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Introduction

The precise definition of *covenant* (Heb. *b’rith*, Gk. *diatheke*) is a matter of scholarly debate, but many contemporary scholars would agree that it denotes a legal institution establishing or re-establishing a familial bond between two or more parties by means of an oath expressed in words, rituals, or both. The covenant bond created for the participating parties various obligations, which were sometimes expressed as laws in a text documenting the covenant relationship. Since covenants created kinship bonds, familial language (father, son, brother) and affective terms (Heb. *ahaba*, “love,” *hesed*, “faithfulness”) were often used to describe or prescribe the relationship of the parties. Because covenants were often solemnized by a ceremony and the stipulations documented in a text, the term *covenant* can be applied, at times, to the ceremonies establishing a covenant, the laws governing it, or the document recording it.

Other scholars would define covenant in a more limited fashion, as a “solemn promise made binding by an oath,” or even merely as a synonym for “duty” (German *Pflicht*) or “obligation.”

Covenant is certainly a central theme in Biblical literature, Biblical theology, and the religions that accept the Bible as divine revelation (Judaism, Christianity, Mormonism, etc.). A series of covenants between God and central figures of sacred history (Noah, Abraham, Moses, David) structures the so-called “Primary History” of the Hebrew Bible (Genesis through Kings). Covenant concepts are significant, even dominant, in the Psalms and (Latter) Prophets. Only in the Wisdom Literature is the covenant theme muted, though often present subtly and implicitly. The New Testament presents Jesus as anticipated “anointed one” come to establish the new covenant promised by the prophets.

Rabbinic Jewish thought everywhere presupposed (and presupposes) a covenant between Israel and God (Sanders 1977), and various early Church Fathers recognized the divine *economy* (i.e. salvation history) as divided into stages marked by covenants with key biblical figures. Explicit discussion of the covenant or covenantal concepts faded in the Medieval period, but again became a major theological *topos* in the Reformation, especially within the Reformed (Calvinist) tradition, which continues to produce a disproportionate amount of scholarship on biblical covenant(s). The Dispensationalist movement in American Protestantism likewise takes great interest in covenant as an organizing principle for the stages of sacred history, and within Catholic theology since the mid-twentieth century there has been a revival of interest in the covenant and its significance for biblical studies, sacramentology, and liturgy. There was a flurry of interest in covenant in critical scholarship in the mid-twentieth century when the literary and conceptual parallels between several covenant documents from the ancient Near East and those embedded in Scripture were first recognized. It has since waned, but much scholarship continues to be produced.

General Overviews

Brueggemann, *The Covenanted Self: Explorations in Law and Covenant*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999.

A collection of essays by one of the foremost biblical theologians in mainstream Protestantism. Interprets the scriptural text in conversation with the “object relations theory” of modern psychology, which views human growth through the lens of our capacity for interpersonal relations, which he calls “othering.” Psychology enables Brueggemann to develop the biblical notion of covenant in non-legalistic terms, involving “revolutionary *discipline, devotion, and desire*.”

Dumbrell, W. J. *Covenant and Creation: A Theology of Old Testament Covenants*. New York: Thomas Nelson, 1984.

Dumbrell sees a primordial covenant present from creation, which is renewed and reconfigured through salvation history in the various covenants of the Old Testament and ultimately into the New Covenant in Christ. Thus, there is

fundamentally one divine-human covenant established in creation which finds its eschatological fulfillment in the New Creation.

Faley, R. J. *Bonding with God: A Reflective Study of Biblical Covenant*. New York: Paulist, 1997.

A conventional study reviewing the last century of covenant scholarship, especially focussed on the Sinai covenant. Faley argues that covenants ritualized saving events, and always included both affective and bilateral elements, even when such are not explicit in the Biblical text.

Guinan, M. D. *Covenant in the Old Testament*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1975.

An older Catholic introduction to covenant thought in Scripture, Guinan is notable for his succinct threefold typology of covenants: “an obligation can be taken up oneself, imposed on another, or mutual obligations may be assumed.” He places various biblical covenants in these categories.

Hillers, D. *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1969.

This classic work by a student of G.E. Mendenhall summarizes the approach to covenant of the “American School” of Old Testament archeology and biblical theology at the height of its influence in the mid-twentieth century. Hillers traces the development of covenant concepts not through the canonical text, but through the history of Israel and its literary strata reconstructed according to the American School perspective. Biblical covenant texts are treated in the order in which the American School thought they were composed.

Horton, Michael. *God of Promise: Introducing Covenant Theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2006.

A distinctly Reformed (Calvinist) approach to biblical covenant theology, which combines advances in modern scholarship (e.g. the discovery of ancient Near Eastern covenant-treaties) with a commitment to theological categories formulated in the Reformation. For H., covenant is a relationship of oaths and bonds involving mutual commitments. Fits the biblical narrative into a traditional Reformed theological construct of three eras: covenant of works, covenant of law, covenant of grace.

Levenson, Jon D. *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985.

Valuable for both Jewish and Christian readers, this book is a perceptive introduction to covenant theology of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament from arguably the foremost Jewish Biblical theologian of the last century. Levenson argues that a creative tension between the Mosaic-Sinai covenant emphasizing the obligation of the law and the Davidic-Zion covenant of eschatological promise together give the Jewish Scriptures their characteristic dynamic.

Walton, John H. *Covenant: God's Purpose, God's Plan*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994.

A conservative Evangelical overview of covenant theology which tries to move beyond some stalemated positions in traditional and dispensationalist Protestant scholarship. Walton advocates a “revelatory” view, in which the purpose of the covenant is God’s self-revelation oriented to establishing a relationship with humanity.

Williamson, Paul R. *Sealed with an Oath: Covenant in God's Unfolding Purpose*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2007.

A careful and sophisticated canonical reading of the Biblical covenants from Genesis to Revelation, broadly in the Reformed stream but interacting with the best of critical scholarship. Williamson acknowledges but de-emphasizes the kinship aspect of covenant. He denies an Adamic or Creation covenant, but enumerates Noahic, Patriarchal (i.e. Abrahamic), National (i.e. Mosaic), Davidic, and New covenants in the rest of Scripture. A weakness is the lack of development of his concept of eschatological covenant consummation.

