical Words for Time (London, 1962), p.108. Barr's statements concerning "illegitimate identity transfer" [Semantics of Biblical Language (Oxford, 1961), pp 217 f.], do seem to validate Morris' contention, though Barr himself when questioned by the present writer declined to make any comment.

2 R.R. Nicole, "C.H. Dodd and the Doctrine of Propitiation", WTJ 17 (1955), pp.117-157.

translate כֹּפֶר, but as the LXX correctly for Sam., though incorrectly for Song,[1] understood it, כָּפָר = village. Nicole also names κύπρος (Song 1:14; 4:13) as a variant that Dodd failed to mention; but again this does not translate כֹּפֶר, but כְּפֶר, meaning as the LXX realized "the flower of henna".

καταπέτασμα, which Nicole also lists, is a translation error, rightly passed over by Dodd. We may forgive the LXX for mistaking כפרת (Ex. 26:34) for פרכת in a context which speaks so often of the פרכת [Ex. 26:31,33 (3x),35]. The text 1 Chr. 27:25 (חֲצֵרוֹת), which the LXX correctly translates with ἐποίκιον, is again from כָּפָר = village. As the root כפר, meaning "ransom", is now generally not related to כֹּפֶר, Dodd was justified in ignoring the variants λύτρον or λύτρα and ἄλλαγμα, despite Nicole's claim to the contrary (Isa. 43:3; Amos 5:12; Ex. 21:30; 30:12; Num. 35:31,32; Prov. 6:35).[2] Most modern lexicographers also consider the root כפר in Gen. 6:14 a separate term, though I should think with less confidence. Even so, Dodd was not wrong to set aside this verse and thus the LXX rendering ἀσφαλτόω.

The only texts which Dodd ignores that Nicole lists, and which may well have found a place in his section A, are Isa 22:14 (ἀφίημι = כפר), Isa. 27:9 (ἀφαίρεσις = כפר), and Ex. 30:16 (ἰλασμός = כפרים). Surprisingly Nicole does not mention Isa 6:7, perhaps the translation of the LXX, περικαθαρίζω, is too close to the variants which support Dodd's thesis. Actually Nicole, despite his linguistic error,[3] did raise an important question, namely, can variants as diverse as ἁγιάζω to ἀφίημι really be conjoined as similar ideas?

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1 כפרים in Song 7:12 could be a corruption for כתרים as occurs in v.13; or more likely as in Song 1:14;4:13) it means, "the flower of henna" = כֹּפֶר(pl. כְּפָרִים); whatever, the LXX realized, as Nicole did not, that it was a different word to כֹּפֶר.

2 Δῶρον in Job 36:18 is similarly excluded.

3 L. Morris (Apostolic³, pp.155 f.), accepts Nicole's arguments apparently oblivious of any linguistic oddity.

Further, Nicole claims Dodd treats the LXX and NT as an isolated island and completely passes over Philo and Josephus, as well as the fathers. That, of course, is exactly what Dodd claims, that the LXX (and NT) is an isolated island; unique because the LXX is translating Hebrew and so forced Greek words into a new mould. This last observation also answers Nicole's complaint that Dodd does not even deal with the whole of the LXX in that he ignores the Books of Maccabees. With the exception of 1 Macc., whose Hebrew Vorlage is not extant, the Books of Maccabees were original in Greek and therefore unsuitable for Dodd's comparative method.[1]

A strong challenge is made by Nicole over whether various words translating one word, necessarily means that these words are synonymous. If that principle is denied, then the strength of Dodd's three culminating lines of argument is manifestly reduced. Nicole demonstrates the fragility of the assumption from modern languages. In defence of Dodd it should be pointed out that there is some reason to believe that some of his examples are synonyms and not just haphazard variants. First, there is the close association of ἐξιλάσκομαι and καθαρίζω in Ex. 30:10, Lev. 8:15, and then the fact that Lev. 16:20,33 and Ezk. 43:20,22,26 use ἐξιλάσκομαι for a similar Hebrew Vorlage to Ex. 30:10 and 29:33,36 f. where καθαρίζω and ἁγιάζω are used. There can be no doubt that the expiation and cleansing, as well as sanctifying, of the altar or sanctuary, were ideas which belonged within a very short radius.

In conclusion it must be conceded that the arguments of Dodd drawn from the translation variants (section A and B in

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1 Dodd does use Sirach, for example, where the Hebrew is extant.

his study), at best, can only support a conclusion based on a study of the ἱλάσκομαι group as rendering כפר ; they cannot dictate the results of this latter analysis.

(iv) D. Hill

The most competent and linguistically the best qualified criticism is that made by D. Hill.[1] In a work attempting to take J. Barr's principles seriously, and yet at the same time preserve the validity of a Kittel type Wörterbuch,[2] he gives attention to ἐξιλάσκομαι . Hill underlines the dubious nature of drawing conclusions from translation variants, especially where the variants are so wide apart as from "sanctify" to "cancel".

Where a Greek word is used frequently to translate the one Hebrew word the underlying Hebrew root constitutes a valuable guide to the meaning; this does not mean, however, cautions Hill, that the Hebrew words it translates on a very few occasions are a reliable clue.[3] In these instances context is more important, for the LXX may use a word because of the context and it becomes really a paraphrase rather than an equivalent of the actual Hebrew word. Thus Hill finds ideas of propitiation in the LXX of 2 Kings 24:4; Zech. 7:2; 8:22, Mal. 1:9, Ex. 32:14, Ps. 106:30, Sir. 45:23, 1 Sam. 6:3, where the context of the Greek itself is determinative rather than any underlying Hebrew word.[4]

Dodd gave scant attention to the non-cultic occurrences of כפר deeming them of no consequence for the cultic texts.

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1 D. Hill, Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings (Cambridge, 1967), pp.23-48.
2 According to Barr he failed, See Barr's severe criticism in his review, "Common Sense and Biblical Language", Biblica 49 (1968), pp.377 ff.
3 Words, pp.26 ff.
4 The Hebrew words are סלח, מחה, נחם, נשׂא, ידה.

This is denied by Hill who maintains the non-cultic texts are the better for ascertaining the ground meaning of the word. On the basis of Gen. 32:20; Prov. 16:14, Ex. 32:30, 2 Sam. 21:1-14, Hill concludes that ideas of propitiation are present in כפר - and accordingly (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι when translating it - in the non-cultic contexts. Within the cult Hill feels less confident and settles for a middle position which includes "ideas of expiation and propitiation within one act of atonement".[1] This formalizing of כפר is reflected also in (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι and this semantic shift produces a meaning peculiar to biblical Greek[2] which, Hill suggests, can best be rendered by "atone".

Hill has succeeded in establishing that ideas of "propitiation" are not impossible for the original Hebrew, or for the Greek (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι either as a translation of כפר, or other Hebrew words where context demands the concept of "propitiation".[3] He has also capped the argument against the validity of Dodd's use of translation-variants which began with Morris and Nicole. His condemnation of Dodd's making the sacred sphere primary is not above question. Ideas of appeasement may be quite acceptable in the secular realm to both the authors of the Hebrew scriptures and the translators of the LXX, but that

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1 Words, p.36.

2 This raises the old debate over the relationship of "biblical Greek" and the Greek of the surrounding world, a debate which of course is still very much with us. For the older debate cf. E. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek (Oxford, 1889) and H.A.A. Kennedy, Sources of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh, 1895).

3 T.C.G. Thornton, "Propitiation or Expiation?", ExT 80 (1968-69), pp.53-55, though accepting some of the criticisms of Dodd by Morris and Hill, accuses them of ignoring the fact that God is the active subject of the verb in Rom. 3:25 and 1 Jn 4:10. Neither writer does, however, ignore that God is the subject of the action, see Apostolic^3, p.173; Words, pp. 37 f.

does not mean that the same is true in the sacred sphere.[1]

(v) K. Koch

In his unpublished Habilitationschrift Klaus Koch[2] reduces the island of uniqueness from both the LXX and the NT to just the NT, maintaining that the former understood (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in its normal profane sense while only the NT preserved the expiatory ideas of the Hebrew Bible. He therefore takes issue with Dodd's study.

He names, as every critic of Dodd has, those places where the LXX undoubtedly uses ἐξιλάσκομαι in the sense of "propitiation", Zech. 7:2; 8:22, Mal. 1:9 and probably Ps. 105 (106):30.[3] If the usual Greek meaning can be inserted in these four places "so", says Koch, "wird es auch an anderen Stellen fraglich, ob sie den Sinn der alttestamentlichen Stellen gewahrt hat."[4] That God is never otherwise in the LXX the object of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, in contrast to the usual Greek usage, is explained to Koch's satisfaction by the Hebrew Vorlage.

In these four texts it should be noted that they do not translate כפר, and if, as Hill and others maintain, the occasional translation of other Hebrew words is not definitive for the meaning of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι when it translates כפר, then these examples only prove that the LXX translators knew and sometimes used the normal Greek nuance. It is a point of agreement that the Hebrew Vorlage exerts a changed context on the usage of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in the LXX, what Koch does not discuss

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1 Thus Gen. 32:20, Prov. 16:14, 2 Sam. 21:1-14 are dealing with men not God, though Morris makes an abortive attempt to make God the object of the verb in 2 Sam. 21, see ExT 62, p.230.

2 K. Koch, Sühneanschauung, pp.99 ff.

3 S. Lyonnet (Sin, pp.141 f.), tries to understand these verses as "simply praying to God or of entreating", which I find highly improbable.

4 Sühneanschauung, p.101.

is whether these radical constructions could have been produced as mechanical translations by the scribes in blissful ignorance that they were modifying the word ἐξιλάσκομαι .

The argument of Dodd that כפר can sometimes be translated by Greek words like ἁγιάζω or καθαρίζω can, according to Koch, be turned about. These variants do not necessarily mean that because they also render כפר that they are synonymous with (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι ; "es kann auch bedeuten, dass es den Übersetzern an diesen Stellen gerade unmöglich erschien, (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι für כפר zu setzen."[1] In actual fact, continues Koch, one can almost always find a basis for the use of other Greek words to render כפר . In Exodus[2] for instance other translations occur when the object of כפר is "priests" or "altar"; or in Deut.[3] where it is a question of the expiation of the land. If this argument were cogent we would expect the LXX to consistently use some word other than (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι when the object of כפר was priests, temple, or altar; but this is not the case. To the exceptions of Koch's "fast jedesmal" which he notes, Lev. 16:20,33, we may add Ezk. 43:20,26; 45:20 where (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι translating כפר has sanctuary or altar as the object; and as well mention the close association between ἐξιλάσκομαι and καθαρίζω and ἁγιάζω in Ex. 30:10, Lev. 8:15 and Ezk. 43:26.

" Ἱλάσκομαι und seine Derivate werden im ganzen Alten Testament nicht als Wiedergabe von [כפר] benutzt, wenn Gott Subject und die Sünde Object der Sühne ist."[4] The inference, for Koch, is that this avoidance of using (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in

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1 Sühneanschauung, p.102.
2 Ex. 29:33,36 f.; 30:10.
3 Deut. 32:43.
4 Sühneanschauung, p.102. See Isa. 6:7; 22:14; 27:9, Jer. 18:23, Dan. 9:24.

such constructions of כפר indicates that for the translators (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι was unsuitable in contexts where the meaning is expiation. Even in the non-prophetic books where ἱλάσκομαι is not usually replaced by an alternative Greek rendering for כפר when "sin" is the object, the construction is changed: instead of "die 'Sünden sühnen' sagt man 'für Sünden sühnen' (Dativ: Ψ77, 38 vgl. 78, 9)."[1] Only in Ps. 64:4, notes Koch, does ἱλάσκομαι appear with the accusative of sin, because, he says, on this one occasion the Hebrew is reproduced literally. So striking is this usage that later scribes changed it to the dative.[2] Besides these the passive is met in 1 Sam. 3:14 with sin as subject and Sir. 3:30 where sin is in the accusative and man is the subject.[3] On the whole, however, concludes Koch, " (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι bedeutet für die Übersetzer der LXX nicht, dass Gott zugunsten des Menschen die Sünde beseitigt, sondern heisst (Gott) versöhnen."[4] And that, as Koch claims, is an abandonment of the essential characteristic of the OT Hebrew term.

Above all, Koch finds confirmation of this in the fact that in some places the passive form is used, but only where God is subject, and this where the Pi'el, the most active Hebrew verb-form, stands. Alternatively ἵλεως γίνεσθαι is used (Deut. 21:8). As man is never the subject of the passive form, Koch concludes against Dodd, that it is improbable that the middle and passive have the same sense in the LXX.

Koch admits the LXX has not taken over the Greek idiom unchanged; there are the instances where God is made the subject

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1 Ibid., p.103. There are only two examples outside those in note 4 above, namely Ps. 64:4 and 77:38 of which one does retain the accusative so Koch's point here is not strong.

2 כפר T.

3 We may add to this meagre list Dan. 9:24 (θ), and there are six instances in Sirach where "sin" is the accusative rather than just the one that Koch mentions.

4 Sühneanschauung, p.103.

of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι ; also unlike the Greek term, God is conceived of as an active participant in the atonement (Ps. 64:4; 77:38, Ezk. 16:63). A second important change is that now not only God, but also the altar, sanctuary, and land are atoned for through the act this word signifies.

The arguments of Koch do reveal that the LXX scribes were aware that the only appropriate direct object of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι was a person. Although they did not hesitate to have the holiest, tent of meeting, or alter as accusatives (Lev. 16:20,33) they generally avoided this construction where God is the subject and sin the object It is a remarkable fact, that where כפר has divine subject and sin as the object; Ps. 65:4; 78:38, Dan. 9:24, Jer. 18:23, Ps. 79:9, (Dt. 32:43),[1] Isa. 6:7; 22:14; 27:9, Prov. 16:6, the LXX mostly avoided using ἐξιλάσκομαι . The Greek words used are ἀπαλείφω, ἀθῳόω, ἐκκαθαρίζω, περικαθαρίζω, ἀφίημι , ἀφαιρέω . Dodd does not mention all of these,[2] but, when one considers the number of the texts and the extent of the avoidance of using ἐξιλάσκομαι , the more cogent explanation is that the LXX translators considered (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι unsuitable in these contexts, rather than Dodd's thesis that the other words are but synonyms of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι . Pss. 64 (65):4; 78(79):9; 77(78):38 use ἱλάσκομαι, but Ps. 77 uses an indirect dative object, as does 78(79):9 reflecting על, only Ps. 64(65):4 leaves the accusative unchanged. With the other Hebrew words which ἱλάσκομαι translates there is only one example of divine subject and sin as object, Ps. 24(25):11 וסלחת לעונו = ἱλάσῃ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ μου ; an indirect object

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1 וכפר אדמתו עמו

2 He does not include in his section A, Isa. 6:7; 22:14; 27:9. Prov. 16:6 is untranslated by the LXX. The texts in Isaiah are all in the Pu'al, but this is no reason to ignore them.

reflecting ל similar to Ps. 78(79):9.[1]

The Hebrew Vorlage caused the translators to use indirect-prepositional objects and once at least they used a dative rather than the direct object of the Hebrew (Ps. 77:38) even though it is not common in the profane literature to follow ἐξιλάσκομαι with an indirect object. The further changes in the LXX usage that Koch himself records, are so far reaching as to answer his own question whether the translators have preserved the Hebrew meaning. The answer must be, yes, in part. Whether they intended to do so we may question, but it seems hard to believe that they could use (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in all the contexts they have without some awareness that the word, if given its profane meaning, would often make nonsense.[2]

(vi) Conclusion

In our study of כפר[3] it was found that in the cult the ritual action was nearly always for or on behalf of someone or something requiring ritual cleansing.[4] Yahweh, through the ministry of the priest, actively removed the hindrance between himself and his people. In Lev. 16 we found that this was pre-eminently so.[5] It was also asserted that neither expiation, propitiation, nor even atonement adequately convey all the ideas involved in כפר as a cultic term. ~~but~~ We concluded that the

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1 This rather drastically modifies the statement of V. Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching (London, 1940), pp.181 f.: "in the Greek Bible, . . .the object of the verb is not God but sins." This is only true of the Psalms. Of course, denying that sins are the object of the verb does not mean that God is the object.

2 One would think that even the A.V.'s "atonement" and "propitiation" are hardly used or read with dictionary meanings in mind.

3 Pp.68 ff. of this thesis.

4 This was supported by the study of the prepositions used with כפר, namely בעד, תחת, ל.

5 D. Hill's (Words, p.37), statement is misleading: ". . .with the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement in which ideas of expiation and propitiation probably overlap".

basic and primary meaning of this cultic-technical locution was "the removal of defilement"; but the ideas of cessation of wrath and reconciliation are immediate effects of this primary purpose. The aspect that is nearly always closely associated with the verb both in the cult and outside is not wrath but sin or, in the cult, defilement.[1]

It is certainly an error to think that כפר in the cult has no ideas of the removal of wrath, but such a meaning is not primary and is really a side effect of the כפר -act in the cult, albeit an important one. God is the subject of the process[2] and as C.F.D. Moule notes "notions of propitiation and satisfaction. . .consort badly with an action initiated by God himself and effected at his own infinite cost."[3] The big question is, did the LXX translators realize God's initiative in the cult? Is it the case that Greek speaking Jews imposed a Hellenistic view of the cult on to the Hebrew texts,[4] or did the Hebrew words control the semantics of the Greek in this case?

The force of the criticisms against Dodd's article make it clear that he has over-simplified the issues and granted to the LXX translators too great a consciousness in supposedly radically modifying the use of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι . His thesis has been too quickly and uncritically accepted in Britain.[5] Dodd has ignored the context in limiting himself to a lexicographical method; he undervalues the element of wrath; treats the LXX as a translation

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1 Contra L. Morris, Apostolic[3], passim.
2 K. Koch (Sühneausschauung, p.28), notes that P has the phrase, "The Lord said to Moses", loosely attached throughout the cultic laws to emphasize this.
3 C.F.D. Moule, SEÅ 30, p.24.
4 The use of ἐξιλάσκομαι in Josephus and Philo cautions us against thinking that Hellenistic Jews could not use this word with the idea of propitiation. Cf. Clement and Hermas for a similar use in the early church.
5 And U.S.A., cf. IDB III, pp.920 f.

unity and so too easily explains away any texts which are disharmonious with his thesis; too quickly dismisses the force of the passive form which may well often mean "/let yourself/ be propitiated", especially as this form always has God as subject; assumes translation variants are synonyms when the reasons for variants may frequently be for other reasons.

No matter, however, how the LXX scribes construed ἐξιλάσκομαι in and of itself, the Hebrew constructions which they sought to translate with this word forced upon them applications of the ἱλάσκομαι class which were otherwise strange, not least, as even Koch concedes, where God is subject of the verb. Though it may be true that in the canonical scriptures "sin" is almost never the accusative object of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι, it is also true that God is never the object where it translates כפר, and that is of profound significance. Dodd may have overrated the LXX's aversion from propitiatory ideas; it would, however, be a mistake to overvalue the acceptance of them. There is abundant evidence of a change having taken place in the meaning of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι in the LXX, and in the face of lack of evidence to the contrary that translation may be credited with the initiation of the metamorphosis.[1]

"Materially", in the old cult, "the effect on God could not be separated from the effect on man or his sin. The two were sought and achieved together."[2] The emphasis, we would maintain, was on the removal of sin, and the initiative of God in this purgation, though only a glimmer in the OT cult, becomes a burning light in the Gospel of Christ, as Büchsel observes:

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1 Sirach tends towards an even clearer use of (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι with sin as object.
2 F. Büchsel TDNT III, p.316.

> The most striking thing about the development of the terms, however, is that words which were originally used to denote man's action in relation to God cease to be used in this way in the NT and are used instead of God's action in relation to man.[1]

Or as Moule more graphically puts it, "the root ἱλάσκ is notoriously stood on its head by the New Testament".[2]

The debate over the translation of ἱλάσκομαι is in some ways sterile, simply because the proffered alternatives both need to be understood in ways other than their dictionary meanings. If we use "expiation" we must enrich it to include the idea that the cancelling of sin also causes the God-willed effect - which the NT calls ὀργή - to cease, and at the same time introduces the forgiven sinner to a new relationship with God. The word must be somewhat personalized, even "stood on its head". If one advocates "propitiation", the word must be radically applied in the first instance to the removal of pollution and only secondarily to the cessation of wrath. The initiative of God in this action must be jealously preserved and all intimations of the grotesque notion of God propitiating himself, or his justice, banished. The love of God revealed in the saving event of the Cross must dominate in our understanding of ἱλάσκομαι no matter what English word we choose to baptize into the impossible task of conveying all the concepts attached to this semantically rich word.

B. New Testament Texts Except Rom. 3:25

(i) Heb. 2:17, 9:5

Immediately our first NT text underlines this prevenient action of God. God in Christ is seen in this pericope (Heb. 2:14

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1 Ibid., p.317. As K. Koch says (Sühneanschauung, p.99), when the words speak of God, "bei כפר ist Gott (stets logisches) Subject, bei ἱλάσκομαι (stets logisches) Object."

2 C.F.D. Moule, SEÅ 30, p.24.

ff.) reconciling the world unto himself. The incarnation was the decisive event which did for man what he could not do (βουλεία v.15) for himself. Christ was obliged to become in everyway like unto his brethren for a twofold purpose:

(a) ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν[1]

(b) εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ (v.17)

In Heb.1:3 our author has already viewed the cross in retrospect; here he considers it in prospect. He is not talking about some present heavenly priestly activity[2] of Christ; not even as intercession,[3] when he speaks of expiation, but the death of the cross; he is only emphasizing the statements in vv.9 and 14[4] in high priestly terms.

The preposition εἰς , as does the ἵνα , introduces a purposive clause, and both go back to the same antecedent; Christ's becoming like unto his brethren. He became man in order to suffer and die, that is the theme of the whole context;[5] this suffering and dying has two results: the expiation of sins (v.17), and the acquisition of the necessary qualification to succour, born out of the fellowship of suffering and temptation. The present tense of ἱλάσκομαι is used because the author is writing from the point of view of the time of the incarnation, it implies nothing as regards a present expiation of sins in heaven. In fact it implies that Christ became man and a faithful high priest in the things of God, for the very purpose, or in the actual event, of expiating man's sins. His death on the cross is

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1 Cf. Ex. 4:16, Heb. 5:1 (τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν).
2 Contra G. Vos, PTR 5 (1907), pp.581 f.
3 Contra S. Lyonnet, Sin, p.148. Further, idem, "Expiation et intercession", Biblica 40 (1959), pp.885-901 and Biblica 41 (1960), pp.158-167.
4 Cf. Heb. 5:1 ff.
5 J. Kögel, Der Sohn und die Sühne (Gütersloh, 1904), p.89.

itself the priestly action, his priesthood is prior to his crucifixion.

Vanhoye[1] is amiss in thinking the present infinitive points to an activity of the glorified Christ; it is excessive to conclude in the manner he does on the basis of the present tense:

> Le sacrifice n'a eu lieu qu'une fois et a fait passer le Christ de l'existence charnelle à la plénitude céleste. 'L'Expiation' s'exerce ensuite, sans limite de temps. Elle ne s'accompagne évidemment pas de souffrance, puisque celui qui 'expie' les péchés est le Christ glorieux.[2]

On Vanhoye's exegesis the aorists γένηται and βοηθῆσαι should be present tenses. The Cross belongs to the eternal order, it remains ever true that Christians have an altar, it is doubtful, however, if even this is included in the present tense of ἱλάσκομαι; but it is certain against Vanhoye, that a post-calvary atonement of the glorified Christ is not contemplated.

It is unusual to find ἱλάσκεσθαι with the accusative of "sins". There is a near parallel in Ps. 64(65):4, τὰς ἀσεβείας ἡμῶν σὺ ἱλάσῃ.[3] There are several instances in Sirach where sin is the direct object of the verb, and once in Dan. 9:24 (θ). In Sirach's eulogy of the high priesthoods of Aaron and Phinehas there occurs two significant texts (Sir. 45:16,23): ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου and καὶ ἐξιλάσατο περὶ τοῦ Ισραηλ. More relevant for the text before us is Lev. 16, for this is the biblical account of the ritual where the high priest made expiation for the sins of the people. We are the more encouraged

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1 A. Vanhoye, Situation du Christ (Paris, 1969), pp.380 f. The section is reprinted as an article in NRT 91 (1969), pp.449-474.

2 Ibid.

3 ϰιατ have the dative plural (ταῖς ἀσεβείαις), as do some minuscles for Heb. 2:17 (ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις).

to look back to this OT text because we have here, as in Heb. 1:3 and 5:1,3, the plural form τὰς ἁμαρτίας , which is a form limited in the cult to the DA ritual. In Lev. 16:24 we read ἐξιλάσεται . . . περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ , though this is related to the burnt-offering not the sin-offering; a more pertinent text is Lev. 16:34 where it is stated that it is an eternal law ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

Although no exact text from the DA ritual can be paralleled with Heb. 2:17, there can be no doubt that it is this holy day, when the high priest made expiation for the sins of Israel, that lies behind our text. It introduces in a more poignant manner than Heb. 1:3 all that he has in mind to elucidate further along in his Epistle, as Kistemaker comments, "Heb. 2:17 offers in a nutshell all the perspectives necessary for the entire Epistle."[1] Here again the primary emphasis is on Christ's atoning death not his intercession.[2] So far we have begged the question whether ἱλάσκεσθαι in Heb. 2:17 means "propitiation" or "expiation"; we shall beg it no longer.

One would think that all that is necessary is to draw attention to the direct object of the verb, τὰς ἁμαρτίας , which would seemingly demand the translation "expiation". However, those doughty champions of "propitiation", L. Morris and R.R. Nicole, are not so easily convinced. Just as Dodd interprets exceptional or vague texts by what he calls the "biblical usage in general", so Morris and Nicole use with a different under-

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1 S. Kistemaker, Citations, p.101.

2 Against numerous texts on the death of Christ there are only two that refer to intercession, Heb. 7:25; 9:24; and these also are closely bound to the crucifixion. The phrase, "sat down at the right hand", primarily affirms the finished nature of his sacrifice not the commencement of his intercession. For a contrary view see A.J.B. Higgins, "The Priestly Messiah", NTS 13 (1966-67), pp.233 ff.

standing, this dubious unifying technique. In contrast we assert that each text must be considered in its own right and not forced into synthetic conformity.

Nicole ranges as far as 12:25,29 to demonstrate that "wrath" is part of the "context". Certainly it is true of Hebrews as well as the rest of the Bible that "the life of man is threatened if expiation is not made",[1] it would be foolish to attempt to deny that, but this fact does not decide the best translation of ἱλάσκεσθαι in Heb 2:17. Morris squeezes ideas of "wrath" out of the designation "merciful high priest", and a God-ward direction for ἱλάσκεσθαι in the phrase τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. The accusative τὰς ἁμαρτίας he takes as an accusative of general respect and translates, "make propitiation with regard to the sins of the people". To such contortions Hill[2] appropriately remarks that Morris is making a virtue out of necessity.

Morris argues from the dative variant of τὰς ἁμαρτίας that the accusative was for Greek readers difficult, and that the meaning "expiation" was not one which was accepted in the circles in which the variant arose.[3] This observation, however, does not support the rendering "propitiation" but "expiation", for if Greek readers found the text with its direct object difficult to relate to ἱλάσκεσθαι, then we should think of a meaning that is unusual for the Greek reader. τὰς ἁμαρτίας is what our author wrote, the fact that some found this odd proves we have an abnormal construction. This text should be translated "expiation", which not only conforms to the immediate context, but to the whole motif of the Epistle - the removal of the

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1 J. Herrmann, TDNT III, p.310.
2 Words, p.38.
3 L. Morris, Apostolic[3], p.205.

barrier of sin through the obedient death of Christ. Our author has at the same time quite accurately conveyed the overruling purpose of the DA.

Hebrews 9:5, where the substantive τὸ ἱλαστήριον occurs, is recognizably the usual LXX rendering of the כפרת. The importance of other topics prevented our busy pastor enlarging on this mere allusion - to our poverty.

(ii) 1 John 2:2 4:10[1]

There are certain parallels between Johannine thought and Hebrews in general,[2] and there are also some similarities in 1 John 2:2 and Hebrews. There is the strong statement about not sinning (1 John 2:1 and Heb. 10:26); the phrase παράκλητον ἔχομεν (1 John 2:1) recalls the many ἔχομεν phrases in Hebrews not least ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα (Heb. 8:1), the word παράκλητος itself has definite parallels with Heb. 7:25 and 9:24; further, πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα (1 John 2:1) compares with τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν (Heb. 2:17); and finally the phrase ἱλασμός . . . περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (1 John 2:2) plunges us into the cultic terminology, which finds such frequent reference in Hebrews (Heb. 1:3; 2:17; 10:12 - note the comparison with the plural of ἁμαρτία, which in the cult is known only in the DA).

According to R. Bultmann's ideas such parallels are to be expected, for he considers 1 John 1:7c; 2:2 and 4:10 interpolations deriving from church redaction and dogma.[3] R. Schnackenburg,[4] in his mammoth commentary on the Johannine

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1 To these texts a lengthy article has been devoted; H. Clavier, "Notes sur un mot-clef du johannisme et de la sotériologie biblique: ΙΛΑΣΜΟΣ" NovTest 10 (1968), pp.287-304.
2 C. Spicq, Hébreux I, pp. 109-138.
3 R. Bultmann, Die drei Johannesbriefe (Göttingen[8], 1969), p.11.
4 R. Schnackenburg, Die Johannesbriefe (Freiburg[2], 1963), ad loc.

Epistles, answers this by saying that the strong anti-heretical statements, which reach a temporary conclusion in 1 John 1:10, are relieved by a parenthesis in which the author turns to speak directly to his readers. The cause of this is his fear that his readers will take the last verses as a brief for sin being the norm in the Christian life. The pericope in fact from 1 John 1:5 is built on a series of conditional clauses which project the contrasts between light and darkness. S. Lyonnet[1] tabulates it as follows:

1 John 1:5 God is light and in him is no darkness at all	
1:6 If we say we have fellowship with him while we walk in darkness, we lie. . .	1:7 But if we walk in the light + we have fellowship with one another + and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin.
1:8 If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.	1:9 If we confess our sins + he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness.
1:10 If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.	2:1 f. But if any one does sin + we have an advocate with the Father + Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the expiation for our sins.

