

**Centralization of Israelite Worship:
Temples and Sanctuaries**

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Introduction

For the last one hundred years scholars have been discussing the question of the centralization or decentralization of the cult in ancient Israel. It is not the purpose of this paper to argue the date of Deuteronomy, one of the principal texts in the discussion, or that of centralization, though it will be necessary to discuss the dating briefly in order to set the stage for this paper. This study will actually chart the biblical evidence for centralization, seeking a typology of a central sanctuary compared with other cult sites. This charting will illustrate that the sanctuaries which existed at the same time had different purposes, and that until late in Israelite history there was no sole sanctuary. In addition to this, a brief overview of various theories of centralization will be presented. Following this, the various criteria of the chart will be explained, then the sanctuaries will be discussed, giving both their historical attestation and an analysis of the data gathered from the chart.

Many theories have been proposed concerning the date of centralization. All of these revolve around the dating of Deuteronomy. The most prominent theory was that of Julius Wellhausen. Others were later proposed by Brinker, Nicholson, and Haran.¹ The ideas of Wellhausen and Brinker will be concentrated on in this paper.

Julius Wellhausen proposed that the idea of centralization was a very late development in the history of Israel. He believed the theory that Israelite culture

¹Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1957); R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1946); E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967); Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)

evolved from simple to complex. He also believed that the idea of the central sanctuary, to the exclusion of other sanctuaries, was a slow development over a long period of time. In his book, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, he stated that "this oneness of the sanctuary in Israel was not originally recognized either in fact or in law; it was a slow growth of time."²

Wellhausen's school of thought believed that Deuteronomy originated among heirs of the teachings of the 8th-century prophets. They believed that the D document (Deuteronomy) represented a late development in the religious evolutionary process.³ Wellhausen and his contemporaries believed that the "theological and ethical principles of lasting value" of the Old Testament arose from the teachings of the great biblical prophets. The period before the monarchy contributed little, if anything, towards these principles. This idea has been challenged and altered now. The period of the Judges is now considered to be the "first great creative period in Israel's history" in Canaan.⁴

Wellhausen was correct in his assumption that the sole sanctuary was a relatively late development in the history of Israel. The biblical record itself indicates that in the pre-exilic period there were various sanctuaries functioning at the same time. The information presented in this paper differs from that of Wellhausen in that it will demonstrate, using the Bible, that there were different types of sanctuaries in pre-exilic Israel.

²Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1957), p. 17.

³Nicholson, E. W., *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. ix.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 120.

Brinker, in 1946, countered Wellhausen's ideas by stating that "the total suppression of all shrines and the centralization of all worship in one place was neither practicable nor desirable."⁵ He further stated that "there seems no cogent reason to assume that the intention of the Deuteronomist was to introduce the centralization of worship."⁶ He continued by saying that the phrase *lmqm 'sr ytrh ywh b'hd shk* linguistically may mean not only "in one place only," but also "in every place."⁷ Brinker sees a close relationship between prophets and priests, contrary to the Wellhausen school. As to the date of Deuteronomy and the place of its composition, Brinker indicates that "chapter 27 and 11:26ff are an evident glorification of Shechem, which seems to claim the position of the most important sanctuary in Israel,"⁸ and that D was written at the time of Samuel and David. As evidence for this, Brinker uses the fact that the Samaritans accept D in their scripture.⁹ D was designed to be the code of law for the unified state.¹⁰ "The guiding principal that determines the tone and contents of Deuteronomy is the desire to guard the people from contamination with the Canaanite element."¹¹ Brinker sums up his ideas by saying that Deuteronomy does not propose only one sanctuary

⁵Brinker, R., *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1946), p. 208.

⁶Ibid., p. 203.

⁷Ibid., p. 200.

⁸Ibid., p. 212.

⁹Ibid., p. vi.

¹⁰Ibid., p. vi.

¹¹Ibid., p. 203.

but limits the number and gives them a set code to follow. Additionally, it regulates the worship to ensure that it conforms to orthodox Yahwism.¹²

The theme of centralization presents a problem: If Moses did receive the commandment to have only one sanctuary at a time, then most of the people, including the prophets and righteous kings, did not obey this regulation and were, therefore, apostates from the official Israelite religion. In the Old Testament there is mention of people spontaneously setting up altars so as to keep other ceremonial regulations. Included in these accounts are Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, and Elijah. All of this leads us to one question: Is there a way to resolve this apparent discrepancy so that one is not forced to conclude that the leaders and prophets of Israel were apostates? In this matter, the majority of the scholars are in agreement.

The one thing on which almost all of the scholars' theories agree is that Deuteronomy is a late composition, even though most accept the idea that it is based on traditions that are very ancient. The final redaction is said to have occurred after the exile. Most also agree that the portion dealing with the centralization of the cult dates to about King Josiah's time, the end of the seventh century B.C. In all of this, there is still one point that causes a problem. This problem centers around the terminology of "central sanctuary." Most scholars appear to believe that this means "sole sanctuary." The evidence from the biblical record itself, however, seems to indicate that there was no "sole" sanctuary, but there definitely was a "central" sanctuary.

In this paper the terms sanctuary, central sanctuary, and temple are used to refer to the various cultic installations in Israel. For the purposes of this paper "sanctuary" will refer to any site where religious ceremony was practiced. "Central sanctuary" will refer to the sanctuary where the Ark of the Covenant was housed, the

¹²Ibid., p. 208.

established Priesthood performed the regular cultic activities of the orthodox cult, and all the tribes made pilgrimages to the central sanctuary and maintained it. "Temple" will refer to the sanctuary that was considered to be the house of God. Though the temple was usually the focus of the people's worship (since God was thought to dwell there) this did not always make the temple the central sanctuary. Therefore, a central sanctuary is always a temple, though a temple is not always a central sanctuary; further, a sanctuary is not necessarily a temple or a central sanctuary.

The chart located at the end of this paper presents selected sanctuaries and characteristic features which apply to central sanctuaries. While it is not a complete list, it is long enough to show distinguishing features of central sanctuaries as opposed to open air cultic sites. The choice of sacred places has been made in hopes of covering the broad range of biblical time. In this paper I have selected as the "control group" the Tabernacle and its various manifestations throughout Israelite history (the Tabernacle through Zerubbabel's Temple). In addition to these sites, others were selected that represented well known places where sacrifices were known to have occurred. Included in this group are both "legitimate" and "pagan" sanctuaries. This, too, is not a comprehensive list. Further, due to the nature of the biblical record, not all of these locations are treated equally in the text. Therefore, there exist gaps that are unavoidable.

