

1-1-2007

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Recommended Citation

Seid, Timothy W. (2007) "The New and Eternal Covenant," *Quaker Religious Thought*: Vol. 109, Article 3.
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol109/iss1/3>

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THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT

TIMOTHY W. SEID

Any discussion of the practice of sacraments in the church must place it in the context of the covenant. At the heart of that study is the development of the interpretation of covenant as it appears in important junctures in Scripture and religious history. My goal in this paper is to trace this development from the language of covenant renewal in the time of Jeremiah to the early Christian period, particularly in Hebrews, and to reflect briefly on the way in which early Quakers focused on particular themes related to the concept of the new covenant. Quakers have found in the new covenant language of Jeremiah and Hebrews support for their distinctive views on the rejection of outward religious ceremony, the inward and immediate teaching of the Light within the soul, and the effectiveness of God's Spirit to bring the believer into a state of perfection.

There are numerous covenants God formed with God's people as described in Hebrew scripture. The central covenant, however, was the Sinai covenant in which God established the agreement with the nation of Israel whereby Yahweh would be their God, and they would be Yahweh's people. Much of the history of the Israelite nation is a narrative about how well or how poorly they lived up to the covenant, and in what ways God brought about judgment against them through oppressing nations.

Times of war and conflict tend to bring about renewal movements. The effect of the domination by Assyria over Judea in the 7th century BCE led to the reform under Josiah and to the prophetic hope of a new covenant found in the book of Jeremiah. Likewise, the control of the Hellenistic dynastic kingdoms over Judea and the Roman occupation in the 1st century CE, which brought about the decline and destruction of the Jerusalem temple, contributed to the development in that period of renewal movements among Jewish groups. This pattern occurs again in England during the 16th and 17th century in the midst of civil war and religious dissension, resulting in the renewal movement of Quakerism as part of the English reformation.

Following the Assyrian Captivity (721 BCE) of the northern ten tribes of Israel, the southern kingdom of Judah experienced a time of renewal during the reign of Josiah (c. 640–609 BCE). According to

the account of 2 Kings 22-23, Josiah instituted sweeping reforms in Judah, which refocused worship on Yahweh, centralized the cult in the Jerusalem temple, and renewed the nation's commitment to the newly discovered "book of the covenant" (2 Kings 22:2).

The covenant the Israelites had made with God at Sinai obligated them to be devoted to Yahweh. Yahweh would be their God, and they would be God's people. God had said to the Israelites through Moses, "Now therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:5-6). The people then swear an oath of allegiance to Yahweh before Moses receives God's instructions (Exod. 19:8). Yahweh warns Moses that the Israelites must only worship Yahweh, "for I the LORD your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me" (Exod. 20:5). When Moses returns to the people, "he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, 'All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient'" (Exod. 24:7).

According to 2 Kings, because the Israelites had forsaken God's covenant, God, the jealous God, would punish them: "Great is the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our ancestors did not obey the words of this book, to do according to all that is written concerning us" (2 Kings 22:13). Josiah renews Judah's commitment to God's covenant through a ceremony and ritual. According to 2 Kings 23:3, "The king stood by the pillar and made a covenant before the LORD, to follow the LORD, keeping his commandments, his decrees, and his statutes, with all his heart and all his soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. All the people joined in the covenant." With great bloodshed and violence, Josiah cleansed the temple worship and its practitioners (2 Kings 23:4-20). Afterwards, a Passover festival was once again celebrated in Jerusalem (2 Kings 23:21-23).

The reforms of Josiah were not long-lasting. The prophets would soon call for a renewal of commitment to Yahweh as a new threat of Babylonian incursion looms on the northern horizon. The earliest part of Isaiah warns the Israelites about breaking the "everlasting covenant" (Isa. 24:5). Deutero-Isaiah is thought to assure the Judeans transported to Babylon that God remains true to the covenant, "For the mountains may depart and the hills be removed, but my

steadfast love shall not depart from you, and my covenant of peace shall not be removed, says the LORD, who has compassion on you” (Isaiah 54:10). In Isaiah 55:3 Yahweh says, “I will make with you an everlasting covenant.” This is described in Isaiah 59:21, “This is my covenant with them, says the LORD: my spirit that is upon you, and my words that I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouths of your children, or out of the mouths of your children’s children, says the LORD, from now on and forever.”

