Marital Imagery in the Bible: An Exploration of the Cross-Domain Mapping of Genesis 2:24 and its Significance for the Understanding of New Testament Divorce and Remarriage Teaching.

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Colin Geoffrey Hamer.

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Contents

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Abstract

Genesis 2:23 speaks of a miraculous couple in a literal one-flesh union formed by God without a volitional or covenantal basis. Genesis 2:24 outlines a metaphoric restatement of that union whereby a naturally born couple, by means of a covenant, choose to become what they were not in a metaphoric one-flesh family union—such forms the aetiology of mundane marriage in both the Hebrew Bible and the NT. It is this Gen 2:24 marriage that is understood in the Hebrew Bible as the basis of the volitional, conditional, covenantal relationship of Yahweh and Israel, and in the NT of the volitional, conditional, covenantal relationship of Christ and the church—that is, Gen 2:24 is the source domain which is cross-mapped to the target domain (God 'married' to his people) in the marital imagery of both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. It is an imagery that embraced the concept of divorce and remarriage. The NT affirms that the pattern for mundane marriage is to be found in Gen 2:24 (Matt 19:3-9; Mark 10:2-12). But NT scholars and the church have conflated the aetiology of the Gen 2:24 marriage with that of Adam and Eve's marriage described in Gen 2:23, and thus see that the NT teaches that mundane marriage is to be modelled on the primal couple—a model that imposes restrictions on divorce and remarriage that are not found in the Hebrew Bible.
In contrast, this study suggests that the NT writers would not employ an imagery they repudiated in their own mundane marriage teaching, and that an exegesis of that teaching can be found, focusing on divorce and remarriage, which is congruent with its own imagery.

Study Outline

For millennia scholarship has sought to solve the enigmatic difficulties of Judeo-Christian divorce and remarriage teaching with little consensus.[1] This study investigates the possibility that the metaphoric marital imagery employed in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, where Yahweh is portrayed as the husband of Israel, and Jesus as the bridegroom of the church, may provide paradigmatic and hermeneutic guidelines for a better understanding of NT divorce and remarriage teaching.

It will be suggested in the course of the study that mundane marriage (i.e. non-miraculous human marriage) in those Scriptures is demonstrated to be a volitional, conditional, covenantal union and that such is underpinned by the aetiology of marriage outlined in Gen 2:24, which was understood in ancient Israel to delineate marriage as a metaphoric (i.e. non-literal) one-flesh union of a naturally born man and woman: "Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and they shall become one flesh."[2]

It will be seen that this aetiology of mundane marriage, which embraced the possibility of divorce and remarriage, was exploited by the OT prophets to explain the relationship of Yahweh and Israel, and by the writers of the NT to explain the relationship of Christ and the church.[3] Both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures see that the characteristics of mundane marriage (the source domain) form the basis of the relationship of God and his people (the target domain): in metaphoric terms the source domain is 'mapped' to the target domain. In contrast, the non-volitional, literal, one-flesh marriage union of the miraculous primal couple (Adam and Eve) described in Gen 2:23: "Then the man said, 'This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man'"—does not appear to be employed in the metaphoric marital imagery of those Scriptures, or as a model for mundane marriage.

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[1] See: John Jr. Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion, and Law in the Western Tradition* (2d ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 2-15; also: David Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible: The Social and Literary Context* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 238-67.

[2] Unless otherwise stated all Bible quotations are from the anglicized ESV (London: Collins, 2002).

[3] In the main *Old Testament* will be the preferred terminology for the Jewish Scriptures rather than Hebrew Bible unless the reference is to the Masoretic Text.

Chapter 1 outlines cross-domain mapping principles, where concepts from a source domain are attributed to a target domain. It will be seen, for the metaphoric imagery to be meaningful to an intended audience, that the source domain has to be rooted in a social reality. The chapter considers the different conceptual domains of Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24, and posits that it was the Gen 2:24 marriage that underpinned the marital practices of ancient Israel, and it is the Gen 2:24 marriage that is cross-mapped in all the Bible's marital imagery. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on OT and NT marital imagery, and divorce and remarriage teaching in the NT—while the OT is well served in the literature with an analysis of the metaphoric imagery, there is only a limited amount of published material addressing the NT imagery.

Furthermore, the literature review will show that NT scholars in their exegesis of the NT marriage and divorce pericopae, on the basis of a literal understanding of 1 Cor 6:15-16, have redefined the Gen 2:24 one-flesh marriage as an irreversible ontological union, formed by coitus, not by a covenant. This in turn appears to have led, in the literature, to the aetiology of the two marriages in Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 being conflated. It follows from this that the NT, when referencing Gen 2:24, is seen as affirming the miraculous primal couple as the marriage model for marriage teaching in the NT. It is a model that is seen to preclude, or at least greatly restrict, the possibility of divorce and/or remarriage. Chapter 3 outlines a methodology for handling the biblical text.

To understand biblical marital imagery it is necessary to understand the source domain that is cross-mapped. There is no systematic teaching in the OT on marriage or divorce so Ch. 4 considers the ANE background to elucidate the marital practices of ancient Israel. Chapter 5 examines marriage and divorce in the OT legislation and narratives. It will be demonstrated that mundane marriage in ancient Israel embraced the concept of divorce and remarriage—few exegetes disagree.

Chapter 6 considers OT marital imagery and it will be seen, as metaphor theory would suggest, that the social reality, that is, mundane marriage as practised and understood in ancient Israel, has been mapped to a target domain of *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel.* It follows that the divine marriage closely mirrors marital practice in ancient Israel, and both embrace the concept of divorce and remarriage.

Chapter 7 surveys the literature of the Second Temple period to see if there is any basis for positing a primal couple marriage aetiology as a social reality in NT times. It will be suggested such a marriage model gives rise to the distinctive teaching that in mundane marriage there should be no polygyny or divorce, coitus is considered to be primarily for procreation, celibacy and holiness are linked, and each mundane marriage is believed to have a supernatural dimension. The chapter will demonstrate that there is only limited evidence of discussion in the Second Temple literature of such a marriage.

Chapter 8 considers the documents of the Second Temple period to the same end—principally the Judaean Desert Documents (JDD) published in the second half of the 20th century. It is believed by several scholars that they accurately reflect marital practices at a time contemporary to the NT redaction. But again it seems evidence is lacking that there was a concept of a primal couple marriage model. The limited theorising about Adam and Eve's marriage forming an *archetype* for mundane marriage that is found in the Second Temple literature seems to have been confined to that: the marital practices of Palestine in the first century C.E. appear to be similar to those of ancient Israel.

The evidence presented in Chs. 7 and 8 militates against an understanding that Adam and Eve's marriage can form the source domain of NT marital imagery—such a marriage was not part of a social reality that any metaphoric marital imagery must rely on to achieve meaningful cross-mapping.

Chapter 9 explores that NT marital imagery. It will be seen that the focus of the divine marital imagery in the Gospels and Apocalypse is on a new conceptual domain: *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*. In the imagery Jesus offers a marriage betrothal both to the Gentiles and divorced Israel. This adds weight to the understanding of this present study that the primal couple's marriage cannot form the source domain of NT imagery: Adam and Eve's marriage does not have the characteristics required to achieve cross-mapping to such a target—for example, they had no betrothal period and neither of them were divorcees. Instead, the imagery of the Gospels and Apocalypse utilises contemporary mundane marriage, the social reality evidenced in the JDD, as its source domain. A further problem presented by a primal couple marriage model for NT marriage and divorce teaching (which many exegetes see as precluding the possibility of divorce and/or remarriage), is that it

implies that the NT employed an imagery that embraced concepts it repudiated in its own mundane marriage teaching.

Chapter 10 seeks to find an exegesis of the NT marriage and divorce pericopae that is consistent with the analysis of the imagery in Ch. 9: that is, an exegesis of the NT's mundane marriage teaching about divorce and remarriage that is congruent with the NT's own marital imagery.

Summary

It is suggested the marital imagery in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures employ the same covenantal, metaphoric, one-flesh marital principles found in Gen 2:24 as their source domain to populate two divine marital target domains, and these marital conceptual domains embrace the concept of divorce and remarriage. Metaphoric principles would imply that those Scriptures would teach an aetiology of mundane marriage congruent with their own imagery, and that an exegesis of the disputed NT divorce and remarriage pericopae can be found that is consonant with such a proposition.

Such a study does not seem to have been attempted previously. Furthermore, no published study appears to have challenged the widely assumed primal couple marriage model; or explored how the conceptual domains of Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 differ and the significance of that difference; or examined NT marital imagery in light of either traditional metaphor theory or the more recent developments in structure-mapping theory; or how, in light of that structure-mapping theory, Gen 2:24 with its metaphoric, covenantal concepts, is cross-mapped in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Chapter 1   Cross-Domain Mapping and Genesis 2:24

1   Cross-Domain Mapping and Genesis 2:24

1.1   Cross-Domain Mapping

1.1.1   Metaphor Theory

Cross-domain mapping is a development of metaphor theory**.** A metaphor is when 'A' is declared to be 'B' when it is not literally true—a NT example is Jesus' claim recorded in John's gospel: "I am the door" (John 10:9). Lakoff and Johnson say *"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*"[4] Kennedy believes that metaphor is the "greatest resource for the forceful expression of original thought"; and Caird that: "All, or almost all, of the language used by the Bible to refer to God is metaphor" and that comparison "comprises . . . almost all the language of theology."[5]

Aristotle is perceived to have been the first to recognise that metaphors are a cognitive linguistic instrument but his insights were not re-visited until Richards (1936), who identified a metaphor as consisting of a "tenor" and a "vehicle."[6] The vehicle 'carries over' characteristics (hence μεταφέρω from the Greek 'to carry over') to the tenor (from the Latin *teneo* 'to hold'); thus in "I am the door" the vehicle is the door that carries over characteristics to Jesus, the tenor, the complete statement forming the metaphor. Although not literally true a metaphor seeks to convey a truth, often such being left to the reader to surmise.

An OT example of the metaphoric A is B statement is in Ps 23:1: "The LORD is my shepherd"—the "LORD" is the tenor, the "shepherd" is the vehicle that accomplishes the transfer. It can be seen that the vehicle has to be a known entity to achieve a meaningful transfer: thus in the metaphoric A is B, 'A' (the tenor) is often a more abstract concept that is declared to be 'B' (the vehicle), a tangible entity employed to illustrate the tenor. Kennedy

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[4] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1980), 5. Emphasis/italics will be as per the original in all quotes.

[5] George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1984), 26; George B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 18, 144.

[6] Thus: Mary Gerhart and Allan Melvin Russell, *Metaphoric Process: The Creation of Scientific and Religious Understanding* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1984), 97-101; also Macky: "Richards . . . provided the impetus to the modern study of metaphor": Peter Macky, *The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought: A Method for Interpreting the Bible* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1990), 5; I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 96-97.

posits that: "much can be learned about a speaker's assumptions and about his understanding of his audience from his choice and use of [the vehicle of the] metaphor."[7]

McFague states: "metaphorical thinking constitutes the basis of human thought and language. From the time we are infants we construct our world through metaphor"; and that "*metaphorical theology* is indigenous to Christianity."[8] She continues: "some metaphors gain wide appeal and become major ways of structuring and ordering experience" and from them emerge "models" which:

> are similar to metaphors in that they are images which retain the tension of the "is and is not" . . . "God the father" . . . is a metaphor which has become a model. As a model it not only retains characteristics of metaphor but also reaches towards qualities of conceptual thought. It suggests a comprehensive, ordering structure with impressive interpretive potential. As a rich model with many associated commonplaces as well as a host of supporting metaphors, an entire theology can be worked out from this model.[9]

Macky suggests that it is Black's work on metaphor that is seminal: Black embraces what he describes as an "interaction" view, whereby the vehicle not only organises the reader's view of the tenor, but has the potential to change their view of both. He points out that metaphors can be used as models that can facilitate the observation of new connections and gives specific examples of their use in science (he cites as an example how electricity can be metaphorically portrayed as a fluid), and considers that such "were conceived to be more than expository or heuristic devices."[10] *Contra* Davidson who acknowledges he is arguing against the contemporary consensus, and accepts that metaphors might "lead us to notice what might not otherwise be noticed," but claims that "metaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation mean, and nothing more."[11]

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[7] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 26.

[8] Sallie McFague, *Metaphorical Theology: Models of God in Religious Language* (Pa.: Fortress, 1982), 14-15.

[9] McFague, *Metaphorical Theology*, 23.

[10] Macky, *The Centrality of Metaphors*, 1; Max Black, *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1962), 30-47; 226-29.

[11] Donald Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," in *On Metaphor* (ed. Sheldon Sacks; Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1978), 30, 39.

Black in reply posits:

> To think of God *as* love and to take the further step of identifying the two is
> emphatically to do something more than to *compare* them as merely being alike in
> certain respects. But what that "something more" is remains tantalizingly elusive: we
> lack an adequate account of metaphorical thought.[12]

Similarly Glucksberg, who explores the difference between simile and metaphor, and
suggests when a metaphor is converted to a simile ('the LORD is like my shepherd') that the
conceptual process is changed, but in an intangible way, and comments that the "issue is as
yet unresolved."[13] Thus there is an element of mystery in every metaphor in that it is not clear
how the mind processes them. But it is clear that that process effects a change, not in the
elements of the metaphor, but in our perception, and if Black's "interaction" theory is correct,
it has the potential to change our perception of both vehicle and tenor. And that perception, as
Lakoff and Johnson point out, becomes our new, albeit subjective, reality.[14]

Thus Black's example of the metaphoric 'electricity is a fluid' describes how
electricity can be conceived but does not change how electricity functions, rather it is our
perception of electricity that has been changed by the metaphoric concept. In the metaphoric
"I am the door" (John 10:9), and "this [bread] is my body" (Matt 26:26; Luke 22:19), an
ordinary door and ordinary bread are employed as vehicles to illustrate the nature of Jesus'
mission and body respectively; these mundane metaphoric vehicles each illustrate a more
abstract and mysterious tenor. Notwithstanding any Christian confessional position, metaphor
theory does not posit an actual change in the properties of the metaphoric vehicle or tenor—
the metaphor's aim is to illustrate, to make new connections, to change the reader's
perception.

But metaphors, instead of elucidating, can obfuscate. The "I am the door" of John
10:9 is part of an explanation following a series of metaphoric expressions about a shepherd
and a sheepfold used by Jesus in a discourse with the Jews, the Gospel writer commenting in

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[12] Max Black, "How Metaphors Work: A Reply to Donald Davidson," in *On Metaphor* (ed. Sheldon
Sacks; Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago, 1978), 192.

[13] Sam Glucksberg, "How Metaphors Create Categories - Quickly," in *The Cambridge Handbook of
Metaphor and Thought* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs Jr.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 80-81.

[14] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 146.

v. 6: "This figure of speech Jesus used with them, but they did not understand what he was saying to them." The use of further metaphoric expressions in the pericope to explain the original ones underlines Caird's point, as above, about the ubiquity of metaphors in theological language. Similarly, Jesus' "Watch and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (Matt 16:6), which from the explanation in v. 12 seems to portray the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees as having the potential to insidiously pervade one's mind. Here again a tangible and familiar element (how leaven permeates bread) is employed as the vehicle to illustrate a more abstract concept and heighten the awareness of such for the disciples—but Jesus' warning brought the confused response from the disciples: "we brought no bread." (Matt 16:7)

Furthermore, the understanding of a metaphor can lead to a difference of opinion for subsequent exegetes, as history demonstrates has happened with Jesus' "this [bread] is my body." In addition, metaphors can lose the tension of their false literalism, and the metaphoric statement is then thought of as a literal statement: Gerhart and Russell cite as an example "Our Father in heaven" (Matt 6:9)—they see the "death" of this metaphor has given rise to an unwarranted patriarchalism.[15] Identifying a metaphor and its constituent parts, it is suggested, is vital to making a start on unravelling the author's meaning even if uncertainties remain.

1.1.2 Large-Scale Conceptual Metaphors

Fauconnier and Turner posit that metaphor theory has previously focused on 'pair-wise bindings' (where 'A' is said to be 'B') but since the 1970s some metaphor theorists, for example Gentner and Bowdle, would describe large-scale conceptual metaphors (which McFague, Black, et al. might describe as models) as structure-mapping, and Masson (2014) describes as cross-domain mapping.[16] Structure-mapping theorists, rather than employing the traditional terminology of vehicle and tenor, prefer to speak of cross-mapping from one conceptual domain to another. Thus Gerhart and Russell see that the pair-wise metaphoric statement, which Ricoeur described as the *root metaphor*, creates a new conceptual domain.[17]

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[15] Gerhart and Russell, *Metaphoric Process*, 116-17.

[16] Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, "Rethinking Metaphor," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs Jr.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 53; Dedre Gentner and Brian Bowdle, "Metaphor as Structure-Mapping," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs Jr.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109.

[17] Ricoeur: "root metaphors . . . have the ability to engender conceptual diversity . . . an unlimited number of potential interpretations at a conceptual level . . . They are the dominant metaphors capable of both engendering and organizing a network": Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1976), 64.

Their illustration of a root metaphor is a person in their unlit attic looking for a stored item when a flash of lightning reveals the whereabouts of not just the item but everything stored there—thus they describe the root metaphor as an "ontological flash."[18]

An example of such source to target cross-domain mapping is found in Ps 23. The *root metaphor* which opens the new conceptual domain is "the LORD is my shepherd." The consequent new field of meaning—that God is like a shepherd to his people—allows the Psalmist to cross-map consequent metaphoric expressions from source to target. For example: "he makes me lie down by green pastures . . . your rod and staff they comfort me."

Masson points out because of advances in metaphor research in the last two decades the details of theoretical schemes developed will inevitably change; it seems one symptom of this is that linguists are not agreed on the distinction between metaphor and analogy.[19] This present study will follow Gerhart and Russell who see that analogies transfer the properties from one thing to another (as in a scale model) but leave the world of meanings undistorted:

> There is a sense in which analogies are found—they do exist or do not exist.
> Metaphors, by contrast, are created . . . The metaphoric act distorts a world of
> meanings in such a way as to make possible an analogical relationship between one
> known and another known, an analogical relationship that was not possible before the
> metaphoric distortion took place . . . The discovery of an analogy between two
> knowns is not an epistemological act that changes either knowledge or the world of
> meanings.[20]

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[18] Gerhart and Russell, *Metaphoric Process*, 113-14.
[19] Robert Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God: Theology after Cognitive Linguistics* (SPT 54; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 111; for comments on analogy: Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 129-61.
[20] Gerhart and Russell, *Metaphoric Process*, 113, 119-20.

The root metaphor: "The LORD is my shepherd," with some example analogies consequent on its employment, might be diagrammatically imagined like this:

SOURCE DOMAIN: A "The LORD is my shepherd." (Ps 23:1)	ROOT METAPHOR →	TARGET DOMAIN: B The Lord looks after his people as would a shepherd.
• Green pastures • Still waters • Paths • Rod and Staff	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES →	• The Lord provides sustenance • The Lord provides peaceful refreshment • The Lord leads down righteous paths • The Lord provides protection and care
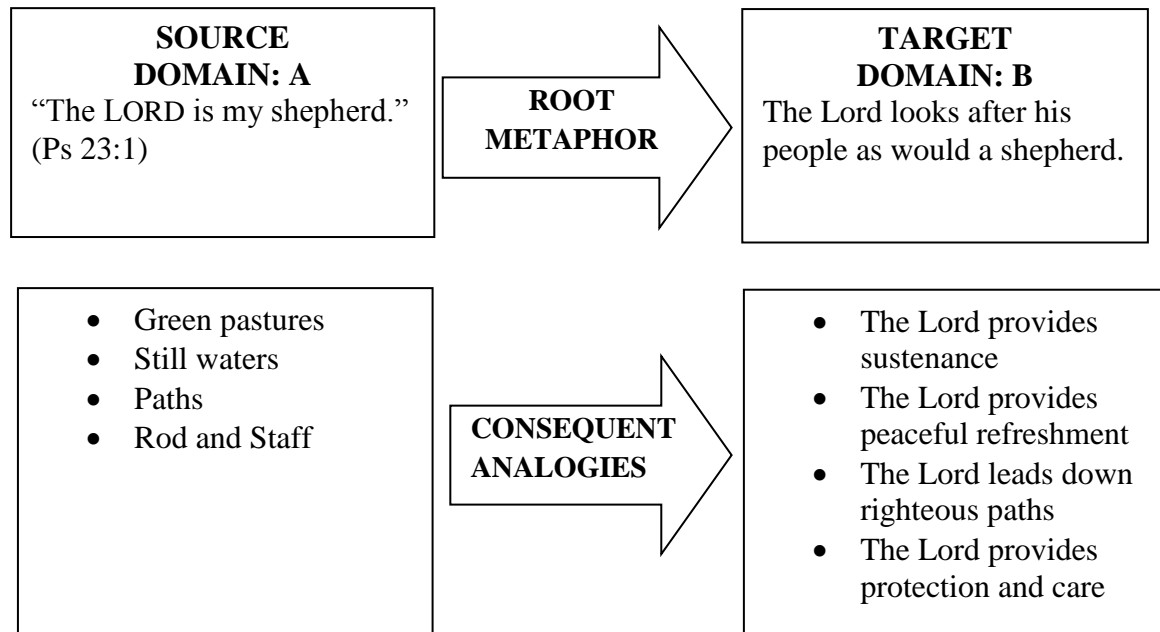
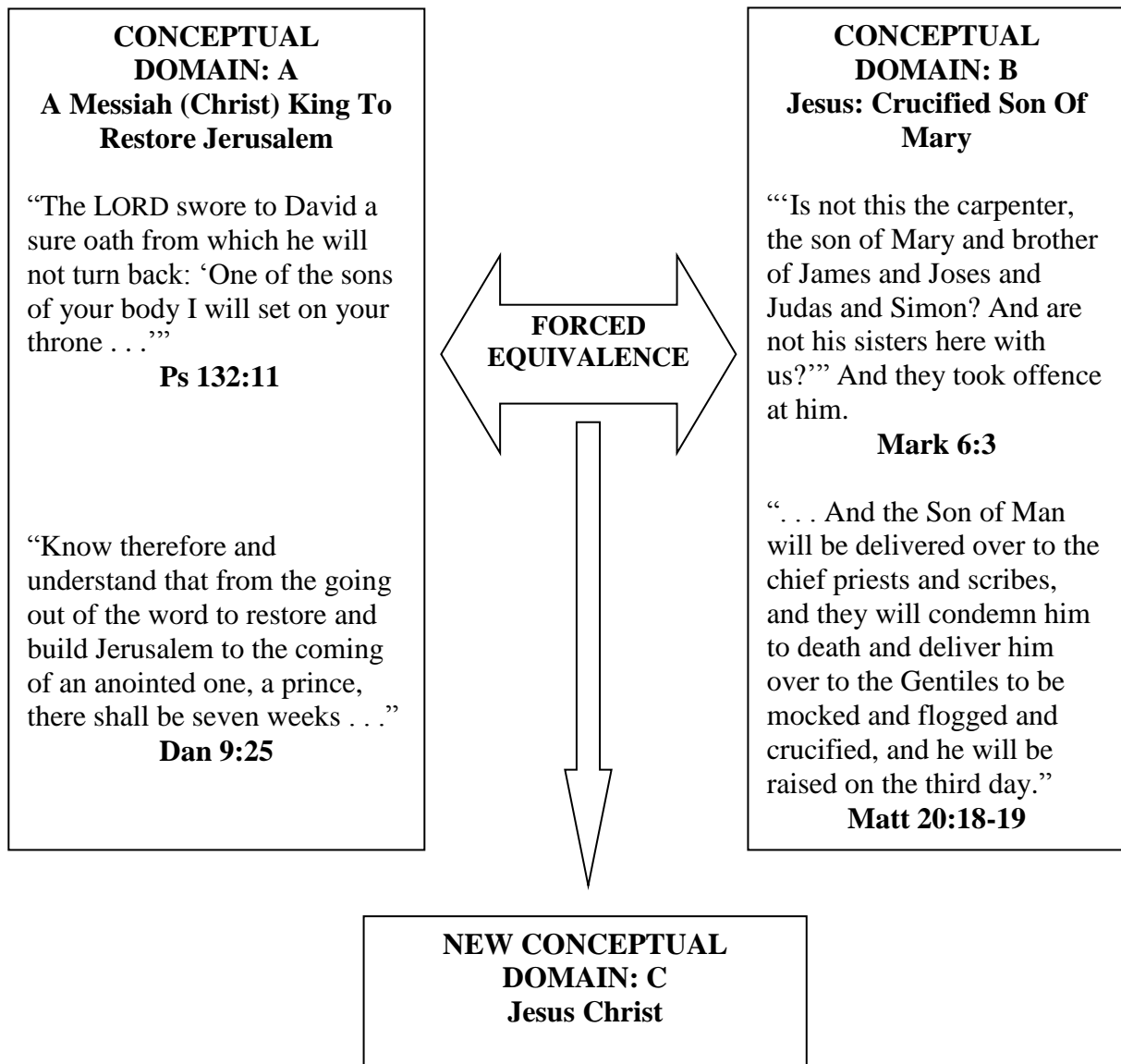Gentner and Bowdle describe the process as an extended analogical structure-mapping between domains: "Once the alignment is made, further candidate inferences are spontaneously projected from base to target."[21] It is possible that some analogies are not articulated—an example is Ps 23 where the reader is expected to understand that God's people are (metaphorically) sheep even though such are not referenced.

Masson points out that cross-mapping can be from a source domain to a new target domain (as in Ps 23), or that two existing conceptual domains can be mapped on to each other by means of the pair-wise metaphoric statement; the consequent merging of the two domains giving rise to a third concept that leaves behind the original two in a "tectonic reconfiguration." His analogy is that of two tectonic plates colliding which results in a change in the landscape, and cites as an example: "Jesus is the Messiah," where a victorious king of Israel and a crucified son of a carpenter become one in "Jesus Christ," having been merged in a "forced equivalence"—making possible "logical moves otherwise unavailable."[22]

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[21] Gentner and Bowdle, "Metaphor," in Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook*, 109-10.
[22] Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 59-68, 186; also: Mary Gerhart and Allan Melvin Russell, *New Maps for Old: Explorations in Science and Religion* (London: Continuum, 2001), 45-60.

Diagrammatically, such a forced-equivalence cross-mapping between two existing conceptual domains to create a new third domain might be perceived thus:

<table>
<tr>
<td>

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: A
A Messiah (Christ) King To Restore Jerusalem

"The LORD swore to David a sure oath from which he will not turn back: 'One of the sons of your body I will set on your throne . . .'"
Ps 132:11

"Know therefore and understand that from the going out of the word to restore and build Jerusalem to the coming of an anointed one, a prince, there shall be seven weeks . . ."
Dan 9:25

</td>
<td>

FORCED EQUIVALENCE

</td>
<td>

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: B
Jesus: Crucified Son Of Mary

"'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?'" And they took offence at him.
Mark 6:3

". . . And the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death and deliver him over to the Gentiles to be mocked and flogged and crucified, and he will be raised on the third day."
Matt 20:18-19

</td>
</tr>
</table>

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: C
Jesus Christ

1.1.3   Cross-Domain Mapping and Theology Today

Since the 1970s cognitive mapping has emerged as a distinct interdisciplinary field of study and there is now a rapidly expanding corpus of literature exploring and applying the concepts of metaphor theory and the associated cross-domain mapping in a wide range of academic disciplines.[23]

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[23] Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 10-11; Fauconnier and Turner, "Rethinking," in Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook*, 53; Raymond W. Gibbs Jr., ed., *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5.

However, Masson's perception is that:

> Recent developments in understanding . . . in the interdisciplinary field of cognitive
> linguistics provide fresh ground for rethinking how God and religious beliefs are
> conceptualized . . . While research groups of the Society of Biblical Literature in
> recent years have devoted some attention to the implications of metaphor theory in
> cognitive linguistics for the interpretation of ancient texts, this research has only just
> begun to reach the broader public . . . These challenges of cognitive linguistics' to
> standard accounts of metaphor and figurative language have not been seriously
> addressed in theology and religious studies—indeed, have hardly been noted except
> for some recent work in biblical hermeneutics.[24]

His observation appears to be supported by the fact that *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (2008) has 28 articles from "distinguished scholars from different academic fields" ranging through science, law, mathematics, psychoanalysis, music, and art, but theology is not represented.[25]

1.2   The One-Flesh Unions of Genesis 2:23 and Genesis 2:24

It will be posited in this present study that the one-flesh union described in Gen 2:24 is employed in the Bible's marital imagery, and in its associated corporate body imagery, to build five large-scale conceptual metaphors. Although it will be seen in the literature review of Ch. 2 that it appears the one-flesh unions of Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 have been conflated in the minds of many scholars, the two verses, it is suggested, underpin two quite distinct conceptual domains.

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[24] Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 4, 7, 16.
[25] Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook*, 5.

Genesis 2:23-24 states:

[23] וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם זֹאת הַפַּעַם עֶצֶם מֵעֲצָמַי וּבָשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי לְזֹאת יִקָּרֵא אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִישׁ לֻקֳחָה־זֹּאת

[24] עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזָב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד

[23] Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man."

[24] Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and they shall become one flesh.

In v. 23 it seems that Adam is expressing satisfaction that after being presented with all the animals, and yet still not finding a suitable helper (vv. 18-20), he at last has another human with whom he can relate (vv. 21-23). But Andersen sees in the expression "This at last (הַפַּעַם זֹאת) is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh," that the use of the article ה having the force of a demonstrative pronoun is significant because the demonstrative pronoun "this" (זֹאת) is also appended to the phrase. He states: "Targum Neophyti and Ps.-Jonathan clarify what is so emphatically important and novel about this occasion. 'This time *and never again will a woman be created from a man as this one was created from me*' (italics = midrashic explanation)"; he further points out that the Abot de Rabbi Nathan states: "This one time God acted as groomsman for Adam; from now on he must get one himself."[26] Whatever the strength of the grammatical argument the OT does not record any further miraculous unions and the pattern of marriage subsequently was that the man and woman were born naturally of their own parents and not miraculously formed by God.

Verse 24 is either a comment by the author introduced into the story he is telling or a later editorial gloss;[27] Kaye commenting that rabbinic interest in it centred on whether or not it reflected a matrilocal family structure in Jewish history.[28] But Mace reviews the evidence that Hebrew patriarchy was preceded by a more remote matriarchal regime and concludes "such a view is now entirely out of the question."[29] It is more probable that, as Loader states, the 'leaving' of father and mother indicates a "new social reality, the beginning of a new

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[26] Gary Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82/2 (1989): 125-26.

[27] Tosato sees it as a postexilic gloss: Angelo Tosato, "On Genesis 2:24," *CBQ* 52 no. 3 (1990): 406.

[28] Bruce Kaye, ""One Flesh" and Marriage," *Colloq* 2 (May 1990): 49.

[29] David. R. Mace, *Hebrew Marriage: A Sociological Study* (London: Epworth, 1953), 76-82.

household."[30] The reader is told that the couple "shall become one flesh" (וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד) thus, unlike Adam and Eve, their "one flesh" status is a construct of their union, not a pre-existing state.

It is suggested the nature of that one-flesh union is key to understanding the aetiology of mundane marriage and the Bible's marital imagery. It seems clear that the union of Gen 2:24, unlike that of Gen 2:23, is not a literal one-flesh union—there is no miraculous (or mystical) union of the flesh posited in the verse, nor any evidence in the OT record that this was how mundane marriage was understood. Loader suggests: "בשר can be used metaphorically in the Hebrew for one's own kin or family."[31] Similarly, Instone-Brewer comments that in ancient Israel: "'they shall be one flesh' would probably have been interpreted to mean 'they shall be one family.'"[32] Holland, who considers the various understandings of בָּשָׂר (flesh) in the Hebrew Bible, sees that a covenantal concept is contained in its semantic field and states: "Here [Gen 2:24] 'flesh,' implies the covenant relationship a man has with his wife."[33] Thus in ancient Israel the bride would leave her family and become part of her husband's family;[34] the process is symbolised in the West today when the bride often takes her husband's family name. Skinner points out that in both Hebrew and Arabic, "flesh" is synonymous with clan or kindred group, and he references Lev 25:49 where ESV translates בָּשָׂר as "clan."[35] Kaye states:

The term "flesh and bone" occurs only eight times in the Old Testament apart from Genesis 2:23. In Genesis 29:14 and 37:27 it directly and clearly means someone who is a close blood relation . . . In general terms, the phrase has the immediate and direct sense of blood relation but, as well, is used figuratively of a close relationship.[36]

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[30] William R. G. Loader, *Making Sense of Sex: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 12; Gehring suggests the husband 'forsakes' rather than leaves: René Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh" Theology of Marriage as Constituted in Genesis 2: 24* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 2013), 22-24; also: Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (Nashville, Tenn.: Word, 1987), 70.

[31] William R. G. Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012), 278.

[32] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 22.

[33] Tom Holland, *Romans: The Divine Marriage* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 203; for further discussion: §1.4.3 and §1.4.4.
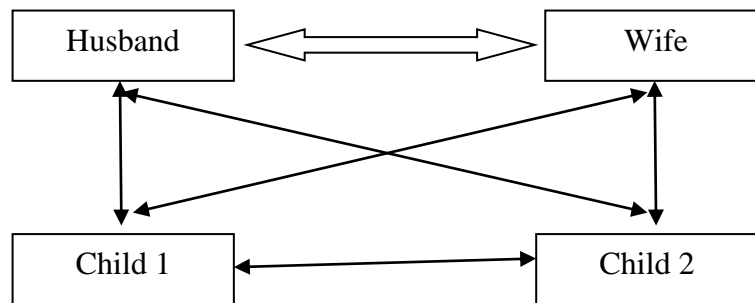
[34] Daniel I. Block, "Marriage and Family in Ancient Israel," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 58.

[35] John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1930), 70.

[36] He cites: Gen 29:14; 37:27; 2 Sam 5:1; 19:12, 13; 1 Chr 11:1; Neh 5:5; Job 2:5: Kaye, ""One Flesh,"" 48-49.

McCarthy elucidates the situation when he says a covenant was "the means the ancient world took to extend relationships beyond the natural unity by blood."[37] Thus the one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 is a *one-family* union: husband and wife are now perceived to be 'kin'—the family is a cohesive unit.

But the husband and wife relationship is different to that of the child/sibling relationships. This can be diagrammatically represented in a family with two birth children thus:

```
┌───────────┐                      ┌───────────┐
│  Husband  │  ⟵══════════⟶       │   Wife    │
└───────────┘                      └───────────┘
      ↕         ╲              ╱         ↕
      ↕            ╲        ╱            ↕
      ↕               ╲  ╱               ↕
      ↕               ╱  ╲               ↕
      ↕            ╱        ╲            ↕
┌───────────┐  ╱              ╲   ┌───────────┐
│  Child 1  │  ⟵────────────⟶   │  Child 2  │
└───────────┘                      └───────────┘
```

The consanguineous parent/child/sibling relationships occupy the same conceptual domain as that of Adam and Eve, in that these relationships are (and always were) one flesh—they are non-volitional, non-covenantal, and permanent—a reality, not a construct. In contrast, the Gen 2:24 one-flesh relationship between the husband and wife is a construct of a volitional, covenantal union; a construct which nevertheless brings the OT prohibited degrees of affinity into force—that is, certain sexual relationships are now forbidden to the new family, as outlined in Lev 18 and Lev 20 (§5.6).

The "they shall become one flesh" of Gen 2:24 displays the false literalism of a metaphor and is capable of being analysed as such: two entities are said to equate—A (the couple) 'is' (or rather becomes) B (a one-flesh union), generating the tension that arises from the metaphoric distortion Gerhart and Russell reference. It seems that the consanguineous familial one-flesh unions and the literal one-flesh union of the primal couple form the source domain of the metaphor that illustrates the target—the metaphoric mundane one-flesh marriage union. Thus the concept of a literal/consanguineous one-flesh relationship is *carried*

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[37] Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (AB 21; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1963), 175.

over in the Gen 2:24 metaphor to the husband and wife, and it is this metaphoric one-flesh/one-family relationship which underpins the aetiology of mundane marriage.

It will be seen in the course of this study that marriages in ancient Israel were formed by means of a volitional, conditional covenant; a covenant usually agreed between two families, such an agreement being understood, or articulated orally or in writing—and that the Gen 2:24 marital one-flesh union was understood to be a union of kinship formed by this volitional covenant and was the basis for each new family.

Hugenberger sees the predominant meaning of covenant (בְּרִית) in biblical Hebrew is "an elected, as opposed to natural, relationship of obligation established under divine sanction."[38] The marriage agreement is often referred to as a "covenant" by NT scholars, and this study will use that same terminology, but in so doing it is not intended to endorse any later connotations of such, or an understanding, *contra* Hugenberger that it was deemed a contract endorsed or witnessed under divine sanction.[39]

However, it will be seen that a widely held view by NT scholars is that Gen 2:24 refers to a relationship created by coitus that has an ontological and/or mystical dimension.[40] This seems to be based on a literal understanding of 1 Cor 6:15-16 where it is believed that Paul is referencing sexual intercourse with a prostitute.[41] It will be suggested that such an interpretation fails to identify Paul's metaphoric imagery. Whatever the validity of this literal view of the Corinthians pericope it will be seen in the course of this study that the marital imagery of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures cross-maps the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24 as understood in ancient Israel.

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[38] Gordon P. Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant: Biblical Law and Ethics as Developed from Malachi* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1994), 171.

[39] It is suggested (§5.3) that Hugenberger does not find a convincing OT example of a mundane marriage being sworn under divine sanction, or that ancient Israel had such a concept: Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 216-79; Instone-Brewer argues persuasively that mundane marriage was considered in ancient Israel to be a contractual relationship: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 15-19; the significance of *covenant vis à vis contract* is considered further in §5.3.

[40] For example: Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 170, 172; Holland references others: Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology* (Fearn, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2004), 124-39.

[41] The authorship of the Pauline epistles is not significant for this study (§3.2) and so an assumption of Pauline authorship will usually be made.

It might be argued that the Genesis author was not familiar with metaphoric concepts; however, Gen 3:15 states:

I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and her offspring; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel.

In this metaphor human conflict that results in physical injury is the vehicle illustrating the tenor of the imagery that portrays some future spiritual conflict. Similarly Gen 4:7 utilises an animal as the vehicle to illustrate the nature of sin (the tenor): ". . . And if you do not do well, sin is crouching at the door. Its desire is for you, but you must rule over it."

Thus it is suggested that the one-flesh union outlined in Gen 2:24 is cross-mapped from the conceptual domain occupied by the primal couple, the Gen 2:24 relationship being a metaphoric restatement of that one-flesh union. And rather than the literal (and therefore permanent) one-flesh union of the primal couple, it was the Gen 2:24 metaphoric one-flesh union that was understood to be the basis of mundane marriage in the OT. This metaphoric one-flesh union meant that the couple were now considered to be members of the same family, bringing relationships created by that union (which today in much of the English-speaking world would be described as "in-law" and "step") within the scope of prohibited sexual relationships.

In ancient Israel this metaphoric union was established by a marriage covenant agreed by the two families represented. By way of contrast, Adam and Eve's one-flesh status had no need of an agreed covenant (and none is articulated), as their union was from the beginning one flesh. This concept appears to be underpinned by the fact that the בָּשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי of v. 23 might be translated as "flesh from my flesh" (as per ISV); however ESV (et al.) renders it "flesh of my flesh," which would normally require a construct phrase. Furthermore, the Mem before "my flesh" in v. 23 (מִבְּשָׂרִי) can be contrasted with the Lamed in v. 24 (לְבָשָׂר); thus Eve was formed *from* Adam, whereas the mundane marriage couple come *into* their (metaphoric) one-flesh union in v. 24.[42]

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[42] I am grateful to David Instone-Brewer for drawing my attention to this aspect of the Hebrew grammar of Gen 2:23-24.

Thus it is suggested that the differences between the conceptual domains of the literal one-flesh relationship of the primal couple, and the one-flesh construct of mundane marriage, can be set out as below:

Gen 2:23

1. A miraculous man and woman.
2. Remain as they are.
3. In a literal one-flesh union.
4. Without the need for a covenant.

Gen 2:24

1. A naturally born man and woman.
2. Become what they were not.
3. In a metaphoric one-flesh union.
4. By means of a volitional, conditional covenant.

Wenham, reflecting the academic consensus and the conflation of the aetiology of marriage in the two verses, states that Gen 2:24 "is a comment by the narrator applying the principles of the first marriage to every marriage";[43] however, it can be seen that the four principles of Gen 2:24 outlined above are mutually exclusive to the principles underlying Gen 2:23 and the first marriage described there. As articulated above, it will be seen that the OT demonstrates that in ancient Israel the principles of Gen 2:24, not those of Gen 2:23, underpin the understanding of mundane marriage in that people group.

This study will explore how these four principles of Gen 2:24 are exploited in biblical marital imagery to show how naturally born men and women can become what they were not previously, part of a covenant community that in the imagery is the 'wife'/'bride' of God, and how such might impact the understanding of NT divorce and remarriage teaching.

1.3   The Cross-Domain Mapping of Genesis 2:24 in the Old Testament

It will be seen that the OT marital imagery has many manifestations but that they are all part of one large-scale conceptual metaphor based on mundane marriage (the source domain), as outlined in Gen 2:24, cross-mapped to a new conceptual domain: a defined people group being 'married' to their God.

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[43] Wenham, *Genesis*, 70.

1.3.1   Yahweh: The Husband of Israel

The root metaphor in OT marital imagery is: *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel*. This root metaphor, it is suggested, is underpinned by the four principles of Gen 2:24—Israel could become what they were not, the 'wife' of Yahweh, in a metaphoric union with him by means of a covenant. This "ontological flash" opens a new conceptual domain which gives rise to many analogical inferences which are exploited in the OT. McCarthy points out that the various rituals at Sinai signified that the two parties, Yahweh and Israel, were now "considered to be" in a kinship relationship.[44] Lunn states:

> the use of the phrase 'my people' on the lips of God before the Sinai encounter . . . cannot then mean 'my covenant people'. Rather it must be understood proleptically . . . [and] must be taken as shorthand for 'Let go the people who shall be mine'.[45]

Therefore Lunn and McCarthy believe it was by means of the Sinaitic covenant that Israel became what they were not—the people of God, Cohen suggesting it was at Sinai that "the house of Israel was given the Torah as its 'marriage-ring.'"[46] Thus Gen 2:24 is itself cross-domain mapped to a divine marriage (the marriage of God and his people), and the OT prophets (notably Hosea) follow on by cross-mapping mundane marriage features on to this new target domain, employing concepts analogically from the source domain such as: betrothal, asymmetrical marital obligations, adultery, divorce, and remarriage.
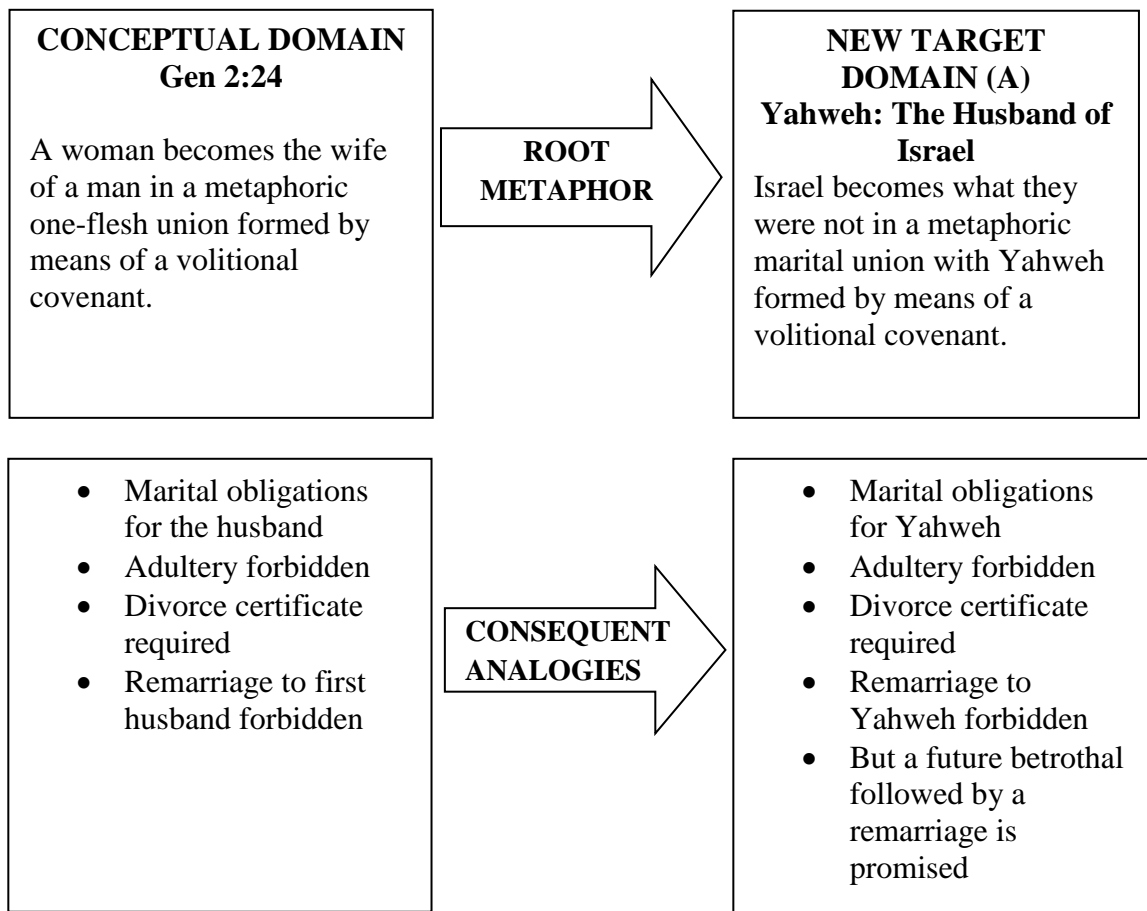
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[44] McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 173.
[45] Nicholas P. Lunn, "Let My people Go! The Exodus as Israel's Metaphorical Divorce from Egypt," *EvQ* LXXXVI No. 3 (July 2014): 242.
[46] Gerson Cohen, "The Song of Songs and the Jewish Religious Mentality," in *The Samuel Friedland Lectures 1960-1966* (ed. Louis Finkelstein; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1966), 12.

This root metaphor, with some example analogies consequent on its employment, might be diagrammatically imagined like this:

Yahweh: The Husband of Israel

(Conceptual domain 'A' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24	ROOT METAPHOR	NEW TARGET DOMAIN (A) Yahweh: The Husband of Israel
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.		Israel becomes what they were not in a metaphoric marital union with Yahweh formed by means of a volitional covenant.
• Marital obligations for the husband • Adultery forbidden • Divorce certificate required • Remarriage to first husband forbidden	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES	• Marital obligations for Yahweh • Adultery forbidden • Divorce certificate required • Remarriage to Yahweh forbidden • But a future betrothal followed by a remarriage is promised

MAP 1

Thus Gen 2:24 is employed to create a new conceptual domain 'A': Yahweh 'married' to Israel as represented in the structure map as above.

1.4   Cross-Domain Mapping of Genesis 2:24 in the New Testament

The NT exploits the metaphoric one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 in innovative ways to create four further large-scale conceptual metaphors (to be represented diagrammatically by MAPS 2-5).

The NT marital imagery employs the same source domain as the OT imagery (mundane marriage as outlined in Gen 2:24) as the basis for two new marital target domains:

MAP 2 *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*   (creating conceptual domain 'B')

MAP 3 *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*   (creating conceptual domain 'C')

And two new corporate body conceptual domains are created, not by means of a source to target mapping, but by a forced equivalence cross-mapping of the one-flesh/one-family concept of Gen 2:24 with the two conceptual domains formed by the NT marital imagery ('B' and 'C'):

MAP 4 *The Body of Christ*   (creating conceptual domain 'D')

MAP 5 *The Body of a Prostitute*   (creating conceptual domain 'E')

1.4.1   Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church

The root metaphor that arises from the Gen 2:24 mundane marriage in the Gospels and Apocalypse, is not *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel*, but rather: *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*. This new *ontological flash* gives rise to a new conceptual domain ('B' in the structure map, MAP 2, as below) and a different set of analogies related to the betrothal practices of contemporary mundane marriage, many of which are exploited in the Gospels and the Apocalypse in their imagery.

This root metaphor, with some example analogies consequent on its employment, might be diagrammatically imagined like this:

Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church

(New conceptual domain 'B' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN **Gen 2:24** A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	**ROOT METAPHOR** →	**NEW TARGET DOMAIN (B)** **Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church** Men and women are invited to become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ.
• Betrothal • Wedding feast • Invitations to guests • Groom prepares a place his bride • Groom pays a *mohar* for his bride • Groom promises to care for his bride • Bride waits for groom • Groom comes for his bride • Groom takes his bride to his own home	**CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES** →	• Betrothal • Wedding feast • Invitations to guests • Jesus prepares a place for the church • Jesus pays a *mohar* for the church • Christ cares for the church • The church waits for Jesus • Jesus comes for the church • Jesus takes the church to his own home

MAP 2

The Pauline corpus shares the same understanding of the imagery as the Gospels and the Apocalypse, thus 2 Cor 11:2 addressing the Corinthian church states: "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a pure virgin to Christ"—and specifically articulates the source and target domains of this NT marital imagery in Eph 5:31-32—Gen 2:24/mundane marriage and the Christ/church relationship respectively:

> "Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh." This mystery is profound, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church. (Eph 5:31-32)

1.4.2   Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity

The Pauline corpus develops the imagery based on Gen 2:24 to create three further large-scale conceptual metaphors, to be diagrammatically represented by structure MAPS 3-5. MAP 3 represents the mundane marriage source domain being mapped to a new target domain: *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity.* It will be seen (§9.4.2) that Paul portrays Adam, in Eden, as having turned his back on God and taken humanity with him in a new covenantal relationship with Satan (i.e. 'Sin')—Holland suggesting that the "body of sin" and the "body of death" in Rom 6 and 7 reference this community.[47] Just as the redeemed are portrayed as the wife of Yahweh/the bride of Christ bound to their husband by biblical marriage law, unredeemed humanity is portrayed as their antithesis: the 'wife' of Satan to whom she is bound by that same marriage law. Thus a new conceptual domain is articulated ('C' in the structure map, MAP 3, as below)—unredeemed humanity in a marriage to Satan.

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[47] Holland, *Contours*, 129-39.

The situation can be portrayed diagrammatically like this:

Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity
(New conceptual domain 'C' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24		NEW TARGET DOMAIN (C) Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	**ROOT METAPHOR** →	Unredeemed humanity became what they were not: the metaphoric wife of Sin by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam.
• The wife is bound (Rom 7:1-4) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)	**CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES** →	• Unredeemed humanity is bound (Rom 6 and 7) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)

MAP 3

1.4.3 The Body of Christ

The fourth of the Bible's large-scale conceptual metaphors based on Gen 2:24 is formed in the Pauline corpus by exploiting the fact that a new kinship group (a new family) is created by the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union. First Corinthians maps that concept on to all believers to form a corporate body imagery, new to Scripture:

> Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . For, as it is written, "The two will become one flesh." (1 Cor 6:15-16)

It has been pointed out (§1.2) that the בָּשָׂר (flesh) concept of Gen 2:24 is employed in the Hebrew Bible to reference various kinship groups, for example, a clan (Lev 25:49). It can be seen from 2 Sam 5:1 that Israel considered themselves united in a one-flesh union: "Then all the tribes of Israel came to David at Hebron and said, 'Behold, we are your bone and flesh.'" Israel believed that they were in a 'vertical' metaphoric marital relationship with Yahweh, but it is clear they also perceived themselves to be in a 'horizontal' one-flesh/one-family relationship with each other.

Dunn and Holland believe that Paul's understanding of *flesh* includes this Hebraic concept, that is, *flesh* signified "a corporate or national identity."[48] It will be suggested in this present study, that Paul takes the concept of the corporate one-flesh identity from Gen 2:24, and 'overlays' it on to all believers. In other words, he transfers the kinship identity that Israel had, whereby they considered themselves one family, on to the conceptual domain of Christian believers: all now are perceived to be 'brothers' and 'sisters' in Christ, a new family group—in effect, a new Israel.[49]

Paul articulates the imagery in this Corinthians pericope, where, in metaphoric structure-mapping terminology, he performs a forced equivalence cross-mapping, from the kinship understanding of the one-flesh union of Gen 2:24, on to all believers. Whereas in a source to target metaphor, a source domain is employed to generate a new conceptual target

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[48] James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 70; Holland, *Romans*, 209.

[49] Carmichael argues that the bread of the Passover meal was seen in Jewish culture to represent the nation Israel: D. B. Carmichael, "David Daube on the Eucharist and the Passover Seder," *JSNT* 42 (1997): 49; Evans endorses Daube: Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville, Tenn.: Nelson, 2001), 390-91; thus Jesus' comment "this is my body" recorded in the Gospels (e.g. Matt 26:26) and in 1 Cor 11:24 might reflect a similar understanding by the NT writers: that is, Jesus' body represents a new Israel.
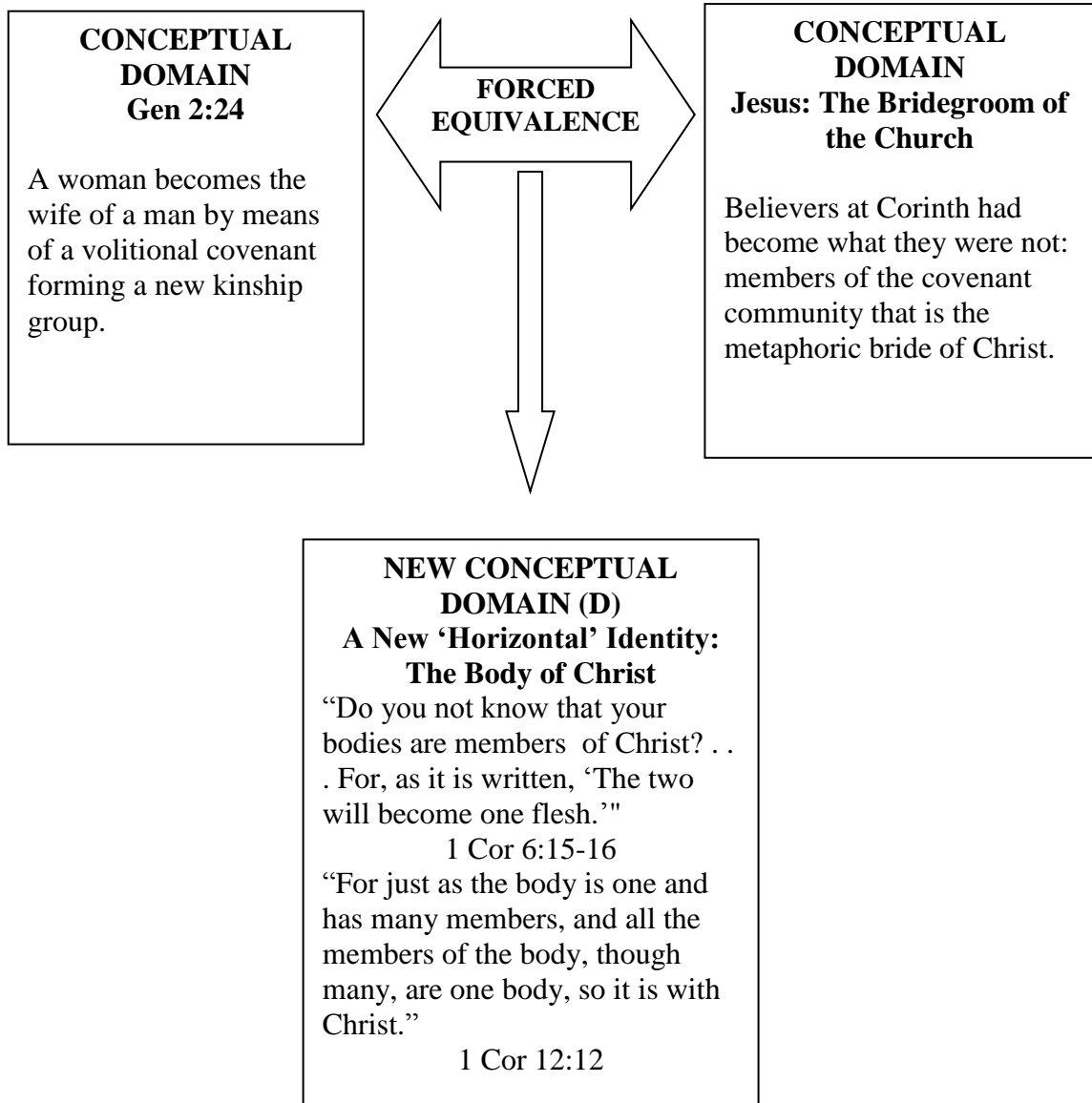
domain, for example, "the LORD is my shepherd," in this cross-mapping, Gen 2:24 (a one-flesh horizontal metaphoric kinship identity) is cross-mapped with the pre-existing conceptual domain of all believers—a domain created by the marital imagery—to produce a fourth conceptual domain.

The resulting "tectonic reconfiguration" (as Masson would describe it[50]) gives rise to the concept of a metaphoric body of Christ that has "members" (i.e. believers)—thus Paul gives the church a new one-family/one-flesh identity. He elsewhere further develops the imagery into a functioning body of Christ and employs that concept extensively in the Pauline corpus.

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[50] Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 59-68, 186.

Diagrammatically, this forced equivalence cross-mapping might be imagined thus:

The Corporate *Body of Christ*

(New conceptual domain 'D' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24	FORCED EQUIVALENCE	CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church
A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.		Believers at Corinth had become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ.

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (D)
A New 'Horizontal' Identity: The Body of Christ
"Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'"
1 Cor 6:15-16
"For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ."
1 Cor 12:12

MAP 4

1.4.4   The Body of a Prostitute

It has been posited that the antithesis of the concept that the people of God are the wife of Yahweh (MAP 1) and the bride of Christ (MAP 2), is that unredeemed humanity is the wife of Satan (MAP 3). It will be seen (§9.4) that for Paul, just as the bride of Christ is the body of Christ (MAP 4), the wife of 'Sin'/Satan is the "body of sin" (Rom 6:6), which, it is contended, is synonymous with both the "body of death" (Rom 7:24) and the 'body of a prostitute' (1 Cor 6:15-16).[51]

Paul goes again to Gen 2:24 to form this corporate body imagery (the fifth and last of the Bible's large-scale conceptual metaphors based on Gen 2:24), using it to portray unredeemed humanity as the antithesis to the body of Christ: the body of a 'prostitute'—a community with a 'horizontal' family identity to mirror the church's own family identity:

> [15] Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? Never! [16] Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, "The two will become one flesh." (1 Cor 6:15-16)

Paul tells the members of the church at Corinth, by their immoral behaviour, they are in danger of identifying themselves with the wrong corporate body, that is, becoming one body with a 'prostitute'—exchanging metaphoric membership of one corporate body (the church 'family') for the metaphoric membership of another (the 'family' of the unbelieving world). Thus, it is suggested, that Paul employs *prostitute* in a way that reflects its use in the OT marital imagery where it refers to Israel's apostasy away from Yahweh. Huber sees that such a concept is exploited in the imagery of Rev 17-21:

> the images of harlot and bride depict two possible forms of existence for the Christian community. The community can live in idolatry, as a prostitute, or the community can live in faithfulness to God, as a bride.[52]

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[51] Thus: Holland, *Contours*, 137; Holland, *Romans*, 245.

[52] Lynn R. Huber, *Like a Bride Adorned: Reading Metaphor in John's Apocalypse* (EMEC; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 32; similarly Beale, pointing out the parallel between Rev 17:1-3 and Rev 21:9-10 states: "Just as Babylon symbolizes socio-economic and religious culture arrayed in antagonism to God, so the bride, portrayed as the new Jerusalem, represents the redeemed community": G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (ed. Howard I. Marshall and Donald A. Hagner; NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 1064.

Thus Paul forms his *prostitute* imagery in the Corinthians pericope by cross-mapping the concept that the lost are in a marriage to 'Sin' (a marriage based on the principles of Gen 2:24), with the concept that the volitional, covenantal union of Gen 2:24 creates a new kinship group. The cross-mapping gives rise to a new corporate body identity for unredeemed humanity. Diagrammatically, this forced equivalence cross-mapping might be imagined thus:

The Corporate *Body of a Prostitute*

(New conceptual domain 'E' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24

A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.

FORCED EQUIVALENCE

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity

Unredeemed humanity becomes the metaphoric wife of 'Sin' by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam.