Description of the Characteristic Features

While reading the scriptural passages relating to the tabernacle and the various temples in the Bible, there appeared to be some features that applied exclusively to the tabernacle and temples. This raised the question as to whether these were features that distinguished the central sanctuaries from open air cults sites or whether these

features were to be found at all or the majority of the Israelite sanctuaries. This question led to the results shown on the chart and the features discussed in this section of the paper.

Creation

In the Bible there is little explicit information regarding the rehearsal of the creation account in the central sanctuaries, but there is some evidence that this was likely the case. Isaiah 56:4-5 states that God would give, even to the eunuchs who are followers of the covenant, "an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off." Though this scripture does not mention the use of a creation liturgy in the temple, it does indicate that something more than just the sacrificial rituals took place in the temple. The beginning verses of Psalm 24 refer in very brief terms to the creation. This is followed by the question "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place?" In this Psalm there is clearly a connection between creation and the Temple. Dahood proposed that Psalm 24 was "composed for the liturgy, probably used in connection with a procession of the ark."¹³ A. R. Johnson has argued that this psalm along with about 40 others were associated with the New Year Festival.¹⁴ Mowinckel, in *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, theorizes that many of the psalms were used in connection with Yahweh's enthronement. Among these psalms is Psalm 24.

We have already seen that the enthronement festival of Yahweh and the feast of tabernacles and of New Year have in common the idea of Yahweh's 'appearance' and 'epiphany', of the renewal of nature and

¹³Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I, 1-50*, The Anchor Bible 16 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), p. 151.

¹⁴A. R. Johnson, "The Psalms," in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, H. H. Rowley, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 190, n. 3.

creation, of the repeated 'work of salvation' to be performed by him, and of Yahweh's universal dominion over the earth (cf. Ps. 65).¹⁵

Moshe Weinfeld, in his article "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord – The Problem of the *Sitz im Leben* of Genesis 1:1-2:3," argues that the account of the construction of the Tabernacle contains strong creation references and terminology.¹⁶ His final point is that Genesis 1:1-2:3 was originally temple liturgy.¹⁷

Celebrations of the creation also played a very important part in the religions of the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, the cosmogonic rites held a prominent place in the religious life of the people, being recited every year at the New Year Festival. Egyptian religion also revolved around creation stories, both in its literature and in its temple rituals.¹⁸ The evidence indicates that creation accounts played a very important role in the ancient Near East. The importance of the creation

¹⁵Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), p. 121. Mowinckel repeatedly mentions creation as an integral part of the Enthronement and New Year Festivals. He goes as far as to say that the "'cultic myth' was that of Creation (and of the fight with the primeval dragon), and all that was connected with it. To the mind that sees the cult as a reality which liberates new forces and recreates life, this idea of the new year ceremony as a world-creation feast would come quite naturally. It is well known that in later Judaism the new year time in autumn was considered as the time of the renewal of the Creation." *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20. For Mowinckel's more detailed discussion of the Enthronement and New Year Festival and Creation, see *ibid.*, pp. 118-30, 177.

¹⁶Moshe Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the *Sitz im Leben* of Genesis 1:1-2:3," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981), pp. 501-07.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 512.

¹⁸Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1975), p. 131.

in Israelite liturgical rites is not directly stated in the scriptures, but in addition to the evidence cited above, its importance must be underscored by the two creation accounts in Genesis. In addition to creation, covenant creating and renewing was a feature of a central sanctuary.

Covenant Renewal

The covenant between Yahweh and Israel was such a central concept that it is noted frequently in the Hebrew scriptures. The original covenant between Yahweh and Israel was made before the Tabernacle was constructed. The first renewal of the covenant recorded in the Bible is after the people had entered Canaan. When this occurred at Shechem, it is probable that the Tabernacle, or at least the Ark, was present there. Another instance of covenant renewal occurred at the dedication of the Solomonic Temple.¹⁹ King Josiah, as part of his reform, cleansed and then rededicated the Temple of Solomon (2 Kings 23; 2 Chronicles 34:29-33). Elijah at Carmel also effected a renewal of the covenant with the people of Israel. After the exile, when the Temple was rebuilt, Ezra rededicated the Temple and the people renewed their covenant (Ezra 10). Covenant Renewal usually took place at a central sanctuary. Another feature of these central sanctuaries is that they had cultic buildings.

Building

In ancient Israel every site tied with a central sanctuary included buildings associated with it. Though the Tabernacle was not a permanent structure, it had walls

¹⁹It is not explicitly stated that the covenant was renewed on this occasion but in the dedicatory prayer Solomon speaks much about the relationship between man and God. For more information on this see Geo Widengren, "King and Covenant," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2 (1957):7-10.

of wood and curtains to separate the different sections. This Tabernacle was later set up at Shiloh where it stood until Shiloh was destroyed about 1050 B.C. Solomon's Temple, the most famous of the central sanctuaries, was known for its elaborate buildings. Zerubbabel's Temple, built after the exile, still had the basic structures of Solomon's Temple, though it was a much less elaborate structure. In the case of Ezekiel's visionary temple, detailed instructions were given to the prophet regarding the buildings associated with it.

Most people, when they think of temples, assume that buildings are included in their integral features. This probably is the case, but can one demonstrate this for central sanctuaries? Among the buildings mentioned in connection with the central sanctuaries, a "holy of holies" is included in the plans. From the evidence found in the Bible, it appears that buildings and a "holy of holies" were characteristic of the central sanctuary, while this was not the case with non-central sanctuaries. A rite that usually occurred in association with these buildings was that of the coronation of the king.

Coronation

In the Biblical narrative, there are very few accounts of coronation. The few mentioned are performed in connection with the central sanctuary. When King Solomon was enthroned, the account says that the oil to anoint him was taken from the Tabernacle. It is not specifically stated that this was done in the Tabernacle. In fact, it appears that this was done near the Gihon Spring; but the Tabernacle was clearly associated with the event (1 Kings 1:39). King Jehoash was taken to the Temple of Solomon and was crowned there (2 Kings 11:12).²⁰ These are the only two instances of coronations being held in association with the central sanctuaries. After the exile, until the time of the Maccabees, there was not another king over Israel. If there had

²⁰For a full discussion of this see Widengren, "King and Covenant," pp. 5-7.

been other kings, their coronations probably would have followed this pattern, because throughout the ancient Near East, the king and his coronation are intimately associated with the temple. In addition to the already mentioned features of the central sanctuary, these sanctuaries were foremost considered the house of God.