There had been a promise and foretaste of things to come in Isaiah 43:19, “I am about to do a new thing.” Jeremiah responds to the cataclysmic events of the defeat of Judah by the Babylonians and the subsequent deportation of the Judean elites to Babylon: “They abandoned the covenant of the LORD their God, and worshiped other gods and served them” (Jer. 22:9). Yet, Jeremiah voices the hope of the Judeans to return to their land, repopulate it, and live in peace.

The days are surely coming, says the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. It will not be like the covenant that I made with their ancestors when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt—a covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, says the LORD. But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the LORD: I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, “Know the LORD,” for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the LORD; for I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more (Jer. 31:31-34).

This language of a renewed covenant would become significant for the Jews of the first century of the common era who inhabited the environs of the Dead Sea, as well as those who would follow Jesus—for Christians then and for millennia afterwards.

Early Jewish texts of the Second Temple period do not present any evidence that Jews of this time developed the theme of the new covenant¹—except for the covenanters of the Qumran scrolls. Because of the occupation of their land by the Romans and the corruption of the priesthood and impurity of the temple, they withdrew to the desert to wait and prepare for the final battle of God’s forces against those of evil. They saw themselves as the renewed covenant community of Israel. Those who joined the community were initiated

into this covenant and annually renewed their allegiance to it through ceremony and ritual.

Within one strand of early Christian tradition relating the events of Christ's Last Supper, Jesus calls the cup of wine they drink together, "the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor. 11:25; Luke 22:20). Paul again refers to the new covenant in 2 Corinthians and distinguishes it from the covenant whose obligations were written on stone tablets. This new covenant is, "not of letter but of spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:8).

The language of Jeremiah's new covenant figures prominently in the book of Hebrews. The author of Hebrews writes what he calls a "word" or a "speech of exhortation" (Heb. 13:22). Throughout the speech, the author draws comparisons between what God did in Jewish antiquity and what God has done more recently through God's Son Jesus. Coupled with these comparisons are exhortations to the people of God to remain faithful to God in order to avoid God's judgment and to realize the ultimate goal of human existence.²

The rhetoric of Hebrews looks like this:

- God worked through angels, "sons of God," in creation and in the giving of the Law, but the one who is God's Son surpasses them. Therefore, it is even more important to pay attention to what God says through God's Son.
- God worked through God's faithful servant Moses, but Christ "was faithful over God's house as a son" (Heb. 3:6). Therefore, rather than being prevented from reaching the goal like the Israelites who hardened their hearts and were disobedient, God's people should persevere and call upon Jesus as a faithful high priest.
- The high priests who served in the tabernacle were ineffectual, but Christ has become the effective and eternal priest, who is able to help God's people progress to perfection. Therefore, God's people should leave behind the elementary stage of their development and move toward maturity in virtue.
- God established the order of the priests in the tabernacle to serve the people, but Jesus gains his priesthood through the greater and more ancient Melchizedekian priesthood and surpasses the priests in every way, most importantly in his ability to bring about a better result in the people of God. In fact, this is the high priest who sits at God's right hand and is the

mediator of a better covenant, the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah. God instituted the first covenant with regulations for daily and annual sacrifices and a tent with its accoutrements, but Christ fulfilled once for all what could not be done before and entered the heavenly tent as the mediator of the new covenant, by which those who approach God are made perfect. Therefore, God's people should follow Christ's lead "by the new and living way," be faithful and obedient people, and encourage one other to reach the ultimate goal of God's Sabbath rest.

A focal point of the Protestant Reformation had been the way in which people fulfilled the obligations of the new covenant. Roman Catholicism developed a system of sacraments by which people experienced God's grace. The struggle for political power in England often meant the church went through drastic changes: Henry VIII's break with the papacy over the annulment of his first marriage; the continued Protestant reforms under Edward VI; the restoration of Catholicism under Mary I; and the severed relations with the papacy and development of the independent Anglican Church under Elizabeth I as a compromise of Catholics and Puritans. In the midst of the civil wars and the reestablishment of the monarchy we find religious people, such as Puritans and Quakers, debating the concept of covenant and the duty of humans to God and country.