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (E) A New 'Horizontal' Identity: The Body of a Prostitute (The Body of Sin)
"Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'" 1 Cor 6:16

MAP 5

However, the scholarly consensus is that Gen 2:24 is understood differently in the NT from the way it is understood in the Hebrew Bible, this new understanding appears, at least in part, to be based on a literal reading of 1 Cor 6:15-16.[53] It is considered Paul is saying that sexual intercourse with a literal prostitute creates an ontological union.[54] Commenting on this passage Loader says:

> Sexual intercourse leads to people becoming "one flesh" . . . Again we have to draw on Gen 2:24. I make myself a member of a prostitute by having sexual intercourse with her.[55]

Thus Loader believes that one act of sexual intercourse with a prostitute creates a new reality and precludes a believer from communion with Christ, as the two realities created by sexual intercourse are "mutually exclusive."[56]

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[53] Holland points out the literal understanding of the prostitute that many scholars hold: Holland, *Contours*, 124-39; other examples apart from those that will be cited in §9.4.3 include Grosheide, despite him seeing that 1 Cor 6:19 might reference the corporate body of believers: F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on The First Epistle to the Corinthians: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1953), 148-52; Gehring similarly comments that a corporate interpretation in 1 Cor 6:19-20 is possible: "thus 'leaving' the world behind, 'joining' Jesus Christ (v. 17), becoming . . . 'one body' (vv. 17, 19) with him" but does not apply the concept to the 'prostitute': Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 266-67; Sampley also sees a literal prostitute being referenced in the pericope: J. Paul Sampley, "The First Letter to the Corinthians," in *Acts Introduction to Epistolary Literature Romans 1 Corinthians* (ed. Leander E. Keck; vol. X of *The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes,* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2002), 862-63.

[54] Chapter 10 will consider the Gospel pericopae that deal with divorce and remarriage where a similar exegetical deduction about the nature of the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union appears to have been made: that is, it is an irreversible ontological and/or mystical union.

[55] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 170, 172.

[56] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 177; similarly: Aaron S. Son, "Implications of Paul's 'One Flesh' Concept for His Understanding of the Nature of Man," *BR* 11 (2001): 108.

Loader gives a linguistic justification for this consensus view:

> when the man leaves his home and is joined to his wife, the two become one. How would this have been understood? It certainly includes sexual union. Again the LXX gives greater support to this. The Hebrew word, בשר ("flesh") in the expression "become one flesh" has its primary focus on creation of kin, whereas the word used in the LXX, σάρξ ("flesh"), puts the emphasis more on sexual union. Whereas בשר can be used metaphorically in the Hebrew for one's own kin or family, σάρξ ("flesh") is rarely used this way in the LXX. In the Hebrew the sexual is more likely to be located in the word דָּבַק ("join to/stick to"), whereas in the LXX both προσκολλάω ("join to") and σάρξ ("flesh") are capable of including sexual connotations . . . It allows Paul . . . to apply Gen 2:24 to sexual intercourse with a prostitute (1 Cor 6:16).[57]

Dunn considers Paul's extensive and varied use of σάρξ and the related term σῶμά (body), Paul seemingly using the words interchangeably in this Corinthians pericope. However, Dunn cautions against reading too much into the LXX use of σῶμά as there was no equivalent Hebrew term for it, and points out that the dominant view has been that Paul's use of σάρξ reflects a combination of both Jewish and Hellenistic features.[58]

Holland surveys the use of בָּשָׂר and σάρξ in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, pointing out that Paul's use of σάρξ in the NT reflects the varied understanding of בָּשָׂר that the Hebrew Bible demonstrates.[59] Holland contrasts those Hebraic understandings with the Hellenist concept of σάρξ, which he sees as bound up with the concept of the individual sinful human body. He then suggests that the early church, although using the LXX, would have known the Hebraic concept of σάρξ, and would have understood when Paul employed the term in a Hebraic way.[60]

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[57] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 278; Loader elsewhere states when commenting on Gen 2:24: "The [LXX] translator used the word προσκολληθήσεται ('shall be joined/shall join') to translate the Qal, דָּבַק ('join to/stick to'). The range of meaning of both verbs is similar, including 'cleave' and 'stick'. It need not be a sexual reference": William R. G. Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament: Case Studies on the Impact of the LXX on Philo and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 41.

[58] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 56, 62.

[59] Holland, *Romans*, 203-25.

[60] Holland, *Romans*, 207.

Thus Holland believes Paul employs σάρξ in Phil 3 in a typical Hebraic way to mean the 'covenant people of God':

[3] For we are the real circumcision, who worship by the Spirit of God and glory in Christ Jesus and put no confidence in the flesh—[4] though I myself have reason for confidence in the flesh also. If anyone else thinks he has reason for confidence in the flesh, I have more: [5] circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; [6] as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness, under the law blameless. (Phil 3:3-6)

Dunn agrees with Holland:

The problem was that this confidence was understood in classic Reformation terms as confidence in human ability to keep the law . . . What had been lost sight of, however, was the fact that in the immediate context, "confidence in the flesh" for Paul was confidence in belonging to the people of Israel . . . It follows then that it is *sarx* as denoting membership of Israel.[61]

Thiselton similarly sees that the NT has an emphasis on "a people" rather than individuals and cites the work of Holland and Robinson in support—the latter, like Holland, emphasising the corporate understanding of σῶμά.[62]

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[61] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 69.
[62] Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Hermeneutics of Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 187, 480.

Robinson comments:

> Now, if we ask why it was that the Jews here made do with one word (*basar*) where the Greeks required two (σάρξ and σῶμά), we come up against some of the most fundamental assumptions of Hebraic thinking about man. Our contention will be that the Pauline use of σάρξ and σῶμά is to be understood only in the light of these assumptions, and, consequently, that the Greek presuppositions, which necessarily demanded two words instead of one, are simply misleading if made the starting point in interpreting Paul's meaning. When it is remembered that our modern use of the terms 'body' and 'flesh' is almost wholly conditioned by these Hellenic presuppositions, it is clear that great care must be observed if we are not to read into Paul's thought ideas which are foreign to him.[63]

This present study suggests, based on an understanding of metaphoric cross-mapping principles, that in 1 Cor 6:15-16, as in Phil 3, σάρξ is used in a Hebraic way with a meaning within the same semantic domain as in the Philippians pericope, which in turn reflects the wider corporate kinship meaning of בָּשָׂר in Gen 2:24. That is, it is a relational term that Paul uses to posit a new metaphoric kinship group. Thus believers in Corinth were being told that their behaviour indicated to which metaphoric kinship group they now belonged: the body of Christ, the church family, God's new covenant people—or its antithesis, the body of a prostitute.

As Loader continues his argument he demonstrates how his understanding of 1 Cor 6:15-16—that the 'two becoming one' references sexual intercourse with a prostitute, a physical act which forms a permanent, non-covenantal, ontological union—facilitates the conflation of the primal couple marriage with that of Gen 2:24:

> The notion of the two becoming one has many complexities, especially when Gen 2:24 and 1:27 are placed side by side as here [Mark 10:6-8]. The assumptions behind this use of scripture and the saying about not undoing the yokes is that this coming together is an irreversible procedure: the oneness is no more to be reversed than a body is to be split in two.[64]

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[63] A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (SBT 5; London: SCM, 1952), 11-12.
[64] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 278.

Loader, reflecting the academic consensus, links the primal couple (in this case Gen 1:27) with Gen 2:24, and deduces that the mundane marriage relationship (or, as he more precisely articulates, a relationship formed by coitus) is modelled on Adam and Eve's relationship; for Loader this makes mundane marriage "irreversible."[65] When the one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 is understood in the way Loader et al. suggest (i.e. representing a union formed by coitus), it will be seen in the course of this present study that it does not have the properties to be effectively cross-mapped in either the NT body imagery, or the NT marital imagery, where it is so employed.[66] Loader posits in 1 Cor 6:15-16:

> While Paul applies the literal engagement with a prostitute on the basis of Gen 2:24 to becoming one flesh with her (6:16-17 [*sic*]), he employs it metaphorically in relation to the believer's previous relationship, that is, not with his wife, but with Christ.[67]

Thus he believes (as does this present study) that the *one-flesh union* of Gen 2:24 is the basis in the pericope of an individual becoming either one body with Christ or one body with a prostitute, however, Loader takes one to be metaphoric and the other to be literal.

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[65] Commenting on 1 Cor 6 Loader states: "sexual intercourse actually changes people by creating a new reality: oneness with another person, as Paul understands Gen 2:24" and that "sexual union creates permanent union and severs any previous union . . . Juxtaposing Gen 1:27 and Gen 2:24 leads to the conclusion . . . 'that they are no longer two but one flesh'": Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 176, 277, 290.

[66] Gehring shares Loader's perspective, quoting Blomberg (1990) he states: "'Becoming one flesh' then focuses on the sexual union of marriage"; then Gehring states, citing Gen 4:1, 17, 25: "Becoming 'one flesh' in the sense of having sexual intercourse . . . it is through יָדַע that man and woman become 'one flesh'"; on 1 Cor 6:15-16 he states: "two individualities become one new unity . . . implying 'that the man and the prostitute are wedded together even though there are no wedding vows' . . . As the texts demonstrate [quoting Son (2001)], 'Paul conceives the union with Christ to be as real as the physical union created by sexual intercourse' . . . While even cleaving to a prostitute results in an (inferior) 'one flesh' union (1 Cor 6:16) . . . [again quoting Son (2001)] 'Adam/Eve (sexual union) = husband/wife (sexual union) = Christ/church (spiritual union)'": Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 30, 52, 152, 265, 276, 296-97, 312.

[67] William R. G. Loader, "Did Adultery Mandate Divorce? A Reassessment of Jesus' Divorce Logia," *NTS* 61.1 (January 2015): 76.

First Corinthians 6:15-16 can be diagrammatically represented as per MAP 6:

Structure Map of First Corinthians 6:15-16

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN **The Body of Christ** "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . ." 1 Cor 6:15a	CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN **The Body of a Prostitute** ". . . Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? . . . do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her?" 1 Cor 6:15b-16a

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN
Gen 2:24
". . . For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'"
1 Cor 6:16b

MAP 6

Loader accepts that Gen 2:24 is employed metaphorically when describing a believer's relationship with Christ. A metaphor consists of two conceptual domains brought together by a pair-wise metaphoric statement—thus, in effect, Loader posits that Gen 2:24 = the body of Christ, which might be expressed as: "the one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 is the believer's relationship in the body of Christ." However, with the understanding that Gen 2:24 is a relationship formed by coitus the metaphoric statement becomes: "the one-flesh union formed by coitus is the believer's relationship in the body of Christ." But it has been posited in this present study (as above) that the NT *body of Christ* imagery is based on a metaphoric kinship formed by a covenant whereby believers are considered to be brothers and sisters—this imagery, it is suggested, cannot be meaningfully cross-mapped from a sexual act.

Thus this present study argues that the NT understanding of Gen 2:24 embraces the Hebraic covenantal, metaphoric, kinship semantic domain of its one-flesh union (Loader pointing out himself that metaphoric kinship is a Hebraic understanding of בָּשָׂר);[68] and it is this understanding that is cross-mapped in the marital and body imagery of the Bible to portray God's relationship to his people and their relationship to each other. With this covenantal understanding of Gen 2:24, the Gen 2:24 = the body of Christ mapping of 1 Cor 6:15-16 becomes: "a volitional, covenantal, metaphoric, family relationship is the believer's relationship in the body of Christ." Such, it is contended, is consonant with metaphoric cross-mapping principles whereby concepts from one domain are cross-mapped to another—in this case the concept cross-mapped is the covenantal, kinship union of Gen 2:24.

The second cross-mapping in vv. 15-16 is Gen 2:24 = the body of a prostitute. A consistent exegesis would be to apply the same understanding to Gen 2:24 as in the first cross-mapping. Thus you become the member of a prostitute's body in the same way you become a member of Christ's body—by means of a volitional covenant, not a sexual act. Such a covenantal understanding of the union undermines an exegesis of the pericope as referencing a literal prostitute.

As outlined above, and to be explored in Ch. 9, the NT corporate body imagery is based on the NT marital imagery. Both, it will be posited, are cross-mapped from the covenantal understanding of the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union. While the marital imagery

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[68] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 278.

exploits the marital union of the verse, the corporate body imagery exploits the concept that a new kinship group, a new family, is created by mundane marriage—but neither the marital imagery, nor the body imagery, is cross-mapped from an understanding of the one-flesh union as representing coitus. Thus in the marital imagery, the root metaphor, *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church* cross-maps an inchoate marriage—union with Christ is based on a betrothal covenant, a distinctive feature of such being that coitus has not taken place.

1.5   Reverse Cross-Domain Mapping

Caird suggests:

> metaphors derived from human relationships have a special interest and importance, because they lend themselves to a two-way traffic in ideas. When the Bible calls God judge, king, father or husband it is, in the first instance, using the human known to throw light on the divine unknown, and particularly on God's attitude to his worshippers. But no sooner has the metaphor travelled from earth to heaven than it begins the return journey to earth, bearing with it an ideal standard by which the conduct of human judges, kings, fathers and husbands is to be assessed . . . Husbands must love their wives as Christ loved the church (Eph. 5:25).[69]

Where the target domain is mapped back on to the source domain various expressions are employed in the literature—Black calling it "interaction" (§1.1.1), and Baumann "reverse action" (§2.1.1); however, this study will describe such as reverse (or dual-direction) cross-mapping. Inferred cross-domain mapping is the terminology that will be used to indicate inferred consequent analogies: that is, when an aspect of marriage from one conceptual domain, although not articulated as being cross-mapped, might be seen to be implied in the other conceptual domain, or perhaps influence the perception of the other conceptual domain. It can be seen from Caird (as above) that he is positing an inferred reverse cross-mapping from target to source in some of the Bible's metaphoric imagery. By way of contrast Eph 5:25 (cited by Caird) is an example of articulated reverse cross-mapping, that is, the Christ/church relationship is declared to be a model for human marriage.

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[69] Caird, *Language and Imagery*, 19.

This present study seeks to use the Bible's marital imagery as a demonstrably valid hermeneutical tool to aid an understanding of the disputed NT divorce and remarriage pericope—in effect, positing that it is valid to employ reverse cross-mapping to help elucidate a disputed pericope.[70] However, an aspect of the imagery will only be employed to such an end if the resulting exegesis is consonant with either OT or NT teaching, or is evidenced in contemporary marriage practice.

1.6 Genesis 2:24 and the People of God

Gerhart and Russell claim:

> The Bible remains the premier challenge in linguistic interpretation . . . there is no larger, more overarching problem than that posed by the changes that take place in the relationship between God and the people of Israel.[71]

This present study suggests that once the one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 is understood as a metaphoric one-flesh covenantal relationship it can be seen that Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 underpin two different conceptual domains. It seems that the conceptual domain of Gen 2:23 and its literal/consanguineous one-flesh union underpinned Israel's perception of its own identity. Block states:

> the biblical texts from Genesis to Malachi assume that common descent from an eponymous ancestor provides the basis for Israel's ethnic unity and that the Israelites perceived themselves as one large extended kinship group.[72]

Thus Israel's identity relied on a consanguineous one-flesh ancestral union going back to Jacob, and in turn, to Abraham. But it appears that it is the concept of the metaphoric one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 that is the basis of the marital imagery in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures—God's people are the metaphoric wife of Yahweh and the metaphoric bride of Christ. Thus when in the NT the Jews point out their consanguineous one-flesh

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[70] Instone-Brewer demonstrates the use of inferred reverse cross-mapping as a hermeneutical tool, in that he points out in the OT imagery God divorces Israel, and that this should be taken into account to help reach an understanding of OT mundane divorce teaching: David Instone-Brewer, "How Do We Read Malachi in the Light Of God's Divorce? Interview with Dr. Instone-Brewer on Divorce in Cases of Abuse and Neglect in the Old Testament," n.p. [cited 25 January 2015]. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zNtvV7NAaFs.

[71] Gerhart and Russell, *New Maps for Old*, 61-62.

[72] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 35.

union, a literal blood-line to Abraham to whom God had made the covenantal promises (e.g. Gen 12:7; 15:1-21; 17:1-21), Jesus is recorded as repudiating that claim (John 8:39). Instead, the NT pursues metaphoric concepts to define the bride and body of Christ and claims that believers are a metaphoric family—the metaphoric offspring of Abraham (Gal 3:29) and considered to be "brothers" (e.g. 1 Cor 1:10).

1.7   Summary: Cross-Domain Mapping and Genesis 2:24

This study will seek to explore the marital imagery of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures and consider its significance for the understanding of divorce and remarriage teaching in the NT. It will be seen that there are three source to target large-scale conceptual marital metaphors in those Scriptures. All of them employ the volitional, covenantal, marital, one-flesh understanding of Gen 2:24 to create three new conceptual domains—it will be seen that all three conceptual domains embrace the concept of divorce and remarriage:

MAP 1 *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel*   (creating conceptual domain 'A')

MAP 2 *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*   (creating conceptual domain 'B')

MAP 3 *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*   (creating conceptual domain 'C')

It will also be seen that two further large-scale conceptual metaphors, based on a forced equivalence cross-mapping of the volitional, covenantal, one-family understanding of Gen 2:24 with the two conceptual domains formed by the NT marital imagery ('B' and 'C'), create two new corporate body conceptual domains:

MAP 4 *The Body of Christ*   (creating conceptual domain 'D')

MAP 5 *The Body of a Prostitute*   (creating conceptual domain 'E')

Lakoff and Johnson consider that "The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture."[73] Thus it will be argued in this present study that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures would not employ an imagery that did not reflect a social reality—nor would they repudiate in their own mundane marriage teaching the principles they employ in their marital imagery.

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[73] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 22.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

2   Literature Review

2.1   Marital Imagery in the Old Testament

There is a considerable corpus of published material that considers marital imagery in the OT and engages with metaphor theory, but no published work appears to have considered the imagery in light of the more recent structure-mapping concepts.

Adler's (1989) unpublished PhD dissertation, frequently cited by academic authors in the field, remains one of the most comprehensive treatments of OT marital imagery. Although she does not reference metaphor theory she points out the unique nature of the imagery compared with other ANE cultures, its pervasive use in the OT, and the extent to which the Yahweh/Israel relationship mirrors Israelite marriage legislation and practice. Stienstra in her study does reference metaphor theory and comments:

> It is regrettable, to put it mildly, that so many translators have shown themselves insensitive to a number of manifestations of the marriage metaphor. This is mainly due to the fact they are not aware of the way these many manifestations are all linked up into one large system.[74]

She believes that the metaphor can be recognised in texts where it is not overtly present and makes the point that to understand the metaphor it is necessary to understand Israelite marriage.[75] Thus, although not referencing cross-mapping principles, she believes that the marital imagery is a large-scale structural metaphor such as Gentner and Bowdle describe, involving many metaphoric expressions that Gerhart and Russell call inferred analogies (§1.1.2). Similarly Bauman, who suggests a key indicator for marital imagery when the relationship of Israel and Yahweh is referenced, is not the concept of *love*, but rather the appearance of זָנָה (harlotry) and נָאַף (adultery).[76]

Abma, who makes a detailed study of the prophetic marriage imagery in passages from Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, while seeing that marital imagery is "an umbrella for various sub-forms of metaphorical speech" that embraces divorce, adultery, promiscuity, and

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[74] Nelly Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband of His People: Analysis of a Biblical Metaphor with Special Reference to Translation* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 7.
[75] Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband*, 39-40.
[76] Gerlinde Baumann, *Love and Violence: Marriage as Metaphor for the Relationship between YHWH and Israel in the Prophetic Books* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Biblewerk, 2000; repr., Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2003), 41.

love, argues that if Israel is not personified as a woman and the concept of marriage explicitly articulated, it is not strictly marriage imagery.[77] This present study will follow Baumann and Stienstra's broader criteria for identifying marital imagery (in both OT and NT) as it appears to be more consonant with the concept of analogical structure mapping between domains based on the root metaphor having opened a new target domain (§1.1.2).

Abma points out the flexibility in the imagery in that Jer 3:8 speaks of Yahweh divorcing Israel (not Judah), but in Jer 3:18-22 the reuniting of the nation seems to be a remarriage, even though such is forbidden in mundane marriage according to the Deut 24 pericope cited in Jer 3:1.[78] However, Instone-Brewer points out that Yahweh's new marriage is:

> described as though it were the first marriage of a virgin bride, as though the new united nation was a completely new individual without the murky past of either of her component nations.[79]

Although it will be posited in this present study that the target and source domains have a high degree of congruence (§3.5), the very nature of metaphoric concepts means that the two domains are not identical—this allows both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures to employ the imagery creatively. Lunn (2014) demonstrates the flexibility of the imagery in that he argues (it seems uniquely), based on the marital terminology employed, that the exodus from Egypt was consciously portrayed as a divorce of Israel from Pharaoh and the Egyptian gods, and thus the 'marriage' of Israel at Sinai was the marriage of a divorcee; this article will be referenced in Ch. 6.

2.1.1   Reverse Cross-Domain Mapping in the OT
The aim of this study is to seek a harmonisation of the Bible's marital imagery with NT divorce and remarriage teaching. Thus any consideration of reverse cross-mapping of the imagery is of interest as it would illuminate any congruency to be found between the two conceptual domains.

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[77] Richtsje Abma, *Bonds of Love: Methodic Studies of Prophetic Texts with Marriage Imagery (Isaiah 50:1-3 and 54:1-10, Hosea 1-3, Jeremiah 2-3)* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1999), 3.

[78] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 12-13.

[79] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 53.

Bauman points out the "reverse action" of OT marriage imagery and that it can influence our understanding of "women, men, God, and marriage . . . even today."[80] Weems believes that: "Metaphorical language is at the center of how ancient prophets conceived of and understood the world, themselves, and God" and considers the impact of OT marital imagery on the OT audience and a contemporary audience today.[81] O'Brien believes that prophetic metaphors have a role in forming a worldview—a worldview considered so obvious that no conscious thought is given to it. She articulates what she sees as the consequence of the interaction between tenor and vehicle:

> When the Prophetic Books call God King, Father, and Husband, they reveal the privilege granted to human kings, fathers and husbands . . . In a loop of cause and effect, the human roles in which God is depicted also take on greater power.[82]

Moughtin-Mumby comments on the concern of some feminist scholars (who see dangers in inferred reverse cross-mapping) that the imagery can have potentially negative consequences, an issue Day (2000, 2008) also reflects on.[83]

This present study will demonstrate that the OT marriage metaphor is used creatively, thus any analogies postulated when reverse cross-mapping the two domains have to be treated with caution (§6.11). But it is clear that it is perceived in the literature that the marital imagery is consonant with ancient Israel's understanding of mundane marriage teaching.

2.2   **Marital Imagery in the New Testament**

There appears to be no published systematic treatment of NT marital imagery in English that engages with metaphor theory. Chavasse (1940) and Batey (1971) consider NT marital imagery but neither reference metaphor theory. Yet Smolarz suggests that the OT marriage metaphor (despite Satlow pointing out its absence in the literature—§7.1) "constituted part of

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[80] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 22-26, 35-36.

[81] Renita Weems, *Battered Love: Marriage, Sex, and Violence in the Hebrew Prophets* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Fortress, 1995), 33.

[82] Julia M. O'Brien, *Challenging Prophetic Metaphor: Theology and Ideology in the Prophets* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), xvii- xviii.

[83] Sharon Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1-46.

the Jewish beliefs in first century CE."[84] McFague considers the concept of a relational God is pervasive in the NT:

> The dominant model in the Judeo-Christian tradition is that of a personal God relating to responsible and responsive beings . . . The content of the root-metaphor of Christianity, then, is a mode of personal relationship.[85]

McWhirter (2006) claims that before her own study there had been no comprehensive analysis of the allusions to marital imagery in John's gospel;[86] like Long (2013), and Pitre (2014), she sees that the Gospel writers portray Jesus as self-consciously adopting the role of a bridegroom to his people and that they rely heavily on Jewish mundane marriage customs to that end. However, none of these publications engage with metaphor theory.

The portrayal of Jesus as a bridegroom has Christological implications—cognitive mapping concepts would seem to indicate that the root metaphor (Jesus 'is' the bridegroom to the church) opens a conceptual domain comparable to that employed in the OT imagery, and gives rise to the potential deduction that Jesus 'is' Yahweh.[87] Christology is the focus of Tait's (2012) consideration of NT marital imagery, as it is for several German scholars (who do engage with metaphor theory) as in Frey et al. (2003). Similarly the German scholar Zimmermann (2001, 2002, 2003) considers marital imagery in the Gospels and the Apocalypse and refers to some of the underlying metaphoric concepts involved.

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[84] Smolarz points out that Israel's hope for a future restoration at this time was bound up with the marital imagery: Sebastian R. Smolarz, *Covenant and the Metaphor of Divine Marriage in Biblical Thought* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 183.

[85] McFague, *Metaphorical Theology*, 106, 108.

[86] Jocelyn McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah and the People of God: Marriage in the Fourth Gospel* (SNTSMS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11.

[87] Thus Long: "It goes beyond the evidence to claim that the image of a bridegroom was a metaphor for the Messiah. Rather, the bridegroom is in fact God as he reconciles with his bride, Israel": Phillip Long J., *Jesus the Bridegroom: The Origin of the Eschatological Feast as a Wedding Banquet in the Synoptic Gospels* (Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2013), 239.

2.2.1 Reverse Cross-Domain Mapping in the New Testament

Although OT scholarship addresses the subject of reverse cross-mapping and its implications, this is not the case in NT studies despite the articulation of such, for example, in Eph 5:25, which will be considered in §9.4.8.[88]

2.3 Divorce and Remarriage Teaching in the New Testament

No published work this study is aware of explores the difference between the marriages in Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24. Instead, 1 Cor 6:15-16 is used to teach that mundane marriage, or more precisely sexual intercourse, creates an ontological and/or mystical union, and that this is the meaning of the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union; *contra* the OT understanding that the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union refers to a union of kinship formed by a volitional covenant (§1.2). The conceptual domains of Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 are thus conflated and the primal couple assumed to be the subject of the NT Gen 2:24 references.[89] The academic consensus is that Matt 19:3-9 and Mark 10:2-12, with their reference to "in the beginning" and to Gen 2:24, affirm, or re-affirm, that the aetiology of mundane marriage lies in the primal couple—an Edenic ideal that the Gospel writers seek to apply to the Christian era, thus Adam and Eve's marriage is utilised as the model to exegete the Bible's divorce and remarriage teaching.

It is this perspective that forms the basis of Gehring's (2013) *The Biblical "One Flesh" Theology of Marriage as Constituted in Genesis 2:24* and underpins Loader's (2012) 500 page study *The New Testament on Sexuality*.[90] Other studies specifically articulate the same, or at least appear to have assumed a primal couple marriage model. Examples from the last twenty years include: Loader (2013); MacArthur (2009); Davidson (2007); Wenham (2006); Clark (2004); Köstenberger and Jones (2004); Taylor and Clendenen (2004); France (2002); Son (2001); Deasley (2000); and Hugenberger (1994).

Although Instone-Brewer's *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible* (2002) does not look to challenge a paradigmatic primal couple model, or address metaphor theory, his focus on the "social and literary context" of Jesus and Paul's day causes him to question the way the relevant NT pericopae have been treated in the past—the result is an exegesis which is

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[88] Knight reflects on Eph 5 and the relevance of Paul's teaching for mundane marriage but he does not reference metaphor theory: Knight (2012); the subject is addressed (but again without reference to metaphor theory and the associated cross-mapping principles) in Elliot (1976, 1981); Hamer (2005, 2006).

[89] For example: Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 278.

[90] As referenced in n 66 §1.4.4: Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 30, 52, 152, 265, 276, 296-97, 312; Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 176, 277, 290.

largely congruent with the Bible's marital imagery—an imagery that metaphoric principles dictate will be based on a social reality.

2.4   Summary: Literature Review

A review of the literature indicates that OT marital imagery has a considerable body of published material devoted to it, the majority of which engages with metaphor theory, although not the more recent structure-mapping concepts. However, NT marital imagery is only sparsely represented in NT studies, and only the German scholars seem to engage with metaphor theory.

It appears this lack of engagement by NT scholars with metaphor theory, and with structure-mapping concepts in particular, has inhibited an effective analysis of the NT marital and corporate body imagery. This, it is suggested, has resulted in a failure to correctly identify the imagery employed by the NT writers, and has given rise to some of the conflicting views on NT divorce and remarriage teaching as referenced in the Study Outline.

Chapter 3   Methodology

3   Methodology

3.1   Introduction

Several scholars believe that Israelite marriage practice 'mirrored,' at least to a measure, the perceived relationship of Yahweh and Israel;[91] in other words, the two conceptual domains had a high degree of congruence, Stienstra believing that they were so closely tied together in the Israelite mind that it was a metaphor Israelites "lived by."[92] It will be pointed out in this present study that the marital imagery of the NT appears to be a continuation of the imagery found in the Hebrew Bible, and thus it would be expected, as metaphoric principles dictate, that the imagery of the NT would similarly reflect the contemporary understanding of marriage. It is further posited that the NT writers would not repudiate mundane marital practices they employ in their own marital imagery. Thus this present study will explore the possibility of using the metaphoric divine marriage model as a hermeneutical tool to help elucidate the teaching of the disputed divorce and remarriage pericopae of the NT.

3.2   An Approach to the Biblical Text

It is the intention in this study to adopt a text-centred approach as outlined by Postell where (with reference to the Hebrew Bible) he considers the text in the final form "embodies the intentionality of a historical author"; such an author being the person or persons responsible for the final text. He posits: "texts have meaning because an author meant them to . . . There are many indications . . . [that] compositional strategy is synonymous with authorial intention"; he suggests that by focusing on the final form of the text that it is possible to detect "literary coherence and authorial strategy."[93] Skinner writes:

> The understanding of texts, I have sought to insist, presupposes the grasp both of what they were intended to mean, and how this meaning was intended to be taken. It follows from this that to understand a text must be to understand both the intention to be understood, and the intention that this intention should be understood, which the text itself as an intended act of communication must at least have embodied.[94]

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[91] For example: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 53; Michael L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 43-44.

[92] Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband of His People*, 39.

[93] Seth D. Postell, *Adam as Israel: Genesis 1-3 as the Introduction to the Torah and Tanakh* (Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2011), 26, 44, 49-50.

[94] Skinner, *Genesis*, 48.

Kennedy's description of this approach is "rhetorical criticism":

> Rhetorical criticism takes the text as we have it, whether the work of a single author
> or the product of editing, and looks at it from the point of view of the author's or
> editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience of
> near contemporaries.[95]

Kennedy sees the essence of rhetoric is the intention to convey a message, to persuade, and
contrasts this approach to the text with form and redaction criticism with its focus on the
sources of the text, or literary criticism which he sees as focusing on how the Bible was
received by "literary geniuses of other times."[96] Abma believes that seeing the text "as a
reality in itself rather than as a reflection of other realities is central to all synchronic
approaches."[97] Satlow describes a diachronic approach (when talking of rabbinic texts) as
interpreting texts "in line with interpretive traditions . . . that have crystallized around them
over the course of centuries," and contrasts this with his own synchronic approach of
evaluating the text against other contemporaneous evidence "ignoring how this evidence was
read by later interpreters."[98]

With this text-centred approach the question of ontological truth or historical factual
accuracy will not be addressed—for the purposes of this study such details as to whether
Hosea married Gomer or not, or whether the account is entirely allegorical are irrelevant—as
Abma states: "The text presents certain events as real and it is this perspective . . . that is our
main point of concern";[99] or as Walton suggests: "Yahweh was real to [the Israelites] . . . The
significance and nature of the literature are not dependent on *our* assessment of their
reality."[100]

Thus in this present study the text will be considered an entity in its own right; how it
was put together, or the identity of the author is not material, and it will be assumed that the

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[95] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 4.
[96] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 4-5.
[97] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 33.
[98] Michael L. Satlow, *Tasting the Dish: Rabbinic Rhetorics of Sexuality* (Atlanta, Ga.: Brown Judaic Studies, 1995), 11-12.
[99] Thus: Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 119.
[100] John .H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2007), 44.

marital imagery pericopae demonstrate intentionality in the final redaction—the NT claiming for itself that it is a final authoritative revelation to the church (e.g. Jude 1:3; Rev 22:18-19).

3.3 Metaphor versus Other Literary Forms

3.3.1 Simile, Typology, and Allegory

Glucksberg points out that a metaphor (A is B) is different to a simile because a metaphor demonstrates a false literalism (§1.1.1).[101] Typology differs from metaphor in that an earlier event is seen as "a veiled reference to some new theological reality, usually Christological";[102] thus 'A' in the past symbolises 'B' in the future, whereas in a metaphor A 'is' B and has a present and/or continuing aspect to it. As regards allegory Fairbairn sees that:

> An allegory is a narrative . . . for the purpose of representing certain higher truths . . . [that] have had no foundation in fact . . . [or] even if wearing the appearance of a real transaction, is considered incapable as it stands of yielding any adequate or satisfactory sense, and is consequently employed . . . to convey some meaning of quite diverse and higher kind.[103]

And Foulkes states:

> We may call that method of interpretation allegorical which is concerned not with the interpretation of history, but simply of words that are believed to be inspired symbols.[104]

Some describe Ezek 16 and Ezek 23 as an allegory, others as an extended metaphor.[105] However, the prophet seems to be exploiting the analogical inferences between the source domain (actual mundane marriage as practised in Israel) and a target domain as a means of

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[101] But the differences are debated, for example Glucksberg, while maintaining the distinction points out that some similes are built on metaphorical concepts: Glucksberg, "How Metaphors," in Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook*, 67-81.

[102] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 35.

[103] Patrick Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture: Viewed in Connection with the Whole Series of the Divine Dispensations* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1900), 2.

[104] Francis Foulkes, "The Acts of God: A Study of the Basis of Typology in the Old Testament," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994), 367.

[105] See discussion in: Julie Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife* (SBL Dissertation Series 130; Atlanta, Ga: Scholars, 1992), 10-11.

interpreting the history of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, thus these chapters will not be considered to be allegorical in this study.

3.3.2 *Sensus Plenior,* Intertextuality, Allusions, and Echoes

Hays points out that in the NT Paul engages with the OT "with great imaginative freedom, without the characteristic modernist anxiety about factuality and authorial intention."[106] An example would be the citation of Gen 2:24 in Eph 5:31-32 where the author says "it [i.e. Gen 2:24] refers to Christ and the church." This study (§9.4.8) will argue a *sensus plenior* is read into that Pentateuchal verse beyond which, it is suggested, could have been intended by the original author.

Beale does not deny that the NT writers exercised "imaginative freedom" but he points out that such was contained within a framework of a "broad redemptive-historical perspective" and suggests:

> there are no clear examples where they [NT writers] have developed a meaning from the Old Testament which is inconsistent or contradictory to some aspect of the original Old Testament intention.[107]

Beale further suggests, when discussing the NT use of the OT, that it is valid for the contemporary church to use the apostolic method of exegesis, whereby it is possible to see a *sensus plenior* in OT texts when such is consonant with the Christian *kerygma*.[108] *Contra* Kaiser, who rejects any reading by a post-apostolic exegete that involves the notion of a *sensus plenior* in addition to the "human writers' supposed nominal or prosaic meanings"; he further explains his exegetical principles by stating that for him the original meaning is important, which he defines as the meaning the text had in its original context.[109]

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[106] Richard B Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2005), ix; similarly Lindars, who argues that the NT writers used the OT texts creatively to elucidate their own *kerygma*: Barnabas Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology: Prolegomena," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994), 143.

[107] G. K. Beale, "Positive Answer to the Question: Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: An Examination of the Presuppositions of Jesus' and the Apostles' Exegetical Method," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994), 394, 398; similarly: C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Nisbet, 1952), 130.

[108] Beale, "Positive Answer to the Question," in Beale, *The Right Doctrine*, 399-404.

[109] Walter C. Jr. Kaiser, "The Single Intent of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994), 65, 67.

Postell defines intertextuality as the "relationship between one text and some other text(s) whereby its historical author *intended* it [i.e. the relationship] to be *recognized* by the reader" and that a text's literary allusions are either implicit (i.e. echoes or allusions) or explicit (i.e. citations).[110] Accepting that definition, and that *sensus plenior* is reading a meaning into an earlier text beyond the original author's intent, *sensus plenior* and intertextuality are different, and this present study sees that marital imagery in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures employs the latter but not the former, notwithstanding the *sensus plenior* understanding of Gen 2:24 in Eph 5:31-32.[111]

Marital imagery in the Hebrew Bible and the NT is explicit. Thus: Isaiah describes Yahweh as the husband of Israel (Isa 54:5); John the Baptist describes Jesus as the bridegroom (John 3:29); the Apostle Paul sees the church as a bride betrothed to Christ (2 Cor 11:2); and the NT climaxes with the marriage supper of the Lamb (Rev 19:6-10).

However, many see marital imagery elsewhere. That is, although not specifically articulated in the text, many scholars see that the writer intended the reader to understand that he was alluding to a divine marriage. Thus the covenant giving at Sinai is seen by many as marital imagery, based on both the language and the event: a 'jealous' God wanting no rivals tells Israel he is entering into a covenant with them whereby they will be a special people to him—the justification for seeing marital imagery there is further strengthened by later references that appear to describe the event as a marriage (e.g. Jer 31:31-32). However, Lunn's argument that the exodus from Egypt (§2.1), and McWhirter's et al. belief that the encounter with the Samaritan woman in John 4 (§9.2.3) are referencing marital imagery, are based on rather more subtle allusions.

Two principal questions arise from the concept of such allusions: how valid is it to read such into a text—and why would an author want an allusion to be implicit rather than

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[110] Postell, *Adam as Israel*, 65, 73. Hays uses the term metalepsis and sees it as: "a literary echo [that] links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text, the figurative effect of the echo can lie in the unstated or suppressed . . . points of resonance between the two texts"; thus text 'B' is understood in the light of text 'A'— "encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed": Richard B Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 20. Thus metaphoric principles underlie metalepsis in that text 'A' can be equated to the vehicle of a metaphor, but metalepsis does not embrace a false literalism and in a metaphor the posited equivalence is in the control of the author not the suggestion of a later exegete.

[111] It is argued in §9.4.8 that the *sensus plenior* of Gen 2:24 is found in a fusion of the NT marital imagery with its body of Christ imagery.

explicit? The second question appears to have received less scholarly attention. It could be that what seems implicit to the 21st century reader was explicit to the contemporary audience. Hays argues in 1 Cor 5, with its allusions to OT concepts, that Paul either believes his emissary is going to explain his argument, or he assumes the readers of the letter have sufficient knowledge of Scripture to understand his allusions.[112] If the latter is correct intertextuality might be a form of stylistic short-hand. Conversely, France suggests that even if Matthew knew that not all his readers would grasp his seemingly obscure OT references (in Matt 2), he was writing in a style comparable to that of:

> many of the most successful writers of all ages, whose work has an immediate impact without extensive academic analysis, but is not exhausted on a first reading and continues to delight and reward in successive encounters over the years.[113]

As regards the first question—whether or not posited implicit allusions are illusory—Postell, citing the work of Sommer (1998), believes that despite the element of subjectivity in identifying echoes and allusions, the likelihood of such grows with cumulative evidence. Postell posits that such evidence includes the presence of stylistic or thematic patterns, and the probability that the author would allude to such a source, and believes his understanding reflects the scholarly consensus.[114]

It will be seen in the consideration of NT marital imagery in Ch. 9 that several scholars see intentional implicit imagery. For example, Long believes Jesus' earthly ministry is consciously portrayed in the Gospels as his bridal week, mirroring the practice of Jewish bridegrooms.[115] Similarly, McWhirter believes the account of Jesus and the woman from Samaria in John 4 describes an encounter between a potential bridegroom and bride—the Samaritan woman fulfilling the role of the bride both for herself, and as a symbol for the Samaritan people.[116] Both Long and McWhirter give detailed justifications for their

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[112] Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, 23; McWhirter posits that the first-century audience were better acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures than many in a Christian audience of the 21st century might be: McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 134-35; Holland similarly argues that many first-century Christians were familiar with the OT and it was the Jewish Scriptures and Jewish concepts (not Hellenistic concepts) that formed the background to Christian Scripture: Holland, *Romans*, 1-6.

[113] R. T. France, "The Formula-Quotations of Matthew 2 and the Problem of Communication," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994), 133.

[114] Postell, *Adam as Israel*, 65-66.

[115] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 194.

[116] McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 58-76.

methodologies, and both rely extensively on intertextuality for identifying the imagery, specifically citing the work of Hays (as does Postell) and the concept of allusions and echoes.[117] Hays suggests seven tests for identifying an intentional echo or allusion to another text:

1.   Availability: whether or not the author and/or original reader had access to the source of the echo.

2.   Volume: the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns.

3.   Recurrence: the frequency with which the author cites the same text.

4.   Thematic coherence: how the alleged echo fits into the context.

5.   Historical plausibility: the probability that the author intended the allusion and that his readers would have understood it.

6.   History of interpretation: whether or not such echoes have been seen before.

7.   Satisfaction: whether or not the proposed reading makes sense.[118]

With the caveat that NT marital imagery is seemingly a neglected field, and thus does not have a "history of interpretation" (Hays' sixth criterion) to support it, this present study will adopt the approach of Hays (an approach endorsed by Long, McWhirter, and Pitre) when identifying marital imagery in either the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. For example, in the case of the exchange with the woman from Samaria in John 4: the placing of the meeting in the Gospel story after the wedding at Cana recorded in John 2, which this study will posit has its own marital imagery; the Baptist's description of Jesus as the bridegroom recorded in John 3; the intertextual links to marital themes; Jesus' comment about the woman's marital history that, on a nominal reading, does not appear to fit the redemptive theme of the conversation; and the event itself (a meeting at a well)—all strongly indicate that the Gospel writer was intentionally alluding to a divine marriage theme. Such a deduction is supported by the contention in this present study that marital imagery is a persistent theme of Jewish Scripture and it is that Scripture which forms the background to the NT.

The writers of both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures use a wide range of literary genres. These include allegories, metaphors, and parables, all of which have implicit

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[117] For example: Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 16-35; McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 21-36; Postell, *Adam as Israel*, 65-66.

[118] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29-32.

meanings, not all of which are fully explained in the scriptural texts. It is certainly the case with metaphors: to only allow a "nominal" meaning (an exegetical method Kaiser seems to suggest) would lead to nonsensical deductions (e.g. the ubiquitous but unexplained metaphoric "Son of God"), or to miss the point (e.g. the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees in Matt 16:6). Nonetheless, it is suggested that this present study's exegesis will be consonant with an understanding of the "original meaning," in that the exegesis will endeavour to be congruent with the original meaning of the pericope in its original context—it is simply that any allusions, as France implies, and McWhirter et al. claim, have not always been detected by subsequent exegetes.

3.4　　　　The Social and Literary Context

Metaphor theory dictates that any metaphoric statement must contain at least one known entity to achieve a meaningful cross-mapping. In the case of the Bible's marital imagery it is how the intended audience understood marriage that forms the source domain of the metaphor. It follows that an understanding of the social and literary context of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures is key to an understanding of their marital imagery. Thus this study will consider wider ANE marriage practices to provide some context for ancient Israel's understanding of marriage (Ch. 4), and the literature and documents of the Second Temple period (Chs. 7 and 8) to help give some context to the marital practices of the NT era.

There is an increasing awareness in recent years of the Jewish context of NT authorship; as Sanders puts it "There is today virtually unanimous consent . . . [that] Jesus lived as a Jew."[119] And Dodd points out that Paul could argue: "I stand here . . . saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass" Acts 26:22.[120]

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[119] E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), 19; a literature review of material published in the last 100 years on the historical Jesus is contained in: James H. Charlesworth, *The Historical Jesus* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2008), 6-12.

[120] Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 16; however, Hengel (1989) points out the linguistic and cultural complexities of the Jewish-Hellenistic mix of the NT era and cautions against a simplistic analysis.

Nonetheless, it appears, particularly in literature addressed to the Christian church, as Skinner says on a different but related matter, that there has been an:

> unconscious application of paradigms whose familiarity to the historian disguises an essential inapplicability to the past . . . it seems clear that at least a part of [any] understanding must lie in grasping what sort of society the given author was writing for and trying to persuade.[121]

Skinner's point seems self-evident, and yet Hays suggests that: "Christian tradition early on lost its vital connection with the Jewish interpretative matrix in which Paul had lived and moved."[122] It is a point Meyers repeatedly makes:

> The attitudes engendered by the Judeo-Christian tradition are so well entrenched in contemporary religion that they constitute powerful barriers to an understanding of the antecedent functions of certain texts in Israelite life.[123]

3.5   Cross-Domain Mapping as a Hermeneutical Tool

It seems clear that the source domain of mundane marriage as understood in ancient Israel has been cross-mapped to the relationship of Yahweh and Israel in all OT marital imagery—this study is only aware of one contrarian view in the literature;[124] the target domain has been populated from the mundane marriage source domain and it is this cross-mapping that gives rise to the congruence between the two domains. Thus it is suggested that any exegesis that results in a divergence between the two conceptual domains, even in an area when their congruence has not been specifically articulated, needs to be treated with caution.

For example, it is not specifically articulated in the OT that a free-born wife in ancient Israel was able to divorce her husband. Yet it is clear in the imagery that Israel could leave

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[121] Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8:1 (1969): 7, 40.

[122] Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, 43.

[123] Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 73.

[124] Kelle: "the marriage metaphor in the Hebrew Bible expresses not the covenant relationship between Yahweh and the people of Israel but the religious, social, and political activities of those rulers who held office in the seats of power": Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 90; Galambush sees that in the prophetic corpus the 'wife' in the imagery is predominantly represented by a personified city, but in the extra-prophetic texts she is represented by the nation Israel (§6.8.3): Galambush, *Jerusalem*, 35-38.

Yahweh, Joshua pleading with them not to do so (e.g. Josh 24:15). Exegetes from within the Christian community have more recently seen that the freedom of a slave-wife to divorce her husband, belonged also to the free-born wife (§5.12), as is now also seemingly evidenced in recent archaeological discoveries (§8.3.7), but a consideration of the imagery might have led to such a conclusion earlier.

Poythress discusses the use of analogies and models in biblical interpretation and makes the point that a particular view in any disputed exegesis is "made plausible partly by the use of a governing analogy" and suggests that they can be "used as a key element in a theological or hermeneutical system."[125] However, this present study, in suggesting that marital imagery can be used as a hermeneutical tool, does not intend to adopt a radical deconstructionist view where the reader's perception overrides any other consideration, and the text, as Vanhoozer cautions, is allowed to go "*another* way."[126]

Thus, as articulated in §1.5, an aspect of the imagery will only be employed to help elucidate any disputed NT pericope on mundane marriage or divorce teaching if the resulting exegesis is consonant with either OT or NT teaching, or is evidenced in contemporary NT marriage practice.

3.6   **Summary: Methodology**

This study seeks to understand the mundane marriage and divorce teaching and marital imagery of the Jewish Scriptures, and the marital imagery of the Christian Scriptures, to inform an exegesis of the NT divorce and remarriage pericopae. Although the imagery will be used as a hermeneutical tool there will be no attempt to force the text away from its original meaning, which will be taken to be the original meaning of the pericope in its original context. To that end the study will adopt a synchronic text-based approach where it will be assumed that the text in the final form embodies the intention of its author. It will be accepted that although the marital imagery of the Bible is often explicit, some imagery is to be found in intentional intertextual allusions, and to detect such Hays' criteria will be

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[125] Vern S. Poythress, *Science and Hermeneutics* (ed. Moisés Silva; vol. 5 of *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation: Implications of Scientific Method for Biblical Interpretation;* ed. Moisés Silva; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996), 489, 491.

[126] Vanhoozer sees that Jacques Derrida's approach allows words to go the way the reader determines, the original context no longer defining their meaning: "By reading texts in light of other texts and contexts, the reader forces the words to go *another* way": Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There Meaning in this Text?* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1998), 163.

adopted. There will be no attempt to read a *sensus plenior* into a text except where it is believed it is articulated: it appears the only example of such in the imagery is to be found in Eph 5:31-32.

Chapter 4   **Marriage and Divorce in the Ancient Near East**

4   Marriage and Divorce in the Ancient Near East

4.1   Introduction

Chapter 5 will explore the source domain of OT marital imagery, that is, mundane marriage in ancient Israel. However, there is no systematic teaching in the OT on marriage or divorce—there are law codes (e.g. "You shall not commit adultery" Exod 20:14) that explain which sexual relationships are forbidden, but other parts of the Pentateuch are in effect case law framed with a protasis and apodosis to outline what is to be done if, for example: a slave woman, or a woman taken in battle, is taken as a wife (Exod 21; Deut 21); or there is sexual immorality (Deut 22); or a husband divorces his wife (Deut 24); or a brother dies without children (Deut 25). Thus much of the text is about what is forbidden or what is to be done in exceptional cases. Neufeld goes as far as to suggest that "the Old Testament in its existing form is incomplete . . . Several Books are manifestly lacking."[127]

> to consider as carefully as possible whether such narratives possess the features which clearly show that they reflect general customs or in some cases definite laws known to, and observed by, the Hebrew people.[128]

Another possible source of reference is the wider cultural milieu of the ANE, Neufeld suggesting that "Biblical laws are, generally speaking, in harmony with these other Semitic systems."[129] An example might be the Pentateuchal consanguinity codes that contain no law to forbid a sexual relationship between a father and daughter (although incest is forbidden in wider family relationships e.g. Lev 18); ANE laws explicitly forbid a father/daughter sexual relationship and it seems, as Greengus argues, that against this background ("societal norm") there was no reason to explicitly articulate such a ban.[130]

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[127] He sees references to the "missing" books in: Num 21:14-15; 2 Sam 1:18-27; Josh 10:12-13; 1 Kgs 14:19, 29: E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws: With Special References to General Semitic Laws and Customs* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1945), 1.

[128] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, v.

[129] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 10.

[130] Samuel Greengus, *Laws in the Bible and in Early Rabbinic Collections: The Legal Legacy of the Ancient Near East* (Eugene, Oreg.: Cascade, 2011), 12. He further states: "the biblical law collections as we have them, even when considered in total, fall short of including the full range of procedures, statutes, and regulations that governed ancient Israelite society": Samuel Greengus, "Filling Gaps: Laws Found in Babylonia and in the Mishnah but Absent in the Hebrew Bible," *Maarav* 7 (1991): 171.

While Stienstra advises caution in any attempt to extrapolate from the wider ANE into Israelite culture, Pritchard says that in the last 150 years many documents have been excavated in the ANE that have "sharpened considerably" an understanding of the OT.[131] Moreover Greengus states: "we cannot assume that the Israelites were uniquely insulated and separated from their neighbours," and sees the existence of cultural dialogue evidenced in several biblical passages (e.g. Deut 4:6-8; 1Kgs 9:20-21; Ps 147:19-20; Ezek 5:7; Ezek 16:3, 45; Ezra 9:1).[132] Thus ancient Israel, despite its distinctive religious beliefs, did not live in a cultural vacuum. But if parallels are found between these ANE cultures and those of ancient Israel the object is not to seek which beliefs might have been derivative—Walton makes the point that comparative studies do not need to consider whether any particular aspect of a culture or belief system was or was not based on another to be valid.[133] Instead this chapter will look at some key features of marriage and divorce practice in the ANE and determine if these might help inform an understanding of marriage in ancient Israel where other direct OT evidence is lacking.

4.2   Ancient Near East Principal Relevant Source Materials

The principal sources are listed below:

- The Mesopotamian Laws of Ur-Nammu (King of Ur 2112-2095 B.C.E.) are the earliest extant law codes known from scribal documents dated ca.1800 B.C.E.
- The Laws of Eshnunna (LE) inscribed on two cuneiform tablets are from the kingdom of Eshnunna (just east of Babylon) that flourished ca. 2000 B.C.E.
- The Laws of Hammurabi (LH), a Babylonian king ruling from 1792 B.C.E. are a set of law codes whose function has been debated. The 282 statements contained therein might represent examples of what were considered a model for others to follow rather than a set of actual laws. Notwithstanding this Mieroop considers the codes provide insight into Babylonian society at the time.[134]

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[131] Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband of His People*, 72; James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (With Supplement)* (3d ed.; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), xix.

[132] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 5-6.

[133] Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought*, 21-22.

[134] Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 114; Walton, quoting Jean Bottéro, sees them as a model that "inspires": Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought*, 288.

- The Hittite Laws (HL) represent legal thinking in the Hittite empire (with its capital in Hattusa situated in modern day Turkey) between 1650 and 1200 B.C.E.[135]

- The Nuzi archive from Akkadia was discovered in 1925 and dates from 1480-1355 B.C.E.[136]

- The references to family life in Ugarit (on the Mediterranean coast in modern day Syria) are based on the 14th century B.C.E. literature found in archaeological digs that began there in 1929—but no systematic law code has been found.

- The Middle Assyrian Law (MAL) was developed during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser 1(1114-1076 B.C.E.).[137]

- Roth (1989) has collected together and published marriage agreements dating from the Neo-Babylonian period.

Unless otherwise stated these sources have been accessed via Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1969).

4.3 Specific Marital Practices in the Ancient Near East

4.3.1 Prohibited Marriages

Although there is no extant record of an Assyrian law on incest, LH 154 to LH 158 prohibit sexual relations between a man and his daughter, his son's betrothed or married wife, his mother, or his father's wife. Thus it can be seen that the wider ANE had a concept of incest that embraced consanguinity and affinity, the latter relationships being created by marriage; it follows that it was considered marriage created a union comparable to a blood relationship.

4.3.2 Betrothal

Matthews suggests that patriarchal extended families were common in the ANE and it was the father or eldest brother of the groom who arranged the marriage with the bride's parents; rites and procedures were determined by custom, formal written contracts being the exception.[138] Selms points out that it is not clear from the Ugaritic literature whether or not

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[135] Victor H. Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, *Old Testament Parallels: Laws from the Ancient Near East* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 2006), 115.

[136] John Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context: A Survey of Parallels Between Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1989), 50.

[137] Matthews and Benjamin, *Old Testament Parallels*, 120.

[138] Victor H. Matthews, "Marriage and Family in the Ancient Near East," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 1, 2, 7; Greengus comments

marriages were usually arranged, but the purpose of marriage was to have sons and that romantic and emotional considerations did not figure.[139] Usually a sum of money would be agreed between the two families which would be paid to the bride's family by the groom's family. Prenuptial agreements would state what would happen in case of divorce by either party, and the inheritance rights of any children might be specified, along with clarification of any rights if it was to be a polygynous marriage.[140] Greengus commenting on UET 5636 (Ur Excavations, Texts: I Royal Inscriptions) says:

> We know of pre-nuptial agreements in the Ur III period [2100-2000 B.C.E.], which consisted of a promise to marry made between the "guardians" of the future bride and groom. The pre-nuptial agreement created a binding relationship that required a full "divorce" for its abrogation. However, we have no indication from the evidence that all marriages in Ur III Sumer required this preliminary agreement, nor do we at present have any clear indication of such formally binding pre-nuptial agreements in the Old Babylonian period.[141]

Other examples include LE 17 and LE 18 which describe the groom bringing the "bride-money" and generally outline principles similar to those found in rabbinic teaching if there is a breach of contract.[142]

LH 139; LH 159-LH 161; and LH163 all mention "marriage-price" and some refer to "betrothal-gift"; LH 162 states: "[if the wife] has gone to (her) fate, her father may not lay claim to her dowry, since her dowry belongs to her children." Lemos suggests that gifts from the groom to the father of the bride were, at least on occasion, passed on to the couple, becoming an "indirect dowry" (as inferred from LH 138 and LH 139), and that in Old Babylonia the dowry was a "premortem inheritance passed down from a father to his daughter and her children, his grandchildren, that may be managed by her husband but never becomes his property."[143] HL 29; HL 30; and HL 34 similarly refer to a "bride-price."

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that in Old Babylonia written contracts were for "abnormal family situations": Samuel Greengus, "The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract," *JAOS* 89 (1969): 512-15.

[139] Adrianus van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London: Luzac, 1954), 13-15.

[140] Matthews, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 8.

[141] Samuel Greengus, "Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites," *JCS* 20/2 (1966): 59.

[142] Thus: Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 42.

[143] T. M. Lemos, *Marriage Gifts and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 144, 151.

Walton says the Nuzi documents demonstrate that "the father either gives the bride part of the bride price or reserves it for her use in case her husband dies or deserts her";[144] Nuzi Akkadian §3 has: "If . . . Shennima takes another wife, she may *take* her dowry and leave."[145] Grosz, from those same documents, believes that a wife could take the dowry with her if divorced before any children were born, after that the dowry was assimilated into the marital assets and divorce was "impossible, or at least very difficult." But by then, Grosz argues, the wife had earned the right to lifelong support in the conjugal household and her dowry would be included in the property eventually inherited by her children from their father.[146]

In Ugarit, Selms suggests that a sum of money is paid to the bride's parents—Korpel pointing out that even the gods were not exempt from such payments when they took a wife.[147] It seems that although the husband does not take ownership of the dowry he is allowed use of it provided he does not divorce his wife.[148] Once the payments had been made the betrothal period started and the woman was considered to belong to the prospective groom—this was in effect a marriage awaiting consummation, which usually happened when the bride finally entered the groom's home.[149]

MAL A.30 and MAL A.38 reference "betrothal-gift" and "marriage-price" respectively. In Neo-Babylonia Roth suggests that the dowry was considered part of the daughter's share of the family estate.[150]

4.3.3 The Marriage Contract

Yamauchi points out that in Mesopotamia and Egypt marriage was a civil affair which required no religious sanctions.[151] Selms believes that in Ugarit, as elsewhere in the ANE,

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[144] Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context*, 55.

[145] Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 220.

[146] Katarzyna Grosz, "Bride Wealth and Dowry in Nuzi," in *Images of Women in Antiquity* (ed. Avril Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt; Detroit: Wayne State University, 1983), 203.

[147] Selms, *Marriage and Family Life*, 22; Marjo Christina Annette Korpel, *A Rift In the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine* (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1990), 226; for further discussion on marriage-gifts at Ugarit see: Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 38-39.

[148] Selms, *Marriage and Family Life*, 33.

[149] Selms, *Marriage and Family Life*, 28, 35.

[150] Martha Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements: 7th-3rd Centuries B.C. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament)* (Kevelaer, Ger: Butzon & Bercker, 1989), 9; for further discussion of ANE dowry gifts see: Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 110-17.

[151] Edwin Yamauchi M, "Cultural Aspects of Marriage in the Ancient World," *BSac* 135 (1978): 246-47.

there were not written marriage contracts, nor written acts of repudiation of the marriage; the ceremonial act of bringing the bride into the husband's house or sending her away took the place of any written documents.[152] Greengus believes that it was only in rabbinic times (perhaps under the influence of Roman practice) that signed documents were seen as effecting a legal transaction rather than being merely a witness to them.[153] LH 128 does suggest that a woman is not a wife without "contracts" and MAL A.36 refers to "the marriage-contract," but Greengus argues that in Babylonia the contract did not have to be in writing to have legal validity, and that the marriage documents ("contracts") extant are not a record of the marriage but were created to record transactions in relation to it.[154]

4.3.4 Marital Obligations

LH 133-LH 135; LH 148; MAL A.36; MAL A.45; and MAL A.46 demonstrate that the husband was responsible for his wife's food and clothing. Neufeld, commenting on both ancient Israel and the ANE, states: "Maintenance and the performance of marital duties seem everywhere to be the main obligations of the husband towards his wife."[155]

4.3.5 Adultery

Matthews states that all the major law codes of the ANE contain statutes regarding adultery, which is seen as violating the marriage, being grounds for divorce, and justifying the punishment of the guilty parties—adultery being understood as a wife having sexual intercourse with a man not her husband.[156] Westbrook comments: "adultery in the ancient near East was . . . an offence against the husband, for which he could claim certain remedies, and a sin, which might bring down divine punishment."[157] The Ur-Nammu law B § 1 defines the death penalty for the wife but not her paramour. In LH 132 (also MAL A.17) if a wife is accused of adultery, but there are no witnesses, she was to be thrown into the river—it was deemed that the river-god would protect her if she was innocent, if not, she would drown.[158] HL 197-HL 198 and MAL A.13 provide for the execution of both guilty parties for adultery;

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[152] Selms, *Marriage and Family Life*, 49.
[153] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 39.
[154] Greengus, "The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract," 505, 512. Neufeld suggests the Babylonians and Assyrians favoured written records in contrast to the Hebrews in Palestine: Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 161-62.
[155] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 249.
[156] Matthews, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 27-30.
[157] Raymond Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," *RB* 97 (1990): 576.
[158] W. W. Davies, *The Codes of Hammurabi and Moses* (Stilwell, Kent: Digireads.com, 2006), 62-63.

in both codes the husband is allowed to spare his adulteress wife but in that case the adulterer is also to be spared (MAL A.15 and HL 198).

4.3.6   Divorce

Neufeld states that divorce was known in Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Nuzi, and among the Hittites, but Greengus comments that in light of the oral nature of most contracts in the ANE divorce documents are rare.[159] Matthews similarly points out that divorce was a fact of life in the ANE.[160] LE 59; LH 137-LH 140; and LH 142 set out various penalties and/or compensation incurred by the divorcing husband. Selms see that all the circumstantial evidence at Ugarit points to the husband having the power to repudiate his wife but there is no evidence that this was reciprocal.[161] MAL A.37 implies a husband is able to divorce his wife at will with or without a financial settlement. LH 137 suggests that a divorced woman was free to remarry.

4.3.7   Divorce Initiated by the Wife

Neufeld observes: "The Semitic systems from the *C.H.*, *A.L.* . . . allowed to the wife in a number of cases the right not to divorce her husband, but to sue for a divorce."[162] It is suggested that this distinction is an important one, but often missed (or not articulated) by scholars when commenting on divorce. Lipiński (1981) sees widespread evidence of divorce in the ANE and, in effect, endorses Neufeld's view, in that he believes there were often equal rights for divorce granted to the wife with freedom for her to remarry. LH 142 appears to give the wife a right to divorce and the retention of her dowry:

> If a woman so hated her husband that she has declared, "You may not have me," her record shall be investigated at her city council, and if she was careful and was not at fault, even though her husband has been going out and disparaging her greatly, that woman, without incurring any blame at all, may take her dowry and go off to her father's house.

