

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
Abbreviations	XV
<i>General Introduction</i>	1
<i>1. The Ark: Introduction</i>	3
1.1 Uniqueness	3
1.2 Contexts	5
1.2.1 Pentateuch and Former Prophets	5
1.2.2 Chronicles and Other Books	6
1.2.3 The Versions	6
1.2.4 Absences	8
1.3 Status	8
1.3.1 Origin	8
1.3.2 Formal Position	9
1.3.3 Physical Position	9
1.3.4 Restrictedness	10
1.3.5 Psychological Importance	11
1.4 Designations	11
1.4.1 'ārôn hā'edūt	12
1.4.2 'ārôn hā'ēlōhīm	13
1.4.3 'ārôn yhw̄h	13
1.4.4 'ārôn bārīt yhw̄h	14
1.4.5 Other Designations	14
1.5 Name	15
1.5.1 Orthography	15
1.5.2 Vocalization	15
1.5.2.1 Masorah	16
1.5.2.2 Josephus	18
1.5.3 Gender	20
1.5.4 Cognates and Etymology	20
1.5.5 Translations	22
1.5.5.1 Greek Translators, Peshitta	22
1.5.5.2 Targumim	22
1.5.5.3 Vulgate	23
1.5.5.4 Medieval Translations	23

<i>2. The Ark: Overall Form</i>	27
2.1 Biblical Data	27
2.1.1 Priestly Account	27
2.1.2 Other Biblical Texts	28
2.1.3 Name	28
2.1.4 Conclusion: Chest	29
2.2 Other Interpretations	29
2.2.1 May and Garfinkel: Miniature Temple	30
2.2.1.1 May	30
2.2.1.2 Garfinkel	31
2.2.2 Critique of May and Garfinkel	32
2.2.2.1 General	32
2.2.2.2 May	32
2.2.2.3 Garfinkel	33
2.2.3 Morgenstern: Tent-Shrine	33
2.2.4 Critique of Morgenstern	36
2.3 Parallels	38
2.3.1 Egypt	39
2.3.2 Aegean	39
2.3.3 Levant and Mesopotamia	40
2.3.4 Discussion	40
 <i>3. The Ark: Details of Form</i>	 51
3.1 Acacia Wood Construction	51
3.1.1 Biblical Data	51
3.1.2 Parallels	52
3.1.3 Why Acacia?	52
3.2 Dimensions	54
3.2.1 Biblical Data	54
3.2.2 Parallels	55
3.3 Gold Overlay	57
3.3.1 Biblical Data	57
3.3.2 Parallels	57
3.4 zēr	58
3.4.1 Biblical Data	58
3.4.2 What Is a zēr? Survey of Interpretation	58
3.4.2.1 Septuagint and Letter of Aristeas: Guilloche Molding	58
3.4.2.2 Aquila(?): Rim	60
3.4.2.3 Targumim, Vulgate, Rabbinic Exegetes: Crown	61
3.4.2.4 Modern Scholarship: Misc.	62
3.4.3 New Proposal: Cavetto Cornice; Parallels	63
3.4.3.1 Ark	63
3.4.3.2 Table	64
3.4.3.3 Incense Altar	64
3.4.3.4 Conclusion	65

3.5 <i>pā'amôt</i>	65
3.5.1 Biblical Data	65
3.5.2 What Are <i>pā'amôt</i> ? Survey of Interpretation	66
3.5.2.1 Septuagint et al.: Sides	66
3.5.2.2 Targumim et al.: Corners	68
3.5.2.3 Pseudo-Jonathan, Ibn Ezra, et al.: Feet	68
3.5.2.4 Nahmanides et al.: Lower Corners or Footsteps	69
3.5.3 Proposal: Feet; Parallels	69
3.5.3.1 The Word <i>pā'am</i>	69
3.5.3.2 Problem with <i>pā'amôt</i> as Feet	70
3.5.3.3 Proposed Solution	71
3.5.4 Coda: <i>mṭbh</i>	72
3.6 <i>šālā'ôt</i>	73
3.6.1 Biblical Data	73
3.6.2 What Are <i>šālā'ôt</i> ?	73
3.6.3 Survey of Interpretation	74
3.6.3.1 Septuagint, Targumim, Vulgate: Nonspecific Sides	74
3.6.3.2 Josephus, Sforno: Long Sides	75
3.6.3.3 Kimhi: Lateral Sides	75
3.6.4 Proposal: Lateral Sides	76
 4. <i>The Ark: Carrying Apparatus</i>	 95
4.1 Rings	95
4.1.1 Biblical Data	95
4.1.2 Parallels	95
4.1.3 Number	96
4.1.4 Vertical Position	97
4.1.4.1 Survey of Interpretation	97
4.1.4.2 New Proposal: On Underside	98
4.1.5 Horizontal Alignment	99
4.1.5.1 Survey of Interpretation	100
4.1.5.2 Proposal: On Long Sides	101
4.2 Poles	102
4.2.1 Biblical Data	102
4.2.2 Parallels	103
4.2.3 Number	103
4.2.4 Method of Carriage	104
4.3 Inseparability of Poles	105
4.3.1 Biblical Data	105
4.3.2 Parallels	105
4.3.3 The Problem: Contradiction with Num 4:6	106
4.3.4 Survey of Interpretation	106
4.3.4.1 Saadiah Gaon et al.: <i>wāšāmú</i> Means "adjust"	106
4.3.4.2 Jacob of Orleans et al.: <i>wāšāmú</i> Means "put on shoulders"	108
4.3.4.3 Anonymous: <i>wāšāmú</i> Means "transfer to second set of rings" ...	109
4.3.4.4 Bekhor Shor: <i>wāšāmú</i> Is a One-Time Command	109