Reference Works

Weinfeld, Moshe. *b'rit*. In *The Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. II. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Revised Edition, 253-279. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975. This classic dictionary entry, by the foremost authority on covenant in Israeli biblical studies in the twentieth century, is particularly strong on the etymology of the Hebrew *b'rit* and the ancient Near Eastern parallels to biblical covenant texts. Although his definition of *b'rit* merely as “obligation” would be considered too reductionistic in most contemporary scholarship, this essay is still valuable and relevant for its wealth of philological discussion and references to relevant ancient Near Eastern text.

Mendenhall, George E. and Gary A. Herion. “Covenant.” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1. Edited by David Noel Freedman, 1179-1202. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Mendenhall electrified biblical scholarship in 1955 by demonstration structural parallels between Hittite treaty documents and Exodus, especially the Sinai tradition. This classic article treats the definition of covenant and surveys the theme through Scripture, but is particularly strong on the parallels between biblical and ancient near eastern covenant documents.

Hillers, Delbert R. “Covenant.” In *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 4. Edited by Mircea Eliade, 133-137. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.

Bergsma, John S. and Scott W. Hahn, "Covenant." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Theology*. Edited by Samuel E. Balentine, ???-???. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

A thorough and current discussion of the definition and translation of the Biblical terms for "covenant," the rituals of covenant-making, the significance of extra-Biblical covenant texts, and the theme of covenant throughout the Bible. Less technical and historical than Mendenhall and Weinfeld, but a particular strength is the attention paid to covenant terms and themes in parts of Scripture often overlooked in covenant scholarship: Psalms and Wisdom literature, the Gospels (esp. John), Catholic Epistles and Revelation. B. & H. understand the series of Scriptural covenants as a narrative of God's efforts to create for himself an ever-larger "family of God" within humanity.

McConville, J. G. "tyrib@;" in *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by W. A. Van Gemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997, pp. 747-55.

A readable summary of twentieth-century research on the covenant concept and individual biblical covenants from an Evangelical perspective. Defends covenant as an early, bilateral, relational concept against German scholarship which holds it as late, unilateral, and merely legal. In addition to the typically recognized biblical covenants (Noahic, Abrahamic, etc.), M. is open to the possibility of an Adamic or Creation Covenant being present in Genesis 1-3.

Weinfeld, Moshe. "B^erith." In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, 253-79.

Mendenhall, G. E. and G. A. Herion. "Covenant." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 1. Edited by D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992, pp. 1179-1202.

Seminal Contributions in the History of Scholarship

Wellhausen, J. *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black 1885. Repr., New York: Meridian, 1957.

This classic monograph established the historical paradigm that guided most mainstream academic scholarship on the Old Testament throughout the twentieth century. Wellhausen regarded covenant as a late biblical concept introduced by the Deuteronomist (7th cent. BCE) and overemphasized by the Priestly source (5th cent. BCE). Covenant is a unilateral legal obligation imposed on an inferior party by a superior one. It denaturalizes and reconfigures ancient Israelite religion from a natural kinship bond with the LORD to an ethical religious system. This has become the default perspective of German scholarship to the present.

Mendenhall, G.E. *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955).

This landmark publication introduced modern biblical scholarship to the significant parallels between Biblical covenant texts and the ancient Hittite covenant-treaties of the second millennium BCE. Touched off a flurry of covenant scholarship and permanently reset the premises for discussion of covenant in biblical theology

Eichrodt, Walther. *Theology of the Old Testament*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961.

Capitalizing on the enthusiasm for covenant research in the wake of Mendenhall's publications, Eichrodt employed the concept and reality of covenant as the organizing principle for describing Israel's relationship with God in the Old Testament. Volume 1 is essentially an "ecclesiology" of Israel as presented in the Old Testament; Volume 2 includes an OT cosmology and anthropology. Critics have found the work too synchronic rather than diachronic, and volume 2 (on OT cosmology and anthropology) is inadequately integrated into the covenant structure of volume 1.

McCarthy, D.J. *Treaty and Covenant*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963. (Rev. ed. 1978).

McCarthy, a Catholic scholar at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, tried to synthesize the advances in scholarly understanding of covenant gained by Mendenhall and his students while avoiding some of the excesses of the pan-covenantal maximalism of Eichrodt. While acknowledging analogies between Deuteronomy and ancient Hittite vassal treaties, McCarthy also showed similarities with 7th century Assyrian documents, closer in time to the consensus critical date for Deuteronomy's composition.

Perlitt, Lothar. *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.

A remarkable tour-de-force of scholarship in which Perlitt denies the significance of the literary parallels between biblical covenant texts and the covenant documents of the late second millennium BCE, and argues instead that covenant as a fully-formed religious concept appeared in Israel only in post-exilic times. He systematically removes textual evidence to the contrary by dating all pre-Deuteronomistic references to covenant to post-exilic times on source-critical grounds.

Nicholson, E.W. *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

This massive work of mainstream critical scholarship may be understood as a defense of Wellhausen's view of covenant against scholarship of the mid-twentieth century which—based on discovered ANE covenant texts—argued that covenant was an earlier, more complex, more pervasive concept in the development of Israelite religion and Scriptures. Nicholson

argues against the significance of parallels between Deuteronomy and ANE vassal treaties by pointing to all the ways in which they differ.

Hugenberger, G. P. *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law & Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perspective of Malachi*. Harvard Semitic Monograph Series. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Ostensibly a treatment of Mal. 2:10-16, this monograph includes the most systematic, rigorous, and methodologically self-conscious effort to define the word *berith* in the Hebrew Bible, concluding that it is “the extension of kinship by oath.” No subsequent work on the definition of *berith* can ignore Hugenberger.

Cross, Frank Moore. *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

The initial chapter of this essay collection, entitled “Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel,” summarizes a lifetime of work on covenant texts by America’s ranking Old Testament scholar at the time. Cross strongly emphasizes the familial nature of covenant bonds: covenant was the establishment of legal kinship. He argues and demonstrates how covenantal thinking provides the substructure of most of Old Testament narrative and law, from both early and late strata. Frequently quoted is this statement by Cross: “often it has been asserted that the language of ‘brotherhood’ and ‘fatherhood,’ ‘love,’ and ‘loyalty’ is ‘covenant terminology,’” but this is “to turn things upside down. The language of covenant, kinship-in-law, is taken from the language of kinship, kinship-in-flesh.”

Covenantal Biblical Theologies

Eichrodt, Walther. *Theology of the Old Testament*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975.