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[159] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 185; Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 39.

[160] Matthews, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 24-27. Westbrook lists the various penalties for divorce without grounds: Raymond Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (Yale University: University Microfilms International, 1984), 78 n 67.

[161] Selms, *Marriage and Family Life*, 49.

[162] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 182.

But Matthews sees a problem with this interpretation of LH 142 in that the husband is not required to make a financial settlement to the wife he has mistreated. He cites Westbrook's solution that it is referencing an inchoate marriage—a view not shared by Neufeld or Greengus.[163]

Lipiński quotes an Old Assyrian contract from the 19th century B.C.E. that gives the wife the same right to divorce as the husband, but the financial penalty payable for initiating the divorce is identical in both cases—"five minas of silver."[164] He also sees evidence of this in some Old Babylonian marriage contracts, but points out that they all involve the wife successfully attaching some "serious blame" to her husband.[165] Another example is found in LH 148 and LH 149 which suggest if the wife is ill and the husband marries another woman the first wife may leave taking her dowry with her. MAL A.36 and MAL A.45 appear to grant a wife divorce rights based on the failure of the husband to provide for her, either by his neglect, or his capture by an enemy. But Lipiński cautions against drawing too many conclusions from such laws, pointing out the judges were not involved in divorce procedures unless there was a legal problem and therefore they might be exceptional cases.[166]

Greengus comments that in the ANE:

> Both wife and husband, at least in theory, seem to have had equivalent legal power to divorce the other partner, although . . . measures were anciently often instituted to suppress the ability of wives to divorce their husbands.[167]

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[163] Matthews, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 27; Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 570; Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 186; Greengus, "Filling Gaps," 167-68.

[164] Edward Lipiński, "Divorce in the Light of an Ancient Near Eastern Tradition," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (ed. B.S. Jackson; vol. 4 of *The Jewish Law Annual,* Leiden: Brill, 1981), 14; the document is published in: Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 543.

[165] Lipiński, "Divorce," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 14-16.

[166] Lipiński, "Divorce," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 11.

[167] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 40.

4.4 Provision and Protection for the Woman

To modern sensibilities the ANE law codes seem harsh to women, but Hugenberger says when commenting on Gen 2 and Mal 2:

> What is especially striking . . . is the fact that the primary obligation of marriage . . . is not that of the wife toward her husband, as might be expected from their ancient context, but that of the husband toward his wife.[168]

However, the ANE context clearly demonstrates a similar gender-based asymmetry.[169] Many of the provisions in the law codes and prenuptial agreements that have survived are, in the main, to protect women in that they specify the material support and security they could expect both in their husband's lifetime, and on his death. It is clear that the marriage payments (whether from the groom or the bride's father) referenced in §4.3.2 were to give the wife a measure of financial security. Westbrook comments: "The duty of a husband to provide his wife with sustenance was so self-evident that it went virtually unmentioned in ancient Near Eastern sources."[170]

An analysis of the law codes referenced in this chapter demonstrate this gender-based asymmetry, for example, in protection from or after divorce: Ur-Nammu §6 and §7; LE 59; LH 138; LH 139; LH 140; MAL A.34;[171] protection for a wife's dowry or marriage-price: LH 150; LH 162; LH 163; LH 167; MAL A.27; MAL A.38; HL 30; Neo Babylonian Laws 10-13; the right of a wife/widow (or daughter) to material provision: LH 178; MAL A.36; MAL A.45; MAL A.46; the freedom of a wife (or daughter) to dispose of her own inheritance: LH 179-LH 182; LH 184; and levirate clauses to give protection in widowhood: MAL A.30; MAL A.33; HL 193.

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[168] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 182.

[169] This is not to deny that in one notable area—the right to divorce—the asymmetry is to the benefit of the man, see for example MAL A.37.

[170] Raymond Westbrook, "The Female Slave," in *Gender and Law in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Victor H. Matthews, Bernard M. Levinson, and Tikva Frymer-Kensky; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 1998; repr., London: T & T Clark, 2004), 236.

[171] Commenting on LH 138 and LH 139, Lemos says that "Clauses prescribing such a divorce penalty [payable by the husband] abound in the [Old Babylonian] marriage documents": Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 147.

4.5   Summary: Marriage and Divorce in the Ancient Near East

The ANE is not a homogenous cultural entity, spanning as it does several millennia, people groups, and languages—undoubtedly marital practices varied widely;[172] but it seems in ANE marriage that there is widespread evidence of commonality. For example, marriage to close relations, both by blood and affinity (i.e. relationships created by marriage) was forbidden in the LH, and Mace believes that although such are not articulated in the Assyrian laws, the LH was assumed as a background.[173] Marriage created a new set of forbidden incestuous relationships—on marriage people became what they were not previously in a metaphoric one-flesh union, that is, considered to be as blood relations.

Furthermore, marriages (often arranged) were perceived as contractual with mutual obligations. These obligations were sometimes outlined in a document, but any such document was not the essence of the contract. Marriage was considered to be functional, and that function was in the main the rearing of children in a new family unit. To that end the husband's role was to provide material security for his wife and family, and for the wife to bear his (and not another man's) children. The law codes and prenuptial agreements that have survived emphasise those asymmetrical gender specific roles. Divorce rights seemed to be mutual, indicating the volitional, conditional nature of the relationship—but the husband's freedom of action greatly exceeded that of the wife.

Chapter 1 posited that the aetiology of mundane marriage in ancient Israel will be seen to be underpinned by the four principles found in Gen 2:24:

1.   A naturally born man and woman.
2.   Become what they were not.
3.   In a metaphoric one-flesh union.
4.   By means of a volitional, conditional covenant.

It is suggested, broadly speaking, that the four principles evidenced in Gen 2:24 can be seen in ANE mundane marital practice outside of Israel.

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[172] A point made by Lemos and illustrated with 20th century anthropological studies showing wide variations in people groups in close geographic proximity: Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 16.
[173] Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 151.

Chapter 5   Marriage and Divorce in the Old Testament

5   Marriage and Divorce in the Old Testament

5.1   Introduction

There is a lack of documentary evidence to indicate the marital practices of ancient Israel. The Elephantine marriage contracts dating from fifth century B.C.E. are considered in Ch. 8, but it is debated how accurately they reflect life in main-stream Judaism. The JDD (also considered in Ch. 8) belong to the first and second century C.E., and while it might be considered they accurately reflect life in ancient Israel they considerably post-date that era. Thus the most reliable source material available to date is to be found in the OT legislation and narratives.[174] Block however, cautions against seeking a social reality behind its text:

> Not only do many of these texts [in the Hebrew Bible] derive from a much later time than the events they describe, but they also provide inconsistent pictures. The frankness of the accounts of people's behavior often flies in the face of ideals promulgated elsewhere . . . we must always ask ourselves whether the texts we are reading present a normative picture, or whether the authors have consciously described a deviation from the norm.[175]

Meyers makes a similar observation from the converse point of view:

> The biblical scholar does not have the methodological option of observing behavior. Only the ideology is available. Hence there is danger in equating ideology with daily reality, which can diverge from the normative expression contained in the biblical text.[176]

Furthermore, Blenkinsopp commenting on the formulation of laws in the Pentateuch points out the lack of a comprehensive code for marriage and marital dissolution.[177]

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[174] Blenkinsopp: "For information on the family we depend primarily on the biblical texts. Relevant archaeological data are not abundant": John Blenkinsopp, "The Family in First Temple Israel," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo G. Perdue et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 48.

[175] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 34.

[176] Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, 13.

[177] John Blenkinsopp, "The Family in First Temple Israel," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo G. Perdue et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 48, 58-59.

However, Westbrook states:

> If God's relationship with Israel is to be explained by a metaphor drawing upon the everyday life of the audience then that metaphor, to be effective, must reflect accurately the reality known to the audience. If the narrator were to invent the legal rules on which the metaphor is based, it would cease to be a valid metaphor.[178]

His observation is in accord with the metaphoric principles Lakoff and Johnson elucidate: "The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture."[179] Thus it is argued in this present study that the OT would not employ an imagery that did not reflect a social reality; nor would it contradict the imagery it employed in its own legislative teaching and narrative accounts of mundane marriage. The aim of this chapter is to explore the nature of that social reality, to determine whether mundane marriage is underpinned by the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24 (as posited in §1.2-§1.3.1), or that of Gen 2:23 (the primal couple).

Satlow, Collins, and Gafni posit that distinctive teaching arises from a primal couple marriage model:

1.   God ordains each marriage and joins the 'two into one' (Gafni).[180]
2.   Marriage is a sacrament (Gafni).[181]
3.   The prohibition of polygyny and divorce (Satlow).[182]
4.   Sexual intercourse is deemed primarily for procreation (Collins).[183]
5.   Celibacy and holiness are linked (Collins).[184]

The understanding that God forms, or at least ordains each marriage, can be traced directly to Gen 2:23, and it seems that a sacramental concept logically follows from this (taking *sacrament* to mean that each mundane marriage union is perceived to have an ontological

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[178] Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 577.
[179] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 22.
[180] Isaiah M. Gafni, "The Institution of Marriage in Rabbinic Times," in *The Jewish Family: Metaphor and Memory* (ed. David Kraemer; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13-15.
[181] Gafni, "The Institution of Marriage," in Kraemer, *The Jewish Family*, 13-15.
[182] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 60-61.
[183] John J. Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family in Second Temple Judaism," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo G. Perdue et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 147.
[184] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 147.

dimension, in other words, something is thought to have transpired in heaven to form the union). Also, teaching about monogamy and divorce is often argued by scholars from within the Christian community by specifically referencing Adam and Eve.[185] However, the teaching that sexual intercourse should be primarily for procreation, and that celibacy and holiness are linked, is difficult to trace directly to Gen 2:23 and a primary couple model. But it will be demonstrated in the course of this study that such a model only emerged in the early Christian era and this coincided with the development of all the five key teachings outlined above.[186] Furthermore, it seems clear that many in the literature (e.g. Collins, Gafni, and Satlow) see that the distinctive teachings as above are linked with v. 23 and the primal couple marriage.

Thus, if the OT legislation and narratives demonstrate that mundane marriage was considered to be a volitional, conditional, covenantal union, as it has been posited that v. 24 outlines (§1.2), and no evidence is found of the five distinctive teachings that are widely believed to originate from an understanding of the marriage in v. 23, it will be considered that this reinforces the argument that ancient Israel understood that it is the conceptual domain of v. 24 that underpinned the aetiology of mundane marriage.

The focus in this chapter will be on those matters that might be seen to inform an understanding of the underlying model of OT mundane marriage; or that elucidate aspects of mundane marriage that are cross-mapped to the target domain in either OT or NT marital imagery (e.g. betrothal, divorce, remarriage); or are thought to be significant for the exegesis of NT mundane marriage that will be undertaken in Ch. 10 (e.g. Deut 24:1-4).

5.2   **Marriage in the Early Narrative Accounts**

There is no specific term for "marriage" in biblical Hebrew;[187] a man "takes" (לָקַח) a wife or is "given" (נָתַן) a wife by his parents;[188] Block commenting that Hebrew expressions for marriage and sexual intercourse reflect male initiative.[189] The word employed for husband is

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[185] For example: Andrew Cornes, *Divorce and Remarriage: Biblical Principles & Pastoral Practice* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 185.

[186] These developments are considered in detail in: Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract*, 1-112.

[187] Selms, Marriage and Family Life, 13.

[188] See analysis of Hebrew marriage terms in: Seock-Tae Sohn, *YHWH, The Husband of Israel* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 5-21.

[189] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 46.

often בַּעַל "lord," but Meyers considers that this does not imply "absolute sovereignty" of one person over another "because it involves an intimate relationship, a limit to power."[190]

After Eden the first marriage referenced is in Gen 4:17 where Cain's wife (אִשָּׁה) is mentioned without further elaboration as to her origin or any associated marital procedure. It is not until Gen 24 that some record is found of a process or custom attached to the marriage union, where Abraham seeks a wife for his son Isaac from "my kindred" (Gen 24:4). The concept of love (אָהַב) as a basis for mundane marriage is not articulated in the OT, but the narratives comment that Jacob loved Rachel (Gen 29:18) and that Michal loved David (1 Sam 18:20); Samson's love for Delilah is mentioned (Judg 16:4) but it is not known if they married.

Although the OT does not specifically mandate parentally arranged marriages Block sees that some texts infer it, citing Deut 7:3;[191] he points out that the tribes in ancient Israel were sub-divided into clans, and although marriage did occur between the different clans for the most part Israelite marriages were endogamous.[192] These clans were further sub-divided into local households which would be large extended families headed by a single living male ancestor, the family structure being patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal. Block describes such a family:

> These families were made up of a single living male ancestor, his wife/wives, the man's sons and their wives, grandsons and their wives, and conceivably even great grandchildren; any unmarried male or female descendants . . . and unrelated dependents.[193]

5.3   Mundane Marriage—Contract or Covenant?

Hugenberger outlines the debate around the meaning of *covenant*, the usual translation in English Bibles of בְּרִית (occurring more than 280 times in the Hebrew Bible), and *contract*—

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[190] Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, 182; also discussion in: Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 62.

[191] Block, "Marriage and Family in Ancient Israel," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 56; another inferred example might be Gen 24:4 as above.

[192] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 37; also: Blenkinsopp, "The Family in First Temple Israel," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 49-57.

[193] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 38-40; Patai, *Sex and Family*, 19; also: Leo G. Perdue, "The Israelite and Early Jewish Family: Summary and Conclusions," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo G. Perdue et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 174-79.

and whether marriage can be described as the former.[194] Although Hugenberger argues for a distinct covenantal understanding for marriage there is no evidence that בְּרִית in the Hebrew Bible meant any more than might be implied by *contract*: that is an agreement between parties that is both volitional and conditional.[195] Hugenberger sees that a key indicator of a marriage covenant is that it is undertaken "under divine sanction."[196] He looks for evidence of an "oath," or declaration (*verba solemnia*) confirming a marriage in the: ANE, Elephantine papyri, JDD, Talmudic, and Hebrew Bible texts.[197]

However, he can only point to three possible references to mundane marriage in the Hebrew Bible where בְּרִית is used: Prov 2:17; Ezek 16:8, 59-62; and Mal 2:14. Prov 2:17 is a possible reference to Yahweh's Sinaitic covenant with Israel; the focus of Ezek 16 is certainly marital imagery—leaving Mal 2:14 where the Hebrew text is unclear, ESV has:

> . . . Because the LORD was witness between you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is your companion and your wife by covenant. (Mal 2:14)

Even if this translation is accepted it will be seen (§6.9.4) that it is not clear whether this is a reference to mundane marriage or a reference to Yahweh's relationship to his people—thus all three references to a marital *covenant* might belong in the target domain of the imagery.

His most convincing argument for a set verbal declaration is found where it is clear that the reference is in the target domain of the imagery. Thus in Hos 2:2 Yahweh is seen to declare: "Plead with your mother, plead—for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband"—a form of words similar to that found at Elephantine to declare the marriage ("she is my wife and I am her husband").[198] In effect, in his argument, Hugenberger sees it is possible to infer reverse cross-mapping from the target to the source domain and posit a set verbal formula in mundane marriage to enact a marriage (and conversely a divorce). But this present study suggests that the paucity of evidence makes it difficult to deduce that such a formula indicated that marriage (or divorce) was formed under divine sanction.

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[194] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 1-12.

[195] Thus: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 15-19.

[196] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 171; the analysis above is not to imply that a covenant cannot be made under divine sanction—an example of such is in Gen 17: 1-14.

[197] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 216-79.

[198] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 231-34; 239.

Collins posits that marriage in Second Temple Judaism was evidenced to be of a "pragmatic, contractual character" and Instone-Brewer argues persuasively that marriage "contract" better conveys the OT meaning.[199] However, as outlined in §1.2, this present study will use *covenant*, without implying any later theological concepts that have become associated with the word.

Although not specifically articulated in the OT, the volitional nature of the marriage agreement is clear. There is no evidence of marriages being conducted against the will of the bride (except a slave wife, Exod 21:7-11, or a woman taken in a battle, Deut 21:10-14), or against the will of the groom, in any of the narrative accounts, and Friedman argues that mutual consent is fundamental to Jewish marriage law codes.[200] The divorce rights of a wife (§5.12) pre-suppose that if she did not want to maintain the marriage she need not.

5.4   The Importance of Virginity

Davidson argues convincingly that the term בְּתוּלָה in the Hebrew Bible references a virgin, not a young woman of marriageable age.[201] The sexual purity of a woman before a first marriage was significant in the OT law codes. If any husband accuses his (previously unmarried) bride of not being a virgin on marriage and he is not believed he is punished and never allowed to divorce her (Deut 22:13-19). The high priest could only marry a virgin (Lev 21:13-14) and a rapist had to pay compensation to his victim's father for any loss of virginity (Deut 22:28-29; Exod 22:16-17). However, virginity is not held in the OT as a permanent virtue—for example Jephthah's daughter when facing death wanted two months to "weep for my virginity" (Judg 11:37).[202]

5.5   Betrothal Arrangements

Some form of monetary exchange appears to have been the means by which a marriage agreement was formalised.

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[199] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 149; Instone-Brewer, Divorce and Remarriage, 18.

[200] Mordechai A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine: The* Ketubba *Traditions* (A Cairo Geniza Study Vol 1; Tel Aviv: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1980), 133.

[201] Richard M. Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2007), 339-40.

[202] For further examples and discussion: Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 341-42.

Satlow posits:

> The Hebrew Bible describes a single primary marriage payment, the *mohar*. This is a sum of money to be paid by the groom to the father or family of his prospective wife.[203]

Archer suggests that the *mohar* is not a specific amount and cites Gen 29:27 and Deut 22:29 as examples of varying *mohar* payments.[204] Lemos makes a detailed analysis of Hebrew Bible marital payments and sees examples in Exod 22:16-17, and in 1 Sam 18:25 where Saul told David that he would accept as a "bride price" for his daughter Michal a hundred foreskins of the Philistines.[205] Wasserstein and Archer distinguish the *mohar* payment from a dowry which traditionally means a gift(s) from the bride's father to the bride.[206] Bickerman suggests that the LXX translators of the Hebrew text confused the *mohar* with a dowry;[207] nonetheless Lemos sees possible oblique references to dowry gifts in several narrative accounts but concludes that it was not a widespread custom.[208]

Although Neufeld considers that no rules are given about the betrothal process, he suggests that on payment of the *mohar* the marriage became legally effective but inchoate until consummated;[209] he further suggests that the *mohar* was passed on to the bride on her marriage (such an indirect dowry is evidenced in the ANE (§4.3.2) but Lemos comments on the lack of evidence for such in the OT.[210] It is not difficult to see the possible wider ANE origins of the Hebrew *mohar* payment but there is some debate about its significance.

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[203] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 200.

[204] Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 159.

[205] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 20-61.

[206] Wasserstein: "dowry does not exist as a legal institution in the Bible": A. Wasserstein, "A Marriage Contract from the Province of Arabia Nova: Notes on Papyrus Yadin 18," *JQR* 80 No.1/2 (Jul-Oct 1989): 126. Archer concurs: "biblical law contained no stipulations about dowries (indeed there is not even a word in the Old Testament for 'dowry')": Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies*, 166.

[207] Elias Joseph Bickerman, "Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity)* (ed. Amram Tropper; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 203-04.

[208] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 51-59, 231.

[209] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 94-95; 142-43; a view endorsed by Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 230-31.

[210] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 105; Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 10.

Bickerman sees it as a compensation payment:

> whatever the nature of the *mohar* or its interpretation by the Hebrew groom was, he
> had to give a compensation for his wife to the latter's father. Such compensation was
> required because in the agricultural economy the bride leaving her family deprived the
> latter of a worker and transferred her operational force to her husband's family.[211]

However, Archer et al. believe that the *mohar* was not considered a payment for the woman
herself.[212]

5.6   Forbidden Marriages

Deuteronomy 27:20, 22, and 23 forbid sexual relations between a man and his father's wife,
his sister or half-sister, or his mother-in-law respectively, and Ezek 22:10-11 forbids such
with a father's wife, a daughter-in-law, and a half-sister; but it is in Lev 18 and Lev 20 that a
systematic code of forbidden relationships is given. Mace makes a detailed analysis of the
code and states:

> Incest is based primarily upon *consanguinity*—that is, it applies to those of the
> opposite sex to whom one is related by blood. But in many societies [including Israel]
> it operates too in regard to *affinity*—that is, relationship through marriage is regarded
> in the same light as relationship through blood.[213]

The Levitical affinity codes reinforce the analysis of §1.2 that a marriage covenant creates a
relationship that was considered to be comparable to a blood relationship, and that this was
the understanding of the Gen 2:24 'becoming one flesh.'

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[211] Bickerman, "Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint," in Tropper, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 196.

[212] Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies*, 164-65; Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 3-11; Perdue, "The Israelite and Early Jewish Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 184; Weiss (1964).

[213] Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 151-64; other forbidden marriages based on ethnicity and the priesthood are analysed in: David Chapman, "Marriage and Family in Second Temple Judaism," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 198-204.

Of interest is Lev 20:21: "If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity. He has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless"—which appears to contradict Deut 25:5:

> If brothers dwell together, and one of them dies and has no son, the wife of the dead man shall not be married outside the family to a stranger. Her husband's brother shall go in to her and take her as his wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother to her.

Haley believes that the reference in Lev 20:21 is to the divorced brother's wife.[214] If correct, two factors might indicate that divorce in ancient Israel was not unusual: firstly, there was specific legislation for the posited situation; and secondly, the Pentateuchal author did not see the need to specifically reference divorce, which suggests he believed his readership would have assumed his meaning.

5.7 Polygyny and Concubinage

Genesis 4 records the first example of polygyny when Lamech takes two wives. Genesis 16 records the childless Sarai giving Hagar her servant to Abram as a wife to produce offspring, a practice Walton sees as evidenced in the Nuzi archives.[215] Davidson sees in this passage intentional intertextual echoes of Gen 3 which he takes as evidence of divine disapproval, but there is no specific legislation against the practice in the OT.[216] Epstein sees that in the Hebrew Bible "There was no anti-sexual or ascetic tradition" and that polygyny in ancient Israel was, at least in part, to ensure every woman could belong to a family structure.[217] As the OT narratives unfold there are several examples of polygyny including Jacob, Gideon, David, and Solomon.[218] First Chronicles 1:32 describes the woman Abraham married after Sarai's death as his "concubine" (פִּילֶגֶשׁ); it is not always clear what this signifies—the term is never applied to a man's first wife but seems at times to be used interchangeably with "wife" (אִשָּׁה), for example: Gen 35:22 cf. Gen 37:2.[219] Epstein claims that there is 'strong evidence' that the concubine is under full legal marriage bond to her husband.[220]

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[214] John W. Haley, *Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible* (New Kensington, Pa.: Whittaker, 1992), 292.

[215] Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context*, 54-55.

[216] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 184-86.

[217] Louis M. Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (Jersey City, N.Y.: Ktav, 1967), VII-VIII.

[218] For a more comprehensive list of examples and discussion: Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 177-212.

[219] For discussion of terminology concerning wife/concubine: Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 186; also: Louis M. Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud* (HSS 12; 1942; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1968), 34-76; Epstein elsewhere claims "The Bible nowhere confuses the slave-wife with the

5.8   Marital Obligations

Hugenberger comments that the primary obligation of marriage is that of the husband toward his wife;[221] her marital obligations are not specifically outlined in the law codes (except for sexual faithfulness) and it was only later rabbinical Judaism that looked to codify them. The narrative accounts appear to portray the typical wife in ancient Israel as the bearer of children and homemaker who acknowledges her husband's authority (e.g. 1 Pet 3:5-6), but Prov 31:10-31 does not confine her role to that.

The case law in Exod 21:7-11 appears to outline the situation where a father sells his daughter into slavery with the expectation that her new master will marry her, and describes the 'triad' of obligations of the master as a husband to this woman, even if he takes a second wife—however, the marital status of the slave is debated.[222] There has been a similar debate about the precise nature of the obligations but most opt for the food, clothing, and marital rights of ESV, Instone-Brewer commenting: "there was virtual unanimity even for the difficult third term 'conjugal rights,' among early and later Jewish interpreters."[223] This issue is addressed further in §5.12.1.

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concubine, except in one instance where Bilhah, the maid-servant of Rachel, is called *Pillegesh* [concubine]": Louis M. Epstein, "The Institution of Concubinage among the Jews," *PAAJR* 6 (1934–1935): 161; Mace suggests that the children of concubines could inherit together with wives but this was discretionary: Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 133-34.

[220] Epstein, "Institution of Concubinage," 167.

[221] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 182.

[222] It seems the academic consensus endorses the fact that the slave becomes the master's wife (or concubine or slave wife), ESV translating Exod 21:10 as: "If he takes another wife to himself," as do many English Bible translations; scholars who concur include Block, Instone-Brewer, and Pressler: Block, "Marriage and Family in Ancient Israel," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 48; Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 99; Carolyn Pressler, "Wives and Daughters, Bond and Free: Views of Women in the Slave Laws of Exodus 21:2-11," in *Gender and Law in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Victor H. Matthews, Bernard M. Levinson, and Tikva Frymer-Kensky; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 1998; repr., London: T & T Clark, 2004), 159; c*ontra* Westbrook: "the slave is assigned and taken, but never specifically as a wife, and the relationship is ended by sale or manumission, not by divorce": Westbrook, "The Female Slave," in Matthews, Levinson, and Frymer-Kensky, *Gender and Law*, 218.

[223] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 99-100; Bible translations opting for the triad as per ESV include: KJV, NASB, NIV, and RSV. Paul disagrees: he argues from ancient documents found at Nuzi that the triad of provision found in Exod 21:10 is "a reflex—albeit a very modified one" of those documents and should be read as "food, clothing, and oil": Shalom M. Paul, "Exod. 21.10: A Threefold Maintenance Clause," *JNES* 28 (January 1969): 49, 52; those that agree with Paul appear to be in a minority but include: Pressler who finds Paul's argument "impressive" but the issue she says is "uncertain": Pressler, "Wives and Daughters," in Matthews, Levinson, and Frymer-Kensky, *Gender and Law*, 160; Block finds Paul 'convincing': Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 48 n 69; and Kaiser, like Paul, rejects the concept of marital rights: Walter C. Jr. Kaiser, *Toward Old Testament Ethics* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1983), 185; Davidson opts for "normal food, clothing, and . . . lodging": Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 193.

5.9   Adultery

The law code explicitly forbids adultery (Exod 20:14), understood in the OT as a married woman having sexual intercourse with a man who is not her husband.[224] Deuteronomy 22:23-27 puts consensual sex involving a betrothed virgin and a male who was not her fiancé on a par with adultery and prescribes the death penalty; if it was deemed non-consensual only the male offender would die. Westbrook considers the death penalty for adultery was a maximum penalty and Mace points out that there is no record of its enactment in the OT.[225]

Some see that adultery in the OT is principally an offence against a husband's property, partly because of the placing of its prohibition in the second table of the Decalogue where property offences dominate.[226] But Epstein comments:

> The biblical law of adultery has gone beyond these more ancient [ANE] laws in making adultery a moral crime rather than an injury to the husband.[227]

And Philips states: "in Israel adultery was regarded as a sin against God . . . a distinctive principle found nowhere else in the ancient Near East."[228] Davidson points out that in Num 5 the test for adultery where there are no witnesses:

> is performed by a priest . . . in the sanctuary . . . and is associated with various ritual offerings . . . thus this is a *sanctuary* ritual, conducted in the presence, and under the direct control, of Yahweh himself . . . This is the only biblical law where the outcome depends upon a miracle.[229]

In contrast, within ANE cultures, although adultery was considered an offence that could result in divine punishment, the principal offence appears to have been against the husband, as he was able to spare his wife the death penalty (§4.3.5).

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[224] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 313-14.
[225] Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 565; Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 249; also: Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs*, 199.
[226] For example Neufeld: "The wife is considered as the property of her husband (Ex. 20, 17)": Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 231; and Blenkinsopp, "The Family in First Temple Israel," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 62; *contra*: Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 63-64.
[227] Epstein, *Sex Laws and Customs*, 199.
[228] Anthony Phillips, "Another Look at Adultery," *JSOT* 20 (1981): 3.
[229] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 351-52.

5.10   Divorce

The conditional nature of the marriage agreement is evidenced by the ability to break the union by means of a divorce. The verbs (and their cognates) used for divorce, or where the context appears to be divorce, are: כָּרַת (to "cut off") in Deut 24:1, 3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8; גֵּרֵשׁ ("to cast out") in Gen 21:10; Lev 21:7, 14; Lev 22:13; Num 30:9; Ezek 44:22; שָׁלַח ("to send" or "to let go") in Gen 21:14; Deut 21:14, Deut 22:19, 29; Deut 24:4; Jer 3:1, 8; Mal 2:16; יָצָא (to "go" or "come out") in Ezra 10:3; 10:19; בָּדַל ("to separate") in Ezra 10:11; בָּגַד ("to deal treacherously") in Mal 2:14.

Block argues that divorce in ancient Israel belonged to the realm of internal family law;[230] but Deut 21:18-21 implies that Meyers is correct in suggesting not everything was settled by the family themselves.[231] Leviticus 22:13 considers the rights of a priest's childless daughter who is divorced, and Num 30:9 makes a divorced woman accountable for her own vows. Nowhere in the Pentateuch is divorce condemned: Abraham sends Hagar away (Gen 21:10-14) seemingly with divine approval; but Lev 21:7, 14 forbids a priest or high priest to marry a divorced woman (also Ezek 44:22). Perdue points out that the purpose of divorce was to remarry and Instone-Brewer considers that to be the reason for the written certificate of Deut 24.[232]

5.11   A Husband's Right to Divorce

5.11.1   Deuteronomy

5.11.1.1   Prohibition of Divorce in Deuteronomy 22

Deuteronomy 22 proscribes divorce in two cases: where a husband has falsely accused his wife of not being a virgin on marriage (vv. 13-19); and where the husband has been compelled to marry the unbetrothed virgin he raped (vv. 28-30). In the former case Mace points out that if a husband under OT legislation could divorce his wife at will (as Hillel's followers claimed Deut 24 taught—§10.3.2) there would appear to be no point in attempting a false accusation and risking the consequent restriction. Mace speculates (and Patai agrees,

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[230] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 49; See also: Christopher J. H. Wright, *God's People in God's Land* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990; repr., Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1997), 216-17.

[231] "Only when internal family redress failed to control tensions among members of the household might there be recourse to a suprafamily judicial body—perhaps a group of elders drawn from each household": Carol Meyers, "The Family in Early Israel," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo G. Perdue et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 31.

[232] Perdue, "The Israelite and Early Jewish Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 171; Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 28.

albeit basing his view on the Mishnah and modern Middle Eastern parallels) that there was perhaps a financial penalty for unjustified divorce such as LH 137 and LH 138 imply and that rabbinic Judaism codified.[233] Deuteronomy 24:1-4 proscribes remarriage after divorce to the original husband—this will be considered separately below.

5.11.1.2 Divorce in Deuteronomy 24:1-4

Greengus comments that he finds no examples in ANE collections of the prohibition of a wife returning to her husband after a divorce as in Deut 24.[234] Laney argues that the Deut 24:1-4 is case law with a protasis-apodosis sequence that elsewhere in Deuteronomy does not imply approval of the situation, and argues the pericope neither gives grounds for, nor approves of, divorce—but simply states if a wife was divorced and issued with a certificate she could not remarry the first husband.[235] This view, however, does not appear to carry the current scholarly consensus. Warren, in a detailed grammatical analysis, argues that Moses issued a specific directive on divorce, but points out it could be read as either permission or a command (hence the clarification required as recorded in the Matt 19 and Mark 10 pericopae).[236] There are three aspects of this passage to consider: the reason for the two divorces; the certificate itself; and the prohibition of remarriage.

5.11.1.3 The Reasons for the Two Divorces in Deuteronomy 24

The passage has generated much academic interest on account of the ambiguity of the reason given in v. 1 for the divorce certificate, ESV opting for "some indecency" for the disputed expression עֶרְוַת דָּבָר. Neufeld suggests it literally means "the nakedness of a matter" but that the phrase was deliberately "elastic" in meaning, as the husband had "purchased" his wife and saw his rights over her as being "absolute," and therefore he would not accept unreasonable restrictions on divorcing her; despite this, Neufeld still considers the phrase

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[233] Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 252-53; Raphael Patai, *Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), 119; the Mishnah *Ketubbot* outlines when the husband is to pay the *ketubah* to the wife he his divorcing and when he is free from that obligation—for example, he had no obligation to pay her when she had transgressed the "Law of Moses and Jewish Custom" (*m. Ketub.* 6:6).

[234] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 36.

[235] Carl J. Laney, "Deuteronomy 24:1-4 and the Issue of Divorce," *BSac* 149 (1992): 6-7.

[236] Andrew Warren, "Did Moses Permit Divorce? Modal *wĕqāṭal* as Key to New Testament Readings of Deuteronomy 24:1-4," *TynBul* 49 (1998): 39, 41; Neufeld speculates that previously no grounds were needed for a husband to divorce his wife: Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 176.

denoted some "gross indecency."[237] Isaksson argues persuasively that it was some form of indecent exposure.[238]

As regards the second divorce in v. 3 ("and the latter man hates her and writes her a certificate of divorce") Davidson suggests that it is probably "summarizing the same situation as the first divorce . . . not as positing a distinction between two different types of divorce."[239] Instone-Brewer points out that *hate* was a common word for divorce in the ancient Near East and did not indicate revulsion.[240] Westbrook argues that *hate* references a divorce without valid grounds and thus sees that the second divorce was unjustified, and as a consequence, the wife would have been entitled to take with her any marital gifts received by the couple on the occasion of the marriage.[241] However, the NT debate around this pericope does not suggest there was any understanding that v. 3 gave valid and different grounds for divorce from v. 1, so either the grounds were the same for both (as per Davidson), or the divorce in v. 3 was invalid as Westbrook argues.

5.11.1.4 The Deuteronomy 24 Certificate

Instone-Brewer comments that the provision of the certificate to allow the woman to remarry does not appear in ANE culture;[242] and Sprinkle that the certificate gives legal permission to remarry without the woman being accused of the capital offence of adultery;[243] Davidson thinks it possibly contained the later rabbinic formula found in *m. Git.* 9:3: "thou art free to marry any man."[244] Only the wife required the certificate as polygyny was permitted in ancient Israel, leading some to surmise that only the husband could divorce;[245] however, it is suggested below (§5.12) that a wife in ancient Israel could initiate a divorce.

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[237] Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws*, 178-79; Zakovitch also sees that the issue is sexual impurity because, as Mace also points out, if divorce was possible for some arbitrary misdemeanour by the wife a husband would not risk claiming she was not a virgin and risking the penalties outlined in Deut 22:13-18: Yair Zakovitch, "The Woman's Rights in the Biblical Law of Divorce," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (ed. B.S. Jackson; vol. 4 of *The Jewish Law Annual,* Leiden: Brill, 1981), 29; Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 252-53.

[238] Abel Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple* (Gleerup: Lund, 1965), 26-27; a view endorsed by Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 391-92; also: Patai "When the reference is to the genitals of either a male or a female . . . the term used is 'nakedness' ('*erwāh*)": Patai, *Sex and Family*, 157.

[239] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 394.

[240] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 78.

[241] Raymond Westbrook, "The Prohibition on the Restoration of Marriage in Deuteronomy 24:1-4," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana: Studies in Bible: 31* (ed. Sarah Japhet; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 399-404.

[242] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 32.

[243] Sprinkle, "Old Testament Perspectives," 530.

[244] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 392.

[245] For example, Murray: "In the Old Testament there is no provision for divorce by the woman": John Murray, *Divorce* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1961), 54.

5.11.1.5   The Deuteronomy 24 Prohibition of Remarriage

The import of the pericope is that a wife may not return to her husband once she had been divorced and subsequently married another man. The literature is replete with speculation why this might be the case, Sprinkle commenting that none of the alternatives are entirely convincing.[246] Hugenberger summarises ten different views before apparently favouring a view espoused by Westbrook (and endorsed by Instone-Brewer) that the problem lies in the husband unjustly benefiting financially from remarrying his wife after the intervening marriage.[247]

However, Stienstra and Isaksson both point out that the divorced woman would have been forbidden a return to her husband once there had been a sexual relationship with another man even if there had been no subsequent marriage. A betrothed or married woman who had been sexually unfaithful was technically subject to the death penalty and therefore denied a return to her fiancé/husband (Deut 22)—thus they see this Deuteronomic pericope is in effect applying the same outcome for a divorced woman.[248]

There was nothing to prevent the divorced woman of Deut 24 going on to a relationship with a third man, or a widow having many subsequent husbands (as Luke 20:27-36 suggests)—the divorced woman of Deut 24 had for some reason become 'defiled' only to her original husband. Laney points out the unusual reflexive passive conjugation of טָמֵא (defiled) in Deut 24:4 (Luck claiming it is unique in the Hebrew Bible);[249] Davidson, pursuing a grammatical analysis, suggests that the phrase is best rendered as "she '*has been caused* to defile herself'";[250] it seems the woman had become defiled by having legitimate intercourse with another man, but only to her first husband, thus it seems that it is the first husband's purity that is being protected. It will be seen that it is possible that this aspect of mundane divorce is cross-mapped to the target domain of the marital imagery (God's

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[246] Joe M. Sprinkle, "Old Testament Perspectives on Divorce and Remarriage," *JETS* 40 (Dec 1997): 531; Satlow points out that rabbinic sources do not attempt to explain the reason for the prohibition: Satlow, *Tasting the Dish*, 170-71.

[247] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 76 n144; 79-81; Westbrook, "The Prohibition," in Japhet, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 404-05; Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 7; for further analysis: Instone-Brewer ("Deuteronomy 24:1-4" 1998); Laney (1992).

[248] Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband*, 88-89; Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry*, 23.

[249] William F. Luck, *Divorce & Re-Marriage: Recovering the Biblical View* (2nd.; Richardson, Tex.: Biblical Studies, 2009), 60; Laney, "Deuteronomy 24:1-4," 8.

[250] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 396-97.

relationship to his people) to portray Adam's permanent exclusion from Eden (Gen 3:24) as consequent on God's 'divorce' of him (§6.12).

5.11.2   Ezra 10:11

Deuteronomy forbids marriage to foreign women (Deut 7:1-7) and Deut 23:2 has:

> No one born of a forbidden union may enter the assembly of the LORD. Even to the tenth generation, none of his descendants may enter the assembly of the LORD.

Thus Ezra (Ezra 10:11) gives an instruction to the men of Judah to separate from their foreign wives. But Davidson believes that such are not divorces *per se* but dissolutions of invalid marriages;[251] certainly the separations seemed to have circumvented any procedures of the law codes. Satlow points out that Ezra appeared less concerned with the risk of apostasy than he was about such marriages being "unclean"—doubt is cast on the purity of any offspring;[252] he argues that Ezra had the concept of all Jewish men having holy seed and comments: "The mingling of this [Jewish male] holy seed with the impurity of Gentile women . . . was seen as a true abomination."[253]

5.11.3   Malachi 2:14-16

Kaiser comments: "Almost every commentator has taken his/her turn bemoaning the difficulties found in Mal 2:10-16," and in Mal 2:15 he sees the Hebrew as being particularly difficult.[254] Hugenberger points out that others see Mal 2:16 as being "hopelessly corrupt" and identifies nine major interpretive approaches to the verse;[255] he cites Westbrook's analysis of the word *hate* in ANE marriage documents as an abbreviation for "hate and divorce"—terminology thought to reference a divorce without justification (§5.11.1.3).[256]

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[251] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 417; Satlow has an extensive consideration of Jewish mixed marriages and the status of the offspring: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 133-61.

[252] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 137; however, Nehemiah did appear to express concern about the risk of apostasy from non-Jewish wives (Neh 13:23-27) so it seems his concern was not just about the purity of offspring.

[253] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 259-60.

[254] Walter C. Jr. Kaiser, "Divorce in Malachi 2:10-16," *CTR* 2.1 (1987): 73.

[255] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 51, 82.

[256] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 71, 83; Westbrook, "Prohibition of Restoration of Marriage," in Japhet, *Studies in Bible*, 400-403.

Thus Hugenberger suggests the following paraphrase of Mal 2:16 which sees unjust divorce condemned but not divorce *per se*:

> If one hates and divorces [that is, if one divorces merely on the grounds of aversion], says Yahweh, God of Israel, he covers his garment with violence [i.e., such a man visibly defiles himself with violence], says Yahweh of hosts. Therefore, take heed to yourselves and do not be faithless [against your wife].[257]

But Davidson takes issue with both Westbrook and Hugenberger and defends what he describes as the "traditional Christian interpretation," believing that the majority of modern commentators see Mal 2:16 as an unconditional condemnation of divorce.[258]

Even though the contemporary scholarly consensus is that it is mundane divorce that is being referenced, several commentators persuasively argue that Mal 2:14-16 forms part of OT marital imagery and references Yahweh's threatened divorce of Judah (§6.9.4).

5.12 A Wife's Right to Divorce
5.12.1 Exodus 21:7-11

Although this Exodus passage had been considered by others in the context of divorce, Clark believes that it was Instone-Brewer's treatment of it in *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible* (2002) that brought it to the fore of the debate within the Christian community.[259] Some are not convinced that the woman becomes the master's wife which would mean that there is no divorce (§5.8); however others, including Instone-Brewer, think it is a marriage and what applied to the slave wife must apply to the free wife, so she would be entitled to leave the marriage if she had not received her entitlement.[260]

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[257] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 76; Instone-Brewer endorses Hugenberger's view of Mal 2:16: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 56-57.

[258] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 418-22; an example is Zehnder, who believes that Mal 2:10-16 references mundane divorce and can be "understood as a basis for a fundamental questioning of the acceptability of divorce . . . the marriage covenant is not to be dissolved": Markus Zehnder, "A Fresh Look at Malachi II 13-16," *VT* 53 (2003): 259.

[259] Stephen Clark, *Putting Asunder: Divorce and Remarriage in Biblical and Pastoral Perspective* (Bridgend: Bryntirion, 1999), 230; Instone-Brewer notes others who had previously considered the pericope: David Instone-Brewer, "Jewish Women Divorcing Their Husbands in Early Judaism: The Background to Papyrus Se'elim 13," *HTR* 92:3 (July 1999): 352 n 9.

[260] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 99-105.

Zakovitch expresses a similar view:

> One can expect a free woman's rights to be not inferior to those of a maidservant's, so
> that she too may leave her husband if her basic needs are not supplied by him. Our
> right to make such an inference here [Exod 21:10-11] is derived from the expressed
> equality between the maidservant and the free woman within this very law: "And if he
> have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after *the manner of the*
> *daughters*" (v. 9).[261]

It will be seen (§8.3.6) that all eight marriage documents (forming part of the JDD) published
in the second half of the 20th century from the Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever dating
from the first and second centuries of the C.E. appear to give wives a contractual right to the
Exod 21:10 triad of provision and, by implication, grounds for divorce if they failed to
receive their due.

5.12.2   Exodus 21:26-27

Davidson sees a woman's right to divorce is also found in Exod 21:26-27:

> [26] When a man strikes the eye of his slave, male or female, and destroys it, he shall
> let the slave go free because of his eye. [27] If he knocks out the tooth of his slave,
> male or female, he shall let the slave go free because of his tooth.

Davidson believes this principle applies to a servant married to her master and that the verb
שָׁלַח "seems to imply both sending her away from the marriage (i.e., the right to a divorce)
and sending her away from servitude (i.e., the right to be set free)."[262] But despite the use of
שָׁלַח the pericope does not appear to address the issue of divorce, although it is possible to
infer the right to a divorce if a wife was ill-treated in this way based on the *qal wahomer*
argument: what applied to a slave should apply to a wife.

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[261] Zakovitch, "The Woman's Rights," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 36; Mace also sees a free
woman's right to divorce implied in the passage: Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 258.
[262] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 407-08.

5.12.3 Deuteronomy 21:10-14

[10] When you go out to war against your enemies, and the LORD your God gives them into your hand and you take them captive, [11] and you among the captives a beautiful woman, and you desire to take her to be your wife, [12] and you bring her home to your house, she shall shave her head and pare her nails. [13] And she shall take off the clothes in which she was captured and shall remain in your house and lament her father and her mother for a full month. After that you may go in to her and be her husband, and she shall be your wife. [14] But if you no longer delight in her, you shall let her go where she wants. But you shall not sell her for money, nor shall you treat her as a slave, since you have humiliated her. (Deut 21:10-14)

Luck speculates that there was no consummation so there was no divorce;[263] but a consummated marriage appears to be the academic consensus.[264] Block sees parallels between Exod 21:10-11 and Deut 21:10-14: "releasing a slave-wife or captive woman whom an Israelite warrior has married is preferable to the man's refusing in either case to fulfil his marital duties."[265] Clark similarly sees parallels and states: "while not possessing a right to divorce her husband, she would have the right to initiate the process whereby the husband would have to divorce her."[266] In both cases the woman is to be given her freedom but not to be sold—Exod 21:11 cf. Deut 21:14. The apparent link between these two pericopae, and the fact that Exod 21:10 has וְעֹנָתָהּ (ESV: "marital rights") and Deut 21:14 has עִנִּיתָהּ (ESV: "humiliated her"), both derived from the root עָנָה reinforces the argument that the Exodus pericope is referencing a marital entitlement (§5.8).[267]

5.13 Other Divorces

Hosea 2 and Jer 3 clearly relate to marital imagery so will be considered in Ch. 6. Judges 14:20-15:2 records the fact that Samson's father-in-law had given his daughter, Samson's wife, to another—it seems he had presumed a divorce on the grounds of Samson's 'hatred' (§5.11.1.3 and §5.11.3). First Samuel 25:44 records Saul giving his daughter Michal (David's

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263 Luck, *Divorce & Re-Marriage*, 49.
264 Thus: Clark, *Putting Asunder*, 31-32; Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 408; Sprinkle, "Old Testament Perspectives," 534-35.
265 Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 50.
266 Clark, *Putting Asunder*, 32.
267 I am grateful to Florenc Mene for pointing out to me the common Hebrew root in the two verses in conversation about the two pericopae in December 2014.

wife) to Palti as if he presumed she and David were divorced, and yet David subsequently took her back (2 Sam 3:14-16) seemingly in contradiction to Deut 24:1-4. But there is no mention of a divorce from David, and Westbrook suggests that the situation reflects ANE practice: when a husband has been forcibly detained abroad, a wife is free to remarry, but if the husband returns he can reclaim her.[268]

5.14   Summary: Marriage and Divorce in the Old Testament

There are no further miraculous, literal, one-flesh marital unions in the OT record, nor, it is suggested, is there any evidence of an Edenic marriage model. It seems marriages were arranged (or at least agreed) by the families of the bride and groom. There was no understanding of an ontological or mystical dimension to the relationship, but each marriage did create what was considered to be a one-flesh union: that is, the couple were accepted as being in a family relationship—thus on marriage the couple had become what they were not previously and as a consequence there was a new set of forbidden sexual relationships.

It is possible that there was an agreed *verba solemnia,* but not necessarily any written agreement to formalise the marriage—there was nonetheless a volitional contract implied. Thus it appears (as in the ANE) that marriage carried mutual, asymmetrical, gender-based obligations for husband and wife. The husband's responsibility was to provide for his wife and, although not articulated, sexual faithfulness by the wife was presumed, as adultery was forbidden in the Decalogue and divorce was permitted if a wife engaged in sexually impure behaviour (Deut 24).

Although the wife's freedom to divorce her husband is less clear, both Exod 21:10-11 and Deut 21:10-14 appear to show that if the husband failed in his marital obligations the wife should be released from the marriage, and as these wives were slaves, or captive women, it is not difficult to see that a free-born woman would have had the same rights.[269] Divorce pre-supposed a freedom to re-marry, however, a divorced woman needed a certificate, and could not re-marry her first husband after a subsequent marriage (Deut 24), nor could she

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[268] Westbrook, "The Prohibition," in Japhet, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 392; for further discussion see: Ben-Barak (1991); White (2007).

[269] Sexual faithfulness of the husband is not the essence of the OT marriage contract as polygyny was culturally acceptable in ancient Israel (§5.7) but, in effect, Exod 21:10-11 gives the wife the right to a divorce if he took another wife, and some surviving marriage contracts specify that a husband should not take another wife (§4.3.2; §8.4.3).

marry a high priest (Lev 21:10-14). As in the ANE, these divorce provisions indicate a volitional, conditional marriage covenant.

None of the five markers of an Edenic marriage model as outlined in §5.1 appear to be reflected in the OT mundane marriage teaching and practice—rather, it is suggested, it is the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24 that underpins mundane marriage in ancient Israel. Metaphoric principles articulated, for example, by Lakoff and Johnson, therefore dictate that it is the marriage of Gen 2:24 that forms the source domain of the OT imagery.[270] Chapter 6 will explore OT marital imagery to analyse the cross-mapping from this source domain to the target domain of Yahweh 'married' to his people.

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[270] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 22.

Chapter 6   Marital Imagery in the Old Testament

6 Marital Imagery in the Old Testament

6.1 Introduction

Brettler claims that 'God is king' is "the predominant relational metaphor used of God in the Bible."[271] However, if it is accepted that from the marital root metaphor derive many metaphoric expressions Adler's claim that: "many more continuous verses in the prophetic books are devoted to depicting YHWH's 'marriage' to Israel than to any of the other personal metaphors" seems realistic.[272] Satlow states: "a reader—modern or ancient—who approaches the Hebrew Bible looking for the marriage metaphor will not be disappointed."[273]

It is suggested that the analysis of Ch. 5 confirms that mundane marriage in ancient Israel was underpinned by the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24:

1.   A naturally born man and woman.
2.   Become what they were not.
3.   In a metaphoric one-flesh union.
4.   By means of a volitional, conditional covenant.

In this chapter it will be seen that these four principles, carried over in the root metaphor, allowed Israel to believe that they had become what they were not previously, the 'wife' of Yahweh—in a metaphoric union with him by means of a covenant. The resulting new conceptual domain with its many consequent analogies was exploited by the OT authors. It allowed the prophets to explain Israel's perceived relationship with Yahweh and its history in a way that other familial blood relational metaphors (e.g. father, son, brother, daughter, etc.) or kingship would not.
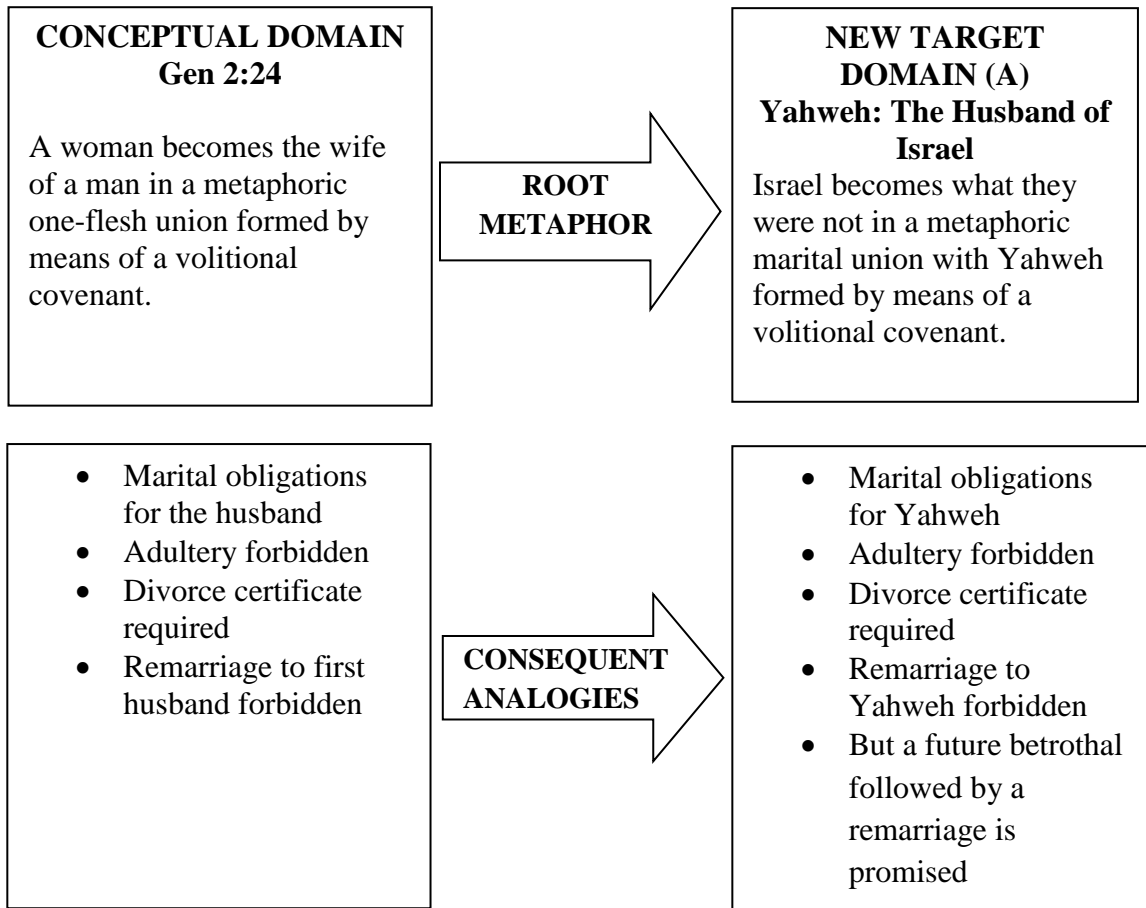
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[271] Marc Zvi Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 160.

[272] Elaine J. Adler, "The Background for the Metaphor of Covenant as Marriage in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), 380.

[273] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 43; similarly: Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband*, 134.

The structure map of OT marital imagery in §1.3.1 with example consequent analogies was posited to look like this:

Yahweh: The Husband of Israel
(Conceptual Domain 'A' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24	**ROOT METAPHOR**	**NEW TARGET DOMAIN (A)** Yahweh: The Husband of Israel
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.		Israel becomes what they were not in a metaphoric marital union with Yahweh formed by means of a volitional covenant.

	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES	
• Marital obligations for the husband • Adultery forbidden • Divorce certificate required • Remarriage to first husband forbidden		• Marital obligations for Yahweh • Adultery forbidden • Divorce certificate required • Remarriage to Yahweh forbidden • But a future betrothal followed by a remarriage is promised

MAP 1

Adler states:

> Israelite marriage and YHWH's bond with Israel have three common traits: (a) they
> are both legal and artificial relationships; (b) both oblige exclusive fidelity from one
> party in particular, i.e., Israel and the mundane wife; (c) the element of choice or
> election; (d) the range of emotions expressed in the Bible regarding YHWH's
> relationship with Israel (love, jealousy, and passionate longing) is applicable to
> human relationships.[274]

Weems comments:

> The point of prophetic metaphors was to shed light ultimately on divine activity. And
> while they were never at a loss to explain what motivated Israel to act in certain ways,
> the prophets (and audiences) were frequently hard pressed to explain why God did
> what God did or failed to do what Israel expected. Imagining Israel as the
> promiscuous wife and God as the dishonored, outraged husband became a way for
> prophet and audience to contemplate and explain Israel's experience with a God
> whom the people perceived at times to be actively engaged in their history and at
> other times to be deafly silent to their pleas.[275]

Marital imagery is extensively referenced in the prophetic corpus and there is a considerable
body of published material devoted to it—however, the aim of this chapter is not to undertake
a comprehensive analysis of the imagery, but to seek to identify any cross-mapping from the
source to the target domain that might help illuminate the NT imagery, and thus in turn
illuminate the divorce and remarriage teaching of the NT.

6.2   Some Definitions

As articulated in §2.1 an approach will be adopted close to that of Baumann and Stienstra: a
text will be considered to embrace marital imagery if it includes metaphoric expressions
related to the root metaphor (*Yahweh: The Husband of Israel*) even if Israel is not personified
as a woman or the concept of marriage explicitly articulated. Baumann in her consideration
of marital imagery in the prophetic books suggests that נָאַף (adultery) and זָנָה (harlotry) are

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[274] Adler, "The Metaphor of Covenant in the Hebrew Bible," Abstract, 1.
[275] Weems, *Battered Love*, 69-70.

key to identifying marital imagery and includes in her definition: Isa 1:21; 50:1; 54:1-6; 57:6-13; 62:4-5; Jer 2:1-3, 13; 4:1-31; 13:20-27; Lam 1:1-22; Ezek 16; Ezek 23; Hos 2:1-23; 9:1; Mic 1:6-7; Nah 3:4-7; Mal 2:10-16 and 'less explicit' texts: Isa 49:15-23; 51:17-52:2; Jer 30-31; Mic 1:4; Zeph 3:4-17 "and others."[276]

However, נָאַף and its derivatives rarely appear in connection with OT marital imagery. Abma comments that the metaphoric use of זָנָה predominates, but this is "only intelligible in light of the covenant relationship between Yhwh and Israel . . . [and] has the special connotation of 'breaking away from an existing relationship'"; she quotes its use in Exod 34:14-16 in support of her argument, that in the context of marital imagery, it is used to denote Israel's lack of faithfulness to Yahweh and is synonymous with adultery.[277] Bird sees that זָנָה can refer to a common prostitute or a promiscuous daughter or wife, and that the activity has, in itself, no cultic connotations, and its metaphorical employment to denote apostasy of the general population is unique to the Hebrew Bible.[278]

There is not always agreement as to whether the sexual immorality depicted in any one text is immorality on the social level, metaphorical adultery/harlotry on the national level, or sexual practices performed on the cultic level.[279] For example, Davidson sees Jer 3:2 as reference to cultic sexual practices by individual Israelites, whereas Baumann sees the passage as part of marital imagery and that the reference is to the worship of foreign deities.[280] It is suggested in this present study that the context usually makes it clear, and the context in Jer 3 lends weight to Baumann's analysis.

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[276] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 41.

[277] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 138-40.

[278] Phyllis Bird, "To Play the Harlot: An Enquiry into Old Testament Metaphor," in *Gender Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy L. Day; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1989), 76, 88-89.

[279] Bird however, casts doubt on the concept of the sacred prostitute in Canaanite religions: Bird, "To Play the Harlot," in Day, *Gender Difference*, 75-76.

[280] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 110; Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 115.

6.3 **The Ancient Near East Background to Old Testament Marital Imagery**

There appears to be a broad consensus on the unique nature of OT marital imagery, Abma pointing out that:

> the correspondence between the marriage patterns of gods in the cultures surrounding Israel and biblical marriage imagery is only of a general and superficial kind. While it is phenomenologically true that the people as marriage partner of Yhwh take over the role of the goddess, the whole idea of marriage is considerably different and far more developed in the relation between Yhwh and Israel than with respect to the deities in the surrounding cultures. In the biblical metaphor there is an emphasis on the analogy with human marriage, on the long-lasting character of the relationship and on the exclusive nature of the relationship. The love affair between Yhwh and Israel is not just one among many but a special and enduring relationship . . . The connections between the biblical marriage imagery and the patterns of intimate relations between deities in the surrounding cultures are indirect and superficial while the distinctions between both phenomena seem to preponderate.[281]

However, Korpel in her study (which appears to be the only detailed consideration of the use of metaphors in extra-biblical ANE literature), points out that Ugaritic literature was laden with self-conscious metaphorical language about their gods which influenced later OT writers and cites Num 6:25: "the LORD make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you" as an example of a metaphoric concept present in Ugaritic literature.[282]

Korpel references three possible instances in the Ugaritic literature of divine/human relations: Ilu seduces two women; ʻAnatu proposes to a human prince; and a king declares he will dedicate his daughter to Baʻlu.[283] However, although there are examples of gods marrying each other, Korpel states: "The texts of Ugarit do not contain an explicit reference to a marriage between a deity and a human being."[284]

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[281] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 19-20.
[282] Korpel, *A Rift In the Clouds*, 2-3.
[283] Korpel, *A Rift In the Clouds*, 214-15.
[284] Korpel, *A Rift In the Clouds*, 214, 228.

Nonetheless, she considers that OT marital imagery had its origin in Ugaritic literature:

> the love life and marriages of the Canaanite gods was deliberately and consistently transferred to the relation between YHWH and his chosen people. This must have happened at a relatively early date, possibly even before the ministry of Hosea . . . Whereas in the texts of the Ugarit the emphasis was on the sexual pleasure of the gods, the Old Testament rather stresses conjugal fidelity, faithfulness and loving care as characteristics of a sound relation between the divine "Husband" and his "wife" Israel.[285]

Galambush argues that OT metaphorical marital imagery was developed from the ANE personification of cities as women (i.e. goddesses) but notes what she describes as three significant differences: in the OT the city is mortal; its image is not positive but negative; and in the OT the metaphor is extended to include the concept of a city's infidelity.[286] Patterson also sees differences: in Mesopotamia there was no communion between the deity and the people; and although some divine-human relations were expressed in ancient Egypt, and that many Mesopotamian kings claimed to be the son of a particular deity, the "concept of a nation being the wife of a deity is foreign to the extrabiblical world in general."[287]

Furthermore, Abma agrees with Adler and against Wolf et al. that there is no clear evidence that Hosea's marital imagery originated in the Canaanite concept of a relationship between Baal and an earth goddess.[288] Thus it seems Adler is correct to refer to the "singularity" of the biblical marriage metaphor within the ANE.[289]

6.4 The Marriage at Sinai

McCarthy et al. believe that it is Hosea who introduced and developed the marriage analogy, Baumann suggesting this is the view of most scholars.[290] But Abma concludes that it is

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[285] Korpel, *A Rift In the Clouds*, 231.