One of the most important aspects about covenant is its cultic and ritual requirements. A number of scholars in recent years have helped us understand better the nature of making covenants in the ancient near-eastern world.³ Frank Cross has emphasized the role of kinship in the making of covenants among western Semitic tribal groups.⁴ Menahem Haran stresses the ceremonial and cultic aspects of forming a covenant.⁵ Frank Polak compares the Sinai covenant with recently discovered covenant texts from Mari, which describe the rituals involved in making a covenant.⁶ When we read about the Sinai covenant, we might overlook the larger cultural context of how ancient Semitic peoples formed covenants through the enactment of rituals.

We find in the context of first-century Jewish groups people who see in their own time a fulfillment of the prophetic vision of God's new covenant with God's people. In the case of Qumran, rituals are intrinsic to participating in and maintaining the covenant. In the case of the eucharistic texts of Luke and Paul, we also have ritual enactment infused with language of the new covenant.

We find a different situation in Hebrews. But it is important first of all to consider the way in which Hebrews is interpreted. Traditionally Hebrews has been understood to be a late, first-century Christian text representing a more spiritualized and supersessionist response to the cultic ritual and legalistic demands of Judaism. Hebrews 6:1-2 has been taken to be a call to Jewish Christians to move beyond the old forms of Judaism with its “dead works” and embrace a better form of religion, one that is “perfect.” Christians have focused on language such as “abrogation of an earlier commandment” (Heb. 7:18); “God finds fault with them” (Heb. 8:8); the first covenant is “obsolete. And what is obsolete and growing old will soon disappear” (Heb. 8:13); God “abolishes the first in order to establish the second” (Heb. 10:9). The clincher is Hebrews 10:1: “the law has only a shadow of the good things to come and not the true form of these realities.” The author of Hebrews considers the earthly sanctuary to be inferior to the heavenly one. The former was “made by human hands” and is “a mere copy of the true one” (Heb. 9:24).

Few scholars today, however, support the view Hebrews was written as a warning to Jewish Christians not to lapse back into legalism. Many still want to read the text as a Jewish synagogue homily presenting midrashic (biblical interpretation) and rabbinic arguments to teach Jewish Christians the proper form of worship. Others stress the Hellenistic Jewish context of moral exhortation through Greek rhetoric (epideictic or praise speech, comparison, exhortation, paraenesis or moral admonition, epistolary ending). Not only is the language and rhetoric of Hebrews steeped in Greek tradition, but also the philosophical language is reminiscent of Stoicism and Middle Platonism. The author of Hebrews compares the more ancient with the more recent as a way of praising what God has done through God’s Son Jesus and persuading the people of God to give greater allegiance to God’s new work than what the Israelites did in the wilderness when they failed to reach their destination because of disobedience. The author speaks as a Greek moral philosopher would when he encourages his audience to make progress in their educational advancement and their work toward the goal of perfection. More to the point, the author gives evidence of a Platonic disposition when he values the immaterial and celestial over the physical, earthly world of shadow.

Hebrews acknowledges that God instituted the Sinai covenant and gave the Law with its priesthood and sacrificial system. The “gospel” came to the Israelites, but they failed to reach the goal of the Promised

Land because of faithlessness and disobedience to God (Heb. 4:2). The exhortation to the present people of God is to move beyond conversion from paganism, initiation and elementary catechism, and progress toward the goal of perfection, at which stage of maturity their reasoning faculty distinguishes between what is good and bad (Heb. 5:12-6:2).

When we read Hebrews to help us understand Christian sacraments, we have to keep in mind the author's rhetorical strategy as well as the historical, cultural context. Even if we set aside the issue of dating, we have to take into consideration that the language of Hebrews refers to the wilderness wanderings and the original tabernacle. There is no hint of the presence of a temple—not to mention a destroyed temple of a post-70 CE context. In either case, the danger of Hebrews' audience practicing Jewish cultic ritual is not a real one. The issue is not whether these followers of Jesus are going to worship in the temple, become circumcised, eat kosher food, attend festivals, or participate in a sacrificial system. Rather, the point is whether they are going to be faithful and obedient people, endure and persevere in hardship, progress toward perfection, and act morally in their relationship to others.⁷

Like the early Jewish Christians, who were outside of the power base in the Jerusalem temple and hierarchy, early Friends were also among those who considered the practices of established religion in their country to be self-serving and corrupting for those in power. George Fox often used the language of outwardness to diminish ceremonial and ritual practices.