The antithetical nature of 1 John 1:7,9; 2:1 f. makes it clear that 1 John 2:1 f. is not an independent ecclesiastical comment on the previous verses (1 John 1:5-10),[2] but is an integral part of the whole pattern. For our purposes it also

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1 S. Lyonnet, Sin, pp.149 f.

2 H. Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe (Tübingen^{3}, 1951), p.113. R. Bultmann (Johannesbriefe^{3}, pp.23 ff.), attributes 1:7c and 2:1 ff. to ecclesiastical redaction; while v.9, he says, stems from the author as an insertion into a Gnostic Vorlage which the writer reworks and incorporates into his epistle. The negative judgment of W.G. Kümmel (Introduction, p.309), against this theory is justified.

nicely clarifies the meaning of 1 John 2:1 f.; it must mean virtually the same as 1 John 1:7 and 9, that is, purification and forgiveness of sins.[1] The close relationship between καθαρίζω and ἐξιλάσκομαι in the LXX rendering of the DA texts we have already referred to, we may again mention Ex. 30:10(B); Lev. 23:27 f.; 25:9 where (ἐξ)ιλασμός translates כפרים, and Ex. 29:36; 30:10(A) where the rendering καθαρισμός is found.

In Ps. 129 (130):4 ἱλασμός means "forgiveness", as the underlying Hebrew סליחה and the parallel text demonstrate. In 1 Chr. 28:11 the כפרת is translated by ἐξιλασμός (cf. v.20B) in the phrase τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἐξιλασμοῦ (= בית הכפרת), implying the place where on the DA the sins of Israel were removed. Forgiveness and atonement are often juxtaposed in the cultic pronouncement, καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ (Lev. 4:31). The use in Sirach (ἐξιλασμός 5:5; 16:11; 17:29; 18:12,20 35:3) consistently moves in the area of pardon and forgiveness, often in parallel to ἔλεος (cf. 5:6; 16:11; 17:29; 18:13).[2] This is also the meaning in 1 John of ἱλασμός, the forgiveness, or removal (cf. 1 John 3:5) of sins.[3]

The parallel of 1 John 2:2 with 1:7 and 9, the evidence of the DA texts, the examples elsewhere in the LXX, the relationship with the thought of Hebrews, supports the conclusion that forgiveness or cleansing of sins is what John has in mind. We should note that the initiative of God in this process, which John emphasizes, finds complete agreement in the cultic texts,

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1 Cf. Zeb. 38a: אין כפרה אלא סליחה ("forgiveness and atonement are the same thing").

2 L. Morris (Apostolic[3], p.203), again stresses the aspect of wrath here.

3 Περὶ ἁμαρτίας is attested frequently in the LXX as the indirect object of the verb ἐξιλάσκομαι; that 1 John 2:2 is a conflation of the alternative translations (ἱλασμός and περὶ ἁμαρτίας) of כפר, as Dodd suggests (JTS 32, p.360), is unlikely.

not least Lev. 16. The benefit is consistently for (לע or ΤΥΞ) Israel, or the sacred places which they have polluted; the ritual is never oriented towards God, but is rather directed by him.[1]

Though we may admit that John,[2] along with the other biblical writers, conceived of those who walked not in the light as vessels of destruction, the context of 1 John 2:2 ~~mitigates~~ militates against the thought that ἱλασμός means "propitiation". God the Father is portrayed as the cause of the saving action, "he [God] is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all righteousness."[3] The love of God is the ground not the object of the sending of Jesus as the expiation for sins.[4] In such a context the choice of a word that depicts Christ as a lawyer (παράκλητος) with the Father seems inapt.

L. Morris supports his contention that ἱλασμός in 1 John means "propitiation" on the basis of the presence of the word παράκλητος . The need of an advocate indicates for Morris that sinners are in no good case and under such circumstances he feels "we may well speak of Christ turning away the wrath of God, and thus ἱλασμός is a natural word in the context."[5] D. Hill quotes and approves of this comment of Morris.[6] Dodd for his part felt uncomfortable about the word παράκλητος .[7]

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1 H. Clavier (NovTest 10, pp.290 f.), thinks the prophetic message is lost in the Priestly writer, who makes God the object of priestly action; but contrary to Clavier ("Dieu n'est pas toujours l'object"), God is never the object of the cultic ritual.
2 Assuming here that John the Evangelist wrote 1 John.
3 1 John 1:9b.
4 1 John 4:10 cf. Rom. 5:6,8.
5 Apostolic[3], pp.206 f.
6 Words, p.37.
7 JTS 32, p.360.

παράκλητος is a word that has been discussed at length, especially as regards its origins. In the effort to find the roots of the Johannine use of παράκλητος "the literature of the ancient world has been ransacked."[1] The contenders range from Gnosticism,[2] Judaism,[3] the Christian Kerygma,[4] Qumran;[5] for our part we can leave this question in abeyance. Within the limits of the Christian tradition the parallel that springs immediately to mind is the high priestly intercession of Hebrews.[6] This is not to say that παράκλητος in 1 John stems from Hebrews, but only that whatever the roots of the word the content is to be related to Hebrews and other NT parallels.

Within the context of the NT it is apparent that παράκλητος in 1 John 2:2 does not maintain the forensic overtones as dominantly as is often supposed; in contrast to John's Gospel, the main reference is soteriological, indeed sacral, rather than legal.[7] As with Hebrews, there must be no concept of a pleading Christ acting as our lawyer before the stern Judge; Rom. 8:31 ff. must direct the exegesis. Christ speaks for us through the eloquence of his sacrificial death, but against sin not an obdurate Father. The Father commissioned Christ (1 John 4:10), he is not

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1 C.K. Barrett, "The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel", JTS 1 (1950), p.8.
2 R Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (Göttingen[19], 1968), pp.437-440. Against this view W. Michaelis, "Zur Herkunft des johanneischen Paraklet-Titels", CN 11 (1947), pp.147-162.
3 N. Johansson, Parakletoi (Lund, 1940).
4 C.K. Barrett, JTS 1, pp.7-15.
5 In the main O. Betz, Der Paraklet (Leiden, 1963).
6 O. Moe, "Das Priestertum Christi im NT ausserhalb des Hebräerbriefes", TLZ 72 (1947), p.338; C. Spicq, "L'origine johannique de la conception du Christ-prêtre dans 1'Épître aux Hébreux", in Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne, Mélanges M. Goguel (Paris, 1950), pp.263 f.; J. Behm, TDNT V, s.v. παράκλητος, p.812; O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (London,[2] 1963), p.106; R. Schnackenburg, Johannesbriefe[2] pp.91 f.; V Taylor; Atonement, pp.218 f. Cf. Philo Mos II, 134.
7 V. Taylor, Atonement, p.219.

therefore to be conceived as the personage to be propitiated. To affirm otherwise is not to land in mere paradox,[1] but falsification. John wishes to affirm within his soteriological purpose the positive side of the legal element in the term παράκλητος; that is, that Christ speaks for those who confess him, there is no reference to the negative idea of a lawyer persuading a reluctant Judge of his client's innocence.

If the concept of the high priesthood of Christ adheres to his activity as παράκλητος we have every confidence to suppose that some other of the DA ideas also lie behind the cultic terminology of 1 John 1:5 ff. ἱλασμός we have already noticed is frequently the translation of כפר in the LXX, even stronger is the total phrase: αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (1 John 2:2, and similarly 1 John 4:10); for the only place in the whole of the cult where ἐξιλάσκομαι is related to the plural form τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν is the DA (Lev. 16:16, 34). Sirach knows such a form (Sir. 5:6), but not in a cultic context.

The cultic context in 1 John is clear; the phrase τὸ αἷμα . . . καθαρίζω ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας takes us right into Lev. 16, into one of the most frequently quoted verses in the Talmud's use of Lev. 16, verse 30: καθαρίσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν. To this we may add 1 John 1:9, καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας (cf. Lev. 16:21) To the words reminiscent of the DA: αἷμα, καθαρίζω, ἁμαρτία, ἀδικία, ἱλασμός, we may add ὁμολογέω, which comports well with these words in the context of DA ritual practice contemporary with 1 John.

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1 L. Morris, (Apostolic[3], p.207) and D. Hill (Words, pp.37 f.), both appeal to paradox to relieve the contradictions of their position.

It would be foolhardy to assert that these DA texts were the direct sources of John's statements; there are parallels also in the phrases of the New Covenant and the Servant songs, but then both of these have much in common with the thought world of the DA.[1] It is from this generalized pattern of thought that John draws. From Isa. 53 we may think of v.4, φέρειν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν (cf. v.5, τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν) and v.12, καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν (cf. Heb. 9:28, Lev. 16:22 MT) in comparison with 1 John 2:2; 3:5. Besides Jer. 38(31):34 we may mention Jer 40(33):8 and 43(36):3 where the LXX has respectively, καθαριῶ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀδικιῶν αὐτῶν (cf. 1 John 1:9 and Lev. 16:21); καὶ ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν.

These texts from Isaiah and Jeremiah must be supplemented by reference to Lev. 16 and DA parallels. In the prophetical texts there is no mention of blood as in 1 John 1:7 nor any sacrificial use of ἱλασμός ; ἵλεως in Jer. 43:3 is not sacrificial. It is in the DA that confession of sin is an important element and further, though not unknown outside the cult, the stress on <u>all</u> sins finds a peculiar emphasis in the DA. It is not, therefore, to be denied that the DA high priestly ritual is indispensable for an understanding of John's conception of the One sent from God,[2] who through his death, cleanses, removes, and

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1 M. Barth (<u>Sacrifice</u>, p.9), notes that Isa. 52:13-53:12 "contains a great number of words that have a distinctly priestly and sacrificial character." O. Cullmann (<u>Christology</u>, p.83), goes so far as to suggest that the high priest concept is a variant of the suffering Servant idea. J. Jeremias (<u>TDNT</u> V, <u>s.v.</u> παῖς Θεοῦ , p.710), goes too far, however, in identifying John's ἱλασμός with the אשם of Isa. 53:10.

2 On the DA the high priest was the שלוח (<u>q.v.</u> <u>Jonah</u> 1:5 = one who is sent) of the Jewish community, this recalls the designation in Heb. 3:1 of Christ as ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, and may be illustrative of 1 John 3:5 (φανερόω); 4:9 f.,14; John 3:17; 10:36 17:3,8,18,21,23,25 (ἀποστέλλω).

atones for sins.[1]

1 F.W. Dillistone /The Christian Understanding of Atonement (Digswell Place, 1968), p.141/, says of the Johannine Epistles, "The language certainly suggests sacrifice such as was enacted on the Day of Atonement with its attendant fastings and confessions."

CHAPTER 9

ROMANS 3:25 AND THE PROBLEM OF ἸΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

> I [shall] appear in the cloud above the cover. . . . He shall then slaughter the people's goat as a sin-offering, bring its blood within the Veil. . .sprinkling it on the cover and in front of it (Lev 16:2b,15 NEB).

A. Rom. 3:25

The key word in this text is undoubtedly ἱλαστήριον, and in a research of the DA in the NT it immediately attracts our attention, the more so, because of the importance of the context in which this enigmatic word occurs. Upon this term, as so many others in the NT, the shadow of A. Deissmann is cast very strongly, his labours are the obvious place from which to begin.

(i) G.A. Deissmann

On three separate occasions Deissmann addressed himself to this word.[1] In his first study[2] he was particularly concerned to rebut the position of H. Cremer,[3] that ἱλαστήριον is to be identified with the OT כפרת. To Deissmann this identification was not only one of the most popular but also one of the most baneful.

In the first occurrence of ἱλαστήριον in reference to the כפרת in Ex. 25:16(17) we do not find, says Deissmann, that

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1 G.A. Deissmann, Bibelstudien (Marburg, 1895), pp.121-132. E.T. Bible Studies (Edinburgh, 1901), pp.124 ff.; idem, art. "Mercy-seat", EB III, cols. 3027-3035; idem, "ἸΛΑCΤΗΡΙΟC und ἸΛΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ", ZNW 4 (1903), pp.193-212.

2 Bibelstudien (1895).

3 H. Cremer, Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität (Gotha, 1893). The issues at stake were larger than this; Deissmann, like J. Barr today, challenged the legitimacy of a "Biblical" Wörterbuch.

ἱλαστήριον translates כפרת, but rather ἐπίθεμα ; and ἱλαστήριον adds to this correct translation of כפרת as "cover" a theological explanatory gloss. Clearly then, maintains Deissmann, ἱλαστήριον is not a noun here, but, like Jos. AJ. XVI, 182 and IV Macc. 17:22, an adjective. Later ἱλαστήριον is used in the Pentateuch as an abbreviation. It does not mean cover or expiatory cover, but expiatory object. As such it can apply to any object which has reference to expiation. It is therefore of the highest significance to Deissmann that the LXX does apply ἱλαστήριον as a generalizing gloss to another sacral term, יסוד, the ledge of the altar (Ezk. 43:14,17,20). This ledge is sprinkled by blood and as such is an expiating-object; ἱλαστήριον means here, then, neither "ledge" nor "expiating ledge", but "expiatory-object" (Sühnegegenstand).

Deissmann finds proof that the LXX translators did not identify the יסוד with the כפרת in the fact that these two objects are occasionally translated by words other than ἱλαστήριον. Thus Ex. 26:34 כפרת = καταπέτασμα ,[1] 1 Chr. 28:11 כפרת = ἐξιλαστικός , Ezk. 43:19 יסוד = τὸ ἱερόν , 2 Chr. 4:9; 6:13 יסוד = αὐλή .

Concerning Philo, Deissmann asserts, that it is not true that Philo signifies the כפרת by the LXX ἱλαστήριον ; he uses correctly ἐπίθεμα τῆς κιβωτοῦ and adds a gloss saying that the Bible calls it ἱλαστήριον . How little one can speak of "Sprachgebräuche", counters Deissmann against Cremer, is evident from Symmachus' rendering of Gen. 6:16(15) where twice he refers to the Ark of Noah as a ἱλαστήριον.

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1 Deissmann (Bible Studies, p.127), rejects the possibility of a confusion by the translators of כסוי for כפרת; but this remains the most likely hypothesis, see p.250 note of this thesis.

Cremer had stated that the readers of Romans could not have understood Paul's statement in Rom. 3:25 other than as a reference to the ἱλαστήριον of the Greek Bible. Deissmann objects, on the basis of context, that this is unlikely: to call a person a kapporeth is "unschön und unverständlich".[1] Paul says Christ is the revealer of the righteousness of God apart from the law, to think he continued in the next breath to say that he is the cover of the "Gesetzeslade" is a picture, in Deissmann's opinion, as un-Pauline as possible.

The whole assumption of this exegesis is abortive, argues Deissmann, because neither in the LXX nor later does there exist a "Sprachgebrauch" whereby one must understand behind ἱλαστήριον the kapporeth. For evidence outside the LXX Deissmann relies on statements from Dio Chrysostom, Josephus, and two inscriptions from Cos, from which he concludes that ἱλαστήριον here means "ein Weihegeschenk, das man der Gottheit darbringt, um sie gnädig zu stimmen, ein Sühnegeschenk."[2] This meaning was known certainly to St. Paul and his readers,[3] claims Deissmann, the wonderful μωρία of Paul's piety was in the thought that God himself has established the ἱλαστήριον.

Some seven years after his study in his Bibelstudien Deissmann contributed the article on the "mercy-seat" in the Encyclopaedia Biblica. The young Pastor's[4] thoughts in the meantime had crystallized, he no longer conceived of the כפרת as

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1 Bibelstudien, p.126.
2 Bibelstudien, p.127.
3 Deissmann (Bible Studies, pp.131 f.), for reasons not compelling, denies, however, that Paul's readers were in any way aware that the place of God's presence in the Temple, as described in the Pentateuch, was called τὸ ἱλαστήριον in the Greek Bible.
4 At the time of publication of the Bibelstudien Deissmann was a young Pastor and was sufficiently self-effacing to apologize in his forward for his presumption in setting forth "Studien" which as a friend said to him, were only appropriate for an older scholar, not, as he was at the time of writing, a Privatdocent.

etymologically meaning "cover" but "instrument of propitiation". After discussing the sparse examples of the adjective ἱλαστήριος, of which he had one recent instance from the Fayûm MSS. with the example ἱλαστηρίους θυσίας, Deissmann turned to the substantive. The substantive does not, he argues, of itself mean "propitiatory sacrifice", it means "propitiating thing" and what the particular propitiating object is in any one instance must be established from the context

To the examples of ἱλαστήριον that Deissmann had cited in his Bibelstudien, he now added a host of others coming down in time to as late as the tenth century. In these examples Deissmann notes that ἱλαστήριον is used to describe such objects as, a monastery, an altar, a church, and a cleister; never is it necessary, maintains Deissmann, to add θύμα to ἱλαστήριον.

The LXX translation is now dealt with differently by Deissmann because of his changed understanding of כפרת.[1] He thinks that כפרת is an elliptical expression which the LXX in Ex. 25:16(17) fills out by correctly reading something like כלי הכפרת. Thereafter the LXX conforms to the ellipsis of the original and renders with ἱλαστήριον alone. Accordingly ἱλαστήριον in the LXX means "propitiatory thing", not "the lid of the ark", which is supported by the fact that the כפרת in Ezk. 43:14,17,20 is also, as a "propitiatory thing", translated by ἱλαστήριον. The "propitiatory thing" may, of course, be the cover above the ark, but this is decided by the context not by the presence of ἱλαστήριον, this is valid not only for the LXX but also for Philo and Heb. 9:5.

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1 Now that he rejects "cover" as the meaning of כפרת he rightly abandons his earlier supposition (Bible Studies, p.127), that καταπέτασμα is not a misreading of כפרת for כפרת (EB III, col. 3032).

The defence for this whole investigation is, says Deissmann, its ultimate importance in casting light on the celebrated locus classicus Rom. 3:25. The only permissible assumptions that the previous study allows when approaching this text, according to Deissmann, is that ἱλαστήριον means "that which propitiates", "means of propitiation", "the propitiating thing"; and that the word can qualify any object whatsoever "as long as a propitiatory significance is attached to it".[1] On contextual grounds Deissmann immediately dismisses the possibility of the object being the slab of gold over the ark. Votive gift or sacrifice cannot be so quickly set aside; by interpreting ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ as a mystical union with the exalted Lord, Deissmann supports votive or propitiatory gift. In the last analysis, Deissmann confesses, no concrete thing need be thought of and merely the general connotation, "means of propitiation", is a sufficient translation.

The final article[2] from Deissmann is his fullest treatment of ἱλαστήριον. For the first time he raises the possibility that ἱλαστήριον may mean expiation of sins as well as propitiation of deities, the context only being decisive. Context, as well, is the deciding factor for the object that is referred to by ἱλαστήριος-ον. Ἱλαστήριον itself has only the two general meanings: "entweder das Gnädigstimmende, das Gnadenmittel, das Versöhnende, der Versöhnungsgegenstand, propitiatorium, oder das Sühnende, das Sühnemittel, der Sühnungsgegenstand, expiatorium."[3] From these general meanings are capable all possible special

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1 EB III, col.3033.
2 ZNW 4 (1903), pp.193 ff
3 ZNW 4, p.194.

applications. The special usages that Deissmann unearthed, besides the special reference to the Kapporeth, can be listed as follows:

A. The most frequent usage is the propitiating or expiating votive gift or monument.[1]

B. Ark of Noah (Symmachus) Gen. 6:16(15).

C. Ledge of the altar (Ezk. 43:14,17,20 LXX).

D. Of an altar (Hesychius Lexicon).

E. Of a church edifice (Theophanes Continuatus 10th century A.D.).

F Of a cloister (Menander 6-7th century A.D.).

The word can therefore be applied to virtually any propitiating or expiating object including θυμα , but sacrifice does not adhere to the word necessarily, in fact there is actually no instance extant where ἱλαστήριον means expiatory sacrifice. The LXX has two special applications one in P for the כפרת and another in Ezk. for the ההיכל. In both instances the meaning is expiating object or means (Sühnungsgegenstand oder-mittel). There is no fixed meaning for ἱλαστήριον , , either in the LXX or outside of it; the only assumption possible when one investigates a text "ist der: ἱλαστήριον bedeutet ein Versöhnendes oder ein Sühnendes. Alles Weitere hat der Zusammenhang der Stelle selbst zu sagen."[2]

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1 Deissmann gives as examples Cos 31: ὁ δᾶμος ὑπὲρ τᾶς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας θεοῖς ἱλαστήριον. Cos 347: [ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλεντίων. . .]Σ[ε]βασ[τ]ῷ Διὶ Σ[τ]ρατίῳ ἱλαστήριον δαμαρχεύντος Γαΐου Νωρβανοῦ Μοσχίωνος φ]ιλοκαίσαρος. Dio Chrysostom xi. 121: καταλείψειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐπιγράψειν ἱλαστήριον Ἀχαιοὶ [τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ] τῇ Ἰλιάδι . Cf. Jos AJ XVI, 182. Deissmann suggests as translations of these "Besänftigungsgeschenk", "Versöhnungsgeschenk".

2 ZNW 4, p.209.

As in his earlier studies, the context of Rom. 3:25, for Deissmann, rules out any reference to the כפרת and he decides, though sacrifice and votive gift are possibilities, that a general meaning is sufficient in the context - Versöhnungs-oder Sühnungsmittel. To his previous essays he now adds what he considers the all important questions: the problem of the text is not whether ἱλαστήριον is an adjective or substantive but what is the object of ἱλαστήριον ; God? Man? Sin? Second, is the reference to the earthly or to the ascended Lord? To these questions Deissmann answers that sin is the object of ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25, and the reference is to the ascended Lord, and the text actually parallels 1 John 2:2.

There are some statements of Deissmann's which go beyond the examples he cites. Although he asserts ἱλαστήριον may mean expiatory object or means, the fact is that outside of the biblical texts,[1] the meaning is always propitiation. Nowhere is the general meaning, which he propounds as the basic conception, attested; always the object dedicated is non-abstract, a monument or a church or the like. Moreover, in none of the non-biblical examples, except perhaps Hesychius, who is dependent on Ezk., is the reference cultic or sacrificial as the mention of blood indicates that Rom. 3:25 is.

(ii) <u>The Aftermath</u>

Deissmann's essay brought forth an immediate response from C. Bruston,[2] who accepted that Deissmann had shown that ἱλαστήριον was a substantive, an offering made by men to God.

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1 The reference to the altar from Sabas and Hesychius very likely goes back to Ezekiel.

2 C. Bruston, "Les conséquences du vrai sens de Ἱλαστήριον ", <u>ZNW</u> 7 (1906), pp.77-81.

Though θυσία is not to be attached to ἱλαστήριον as Deissmann demonstrated, Bruston maintained that ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι indicated the idea of sacrifice is contained in the thought; though ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι is related to Χριστὸς Ἰησους not ἱλαστήριον. Προέθετο cannot mean publicly set forth, for ἱλαστήριον, as Deissmann had shown, means "an offering presented by man to God"; Bruston concludes it must mean "determined" not "displayed".

In Germany since Deissmann's day[1] it has increasingly become an axiom that Rom. 3:25 contains no allusion to the DA.,[2] though in actual fact the number who still adhere to the older view is impressive.[3] Outside of Germany the possibility of ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 having the כפרת behind it is widely recognized and even affirmed as a fact.[4] Catholic scholars have frequently defended, and with considerable erudition, the interpretation which looks to the OT כפרת for

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1 T. Zahn, Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer (Leipzig[3], 1925), pp.185 ff., accepted Deissmann's position, but others adhered to A. Ritschl's position (Lehre II, pp.168 ff.): e.g. E. Kühl, Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer (Leipzig, 1913), pp.112 ff. - pp. 114 ff. deals with the objections of T. Zahn; Th. Haering, Der Römerbrief des Apostels Paulus (Stuttgart, 1926), p.44 f.; A. Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit (Stuttgart, 1935), p.146.

2 D. Lührmann (Offenbarung, p.143), speaks for many when he says, "Die Deutung von ἱλαστήριον (LXX = כפרת) als Bundesladendeckel wird heute zu Recht abgelehnt".

3 Above all F. Büchsel, s.v. ἱλαστήριον, TDNT III, pp.320 ff.; then H. Schmidt, Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer (Berlin, 1962), pp.67 ff.; G. Friedrich, "Das Gesetz des Glaubens Röm. 3:27", TZ 10 (1954), p.413; further as a possibility O. Kuss, Römer[2], p.157; P. Althaus, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen[10], 1966), pp.33 f.; O. Michel, Römer[12], p.108; K. Barth, The Epistle to the Romans (E.T. London, 1933), p.105.

4 Notably the Swedish scholar A. Nygren, Pauli brev till Romarna (Lund, 1944) ad loc.; and idem, "Kristus nådastolen", SEÅ 12 (1947), pp.253-7, reprinted "Christus der Gnadenstuhl", in In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer, ed. W. Schmauch (Stuttgart, 1951), pp.89 ff. Equally important T.W. Manson, "ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ", JTS 46 (1945), pp.1-10. Further, among commentators sympathetic to this view may be mentioned F.J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans (E.T. London, 1961), pp.102,107. A.M. Hunter, The Epistle to the Romans (London, 1955), pp.46 f.; C.K. Barrett, Romans, p.78; F.F. Bruce, Romans, pp.106 f.; D.E.H. Whiteley, "St. Paul's Thought on the Atonement", JTS 8 (1957), p.254, reprinted in Theology, pp.130-148.

the background of Rom. 3:25.[1] This view, then, still commands wide support and respect and one wonders if the claim of R.A. Mollaun in 1923 is not still valid, when he said that it was "the most prominent opinion among scholars."[2] However, the mercy-seat interpretation is also widely rejected, and although for many it is sufficient to list again the arguments of Deissmann in order to dismiss the possibility of an allusion to the כפרת in Rom. 3:25,[3] others appeal to further objections; these we will now consider.

(iii) <u>The Objections Assessed</u>

Though offering no new objections,[4] L. Morris[5] has done the service of conveniently amassing what may be considered a complete list of reasons against the view which interprets ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 by means of the OT כפרת. They are as follows:

(a) The LXX usage gives no coercive evidence that ἱλαστήριον always means the כפרת. "If the kapporeth was propitiatory, so too were other things."[6] Where ἱλαστήριον

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1 S. Lyonnet, "De notione expiationis", <u>VD</u> 37 (1959), pp.336-352; L. Moraldi, "Sensus vocis ἱλαστήριον in R 3,25", <u>VD</u> 26 (1948), pp.257-276; A. Pluta, <u>Gottes Bundestreue: Ein Schlüsselbegriff in Rom 3,25a</u> (Stuttgart, 1969), pp.66 ff.; W.J. Dalton, "Expiation or Propitiation? (Rom. iii. 25)", <u>ABR</u> 8 (1960), pp.3-18; R.A. Mollaun, <u>St. Paul's Concept of ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ According to Rom. iii. 25</u> (Washington, 1923).

2 R.A. Mollaun, <u>Concept</u>, p.8.

3 E.g. E. Lohse, <u>Märtyrer</u>, pp.151 f.; W. Schrage, "Römer 3, 21-26 und die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu Christi bei Paulus", in <u>Das Kreuz Jesu</u>, ed. P. Rieger (Göttingen, 1969), pp.81 f.; W.G. Kümmel, "Πάρεσις und Ἔνδειξις : Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre", <u>ZThK</u> 49 (1952), p.160 An English Translation of this important article is in <u>JThC</u> 3 (1967), pp.1-13.

4 Most of Morris' objections can be found, for example, in H.A.W. Meyer, <u>Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans</u> I (E.T. Edinburgh, 1874), pp.173 f.

5 L. Morris, "The Meaning of ἱλαστήριον in Romans iii 25", <u>NTS</u> 2 (1955-56), pp.33-43. Reprinted in <u>Apostolic</u>[3], pp.184 ff.

6 L. Morris, <u>Apostolic</u>[3], p.189.

specifically means the כפרת it is indicated by the context, and usually the article τό is present. In Romans the context is free of Levitical allusions and ἱλαστήριον lacks the article.

(b) Josephus and Philo do not use ἱλαστήριον as a word referring to the כפרת which required no further explanation. Josephus avoids it, preferring ἐπίθεμα , and Philo always adds an explanatory gloss.

(c) The Epistle to the Romans is completely free of Levitical allusion, a reference to the Kapporeth in 3:25 would be like a "geological erratic"; something for which the context gives no preparation.

(d) To think of Christ as the Priest, Victim, and place of sprinkling is intolerably harsh. The place of sprinkling was in fact the cross not Christ.

(e) The כפרת had no part in contemporary practice as it had never been recovered after the exile. It has no wide usage in scripture and it is not likely, therefore, to have been a familiar term.

(f) The verb προέθετο , if accepted as meaning "set forth publicly" rather than "purposed", consorts badly with the idea of Christ as the כפרת, for the latter was hidden away in the holiest out of sight.

W.D. Davies dismisses all these objections, with the exception of the absence of the article τό, as hardly serious enough to warrant an answer.[1] We shall not take this way past these objections; for the reason that they are so often presented as cogent, we must give them thoughtful consideration.

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1 W.D. Davies, Paul, p.239.

(a) The absence of the article in Rom. 3:25 is due to ἱλαστήριον being an accusative used predicatively.[1] There are parallels to this construction in Philo where the article is also absent.[2] This predicative use indicates it is the function of the ἱλαστήριον that Paul means, not an identity with <u>the</u> ἱλαστήριον. Christ was presented as a ἱλαστήριον (cf. Acts 13:15, "as a servant") not as <u>the</u> ἱλαστήριον.

(b) The evidence of Josephus and Philo is neutral rather than hostile to an understanding of ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 as an allusion to the כפרת. Josephus prefers to describe what the mercy-seat was (an ἐπίθεμα) rather than its function (an ἱλαστήριον); this really tells us nothing about Paul's use of ἱλαστήριον. Philo's explanatory notes indicate he was a lengthier, and perhaps more careful writer than St Paul, but nothing more is indicated.