A classic of German scholarship, this two-volume Old Testament theology argues that covenant is truly “the center” (*der Mitte*) of Old Testament revelation and theology. Eichrodt makes a thorough study of various covenant institutions (legal texts, rituals, the sanctuary) as well as the development of covenant thought through the strata of the Hebrew Bible. A weakness was his inability to integrate Wisdom Literature into his paradigm. Eichrodt’s covenantal maximalism provoked a reaction.

Hahn, Scott W. *Kinship by Covenant: A Canonical Approach to the Fulfillment of God’s Saving Promises*. Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library. Edited by John J. Collins. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

This massive work builds upon and synthesizes the best work on covenant in the twentieth century, e.g. Cross, Levenson, McCarthy, Weinfeld, and many others. Hahn follows Cross in seeing covenant as establishing

kinship. He discusses the definition, categorization, and distinctiveness of each Biblical covenant (Noahic, Abrahamic, Mosaic, etc.) at a higher level of resolution than other studies. A particular strength is the continuity he demonstrates between Old Testament covenant concepts and the New Testament, esp. Luke-Acts, Galatians, and Hebrews.

McComiskey, T. E. *The Covenants of Promise: A Theology of the Old Testament Covenants*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985.

One of the best of many covenant biblical theologies from the Reformed tradition, McComiskey emphasizes the distinction between covenants of obligation and covenants of promise. The Covenant-between-the-Pieces (Gen 15), Davidic, and New covenants are promissory; the Covenant of Circumcision (Gen 17) and Mosaic/Sinaitic are obligatory.

Perlitt, L. *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.

Almost an anti-covenantal theology, Perlitt understands “covenant” as primarily an imposed bond of obligation, and restricts the true covenantal understanding of Israel’s faith to the post-exilic period, excising any textual evidence to the contrary by employing source-critical tools to redate canonically early covenantal references to the fifth century or later.

Wright, N.T. *The New Testament and the People of God* Vol. 1. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992.

This remarkable book amounts to a theology of the New Testament and early Christianity, but is mostly occupied with questions of method, due to the difficulty of asserting any truth in a post-modern environment, as well as the continued influence of modern skepticism into post-modernity. Nonetheless, “covenant theology was the air breathed by Judaism” of the first-century, and Wright’s reconstruction of Christian origins is always aware of the conviction that in Christ the covenant hopes of Israel found fulfillment.

Robertson, O. P. *The Christ of the Covenants*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980.

A careful biblical theology of the covenant from a Reformed perspective. Robertson defines covenant as “a bond in blood sovereignly administered.” He departs from older Reformed categories of “covenant of works or of grace” in favor of the categories “covenants of creation or of redemption.” He argues strenuously for a covenant of creation which serves as a mandate for believers to embrace responsibility for all realms of human endeavor. He categorizes the traditional covenants of Abraham, Moses, and David as “of redemption,” and understands Jesus Christ as one ruling from the throne of David and thus fulfilling David’s covenant. Includes respectful dialogue with the Dispensationalist tradition.

Studies on Particular Biblical Covenants

Adamic or Creation Covenant

Merrill, E.H. "Covenant and Kingdom: Genesis 1-3 as Foundation for Biblical Theology." *TR* 1 (1987): 295-308.

Merrill, senior OT scholar within American Dispensationalism and conservative Evangelicalism generally, argues based on cognate ANE materials that Genesis 1-3 presents Adam as a vassal in covenant relationship to the divine King, and the covenantal dynamics of the narrative in these chapters establishes the pattern for covenant making, breaking, and renewal throughout the rest of Scripture.

Moo, Jonathan. "Romans 8.19-22 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant." *New Testament Studies* (2008): 74-89.

Argues that Isaiah 24-27 envisions a primordial cosmic covenant between God and creation, and it is this covenant that Paul has in mind when describing all creation as enslaved to decay due to human sin.

Murray, R. *The Cosmic Covenant: Biblical Themes of Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1992.

Marshals a wide variety of texts—especially from Genesis, the Prophets, and the Psalms—to argue that the HB/OT presumes the existence of an original covenant with the cosmos established by God at creation. Murray draws out implications for a modern theology of creation and ecology.

Niehaus, Jeffrey J. "Covenant: An Idea in the Mind of God." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 52.2 (2009): 225-246.

Niehaus, writing out of the Reformed tradition, stakes out a theologically maximal position that the ideas both of "family" and "covenant" originate in the mind of God and are expressed in human society from the beginning of creation, being reflected in the Adamic narrative of Genesis 1-3. Similarly to Merrill, Niehaus understands a covenant with Adam to be presumed in Genesis, and this covenant serves as paradigm for subsequent ones.

Vogels, W. *God's Universal Covenant: A Biblical Study*. Rev. ed. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1986.

Vogels argues for a fundamental covenant between God and all humanity—all the nations—that is presumed by and reflected in a wide variety of biblical texts. This fundamental covenant is the basis of God's will for universal salvation, i.e. that all the nations be saved.

Noahic

Dell, K. J. "Covenant and Creation in Relationship," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*. Edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters, 111-134. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Dell tries to address the absence of scholarly attention on the Noahic covenant. This covenant is not just with Noah but all creation, and a large number of prophetic texts apparently presuppose or refer to it. The Noahic covenant may have come to be regarded as a renewal of a covenant at creation in the development of Israelite religion.

Van Ruiten, J. A. T. G. "The Covenant of Noah in *Jubilees* 6.1-38," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 167-90.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, the covenant of Noah is considered the beginning and prototype for all other covenants. However, *Jubilees* retroactively recharacterizes and reconceptualizes the Noahic covenant to conform to the Sinaitic covenant.

Van Drunen, David. "The Two Kingdoms and the Social Order: Political and Legal Theory in Light of God's Covenant with Noah." *Journal of Markets & Morality* 14 (2011): 445-462.

Writing within the Reformed tradition, Van Drunen attempts to address the problem of a proper theology of the state and the "secular" order by appealing to the Noahic covenant as expressing the fundamental duties of all humanity toward God, and therefore the rights and obligations that should be supported by the state regardless of religious confession.

Dumbrell, William J. "The Covenant with Noah." *Reformed Theological Review* 38 (1979): 1-7, 8.

Makes a careful exegetical argument that the covenant with Noah in Genesis 6-9 is actually the renewal of a primordial covenant with all creation in Genesis 1-2.