House of God

It is common knowledge that temples were always considered to be houses of gods. In the Old Testament, the term "House of God" refers to the Tabernacle (Exodus 25:8; 29:45), Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 1:39), Zerubbabel's Temple (Ezra 5:17), and Ezekiel's Temple (Ezekiel 43:7). None of the other sanctuaries are ever referred to as a house of God. All of these locations were considered central sanctuaries as well as temples. This indicates that one of the required characteristics of a central sanctuary was that it be considered God's dwelling place.²¹ In the house of God various rites took place. One of these rites was that of anointing people and sacred objects.

²¹In Ugaritic and Mesopotamian Mythology it was important that the chief or most powerful deity had a palace or temple to dwell in. In the Ugaritic myths Baal battles Mot and Yamm, defeating both. After these defeats Baal requests that a palace be built for him. This request is granted and a palace is built for him on Mount Sapon. In *Enuma Elish* Marduk conquers Tiamat and creates heaven and earth from her body, then requests that a temple be built for him in Babylon. For both Baal and Marduk these temples were considered their homes, their dwelling places. In the Bible Yahweh requests (commands) that the Tabernacle be built for him to dwell in. It is not explicitly recorded whether or not Solomon was commanded to build the Temple. We do know that David was told not to build the temple, but that his son would build it. We are not told later that Solomon was commanded to build the temple although this was probably the case.

Anointings

In the Bible, the kings are occasionally called the "Lord's anointed." We are also told that the priests were anointed before they could officiate in the sacrifices of the temples. Moreover, we are told that as part of the temple's preparation some of the furnishings of the temple were also anointed with oil. For the purposes of this paper, only the anointings of people will be considered.

Though there are occasional references to the places in which these anointings took place, we are, for the most part, left in the dark. As can be seen on the chart, accounts of anointings are only noted in connection with the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple. The ritual of anointing indicated that the person being anointed was being given the authority to act in a certain position. Usually this was a position authorized by God. In addition to authorizing positions of service, God authorized the building of temples by revealing the temple plans to the chosen builder or sponsor.

Plan Revealed

Another apparent, possible feature of the central sanctuaries is that their plans had been revealed to the builders by God. The plans for the Tabernacle were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. These plans were very specific in every detail. This is the only explicit example of revealed plans in the Bible. Another possible instance of plans being revealed is in the case of the temple of Solomon. Soon after Solomon had been crowned king, he went to Gibeon to sacrifice to the Lord. After doing this, the Lord appeared to him and blessed him with great wisdom. After the completion of the Temple, the Lord again appeared to Solomon "as he had appeared to him at Gibeon." These two appearances of the Lord to Solomon are linked together in the Bible. This connection has been discussed at length by Kapelrud. He concludes that during the first of these visitations the Lord may have revealed the plans for the

Temple.²² In addition, Ezekiel received in vision plans for a temple. These, once again, were very detailed. Only the first two of these sanctuaries were actually built, but the third follows the same pattern. The two that were built were both central sanctuaries. There are no written records that indicate that any of the open air cult sites had their plans revealed. In Mesopotamia King Gudea is recorded to have had a dream while in the temple of Baga. In this dream, the plans for a temple to Ningirsu were revealed to him so that he could build it.²³ After the temples were built in accordance with the revealed plans, there were usually restrictions given that regulated who could and could not enter the holy precinct.

Restrictions

As John Lundquist points out, "The temple and its rituals are shrouded in secrecy. This secrecy relates to the sacredness of the temple precinct and the strict division in ancient times between sacred and profane space."²⁴ In ancient Israel, restrictions were enforced in order to keep profanity from encroaching on the Israelite sacred areas. The Israelite restrictions can be classified in three divisions. The three divisions apply to (1) laymen, (2) levels of priests, and (3) impurities. All of the central sanctuaries compared on the chart, except Shiloh, have explicit restrictions concerning who could enter and who could perform rites in them. Since these restrictions apply to the Tabernacle, it can safely be assumed that these

²²Arvid S. Kapelrud, "Temple Building, a Task for Gods and Kings," *Orientalia* 32 (1963):59-61.

²³John Lundquist, "What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology." in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green, eds. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983), p. 211.

²⁴John Lundquist, "What is a Temple?" p. 218.

restrictions also applied to the sanctuary at Shiloh. Throughout the Near East, certain areas of the temples were restricted and, at times, not even priests were allowed into these areas.

At times these restrictions were accompanied by warnings. One such curse from the second century B.C. states: "The curse of Our L[ord] and Our Lady and the Son of our Lord and Shaharu and Baasham[en] and Atargatis (be) on [anyone] who enters past this point into the shr[ine]."²⁵ A warning from Ptolemaic Egypt states: "Everyone who enters by this door, beware of entering in impurity, for God loves purity more than millions of possessions, more than hundreds of thousands of fine gold."²⁶ In the restricted areas of the temples, sacred gifts were used in the worship. One of these offerings was the Bread of Presence.

Bread of Presence

In ancient Israel, offerings were brought to the sanctuaries and offered to God. Most were brought by the people, but some of them were supplied by the priests. One supplied by priests was the Bread of Presence. This offering was brought into the holy place by the priest and placed on a table made especially for this offering. This offering is attested at the Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, Zerubbabel's Temple, and at Nob. It is attested at all of the central sanctuaries except Ezekiel's Temple and Shiloh. The only location where Bread of Presence is found that was not a central sanctuary was Nob. The reason that it is found there is that the Tabernacle, but not the Ark, was apparently moved to Nob after Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines.

²⁵Delbert R. Hillers, "Mskn' 'Temple' in Inscriptions from Hatra," *EASOR* 207 (1972):54-56.

²⁶W. Fairman, "Worship and Festivals," p. 201, cited in Lundquist, "What is a Temple?" p. 201.

The different gifts that were offered to God are similar to the sacrificial meals that were often associated with the temples of other Near Eastern cultures. In Ugaritic literature, after Baal's palace was completed a banquet is prepared for the gods.²⁷ The Gudea Cylinders finish with an account of a meal for all the gods.²⁸ Many of the offerings brought to the House of God were brought by people when they came to the central sanctuary for the annual national festivals.