(c) The NT writers were saturated in the writings of the OT; their writings abound in allusions to the OT, allusions which are not always spelt out.[3] The DA was of supreme importance in the contemporary NT world, reference to it is found throughout the writings of Judaism. The use of ἱλαστήριον most familiar to St Paul was without doubt the use in the LXX for the כפרת, rather than any inscription from the island of

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1 C.F.D. Moule, <u>An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek</u> (Cambridge^2, 1968), p.35.

2 <u>Mos</u>. II, 95,97. Another NT example of an accusative-predicate is Acts 13:5, εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην. W Barclay, who is no novice in the Greek language, strangely fails to recognize this and takes the accusative ὑπηρέτην as a title in apposition to Ἰωάννην ["A Comparison of Paul's Missionary Preaching and Preaching to the Church", in <u>Apostolic History and the Gospel</u>, F.F. Bruce Festschr. ed W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (Exeter, 1970) p.169].

3 E. Hoskyns and N. Davey, <u>The Riddle of the New Testament</u> (London, 1931), p.29: "the NT writers were so completely impregnated by the Old Testament Scriptures that they fell unconsciously into a Scriptural turn of language."

Cos or the like. That he could make reference to this cult object without loading the context with priestly terminology is quite possible. We should note, however, that ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι is associated with ἱλαστήριον in the LXX, but none of the extra-biblical examples have such a conjunction.[1] The whole fact is, as E.H. Gifford points out,[2] the presence of ἱλαστήριον is somewhat abrupt and unprepared no matter what other meaning we give to the term beside the familiar OT one.

(d) It would, of course, be harsh if the figures of priest, sacrifice, and place of sprinkling were all predicated of Christ within the one flow of ideas. One could attribute the same harshness to John if one wished to conjoin some of his metaphors; one may ask how can Christ be the door of the sheepfold and the shepherd (John 10); or the lamb (John 1:29), the temple (John 2:21), and the priest (John 17). Moreover, Paul is not thinking of the ἱλαστήριον merely as the "place of sprinkling", but as the "place of atonement", the place where God manifested himself to remove sins. He is using OT categories to interpret the death of Christ, it is an unwarranted literalism to object that the cross and not Christ himself was the place where Christ's blood was sprinkled. In fact, Christ's blood was not sprinkled at all,[3] Paul is using ἱλαστήριον because of its function in regard to human sin, not because of what it was as an object.

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1 L. Moraldi (VD 26, p.274) says, "In litteratura profana non cognoscitur ali quod ἱλαστήριον quod sit sanguine conspersum."
2 E.H. Gifford, Speaker's Commentary on Romans, ed. F.C. Cook (London, 1881), ad loc. The OT background is particularly stressed by J. Heuschen, "Rom 3,25 in het Licht van de Oudtestamentische Zoenvoorstelling", RE 44 (1957), pp.65-79.
3 E. Lohse, Märtyrer^2, p.138.

The כפרת in the Priestly description, both in its material composition (made of pure gold) and its position (it is never designated "of the ark", but either named alone as כפרת or described as "the כפרת which is over the ark"), is the most important cultic item of the tabernacle. When it was the case of a universal sin, the blood was directed towards the כפרת (Lev. 4:13 ff.); and on the DA, also for universal sin, it was actually applied to the כפרת. The means or method of atoning for universal sin was, without exception, for the Jewish mind "the blood applied to the כפרת". Even if one, therefore, prefers "means of atonement" in Rom. 3:25 as a translation of ἱλαστήριον, the most logical background to the term still remains the DA.

(e) Whatever the shortcomings of modern theologians may be[1] it is impossible to think that St. Paul was unaware of the relationship of ἱλαστήριον to the temple, and the DA in particular. The DA texts were read as an essential part of the DA synagogue service, the Jews were undoubtedly familiar with this terminology. This was probably not true of Paul's Gentile readers, but Paul was not one to make many concessions in his Hebraic idiom on this score.[2] It is important to note that later Greek readers when confronted with this word almost unanimously looked to the OT for its interpretation rather than profane literature.[3] It remains a startling fact that so many Gentiles were converted, and became quickly proficient, in

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1 G.A. Deissmann (Bible Studies, p.132), examples the ignorance of modern theologians of the כפרת as illustrative of the first century situation.

2 Though some have suggested the original readers of Romans were Jews (e.g. W. Manson, Hebrews, pp.172 ff.), this is to be rejected. The Jewish origins of the Church of Rome, and their continuing influence in it should not, however, be forgotten.

3 See Appendix A.

reading the LXX. Be that as it may, it remains a hazardous procedure to restrict Paul's linguistic background to the limits of his Gentile readership.[1] To reject the thesis that Paul is using OT notions simply because his readers were chiefly Gentiles, would, says Leonhardt, make the whole letter incomprehensible, both in substance and style.[2]

(f) Although προέθετο can mean "designated" it is in context more likely, as most commentators agree, that it has the active sense of "setting forth publicly". We may refer to Gal. 3:1 as a partial parallel. Not a few have seen here a contrast between the old כפרת hidden in the holiest and the new ἱλαστήριον presented before all men.[3] Such a contrast was probably suggested to answer the objection that the unseen כפרת was hardly a suitable figure of the public death of Christ. I do not think such a contrast was in Paul's mind at all, though it has homiletical validity.

We should beware of claiming too much in the parallel between the כפרת in the OT and Paul's use of ἱλαστήριον . Paul is not identifying Christ with the ἱλαστήριον ; but is explaining what God had wrought through Christ's death by means

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1 The objectivity of this argument based on the Gentiles inability to discern OT thought-forms in Paul's use of ἱλαστήριον , is not always beyond question. W.G. Kümmel in one place (ZThK 49, p.160), can, for example, say of Rom. 3:25, that it is to be denied "dass die heidenchristlichen Leser des Briefes auch bei guter Kenntnis des Alten Testaments schwerlich bemerken konnten, dass sie dem ihnen aus der Kultsprache geläufigen Wort ἱλαστήριον einen technischen Sprachgebrauch der Septuaginta beilegen sollten."; while in another (Introduction, p.280), speaking of the Epistle to the Hebrews he says, "The mission of primitive Christianity generally made the OT into the Bible of the new congregations, in which they were thoroughly steeped; thus for them it was an incontestable authority and a conclusive source of proof. Already in Galatians Paul expects ordinary Gentile Christians to understand difficult OT scriptual proofs."

2 F.J. Leonhardt, Romans, p.102.

3 E.g. T.W. Manson, JTS 46, p.5.

of the major OT means of atonement, i.e. the blood application on the כפרת. It is the parallel between Christ's death and the blood-spattered כפרת as a means of sin expiation that is to be emphasized, not any supposed contrast between the differing locations of the כפרת and the cross. It is the whole statement ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι which directs us to the LXX, and pre-eminently to the DA texts.

The use of ἱλαστήριον by Paul is not a formal identification of Christ with the OT כפרת, to translate "Gnadenstuhl" is too mechanical. The relationship between the DA ritual and Rom. 3:25 is an exegetical one, that is, as soon as the question is asked, what did Paul mean by the phrase ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, we are driven for the answer to the use made of τὸ ἱλαστήριον on the DA. There we discover that the ἱλαστήριον in association with a blood ritual was the essential cultic object for the removal of community sin. Wiencke observed some time ago that "Paulus scheint also an die Ideenverbindung der Sühne in der כפרת, aber nicht an das konkrete Kultgerät anzuknüpfen."[1]

None of the usual objections raised against the DA background of Rom. 3:25 is therefore cogent provided we see the point of contact as a functional one between the work of Christ and the ritual purpose of the כפרת. If we take Deissmann's dictum seriously, that context is the decisive consideration for interpreting ἱλαστήριον, we cannot, because of the phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, look anywhere but the LXX DA texts. Furthermore, in the cases where the context is not coercive as in Rom. 3:25, other elements must also be taken

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1 G. Wiencke, Paulus über Jesu Tod (Gütersloh, 1939), p.52.

into consideration. Among such elements is the tradition to which the writer belongs, and in the case of St. Paul, that is Jewish. The background of an author is part of the wider context, and should not be overlooked as writers like Deissmann and even Barr tend to do. We know Paul belonged to a tradition that read the LXX, we do not know how often ἱλαστήριον occurred on inscriptions and thus likely to be known to him free of any LXX associations.

It may be doubted that the examples of the substantive that Deissmann quotes do actually support his contention that ἱλαστήριον always means a "propitiating object", and what the object is in any one case must be ascertained from the context. Deissmann even maintained that the object could be θύρα. This is doubtful, not just because there is no example of the substantive so used, but because ἱλαστήριον is limited in usage to physical and local objects like an altar, monument or church. It is this limitation which enabled T.W. Manson, by emphasising this local aspect of ἱλαστήριον, to translate "the place where God shows mercy to men".[1] If one wished to designate a θύρα as propitiating one would use the adjective with the noun.[2]

Manson's paraphrase, though not inaccurate, is too general. R.A. Mollaun defends as a statement of the meaning of ἱλαστήριον, "a sacred place where expiation and propitiation are accomplished by sacrifice,"[3] This is identical with the reason Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) gave for

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1 T.W. Manson, JTS 46, p.4.
2 As, for example, in the only extant usage of ἱλαστηρ - in this connexion - Fayûm MS. fg. 337: τοῖς θεοῖς ἐ]λαστη[ρίοις θυσίας.
3 R.A. Mollaun, Concept, pp.83 ff.

calling an altar a ἱλαστήριον, he said: " ἱλαστήριον γὰρ αὐτὸ καλεῖ ὡς ἐπὶ ἱλασμοῖς τῶν θυσιῶν προσαγομένων (MPG 66, 297).[1] Such a circumstance is probably why a church or a cloister can also be called a ἱλαστήριον, though, of course, the sacrifices are of a liturgical nature.[2]

The Cos inscriptions and the texts of Josephus and Dio Chrysostom do not refer to sacrifice, and Deissmann construes ἱλαστήριον here as designating the monument itself as a votive gift. In Dio Chrysostom the word ἱλαστήριον is inscribed on the gift, grammatically it does not qualify the word ἀνάθημα. In context the ἀνάθημα was a substitute payment for the expected larger indemnity. The Greeks hoped to appease the Trojans as much as Athena by dedicating an ἱλαστήριον to their goddess.

The Cos inscriptions likewise seem to describe the monument itself as the propitiatory offering. The fact that Josephus (an adjectival usage?)[3] uses μνῆμα (memorial) may imply that its erection was accompanied by sacrifices. Be that as it may, these three texts (Dio Chrysostom, Cos Inscriptions) use the substantive free of local connotations just as Deissmann maintained. The monuments are not places where sacrifices are offered or grace manifest,[4] but objects dedicated to the Gods to work propitiation - as such they have little in common with Rom. 3:25. The monuments are themselves ἱλαστήρια, propitiatories; it is a very free rendering indeed

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1 This is the reason why Hesychius defines ἱλαστήριον by θυσιαστήριον. Cf. Cyrillus' Lexicon, ἱλαστήριον θυσιαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ προσφέρει περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν.

2 Deissmann thinks the use of ἱλαστήριον with reference to a church or the like is similar to the use in connexion with monuments, that is, votive gifts. This is possible, we may think of the famous Votive Church in Vienna, the words of Johannes Kameniates tend to support this: ὥσπερ τινὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἱλαστήρια.

3 H. St. John Thackeray in the Loeb edition takes ἱλαστήριον in Jos. AJ. XVI as a substantive used appositionally.

4 Contra R.A. Mollaun and T.W. Manson.

to translate ἱλαστήριον in this connexion as "votive gift".

The example of ἱλαστήριον in Symmachus, where it translates כפרת, is possibly a mistranslation brought about by the association of the near word κιβωτός with the כפרת; even if given some theological explanation it hardly adds much to the background of Rom. 3:25.

The uni ue LXX reading in Ex. 25:17 ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα is most likely an adjectival example,[1] or perhaps two substantives in apposition.[2] There is no doubt that it refers to the mercy-seat and constitutes no real problem as regards Paul's usage in Rom. 3:25. Some scholars have looked to IV Macc. 17:22 for the background of Rom. 3:25. IV Macc. 17:22 is itself heavily indebted to Levitical imagery (e.g. καθαρίζω, ἀντίψυχον) and does not provide us with an alternative background to Paul's thought. The phrase διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου θανάτου αὐτῶν[3] is, as Michel notes, "ein Bild, nicht. . .eine Gleichsetzung"[4] of the Pauline usage.

Overall ἱλαστήριον as a substantive is used to designate the locale of a propitiating (or in LXX expiating) activity, only the monument inscriptions support Deissmann's contention that the object itself is the propitiating means. It is therefore wrong to say ἱλαστήριον simply means "a propitiating object", it more generally (exclusively in the LXX) means the place of expiating sacrificial activity.

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1 F. Büchsel TDNT III, p.320.
2 E.H. Gifford, Romans, pp.96 f.
3 Swete's text, Rahlfs' has τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου.
4 O. Michel, Römer[13], p.107.

Paul has the credit of being the first recorded instance where the substantive[1] is applied to a person.[2] It is indeed this application to a person that makes the local or the object connexions inadequate and encourages an instrumental interpretation; but even this latter is too impersonal. If ἱλαστήριον is translated instrumentally as "means of expiation", it should be realized that no such usage is known prior to Paul (Contra Deissmann); and is only considered in Rom. 3:25 because of Paul's unprecedented use of ἱλαστήριον as predicated of a person. This does not, however, eradicate the connexion with the OT כפרת. By applying this previously non-personal term to Christ, Paul has given it a somewhat metaphorical sense, it is no more forced or harsh to find the source of the metaphor in the OT כפרת, than it is to find it in inscriptions on monuments. Neither the definition "an object dedicated to the gods to work propitiation"[3] nor the translation "a place where propitiation (or expiation) takes place through sacrifice" is suitable when ἱλαστήριον is predicated of a person. Rom. 3:25 remains a new departure whether one accepts the biblical material or the profane literature as Paul's literary Verlage. Paul has had his characteristic daring to apply to a person a word which previously had universally denoted an object; an object which itself was a "propitiatory" or "the place where propitiation took place". This departure of Paul from earlier usage should make

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1 Rom. 3:25 is most likely the substantive, see below 6

2 M.-J. Lagrange, Saint Paul: Épître aux Romains (Paris, 1950), p.76: "Toutefois un homme propitiateur ne se trouve nulle part, et il faudrait des marques plus certaines pour affirmer que Paul a créé ce concept."

3 Pausanias Description of Greece II, xx, 1 f., speaks of an image of Zeus Meilichius being dedicated (ἀνατίθημι) for purification.

us wary of emphasizing the "local" aspect within Rom. 3:25.[1] Once the application is made others in the Christian tradition also use ἱλαστήριον of a person, but not with Paul's sobriety nor his theology, for the person so described is the Virgin Mary.[2]

The grammatical possibilities of ἱλαστήριον are to take it either as an adjective or a substantive. If it is taken as an adjective either a noun like θυσία [3] must be supposed to be qualified, or that it is predicatively related to ὅν .[4] Such examples of the adjective used absolutely are unknown, so this possibility is very unlikely. If taken as a

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1 This is the failure of T.W. Manson's article (JTS 46). For the ending -τηριον to indicate place we would have to say this ending always had a local sense, but this is not so; Mollaun lists 211 words ending in -τηριον, of these 140 have a local sense and 71 have an instrumental meaning.

2 These texts are not all listed in Lampe's Patristic Lexicon and so may profitably here be recorded. From the Sermo de Simeone et Anna, once attributed to Methodius of Olympus (d.311), but now recognized as a later forgery, we read of Mary as τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἐξ οὗ θεὸς ἐγνώσθη ἀνθρώποις ἀνθρωπομόρφως (MPG 18, 372). Again of Mary, Germanus of Constantinople (d.733) in In Praesentationem SS. Deiparae I writes: Σήμερον τῷ ἱλαστηρίῳ ἀνατίθεται ἡ μόνη τοῖς βροτῶν ἀσφαλλομένοις διεξαχθεῖσιν ἀμπλακημάτων ἐπιῤῥοαῖς, ἱλαστήριον καινόν τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον καθαρτικόν τε καὶ ἀχειρότευκτον χρηματίσασα Σήμερον ἡ τῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἁγίων (MPG 98, 293). The same auther in In Annuntiationem SS. Deiparae has the angel announce to Mary: τερπνὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν οἰκητήριον, καὶ τοῦ κοσμοῦ παντὸς ἱλαστήριον , and again Χριστιανῶν ἁπάντων γενέσθω κοινὸν ἱλαστήριον (MPG 98, 329). Andrew of Crete In Dormitionem S. Mariae III (MPG 97, 1100), ὁ σύμπας περιέχει σε κόσμος κοινὸν ἱλαστήριον . Modestus (d.634) In Dormitionem Mariae: Χαίροις [i.e. Mary], ἱλαστήριον τὸ θειότατον καὶ θεοείρυτον , δι' οὗ ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου προῆλθεν ἱλασμὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ Χριστὸς ὁ θεός (MPG 86, 3305). Ephraem (J.S. Assemani, III, 523D), in a series of praise titles of Mary includes, τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱλαστήριον .

3 G.F. Moore, EB IV, col. 4229.

4 W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, Romans, p.88.

substantive it could be assumed to be masculine accusative[1] ("an Expiator", "Atoner") or neuter accusative; but the masculine meaning would have been better served by ἱλαστής. There is little doubt that ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 is a neuter substantive; there is reasonable agreement today on that point, though by no means over how to interpret it.[2]

We have examined the objections to the interpretation that sees in Rom. 3:25 a development of the use of ἱλαστήριον in the OT cult. Our conclusion is that ἱλαστήριον must be interpreted in relation to the qualifying phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. This takes us directly to the DA ritual where we have our only instance of such a conjoining of these terms. The objections against this view are not cogent provided one does not literalize the application of ἱλαστήριον to Christ and understand Rom. 3:25 as an identification of Christ with the כפרת. The juxtaposition of ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι makes it clear that for Paul it is the cultic function or results that find their fulfilment in the death of Christ. It has some affinities to Heb. 13:10 where the author there comes close to calling Christ an altar; but the meaning is clearly not an identification of Christ with a cult object, but an interpretation of his death by a metonym for the whole sacrificial order. Thus, in Rom. 3:25 the unprecedented application of a term like ἱλαστήριον to the Person of Christ warns us against any literal conception of Christ as the כפרת. Yet even if we translate ἱλαστήριον by "means of expiation or atonement" we

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1 L. Cerfeux, Le Christ dans la Théologie de Saint Paul (Paris, 1951), pp.114 ff.

2 C. Brusten (ZNW 7, p.78) and H. Rashdall, The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology (London, 1919), pp.130 ff., though accepting that ἱλαστήριον is a neuter substantive, translate "a propitiatory sacrifice".

are still, if we ask the question what are the origins of the term, thrust back upon the DA categories rather than the motley list Deissmann assembles.[1]

With this more generalized drawing upon the terminology of the DA we are not surprised that the context of Rom. 3:25 does not bristle with cultic imagery; any other details would be, in such an exposition by Paul, superfluous, indeed confusing. In a context which has so powerfully expounded a doctrine of universal sin, reaching its climax in Rom. 3:25, it is natural for a Jewish writer to fall back upon the key terms of the only OT institution where such community sin was dissolved.

It is rather inconsistent of those who reject the LXX background of this term for Rom. 3:25 to appeal to it when they wish to establish that it means "expiation" rather than "propitiation". Paul may have been familiar with the monument inscriptions which bore the word ἱλαστήριον , as Deissmann claims; but in describing Christ as a ἱλαστήριον set forth by God he showed his affinities with the semantics of the LXX.[2] If one reads Ex. 25:17 ff. nothing could be clearer than that for P the כפרת (and the cult in general) was set forth by Yahweh; but more important, our study of Lev. 16 established the fact that Yahweh was the subject and prime-mover of the whole ritual, not its object. This is decidedly not true of the profane examples of ἱλαστήριον .

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1 I cannot, despite Deissmann (Bibelstudien, p.127), see anything "unschön" or "unverständlich" in such an origin for Paul's terminology.

2 C. Bruston (ZNW 7, p.77), as earlier noted, took Deissmann on his premises and understood προέθετο as "purposed", because ἱλαστήριον , according to Deissmann, meant "a gift offered by man to God".

Beyond these DA influences: the universality of sin; the instigating activity of God; the emphasis on sin removal; the sacrificial categories; T.W. Manson[1] and A. Nygren[2] have attempted to add others. Nygren stresses the fact that the כפרת was the place where Yahweh revealed his glory and, as well, the place where reconciliation (Versöhnung) was effected. In Romans, as with the Epistle to the Hebrews, Nygren suggests, the glory of Yahweh was hidden, as of old it was hidden behind the veil (Rom. 3:20,23). But now in Christ something new has come, "durch Christus ist der Weg zum Allerheiligsten offenbart."[3] The glory of God is no longer hidden behind the veil (Rom. 5:2). Manson supports the use of the DA by Paul in Rom. 3:25 by a series of contrasts and parallels. The old כפרת was hidden, but now "it is brought out into the midst of the rough and tumble of the world".[4] The benefits were appropriated once through ritual means, but now through faith. The old ἱλαστήριον was sprinkled with animal blood, the new ἱλαστήριον is sprinkled with his own blood. The new ἱλαστήριον is the point where the saving power of God is manifested as of old it was the place where Yahweh's mercy and grace were mediated. Some of these are latent rather than patent in the text, but they are to be modified in expression rather than rejected.

Our contention is that with or without all these contextual elements the DA ritual with the blood sprinkled upon the ἱλαστήριον by the high priest is the most likely parallel

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1 JTS 46, pp. 1 ff.
2 Memoriam, pp.89 ff.
3 Ibid., p.92.
4 JTS 46, p.5.

textually, the most informative parallel exegetically, and the closest parallel linguistically. Textually the Pauline affinities with the LXX are undisputed; exegetically the DA gives a mass of suggestive and profound interpretations; and linguistically only the DA texts can explain the joining of ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι to ἱλαστήριον.

B. The Context

The word ἱλαστήριον is like a key piece in a jigsaw puzzle; if it is wrongly placed the whole picture is thrown out of order. The way to test if the key piece is in place is to see how the total picture aligns itself; we must now see if ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 understood from a DA matrix causes chaos or order in its setting.

(i) προέθετο[1] ὁ θεός

Here, as in Heb. 2:17, and more especially in 1 John 2:2; 4:10, God is the initiator of the activity. The immediate context indicates we are again in the Hebraic cultic thought-world not pagan Greek, for God is the subject and sins are the object of the movement summed up in the word ἱλαστήριον. The earlier claim of Paul that all have sinned, which he stated so emphatically - πάντοτε, πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, πᾶσα σάρξ (3:19), πάντες ἥμαρτον (3:23) - finds its solution in the momentous act of God in putting Christ forth as a ἱλαστήριον.

The basic conception, as in Lev. 16, is the annulment of sin by God; in neither the cult nor here is God conceived of as the object of the action. This last conclusion should not, as it has so often, lead us to repudiate all notions of

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1 In the active voice προτίθημι sometimes means "to offer sacrifice" this should not be pressed as the meaning in Rom. 3:25, but it does illustrate the imagery in which the verse moves.

propitiation. Paul makes it clear enough what God's attitude to sin is in Rom. 1:18; if the sin is atoned, then, wrath ceases. The force of God's setting Christ forth as a ἱλαστήριον is not immediately directed, however, against the eschatological revelation of wrath, but against the universal dominion of sin. The context is unequivocal concerning this. As the divine energy in the immediate context is concentrated against sin, and only secondarily towards the resultant wrath, we should here again translate "expiation", though recognizing the need for the enriching of this term. We find here a picture identical with 1 John,[1] Hebrews, and the LXX, and more complex than either Dodd or Morris allow; more complex because the case is not a simple either or between "expiation" and "propitiation".

The whole context demands that προέθετο be taken in this active sense, it is a culmination of a whole series of verbs denoting God's activity: ἀποκαλύπτεται (1:17 f.), παρέδωκεν (1:24,26,28), πεφανέρωται (3:21). The activity of God proclaimed by προέθετο is eschatological, for the νυνὶ δέ is no literary device, but a programmatic declaration that what was partial and piecemeal in the witness of the Law and the Prophets is now a climactic divine manifestation of God's saving power. It reduces the force of Paul's statement, ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεός , to see here a typological contrast between the hidden סתר and the public crucifixion of Christ. The statement is not nearly so prosaic, it is a definite statement that in Christ God has acted decisively in these days (νυνὶ δέ) to solve the problem of sin. This is not typology but eschatology.[2]

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1 The use of ἀποστέλλω in 1 John 4:9 f. parallels the use of προτίθημι in Rom. 3:25.

2 The last does not exclude the first, but the latter is primary.

The primacy of God in this eschatological climax enforces our contention that the LXX and the DA are the background for Paul's use of ἱλαστήριον rather than any profane examples; for in the latter man is the initiator of a movement directed toward a god, but in the former God is always the subject. That God set forth Christ is the assurance for Paul and all Christians that sin can no longer triumph over them.

(ii) διὰ πίστεως

Because ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι is closely bound to ἱλαστήριον many have thought that the διὰ πίστεως which interposes is an intrusion into the text.[1] It is, in fact, missing from ℵ and Chrysostom. The non-Pauline fragment theory explains this, of course, quite nicely on the grounds that it is a Pauline insertion into the taken-over material.

It is also possible to take διὰ πίστεως with ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, and a few have done so;[2] when the other uses of διὰ πίστεως by Paul are consulted we find that faith is related to the source of salvation (i.e. Christ)[3] or to the salvation itself (σώζω or δικαιόω),[4] rather than the means, i.e., his death. The connexion "through faith in his blood" can readily be put aside.

An ingenious attempt was made by G. Kittel[5] to harmonise διὰ πίστεως with the context by taking it as a subjective genitive, that is, the faith of Christ. Kittel interpreted this to mean that Christ is a ἱλαστήριον by means of his faith

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1 O. Michel, Römer[13], p.107. E. Käsemann, ZNW 43, p.154.
2 E.H. Gifford (Romans, pp.91 f.), gives this possibility sympathetic appraisal.
3 Rom. 3:22,26.
4 Rom. 5:1; 9:30; 10:6.
5 G. Kittel, "Zur Erklärung von Röm. 3, 21-26", ThStK 80 (1907), pp.217-233. Recently also T.F. Torrance, "One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith", ExT 68 (1957), p.113. To this C.F.D. Moule gave a cogent reply: "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith'", ibid., pp.157,222.

and his blood. This brought about harmony by relating both διὰ πίστεως and ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι to ἱλαστήριον, and predicating both these attributes to the one person, Christ. This meant for Kittel that ἱλαστήριον is to be rendered "Versöhner". Christ was set forth as "Versöhner" through his faith and self-devotion; this faith was δικαιοσύνη, which for Kittel equalled "gottgefällige Gerechtigkeit". It does not command conviction simply because Christ's faithfulness is not what Paul envisages in using πίστις.

A. Pluta[1] in a recent monograph has illustrated the remarkable literary pattern of the section from v.24. Set out it is as follows:[2]

1. δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι
2. διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως
3. τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
4. ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον
5. διὰ πίστεως
6. ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι
7. εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ
8. διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων
9. ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ

Against these few textual witnesses that omit διὰ πίστεως, and the recent fragmentary hypothesis which considers διὰ πίστεως a later insertion,[3] the rhythm of the pericope argues for the originality of διὰ πίστεως in its present context. A long line followed by two short lines, one a διά-group the other an ἐν-group, makes up the pattern in each of the three strophe.

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1 A. Pluta, Gundestreue.
2 Ibid., p.43.
3 E. Käsemann, ZNW 43, p.154: "höchst gewaltsam und störend und ebenso charakteristisch für den paulinischen Kontext mit διὰ πίστεως in v.25 hineingepresst wird."

Pluta concludes[1] that the absence of line five would destroy the metrical rhythm, and so " διὰ πίστεως müsste also Originaltext sein."

Pluta himself accepts the thesis of Käsemann and must consequently show that διὰ πίστεως , as original to the fragment, is not Pauline. He does this by pointing out that πίστις elsewhere in Paul is given additional definition, like "faith to Jesus Christ" (3:22), "faith of Christ" (3:26), or contrasted with works of Law (3:27,28). No such nearer definition is present in Rom. 3:25a, according to Pluta. As Paul made no effort to give it further clarification he must have been content with the meaning as it stood in the traditional material. The original meaning of διὰ πίστεως, and indeed the one that Paul consciously takes over unchanged, is, claims Pluta, adverbial and should be translated "treuehalber", "voll Treue". It qualifies the verb προτίθημι, God being the subject, Pluta translates, "welchen Gott vorausbestimmt hat als Hilasterion, aus Bundestreue, in seinem Blut".

One may feel dissatisfied with Pluta's exposition, but there is no doubt that the use of διὰ πίστεως in Rom. 3:25 is unusual. The subject of the faith is unexpressed and the gamut of possibilities have been tried - God, Christ, believers. When one considers the believers as the subject of διὰ πίστεως, which is the normal Pauline usage, it is difficult to relate this to ἱλαστήριον without making it an abstract noun. If one takes ἱλαστήριον as an abstract noun it makes passable sense, "an expiation through faith" is similar to the

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1 Bundestreue, p.43. Pluta also argues that the pattern of the three stephe supports the reading of B, διὰ τῆς πίστεως (ibid., p.108).

"righteousness from faith".[1] Even instrumentally, "a means of expiation through faith", is acceptable. The point is, however, that διὰ πίστεως is not just related to ἱλαστήριον, but to ὃν . . . ἱλαστήριον. In other words, contrary to Pluta, it is a normal Pauline usage, faith in Christ, though specifically, faith in Christ as a hilasterion.

It is a unique Pauline usage, but not a contradictory Pauline usage. It is Paul's consistent contention that "es gibt und es gab niemals einen anderen Weg zum Heil als den durch Glauben an Gottes Heilshandeln durch Jesus Christus."[2] Both these elements are here before us in v.25: God's act of salvation, and that through Jesus Christ. That Paul can append διὰ πίστεως immediately after ἱλαστήριον indicates again that this impersonal noun has been forced into an enriched mould by being predicated of Christ. Faith is a relational term which operates in the sphere of personality. It is impossible therefore to give ἱλαστήριον a concrete translation like mercy-seat.