In which temple the Lord appeared unto the Jews, in all those outward things which the Lord did command Moses and his servants to make; the Lord did appear in them in the old covenant and old testament, (which were figures and shadows of Christ the substance, and of his spiritual house and church in the new testament,) and were commanded in the law, and served till Christ the great prophet came in the new covenant and new testament, who is to be heard in all things; and he the substance putteth an end to all those figures and shadows in the law and old testament, as namely, the outward tabernacle, ark, sanctuary, and temple, which were outward, and made with hands, where the Lord had formerly spoke to the Jews in the old testament and old covenant; and in the new testament God speaketh to his believers by his son, as in Heb. i.⁸

Early Friends used the language of Hebrews to reinforce their contention that the worship of God was to be practiced without ceremony and ritual. It was to be a spiritual and inward form of worship without mediation of priests through the sacraments, or scribes through the teachings of the Church.

Another important feature of the new covenant is the way in which it is perceived to be something internal rather than external. Jeremiah describes the making of this new covenant in traditional terms. Yahweh will “cut” a new covenant with the “house” of Israel and Judah (Jer. 31:31, 33). Most translations read, “I will put my law within them.” The Hebrew expression, however, is formulaic in contexts in which God or Moses “gives the law” (Exod. 24:12; Lev. 26:46; Deut. 4:8; 31:9; Ezra 7:6; Neh. 9:13; 10:29; Jer. 9:13; 26:4; 44:10; Dan. 9:10). This Hebrew verb is often translated in these contexts along with a prepositional phrase as “to set before them” (or, literally, “before their face”). The prepositional phrase appearing in Jeremiah 31:33 has as its object a term that when referring to the human body can mean to be “inside” the body. However, in contexts where the prepositional phrase refers to a group it is most often considered to be something done “in the midst of” the people. In other words, the Hebrew of Jeremiah simply describes God giving God’s law among the congregation of God’s people.

The parallel expression in Jeremiah 31:33 is “I will write it on their hearts.” This idiomatic expression for memorization occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Prov. 3:3; 7:3). A parallel text occurs in Jeremiah 17:1, “The sin of Judah is written with an iron pen; with a diamond point it is engraved on the tablet of their hearts, and on the horns of their altars.” All this text means is that God will cause them to remember and obey God’s law.

The last phrase of Jeremiah 31:33 repeats the conditions of the Sinai covenant as expressed in Lev. 26:12, in which God promises to function as their deity and the people promise to only revere Yahweh as their God. The difference comes in the next phrase in Jer. 31:34. Under the Sinai covenant Moses (Deut. 4:1, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1) and the later scribes (Ezra 7:10; Neh. 8:8) have the duty of teaching Torah to the people. Families have the responsibility of teaching their children (Deut. 11:19). The knowledge of Yahweh is expressed most often in the words, “know that I am Yahweh.” Jeremiah 24:7 helps us understand the context of the new covenant language, “I will give them a heart to know that I am the LORD; and they shall be my

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people and I will be their God, for they shall return to me with their whole heart.”

The language of Jeremiah 31:33, therefore, concerns the collective consciousness of the nation, rather than an implanting of innate ideas upon individual souls. The language of “inward mind” belongs to the later development as Jews began translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek and interpreting them within the context of Greek philosophy.

From all appearances, Hebrews tends to quote from the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint (LXX). The Greek word we find in Jeremiah 33:33 (LXX Jer. 38:33) and Hebrews 8:10 and 10:16 is *dianoian*. Interpreting the Hebrew concept with this Greek philosophical term means, within this context, something more than it does in the Semitic understanding of human psychology. For Greeks this implies, as the Stoics describe it, God implanting reason and knowledge within the mind. In this sense, people do not need to be taught by others through laws and precepts, but to train the mind to make proper judgments about the nature of things in order to choose virtue over vice. This training enables a person to progress in the development of the soul toward the goal of perfection (maturity or completion).