Festivals

The ancient Israelites were commanded to go to the central sanctuary three times a year for national festivals (Exodus 23:14-17). There are references to all of the central sanctuaries being a gathering place for at least one of these festivals. We are told in Judges 21:19 that there was a yearly "feast of the Lord in Shiloh." In the case of Shiloh, one scripture may also indicate that it was a gathering spot for sacrifice. Elkanah, Samuel's father, is said to have gone up to Shiloh every year to sacrifice to the Lord (1 Samuel 1:3). Since this occurred every year, this may have been for one of the national festivals. Every reference to one of these national festivals is connected to one of the central sanctuaries.

None of the other cult sites is mentioned as a central gathering place for these festivals. In the ancient Near East, people gathered at important locations to celebrate national festivals. In Mesopotamia the people gathered for the *Akitu* festival (New Year) at Babylon.²⁹ A central part of the festivals was the offering of many

²⁷For the full account of this banquet see James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, 2 vols. (Princeton: N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), 1:105.

²⁸See Lundquist, "What is a Temple?" p. 216.

²⁹Henry Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 319.

sacrifices. Egyptian festivals also centered around the temples, though sacrifice does not appear to have been a major part of their ceremonies. In the Israelite temples, to clean both the sacrifices and the officiators, a laver of water was constructed in the courtyard of the temple.

Laver

In Israelite ritual, the priests were required to wash both themselves and the offerings before the sacrifices could be performed. To facilitate this, the laver was built in the temple courtyard. The laver is known to have stood at the Tabernacle and at Solomon's Temple. The Bible does not say that it stood at the other central sanctuaries, but it is probable that there was one at Shiloh (because the Tabernacle was there) and at Zerubbabel's temple (since there is one attested in later temples that were continuations of Zerubbabel's temple).

Holy Mountain

Another prominent feature of the central sanctuaries was that they were built on mountains that were considered sacred. Throughout the Near East, temples have been associated with the Cosmic Mountain. In the Bible, there are no references to a cosmic mountain, but the Tabernacle and the Temple were associated with mountains that were considered to be holy by the people. The plans for the Tabernacle were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. Solomon's and Zerubbabel's Temples were both built on the same mountain. In Psalms 74:2 this mountain is referred to as a holy mountain (see chart note 59 for more references to this holy mountain).³⁰ The Scriptural account of Ezekiel's Temple states that it was to be built on a sacred

³⁰The mountain on which both Solomon's and Zerubbabel's temples were built is also the traditional site of the binding of Isaac by Abraham. This event gave the mount even more significance for the Israelites.

mountain (see chart). None of the open cult sites are referred to as being located on, or associated with, a holy mountain. The High Places that are mentioned in the Old Testament should not be considered in this category, because though their name indicates that they were built on high places there is no indication that these places were considered holy like the site of the temples.

Ark

One feature that is unique to central sanctuaries is the presence of the Ark. The Ark of the Covenant, in Israelite tradition, was considered to be the throne of Yahveh. It was also thought to be a source of power in battle. The presence of the ark at the sanctuary or temple, therefore, gave that location prestige and importance. Of the sites compared on the chart, the Ark is only noted as being at the Tabernacle and in Solomon's Temple. By the time that Zerubbabel's Temple was built, the Ark had been lost, so that from this time forth there was no Ark in any of the temples, as far as is known. Since the Ark was considered the throne of God, it was natural for His presence to be manifested in the place where the Ark rested.

Theophany

Theophany, the manifestation of God's presence, is recorded repeatedly throughout the scriptures. Most of these manifestations occurred in connection with a sanctuary. In the cases of the Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, and Ezekiel's Temple, the theophany is said to have been so powerful that the priests could not officiate until it had ceased. At Shiloh the Lord appeared to Samuel while he was just a boy. When Elijah challenged the priests of Baal to sacrifice, Elijah's sacrifice was consumed by fire from the heavens. At Gibeon, Solomon had sacrificed to the Lord and then prayed for strength and guidance. The Lord appeared to him and blessed him with great wisdom. While most of these manifestations occurred in connection with a

central sanctuary, this does not appear to be one of the requirements, because there are examples where God's presence is demonstrated at locations not considered central sanctuaries (Carmel and Gibeon).³¹ One characteristic of legitimate cult sites, though not exclusive to central sanctuaries, is that priests performed the sacrifices and offerings.

Priests

In ancient Israel the priesthood officiators were organized into divisions. These were the priests and the Levites. The priests were the descendants of Aaron and were considered the highest division, excluding the High Priest. The Levites appear to have been assistants to the priests in the temple sacrifices. In all of the central sanctuaries listed on the chart, priests are mentioned as the officiators. In addition to these instances, priests are mentioned in connection with Nob and Gibeon, but only when the Tabernacle is also stationed there. The primary responsibility of the priests was to offer the sacrifices and offerings brought by the people. The following categories consist of the offerings and sacrifices performed in the sanctuaries.

Colah

The *Colah* offering in Israel was a totally burned offering dedicated to God. It was one of the offerings brought by the worshipper. This offering had a wide variety of applications. In some cases it appears to be an expiatory offering, possibly covering a much broader scope of sins than the *ḥatt'at* and *'azim* offerings. This offering also served for petition and thanksgiving. It "is all-encompassing; it answers

³¹A theophany also occurred at Bethel when Jacob was there. This is a significant example, but since it did not occur in the post-Mosaic period it is not noted on the chart.

to all the emotional needs of the worshipper."³² The more proper translation of this term would be 'whole-offerings' instead of 'burnt-offerings.' These offerings were not burned whole; they were completely burned.³³ This offering is not mentioned only in connection with the central sanctuaries. It is also found at the outlying cult sites.

šelamim

The *šelamim* offering, possibly also called the *zəhazh*, is often translated as the peace or communal offering. This was one of the important sacrifices. All of the fatty parts of the animal were taken by the priest and burned. The other parts were returned to the worshipper for a meal. This sacrifice, like the *qōsh*, was not offered exclusively at the central sanctuaries.

hatt'at

The sin offering (*hatt'at*) was part of the purification ceremony required to cleanse the sanctuary after a person had defiled it by some "physical impurity or an inadvertent offence to God."³⁴ The *hatt'at* blood is not used on a person.³⁵ The impure person had to come to the temple and have this sacrifice performed by a priest before he or she could be declared clean. In this offering the sacrificial goat was brought "before the Lord" and slaughtered by the priest. The priest then took some

³²Jacob Milgrom, "Sacrifices and offerings, OT," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplement*(Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), p. 769.