H. Ljungman[3] in a study limited to Paul's use of πίστις confirms much of our discussion. One looks in vain for support, he says, of Käsemann's statement that διὰ πίστεως is forcefully and disturbingly pushed into the context.[4] He thus agrees with Pluta, but unlike the latter he finds διὰ πίστεως in Rom. 3:25 agrees with the general Pauline pattern. If faith is "subjection to the way of salvation ordained by God and opened up in Christ",[5] then no place could be more pertinent for διὰ πίστεως to appear than after ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον.

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1 Rom. 9:30.
2 O. Kuss, Römer², p.132.
3 H. Ljungman, Pistis: A Study of its Presuppositions and its Meaning in Pauline Use (Lund, 1964).
4 Ibid., p.46
5 R. Bultmann, s.v. πίστις, TDNT VI, p.217.

It can be now asserted that διὰ πίστεως as used in Rom. 3:25 is typically Pauline; and nor is it a Pauline addition, but belongs ineradicably to the context. This is a considerable positive argument for the Pauline origin of the whole context. To proclaim that the expiation of sins that God has wrought in Christ is apprehended by man through faith, is not to disturb the context but to complete it. If righteousness is by faith, and justification is by faith, and salvation is by faith then Paul is careful to tell us that, in his one use of ἱλαστήριον, expiation of sins is by faith in Jesus Christ.

(iii) ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι

It is rather common to interpret this phrase by Rom. 5:9 f. where ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ is paralleled by διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ .[1] "By means of his blood" is thus construed to be a "graphic phrase for the death of Christ in its soteriological significance".[2] Now this interpretation is perfectly valid and unobjectionable, provided we do not limit the reference to αἷμα to a mere alternative for θάνατος . The emphasis of Behm's words must fall on the phrase "in its soteriological significance"; in other words αἷμα is an interpretation of Christ's death in sacrificial categories, and it just will not do to limit its meaning only to his self-devotion. Typical of this latter is W. Schrage: "Die Sühne ist wirksam durch Christi Tod. Jesus Christus ist Hilasterion durch seine Lebenshingabe."[3]

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1 E. Lohse, Märtyrer, p.139.
2 J. Behm, TDNT I, p.174.
3 Kreuz, p.82.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the self-surrender of Christ receives such emphasis, it is clear that Christ's self-surrender or obedience is manifested in his sacrificial death. Thus when we ask how Christ's Lebenshingabe was revealed, the answer involves categories beyond the self-devotion of life and will to God. Vincent Taylor has grasped this very clearly,[1] and objects, against Behm, that although in Judaism sacrificial terminology had been expounded in terms of self-giving, it is hardly likely to be true of the NT writers, who had the death of Christ so clearly before them. There is, of course, a considerable amount of metaphor involved in the NT use of sacrificial language, no-one would deny that,[2] but the metaphor is based on the OT cultus.

Because the NT writers were concerned to explicate the death of Christ in its soteriological significance, they did not make a simple and direct application of the death of the victim (זבח) to the crucifixion of Christ. They took the terms of the ritual which had redemptive content and meaningfulness, and used these to explain the soteriological import of Christ's death. Because the blood comes into importance in the ritual order well after the death of the sacrificial victim, is no reason to think the parallel with Christ's death is inapt or even worse, that it implies a parallel with some post-calvary event. The choice of a term like "blood" to describe Christ's death is not based on the accuracies of the material resemblances, but on the soteriological value the NT writers were trying to proclaim of the one by means of the other.

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1 Atonement, pp.34 f.
2 H. Rashdall, Atonement, p.99.

Some have questioned the propriety of speaking of sacrifice in connexion with Christ's death. Käsemann[1] notes that Paul himself never uses this language for the Cross; it only occurs in pre-Pauline formulae. He also questions whether we can speak of sacrifice when God is conceived as the originator of the action. Of Rom. 3:25 in particular, Schrage raised the identical objection: "Auch für Röm. 3, 25 kann von Opferterminologie nicht die Rede sein, zumal Gott es selbst ist, der das Hilasterion hinstellt, während Opfer Gott dargebracht werden."[2] A forceful denial of any sacrificial or expiatory content in Rom. 3:25 has been made by G. Fitzer.[3] For Paul, Fitzer claims, ἱλαστήριον means only the place of God's presence, translations like "Sühnopfer" or "Sühnmittel" are incorrect. He raises the old Socinian argument and objects that the sacrifice idea is a farce when the offered is raised again; or contrariwise, the resurrection is a senseless decoration (Arabeske) if the sacrifice-view is authorative for St. Paul.

These sort of objections have every right to be raised, but in the field of religious philosophy or theology, not exegesis. We cannot exclude sacrificial terms from Paul's redemptive vocabulary simply because western man can discern certain philosophical inadequacies in it. That God gives rather than receives may be a difficult concept to grasp within sacrificial categories; but it is not just raised in the NT, it is inherent in the OT cultus itself, especially in

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1 E. Käsemann, "The Saving Significance of the Death of Jesus in Paul", in Perspectives on Paul (E.T. London, 1971), p.43.
2 Kreuz, p.81. It is hard to see how Lebenshingabe is any more compatible with the fact of the divine initiative than sacrifice.
3 TZ 22, pp.161-183.

connexion with the root כפר.[1] The impropriety of treating God as the subject rather than the object of cultic action seems to be the product of a non-Hebraic frame of mind: we may compare 1 John 4:10 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν [θεὸς] τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν . It would, of course, be quite improper to conceive of God as priest in Rom. 3:25,[2] as Fitzer rightly observes.[3]

If a first century Jew wished to explain the significance of Christ's death, an event which was no mere preliminary to the resurrection, it would be incredible if at some point he did not use sacrificial language. As. J. Jeremias says:

> The oft-repeated assertion that it is inconceivable that Jesus should have ascribed atoning power to his death, that such statements belong rather to the 'dogmatic' of the Early Church or of the apostle Paul, is astonishing to anyone who knows the Palestinian sources. . . . The sources compel the conclusion that <u>it is inconceivable</u> that Jesus should not have thought of the atoning power of his death.[4]

What is true of Christ is hardly less true of St. Paul. That Christ later rose from the dead does not destroy the need to explain his death or the suitability of sacrificial language as one of the means to do so.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews we discovered that the blood disposal (Heb. 9:22), the DA blood application to the altar (Heb. 9:13), and, with care, the DA blood sprinkling on the כפרת were all applied to the death of Christ. Such usage probably has its genesis in our Lord's own interpretation of

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1 Cf. K. Koch, <u>Sühneanschauung</u>, pp.25 ff. and pp.63 ff. of this thesis.
2 As does J.L. Houlden, "Priesthood in the New Testament and the Church Today", <u>Texte und Untersuchungen</u> 103 (1968), p.83.
3 G. Fitzer, <u>TZ</u> 22, p.181.
4 J. Jeremias, <u>Eucharistic</u>, p.231.

his coming death on the night of the betrayal by sacrificial terms, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (Mk. 14:24). Hebrews capitalized on the sanctifying and cleansing action of these OT rituals, but near to mind was the same purpose concluded in the Matthean addition, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mt. 26:28). Although forgiveness as such is not a Pauline phrase, the thought is, and in the context of Rom. 3:25, it is demanded. That the concept is not contrary to Paul's ideas is demonstrated by the fact that he accepts the apparently liturgical form in Eph. 1:7 as his own.

The preposition ἐν in the phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι is instrumental.[1] The αὐτοῦ is not emphatic as Gifford took it, but it is significant. It is by means of his death that Christ is set forth as a Hilasterion - the focus where God shatters the nexus of sin. Blood, the universal cultic detergent of sin, is here given its profoundest interpretative task. On Deissmann's understanding of ἱλαστήριον as votive gift it may be reasonable to understand αἵματι as "in der Blutgemeinschaft mit dem erhöhten, pneumatisch-lebendigen Herrn";[2] or as his disciple Otto Schmitz, "die mystische Gemeinschaft mit dem Tode Christi."[3] For Paul, however, the participation of believers is summed up in διὰ πίστεως; the ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι is completely the work of God through Christ; reconciling the world unto himself, offering himself through the Eternal Spirit.

Our study on כפר in the OT revealed two things pertinent to our text: first, that with only few exceptions blood when used cultically is associated with the root כפר; second,

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1 C.K. Barrett (Romans, p.77), per contra takes ἐν as locative.
2 ZNW 4, p.211.
3 Opferanschauung, p.223.

blood is used in cultic actions which cleansed (ΤΗΘ), sanctified (ΥΤΡ), and desinned (ΧΘΠ). Paul conforms to the Hebrew tradition, he connects blood to the root ΤΘΟ (i.e. ἱλαστήριον) and the result of the association is the removal of sin. There is no parallel so near to this as that which is found in the Jewish DA ritual:[1] καὶ ῥανεῖ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου καὶ ἐξιλάσεται τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδικημάτων αὐτῶν περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

(Lev. 16:15b-16a LXX).

(iv) εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ

There can be few words like δικαιοσύνη that have been so frequently and minutely investigated and yet still remain confused as to their meaning. It is agreed that in Paul's use of δικαι- Rom. 3:21 ff. is a crucial passage, for the root appears here frequently. Several thorough and wide-ranging studies of this word group have been recently published and a catena of their results illustrates what our opening sentence meant by confusion.

D. Hill[2] defends the forensic reference of δικαι- and maintains that Rom. 3:25 means that God through the act of atonement shows he is himself in the right, and puts others who have faith in Christ in the right. This is not ethical or ficticious, it is a real righteousness, but understood as a legal status attained in God's court.

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1 "Thus, in Rom. 3, 25, he compares Christ with the sacrifice offered on the Day of Atonement" J. Jeremias, The Central Message of the New Testament (London, 1965), p.36.

2 Words, p.158.

Modern German studies are complicated by the acceptance of Rom. 3:25 as pre-Pauline. Generally speaking P. Stuhlmacher,[1] for example, understands δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as "der rettenden Schöpfermacht Gottes"; but in v.25, as a Jewish Christian formula, he interprets δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as "die Vergebung schaffende Bundestreue Gottes." This forgiveness, incidently, he says, is limited to sins committed before baptism. Karl Kertelge,[2] a Catholic scholar, in his massive study on this theme also accepts the fragmentary hypothesis. His main definition is orthodox Catholic; "Gottes Gerechtigkeit ist sein Handeln zum Heile des Menschen, und dieses sein Handeln kommt tatsächlich am Menschen und im Menschen zur Wirkung."[3] His understanding of the pre-Pauline formula is also what is becoming orthodox, "Rechtfertigung ist nach der in Rö. 3, 24-26a vorliegenden Tradition Sündenvergebung und damit Erneuerung des Bundesverhältnisses auf Grund des Christusereignisses."[4] To this interpretation of the fragment D. Lührmann adds the thought that here God's righteousness is an attribute of God.[5]

For R. Bultmann, the first propounder of the fragmentary hypothesis, righteousness is a forensic-eschatological-relational term; man is pronounced right with God on the ground of God's sheer grace in the event of Christ.[6] For Bultmann the genitive in δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is a genitive autoris,[7]

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1 Gerechtigkeit, pp.86 ff.
2 K. Kertelge, Rechfertigung.
3 Ibid., p.61.
4 Ibid., p.75.
5 Offenbarungsverständnis, p.150.
6 R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament I (London, 1952), pp.270 ff.
7 JBL 83, p.12.

which is *contra* Käsemann's interpretation as a subjective genitive. Bultmann does not interpret Rom. 3:25 radically upon the pre-Pauline premise as Käsemann does, he relates it to the general Pauline data though allows that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Rom. 3:25 f. may have a double implication of *justitia distributiva* and *justitia salutifera*.[1] Where Bultmann deals with Rom. 3:25 as a pre-Pauline fragment he interprets δικαιοσύνη as God's expiation-demanding-righteousness.[2]

Even apart from the Bultmann-Käsemann theory it was and is common to interpret Rom. 3:25 in exceptive terms. Thus H. Cremer,[3] the first to propose "relationship" as the essential characteristic of righteousness, speaks of Rom. 1:17; 3:21,26 as the "Gerechtigkeit des Glaubenden, durch Gottes Urteil hergestellte Gerechtigkeit des Menschen";[4] but Rom. 3:25 f. is signified as "der rettenden Gerechtigkeit Gottes".[5] Paul Althaus on Rom. 1:17 defines God's righteousness as "nicht eine ruhende 'Eigenschaft', sondern jenes Handeln Gottes, in welchem Gott und der Mensch beide gerecht sind."[6] When Althaus comments on Rom. 3:25,[7] however, it sounds as if God's righteousness is a passive attribute, for the reason why the expiating death of Christ was necessary was to preserve God's righteousness. A.M. Hunter equates righteousness with salvation in Rom. 1:17, but Rom. 3:25 is "God's

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1 *Ibid.*, p.13.
2 *Theology* I, p.46.
3 H. Cremer, *Die pauliniache Rechtfertigungslehre in Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (Gütersloh, 1899).
4 *Ibid.*, pp.338 f.
5 *Ibid.*, p.340.
6 P. Althaus, *Römer*, p.13.
7 *Ibid.*, p.31.

righteous character on which the sin of the world had, as it were, cast a shadow."[1]

The traditional Protestant view is supported by L. Morris who understands δικαιοσύνη in dynamic-forensic terms. He interprets Rom. 3:25 as God's revelation of himself as righteous against the charge, based on his previous passing over of sins, that he was not completely righteous.[2] This need of God to demonstrate his righteousness because of the passing over of sins in past ages is differently construed. Some interpret the passing over as apparent neglect of sin[3] or indifference,[4] others a past forgiveness that required the ultimate death of Christ to ratify it and to show God's past forgiveness was justified.[5]

Even the common view that the act of expiation through Christ was necessary because of the apparent neglect of sins in the past by God receives two emphases. Frequently it is asserted that God had failed to punish sin in the past and this had put a slur upon his righteous character; this is refuted by Christ's taking upon himself the punishment of sin.[6] This view in other words leads to a satisfaction theory or penal substitution theory of the atonement. Likewise, the translation "propitiation" for ἱλαστήριον is preferred,

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1 A.M. Hunter, Romans, p.47.
2 Apostolic[3], p.278.
3 W.J. Dalton, ABR 8, p.17.
4 K.E. Kirk, The Epistle to the Romans (Oxford, 1937), pp.34 f.; A.E. Garvie, Romans (Edinburgh, 1901), p.133.
5 C. Hodge, Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Edinburgh, 1864), p.96; T. Fahy, "Exegesis of Romans 3:25 f.", ITQ 23 (1956), p.71; H. Lietzmann, Einführung in die Textgeschichte der Paulusbriefe an die Römer (Tübingen[3], 1928), p.50.
6 F. Godet, Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans I (E.T. Edinburgh, 1890), pp.260 f.; H.A.W. Meyer, Romans, pp.176 f.; E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology (E.T. London, 1955), p.78.

because Christ's death is the propitiation of that wrath that should have fallen upon sin from the beginning. This interpretation has come in for strong criticism[1] and it is now more often asserted that the passing over of sins in the past was a patient forbearance by God until the fulness of time when God wrought his eschatological act, not of punishment, but expiation.[2] This latter view is further complicated by the interpretation which conceives of the climactic event of Christ not in terms of vindication of God's past action, but exclusively as a present forgiveness.[3]

Basic to the view that Rom. 3:25b is a theodicy, an apologetic through the cross for the conduct of God in the past, is the understanding of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as a divine attribute. Thus it is that even those who understand δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ dynamically elsewhere, will take it attributively here. If δικαιοσύνη is understood in the double sense of what God is and what he gives, then in Rom. 3:25 the emphasis falls on the former.[4] A considerable challenge has been presented to this "orthodox" view by those who see the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as related to the usage in the Psalms and II Isa. where

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1 There are, of course, many commentators who interpret along these lines, but do not go to the extreme of inferring a doctrine of the atonement that is penal or satisfactionary, cf. J.B. Lightfoot, Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul (London, 1895), pp.272.

2 Most moderns, e.g. O. Michel, Römer[13], p.109; T.W. Manson, Romans, p.94; A. Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit, p.148.

3 C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul (Cambridge, 1927), pp.67 ff. Apparently this is the view of A. Schweitzer /The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (E.T. London, 1931), p.220/; and H.J. Schoeps /Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History (E.T. London, 1961), pp.196 f./, because both these limit the past sins to pre-baptismal transgressions.

4 V. Taylor (ExT 50, p.297): "In Ro 3:25 it is probable that both ideas are also found, but here the thought of righteousness as a quality is more evident."

πρτς virtually means "salvation"[1] N.H. Snaith, accordingly translates, "God shows His salvation (righteousness, iii. 25) by the passing over of sins done aforetime, in the forebearance of God'."[2] This has necessitated the rendering by Snaith of διὰ πάρεσιν as instrumental. We may add that it is possible to think of δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ in salvation categories without denying the theodicean element brought about by the passing over of sins committed in days gone by.[3]

This by no means exhausts the variety of opinions. Older surveys of some length are J. Morison[4] and Th. Häring;[5] the last named lists eleven different understandings of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ . More recently, P. Stuhlmacher has given an exhaustive history of interpretations.[6]

"When a man is called on to sum up in one sentence a conviction he has arrived at by years of intense thinking, he cannot be perfectly simple."[7] Whoever called upon St. Paul to crystallize his thoughts in one sentence did exegetes a disservice; no-one could gainsay Scott's confession over the complexities of Rom. 3:25; our last several pages should have demonstrated that.

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1 Firstly, to my knowledge, J.H. Ropes, "'Righteousness' and 'The Righteousness of God' in the Old Testament and in St. Paul", JBL 22 (1903), pp.211-227. Cf. R. Gyllenberg, "Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre und das Alte Testament", in Studia Theologica I Festschr. I. Benzinger (Rigae, 1933), pp.35-52.

2 Distinctive, p.170. This is similarly and persuasively argued by S. Lyonnet, "De Justitia Dei in epistula ad Romanos 3, 25-26", VD 25 (1947), pp.129 ff.

3 W.H. Cadman, "Δικαιοσύνη in Romans 3,21-26", in Texte und Untersuchungen 87 (1964), pp.532-534, does just this, though he adds judicial, covenantal concepts to that of salvation.

4 J. Morison, A Critical Exposition of the Third Chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans (London, 1866).

5 Th. Häring, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ bei Paulus (Tübingen, 1896).

6 P. Stuhlmacher, Gerechtigkeit, pp.11-73.

7 E.F. Scott, Paul's Epistle to the Romans (London, 1947), p.37.

The righteousness of God is revealed in the event of putting forth Christ as a ἱλαστήριον, that much is clear. The words ἱλαστήριον and δικαιοσύνη are thus closely bound together here by St. Paul. Oddly enough the roots כפר and צדק are not very frequent companions in the OT. Unlike כפר, צדק is not a cultic word. Of the 509 appearances of this root in the OT, the verb never occurs in P, the adjective once, and the substantive twice. Even the words with which צדק is most frequently associated are virtually unknown in the cultic texts: משפט, which occurs with צדק 62 times, is infrequent in P; likewise ישר (25 times with צדק) is not a cultic word; the root אמן is found 31 times with צדק, but again it is not found in the cultic texts. The word most commonly opposed to צדק, which occurs in this connexion no less than 107 times, viz., רשע, is also a stranger to P. We find related with צדק the roots עש' (18 times) and חסד (13 times), these again are not cultic words. There are, however, a few words which are related to both כפר and צדק; thus, טהר (three times with צדק), חטא (19 times opposed to צדק), עון (four times opposed to צדק); and a few others, but which occur infrequently with צדק notably עשׂע (Lev. 16:16).[1]

The radicals כפר and צדק appear to be related in the OT on only three occasions, Dan. 9:24, Prov. 16:12 ff., and Ps. 65:4,6. Also significant is Prov. 16:6 where two words often related to צדק are named as the moving factors in expiation, viz., חסד and אמן; thus we read, בחסד ואמת יכפר עון. This verse is not translated by the LXX. Prov. 16:12 ff. (LXX),

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1 These figures for the words associated with צדק are taken from K. Koch, Sdq im Alten Testament (Unpublished Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1953).

though having ἐξιλάσκομαι and δικαιοσύνη near each other, does not represent a meaningful proximity of צדק and כפר. Dan. 9:24 is important, it reads: ולכפר עון ולהביא צדקי עלמים ; the LXX does not use, however, ἐξιλάσκομαι for כפר but ἀπαλείφω. Ps. 65:4 and 6 are also relevant, it reads as follows:

פשעינו אתה תכפרם (v. 4)

נוראות בצדק תעננו אלהי ישענו (v. 6)

The LXX has v.4 καὶ τὰς ἀσεβείας ἡμῶν σὺ ἱλάσῃ v.5 f. (ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου), θαυμαστὸς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.

The OT material for an expiatory action that is at the same time a revelation of the righteousness of God is, when one considers the total occurrences of כפר and צדק in the OT, rather meagre. Amazingly enough G. von Rad is of the opinion that the many "confessional lists" found in the Psalms and Job, which make pretensions of having attained צדקו, have their Sitz im Leben in cultic worship.[1] K. Koch, with equal daring, considering the absence of the root צדק in the cultic texts, defines this Sitz im Leben more closely and concludes it is the Autumn feast.[2] In the light of the absence of the root צדק in the Priestly Code, these otherwise convincing theories must be but nervously accepted, though Ps. 65:4 ff. gives the thesis strong support.

The only text that the LXX offers as a Vorlage for Paul's juxtaposition of δικαιοσύνη and ἱλαστήριον is Ps. 64:4 f.

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1 G. von Rad, "'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms", in The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays (E.T. Edinburgh, 1965), pp.243-266. Cf. N.W. Porteous, "Ritual and Righteousness", in Living the Mystery (Oxford, 1967), pp.61-75.

2 K. Koch, edo, passim.

Within the circle where צדק is applied to ideas of deliverance and salvation from sin it moves into an area where כפר is at home. One would think their coming together was ultimately certain; indeed, in Qumran such a union is found. In negative terms the two roots appear in 1QS 3:3 f.

ולוא יצדק במתיר שרירות לבו

. . . .

לוא יזכה בכפורים

A startling text is found in 1QS 11:14:

ובחסדיו יביא משפטי

בצדקת אמתו שפטני

וברוב טובו יכפר בעד כול עוונותי

As Millar Burrows says of this verse, "The meaning of the righteousness of God in Romans 3:21-26 is thus illustrated and shown to be rooted in pre-Christian Judaism."[1] That is not an overstatement. We have here the judicial action of Yahweh qualified by grace and faithfulness and goodness acting in righteousness to expiate all the penitent's sins. A similar thought is expressed in 1QH 4:37:

כי נשענ[תי] בחסדיכה ובמון רחמיכה

כי תכפר עוון

ולתט[הר אנו]ש מאשמה בצדקתכה

A text not reaching the same level in its conception, for it limits God's justification to the just; but which relates צדק and כפר to the action of God is CD 4:6:

נהם אנשי] הקודש [הרא]שונים אשר כפר אל

בעדם ויצדיקו צדיק וירשיעו רשע

Without the Qumran texts there would be some reason, because of the lack of OT examples, to think that in Rom. 3:25

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1 M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (London, 1956), p.334. We should not overstate the parallel, however, see J. Becker, Das Heil Gottes (Göttingen, 1963), p.278.

Paul was making an original theological thrust in the thought that the expiation of sin was the righteous act of God. With the Qumran texts before us, it is clear that the hints in the Psalms and in Daniel of an expiating righteousness of Yahweh, have become accepted facts in first century sectarian Judaism. Rom. 3:25 is thus seen to have some precedent; and in the light of that, as well as the contextual relationship with God's expiating act, it is impossible to rest easily with any view which limits δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ to a quality of God that had to be proved. It is an activity of God, manifest in the act of destroying the power of sin. The forensic overtones may be present, but it is sin that is "a litigant at law, and the case goes against him: he is condemned."[1] The cultic and judicial, as in the Psalms and Qumran, join forces in Paul's exposition: the righteousness of God is manifest in that he, and he alone, expiates sin, condemns it. It is impossible to think otherwise in a verse that relates εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ so closely with ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον . Rom. 3:25 is thus seen to be in harmony with Rom. 1:17; 3:21 f., where the δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ describes God's justifying activity, his saving righteousness available through faith.

It is not necessary to say on the basis of this that there is no thought in Rom. 3:25 of God silencing every mouth by manifesting his righteousness. One who acts righteously, is righteous; and the converse is true, these are not two separable elements. That the demonstration of God's saving righteousness in the eschatological expiation of sin in Christ is not utterly devoid of elements of divine vindication is indicated by the

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1 C.H. Dodd, Romans, p.119.

next line of Rom. 3:25.[1]

(v) διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων

This phrase is related, of course, to εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ; but it is also bound, as a unit with the latter, to ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον ——. There seems, then, to be only three possibilities: either διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν κτλ. is the reason why God put forth Christ as a hilasterion; or it is the purpose in doing this; or, finally, it is the means that manifests God's righteousness.

There have been those who have ventured to speak of a theology of prepositions, and an example of the evidence for this claim is now before us. It may be clever to chide theologians for arguing over a vowel in the difference between ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοιούσιος ; but it is true, nevertheless, that a vowel or a preposition can stand for very considerable differences of meaning. The divergences of interpretation of the whole text that are possible on the basis of how one understands the preposition διά in this present phrase are immense. We shall come back to the problem of the διά , first we must deal with πάρεσις.

Here we are happily limited to two alternatives; either πάρεσις means "overlooking", "letting go unpunished", "ignoring", "pretermission" or it means "remission", "letting go utterly". Among English commentators, especially since the days of R.C. Trench's Synonyms, it has been rather customary to stress the antonymous nature of ἄφεσις and πάρεσις . Forceful

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1 W.G. Kümmel (ZThK 49, p 161), thinks because Rom. 3:25 refers to the justifying activity of God, that no thought of vindication can be present. This is surely a non sequitur. A more inclusive, and therefore in my opinion more correct view, is J.A. Ziesler, The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul (Cambridge, 1972), p.194.

objections are not wanting. In this country the most notable is C.A.A. Scott, who not only understood πάρεσις in the sense of "forgiveness", but also limited this forgiveness to "men in Paul's own time".[1] Not all who take πάρεσις as meaning "remission" make this limitation, most relate it to a present remission of the sins of past generations.[2]

The most thorough going protest against the common distinction between ἄφεσις and πάρεσις is that made by W.G. Kümmel.[3] Kümmel prefaces his linguistic analysis by several broad theological objections. For one, Kümmel complains, to take πάρεσις as an ignoring of past sins just does not harmonize with Paul's theology as a whole. Elsewhere Paul knows no such divine condoning of sin, e.g. Rom. 1:24 ff. 1 Cor. 10:5,8,10 Rom. 5:12-14; 7:13; 6:23. Secondly, Kümmel remonstrates against the assumption that God had to prove his righteousness, or indeed that the divine righteousness is merely an attribute of the divine essence and thus capable of demonstration.

Kümmel's main contention, however, is made on the basis of a thorough investigation of the occurrences of πάρεσις itself in the extra-biblical sources. The profane literature is vital here because πάρεσις occurs only in Rom. 3:25 in the whole of the Greek Bible. Kümmel's conclusion is that the predominant meaning for πάρεσις is "remission" (Erlass). This, of course, does not prejudge the meaning in Rom. 3:25, which may be an example within the minority circle; it is context,

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1 C.A.A. Scott, Christianity, p.67.

2 E g C. Hodge, Romans, pp.96 f.; W.G. Kümmel, ZThK 49, p.165; H. Lietzmann, Römer³, p.50. W. Schrage (Kreuz, p.83), sums up this point of view nicely: "Nicht eine frühere Vergebung der Sünden ist hier im Blick, sondern eine Vergebung früherer Sünden, nämlich der in der Zeit der Geduld Gottes begangenen Sünden."

3 ZThK 49, pp 154-167.

according to Kümmel which classifies Rom. 3:25 within the usual meaning, viz., "remission".

One of the key examples of πάρεσις, which is often quoted as conclusive instance of "passing over unpunished",[1] is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus Roman Antiquities, VII 37:2. It reads:

παρὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντες τὴν μὲν ὁλοσχερῆ πάρεσιν οὐχ εὑρόντο, τὴν δ'εἰς χρόνον ὅσον ἠξίουν ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβον. In a well-known article, which has been quoted as decisive,[2] J.M. Creed[3] has pointed out that when Dionysius wishes to signify "acquittal" or "release" he uses ἄφεσις. In the above text Creed maintains that the meaning is the "letting drop of a judicial process". However, as Kümmel observes, the meaning "dismissal" (Fallenlassen) of a planned court procedure is not capable of meaning "passing over". O. Michel notes that πάρεσις is in contrast to ἀναβολή,[4] though it requires ὁλοσχερής to give an absolute contrast. This example yields only the information that πάρεσις means "letting go", "letting drop" (in this case a court case), though the addition of ὁλοσχερής could indicate that πάρεσις unqualified is not absolute.

In Josephus[5] πάρεσις is used in the sense of "letting go of one's strength", with the result of the person's collapse. Philo[6] in a similar vein speaks of the collapse of the harmony and concord which binds the members of the body:

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1 E.g. H. Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh[3], 1883), p.298; AG, p.631.
2 C.K. Barrett, Romans, p.79.
3 J.M. Creed, "ΠΑΡΕΣΙΣ in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in St. Paul", JTS 41 (1940), pp.28-30.
4 O. Michel, Römer[13], p.109.
5 AJ. XI, 236.
6 Praem., 145.

οἷς ἐπακολουθεῖ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τῶν μελῶν πάρεσις πρότερον πονηθέντων ἁλμυροῦ. Kümmel cites Dio Chrysostom XXX, 19 as a certain example of "remission" though his alternate rendering, "easing" (Erleichterung), suits the context better: τινὰς μέντοι καὶ λίαν ὀλίγους πάρεσιν τινα ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δεδέσθαι μέν, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ πάνυ δι' ἐπιείκειαν (λίαν ὀλίγους πάρεσιν = a minimal letting go). The example cited by Kümmel from Plutarch[1] likewise just means "letting go", but Kümmel strangely designates this text as exceptional: Δίωνα δ' ὁ Διονυσίου πάρεσις ἐκ Συρακουσῶν.