[286] Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel*, 20, 25-27.

[287] Richard D. Patterson, "Metaphors of Marriage as Expressions of Divine-Human Relations," *JETS* 5 (December 2008): 690-91.

[288] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 14-15.

[289] Adler, "The Metaphor of Covenant in the Hebrew Bible," 2.

[290] Dennis J. McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of Enquiry," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 234-35. Baumann states: "most scholars believe—Hosea is to be regarded as the 'inventor' or first exemplar of the prophetic marriage imagery": Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 65 n 37; also Moughtin-Mumby: "[Hosea] is likely to be the earliest text in the Hebrew canon to use sexual and metaphorical marital language":

difficult not to see that "an existing covenant relation between Yhwh and Israel, together with blessing-and-curse implications, serves as a background for much that is found in the book of Hosea."[291] Similarly Instone-Brewer, who suggests that Hosea's marital imagery was not developed in a vacuum and that the "whole language of 'jealousy,' which is central to the picture of God in the Pentateuch, has the connotation of marriage" and that Sinai can be seen as the point at which God marries his people.[292]

Davidson agrees and cites several scholars who see inferences of marital imagery in the Pentateuch in Exod 34:15-16; Lev 17:7; 20:5-6; Num 25:1; Deut 31:16; and Deut 33:3.[293] Sohn points out that marriage is often expressed with the verb לָקַח in the Hebrew Bible and the Semitic root *lqḥ* is used extensively in the ANE for such, and considers the use of לָקַח in Exod 6:7 ("I will take you to be my people") to express Yahweh's choice of Israel links that relationship to the concept of a marriage; Sousan comments that the "hold fast" (וְדָבַק) in Gen 2:24 and Yahweh's commendation of those who similarly "held fast" (הַדְּבֵקִים) to him in Deut 4:4 is a possible allusion to the OT marriage metaphor;[294] furthermore, based on Jer 31:31-33, Sohn considers that Jeremiah understood the Sinaitic covenant to be a marriage between Yahweh and Israel.[295] Similarly Lunn, who suggests that Exod 6:7 is a reference to a marriage at Sinai, and that the account of the golden calf being ground to powder, and the people being forced to drink it (Exod 32:20), is a reference to the Num 5:12-31 ordeal for the suspected adulteress—that is, Israel had been unfaithful on her wedding night.[296] In addition, it can be seen that both Hos 2:14-15 and Jer 2:2-3 look back to the desert wanderings after Sinai as a 'honeymoon' period in Yahweh's relationship with Israel.

Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 49; Leith: "Hosea . . . has also imaginatively modified the [creation of Israel] myth . . . so that Israel metaphorically becomes a woman": Mary Joan Winn Leith, "Verse and Reverse: The Transformation of the Woman, Israel, in Hosea 1-3," in *Gender Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy L. Day; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1989), 95.

[291] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 113.

[292] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 34-35; also: Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 50-51. Although Adler sees no explicit early reference to the husband-wife metaphor she suggests the concept was familiar to a pre-Hoseanic audience: Adler, "The Metaphor of Covenant in the Hebrew Bible," 94.

[293] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 113-15; also Cohen, "The Song of Songs," in Finkelstein, *The Samuel Friedland Lectures*, 5-12.

[294] André Sousan, "The Woman in the Garden of Eden: A Rhetorical-Critical Study of Genesis 2:4b--3:24" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, 2006), 203.

[295] Seock-Tae Sohn, "'I Will Be Your God and You Will Be My People': The Origin and Background of the Covenant Formula," in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levin* (ed. Robert Chazan, William W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbraums, 1999), 358, 364-68.

[296] Lunn, "Let My People Go," 241-42.

6.5   The Sinaitic Covenant and Genesis 2:24

There are several covenants or covenant-like relationships between God and his people in the OT which carry theological significance, among them the Edenic (Gen 1:26-30; 2:15-17); Adamic (Gen 3:14-19); Noahic (Gen 9:1-17); Abrahamic (Gen 12:1-3, 7; 13:14-17; 15:1-21; 17:1-21); Sinaitic (Exod 19-24); and Davidic (2 Sam 7:5-16)—so a key to understanding OT marital imagery is to understand the basis of the Sinaitic covenant.[297]

McCarthy points out that promissory (Patriarchal/Davidic) and conditional (Sinaitic) covenants are different from each other and states "the attempt to make the Davidic covenant formally identical with the Mosaic on the basis of a covenant form common to the two has failed."[298] McCarthy believes that the Sinaitic covenant was volitional, that is, Israel had choices: both at the outset (e.g. Exod 19:3-8; Exod 24:3-8; Deut 30:11-20); and later (e.g. Josh 24:1-28)—Joshua's speech seemingly containing real options for Israel many years after Sinai: "the people are asked, never compelled, to enter into the relationship."[299] Thus the Sinaitic covenant is articulated as a conditional, contractual covenant based on Israel's obedience and her own desire to remain in the covenant. McCarthy points out that Jeremiah developed the marital imagery of Hosea and that: "the image of the husband-wife relationship between Yahweh and Israel . . . is, of course, a contractual relationship."[300] Thus an understanding of a divine marriage based on the Sinaitic covenant is consistent with the concept that the marriage has been mapped from the volitional, conditional, covenantal mundane marriage of Gen 2:24.

6.6   Betrothal Arrangements

There does not seem to have been a betrothal period associated with the Sinaitic marriage and Baumann considers that Hosea is unique in the prophetic corpus in speaking of a betrothal.[301]

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[297] Beckwith delineates five covenants between God and Israel: Roger T. Beckwith, "The Unity and Diversity of God's Covenants," *TynBul* 38 (1987): 100-101.

[298] Dennis J. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Biblewerk, 1967; repr., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 46-52, 58.

[299] McCarthy sees that Israel's realisation of the implications of its failure to maintain the Sinaitic covenant gives rise to a post-exilic de-emphasis on that covenant and in its place the prospect of a Davidic covenant is developed in (exilic) second Isaiah: McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 46-48; 55.

[300] McCarthy, "Covenant in the O.T.," 235.

[301] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 93.

It is a betrothal that lies in the future:

> [19] And I will betroth you to me forever. I will betroth you to me in righteousness
> and in justice, in steadfast love and in mercy. [20] I will betroth you to me in
> faithfulness. And you shall know the LORD. (Hos 2:19-20)

And Hosea 3:2-5 states:

> [2] So I bought her for fifteen shekels of silver and a homer and a lethech of barley.
> [3] And I said to her, "You must dwell as mine for many days. You shall not play the
> whore, or belong to another man; so will I also be to you." [4] For the children of
> Israel shall dwell many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar,
> without ephod or household gods. [5] Afterward the children of Israel shall return and
> seek the LORD their God, and David their king, and they shall come in fear to the
> LORD and to his goodness in the latter days.

Lemos sees Hosea 3:2 is a possible allusion to a marriage payment;[302] thus it is possible that
the period of isolation that follows (v. 4) marks the betrothal period before a (re)marriage in
v. 5. Mackay posits that during the time referenced in v. 4 Hosea's new wife (Mackay takes
that to be Gomer) would not be available to any man, not even Hosea himself.[303]

6.7   Marital Obligations

Galambush comments:

> the husband was required to protect the wife (in this case provide food and clothing)
> and the wife was to obey the husband and to refrain from sexual relationships with
> other men . . . The Israelite covenant with Yahweh shares this basic shape.[304]

Thus the thrust of the covenant made at Sinai is asymmetrical: Yahweh would protect and
provide for Israel and in return they were to be faithful to him and his commands (e.g. Exod
19:4-6; Deut 30:1-10). This care and provision by Yahweh is seen in the desert wanderings:

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[302] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 48-50.
[303] John L. MacKay, *Hosea: A Mentor Commentary* (Fearn, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2012), 116.
[304] Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel*, 33.

in the guidance by day and night (Exod 13:21-22), and the provision of manna (Exod 16) and water (Exod 17:1-7)—and in the abundant provision in the promised land (e.g. Deut 8:7-10).

Instone-Brewer believes Ps 132:13-16 is set in the context of a marriage covenant where Yahweh will clothe and feed his bride based on the three-fold duty of a husband described in Exod 21:10;[305] and in the imagery of Hosea he points out that Gomer looks to her lovers for the support that Yahweh has withdrawn from her (Hos 2:7-8) which is "described in terms of the marriage vows of Exodus 21:10-11";[306] he further comments: "The description of the breakdown of the marriages [in Ezek 16 and 23] is inspired both by Hosea and the divorce law of Exodus 21:10-11"—Israel is portrayed as giving to her lovers the clothing and food Yahweh had provided.[307]

6.8   Adultery

6.8.1   Adultery in Hosea

Galambush points out that the tenor of the imagery is virtually impossible to follow as it has several different referents—for example Gomer herself acts as a vehicle for the tenor of the land (Hos 1:2);[308] and although the land functions as a synonym for Israel, and Gomer personifies the people and shares in their whoredom, it is not always clear whether the use of זָנָה refers to actual sexual activity on the behalf of Gomer or is a term for spiritual unfaithfulness.[309] Wolf suggests it is a combination of both, but Abma and Adler suggest spiritual unfaithfulness is more probable.[310] Abma comments that in this milieu the source

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[305] David Instone-Brewer, "Three Weddings and a Divorce: God's Covenant with Israel, Judah and the Church," *TynBul* 47.1 (1996): 8-9.

[306] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 37-38.

[307] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 45; Sherwood points out that Hosea portrays Baal as an imposter who has taken Yahweh's role as a provider: Yvonne Sherwood, *The Prostitute and the Prophet: Reading Hosea in the Late Twentieth Century* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 1996; repr., London: T & T Clark, 2004), 215.

[308] Moughtin-Mumby in her "resistant" reading of Hosea suggests the prophet "sign-acts YHWH's relationship with the land through sexual liaison with Gomer . . . Hosea does not represent YHWH, nor does Gomer represent Israel" nevertheless she sees that the sign-act "conveys the horror of Israel's 'prostitution' away from YHWH": Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 221; when commenting on Hos 1:2 Galambush suggests the land that commits "whoredom" is like the land that sins in Deut 24:4 (also Lev 19:29)—the land is personified and has been made to prostitute itself as a result of the sin of its inhabitants: Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel*, 44-46, 46 n 56, 51-52.

[309] Thus: Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 141-42.

[310] Wolff: "Instead of a realistic interpretation—which has become traditional—or a metaphorical one, we suggest a metaphorical-ritual explanation: she was a young Israelite woman, ready for marriage, who had demonstrably taken part in the Canaanite bridal rite of initiation that had become customary": Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. Paul D. Hanson; Pa.: Fortress, 1974), 15; Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 137-138; Adler, "The Metaphor of Covenant in the Hebrew Bible," 398-410. Bird suggests that the noun זְנוּנִים in Hos 1:2 refers to

and target domain of the metaphor almost blend into one.[311] Although Cohen looks to delineate the vehicle suggesting that in the imagery the mother/wife figure equates to Israel as a nation, whereas individual Israelites are represented by the children, Abma sees that Hosea's children are just another aspect of the vehicle put on stage in order to embody the harlotry of Israel;[312] a view with which Bird concurs.[313] These difficulties are not aided by the northern dialect of the Hebrew text of Hosea.[314]

Despite this the broad scope of the source domain (mundane marriage and adultery) is unambiguous—Bird claiming that ultimately the imagery is clear: "the land (people) has relations with other lovers in place of . . . Yahweh" that is, these are "affairs" with other gods.[315]

6.8.2 Adultery in Jeremiah

Abma sees the primary audience of Jeremiah as being Judah and makes a detailed linguistic analysis of "The movement away from Yhwh" in Jer 2 and 3.[316] But Instone-Brewer succinctly summarises the nations 'adultery' as portrayed in the imagery:

> Jeremiah addresses chiefly Judah, reminding her of the honeymoon period after Sinai (2:2), and then describing at length the pitiful state she has fallen into. She is like a wild animal lusting after many mates (2:23-25; 5:8). She has forgotten her husband (2:32-37) and has been unfaithful to him by whoring after other gods (2:27-28; 5:7) and by allegiances with other nations (2:36-37). She will be shamed like a harlot (13:26), and she is threatened with divorce like her sister Israel (3:1-20). Yet in the end Israel will be restored as though she were a virgin bride once more (31:1-7), and Judah will be restored with her as one united nation (31:31-34).[317]

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fornication not specifically harlotry, although she points out that Hos 2:12 portrays the action of a prostitute: Bird, "To Play the Harlot," in Day, *Gender Difference*, 80, 82.

[311] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 120; so concurs: Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 88.

[312] Cohen, "The Song of Songs," in Finkelstein, *The Samuel Friedland Lectures*, 9; Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 141.

[313] "the author intended to claim for the children the same nature as their mother . . . Thus mother and children should not be sharply differentiated": Bird, "To Play the Harlot," in Day, *Gender Difference*, 80-81.

[314] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 36.

[315] Bird, "To Play the Harlot," in Day, *Gender Difference*, 81.

[316] Abma sees the whole of Jer 2:1-4:2 as referencing Judah: Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 235-37, 239-41, 250; Dumbrell comments: "When in the book of Jeremiah the term Israel specifically refers to the old northern kingdom, the context always makes that reference clear": William J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation: An Old Testament Covenant Theology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013), 257.

[317] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 40.

6.8.3   Adultery in Ezekiel

Galambush states:

> In these two chapters [Ezek 16 and 23] Jerusalem is depicted metaphorically as a wife
> who is unfaithful and is therefore punished at the behest of the husband, but at the
> hands of her lovers. Ezekiel uses the metaphor of the woman's misbehaviour to
> portray two related actions on the part of Jerusalem, both of which he describes as
> "infidelity" (*tznwt*), and both of which result in "uncleanness" (*tm'*), the defilement of
> the city and its temple: idolatry (and possibly other improprieties within the cult) and
> alliances with foreign nations. The husband's vengeance on the unfaithful wife
> metaphorically depicts Yahweh's instigation of the destruction of Jerusalem by
> Nebuchadrezzar.[318]

Galambush takes "Jerusalem" in both Ezek 16 and 23 to be the city and its temple and not a metonym for Judah.[319] Moughtin-Mumby discusses this issue and concludes that "prophetic sexual and marital metaphorical language cannot be limited to such a hypothetical 'etymology'" and accepts Jerusalem could represent Judah;[320] Baumann in a similar vein points out that Ezekiel introduces a great many "facts" and "persons" in its marital imagery which cannot be equated with the historical texts of the OT.[321] Instone-Brewer accepts Jerusalem is Judah (this view seems most persuasive) and points out that the marriage of Yahweh to her is explicit in Ezek 16:8—it is described as a covenant and Judah's 'husband' had provided her with food clothes and oil (Ezek 16:9-13) reflecting the provision described in Exod 21:10.[322] But (as in Hos 2:8) Yahweh's provision was used in Judah's harlotry (Ezek 16:15-19). Baumann sees that a feature unique to Ezekiel's marital imagery is that Yahweh's 'wife' is portrayed as "whoring" with foreign powers as well as foreign deities (Ezek 16:26-29);[323] but vv. 60-63 make it clear that there is to be a better future.

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[318] Galambush describes the two chapters as extended metaphor and not allegory: Galambush, *Jerusalem*, 1-2, 10-11.

[319] She further states: "If the city is a woman, then the temple is her vagina, and the offense of Jerusalem's granting illicit 'access' to foreign men and competing gods becomes plain": Galambush, *Jerusalem*, 86-88, 111 n 58.

[320] Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 158-59; 159 n 9.

[321] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 142.

[322] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 45-48.

[323] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 141, 146; however Jer 2:36-37 does refer disapprovingly to Israel's alliances with Egypt and Assyria in the context of marital imagery.

Although Ezek 23 has similar imagery to Ezek 16 there are differences: Ezek 16 tells the story of Jerusalem as a baby girl rescued by Yahweh, but after being taken as a wife, proves unfaithful; in Ezek 23 the sisters (Instone-Brewer takes them to be Israel and Judah) are prostitutes before the marriage; Ezek 23 starts the story in Egypt, Ezek 16 starts in the wilderness.[324] Baumann suggests that in Ezek 23 Jerusalem's guilt is intensified in comparison to Ezek 16 and that she has learned nothing from the bad example of her 'sister.'[325]

6.9   Divorce

6.9.1   Divorce in Hosea

Abma believes that Jezreel (Hos 1:4) and Israel with their strong sound correspondence are synonymous—whatever judgement is passed on Jezreel relates also to Israel; the "bow of Israel" (Hos 1:5) will be broken and she will cease to exist as a national state.[326] The second child's name "No Mercy" (Hos 1:6) highlights the fact that Israel will be judged but Judah spared, but not spared it seems by military intervention (v. 7b).[327] The last child ("Not My People" v. 9) Abma sees as symbolising the fact that the "covenant relation between Yhwh and Israel is cancelled" and that Israel here is probably the northern kingdom;[328] Moughtin-Mumby is equally emphatic: "we are presented with the end of YHWH's relationship with the people of Israel."[329] This perspective is in harmony with Hos 2:2 and consistent with the way the marital imagery is developed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

However, Mackay argues that there is no divorce in the target or the source domain of the metaphor, only threats.[330] But Westbrook believes that in Hos 2 "she is not my wife, and I am not her husband" of v. 2 is a divorce declaration originating in the ANE, and considers the arguments for and against Hosea actually divorcing Gomer, concluding that there is "no overwhelming difficulty interpreting the events of chapter 2 in the light of a divorce at its inception."[331]

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[324] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 44.
[325] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 143.
[326] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 133, 146.
[327] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 147.
[328] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 151.
[329] Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 228.
[330] MacKay, *Hosea*, 75-78; Perdue sees that Gomer is not divorced: Perdue, "The Israelite and Early Jewish Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 195.
[331] Westbrook believes the words used are a formula for divorce found throughout the ANE including Elephantine: Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 561, 577-80.

Instone-Brewer's analysis that Israel (the northern kingdom) is portrayed as suffering a divorce is the most persuasive, as he points out that she herself accepts the fact (Hos 2:7), and that the grain, wine, and oil of vv. 8-9 she had been entitled to as Yahweh's wife (as outlined in Exod 21:10) she was now no longer to receive.[332] Abma suggests Israel's return depicted in v. 7 is "a fantasy of Yhwh . . . a future possibility."[333]

6.9.2 Divorce in Isaiah

Instone-Brewer points out the difficulty of identifying "Israel" and suggests before Ch. 40 Israel can refer to the 10 tribes, but from Ch. 40 onwards the names Israel, Jacob, Jerusalem, and Zion are used interchangeably to represent Judah. He sees that the imagery is rooted in the historical situation, in that Isaiah portrays Judah as having suffered a period of separation, but not a divorce.[334] Isa 50:1 states:

> Thus says the LORD: "Where is your mother's certificate of divorce, with which I sent her away? Or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities you were sold, and for your transgressions your mother was sent away.

Yahweh challenges Israel to produce their certificate of divorce. Moughtin-Mumby understands the phrase "which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you?" to be a rhetorical question addressed to Judah, and believes such represents the scholarly consensus.[335] Similarly Instone-Brewer, who points out the improbability of Yahweh selling his people to creditors underlines the force of the rhetorical nature of the question—that is, there is no divorce of Judah.[336] This is a persuasive analysis—and implies there is a difference between Judah's situation and that of Israel, and if a divorce certificate had been issued it would imply Judah could then not come back to Yahweh.

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[332] Instone-Brewer also draws attention to the presence of the verb שָׂנֵא ("hate") in Hos 9:15 which is associated with divorce (for *hate* see §5.11.1.3 and §5.11.3): Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 37-38.

[333] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 175.

[334] "We must . . . assume everything referring to 'Israel' or 'Jacob' in Second Isaiah is addressed to Judah, unless it is clearly indicated otherwise": Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 48.

[335] Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 140-41.

[336] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 48-51.

6.9.3   Divorce in Jeremiah

> [1] If a man divorces his wife and she goes from him and becomes another man's wife, will he return to her? Would not that land be greatly polluted? You have played the whore with many lovers; and would you return to me? declares the LORD . . . [6] The LORD said to me in the days of King Josiah: "Have you seen what she did, that faithless one, Israel, how she went up on every high hill and under every green tree, and there played the whore? [7] And I thought, 'After she has done all this she will return to me,' but she did not return, and her treacherous sister Judah saw it. [8] She saw that for all the adulteries of that faithless one, Israel, I had sent her away with a decree of divorce. Yet her treacherous sister Judah did not fear, but she too went and played the whore." (Jer 3:1, 6-8)

Instone-Brewer considers the divorced party to be Israel and that Judah is being warned by means of Israel's example:

> It has been suggested here that the whole of chapter 3 can be read as an exposition of Hosea's prophecy and as a single argument that developed sequentially. First Jeremiah outlines the problem of the law in Deuteronomy 24 as applied to Israel's divorce and reconciliation (vv. 1-5); then he uses their dire situation to warn Judah, who is being even more faithless (vv. 6-11).[337]

The dilemma Jer 3:1 presents is how can Israel come back to Yahweh after their divorce in light of Deut 24:1-4? The impossibility is further emphasised by the fact the Deuteronomic legislation applies to a divorced woman who had had just one further partner (Jer 3:1 "becomes another man's wife"), and yet Israel had had "many lovers," giving what Abma sees as a *qal wahomer* effect.[338] Furthermore, Abma believes that Jer 3:6-10 constitutes a parable: Israel has been sent away with a letter of divorce (having already suffered her exile), but Judah is not to follow the negative example set by her sister Israel, and still has a chance to repent, even though there is no evidence of such yet (Jer 3:10). Although describing Jer 3:11-18 as "complex," Abma sees that the motif continues, and notwithstanding the obstacles

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[337] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 42-43.
[338] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 248.

the text implies that "against all odds, Yhwh *will* take Israel back."[339] Thus Jer 31:31-32 speaks of a new covenant:

> [31] "Behold, the days are coming, declares the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, [32] not like the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, declares the LORD. (Jer 31:31-32)

The above analysis suggests Jeremiah employs Deut 24:1-4 from the source map of the imagery to portray the exile of the northern kingdom as a divorce from Yahweh, and that Judah, unlike Israel, had not been divorced, but should take note lest she suffer the same fate. However, despite the restrictions of Deut 24:1-4, a future reconciliation is spoken of which is portrayed in a marital imagery that embraces both kingdoms.

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[339] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 249-51.

6.9.4   Divorce in Malachi

[10] Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us? Why then are we
faithless to one another, profaning the covenant of our fathers? [11] Judah has been
faithless, and abomination has been committed in Israel and in Jerusalem. For Judah
has profaned the sanctuary of the LORD, which he loves, and has married the daughter
of a foreign god. [12] May the LORD cut off from the tents of Jacob any descendant of
the man who does this, who brings an offering to the LORD of hosts! [13] And this
second thing you do. You cover the LORD's altar with tears, with weeping and
groaning because he no longer regards the offering or accepts it with favour from your
hand. [14] But you say, "Why does he not?" Because the LORD was witness between
you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is your
companion and your wife by covenant. [15] Did he not make them one, with a portion
of the Spirit in their union? And what was the one God seeking? Godly offspring. So
guard yourselves in your spirit, and let none of you be faithless to the wife of your
youth. [16] "For the man who hates and divorces, says the LORD, the God of Israel,
covers his garment with violence, says the LORD of hosts. So guard yourselves in
your spirit, and do not be faithless." (Mal 2:10-16)[340]

Malachi is not generally included in a consideration of OT marital imagery, despite Abma
pointing out that the books from Hosea to Malachi can be seen as a unit, and that the first
three chapters of Hosea function as the opening section not only of the book of Hosea but
also of the Book of the Twelve.[341] Hugenberger gives extensive consideration to the
interpretative context of Mal 2:10-16 and comments:

> Although the evidence does not allow us to be sure whether Malachi preceded,
> followed, or was a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, that he preached in the same
> general period is assured; this is significant for the interpretation of the text.[342]

Hugenberger sees this contemporary situation as supporting his exegesis that Mal 2 is
referencing literal divorce; however, the body of scholars who believe the passage is dealing

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[340] This translation is from ESV (London: Collins, 2002); however, ESV has produced different
translations of this pericope, for example ESV 2001 has v. 16 state: "'For I hate divorce,' says the LORD, the
God of Israel, 'and him who covers his garment with wrong,' says the LORD of hosts. 'So take heed to your
spirit, that you do not deal treacherously'"—thus demonstrating the difficulties in the Hebrew text.
[341] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 117-18.
[342] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 17.

with marital imagery see no reason to dispute the dating, only the inference that is drawn from it, that Malachi was condemning literal divorce from the mixed marriages that Ezra and Nehemiah condemn (Ezra 9 and 10; Neh 13:23-31).

O'Brien challenges the academic consensus (that Malachi is addressing the current social situation) and argues for a figurative reading.[343] Petersen adopts such a reading and argues that the 'daughter of a foreign god' relates not to a mundane wife but to an alien cult—that the "abomination has been committed" of Mal 2:11 is a reflection of the term in the Deuteronomistic corpus and that "To perform an abomination is to perform some non-Yahwistic religious practice, as Deut 17:3 makes especially clear."[344]

Isaksson similarly suggests the covenant in v. 14 must be the same as the covenant in v. 10 and that the "daughter of a foreign god" (v. 11) is a goddess—not 'daughters of a foreign people'; this metaphoric interpretation means "The wife of your youth" (v. 14) is a reference to Yahweh—the covenant partner of Judah, Isaksson suggesting the unusual portrayal of Yahweh as feminine was to enable Malachi to continue the imagery from v. 11.[345]

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[343] Julia M. O'Brien, "Judah as Wife and Husband: Deconstructing Gender in Malachi," *JBL* 115 (1996): 244-45, 249; also: Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon, 1994), 129-30.

[344] David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9-14 and Malachi* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 198-99; similarly Hvidberg who sees that the 'daughter of a foreign god' is: "a deity of the Anat-Astarte type": Flemming F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament: A Study of Canaanite-Israelite* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 122-23.

[345] Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry*, 27-34; Ackerman refers to gender flexibility in the imagery employed by Hosea, for example, in Hos 3:1 the prophet is commanded to take a wife, but where Gomer stands for Israel, in the text Israel takes the male gender: Susan Ackerman, "The Personal is Political: Covenantal and Affectionate Love (*'āhēb, 'ahăbâ*) in the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 52 (October 2002): 450-51; Brettler sees that although seemingly contradictory such gender constructs still work in their metaphorical settings: Marc Zvi Brettler, "Incompatible Metaphors for Yhwh in Isaiah 40-66," *JSOT* 78 (1998): 110-11; Baumann references other feminine imagery of Yahweh, for example: Isa 42:14b: Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 200.

Torrey sees vv. 10-16 as a unity and the "wife of your youth" and "your wife by covenant" in v. 14 is the same entity and the latter cannot mean "wife of thy marriage vows"; that is, the pericope is uniformly figurative in its language and in Torrey's view the 'wife' is the "covenant religion" itself:

> Judah . . . has betrayed the wife of his youth, the covenant religion, by espousing the daughter of a strange god, *i.e.* a foreign cult . . . [this] necessarily involved 'divorce' from the covenant religion.[346]

Ogden also argues persuasively for a figurative interpretation seeing that the divorce God hates is his dismissal of his own 'wife'; for Ogden she is represented by the Levitical priests (Mal 2:1, 4-7, 10) who had failed in their duties.[347]

Isaksson suggests that in failing to see the imagery many scholars have read a later view of divorce into the Malachi pericope that is not compatible with its social context:

> A really quite decisive argument against interpreting these verses as dealing with marriage and divorce is that the O.T. concept ברית is quite incompatible with what marriage meant at this period. Marriage was not a compact entered into by man and wife with Yahweh as witness but a matter of commercial negotiation between two men.[348]

Glazier-McDonald demonstrates the strength of various arguments for a literal interpretation, but then argues for the cultic perspectives of Hvidberg, Isaksson, and Torrey, finally suggesting that both cultic and literal interpretations are correct: that is, Malachi was addressing the social problem of intermarriage which had given rise to the religious apostasy–the daughter of a foreign god representing literal women and religious apostasy.[349]

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[346] C. C. Torrey, "The Prophecy of 'Malachi'," *JBL* 17 (1 1898): 8-10; Torrey also considers in the article the argument that Malachi would not have to address the issue of foreign cults so soon after the restoration.

[347] Graham S. Ogden, "The Use of Figurative Language in Malachi 2.10-16," *BT* 39 (1988): 229-30.

[348] Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry*, 31.

[349] Beth Glazier-McDonald, "Intermarriage, Divorce and the Bat-'él Nékar: Insights into Mal 2:10-16," *JBL* 106 (1987): 609-10.

This present study believes that the arguments articulated above are sufficient cause to question the assumption that the pericope references divorces by Jewish men. The interpretation that Israel (i.e. Judah at this stage) has been unfaithful to Yahweh, or at least unfaithful to the covenant religion, and as a consequence is now at risk of suffering a divorce has, it is suggested, some validity. Such a perspective is reinforced when it is considered that the book opens with an address proclaiming Yahweh's love for his collective people: "The oracle of the word of the LORD to Israel by Malachi. 'I have loved you,' says the LORD" (Mal 1:1-2a); and concludes in Mal 4 with an appeal, and a warning, to the nation:

> [4] "Remember the law of my servant Moses, the statutes and rules that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel. [5] "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and awesome day of the LORD comes. [6] And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, lest I come and strike the land with a decree of utter destruction." (Mal 4:4-6)

This perspective sees that the Book of the Twelve opens and closes with marital imagery portraying the unfaithfulness of Yahweh's covenant partner and the consequences of such—a divorce, but this time for Israel's 'sister,' Judah.

6.10   Remarriage

6.10.1   Remarriage at Sinai

The prophetic corpus indicates that there is a prospect of a remarriage for divorced Israel in the future and this is extensively addressed in the body of literature devoted to OT marital imagery. But Lunn, it seems uniquely, but persuasively, argues that the exodus from Egypt had been in effect a divorce of Israel from Pharaoh and the Egyptian gods to prepare for the marriage to Yahweh at Sinai. He references Ezek 23:3: "They played the whore in Egypt; they played the whore in their youth"; and sees the gifts taken from the Egyptians (Exod 3:22; 11:2; 12:35) represented the return of the *mohar*.[350] This present study suggests such a divorce would be justified in the imagery as the 'slave wife' Israel was being mistreated (Exod 1:8-14) and therefore would be free to go (Exod 21:7-11). If Lunn's analysis is correct Yahweh at Sinai was marrying a divorcee.

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[350] Lunn, "Let My People Go," 242-47; the return of the *mohar* is not a practice explicit in the OT but evidenced in rabbinic writings (e.g. *m. Ketub.* 2:1; 4:7-12) and in the JDD, for example, Mur 20 line 6: "And if you are divorced from me I will return the money of your *kethubah* and all that you have brought to my house" (§8.3.5).

6.10.2   Remarriage in Hosea

Abma sees Hos 1:11 as depicting a future reunion of Judah and Israel, and considers various interpretations of "they shall go up from the land," concluding that the most obvious interpretation is of some sort of future exodus.[351] Hosea 2:14-15 seems to represent a new entry into the land, the reference to the wilderness not representing a place of desolation but rather one of intimacy devoid of distractions. Abma suggests the text presents the reunion between Yahweh and Israel "in terms of the pattern of exodus - wilderness - entrance into the promised land" and that vv. 16-23 focus on a new bridal time for Yahweh and Israel—not "a return to a previously existing marriage but as a completely new beginning!"[352]

6.10.3   Remarriage in Isaiah

Isaiah 54:1-8 also looks forward to a time of reconciliation. Israel's "widowhood" (v. 4) is probably a reference to Israel's deserted (v. 7) rather than bereaved status.[353] Moughtin-Mumby considers Isa 54:5 is possibly the most direct reference to Yahweh as a 'husband' in the OT and a rare reference to an actual 'marriage' and suggests others have missed the potential impact of that.[354] Yet Abma sees that reference as a problem—*baal* (בָּעַל) is in the plural and although usually translated as husband, the LXX implies the reference is to "lord"; but she points out that the commentaries consider the verb to be a *pluralis majestatis* and considers that "husband" is the correct translation.[355] Baumann suggests that now בָּעַל was no longer important as a primary competitor of Yahweh the name can be used without any fear of awakening associations with the Canaanite god:

> Thus Isa 54:1-6 takes up the older image of YHWH as the marital "lord" of Jerusalem and reshapes it . . . YHWH is to be seen now, despite all his world-dominating power, in an astonishing pose of self-renunciation towards his "wife." In Isa 54:7-9 he takes the major responsibility for the previous "crisis in the marriage," and woos her once again . . . The text does not clearly indicate who the "wife" is. She is only described as the rebuilt city of Jerusalem in Isa 54:11-17.[356]

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[351] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 162-63.
[352] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 186-87, 189, 191.
[353] Thus: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 50.
[354] Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 126, 133.
[355] Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 87-88.
[356] Baumann further notes that in Hos 2:16 Israel is told that when the courtship is renewed: "she shall no longer say בעל to him, but instead 'husband' (איש)": Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 185-86.

More definite marital imagery is found in Isa 61:10 where the text speaks of Israel, in the first person singular, being dressed like a bridegroom, and like a bride. Baumann points out that there are two other places where personified Jerusalem is again addressed by Yahweh: Isa 62:1-8 where in vv. 4-5 "the text speaks of a (re?)marriage of YHWH and Jerusalem"; and 66:7-13 where once again Jerusalem is a woman, but here the imagery is of a mother and childbirth. She comments: "The only plausible construction in the context is that it [the city/land] will be married to YHWH" and she comments on the use of בעל four times in Isa 62:4-5 "which otherwise occurs very seldom . . . It is one of the few Old Testament words that means 'marry' in most contexts" and signifies that it "was no longer necessary to set YHWH and everything that could refer to his former competitor בעל in such crass opposition."[357]

6.10.4   Remarriage in Jeremiah

Jeremiah 3:18-22 speaks of a reunited nation, and Jer 3:31-32 promises a "new covenant" which is cited in Heb 8:8-13 as being mediated by Christ, who is portrayed as the 'Bridegroom Messiah' in the Gospels—thus the promise is embraced within the marital imagery of the NT.

6.10.5   Remarriage in Ezekiel

Instone-Brewer sees that Ezek 40-44 offers hope for the people "but distances the new bride from the old by abandoning the city and projecting a completely new Jerusalem."[358] The new situation is described by Galambush:

> In Ezekiel 33-39, in the aftermath of the Babylonian invasion, the woman Jerusalem is neither condemned nor forgiven, but forgotten. The only remnant of Yahweh's former wife is the abiding memory of her uncleanness. Ezekiel's vision in chaps 40-48 of the new temple city completes the cycle of the city's defilement, destruction, and restoration. The God who left in rage returns in triumph, and the city is renewed and recreated. Only Jerusalem, the chastened and forgiven wife, is absent from the scene. The new city is described as inanimate stone.[359]

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[357] Baumann, *Love and Violence*, 188-89; Instone-Brewer points out that "Isaiah speaks of the reconciled bride as a 'virgin' (בתולה, *bethulah*)," in Isa 62:5: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 51.

[358] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 47.

[359] Galambush, *Jerusalem*, 147.

6.11 Inferred Cross-Mapping

It has been suggested (§2.1.1) that there can be an inferred cross-mapping between the two conceptual domains of the imagery—Day references (in effect) inferred reverse cross-mapping and articulates this principle:

> it is my methodological practice to require corroborating evidence from nonfigurative genres of writing before positing a basis in social reality for any given aspect of figurative marriage or marital infidelity. Conversely, when a feature of figurative marriage or marital infidelity is contradicted by what we do know about Israelite laws and practices from the nonfigurative texts, I take this as evidence that the feature in question has no basis in ancient Israelite social reality.[360]

Similarly, this present study (as indicated in §1.5), will only posit inferred cross-mapping when such appears to be consonant with specific biblical teaching, or is evidenced in contemporary marriage practice.

6.11.1 Inferred Cross-Mapping: Punishments for Adultery

Kamionkowski commenting on Ezek 16 states: "An overly simplistic reading of the marital metaphor between God and Israel may lead to the conclusion that . . . God condones rape as a suitable punishment for female adultery."[361] Day similarly points out the dangers of analysing such pericopae to find some correlation with the various punishments in mundane marriage without taking into full consideration the metaphoric nature of the imagery—a mistake she claims some scholars make.[362] One such might be Westbrook, for when analysing Jer 13:26 ("I myself [Yahweh] will lift up your [i.e. Judah's] skirts over your face, and your shame will be seen") he says "whether this gesture reflects the process of a divorce is not made clear."[363]

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[360] Peggy L. Day, "Yahweh's Broken Marriages as Metaphoric Vehicle in the Hebrew Bible Prophets," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (ed. Marti Nissinen and Risto Uro; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbraums, 2008), 226.

[361] Tamar S. Kamionkowski, "Gender Reversal in Ezekiel 16," in *Prophets and Daniel: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; A Feminist Companion; London: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 171.

[362] Day, Peggy L. "The Bitch Had It Coming To Her: Rhetoric and Interpretation in Ezekiel 16." *Biblical Interpretation* 8 (2000): 247-53; Tamar S. Kamionkowski, "Gender Reversal in Ezekiel 16," in *Prophets and Daniel: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; A Feminist Companion; London: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 171.

[363] Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 560-61.

But such mundane marriage practice is not taught in the OT, nor is there any documentary evidence to support it, thus this present study suggests that speculation as to whether the imagery reflects such practices is, as both Day and Kamionkowski suggest, potentially unhelpful. Some aspects of the target domain do involve rhetorical language that cannot be validly reverse cross-mapped.

6.11.2   Inferred Cross-Mapping: Deuteronomy 24:1-4

The fact that Jeremiah cross-maps Deut 24:1-4 to the target domain to justify Yahweh's divorce of Israel (and to point out that she could not return) suggests that that was the understanding of the pericope—that is, a husband could initiate a divorce on the grounds of his wife's sexual immorality (after which she was not allowed to return) and reinforces the academic consensus of the correct translation of the ambiguous עֶרְוַת דָּבָר (§5.11.1.3). But Westbrook argues that Jer 3:1 and Deut 24:1-4 are not connected ("contrary to the views of most scholars"), because the dissolution of the second marriage is not mentioned and "it is the husband in the rhetorical example who is to return to the wife, whereas in marriage it would be the other way round." Galambush considers Westbrook's arguments "strong" although acknowledges problems in de-linking the two verses.[364] Davidson is another dissenting voice—despite seeing that Jer 3:1 accurately reflects the meaning of Deut 24:1-4, he states: "It is important hermeneutically not to utilize this metaphorical application of the legislation to interpret Deut 24:1-4 or vice versa."[365]

However, the scholarly consensus that the two passages are linked is persuasive, and Instone-Brewer comments: "Although Israel has not actually married someone else . . . Jeremiah says that she has done far worse because she has had many lovers" and suggests that the problem of a future remarriage presented by Deut 24:1-4 is circumvented because the future Israel is different from the faithless Israel.[366]

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[364] Westbrook, "The Prohibition," in Japhet, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 405 n 66; Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel*, 56 n 93.

[365] Davidson, *The Flame of Yahweh*, 415; similarly Gane, who points out that Yahweh did not divorce Israel so she could remarry—the divorce resulted in Israel's destruction and concludes: "Thus, it is clear that Pentateuchal legal practice cannot be safely extrapolated from a theological prophetic oracle": Roy Gane, "Old Testament Principles Relevant to Divorce and Remarriage," *JATS* 12 (2 2001): 51.

[366] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 41-43.

6.11.3   Inferred Cross-Mapping: Covenant or Contract?

Some scholars see NT mundane marriage as a covenant that denotes an indissoluble union that precludes divorce and argue from their understanding of the source domain of the OT imagery (mundane marriage) to the target —for example Dumbrell:

> The indivisibility, however, of the covenant from the divine point of view is referred to in [Jer 31] v. 32 by its depiction in [mundane] marriage terms. Yahweh had been 'their husband'. The use of this marriage imagery . . . ought to be carefully noted in this new covenant section. It is saying by its very nature the covenant arrangement with Israel could not be sundered. Divorce on the divine side could never be contemplated.[367]

MacKay makes a similar source to target inference:

> Marriage was divinely intended to institute an exclusive and permanent bond between a man and a woman (Gen 2:24), and so it also is a covenant relationship . . . In this way the circumstances of Hosea's marriage vividly illustrated the LORD's own relationship with Israel.[368]

This perspective causes MacKay to reject any interpretation of Hos 2 that involves a divorce.[369]

It is suggested that these comments, perhaps unwittingly, demonstrate the potential cognitive power of cross-mapping in the marriage metaphor. Thus Dumbrell and MacKay argue permanence from the mundane marriage 'covenant' to Yahweh's covenant with Israel (i.e. source to target)—but there is no unequivocal evidence in the text of the OT directly linking mundane marriage with בְּרִית (§5.3); and no indication in the OT record that marriages in ancient Israel were considered unbreakable.

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[367] Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation*, 259; also Block: "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 50-51.

[368] MacKay, *Hosea*, 38.

[369] MacKay, *Hosea*, 75-78.

Furthermore, the passage Dumbrell quotes appears to suggest the opposite—that is, a covenant, even with Yahweh, could be 'broken':

> [31] Behold, the days are coming, declares the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, [32] not like the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, declares the LORD. (Jer 31:31-32)

6.12   Marital Imagery in Eden

It is possible to see marital imagery being utilised in the Edenic story. Postell surveys the history of the interpretation of Gen: 1-3 and points out that many scholars have seen distinct parallels between Eden and the events recorded there and the story of Israel in the promised land:

> Adam and Eve's relationship with God—the contingency of their enjoyment of the land, their duties in the garden, and the consequences of their disobedience—foreshadows Israel's life under the Sinai covenant.[370]

Sousan (whom Postell references) believes it was Augustine who first noticed the covenantal nature of God's relationship with Adam, Sousan seeing it as an intentional metaphor for Yahweh's covenant with Israel at Sinai.[371] Postell further points out that the rabbinic commentary *Genesis Rabbah* describes Adam's exile from Eden in "the same terms used for disannulment of a marital covenant."[372] Although Postell draws attention to the possible marital imagery he does not develop the theme. However, the Genesis text itself employs שָׁלַח ("to send" or "to let go") in Gen 3:23 and גֵּרֵשׁ ("to cast out") in Gen 3:24 to describe Adam's

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[370] Postell, *Adam as Israel*, 114; Futato similarly sees that background to the composition of the Edenic story is the Baalism experienced by pre-exilic Israel: Mark D. Futato, "Because It Had Rained: A Study of Gen 2:5-7 with Implications for Gen 3:4-25 and Gen 1:1-23," *WTJ* 60 (1998): 18-21. Dumbrell comments that Gen 2 "presupposes that Adam's role, transferred to Israel and then to Christ, was to extend the contours of the garden to the whole world," and that: "Canaan (cf. Deut. 7:12-15) was the restored garden of God, and Israel had made that connection": Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation*, 41, 45.

[371] Sousan, "The Woman in the Garden," 177, 185; Collins believes Hos 6:7 is a reference to a covenant that God had with Adam: John C. Collins, *Genesis 1-4: A Linguistic, Literary, and Theological Commentary* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2006), 113; Hosea 6:7 states: "But like Adam they transgressed the covenant; there they dealt faithlessly with me"; however, the verse is a possible reference to the place Adam, thus: MacKay, *Hosea*, 196.

[372] Postell is not sure if the rabbinic comment was an intentional allusion to marriage: Postell, *Adam as Israel*, 6, n 5.

expulsion from the garden which are used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible to describe divorce (§5.10); thus, accepting the posited narrative typology, this present study suggests that Adam's exile from Eden is consciously portrayed as a 'divorce' from Yahweh by the Genesis writer (with Hos 6:7 being a possible reference to such), just as Israel's exile from the promised land is described as a divorce in Jer 3:1-8.

Sailhamer points out that the exile from Eden implied that in some way Adam and Eve had become contaminated and so had to be dealt with in a manner that reflected the cultic regulations of Lev 13:1-14:57;[373] Gilchrest posits that the purpose of banishment (citing Lev16 and the scapegoat ritual) is to maintain "the boundary between what is holy and what is not. That which is not holy is sent away leaving behind a holy community with a holy God."[374] Thus the "flaming sword" (Gen 3:24) that prevented Adam's return (and prevented direct access to God for all his progeny), is possibly a further example of conscious marital cross-mapping from the mundane divorce rule of Deut 24:

> then her former husband, who sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after she has been defiled, for that is an abomination before the LORD. And you shall not bring sin upon the land that the LORD your God is giving you for an inheritance. (Deut 24:4)

In summary, this analysis of marital imagery in Eden would suggest a compositional strategy behind the Pentateuch linking Eden and the exodus from Egypt (climaxing at Sinai) with marital imagery; the prophetic corpus developing the imagery to make sense of the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles, describing them as a divorce and a separation respectively, with an eschatological hope for the re-united nation framed, certainly for divorced Israel if not the 'estranged' Judah, as a future remarriage.

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[373] John H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1992), 110.
[374] Eric Gilchrest, "For the Wages of Sin is.... Banishment: An Unexplored Substitutionary Motif in Leviticus 16 and the Ritual Aspect of the Scapegoat," *EvQ* 85.1 (2013): 45.

6.13   Summary: Marital Imagery in the Old Testament

Moughtin-Mumby comments in the opening of her chapter on Ezekiel:

> it is time finally to lay to rest the assumption contested throughout this exploration
> that in the prophetic books there is a definable entity that we can call 'the marriage
> metaphor', consisting of a recognizable story of YHWH's relationship with the nation,
> or city.[375]

But Moughtin-Mumby is referring to the varied language employed by the different prophets and the difficulty in much of the marital imagery of making a definitive identification of Yahweh's 'wife'; this is further complicated by the rhetorical nature of much of the language when referencing the target domain. But the source map of the imagery is clear, and is always the same: it is mundane marriage as practised in ancient Israel. It is this that binds together the imagery employed by the prophets giving it a common theme. It is an imagery that sees the Sinai event as a marriage, and is possibly also utilised in the Edenic story. However, it is Hosea who first articulates the metaphor precisely, and the subsequent split of the kingdoms is portrayed as Yahweh being married to two sisters. The apostasy of both kingdoms resulted in the exile ('divorce') of Israel, and then the exile ('separation') of Judah, the former being seen as irrevocable, Jer 3 referencing the divorce law of Deut 24:1-4. Finally, in Malachi, Yahweh's covenant partner is still portrayed as being in a state of apostasy.

Thus the target domain of the imagery embraces the concept of a volitional, conditional covenant. Such is to be expected, as it has been seen that the target domain has been populated from a source domain (Israelite mundane marriage) which was also based on a volitional, conditional covenant —one that included the possibility of divorce and remarriage. Block sees reference to Yahweh's divorce of Israel as a "rhetorical device"—that is, there was no divorce.[376] But the very real exile of the northern kingdom is portrayed in the marital imagery as a divorce—one based on the grounds of their idolatry/adultery; McCarthy pointing out that the Sinaitic covenant had been broken, and that: "This had to mean the end of the covenant as such."[377]

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[375] Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, 156.
[376] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 50-51.
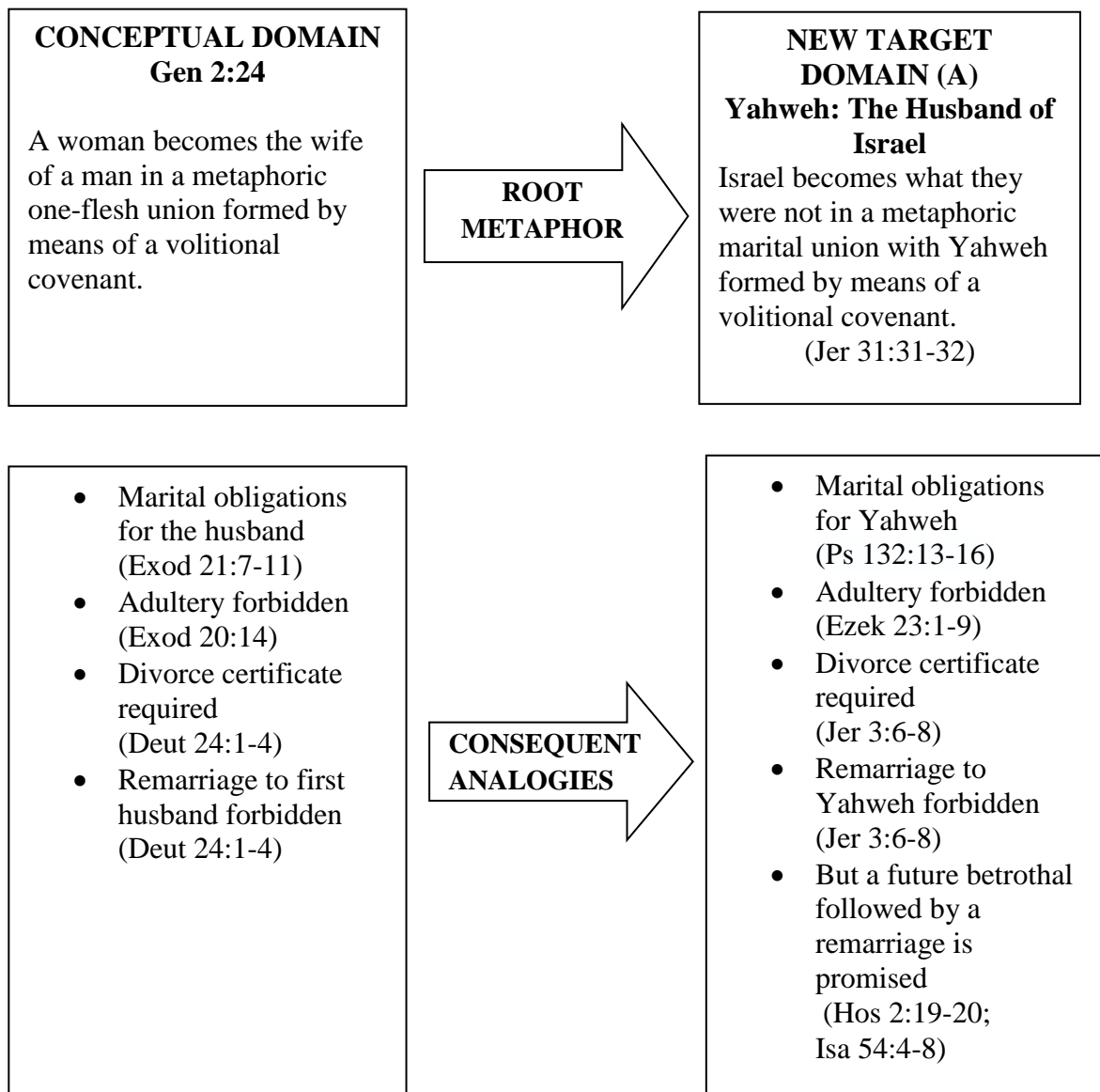[377] McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 46.

Furthermore, despite Dumbrell's comment that the covenant with Israel "could not be sundered," he nonetheless sees that the Sinai covenant was tied to political forms and a territorial state and that the stability of this depended upon Israel's response.[378] Yahweh's relationship with Israel in the OT text seems rooted in the land (e.g. Exod 20:12; Deut 5:33) making exile and divorce appear synonymous.[379] Nonetheless, there appears to be envisaged a future restoration that Hosea, Jeremiah, and Isaiah see as a new marriage, and Ezekiel expresses as a re-built temple.

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[378] Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation*, 129, 259.
[379] Thus: Wright, *God's People*, 3-43.

It is now possible to give example references for the key analogies in the cross-mapping chart posited in §1.3.1, including the promised future betrothal and remarriage:

Yahweh: The Husband of Israel

(Conceptual Domain 'A' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24		NEW TARGET DOMAIN (A) Yahweh: The Husband of Israel
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	**ROOT METAPHOR** →	Israel becomes what they were not in a metaphoric marital union with Yahweh formed by means of a volitional covenant. (Jer 31:31-32)
• Marital obligations for the husband (Exod 21:7-11) • Adultery forbidden (Exod 20:14) • Divorce certificate required (Deut 24:1-4) • Remarriage to first husband forbidden (Deut 24:1-4)	**CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES** →	• Marital obligations for Yahweh (Ps 132:13-16) • Adultery forbidden (Ezek 23:1-9) • Divorce certificate required (Jer 3:6-8) • Remarriage to Yahweh forbidden (Jer 3:6-8) • But a future betrothal followed by a remarriage is promised (Hos 2:19-20; Isa 54:4-8)

MAP 1

It is suggested the analysis of this chapter confirms that the root metaphor *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel* was based on the principles of Gen 2:24 and that the consequent analogies employed demonstrate that the source domain of the imagery was mundane marriage in ancient Israel—Sohn comments: "the origin and background of the [Sinaitic] covenant were the marriage practices of the people of Israel."[380] Both source and target domains embraced the concept of a conditional, volitional covenant that included: betrothal, asymmetrical marital obligations, adultery, divorce, and remarriage.

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[380] Sohn, "'I Will Be Your God'," in Chazan, Hallo, and Schiffman, *Ki Baruch Hu*, 368.

Chapter 7   The Literature of the Second Temple Period

7　　　The Literature of the Second Temple Period

7.1　　　Introduction

Both mundane marriage and the marital imagery of the OT demonstrate that marriage in ancient Israel was patterned not on the marriage of Adam and Eve, rather mundane marriage was itself seen as the archetype for the divine marriage of Yahweh and Israel. Satlow believes that OT marriage legislation demonstrates that either partner had the right to divorce and suggests as a consequence the marital metaphor posed a problem for Second Temple Judaism: "What is to prevent God from sending away His covenanted spouse, Israel?"—although Satlow does not discuss metaphor theory he is referencing cross-mapping inferences from source to target.[381] If his analysis is correct, it might account for the apparent absence of OT metaphoric imagery in intertestamental literature, he comments:

> Among Jews writing in Greek, the description of the relationship between God and Israel as a marriage was stunningly uninfluential. With the exception of Paul [the apostle] . . . no Jew writing in Greek uses this metaphor.[382]

Carr and Conway specifically endorse Satlow's perception that the biblical divine-human marriage metaphor virtually disappeared in Second Temple literature and, like Satlow, believe that "when Paul uses it, he is among the first Hellenistic Jewish writers to do so."[383]

Satlow suggests that early Christian writers having adopted the marriage metaphor saw that any divorce teaching was a potential "theological nightmare." The logic was (as for Second Temple Judaism), if a husband could divorce his wife, what was to stop God divorcing his church? Satlow believes that as a consequence the church consciously utilised the marriage of Adam and Eve to forbid divorce, and thus align mundane marriage with their perception of the divine marriage—that is, that God would never divorce his people.[384] He

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[381] Satlow explores this and other potential reasons for Second Temple Judaism turning its back on the OT marital imagery: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 44-50; McCarthy sees a post-exilic de-emphasis on the conditional Mosaic covenant and a new focus of the Davidic unconditional covenant: McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 47-48.

[382] Satlow considers other marital metaphors (e.g. Solomon's desire to make the personified Wisdom his mistress—Wis 8:2-16) but sees them as being different to the OT marital metaphor: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 44.

[383] David M. Carr and Colleen M. Conway, "The Divine Human Marriage Matrix and Constructions of Gender and Bodies in the Christian Bible," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (ed. Marti Nissinen and Risto Uro; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 294.

[384] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 48-49.

suggests this new primal couple model gradually emerged from the literature of the Second Temple period:

> This evidence, scattered and scanty as it may be, indicates that throughout the Hellenistic period, especially (or perhaps exclusively, depending on where Tobit was written) in Palestine, there was an increasing tendency to see contemporary marriage as patterned on the biblical primal marriage. This view was probably far from common; the elite and sectarian writers themselves do not explicitly make this link until late in the Second Temple period. The reason that the Qumran and early Christian communities do explicitly link marriage to the creation accounts appears to lie in its normative utility.[385]

Whilst recognising that the literary evidence is scant Satlow claims the Qumran and Christian communities adopted the primal couple model to suit their own ends. Collins appears to endorse Satlow's analysis of the literature: "The later we go in the second temple period, the more influential the text of Genesis becomes" and considers that both Philo and Josephus see that text as "fundamental";[386] although Collins believes the implications of this were not always followed through, like Satlow, he sees evidence of such at Qumran.[387]

It was suggested (§5.1) that an Edenic marriage model gives rise to the distinctive teaching that in mundane marriage there should be no polygyny or divorce, coitus is considered to be primarily for procreation, celibacy and holiness are linked, and each mundane marriage is believed to have a supernatural dimension.

During the Second Temple period Diaspora Jewish communities were to be found in Egypt, Cyrene, Rome, Greece, Asia Minor, and Babylonia, and within Judaea there were several diverse groups (e.g. the Houses of Shammai and Hillel), but Chapman considers that despite such diversity a shared history and ancestral religion were unifying factors.[388] This chapter will consider the different categories of Second Temple literature extant from these communities to look for evidence of the primal couple model Collins and Satlow posit.

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[385] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 60-61.

[386] However, this present study sees little evidence for such a comment in the works of Josephus, whose writings do not appear to embrace a primal couple model (§7.6.2 and §7.6.3).

[387] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 147.

[388] Chapman, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 183-84.

In Ch. 8 evidence will be sought to see if an adoption of an Edenic model in the literature influenced contemporary marriage and divorce practice, and finally in Chs. 9 and 10, NT marital imagery and its mundane marriage and divorce teaching will be explored to determine the metaphoric marital cross-mapping and the marriage model that underpins such.

7.2 The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

7.2.1 Introduction

The works considered in this section are those published in the two volumes edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1983, 1985). He defines the writings as those:

> 1) that, with the exception of Ahiqar, are Jewish or Christian; 2) that are often attributed to ideal figures in Israel's past; 3) that customarily claim to contain God's word or message; 4) that frequently build upon ideas and narratives present in the Old Testament; 5) and that almost always were composed either during the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 or, though late, apparently preserve, albeit in an edited form, Jewish traditions that date from that period.[389]

7.2.2 The Edenic Marriage in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Some of the Pseudepigrapha literature appears to consider sexual desire a consequence of the first sin and therefore possibly sinful itself. The *Sibylline Oracles* re-work the creation story so that Adam's interest in Eve in Eden is in conversation not sex, thus *Sib. Or.* 1:26-37 has:

> But he [Adam] being alone in the luxuriant plantation of the garden desired conversation, and prayed to behold another form like his own. God himself . . . made Eve . . . when he saw her . . . They conversed with wise words . . . For they neither covered their minds with licentiousness nor felt shame, but were far removed from evil heart.[390]

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[389] James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha;* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), xxv.

[390] John J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. James H Charlesworth; vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 335.

It is possible the 'becoming one flesh' of Gen 2:24 is reflected in *Jos. Asen.* 20:4 where Aseneth objects to Joseph's suggestion that another woman wash his feet: "No, my Lord . . . For your feet are my feet, and your hands are my hands, and your soul my soul."[391]

Johnson in his introduction to the *Apocalypse of Moses* (Life of Adam and Eve) states that: "The Greek and Latin texts . . . both purport to narrate in Midrashic form some episodes in the life of the 'first made' after their expulsion from Paradise"—the original composition he believes to date from between "100 B.C. and A.D. 200" and written by a Jew.[392]

Apocalypse of Moses 25:3-4 refers to the punishment of the pains of childbirth and sees that Eve equates sexual intercourse with sin: "you [Eve] shall confess and say, "LORD, LORD, save me and I will never again turn to the sin of the flesh."[393]

Testament of Issachar 2:3 suggests that sex for procreation is more honourable than for gratification: "For he [the Lord] perceived that she [Leah] wanted to lie with Jacob for the sake of children and not merely for sexual gratification."[394] And *1 En.* 15:5 seems to describe sexual intercourse as being primarily for procreation: "On that account, I have given you wives in order that (seeds) might be sown upon them and children born by them."[395]

Andersen believes in *2 Bar.* 56:6 the writer is suggesting coitus was not present in Eden and therefore sexual intercourse was required for the production of children only after the fall:[396]

> For when he [Adam] transgressed . . . the realm of death began to ask to be renewed with the blood, the conception of children came about, the passion of parents was produced.[397]

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[391] James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha;* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 234.

[392] M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 249, 252.

[393] Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2* (Charlesworth), 283.

[394] Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 1*, 802-03.

[395] Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 1*, 21.

[396] Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 123.

Jubilees 2-4 (dated by Wintermute at 161-140 B.C.E.) retells the Edenic story, and Andersen's analysis suggests that the author here follows the Levitical concept, that although sexual activity was not evil or associated with the fall, nonetheless semen emission made you ritually unclean (Lev 15:8). Thus *Jub.* 3 portrays the account of creation and the sex act as having taken place before the couple are brought into Eden, so that Eden, which Andersen sees as portrayed as prototype of the temple in *Jub.* 4:23-26, is kept pure.[398]

7.2.3 Contra-Indications of an Edenic Marriage in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

There is no specific condemnation of polygyny in the Pseudepigrapha, however, it is possible to see that *T. Reu.* 4:1 ("live in integrity of heart . . . until the Lord gives you the mate whom he wills") and *T. Iss.* 7:2 ("I have not had intercourse with any woman other than my wife") assume monogamy but neither of these references is conclusive.[399] Also the "Do not add marriage to marriage" of Ps.-Phoc. 205 might be discouraging remarriage after divorce but it could refer to polygyny.[400]

7.2.4 Summary: The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

There is an interest in the Edenic marriage in the Pseudepigrapha and a link is occasionally made between sin and sexual desire, and a view is expressed that the primary purpose of intercourse is perceived to be for pro-creation, although polygyny and divorce are not condemned.