Chalmers, Aaron. "The Importance of the Noahic Covenant to Biblical Theology." *Tyndale Bulletin* 60.2 (2009): 207-216.

Despite the neglect of the Noahic covenant by most biblical theologians, it is the fundamental to all biblical theology. The covenant with Noah establishes the basis and parameters for God's subsequent salvific action, and also anticipates the outcome of salvation history.

Abrahamic

Muilenburg, J. "Abraham and the Nations: Blessing and World History." *Int* 19 (1965): 391-92.

Grüneberg, K. N. *Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 and its Narrative Context*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.

Argues that the statement of blessing in Genesis 12:3 in the Hebrew *niphal* should be rendered as the passive in English: "in you shall all the families of the earth be blessed," and draws out a few theological implications of this translation.

Clements, R. E. *Abraham and David: Genesis 15 and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition*. Studies in Biblical Theology (second series) 5. London: SCM, 1967.

Genesis 15 and other Abrahamic covenant material have been redacted to portray Abraham as a proto-David, and David as a second Abraham, the fulfillment of patriarchal promises

Williamson, P. R. *Abraham, Israel, and the Nations: The Patriarchal Promise and Its Covenantal Development in Genesis*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Genesis 15 and 17 are not confused accounts of the same covenant, but in fact distinct narratives of two different but complementary covenants granted to Abraham. The covenant offered in Genesis 17 is confirmed by God via the divine oath of Genesis 22:15-18, after the testing of Abraham's covenant fidelity at the *Aqedah*.

Alexander, T. D. *Abraham in the Negev: A Source-Critical Investigation of Genesis 20:1-22:19*. Carlisle, U.K.: Paternoster 1997.

Genesis 20:1–22:19 comprises a climax of the covenant-making history of God with Abraham. The dramatic divine oath in Genesis 22:15-18 confirms the covenant with Abraham promised but not ratified in Genesis 17.

Milgrom, Jacob. "Covenants: The Sinaitic and Patriarchal Covenants in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–27)," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*. Edited by C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. M. Paul. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004, pp. 91-101.

A source-critical study in which Milgrom argues that the Holiness School, responsible for Lev 26, understood both the Patriarchal/Abrahamic and the Sinaitic covenants as *conditional* on the obedience of the people. The HS is pre-exilic and prior to the development of unconditional concepts of covenant in the post-exilic period.

Moberly, R.W. *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992.

Moberly points out what should be obvious: the form of religion practiced by the patriarchs was not, and is not portrayed as, the religion of the Mosaic *Torah*. The patriarchs do not follow the laws of Moses and are not condemned for disregarding them. The text of the Old Testament clearly presents the view that an earlier and simpler if not less demanding form of religion existed between the patriarchs and their divinity prior to the introduction of the law at Sinai. The difference between patriarchal and Mosaic religion is as great as that between Mosaic and Christian.

Niehaus, Jeffrey J. "God's Covenant with Abraham." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56/2 (2013): 249-271.

Against those who would distinguish two separate Abrahamic covenants in Genesis 15 and 17 (e.g. Williamson and Alexander), Niehaus argues there is just one covenant, made in stages with supplements. The Abrahamic covenant is both conditional and unconditional: unconditional on the part of God, but conditional on the part of each human heir to the covenant.

Mosaic Covenant at Sinai (Exodus)

Polak, F. H. "The Covenant at Mount Sinai in the Light of Texts from Mari," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*. Edited by C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. M. Paul. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004, pp. 119-134.

Source critics have isolated two different covenant ratification accounts in Exod 24, one at the foot and the other at the top of Mount Sinai. However, two different covenant ratification ceremonies, one each in the territories of the inferior and superior parties respectively, are attested in ANE texts. Exodus 24 follows this pattern.

Horbury, W. "Moses and the Covenant in *The Assumption of Moses* and the Pentateuch," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*. Edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 191-208.

Second Temple texts emphasize Moses' role as covenant mediator, which sheds light not only on features of the canonical text of the Pentateuch, but also on the way Christ is portrayed as a new Mosaic covenant mediator in Paul and Hebrews.

Haran, M. "The *Berît* 'Covenant': Its Nature and Ceremonial Background," in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*. Edited by M. Cogan, B. L. Eichler, and J. H. Tigay. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997, pp. 203-19.

Haran argues against the over-emphasis on covenant *texts* but stressing that it was a *ceremonial ritual* that actually established and actualized a covenant between two parties. The ritual always appealed to the Divinity as witness, so no covenants were purely “secular.” Haran enumerates the necessary features of any such ritual, and gives examples from the biblical text.

Moberly, R.W.L. *At The Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1983.

A close reading of the final (canonical) form of Exodus 32-34, defending its substantial unity and seeking for literary and theological rather than source-critical explanations of its anomalies.

Sailhamer, J. H. “The Mosaic Law and the Theology of the Pentateuch,” *WTJ* 53 (1991): 241-61.

Similarly to Moberly, Sailhamer observes a distinction in the religion of the patriarchs versus the religion of Moses. God’s people lived by faith from the time of Abraham to the arrival at Sinai; thereafter they failed to live by faith once under the law. Thus, the Pauline distinction between the faith of Abraham and the law of Moses is the result of recognizing a literary pattern in the Pentateuch.

Nicholson, E.W. *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1973

The tradition of the Exodus and of the Sinai law-giving were united together at a very early period in the development of Israel’s religion, but the characterization of the Sinai event as a “covenant” was a late development introduced by a Deuteronomist (7th cent. BCE) redactor.

Niehaus, Jeffrey. *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995.

Niehaus argues that the Sinai Theophany is *the* central theophany in all of Scripture, and pre-Sinaitic and post-Sinaitic theophanies either anticipate or reflect it in various ways, from Genesis through Revelation. Biblical theophanies are typically covenantal in that they accompany and confirm the giving of covenants.

Mosaic Covenant on Plains of Moab (Deuteronomy)

Kline, Meredith. *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963.

The most sustained analysis of Deuteronomy in light of the Hittite vassal treaties. Kline openly argues for an ancient Deuteronomy

(late second millennium) in light of the similarities, and concludes that God presents himself in Deuteronomy as the “Great King” (i.e. emperor) who demands Israel’s obedience and love as a vassal.

Rofé A. “The Covenant in the Land of Moab (Dt 28,69-30,20): Historico-Literary, Comparative, and Form Critical Considerations,” in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*. Edited by N. Lohfink. Leuven: University Press, 1985, pp. 310-20.