The basic meaning of πάρεσις as "letting go" seems evident enough; what must be established is if, when ἁμαρτία or ὀφειλή is the object, it means "letting go = remittance, remission" or "letting go = reprieve, suspension". Two texts are quoted in this regard, Phalaris, Epistolae[2] LXXXI, 1 and BGU 624, 21. Of the latter, Deissmann says the text is very concise and full of technical terms which makes the exact meaning difficult, he adds that the remission is only temporary.[3]

The Phalaris text is as follows:

οὐ μεταμελόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ παρέσει τῶν χρημάτων, ἄνδρες Ἕννοιοι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην ἐπέστειλα, ἀλλ' ἵνα βεβαίαν ἔχητε τὴν χάριν ἐπεξελθόντες τῇ δίκῃ Περίανδρον.

That χρῆμα is used in the sense of debt is confirmed by the statement made a few lines later: τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοτὲ μὲν ὡς πενομένους πάρεσιν αὐτεῖσθαι χρημάτων, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς πλουτοῦντας πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εἰς τοὺς ἁρπάζοντας προΐεσθαι.

Perhaps the fact that the letter begins with an assurance that

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1 Comparison of Dion and Brutus II, 2.

2 Phalaris was a despot about the sixth Century B.C., but these letters, as R. Bentley demonstrated, are a forgery dating probably second Century A.D. Cf. B.M. Metzger, "Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha", JBL 91 (1972), p.10.

3 Bible Studies, p.266.

the writer has not repented of his having remitted the Corinthians' debts indicates that an element of benevolent overlooking is present in the remittance.

Just such a meaning, i.e. "overlooking", is found in Appian[1] where the meaning is "letting go unnoticed", it has here a note of disdain, ignore in the sense of despise: οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἐγκλήματα ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τήν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἐνοπτόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς.

The evidence from the extra-biblical literature is hardly sufficient to announce confidently, as Kümmel does, that the common meaning of πάρεσις is "Erlass". Sins or debts could be let go in the sense of πάρεσις in a number of ways beside remission or remittance; and in fact the two examples that have "debt" as the object of the letting go tend to support a provisional element in the meaning of the term. Because the examples of πάρεσις are so equivocal and sparse, appeal is made to the verb παρίημι .

R. Bultmann quotes several examples of the verb which have, he claims, the technical legal sense of "remit". Xenophon, for example, in admonishing the army leader, describes the woeful results of lack of discipline and therefore the necessity for the military leader to administer disciplinary action: τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτήματα οὐ χρὴ παριέναι ἀκόλαστα.[2] Such misdeeds must not be allowed to pass unpunished, because indulgence would increase disobedience. It is incorrect to say παρίημι means here "let go unpunished" as do Arndt and Gingrich.[3] It

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1 Appian's Roman History, Concerning the Kings, Fg. XIII.
2 Xenophon The Cavalry Commander, VII, 10.
3 AG, p.631. AG also quotes Dion. Hal. Rom. Ant., ii, 35 as an example of "let go unpunished"; this is not contained in παρίημι alone, but requires the addition of ἀζήμιος .

means simply "let go", "let pass" and it is the added ἀκόλαστος which supplies the meaning "let pass unpunished". Bultmann in citing this example in support of the legal sense of "remit", understands the quotation; "such sins he must not let go unpunished", the same as "such sins he must not remit". The former, of course, involves the latter, but can hardly be said to be a translation in this instance of παρίημι .

Arndt and Gingrich have more warrant for appealing to Josephus as an example of the meaning "let go unpunished".[1] The context is about an attempt by Alexandra to escape to Egypt, but she is apprehended by Herod. Herod desires to punish her severely, but fears Cleopatra's reaction, so reluctantly he overlooks her sin (παρῆκε δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν = passed over the sin). The context makes it clear that Herod's "letting go" of Alexandra's sin means "let go unpunished", even though no word like ἀκόλαστος is present: Herod's motive was expediency rather than clemency. The mere presence of τὴν ἁμαρτίαν does not require that we, with Bultmann, understand "remit". Herod overlooks the sin, he forgoes any corrective measures, but reluctantly, purely from expediency - this is hardly remission.

Kümmel quotes this text as an example of "erlassen", "aufgeben" rather than "übergehen", or "nicht beachten". Strictly speaking, however, "übergehen" or "nicht beachten" is the meaning here; if we think of "erlassen" or "aufgeben" at all, then it is in the sense of forgoing the punishment of (not the forgiveness of) the sin.

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1 AJ. XV, 48.

J.M. Creed protests against Bultmann's use of Sir. 23:2 as an example of "remit" and defends Trench's conclusion that Sirach does not use οὐμὴ παρῇ as = οὐμὴ ἀφῇ; but only asks that he may not be without a wholesome chastisement following close upon his transgression. Kümmel somewhat arbitrarily dismisses this text from discussion, "Die in diesem Zusammenhang häufig genannte Stelle Sir 23,2 lässt sich nicht sicher erklären und bleibt darum besser ausser Betracht."[1] Sirach with great piety prays that a whip and wisdom might be guards over his thoughts and mind so that they may discipline his faculties when they sin and thus discourage any further transgressions: καὶ οὐμὴ παρῇ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν. The meaning is "do not let sins go unpunished or uncorrected". There is no thought of remission at all, and despite Kümmel's pessimistic conclusion to the contrary, the text is quite clear.

Remission and remittance are attested as translations of παρίημι in Aristophanes and some legal inscriptions. In Aristophanes the argument runs: because the enfranchized slaves had fought but one battle, the Athenians, who had been disfranchized for one fault, should be pardoned when they ask for it (τὴν μίαν ταύτην παρεῖναι ξυμφορὰν αἰτουμένους).[2]

Several inscriptions have the meaning of remittance of debt for παρίημι, though not always of a permanent duration. One example of this temporary suspension of repayment is as follows: τούτων δὲ παρεῖσθαι τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ σίσιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕως ἃ ὁ δῆμος εἰς καλλίονα παραγένηται κατά[στα]σιν.[3] Here payment of the interest will commence again when the

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1 ZThK 49, p.158.
2 The Frogs, 699.
3 W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum (Lipsiae[3], 1917), 742, 39 f.

people come to better conditions (καλλίονα παραγένηται καταστασιν). There is no suggestion that the interest of the coming year, which is remitted, will later be exacted, but, because payment is to begin again later, there is every reason to understand παρίημι here as meaning "interest payments will be suspended until improved financial conditions obtain".

A more permanent remittance is envisaged in the following from the same inscription: τοὺς δὲ παραγεγραμμένους πρὸς ἱ[ερ]ὰς καταδίκας ἢ δημοσίας ἢ ἐπίτειμα ἱερὰ ἢ δημόσια ἢ ἄλλα ὀφειλήματα[α] ὁτιτινιοῦν τρόπωι παρεῖσθαι πάντας καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρους τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν πράξεις . The text goes on to make several exceptions but as far as the sacred lendings are concerned they are completely remitted: ὅσα δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνεισται, πάντες τοὺς ὀφείλοντας καὶ χειρίζοντας ἀπολελύσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων.[1]

There can equally be no doubt that this text, which Kümmel quotes, also means a permanent remittance: τῶν δὲ προγεγενημένων ἐτῶν παρεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις πᾶσας τῶν τόκων .[2] A group of cities are in arrears with their interest payments; the lenders, because of the cities' tribulations, are satisfied to accept for the next ten years interest of one-sixtieth instead of the lawful one-fifteenth. The interest of the previous years is completely remitted (as above) and guaranteed not to be exacted in any way, καὶ μὴ εἶναι πρακτὰς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον .[3]

A final example of remittance of debt, or some sort of formal obligation is found in this inscription: ταῦτα εἰς τὴν προτέραν τάξιν ἀποκαταστήσωσιν, παρέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβεβαίωσιν.[4]

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1 Ibid., p.31 ff.
2 Note the use of the pf. part. of προγίνομαι as in Rom. 3:25.
3 W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (Lipsiae, 1905), 444, 16.
4 Ibid., 669, 50.

It must be born in mind that the meaning "pass over", "pass by", "neglect", "disregard" is well attested for παρίημι (see Liddell and Scott s.v. παρίημι); what we have examined are those examples that are appealed to for the meaning "remit". There can be no doubt that such a meaning in the legal inscriptions of commerce is well founded. Both the noun and the verb thus lead us to a disappointing result; lexicographical criteria leave both significations for πάρεσις (i.e. remission and pretermission) in Rom. 3:25 open, though unlike Kümmel I would think "passing over" for both noun and verb is more commonly attested. Kümmel's advice is quite pertinent, "Nur der Kontext kann darum über die Frage entscheiden, welche dieser beiden Bedeutungen in Rm. 3;25 vorliegt."[1]

Now this is the crux of the problem, the context is not straightforward. It is not possible to dismiss the interpretation which takes πάρεσις as signifying "overlooking of sins", on the basis of Paul's usage elsewhere. The actual position Kümmel takes assumes the very interpretation he seeks to deny. If God found it necessary to remit past sins in the event of the Cross, then previously they had been unattended to by God. This, of course, is not true of those, who, like C.A.A. Scott, limit τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων to the sins of Paul and his contemporaries. However, this position is intrinsically unlikely. At this point the importance of the little διά becomes apparent, for if we translate πάρεσις by "remission", then the διά must be construed either prospectively or instrumentally.[2]

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1 ZThK 49, p.158.

2 J.A. Ziesler (Righteousness, pp.210 f.), makes a futile attempt to retain the causal διά and understand πάρεσις as a present overlooking of past sins by God. But how God's "wiping the slate clean" now in the present, is the cause of his setting Christ forward as a hilasterion to demonstrate his righteousness, Ziesler neglects to say.

C.F.D. Moule[1] recognizes the prospective sense in Rom. 3:25 as a possibility, while N. Turner[2] lists our text as a definite example of this usage. Two thorough criticisms of any prospective nuance of διά c. acc. in the NT have been made by two men eminently qualified to do so. First, the Wellington Greek prize winner (Manchester, 1902) D.S. Sharp[3] and second, the classicist H.G. Meecham.[4] Meecham concludes:

> In view of the overwhelming use of διά c. acc. in a causal and retrospective sense in the classical and Hellenistic language it is precarious to depart from that sense in these two Pauline passages, and still more so to support exegetical conclusions on so rare a meaning of the preposition.[5]

Meecham and Sharp both notice that the ground ("because of") blends rather easily into "for the sake of"; but as Sharp notes in the NT "for the sake of" is always the reason not the purpose. This is true of English, for example in the sentence, "he gave away his money because of (for the sake of) the poor". Thus, the three examples Turner cites, besides Rom. 3:25; 4:25, are of this type. John 11:42, διὰ τὸν ὄχλον τὸν περιεστῶτα εἶπον - "because of (for the sake of = cause not aim) the crowd standing by, I spoke. And likewise John 12:30, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη γέγονεν ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς - this voice came, not because

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1 Idiom, pp.55 f. Moule is hesitant and in another place even considers the causal use of διά c. acc. for Rom. 4:25, see The Phenomenon of the New Testament (London, 1967), p.94.

2 N. Turner, A Grammar of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh, 1963), p.268.

3 D.S. Sharp, "For Our Justification", ExT 39 (1927-28), pp.87 ff.

4 H.G. Meecham, "Romans iii. 25f., iv. 25 - the meaning of διά c. acc.", ExT 50 (1938-39), p.564. Further V. Taylor ExT 50, p.298. C.H. Talbert (JBL 85, p.290), surprisingly claims support from Sharp and Taylor for a prospective view of διά c. acc.

5 Ibid. We should record that Meecham in a review of Moule's Idiom [NTS 1 (1954-55), p.64], may appear to modify his position, he writes, "We are glad to see that Professor Moule agrees that in Rom. iv. 25 the second διά approximates to the prospective sense ('with a view to')." The key word is "approximates", the same word he used in his 1939 ExT article, "διά may approximate to a prospective sense, but,. . ., does not directly denote purpose."

of me (for the sake of), but because of you. Mk. 2:27 is again causal, even if one thinks of "for the sake of" rather than "because of". It is man who causes the Sabbath to be necessary, not the Sabbath which causes man. If we think of τὸν ἄνθρωπον and ὁ ἄνθρωπος as a reference to Adam, the original man, then the priority of man over the Sabbath makes the retrospective viewpoint obvious. The Sabbath came because of man (Adam), and not man (Adam) because of the Sabbath - τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον.[1]

There is no reason at all for accepting that the NT uses διά c. acc. prospectively; the evidence against it is cogent.[2] We now turn to Kümmel's effort to establish an instrumental usage for διά c. acc. in the NT.[3] Kümmel claims the very weighty support of Blass-Debrunner[4] and Moulton-Milligan.[5] The former certainly gives "by someone's merit" ("durch jemands Verdienst" = John 6:57, Rom. 8:20), and "by force of" (Rev. 12:11; 13:14) as meanings for διά c. acc., but I do not think the authors meant by this a pure instrumental signification; "through someone's merit or power" is a special case not applicable to Rom. 3:25 and not itself free of causal overtones (see below). The latter is limited to petitions where out of respect for the superior addressed the accusative is used with a genitival meaning.

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1 Cf. H. Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition (E.T. Oxford, 1970), pp.120 f.

2 AG (s.v. διά c. acc.), do not recognize such a signification. Rev. 12:11; 13:14, John 6:57, Rom. 8:20 they give as examples of "efficient cause".

3 ZThK 49, pp.164 f.: followed by a growing number, e.g. W. Schrage, Kreuz, p.83; E. Lohse, Märtyrer, p.153. The instrumental idea for διά in Rom. 3:25 is not modern, see J. Morison, Romans, pp.333 f.

4 F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament (E.T. Cambridge, 1961), p.129.

5 MM, p.146.

The biblical texts that Kümmel considers possess this instrumental signification are John 6:57, Rev. 12:11; 13:14, Rom. 8:30. The reference in John is just a case where "through" happens to make sense; it is not demanded because the causal meaning fails to make sense, in fact "because of" makes excellent sense. The causal usage can sometimes imply an instrumental nuance, like in the sentence "because of his great wealth he could do many things", where the idea of through his great wealth is not far away. One could translate John 6:57 ". . .I live in my Father. . .will live in me", and make good sense, but this hardly establishes "in" as a meaning of διά c. acc. Rev. 12:11 and 13:14 are classified as causal by Turner,[1] though Moule[2] does consider an instrumental usage as possible. However, it is not by means of the blood of the lamb and their testimony that the faithful overcame the Accuser, but because of, on account of these two things. Again in Rev. 13:14 the meaning is that because of the signs the beast performs, he is able to deceive the inhabitants of the earth: διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου.

In Rom. 8:20 Kümmel has the strongest support of an instrumental example. The contrast between οὐχ ἑκοῦσα and ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα invites the translation, "not by its own will but by the will of the one who subjected it". This is, indeed, the meaning favoured by Sanday and Headlam,[3] and accepted by the RSV. The NEB, however, translates, "not by its own choice but because of him who made it so". The common causal usage is not cumbersome or strained in any way here and can be accepted. We

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1 Grammar, p.267.
2 Idiom, p.55.
3 Romans, p.208.

conclude that though an instrumental nuance may be given with clarity in a few NT passages, there is no necessity to do so; and we may in fact be reading modern Greek usage into any text that happens to yield this sense as well as the causal sense. Near to διὰ πάρεσιν Paul has used διά c. gen. for the instrumental sense (διὰ πίστεως, διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, διὰ τοῦ νόμου); if he wished to say "through the passing over of sins" why not use διὰ πάρεσεως?

Our findings endorse the observation of B.F. Westcott who concludes, "the universal usage of διά with acc. in NT. . . . always expresses the ground and not the object: because something is, and not in order that something may be realized."[1] The consistent use of διά c. acc. in the NT in a retrospective sense makes the presumption very strong that we also have in Rom. 3:25 a causal use of διά c. acc. It thus becomes quite impossible to understand διὰ πάρεσιν as a present passing over of sins, for διὰ πάρεσιν is the ground of ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον ; the latter is the present activity, the clause which διὰ πάρεσιν introduces must logically and temporally precede the present activity of God in putting Christ forth as the expiation of sins. Once διά is taken causally the acceptance of πάρεσις as a reference to the past becomes the only possible option.[2]

The majority of commentators who take this view tend to feel that this understanding demands that δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ be taken as a quality rather than an activity. On the Bultmann-Käsemann debate over whether δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ means God's saving

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1 Hebrews[3], p.45.
2 G. Wehrung ["Versühnung: Zum Verständnis von Röm. 3:21-26", Für Arbeit und Besinnung 6 (1952), pp.82-92], raises an original objection against taking πάρεσις as synonymous with ἄφεσις, by saying this creates a tautology with ἀπολύτρωσις in v.24.

activity (Heilshandeln) or a gift to man, H. Graf Reventlow has commented that the texts assume both. He goes on to say, "δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ist sowohl eine auf Gottes Schöpfermacht zurückgehende und von ihr zeugende Ordnung, wie auch eine Qualität, die jedem Menschen zukommt, der in die wiederhergestellte Ordnung aufgenommen wird."[1] A similar complexity is also before us here in Rom. 3:25; Paul is certainly concerned with the righteousness of God as a quality, what God is; but for him this was inseparable from what God does - out of the heart the mouth speaketh.

Every reformer who comes with the message that God has just acted decisively will soon meet with the objection from the established tradition, "how have we managed hitherto?" There can be no doubt that Paul's message of the cruciality of the Cross would bring the rejoinder from the Jews - "and what of the past?" To deny that Paul considered the past as an "overlooking of sin" eviscerates Paul's argument that God had decisively dealt with sin by the death of Christ. The crucifixion is no charade. Paul is no Deist trying to establish God's fair dealing by saying that salvation is the same from creation;[2] he is trying to affirm that God has revealed his righteousness now in the event of the Cross in a way that had but witness in the past but not the reality. Sin was suspended in the past but now it has been confronted as never before: firstly in the gospel, ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον; and secondly, in the revelation of the wrath of God manifest in the giving up of men to their sins and the severing of Israel from the covenant.[3]

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1 H. Graf Reventlow, Rechtfertigung im Horizont des Alten Testaments (München, 1971), p.114. Cf. G. Schrenk, TDNT II, p.204.
2 M. Tindal, Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature (1730).
3 Rom. 11:20.

It is at this point that Paul's use of DA imagery endorses this understanding of διὰ πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων. In m. Yoma 8:8 is found this pertinent text: ועל החמורות היא תולה עד שיבא יום הכפרים ויכפר [1] The verb תלה means "to hang", "to swing", it is used in the OT mostly literally (e.g. 2 Sam. 18:9); here it is metaphorical, "to suspend", "leave hanging" the judgment of serious (lit. heavy) sins until the DA comes and expiates them. That the sins of the year were held in suspense until the DA arrived has wide enough witness in Judaism for us to be confident that it was a common concept in the world of St. Paul.[2] It would be to claim too much to say this was uppermost in Paul's mind; it is sufficient to say that the idea of past sins being suspended (πάρεσις) until they are finally expiated, harmonizes well with the Talmudic teaching of the DA (ἱλαστήριον, cf. כפר in m. Yoma 8:8).[3]

If we take, with Barrett and Dodd, Rom. 1:18 ff. as God's present eschatological-inaugurated-final judgment then these texts do not contradict our interpretation of διὰ πάρεσιν, but harmonize with it. There is no need, either, to try and make the subtle distinction between εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ and πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, that some propose;

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1 A play is possibly present here on התשובה and שיבא: Repentance was attached to the annual return of the DA.

2 Several commentators notice the parallel, cf. O. Michel, Römer[13], p.110; F.J. Leenhardt, Romans, p.107. E. Sjöberg (Sünder, p.113), says of Judaism, "Eine besondere Gestaltung dieses Gedankens [i.e. Langmut] stellt die Lehre vom 'Aufhangen' (תלה) dem Sünder zugute dar."

3 We should note that elsewhere Judaism limits this only to those who were not judged as righteous or reprobate on New Year; the ten days between New Year and the DA are then a kind of limbo for the undecided, cf. b. Rosh Hashanah 16b: בינוניים תלויין ועומדין מר"ה ועד יום "הכ ("The in between [i.e. neither צדק or רשע are left suspended [תלה] from New Year until the DA").

they refer to the same revelation of righteousness in the new time,[1] in the presentation of Christ as a ἱλαστήριον . The word ἱλαστήριον is the key[2] to the complex thought contained in Paul's use of δικαιοσύνη . In the past sin had not been ultimately brought to book, for this reason God set forth Christ as the universal atonement (ἱλαστήριον cf. John 2:2), and in doing this he demonstrated his righteousness. The righteousness of God is the activity of God manifest in the event of Christ's death, to finally bring sin to account, expiate it. It refers to what God has done; and thus, through his actions, to show what he is; he is the merciful God who has presented Christ as the centre of sins annulment. Through faith what God has done is available to man, "the deliverance of His people from the power of evil".[3] Verse 26, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως "is the same thing as the <u>righteousness of God</u> in verses 21-22."[4]

Ephesians chapter two parallels our text and encourages us in the position taken. In v.3 Paul gives a condensation of Rom. 2; then follows a cluster of verbal parallels: v.7 ἵνα ἐνδείξηται (Rom. 3:25,26 εἰς ἔνδειξιν , πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν); v.8 διὰ πίστεως (Rom. 3:25 διὰ πίστεως); v.8,9 τῇ γὰρ χάριτί . .

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1 The presence of the article in the second instance of ἔνδειξις is evidence that he is picking up his first usage (cf. Acts 20:7,11 κλάσει ἄρτου ; κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον).

2 O. Michel (<u>Römer</u>[13], p.103), says that ἱλαστήριον is the "Stichwort" in vv.25-26.

3 C.H. Dodd, <u>Romans</u>, p.59.

4 <u>Ibid</u>. The translation suggested by C. Blackman ["Romans 3:26b: A Question of Translation", <u>JBL</u> 87 (1968), pp.203 f.], is not demanded by the text. It is not the case that God is shown as righteous even (taking καί as intensive) in the act of declaring a man righteous, as if it were surprising to find the righteous God "right-wising" men. Rather they belong essentially together, "God shows himself to be righteous and (on the basis of this, and therefore) "rightwises" those who have faith in Christ, cf. 1 John 1:9. R. St. J. Parry [<u>Cambridge Greek Testament: Romans</u> (Cambridge, 1912), p.67f], translates Rom. 3:26 similarly to Blackman.

. . θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον (Rom 3:24 δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι); v.9 ἵνα μή τις καυχήσηται (Rom. 3:27 καύχησις ἐξεκλείσθη); v.9 οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων (Rom. 3:27,28 τῶν ἔργων οὐχί, χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου). These parallels are rather substantial and the point is that the parallel to the righteousness of God manifest in the putting forth of Christ as a hilasterion, is the τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ which is the source of σώζειν; likewise ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν συνεζωοποίησεν ἐν Χριστῷ, – χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι.[1] Eph. 2 gives confidence in the interpretation of Rom. 3:25 which sees the thought of the section as a whole (vv. 21 ff.) as an expression of God's grace, mercy and love manifest to save sinners. Righteousness and expiation when predicated of God are seen then to be alternate expressions for his mercy, grace, love and salvation.

(vi) ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ

Either the local or instrumental meanings of ἐν are here possible, because of the later ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ it seems better to understand "during the patience or long-suffering of God". It has been argued[2] that ἀνοχή means "delaying", and the translation suggested, "to shew His righteousness because of neglecting to deal with sins done in the past while God was delaying [i.e. to intervene in salvation]." This has little to recommend it, not because it is wrong, but too negative – ἀνοχή is God's gracious forbearance with sinners.

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1 Eph. 2:4 f.
2 W.E. Wilson, "Romans 3:25-26", ExT 29 (1917-18), pp.472 f.; J.R. Mackay, "Romans 3:26", ExT 32 (1920-21), pp.329 f. Both appeal to a reference in MM. D. Oxy. vii, 1068, 15.

The long-suffering of God is a well-known aspect of the teaching of Judaism. Whenever a Jew saw an idol he felt obliged to say "praised be the long-suffering".[1] The patience and mercy of God towards the heathen is shown in his daily care for their life "und durch die Aufschiebung ihrer Bestrafung."[2] As Sjöberg says, for Judaism:

> Positiv bedeutet die Langmut Gottes gegen die Sünder dass er sie trotz ihrer Sünde seine Güte spüren lässt, immerfort für sie gnädig sorgt und Nachsicht mit ihrer Sünde hat. Negativ bedeutet sie, dass er ihre Bestrafung verschiebt.[3]

That this is also Christian teaching is clear from Acts 14:16 f.; 17:30 f. and Rom. 9:22. There is no need to think of a Jewish Christian formula to explain Paul's use of this widespread doctrine in Rom. 3:26.[4]

D. Zeller[5] has published a detailed study on the use of ἀνοχή in Rom. 3:26. He begins by assuming the Käsemann fragment thesis, and thus looks at the usage in Rom. 3:26 within a Jewish-Christian framework. On the basis of the meaning of long-suffering in OT penitential[6] prayers and in Qumran liturgies[7] Zeller concludes that "Langmut meint in Zusammenhang der Bussgebete nicht ein Gericht mit halber Kraft, sondern Einhalt (ἀν-οχή) und Vergebung, bevor die Vernichtung aus Ende gekommen ist."[8] Zeller

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1 Tos. Ber. viii, 2; b. Ber. 57b. This aspect of God's long-suffering regarding Gentile idolatry is also emphasized in the relevant NT texts, not least Romans; cf. G. Howard, "Romans 3:21-31 and the Inclusion of the Gentiles", HTR 63 (1970), pp.223-233, especially p.231.

2 E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.87.

3 Ibid., p.113.

4 An old but excellent comparison of these texts is found in R.D.C. Robbins, "Notes on Acts 14:16,17; 17:30, and Rom. 3:25, 26", Bibliotheca Sacra 36 (1879), pp.61 ff.

5 D. Zeller, "Sühne und Langmut: Zur Traditionsgeschichte von Röm 3,24-26", ThPh 43 (1968), pp.51-75.

6 Neh. 1:5-11; 9:6-37, Ezr. 9:6-15, Dan. 9:4-19.

7 1QS 1:18b ff.; 1QH 1:6, CD 2:4 f., 1QS 11:12 ff.

8 ThPh 43, p.67.

binds ἀνοχή with πάρεσις rather than with προγίνομαι , in the sense of "forgiveness and long-suffering". In any case "drückt es keine Zeitperiode, sondern ein Eingreifen Gottes aus, das ihn als von jeher langmütig bestätigt."[1]

The fact that διά is causal undermines Zeller's position, for his view about ἀνοχή forces him to accept Kümmel's understanding of διὰ πάρεσιν . It is true to say, however, that the forbearance of God in the NT is not the precursor of a day of wrath[2] but mercy, this is true of Rom. 9:22 ff. and Rom. 3:21 ff.

> Es gibt eine Zeit, says Sjöberg of Judaism, während der die Sache des Sünders unentschieden bleibt. Während dieser Zeit kann seine Stellung sich verändern. Die ganze Barmherzigkeit Gottes steht ihm offen und gibt ihm die Möglichkeit, durch Umkehr wieder zu Gott zurückzukehren und von ihm empfangen zu werden.[3]

With this may be compared Rom. 2:4; 2 Pet. 3:9; 1 Pet. 3:20. In Rom. 3:25 f. the setting is even more sublime in that not only the individual is in view, but the forbearance of God in suspending sins has the ultimate cosmic end of Christ the ἱλαστήριον of all sin. It is worth noting that Qumran relates ארך אפים to the expiation of sin in CD 2:4: ארך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות לכפר בעד שבי פשע and 1QH 17:17 f.: לספר צדקותיך וארוך אפים ומעשי ימין עוזך [וסליח]ות על פשעי ראשונים[4] Here we have long-suffering and righteousness probably conjoined with forgiveness.

We should perhaps not choose too sharply between the alternative meanings for ἐν c. dat. in this phrase in Rom. 3:25.

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1 Ibid., pp.70 f.
2 The phrase ארך אפים would imply an outpouring of wrath in the final analysis, and this is not missing in Romans; but the emphasis is not on this element, cf. Rom. 9:22 ff.
3 Sünder, p.114.
4 Some reconstruct [לחוד]ות על, which is quite possible, we may compare CD 20:28, though in context I prefer סלח. It is better to take פשעי ראשונים as a reference to the "former sins" rather than "my earlier sins"; cf. G. Vermes, J. Maier. It is not a parallel in this last aspect to Rom. 3:25 for the Qumran texts refer the forgiveness as well as the sins back to the past.

It seems ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ is the time during which God graciously suspended judgment on sin, as well as the basis on which sins were passed over, viz., the long-sufferance of God. This phrase comports well with our interpretation of διὰ πάρεσιν and the Jewish teaching over the DA.

(vii) Concluding Remarks

Of the twenty-seven times ἱλαστήριον occurs in the LXX, twenty-one of them translate כַּפֹּרֶת. The reference in Amos 9:1 is most likely a misreading of כַּפֹּרֶת for סַף, a fairly easy mistake. The five occurrences in Ezk. 43, where ἱλαστήριον renders אֲרִיאֵל, give every confidence to suppose that the translation arose because Ezekiel's "ledge of the altar" was paralleled with the priestly כַּפֹּרֶת (cf. Ezk. 43:20). That the translators were not consistent in this and render differently in Ezk. 45 does not contradict this conclusion. Against Deissmann and Morris we may conclude with Moraldi that ἱλαστήριον does have a technical application in the LXX to the כַּפֹּרֶת.[1]

The likelihood of this LXX usage being the source of Paul's designation of Christ as a hilasterion borders on certainty. Both the OT ritual of the DA, where the ἱλαστήριον played its most important role, and the context of Rom. 3:25, make it clear that the basic truth that Paul is propounding in his use of ἱλαστήριον is that God in Christ has expiated all sins - past and present. Because ἱλαστήριον has this meaning it is hard to see how πάρεσις could have the same signification, that is, remission. Wehrung thought that to give the meaning of "remission" would create a tautology with ἀπολύτρωσις ; but just as truly it would create a tautology with ἱλαστήριον . It is nonsense to

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1 VD 26, p.261.

say that God has cancelled sin by the death of Christ with the view to remit sin. What he has done cannot in the next breath also be his intention.