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[397] Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 1*, 641; Loader sees *2 Baruch* as written "in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E.": Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 22.

[398] O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 44; Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 129, 139.

[399] Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 1*, 783, 804.

[400] Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2*, 581.

7.3   The Old Testament Apocrypha

7.3.1   Introduction

The works considered in this section (and any translations unless otherwise stated) are those published in *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha* (2010). Newsom comments:

> All of the writings in the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical books are Jewish in origin, but it is not clear that they were collected by any particular community of Jews. Some of them (for instance Sirach) were quoted by rabbis, but for others no evidence exists that they were regarded as central to the Jewish community at any point . . . Nevertheless, influences from some of these works are apparent within Judaism.[401]

Newsom further points out that although the NT does not quote directly from these works, she does see literary echoes (for example, from the Wisdom of Solomon in Romans and 2 Corinthians), and considers the apocryphal/deuterocanonical books do elucidate Jewish life as it developed immediately before the Common Era.[402]

7.3.2   The Edenic Marriage in the Old Testament Apocrypha

The marriage of Tobias and Sarah was sealed with a marriage contract (Tob 7:13) and there is a reference to this union being a reflection of the marriage of Adam and Eve (Tob 8:4-8). Satlow sees this pericope as "The clearest and perhaps first extrabiblical text to link contemporary marital practice with the primal marriage of Adam and Eve," but then comments:

> It is difficult to know to what extent Tobias's prayer reflected a common understanding of a link between Gen. 2 and contemporary human marriage. Nevertheless, it is significant that Adam and Eve [in Tob 8] are invoked not as part of a regular marital liturgy, but as part of a charm.[403]

Sirach 36:29 has: "He who acquires a wife gets his best possession, a helper fit for him and a pillar of support" which possibly references Gen 2:18.

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[401] Carol A. Newsom, "Introduction to the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books," in *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version* (ed. Michael Coogan D. et al.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 8.

[402] Newsom, "Introduction," in Coogan, *New Oxford Apocrypha*, 9.

[403] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 58-59.

7.3.3 Contra-Indications of an Edenic Marriage in the Old Testament Apocrypha

Loader refers to many texts from Sirach that portray women in a negative light but they do not suggest a move away from an OT understanding of marriage or an ascetic attitude to sex, for example embracing polygyny (Sir 26:5-6; 37:11).[404] Balla comments on Sirach:

> In a good marriage, desire and sex are not negative. There are even comments which refer to enjoying a wife's sexuality without making any mention of offspring.[405]

And divorce is apparently an option: "If she [your wife] does not go as you direct, separate her from yourself." (Sir 25:26)

7.3.4 Summary: The Old Testament Apocrypha

Although the Old Testament Apocrypha references a primal couple marriage model it does not present a developed understanding of the Edenic marriage that would directly impact this present study.

7.4 Qumran

7.4.1 Introduction

Vermes believes it most probable that the Essenes were the Qumran sect and that the MSS discovered there date between 200 B.C.E. and 70 C.E.[406] He considers the relationship between the Scrolls and the NT and concludes that while there are similarities of language, ideology, and attitude to the OT, these may be due to the religious milieu of the era; however, he considers the early church modelled itself on certain aspects of the community (e.g. monarchic administration and strict discipline) but that it is "the charismatic-eschatological aspects of the Scrolls [that] have provided the richest gleanings for comparison."[407] However, Instone-Brewer considers: "the Qumran documents do not say anything significant about divorce or remarriage."[408] Satlow sees the Qumran sect were a sectarian group opposed to

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[404] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 34-35, 49.

[405] Ibolya Balla, "Ben Sira / Sirach," in *The Pseudepigrapha on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Apocalypses, Testaments, Legends, Wisdom, and Related Literature* (ed. William R. G. Loader; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 397.

[406] Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Pelican, 1962; repr., London: Penguin, 1998), 14, 48. Also: Jacob Neusner and William S. Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period: 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E* (1996; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999), 153.

[407] Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22.

[408] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 72.

conventional social and power structures, and thus were against family structures, but not "in any significant way, antimarriage."[409]

7.4.2   The Edenic Marriage at Qumran

Satlow points out that the community's rejection of polygyny is a radical break with the Hebrew Bible tradition, and believes such rejection is based on their understanding of Gen 1:27 ("So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them."); Gen 7:9 ("two and two, male and female, went into the ark with Noah, as God had commanded Noah."); and Deut 17:17 ("And he [a king] shall not acquire many wives for himself . . .").[410]

Loader sees the reference to "helpmate" and "one flesh" in the book of *Instruction* as evidence of an Edenic marriage model:[411]

> You have taken a wife in your poverty,
> take the offspring . . .
> from the approaching mystery
> when you are joined together.
> Walk with the helpmate of your flesh. (4Q416 III)[412]

> . . . his father and his mother and he will cling [to his wife and they will become one flesh]
> He made him rule over her and she . . .
> He did not make her father rule over her
> and He separated her from her mother
> and towards you [will be her longing
> and she will be] one flesh for you. (4Q416 IV)[413]

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[409] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 21-24.
[410] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 60.
[411] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 15.
[412] Vermes notes: "Lacunae impossible to complete with any measure of confidence are indicated by dots in the translation. Texts supplied from a different manuscript of the same document appear between { }. Hypothetical but likely constructions are placed between [ ] and glosses for fluency between ( )": Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93, 431.
[413] Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 431.

It seems 4QMMT has a reference to Gen 2:23: "they [ta]ke [wives so as to be] {one} (4Q397 5) bone (with them)."[414]

Collins points out that Josephus, Philo, and Pliny all thought the Essenes lived a celibate life, so if they are the Qumran sect they must have been mistaken; but he considers that the Dead Sea Scrolls "provide abundant indications of a mind-set that was conducive to sexual abstinence."[415] Collins believes this mind-set was rooted in Lev 15:18 which describes sexual intercourse as rendering both the man and the woman impure, seeing evidence for this in the *War Scroll*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Damascus Document.* However, he concludes:

> The evidence on celibacy at Qumran is not conclusive . . . there was a strand of Jewish tradition, prominently represented at Qumran, that viewed sexual activity negatively, as a source of impurity, and that required abstinence on certain occasions.[416]

7.4.3 Contra-Indications of an Edenic Marriage at Qumran

Some have seen that the *Damascus Document* CD 4.20-5.2 forbids divorce. Vermes cites it as:

> The builders of the wall . . . are caught in fornication twice by taking two wives *in their lifetime*, whereas the principle of creation is, "Male and female created he them" (*Gen.* 1:27). Also, those who entered the ark went in two buy two (*Gen.* 7:7-9). And, concerning the prince, it is written, "He shall not multiply wives to himself" *Deut.*17:17).[417]

He offers four possible interpretations and surveys the strength of the different scholarly positions of each but suggests, especially in light of the subsequent discovery of part of the same text at Qumran, that the safest interpretation is that the passage is forbidding polygyny.[418] Instone-Brewer considers the passage as represented in the two documents in

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[414] Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 225.
[415] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 130-35.
[416] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 134.
[417] Geza Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule," *JJS* 25 (1974): 197.
[418] Vermes, "Sectarian Halakhah," 202; in two articles post-dating Vermes' publication, Fitzmyer (1978) sees a prohibition of divorce, and Noam (2005) suggests a nuance: that the sect was endorsing divorce but only on the grounds of adultery.

some detail and concludes consonant with Vermes that both texts are critical of polygyny and neither prohibit divorce or remarriage.[419] This seems to be evidenced by 4Q159 2-4, 8-10 which references Deut 22:13-19 where a false accusation by a husband that his bride was not a virgin forbids him ever to divorce her, suggesting that otherwise divorce was possible.

7.4.4 Summary: Qumran

Evidence for an Edenic marriage model at Qumran is mixed: they rejected polygyny but accepted divorce; sexual abstinence seems to have been considered a virtue but there is no clear teaching about celibacy.

7.5 Rabbinic Writings

7.5.1 Introduction

Neusner comments specifically on the Mishnah, (which he states was seen as the "first statement of the oral Torah"): "while [it] clearly addresses Israel, the Jewish people, it is remarkably indifferent to the Hebrew Scriptures."[420] Both Ilan and Neusner comment on the difficulty of dating the source of much rabbinic material, Neusner suggesting much of it post-dates the Christian era: "it has still to be demonstrated that rabbinic Judaism, as expressed in its principal and indicative traits . . . had yet come into being in the first century."[421] Furthermore, Greengus suggests rabbinic Judaism might reflect more a scholastic tradition rather than any operative law, Satlow believing that it "is likely . . . at least in Roman Palestine in the third century CE the rabbis had little juridical power."[422] Satlow further suggests that much rabbinic material is more prescriptive than descriptive and that Hellenistic Jews did not have distinctive marriage laws; he sees the material as being "rabbinic inventions . . . [which] even the rabbis had trouble convincing other Jews to adopt . . . until relatively late."[423] Similarly Chapman believes that rabbinic writings concerning marriage in

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[419] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 61-72; also: David Instone-Brewer, "Nomological Exegesis in Qumran 'Divorce' Texts," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 565, 572.

[420] Jacob Neusner, *Judaism and its Social Metaphors: Israel in the History of Jewish Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4; Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (trans. Jacob Neusner; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1988), xiii.

[421] Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995), 33. Jacob Neusner, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament: What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 1994), 8.

[422] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 8; Michael L. Satlow, "Rhetoric and Assumptions: Romans and Rabbis on Sex," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (ed. Martin Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 136.

[423] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, xix-xx, xxiv.

Judaism were written during a later era and probably present the views of a fairly cohesive group.[424]

Despite these reservations Satlow suggests the rabbinic corpus can provide a glimpse of the pre 70 C.E. Jewish world: "The Rabbis may not have been the carriers of a continuous historical tradition, but neither did they arise out of a vacuum."[425]

7.5.2 The Edenic Marriage in Rabbinic Writings

Satlow sees that the bulk of the rabbinic traditions that cite the primal couple as a model for mundane marriage are found in *Genesis Rabbah*. He points out in that rabbinic commentary that the obligations to "your own flesh" of Isa 58:7 were perceived to include a divorced wife—that is, the one-flesh marriage relationship survived divorce, Satlow believing such an understanding was "grounded in the biblical [i.e. primal couple] myth."[426]

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[424] Chapman, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 184.

[425] Michael L. Satlow, *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 119.

[426] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 61-63; Satlow cites *Gen. Rab*. 8:12-13. David Instone-Brewer has pointed out to me that this rabbinic comment probably dates from the mid-second century C.E. at the earliest and thus is consistent with Satlow's analysis of the late development of a primal couple model articulated below.

However, he believes that this concept was only evidenced among the Palestinian rabbis, and suggests that a primal couple marriage model was a better fit with a contemporary Hellenistic Stoic view of marriage:

> The biblical metaphor of marriage is at once more powerful and more potentially dangerous than the biblical myth of the first marriage. Use of this metaphor is rare in most of the extant Jewish literature from antiquity, and I suggest that this is because most Jews would have found the metaphor theologically and socially problematic . . . Tracing early Jewish use of the biblical myth of the first marriage offers an intriguing case study of assimilation and adaption. During the Hellenistic period some Jewish groups, especially in Palestine, did allude to this myth in some of the [*sic*] their discussions of marriage. Only, however, when Jews were able to integrate this myth into a wider framework did they develop it. As Stoic understandings of marriage as part of the divine order increased and were used increasingly even in Christian circles, Palestinian rabbis found in Gen. 1 and 2 a Jewish idiom for articulating the same idea. Their use of the myth of the primal marriage is an attempt to Judaize an otherwise ubiquitous ideology of marriage.[427]

Thus he sees the primal couple model within Judaism post-dates the Christian church's adoption of it.

7.5.3 Contra-Indications of an Edenic Marriage in Rabbinic Writings

Gafni contrasts the Christian concept of marriage with the rabbinic concept:

> Marriage was neither a sacrament nor supernaturally ordained. To be sure, the rabbis did not remove God from an involvement of sorts in the marriage process, and the idea that marriages, or matches, are made in heaven found its way into numerous legends and midrashim . . . [but] Marriage . . . was in fact contracted by individuals.[428]

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[427] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 66-67.
[428] Gafni, "The Institution of Marriage," in Kraemer, *The Jewish Family*, 13-14.

Gafni compares this with what he sees as the sanctification of marriage by the Christian church and its conception that God has "joined together . . . two into one" and contrasts this "sacramentum" idea with the contractual approach of Judaism where the:

> arrangement or contract, the conditions of which—while ascribing to certain stipulations—could . . . be concluded on an individual basis by the parties concerned . . . Thus, whereas the point of departure assumed certain basic requirements on the part of both parties, such as the husband's obligation to provide "food, raiment and conjugal duties" and the wife's responsibility to perform various household chores . . . all this was contracted with the understanding that precisely *because* marriage provided both parties with certain benefits, each party's relative interest in the agreement might determine the precise nature of the contract.[429]

Epstein points out that in ancient Judaism marriage and divorce were enacted by the husband, not the state, and in rabbinic times the *ketubah* was the key written instrument, or marriage "contract." However, he believes that such did not create the marriage; rather it recorded the fact of the marriage and outlined what in effect were its terms and conditions.[430]

Greengus sees the rabbinic *ketubah* as being instituted in the first century B.C.E. and that it is:

> a written prenuptial contract required of all husbands, by which the husband pledges a certain sum of money as a stipend for his wife in the event of widowhood or divorce.[431]

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[429] Gafni, "The Institution of Marriage," in Kraemer, *The Jewish Family*, 15; the husband's obligation Gafni sees as rooted in Exod 21, as does Satlow: "The biblical text that anchors most rabbinic discussion of the sexual obligations of a husband to his wife is Exod 21:7-11": Satlow, *Tasting the Dish*, 265.

[430] Louis M. Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract: A Study in the Status of the Woman in Jewish Law* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1927; repr., Clark, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 2004), 1-16.

[431] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 45 n 77.

The Mishnah deals with bills of divorce in the *Gittin* and includes the teaching "The essential formula in the bill of divorce is, 'Lo, thou art free to marry any man'" (*m. Git.* 9:3), although *m. Git.* 9:2 suggests restrictions on whom the woman can remarry (e.g. close relatives or the high priest) and the *Gittin* concludes with:

> The School of Shammai say : A man may not divorce his wife unless he has found unchastity in her, for it is written, *Because he hath found in her* indecency *in anything.* And the School of Hillel say : [He may divorce her] even if she spoiled a dish for him, for it is written, *Because we hath found in her indecency in* anything. R Akiba says : Even if he found another fairer than she, for it is written, *and it shall be if she found no favour in his eyes*. (*m. Git.* 9:10)[432]

It will be suggested in Ch. 10 that the arguments presented in *m. Git.* 9:3 and *m. Git.* 9:10 underpin specific NT divorce teaching.

7.5.4   Summary: Rabbinic Writings

Early rabbinic material embraces a contractual view of marriage and does not appear to endorse any of the five suggested indicators of an Edenic archetype. References to the primal couple that Satlow points to are not found in the Mishnah and, it is suggested, belong to a later post-Christian Judaism.

7.6   Philo and Josephus

7.6.1   Introduction

Loader postulates that the many Jews living in Alexandria would have had access to the works of Plato, Aristotle, and treatises of Stoics, Epicureans, and Neo-Pythagoreans, and that many of their ideas would seem compatible with their own.[433]

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[432] Translations as per: Danby (1933); italics are Scripture quotes, square brackets embrace text not in the original.

[433] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 107.

Hengel suggests it was a "lively interchange" and some Jewish Hellenistic writings might have actually originated in Palestine;[434] he considers the impact of the Greek language and the Septuagint:

> This special significance of the Greek language in Jerusalem in the first centuries before and after Christ is no coincidence . . . Jerusalem was not only the capital of Jewish Palestine but was at the same time a metropolis of international, world-wide significance, a great 'attraction' in the literal sense, the centre of the whole inhabited world. Nor was it the 'navel' only for pious Jews of the Diaspora but also an interesting place for educated Greeks, pagans, and adventurers . . . In Greek-speaking synagogue communities in Jerusalem the Septuagint was used, and while on the one hand there was teaching in the style of the Hellenistic Judaism of Alexandria, on the other there was an attempt to make the understanding of the law which was predominant among the Pharisees in Palestine known to the festival pilgrims from the Diaspora.[435]

Loader believes many Jewish writings were influenced by Hellenistic philosophy (he suggests the household codes as NT examples), and that Stoic thought, which embraced the concept of restricting human passions, was compatible with Jewish ideas and traditions.[436] He suggests Philo is a leading exponent of this convergence, and that the advice of the patriarchs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* follows this pattern.[437] Charlesworth comments: "Philo and Josephus sought to adapt Judaism to the realities of Hellenistic culture . . . [they] smoothed the boundaries between Judaism and the non-Jewish world."[438]

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[434] Martin Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1989), 26.

[435] Hengel believes that Josephus received the foundation of his Greek education in Jerusalem: Hengel, *The Hellenization of Judaea*, 11, 13.

[436] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 107, 109.

[437] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 117-19.

[438] James H. Charlesworth and L. Loren Johns, eds., *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1997), 21.

Sly makes a similar point:

> By interpreting the Scripture of the Jews in terms of Platonic tradition of his day Philo
> of Alexandria made a profound contribution to the religious consciousness of the
> West . . . [he] created a link between Jewish Scripture and Greek philosophy.[439]

Satlow sees weaknesses in Philo's analysis of Judaism but does not deny the influence of his
ideas.[440]

7.6.2 The Edenic Marriage in Philo and Josephus

Loader believes the Genesis stories from the Septuagint appealed to the Greek mind and gave
rise to a range of possible new meanings for those familiar with Plato; they would see Gen
1:27 as being a reference to the making of an archetype, or in Platonic terms the idea of
human kind.[441] He comments:

> The most extensive interpretations of Greek Genesis are found in the voluminous
> writings of Philo. According to Philo, who was well versed in Platonic philosophy,
> God created the ideas or patterns for all things at the beginning of the first day of
> creation, and on the other days made the categories or species of each genus,
> including the genus, human being . . . Philo takes up the Platonic notion of invisible
> "ideas" functioning as patterns after which the physical manifestations, the "real", are
> formed . . . and employs it in his exposition of the Genesis stories.[442]

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[439] Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women* (BJS 209; Atlanta, Ga: Scholars, 1990), v, 1.
[440] Satlow, *Creating Judaism*, 101.
[441] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 17.
[442] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 20-21, 107.

Philo makes many references to the sexual union of Gen 2:24. In *Leg*. 2.49 he portrays it in a negative light:

> "On this account a man will leave his father and mother, cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh." On account of the external sensation, the mind, when it has become enslaved to it, shall leave both its father, the God of the universe, and the mother of all things, namely, the virtue and wisdom of God, and cleaves to and becomes united to the external sensations, and is dissolved into external sensation, so that the two become one flesh and one passion. (*Leg*. 2.49)[443]

On the other hand in *Leg* 2.51 Philo is more positive about the union:

> This man leaves his father and mother; that is to say, his mind and the material of his body, in order to have as his inheritance the one God; "For the Lord himself is his inheritance." (*Leg* 2.51)

De opificio mundi 157 comments on Adam, Eve, and the serpent:

> And these things are not mere fabulous inventions, in which the race of poets and sophists delights, but are rather types shadowing forth some allegorical truth, according to some mystical explanation.[444]

And in *Agr.* 97:

> But, in the allegorical explanations of these statements, all that bears a fabulous appearance is got rid of in a moment, and the truth is discovered in a most evident manner.

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[443] Translations are from: Philo, *The Works of Philo*. Translated by C. D. Yonge; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993.

[444] Evans reviews the literature on Philo's interpretation of biblical stories in light of his neoplatonic understanding (which he defines as: "the view that what the physical senses perceive on earth below is but an imperfect reflection of the true and perfect reality of heaven above") whereby Philo reads allegorical meanings into the narratives; he cites as an example *Sacr.* 5 where Abel represents a "good doctrine" and Cain an "evil doctrine": Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005), 168-70.

Sly points out that in Philo the drama of Eden is worked out in the experience of each individual and that:

> Primarily, all Philo's allegorical interpretation of the story is a development of that pattern . . . Adam is the prototype of man as husband, Eve the prototype of woman as wife.[445]

Zimmermann points that *On the Cherubim* develops an allegorical interpretation whereby the wives of the patriarchs are seen to be having their children by God's seed, for example:

> but Moses, who received Zipporah, that is to say, winged and sublime virtue, without any supplication or entreaty on his part, found that she conceived by no mortal man. (*Cher.* 47)

Zimmermann comments:

> In Philo's writings, transcendent metaphors of brides and marriage are clearly combined with the consequences of sexual asceticism for the first time. One who seeks to unite with wisdom and God should abstain from sensual, bodily pleasures during the earthly existence, remaining unsullied and virginal.[446]

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[445] Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women*, 95.
[446] Ruben Zimmermann, "The Love Triangle of Lady Wisdom: Sacred Marriage in Jewish Wisdom Literature," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (ed. Marti Nissinen and Risto Uro; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbraums, 2008), 256-57.

Philo, while accepting that marriage included companionship, saw that the chief aim of intercourse was for propagation, and therefore deemed intercourse with sterile women as wasting seed and indulging sex merely for pleasure:

> But those people deserve to be reproached who are ploughing a hard and stony soil. And who can these be but they who have connected themselves with barren women? For such men are only hunters after intemperate pleasure, and in the excess of their licentious passions they waste their seed of their own deliberate purpose. (*Spec. Laws* 3:34a)[447]

Although Josephus references the Edenic creation story (e.g. *Ant.* 1.27-51) this present study sees little evidence of a primal couple model in his writings. Loader believes that Adam's "passionate desire to beget a family" (as he cites it) in *Ant.* 1.67 means that Josephus "merges affirmation of sexual pleasure with affirmation of the role of sexual intercourse as propagation";[448] however, there is a clearer link made between sexual intercourse and propagation in *Ag. Ap.* 2.199:

> But then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and this be used only for the procreation of children.[449]

Josephus praises Antonia for not remarrying although widowed when young (*Ant.* 18.180); and expresses his admiration for the Essenes, including their supposed celibacy, but his admiration is seemingly for their dedication to their religion, not so much for their celibacy *per se* (*Ant.* 18.18-22).

7.6.3 Contra-Indications of an Edenic Marriage in Philo and Josephus

Instone-Brewer considers that by NT times in the Graeco-Roman world divorce was common; men and women could divorce at will without citing any grounds although there

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[447] However, Loader sees that Philo believes: "Neither woman nor sexual intercourse with its accompanying passion and pleasure is itself evil": William R. G. Loader, *Philo, Josephus, and the Testaments on Sexuality: Attitudes Towards Sexuality in the Writings of Philo and Josephus and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 30.

[448] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 131.

[449] Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: The Complete Works* (trans. William Whiston; Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 966.

were financial penalties if adultery was involved.[450] Josephus states that Salome (the sister of Herod the Great) initiated her own divorce of her husband Costobarus (*Ant.* 15.259-60). Epstein believes the issue Josephus references here was that Roman law acknowledged a bill of divorce from a wife whereas the Jewish courts did not—but that there was not a problem in (talmudic) Jewish law with a wife initiating a divorce.[451] Josephus himself it seems had three marriages and two divorces (*Life* 414-30)—Rabello makes the point that as Josephus always took care to present himself well it can only be assumed that he perceived that his actions were in conformity with traditional Judaism.[452] Josephus reflects on the Deut 24:1-4 divorce legislation and the rabbinic debate as recorded in *m. Git.* 9:10, seemingly without disapproval of the relaxed Hillelite position (§10.3.2):

> He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever (and many such courses happen among men), let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this mean she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not permitted so to do. (*Ant.* 4.253)[453]

Josephus' account of Herod's wives (*Ant.* 17.19-23) is given as if it reflects Jewish custom and something to be valued; however, Loader believes polygyny declined because it was not fashionable in Hellenistic and Roman culture.[454] Another contra-indication of an Edenic model and a more pragmatic approach to marriage is the levirate teaching of the OT (Deut 25:5-10) which is repeated in *Ant.* 4.254-56, but Josephus adds that if the widow's brother-in-law refuses to take her in marriage she is free to marry "whom she pleases," reflecting the teaching as recorded in *m. Git.* 9:2-3.

This present study is not aware of any contra-indications of an Edenic marriage model in the works of Philo.

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[450] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 72-74.
[451] Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract*, 203.
[452] Alfredo Mordechai Rabello, "Divorce of Jews in the Roman Empire," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (ed. B.S. Jackson; vol. 4 of *The Jewish Law Annual,* Leiden: Brill, 1981), 95.
[453] Josephus, *Josephus*, 142.
[454] Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 52-53; similarly: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 58-67.

7.6.4   Summary: Philo and Josephus

The Hellenistic mind seems to have found the Edenic narrative and the primal couple a fruitful source of speculation, and Satlow's claim that they emerge as a human marriage archetype in Second Temple literature (§7.1) is seen to be vindicated, at least with reference to the works of Philo.

7.7   Summary: The Literature of the Second Temple Period

The review of the literature undertaken in this chapter appears to suggest, even though the evidence as Satlow comments is "scattered and scanty," that the Edenic model (with the five indicators as outlined in §5.1: God ordains each marriage; marriage is perceived to have a supernatural dimension; no polygyny or divorce; coitus primarily for procreation; celibacy linked with holiness)—had its origin in the intertestamental period in a synthesis of the Genesis story with neoplatonic concepts.

There appears to be an academic consensus that Palestinian Jews of the first century C.E. were acquainted with the Greek teachers and philosophers but it is unclear how much they were influenced by them. Chapter 8 will examine the available documentary evidence to see if the concept of an Edenic marriage model referenced in the literature was reflected in marital practice in the Second Temple period, either within Judaism, or in the wider Graeco-Roman world.

Chapter 8   The Documents of the Second Temple Period

8   The Documents of the Second Temple Period

8.1   Introduction

Chapter 5 considered mundane marriage and divorce teaching in the OT, as it was suggested that without an understanding of such, OT marital imagery cannot be understood. Subsequently the analysis of OT marital imagery in Ch. 6 demonstrated that the target map of the imagery (the divine marriage of Yahweh and Israel) closely mirrored both mundane marriage as evidenced in the OT narratives and marital legislation. Chapter 7 looked for evidence of a primal couple model of mundane marriage in the literature of the Second Temple period and found only limited evidence of such.

Before considering marital imagery in the NT (Ch. 9) this chapter will survey the NT social context as evidenced in the extant archaeological data. Metaphors rely on the utilisation of a vehicle within the experience of their intended audience. A marriage which only existed as a theoretical concept (e.g. an Edenic/neoplatonic model) cannot serve meaningfully as a source map for the imagery—the source domain needs to reflect a social reality to achieve a meaningful transfer to the target domain.

Furthermore, the source domain of the metaphoric imagery has to possess the characteristics the imagery is portrayed as demonstrating. It will be seen that NT marital imagery is based on a volitional, conditional covenant embracing the concept of divorce and remarriage. Thus evidence in the Graeco-Roman world of the Second Temple period of a volitional, conditional, mundane marriage covenant, embracing the concept of divorce and remarriage, will be taken to mean that that is the source domain of the imagery—not an Edenic/neoplatonic understanding of marriage. This chapter will also look for evidence of other features in contemporary mundane marriage that are present in NT marital imagery, including betrothal, *mohar*, and a groom's maintenance clause, in order to identify further cross-mapping.

8.2   The Elephantine Documents

8.2.1   Introduction

In 1907 a large body of papyri was discovered at Elephantine, an island in the Nile on the southern border of Egypt, which was the location of a military colony housing Jewish

mercenaries working for the Persians.[455] The documents (dating from the fifth century B.C.E.) include a betrothal contract and seven Aramaic marriage contracts (four are fragmentary); there are no divorce certificates but there are two documents concerning payment of a divorce settlement.

8.2.2   Relevance of the Elephantine Documents

This Jewish community was remote from Jerusalem and evidenced a syncretism in their religious and social practices—they seem to have been subject to various influences including Aramean, Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, and Greek.[456] Despite this Porten sees the community as essentially Jewish;[457] and several believe the documents do have something to contribute to an understanding of marriage and divorce in ancient Israel.[458]

The three complete marriage documents use a standard wording. Instone-Brewer believes it is safe to assume this was the norm for the Elephantine community and points out the similarities to extant ANE marriage contracts, except they grant "equal rights to divorce, equal inheritance rights, equal conjugal rights, and equal rights to demand monogamy from their spouse."[459] These features are seen in the Contract of Mibtahiah's Third Marriage (Cowley, 15) which states:

> Should Ashor [the husband] die tomorrow . . . Miphtahiah shall be entitled to the house, chattels and all worldly goods of Ashor . . . Should Miphtahiah die tomorrow . . . Ashor shall inherit her property and chattels . . . I [Ashor] shall have no right to say I have another wife besides Mipht<ah>iah.[460]

[455] Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California, 1968), vii; Matthews and Benjamin, *Old Testament Parallels*, 210.

[456] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, ix-x; 173-86; De Vaux claims "they practised a syncretistic religion which the Prophets had condemned": Roland De Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), 340; Grabbe points out they had their own temple despite such being forbidden in the Pentateuch: Lester L. Grabbe, *Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel, and Jesus* (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 4-5.

[457] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 173.

[458] For example: Mordechai A. Friedman, "Termination of the Marriage upon the Wife's Request: A Palestinian *Ketubba* Stipulation," *PAAJR* 37 (1969): 31-33, 55; Geller (1977); Tal Ilan, "On a Newly Published Divorce Bill from the Judaean Desert," *HTR* Vol. 89, No. 2 (April 1996): 201; Kelle, *Hosea 2*, 72-78; Lipiński, "Divorce," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 21-27.

[459] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 75-80.

[460] All translations of the Elephantine documents are from Pritchard (1969).

Instone-Brewer concludes that the documents are:

> a strange mixture of ancient Near Eastern forms and trends in the Greco-Roman world
> . . . The rarity of documents surviving from that period makes it impossible to
> conclude how common these developments were.[461]

Thus Instone-Brewer believes that these marriage contracts are somewhat dissimilar to later
Jewish marriage contracts and suggests that the Elephantine community had lost most of their
Jewish roots.[462] Those that agree with this analysis include Archer:

> While of great interest in themselves, [they] furnish no real proof for the existence of
> similar deeds within Judaea. Their origin is probably to be seen in terms of Egyptian
> practice, and as such their history and development must be regarded as independent
> of any (alleged) Judaean innovation.[463]

And Bickerman:

> It is true that in the marriage contracts of Elephantine (fifth century B.C.), the effects
> which the bride brings into her new home are named and evaluated. These documents
> however, though the parties are Jewish, follow the common law of Aramaic scribes
> and notaries, and do not necessarily represent the development of Jewish law.[464]

Despite these difficulties Lemos considers that the documents justify a detailed study to see
how they correlate with wider Judaean customs.[465] Both Geller, and Kelle see the marital
practices at Elephantine underpin an understanding of Hosea, Kelle commenting:

> these texts from the Jewish colony . . . are an important window into the continuing
> application of customs that stretch back to eighth-century Israel.[466]

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[461] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 80.
[462] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 78-80.
[463] Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies*, 172.
[464] Bickerman, "Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint," in Tropper, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 199-201.
[465] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 63.
[466] Kelle, *Hosea 2*, 73; Markham. J. Geller, "The Elephantine Papyri and Hosea 2, 3: Evidence for the Form of the Early Jewish Divorce Writ," *JSJ* 8 (1977): 147.

Although opinion is divided over the usefulness of the documents for gaining an understanding of Jewish marriage and divorce this present study considers a brief consideration of the features relevant to this study is justified.

8.2.3 Betrothal and Marriage Payments

Greengus refers to the "prenuptial provisions" evidenced in the papyri and in this they are similar to the JDD.[467] Lemos believes that two (possibly three) of the marriage documents refer to the *mohar,* but she sees it is a token amount outstripped by the value of the dowry, and further suggests that the money goes to the bride and so considers it an indirect dowry.[468]

In the Contract of Mibtahiah's First Marriage (Cowley, 9) the father of the wife gifts a house, on the condition that the husband:

> may not sell that house or give it as a present to others; only your children by my
> daughter Mibtahiah shall have power over it after you two. If . . . my daughter
> divorces you and leaves you, you shall have no power to take it or give it to others;
> only your children by Mibtahiah shall have power over it.

In Cowley, 15 the groom goes to his bride's father's house and states: "I have given you as the bride-price of your daughter Miphtahiah (a sum of) 5 shekels."

8.2.4 Divorce and Remarriage

The documents suggest that divorce and remarriage was accepted practice at Elephantine.[469] Instone-Brewer sees that the most unusual feature in the papyri is the right granted to the wife to enact an oral divorce.[470] Cowley, 15 has: "Should [Miph]tahiah, tomorrow [or] another [d]ay stand up in a congregation and say, I divorce my husband Ashor, the price of divorce shall be upon her head."

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[467] Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 38.
[468] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 69.
[469] Pritchard comments on Cowley, 14 (not a divorce certificate, but a record of the payment of a divorce settlement) that Mibtahiah's first marriage had been dissolved: Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, 491.
[470] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 79.

Porten comments:

> The only right of the Jewish woman at Elephantine not clearly evident in the Bible was that of divorce, but it would be hazardous to say that such a right never existed.[471]

Lipiński similarly sees this divorce right as belonging to a genuine Semitic tradition and believes that any evidence of such in the later Egyptian contracts written in Greek stem from that influence and concludes that the Jewish colony "cannot be treated as though they were an isolated episode in the history of Oriental law."[472]

8.2.5 Summary: The Elephantine Documents

The pragmatic contractual nature of the marriages, negotiated between the bridegroom and the bride's father, the payment of a *mohar* by the groom, and the availability of divorce as a remedy for a failed marriage, all evidenced in the papyri, support Porten's claim (§8.2.4) that, notwithstanding some idiosyncrasies, they do reflect OT marital practice. There is no evidence in the papyri of a neoplatonic concept of marriage.

8.3 The Judaean Desert Documents

8.3.1 Introduction

The eight marriage and two divorce papyri under consideration are listed in the table in Appendix B which includes their SBL nomenclature, their most usual former sigla, presumed date of origin, language, date discovered, and first publication date. Appendix C gives a brief description of each document and a translation. They cover a period 72 C.E. to 131 C.E. and thus are contemporaneous with the redaction of the NT. Cotton suggests that in the absence of the Sanhedrin the marriage contracts in the papyri endeavoured to encapsulate the Jewish understanding of marriage into civil law in the rapidly changing legal situation that existed within Judaism after the destruction of the Temple.[473]

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[471] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 261.
[472] Lipiński, "Divorce," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 21-26.
[473] Hannah M. Cotton, "The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert," *ZPE* 118 (1997): 230-31.

Cotton and Eck, when speaking of the Naḥal Ḥever documents, state:

> No doubt the drastic curtailment of Jewish judicial independence—expressed *inter alia* in the dissolution of the Sanhedrin—in the wake of the suppression of the revolt of 66-70 made it all the more necessary to have recourse to a Roman court of law.[474]

Thus, although post-dating the Second Temple period, they are thought to accurately reflect Jewish marriage practices of that era and so are considered in this chapter.

Katzoff and Schaps et al. believe that:

> Here for the first time one has written evidence on events, private events, of that era as presented by private individuals . . . for the history of the Jews it is if anything more compelling [than the Qumran discoveries], giving us for the first time a non-rabbinic window on the actual lives and transactions of people.[475]

Cotton states:

> [XḤev/Se 69] was written in the province of Judaea and not in Arabia, but we should not overlook the essential unity of the Jewish society reflected in all the papyri from the Judaean Desert, whether they originate in Arabia or in Judaea.[476]

The place names in the documents are mainly from the eastern Judaean hill country.[477] Cotton comments:

> I maintain . . . that they are representative of Jewish society as a whole in the period under discussion. They present a faithful picture of the realities of life at the time that they were written.[478]

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[474] Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck, "Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 36.

[475] Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps, eds., *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1-2; also: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 100.

[476] Hannah M. Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract from the Judaean Desert," *JRS* Vol. 84 (1994): 65.

[477] Safrai analyses the geography of the documents: Ze'ev Safrai, "Halakhic Observance in the Judaean Desert," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 206-11.

8.3.2   Background to the Judaean Desert Documents

In November 1951 Roland De Vaux was offered fragments of papyri that he was told had come from the vicinity of Qumran. In the following January the trail led to the Wadi Murabba'at, a ravine which runs from the Judaean desert east of Bethlehem to the Dead Sea, some 25 km south east of Jerusalem and 18 km to the south of the first of the Qumran caves.[479] In the subsequent excavations at the Wadi Murabba'at, one papyrus was found that documented a divorce, and four that documented marriages. All of them dated from the first and second centuries C.E. They were published in Benoit et al. (1961) and subsequently catalogued as Mur 19, Mur 20, Mur 21, Mur 115, and Mur 116.

In August 1952 Bedouin handed in other papyri, including the Greek cancelled marriage document now catalogued as XḤev/Se 69 and first published in 1994. In 1956 Jozef T. Milik, an associate of De Vaux, said that he possessed a further divorce papyrus.[480] It was thought, like XḤev/Se 69, to be from Wadi Seiyal (otherwise known as Naḥal Se'elim) which is 25 km south of Wadi Murabba'at and 4 km north of Masada; this document (XḤev/Se 13) was first published in Yardeni (1995) in Hebrew, and in Cotton and Yardeni (1997) in English. It is now believed that most, if not all the documents that were initially thought to have come from Naḥal Se'elim, actually originated in Naḥal Ḥever (20 km south of Wadi Murabba'at).[481]

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[478] Hannah M. Cotton, "The Rabbis and the Documents," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (ed. Martin Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 172-73.

[479] Pierre Benoit, Jozef T. Milik, and Roland De Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II: Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 3-7.

[480] Jozef T. Milik, "Le travail d'edition des manuscript du Desert de Juda," *VTSup* 4 (1956): 21.

[481] Evans, *Ancient Texts*, 139; Hannah M. Cotton, "The Archive of Salome Komaïse Daughter of Levi: Another Archive from the 'Cave of Letters'," *ZPE* 105 (1995): 171.

8.3.3   The Relevance of Written Marriage Contracts

Instone-Brewer comments that most marriages in the ancient Near East were enacted by verbal ceremony without any written contract.[482] Satlow points out that the written contract did not make the marriage:

> These contracts were almost certainly not constitutive of marriage: the marriage existed with or without the document. All marriage contracts in antiquity, whether Jewish or not, focused primarily on economic relations, occasionally giving some attention to the way that spouses should treat each other. The purpose of Jewish marriage documents was not to create the marriage, but to clarify and codify economic obligations within it. A woman (and her family), for example, wanted a concrete, legally actionable guarantee that her dowry would be returned or passed to her (male) children when the marriage ended. She wanted assurance that her husband would provide her with clothing and food. The marriage contract was a civil contract that ordered these relations.[483]

Thus it cannot be assumed that written contracts were the norm, but Archer, on the basis of the written bill of divorce in Deut 24, speculates that written instruments in connection with marriage were not unusual.[484]

8.3.4   The Significance of Greek Language and Legal Instruments

Instone-Brewer comments:

> Palestinian Jews in the first two centuries used both the Greek and Aramaic languages in their marriage documentation . . . both appeared to have equal standing. The most likely reason for using a Greek form of contract is greater legal respectability and perhaps enforceability.[485]

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[482] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 11.
[483] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 84.
[484] Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies*, 171.
[485] David Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Greek and Aramaic Marriage and Divorce Papyri," *TynBul* 52.2 (2001): 230.

Cotton states:

> the use of Greek by Jews has no ideological implications: it should not be mistaken for the hellenization of the writer nor be taken as evidence for his political and national sentiments.[486]

And that: "The Babatha Archive has taught us that the resort to Greek in legal documents does not reveal Hellenized Jews: their signatures and subscriptions in Aramaic prove the opposite."[487]

While Cotton suggests that the use of the Greek language does not indicate Hellenisation she nonetheless believes that the resulting marriage contracts had non-Jewish elements, for example, the obligation in 5/6Ḥev 37 for the groom to follow Greek law and custom in providing for children to come. Thus she believes the document cannot be described as a Jewish *ketubah*;[488] she makes similar comments about 5/6Ḥev 18: "These Jews felt free to use legal forms which went together with the use of the Greek language."[489]

Katzoff accepts that there was a synthesis of elements in his analysis of 5/6Ḥev 18 but believes that Jewish elements dominate;[490] it seems the dowry is a feature from Greek marital practices (§8.3.5) and Lewis sees evidence of it in this papyrus.[491] However, Katzoff suggests any overlapping similarities with other cultures are not necessarily a sign that Jewish families were importing other influences into their own marriage beliefs and practice.[492] Wasserstein speculates (like Cotton) that Jewish families had two contracts drawn up, a traditional Jewish *ketubah,* and a separate contract for the Greek courts;[493] however, he believes 5/6Ḥev 18 is a typically Greek-style contract *contra* Katzoff.[494]

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[486] Cotton, "The Languages of the Documents," 228.
[487] Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 77.
[488] Cotton, "The Archive of Salome Komaïse," 206.
[489] Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 84.
[490] Naphtali Lewis, Ranon Katzoff, and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Papyrus Yadin 18," *IEJ* 37 (1987): 236.
[491] Lewis, Katzoff, and Greenfield, "Papyrus Yadin 18," 230-34.
[492] Ranon Katzoff, "Papyrus Yadin 18 Again: A Rejoinder," *JQR* 82 (1991): 172.
[493] Wasserstein, "A Marriage Contract," 120-21.
[494] Wasserstein, "A Marriage Contract," 108.

8.3.5 Betrothal and Marriage Payments

Lemos comments that the giving of a *mohar* is not well evidenced in the Hellenistic period (although, like Satlow, she sees evidence of betrothal in Matt 1:18-19).[495] The financial transactions in the documents are ambiguous due in part to their fragmentary nature, it is not always clear if any payment from the groom to the bride is in the tradition of the *mohar* (§5.5); or a *ketubah*, where the payment is in effect a delayed *mohar* claimable on a dissolution of the marriage. Cotton sees evidence of a *ketubah* tradition in 5/6Ḥev 10, *contra* Satlow: "[in the JDD] there is not a single unambiguous reference to the *ketubah* payment."[496] Furthermore, scholars differ over the terminology to be used: for example, Satlow calls a payment to the bride from the groom in 5/6Ḥev 18, rather than a *mohar*, a "dowry addition"—while Lemos calls the payment there, and in 5/6Ḥev 10, an "indirect dowry."[497]

However, what is significant for this study is the evidence of any payments made or promised by the groom to secure his bride—Cotton sees such payments as the key to determine whether or not a marriage was 'Jewish.'[498] Instone-Brewer says when referring to the Aramaic 5/6Ḥev 10: "As in all Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew contracts, the main financial transaction is a gift from the groom, not from the bride's family."[499]

In the Greek contracts Cotton suggests that four of the five reference dowries, including 5/6Ḥev 18. In that document, although a payment clearly goes from the groom to the bride, she seems reluctant to accept it as evidence of a Jewish *mohar* or a *ketubah* addition.[500]

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[495] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 83, 87-88; Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 71-73.

[496] Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 82-83; also: Michael L. Satlow, "Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment," in *The Jewish Family in Antiquity* (ed. Shaye J.D. Cohen; Program in Judaic Studies 289; Atlanta, Ga.: Brown Judaic Studies, 1993), 133-41.

[497] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 201-02; Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 87.

[498] Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 82; Archer also points out that, alongside the change from *mohar* to *ketubah* rabbinic Judaism also accepted the dowry into the marriage contract: Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies*, 168-70; for *ketubah* see §7.5.3.

[499] "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 232.

[500] Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 83-84.

The relevant section has:

> Cimber [the bridegroom] . . . owes Shelamzion his wife . . . three hundred denarii
> which he promised to give her in addition to the sum of her aforestated bridal gift, all
> accounted toward her dowry, pursuant to his undertaking of feeding and clothing both
> her and the children to come.[501]

But Yiftach-Firanko believes that this payment is not typical of a Greek contract:

> Considering the financial transactions brought about by the marriage, we find a
> completely different mechanism in the Judaean documents from that known in the
> contemporary Greek papyri from Egypt . . . the Judaean documents show two crucial
> peculiarities. First is the husband's obligation to the bride of 150% of the value of her
> dowry, documented in line 13-15 of P.Yadin 18 [5/6Ḥev 18]. A contribution on the
> part of the husband is not evident in Egypt before the fourth century C.E. It seems that
> even in Arabia it was not a well-known institution, for the author of P.Yadin 18 does
> not seem to have been able to find an appropriate legal term for it.[502]

However, Lemos sees that a decline of the *mohar* in the Second Temple period is
demonstrated in the JDD and Bickerman accepts that by the second century C.E. the "alien"
dowry had become an accepted fact in Jewish marriage.[503]

In summary, it can be said that although there was no clear dowry system in the OT
(§5.5) such a marriage payment came into Jewish marriage customs in the intertestamental
period and that this is the situation reflected in the marriage papyri under consideration. In
this matter the Jewish community reflected Greek practice, but it seems in some marriages
the groom had also made a payment to secure his bride.

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[501] All translations of the JDD are as per Appendix C.

[502] Uri Yiftach-Firanko, "Judaean Desert Marriage Documents and *Ekdosis* in the Greek Law of the Roman Period," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 81-82.

[503] Lemos, *Marriage Gifts*, 87; Bickerman, "Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint," in Tropper, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 202-3.

8.3.6 The Groom's Maintenance Clause

An element cross-mapped in biblical marital imagery is the mundane groom's obligation to maintain his new bride. The wording of the groom's maintenance clause obligating the groom to clothe and feed (and in some contracts provide conjugal relations for) his wife appears to originate in Exod 21:10.[504] Instone-Brewer says of the documents: "All of them contain a phrase referring to the obligation to clothe and feed. Like Greco-Roman contracts, these obligations are incumbent only on the man."[505] An analysis confirms this:

Mur 20:

3.   Yo]u shall be my wife according to the law of Mo[ses...and me I shall feed and clothe you, from today for]

4.   Always, from my property and upon [me is the duty of/I am giving you the *mohar* of your virginity...].

The reconstruction is supported by lines 9 and 10:

9.   Until marriage. Or if I [go] to the house [of eternity before you, you will dwell...]

10.   And you will be nourished and clothed [all the days, in the house of our children throughout the time of].

Mur 21:

11.   According to the law, th[ey a]re to live [in] my house and [be] nourished fr[om my possessions... until]

12.   To marriage [and even a]fter [me (my death) wi]th you until their marriage. [I]f you [go] to [the House of eternity] bef[ore me].

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[504] Thus: Yigael Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 134-35.

[505] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 215.

In Mur 115 Eleaios (the groom) acknowledges receipt of the dowry that will be used to help maintain his wife Salome:

8.   And against (?) his goods. If [...] and of the children which she has and which she may have

9.   By him, sons and daughters that [...] that she may have by him, they will be nourished and clothed with the help of

10.   The goods that the same Eleaios [...] If at the same Eleaios son of Simon happens to die before the same

11.   Salome or if she [... it will nourish and clothe Sa]lome with the help of the goods [...] the above.

Mur 116 has a similar groom's provision as that of Mur 20 and it seems reasonable to accept this also as evidence of a lifetime responsibility for the husband:

8.   . . . If Aurelios before Salo-

9.   me happens to die Salome will be nourished and clothed from the

10.   Fortune of Aurelios all the time that she wishes to remain a widow.

XḤev/Se 69 acknowledges the dowry and states:

10.   wedded (wife) so that Selampious is nourished and cloth[ed ... upon the security of all his posse-

11.   ssions both those which he has now and those which he will acquire. And in the event of the death of[

12.   [   ] the male children or if heirs

13.   [   ] the daughters will be nourished and clothed[

14.   [   ] and if he who is mentioned before[

15.   [   ] five hundred denarii.

5/6Ḥev 10 (italics indicate that the Aramaic is uncertain):

5.   as a wif[e (**or**: in wife[hood) according to the la]w of Moses and the J[u]daeans. And I will [feed] you and cl[othe] you (**or**: and I will re[mit] to you, pursuant to your *mo*[*har*]), and pursuant to your *ketubba*, I will bring you into (my house).

6.   And you have a binding claim on me (for) silver (in the amount of) four hundred denarii (*zuzin*), which equal one hundred T[y]rian (tetradrachms), whatever

7.   she (!=you) may wish to take and to ... from the *dowry*, together with the rightful allocation of your food, and your clothing and your *bed*.

5/6Ḥev 18:

        Judah called Cimber acknowledged that he has received from her by hand forthwith from Judah her father and owes Shelamzion his wife together with another three hundred denarii which he promised to give her in addition to the sum of her aforestated bridal gift, all accounted toward her dowry, pursuant to his undertaking of feeding and clothing both her and the children to come.

5/6Ḥev 37:

        Yeshuʻa, acknowledged that he has received from her on the present day feminine adornment in silver and gold and clothing and other feminine articles equivalent in appraised value to the [stated sum of] money, with his undertaking to feed and clothe both her and her children to come.

It seems the husband's duty to maintain his bride in his life-time was presumed, thus much of the comment in the papyri is on the husband's liability for this after the death of either partner, possibly because such is not articulated in Exod 21:10.

8.3.7   **Divorce and Remarriage**

Mur 19 is certainly a divorce certificate; XḤev/Se 13 is either a divorce certificate, or the renunciation of claims in the aftermath of a divorce; Mur 20 and Mur 21 mention what is to happen in the event of a divorce; Mur 115 is the remarriage of a couple after they had been divorced. Thus five of the ten papyri unambiguously reference divorce. Satlow, based on other documents in the Babatha archive, speculates that Salome Komaïse, the bride in 5/6Ḥev

37 had divorced her previous husband.[506] XḤev/Se 69 is a cancelled marriage contract—either cancelled on the death of one of the partners or after a divorce, and 5/6Ḥev 18 also appears to reference divorce (as below). Satlow states:

> It is possible that the relatively numerous testimonies in these documents to divorce are a function of ancient source preservation—that is, divorce was accompanied by documents that both parties want to save—but it is also likely that divorce among these Jews was neither difficult nor uncommon.[507]

The wording of Mur 19 appears to make the right to remarriage after divorce clear: "you [the divorced wife] are free to go and become the wife of any Jewish man that you wish." Instone-Brewer comments that the purpose of the divorce certificate was to enable the woman to remarry.[508] Epstein endorses this position.[509] As regards wife-initiated divorces there is ambiguity in 5/6Ḥev 18 and Katzoff comments:

> The phrase [in 5/6Ḥev 18], 'whenever she may demand it of him,' it has been suggested, is intended to provide the woman with a right to divorce on demand, a right, so it is claimed, recognized by the Jewish community in talmudic times . . . unfortunately discussion of this issue has suffered from a lack of such clarity as might have been achieved by the use of strictly defined terms. It is necessary to distinguish between the notions of 'power' and 'right' . . . In the rabbinic law of divorce, then, only the husband has the *power* to divorce. That is to say, only the action of the husband by his own will can effect a divorce, by delivering to the wife a properly written and witnessed bill of divorce. His action is both necessary and sufficient. No action on the part of the woman can effect a divorce . . . On the other hand, under certain conditions, the wife may have a *right* to divorce, that is, may expect the courts on her behalf to require the husband to exercise his power to divorce her.[510]

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[506] Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 99-100.

[507] Michael L. Satlow, "Marriage Payments and Succession Strategies in the Documents from the Judaean Desert," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 60.

[508] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 28.

[509] Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract*, 200.

[510] Lewis, Katzoff, and Greenfield, "Papyrus Yadin 18," 243-44.

So Katzoff is not persuaded that the wording in 5/6Ḥev 18 refers to a wife's power to divorce. Nonetheless his point about the difference between the "power" and the "right" is an important one—and one Brody endorses.[511] As regards XḤev/Se 13 there are three positions:

1.   The document is a renunciation of a wife's claim on her husband after he has divorced her.
2.   The document is a renunciation of a wife's claim on her husband after she has divorced him.
3.   The document is a divorce certificate issued by a wife to her husband.

The first is favoured by Brody; the second by Cotton, and the third by Instone-Brewer and Ilan.[512] Ilan is particularly persuasive in presenting her position in *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (2001) which takes into account the views expressed in a debate about this papyrus in the *Harvard Theological Review* (Ilan 1996, 1997, 1998).[513]

Satlow appears to agree with the thrust of Ilan's thesis in that he suggests that a wife could initiate (if not enact) a divorce in the pre-rabbinic period and that this right was removed in later rabbinic Judaism.[514] However, if Ilan's thesis about XḤev/Se 13 is accepted, would any suitor be convinced by such a certificate signed by a wife? If the certificate was subsequently repudiated by her former husband, or otherwise disputed, the new husband would *de facto* be guilty of adultery. It might be thought any prospective husband, to obviate such a risk, would seek some confirmation from the former husband of the validity of the certificate thus casting doubt on the practical usefulness of such.

If Katzoff's point about the difference between the power and the right to divorce is taken into account it means that Cotton, Ilan, Instone-Brewer, and Satlow all see that wife-

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[511] Robert Brody, "Evidence for Divorce by Jewish Women," *JJS* L, No. 2 (Autumn 1999): 230. At the time of writing this present study neither a husband nor a wife in the UK legal system has the power to divorce, such being vested in the courts—but both have a right to a divorce.

[512] Brody, "Evidence for Divorce by Jewish Women," 230-34; Cotton and Qimron (1998); Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 88-89; Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001), 253-62.

[513] Ilan, *Integrating Women*, 253-62.

[514] "In ancient Semitic law, and among Jews in the prerabbinic period, the right of divorce was bilateral: a husband or wife could initiate a divorce. Some (most?) Jews in first-century Palestine may have also allowed a woman to initiate a divorce . . . It seems probable to me that when tannaitic law deprived Jewish women of their right to initiate divorce, *it also attempted to compensate for this loss by offering the protection of the* ketubba *payment*": Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 214.

initiated divorces were possible at this time and demonstrated to be so in the papyri under consideration.

8.3.8   Summary: The Judaean Desert Documents

Any syncretism apparent in the Greek marriage papyri that the Jewish families signed is only meaningful for the purposes of this study if it could be demonstrated that the contracts indicated they had departed from ancient Israel's marital practices in a significant way. Certainly the dowry is an alien import, but it can be seen from the papyri that the focus of the marriage documents is on the groom's material support of his bride—the marriage payments were, it seems, simply a means to that end. Although this support for the wife was not a specifically Jewish expectation, several do see that the origin of the phrasing in the Jewish marriage contract was rooted in Exod 21:10.[515]

Although the documents do not give the reasons for the divorces referenced, it is difficult not to see that a divorce by a wife would be based on the failure of the husband to do as he had agreed in the contract (that is to provide for his wife), a contract which had been duly signed and witnessed. Although not articulated, rather it appears to be assumed, it is suggested that divorce for the husband would have been based on the Deut 24:1-4 teaching: that is, he could divorce his wife if she had been 'sexually indecent.'

It seems clear that in the period these documents cover all the distinctive features of an OT Jewish marriage were still retained in practice, that is, it was seen to be a conditional, asymmetrical, contractual, non-sacramental union that allowed for divorce and remarriage. None of the documents suggest that any of the features of the neoplatonic model were part of the marriage customs of the day.

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[515] For example: Yadin et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 134-35; Rabinowitz, although not commenting on the JDD (his article pre-dating their publication), references Graeco-Egyptian marriage contracts and believes that the requirement for the husband to "supply the proper necessaries to the wife" is derived from Exod 21:10, and sees such as being reflected in the Aramaic Elephantine contracts: Jacob J. Rabinowitz, "Marriage Contracts in Ancient Egypt in the Light of Jewish Sources," *HTR* 46. No. 2 (April 1953): 95-97.

8.4   The Graeco-Roman Documents

8.4.1   Introduction

While any Graeco-Roman marriage papyri are not Jewish documents and cannot be used to aid an understanding of either OT metaphoric imagery or marital practices, or Jewish marriage contemporary to the NT redaction, they do provide a window into the world the NT writers were addressing. Hunt and Edgar contrast the people that the literature of the period portrays with those who feature in the documentary evidence:

> The figures in the papyri, on the other hand, are off their guard, they are seen to be following their ordinary pursuits . . . They neither make nor possess any claim to fame, and therein lies their interest.[516]

Treggiari comments on the paucity of surviving marriage contracts and the difficulty of constructing the life of any one individual from Roman times, nonetheless she believes divorce was an option for both husband and wife and claims:

> The Romans did not see each human marriage as an allegory. But each was an example of a natural animal mating. Marriage also existed on the divine plane, although the mythical adventures of gods and goddesses, with their many adulteries, were consciously rejected as models of human behavior. Nevertheless, the divine sister/wife and brother/husband, Juno and Jupiter, represented divine authority and protection for the institution of human marriage.[517]

Treggiari believes that the couple themselves enacted the marriage and that no priest, or public official, or legal or written document was required. Furthermore, she sees that both husband or wife could divorce unilaterally and that no public authority was required to ratify it. She further asserts that polygyny was not practised.[518] She quotes the Stoic Musonius Rufus (died 101 or 102 C.E.) to show he thought the primary purpose of marriage was to have children and she believes that this was a widely held position;[519] this is possibly a reflection

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[516] Arthur S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri with an English Translation* (London: Heinemann, 1932), xii.

[517] Susan Treggiari, "Marriage and Family in Roman Society," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 142-43, 146.

[518] Treggiari, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 154-69.

[519] Treggiari, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 147-48; Witte has a further analysis of views of Rufus on marriage: Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract*, 20-21.

of a neoplatonic model but Treggiari comments "lifelong celibacy is practically unexampled. Even the six Vestal Virgins could retire after thirty years"—but there was an idealisation of the woman who had married only once.[520]

Baugh believes literary sources indicate that Greek marriage involved a betrothal arranged between the groom and the bride's father and that divorce could be initiated by either party, and this "was usually the result of some failure to provide the basic requirements of the implicit contract; for instance, house and board or legitimate children."[521]

The survey below of Graeco-Roman marriage and divorce documents dated between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. reinforces this analysis: the documents suggest a conditional, asymmetrical, contractual concept of marriage similar to that evidenced in the JDD. The emphasis is on acknowledging receipt of the dowry, the responsibility of the groom to support his wife, and the financial arrangements on divorce or death of either spouse. The pragmatic financial arrangements, in the main involving the dowry, the groom's obligation, and divorce are all counter-indicators of a neoplatonic model.

8.4.2   The Dowry and the Groom's Maintenance Clause

Llewellyn states "The dowry was fundamental to the husband's obligation to maintain his wife. In other words, it gave to the married woman some security and right against neglect."[522]

P.Eleph1 1, II.1-18 (311 B.C.E.) is a Greek marriage document from Elephantine pre-dating the period under consideration but it is consonant with the Aramaic papyri at Elephantine and later Graeco-Roman documents and states: "Heraclides shall supply to Demetria all that is proper for a freeborn wife."[523]

Grenfell et al. comment on the fragmentary state of P.Oxy.II.265 (81-95 B.C.E. Oxyrhynchus) but see that reconstruction is possible and that the formula runs on the same lines as other contracts; that is, the groom acknowledges to the bride the receipt of the dowry

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[520] Treggiari, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 174.

[521] S. M. Baugh, "Marriage and Family in Ancient Greek Society," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 109-10, 118.

[522] S. R. Llewelyn, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (NewDocs 3; North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1981), 3.

[523] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 3.

and there follows provision for the children and what is to happen on the death of either spouse.[524]

BGU IV 1050 BG (early first century B.C.E. Alexandria) sates the groom "will maintain and clothe Isadora."[525] BGU 1052 (13 B.C.E. Alexandria) is a marriage contract that declares the groom shall furnish his wife "all necessaries."[526] P.Amst.40 (first century C.E. origin unknown),[527] and P.Ups.Frid.2 (59-60 C.E. Tebtunis),[528] follow a similar pattern to these other examples.

8.4.3 Divorce and Remarriage

Divorce is prominent in the papyri. Llewellyn claims in "Roman law divorce could be initiated by either spouse . . . and remarriage was actively encouraged."[529]

P.Eleph1 1, II.1-18 (311 B.C.E.) has a clause to state that Heraclides was not to bring in another wife (suggesting polygyny was a possibility) nor to have children by another woman—if proved that such had happened she was entitled to a divorce and her dowry was to be returned to her.[530]

P. Tebt. 104 (92 B.C.E. Tebtunis) makes a similar provision: "it shall not be lawful for Philiscus to bring in another wife beside Apollonia, nor to keep a concubine or boy, nor to have children by another woman while Apollonia lives.[531] The document further states: "If Apollonia chooses of her own will to separate from Philiscus, Philiscus shall repay her the bare dowry."[532]

P.Oxy.II.265 (81-95 B.C.E.) line 13 has: "in the case of a divorce the dowry is to be repaid by Dionysius [the husband]."[533]

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[524] Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1899), 235-36.
[525] Llewelyn, *New Documents*, 3.
[526] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 11.
[527] Llewelyn, *New Documents*, 1; Yiftach-Firanko, "Judaean Desert Marriage Documents," in Katzoff and Schaps, *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*, 75-76.
[528] Llewelyn, *New Documents*, 8.
[529] Llewelyn, *New Documents*, 15.
[530] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 3.
[531] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 7.
[532] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 7.
[533] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part II*, 235-36.