It is in this sense Quakers have described the implications of the new covenant. As Fox argues in “The Inward and Spiritual Warfare,”

Now here you may see the new covenant is not according to the old, with their priests, whose lips were to preserve people’s knowledge, and circumcise the males outwardly, who had their outward Jerusalem, and outward temple worship, and had their outward law given to them in tables of stone, and the priest had a pulpit to read it in; and he had his tents, and offered offerings and sacrifices; and had their holy days, and sabbath days, and their outward sacrifices, and outward altars, lights, and lamps; but the Lord saith, the new covenant that he would make should not be according to the old, for in the new covenant circumcision is of the spirit, not according to the flesh, and such worship God in the spirit, and truth, and their bodies are the temples of the holy spirit of God, and Christ is the one offering for sins, once for all, and his blood cleanseth from all sin, and God writes his law in their hearts, and puts it in their minds that all may read the law in their hearts and minds, and know the Lord. Heb. viii.⁹

Although Hebrews interprets the new covenant within a context of moral exhortation, early Friends decried the people's dependence on priests and scribes to teach the duties of humanity to God. The new covenant was a "covenant of light" impressing upon the human mind what one should and should not do.

The most radical difference between the new covenant of Jeremiah and the Sinai covenant is its intended effectiveness. Israel has not kept God's covenant (Jer. 31:32) and God has brought judgment upon them through the kingdom of Assyria. The so-called "Book of Consolation" (Jer. 30:1-31:40) in Jeremiah holds out the hope that God will restore Israel's former glory (Jer. 30:1-3) and make a way for the people to be able to follow God's laws and not be held accountable for the sins of past generations. In his commentary on Jeremiah, Overholt describes the new covenant in this way, "Since the old one had not worked, a new basis for the relationship between Yahweh and the people was necessary. What is new is the God-given ability to obey."¹⁰

The way in which Hebrews praises Jesus over against the old covenant is his effectiveness to bring about the faithful obedience of God's people. The Israelites failed through disobedience and broke God's covenant. The point is not that the covenant, the regulations, and instructions in Torah were bad and needed to be done away with or abrogated. In fact, Heb. 7:18 should not be translated as "abrogation," in the sense of God needing to set the commandments of Torah aside.¹¹ Rather, it was the people who "violated" Torah through their disobedience: "There is, on the one hand, the violation of an earlier commandment because it was weak and ineffectual." The author goes on in verse 19 to explain why: "The law made nothing perfect." It is this term, "perfection," (*teleiosis*) that brings us once again to the author's interpretation of the goal of human life with the language of Stoic philosophy.

The language of sanctification, consecration, and holiness in Hebrews comes from the language of the Septuagint. But perfection enters the picture as the goal of the philosophical life. The topic is vast, but a quotation from Arius Didymus' *Epitome of Stoic Ethics* puts the language in perspective.

They [Stoics] say that every fine and good man is complete (*teleios*) because he is lacking in no virtue. Conversely, every worthless man is incomplete because he participates in no virtue. Hence also the good among men always live an absolutely happy

life (*eudaimoneō*), while the worthless are unhappy, and the happiness (*eudaimonia*) <of the former> is in no way different from the happiness of the gods.¹²

Hebrews describes Jesus in the language of attaining perfection. God perfected Jesus “through sufferings” (Heb. 2:10) and Jesus was “made perfect” (Heb. 5:9, 28). The author of Hebrews makes the point humans were not able to achieve this perfection by means of the levitical priesthood (Heb. 7:11), the Law (Heb. 7:19), or the sacrificial system (Heb. 9:9; 10:1). The exhortation to the people of God is to progress toward perfection (Heb. 5:9; 6:1). The Israelites were not able to reach this state of perfection (Heb. 11:40), symbolized by the narrative of the “rest,” but through Jesus’ accomplishment: “he has perfected for all time those who are sanctified” (Heb. 10:4). Jesus, therefore, is the “perfecter” by virtue of his own achievement through endurance and based on his exaltation (Heb. 12:2).

Early Friends took this language of perfection to its logical conclusion. The outcome of God’s new covenant brought about by Jesus enabled people to achieve this ultimate goal of human existence. Fox develops these themes in his tract, “The Second Covenant.” He concludes by pointing out the goal of the new covenant and how it transforms the life of the individual.