Thus διὰ πάρεσιν κτλ. is the reason, for not the purpose of God's expiatory action in Christ; 'before Christ there could be no radical dealing with the state of mankind; God could only be patient and forbearing with men, overlooking but not condoning their sins.'[1] Because sin had been overlooked but not dealt its death blow God acted in Christ to do just this - radically expiate sin. In doing this God demonstrated his righteousness, by acting savingly for man, God revealed himself to be righteous, that is, good and gracious. One is tempted to rearrange Paul's order of clauses to bring this out:

διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων
ὁ Θεὸς προέθετο [Χριστὸν] ἱλαστήριον
εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ

It is interesting to note in conclusion that St. Paul links δικαιοσύνη with ἀφίημι as well as ἱλαστήριον ; and both these latter roots are found frequently together in the concluding sentence of the sin-offering ritual. Apparently using the principle of Gezera Shava, St. Paul clarifies Gen. 15:6, ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην by appeal to Ps. 32:1 f., Μακάριοι ὧν

ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι
μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

According to A. Guilding, who is a leading authority on lectionary influences in the NT, Ps. 32 was used in the synagogue worship around the time of the DA service, and, she claims, it reflects the triennial lectionary readings of the DA.[2] Whatever the truth

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1 T.W. Manson, Romans, p.943.
2 A. Guilding, "Some Obscured Rubrics and Lectionary Allusions in the Psalter", JTS 3 (1952), pp.41-55.

in this, a manifestation of God's righteousness that expiates sins and vouchsafes forgiveness is the very words and essence of the cultic sin-offerings. Far from δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ being God's expiation-demanding-righteousness, it is God's expiation-providing-righteousness;[1] provided now in Christ because prior to the Cross sin had been passed over.[2]

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1 Contra Bultmann, Theology I p.46.

2 Though many lexicons of repute give "pass by unpunished" as a meaning of πάρεσις this is incorrect. "Unpunished" may be implied in the context or supplied by words like ἀνολόστος, ἄζημιος; but it is not inherent in πάρεσις.

CHAPTER 10

AZA'ZEL AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

> He shall lay both his hands on its head and confess over it all the iniquities of the Israelites and all their acts of rebellion, that is all their sins; he shall lay them on the head of the goat and send it away into the wilderness. . . . The goat shall carry all their iniquities upon itself into some barren waste and the man shall let it go, there in the wilderness (Lev. 16:21 f. NEB).[1]

The element of the DA ritual which most attracted Jewish attention was without doubt the Aza'zel ceremony. Of the cultic means of expiation discussed in the Talmud this one is by far the most important and far reaching in its expiating ability. Philo returns to it again and again with his peculiar mystical exegesis. It even finds mention in Qumran. The Pseudepigrapha makes Aza'zel a cosmic demon. The church Fathers give ingenious attention to the exposition of this rite.[2] The a priori likelihood of finding it in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where so much attention is given to the DA, is strong.

Surprisingly, commentators are quite agreed that Hebrews gives not a glance at this ritual. The surprise is caused by the expectation that the Epistle to the Hebrews would follow the pattern of Jewish exegesis of the DA. That Hebrews does not adhere to the interest and emphases of its Jewish predecessors is readily understandable within the aims and Christian ideals of the Epistle. Judaism, as our previous study illustrated, though not denouncing the cult, had tended towards an ethicizing of its

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1 The NEB translation of צוק, "Precipice", shows definite marks of having been influenced by Sir G.R. Driver's presence on the committee.

2 See Appendix B.

components, a spiritualizing of its outward forms. Indeed, this had reached such a degree of development that even the loss of it with the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 was taken within Judaism's stride. With the death of Christ as an interpretative event we find in the NT somewhat of a rebirth of the old imagery.

It is because the death of Christ dictates the view of the writer to the Hebrews that he is attracted to the language of blood atonement, rather than the bloodless ritual with the goat for Aza'zel. Our investigation of Lev. 16 established that the Aza'zel ceremony was but a graphic portrayal of what the blood asperaion had accomplished; viz., the removal of sin to its origin; the sphere of evil in the wilderness. There is every indication that our writer has grasped this significance of the Aza'zel ritual without importing any of its graphic symbolism into his exegesis. Thus, when our author wishes to indicate that Christ died a cursed death outside the confines of the holy camp, he does not choose to illustrate this by the use of the Aza'zel goat, as the Fathers do and some moderns (e.g. K. Barth, Church Dogmatics II^2, pp.365 f.), but by the apparently less vivid burning of the bodies of the sacrificed animals (Heb. 13:12 f.).

Negatively our writer is adamant that the blood of the bulls and goats of the DA ritual cannot take away sin. His use in this connexion of περιαιρέω (Heb. 10:11) and ἀφαιρέω (Heb. 10;4) moves in the idiom of Lev. 16:10,21 f., 26. Significantly enough נשׂא, the word used also in Lev. 16:22, is translated in Ex. 34:7 by ἀφαιρέω ;[1] now this is significant because the three-fold designation of sin in this verse is found only in

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1 נשׂא in Lev. 16:22 is rendered with λαμβάνω .

Lev. 16:21 f., Ex. 34:7 and Dan. 9:24.[1] Thus the covenant and the DA may be the background for our writer's statement: ἀδύνατον γὰρ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας (Heb. 10:4). His use of ἀφαιρέω may imply that what the DA ritual could not do through the second goat, God can do and does do through the renewed covenant. Certainly Ex. 34:7 and Lev. 16:21 are similar in phraseology, and Qumran refers to both texts;[2] as covenant and DA language predominates in Hebrews the same union may again be before us.[3] The texts in the LXX are readily enough related: ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας (Ex. 34:7); καὶ ἐξαγορεύσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ . . . τὰς ἀνομίας . . . τὰς ἀδικίας . . . τὰς ἁμαρτίας (Lev. 16:21).

The word ἄφεσις has too firm a Christian tradition to think that Hebrews derives this from Lev. 16. It is worth noting, though, that Lev. 16 designates לעזאזל in v.26, τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν : the goat set apart for release.[4] It is no stretch of the imagination to think that the writer to the Hebrews — in face of the contemporary Jewish exegesis which attributed such powers of forgiveness to this ritual — affirms that the only and once-for-all ἄφεσις is in the offering of Christ (Heb. 9:22; 10:18).[5] More certain is

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1 The text in Dan. puts the first last: עון, חטאת, פשע, instead of חטאת, פשע, עון as in Ex. 34:7 and Lev. 16:21. A.R.C. Leaney (Rule, p.129), is incorrect in limiting this order to Lev. 16:21 alone.

2 1QS 1:22 f. and 1QH 17:12. For the former see p.104 of this thesis; the latter requires restoring, but this can be done with reasonable confidence: [כאשר ד]ברתו ב"ד חושרו [לשאת פשע וחטאת עון]. Though the order is not biblical, the fact that Moses is mentioned indicates Ex. 34:7 is the source, cf. 1QH 16:16: [אר]ך אפים ורב חסד ואמת ונושא פשע ו[עון וחטאת

3 We noted that ἀνομία in Heb. 10:17 is not in the Jeremiah passage he is quoting, but is possibly drawn from Lev. 16:21.

4 R. Bultmann (TDNT I, 510), strangely cites this text as the only LXX example of "forgiveness" for ἄφεσις (the German has "Vergebung").

5 Cf. L. Morris, "The Day of Atonement and the Work of Christ", RThR 14 (1955), pp.9 ff.

Heb. 9:28 where ἀναφέρω must mean "bear away" rather than "offer up", it is here the result, not the synonym, of the sacrificial term προσφέρω, to which it is here closely bound.[1] Our author probably did not know that behind Isa. 53:12 LXX, which he quotes, is again נשׂא; but he did realize that εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίαςmeant "to bear away the sins of many". It is difficult, in the light of the emphasis Hebrews has on the DA, not to see here a denial of the efficacy of the old DA ritual which culminated in the Aza'zel goat's removal of the people's sin. It is, of course, at the same time, an affirmation in contrast of the successful banishment of sin by the death of Christ.

In a similar and close context to Heb. 9:28 is 9:26. Hebrews 9:26 emphasizes, as 9:28, the once-for-all nature of the offering of Christ; his appearance at the consummation of the ages was εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ . The verb ἀθετέω frequently means "to set at nought, disregard", in a rebellious sense; it is so used in Heb. 10:28. In Heb. 9:26 ἀθέτησις has the meaning of elimination of sin,[2] a concept which again sums up the purpose of the Aza'zel goat ritual.

The large place given to the DA in Hebrews and the frequent mention of the idea of taking away of sins, gives every confidence that the author was influenced by the idea of the living goat of Lev. 16 even if he does not give it specific mention. More tenuous, though supported by scholars of the first rank, is the application of this exposition to other texts in

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1 AG, p.62.

2 For this meaning cf. E.K. Simpson, "The Vocabulary of the Epistle to the Hebrews", EQ 18 (1946), pp.187 ff. Cf. Deissmann (Bible Studies, pp.228 f.), who emphasizes the legal connotation of cancellation of a decree, it occurs frequently in this connexion in the phrase, εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν.

the NT. There are first some pregnant phrases in the Gospels which need to be considered.

In Barnabas' typological application of the scapegoat to the death of Christ he takes up again some of the words found in the Gospels in describing the maltreatment and Passion of our Lord. In chap. VII, 7 ff. we strike ἐμπτύσατε (cf. Mk. 14:65, Mt. 26:27, Mk. 15:19, Mt. 27:30); κατακεντήσατε (cf. John 19:34,37); περίθετε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (cf. John 19:2, Mt. 27:28, Mk. 15:17). According to H. Köster this is not the result of an original reflection by Barnabas upon the Gospels, but has reference to "die Schultradition der Gemeinde" in which the Synoptic passion-report was shaped with the help of the OT well before it had found acceptance in the Gospels.[1] The question is, has the pre-Gospel tradition upon which Barnabas independently draws been influenced by the Jewish traditions over the scapegoat, or is this purely the insight of Barnabas? Have the Gospels already in their preformative period taken up a language in describing the Passion which has been coloured by the scapegoat tradition?

Some have certainly thought so. W.A. Heidel went so far as to compare the choice between Barabbas and Christ with the procedure with the two goats on the DA,[2] one to be released the other to be offered up. This apparently sees Barabbas as the anti-type of the goat for Aza'zel. A. Edersheim, contrariwise, describes the goat laden with sin, bearing them to an uninhabited land, as a type of Christ:

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1 H. Köster, Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern (Berlin, 1957), p.156.
2 W.A. Heidel, The Day of Yahweh: A Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East (New York, 1929), p.298.

> Assuredly a more marked type of Christ could not be conceived, as He was brought forth by Pilate and stood before the people, just as He was about to be led forth, bearing the iniquity of the people.[1]

A more reasonable position is that the Gospels preserve a basic historical tradition; the statements about the spitting upon Christ and other acts of abuse have their origin in reality.[2] Barnabas, who as an Alexandrian knew the treatment meted out to the goat for Aza'zel by the Alexandrian Jews,[3] used the exegetical methods of Alexandria to give this DA flavour to the Gospels' report of the Passion. It is precarious to suppose on the basis of a few forced parallels[4] with the Talmud that this exegesis has any validity beyond Barnabas' ingenuity.

Philo spoke of the scapegoat going away burdened with the curses (ἀρά) which had lain on the transgressors;[5] and Barnabas too describes the living-goat as accursed (ἐπικατάρατος). This word used by Barnabas is found in the celebrated text of St. Paul, Gal. 3:13: Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται, Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. The context of the verse makes it apparent that Paul has drawn the word ἐπικατάρατος from the LXX translation of קללת; yet no less an exegete than J.B. Lightfoot sees in these words of St. Paul an allusion to the

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1 A. Edersheim, The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the time of Jesus Christ (London², post 1874), p.273.
2 For a sceptical appraisal of the historicity of the Barabbas and mockery incidents see P. Winter, On the Trial of Jesus (Berlin, 1961), pp.91 ff.
3 Cf. m. Yoma 6:4.
4 E.g. κόκκινος in the Gospels refers to Christ's robe of mock royalty, not to a scarlet thread as in the Talmud scapegoat story. The addition of ξύλον in Barnabas' account shows dependence on Heb. 9:19. There is no mention in the Talmud of spitting on the scapegoat by the Alexandrian Jews.
5 Spec. I, 188.

scapegoat ritual [1] The basis for making recourse to the scapegoat figure is the undoubted substitutionary element in the text before us. A substitutionary idea is hardly present in Deut. 21:23, but it is a factor in the sending of the sin-laden goat to Aza'zel.

It is this concept of Christ being some how laden with the curse or sin of man that gives rise to an exegesis that looks to the scapegoat ritual for an interpretative principle, not only for Gal. 3:13 but also for 2 Cor. 5:21. A. Plummer says of these two texts, "Both passages are probably influenced by the language of LXX respecting the sin-offering and the guilt-offering in Lev. iv, and respecting the scape-goat in Lev. xvi."[2] As far as 2 Cor. 5:21 is concerned, the number of commentators in agreement with Plummer is considerable. J.H. Bernard asserts that "The statement ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν is best understood if we recall the Jewish ritual on the Day of Atonement, when the priest was directed to 'place' the sins of the people upon the head of the scapegoat (Lev. xvi, 21)."[3] Windisch declares that sins were not merely imputed to Christ, "sondern er hat sie irgendwie in ihrer ganzen Realität in sich aufgenommen, wie der Sündenbock (Lev. 16),. . . . ."[4] According to J. Héring it is very likely "that Paul saw in this driving-away of sin something akin to a prefiguration of its effacement by the mystery of Golgotha (Col. 2:14)."[5] E.B. Allo comments: "L'homme qui n'a jamais

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1 J.B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London[10], 1890), p.139. Cf. F. Rendall, The Expositer's Greek Testament: Galatians (London, 1903), p.169.
2 A. Plummer, The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (Edinburgh, 1915), p.187.
3 J.H. Bernard, The Expositer's Greek Testament: II Corinthians (London, 1903), p.73.
4 H. Windisch, Der zweite Korintherbrief (Göttingen[9], 1924), p.198.
5 J. Héring, The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (E.T. London, 1967), p.45.

commis de péché, Dieu en a fait comme l'incarnation du péché, il l'a traité comme le plus grand des pécheurs, comme un maudit (Gal.), comme un bouc émissaire, afin que les hommes pécheurs deviennent 'justice de Dieu'. C'est le sujet des Épîtres aux Galates et aux Romains."[1]

These two texts move tantalizingly close to the thought of Rom. 3:25, this has been excellently noted by F. Büchsel when he observes that "Paul speaks of our redemption (Gal. 3:13), our justification (Rom. 3:21 ff.), of our reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:17 ff.),. . ., before he speaks of Jesus as the One who became a curse, as the ἱλαστήριον, as the One who was made sin."[2] Christ is set forth as the expiation, and removes our guilt; Christ became the curse, and removes the curse on us; Christ is made sin, and removes our sin. Each in a way is an example of what Büchsel terms abstractum pro concreto. How Christ became a ἱλαστήριον, κατάρα, ἁμαρτία is answered, as Wendland does to the same question,[3] by reference to the death of Christ. In the case of Gal. 3:13, if not also the other two, the argument arose out of the debate with the Jews and is apologetic in nature;[4] Paul faces the fact of the σκάνδαλον of the Cross and empties its force by proclaiming the redemptive significance

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1 E.B. Allo, La Seconde Épître aux Corinthiens (Paris^{2}, 1956), p.172

2 F. Büchsel, s.v. ἀρά, TDNT I, p.451.

3 H.-D. Wendland, Die Briefe an die Korinther (Gottingen^{8}, 1962), p 183

4 E. de Witt Burton [The Epistle to the Galatians (Edinburgh, 1921), pp.168 ff.], on the basis of this fact [i.e. the polemical origin of Paul's exegesis] attempts to free the phrase "the curse of the law" from any association with God as he is, but only as he is misconceived by the Judaizers. Certainly Paul wishes to stress the law as the source of the curse, and carefully deletes ὑπὸ θεοῦ from the LXX quotation of Deut. 21:23, however, we still maintain the curse, as with ὀργή is not impersonal, cf. F. Büchsel, TDNT I, p.451. and per contra A.T. Hanson, Wrath pp.73 ff., 80 f. The apologetic element in Gal. 3:13 is clearly expounded by F.F. Bruce, The Apostolic Defence of the Gospel (London, 1959), pp.14 f.

of that shameful event in the very terms of his opponents.

There is a possibility that the concrete allusion behind Paul's abstract use of ἁμαρτία in 2 Cor. 5:21 is the Levitical sin-offering.[1] Although חטאת in this technical sense is usually rendered in the LXX by περὶ ἁμαρτίας ,[2] there are occasions when ἁμαρτία is not conjoined with περί and yet retains its technical sense (e.g. Lev. 4:20,21,24; 5:9,12; 6:1d-25, Ex. 29:14, Num. 6:14). Sometimes ποιέω is even associated with this usage, e.g. Lev. 4:20. However, these examples are either in the genitive in phrases like "law of the sin-offering", "bull of the sin-offering"; or used predicatively as in the phrase ἁμαρτία ἐστίν; or if the accusative is employed, another preposition is used, εἰς ἁμαρτίαν (Num. 6:14).

No real parallel to ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν can be found in the cult. The relationship with τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν and the contrast with δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ indicate that Paul is thinking in a more abstract realm than that represented by the Levitical sin-offering.

In Rom. 3:25 we concluded that DA imagery was present, has he here again in these two companion texts made recourse to the same OT source, as so many commentators believe? Barnabas gives some reason to believe that ἐπικατάρατος may have been associated with the scapegoat in the NT period, but one cannot rule out the possibility that he has drawn the word from Gal. 3:13 and made an original application of it to the scapegoat. That it was not original is demonstrated by Philo, who certainly

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1 Cf. R. de Vaux, Studies, p.94; and at length L. Sabourin, Rédemption Sacrificielle (Bruges, 1961).
2 Cf. Rom. 8:3, 1 Pet. 3:18 and Hebrews, passim.

uses the uncompounded form when speaking of the living goat's journey out into the uninhabited regions, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ κομίζοντα τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πλημμελησάντων ἀράς. Philo and Paul, we have been reminded,[1] fished in the same pool; perhaps Paul's reply to the charges against the Messiahship of Christ, on account of his reprobate death, was facilitated by the fact that Judaism itself attributed unlimited redemptive significance to a ritual which involved ostracism of an innocent for (ὑπέρ) the guilty.[2]

We say "perhaps" advisedly, because, as F.V. Filson rightly says, "the ancient custom of sending a scapegoat into the wilderness bearing the sins of Israel (Lev. 16) may provide some background. . ., but is not deep and vital enough to be a real parallel."[3] A much more significant parallel could be made, one would think, with the Suffering Servant of II Isa. 53, which, though not having the word κατάρα, certainly contains all the elements of "being made sin (or curse) for us."[4] It seems the shame of the Cross and the redemptive interpretation of the Cross encouraged a conjoining of Deut. 21 and II Isa. 53 very early in the church's kerygma.[5] The two texts are found together in 1 Pet 2:24. In this verse there is not so much the idea of substitution but of "bearing way" of sin (ἀναφέρω

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1 H. Chadwick, "St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria", BJRL 48 (1965-66), p.292. For the quotation from Philo Spec. I, 188.

2 B. Shebu'oth 2b: here an unbelievable range of sins is expiated by the scapegoat (שעיר המשתלח מכפר = "the sent-away-goat expiates").

3 F.V. Filson, The Interpreter's Bible: II Corinthians (New York, 1953), p.344.

4 And is so interpreted by B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London, 1961), pp.78,234 f.

5 G.B. Caird / The Apostolic Age (London, 1955), p.40/, notes that no Christian preacher would use the terms of Deut. 21 unless he had faced the scandal of the Cross and come to believe in the substitutionary nature of Christ's death.

quoting Isa. 53:12), as such it possibly offers more reason for looking to the רושעים לוחי.[1]

The number of writers who appeal to Lev. 16:22 for a background to I Pet. 2:24 is again considerable and includes men of undoubted authority. Pre-eminent among exegetes who maintain this opinion is E.G. Selwyn in his magnificent commentary on I Pet. Selwyn's thesis is that three strands are woven into Peter's thought concerning the death of Christ: the lamb of the Passover which is "without blemish and without spot", the Suffering Servant of Isa. 53, and the scapegoat of the Levitical law.[2] This has been denied by the equally learned commentary of F.W. Beare.[3] Beare's objection is not particularly cogent; he thinks that allusion to the scapegoat is unlikely because it was not slain but driven away alive into the wilderness. But if the scapegoat ritual was a symbolic representation of what the sacrificed goat accomplished - the removal of sin - there seems to be no reason for denying its presence in I Pet. simply because it was not itself sacrificed, for it was part of a sacrificial ritual.

Accordingly no less an exegete than H. Windisch emphasizes this aspect of sins' removal, thus he writes, "dem Verfasser kommt es weniger auf die Vergebung als auf die Beseitigung der Sünden an."[4] Windisch unhesitantly states, "die Anschauung erinnert an die vom Sündenbock Lev. 16:21 f."[5] He even follows

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1 For a strong denial that the scapegoat image is present in 2 Cor. 5:21, see L. Sabourin, Rédemption, pp.137 ff.
2 E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London, 1947), pp.94 f.
3 F.W. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter (Oxford^{3}, 1970), p.149.
4 Katholischen, p.65.
5 Ibid.

this line of argument to the point of suggesting that αὐτός . . . ἐν τῷ σώματι stands perhaps in contrast to the high priest, who transferred the sins upon the scapegoat.[1] K. Weiss with an eye to the frequent LXX phrase ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, concludes that in 1 Pet. 2:24 two ideas appear: "das Fortschaffen, Beseitigen der Sünden, die Christus, mit seinem Leib am Kreuz hängend, mit dort hinaufgenommen hat, und die Selbstaufopferung Christi ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ für unsere Sünden."[2] M. Silva[3] allows here the possibility of semitic influence from Isa. 53:12 where נשׂא encourages the meaning for ἀναφέρω of "take away". This is quite possible, and although denied, as one would expect, by Deissmann, he still maintains that the idea is "that Christ took away our sins by His death".[4]

It is, thus, this understanding of ἀναφέρω as signifying the "bearing away of sin" which entices exegetes to seek an illustration of Peter's words in the scapegoat ceremony. The reason is therefore different from that which attracted a similar appeal to the scapegoat for Gal. 3:13 and 2 Cor. 5:21: there it

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1 Ibid., pp.65 f.

2 TWNT IX, p.63. Weiss rejects the idea of a connexion with the scapegoat in "das Fortschaffen der Sünden", because in 1 Pet. Christ is not described as functioning as a high priest; but then he is not described as a priest either, and Weiss accepts the sacrificial reference in general. For a similar objection to Weiss's, though more reserved, see R. Knopf, Die Briefe Petri und Judä (Göttingen⁷, 1912), p.118.

3 M. Silva, Semantic Change and Semitic Influence in the Greek Bible (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Manchester, 1972), p.63. Silva incorrectly refers to סבל, but this is the root behind ἀναφέρω in Isa. 53:11, not v.12. The two phrases are as follows:

	(v.11)	ועונתם הוא יסבל
	(v.12)	והוא חטא-רבים נשא
LXX	(v.11)	καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει
	(v.12 cf. v.4)	καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν.

4 Bible Studies, p.90. Deissmann even denies any sacrificial content, preferring the technical legal usage of ἀναφέρω found in some papyri to the cultic usage of the LXX - the abuse of a good thing!

was the element of substitution that was primary, here it is the concept of "removing the sins" that is stressed. To the names of Selwyn and Windisch we should add J. Schneider who follows Windisch, though he includes the idea of cancellation of sin as well as bearing it away, a conception, he says which was perhaps influenced by the scapegoat.[1] V. Taylor also appeals to Lev. 16:21 f. as representing the thought of 1 Pet. 2:24 even more closely than Isa. 53:12.[2] W. Barclay in a popular treatment devotes a complete chapter to the scapegoat as one of the images under which the NT interpreted the Person of Christ. "He [i.e. Peter] saw Jesus carrying our sins in his own body to the Cross, just as the scapegoat carried the sins of Israel."[3] An older supporter of the view is B.C. Caffin who stresses the bearing of sin[4] in 1 Pet. 2:24 more in the terms of substitution than sin removal (he compares Mt. 8:17).[5]

The idea of taking away of sin has also led some scholars to think of John 1:29 as in part indebted to the scapegoat ritual. John 1:29 reads: Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου , with which we may compare 1 John 3:5: καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ, καὶ ἁμαρτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν . The concept of innocence in the designation ἀμνός is explicit in 1 Pet. 2:22 ff. (cf. 1:19), 2 Cor. 5:21,

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1 J. Schneider, s.v. ξύλον , TDNT V, pp.39 f.
2 Atonement, p.31
3 W. Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him (London, 1962), p.315.
4 The idea of "bearing way" is somewhat enforced by the use in 1 Pet. 2:24 of ἐπί c. acc. It is true as Beare (Peter, pp.149 f.), says, that ἐπί c. acc. can mean "upon" just as c. gen., but the primary meaning is movement towards something. Elsewhere in the NT the tradition which describes the Cross as a ξύλον always uses the gen., so 1 Pet. appears to be a purposeful change of the tradition.
5 B.C. Caffin, The Pulpit Commentary: I Peter (London, 1898), p.76. Further cf. E. Schweizer, Der erste Petrusbrief (Zurich, 1942), p.48.

1 John 3:5 and appears to be almost a basic element in the NT texts which speak of Christ's sin-bearing (cf. Heb. 7:26 f.). H.-J. Schoeps[1] thinks, at least in the case of St. Paul, that this idea goes back to a saying of R. Ishmael. This saying, contrary to Schoeps, is not found in b. Yoma 43b but Shebu'oth 14a in a section dealing with the scapegoat; it is quoted to prove that the high priest is sanctified by the first confession over the bullock and, thus cleansed, he is fitted to officiate for the priests in the second confession over the bullock. The text reads:

כך הוא מדת הדין נוהגת מוטב יבוא זכאי ויכפר על
חייב ועל יבוא חייב ויכפר על חייב

("Thus is practised the attribute of divine justice: it is better that the innocent should come and expiate for the guilty than the guilty should come and expiate for the guilty.") The ancient high priest was fitted for his expiating task by a sacrificial or confessional atonement for himself, which is somewhat short of the claim of the NT concerning Christ, who is described as being without sin absolutely. That only the undefiled could conduct the cultic procedures is a truth attested often enough in the OT without putting the weight on this Talmudic summary that Schoeps does.

The sources of John the Baptist's declaration in John 1:29 are diverse and difficult to clearly ascertain. C.K. Barrett[2] looks to three background elements and notes the difficulties inherent in each of them. First, there is the Passover, but he

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1 H.-J. Schoeps, Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History (E.T. London, 1961), p.132.
2 "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel", JTS 48 (1947), pp.155 ff.

objects this is not expiatory[1] neither is ἀμνός used in Ex. 12 but πρόβατον . Second, the lamb of Isa. 53:7, but this lamb is not killed but shorn,[2] and lacks, as does the Passover, the idea of bearing away of sins. Bearing away of sins is the thought that gives rise to Barrett's third example, the scapegoat of the DA; but this, as Barrett observes, is a goat not a lamb, and the LXX uses λαμβάνω not αἴρω . Dodd[3] has tried to solve the problem of which sacrificial ritual is the Vorlage of John 1:29 by cutting the Gordian knot; he concludes, the background is not sacrificial at all, but the eschatological victorious lamb-Messiah similar to that in Revelation. Barrett has written a sensitive but conclusive reply to this thesis demonstrating the sacrificial overtones inherent in John 1:29.[4]

These overtones are well attested; tracing them to their origin, however, is no simple task. De Vaux denies that any Passover thought is present and limits the allusion to Isa. 53:6 f.[5] Feliks Gryglewicz defends the conflation of Passover and Suffering Servant as the Vorlage.[6] Vincent Taylor tends towards a threefold origin similar to Barrett, the Servant of Isa. 53 freely used in association with the Passover and DA.[7]

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1 It was, however, conceived as expiatory in the time of Christ.

2 But the ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη is paralleled to the ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτόν

3 C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (London, 1953), pp.230-238.

4 "The Lamb of God", NTS I (1954-55), pp.210-218.

5 Sacrifice, p.25.

6 "Das Lamm Gottes" NTS 13 (1966-67), pp.133-146.

7 V. Taylor Jesus, pp.227 f. The attempt has been made to enforce the connexion with the Suffering Servant (notably J. Jeremias TDNT I, p.339) by suggesting that behind the phrase ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is an Aramaic טליא דאלהא understood in the sense עבד יהוה. The original reference was thus to Jesus as Servant and the rendering ἀμνός only came into being here rather than παῖς , because טליא can mean both a lamb or a servant.

L. Morris, in a very fine study, investigates all the suggestions, both major and minor, as to what stands behind John 1:29; after discussing the problems each raises he concludes that "the term is sacrificial but it refuses to be bound to any one sacrifice."[1] This at least leaves open the opinion that the bearing away of sin element derives from the DA and the scapegoat.

Behind αἴρω , according to Barrett,[2] is נשא חטאת and נשא עון; both these examples have frequent mention in the OT especially the bearing of iniquity (עון). The two clauses occur frequently in the cult and outside of it. Yahweh bears away iniquity (Pss. 25:18; 32:5; 85:2; Isa. 33:24, Ex. 32:32; 34:7); Aaron bears guilt upon himself (Ex. 28:38, Lev. 10:17); the transgressor bears his own sin (Lev. 5:1,17; 7:18; 19:8; 24:15 = נשא חטאו , נשא עונו or similar); Ezekiel bears the iniquity of Israel (Ezk. 4:5,6), nowhere do we find a lamb bearing sin or iniquity, but we do find in Lev. 16:22 concerning the living goat that he shall bear upon himself all the iniquities of Israel: ונשא השעיר עליו את-כל-עונתם.