Laudation Turiae (ca. 18-2 B.C.E. Rome) is a Latin inscription from a tomb and seems to be a husband's eulogy to his wife of forty-one years.[534] Horsley describes it as: "the most impressive personal statement of the depth of the marriage-bond known to me in the later Graeco-Roman world."[535] The husband declares: "Uncommon are marriages which lasted so long, brought to an end by death, not broken apart by divorce."[536] It is clear from the inscription they had been childless and she had offered to grant her husband a divorce so he could remarry and have children.

BGU IV. 1103 (13 B.C.E. Alexandria) is a divorce deed:

> Zois and Antipater agree that they have separated from each other, severing the union which they had formed on the basis of an agreement made through the same tribunal in Hathur of the current 17th year of Caesar . . . and hereafter it shall be lawful for Zois to marry another and for Antipater to marry another woman.[537]

It acknowledged that the husband had returned the dowry and it was agreed there were no further claims against him for it.[538]

BGU IV. 1104 (8 B.C.E. Alexandria) is an annulment of a marriage contract where the widow, Dionysarion, acknowledges to her mother-in-law the return of the dowry and that she has no further claim on her husband's estate.[539]

P.Oxy.II.267 (36 C.E. Oxyrhynchus) records the fact that the husband acknowledges receipt of the dowry and that he agrees to return it unconditionally on a specific date (Oct 27 C.E. 36), and goes on to discuss arrangements "If we separate from each other."[540]

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[534] The marriage might have been for thirty-one years: G. H. R. Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (NewDocs Vol 3; North Ryde: Macquarie University, 1983), 35.

[535] Horsley, *New Documents*, 35.

[536] Horsley, *New Documents*, 35.

[537] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 23.

[538] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 23.

[539] Mary Lefkowitz F. and Maureen B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation* (Bristol: Bristol Classical, 1982; repr., London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 91; Ann Ellis Hanson, "The Widow Babatha and the Poor Orphan Boy," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 97.

[540] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part II,* 243-44.

P.Ryl. 154 (66 C.E. Bacchias) acknowledges the dowry from his bride's father and that previously the couple had lived together as man and wife without a written contract and outlines financial arrangements should there be a divorce.[541]

P.Oxy.II.265 (81-96 C.E.) refers to contingencies in the event of a divorce.[542]

P.Oxy.II.266 (C.E. 96) references a couple who had been married just over a year but had divorced, the document acknowledges they have no other claims on each other.[543]

8.4.4   Summary: The Graeco-Roman Documents

None of these extant papyri demonstrate that a neoplatonic concept of marriage had been incorporated into the marriage practices of the Graeco-Roman world; instead marriage practice appears consonant with that employed in biblical marital imagery notwithstanding the adoption of a dowry system rather than a *mohar*.

8.5   Summary: The Documents of the Second Temple Period

Collins states:

> The pragmatic, contractual character of marriage in second temple Judaism is most evident in the ready availability of divorce. We have no way of calculating the actual frequency of divorce, but both the literary evidence and the papyri accept it as routine . . . To judge by the evidence of the papyri, the contracts worked well for the protection of women in situations of divorce and widowhood.[544]

The survey in this chapter appears to confirm such. The "scanty evidence" of a neoplatonic marriage model that Satlow sees in the literature of the period (§7.1) is just that. Even in Alexandria where the Hellenistic influence was at its height (§7.6.1), marriage practice, as evidenced above, fails to demonstrate such a model. Metaphor theory requires a source domain rooted in the experience of its intended audience, thus it is suggested that a neoplatonic mundane marriage cannot be used in NT marital imagery, and that this presents a challenge to the perception that such forms the basis of its mundane marriage teaching.

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[541] Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 14-16
[542] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part II*, 236.
[543] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part II*, 238.
[544] Collins, "Marriage, Divorce, and Family," in Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel*, 149.

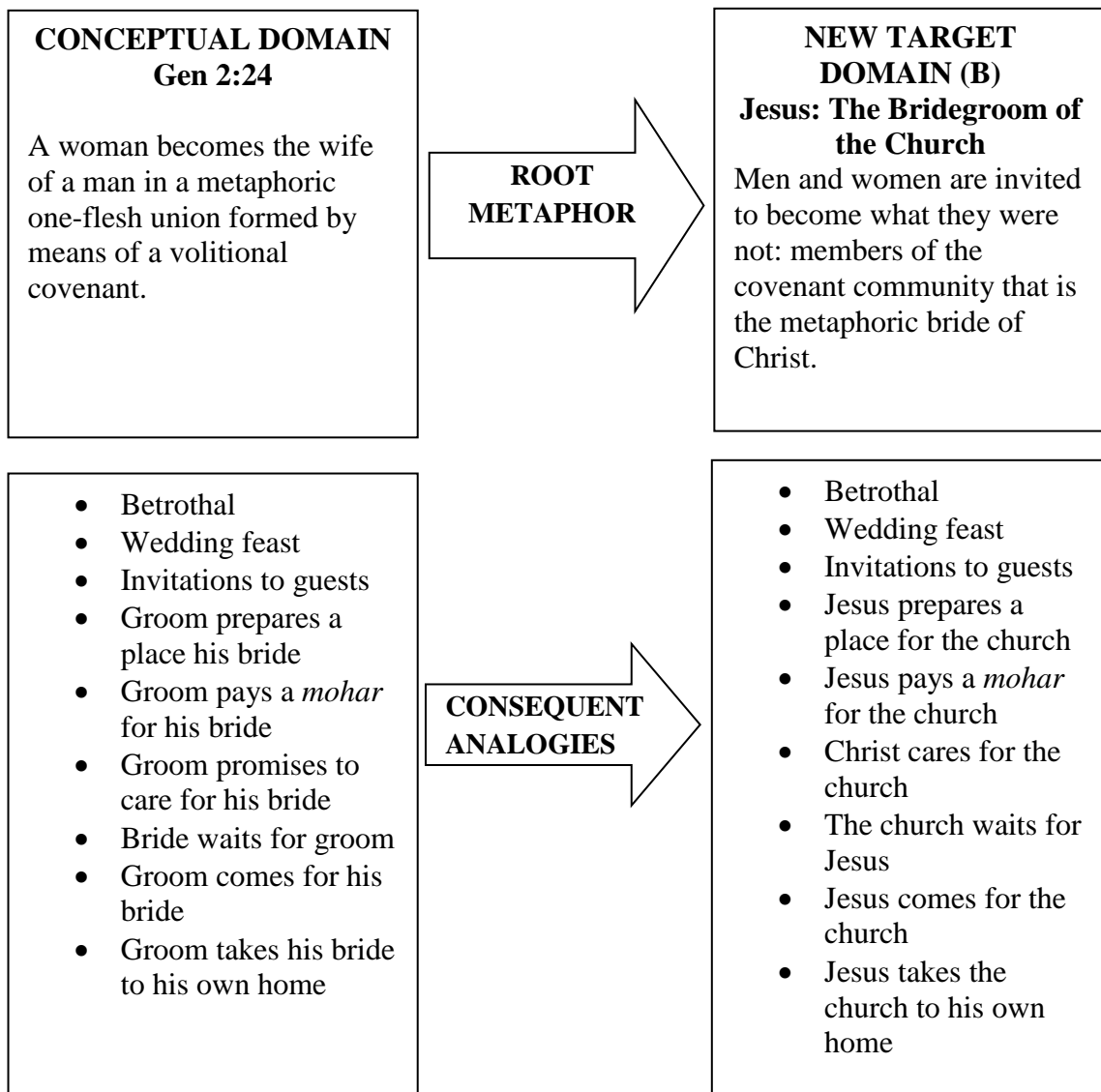**9   Marital Imagery in the New Testament**

9.1   Introduction

Chapter 6 demonstrated that the target domain of the marital imagery employed in the OT (the divine marriage of Yahweh and Israel) closely mirrored both mundane marriage as evidenced in the OT narratives, and its mundane marital legislation. Chapter 7 considered the emergence in Second Temple literature of the concept of a neoplatonic archetype for mundane marriage based on the marriage of Adam and Eve and there was some limited evidence of such. But Ch. 8 demonstrated that the concept of a neoplatonic model had not impacted marriage practice in the NT world which remained largely consistent with Jewish marriage practice in ancient Israel.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the key features of NT marital imagery to identify the source domain and the associated cross-mapping. It will be seen that the Gospel writers in particular draw (as in the OT), not on the primal couple, but, as expected, on contemporary Jewish marriage practice underpinned by the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24. Although both OT and NT marital imagery share this same basis, the focus of the latter will be seen to be different. The root metaphor in the OT marital imagery was *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel.* Thus the OT narratives exploited the consequent analogies and portrayed the turbulent nature of Israel's relationship with Yahweh as a difficult marriage, a divorce, a separation, and reconciliation (represented by two exiles and a return), with the promise of a better future.

But the imagery in the Gospels and Apocalypse is based on the root metaphor *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*. This gives rise to a different set of analogies (as set out in §1.4.1):

Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church
(Conceptual Domain 'B' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24		NEW TARGET DOMAIN (B) Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	ROOT METAPHOR	Men and women are invited to become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ.
• Betrothal • Wedding feast • Invitations to guests • Groom prepares a place his bride • Groom pays a *mohar* for his bride • Groom promises to care for his bride • Bride waits for groom • Groom comes for his bride • Groom takes his bride to his own home	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES	• Betrothal • Wedding feast • Invitations to guests • Jesus prepares a place for the church • Jesus pays a *mohar* for the church • Christ cares for the church • The church waits for Jesus • Jesus comes for the church • Jesus takes the church to his own home

MAP 2

The source domain remains the same, but contemporary mundane marriage practices are exploited in the Gospels and Apocalypse for aspects of the betrothal period that will illustrate Jesus' ministry. Thus Jesus is portrayed early in his public ministry as a "bridegroom" (νυμφίος), suggesting that he was standing in the very place of Yahweh, but unlike Yahweh, he is not directly referenced as a husband (§6.10.3).[545]

Although the Pauline corpus employs the same imagery as the Gospels and the Apocalypse at several points (1 Cor 6:19-20; 2 Cor 11:2; Eph 5:22-33; 2 Tim 2:10-13), the focus is not on contemporary marital practices that illustrate the betrothal period of the imagery, instead Paul goes directly to Gen 2:24 and exploits that in his marital and corporate body imagery. The NT writers will be seen to utilise this marital and body imagery to show how the OT promises of a better future for Israel are to be achieved in the consummation of a divine marriage at the eschaton. Thus the concept of an inchoate marriage in the NT is consistent with the imagery of the Apocalypse.[546]

The examples considered in this chapter are intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive, for example: Tait includes Gal 4 in his consideration of Pauline marital imagery; McWhirter sees many allusions to Song in her monograph but these are disputed by others; and Smolarz includes a consideration of Rom 9:25-29 in his publication—but these examples do not add materially to this study.[547]

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[545] Carr and Conway discuss this aspect of NT imagery (i.e. the continuity between the OT marital imagery and that of the NT) and state: "the early Christian imagery often celebrates the bride's betrothal and anticipates the wedding consummation. This orientation toward the promise of a restored marriage in the future began with Second and Third Isaiah": Carr and Conway, "The Divine Human Marriage," in Nissinen and Uro, *Sacred Marriages*, 295; there is further discussion in: Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 181-85.

[546] Beale commenting on Rev:21-9-10 says : "The bride is also called the Lamb's 'wife,' since betrothal was much more closely related to marriage in biblical culture"; and on Rev 22:17: "'The bride' has been used previously only in reference to the church's future, consummated marriage to Christ at his final return (19:7-9: 21:ff., 9ff.). Application of it here to the present church suggests that what has been prophesied has begun already in their midst (as in 2 Cor. 11:2 and Eph. 5:25-27). The relationship between the 'already' and the 'not yet' is that between a woman's engagement and her marriage ceremony. This is best understood by remembering that in the OT betrothal was conceived of as an inchoate state of marriage": Beale, *Revelation*, 1063, 1148; *contra* Smolarz who sees that the divine marriage has already been accomplished: Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 222-27; 372. The marital imagery employed in the NT appears to support Beale's analysis.

[547] Michael Tait, *Jesus, the Divine Bridegroom, in Mark 2:18-22: Mark's Christology Upgraded* (AB 185; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2012), 228-30; McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 79-105; Foster (2007) disputes McWhirter's analysis of Song; Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 214-19.

9.2 Marital Imagery in the Gospels

Carr and Conway claim: "The New Testament . . . features a significant focus on images of divine-human marriage."[548] Long states:

> Like any other teacher of the Second Temple Period, Jesus intentionally alluded to traditions drawn from the Hebrew Bible in order to describe a new situation. Jesus claims that his ministry is an on-going wedding celebration that signals the end of the Exile and the restoration of Israel to her position as the Lord's beloved wife.[549]

There appears to be extensive evidence that the NT writers perceived Jesus' role to be that of a bridegroom who in effect had stepped into the role that Yahweh occupied in the OT marital imagery. As referenced in §2.2 the treatment of NT marital imagery in the literature is sparse. Chavasse sees intertextual links between Ps 45:3-5 and Matt 21:5, and so Jesus' entry to Jerusalem can be seen as a bridegroom coming to claim his bride;[550] a reference to Ps 45 in Heb 1:8 he believes implies that Jesus is the promised bridegroom.[551] Chavasse sees other allusions to marital imagery, including the parable of the vine in John 15 which he suggests is based on Ps 128 which portrays the vine ("a normal metaphor for Israel") as a wife;[552] and both Long and Chavasse point out that an "adulterous generation" (Matt. 12:39; 16:4; Mark 8:38) assumes marital imagery.[553]

It is suggested however, that the analysis below demonstrates a more obvious imagery and a systematic exploitation of contemporary marital practice to populate the target domain of the imagery.

9.2.1 The Wedding at Cana

When asked to make up the shortfall of wine (John 2:1-11) Jesus is said to declare that "My hour is not yet come"; Jesus is nonetheless recorded as performing the miracle and when the wine is produced the master of the feast comments on its quality and assumes it is the bridegroom who has made the provision (vv. 9-10). Pitre suggests that this was in accord

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[548] Carr and Conway, "The Divine Human Marriage," in Nissinen and Uro, *Sacred Marriages*, 294.
[549] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 2.
[550] Claude Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ: An Enquiry into the Nuptial Element in Early Christianity* (London: Faber & Faber, 1940), 57.
[551] Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 85.
[552] Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 61-62.
[553] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 201-02; Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 53.

with the Jewish wedding tradition where it was the bridegroom's responsibility to provide the wine (as inferred in v. 9).[554] It follows that Mary had been, in effect, asking Jesus to act as if he was on that day the bridegroom—such an analysis would explain his enigmatic reply to her.

Pitre suggests Mary's reference to the lack of wine is an echo of Isa 24:7, 9, 11—Isaiah subsequently describing a future restoration of Israel when Yahweh will ensure wine will be in abundance (Isa 25:6-8).[555] Thus Pitre sees that the writer of the fourth Gospel, in recounting such an extravagant supply of wine, is employing contemporary Jewish marriage traditions to portray Jesus as the divine bridegroom self-consciously taking the role occupied by Yahweh in the OT imagery.

9.2.2 The Bridegroom Introduced

In John 3:22-30 Jesus is introduced as the bridegroom and the Baptist describes his joy at hearing the "bridegroom's voice" which Pitre sees as a reference to Jer 33:10-11, 14-17, and that the Gospel writer is using marital imagery to identify Jesus as the promised messianic king;[556] he maintains, based on rabbinic sources, that when the Baptist describes himself as the "friend of the bridegroom" he is in effect comparing his role to that of the Best Man in a Jewish wedding whose duty was to lead the bride to the bridegroom when the time for the wedding had arrived.[557]

9.2.3 The Woman from Samaria

There are clear connections in John 4:5-29 with previous meetings at a well that resulted in marriage (Isaac and Rebekah, Gen 24:14-16; Jacob and Rachel, Gen 29:1-20; Moses and Zipporah, Exod 2:15-17, 21), McWhirter pointing out many detailed parallels.[558] Pitre makes a comparison between the Samaritan woman and Gomer, the former serving, like the latter,

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[554] Brant Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom: The Greatest Love Story Ever Told* (New York: Crown, 2014), 35-39; also: McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 57.

[555] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 39-45; also Amos 9:11-13.

[556] McWhirter, in connection with the "bridegroom's voice," also references: Jer 7:32-34; 16:9; 25:10; Song 8:13 and Ps 45: McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 5-6; 18-19; 50-56.

[557] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 31-34; the Mishnah states: "By friend is meant a man's groomsman" (*m. Sanh*: 3.5).

[558] McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 59-78; Carmichael comments: "The evangelist is using Old Testament tradition with consummate effect": Calum M. Carmichael, "Marriage and the Samaritan Woman," *NTS* 26 (1980): 337.

as a symbol for her people.[559] Like McWhirter, he sees the five husbands that the Samaritan woman had had represent the five false (male) gods of the Samaritans (2 Kgs 17:28-31), and that "the one you now have is not your husband" they consider a reference to the Samaritan's syncretistic worship of Yahweh (2 Kgs 17:29-41).[560] Pitre sees the "gift" of v. 10 parallels the gifts given at the well to Rebekah (Gen 24:22-27) and that it is the equivalent of the bridegroom's *mohar*;[561] and the "living water" a possible reference (among other potential meanings) to the ritual bath a Jewish bride took before her wedding (referred to as "living water" in *Jos. Asen.*14:12-17), as well as being an intertextual link to Song 4:12, 15 ("A garden locked is my sister, my bride, a spring locked, a fountain sealed . . . a garden fountain, a well of living water").[562]

Thus Carmichael, McWhirter, and Pitre see that the Gospel writer is portraying Jesus as offering the woman, and through her, the Samaritan people (divorced Israel), in this traditional Jewish setting for betrothals, redemption in a new marriage. McWhirter comments:

there is no need to postulate symbolism in John 4:18. John is simply making a comparison. The Samaritan woman with her six men is like a Samaritan people with their six religions . . . [her] worship of [the] Father in spirit and in truth makes her "marital history" obsolete.[563]

Pitre points out that the woman must have had multiple divorces and remarriages;[564] nonetheless he sees that:

through this encounter with Jesus the non-Jewish peoples of the world begin to be 'betrothed'—so to speak—to the one who is both Bridegroom Messiah and Savior of the world.[565]

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[559] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 65-68.

[560] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 66-68; McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 69-72. There are seven gods referenced in the OT pericope but two are female—Josephus refers to the five gods of Samaria in: *Ant.* 9.288.

[561] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 69-70.

[562] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 73-75; Carmichael also references the link to Song 4:15: Carmichael, "Marriage," 336.

[563] The sixth religion McWhirter sees as being the worship of Yahweh whom they "do not know": McWhirter, *The Bridegroom Messiah*, 71-72.

[564] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 64.

9.2.4   The Sons of the Bride Chamber

The Gospel writers record the disciples' question and Jesus' response about fasting in Matt
9:15; Luke 5:34; and Mark 2:19-20, which has:

> And Jesus said to them, "Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with
> them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast. The days will
> come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast in that
> day."

Pitre points out that "wedding guests" is actually υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ("sons of the bride
chamber") and, based on rabbinic sources (*b. Sukkah* 25b-26a), describes them as special
friends of the bridegroom excused religious duties for the wedding week celebration;[566] thus
implying Jesus' whole public ministry can be seen as his week as the bridegroom preparing
for his wedding, supporting Long's claim that "Jesus refers to himself as the bridegroom and
his own ministry as a wedding banquet."[567]

9.2.5   The Ten Virgins

Pitre references this parable (Matt 25:1-13), and citing 1 Macc 9:37, 39 states: "ancient
Jewish weddings climaxed with the *arrival* of the bridegroom at the wedding feast, when he
came to take a bride to himself" and suggests the parable portrays Jesus' unexpected arrival
as the bridegroom at his own wedding.[568] Like Pitre, Long believes the bridesmaids were a
feature of contemporary weddings and that "Jesus stands on traditions drawn from the
Hebrew Bible";[569] Long comments:

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[565] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 69; similarly: Carmichael, "Marriage," 341-42.

[566] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 85-89; similarly Zimmermann: "die Erdenzeit Jesu mit seinen Jüngern
als Verlobung oder Vorhochzeit der eschatologischen Hochzeit aufgefasst werden, wie sie in Mt 25,1-13, Apk
19-21 und 2 Kor 11 dann explizit erhofft wird" [so Jesus' time on earth with his disciples could be understood as
an 'engagement' or 'pre-wedding' preparing for the eschatological wedding as it is portrayed in Matt 25:1-13,
Rev: 19-21, and 2 Cor 11], translation by Dora James: Ruben Zimmermann, *Geschlechtermetaphorik Und
Gottesverhaltnis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 286-87; 295; also Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 53-55.

[567] Long cites Mark 2:18-22 (cf. Luke 5:34 / Matt 9:14-15): Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 194.

[568] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 118-21; 1 Macc 9:37; 39 has: "[37] . . . The family of Jambri are
celebrating a great wedding, and are conducting the bride, the daughter of one of the great nobles of Canaan,
from Nadabath with a large escort . . . [39] They looked out and saw a tumultuous procession with a great
amount of baggage; and the bridegroom came out with his friends and his brothers to meet them with
tambourines and musicians and many weapons"; translation from: Coogan (2010).

[569] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 220.

There is no need to see the use of a marriage metaphor as a sign of an allegorizing Gospel writer since it was very much part of Second Temple Period Judaism. Jesus created the parables himself out of existing traditions.[570]

9.2.6 The Wedding Banquet

Long makes a detailed analysis of the parable in Matt 22:1-14, and that of the ten virgins in Matt 25:1-13, and sees them both as extended metaphors and not allegories.[571] He points out that in Matt 22 Jesus is the king not the bridegroom and the parable "develops the eschatological banquet (Isa 25:6-8) by combining it with a Marriage metaphor"; thus Long sees the parable as describing Jesus' own ministry.[572]

9.2.7 The Last Supper

Pitre sees intertextual links between John 2:4 ("My hour has not yet come") and: Matt 26:45; Mark 14:41-42; John 12:27; and John 13:1 ("Now before the Feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew that his hour had come to depart out of this world to the Father . . ."); and points out that John 13:1 ties "his hour" to the beginning of the Last Supper.[573] Furthermore, in the Gospels (e.g. Luke 22:20) and 1 Cor 11:25, the Last Supper is linked to the new (marriage) covenant referenced in Jer 31:31-33, and is seen by Pitre as Jesus' wedding banquet, the twelve disciples representing the "bride of God—the people of Israel."[574]

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[570] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 219-21, 243; similarly: Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 119-21; Zimmermann *contra* Pitre sees that the bridesmaids were a feature of contemporary Greek (i.e. not Jewish) weddings: Ruben Zimmermann, "Das Hochzeitsritual im Jungfrauengleichnis: Sozialgeschichtliche Hintergrunde zu Mt 25.1-13," *NTS* 48 (2002): 64; similarly Donfried: "what is related in the text does not describe normal Jewish practice": Karl P. Donfried, "The Allegory of the Ten Virgins (Matt 25:1-13) as a Summary of Matthean Theology," *JBL* 93 (1974): 417.

[571] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 209-26; *contra*: Syreeni who sees an allegory: Kari Syreeni, "From the Bridegroom's Time to the Wedding of the Lamb," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (ed. Marti Nissinen and Risto Uro; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbraums, 2008), 348-50.

[572] Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 217-18.

[573] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 46-48.

[574] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 49-51; also Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 60-64; also: James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Christianity in the Making Volume 1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003), 427.

9.2.8 The Bridegroom Prepares a Place

Pitre argues that John 14:1-3 reflects the Jewish bridegroom's responsibility to provide a home for his bride and that Jesus' promise to return reflected the Jewish bridegroom taking his bride to the home he had prepared.[575]

9.2.9 The Cross

Pitre points out that Jewish bridegrooms wore a seamless robe and a crown on their marriage day (Exod 28:31-32 cf. Isa 61:10; Song 3:11; *m. Soṭah* 9:14) as Jesus wore on the day of his crucifixion (Matt 27:27-29; John 19:23).[576]

9.3 Marital Imagery in the Apocalypse

Syreeni states: "The approaching marriage feast of the Lamb and his bride . . . accounts for much of the symbolism of the book of Revelation" and Smolarz believes "the scope of the metaphor in the book is far more wide ranging than has usually been acknowledged by NT scholars."[577] However, in the Apocalypse the focus is on the eschatological consummation of the divine marriage and there is only limited evidence of its author drawing on contemporary marital practices to form his imagery. Nonetheless, Pitre suggests the Ἀποκάλυψις of Rev 1:1 is a reflection of the ancient Jewish custom of the bridegroom lifting the veil covering his bride's face.[578] Zimmermann points out that the "crown" in Rev 2:10; 3:11 is a possible reference to the bridal crown of Judaic and Hellenistic wedding rituals.[579]

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[575] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 117-18; Satlow states: "In Greece, Rome, and Jerusalem, a wedding normally began with the procession of the bride from her father's house to her future husband's residence, sometimes joined by the groom himself": Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 170.

[576] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 102-07; also: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 172.

[577] Syreeni, "From the Bridegroom's Time," in Nissinen and Uro, *Sacred Marriages*, 364; although Smolarz sees the use of the divine marriage metaphor to be explicit in Rev 19; 21; 22, he posits its presence elsewhere: Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 228; as does: Zimmermann, "Nuptial Imagery," 153. In this present study the bridegroom is considered to be Jesus (Rev 19:7 the "Lamb"), and the bride to be God's people; similarly Beale, who comments that Jesus is referenced as the "Lamb" twenty seven times and that: "The bride is a metaphor for the saints": Beale, *Revelation*, 352, 1045; Zimmermann so identifies the bridegroom but debates the identity of the bride without coming to a firm conclusion: Zimmermann, "Nuptial Imagery," 167, 174; Smolarz states: "the two motifs of Yahweh being Zion's (Jerusalem's) builder as well as the husband of Jerusalem (people represented by the city) are connected . . . The former refers to Yahweh dwelling with his people, while the latter signifies his intimate covenant union with them. [The] OT context instantly solves the problem of identifying the constituents of the city/bride: they are the people of God themselves": Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 262-63.

[578] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 123.

[579] Zimmermann also cross references Ezek 16:12: Zimmermann, "Nuptial Imagery," 154-56.

Fekkes points out that Rev 21:3 is a:

> covenant promise which is ultimately patterned after Near Eastern marriage contracts, "and they shall be his people[s] and God himself shall be with them [and be their God]."[580]

Smolarz posits that the idea of inheritance in the imagery (e.g. Rev 21:7) recalls the *mohar* payment.[581]

Regarding the location of the marriage supper of the Lamb, it is widely accepted that marriages in ancient Israel were not matrilocal but patrilocal, that is, the bride usually went to live with her groom's extended family.[582] However, Zimmermann points out the marriage ceremony/consummation can be at the home of the groom or the bride, and comments:

> It is above all the statement in Rev 22,17 that a bride summons her bridegroom to come that is interesting. As the donor field of this metaphor we can look at two situations within the Judaic marriage ritual. On the one hand, the bride could here summon the bridegroom to come to the house of her parents in order to accompany her to his house and thereby to bring the actual wedding to its commencement . . . On the other hand the background could be a summons of the bride to the bridegroom to come to her in her bridal chamber.[583]

9.4   Marital Imagery in the Pauline Corpus

Chavasse comments:

> When we come to the Nuptial Idea in St. Paul's Epistles, we find all the subtlety, fluidity, and development that we should expect; . . . But the startling change which St. Paul introduces into the Idea is that . . . he invariably finds its type in Genesis.[584]

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[580] The square brackets reflect MS discrepancies; the specific ANE documents referenced are an Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Cowley, 15) and Mur 20 from the JDD collection: Jan Fekkes III, ""His Bride Has Prepared Herself": Revelation 19-21 and Isaian Nuptial Imagery," *JBL* 109/2 (1990): 283; Mur 20 line 3 has: "Yo]u shall be my wife according to the law of Mo[ses": Appendix C of this study.

[581] Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 265.

[582] Block, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 58.

[583] Zimmermann, "Nuptial Imagery," 175-76.

[584] Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 66.

Chavasse is referencing Paul's exploitation of Gen 2:24. He further points out that the Pauline marital imagery is less focused than OT marital imagery on redemption, although he notes it presence.[585]

9.4.1   Ephesians 5:31-32

> [31] "Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh." [32] This mystery is profound, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church. (Eph 5:31-32)

The pericope can be analysed as: 'A' "refers to" 'B,' or in metaphor terms A 'is' B, where 'A' is Gen 2:24, and 'B' is the relationship of Christ and the church—thus the two conceptual domains are brought together by the Ephesians author. In other words, the pericope articulates the structure map of the marital imagery employed in the Gospels and the Apocalypse where the root metaphor is *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church* (MAP 2).

The specific identification of Gen 2:24 (quoted here, as elsewhere in the NT, from the Septuagint) as the source domain of the imagery, which the analysis of §9.2 has shown to be contemporary mundane marriage, reinforces the claim of this study that in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures Gen 2:24 is understood to reference mundane marriage and is the source domain for their marital imagery. Verses 31-32 of Eph 5 are further considered in §9.4.8 in the context of the wider pericope of Eph 5:22-33.

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[585] He cites 1 Cor 6:11, 20; 7:23; 2 Cor 5:19; Eph 5:25-26: Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 80-82.

9.4.2   Romans 7:1-6

> [1] Or do you not know, brothers—for I am speaking to those who know the law—
> that the law is binding on a person only as long as he lives? [2] Thus a married
> woman is bound by law to her husband while he lives, but if her husband dies she is
> released from the law of marriage. [3] Accordingly, she will be called an adulteress if
> she lives with another man while her husband is alive. But if her husband dies, she is
> free from that law, and if she marries another man she is not an adulteress. [4]
> Likewise, my brothers, you also have died to the law through the body of Christ, so
> that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead, in order
> that we may bear fruit for God. [5] For while we were living in the flesh, our sinful
> passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. [6]
> But now we are released from the law, having died to that which held us captive, so
> that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit. (Rom
> 7:1-6)

Little succinctly analyses the exegetical problems of this pericope and the various approaches
to it. She cites Dodd: "What, then, is the application of the illustration, or metaphor, or
allegory, or whatever it is?"[586]

Little herself treats it as an analogy and sees the success of such as depending:

> upon the existence of similarities between things which are otherwise dissimilar . . . If
> the dissimilarities are more prominent, the suggestion cannot be avoided that the
> analogy has somehow failed.[587]

However, it is suggested in this present study, that Paul is employing marital imagery, and,
unlike an analogy, the success of a metaphor is not based on the similarity of the two things
being compared, but on the new, perhaps previously unconsidered connections that can be
made.

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[586] J. A. Little, "Paul's Use of Analogy: A Structural Analysis of Romans 7:1-6," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 85;
C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper, 1932), 101.
[587] Little, "Paul's Use of Analogy," 84.

Here in Rom 7:1-6, as in OT marital imagery, mundane marriage is the source domain which is cross-mapped to illustrate a spiritual concept, but in this case there is some difficulty in identifying who constitute the marriage partners in the target domain. Various possibilities have been suggested: the wife as the church and the husband as the law; the wife as a believer and the husband as the law; the wife is the symbolic new self and the husband is the old self.[588] It seems the majority position is that in the target domain the husband is the law and the people of God represent the wife.[589]

However, there are at least four problems with this view: Israel saw the law as their 'marriage-ring';[590] they were married, not to the law, but to Yahweh, so this postulated use of the imagery would somewhat confusingly suggest they were married to the symbol of their marriage. Secondly, in biblical marital imagery, the source and target domains both have marriage partners who have an independent volitional personhood, the inanimate 'marriage law' in the target domain cannot fulfil that role. A third problem with this interpretation is that vv. 2-3 (with their reference to the marriage law) introduce a redundant layer into the argument, as v. 1 makes clear a man is no longer bound to the law once he dies. A fourth problem is that the deliverance declared in v. 24 is not from the law but from the "body of death."

Thus it is suggested Wright is correct in seeing that it was not the law that was the first husband, rather it was the law (i.e. the "law of marriage" v. 2) that had "bound the woman *to* the 'first husband.'" Wright goes on to identify (*contra* Dunn) that the first husband was the "old self" of Rom 6:6.[591]

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[588] See analysis in: Little, "Paul's Use of Analogy," 86.

[589] Dunn comments: "having died to that in/by which we were confined/restrained . . . obviously refers to the law [the Torah] (as most recognize), not to the 'old man' [of Rom 6:6]" and references others, who *contra* to himself, see the reference to marriage as being "to 'a general principle of all law'": James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (ed. Bruce M. Metzger; WBC 38A; Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 359, 365; such include Käsemann: "the husband in the illustration is not the Torah . . . The only point of comparison is that death dissolves the obligations valid throughout life": Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 187; similarly: I. A. Muirhead, "The Bride of Christ," *SJT* 5 (1952): 180; but Little points out that any such analysis makes the analogy redundant: Little, "Paul's Use of Analogy," 85-86.

[590] Thus: Cohen, "The Song of Songs," in Finkelstein, *The Samuel Friedland Lectures*, 12.

[591] N. T. Wright, "The Letter to the Romans," in *Acts Introduction to Epistolary Literature Romans 1 Corinthians* (ed. Leander E. Keck; vol. X of *The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes,* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2002), 539, 559.

Romans 7:4 has:

> Likewise, my brothers, you also have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead, in order that we may bear fruit for God.

Wright's explanation is:

> "You" in the first half of 7:4 is the "former husband"; "you" in the second half is the "wife." Or if we prefer, "you" in the first half is the "old human being" of 6:6—the "old Adam," or perhaps better "the person 'in Adam.'" "You" in the second half, at least when the "re-marriage" has occurred, is the person "in Christ."[592]

However, this has its own problems as marital imagery. It has been suggested in this present study that mundane marriage is the source domain of the biblical marriage metaphor, and its volitional contractual union of two people who previously had an independent existence informs the μεταφέρω to the target of the imagery—Yahweh's covenant with Israel at Sinai or Christ's new covenant with redeemed humanity. Wright sees the wife in the second half of the verse as "the person 'in Christ,'" but who are the two independent entities before the 'remarriage'? In other words who is the wife of the first husband ("the person 'in Adam'")? And what was the basis of that 'marriage' union? A further problem is that in Wright's analysis the wife in the target domain of the imagery is seemingly the individual "person 'in Christ'"; but nowhere else in the target domain of biblical marital imagery is the wife an individual, rather it is a corporate entity (e.g. Israel or the church).

Sanders comments:

> We should pay special attention to the degree to which Sin is treated by Paul as an enemy power . . . Paul believed in the triumph of Christ over Sin – whether it takes the form of a demon, Satan, or another evil power.[593]

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[592] Wright, "The Letter to the Romans," in *NIB: Romans* (Keck), 559.
[593] E.P. Sanders, *Paul: A Brief Insight* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; repr., New York: Sterling, 2009), 57, 59.

Thus Sanders sees that when Paul speaks of sin he is not necessarily referencing sins, but that Paul also has a concept of an entity Sanders calls *Sin*. Wright expresses something similar when he says the *body of sin* can be "seen as the entity that 'sin' has made its own."[594] Also Dunn:

> translations tend to individualize *sarx* . . . and to lose sight of *sarx* as denoting a corporate or national identity. In so doing they also lose sight of the important theological point that humankind as *sarx* in this sense is equally vulnerable to manipulation by national demagogery of all kinds.[595]

Wright, when commenting on Rom 7:24, sees that when Paul speaks in the first person singular he is apparently speaking for all Adamic humanity (including Israel), the same entity as the "body of death":

> Israel too is "in Adam," . . . the "I" finds itself unable to escape from "this body of death," referring perhaps both to its own "fleshy" state but also to the solidarity of sin, of Adamic humanity, with which it is unavoidably bound up (cf. 6:6).[596]

With his reference to Rom 6:6 Wright seems to be linking the *body of death* and *Adamic humanity* to the "old self" and the "body of sin" of that verse.[597] It follows that Dunn, Sanders, and Wright all appear to understand that Paul had a concept that humanity is somehow being manipulated by an entity, one that Sanders and Wright describe as "sin," and Dunn as "demagogery." It has been seen, as above, that Wright believes that the binding agent is the *law of marriage* referenced in Rom 7:2, but he does not clearly articulate the two entities that are bound by such before the release declared in vv. 24-25.

Thus it is suggested that Holland's analysis is the most successful (and consonant with cross-mapping principles) when he posits that the two parties that Dunn, Sanders, and

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[594] Wright, "The Letter to the Romans," in *NIB: Romans* (Keck), 539.

[595] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 70.

[596] Wright, "The Letter to the Romans," in *NIB: Romans* (Keck), 571.

[597] It might be wondered why Paul did not describe such as the "body of Adam" (a term Holland claims the rabbis were familiar with: Holland, *Romans*, 187)—but the relationship of humankind to Adam is, in effect, a consanguineous, non-covenantal, non-volitional, one-flesh union and this would not be compatible with Paul's imagery whereby unredeemed humanity is portrayed as being in a covental metaphoric marital union with Sin— the antithesis of the body of Christ.

Wright variously articulate, are the 'wife' and the 'husband' in the target domain of marital imagery: that is, corporate unredeemed humanity in Adam, and *Sin* respectively.[598] Thus *Sin* binds Adamic humanity (the metaphoric wife) in a marriage covenant to himself by means of the "law of marriage" (v. 2) that Wright sees as being key to the passage—it is a 'marriage' that is the precise antithesis of the pervasive OT imagery of a marriage between God and his people.

Holland's exegesis is consistent with the marital imagery posited in §6.12, where Adam can be seen in Eden to have broken the covenant with God. Thus Adam (and humanity whom he represented) was 'divorced' by God, the divorce represented by Adam's expulsion from Eden. Adam had, in effect, entered into a new 'marriage' covenant with Satan.

If, as has been argued in this present study, Paul is to be understood in light of his Jewish roots (§1.4.4; §3.4) how probable is this new imagery? But Chavasse comments (§9.4) that Paul's employment of the marital imagery is innovative, and pericopae such as Rom 6 and 7 might be the cause of Peter's comment that Paul is sometimes hard to understand (2 Peter 3:16). But the imagery in Romans is not as innovative as it might appear, in that it seems Paul is following Jeremiah, who similarly sees that the target domain in the marital imagery is governed by concepts in the source domain that restrict the options for humanity. In Jeremiah's case it was Israel (Jer 3:1-8) who is locked out of a relationship with God by the Pentateuchal marriage law, for Paul it is fallen humanity.
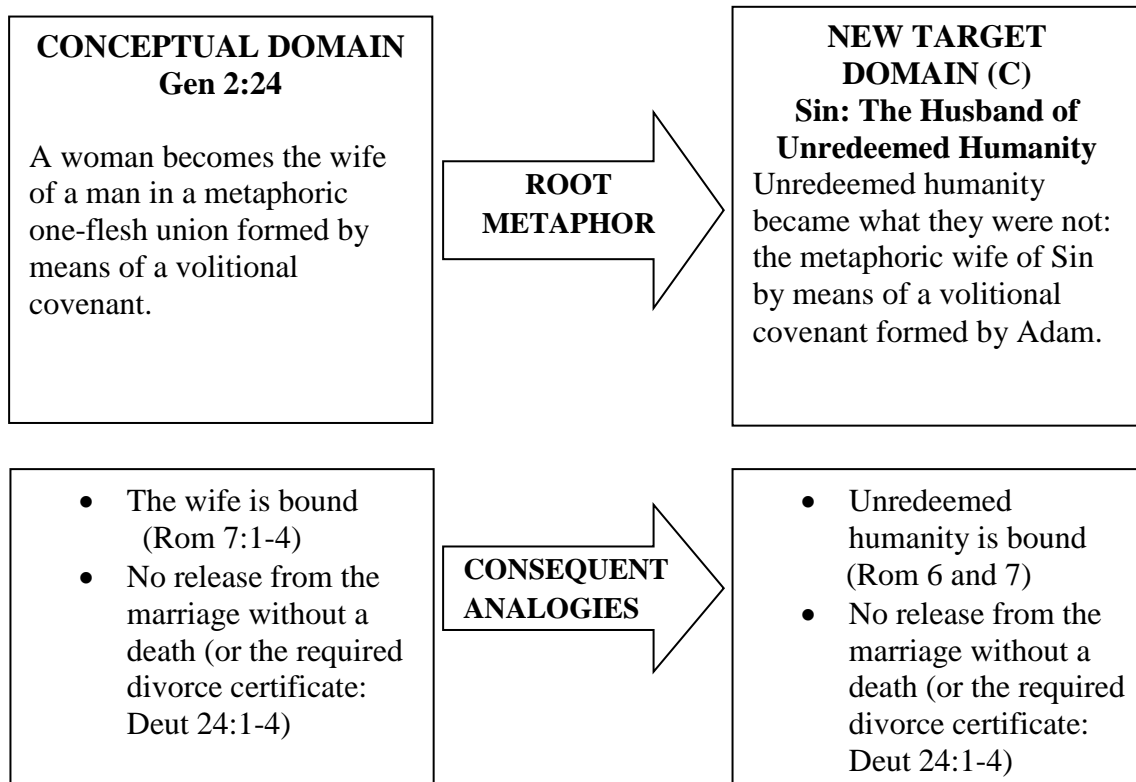
Another potential difficulty with this posited imagery is that Wright sees (as above) that "Israel too is 'in Adam'"—so how could she have been taken in a marriage by Yahweh if she was already married to Sin? However, the Bible's marital imagery is based on metaphoric concepts that at their heart have a false literalism. In other words, there is no marriage to Sin, and there is no marriage to Yahweh, they are rather concepts that illustrate a truth. This allows great flexibility in the imagery—the target domain is not bound to all aspects of the mundane marriage source domain. In the target domain Yahweh/Christ is portrayed as marrying a city (e.g. Isa 54; Rev 21) and a temple (e.g. Ezek 44-48); and Ezek 23 portrays Yahweh as married to two sisters, even though such was forbidden in the Pentateuch.

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[598] Holland, *Romans*, 185-93; 226-35; 245-46.

If the above analysis is correct, the root metaphor Paul employs in his imagery comes, as in all the marital imagery of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, from the source domain: Gen 2:24, but it now populates a new target domain: *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity.*

The new situation (divorced from God married to Satan) was portrayed in §1.4.2 diagrammatically like this:

Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity
(Conceptual domain 'C' created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24	ROOT METAPHOR →	NEW TARGET DOMAIN (C) Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.		Unredeemed humanity became what they were not: the metaphoric wife of Sin by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam.

	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES →	
• The wife is bound (Rom 7:1-4) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)		• Unredeemed humanity is bound (Rom 6 and 7) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)

MAP 3

This identification of the imagery by Holland solves the problem of how we can be "set free" (Rom 6:7) or, as the Greek suggests, "justified" (δεδικαίωται) from sin by death: as Holland sees it, it is the death of Christ in the place of his people that has severed the relationship with the old husband ('Sin,' i.e. Satan) and thus the 'wife' is "justified" in taking a new husband.

Notwithstanding the difficulties posed when analysing the target domain of Paul's imagery, the source domain of the cross-mapping in Rom 7 is clear.[599] As commented above, Paul's employment of mundane marriage in his imagery can be seen to be following Jeremiah, in that he, like Jeremiah, understands that mundane marriage legislation in some way controls, or at least limits the available actions in the target domain of his imagery. Thus Jeremiah uses Deut 24:1-4 to explain why Israel could not go back to Yahweh having been divorced by him (§6.9.3). Although a mundane wife is able to separate from her husband, she cannot remarry without the decree of divorce referenced there. But such can only be issued by the husband—if he refuses to issue the certificate she is not free to remarry, so is in effect bound to him until his (or her) death, as Paul outlines in Rom 7:1-3. Based on this teaching Paul perceives that the wife in the target domain (in this case, according to Holland, fallen humanity 'married' to Satan) is similarly bound to her husband.[600]

Holland posits that the way out of the impasse, which Paul describes in Rom 7:24: "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" (i.e. corporate unredeemed humanity), is found in the substitutionary death of Christ in the place of his people trapped in the "body of death" (the 'wife' in the target domain). The marriage in the imagery is now terminated—the 'wife' is now: "free from that law [the law of marriage], and if she marries another man she is not an adulteress" (Rom 7:3)—and so can be taken as the bride of Christ. It is a persuasive analysis by Holland.[601]

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[599] A similar complexity in the target domain of the marital imagery in the OT prophetic corpus is commented on in §6.13.

[600] Elon points out that this is not a situation confined to a wife in ancient Israel but applies to many today in Israel and Jewish Diaspora communities—such a wife: "becomes an agunah (tied), unable to remarry as long as the death of her husband has not been proven": Aviad Hacohen and Menachem Elon, *The Tears of the Oppressed: An Examination of the Agunah Problem: Background and Halakhic Sources* (ed. Blu Greenberg; Jersey City, N.J.: KTAV, 2004), vii-viii.

[601] Holland, *Romans*, 226-50.

9.4.3   First Corinthians 6:15-16: The Body of Christ

> [15] Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . [16] . . .
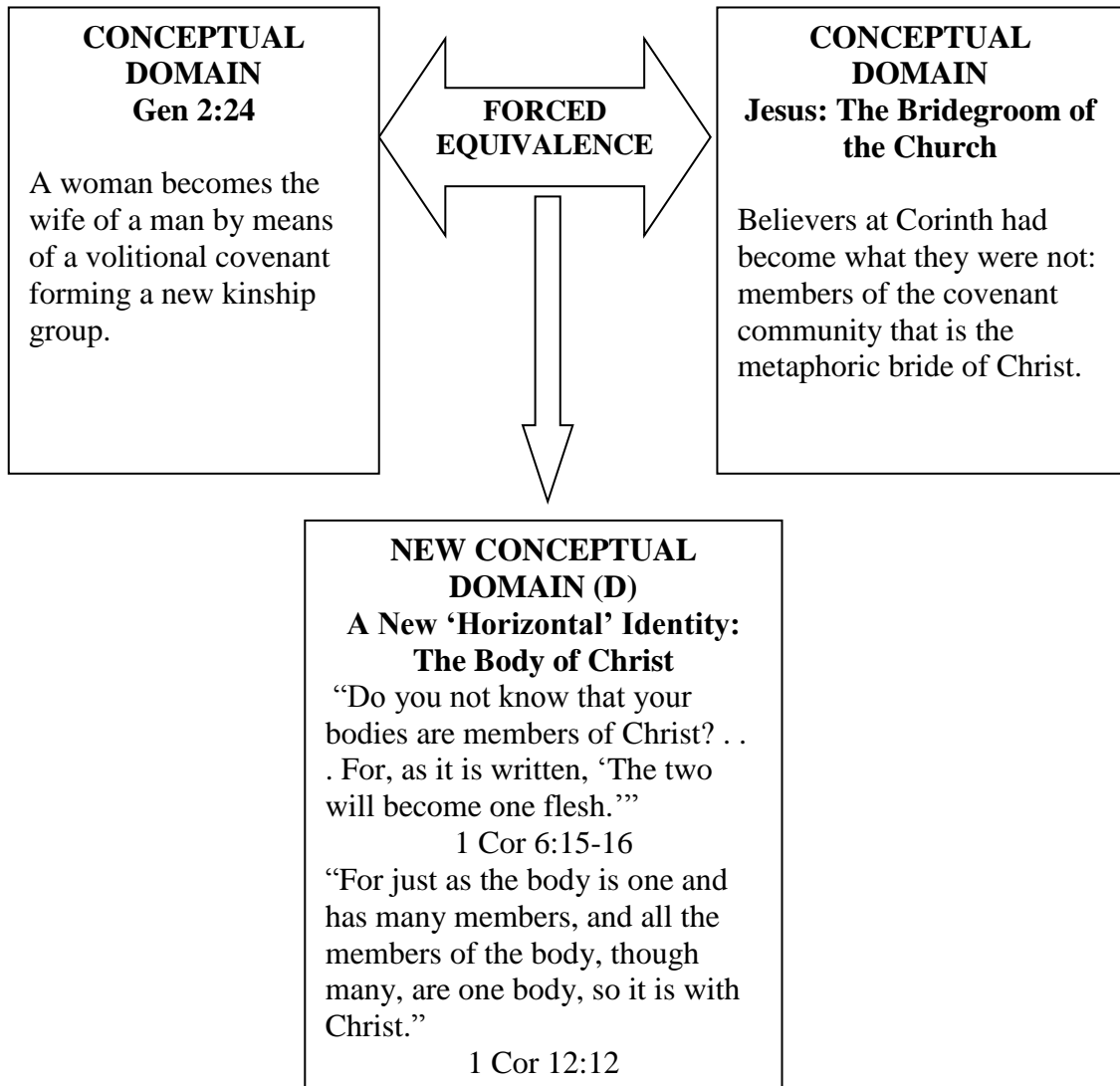> For, as it is written, "The two will become one flesh."

Paul is clearly referencing Gen 2:24. But here it seems he is cross-mapping that source domain on to Christian believers in what Masson would describe, not as mapping from a source to a target, but as a forced equivalence mapping of two existing conceptual domains.[602] Thus the metaphoric one-flesh/one-body union of Gen 2:24 (as discussed in §1.4.3 and §1.4.4), embracing the Hebraic concept of *flesh* as kinship (or as Dunn expresses it *flesh* as "a corporate or national identity"[603]), is cross-mapped with all believers (i.e. the church) generating a third conceptual domain: that all believers are seen to form one new covenantal body, the 'body of Christ'—the logic being that this new corporate identity replaces the corporate body of Israel that Paul had previously expressed confidence in (Phil 3:3-5)—in effect, a new Israel.

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[602] Masson, *Without Metaphor*, 59-68, 186.
[603] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 70.

It has been suggested (§1.4.3) that this cross-mapping can be represented diagrammatically thus:

The Corporate *Body of Christ*

(New conceptual domain 'D' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24	FORCED EQUIVALENCE	CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church
A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.		Believers at Corinth had become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ.

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (D)
A New 'Horizontal' Identity:
The Body of Christ
"Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'"
1 Cor 6:15-16
"For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ."
1 Cor 12:12

MAP 4

This body imagery cross-mapping is a logical consequence of the Eph 5:31-32 marital imagery—if all believers are in a metaphoric one-flesh union with Christ, it follows that all believers are in a metaphoric one-flesh union with each other: thus Christian believers are (metaphoric) "brothers" and frequently referred to as such in the NT (e.g. Rom 14:10). Paul thus gives the church the same 'horizontal' cohesive identity that Israel demonstrated in 2 Sam 5:1: "Then all the tribes of Israel came to David at Hebron and said, 'Behold, we are your bone and flesh.'"

Paul's cross-mapping in the body imagery is not marital imagery, notwithstanding the fact that the imagery has its source domain in the volitional, metaphoric one-flesh union of Gen 2:24. Chavasse points out the inter-related nature of the two concepts of the body imagery and the marital imagery when he states: "She is only the Body of Christ because she is primarily the Mystical Bride of Christ."[604] Tait similarly comments: "It is thus perfectly conceivable that the image of the bride is indeed the root image for which that of the [corporate] body derives."[605]

This forced equivalence cross-mapping allows Paul, to employ Masson's terminology, 'to make logical moves otherwise unavailable'; thus Paul employs this new corporate entity extensively in the corpus not only to represent the church as Jesus' body (e.g. 1 Cor 12:12; Eph 1:22-23; 2:14-16; 3:6; Col 1:18, 24), but to represent the individual members of that body, in their ministries, as forming a functioning entity (e.g. Rom 12:4-8; 1 Cor 12:14-31; Eph 4:15-16). Therefore, uniquely in the Jewish or Christian Scriptures, Paul uses Gen 2:24 in a forced equivalence cross-mapping to generate a functioning corporate body imagery.

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[604] Chavasse, *The Bride*, 71.

[605] Tait, *Jesus*, 238; the connection between the two is also pointed out in: Holland, *Romans*, 401; also: Carr and Conway, "The Divine Human Marriage," in Nissinen and Uro, *Sacred Marriages*, 300; it is possible Paul was influenced by the body concept in Plato's *Republic:* Plato, "Republic Book 5," n.p. [cited April 18, 2014]. Online: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0168%3Abook%3D5%3Apage%3D462; see also for possible origins: J. Paul Sampley, *And the Two Shall Become One Flesh: A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33* (SNTSMS 16; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 61-66.

Metaphoric concepts, as discussed in Ch. 1, mean that it is not necessary to see a mystical or ontological aspect to the NT use of the corporate body language, but as Huber suggests, they can elucidate one's perception of a posited reality:

> Conceptual metaphor theory suggests that much of metaphor's persuasive power lies beneath the surface of a text, because a text's metaphorical mappings prompt the audience to understand particular concepts in interpretive ways. For example, by employing the A CITY IS A WOMAN mapping, a text encourages an audience to envision a collective as an individual entity, which then acts as an individual.[606]

9.4.4 First Corinthians 6:15-16: The Body of a Prostitute

> [15] Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? Never! [16] Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, "The two will become one flesh." (1 Cor 6:15-16)

Commenting on this passage Loader says:

> Sexual intercourse leads to people becoming "one flesh" . . . Again we have to draw on Gen 2:24. I make myself a member of a prostitute by having sexual intercourse with her.[607]

Thus Loader believes, as outlined in §1.4.4, that one act of sexual intercourse with a prostitute creates a new reality and precludes a believer from communion with Christ, as the two realities created by sexual intercourse are "mutually exclusive."[608] It has been suggested that this literal approach fails to identify Paul's imagery.

Deming speculates why it is sex with a prostitute rather than any other illicit sexual relationship that causes the problem and suggests that the pericope is connected with the immorality of 1 Cor 5:1 and that the step-mother was perhaps selling her services as a

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[606] Huber, *Like a Bride*, 180.
[607] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 170, 172.
[608] Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 177; similarly: Son, "Implications," 108.

prostitute.[609] But Rosner challenges that view. He describes the pericope as "difficult" and suggests the issue is one of religious allegiance and the offence "amounts to apostasy" and that 1 Cor 6:16 is used by Paul to "introduce the notion of a believer's nuptial union with Christ"; but then he fails to follow through with the metaphoric theme of apostasy, describing the offence as a literal sexual liaison with a temple prostitute.[610]

However, it has been seen that the OT marital imagery consistently portrayed Israel's apostasy from her 'husband' Yahweh, not as adultery, but as prostitution (§6.3), thus when Holland follows through with that metaphoric theme he offers a more satisfactory exegesis. He sees that Paul is using the corporate body metaphor and is addressing the church which has members (i.e. believers, employing μέλη as in Eph 5:30) and its counterpart is the 'prostitute' citing in support, 1 Tim 1:20; Rev 2:20-22; and Rev 17:1-7.[611]

Thus it is suggested Paul is cross-mapping Gen 2:24 in the same way as in his body of Christ imagery, but cross-mapping with a different marital conceptual domain—unredeemed humanity 'married' to Satan, thus generating the corporate body imagery of a 'prostitute.' Paul warns that members of the church family when exhibiting behaviour that is not consistent with NT teaching (including, for example, sexual immorality) means they are in danger of being identified with the wrong family, becoming 'one flesh' with a 'prostitute'— that is, exchanging (metaphoric) membership of one corporate body for the membership of another.

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[609] Will Deming, "The Unity of 1 Corinthians 5-6," *JBL* 115 (1992): 304.

[610] Brian S. Rosner, "Temple Prostitution in 1 Corinthians 6:12-20," *NovT* 40 (1998): 341-43; however, Baugh (1999) challenges the concept of cult prostitution in NT times, including at Corinth; as does Winter: "The size of the Roman temple of Aphrodite on the Acrocorinth ruled out . . . temple prostitution": Bruce W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 88.

[611] Holland, *Contours*, 124-39.

The diagrammatic representation as in §1.4.4 was:

The Corporate *Body of a Prostitute*

(New conceptual domain 'E' created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24 A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.	**FORCED EQUIVALENCE**	**CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*** Thus unredeemed humanity becomes the metaphoric wife of 'Sin' by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam. (Gen 3; Deut 24:1-4 cf. Rom 6-7)

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: E
A New 'Horizontal' Identity:
The Body of a Prostitute
(The Body of Sin)
"Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'" 1 Cor 6:16

MAP 5

Huber (as referenced in §1.4.4) endorses such a concept when commenting on the imagery of Rev 17-21:

> the images of harlot and bride depict two possible forms of existence for the Christian community. The community can live in idolatry, as a prostitute, or the community can live in faithfulness to God, as a bride.[612]

Although Holland does not reference metaphor theory, it is suggested his exegesis nonetheless correctly identifies the imagery. It is an exegesis that has many advantages—not least it means the imagery employed is consistent with the imagery of the 'prostitute' in the OT and the Apocalypse, and consistent with the use of the corporate body metaphor employed elsewhere in the Pauline corpus. Furthermore, it does not see that one act of sexual intercourse with a literal prostitute changes an ontological reality—Loader, although understanding that this is the teaching of the pericope, acknowledges the conceptual difficulties of such.[613]

The literal interpretation of this Corinthians pericope has led to the concept that Gen 2:24 speaks of a one-flesh union formed by coitus that has an ill-defined ontological and/or mystical dimension. However, the Hebrew Bible understanding is that the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union refers to a union of kinship formed by a volitional covenant (§1.2). The consensus view that Paul is speaking of a literal prostitute, in effect, sees that this short pericope has redefined the Hebrew Bible one-flesh union of Gen 2:24, the nature of mundane marriage, and given coitus an ontological dimension—all significant departures from ancient Israel's understanding of marriage and their own Scriptures. However, if the analysis above is correct, the pericope does not change the Hebrew Bible's understanding of coitus, mundane marriage, or Gen 2:24. Thus this study suggests it is the Hebrew Bible's metaphoric, covenantal, kinship concept of the Gen 2:24 one-flesh union that is cross-mapped in the body of Christ imagery, and in the body of a prostitute imagery.

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[612] Huber, *Like a Bride*, 32; similarly Beale, pointing out the parallel between Rev 17:1-3 and Rev 21:9-10 states: "Just as Babylon symbolizes socio-economic and religious culture arrayed in antagonism to God, so the bride, portrayed as the new Jerusalem, represents the redeemed community": Beale, *Revelation*, 1064.

[613] Loader describes sexual intercourse as creating a "permanent bond"; but then when commenting on what he sees as the sexual act with a prostitute in 1 Cor 6 he speculates as to whether or not that particular new ontological reality is "reversible," and states "presumably it is": Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 175-77, 269.

9.4.5   First Corinthians 6:19-20: Bought With a Price

> [19] Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you,
> whom you have from God? You are not your own, [20] for you were bought with a
> price. So glorify God in your body. (1 Cor 6:19-20)

Carr and Conway observe that 1 Cor 6:19-20 could be a reference to a slave price or a bride-price, but conclude: "in the context of 1 Corinthians 6, Paul's reasoning suggests he has a marriage exchange in mind."[614] Chavasse suggests Jesus is the divine husband paying the redemption money he believes is referenced in Hos 3:2-3 (§6.6).[615] If this analysis is correct it would mean Paul is using the same structure map as the Gospels and the Apocalypse (*Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*) and cross-mapping the mundane marriage practice of the bridegroom paying a *mohar* for his bride, to the concept in the target map of the imagery that Christ's death on the cross was the *mohar* for his bride, the church.

9.4.6   Second Corinthians 11:2: Betrothed to Christ

Second Corinthians 11:2 states: "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a pure virgin to Christ." Paul is again using the structure map employed by the Gospels and the Apocalypse and writes to the Corinthians portraying them as the bride and himself as the bride's father who had betrothed her. In mundane marriage in ancient Israel during the betrothal period, when the daughter lived in the parental home, the father, having received the *mohar* for a virgin daughter, would have to accept some responsibility for such, as is implied by Deut 22:13-21.[616] Instone-Brewer points out that the future remarriage promised Israel in the OT is:

> described as though it were the first marriage of a virgin bride, as though the new
> united nation was a completely new individual without the murky past of either of her
> component nations.[617]

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[614] Carr and Conway, "The Divine Human Marriage," in Nissinen and Uro, *Sacred Marriages*, 298; similarly Holland, *Contours*, 112-21; c*ontra* 1 Cor 7:22-23 which implies a slave redemption.

[615] Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 64-65.

[616] Epstein, speaking of rabbinic concepts, suggests: "The non-virgin, in the spirit of Biblical legislation, was not entitled to any mohar": Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract*, 72; on the duty of parents see: Mace, *Hebrew Marriage*, 182-83.

[617] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 53.

Instone-Brewer believes (as this present study posits) that this remarriage promise is embraced in the NT imagery.[618] The concept of a virgin bride is consonant with this Corinthians pericope, and thus the problem in the imagery of remarrying the first husband *contra* Deut 24, is circumvented.