³³Norman H. Snaith, "Sacrifice in the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957):310.

³⁴Milgrom, "Sacrifices," p. 766.

³⁵*Ibid.*

of the blood and smeared it on the horns of the altar. All the fat of the sacrificial animal was then burned (Leviticus 4:24). The priest received the rest of the animal. Snaith remarks that 'sin-offering' is not a "satisfactory rendering" because the majority of the animal did not go anywhere near the altar. In this ritual, the *hattat* "became the sin, and it was got rid of. It was taken away so that it was no longer between the repentant sinner and God."³⁶ This offering is attested only in association with the central sanctuaries (see chart).

minḥah

The *minḥah* was a gift. The etymological meaning of this word is "tribute, gift" in a sense. It is used this way 37 times in the Old Testament. It was an offering of flour mixed with oil and frankincense. Milgrom proposes that this offering could have "served as a cheap *ḥolḥ* for those who could not afford an animal."³⁷ In the 16 biblical references to this type of sacrifice, six clearly refer to a grain sacrifice while the other ten appear to refer to either the grain or flesh offerings. Snaith maintains that the six specific grain offerings represent the original form of the offering, and the others are simply using *minḥah* in its general meaning of "gift."³⁸ This offering was burnt in the temple by a priest as a gift for God. This offering is also found only at the central sanctuaries.

³⁶Snaith, "Sacrifice," p. 316.

³⁷Milgrom, "Sacrifices," p. 768.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 314-16.

nesekh

Another type of offering performed at the temple was that of a liquid libation. This usually consisted of wine mixed with water and was poured on or near the altar. This offering is mentioned in connection with only one of the central sanctuaries.

'aziz

The *'aziz* was the guilt or trespass offering. It has been proposed that the difference between this offering and the *hattat* is that the *hattat* is for "unwitting offenses," while the *'aziz* is for deliberate offenses or offenses that cause damage.³⁹ As with the majority of the sacrifices and offerings, this one is found only at the central sanctuaries.

³⁹Norman H. Snaith, "The Sin-offering and the Guilt-offering," *Vetus Testamentum* 15 (1965):73-73.

Sanctuaries

Tabernacle

The Tabernacle was built in Sinai during the exodus. This structure has been dated to the mid-thirteenth century B.C. The first of the Israelite sanctuaries, it fits into the category of the central sanctuary, possessing all of the necessary cultic features. The only two criteria which are not explicitly mentioned in connection with the Tabernacle are the creation and covenant renewal. The rehearsal of the creation, though not explicitly tied to the Tabernacle, may possibly be inferred by the materials used in its construction and its architectural features. The woods and fruits used remind us of the garden. The cherubim in the Holy of Holies and on the curtains are probably the clearest connection with the creation account. Philo, in his explanation of materials used in the construction of the sanctuary, comments that it was fitting that temple of the Creator should be made of materials representing the materials used in the creation of the world.⁴⁰ Although there is no mention of a covenant renewal taking place at the Tabernacle, it is interesting to note that the Lord commanded Israel to build the Tabernacle only after the people had entered into the covenant. In the case of Solomon's Temple, the Lord accepted it as His home only after the people had recommitted themselves to His laws.

Gilgal

Gilgal was the location of the camp of Israel from the time of their crossing the Jordan until the land was conquered and it could be settled into tribal inheritances. Since this was the Israelites' campsite, the Tabernacle was located there. Several of the characteristic features of the central sanctuary are to be found at Gilgal. In 1

⁴⁰Philo, *Questions and Answers on Exodus* II, 85.

Samuel 12, Samuel delivers a very powerful exhortation to the people in order to motivate them to keep the commandments. It is not specifically stated but it is possible that at this time the people recovenanted to obey the commandments. In addition, the people of Israel went to Gilgal for the coronation of King Saul (1 Samuel 11:15). We are also told that while the people were camped at Gilgal, they kept the Passover (Joshua 5:10).

Shiloh

The records that refer to pre-Davidic Shiloh are probably the most fragmentary of all. From the chart, the only features attested at Shiloh are its buildings, the Ark, the priests, and the *minḥah*. This lack of characteristics is probably due to the incompleteness of the record. Even though many of the features are not mentioned, we can safely assume that many of them actually apply because the Tabernacle was located there from the conquest until Shiloh's destruction by the Philistines. The Bible says when Elkanah went to Shiloh that he ate and drank. This may have been a reference to the *šəlamim* offering. Moreover, the account of the sons of Eli wanting the meat before it was boiled may refer to a *ḥattit* offering, since the priest kept part of this offering as his food.

Solomon's Temple

Solomon's Temple, which was built early in the tenth century B.C., is the most famous of all the Israelite holy places. It was the central sanctuary of Israel until its destruction in 587 B.C. In Solomon's Temple, all of the features are explicitly mentioned except the *šəlamim* and the recitation of the creation story. The Temple of Solomon has all the same features as the Tabernacle but, in addition to these features, it also has political associations. The Solomonic Temple, though it was the central

sanctuary of all Israel, can in a very real sense be called a royal sanctuary. It appears to have been the national treasury and in later times a place of civil judgement.

Zerubbabel's Temple

Zerubbabel's Temple was built after the Jews had returned from their captivity and exile in Babylon. Much of the money for its construction is said to have come from the king of Persia (Ezra 3:7; 6:4, 8). The records which focus on this temple are not as extensive as in the previous two cases, but enough information is provided to make it clear that it was considered a temple and a central sanctuary in its true sense. Had there been a king in the post-exilic period, he probably would have been crowned at this Temple, following the precedent of the pre-exilic kings. Anointings are also not attested in the biblical account of this temple. There is also no indication that the plans for this Temple were revealed to the builders, nor is the laver mentioned. But this is probably due to the incompleteness of the record, since post-biblical records have informed us that there was a laver in Herod's Temple, thus carrying on the injunction. The Ark was not a feature of any of the post-exilic temples because it presumably was lost before or during the exile.

Ezekiel's Temple

Ezekiel's Temple, though never actually built, can still appropriately be considered a central sanctuary because most of the characteristics of a central sanctuary are mentioned in the account. Some expected features not mentioned are: anointings, bread of presence, and the laver.