The covenant described in Deuteronomy does not present itself simply as a reiteration of Sinai, but as a separate covenant in response to the failure of Israel in the Wilderness (see Numbers 25). This literary context explains some of the unique features of Deuteronomy vis-à-vis earlier descriptions of the law and covenant in the Pentateuch.

Wright, G.E. “The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage*. Edited by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson. New York: Harper, 1962. pp. 26-67.

Deuteronomy 32 occupies a central place in the structure and theology of Deuteronomy. From a form-critical perspective, it functions as covenant lawsuit (Hebrew *rîb*) as is found also in certain prophetic books. The Deuteronomist incorporates a prospective *rîb* at the end of his law book, anticipating the covenant infidelity of Moses.

W. L. Moran, “The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” *CBQ* 25 (1963) 77-87.

The commandments for Israel to love the LORD their God in Deuteronomy have ample parallels in ANE vassal-covenants. It is not emotionalism or affectivity, but part of the expected loyalty of a covenant vassal to his lord.

Davidic

Kaiser, W. C. “The Blessing of David: The Charter for Humanity,” in *The Law and the Prophets*. Edited by J. H. Skillen. Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1974, pp. 298-318.

The *torath ha-adam* mentioned in 2 Sam 7:19 should be translated “charter for humanity,” and refers to the Davidic Covenant, in which the Davidic king lays claim to suzerainty over all people.

Knoppers, G. N. “Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants and the Davidic Covenant.” *JAOS* 116 (1996): 670-97.

Takes issue with Moshe Weinfeld’s identification of the Davidic covenant as a “royal grant” based on ANE parallels (Weinfeld 1970). Argues that ANE “royal grants” did not follow a consistent form, and the Davidic

covenant is not presented in an entirely consistent manner in different Biblical texts.

Kruse, Heinz. "David's Covenant." *VT* 35 (1985): 139-64.

Based on a synthetic collation of all the main biblical texts that refer to or reflect the terms of the covenant with David, Kruse reconstructs a hypothetical original form of the prophetic oracle of covenant grant that lies behind the present form of 2 Samuel 7.

Levenson, Jon D. "The Davidic Covenant and its Modern Interpreters." *CBQ* 41 (1979): 205-19.

Modern scholars either "integrate" or "segregate" the Mosaic and Davidic covenants. However, the two covenants exhibit three different relationships in the Bible: either (1) complete lack of common ground, or (2) Moses and David as joint heroes of salvation history, or (3) subordination of the Davidic to the Mosaic.

Mullen, E. T. "The Divine Witness and the Davidic Royal Grant: Ps. 89:37-38." *JBL* 102 (1983): 207-18.

The calling of the sun and the moon to witness to the royal grant of covenant to David in Psalm 89 has close literary parallels with ANE texts describing divine grants to kings.

Gileadi, A. "The Davidic Covenant: A Theological Basis for Corporate Protection," in *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*. Edited by A. Gileadi. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988, pp. 157-63.

The covenant with David came to have significance not only for the Davidic dynasty, but for the whole nation, which found basis for divine protection in the royal grant bestowed on their king and his heirs.

Ishida, T. *The Royal Dynasties of Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology*. New York: de Gruyter, 1977.

By far the most careful and extensive historical reconstruction of the Davidic monarchy, its structure, and the worldview of the society that was governed by it.

McKenzie, S.L. "The Typology of the Davidic Covenant," in *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller*. Edited by J. A. Dearman and M. P. Graham. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

The idea of an inviolable covenant with David is an invention of the Deuteronomistic historian who composed 2 Sam 7 in the 7th-6th cent. BCE, and was unknown at any earlier period in Israel's history.

New

Buis, P. "La Nouvelle Alliance." *VT* 18 (1968): 1-15.

Exegetes Jer 31:31-34, isolating and analyzing five distinct elements of the new covenant: the restoration and return of the people, the definition of the covenant, the interior renewal of the people, the proclamation of a definitive covenant, and blessings. These elements are also found in oracles about a future covenant in Isaiah and Ezekiel, even though these prophets do not use the exact term "new covenant."

Freedman, D. N. and D. Miano, "The People of the New Covenant," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 7-26.

This study defends the position of Freedman 1964 that all covenants can be classified as either expressions of "divine commitment" or "human obligation." Surprisingly, F. and M. classify *both* the Sinaitic *and* the Davidic covenants as those of "human obligation." However, the New Covenant prophesied by Jeremiah is one of "divine commitment." Both the Qumran community and the early Church understood themselves to be participants in the New Covenant, in which there would be perfect coincidence of the divine and human wills.

Wise, M. O. "The Concept of a New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns from Qumran (1QH^a x-xvii)," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 99-128.

There are striking parallels between Qumran's Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus. Both understand themselves as commissioned by God to establish a new covenant in fulfillment of prophecy. Both become a source of dissension for their followers.

Studies on Covenant in Particular Periods or Biblical Genres

Covenant in the Prophets

Bright, J. *Covenant and Promise: The Prophetic Understanding of the Future in Pre-Exilic Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976.

The pre-exilic prophets portrays two distinct patterns in the relationship between God and humanity: the (1) "covenant" pattern, and (2) the "promise" pattern, equivalent to what Freedman 1964 calls "covenants of divine commitment and human obligation." The "covenant" pattern describes the Sinai-Moses materials; the "promise" pattern the Patriarchal and Davidic materials. The "New Covenant" has elements of both.

Harvey, J. "Le 'Rib-Pattern,' Réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance." *Bib* 43 (1962): 172-96.

One of the first essays to recognize that certain oracles of denunciation in the prophets correspond to a "covenant lawsuit" pattern from a form-critical

perspective. A covenant lawsuit or *rîb* was an ancient speech of prosecution for breach of covenant delivered in a place of judgment.

Hillers, D. *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964.

Many of the maledictions of the prophets employ tropes taken from the covenant curses of ANE and biblical covenants. It seems likely that the prophets knew this tradition and presumed to judge Israel and the nations on the basis of their breach of divine covenants. This is the landmark study of the subject.

Huffmon, H. B. "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets." *JBL* 68 (1959): 286-95.

There are two types of prophetic "lawsuit"—one connected to the "Divine Council," the other an indictment for breach of covenant. The lists of witnesses in covenant documents—including elements of nature (sun, moon, mountains, etc.)—are the basis of the invocation of these same elements of nature in various prophetic "lawsuits" against Israel.