9.4.7   Second Timothy 2:10-13: The Betrothal Period

When Paul speaks of the elect awaiting their "eternal glory" in 2 Tim 2:10 it might be interpreted as speaking of a betrothal period, although not specifically articulated as such:

> [10] Therefore I endure everything for the sake of the elect, that they also may obtain the salvation that is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory. [11] The saying is trustworthy, for: If we have died with him, we will also live with him; [12] if we endure, we will also reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us; [13] if we are faithless, he remains faithful—for he cannot deny himself. (2 Tim 2:10-13)

If such is the case Paul is again using the structure map based on *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church* and is implying that Jesus as the bridegroom would only breach the betrothal agreement if the bride actively sought it by 'denying him'; but if she had merely lost faith that he would fulfil his promise to come for her he would nonetheless be true to that promise. This is consistent with the asymmetrical gender-based mundane marriage covenant in ancient Israel, in that the wife could choose to leave the relationship and the husband treat such as a divorce of him (Exod 21:10-11); but he could only initiate a divorce based on her 'indecency' as outlined in Deut 24:1-4 (also Matt 5:32; Matt 19:9); thus Joseph is described as a "just man" when he looked to initiate a divorce against Mary for her presumed sexual unfaithfulness in their betrothal period (Matt 1:18-19).

9.4.8   Ephesians 5:22-33

This pericope is the longest sustained teaching on marriage in either the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. It is suggested that in light of the analysis above it is now possible to see that it consists of a juxtaposition of the two different but related models: Christ as head of the church, his metaphoric body; and Christ as saviour of the church, his metaphoric bride. Farla

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[618] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 53.

describes the chain of reasoning as complicated, and although his commentary is not persuasive, his structural analysis of the pericope forms the basis of the analysis below.[619]

> [22] Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. [23] For the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Saviour. [24] Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit in everything to their husbands.

The metaphoric corporate body of Christ imagery is used analogically to suggest a husband has similar headship of his wife to that of Christ over the church and thus the analogy reinforces the household codes (e.g. Col 3:18-4:1; 1 Pet 2:13-3:7)—marital imagery *per se* is not employed.

> [25] Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, [26] that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word, [27] so that he might present the church to himself in splendour, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish.

Here the metaphoric marital imagery is used analogically to suggest a husband has a similar responsibility to love his wife as Christ does the church, utilising in the imagery bridal baths and bridal purity from Jewish traditions of mundane marriage.[620] Verse 25 is a clear example of articulated reverse cross-domain mapping of the marital imagery.[621]

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[619] Piet J. Farla, "'The Two Shall Become One Flesh': Gen 1:27 and 2.24 in the New Testament Marriage Texts," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. S. Draisma; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1989), 72-75.

[620] O'Brien sees v. 26 a reference to Ezek 16:8-14 and the prenuptial Jewish bathing customs (not baptism): Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 422-24; *contra* Schnackenburg: "The author is clearly thinking of Baptism": Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (trans. Helen Heron; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 249; Batey equates the bridal bath to baptism: Richard A. Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 28; similarly Sampley sees a reference to Ezek 16, baptism, and the bridal bath; he comments on v. 27 and the purity required of a bride and allusions to Song: Sampley, *And the Two*, 41-51, 131, 139.

[621] However, it is suggested in this present study that the use of this analogy does not necessarily imply that Christ in this Ephesians pericope is deemed to be the husband of the church, *contra*: Smolarz, *Covenant and Metaphor*, 222-27.

The pericope continues:

> [28] In the same way husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. [29] For no one ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, just as Christ does the church, [30] because we are members of his body.

Farla (*contra* Sampley) argues persuasively that at v. 28 the author is reverting to the corporate body image and setting up another analogy between that and mundane marriage and applying its lessons to the husband.[622] It is a structural analysis that gives the pericope up to this point a clear A B A structure whereby the Ephesians author is seen to move from: corporate body imagery to emphasise headship; marital imagery to illustrate the sacrificial love a husband should have for his wife; and back to corporate body imagery to illustrate a husband's responsibility to nourish his wife as he might his own body—this latter duty appears to be a reflection of a husband's responsibility as outlined in Exod 21:10-11.

> But rather than seeing an analogy in v. 28, that is, husbands should love their wives *as if they were* their own bodies;[623] Farla would have v. 28 say: 'In the same way husbands should love their wives *because* they are their own bodies' and thus he appears to see that the pericope teaches some sort of literal one-flesh union in mundane marriage: "the love of a husband for his wife is actually love for himself, for his wife is his own body – it is just as with Christ and the Church."[624]

> [31] "Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh." [32] This mystery is profound, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church. [33] However, let each one of you love his wife as himself, and let the wife see that she respects her husband.[625]

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[622] Sampley states: "Verse 30 must be taken as the conclusion of the entire comparison between Christ and the church and husband and wife": Sampley, *And the Two*, 145.

[623] Barth sees οὕτως . . . καὶ of Eph 5:28 means "in the same manner": Markus Barth, *Ephesians 4-6: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary by Markus Barth* (AB 34A.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), 629-30; similarly: Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 252.

[624] Farla, "The Two," in Draisma, *Intertextuality*, 73; *contra* O'Brien: "Nowhere in the context is the wife regarded as the husband's body as the church is Christ's body": O'Brien, *Letter*, 414-15.

[625] Barth analyses in some detail the textual variants of v. 30 where some MSS have as an ending: "from his flesh and from his bones"; he further analyses the quotation of Gen 2:24 from the LXX in v. 31—but none of his comments appear to be materially significant for this study: Barth, *Ephesians 4-6*, 720-25.

These verses, containing the closing comments of the pericope, have generated much academic debate. Farla points out that, although the "clear consensus" on v. 32 is that the profound mystery (and the Gen 2:24 quotation) has "a meaning related to Christ and the Church," he argues against such.[626] Farla sees that the mystery is that the husband and wife mirror, not the Christ/church union as in the marital imagery, but the one-flesh union as in the corporate body of Christ imagery—"it explains why Christ loves the church: because it is His own body . . . the ideal of mutual love between husband and wife in marriage is founded on God's plan of creation."[627] Thus Farla sees a primal couple marriage model. However, Schnackenburg points out that:

> it would contradict the structure of the whole paraclesis on marriage if the relationship between husband and wife were now interpreted according to the order of Creation and not as hitherto according to the model of Christ and the Church . . . The 'great mystery' . . . [lies] not in marriage as such but in the relationship between Christ and the Church.[628]

In other words Schnackenburg sees, consonant with the analysis of the pericope in this present study, that the (reverse cross-mapped) model for mundane marriage is not the primal couple, but the Christ/church relationship. Such an analysis is in accord with the marital imagery employed by the Gospels and the Apocalypse, and that of the Pauline corpus elsewhere (1 Cor 6:19-20; 2 Cor 11:2; 2 Tim 2:10-13).

Thus it is argued in this present study that the pericope alternates between the Pauline corpus marital and body imagery and uses both as models for mundane marriage, and the marriage relationship that the imagery is analogically cross-mapped with throughout the

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[626] Farla, "The Two," in Draisma, *Intertextuality*, 74; O'Brien analyses various views on the nature of the 'mystery': O'Brien, *Letter*, 430-35.

[627] Farla, "The Two," in Draisma, *Intertextuality*, 73, 75. Others have made arguments similar to Farla, thus Batey: "The church is not considered to be the wife of Christ; it is his Body": Batey, *Nuptial Imagery*, 31; Miletic apparently comes to a similar conclusion but via a different route: he sees that Eph 5:31 is (in effect) cross-mapping the Christ/church union with Adam and Eve as he equates Gen 2:24 with the primal couple: Stephen Francis Miletic, *"One Flesh": Eph. 5.22-24, 5.31: Marriage and the New Creation* (Rome: Analecta Biblica, 1988), 114-15; similarly Moritz: "the writer undoubtedly alludes to or implies human one flesh union on the basis of the narrator's aside in Gen 2:24": Thorsten Moritz, *A Profound Mystery: The Use of the Old Testament in Ephesians* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 143; Lincoln similarly has: "It is surely because of the notion of Gen.2:24 that the act of marriage makes husband and wife one flesh that the writer can make this comparison of the wives to their husband's bodies": Andrew Lincoln T., "The Use of the OT in Ephesians," *JSNT* 14 (1982): 31.

[628] Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 254-55; similarly Barth: "in Eph 5, [the Christ-church union] is the sole basis upon which all statements of marriage are founded": Barth, *Ephesians 4-6*, 737.

pericope is the metaphoric one-flesh relationship described in Gen 2:24 as quoted in v. 31—not the one-flesh relationship of the primal couple described in Gen 2:23. The analogies employed in the pericope emphasise the ongoing commitment for the husband to nourish and cherish his wife, reflecting the Exodus triad of care, rather than suggesting an ontological dimension to mundane marriage that might have been the case if the cross-mapping had been with the understanding of a primal couple model based on the one-flesh union of Gen 2:23.

But the mystery now revealed, it is suggested, lies (*contra* Farla), not in a new mundane marriage teaching or even, as per Schnackenburg et al., in the Christ/church union (there is no mystery in the marital imagery of the pericope *per se*—it is the marital imagery of the OT); the mystery lies in the identity of the "members of his body" referenced in v. 30.

Sampley sees that a key focus of Ephesians is the incorporation of Gentile and Jew into the one body—the body of Christ.[629] He points out that the author is developing this theme from Eph 2:11-22;[630] thus Eph 2:15-16 has:

> [15] . . . that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, [16] and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby killing the hostility.

Ephesians 2:17 references Isa 57:19 and a future hope for Israel; and Eph 2:18 has: "For through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father." Sampley suggests:

> when a substantive like μυστήριον is used six times in such crucial places as it is in Ephesians, there is considerable probability of some lines of continuity of meaning between the uses in the different contexts.[631]

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[629] Sampley, *And the Two*, 92-94.
[630] Sampley, *And the Two*, 161-62.
[631] Sampley, *And the Two*, 91; the mystery is referenced in: Eph 1:9; 3:3, 4, 6, 9; 5:32; 6:19.

Thus for Sampley the μυστήριον of Eph 5:32 is the incorporation of Gentile and Jew into the one body;[632] he comments: "The recipients of Ephesians are urged to recognise that they, together with Jews, share in God's cosmic purposes."[633] The argument is further strengthened when it is considered that in Rom 9 Paul states that the Gentiles are in a metaphoric one-flesh union with Abraham (vv. 6-8), and then links this inclusion of the Gentiles with the marital imagery by quoting the promised 'remarriage' as foretold by Hosea—thus "Those who were not my people I will call 'my people' (vv. 22-26).

It follows from this analysis that the pericope can be seen to be bringing together the two metaphoric images that as, Chavasse and Tait suggest, belong together: the one-flesh corporate body imagery and the one-flesh marital imagery, and in so doing portray Jew and Gentile together forming one body (with Christ as the head) and one bride (with Christ as the bridegroom) in a marriage to be consummated at the eschaton where they will become one flesh with their 'husband'—Carmichael pointing out that Christ in effect 'marries' his own body as did Adam with Eve, fulfilling, he believes, that Edenic ideal.[634] Thus, it is suggested in this present study, that the author of Ephesians sees a *sensus plenior* in Gen 2:24 foreshadowing redemptive history and the inclusion of the Gentiles.[635]

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[632] Sampley, *And the Two*, 90-96; similarly Lincoln: "In the other five references in Ephesians . . . 'mystery' involves . . . the coming together in Christ of Jews and Gentiles in the one Church . . . Is it not most likely that . . . here in 5:32 the writer has this same Christ-event in view": Lincoln, "The Use of the OT," 32-33; however Barth, accepting that *mystery* elsewhere in the letter is a reference to the Jew/Gentile union in Christ favours the view that *mystery* in Eph 5:32 "indicates that the Scripture passage quoted . . . is to be understood in an allegorical or typological way": Barth, *Ephesians 4-6*, 641-44; similarly Coppens specifically rejects *mystery* as a reference to the Jew/Gentile union in Eph 5:32 and states: "In Eph 5 : 32 the mystery concerns the relations of Christ with the Church": Joseph Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of Saint Paul and its Parallels at Qumran," in *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor; London: Chapman, 1968), 142, 150.

[633] Sampley, *And the Two*, 162.

[634] Carmichael, "Marriage," 341-42.

[635] Accepting that *sensus plenior* differs from typology in that the meaning is in the words rather than the people or the event.

9.5   A Second Divorce

Instone-Brewer draws attention to the fact that Origen saw that the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. was in effect God's divorce of Jerusalem:

> Now, keeping in mind what we said above in regard to the passage from Isaiah about the bill of divorcement we will say that the mother of the people separated herself from Christ, her husband, without having received the bill of divorcement, but afterwards when there was found in her an unseemly thing, and she did not find favour in his sight, the bill of divorcement was written out for her; . . . And a sign that she has received the bill of divorcement is this, that Jerusalem was destroyed along with what they called the sanctuary of the things in it which were believed to be holy, and with the altar of burnt offerings, and all the worship associated with it.[636]

It is suggested in this present study that if the destruction of Jerusalem can, in light of NT marital imagery, be treated as a divorce, it is a divorce of Judah—the remnant of national Israel, with Jesus' comment as recorded in Matt 23 (also Luke 13:34-35) being a reference to such:

> [37] "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would not! [38] See, your house is left to you desolate. [39] For I tell you, you will not see me again, until you say, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'" (Matt 23:37-39)

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[636] Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* (trans. John Patrick; Buffalo, N.Y.: Christian Literature Publishing Co, 1896; repr.: New Advent,), 14.19; Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 246-47.

Thus it might be that Matthew understood that Mal 2:10-16 was referencing such a potential divorce (as posited in §6.9.4), Malachi promising Elijah as a final messenger (Mal 3:1; 4:5-6) before its enactment, whom Matthew sees as being represented by John the Baptist, despite the latter's claim otherwise (Matt 11:10-14 cf. John 1:21):[637]

> [5] "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and awesome day of the LORD comes. [6] And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, lest I come and strike the land with a decree of utter destruction." (Mal 4:5-6)

9.6　Adam and Eve as Types in the New Testament

It has been pointed out (§2.3) that many scholars see that the NT employs Adam and Eve as archetypes for mundane marriage. But Rom 5:14 specifically states that Adam is a type (τύπος) "of the one who was to come."[638] Similarly 1 Cor 15:21-22, 45-49; v. 47 states: "The first man was from the earth . . . the second man is from heaven."

Second Corinthians 11:2-3 has:

> [2] I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a pure virgin to Christ. [3] But I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by his cunning, your thoughts will be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ.

Here Paul employs marital imagery, but then expands on the metaphor and compares the Corinthian church to Eve in her waywardness, thus implying that Christ could be compared to Adam. It is possible to see parallels between the events in Eden and the cross: Pitre and Chavasse see that Eve coming from Adam's side when he was in a deep sleep prefigured Christ's death and resurrection, and that the primal couple typologically prefigure the

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[637] A possible explanation to the anomaly is that the Baptist denied being in any literal sense Elijah, while the "he is Elijah" of Matt 11:14 is a metaphoric expression; Luke similarly links John the Baptist with the Malachi promise of a final messenger and cites Jesus as declaring Jerusalem's destruction: Luke 7:27; 13:34-35.

[638] This employment of τύπος is similar to 1 Cor 10:11 which, when referring to the desert experience of the Israelites, has: "Now these things happened to them as an example [τυπικῶς], but they were written down for our instruction."

marriage of Christ and the Church.[639] Furthermore, Gehring sees many distinct parallels between the Genesis account of Eden and the new heaven and earth.[640]

But, if the analysis of this chapter is correct, Adam and Eve's marriage is not referenced in the marital imagery as an archetype, paradigm, or model for mundane marriage, the Pauline corpus confining itself to drawing a parallel between Adam's headship of Eve and a man's headship of a "woman" (γυνὴ)—possibly, but not necessarily, a wife (1 Tim 2:13-14; 1 Cor 11:7-10).

9.7　　　Summary: Marital Imagery in the New Testament

The aim of this chapter was to explore the key features of NT marital imagery to identify the source domain and the associated cross-mapping. It was posited (§9.1) that it would be demonstrated that the NT writers draw not on the primal couple, but on mundane marriage underpinned by the concepts of Gen 2:24—that is, a volitional, conditional, metaphoric one-flesh union. It was further posited that a new root metaphor is introduced: rather than *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel,* the Gospels and the Apocalypse would be seen to employ the root metaphor: *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church.* It is suggested that the above analysis confirms such.

It has been shown that the betrothal practices of contemporary mundane marriage are extensively exploited to illustrate the ministry of Jesus. It is clear that the primal couple can play no part in such imagery—there was no betrothal in Eden. It has been pointed out that the Pauline corpus goes directly to Gen 2:24 for both its marital and body imagery, employing concepts from that conceptual domain that are not found in a primal couple marriage: thus Paul claims that those that do not belong to the consanguineous one-flesh family of Israel, can now become what they were not, in a metaphoric one-flesh union, as the bride and body of Christ.

It has been seen that the NT writers demonstrate, as does the Hebrew Bible, great flexibility in their use of the imagery to suit their own ends. So the Pauline corpus employs the imagery differently to the way it is employed in the Gospels and Apocalypse, creating a new body imagery. Ephesians 5:22-33 brings this marital and body imagery together to

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[639] Pitre, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 111; Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ*, 79.
[640] Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 300-309.

portray the inclusion of the Gentiles in the eschatological marriage, seeing such as the *sensus plenior* of Gen 2:24.

Furthermore, there is no requirement for consistency in the target domain even when the imagery is employed by the same (apparent) author: so the 'bride' can represent both the lost and the saved (Rom 6 and 7), and be both a woman and a city (Rev 19 and Rev 21). But despite this flexibility in the target domain in NT marital imagery, just as in the Hebrew Bible, the consistent source map of the imagery is Gen 2:24 and the contemporary Jewish marital practices that that conceptual domain underpinned.

9.8   New Testament Marital Imagery and Traditional Teaching
The published material that explores OT marital imagery considered in Ch. 6 is marked by an analysis of metaphor theory, and an examination of the imagery in light of that in order to understand it in its context. In contrast, few NT scholars appear to have engaged with metaphor theory and this, it seems, has led to a failure to identify either the marital or body imagery employed by the NT writers. Thus no published work this study is aware of has commented on what the NT writers appear to allude to (e.g. John 4), and to articulate (e.g. Eph 5:31-32): that is, it is the OT understanding of the marriage in Gen 2:24 that is cross-mapped in the imagery, not the marriage of Gen 2:23, and that each marriage has their own mutually exclusive principles.

It seems that the traditional teaching of the church, supported by the understanding of many scholars, has wrongly identified Gen 2:24 as being a literal, or at least a mystical, restatement of the one-flesh union of the primal couple which has given rise to the concept, articulated by Son (and specifically endorsed by Gehring and shared by Loader) that "husband/wife = Christ/church = Adam/Eve";[641] each is believed to be an ontological union formed by God (or each union is seen as specifically endorsed by God)—and perceived to be a union based on sexual intercourse.[642]

This belief that marriage (and specifically sexual intercourse) forms an ontological union is the prism through which key NT passages on marriage, divorce, and remarriage are

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[641] Son, "Implications," 110, 114; Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 312.
[642] Loader: "sexual intercourse actually changes people by creating a new reality . . . something almost magical . . . occurs in sexual intercourse, especially initial intercourse": Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality*, 176, 291.

understood. But this present study suggests Son's equation, and therefore the subsequent logic, is flawed, in that it fails to consider that the husband/wife relationship, like the Christ/church relationship (at least until the eschaton), is a metaphoric (i.e. non-literal), kinship, one-flesh union, and therefore unlike the literal one-flesh union of Adam and Eve.

It has been contended in this chapter that the NT cross-maps the same source and target domains as does the OT in its marital imagery: the metaphoric, kinship, one-flesh marriage of Gen 2:24 and the divine marriage respectively; with the Pauline corpus developing a new marriage imagery with the root metaphor *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*; and new metaphoric corporate body imagery by cross-mapping Gen 2:24 with all believers (and its antithesis a 'prostitute'). The primal couple do not figure in the imagery.

9.9   Some Implications for New Testament Exegesis

The analysis of the OT imagery in Ch. 6 posited that Adam's expulsion from Eden can be described as a divorce (§6.12), and that Israel's expulsion from the promised land amounted to the same (§6.9). The analysis of the NT imagery in this chapter has suggested that the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. can be portrayed as Christ's divorce of Judah (§9.5). But that same imagery portrays the eschatological marriage as a marriage open to all—Jew (Israel and Judah) and Gentile (§9.4.8). As the Gentiles are perceived to share the same fate of all humanity in ('divorced') Adam (Rom 5:12), it can be seen that all the parties in the proposed eschatological marriage are divorcees. Thus it appears that divorce and remarriage is central to the marital imagery of both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

It follows that the Bible's marital imagery presents at least three problems to any exegesis of NT divorce and remarriage teaching that sees the primal couple as the mundane marriage model, a model that leads to an exegesis of the NT teaching that forbids divorce and/or remarriage.

Firstly, a primal couple marriage model cannot serve as the source domain for an imagery that embraces betrothal, divorce, and remarriage—it does not have the characteristics required for the cross-mapping.

Secondly, as NT marital imagery embraces divorce and remarriage in its target domain, it would mean the NT writers employed an imagery that embraced concepts they repudiated in their own mundane marriage teaching.

Thirdly, metaphors rely on the utilisation of a source domain known to its intended audience. Thus Westbrook's comment when speaking of OT marital imagery (as cited in §5.1), it is suggested, applies equally to NT marital imagery:

> If God's relationship with Israel is to be explained by a metaphor drawing upon the everyday life of the audience then that metaphor, to be effective, must reflect accurately the reality known to the audience. If the narrator were to invent the legal rules on which the metaphor is based, it would cease to be a valid metaphor.[643]

The literary and documentary evidence suggests that a primal couple marriage model was not part of the cultural world of the implied readership of the NT. In contrast, it seems clear that divorce and remarriage was an integral part of both first century Jewish culture, and of NT marital imagery. Thus it is argued in this study that any exegesis of NT teaching on mundane marriage should seek one that is consonant with the marital imagery it employs, and only if one cannot be found should the attempt be abandoned in favour of another. This premise is reinforced when the extensive nature of NT marital imagery is contrasted with the brevity of its mundane marriage teaching, a brevity that has apparently obfuscated its meaning for subsequent exegetes; and the fact that the NT itself identifies Gen 2:24 and mundane marriage as the source domain of its imagery, and articulates a reverse cross-mapping of the imagery to teach about mundane marriage in Eph 5.

The task of Ch. 10 is to seek such an exegesis of the NT pericopae that address, in particular, mundane divorce and remarriage teaching.

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[643] Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," 577.

Chapter 10   Divorce and Remarriage in the New Testament

10   Divorce and Remarriage in the New Testament

10.1   Introduction

The apparent consensus among NT scholars and the church is that the one-flesh marriage of the primal couple is introduced (or restored) in NT teaching as the model for human marital relationships (§2.3). Based on this various church groupings have adopted teaching that, in summary, forbids: divorce (the Church of Rome);[644] remarriage after divorce while the divorced partner lives (the Church of England);[645] remarriage after divorce for the 'innocent party,' and remarriage after desertion if the deserting partner is not a believer (many independent churches).[646] These views, and their different permutations, will be referred to in this chapter as the traditional teaching.

However, the primal couple model employed by scholars and the church, and the divorce and remarriage restrictions consequently embraced by various church groupings, are not reflected in the legislation or marital practices of the OT, or in its marital imagery (Chs. 5 & 6). Although there is some limited evidence of discussion of a primal couple model in the Second Temple literature (Ch. 7), the extant papyri from the period (a period that embraces the NT era) demonstrate that such a model was not adopted in practice (Ch. 8).

Chapter 9 demonstrated that the source and target domains of NT imagery were congruent, both being based on the OT understanding of the volitional, conditional, covenantal marital union of Gen 2:24. It might be argued that this does not negate the possibility that the NT writers adopted a primal couple model as the basis for their mundane marriage teaching (i.e. utilised a source domain rooted in Gen 2:23); but this would mean that they were repudiating in their teaching the marriage model they employed in their imagery: a model of marriage familiar to contemporary society—one that the Bridegroom Messiah is portrayed in the Gospels as fulfilling in some detail, that climaxes in the Apocalypse when he is seen to take the elect, including it seems the elect of divorced Israel, into a new 'marriage.'

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[644] Catechism 1615: "[There is an] unequivocal insistence on the indissolubility of the marriage bond": Peter J. Kreeft, *Catholic Christianity: A Complete Catechism of Catholic Beliefs Based on the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001), 362.

[645] The impact of the Church of England teaching on the UK monarchy can be seen in the 1936 abdication of Edward VIII because of his decision to marry a divorcee, and the refusal of the Church to marry Prince Charles and the divorced Mrs Parker-Bowles, hence their civil ceremony in 2005.

[646] See analysis in: House (1990); William A. Heth, "Jesus on Divorce: How My Mind Was Changed," *SBJT* 6.1 (Spring 2002): 4-12; Engle and Strauss (2006).

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that an exegesis of NT mundane marriage teaching, with special reference to divorce and remarriage, can be found that is consonant with its marital imagery. There is a large volume of published material that articulates various combinations of the traditional views regarding NT marriage and divorce teaching but it is beyond the scope of this chapter to address that corpus. Other commentators will be cited on a particular verse or pericope to support an exegesis that is consonant with the marital imagery, but this is not meant to imply that they agree with the position taken in this study, or that they might not dissent from such a consonant exegesis on another verse or pericope.

10.2   Marriage in the New Testament

The only two NT pericopae containing systematic teaching specifically on marriage are Eph 5:22-33 (considered in §9.4.8); and 1 Cor 7, where vv. 1-5 and vv. 32-35 speak of the mutual obligations of marriage, the rest of 1 Cor 7 (excepting vv. 17-24) being given over to singleness, separation, and divorce. Furthermore, unlike the OT, the NT does not contain narrative accounts from which it is possible to make deductions about contemporary Jewish practice, thus a picture of the NT understanding of marriage, outside the two pericopae mentioned, has to be gleaned from scattered references considered below.

Matthew 19:3-9 and Mark 10:2-12 both affirm the aetiology of mundane marriage as being based on Gen 2:24. Although it is widely perceived that this is a reference to the primal couple it has been argued that Gen 2:24 is a metaphoric restatement of that union and thus underpins a separate conceptual domain (§1.2). Although in §9.4.8 it was seen that Eph 5:22-33 used the Christ/church union to model mundane marriage, there is no evidence in the JDD, or in NT teaching, that each mundane marriage itself was considered to have a heavenly dimension. Jesus' answer as recorded in Matt 22:23-30 in reply to the Sadducees' question about marriage militates against such: "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage" (v. 30). Nor is there any evidence that mundane marriage was considered to be a union witnessed before God, or that any controlling function was exercised by the temple, synagogue, or state—the JDD suggesting there was continuity with the OT institution: a mutual, volitional agreement enacted between families.[647]

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[647] However, Rome had marriage laws for Roman citizens, see: Treggiari, "Marriage and Family in Roman Society," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 141-75.

There is only one mention of betrothal in mundane marriage (Matt 1:18) and none to mundane marriage payments, however, both are referenced in the JDD (§8.3.5). Ephesians 5:22-33 reverse cross-maps the marital and body imagery on to mundane marriage to teach that a husband should love his wife (also Col 3:19) and nourish her, and 1 Tim 5:8 states that he should provide for his family (which would include his wife), these references perhaps reflecting his responsibility for the Exod 21:10 triad. The wife in the Ephesians pericope is expected to submit to him (also 1 Pet 3:1), reflecting the household codes in Col 3:18-4:1. Titus 2:3-4 encourages older women to train wives to love their husbands. First Peter 3:7 encourages husbands to live with their wives "in an understanding way" and marriage partners are expected to give each other conjugal rights and to "please" each other (1 Cor 7:1-7; 33-34).

These references, it is suggested, do not imply that marital practices in the NT were any different from the marital practices of ancient Israel as portrayed in the OT legislation and narratives, and as evidenced in the JDD. Some things are articulated that do not feature specifically in the OT, for example, the requirement of husbands and wives to love each other (Col 3:19; Titus 2:3-4). But there is little evidence of a primal couple aetiology, in that: sexual intercourse is not stated to be valid only for procreation; there does not appear to be a link between celibacy and holiness, notwithstanding the fact that Paul in 1 Cor 7:5 suggests abstinence for a time to devote time to prayer is acceptable; nor is there a concept that God ordains each marriage—or that each marriage has an ontological dimension, excepting that mundane marriage illustrates the relationship of Christ and the church.

It is possible however, to see that the NT quotations of Gen 2:24 from the Septuagint, which has "the two shall become one flesh," rather than the Hebrew Bible's "and they shall become one flesh," emphasises monogamy.[648] And that the phrase "Therefore an overseer must be above reproach, the husband of one wife" of 1 Tim 3:2 (also Titus 1:6), possibly excludes polygyny, at least for overseers. But it is suggested such teaching on its own does not necessarily indicate a Gen 2:23 primal couple model, as polygyny is not intrinsic to Gen 2:24, although the understanding in ancient Israel of the aetiology of that marriage did not exclude it.

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[648] Thus: Instone-Brewer (2000); Loader considers the Septuagint translation of Gen 2:24 including the addition of "the two": Loader, *The Septuagint,* 39-42.

Thus NT teaching does not appear to be incompatible with a model of marriage found in Gen 2:24. However, the primal couple model employed by scholars and the church seems to have been deduced from 1 Cor 6:15-16 (§9.4.4), and the NT pericopae that deal with divorce and separation. These are considered below.

10.3   **Divorce and Remarriage in the Gospels**

10.3.1   **Matthew 19: 3-9 and Mark 10:2-12**

The structural analysis by Instone-Brewer (as below) will be followed.[649]

Matthew 19	**Mark 10**
Question And Pharisees came up to him and tested him by asking, "Is it lawful to divorce one's wife for any cause?" (19:3) *Digression* He answered, "Have you not read that he who created them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, 'Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh'? So they are no longer two but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together, let not man separate." (19:4-6) *Moses' teaching* They said to him, "Why then did Moses command one to give a certificate of divorce and to send her away?" He said to them, "Because of your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but from the beginning it was not so." (19:7-8) *Answering the Question* "And I say to you: whoever divorces his wife, except for sexual immorality, and marries another, commits adultery." (19:9).	*Question* And Pharisees came up and in order to test him asked, "Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?" (10:2) *Moses' teaching* He answered them, "What did Moses command you?" They said, "Moses allowed a man to write a certificate of divorce and to send her away." And Jesus said to them, "Because of your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment." (10:3-5) *Digression* "But from the beginning of creation, 'God made them male and female.' 'Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh.' So they are no longer two but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together, let not man separate." (10:6-9) *Answering the Question* And in the house the disciples asked him again about this matter. And he said to them, "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her, and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery." (10:10-12)

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[649] David Instone-Brewer, "Jesus' Old Testament Basis for Monogamy," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North* (ed. Steve Moyise; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 92-93. ESV Collins (2002) in Matt 19:5 and Mark 10:8, for reasons that are not clear, cites the Gen 2:24 quotation as "and they shall become one flesh"; this present study will follow NA28 which has: καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν ("and the two shall become one flesh"). Textual variations in the Gospel pericopae are considered by both Gehring, and Parker, but none are considered significant for this study: Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 203-11; Parker (1993).

10.3.2   The Question

Instone-Brewer et al. see that the "any cause" of Matt 19:3 is a reference to the rabbinic debate about the meaning of עֶרְוַת דָּבָר in Deut 24:1.[650] He persuasively argues that the contemporary debate and the precise phrases used therein were so well known (the Hillelites saw that Deut 24:1 meant divorce by the husband was legitimate for any cause and indecency, but the Shammaites understood that divorce was legitimate for indecency only), that any contemporary audience would automatically in their minds insert the words missing from Mark in his abbreviated account—that is, they would be assumed.[651]

10.3.3   The Digression

Blomberg and Clark see the reference to Gen 1:27 in Matt 19:4 means that the Mosaic concession to men's hardness of heart no longer applies.[652] But neither Blomberg nor Clark see that divorce is now excluded, and Jesus, notwithstanding the reference, appeals to Gen 2:24 for the aetiology of mundane marriage, not the primal couple of Gen 1:27, or their union in Gen 2:23. Furthermore, Blomberg, commenting on Matt 19 believes that "only the institution [of marriage] is grounded in creation"—that is, not each individual marriage; and claims that sex itself does not create a marriage, but sex and "commitment," thus he believes that infidelity itself does not terminate it, but that the "volitional commitment . . . can be rescinded."[653]

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[650] The Septuagint gives ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα as the translation of עֶרְוַת דָּבָר of Deut 24:1 (BGT: BibleWorks Greek LXX/BNT); Tomson translates the Septuagint as "an unworthy deed" and compares it with the ἀσχημοσύνη πράγματος "shameful deeds" of Deut 23:15: Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1990), 122; Matt 5:32 and 19:9 use πορνεία which ESV translates as "indecency."

[651] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 134-36; similarly: Craig S. Keener, *And Marries Another: Divorce and Remarriage in the Teaching of the New Testament* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 38-40; Craig A. Blomberg, "Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage, and Celibacy: An Exegesis of Matthew 19:3-12," *TJ* 11NS (1990): 164; Evald Lövestan, "Divorce and Remarriage in the New Testament," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (ed. B.S. Jackson; vol. 4 of *The Jewish Law Annual,* Leiden: Brill, 1981), 48-49; for an explanation of the basis of Hillelite argument: David Instone-Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 C.E.* (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 136-38; Blomberg sees that "lawful" in the pericopae embraces any combination of the oral or written Torah: Blomberg, "Marriage," 165.

[652] Clark, *Putting Asunder*, 89; Blomberg: "Now in the age of the new covenant, therefore, Christians may no longer appeal to hard-heartedness as grounds for dissolving a marriage": Blomberg, "Marriage," 171; Lehmann sees the "in the beginning" as a reference to pre-Sinai Noahide Jews who were: "closer to fulfilling the divine command than post-Sinai Jews": Manfred R. Lehmann, "Gen 2:24 as the Basis for Divorce in Halakhah and New Testament," *ZAW* 72 no. 3 (1960): 266.

[653] Blomberg, "Marriage," 167-68.

10.3.4 Moses' Teaching

Kaye points out that Gen 2:24 in its original context did not prohibit divorce as provision for such was contained in the Pentateuch.[654] Gehring states: "Jesus is not playing the Edenic ideal off against the Mosaic instruction";[655] and Allison concurs: "it is doubtful that the First Gospel allows any contradiction between Moses and Jesus."[656] Smith surveys the literature on the pericope and states: "It [is] most plausible that Matthew was conscientiously composing his gospel with a view to presenting Jesus in agreement with the Torah."[657] Sprinkle comments:

> Note that Jesus does not deny the validity of OT teaching on marriage and divorce. Indeed, he denied that he came to 'abolish the law' . . . Instead he reinforces the OT's authority on this topic by pointing to Gen 2:24.[658]

Moo in his analysis states:

> both the Matthean pericopae give teaching on divorce closely similar to the Mosaic provisions. This being the case, the 'hardness of heart' to which Jesus attributes the Mosaic teaching is not done away with in the new age of the Kingdom; indeed, the case of 'serious sexual sin' (πορνεία) which justifies divorce is a prominent example of just that.[659]

None of these commentators see that Jesus' comment and affirmation of the aetiology of marriage recorded in Gen 2:24 revokes the Mosaic divorce provision. It is suggested in this present study that the view that Jesus in some way replaces or amends the Deuteronomic teaching does not take sufficient account of the fact that Jesus is recorded as explaining and applying the Deuteronomic teaching in Matt 19, or of the teaching of Matt 5:31-32.

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[654] Kaye, ""One Flesh"," 49-50.

[655] Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh"*, 232.

[656] D. C. Allison, "Divorce, Celibacy and Joseph (Matthew 1.18-25 and 19:1-12)," *JSNT* 49 (1993): 5; also Bockmuehl draws attention to Joseph's situation (Matt 1:19) and sees that Matthew could not be denying the divorce provisions of Deut 24: Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, "Matthew 5.32; 19.9 in the Light of Pre-Rabbinic Halakhah," *NTS* Vol. 35 (1989): 294.

[657] Don T. Smith, "The Matthean Exception Clauses in the Light of Matthew's Theology and Community," *StudBib* 17 (1989): 80.

[658] Sprinkle, "Old Testament Perspectives," 548.

[659] D. J. Moo, "Jesus and the Authority of the Mosaic Law," *JSNT* 6, 20 (January 1984): 20; also France: "Our society cannot avoid the sad realities which resulted in the concessive legislation of Deut 24:1-4 . . . but if it is to be true to Jesus' understanding . . . it must not allow failure to become the norm": R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 721.

10.3.5 Other Gospel Divorce and Remarriage Teaching

[31] "It was also said, 'Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce.' [32] But I say to you that everyone who divorces his wife, except on the ground of sexual immorality, makes her commit adultery. And whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery. (Matt 5:31-32)

"Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, and he who marries a woman divorced from her husband commits adultery. (Luke 16:8)[660]

The teaching of Matt 5:27-48 is in the form of an antithesis: 'You have heard that it was said . . . But I say to you.' Daube comments that Jesus was here using a rabbinic form of argument: "these declarations, 'Ye have heard—But I say unto you', are intended to prove Jesus the Law's upholder, not destroyer."[661]According to MacArthur, the first part of the antithesis is a "self-righteous externalism typified by the scribes and Pharisees," the second points to the true meaning of the law, a "heart righteousness."[662] But in Matt 5:31-32 the "heart righteousness" in v. 32 is not a renunciation of the Mosaic provision, but a clarification of it. The heart righteousness Jesus proclaimed, it is suggested, is his repudiation of the *any cause* Hillelite divorce and the affirmation of the more strict Shammaite interpretation of the Deut 24 pericope.

If the arguments in §10.3.4 and §10.3.6 (as below) are accepted, and that it was rabbinic practice to abbreviate such discussion, then there is no contradiction in the divorce teaching of Matt 5:31-32 and Luke 16:18 and the longer pericopae in Matt 19 and Mark10.[663]

10.3.6 Answering the Question

Matthew 5:32: has "except on the grounds of sexual immorality" (παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας); Matt 19:9: "except for sexual immorality" (μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ). Blomberg argues that they

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[660] ἀπολύων in Luke 16:18 has been debated but is seen in Mur 115 to be referencing divorce: J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence," *TS* 37 (1976): 212-13.

[661] David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1956), 60.

[662] John MacArthur, *Matthew 1-7* (MacArthur NT Commentary; Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1985), 299.

[663] For rabbinic practice of abbreviation: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 161-67.

cannot be translated as "even in the case of" and that both amount to a genuine exception clause.[664]

All the Gospel divorce pericopae record Jesus as saying that a subsequent marriage can give rise to adultery and Instone-Brewer contends persuasively that any such adultery is consequent only on remarriage after an invalid divorce.[665] He suggests: "The solution [to the problem of Gospel harmonisation] that almost all commentators have found is to assume that the divorce was invalid."[666] He gives this analysis:

1.   A man who marries an invalidly divorced woman commits adultery (Luke 16:18; Matt. 5:32).

2.   A man who invalidly divorces his wife causes her to commit adultery (Matt. 5:32; variants of Matt. 19:9).

3.   A man who invalidly divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery (Mark 10:11; Matt. 19:9; Luke 16:18).

4.   A woman who invalidly divorces her husband and marries another commits adultery (Mark 10:12).[667]

Instone-Brewer points out that the assumption of an invalid divorce fits all the four scenarios;[668] and argues (with others) that Matthew's account clarifies the ambiguity of Deut 24:1 and in effect endorses the Shammaite position and that divorce is permitted, not commanded, in the situation described.[669] Blomberg concurs and believes that the exception

[664] Blomberg, "Marriage," 175.

[665] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 149; Blomberg states: "It is better . . . to recognize a metaphorical meaning for adultery in Matt 5:32a . . . Jesus has indisputably used the verb μοιχεύω to refer to other than actual sexual relations . . . if this is the most likely interpretation of 5:32, it should probably be considered for 19:9 as well": Blomberg, "Marriage," 174-75; similarly Keener: "I would consider Jesus' claim of 'adultery' . . . to be hyperbolic": Craig S. Keener, "Remarriage for Adultery or Desertion," in *Remarriage after Divorce in Today's Church: 3 Views* (ed. Paul E. Engle and Mark L. Strauss; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2006), 92. Thus they argue the "adultery" consequent on a marriage after an invalid divorce should not be taken literally, but rather to mean 'unfaithfulness'; similarly Instone-Brewer suggests this "adultery" could be a rhetorical expression: David Instone-Brewer, "What God Has Joined Together," n.p. [cited 30 September 2014]. Online: http://www.baylor.edu/ifl/christianreflection/MarriageArticleInstoneBrewer.pdf.; Fitzmyer suggests that Matt 5:32 relates the divorce itself to adultery (i.e. a form of unfaithfulness) not the divorce with remarriage: Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts," 203, 207.

[666] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 149.

[667] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 150.

[668] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 152; similarly Keener: "*If the divorce is valid so is the remarriage,*" but suggests only the innocent partner can be remarried: Keener, *And Marries Another*, 44, 49.

[669] [669] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 110-17; 133-36; also: Lehmann, "Gen 2:24 as the Basis for Divorce," 266; Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 115; Smith, "The Matthean Exception Clauses," 60-61;

references divorce and remarriage, thus both are possible after πορνεία.[670] Although a concept widely held is that only the 'innocent' party of a divorce is free to remarry Instone-Brewer counters this: "The right to remarry after divorce was the fundamental right that was communicated by the Jewish divorce certificate."[671] Murray comments:

> it is difficult to discover any biblical ground on the basis of which to conclude that the remarriage of the guilty divorcee is to be considered in itself an act of adultery and as constituting an adulterous relation.[672]

10.3.7　　　Answering the Question: πορνεία

πορνεία is used in Acts 15:20 to denote incestuous marriages forbidden in Lev 18 and 20 but Malina claims that "most, if not all, exegetes" believe πορνεία in Matt 5:32 and Matt 19:9 relates to illicit sexual intercourse.[673] Blomberg suggests it possibly includes "incest, homosexuality, prostitution, molestation, or indecent exposure";[674] furthermore, Blomberg, along with Smith, posits that it is an intentional imitation of the Shammaite reading of Deut 24:1.[675]

France suggests in his 2002 commentary on Mark that the one-flesh union of mundane marriage is "indissoluble": R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), 392-94; but on Matt 5: 27-30 in 2007 he appears to endorse Instone-Brewer's position that a divorce and the right to remarry are inseparable and that adultery on a subsequent marriage is only occasioned if the divorce was invalid—for France a valid divorce is when there has been *porneia*, which he suggests reflects Deut 24 and covers various kinds of "sexual irregularity": France, *Matthew*, 210-12.

[670] Blomberg, "Marriage," 177-79, 181; also: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 155-56; Thomas R. Edgar, "Divorce & Remarriage for Adultery or Desertion," in *Divorce and Remarriage: Four Christian Views* (ed. Wayne H. House; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1990), 155-62; *contra*: Cornes, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 216-19.

[671] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 211-12; *contra* Köstenberger (endorsing Keener): "a clear distinction should be drawn between the guilty and innocent party . . . the innocent party should be treated as if single or unmarried, the guilty party as divorced": Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Marriage and Family in the New Testament," in *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* (ed. Ken M. Campbell; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2003), 264; Heth gives an account of the "majority view" as freeing only the innocent party to remarry: Heth, "Jesus on Divorce," 12.

[672] Murray, *Divorce*, 100.

[673] Bruce Malina, "Does Porneia Mean Fornication," *NovT* 14 (January 1972): 10; Lövestan sees it as "sexual unfaithfulness": Lövestan, "Divorce and Remarriage," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 58; Smith makes the persuasive point that incestuous sexual relationships shocked even the gentiles at Corinth (1 Cor 5:1) so a specific exclusion in the Gospels seems unlikely: Smith, "The Matthean Exception Clauses," 80-81; *contra* Jensen who argues that porneia in the NT has a wide range of meanings and attempts to allocate a specific meaning to its various appearances, seeing that incestuous relationships is the meaning in the divorce pericopae: Joseph Jensen, "Does Porneia Mean Fornication? A Critique of Bruce Malina," *NovT* 20 (July 1978): 180.

[674] Blomberg, "Marriage," 177-78.

[675] Blomberg, "Marriage," 178; Smith, "The Matthean Exception Clauses," 81; also Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 156-59.

Instone-Brewer suggests that the λόγου πορνείας in Matt 5:32 is the reverse of the natural order, and thus reflects the Shammaite argument that he sees as being reproduced *m. Git* 9:10, which he cites as:

> The School of Shammai says: A man should not divorce his wife except he found in her a matter of indecency (דבר ערוה), as it is said: *For he finds in her an indecent matter* (ערות דבר).[676]

This interpretation sees that Jesus is affirming the Shammaite understanding of Deut 24:1-4 and endorsing such for the Christian era giving continuity between the OT and the NT.[677] This is also consonant with this present study's posited NT marital imagery of 2 Tim 2:10-13 (§9.4.7).

10.3.8   Other Grounds for Divorce

The Christian community consensus (with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church) appears to be that divorce is allowed for sexual unfaithfulness (but not necessarily remarriage) and Matthew either reported the conversation with the Pharisees more fully than Mark, or added the exception clauses believing that such could be assumed.[678] Instone-Brewer comments that most see that this Gospel teaching means Jesus only recognized this one basis for divorce, but he argues that Jesus was answering the question asked and giving his interpretation of the contentious of עֶרְוַת דָּבָר in Deut 24:1; it does not necessarily mean that there were not other grounds.[679] Blomberg points out:

> The polemical context, the specific nature of the Pharisees' question, and the form of pronouncements in controversy stories in general all have suggested that v. 9 might be more a proverbial maximum than a legal absolute . . . [how could Paul] feel free to introduce a second exception to Jesus' prohibition of divorce unless he realized that pronouncements like Matt 19:9 were not absolutes.[680]

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[676] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 159; 185-86.

[677] It was pointed out in §5.11.1.1 that if a husband under OT legislation could divorce his wife at will (as Hillel's followers claimed Deut 24 taught) there would appear to be no point trying to divorce a wife by suggesting she was not a virgin on marriage and risk the penalties involved (Deut 22:13-19); the more relaxed Hillelite position (divorce for 'any matter') Instone-Brewer describes as "invented": Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 110.

[678] See analysis in: Heth, "Jesus on Divorce," 4-5.

[679] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 156.

[680] Blomberg, "Marriage," 186-87.

Sprinkle states: "Without giving full weight to OT teaching, readers of the NT treatment of divorce are too quick to absolutize the words of Jesus" and argues for a covenantal basis for marriage and believes such principles can be applied to divorce in the NT even if not specifically articulated.[681] Hugenberger suggests, referencing Matt 5:17-20 and the work of Dodd and Charlesworth, that:

> In recent years . . . there has been a fresh appreciation for the Jewish background of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and his radical dependence on the Old Testament in keeping with his own disavowal of originality.[682]

Heth says he was caught "off guard" by his own failure to take these factors sufficiently into account (and specifically retracts some of his earlier teaching);[683] and quotes with approval Blomberg's comments on Jesus' discourse with the Pharisees:

> Few try to make the pronouncements in various other controversy or pronouncement stories absolute (cf., e.g., Matt 19:21, 9:15, and esp. 13:57, a particularly interesting parallel because of its similar exception clause . . .) so one should be equally wary of elevating 19:9 (or Mark 10:11-12) into an exceptionless absolute.[684]

Few commentators point out that the Gospel divorce pericopae (except for Mark 10:12) only address men and it is often presumed by those that hold the traditional views that gender reciprocity in NT divorce teaching can be assumed, thus Murray: "surely it is necessary to believe . . . the same rights and liberties are granted to the woman."[685] However, in light of the social milieu of the time and the millennia of history behind Jewish contemporary marital practices it is suggested that such an assumption is ill-founded. The question posed in the

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[681] He states: "Only two of these things (sexual immorality and abandonment) are (arguably) explicit grounds for divorce in the NT. If the covenant principle is behind these applications, however, we might be justified in concluding that the two examples in the NT are not intended to be exhaustive but that other grounds are likewise applicable under the new covenant": Sprinkle, "Old Testament Perspectives," 547, 549.

[682] Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant*, 149.

[683] Heth, "Jesus on Divorce," 15; he cites his indebtedness to Instone-Brewer's work: William A. Heth, "Remarriage for Adultery or Desertion," in *Remarriage after Divorce in Today's Church: 3 Views* (ed. Paul E. Engle and Mark L. Strauss; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2006), 96.

[684] Heth, "Jesus on Divorce," 15; citing: Blomberg, "Marriage," 162; also Köstenberger: "it is much more likely that he [Jesus] did not elaborate on points at which he agreed with the commonly held view in his day"—and quotes Instone-Brewer with approval on this point, however, he distances himself from Instone-Brewer in his belief that Exod 21:10-11 can be assumed as divorce grounds in the NT: Andreas J. Köstenberger and David J. Jones, *God, Marriage, and Family: Rebuilding the Biblical Foundation* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2004), 242, 355.

[685] Murray, *Divorce*, 98

longer pericopae was about a husband's grounds for divorce and Jesus specifically in his answer makes it clear he is addressing that issue. Mark 10:12 has Jesus say: "and if she [the wife] divorces her husband and marries another man, she commits adultery." The fact that wives are now addressed separately underlines the fact that they had not been included in the immediately preceding comments—furthermore, it is difficult to make sense of Jesus' words as recorded if a wife could not initiate a divorce.[686] This Markan statement comprises the entire divorce teaching in the Gospels from a wife's perspective. There are two possible interpretations:

- The statement by Jesus in Mark 10:12 stands as it is written. In effect Jesus removes any OT teaching about divorces initiated by the wife; whatever their previous position, divorce for them is now forbidden.

- The accepted grounds for divorce for wives, apparently taught in Exod 21, and evidenced in the extant archaeological data, were retained even though not, in this context, specifically mentioned.

It seems unreasonable to believe that Jesus' audience would have assumed in Mark 10:12 that a husband's exception clause "except for sexual immorality" was now to be a wife's (only) grounds for divorce (if Markan priority is accepted, found not in Matthew, but in Deut 24);[687] it would mean that in the one sentence recorded in Mark 10, the NT audience are to assume an implicit inclusion of the husband's exception clause in a wife's grounds for divorce, and assume a simultaneous implicit exclusion of her own grounds for divorce as outlined in Exod 21. It is an exegesis that relies on a presumption that Jesus' audience would make two assumptions, both of which involve a remarkable *volte face* in first century ethics in Jewish Palestine.[688] Furthermore, it would mean that Jesus' teaching as recorded by Mark was not

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[686] Although it is possible, as some believe, that Jesus was referring to non-Jewish divorce, for example Brody: "but [Mark 10:12] is plausibly explained as reflecting Mark's Gentile milieu, and the familiarity of his readership with Roman law, in which husband and wife were on equal footing with regard to divorce": Brody, "Evidence for Divorce by Jewish Women," 231. But it has to be considered how probable this is when the context is an answer to the Pharisees about the Pentateuch's teaching, and Ilan argues that the context of the conversation suggests Jesus was confining his comments to Jewish divorces: Ilan, "On a Newly Published Divorce Bill," 201-02.

[687] For Markan priority see: Blomberg, "Marriage," 163 n 8.

[688] Instone-Brewer states: "a wife could not gain a divorce by claiming her husband had been unfaithful": Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 99.

congruent with Mark's own marital imagery, or with the marital imagery of the rest of the NT.[689]

The assumption of gender reciprocity in NT divorce teaching by many that hold the traditional views, in effect, curtails a wife's freedom of action. Under the OT economy (as it has been argued in this study) a wife already had divorce grounds that were more broadly based than those of her husband. Furthermore, the logic of the Exodus pericope that granted such (Exod 21:10-11) is that a wife could insist on a monogamous relationship as a condition of staying in the marriage—some of the Graeco-Roman marriage documents articulate such (§8.4.3).

Gender-based asymmetry in marriage and divorce practice is widely evidenced in the ANE (§4.4); in OT teaching (Exod 21:10-11; Deut 24:1-4); in OT marital imagery (§6.7); in the extant papyri (§8.3.5-§8.3.7; §8.4.2); in NT marital imagery (§9.4.7); in specific NT marriage teaching (e.g. Eph 5:25-29); and in specific NT divorce teaching (Matt 5:31-32; 19:3-9)—thus it seems reasonable, if any assumptions are to be made, that Mark considered that these gender-based divorce grounds remained in place. Thus it is argued that Mark 10:12, in acknowledging the existence of wife-initiated divorces in effect endorses that understanding of Exod 21:10-11, but records Jesus as exhorting wives not to abuse their privilege. The alternative interpretation would mean that Mark records Jesus as repudiating that historic teaching leaving a wife with no means of divorce, a position that it will be seen would appear to contradict the teaching of 1 Cor 7—and, furthermore, not be congruent with the marital imagery that the NT writers, including Mark, employ.

10.3.9   Summary: Divorce and Remarriage in the Gospels

Instone-Brewer argues that without Matthew's additions to Mark, the Pharisees' question makes no sense, and that the Matthean comment would have been self-evident to any contemporary Jew.[690] Although there is much debate about the validity of using rabbinic sources to interpret the NT many commentators accept the fact that Jesus was addressing that

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[689] In that Mark's marital imagery, as elsewhere in the NT, was rooted in contemporary marital practices that were based on the understanding of marriage evidenced in ancient Israel, where a husband had a duty to provide for his bride, and any repudiation of him by her was to be based on the failure of such.

[690] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 187.

issue.[691] It appears that those who hold to the traditional views of marriage and divorce have seen that one brief polemical exchange recorded in the Gospels overturns OT teaching and millennia of marital practice.

For these reasons it is argued in this study that the most reasonable assumption is that the asymmetrical divorce grounds based on the covenant that formed the marriage remained—a woman was free to leave her husband based on his neglect of her, but a husband had the more restricted divorce grounds, as clarified in the Matthean pericopae. Such is the situation evidenced in the extant contemporary marriage documents, and is mirrored in the OT imagery. Thus Yahweh would not desert his people unless they were unfaithful to him, but Israel was not compelled to remain in the relationship with him. Similarly in the NT imagery—Jesus will not fail to come for his bride unless she denies him, but the church, it seems, has the same choice as Israel had.

10.4 Separation, Divorce, and Remarriage in First Corinthians 7
10.4.1 Introduction

Instone-Brewer comments on 1 Cor 7:

> Comparisons with Jewish marriage and divorce papyri show that the lifestyle and morals that Paul wishes the Corinthians to adopt are based primarily on the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament. This is illustrated from both Greek Jewish papyri, which show a Judaism thoroughly embedded in the Graeco-Roman world, and Aramaic papyri, which use concepts very closely aligned to Paul's.[692]

It has been seen that several scholars believe that the adoption of Greek legal terms in a Jewish marriage contract need not mean an assimilation of a Hellenistic understanding of marriage (§8.3.4); and it has been posited that when the Pauline corpus uses σῶμά and σάρξ these Greek terms would, when the context suggested it, be understood in a Hebraic way (§1.4.3 and §1.4.4).

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[691] Neusner is sceptical: Neusner (1994); but Ilan states: "The historical value of rabbinic sources has been vigorously debated in recent scholarship . . . However . . . even the greatest skeptics, draw the line somewhere": Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine*, 33.

[692] Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 225.

Instone-Brewer further comments on 1 Cor 7:

> [Paul's] emphasis throughout is that marriage is a binding commitment, and should not be treated lightly, as it was in Graeco-Roman law . . . he only allowed divorce on certain biblical grounds.[693]

Thus it is suggested in this present study, even though Paul is addressing a church in the Graeco-Roman world, that the exegetical frame of reference for the teaching of the chapter should be the Jewish understanding of marriage as demonstrated in the legislation, narratives, and marital imagery of the Jewish Scriptures, supplemented by the Jewish understanding of contemporary marriage demonstrated in the JDD. Furthermore, it is expected that the teaching of the chapter will be congruent with the marriage teaching and marital imagery elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, and that of the Gospels and Apocalypse.

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[693] David Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Graeco-Roman Marriage and Divorce Papyri," *TynBul* 52.1 (2001): 116.

10.4.2   Separation and Divorce

In the first verses of the chapter the mutual obligations of marriage are addressed, with Daube et al. seeing a link to the obligations of Exod 21:10 in 1 Cor 7:3-5.[694] After a comment regarding the single and widows, Paul addresses the issue of separation and divorce:

> [10] To the married I give this charge (not I, but the Lord): the wife should not separate from her husband [11] (but if she does, she should remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband), and the husband should not divorce his wife. [12] To the rest I say (I, not the Lord) that if any brother has a wife who is an unbeliever, and she consents to live with him, he should not divorce her. [13] If any woman has a husband who is an unbeliever, and he consents to live with her, she should not divorce him. [14] For the unbelieving husband is made holy because of his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made holy because of her husband. Otherwise your children would be unclean, but as it is, they are holy. [15] But if the unbelieving partner separates, let it be so. In such cases the brother or sister is not enslaved. God has called you to peace. [16] Wife, how do you know whether you will save your husband? Husband, how do you know whether you will save your wife? (1 Cor 7:10-16)

Lövestan believes that Paul pre-supposes that the wife as well as the husband has the right to divorce "which was the case in the Graeco-Roman world."[695] It has been suggested (§5.12) that although a Jewish wife, unlike her husband, could not unilaterally divorce, she could nonetheless initiate such. However, in the Graeco-Roman world it does appear divorce rights were fully mutual and this was the background to the situation Paul was addressing.[696]

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[694] "An ancient law in Exodus [21:10] provides that . . . a man . . . may not 'diminish' . . . [a first wife's] due. Paul no doubt uses the verb in the same sense when he admonishes married couples to fulfil their mutual obligations and not to 'defraud' one another": Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 365; similarly: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 193; elsewhere Instone-Brewer comments: "This reference to Ex.21:10-11 in 1 Cor. 7:3-5 has not been widely recognised" but cites other publications that have: Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 233 n 29.

[695] Lövestan, "Divorce and Remarriage," in *The Jewish Law Annual* (Jackson), 47.

[696] Thus: Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Graeco-Roman Papyri," 105; Treggiari, "Marriage and Family," in Campbell, *Marriage and Family*, 156.

Instone-Brewer argues that although translations use "separate" and "divorce" throughout this passage he believes:

> There may be no significance in their use other than stylistic variation . . . There were more than fifty words used for "divorce" in Greek marriage and divorce contracts, and it was common to use several in a single document.[697]

It appears vv. 10-11 contain the general principle: neither partner should initiate a separation/divorce—if they have, they should seek a reconciliation. But Paul articulates a qualification in v. 15 (i.e. the pericope follows the same format as Matt 19:3-9); in other words, when Paul gave the general principle, he was not contradicting any Gospel divorce provisions, or the teaching of Exod 21:10-11 and Deut 24:1-4, where it is clear a wife or a husband (with no reference to their personal faith) can initiate a divorce. Thus Paul acknowledges that the reconciliation he suggests in v. 11 might not be possible, and in such a situation he recommends: "let it be so" (v. 15). But the qualification, it is suggested in this present study, is addressing desertion—not the 'mixed' marriages to which vv. 12-14 refer.[698]

Thus it is argued that "To the rest I say" (τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς λέγω) of v. 12 addresses those in mixed marriages, and the same 'stay together' teaching is applied to such couples (vv. 12-14)—in other words the same principles apply. Edgar sees that:

> according to 1 Corinthians 7:10-14 there is no substantial difference between the validity of mixed marriage and the marriage of two believers. The mixed marriage is acceptable to God and completely valid.[699]

This might have seemed a surprising position for Paul to take when Ezra's instruction to the men of Judah was to separate from their non-Jewish wives (Ezra 10:11). But Satlow points out that Ezra appears less concerned with the risk of apostasy than he was about such

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[697] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 198-99. He has a more detailed consideration of this point and provides a list of Greek terms for divorce: Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Graeco-Roman Papyri," 105-108, 117.

[698] Instone-Brewer argues along similar lines: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 199-201.

[699] Edgar, "Divorce & Remarriage," in House, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 191.

marriages being "unclean"; doubt is cast on the 'purity' of any offspring.[700] This might explain why Paul felt the need to say children of mixed marriages are "holy" (1 Cor 7:14), as the teaching in Israel (Deut 23:2) was that "No one born of a forbidden union may enter the assembly of the LORD. Even to the tenth generation, none of his descendants may enter the assembly of the LORD." In contrast, Paul appears to be saying that the children of mixed marriages in the Christian faith community are "holy," that is, not "unclean"; (*contra* Sampley who sees that the children of these marriages "are set apart for and belong to God").[701]

When Paul gives his qualification to his rule 'stay together' in v. 15 it is suggested the fact that he addresses mixed marriages is incidental. He will have realised such marriages are vulnerable and some separations might already have occurred. Blomberg states:

> desertion was Paul's primary concern; that it was an unbeliever wanting to leave is "accidental" in the technical sense of that term . . . Once again, in an age and culture in which divorce almost universally carried with it provisions for remarriage, Paul would have had specifically to exclude this possibility in v. 15 if he had expected anyone to understand that he was actually forbidding all remarriage.[702]

Heth supports this line of argument and sees desertion is a legitimate ground for divorce for non-mixed marriages because: "[it] is an abdication of the mutual physical, financial, emotional, and spiritual support that is pledged to one another as covenant partners (cf. Exod 21:10-11; 1 Cor 7:3-5; Eph. 5:25-32)."[703] Similarly Edgar: "although not specifically stated, desertion even by a believer may be grounds for divorce and remarriage."[704]

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[700] However, Nehemiah did appear to express concern about the risk of apostasy from non-Jewish wives (Neh 13:26), so it seems his concern was not just about the purity of any offspring; but Satlow sees that Nehemiah's emphasis is on the inability of the foreign wives to "speak the language of Judah" (v. 24): Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 137-39.