Shechem/Mt. Ebal

Shechem was one of the earliest mentioned cities in the Bible. We are told that Abram (Abraham) built an altar to the Lord at Sichem (Genesis 12:6, 7.) Jacob

bought a plot of ground in Shechem and lived there for several years. Soon after the conquest, the Israelites gathered near Shechem to renew the covenant. This took place at a nearby site of Mount Ebal. On this occasion, *Qash* and *Shammim* sacrifices are mentioned in connection with Shechem. Later, Jereboam went there to be made king of Israel.

Bethel

Bethel is first mentioned in connection with Abraham. He built an altar and sacrificed there. Later, Jacob dreamed of the ladder going to heaven at this holy spot. At the beginning of the divided Monarchy, it gained its fame when it was made one of the two sanctuaries with a statue of a golden calf. There are no references in the Bible to specific sacrifices that were performed at Bethel, but we do know that sacrifices were offered there in Jereboam's time when the golden calf was set up at the Bethel high place.

Nob

Nob is first attested after the conquest of Canaan. After the destruction of Shiloh, the Tabernacle was moved to Nob, and the priests moved there to officiate in it. The Ark was not moved there. After the Ark was retrieved from the Philistines, it was placed in Kiriat Jearim (1 Samuel 6:21). The only items mentioned in relation to Nob are those most often associated with the Tabernacle. These are the bread of presence and the officiators. It can be assumed that since the Tabernacle was there many of the other characteristics also would apply.

Gibeon

Gibeon is first mentioned soon after the Israelite crossing of the Jordan River. This site is noted throughout the Old Testament, but not until the days of David is it

mentioned in connection with the official Israelite cult. We learn from the Bible that in the time of David and Solomon (before the Temple was built) the Tabernacle was there (1 Chronicles 16:39; 2 Chronicles 1:3, 13). Because of this the term "House of God" was applied to Gibeon. At the beginning of Solomon's reign we are told that he went to Gibeon to perform sacrifices because that was where the Tabernacle was. By this time, however, the Ark had been moved to Jerusalem. There were also priests at Gibeon who officiated in *Coash* offerings.

Dan

Dan is attested from the time of the conquest until the destruction of the Northern Kingdom. During the divided Monarchy, it was made one of the prominent sanctuaries set up with golden calves to rival Jerusalem (1 Kings 12:29-30). The officiators at this cult site are referred to as priests, but there is evidence that these priests were not true descendants of Aaron.

Carmel

Carmel is often mentioned, but only in the story of Elijah is it mentioned as a sanctuary. The biblical record indicates that at some time prior to Elijah there had been a legitimate sanctuary at that location on Mt. Carmel. In the account of the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal, when Elijah began preparing to offer his sacrifice, we are informed that "he repaired the altar [at Carmel] of the LORD ~~that~~ *was* broken down" (1 Kings 18:30). The only characteristic feature of the central sanctuary that the Old Testament mentions in connection with Carmel is the *Coash* sacrifice.

Conclusion

The Biblical record favors the idea of a central sanctuary, but not a "sole" sacred spot before the late seventh-century B.C. The purpose of this paper was not to investigate the dating of Deuteronomy or to prove the idea of centralization, but to demonstrate that there were different types of sanctuaries during the same time period. The data found on the chart indicates that most, if not all, of certain features were found at the central sanctuary whenever possible. This was not the case with the other sanctuaries. The other cult sites were not considered the "House of God," while the central sanctuaries were. Sometimes these other cult sites did house the Ark, but this was only temporary and the majority of the other distinguishing features were not present at the same time.

Another distinguishing feature of the central sanctuary is that the priests were the main officiators. The Levites could assist, but they were assigned to lesser duties. The idea of one sole shrine for all Israel "is not correct: the central sanctuary is not just the main one among many. It is the sanctuary where--and only where!--the official, regular cultic activities involving all-Israel as one people of Yahweh take place."⁴¹ The central sanctuary requires the Tabernacle or a temple with

the Ark, the established Priesthood, regular cultic activities, and the duty at least officially accepted of the yearly pilgrimages to, and the maintenance of, the central sanctuary by all the tribes of Israel and by thus permitting any one of the several sanctuaries to be called the central sanctuary at any given time.⁴²

Many sites have been proposed by scholars as central sanctuaries. Among these have been Shiloh, Shechem, Bethel, Jerusalem, and Gilgal. Commenting on

⁴¹S. Asami, *The Central Sanctuary in Israel in the Ninth Century B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1964), p. 9.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 19.

these various possible sites, Asami states that "before Jerusalem Shiloh appears to have been the only sanctuary which could properly be called the central sanctuary of the twelve-tribe league of Israel."⁴³ The only additions to be made to this statement are the Tabernacle and Gilgal. During the wandering wherever the Tabernacle stood would have been considered the central sanctuary and while the people were camped at Gilgal, this site would have been considered their central sanctuary.

While the Tabernacle was located at Gilgal, the Israelites went to Shechem (Mount Ebal), built an altar to the Lord, and offered sacrifices there. Just prior to the building of the Temple of Solomon, Solomon went to Gibeon and made great sacrifices to the Lord. After this, the Lord appeared to him. If this had been a pagan act, the Lord would not have appeared to him. During the time of Solomon's Temple, numerous other cult sites are mentioned. Bethel and Dan are probably the most famous of these. They were set up as rivals of Jerusalem's sanctuary. During this time Elijah challenged the priests of Baal to the burnt offering. On this occasion the Lord sent fire from heaven to consume Elijah's offering. Once again, God accepted this offering made at a non-central sanctuary. Another interesting scripture indicates that at this time Elijah mourned the destruction of the other altars of Yahweh (1 Kings 19:14).

The information in this paper indicates that there were probably three major types of sanctuaries found in Israel. These are the central sanctuaries, the prophetic sanctuaries, and pagan sanctuaries. The central sanctuaries include the Tabernacle, Gilgal, Shiloh, Solomon's Temple, Zerubbabel's Temple, and, though it was never constructed, Ezekiel's Temple, since it possesses the majority of the necessary features. At the central sanctuaries, the national rites of Israel were carried out, Priests and Levites served as the officiators. The Ark was housed in these sanctuaries

⁴³Ibid., p. 29.

which were in turn considered to be the House of God. Also the majority of the sacrifices are only offered at the central sanctuaries.