This is the word of the Lord God to you all; Judas was out from the light, and so from the way Christ, when he went to the changeable priesthood, he went out from the everlasting priesthood; so they all now that go to the priests that take tythes, and synagogues, and temple, from Christ the everlasting priesthood, and receive not gifts from him, who gives gifts that are perfect, that are for the perfecting of the saints; but the priesthood that take tythes, and holds up synagogues, and temples, say that men shall not be perfect while they be upon earth; you are an imperfect ministry, but Christ is the way, who received gifts for men, who is perfect, for the perfecting of the saints, until that they do come to the unity of the faith, and to the knowledge of the son of God to a perfect man, and to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, who perfecteth for ever them that are sanctified, he perfects them for ever; but this ministry now, and the work of this ministry is denied, with the ministers, that deny the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, which have not received their gifts from Christ, which makes perfect, who ascended far above all

principalities and powers, which was glorified with the Father, with the glory which he had before the world began.¹³

In the end, an explanation of why theological developments have come about does not necessarily prove their validity. Times of conflict and dissension often bring about renewal movements. Renewal movements have a tendency to destroy the forms of religious expression in favor of some earlier, simpler, and what's considered more "pristine" form of practice. Those renewal movements, in turn, develop new patterns of worship and ritual. When the Religious Society of Friends looks to the past to help it know how to worship in the future, it must ask itself some hard questions. How much are we to take into account the way in which religious groups respond to disenfranchisement by despising the forms of the larger group from which they dissent? Does it matter to us why Hellenistic Jewish Christians interpreted the modes of worship and liturgy of Judaism as inferior based on Platonic dualism and Stoic psychology and ethics? Developments in religious practice among Quakers continue to occur, even while we try to stop and analyze where it comes from and where it is going.

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- . "The Inward and Spiritual Warfare, and the False Pretence of It." In *The Works of George Fox*. Philadelphia; New York: Marcus T.C. Gould (1831).
- . "The Second Covenant, Which Doth Manifestly Make Known the End of the First Covenant and Priest-Hood, Which Could Not Continue by Reason of Death. Or the New Covenant of Light, Life, and Peace." In *The Works of George Fox*. Philadelphia; New York: Marcus T.C. Gould (1831).

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NOTES

- 1 Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews, Journal for the Study of the New Testament; Supplement Series 44* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1990), 35.
- 2 I developed this interpretation more completely in "The Rhetorical Function of Comparison in Hebrews," presented at the national Society of Biblical Literature meetings in San Diego, November 2007.
- 3 Scott Hahn, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments: Some Recent Research (1994-2004)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 3, no. 2 (2005): 263-92.
- 4 Frank Moore Cross, "Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel," in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 3-21.
- 5 Mordechai Haran, "The Berit Covenant": Its Nature and Ceremonial Background," in *Tehillab Le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*, ed. Moshe; Cogan Mordechai; Eichler Barry L.; Tigay Jeffrey H. Greenberg (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 203-19.
- 6 Frank H. Polak, "The Covenant at Mount Sinai in the Light of Texts from Mari," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near*

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East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism, ed. Avi; Paul Cohen Chaim; Hurvitz, Shalom M. (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 119-34.

- 7 For more on how to understand Hebrews, see my forthcoming book, *The Second Chance for the People of God: Messages from Hebrews*, Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- 8 George Fox, “How the Lord Spake Unto Moses in the Outward Tabernacle in the Old Testament, and God Speaks Now by His Son in the New Testament, in the Tabernacle and Hearts of His People,” in *The Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia; New York: Marcus T.C. Gould; Isaac T. Hopper, 1831), 338-39. Quotations from Quaker texts are from the Digital Quaker Collection.
- 9 George Fox, “The Inward and Spiritual Warfare, and the False Pretence of It,” in *The Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia; New York: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831), 415.
- 10 Thomas W. Overholt, “Jeremiah,” in *Harper’s Bible Commentary*, ed. James L. Mays (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 636.
- 11 Compare this text with Heb. 10:28 in which the verb occurs: “Anyone who has *violated* the law of Moses dies without mercy “on the testimony of two or three witnesses.”
- 12 Arthur J. Pomeroy, ed., *Arius Didymus: Epitome of Stoic Ethics*, vol. 14, *Texts and Translations* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 71.
- 13 George Fox, “The Second Covenant, Which Doth Manifestly Make Known the End of the First Covenant and Priest-Hood, Which Could Not Continue by Reason of Death. Or the New Covenant of Light, Life, and Peace,” in *The Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia; New York: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831), 159.