[701] Sampley, "The First Letter," in *NIB: Romans* (Keck), 877.

[702] Blomberg, "Marriage," 188; also Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 242.

[703] Heth, "Remarriage for Adultery or Desertion," in Engle and Strauss, *Remarriage after Divorce in Today's Church: 3 Views*, 77-78.

[704] Edgar, "Divorce & Remarriage," in House, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 191.

Neither Scripture nor, it appears, Jewish culture had the concept of marriage having a different validity based on a lack of personal faith in God by either spouse.[705] When Jesus is asked about divorce he is recorded as referencing the Edenic situation, not any ethnic or faith community to find its *raison d'etre*—marriage it seems was intended for all people, not made valid (or made more valid) by the personal faith of one or both spouses. Thus it is suggested Paul was addressing vulnerability not validity, *contra* various confessional positions today, including the Church of Rome (§10.1).[706]

While mixed marriages and non-mixed marriages have the same validity, it might be considered that the expectations of the latter would be greater and any separation/divorce in the marriage of two believers would be based on biblical grounds. Nonetheless, it appears that Paul does teach in v. 15 that if a marriage partner has been abandoned by their spouse, whatever the personal faith of either of them, they can take that to be a divorce and are free to remarry.

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[705] The *Yebamot* in the Mishnah records extensive discussions about the definition of an acceptable Jewish wife, but her personal faith is never mentioned; Deuteronomy forbids marriage to foreign women (Deut 7:1-7); Ezra's instruction (and that of Deuteronomy) concerned foreign wives, not specifically unbelieving wives, thus it seems to Ezra a Jewish woman who had no personal faith in Yahweh would be an acceptable wife in Israel—this is not to deny that Paul appears to discourage mixed-faith marriages in 1 Cor 7:39 and 2 Cor 6:14. Satlow gives extensive consideration to Jewish mixed marriages: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 133-61.

[706] Canon 1086 states: "A marriage between two persons, one of whom has been baptized in the Catholic Church or received into it and has not defected from it by a formal act and the other of whom is not baptized, is invalid": Vatican, "Code of Canon Law," n.p. [cited 14 November 2014]. Online: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_P3Y.HTM.

10.4.3   Not Enslaved

Instone-Brewer comments on v. 15:

> The only freedom that makes any sense in this context is the freedom to remarry. We do not have to rely on a process of elimination to decide what this phrase means, because the language that Paul used would have been very plain to any first-century reader. We find similar phraseology in a large number of ancient divorce certificates . . . all Jewish divorce certificates and most Greco-Roman ones contained the words "you are free to marry any man you wish," or something very similar. These words were so important that the rabbis concluded that they were the only words that were essential in a Jewish divorce certificate. These words can be found in Jewish divorce certificates in rabbinic sources from the first-century C.E. and back to the Aramaic contracts from the Elephantine community of the fifth century B.C.E.[707]

At the time of writing this present study, in Israel, and in Jewish law where applicable in the Diaspora, if a couple decide to divorce and the husband refuses to release his wife by issuing a divorce certificate she is *agunah*.[708] This means although separated and to all intents and purposes divorced, she is still 'bound' ('chained') to her husband, "unable to remarry as long as the death of her husband has not been proven"—or until she receives her certificate.[709] It seems, in light of the archaeological evidence, and the historic Jewish understanding of *agunah*, that Paul's "not enslaved" ('not bound') can only mean 'not *agunah*'—that is free to remarry;[710] Instone-Brewer pointing out that the background to the use of δουλόω is to be found in Exod 21:10-11, the divorce deeds of the day (he cites Mur 19), and rabbinic traditions—the Mishnah has: "writs of divorce and writs of emancipation are alike" (*m. Git.* 1:4).[711]

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[707] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 202.

[708] Hacohen, *The Tears of the Oppressed*, vii-viii; in August 2013 the FBI investigated a New Jersey rabbi believed to be using torture to compel husbands to issue the certificate of divorce for their estranged wives and a court case followed in February 2015: Will Pavia, "Rabbi Accused of Torturing Husbands to Grant Divorce," *The Times, London* (19 February 2015): 33.

[709] Hacohen, *The Tears of the Oppressed*, viii.

[710] Paul applies his "not enslaved" to "brother or sister," that is, husband or wife, although under the OT economy only the wife was bound if she did not receive the certificate—Paul it seems is emphasising the thrust of his teaching in the chapter that in the NT era neither partner is bound in the case of desertion.

[711] Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 238-42; Danby, *The Mishnah*, 307.

Certainly there is no concept of *agunah* taught in the Christian church, despite the repetition of the requirement for a certificate from the husband in Matt 5:31. If it is thought that any freedom articulated by Paul applies only to those in mixed marriages it would mean that with his "not enslaved" Paul was actually introducing a new form of enslavement for a deserted husband—one that is based on the profession of faith of an absent partner; under the OT economy he had no need of a certificate and would have always been free to remarry.

10.4.4   For God Has Called You to Peace

Instone-Brewer argues from rabbinic traditions (citing *m. Git.* 5:8), where a solution was found to an issue that was not based on a strict interpretation of the law, but instead, for the 'sake of peace.'[712] It seems Paul's argument is that if the woman had been deserted, her husband was clearly not providing her with her entitlement, and although she had not received her certificate as outlined in Deut 24:1-4, she could, for the sake of peace, consider herself divorced and free to remarry of her own volition.[713] It appears in v. 15 that Paul is saying for the Christian community there is no need for a wife to have a certificate of divorce from her previous husband in order to remarry, thus freeing that community from the *agunah* problem that impacts Jewish communities across the world today.[714] Furthermore, Paul seems to be saying that the husband could assume that a deserting wife was in effect divorcing him, so he should release her without evidence of sexual impurity—such teaching is consonant with Exod 21:10-11.

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[712] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 203.

[713] Bacchiocchi states: "In Paul's day, there was no provision for a wife to be legally separated from her husband without being divorced"—if correct this supports the argument that if a wife did separate she could consider the separation a divorce: Samuele Bacchiocchi, *The Marriage Covenant: A Biblical Study on Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Biblical Perspectives, 2001), 192.

[714] See: Hacohen and Elon (2004).

10.4.5   Remarriage after Widowhood or Divorce

[39] A wife is bound to her husband as long as he lives. But if her husband dies, she is free to be married to whom she wishes, only in the Lord. [40] Yet in my judgment she is happier if she remains as she is. And I think that I too have the Spirit of God. (1 Cor 7:39-40)

Instone-Brewer argues:

Paul's quotation [is] from a standard Jewish divorce certificate. According to the Mishnah, which is confirmed by a surviving papyrus certificate, first century divorce certificates contained a line stating: "You are free to marry any Jewish man you wish" . . . for Paul and for his contemporary Jews, it was more obvious that a divorcée could marry anyone she wished than that a widow had this freedom . . . Many commentators have . . . concluded [erroneously] that Paul thought a marriage could end only with death.[715]

Paul's comment does appear to mirror Mur 19 (assumed to be 72 C.E.):[716]

1.   On the first of Marheshwan, the year six, at Masada
2.   I divorce and repudiate of my own free will, today I
3.   Joseph, son of Naqsan, from [...]ah, living at Masada, you
4.   Miriam, daughter of Jonathan [fro]m Hanablata, living
5.   At Masada, who was my wife up to this time, so that you
6.   Are free on your part to go and become the wife of any
7.   Jewish man that you wish . . .

In this document the levirate obligation of ancient Israel (Deut 25:5-10), where a widow was obligated to marry her deceased husband's brother, was being cancelled. Thus Paul, as Instone-Brewer argues, appears to be similarly freeing widows from any such obligation in the Christian church. Paul merely stipulates that any subsequent marriage should be "in the

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[715] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 208-09; also Instone-Brewer, "1 Corinthians 7 in the Light of the Jewish Papyri," 238-39.

[716] Satlow dates Mur 19 as possibly 111 C.E.: Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 352.

Lord"—reflecting Mur 19, only now in a Christian context. If it is thought that Paul was outlining a principle of life-long marriage that allowed no exceptions it would mean Paul was contradicting the Matthean pericopae and his own earlier statement in v. 15.

10.4.6   Summary: Separation, Divorce, and Remarriage in First Corinthians 7

The understanding of 1 Cor 7 outlined above is consonant with the exegetical frame of reference for the teaching of the chapter outlined in §10.4.1, which was expected to be congruent with the marriage teaching and marital imagery elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, and that of the Gospels and Apocalypse. In mundane marriage it has been posited that the Gospels teach, as does Deut 24, that a husband is not to forsake his wife unless she is sexually impure, and this aspect of mundane marriage, as in the OT, appears to have been cross-mapped to the imagery in 2 Tim 2:10-13—Jesus will not forsake his bride unless she 'denies' him.

But 1 Cor 7 teaches if a wife separated from her husband he could assume she was 'denying' him—that is, her abandonment of him could be treated as her divorce of him. And a wife is free to initiate a separation from her husband if she believed she was not being provided for—Paul did not rescind Exod 21:10-11, and the understanding of 1 Cor 7 suggested in this study is fully compatible with that Pentateuchal teaching. It follows that there is no such thing as 'the Pauline privilege'— he was merely articulating OT principles.[717]

This posited exegesis sees, as do Edgar and Heth (as above), that 1 Cor 7 teaches that desertion by either partner is grounds for divorce. But this present study does not consider that Paul thought the grounds for initiating a divorce were mutual, but instead that abandonment is divorce, such being the logic of Exod 21:10-11—a deserted wife would clearly not be receiving her entitlement and so could divorce her husband; and in turn a husband could assume a deserting wife was divorcing him. If Paul had wanted to convey the teaching of mutual divorce grounds it might be thought he would have endeavoured to express it as clearly as possible, as from this study's perspective, the understanding of divorce

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[717] Many of the traditional views see that Paul added to the Gospel divorce rights a further exception for those being deserted by an unbeliever—for analysis: Engle and Strauss (2006); William A. Heth, "Jesus on Divorce: How My Mind Was Changed," *SBJT* 6.1 (Spring 2002): 4-12; House (1990).

in both ancient Israel and the wider ANE is that the grounds for initiating a divorce were asymmetrical—as were the grounds for 'divorce' in the OT marital imagery.

First Corinthians 7 expresses the ideal of mutual commitment between husband and wife (1 Cor 7:3-5; 33-34). A similar concept is reflected in the marital imagery of the NT (e.g. Eph 5:25-29), and in the imagery of the OT: Deut 10:12, for example, states that Israel had a duty to love their God, but as Ackerman points out: "Deuteronomy never describes the people . . . as actually offering Yahweh this love."[718] This present study is not aware of the Hebrew Bible speaking of Israel's love for Yahweh except for Jer 2:2, which apparently references the desert wanderings of Israel and portrays them as a 'honeymoon' period after their 'marriage' at Sinai (§6.4). But it appears Yahweh's divorce of Israel was not for their failure to meet any expectations he might have had for them in terms of covenant obedience, nor for their lack of any demonstrated love for him, but for the sole reason that they had forsaken him and behaved as 'prostitutes.' Thus it seems that the mutual expectations of the metaphoric marriage are not coextensive with the grounds for divorce.

In the Conclusion of this study the relevance of its posited asymmetrical divorce grounds will be briefly considered when, in much of the developed world today, there is greater social and economic parity between marriage partners.

10.5   Adam and Eve

In §6.12 it was pointed out that it is possible that Adam represented God's people, or more specifically (as Postell believes), Israel—Exod 4:22 describing Israel as God's firstborn son and Luke 3:38 referring to Adam as the son of God.

On the creation of Eve it can be seen that her relationship with Adam reflected Adam's relationship with God—Adam now represented God, and Eve represented God's people. Thus (as referenced in §9.6), Rom 5:12-21 and 1 Cor 15:21-22, 45-49 compares Adam with Christ, and 2 Cor 11:2-3 compares Eve to the church, suggesting they should be considered as types, as Rom 5:14 states of Adam. If this analysis is correct, the miraculous primal couple's hetero-sexual literal one-flesh relationship was seen, at least by the NT writers, to portray the relationship of God and his people. Thus it might be seen that at the

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[718] Ackerman, "The Personal is Political," 445.

eschaton the final relationship of Christ and the church is a typological fulfilment of the primal couple's union: Gen 2:21-23 portrays Eve as being formed from the body of Adam and then becoming his wife—at the marriage supper of the Lamb the body of Christ becomes the bride of Christ: a miraculous, permanent, unconditional union formed by God.[719] But this study suggests that the miraculous Edenic marriage did not form the aetiology of mundane marriage: there is no evidence of such in the OT legislation, narratives, or marital imagery, or in the NT marital imagery.

Furthermore, the NT marriage teaching pericopae of Eph 5:22-33 and 1 Cor 7, and the other scattered NT references to marriage considered in §10.2 above, are consistent in that none reference an Edenic model—although the Pauline corpus draws a parallel between Adam's headship of Eve and a man's headship of a "woman" (γυνὴ) in 1 Tim 2:13-14 and 1 Cor 11:7-10. It appears that the sole basis for a miraculous primal couple marriage model in the Gospels rests on the comment by Jesus as recorded in Matt 19:4-8 and Mark 10:5-6, the Matthew account giving:

> [4] He answered, "Have you not read that he who created them from the beginning made them male and female, [8] . . . "Because of your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but from the beginning it was not so."

Verse 4 is an apparent reference to the primal couple of Gen 1:27 and v. 8 implies that divorce was never God's intention. But there is no unanimity on what Jesus meant (§10.3.3)—it could be a reference to what might have been had Adam and Eve not transgressed. Instone-Brewer argues that with the reference to the "beginning" that:

> it might be supposed that the force of the argument lay in the fact that this is how it was done 'in the beginning'. However the emphasis was more likely to be on 'creation', which was an act of God. In other words, if God did something one way, we should follow his example.[720]

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[719] Carmichael when commenting on Jesus offering 'marriage' to the woman from Samaria in John 4 states that: "the marital aspect of the narrative is the original story of creation. It provides the unique model of the single process whereby a woman was both created and married to a man at the same time . . . The Samaritan woman is led in the direction of being both re-created and re-married through a union with Jesus": Carmichael, "Marriage," 341.

[720] Instone-Brewer, "Jesus' Basis for Monogamy," in Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, 86-87.

Instone-Brewer points out that it is a form of argument employed by Hillel and Shammai and seen in CD 4.21.[721] This present study suggests that such an argument implies an understanding of the primal couple as being formed by an act of God from which lessons can be learned, and not that the Gospel writer believes that such a marriage is to be replicated in some way in every subsequent mundane marriage. And rather than reference Gen 2:23 Jesus is specifically recorded as saying that mundane marriage was to be based on the post-fall Gen 2:24 aetiology of the Mosaic era. Furthermore, many commentators (§10.3.4) see that the pericope cannot mean that Jesus was prescribing a return to a pre-fall Edenic model for mundane marriage, as he clarifies and applies the Mosaic Deut 24:1-4 teaching for the NT era in line with the contemporary Shammaite understanding.

10.6   Summary: Divorce and Remarriage in the New Testament

This chapter has looked to find an exegesis of the NT's divorce and remarriage teaching that is congruent with its own marital imagery. It has been suggested that divorce (and remarriage) in the NT was permitted for a breach of the marriage covenant, that is, for a failure by either partner to do what they had agreed: for the husband to provide for his wife; for the wife not to be sexually impure. It has been seen that many published scholars support the exegesis at various points even though it appears none have looked to find congruence with the marital imagery.

If the analysis of this chapter is correct, it demonstrates such a congruence, in that there is no teaching in the NT that would prevent a divorced bridegroom taking a divorced bride in a new marriage. Furthermore, the imagery is consonant with OT teaching and marital imagery, and the understanding of contemporary NT Jewish marriage practice.

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[721] Instone-Brewer, "Jesus' Basis for Monogamy," in Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, 97.

It is now possible to give example references for the key analogies for the cross-mapping chart posited in §1.4.1. The betrothal practices in the source domain are to be found in OT teaching and evidenced in contemporary marital practices rather than in specific NT teaching.

Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church

(Conceptual domain 'B' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24 A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	ROOT METAPHOR →	NEW TARGET DOMAIN (B) **Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church** Men and women are invited to become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ. (Matt 22:1-14)

• Betrothal
  (Matt 1:18)
• Wedding feast
  (§9.2.6)
• Invitations to guests
  (§9.2.3)
• Groom prepares a place his bride
  (§9.2.8)
• Groom pays a *mohar* for his bride
  (§8.3.5)
• Groom promises to care for his bride
  (§8.3.6)
• Bride waits for groom
  (§9.2.8)
• Groom comes for his bride
  (§9.3)
• Groom takes his bride to his own home
  (§9.3)
	CONSEQUENT
	ANALOGIES →
		• Betrothal
		  (2 Cor 11:2)
		• Wedding feast
		  (Matt 22:1-14)
		• Invitations to guests
		  (John 4:5-29)
		• Jesus prepares a place for the church
		  (John 14:1-3)
		• Jesus pays a *mohar* for the church
		  (1 Cor 6:19-20)
		• Christ cares for the church
		  (Eph 5:22-29)
		• The church waits for Jesus
		  (2 Tim 2:10-13)
		• Jesus comes for the church
		  (Matt 25:1-13)
		• Jesus takes the church to his own home
		  (Rev 21:1-4)

MAP 2

Therefore it can be seen that NT marriage teaching is consistent with its own marital imagery, and as metaphoric principles would suggest, that imagery is based on a source domain rooted in the understanding of marriage in contemporary Jewish society. Furthermore, the aetiology of NT mundane marriage has been seen to be specifically stated in Matt 19:3-9 and Mark 10:2-12 to be based on the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24, a conceptual domain which forms the basis of both OT marriage and its marital imagery.

Genesis 2:24 is consistently cross-mapped in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures to underpin their marital imagery. The NT develops this concept to define the people of God: it is all who by means of a volitional covenant come into a metaphoric one-flesh/one-body relationship with their God—the NT portraying Jesus as the Bridegroom Messiah, inviting all (Jew and Gentile) into such a union. Thus each mundane marriage based on Gen 2:24, in effect, becomes a picture of the gospel offer that the NT writers articulate.

Conclusion

It was stated in the Study Outline that the aim was to investigate the possibility that the metaphoric marital imagery employed in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures may provide paradigmatic and hermeneutic guidelines for a better understanding of NT divorce and remarriage teaching. It was pointed out that such a study does not seem to have been attempted previously; and that no published study appears to have challenged the widely assumed primal couple marriage model; or explored how the conceptual domains of Gen 2:23 and Gen 2:24 differ and the significance of that difference; or examined NT marital imagery in light of either traditional metaphor theory or the more recent developments in structure-mapping theory; or how, in light of that structure-mapping theory, Gen 2:24 with its metaphoric, covenantal concepts, is cross-mapped in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Wenham articulates the consensus view of the church and NT scholars: "[Gen 2:24] is a comment by the narrator applying the principles of the first marriage to every marriage."[722] However, it has been seen that the four principles of Gen 2:24 outlined in this present study are mutually exclusive to the principles underlying Gen 2:23 and the first marriage described there, and it seems clear that it is the principles of Gen 2:24, not those of Gen 2:23, which underpin subsequent marriages:

Gen 2:23

1. A miraculous man and woman.
2. Remain as they are.
3. In a literal one-flesh union.
4. Without the need for a covenant.

Gen 2:24

1. A naturally born man and woman.
2. Become what they were not.
3. In a metaphoric one-flesh union.
4. By means of a volitional, conditional covenant.

It is suggested that the exploration of the Bible's marital imagery has demonstrated that it is the principles of Gen 2:24, not those of Gen 2:23, which are cross-mapped in the marital imagery, and in the related corporate body imagery.

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[722] Wenham, *Genesis*, 70.

Thus Gen 2:24 has been shown to have been cross-mapped in the marital imagery to create three new conceptual domains:

MAP 1 *Yahweh: The Husband of Israel*   (All OT imagery)

MAP 2 *Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church*   (Gospels, Paul, and Apocalypse)

MAP 3 *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*   (Rom 6 and 7)

And in the body imagery of the NT, the Gen 2:24 conceptual domain has been seen to be employed twice in a forced equivalence cross-mapping of the two conceptual domains formed by the NT marital imagery, to create its corporate body imagery:

MAP 4 *The Body of Christ*   (1 Cor 6:15-16)

MAP 5 *The Body of a Prostitute*   (1 Cor 6:15-16)

Thus the conceptual domain of Gen 2:24 is cross-mapped in five different ways in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as represented in the five cross-mapping structure maps (Appendix A: Maps 1-5): three times in the marital imagery and twice in the body imagery.

It is further suggested that Ch. 10 of this study has demonstrated that an exegesis of the divorce and remarriage pericopae of the NT can be found that is compatible with both its own marital imagery and that of the Jewish Scriptures. This is a conclusion that is congruent with metaphoric principles which would expect the marital practices of a nation's culture to be consonant with the metaphoric imagery of the Scriptures produced by that culture.

It might be wondered why there is such a diverse understanding in Christendom of NT divorce and remarriage teaching if, as suggested in this study, an exegesis is possible that harmonises the Gospel teaching with that in the Pauline corpus, and harmonises both with the understanding of marriage as demonstrated in the OT legislation and narratives. Instone-Brewer suggests that the post-apostolic church struggled to make sense of the Gospels' divorce and remarriage teaching because of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.—the subsequent loss of Jewish culture within the church meant that the background to the debate recorded in Matt 19 and Mark 10 was lost.[723] Hays comments: "Christian tradition early on

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[723] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 238-39.

lost its vital connection with the Jewish interpretative matrix."[724] Blomberg, although not commenting on the loss of any distinctive Jewish understanding, cautions against valuing the patristic views on NT teaching on marriage and divorce. He points out that they took no uniform position and relied on a textual version of Matt 19:9 that appeared to exclude any option for remarriage and further points out "the general tendencies toward asceticism in sexual matters in early Greek and Latin Christianity."[725]

Although this study has challenged Loader's assertion that the NT writers employed Gen 2:24 with a Greek understanding of σάρξ, it suggests that Witte is correct to see that the early post-apostolic church's teaching on marriage and divorce was a synthesis of Greek philosophy, Roman law, and biblical teaching.[726] Witte points out that Clement of Alexandria was:

> particularly well schooled in Platonism, and he worked hard to show that Christianity was a form of philosophy that was consonant with this ancient Greek philosophy.[727]

It was posited in Ch. 8 that these neoplatonic ideas introduced the concept of Adam and Eve's marriage as an archetype. Sly comments:

> Primarily, all Philo's allegorical interpretation of the story is a development of that pattern . . . Adam is the prototype of man as husband, Eve the prototype of woman as wife.[728]

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[724] Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, 43. For an overview of the history of divorce and remarriage teaching in the Christian West see: Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage*, 238-67; also: Witte (2012).

[725] Blomberg, "Marriage," 180-81; Parker (1993) has an analysis of the textual variations in the relevant pericopae.

[726] Loader sees that the Septuagint had a significant influence on the understanding of the NT writers on sexual matters: Loader (2004).

[727] Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract*, 55.

[728] Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women*, 95.

The distinctive teaching that is derived from a primal couple model (§5.1) soon followed. As early as *The Shepherd of Hermas* (variously dated between 90 C.E. and 150 C.E.) the perception seems to have been that there was no remarriage after divorce:

> The husband should put her away, and remain by himself. But if he put his wife away and marry another, he also commits adultery.[729]

But Witte believes it was Augustine of Hippo who had the greatest influence on Western Christendom's perception of marriage—in his *Of the Good of Marriage* (401 C.E.) Augustine states:

> [Marriage is] a certain sacrament, that it is not made void even by separation itself, since, so long as her husband lives, even by whom she has been left, she commits adultery, in case she be married to another: and he who has left her, is the cause of this evil.

And that: "marriage and continence [celibacy] are two goods, whereof the second is better." And:

> But a marriage once for all entered upon in the City of our God, where, even from the first union of the two, the man and the woman, marriage bears a certain sacramental character, can no way be dissolved but by the death of one of them.[730]

The idea that marriage was a sacrament that conveyed grace developed in the Middle Ages, but such teaching was not formalised by the Church of Rome until the Council of Trent in 1563. From which time the marriage was to be conducted by a priest and the ceremony to involve a couple who were consenting baptised adults and such: "spiritually transformed their relationship—removing the sin of sexual intercourse" creating an indissoluble union.[731] The

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[729] Hermas, *The Shepherd of Hermas* (ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe; vol. 2 of *From Ante-Nicene Fathers;* trans. F. Crombie; Buffalo, N.Y.: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), Commandment 4, Chapter 1. Cited 3 November 2014. Online: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/02012.htm.

[730] Philip Schaff, ed., *On the Good of Marriage* (vol. 3 of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers;* Buffalo, N.Y.: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), §6; §7; §17. Cited 11 November 2014. Online: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1309.htm.

[731] Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract*, 77-112; Kreeft, *Catholic Christianity*, 363-68.

Reformers, as they looked afresh at the text of Scripture, were united in rejecting marriage as a sacrament but failed to reach a consensus on divorce and remarriage, as is reflected in the situation today (§10.1).[732]

This study has not attempted to consider the applicability of its posited NT mundane divorce teaching for a Christian community today, or any pastoral consequences of such. It has been suggested that the NT teaches, and the JDD evidences, narrower grounds for divorce for husbands than wives. Thus, although Exod 21:10-11 and 1 Cor 7 indicate a wife can leave her husband if he has not provided for her needs, and that a husband can treat his wife's abandonment of him as a *de facto* divorce initiated by her, it seems from Deut 24:1 and Jesus' endorsement of it recorded in Matthew, that the husband can only legitimately initiate a divorce of his wife based on her sexual impurity. The effect of this teaching is to give the wife emotional and financial security within the marriage. However, such asymmetry might not be thought to be applicable today, especially in the developed world, where a woman is perhaps more able to achieve financial self-sufficiency than in the ANE or the Graeco-Roman world of the Second Temple period.

Instone-Brewer believes 1 Cor 7 gives gender equality in divorce grounds.[733] Such a position does remove the potential anomaly of the restricted grounds of divorce for the husband—he references Origen who points out that such teaching means a wife might have committed any number of atrocities, for example, murdering the couple's infant child, but if she had not committed any sexual indecency her husband was forbidden a divorce.[734]

The understanding of biblical divorce teaching posited in this present study is that a divorce can be legitimately initiated by either spouse when the other fails to fulfil their own specific covenantal responsibilities. First Corinthians 7:3-5 states that the sexual relationship (one of the triad of obligations in Exod 21:10) is a duty of both husband and wife, and in vv. 33-34 Paul appears to also expect both husband and wife to be "anxious" to please each other, furthermore Titus 2:3-4 explains that wives are to love their husbands. Thus, although not (as this study understands it) strictly according to the explicit teaching of the NT, it might be an acceptable pragmatic solution to the potential problem of asymmetrical divorce

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[732] Witte, *From Sacrament to Contract*, 130; Witte (2005) gives a detailed account of Calvin's position and that of his contemporaries in Geneva.
[733] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 195-97.
[734] Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage,* 248; Origen, *Commentary on Matthew*, §14.24.

grounds, to allow a husband to initiate a divorce on the more broadly based grounds of the failure by his wife to fulfil her responsibilities in the marriage as articulated in the NT. This might be seen to be an acceptable pastoral solution in line with the principles outlined in §10.4.4 and Paul's comment: "God has called you to peace" (1 Cor 7:15). The equity of such a solution is perhaps underpinned by the fact that, as mentioned above, in the twenty-first century developed world a divorced wife is potentially less disadvantaged than in biblical times.[735]

Furthermore, apart from not addressing the pastoral implications of divorce, this present study has not considered the wider implications of the Bible's cross-mapping of Gen 2:24 in its imagery, focusing rather on the issue of divorce and remarriage. In particular, the way in which the Pauline corpus employs the metaphoric one-flesh union of Gen 2:24 to both delineate the people of God and underpin the offer of the gospel to the Gentiles is a specific area probably worthy of further consideration.

On metaphoric theology in general Long (1994) comments:

> Within religion and theology Ian Ramsey . . . Paul Ricouer . . . Sallie Macfague . . Janet Soskice . . . Peter Macky and Marjo Korpel are a few who acknowledge the vital cognitive function of nonliteral language, particularly metaphor and its importance in understanding the world and the other world.[736]

And Neusner in *Judaism and its Social Metaphors* (1989) saw that:

> the ways in which a religious system defines its own society, in particular the modes of thought and processes of imagination that yield one picture of the social entity and not some other – that is not a routine enquiry.[737]

These statements seem to be borne out by the fact that to date there appears to be no analysis of NT marital or corporate body imagery in light of metaphor theory published in English.

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[735] Instone-Brewer addresses some of these issues: David Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Church* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2003; repr., Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2011), 69-80.

[736] Gary Alan Long, "Dead or Alive? Literality and God-Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible," *AAR* 62 No.2 (Summer 1994): 510.

[737] Neusner, *Judaism and its Social Metaphors*, 13.

Finally, in the process of exploring the marital imagery of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it is has been seen it is possible to posit that Adam's expulsion from Eden is a divorce from God (Postell, 2011); his new relationship (and thus mankind's relationship) with Satan is a marriage (Holland, 2011); Israel's exodus from the "idols of Egypt" (Ezek 20:8) and the covenant giving at Sinai is a divorce and remarriage respectively (Lunn, 2014); Israel's Assyrian exile (in contrast to Judah's Babylonian exile) is a divorce (Instone-Brewer, 2002); Jesus' encounter with the woman from Samaria is a remarriage offer to divorced Israel (McWhirter, 2006); Christ's death on the cross is to release the elect from their marriage to Satan (Holland, 2011); and the destruction of Jerusalem represents Christ's divorce of the Israelite cult (Origen, ca. 250).

Despite this, there does not appear to be any systematic study that has explored how the marital imagery of the Pentateuch was developed by the OT Jewish prophets and exploited by the NT authors to produce what appears to be a biblical marital metanarrative—embracing an exodus from Egypt culminating in a marriage at Sinai, and an inchoate marriage forming the background to a new exodus and the marriage supper of the Lamb.[738] It is a metanarrative that portrays the proposed marriage at the eschaton as a remarriage after divorce for both bride and groom, where the groom takes his own body in a new marital union to re-instate the Edenic bliss of the primal couple (Carmichael, 1980).

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[738] Long states: "Jesus combined the image of an eschatological banquet with the marriage metaphor to describe the end of the Exile as a new Exodus": Long, *Jesus the Bridegroom*, 7.

Appendix A: Cross-Domain Mapping Diagrams

Marital Cross-Mapping
Yahweh: The Husband of Israel
The Pentateuch and Prophets
(Conceptual domain 'A' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN **Gen 2:24** A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	**ROOT METAPHOR** →	**NEW TARGET DOMAIN (A)** **Yahweh: The Husband of Israel** Israel becomes what they were not in a metaphoric marital union with Yahweh formed by means of a volitional covenant. (Jer 31:31-32)

• Marital obligations for the husband (Exod 21:7-11) • Adultery forbidden (Exod 20:14) • Divorce certificate required (Deut 24:1-4) • Remarriage to first husband forbidden (Deut 24:1-4)	**CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES** →	• Marital obligations for Yahweh (Ps 132:13-16) • Adultery forbidden (Ezek 23:1-9) • Divorce certificate required (Jer 3:6-8) • Remarriage to Yahweh forbidden (Jer 3:6-8) • But a future betrothal followed by a remarriage is promised (Hos 2:19-20; Isa 54:4-8)

MAP 1

Marital Cross-Mapping
Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church
Primarily the Gospels and Apocalypse
(Conceptual domain 'B' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN **Gen 2:24** A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	**ROOT** **METAPHOR**	**NEW TARGET** **DOMAIN (B)** **Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church** Men and women are invited to become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ. (Matt 22:1-14)

• Betrothal
  (Matt 1:18)
• Wedding feast
  (§9.2.6)
• Invitations to guests
  (§9.2.3)
• Groom prepares a place his bride
  (§9.2.8)
• Groom pays a *mohar* for his bride
  (§8.3.5)
• Groom promises to care for his bride
  (§8.3.6)
• Bride waits for groom
  (§9.2.8)
• Groom comes for his bride
  (§9.3)
• Groom takes his bride to his own home
  (§9.3)
	CONSEQUENT
	ANALOGIES
		• Betrothal
		  (2 Cor 11:2)
		• Wedding feast
		  (Matt 22:1-14)
		• Invitations to guests
		  (John 4:5-29)
		• Jesus prepares a place for the church
		  (John 14:1-3)
		• Jesus pays a *mohar* for the church
		  (1 Cor 6:19-20)
		• Christ cares for the church
		  (Eph 5:22-29)
		• The church waits for Jesus
		  (2 Tim 2:10-13)
		• Jesus comes for the church
		  (Matt 25:1-13)
		• Jesus takes the church to his own home
		  (Rev 21:1-4)

MAP 2

Marital Cross-Mapping
Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity
Romans 6 and 7
(Conceptual domain 'C' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24		NEW TARGET DOMAIN (C) **Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity**
A woman becomes the wife of a man in a metaphoric one-flesh union formed by means of a volitional covenant.	ROOT METAPHOR ➡	Unredeemed humanity became what they were not: the metaphoric wife of Sin by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam. (Gen 3; Rom 6 and 7)
• The wife is bound (Rom 7:1-4) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)	CONSEQUENT ANALOGIES ➡	• Unredeemed humanity is bound (Rom 6 and 7) • No release from the marriage without a death (or the required divorce certificate: Deut 24:1-4)

MAP 3

The Corporate *Body of Christ*
(New conceptual domain 'D' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN
Gen 2:24

A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.

FORCED EQUIVALENCE

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN
Jesus: The Bridegroom of the Church

Believers at Corinth had become what they were not: members of the covenant community that is the metaphoric bride of Christ.

NEW CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (D)
A New 'Horizontal' Identity:
The Body of Christ
"Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'"
1 Cor 6:15-16
"For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ."
1 Cor 12:12

MAP 4

The Corporate *Body of a Prostitute*
(New conceptual Domain 'E' is created)

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN Gen 2:24

A woman becomes the wife of a man by means of a volitional covenant forming a new kinship group.

FORCED EQUIVALENCE

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN *Sin: The Husband of Unredeemed Humanity*

Thus unredeemed humanity becomes the metaphoric wife of 'Sin' by means of a volitional covenant formed by Adam.

(Gen 3; Deut 24:1-4 cf. Rom 6-7)

NEW CONCEPUAL DOMAIN: E A New 'Horizontal' Identity: The Body of a Prostitute (The Body of Sin)
"Or do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'" 1 Cor 6:16

MAP 5

First Corinthians 6:15-16

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: D
The Body of Christ
"Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . ."

1 Cor 6:15a

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN: E
The Body of a Prostitute
". . . Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute? . . . do you not know that he who is joined to a prostitute becomes one body with her?"
1 Cor 6:15b-16a

CONCEPTUAL
DOMAIN: GEN 2:24
". . . For, as it is written, 'The two will become one flesh.'"
1 Cor 6:16b

MAP 6

Appendix B: Judaean Desert Documents Chart

SBL reference	Former sigla	Date of origin	Language	Discovered	First published	Location
Marriage:						
Mur 20	DJD II 20	117 C.E.	Aramaic	1952	1961	Murabba'at
Mur 21	DJD II 21	Early 2nd C.E.	Aramaic	1952	1961	Murabba'at
Mur 115	DJD II 115	124 C.E.	Greek	1952	1961	Murabba'at
Mur 116	DJD II 116	Early 2nd C.E.	Greek	1952	1961	Murabba'at
XḤev/Se 69	P.Ḥev 69	130 C.E.	Greek	1952	1994	Naḥal Ḥever
5/6Ḥev 10	P.Yadin10 (Babatha's *Ketubah*)	125-128 C.E.	Aramaic	1961	1994	Naḥal Ḥever
5/6Ḥev 18	P.Yadin18	128 C.E.	Greek	1961	1989	Naḥal Ḥever
5/6Ḥev 37	XḤev/Se gr 65	131 C.E.	Greek	1961	1989	Naḥal Ḥever
Divorce:						
Mur 19	DJD 19	72 C.E.	Aramaic	1952	1961	Murabba'at
XḤev/Se 13	Se'elim13	130 C.E.	Aramaic	1952	1995	Naḥal Ḥever

Appendix C: Judaean Desert Documents Translations

Mur 20

1   The Document
"[An] Aramaic marriage contract, concluded in Hardona, 5km from Jerusalem"; possibly dating from 117 C.E.—or as early as 51 C.E. or 65 C.E.[739] It was found in the Wadi Murabba'at in 1952.

2   First Published
De Vaux, Roland, Jozef T. Milik, and Pierre. Benoit. *Les Grottes de Muraba'at*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

3   Translation of the Text
1.   [On] the seventh of Adar, the year ele[ven at Haradona, Yehuda son of Yo...
2   Son of] Manasseh, of the sons of Eliashib [living at Haradona, said to...daughter of...
3.   Yo]u shall be my wife according to the law of Mo[ses...and me I shall feed and clothe you, from today for]
4.   Always, from my property and upon [me is the duty of/I am giving you the *mohar* of your virginity...]
5.   Of good coinage, the sum of [200] zuzin...[
6.   And] it shall be valid. And if you are divorced from me I will return the money of your *kethubah* and all that you have brought to my house.
7.   I]f you go to the house of eternity [before me, sons which you have by me will inherit your *kethubah*...
8.   According to] the law. And if there shall be daughters which you shall have by me, they shall live in my house and shall be maintained from my goods.
9.   Until marriage. Or if I [go] to the house [of eternity before you, you will dwell...]
10.   And you will be nourished and clothed [all the days, in the house of our children throughout the time of]
11.   Your widowhood, af[ter me (my death) and until your death/you cannot be prevented from living in my house. All the goods that I have and that
12.   I shall acquire are guarantees and sure[ties for your *kethuba*...]
13.   An in favour of your heirs against every [counter-claim...And at whatever time you ask it of me, I will renew]
14.   For you the document as long as I am alive

Translation:
Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 291-92.

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[739] Thus Cotton, who furthers states: "Milik assumed that 'year 11' refers to the era of the province of Arabia, thus yielding the year 116/7. Since Judaea did not have its own a provincial era, 'year 11' is likely to refer to a regnal year of an emperor. Claudius or Nero could easily fit the lacuna, i.e. 51 CE or 65 CE": Cotton, "The Languages of the Documents," 224.

Mur 21

1   The Document
A marriage contract written in Aramaic found in the Wadi Murabba'at in 1952 dating from the early 2nd century.

2   First Published
De Vaux, Roland, Jozef T. Milik, and Pierre. Benoit. *Les Grottes de Muraba'at*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

3   Translation of Text
1.   [On the twenty first of the month]... the year... [Menahem son of...
2.   took as wife Le']uton, daughter of [...
3.   ...[*hb* Le'uth[on/Le'uth[on has given as dowry
4.
5.   ...] guarant[ee from all th[at he possesses...]
6.   [On the twen[ty the fir]st...Menahem, son of...living at...said to Le'uthon
7.   Daughter of...a living at] 'Ain [...you shall] be [my wife]
8.
9.   ...I]f I di[vorce you...]
10.   I will return [to you the money of] your [*ke*]*thubah* and everything that is [yours that is with] me And if [there be] child[ren (daughters) by me]
11.   According to the law, th[ey a]re to live [in] my house and [be] nourished fr[om my possessions... until]
12.   To marriage [and even a]fter [me (my death) wi]th you until their marriage. [I]f you [go] to [the House of eternity] bef[ore me]
13.   The sons which you [shall have] by me [will inherit] the money of your *kethubah* and [all] of you[rs that is with me and that is written] above
14.   Inside and out[side. I]f I go to that hou[se be[fore you, you are to dwell]
15.   And be nourished [from my possession] all the days in the house o[f our sons]s, the house of your widow[hood until]
16.   Your death [and] your [*keth*]*ubah*... is yours [...]
17.   And I Menahem [son of...], which is on the part of Le'[u]th[o]n [...
18.   And I Le'uth[on daughter of...] that which [is written] above.
19.   And at (any) [ti]me that you [ask me I will replace for you the doc[ument]
20.   [As long as] I am alive...

Translation:
Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 292-94.

Mur 115

1   The Document

A marriage document written in Greek dating from 124 C.E. found in Wadi Murabba'at in 1951.[740]

2   First Published

De Vaux, Roland, Jozef T. Milik, and Pierre. Benoit. *Les Grottes de Muraba'at*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

3   Translation of Text

1.   In the seventh year of the emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, under the consuls Manius Acilius Glabrio and Bellicius Torquatas, the fourteenth before the Calends of November

2.   Which is the fifteenth of Dystros at Bethbassi... of the toparchy of the Herodion. It has been agreed and concluded by Eleaios son of Simon of the village of Galoda which is under Aqraba

3.   Living in the village of Betharda which is under Gophna, with regard to Salome daughter of John Galgoula, who was once married to the same Eleaios. Then it previously happened that the same Eleaios

4.   Son of Simon did divorce and repudiate Salome daughter of John Galgoula [...] for the sake of communal life (?), now the same Eleaios son of Simon is agreed

5.   To be reconciled again and retake the same Salome daughter of John Galgoula as legitimate wife with a 'dowry' of 200 *denars*, which make 50 tyrian shekels, amount which

6.   The same Eleaios son of Simon and recognized (acknowledged) having being counted (to him?) [...] the above written at 200 denars... as dowry on the part of Salome's daughter of John Galgoula...

7.   [...] Salome daughter of John Galgoula against (?) the same son of Simon her husband (?)...

8.   And against (?) his goods. If [...] and of the children which she has and which she may have

9.   By him, sons and daughters that [...] that she may have by him, they will be nourished and clothed with the help of

10.   The goods that the same Eleaios [...] If at the same Eleaios son of Simon happens to die before the same

11.   Salome or if she [... it will nourish and clothe Sa]lome with the help of the goods [...] the above

12.   Mentioned 200 *denars* of that which concerns the dowry. If Salome daughter of John Galgoula happens to die before the same Eleaios , the sons

13.   Which she may have by him... will inherit [...] death [...] besides their share

14.   Of the paternal inheritance... [with their half-] brothers. If... (prior?) claim(?)

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[740] Cotton comments: "This is a contract of remarriage between Elaios son of Shim'on who came 'from the village of Galoda of Akrabatta, but [was] an inhabitant of Batharda of Gophna' – both in Samaria – and his former wife Salome daughter of Yohanan Galgoula": Cotton, "The Languages of the Documents," 229.

15.

16.   Right of execution belong to the same Salome daughter of John Galgoula and to any other who will act [in her place]/who presents himself for her [in lieu of her]...Salome (right) on

17.   Eleaios son of Simon her husband and on (all) his goods, those which he has and those which he may acquire... (execution) in whatever form.

18.   That the executor should choose; this contract being valid [...] presented legally [...]

19.

20.   (repeated of opening formula, very fragmentary)

21.

22.

Translation:

Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 295-96.

Mur 116

1   The Document

Portion of a marriage contract written in Greek found in 1952 in the Wadi Murabba'at dating from the first half of second Century C.E.[741]

2   First Published

De Vaux, Roland, Jozef T. Milik, and Pierre. Benoit. *Les Grottes de Muraba'at*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

3   Translation of Text

1.
2.
3.
4.   ... if she (?) nourishes the daughters and gives them in marriage... [If Salome before Aurelios]
5.   Happens to die sons which she will have by hi[m...] will inherit
6.   The dowry and those written above [...
7.   [They will have moreover divide] all the inheritance of the fortune of Aurelios
8.   With the (half) brothers which they may (?) have. If Aurelios before Salo-
9.   me happens to die Salome will be nourished and clothed from the
10.   Fortune of Aurelios all the time that she wishes to remain a widow... But if she wishes
11.   To leave after his death or if she sends in her place...
12.   ... [she will recover the *kethubah* of] 2000(!) *denars*
13.   ...

Translation:

Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 297.

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[741] Cotton, "The Languages of the Documents," 229.

XḤev/Se 69 (Ḥev 69)

1   The Document

A cancelled marriage contract in Greek dating from 130 C.E. found in August 1952 and believed to be from the Naḥal Ḥever caves, Cotton states: "The date of cancellation of our contract is unknown, except that it was after 130 C.E." [742]

2   First Published

Cotton, Hannah. "A Cancelled Marriage Contract from the Judaean Desert." *Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 84 (1994): 64-86.

3   Translation of Text

1.   In the fourteenth year of the Emperor T[rajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, in the consul-
2.   ship of Marcus Flavius Aper and Quintus Fabius [Catullinus
3.   in Aristoboulias of the Zephine. Sela.e[   ] gave in marriage[her daughter (?) Selampious
4.   through Bork.. 'Agla, her guardian for this matter[
5.   to 'Aqabas son of Meir from the village of Iaqim [of the Zephene .... she bringing
6.   to him on account of bridal gift of the dowry(?) in si[lver and gold ... all appraised in money value as five
7.   hundred denarii which are the equivalent of [one hundred and twenty five] staters, [and the groom acknowledges
8.   to have received and to hold from her[....
9.   five hundred denarii forthwith by hand [
10.   wedded (wife) so that Selampious is nourished and cloth[ed ... upon the security of all his posse-
11.   ssions both those which he has now and those which he will acquire. And in the event of the death of[
12.   [   ] the male children or if heirs
13.   [   ] the daughters will be nourished and clothed[
14.   [   ] and if he who is mentioned before[
15.   [   ] five hundred denarii [
16.

Translation:

Cotton, Hannah. "A Cancelled Marriage Contract from the Judaean Desert." *Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 84 (1994): 68.

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[742] "The document [XḤev/Se 69] published for the first time here is among the few Greek papyri which together with Aramaic and Nabataean papyri were brought to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem . . . in August 1952 by Bedouin, who claimed to have found them in Wadi Seiyal, whence the designation *P.Se'elim*; nevertheless they are now generally believed to come from the Caves of Naḥal Ḥever": Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract," 66, 76.

5/6Ḥev 10 (P.Yadin 10)

1   The Document
A marriage contract written in Aramaic found in 1961 in the Cave of Letters.[743] It dates from between 125 and 128 C.E.[744]

2   First Published
Yadin, Yigael, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Ada Yardeni. "Babatha's Ketubba." *Israel Exploration Journal* 44 (1994): 75-101

3   Translation of Text
1.   [On] the [thi]rd of Adar in the consulship of[
2.   [...]...[...]
3.   [...] you [...]
4.   [... from ʿEi]n Ged[i...that you will be to me (**or**: Be to me)]
5.   as a wif[e (**or**: in wife[hood) according to the la]w of Moses and the J[u]daeans. And I will [feed] you and cl[othe] you (**or**: and I will re[mit] to you, pursuant to your mo[har]), and pursuant to your *ketubba*, I will bring you into (my house).
6.   And you have a binding claim on me (for) silver (in the amount of) four hundred denarii (*zuzin*), which equal one hundred T[y]rian (tetradrachms), whatever
7.   she (!=you) may wish to take and to ... from the *dowry*, together with the rightful allocation of your food, and your clothing and your *bed*,
8.   the (fitting) sustenance of a free (=married) woman. Or (**or**:which is) the sale value of silver (in the amount of) [f]our hundred de[n]arii (*zuzin*) which are (equal to) one hundred tetradrachms (= *silʿin*).
9.   Whatever you wish *to* take and to...[.... from (the) *dow*]ry together with the right(ful allocation of your[food], and your *bed*
10.   and your clothing as (is fitting) for a free (=married) woman. And if you are taken captive, I will redeem you, from my "house" and estate,
11.   [and I will rest]ore you as a wife, [and (the amount due on)] your *ketubba* will remain as a binding claim on me as (**or**:according to)...[...]...[...]
12-13. [*and if you should go to your eternal home before me, male children that you may have from me shall inherit the sum of your ketubah, over and above the share with her brothers;*]
14.   fe[m]ale c[hild]ren [sh]all reside, and (continue to) be provided for from my "house" and from [my properties until]the time are m[arrie]d to husbands. And if
15.   >and if< I should go to my eternal h[ome] before you, you will [re]side, and (continue to) be provided for from my "house" and from my properties,
16.   [until the t]ime that my [heir]s will agree to give you the silver of your *ketubba*. And whenever [you] tell me,

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[743] "The document published here (P.Yadin 10) was discovered by the expedition led by Yigael Yadin to the Cave of the letters in Naḥal Ḥever as part of the second campaign in the Judaean desert, which took place in the spring of 1961": Yigael Yadin, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Ada Yardeni, "Babatha's *Ketubba," IEJ* 44 (1994): 75.

[744] "By 128 CE, but perhaps as early as 125 CE, Judah had taken Babatha as a second wife": Satlow, *Jewish Marriage*, 98.

17.   [I will exchange] for [you *this document, as is fitting. And all the properties that I possess and that I will acquire are guaranteed and pledged*.]

18.   [*to* (payment of) your ketubba. And I Yehudah, son of, ʾElʿazar, it is bind]ing on me, I,[myself, all that is] written [above],

19.   [...] (due) to babathaʾ (*vacat*) [da]ughter of Shimʿon, (incumbent) upon Yehudah, son of ʾElʿazar.

Translation:

Yigael Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 127.[745]

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[745] There is an earlier translation in: Yadin, Greenfield, and Yardeni, "Babathaʾs *Ketubba*," 79.

5/6Ḥev 18 (P.Yadin 18)

1   The Document

"a marriage document [written in Greek] from 128 CE from Maʿoza in the province Arabia, published for the first time in 1987."[746] It was found in 1961 in the Cave of Letters.

2   First Published

Naphtali Lewis, Ranon Katzoff, and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Papyrus Yadin 18," *IEJ* 37 (1987): 229-50.

3   Translation of Text

In the consulship of Publius Metilius Nepos for the second time and Marcus Annius Libos on the nones of April, and by the compute of the new province of Arabia year twenty-third, month of Xandikos fifteenth, in Maoza, Zoara district, Judah some of the Eleazar, also known as Khthousion, has given over Shelamzion, his very own daughter, a virgin, to Judah, surnamed Cimber, son of Ananias of Somalas, both of the village ʿEn Gedi in Judaea residing here, for Shelamzion to be a wedded wife to Judah Cimber for the partnership of marriage according to the laws, she bringing to him on account of bridal gift feminine adornment in silver and gold and clothing appraised by mutual agreement, as they both say, to be worth 200 denarii of silver which appraised value the bridegroom Judah called Cimber acknowledged that he has received from her by hand forthwith from Judah her father and owes Shelamzion his wife together with another three hundred denarii which he promised to give her in addition to the sum of her aforestated bridal gift, all accounted toward her dowry, pursuant to his undertaking of feeding and clothing both her and the children to come in accordance with Greek custom upon the said Judah Cimber's good faith and peril [and security of] all his possessions, both those which he now possesses in his said home village and here and all those which he may in addition validly acquire everywhere, in whatever manner his wife Shelamzion may choose, or whoever acts through her or for her may choose, to pursue the execution. Judah called Cimber shall redeem this contract for his wife Shelamzion, whenever she may demand it of him, in silver secured in due form, at his own expense interposing no objection. If not, he shall pay to her all the aforesaid denarii twofold, she having the right of execution both from Judah Cimber her husband and upon the possessions lawfully his in whatever manner Shelamzion or whoever acts through her or for her may choose to pursue the execution. In good faith the formal question was asked and it was agreed in reply that this is thus rightly done.

[Witness statements follow]

Translation:

Naphtali Lewis, Ranon Katzoff, and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Papyrus Yadin 18," *IEJ* 37 (1987): 233.

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[746] Yiftach-Firanko, "Judaean Desert Marriage Documents," in Katzoff and Schaps, *Law in the Documents*, 67.

5/6Ḥev 37 (XḤev/Se gr 65/P.Yadin 37)

1   The Document
A marriage contract written in Greek found in the Cave of Letters in 1961 dated 7 August 131 C.E. [747]

2   First Published
Lewis, Naphtali, Yigael Yadin, and Jonas C. Greenfield. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba period in the Cave of Letters: Greek papyri*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989.

3   Translation of Text
In the consulship of Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus and Marcus Antonius Rufinus, the seventh of August, and according to the computation of the new province of Arabia year twenty-six, on the nineteenth of month Loos, in Maḥoza in the district of Zo'ar of the administrative region of Petra, metropolis of Arabia, Yeshuʿa son of Menaḥem, domiciled in the village of Soffathe ... in the district of the city of Livias of the administrative region of P[eraia] acknowledged of his own free will(?) that he has taken Salome also called Komaïse ... a woman from Maḥoza, for them to... and for Yeshuʿa to live with her as also before this time... to the said Komaïse as her dowry ninety-six denarii of silver, and the bridegroom, the said Yeshuʿa, acknowledged that he has received from her on the present day feminine adornment in silver and gold and clothing and other feminine articles equivalent in appraised value to the [stated sum of] money, with his undertaking to feed and clothe both her and her children to come in accordance with Greek custom and Greek manners upon the said Yeshuʿa's good faith and on peril of all his possessions, both those which he possesses in his home village of Soffathe... and those which he may in addition acquire, she having the right of execution both from the said Yeshuʿa and upon all(?) his validly held possessions everywhere, in whatever manner the said Komaïse or whoever acts through her or for her may choose to carry out the execution, regarding this being thus rightly done the formal question having in good faith been asked and acknowledged in reply. I, X, son of Menaḥem, guardian of the said Komaïse, have agreed(?)...

Translation:
Hannah M. Cotton, "The Archive of Salome Komaïse Daughter of Levi: Another Archive from the 'Cave of Letters'," *ZPE* 105 (1995): 204-06.

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[747] However, Cotton comments that the document was not discovered in a controlled archaeological excavation: Cotton, "The Archive of Salome Komaïse," 172, 204.

Mur 19

1   The Document

A divorce certificate written in Aramaic found in 1952 at Wadi Murabba'at dating from 72 C. E.

2   First Published

De Vaux, Roland, Jozef T. Milik, and Pierre. Benoit. *Les Grottes de Muraba'at*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

3   Translation of Text

1.   On the first of Marheshwan, the year six, at Masada
2.   I divorce and repudiate of my own free will, today I
3.   Joseph, son of Naqsan, from [...]ah, living at Masada, you
4.   Miriam, daughter of Jonathan [fro]m Hanablata, living
5.   At Masada, who was my wife up to this time, so that you
6.   Are free on your part to go and become the wife of any
7.   Jewish man that you wish. And here on my part is the bill of repudiation
8.   And the writ of divorce. Now I give back [the dow]ry.[748] And all the ruined,
9.   And damaged (goods) and ...[they will be restored] as is my duty by this/ so let it be determined
10.   And I will pay (them) fourfold. And at any ti[me] that you ask it of me, I will replace for you
11.   The document as long as I am alive

Witnesses...

Translation:

Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield, England: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 60. Sheffield Academic, 1990), 298-99.

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[748] Ilan does not restore the word dowry in her translation of the text: Ilan, "On a Newly Published Divorce Bill," 199.

XḤev/Se 13 (P. Se'elim 13)

1   The Document

Opinions differ: a divorce certificate issued by the husband, a divorce certificate issued by the wife, or a renunciation of claims written in the aftermath of a divorce. Written in Aramaic it is thought to date from 135 C.E. and was found in 1952 (?) but not published until much later.[749]

2   First Published

Yardeni, Ada. *Naḥal Se'elim Documents (Hebrew)*. : Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press & the Israel Exploration Society, 1995.

Cotton, Hannah M, and Ada Yardeni. *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites: With an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts The Seiyâl Collection II (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert)*. Edited by Emmanuel Tov. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

3   Translation of Text

As per Schremer:[750]

1.   On the twentieth of Sivan, third year of Israel's freedom.
2.   In the name of Shim'on bar Kosibah, the Nasi of Israel
3.   .... I do not have —
4.   I, Shelamzion, daughter of Yehoseph Qebshan
5.   of Ein Gedi — with you, Eleazar son of Hananiah —
6.   who have been my husband before this time, and who have said:
7.   "this is to you from me a bill of divorce and release
8.   without reservation" — I do not have with you,
9.   Eleazar, anything I wish for. And I confirm — I,
10.   Shelamzion — all that is written [above].
11.   Shelamzion, daughter of Yehoseph, by herself lent the [hand] writing [of]
12.   Mattat son of Shim'on Mamre.
13.   [...] son of Shim'on, witness.
14.   Masbala, son of Shim'on, witness

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[749] Ilan states: "In 1956 . . . Milik also claimed he possessed and would eventually publish another ancient Jewish bill of divorce . . . The Dominican Fathers in Jerusalem had procured the document from bedouins, who claimed to have found it, along with a large group of other documents, in Naḥal Se'elim": Ilan, "On a Newly Published Divorce Bill," 196.

[750] Adiel Schremer, "Divorce in Papyrus Se'elim 13 Once Again: A Reply to Tal Ilan," *HTR* Vol. 91, No. 2 (April 1998): 201-02.

As per Ilan:[751]
1.   On the twentieth of Sivan, year three of Israel's freedom
2.   In the name of Simon bar Kosibah, the Nasi of Israel
3.   . . . I do not have . . .
4.   I, Shelamzion, daughter of Joseph Qebshan
5.   of Ein Gedi, with you, Eleazar son of Hananiah
6.   who had been the husband before this time, that
7.   this is from me to you a bill of divorce and release.
8.   I do not have with you. . .
9.   Eleazar anything (I wish for?), as is my duty and remains upon me.
10.   I Shelamzion (accept) all that is written (in this document)
11.   Shelamzion present, lent her hand writing(?)
12.   Mattat son of Simon by her order
13.   . . . son of Simon, witness
14.   Masbala, son of Simon, witness

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[751] Ilan, "On a Newly Published Divorce Bill," 199-200.

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Abbreviations

Bible Versions

ESV	English Standard Version
ISV	International Standard Version
KJV	King James Version
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NA28	Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament 28th Edition
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version

Primary Sources
The Ancient Near East

ANE	Ancient Near East
LE	The Laws of Eshnunna
LH	The Laws of Hammurabi
HL	The Hittite Laws
MAL	The Middle Assyrian Law

The Apocrypha

1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
Tob	Tobit
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon

Bible Books

Gen	Genesis
Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
1-2 Sam	1-2 Samuel
1-2 Kgs	1-2 Kings
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
Neh	Nehemiah
Ps	Psalm
Prov	Proverbs
Song	Song of Songs
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea

Mic   Micah
Nah   Nahum
Zeph   Zephaniah
Mal   Malachi
Matt   Matthew
Rom   Romans
1-2 Cor   1-2 Corinthians
Eph   Ephesians
Phil   Philippians
Col   Colossians
1-2 Tim   1-2 Timothy
Heb   Hebrews
1 Pet   1 Peter
Rev   Revelation

Josephus

Ag. Ap.   *Against Apian*
Ant.   *Jewish Antiquities*
Life   *The Life*

Papyri: Judaean Desert Documents

JDD   Judaean Desert Documents
5/6Ḥev 10   Naḥal Ḥever
5/6Ḥev 18   Naḥal Ḥever
5/6Ḥev 37   Naḥal Ḥever
Mur 19   Murabba'at
Mur 20   Murabba'at
Mur 21   Murabba'at
Mur 115   Murabba'at
Mur 116   Murabba'at
XḤev/Se 13   Naḥal Ḥever
XḤev/Se 69   Naḥal Ḥever

Papyri: Other

P.Amst.40   Amsterdam University
BGU (various)   Berlin Griechische Urkunden
P.Eleph1   Elephantine
P.Oxy (various) Oxyrhynchus
P.Ups.Frid.2   Uppsala University
P.Ryl.   Rylands Library

Philo

Agr.   *De agricultura*
Cher.   *Cherubim*
Leg.   *Legum allegoriae*
Sacr.   *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
Spec. Laws *De specialibus legibus*

The Pseudepigrapha

2 Bar.   *2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)*

1 En.	*1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)*
Jos. Asen	*Joseph and Aseneth*
Jub.	*Jubilees*
Ps.-Phoc.	Pseudo-Phocylides
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
T. Iss.	*Testament of Issachar*
T. Reu.	*Testament of Reuben*

Qumran

4Q159	4Q Ordinances
4Q416 III	4Q Instruction
4Q416 IV	4Q Instruction
4QMMT	4Q *Miqsat Maʿaśê ha-Torah* (Some of the Torah Observations)
CD	Cairo Damascus Document

Rabbinic Works

b. Sukkah	*Babylonian Talmud Sukkah*
m. Git.	*Mishnah Gittin*
m. Ket.	*Mishnah Ketubbot*
m. Sanh	*Mishnah Sanhedrin*
m. Sotah	*Mishnah Sotah*
m. Yebam.	*Mishnah Yebamot*
t. Ketub.	*Tosefta Ketubbot*

Secondary Sources

AAR	*American Academy of Religion*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
Colloq	*Colloquium*
CTR	*Criswell Theological Review*
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JATS	*Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSOT   *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
Maarav *A Journal for the Study of the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures*
NovT   *Novum Testamentum*
NTS   *New Testament Studies*
PAAJR *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
RevQ   *Revue de Qumran*
RB   *Revue biblique*
SBJT   *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*
SJT   *Scottish Journal of Theology*
StudBib *Studia Biblica*
Th   *Theology*
TJ   *Trinity Journal*
TS   *Theological Studies*
TynBul *Tyndale Bulletin*
VT   *Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup   *Vetus Testamentum Supplements*
WTJ   *Westminster Theological Journal*
ZPE   *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Contents Index