The sentence "the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world" is sufficiently explained by recourse to the sacrificial lamb - pre-eminently in John the Passover Lamb - and the Servant of Isa. 53. But in the light of the limitation of נשא עון in connexion with a sacrificial animal to the single instance of Lev. 16:22, we must allow that there is perhaps an echo behind Isa. 53 and John 1:29 of Lev. 16:21 f. The same is true for 1 Pet. 2:24 where ἀνήνεγκεν may again reflect the

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1 Apostolic[3], p.143.
2 NTS I, p.210.

thought of נשא עון in Isa. 53 via Lev. 16:22. The עלי (LXX ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ) may be reflected in the ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ σώματι . The LXX's rather colourless rendering of נשא by λαμβάνω in this connexion is not necessarily to be taken as a negative against John's or Peter's use of Lev. 16. Philo prefers the more graphic κομίζω so there is no reason why John could not make a change to αἴρω.

It must be stressed that this is far from saying that the scapegoat was a type of Christ; the evidence is such as to leave open the <u>possibility</u> that the language of taking away of sin in John 1:29 and 1 Pet. 2:24 <u>may</u> have behind it the language of the scapegoat ritual.[1] The scapegoat in the OT custom only portrayed what the blood application had wrought, there is therefore no intrinsic objection to taking the language - but only the language - of this ritual to describe what the greater sacrifice of Christ accomplished,[2] for this is just what it did in the OT.[3]

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1 Some of the different renderings of the Greek versions emphasize for לשלח the idea of removal: v.8 LXX = τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ ; Sym. = εἰς τράγον ἀπερχόμενον ; Aq. = εἰς κεκραταιωμένον (= √ לחץ); v.10 Sym. = εἰς τράγον ἀφιέμενον ; Cod. Lips. Mg. Cod. X = εἰς Ἀζαζὴλ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον .

2 It goes without saying that the figure of Aza'zel plays no part in this.

3 The objections of A Schlatter /<u>Ist Jesus ein Sündenbock</u>? (Kampfende Kirche, heft 22 (1936)/, belong to some parochial problem. He feels that the scapegoat imagery breaks down the Christian sense of guilt, "Wenn ich dagegen einen Sündenbock haben will, klage ich andere an und entschuldige mich" p.5. Forgiveness, Schlatter claims, is the attestation of guilt and the overcoming of sin, "Darum ist aber Jesus alles andere als ein Sündenbock" pp.10 f. The local teaching Schlatter seems to be concerned to combat is that forgiveness is merely a matter of confession. Schlatter himself, provided it is not conceived as a repeatable act, does not seem to be opposed to the idea that with the scapegoat, "war das durch eine figürliche handlung dargestellt, was Jesus getan hat, als er die Sünden vergeben hat" pp.4 f. For further objections see S. Lyonnet, "De ritu capri emissarii", <u>VD</u> 39 (1961), pp.35-38.

The DA, Passover, and Suffering Servant are certainly associated in the early Christian exegesis of the Fathers, and we have allowed the possibility of their conflation in John 1:29 and 1 Pet. 2:24; this raises the question whether their union goes back to the Last Supper discourses of our Lord. At least two scholars reply to this in the affirmative, A. Richardson and A.J.B. Higgins. Richardson claims that "the Eucharist was in fact the celebration of the New Year, of creation and harvest, of the Day of Atonement and of every sacred occasion; and it was each of these every Lord's day,"[1] Higgins, following G.B. Gray,[2] accepts that the Passover had no atoning effect and therefore ventures the suggestion:

> that at the Last Supper our Lord may have combined two different conceptions, as in the case of the Son of Man and the Servant of the Lord. The name for the paschal victim was the Passover, and this could be not only a sheep or a lamb, but also a goat. While the lamb was probably the commoner in the time of Jesus, the permitted use of a goat as the paschal victim would have suggested the great Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), in which one of the two goats was killed as a sin-offering, and the other, after the performance over it of some rite of atonement, bore 'upon him all their iniquities to a solitary land'.[3]

Higgins naturally enough accepts the interpretation of Selwyn on 1 Pet. 2:24, but goes even further and thinks the association possibly originated with Jesus himself. The reason for introducing the DA into the Lord's Supper pericope put forth by Higgins - the non-expiating nature of the Passover - is emptied of much of its force when we remember that by the time

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1 A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London, 1958), p.371.
2 Gray, Sacrifice, p.397.
3 A.J.B. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament (London, 1952), pp.50 f.

of Christ an atoning value was attributed to the Passover.[1] Neither the thought nor the language of Mk. 14:24 and Mt. 26:28 requires any other Vorlage than that provided by the Passover custom in association with the Servant motif and the New Covenant texts.[2] There is no explicit mention of sin-bearing as in John 1:29 and 1 Pet. 2:24, and if the DA background is at most only possible in these latter texts, then it is certainly excluded for the Lord's Supper statements.

There is one other place in the NT where the scapegoat - or rather Aza'zel for they are not the same[3] - plays a role, that is in the Book of Revelation. John's use of this motif is not taken directly from the OT, but as the Aza'zel figure was understood in certain quarters of Jewish apocalyptic. In 1 Enoch 9 f. we read of an increasing of evil upon the earth, the cries of the souls of men ascend to heaven where their cause is presented by the angelic beings to the Most High; the Holy One responds by instructing Raphael to "Bind Aza'zel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light." On the great day of judgment he is to be cast into fire and the earth healed of the fallen angelic corruption. In a later chapter of Enoch we read concerning the judgment of Aza'zel and his associates: "Ye mighty kings

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1 J. Jeremias, Eucharistic, pp.225 f.
2 Cf., however, M.D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (London, 1959), pp.80 ff. The review by J. Jeremias / JTS 11 (1960), pp.140 ff./, points to some of the weaknesses in Miss Hooker's arguments.
3 Despite the identity of the two found in many of the early versions.

who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits." The text continues with the seer saying, "And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze." To the seer's question concerning the destination of the angels of punishment, he is told that they are going to cast the demons (elect and beloved ones) into the chasm of the abyss of the valley and thus the days of their leading astray shall be terminated.[1]

There is a biblical Vorlage in Isa. 24:22 f., but the additions which we find in 1 Enoch make it, or a tradition which it represents, the kind of thought world upon which John is drawing. The features of comparison are manifest: the judgment scene, the preliminary sealing in the abyss,[2] the binding with chains, the inability to deceive the populace of the earth, the subsequent judgment by fire, the resultant purified earth.[3] Certainly most of these elements can be found in the OT, like Dan. 7 for the judgment scene, Isa. 24 for the binding of the hosts in a pit (בור), 2 Kings 1:10 f., Ezk. 38:22 for the fire from heaven; but when we find them already synthesized in a pre-Christian apocalyptic text it is a dubious procedure to say John is uninfluenced by such traditions and independently

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1 1 Enoch 55:3 ff. This belongs to the Similitudes (chapts. 37-71) whose date is a matter of contention; whether they are pre-Christian, post-Christian, or pre-Christian with Christian redaction, is a difficult question. See Eissfeldt, Introduction, pp.619 f. D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London, 1964), pp.52 f. The silence of the Qumran fragments and the extant Greek texts of 1 Enoch over these verses is not easily accepted as fortuitous, yet, as far as the portion before us is concerned, it is difficult to be happy with a post-Christian provenance.

2 Cf. R.H. Charles, The Revelation of St. John II (Edinburgh, 1920), pp.141 f.

3 Cf. Rev. 20:1-3.

gathers his material from the OT.[1] This does not deny, of course, that John is original in the way he collates his material or the Christian purpose that directs his imagery.

As regards 1 Enoch there can be no doubt that the writer is quite cognizant that the biblical role of Aza'zel was uniquely limited to the DA ritual. The Greek text of 1 Enoch 10:4 reads: Δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαὴλ ποσὶν καὶ χερσίν, καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος, καὶ ἄνοιξον τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ Δαδουήλ .[2] The mention of ἔρημος as well as Ἀζαὴλ shows the dependence on Lev. 16. There is, however, no such linguistic link in Revelation where Ἀζαὴλ and ἔρημος [3] have given way to δράκων, ὄφις, Διάβολος , Σατανᾶς and ἄβυσσος . There are a few verbal similarities between 1 Enoch and Rev. 20, thus: Δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαὴλ (ἔδησεν αὐτόν), καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος (καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον). Further, though using different phraseology, there is an identity of thought in Revelation's use of ἄβυσσος and 1 Enoch's ἄνοιξον τὴν ἔρημον , and as well, ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ compared with καὶ ὑπόθες αὐτῷ λίθους τραχεῖς καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ τὸ σκότος.[4] This at least gives some presumption that John was fully aware that behind his binding of ὁ Διάβολος and ὁ Σατανᾶς is the Aza'zel figure of the DA ritual.[5]

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1 If Charles (Revelation, passim), overestimates the influence of Jewish apocalyptic on John, H.B. Swete [The Apocalypse of St. John (London[3], 1911), p.cviii], underestimates it.

2 The variants in the Syncellus text are negligible.

3 The uses of ἔρημος or ἐρημάζω in Rev. show no relationship with Lev. 16:22.

4 Cf. Prayer of Manasseh 3 where κλείω, ἄβυσσος and σφραγίζω all occur.

5 Σατανᾶς is virtually identified with Aza'zel in 1 Enoch. The Rabbi's never identified the two figures though one school, just like Qumran and 1 Enoch, related Aza'zel with the supposedly fallen angels of Gen. 6:2,4. Satan figures as the Accuser in Rabbinic DA exegesis.

There is clearly some parallel between Rev. 9:1 ff.; 12:9, and 20:2 f.[1] and this gives further reason for accepting some relationship between John and 1 Enoch regarding the use of the Aza'zel myth. In 1 Enoch 86:1, for instance, we read of a star falling from heaven which brought other stars after it; the nature of this leader star and its followers is soon made apparent by the evil they wrought among the animal kingdom. Then we are told that the first star is bound hand and foot and cast into an abyss,[2] so the identity of this leader star is none other than the arch-fiend Aza'zel. Exactly so the star that falls from heaven in Rev. 9:1 ff., who controls the evil forces of the abyss, is the dragon and Satan of Rev. 12:9 and 20:2, who is shut up in the very abyss from which he let loose the forces of evil.

There is in the Jewish tradition as in Revelation a progression in the descent of Satan (Aza'zel): to the earth, to the abyss, and finally to the holocaust. But John is no slave to his Vorlagen;[3] we may well ask now what their meaning in this Christian context is, and how it differs from the Jewish antecedents Our task is no simple one, as R.H. Charles, a great, if injudicious expert, has warned us when he declared that Chap. 20 of Revelation has "been a constant source of insurmountable difficulty to the exegete."[4] John's thought is steeped in apocalyptic dualism, the struggle between good and evil, light and darkness; but for John this old division takes on a very Christian meaning, for the two antagonists in the struggle are

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1 M. Rissi, Die Zukunft der Welt (Basel, 1966), p.31.
2 1 Enoch 88:1.
3 A Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Oxford, 1964), p.30.
4 Charles, Revelation II, p.144.

Christ and Satan. John has a very evangelistic purpose; in this vision, P.S. Minear correctly notes, "John is primarily concerned with the choices confronting his Christian readers".[1] This choice of sides is no light matter, for John is convinced that those who relate themselves to the powers of evil will ultimately be destroyed with those very forces.

For modern man it may be advantageous to transpose John's dualism into a different key, as H.H. Rowley has done;[2] but even so the NT concept that evil has its ultimate source beyond the human will, though including the human will, is not to be easily dismissed. Evil for John, and the rest of the NT, inhabited the realm of supramundane existence, and this for them was more than a metaphor. John declares that the gospel cast Satan down to the earth, and for Christ's followers he is a powerless foe; but his activities are not aborted but increased.[3] Now Satan's overthrow takes a further step, he is bound and his nefarious labours brought to a standstill,[4] but this is a temporary situation later (1000 years later to follow John's imagery) he is released to arouse a final assault on the people of God. This abortive attempt of the devil fails and he and his followers, including "death", meet now the final and total "casting down" in the series.

The judgment scene (vv.11 ff.) has been described as "one of the most impressive descriptions of the Last Judgment ever written".[5] It goes back, of course, to Dan. 7, but John is

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1 P.S. Minear, I Saw a New Earth (Washington, Cleveland, 1968), p.161.
2 H.H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (London[3], 1963), pp. 174 ff.
3 Rev. 12:12 f.
4 Rev. 20:1-4.
5 T.F. Glasson, The Revelation of John (Cambridge, 1955), p.113.

again not unaffected by the apocalyptists of Jewish tradition, especially again 1 Enoch. Texts in Enoch relating to the judgment scene and the record books are: 47:3; 103:1 ff.; 104:7; 108:3 ff. Of special note is 90:20 ff. for here the judgment begins with the first star (Aza'zel), who, along with other fallen stars (angels) and apostates, is cast into the fiery abyss. The parallels are beyond question.

There is a possibility that behind John's dichotomy - between those who are of the mark of the beast and those who have refused it (those sealed by God), between those of Satan and those of Christ, between those found in the Book of Life and those in the Book of Doom - is again the imagery of the two lots of Lev. 16. This type of exegesis is found in Philo and Origen and, in an apocalyptic key, in Qumran. In an early second century[1] document, which may have originated in Essene circles[2] (The Apocalypse of Abraham), we find the imagery again used, and in an apocalyptic form similar to 1 Enoch. The Apocalypse of Abraham contains some striking parallels to Revelation, e.g. the description of Jaoel (Apoc. Ab. XI) and Christ (Rev. 1:14-16), the use of the Ezekiel vision (Apoc. Ab. XVIII and Rev. 4), the ten/seven plagues upon the heathen (Apoc. Ab. XXX and Rev. 16), which gives clear evidence that the two authors cast their nets in the same pond.

The Apoc. Ab. is characterized by a somewhat pessimistic dualism, caused obviously, as II Baruch, by the fall of the temple and the apparent triumph of the heathen forces of evil

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1 It may have been earlier, it is only certain that it was written after A.D. 70, so it is a near contemporary with Revelation.

2 G.H. Box, The Apocalypse of Abraham (London, 1918), p.xxi.

over the elect.[1] For the writer the two divisions of mankind are those of the Jews and Gentiles and the figure he uses to express this is the lot of Aza'zel and the lot of the Lord of Lev. 16.[2] Aza'zel in the Apoc. Ab. is "ungodliness" (XXII), he is identical with the serpent in Eden (XXIII), this world is allotted to him as are also "those who follow him and love what he wills" (XXII). In one graphic vision (XXI ff.) "Abraham" sees a great multitude, half of whom are on the right side, half on the left side of the picture. Those on the left are the heathen, of whom some are destined for restoration the rest for destruction at the end of the world. Those on the right are the Jewish people born of Abraham - "they are the people set apart for me of /from?/ the peoples with Aza'zel (XXII)." In a very moving section (XXVII) the writer depicts the pillage of the temple in terms of the picture swaying and a group emerging from the left side to wreak havoc on those on the right.[3] The writer allows that some of those of the Aza'zel lot (the heathen) will change sides, but tragically some of the Yahweh lot will do the same: "I hoped that they would come to me, and not have loved and praised the strange (god) /Aza'zel/, and not have adhered to him for whom they were not allotted, but (instead) they have forsaken the mighty Lord" (XXXI).[4]

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1 Revelation contrariwise is dualistic but not pessimistic; it is only the court that is given over to the Gentiles, the temple for John's Christian faith remains intact (Rev. 11).

2 Abraham is of the lot of heaven (XXII). Cf. 1QM 1:5; 4:2; 13:2 for the lot of Belial; and 1Q 34bis, a DA prayer, where "the lot of the just" and the "lot of the wicked" occurs.

3 It was considered a happy omen when the lot for Yahweh came up in the high priest's right hand on the DA. They were not adverse to helping providence for the required result; see b. Yoma 39a. In the forty years preceding the fall of the temple the lot for Yahweh consistently appeared in the high priest's left hand, an omen of doom, b. Yoma 39b.

4 Cf. 4Q 180,181, discussed pp.107 f. of this thesis.

The picture of the destruction of the wicked in Revelation is based on a Christian division rather than the simple one of Jew and Gentile, but the thought of the faithfulness of God's people in a time of testing is very similar to Apoc. Ab. John's imagery of the mark of the beast (Rev 13:16 f.; 14:9; 20:4) is more likely to have come from a tradition like Apoc. Ab. than represent a parody of the Jewish tephillin,[1] or a reference to the imperial stamp (χάραγμα).[2] In the Apoc. Ab. the situation is a complex one: there is Aza'zel, those allotted to him (predestined), those who leave his portion (by conversion to Judaism), and those who come to him from the Lord's lot (apostasy).

The mixing of supernatural demonism with mundane national powers of evil, cosmic distinctions of evil and good forces with personal and human piety, is also found in John's Revelation. The mark of the beast may well represent the evil force of the empire against Christians, behind it is the lot of Aza'zel: to receive the empire's mark involves more than being classified as on the side of Rome, it is to give allegiance to Satan, to Aza'zel, the arch-fiend.[3] With the Apoc. Ab. before us there seems to be good reason for taking τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου as in part a variation on the ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ Ἀζαζήλ. It explains then the apocalyptic atmosphere that it possesses in

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1 Charles, Revelation I, p.362. The reference to the phylactery may be present, but is not a sufficient background for John's apocalyptism.

2 E. Lohse, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (Göttingen[8], 1960), p.73.

3 "The mark of the beast on non-Christian people is a counterpart of the seal of God on Christians; they both serve to show one's allegiance, whether to God or the devil" G.R. Beasley-Murray, The New Bible Commentary: Revelation ed. F. Davidson (London, 1954), p.1185 .

Revelation, as well as the Satanic overtones in John's usage, and the awful doom of those who possess this mark.[1] Revelation's use of the mark of the beast thus belongs to the apocalyptic dualism which used the lots of Lev. 16 as the vehicle of their thought, namely, I Enoch, Apoc Ab., and Qumran.

That John should make such a use of the Aza'zel image as we have suggested for Rev. 20 and the "mark of the beast" texts is the less surprising when we contemplate the large place the temple imagery plays in the Revelation. More tenuous is the suggestion of Farrer's that Revelation is built on a framework of lectionary readings; John sees the scriptures, according to Farrer, "artificially arranged in the Jewish sacred calendar, with its feasts and its lessons".[2] The way Farrer develops this pattern as regards the DA is seen in his comments on Rev. 8:1 ff.; 11:19.[3]

The opening of heaven (Rev. 4:1; 11:19; 15:5; 19:11) is, as Minear notes, always the beginning of a new vision,[4] in the case of Rev. 11:19 and 15:5 the open temple of God in heaven is followed by the announcement of coming judgments. The opening of the holiest was limited, as every Jew knew, to the one day of the year - the DA. That John should use this image in the setting of an imminent judgment is perfectly in harmony with Jewish beliefs concerning the DA.[5]

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1 The seal of God which separates and protects his servants (Rev. 7) has its source in Ezk. 9, but there, only the faithful receive a mark; John's dualism, where both sides receive a stigma, cannot therefore go back to Ezk. 9 alone.
2 A. Farrer, A Rebirth of Images (Westminster, 1949), p.8.
3 Revelation, pp.112 f., 138 f. Cf. Images, pp.157 ff.
4 Minear, Earth, p.161.
5 Cf. G.B. Caird, A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine (London, 1966), pp.107 ff.

It is probable that in Rev. 8:3 ff. the judgment spectacle derived from the incense ritual includes the DA incense act, as well as the daily burning of incense on the golden altar.[1] The details of Rev. 8:3 ff. are in fact not exactly those of the DA. On the DA the coals were taken from the incense altar and placed in a censer to which the incense was added and then carried into the holiest by the high priest. Here, on the other hand, the incense is offered with the prayers of the saints on the incense altar as in the daily ritual (Ex. 30:7 f.). But the otherwise unnecessary presence of the golden censer is an element taken from Lev. 16, as Rev. 8:5 makes clear (cf. Lev. 16:12). The only day that the specially compounded daily incense was offered in a censer as well as on the golden altar was the DA; on no other occasion was it permitted to burn this special incense in a censer.[2] This explains John's conflation of the altar and censer in the incense offering which he mentions in Rev. 8:3.[3] The reference to trumpets at the introduction of the chapter is a further indication that we are in the midst of DA imagery, for trumpets were the means of announcing New Year and the coming judgment of the DA. Even more pertinent, on the DA itself trumpets proclaimed the Year

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1 C.G. Oxanne, The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Manchester, 1964), p.167.

2 M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual", VT 10 (1960), pp.113-129. The special incense was designated קטרת סמים, it was offered daily, morning and evening, by the high priest including the DA.

3 Cf. m. Yoma 4:4 ff., "other days he used to offer half a mina of incense in the morning and half a mina in the afternoon; but this day he adds also his two hands full [Rev. 8:3 = θυμιάματα πολλά]. Other days it was of fine quality, but this day it is the finest of the fine." Further concerning the incense act in the holiest, "He heaped up the incense on the coals and the whole place became filled with smoke" (cf. Rev. 15:8).

of Jubilee, the day of release and restoration (cf. the seventh trumpet Rev 11:15 ff.). Thus the prayers of the people of God for salvation are answered by an act of divine judgment and deliverance, and this is portrayed by John by means of DA symbols.

Such is the use the NT makes of the goat which is sent away to the desert, set apart for Aza'zel. The use is careful and judicious; not even in Revelation does the imagery become bizarre, as it is in extra-canonical works. We must remember that for most scholars the scapegoat-Aza'zel ritual has no mention at all in the NT, so the more positive conclusions of this chapter are not maintained with any dogmatism.

CONCLUSION

THE NEW TESTAMENT APPLICATION OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT COMPARED WITH THE EARLIER INTERPRETERS

> By now much time had been lost, the Fast was already over and it was risky to go on with the voyage (Acts 27:9 NEB).

The question that immediately arises is what similarities or differences exist between the way the NT used the DA material and the way the earlier Jewish exegetes handled the same data. The most obvious place to begin the discussion is with Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Whether the author of Hebrews knew Philo's work is a matter of dispute; Spicq[1] in his thorough way has argued for the affirmative, while the negative position has found a cogent defence in the work of R. Williamson.[2] R.P.C. Hanson's study[3] has also shown that Hebrews lacks completely any allegory of the Alexandrian type, which would be an inexplicable absence from a Philonic writer. Indeed, allegory is so much the essence of Philo's style that it becomes virtually misleading to classify an author who lacks it as "Philonic".

Yet it must be maintained that the listing of differences, no matter how great these dissimilarities are, cannot empty the force of the patent similarities. The differences demonstrate that if Hebrews borrowed from Philo, then the author did so judiciously and with reserve, and that his Christian faith made

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1 C. Spicq, Hébreux I, pp.39-91.
2 R. Williamson, Philo; and idem, "Platonism and Hebrews", SJT 16 (1963), pp.415-424. Cf. S.G. Sowers, The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews: A Comparison of the Old Testament in Philo Judaeus and the Epistle to the Hebrews (Richmond, 1965).
3 R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (London, 1959), p.83.

Philo merely a source of raw material, not a dictating principle of exegesis. The congruences between Hebrews and Philo in style, idiom, and method, are, on the other hand, such as to make it certain that if the author was ignorant of Philo, then he must have read some of his students. It seems at least agreed that Philo and the writer of Hebrews came from a common environment, and this fact makes a comparison of their respective uses of the DA all the more interesting.

As far as the DA is concerned, Philo and Hebrews, though often taking up the same material and making similar exegetical comments, have quite opposite conclusions and aims. There are as well several aspects of the DA which attract Philo's earnest attention, but which our writer totally ignores. Philo, for example, makes much of the fact that the Jewish DA is a fast, while Hebrews, even when given an excellent opportunity to refer to the nature of the DA as a fast, fails to mention it. The occasion when one would think he could have made a cogent point for his argument is in Heb. 13:9 ff. when combating an unhealthy adherence to ritual meals. He could have easily pointed out that the forgiveness of the DA, of which he earlier has said so much, was mediated through the high priest's sacrificial act quite apart from any ritual meal; in fact, the day was a fast. He preferred, however, to ignore any human act, whether eating or not eating, in order, through an intricate parallel, to relate Christian forgiveness to the One who suffered outside the gate. Hebrews is uninterested in that kind of personal discipline which brings forth Philo's praise. Suffering with Christ Hebrews knows; Philo's stoical ascetism, the first step in his mystical way, is alien to our author.

The fast element of the DA also receives emphasis in the Talmud and Qumran; here there is no reference to mysticism but repentance. Philo makes note of this aspect and understands repentance as an orthodox Jew, but one cannot say that he emphasizes this element of the DA in the way the Talmud does. For the Talmud the DA was all important, not because of its once-a-year ritual application of blood in the holiest when the temple was standing, but because of the annual confession and repentance of sin. This is where Qumran also puts the weight of its interest in the DA,[1] though with certain apocalyptic dualistic features which are absent from the Talmud. Repentance has an important place in the Book of Hebrews too; not as an annual mortification for sin and renewal of the covenant relationship, but as a once-for-all penitential act which characterizes the initial act of Christian faith. In contradistinction to Qumran and Tannaitic Judaism it is not an annual act as long as Belial reigns, for his reign ceased at the cross (Heb. 2:14); it is the initial irrepeatable act of accepting Jesus.

It is the emphasis on confession that makes the scapegoat such an attractive figure for Rabbinic Judaism and, in one place, Qumran (1Q 22). It is no exaggeration to say that for the Rabbis the greatest expiating means of the DA ritual was the scapegoat.[2] The scapegoat stood out for them as the feature of the DA which epitomized all they believed concerning expiation; that is, the forgiveness of all Israel's sins through repentant confession.

Philo, too, is drawn to the scapegoat, but for quite different reasons. His reason is that the scapegoat is one of two

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1 The Book of Jubilees likewise stresses repentance in connexion with the DA.

2 This is also true of Josephus's small section on the DA.

goats, which are two opposites - one for the Lord, one for Aza'zel. Philo is one among many who have looked to this ritual to express some kind of duality or dualism. Philo's dualism is Platonic; the two goats symbolize for him the phenomenal and the noumenal worlds, man the material belongs to the former but his νοῦς belongs to the latter. The lot of the Lord is the realm of higher things; the lot of Aza'zel is that which is sensate, created, irrational.[1] Because the dualism of the created and the uncreated is reflected in the being of man— who is both of the world and yet the possessor of mind - Philo can use the two goats to speak ethically. His ethics is that of the "two ways"; that which controls the passions and leads to the higher strata, and that which surrenders to the sensate and cuts man off from the divine, from the mystical vision, the purity of the immaterial.

Neither the scapegoat as the paramount symbol of the power of confession for forgiveness of sin, nor as one aspect of a dualistic view of man or existence, is known by or interests the writer to the Hebrews. The very most that can be said is that Hebrews uses the language of the OT image of the live goat taking away the sins of the people to describe the expiatory death of Christ.

Qumran also uses the ritual of the two lots in a dualistic sense. The dualism of the men of Qumran is not the Greek dualism of Philo, though it embraces ethics just as it did with him. The ethical dualism of Qumran is more thorough going than Philo's; Philo's is a by product of his contempt of the sensate, the passions which hinder the νοῦς . For the sectaries

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1 In the Platonic sense, not just poor logical thinking.

good and evil are not only the alternatives within man, but are supernatural realities in the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Belial. In other words, Qumran knows no dichotomy between the phenomenal and the noumenal, Qumran's dualism remains ethical even at the supernatural level. Good and evil are cosmic forces which seem to vie for man's allegiance;[1] what is reflected in man is not the Platonic division between Logos and matter, but the spirit of good and evil. Here Qumran found a convenient biblical figure to express this dualism, the lot for God and the lot for Belial (Aza'zel). The Apocalypse of Abraham, and the Samaritans knew a similar application of the two lots.[2]

We have suggested that this ethical and cosmic dualism with its apocalypticism finds a parallel in the juxtaposition of the seal of God and the mark of the beast in the NT Apocalypse. The difference is that John has no predestinarian tendency, and the Prince of Light or Michael who features so closely with the lot of God in Qumran is obviously for John, Christ. The doom John foresees for the devil and those of his mark is identical with that found in Qumran, Apoc. Ab., the Pseudepigrapha, and Samaritan writings. The use of μέρος in Rev. 20:6 and 21:8 is instructive here, for this word classically can mean lot, destiny (cf. RSV, NEB 21:8). Both Philo and Origen use the related μερίς in a similar connexion with the DA.[3]

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1 The problem posed by Qumran's predestinarian and apocalyptic dualism cannot be entered into here, see the discussion in F. Nötscher Terminologie, pp.79-92.

2 A modern parallel is found in K. Barth's use of the two goats as symbols of the reformed doctrine of election (Church Dogmatics II^2, pp.357 ff.). Barth uses the two-goat imagery as an expression of the elect and the rejected.

3 Plant. 60 f.; Contra Celsum VI, 43.

The setting of Mt. 25 is also reminiscent of this type of apocalyptic judgment form. As in I Enoch there is the sitting on the throne; as is frequent to this imagery there is the separation to the right hand and the left, those on the right being blessed, those on the left being cursed.[1] The cursed go into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels, a teaching found universally in this form of thought. Behind the separation of sheep from goats seems to be the frequently used symbol of the separation by lot of the Lord's goat and Aza'zel's goat.[2] The tremendous difference is the kind of ethical actions which destinguish the two groups, and the significant way the simple acts of love (or lack of them) are related to the Person of Christ.

To return to Hebrews, there is in this Epistle a type of dualism; an eschatological dualism of the two ages. Our author found a symbol for this not in the two goats of the DA, but the bifurcated tabernacle. Against J. Héring,[3] we agree with Barrett[4] that his use of the tabernacle symbolism is basically related to Jewish-Christian eschatology not Platonic dualism. We also protest against the pressing of his imagery beyond his own limits. The degree of confusion that is possible is witnessed in the complex exegesis of Cody.[5] Cody not only relates the two divisions of the historical tabernacle to a parabolic representation of the orders of salvation; but also affirms that Hebrews then subdivides the parabolic second tent. According to Cody, Hebrews organizes its teaching thus:

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1 Cf. pp.364 f of this thesis.
2 Cf. Col. 1:12,
3 J. Héring, "Eschatologie biblique et Idéalisme platonicien", in Eschatology ed., W.D. Davies and D. Daube, pp.450-454.
4 C.K. Barrett, Eschatology, pp.383-390. Cf. R. Williamson, SJT 16, pp.418 ff.
5 A. Cody, Heavenly, pp.149 f.