Kapelrud, A.S. "The Prophets and the Covenant," in *In the Shelter Of Elyon*. Edited by W. B. Barrick and J. R. Spencer. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984, pp. 175-83.

This seminal essay represents the negative response of Scandinavian scholarship to the attempts of German scholars (Perlitt 1969; Kutsch 1972) to eliminate references to the covenant prior to the Deuteronomist (7th cent. BCE). Kapelrud surveys the early prophets, demonstrating the ways that they presume a covenant relationship already exists between Israel and her God, and that the people have known the obligations of the covenant since ancient times.

Isaiah

Hays, Christopher B. "The Covenant with Mut: A New Interpretation of Isaiah 28:1-22." *Vetus Testamentum* 60 (2010): 212-240.

The "covenant of death" mentioned in Isaiah 28 is probably a covenant with the Egyptian goddess Mut, with whom an element of the Israelite population had entered into a covenant in order to gain protection from foreign enemies.

Stromberg, Jacob. "The Second Temple and the Isaianic Afterlife of the *dwd ydsx* (Isa 55:3-5)." *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 121 (2009): 242-255. Isaiah 60 develops the idea of the renewal of the Davidic covenant expressed in Isa 55:3-5 not in the direction of "democratization," but in terms of the rebuilding of the Temple, since Temple construction and maintenance was always associated with the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7).

Clements, R.E. "The Davidic Covenant in the Isaiah Tradition," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*. Edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B.

Salter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 39-70.

Clements demonstrates that “all through the Book of Isaiah the belief in a unique relationship between the house of David and the LORD provides a continuing basis of reference” (p. 65). The influence of the Davidic covenant is pervasive in all three sections of the book. Cyrus’ actions serve to fulfill rather than supplant the promises to David; Isaiah 55:3 does not “democratize” the Davidic covenant because the king was always the embodiment of the whole nation, and their fates were joined.

Eichrodt, W. “Prophet and Covenant: Observations on the Exegesis of Isaiah,” in *Proclamation and Presence*. Edited by J. I. Durham, and J. R. Porter. Richmond: John Knox, 1970, pp. 167-88.

The Davidic covenant serves as a theological and salvation-historical link between the old (Mosaic) covenant and the new covenant as presented in the New Testament documents.

Lohfink, N. “Covenant and Torah in the Pilgrimage of the Nations (The Book of Isaiah and Psalm 25)” in *The God of Israel and the Nations: Studies in Isaiah and the Psalms*. Edited by N. Lohfink and E. Zenger. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2000, pp. 33-84.

Isaiah displays a consistent theme of the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion to hear the *torah* of God. This *torah* is not simply the *torah* of Moses and Sinai; it is a new *torah* associated with Zion and open to the nations’ participation in Israel’s covenant.

Jeremiah

Levin, Christoph. *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes: In ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*. FRLANT 137. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.

Jeremiah 31:31-34 is composed of multiple layers of redaction, which Levin peels away meticulously to uncover a few words which may be traced back to the prophet. This pericope is the “center” (*der Mitte*) of Old Testament theology, the beginning of covenant thinking and the ultimate source for many of the significant covenant passages outside Jeremiah (Hos 2:16-25, Gen 15, 2 Sam 7).

Coppens, J. “La Nouvelle Alliance en Jér 31.” *CBQ* 25 (1963): 12-21.

Jer 30-31 are the work of a disciple of the prophet, who delivers an oracle in Jer 31:31-34 envisioning a certain democratization of the prophetic role to all the people of Israel at some future point when God inaugurates a “new covenant.” The power of the Spirit, which characterized the prophetic ministry, would be shared with all the people.

Hals, R. M. “Some Aspects of the Exegesis of Jeremiah 31:31-34,” and Richard S. Sarason, “The Interpretation of Jeremiah 31:31-34,” in *When Jews and Christians Meet*. Edited by J. J. Petuchowski. Albany, NY: SUNY, 1988, pp. 87-124.

Hals and Sarason engage in a dialogue over the interpretation of Jeremiah's "New Covenant" between Christians and Jews. Helpfully provides a historical review the various ways that the new covenant has been understood both within Christianity

Kaiser, W.C. "The Old Promise and the New Covenant: Jeremiah 31:31-34." *JETS* 15 (1972): 11-23.

Writing from the Evangelical tradition, Kaiser argues that the new covenant prophesied by Jeremiah is, in fact, an organic continuation of the promissory covenants of Abraham and David. So there is a theological development of covenant from Abraham to David to Christ and the inauguration of the new covenant. The substance of the covenant remains essentially the same.

Potter, H. D. "The New Covenant in Jeremiah xxxi 31-34." *VT* 33 (1983): 347-57.

Provides an extremely useful review of the "state of the question" of the interpretation of Jer 31:31-34 in critical scholarship up to the early 1980s. The uniqueness of the New Covenant lies in the removal of all human mediation (prophet, priest, king) in the relationship of God and his people, such that he communicates directly with each one ("I will put my law within them", 31:33).

Wallis, Wilber B. "Irony in Jeremiah's Prophecy of a New Covenant," *JETS* 12 (1969): 107-110.

Jeremiah's "new" covenant is not really new, but merely reaffirms features of spiritual religion that have been present since Abraham. Jeremiah uses "new covenant" ironically to goad his audience to re-appropriate the covenant to which they are already heirs. Likewise, New Testament authors (Paul, author of Hebrews) also show that the "new covenant" was present already since Abraham, and therefore not really "new."

Moon, Joshua N. *Jeremiah's New Covenant: An Augustinian Reading*. Journal of Theological Interpretation Supplement 3. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011. Provides a very helpful review of the exegesis of Jer 31:31-34 from the patristic period through the contemporary, which alone makes the study valuable. Moon argues there is nothing really new about the "new covenant" other than that God's people will be faithful to it. "New covenant" means a renewal of covenant fidelity.

Other Prophets

Day, J. "Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions to the Covenant in Hosea and Psalm LXXVIII." *VT* 36 (1986): 1-12.

Day challenges the assertion, stemming from Wellhausen 1883 and re-asserted by Nicholson 1986, that references to covenant are not to be found prior to the Deuteronomist. He demonstrates covenant references in the indisputably pre-Deuteronomic texts of Hosea and Psalm 78.