4.3.4.5 Joseph Kara: <i>lō yāsūrū</i> Does Not Preclude Intentional Removal . . .	109
4.3.4.6 Ibn Ezra: <i>lō yāsūrū</i> Does Not Apply to Tabernacle Disassembly . .	111
4.3.4.7 Isaiah di Trani: Each Command Refers to Different Poles	111
4.3.4.8 Ehrlich et al.: No Solution	111
4.3.5 New Proposal: <i>wasāmū</i> Means “draw out”	112
4.3.5.1 Semantics of <i>wasāmū</i>	112
4.3.5.2 Parallels	113
4.3.5.3 Conclusion	113
 5. <i>The Ark: Contents</i>	125
5.1 Biblical Data	125
5.1.1 Two Stone Tablets	125
5.1.2 The Covenant of YHWH	126
5.1.3 The <i>ēdūt</i>	127
5.1.4 Discussion	127
5.2 Parallels	129
5.3 Other Purported Contents	130
5.3.1 New Testament: Manna, Staff	130
5.3.2 Talmud: Fragments, Scroll, Rods, Names	130
5.3.3 Other Traditions: Misc.	131
5.3.4 Modern Scholars: Sacred Stones, Images	131
 6. <i>The Ark: Function</i>	135
6.1 Introduction: Marker of the Divine Presence	135
6.1.1 Biblical Data	135
6.1.2 Parallels	137
6.1.3 The Problem	137
6.2 Survey of Interpretation	138
6.2.1 Reichel, Dibelius, et al.: Throne	138
6.2.2 Critique of Reichel, Dibelius, et al.	140
6.2.3 Cassuto, Haran, et al.: Footstool	141
6.2.4 Critique of Cassuto, Haran, et al.	141
6.2.5 Reimpell, de Vaux: Pedestal	145
6.2.6 Winckler, Hartmann, et al.: Coffin	146
6.2.7 Gressmann, Hoffmeier, Noegel: Procession Shrine or Bark	146
6.2.8 Metzger, Görg: Throne-Base	147
6.3 Proposal: Undefinable Marker	147
6.4 Other Portrayals of YHWH’s Presence in the Bible	148
6.4.1 The Temple	148
6.4.2 Beyond the Temple	150

7. <i>The kappōret</i>	161
7.1 Contexts	161
7.2 Separateness	162
7.3 Status	162
7.4 Name	163
7.4.1 Cognates and Etymology	163
7.4.2 Translations	164
7.4.2.1 Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate: Propitiatory	164
7.4.2.2 Septuagint (II), 4QtgLev, et al.: Lid	165
7.4.2.3 Vulgate (II): Oracle	166
7.4.2.4 Gressmann: Canopied Shrine	167
7.4.2.5 Tur-Sinai: Lions	167
7.4.2.6 Görg: Footrest	168
7.4.2.7 Gerleman: Mirror	168
7.4.3 Proposal: Lid	168
7.5 Form	169
7.5.1 Biblical Data	169
7.5.2 Parallels	171
7.6 Function	172
7.6.1 Biblical Data	172
7.6.2 Parallels	172
7.7 Explanation of Separateness	173
8. <i>The Cherubim: Introduction</i>	177
8.1 Contexts	177
8.2 Status	178
8.3 Name	179
8.3.1 Orthography	179
8.3.2 Cognates and Etymology	180
8.3.2.1 Midrashic Etymologies	180
8.3.2.2 West Semitic	180
8.3.2.3 Akkadian	181
8.3.2.4 Greek	182
8.3.2.5 Conclusion	183
9. <i>The Cherubim: Other Contexts</i>	185
9.1 Ezekiel 8–11	185
9.1.1 Introduction: What Are These Creatures?	185
9.1.2 Survey of Interpretation	186
9.1.2.1 Cooke: Just the Chebar Creatures	186
9.1.2.2 Eichrodt: The Ark Cherubim Combined with the Chebar Creatures	187
9.1.2.3 Zimmerli: The Ark Cherubim Becoming the Chebar Creatures ..	188