The prophetic and royal sanctuaries include pre-Jeroboam Bethel, Gibeon, and Carmel. At these sites only prophets and kings are mentioned as officiators at sacrifices. Only the *qash* and *selamin* are mentioned in connection with these sanctuaries. There is no mention of any of the national rites and festivals occurring at these locations. No mention is made of sacrifices occurring at pre-Jeroboam Bethel, but Bethel is mentioned in connection with places where Samuel officiated and offered sacrifice. This may possibly indicate that Samuel also offered sacrifices at Bethel. The Tabernacle was set up temporarily at Gibeon, so there is mention of buildings there. There is also mention of Priests officiating. Gibeon was the place where Solomon went to offer his numerous sacrifices. In the case of Carmel, only theophany and *qash* are mentioned. The Bible indicates that at an earlier period there had been other legitimate Yahwistic altars at Carmel but they had been destroyed.

The third group of sanctuaries include post-Jeroboam Bethel and Dan. Both of these sites were set up by Jeroboam as rivals of the Jerusalem Temple. It appears from the biblical record that these sanctuaries were officiated by priests appointed by Jeroboam who did not include the hereditary priestly line of Israel. The only feature explicitly mentioned in the Bible is that of Festivals. In spite of this, it is fair to assume that, since these sanctuaries were set up as rivals to Jerusalem, they also had as part of their rites all the sacrifices and ceremonies necessary to make them central sanctuaries for the northern kingdom.

There are still two unclassified sites on the chart. These are Shechem and Nob. The passages in which they are mentioned indicate that they were considered legitimate sanctuaries; but due to lack of information, it is difficult to place them. It does not appear that they have the features of the central sanctuary, but at the same

time they do not appear to be pagan or royal even though a coronation occurred at Shechem.

The Biblical evidence overwhelmingly indicates that though there was a central sanctuary, this did not mean that there was a "sole" holy place. If this had been the case and if Moses had commanded the existence of only one sanctuary, then many of the kings and prophets would have to be considered apostate and pagan since they offered sacrifices at other altars located throughout the land.

	Tabernacle	Gilgal	Shiloh	Solomon's Temple	Zerubbabel's Temple	Ezekiel's Temple	Shechem	Bethel	Nob	Gibeon	Dan	Carmel (Elijah)
Creation	(1)			(1)								
Covenant Renewal		21		36	55		81					
Buildings	2		27	37	56	67			(86)	89		
Coronation	3	22		38			82					
House of God	4			39	57	68						
Anointing	5			40								
Plan Revealed	6			41		69						
Restrictions	7			42	58	70						
Bread of Presence	8			43	59				87			
Festivals	9	23	(28)	44	60	71		85			(93)	
Laver	10		(29)	45	(61)							
Holy Mountain	11			46	(62)	72						
Ark	12	(24)	30	47								
Theophany	13		31	48		73				90		94
Priests	14		32	49	63	74			88	91		
'olah	15	25		50	64	75	83			92		95
šelamim	16	26	33	51		76	84					
ḥat'at	17		34	52	65	77						
minḥah	18		35	53	66	78						
nešeth	19			54		79						
'āšan	20					80						

The numbers on the chart refer to the chart notes. The numbers in parentheses represent features that are not explicitly stated at that site but which can safely be assumed.

Chart Notes

1 This is not explicitly stated. For the evidence of this see Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, pp. 501-12.

2 Exodus 26:31-33.

3 1 Kings 1:39. The coronation did not actually take place in the Tabernacle but articles from the Tabernacle were used in this coronation.

4 Exodus 25:8; 29:45.

5 Exodus 40:12-13; 29:7.

6 Exodus 25-26; 30:1-6.

7 Exodus 30:33; 29:33; Leviticus 16:2; Numbers 5:2-3.

8 Exodus 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; Leviticus 24:5-6; Numbers 4:7.

9 Numbers 9; Exodus 23:14-17; Deuteronomy 16:16.

10 Exodus 38:8; 30:18.

11 Exodus 26:30; cf. Exodus 25:9.

12 Exodus 25:21.

13 Exodus 40:33-36.

14 Numbers 1:47-53.

15 Exodus 29:18; Leviticus 1:3.

16 Leviticus 3:1-3.

17 Leviticus 14:22; 15:15; Numbers 6:16.

18 Leviticus 2:1, 4; Numbers 15:4.

19 Leviticus 23:37; Numbers 6:17.

20 Leviticus 5:19; 7:5; 14:21.

21 1 Samuel 12.

22 1 Samuel 11:15.

23 Joshua 5:10.

24 Joshua 9:6; 10:43. The camp of the people was at Gilgal, so presumably the Ark and Tabernacle were there also.

25 1 Samuel 10:8; 13:9.

26 1 Samuel 10:8.

27 1 Samuel 2:22; 3:2-3.

28 Judges 21:19; 1 Samuel 1:3. Elkanah went up yearly to Shiloh to offer sacrifices. This may have been for one of these three festivals.

29 The Tabernacle stood for many years at Shiloh. For this reason there was probably a laver there also.

30 1 Samuel 3:3; Joshua 18:1.

31 1 Samuel 3:21.

32 1 Samuel 1:3, 9.

33 In 1 Samuel 1:9-10 it says that in connection with the sacrifice at Shiloh there was eating and drinking. This may be a reference to the *shelamim* offering.

34 In 1 Samuel 2:14-17 Eli's sons received part of the sacrifice as their portion for food. This may have been a *shelamim* sacrifice.

35 1 Samuel 2:17, 29.

36 2 Kings 23 and 2 Chronicles 34:29-33; 2 Kings 11:17.

37 1 Kings 6.

38 2 Kings 11:11-12.

39 1 Kings 8:11, 13.

40 2 Kings 11:12.

41 1 Chronicles 28:11-20; 1 Kings 3:5; 1 Kings 9:2; though it is not explicitly stated in the Bible that the plan of Solomon's Temple was revealed to Solomon it is possible that the plan was revealed to Solomon while at Gibeon. For a further explanation of this see Arvid S. Kapelrud's article "Temple Building, a Task for Gods and Kings," *Orientalia* 32 (1963): 59-60.

42 2 Chronicles 28:13.

43 2 Chronicles 2:4.

44 2 Chronicles 30.

45 1 Kings 7:23; 2 Kings 16:17; 2 Kings 25:13.

46 Psalms 74:2; 1 Kings 9:3; Psalms 48:1-3; 76:1-2.

47 1 Kings 8:1-9.

48 2 Chronicles 5:13-14; 1 Kings 8:11.

49 1 Kings 8:3, 4, 6, 11; 2 Chronicles 5:14.