McKenzie, S. L. and H. N. Wallace. "Covenant Themes in Malachi," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 549-63.

Identifies three stages of redaction in Malachi (1:1-3:12; 3:13-21; 3:22-24). In each stage, covenant themes are important, but membership in the covenant becomes narrowed and the threatened punishment for infidelity is changed.

McCarthy, D.J. "Hosea XII 2: Covenant by Oil." *VT* 14 (1964): 215-21.

The language of Hos 12:2 reflects an ancient covenant-making ceremony which employed oil as part of an oath-ritual.

O'Rourke Boyle, M. "The Covenant Lawsuit of the Prophet Amos: III 1-IV 13." *VT* 21 (1971): 338-62.

Amos 3:1-4:13 is a "covenant lawsuit" or "*rîb*" from a form-critical perspective. Provides a helpful review of scholarship on covenant themes in Amos up through the 1960s.

Hugenberger, G. P. *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law & Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perspective of Malachi*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Malachi clearly understands marriage as a form of covenant. In fact, marriage is understood as a covenant between man and wife throughout the HB/OT. Provides very helpful forays into the definition of *berith* "covenant" and the history of scholarship on covenant. The chapter on the definition of covenant is unparalleled for clarity of analysis and scholarly rigor.

Cathcart, K. J. "Treaty Curses and the Book of Nahum." *CBQ* 35 (1973): 179-87.

Provides an impressive list of verbal parallels between the curse oracles of Nahum and the curses of ancient Near Eastern treaty-covenant documents, some of which are close in time to the presumed composition of the prophetic book.

Peterson, Brian Neil. *Ezekiel in Context: Ezekiel's Message Understood in Its Historical Setting of Covenant Curses and Ancient Near Eastern Mythological Motifs*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 182. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012.

Ezekiel is a coherent literary work, divisible into five literary units, unified by the theme of covenant and ornamented throughout with the language and motifs of covenant-curse literature so prevalent in the ancient Near East. Peterson revivifies the "covenant lawsuit" approach so popular in the 1960s-70s, applying it to prophet neglected in earlier scholarship.

Covenant in the Second Temple Literature/Dead Sea Scrolls

Porter, Stanley E, and J.C.R de Roo, eds. *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

This entire volume is a recent and robust assessment of covenant thought in the Second Temple period. Readers will especially benefit by contributions from Craig Evans on the Qumran literature, Michael Wise on the Hodayot (Teacher Hymns), and J.C. de Roo on the reinterpretation of the Abrahamic/Patriarchal covenant in Second Temple literature. Evans argues the new covenant at Qumran was a renewal of Sinai in which only the Qumranites were the faithful. Wise proposes the Teacher of Righteous as similar to Jesus in being the mediator of a new covenant. De Roo argues the patriarchs were sources of merit for Jews of the Second Temple period, who were heirs of their covenant.

Halpern-Amaru, B. *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature*. Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1994.

Second Temple literature tended to downplay the significance of the land as the key component of the covenant relationship. The oath of God to Abraham (Gen 22:15-18) became synonymous with the covenant in some literature, and Abraham and Isaac were viewed as sources of merit for their descendants.

Kaiser, O. "Covenant and Law in Ben Sirah," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*. Edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 235-60.

Ben Sirah employs covenant as a leitmotif in his review of salvation history (Sirach 45-50), anticipating later covenant theologies of the Bible. Ben Sirah also ties covenant concepts to those of wisdom and creation, integrating themes that sometimes seem disparate in early Scripture.

Nitzan, B. "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, D. R. Schwartz. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

The "new covenant" of the Qumran community was in essence the same as that of Sinai. The community (Heb. *yahad*) was an "elect within the elect," who alone would be saved. Theological tension between free will and predestination as the source of membership within the elect can be found in Qumran literature, as in Paul.

Sanders, E. P. "The Covenant as a Soteriological Category and the Nature of Salvation in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians* Vol. 1. Edited by R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976, pp. 11-44.

This is the first of several publications in which Sanders advances his view that in Second Temple Judaism, membership in a gracious, divinely-granted covenant was presumed by Jewish thinkers, and obedience to the law was understood as a

fitting response to the God's grace in extending the covenant. Sanders terms this "covenantal nomism." See also Sanders 1977 and Sanders 1983.

VanderKam, J. C. "Covenant and Biblical Interpretation in *Jubilees* 6," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000: 92-104.

Covenant thinking in the Book of Jubilees and in the Dead Sea Scrolls is fundamentally similar. In both, covenants require an oath and must be renewed annually, preferably at the Feast of Weeks.

Covenant in the New Testament

Covenant in General

Quell, G. and J. Behm, "diati&qhmi, diaqh&kh." *TDNT* 2:104-34.

This article is really two: a study of Heb *berîth* by Quell and Gk *diatheke* by Behm. These are landmark studies that should be consulted by anyone writing on covenant in the New Testament or the Old. Quell and Behm lay much of the groundwork for subsequent studies by analyzing and enumerating all the occurrences of the words in both Testaments and identifying the more prominent cognate terms (e.g. Heb. *hesed*, *shalom*). While there is too much material to summarize, some salient points include: (1) *diatheke* in the LXX and NT clearly mediates the meaning of Heb. *berîth* and not, with few exceptions, the sense of "last will and testament" common in pagan Greek literature. (2) A *berîth* was the creation of a "fictional blood relationship" that brought into force mutual obligations between parties through the swearing of oaths. This concept elucidates the language and rituals associated with covenant-making throughout the Bible.

Holmén, T. *Jesus & Jewish Covenant Thinking*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

An idiosyncratic study that may be considered broadly social-scientific in methodology, concluding that Jesus did not give evidence of a concern for fidelity to the Mosaic covenant in any form recognizable to his contemporaries.

Covenant in the Synoptics and Acts

Van Den Eynde, S. "Children of the Promise: On the Diaqh&kh-Promise to Abraham in Lk. 1,72 and Acts 3,25," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*. Edited by J. Verheyden. Leuven: Peeters, 1999, pp. 470-82.

Müller, Mogens. "Bundesideologie im Matthäusevangelium. Die Vorstellung vom neuen Bund als Grundlage der matthäischen Gesetzesverkündigung." *New Testament Studies* 58 (2011): 23-42.