9.1.2.4 Houk: The Laver-Stand Cherubim Becoming the Chebar Creatures	188
9.1.2.5 Keel: ΥHWH 's Riding Cherub Combined with the Chebar Creatures	189
9.1.2.6 Greenberg: The Ark Cherubim alongside the Chebar Creatures	190
9.1.3 New Proposal: The Chebar Creatures Becoming the Ark Cherubim	191
9.1.4 1 Chronicles 28:18	193
9.1.5 Conclusion	193
9.2 2 Samuel 22:11 $\approx$ Psalm 18:11	194
9.2.1 Introduction	194
9.2.2 The Problem: Unsuitability of the Cherub Image	194
9.2.3 Proposed Solution	195
9.3 <i>yōšēb hakkārūbīm</i>	195
9.3.1 Introduction: What Does the Phrase Mean?	195
9.3.2 Survey of Interpretation	196
9.3.2.1 Septuagint et al.: "who is seated upon the cherubim"	196
9.3.2.2 Targum of Psalms et al.: "who dwells between the cherubim"	198
9.3.2.3 Sibylline Oracles: "who settles the cherubim"	199
9.3.2.4 Arnold, Wood: "the occupant of the cherubim"	200
9.3.2.5 Houtman: "who is enthroned amidst the cherubim"	201
9.3.2.6 Propp, Wood: "ruler of the cherubim"	201
9.3.3 New Proposal: "who dwells among the cherubim"	201
9.3.3.1 Grammatical Analysis	201
9.3.3.2 Identity of the Cherubim	204
9.3.3.3 <i>yhwš šabāôt</i>	206
9.3.3.4 The Ark	207
9.4 Genesis 3:24	209
9.4.1 Introduction: A Forgotten Reading of the Verse	209
9.4.2 The Witnesses	210
9.4.3 Analysis	211
9.4.3.1 <i>wyškn 't hkrbym</i>	211
9.4.3.2 <i>mādm lgn 'dn</i>	213
9.4.3.3 Conclusion	214
9.4.4 Evaluation	215
9.4.4.1 Similar Instances	215
9.4.4.2 Grammar and Style	217
9.4.4.3 Conceptions	218
10. <i>The Cherubim: Overall Form</i>	221
10.1 Methodological Remarks	221
10.2 Survey of Interpretation	222
10.2.1 Midrash Haggadol et al.: Winged Humans	223
10.2.2 Samuel b. Meir et al.: Birds	225
10.2.3 Bekhor Shor et al.: Winged Bovines	226
10.2.4 Dillmann: Griffins	228
10.2.5 Albright, de Vaux, et al.: Winged Sphinxes	228

10.2.6 Gilboa: Winged Snakes	229
10.2.7 Ibn Ezra et al.: Composite Creatures in General	230
10.3 Proposal: Winged (Adult) Humans	231
10.3.1 Upright Creatures	231
10.3.1.1 Tabernacle Cherubim	231
10.3.1.2 Temple Cherubim	231
10.3.1.3 Other Cherubim	233
10.3.2 Proportions of Temple Ark Cherubim	234
 11. <i>The Cherubim: Details of Form</i>	249
11.1 Composition	249
11.1.1 Tabernacle Cherubim: Biblical Data	249
11.1.2 Tabernacle Cherubim: Parallels	252
11.1.3 Temple Cherubim: Biblical Data	252
11.1.4 Temple Cherubim: Parallels	254
11.1.5 Chronicles	255
11.2 Dimensions	257
11.2.1 Tabernacle Cherubim: Biblical Data	257
11.2.2 Tabernacle Cherubim: Parallels	258
11.2.3 Temple Cherubim: Biblical Data	258
11.2.4 Temple Cherubim: Parallels	259
11.2.5 Chronicles	259
11.3 Position and Posture	259
11.3.1 Tabernacle Cherubim: Biblical Data	259
11.3.1.1 Facing Each Other	259
11.3.1.2 'el hakkapporet	260
11.3.1.3 Outspread Wings	261
11.3.1.4 lama'la	261
11.3.2 Tabernacle Cherubim: Parallels	261
11.3.2.1 Overview	261
11.3.2.2 Setting	263
11.3.2.3 lama'la	263
11.3.3 Temple Cherubim: Biblical Data	264
11.3.4 Temple Cherubim: Parallels	264
11.3.5 Chronicles	265
 12. <i>The Cherubim: Function</i>	281
12.1 Survey of Interpretation	281
12.1.1 Schmidt, Albright, et al.: The Throne of YHWH	281
12.1.2 Critique of Schmidt, Albright, et al.	283
12.1.2.1 Not the Stated Function	283
12.1.2.2 There Is No Throne	283
12.1.2.3 Cherubim Not Suitable for Throne	285
12.1.2.4 The Divine Presence Is underneath the Cherubim's Wings ..	285

12.1.2.5 The Cherubim Are Secondary to the Ark and Its Contents	286
12.1.2.6 Rebuttal of Positive Arguments	287
12.1.3 Tur-Sinai, Kaufmann: Symbol of YHWH's Chariot	288
12.1.4 Metzger: Firmament Bearers	289
12.2 Proposal: Winged Shelterers	291
12.2.1 Overview	291
12.2.2 Challenges	292
12.2.3 Cherubim and Wings in the Hebrew Bible	293
 <i>General Conclusion</i>	 301
Biblical Data	301
Parallels	302
Further Implications	303
Historical Context	303
Ideology	304
 Bibliography	 307
List of Figures	329
Plates	337
 Index of Sources	 347
Index of Modern Persons	377
Index of Subjects	384