A. Historical Tabernacle

(i) First Tent

(ii) Second Tent

B. Parabolic

(i) First Tent = the old order of salvation

(ii) Second Tent = heavenly order of salvation =

a. Tent Christ passes through

b. Heaven itself

This is a confusing proliferation of divisions. If one remembers that for Hebrews the new age belongs to the heavenly realities, then the use of the second tent figure to denote both the new aeon and heaven itself requires no additional subdivision as Cody proposes. The second tent is the new age of salvation; here belong the Cross, the Spiritual, the effective, the eternal. The first tent was but a shadow of this: it is the old age of salvation; here belong the animal sacrifices, carnal ordinances, ineffective, temporal. The death of Christ, though essentially belonging to the second tent, is, to use Cullmann's language, the mid-point of salvation-history.[1] It is for this reason that our author uses his daring metaphor of the curtain for the death of Christ. The second tent, then, is not so much a place but an event, the event of the crucifixion which brings the messianic age of the new covenant. Diagrammatically it is to be seen as follows:

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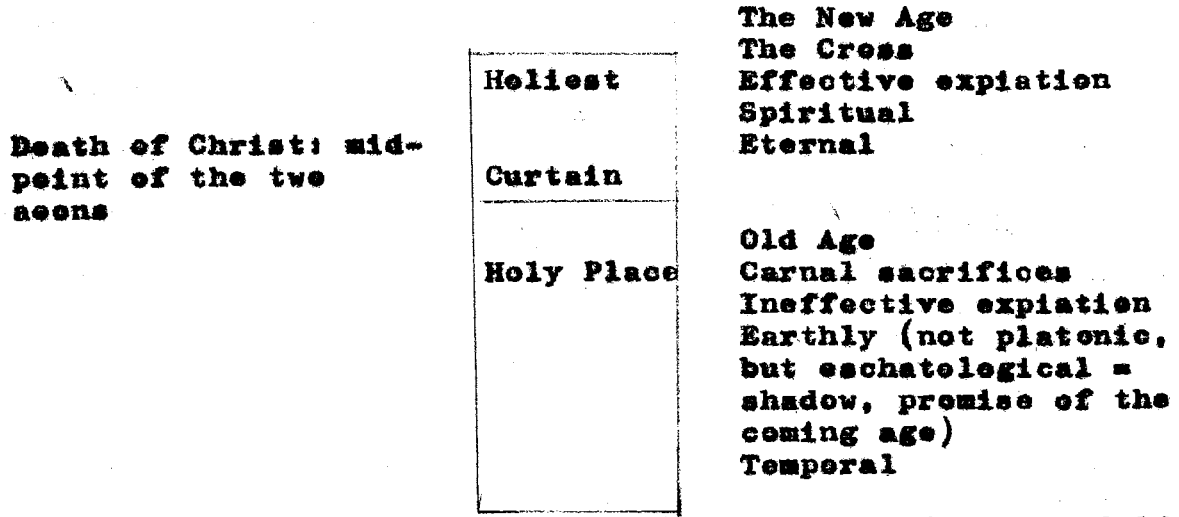
1 Thus can be seen that it is essential to understand Heb. 9:8 as speaking of the outer tent, not the tabernacle as a whole. His whole eschatological drama draws its symbolism from the two tents of the tabernacle.



Nothing could be further from Philo's use of the twofold tabernacle. Philo has no knowledge of this kind of eschatology; for him the holiest, the second compartment, is a symbol of the mystical world of pure vision; the rational, sublime, uncreated existence of supramundane Reality (νοητά). The first tent is a symbol of the material, seen, tangible, sensate world of created things (αἰσθητά). The high priest's annual DA entrance into the holiest depicts the blissful, but occasional, flight of the high priest Reason into the upper echelons of the noumenal world. This is quite foreign to Hebrews, who sees in the annual visit of the high priest into the holiest a proof of the ineffectiveness of the old aeon and its ritual to remove sin and reconcile man to God. To the contrary, the fact that Christ enters the true and heavenly sanctuary once-for-all testifies to the absolute effectiveness of the new aeon and the sacrifice of Christ to take away sin and unite man with God. The difference between Philo's dualistic mysticism and Hebrews' redemptive eschatology is immense and cannot be overstressed.[1]

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1 Hebrews possesses no complex cosmological exegesis of the high priestly garments as is found in Philo; nor does Hebrews concern itself with the flight of the soul, using the tabernacle arrangements and high priestly garments as symbols of the "stations of the way", as found in Philo. For Philo's views see U. Früchtel, Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien (Leiden, 1968), pp.69-106.

A dualistic interpretation which draws on the details of the tabernacle or temple is unknown to non-Alexandrian Hebraic thought. Rabbinic Judaism did believe in a correspondence between the earthly temple and the temple in heaven, but this was more to enhance the earthly rather than to indicate its temporality as with Hebrews; or as a vehicle of mystic thought as with Philo.[1]

The different elements of Judaism for one reason or another tended to play down the sacrificial stress in the DA ritual. Rabbinic Judaism, even before A.D. 70, gave the acts of repentance and confession the major role in the DA ritual: after A.D. 70 these aspects were without even the semblance of a cultic rival. Qumran as well had to evolve a non-sacrificial DA ritual, simply because of her rejection of the Jerusalem temple worship. Philo did not abolish the cult, but interpreted the ritual elements radically as quasi-sacraments, bearers of deeper and more spiritual truths. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha likewise stressed ethical elements, though they did not denounce the cultic parts of the Torah.

Hebrews' attitude to the cult is in one way more sympathetic than these Jewish forerunners, and yet in another way more radical. More sympathetic because the writer accepts the cultic language virtually at face value. He uses the ritual terminology to convey his message without ethical or mystical qualifying statements. But then more radical, because for him the cult is not a part of the Torah that must be obeyed, or one which during an interim must be fulfilled by equivalent substitutes. Theoretically the Talmud is pledged to a revival of the

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1 Cf. H. Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum (Tübingen, 1951), pp.123-137.

cult if and when the temple is restored, the men of Qumran likewise did not see their spiritualized ritual as a better way but a temporary substitute foisted upon them by circumstances.

The Epistle to the Hebrews sees the cult as a shadow of the good things of the new aeon, as a shadow it has its place in the divine plan; but now the reality of the death of Christ has occurred the shadow is forever abolished, irrespective of whether the earthly temple is restored, rid of the "wicked priest", or whatever. The only deeper meaning the Levitical cult contains for Hebrews, is Christ and him crucified for the remission of sins; the author draws no mystical-ethical teachings, like Philo does, from these phenomena. The ethical devotion of Christ which we find in Heb. 10 is both more sublime and more stark than anything contemplated by Philo. Truly Hebrews stresses obedience; Christ's obedient death which sanctifies his people. There is a congruence between the type and the antitype here that would have offended Philo's conception of the offerer's self-devotion.

The first interpreter of the DA was the Priestly redactor, and the confusion of concepts present in P, where the ritual is conceived as both the terms of entrance and means of expiation, appears again in Hebrews. These two elements have given rise to the various theories concerning the composition of Lev. 16; be that as it may, for our author the death of Christ is not only the basis of purification of sins, but also the ground of the Christian's confident entrance into the holiest. The NT writers are deeply rooted in the P tradition, for they, like P, stress that through a sacrificial death sins are cleansed.

St. Paul likewise, though he uses the sacrificial language sparingly, was not embarrassed by it. His statement in Rom. 3:25 with its unabashed conviction that God set forth Christ as a

ἱλαστήριον ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι in some ways moves away from mainline Judaism. It is true that Judaism taught that the cult testified to the mercy of God, for God established it as a means of expiation.[1] Yet, "es fehlt jeder Gedanke an eine Sühnung durch Gottes eigene opfernde Selbsthingabe"; and further, "die Sühnung ist immer die Einleitung zu einem Gottesverhältnis, das durch die Erfullung der Gebote Gottes bestimmt ist."[2]

Rabbinic Judaism also had a different idea of the righteousness which proceeded from God (ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη Phil. 3:9). As Billerbeck says, for the Rabbis the righteousness from God was his judicial judgment which declared the pious just. But "der Terminus 'Gottesgerechtigkeit' im Sinne von Röm3, 21 war der alten Synagoge fremd."[3] Paul's conception of God's righteousness as his expiating action of love in Christ has some preparation in the thought of Qumran, but what is occasional in Qumran literature pervades Paul's thought. The saving revelation of God in Christ so dominates Paul's thought that all he writes has the mark of uniqueness.

In Acts 27:9 Luke mentions the "Fast" as a convenient calendar reference, as is his custom with the feasts;[4] yet it may well be that Paul as a Jewish Christian maintained a life-long habit and actually spent the day in prayer and fasting.[5] We can be certain, however, that Paul's Christian prayers were full of the glorious redemption that was his rather than the imploring for forgiveness on the basis of his self-affliction,

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1 After A.D. 70 this was true of the DA alone according to E. Sjöberg (Sünder, p.183).
2 E. Sjöberg, Sünder, p.183.
3 SB III, p.163.
4 Acts 20:6,16.
5 R.B. Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles (London[12], 1939), p.483; H.L. Ellison, "Paul and the Law - 'All Things to All Men'", Apostolic ed., W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin, p.198.

or the DA, or the high priest's confession over the living goat. For Paul, for Christianity, the centre of worship is the crucified and risen Lord, the ancient ritual days were but shadows of these events.[1]

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1 Col. 2:16 f.

APPENDIX A

THE USE OF ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ IN THE FATHERS

A large number of the examples of ἱλαστήριον which Deissmann appealed to in his effort to establish the various nuances of the word were post-Pauline and of Jewish or Christian provenance. Whether these Jewish or Christian occurrences were free of any association of ideas with the use of ἱλαστήριον in the LXX for the כפרת, as Deissmann claims, is a moot-point. It cannot, however, be said that full justice has been done to the Christian understanding of ἱλαστήριον, if the frequent occurrence of the term in the Greek Fathers is ignored.

The Fathers are virtually unanimous in seeing in the ἱλαστήριον a type of Christ. Their exegesis is often unrestrained but it never seems to have occurred to them that ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3:25 was anything other than a concrete allusion to the mercy-seat. Origen's (d. 253-4) comments on Rom. 3:25 have only been preserved in Latin; he gives a very detailed typology (MPG 14, 946-951).[1]

Eusebius (d. 339 A.D.) sees the ἱλαστήριον prepared by Moses as a type of our Lord and Saviour: Διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον εἶναι αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας, δεῖσθαι δὲ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἱλασμοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἀληθινοῦ (οὗ τύπον ἔφερε τὸ παρὰ Μωσεῖ κατασκευασθὲν ἱλαστήριον), οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (MPG 22, 601).

An example of ἱλαστήριον used without the article, but still referring to the mercy-seat is found in Basil the Great (d. 379 A.D.): Οὐ γὰρ ἱλασμοῦ δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστιν ἱλαστήριον

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1 Cf. his comments on John's Gospel MPG 14, 39.

(quotes Heb. 7:26 f., MPG 29, 441).

Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394 A.D.) represents a new departure for he applies ἱλαστήριον not only to Christ's sacrifice, but also to believers' self-mortification: Οὕτως καὶ ἱλαστήριον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ Χριστὸς νοούμενος, διδάσκει τὸν ταῦτα νοήσαντα, αὐτὸν ἵλαστον γενέσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἱλαστήριον, διὰ τῆς τῶν μελῶν νεκρώσεως τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφαγνίζοντα (MPG 46, 264).

Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403 A.D.) calls Christ, Ἱλαστήριον καθάρσεως κόσμου, καταλλαγῆς ἁπάντων ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ [ἐπὶ] γῆς . Chrysostom (d. 407 A.D.) uses the type of argument a minori ad maius beloved of the Talmud and the Epistle to the Hebrews, in order to elucidate Rom. 3:25: καὶ ἱλαστήριον δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλεῖ, δεικνὺς, ὅτι εἰ ὁ τύπος τοσαύτην εἶχεν ἰσχύν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλήθεια τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιδείξεται (MPG 60, 444).

After giving the details of the DA ritual, Cyril of Alexandria says, Γέγονε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἱλασμός τε καὶ ἱλαστήριον, ὁ Χριστός . Where again the article is absent, as it also is in this statement which Cyril makes in the same work, ὃν [Christ] καὶ ἱλαστήριον εἶναί φαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς (MPG 68, 688, 717). Cyril in this section sees a parallel between Christ as the revelation of God in the Church and the appearance of God upon the mercy-seat above the ark. This same thought is found in his comment on John 7:14, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὄχλοις προσλαλῶν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου πάλαι ὁ Θεός (MPG 73, 656). Cyril exhorts his readers to use fine and subtle notions in transforming the "watcher of the law" (i.e. the mercy-seat) to the mystery of Christ: λεπταῖς καὶ ἀστειοτάταις ἐννοίαις χρώμενοι, τὸν τοῦ νόμου σκοπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον μεταπλάττωμεν (MPG 69, 584).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 466 A.D.) is unequivocal concerning the true ἱλαστήριον: τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἱλαστήριον ὁ Δεσπότης ἐστὶ Χριστός and again, Ὁ δὲ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς, καὶ Θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἱλαστήριον, καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, καὶ ἀμνός (MPG 82, 84 f.). Theodoret's typology is reflected in Cosmas Indicopleustes (wrote circa 550 A.D.): Τύπος δὲ ἦν τὸ ἱλαστήριον τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ κατὰ σάρκα (MPG 38, 209). This same language is found in John of Damascus (d. 749 A.D.); and that date is a reasonable place to stop.

Writers like Cyril and Theodoret are often at pains to maintain the absolute deity of Christ; even if set forth by the Father, Christ remained God (e.g. MPG 71, 897). Certain features of the methods of the Greek Fathers stand out besides these dogmatic elements. First, they consistently looked to the OT type as the exegetical means of interpreting Rom. 3:25. Secondly, they frequently distinguished between Christ as sacrifice (ἱλασμός) and the place of the act of atonement (ἱλαστήριον). Thirdly, the substantive ἱλαστήριον is used without the article on several occasions, but the Vorlage is still the mercy-seat of the OT.

APPENDIX B

THE USE OF THE SCAPEGOAT IN THE FATHERS[1]

A. Barnabas[2]

The Epistle of Barnabas, written as early as 116/140 A.D., already offers an allegorical interpretation of the scapegoat ritual. The exegesis found here remains the definitive departure for most subsequent works. Barnabas' arguments are not easy to follow, and the later typology found in writers after Barnabas is little better on the score of logical progression.

Barnabas seems to be intent to indicate that the Lord of Glory could and did suffer for our sakes, and proves this by an appeal to the scapegoat.[3] Using Talmudic allusions and a lively imagination, plus the details of the abuse of Christ prior to the crucifixion found in the Gospels, Barnabas notes how the scapegoat was accursed (ἐπικατάρατος) spat upon, goaded, bound about the head with scarlet wool, and finally cast into the desert. The first goat is for the altar, the second is accursed; but the accursed is crowned,[4] and thus shall those who crucified Christ finally see him come in glory.

In verse 10 Barnabas, in an unclear fashion, states the point of contact between the type and the anti-type, in a manner to be expanded by later authors. The two goats are alike in appearance for they depict the one Christ: the scapegoat symbolizes the suffering Christ, the sacrificed goat represents

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1 Cf. A. Louf, "Caper emissarius ut typus Redemptoris apud Patres", VD 38 (1960), pp.262-277; L. Sabourin, "Le bouc émissaire, figure du Christ?", ScEcc 11 (1959), pp.45-79.
2 Epistle VII, 1 ff.
3 VII, 6, 10.
4 I.e. by the scarlet wool around the head, and also no doubt, an allusion to the crown of thorns of Christ.

the Lord coming in glory yet retaining the marks of his passion. The wool taken from the goat and placed in the shrub of thorns (a Talmudic allusion) is a type of Christ in the Church, for to take away the wool involves pain and to take hold of Christ is again possible only through pain and suffering.

Earlier Barnabas speaks of the priests' eating of the sacrificed DA goat, which is quite inaccurate as far as the biblical practice was concerned.[1] This piece of apocryphal information, because it also contains a statement about eating the entrails with vinegar, gives Barnabas the material for a type of the death of Christ: Christ alone drinks vinegar as he is about to offer his flesh for the new people, while the people themselves mourn and fast (i.e. around the cross).[2]

Barnabas' exegesis defies a neat typological arrangement, but his broad interests are clear, the suffering of Christ was necessary, and, as well, was prophesied in the OT; yet he will come again, the crucified one in glory. Interestingly enough the only element of the scapegoat that may be reflected in the NT - the bearing away of sins - is totally ignored by Barnabas in his allegorization of this type.

B. Justin Martyr

Justin died around 165 A.D. and he wrote his Dialogue with Trypho some little time prior to this, though the actual disputation may have been as early as 132-5 A.D. Justin's apologetic

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1 VII, 4. H. Windisch [Die apostolischen Väter III: Der Barnabasbrief (Tübingen, 1920), p.344], refers to Philo Spec I, 190 and m. Menahoth XI, 1 f. The latter, of course, refers to the Musaf-offering of Num. 29:11 and the former the sin-offering of Lev. 4 (cf. Lev. 6:26).

2 Cf. Windisch, Barnabas, p.345. Contrary to Windisch, I should think Barnabas means Christ himself is the priest rather than that the bystander of Mt. 27:48 was interpreted as a priest by Barnabas. The comparison is that only the priests eat the vinegar and entrails and only Christ ate the vinegar and gall.

purpose is the laudable one of showing that Christ fulfils the OT rituals.[1]

The Passover lamb roasting on the spit is for Justin a figure of the suffering of Christ. The two goats of Lev. 16, the one to be sent away (ἀποπομπαῖος) the other to be offered (εἰς προσφοράν), proclaim the two advents (τῶν δύο παρουσιῶν) of Christ. Strangely, but quite similar to Barnabas, it is not the sacrificed goat which is singled out as figurative of Christ's first advent and passion, but the scapegoat. The elders and priests of your people, Justin accuses Trypho, put him to death and sent him away as a scapegoat (ὡς ἀποπομπαῖον). The sacrificed goat symbolizes the second advent (καὶ τῆς δευτέρας δὲ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας), because, again like Barnabas, in Jerusalem the Jews will recognize him whom they have dishonoured and crucified.

Justin has crossed the "t's" and dotted the "i's" of Barnabas' exposition in that he makes the allotting of one goat to the first advent and the other to the second advent clearer than it was with Barnabas.

C. Tertullian

Tertullian was not a Greek writer as the above two were, though he was quite familiar with Greek; he died after 220 A.D. Just before his Montanist period he wrote his Adversus Marcionem. In book three of his indictment against Marcion, Tertullian answers the charges against the OT by appeal to the fulfilment of prophecy and the unity of the Testaments. In the section that interests us[2] his thesis is to illustrate the two advents

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1 Dial., XL, cf. CXI.
2 Adv. Marc. III, 7. Cf. Adv. Jud. XIV (a repetition and probably spurious).

of Christ from the OT. The first is in humility (he quotes Isa. 53:7), the second is in power and glory. This is illustrated by the stone the builders' rejected and the stone of Dan. 2; the filthy garments of Joshua the high priest being replaced by the new clothes (Zech. 3); and the two goats of Lev. 16.

The two goats depict the two activities of Christ. These two goats are similar in age and appearance for the Lord is one and the same aspect. He will return in no other form than can be recognised by those who crucified him. The scapegoat, surrounded with scarlet, cursed (maledictus) and spat upon, pulled about and pierced was driven to perdition.[1] The other, an offering for sins, and given as food to the priests of the temple,[2] marked the tokens of Christ's second advent when sins have been done away and the priests of the spiritual temple (i.e. the Church) enjoy a feast of our Lord's grace, while the rest remain without a taste of salvation.

Tertullian follows Barnabas generally, but applies the non-biblical eating of the DA goat not to the time of Christ's first advent as did Barnabas, but to the second. Those who fast are not the mourners around the cross, but those outside the Church, who are denied salvation at the return of Christ; and contrariwise, the eating of the goat is not applied to Christ but to believers, partakers of the gospel and the final reward.

D. Origen

With Origen (d. 253-4 A.D.) we return to the Alexandrian allegorical exegesis with a vengeance. In his De Principiis, in

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1 This follows Barnabas in the main, but the going to perdition is new.
2 Barnabas' error again.

connexion with a treatise on the scriptural statements concerning the opposing powers against mankind, Origen alludes to Apopompaeus, whom he designates "the Averter".[1] Here Origen uses the Aza'zel figure to depict Satan or a fallen angelic leader. In Contra Celsum[2] he makes the same identification of Aza'zel (Origen uses the Hebrew term here) with the primordial power of evil. Origen in Philonic fashion adds an ethical allegory at this time. Taking the words κλῆρος and ἔρημος from Lev. 16 as his departure point, he notes that those of the portion of the evil power (τῆς μερίδος τοῦ χείρονος) who oppose the lot of God (κλῆρος τοῦ θεοῦ) are deserted by God (ἔρημοί εἰσι θεοῦ).[3]

It is in his homily on Lev. 16 that Origen reveals the diversity of the allusions that he perceives in the scapegoat ritual.[4] He shows evidence of Philonic influence in that he sees in the two goats a representation of the two ways - the way of the passions which leads away from God and the way of the spirit which leads to union with God. Typical of this exegesis are the following:

> Propterea ergo et is qui ejicit eum in quo sors apopompaei est, hoc est malas cogitationes, malas cupiditates, non est homo piger, nec occupatus negotiis saecularibus, sed paratus est, et promptus, ac vigilans; qui etiamsi sordescere videatur pro eo quod contigerit immundum, lavabit statim vestimenta sua, et erit mundus.[5]
>
> Finis sortis istius emissarii eremus est, id est locus desertus, desertus virtutibus, desertus Deo, desertus justia, desertus Christo, desertus omni bono.[6]

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1 XXI, 2.
2 VI, 43. Origen is led astray by the LXX here and identifies Aza'zel with the scapegoat.
3 Origen uses here ἀποτροπιάζω as does Josephus (AJ III, 240 ff.), no doubt both are influenced by the ἀποπομπαῖος of the LXX.
4 Hom. Lev. IX (MPG 12, 508 ff.). This is preserved only in Rufinus' Latin translation.
5 MPG 12, 516.
6 Ibid., 512.

In a second line of approach the goat that is released in the wilderness is a symbol of sin led away by the man at the ready (the Saviour) to the nether regions:

> Idcirco ergo necessarium fuit Dominum et Salvatorem meum, non solum inter homines hominem nasci, sed etiam ad inferna descendere, ut sortem apopompaei tanquam homo paratus in eremum inferni deduceret. . .[1]

A surprising application of the scapegoat is made by Origen to Barabbas. The fact that Barabbas is dismissed alive seems to be the cause of this view; the sacrificed goat represents here, of course, our Lord.

> Tunc clamavit omnis populus, ut Barabbam dimitteret, Jesum vero morti traderet. Ecce habes hircum qui dimissus est vivus in eremum, peccata secum populi ferens, clamantis et dicentis 'Crucifige, crucifige.'[2]

Origen represents a departure from all the other allegorists from the time of Barnabas on, for he does not use the two goats of Lev. 16 to symbolize the two advents of Christ, one in suffering one in glory. In fact, the scapegoat does not represent Christ in any way, Asa'zel is an evil being, Satan; the dismissed goat is either (a) a figure of evil and anti-spiritual passions (b) Barabbas led away as the evil man opposed to Christ (c) the sins which Christ, as the man at the ready, led away to Hell.[3]

E. Cyril of Alexandria

Cyril (d. 444 A.D.) is the great defender of Orthodoxy against Nesterianism, and as such we would expect that he would

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1 Ibid., 514 cf. A. Edersheim, Temple, p.281.
2 Lev. Hom. X, Ibid., 526. The cry of the crowd may reflect the cry of the Alexandrian Jews at the scapegoat: אבד לה אבד לה (m. Yoma 6:4).
3 For the place of the Devil in Origen's system see D.G. Bostock, Revelation and Redemption in Origen (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Manchester, 1969), pp.18-61.

see in the two goats a union of the work or Person of Christ; this is exactly what he does see.

Two goats are taken, he says,[1] not that there are two Christs or two sons as some say, but because it was fitting on the one hand that a single person appear being killed (σφαζόμενον) for our sins and dying [i.e. the sacrificed goat] according to the flesh (ἀποθνήσκοντα); but, on the other hand, living according to the spirit [i.e. the living goat]. For Cyril the two goats are a type of the two aspects of the one nature of Christ:

εἷς ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ θανάτου κρείττων ἀναδεικνύμενος κατά γε, φημὶ, τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν. Ἐξεπέμπετο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἀναπτούσης ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκαρπίαν τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου γῆς.

In a letter to one Ἀκάκιος, a bishop, Cyril writes at length concerning the scapegoat (περὶ τοῦ ἀποπομπαίου).[3] Cyril seems to protest against the exegesis of Origen: some, he says, want one goat offered to God the other sent into the desert ἀποπομπαίῳ καὶ πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ δαίμονι; but πῶς, asks Cyril, ἂν ἠνέσχετο κοινωνὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας καὶ δόξης τὸν ἀποστάτην εἰσδέξασθαι Σατανᾶν;[4] The slaughtered goat symbolizes the death of Christ and the blood application in the holiest prefigures the cleansing of the Christian Church:

Ὄνομα δὴ οὖν τῷ σφαζομένῳ χιμάρῳ κύριος καὶ κληρωτὴν

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1 Contra Julian, MPG 76, 964.
2 Ibid. As he says elsewhere (MPG 77, 220), of the two goats and birds as displaying (παράδειγμα) the mystery of Christ, εἷς ἦν ὁ ἐν ἀμφοῖν.
3 MPG 77, Letter 41. Cf. Glaph. Lev. MPG 69, 588.
4 MPG 77, 204 f. This objection is also found in modern authors.

ἐδέχετο τὴν σφαγήν. ἅγιόν τε θῦμα, καὶ ἱερὸν ἦν εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἀποθνήσκοντος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἁγιάζοντος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. [1]

The scapegoat likewise is a figure of Christ ascending into the regions which are invisible to man, bearing the sins of humanity: καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνω καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπους ἄβατον ἀνεπτήδησε χῶρον, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀναλαβών, καὶ ἱλασμὸς ὑπάρχων περὶ αὐτῶν. [2] **Cyril enforces his last claim by quoting 1 John 2:2, which means that for Cyril the bearing of sins, as typified by the scapegoat, is Christ's heavenly intercession. The scapegoat is also a symbol of the sinner who in Christ is freed unto immortality, this is expressed also in connexion with the two birds of Lev. 14:** καὶ ἀναβαίνων εἰς οὐρανούς, ἀπαρχή τις ὥσπερ δευτέρα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀνανεωθείσης εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν. [3]

F. Theodoret of Cyrrhus

The exegesis of Cyril is reflected in Theodoret even though Theodoret (d. circa 466 A.D.) wrote against Cyril on the side of Nesterius. Both goats together are offered to God; [4] **the one is sacrificed, the other, bearing the sins of the people, is sent into the wilderness. For the sins of the people two goats are offered,** ὁμὲν ἐθύετο ὁ δὲ ἀπεπέμπετο, τύπου δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ. **These two goats are not two countenances (**πρόσωπα**), but two natures (**δύο φύσεις**). The**

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1 Ibid., 209 f. Cyril does not hesitate to apply temple, sacrifice, and priest to Christ in one breath.
2 Ibid., 212. Cf. Lev. 16:22 LXX from whence Cyril draws his terminology.
3 Ibid., 220.
4 Quaest. in Lev., MPG 80, 329.

immortal Christ was not of such kind that he could be foreshadowed by a single mortal goat, accordingly two goats were commanded (i.e. in the Levitical law) to be offered. The divine purpose was, according to Theodoret, ἵνα ὁμὲν θυόμενος, τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ παθητὸν προτυπώσῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος δηλώσῃ τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς θεότητος.

Thus for Theodoret the death of Christ, as typified by the sacrificed goat, represents Christ in his dying humanity, while the living goat signifies Christ in his undying (or impassible) divinity.[1] As with Cyril, the DA ritual, which involved the separation by lot of two goats, has been pressed into the task of making subtle christological distinctions.[2]

C. Concluding Remarks

In the main it is the fact that two goats are involved in the DA ritual which attracts the Fathers. For Barnabas, Justin and Tertullian this dual offering is useful to demonstrate from the OT that the Messiah's advent is twofold: first in humility, suffering, and ignominity and later in glory, yet still one sacrifice. The Sitz im Leben for this exegesis is in the polemic against Jews.[3] Cyril and Theodoret use the twofold sacrifice to depict the divine and human natures of Christ: the living and ascending divinity, and the suffering and dying humanity. The Sitz im Leben is the christological problems of the Christian church. Cyril and Theodoret are mediating christologies, the one beginning from Apollinarian assumptions,

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1 Cf. Cyril, Letter 41 MPG 77, 212: Ἴδωμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ χιμάρῳ τῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀφιεμένῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ παθεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως, μὴ πάσχοντα θείκως.

2 For a discussion of the theological distinctions involved in the terms πρόσωπον, μία φύσις, and δύο φύσεις; and the technical differences between Cyril and Theodoret see A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition (London, 1965), pp.400-427.

3 Even Tertullian in writing against Marcion can begin his section on the two advents of Christ, where he uses the scapegoat image, "It is now possible for the heretic to learn, and the Jew as well".

the other Nestorian assumptions. Origen alone uses the ritual of the DA to represent the struggle between good and evil,[1] he is influenced by Alexandrian mysticism of the Philonic type. The Fathers, in other words, allowed either their apologetic purpose or dogmatic concern to dictate the meaning of the two goats of Lev. 16.[2]

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1 Irenaeus (d. circa 202 A.D.), quotes approvingly the "saintly elder" for the view that Aza'zel is a fallen angel (Adv. Haer. I, 15).

2 The ideas of Cyril and Theodoret appear again in the commentary on Leviticus of Hesychius (d. circa 450 A.D.) MPG 93, 988-992.

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