- Nolan, B. M. *The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1–2 in the Setting of the Gospel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.
- Brawley, R. L. “Abrahamic Covenant Traditions and the Characterization of God in Luke-Acts,” in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*. Edited by J. Verheyden. Leuven: Peeters, 1999, pp. 109-32.
- Bruce, F.F. “The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts,” in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*. Edited by G. A. Tuttle. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978, pp. 7-17.
- O’Toole, R. F. “Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost.” *JBL* 102 (1983): 245-58.
- Strauss, M. L. *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Covenant in John

- Tsuterov, Alexander. *Glory, Grace, and Truth: Ratification of the Sinaitic Covenant According to the Gospel of John*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009).
- Brown, Sherri. *Gift upon Gift: Covenant through Word in the Gospel of John*
- Chennattu, Rekha. *Johannine Discipleship as a Covenant Relationship*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006.

Covenant in Paul Generally

- Christensen, E. J. *The Covenant in Judaism & Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Das, A. A. *Paul, the Law, and the Covenant*. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2001.
- Porter, S. E. “The Concept of Covenant in Paul,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 269-86.
- Sanders, E.P. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.
- Wright, N. T. *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.

Covenant in Specific Pauline Epistles

- Dunn, J.D.G. “Did Paul Have a Covenant Theology? Reflections on Romans 9.4 and 11.27,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 287-307.
- Hong, I. G. “Does Paul Misrepresent the Jewish Law? Law and Covenant in Gal. 3:10-14,” *NovT* 36 (1994): 164-82.
- Hughes, J. J. “Hebrews IX 15ff. and Galatians III 15ff.: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure.” *NovT* 21 (1976–77): 27-96.

Kuula, K. *The Law, the Covenant and God's Plan. Volume I. Paul's Polemical Treatment of the Law in Galatians.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.

Lane, W. L. "Covenant: The Key to Paul's Conflict with Corinth." *TynBul* 33 (1982): 3-29.

Martyn, J. L. "Covenant, Christ, and Church in Galatians," in *The Future of Christology*. Edited by A. J. Malherbe and W. A. Meeks. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993, pp. 137-51.

Martyn. "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa," in *Pauline Theology, vol 1 : Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*. Edited by J. M. Bassler. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991, pp. 160-79

Covenant in Hebrews

Campbell, K. M. "Covenant or Testament? Heb. ix 16, 17 Reconsidered." *EvQ* 44 (1972): 107-11.

Dunnill, J. *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Gordon, V. R. "Studies in the Covenantal Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews." Ph.D. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1979.

Hahn, S. W. "A Broken Covenant and the Curse of Death: A Study of Hebrews 9:15-22." *CBQ* 66 (2004): 416-36.

Hughes, J. J. "Hebrews IX 15ff. and Galatians III 15ff.: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure." *NovT* 21 (1976-77): 27-96.

Kilpatrick, G. D. "Diaqh&kh in Hebrews." *ZNW* 68 (1977): 263-65.

Lehne, S. *The New Covenant in Hebrews.* Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.

Murray, S. R. "The Concept of diaqh&kh in the Letter to the Hebrews." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 66 (2002): 41-60.

Fisher, Jeffrey. "The Covenant-Idea as the Heart of Hebrews and Biblical Theology: An Original Contribution of Old Princeton in the Teaching of Geerhardus Vos." *Calvin Theological Journal* 48 (2013): 270-289.

Covenant in Catholic Epistles

Kamell, Mariam. "Incarnating Jeremiah's promised new covenant in the 'Law' of James." *Evangelical Quarterly* 83.1 (2011): 19-28.

Covenant in Revelation

Smolarz, Sebastian R. *Covenant and the Metaphor of Divine Marriage in Biblical Thought: A Study with Special Reference to the Book of Revelation*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.

Almost a biblical theology of covenant in its own right, Smolarz' work identifies precursors of the divine marriage metaphor in ANE literature, its beginning in Israel in prophetic reflection on the Sinai Covenant, and then traces the theme through latter texts of the HB/OT, the Second Temple literature, the Gospels and Epistles, culminating in a study of the covenant-as-divine-marriage in Revelation. Smolarz shows the nuptial imagery of Revelation must be understood against a well-developed concept of a nuptial covenant between God and his people in Israelite history.

Lichtenwalter, Larry L. "The Seventh-day Sabbath and Sabbath Theology in the Book of Revelation: Creation, Covenant, Sign." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 49 (2011): 285-320.

Special Issues in Covenant Scholarship

The Definition of Covenant

Barr, J. "Some Semantic Notes on Covenant," in *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag*. Edited by H. Donner, R. Hanhart and R. Smend. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977, pp. 23-38.

Hugenberger, G. P. *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law & Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perspective of Malachi*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Lane, D. C. "The Meaning and Use of *Berith* in the Old Testament." Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2000.

Lohfink, N. "The Concept of 'Covenant' in Biblical Theology," in *The God of Israel and the Nations: Studies in Isaiah and the Psalms*. Edited by N. Lohfink and E. Zenger. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2000, pp. 11-31.

Naylor, P. J. "The Language of Covenant. A Structural Analysis of the Semantic Field of *tyrb* in Biblical Hebrew, with Particular Reference to the Book of Genesis" D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1980.

Tucker, G. M. "Covenant Forms and Contract Forms." *VT* 15 (1965): 487-503.

Mason, Steven D. *'Eternal Covenant' in the Pentateuch: The Contours of an Elusive Phrase*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 494. London/New York: Clark, 2008.

Niehaus, Jeffrey J. "Covenant: An Idea in the Mind of God." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 52/2 (2009):225-246.

The Covenant Formula

Smith, Mark S. "'Your People Shall Be My People': Family and Covenant in Ruth 1:16-17." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69 (2007): 242-258.

Rendtorff, R. *Die Bundesformel*. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995, published in English as *The Covenant Formula: An Exegetical and Theological Investigation*. Translated by M. Kohl. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998.

The expression "I will be your God and you will be my people" has long been identified as the "covenant formula" or expression encapsulating the covenant relationship between God and Israel. Rendtorff, successor of Gerhard von Rad and one of the Continent's most respected Old Testament scholars of the late twentieth century, undertakes a detailed exegesis of all significant occurrences of the covenant formula in the OT, concluding that there is, in essence, only one fundamental covenant between God and his people throughout the Scriptures of Israel.

Baltzer, K. *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971.

_____. *Das Bundesformular*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964.

Nöschner, F. "Bundesformular und 'Amtsschimmel'." *BZ* 9 (1965): 181-214.

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