50 2 Kings 16:15.

51 2 Chronicles 29:35; 1 Kings 3:15.

52 2 Chronicles 29:24.

53 Joel 1:9, 13; 1 Kings 8:64.

54 2 Kings 16:15; 2 Chronicles 29:35.

55 Nehemiah 8:1-4; Ezra 10:1-6, 10-12; Nehemiah 9-10.

56 Ezra 3:10; 5:14-15.

57 Ezra 5:17.

58 Ezra 4:3.

59 Nehemiah 10:33.

60 Nehemiah 8:14-18; Ezra 6:19-21.

61 Herod's Temple is known to have a laver. Zerubbabel's Temple was built by righteous men who tried to build it as close to the "original" as they could. With these two facts it is probable that Zerubbabel's Temple also had a laver.

62 Zerubbabel's Temple was built on the same mountain as Solomon's Temple. Therefore, it would have had the same relation to the holy mountain.

63 Ezra 6:16, 18, 20.

64 Ezra 8:35.

65 Ezra 8:35.

66 Nehemiah 13:9.

67 Ezekiel 40-41.

68 Ezekiel 43:7.

69 Ezekiel 40-43.

70 Ezekiel 44:9.

71 Ezekiel 45:21-25; 46:9.

72 Ezekiel 43:12.

73 Ezekiel 44:3-4.

74 Ezekiel 42.

75 Ezekiel 43:18, 24; 40:38.

76 Ezekiel 46:12.

77 Ezekiel 43:25; 45:22-23.

78 Ezekiel 46:5, 7, 14.

79 Ezekiel 45:17.

80 Ezekiel 46:20; 40:39.

81 Joshua 24.

82 1 Kings 12:1.

83 Joshua 8:31.

84 Joshua 8:31.

85 1 Kings 12:32.

86 1 Samuel 21-22. Both priests and shewbread (bread of presence) are mentioned here. This is a good indication that the Tabernacle was at Nob also.

87 1 Samuel 21:3-6.

88 1 Samuel 21-22.

89 1 Chronicles 21:29.

90 1 Kings 3:5.

91 1 Chronicles 16:39.

92 1 Kings 3:4; 1 Chronicles 21:29.

93 Since Bethel and Dan were set up for the same purpose it can be assumed that the same festivals were held at each sanctuary. See not 81 of this chart.

94 1 Kings 18:38.

95 1 Kings 18:37-38.

**Scriptural Citations
for
Sanctuary Sites**

Tabernacle--There are numerous scriptures concerning the Tabernacle. The main ones are Exodus 25-40; Leviticus 1-16 (These chapters mainly contain the description of the rituals involving the Tabernacle.) Numbers 1, 3, 4; Joshua 18:1; 19:51; 22:19, 29; 1 Samuel 2:22; 2 Samuel 6:17; 7:6; 1 Kings 1:39.

Solomon's Temple--The scriptural references for this sanctuary are too numerous to list. The main sections, however, are 1 Kings 6-8 and 2 Chronicles 1-8.

Zerubbabel's Temple--The book of Ezra is the main source of the information on this temple.

Ezekiel's Temple--Ezekiel 40-48.

Shiloh--Joshua 18:1, 8, 9, 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9-12; Judges 18:31; 21:12, 19, 21; 1 Samuel 1-3; 4:3, 4, 12; 14:3; 1 Kings 2:27; 14:2, 4; Psalms 78:60; Jeremiah 7:12, 14; 26:6, 9; 41:5.

Shechem--Genesis 33:18; 34; 35:4; 37:12-14; Numbers 26:31; Joshua 17:2, 7; 20:7; 21:21; 14:1, 25, 32; Judges 8:31; 9; 1 Kings 12:1, 25; 1 Chronicles 6:67; 7:19, 28; 2 Chronicles 10:1; Psalms 60:6; 108:7; Jeremiah 41:5.

Bethel--Genesis 12:8; 13:3; 28:19; 31:13; 35:1, 3, 6, 8, 15, 16; Joshua 7:2; 8:9, 12, 17; 12:9, 16; 16:1-2; 18:13, 22; Judges 1:22-23; 4:5; 21:19; 1 Samuel 7:16; 10:3; 13:2; 30:27; 1 Kings 12:29c 32-33; 13; 2 Kings 2:2-3, 23; 10:29; 17:28; Nehemiah 7:32; 11:31; Jeremiah 48:13; Hosea 10:15; 12:4; Amos 3:14; 4:4; 5:5-6; 7:10, 13.

Carmel--1 Kings 18:19-40.

Nob--1 Samuel 21-22; Nehemiah 11:32; Isaiah 10:32.

Gibeon--Joshua 9:3, 17; 10; 11:19; 18:25; 21:17; 2 Samuel 2:12, 13, 16, 24; 3:30; 20:8; 1 Kings 3:4, 5; 9:2; 1 Chronicles 8:29; 9:35; 14:16; 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chronicles 1:3, 13; Nehemiah 3:7; 7:25; Isaiah 28:21; Jeremiah 28:1; 41:12, 16.

Gilgal--Deuteronomy 11:30; Joshua 4:19, 20; 5:9c 10; 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43;
12:23; 14:6; 15:7; Judges 2:1; 3:19; 1 Samuel 7:16; 10:8; 11:14, 15;
13:4, 7, 8, 12, 15; 15:12, 21, 33; 2 Samuel 19:15, 40; 2 Kings 2:1;
4:38; Nehemiah 12:29; Hosea 4:15; 12:11; Amos 4:4; 5:5; Micah 6:5.

Dan--Genesis 14:14; 30:6; 35:25; 46:23; 49:16, 17; Exodus 1:4; 31:6; 35:34;
38:23; Leviticus 24:11; Numbers 1:12, 38, 39; 2:25, 31; 7:66; 10:25;
13:12; 26:42; 34:22; Deuteronomy 27:13; 33:22; 34:1; Joshua 19:40,
47, 48; 21:5, 23; Judges 1:34; 5:17; 13:25; 18:2, 16, 22-30; 20:1; 1
Samuel 3:20; 2 Samuel 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kings 4:25; 12:29, 30;
15:20; 2 Kings 10:29; 1 Chronicles 2:2; 21:2; 27:22; 2 Chronicles
2:14; 16:4; 30:5; Jeremiah 4:15; 8:16; Ezekiel 27:19; 48:1, 2, 32;
Amos 8:14.

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