

DID GOD DWELL IN THE SECOND TEMPLE? CLARIFYING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEOPHANY AND TEMPLE DWELLING

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Abstract: *Unlike the tabernacle or Solomon’s temple, the Bible does not describe the glory cloud of the Lord filling the second temple. This difference has caused many commentators to ask whether God’s presence “dwelled” in the second temple. An accurate answer requires a clarification of what temple dwelling means during the Second Temple period. A broad analysis of temple theology within the biblical and Second Temple literature reveals that the glory cloud relates to theophany, which is only one part of broader “presence” and “dwelling” concepts. The interplay between these concepts and developments in temple theology shifted the meaning of “dwelling.” This shift provided the avenue by which first century Jews could believe that the glory cloud was never manifested and that God still “dwelled” in the second temple. Understanding these beliefs should give interpreters pause when assigning significance to the lack of a cloud theophany in the second temple. In practice, placing more significance on the glory cloud than historically warranted raises other interpretive issues—especially for evangelical interpreters.*

Key words: *second temple, temple dwelling, God’s presence, glory cloud, theophany, spiritualization in exile, postexilic*

In arguing for a continuing sense of exile among first-century Jews, N. T. Wright states, “Israel’s god had not returned to Zion. Nowhere in the so-called postexilic literature is there any passage corresponding to 1 Kings 8.10f., according to which, when Solomon’s temple had been finished, ‘a cloud filled the house of YHWH, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of YHWH filled the house of YHWH.’”¹ In her OT survey Carol Kaminski similarly notes, “Yet when the temple is dedicated under Zerubbabel and Joshua (Ezra 6:13–18), there is no indication that God’s glory fills it. . . . There is no sign that God’s glorious presence returns to the rebuilt temple.”² These scholars reflect a common contemporary assumption that the lack of a glory cloud report means that God’s presence did not return to the second temple. Would Jews living during the first century agree that God was not present/dwelling in the temple? This paper will argue that God’s “dwelling” in the temple included a much wider set of ideas than simply the manifestation of the glory cloud. The interplay between these concepts and developments in temple theology provided the avenue by which first-century Jews could believe that the glory cloud was never manifested *and* that God

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¹ N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 269.

² Carol Kaminski, *Casket Empty* (Lexington, KY: Casket Empty Media, 2012), 259.

still “dwelled” in the second temple. These concepts were related, but not equated during this time period. The argument will progress by: (1) examining beliefs about God’s presence in the second temple, as well as the biblical and Second Temple data concerning temple dwelling, theophany, and the glory cloud; (2) demonstrating how developments in postexilic temple theology (specifically the emphasizing of the heavenly temple and the spiritualizing of the earthly) shifted the “dwelling” concept, which gave first-century Jews the capacity to believe that the glory cloud was never re-manifested and that God dwelled in the second temple; (3) the argument then will be applied to contemporary interpretations.

I. EXAMINING THE BIBLICAL AND SECOND TEMPLE CONCEPTS CONCERNING GOD’S PRESENCE, TEMPLE DWELLING, THEOPHANY, AND THE GLORY CLOUD

First-century Jews did not possess a uniformity of belief, and one should not expect beliefs concerning the temple to be any different. In terms of God’s presence in the second temple, the absence of a glory cloud theophany did not dissuade many Jews from believing that God “dwelled” in the second temple. This belief was possible because the meanings of God’s presence and dwelling existed on a continuum that were related but not equated with the glory cloud, which was only one type of theophany. Theophanies were temporary manifestations of God’s presence, and the glory cloud theophany communicated God’s approval of the tabernacle and temple as the place of his perpetual dwelling.

1. *Clarifying terminology.* One of the difficulties in addressing God’s presence in the second temple is the varied and overlapping terminology employed. In both biblical and contemporary usage, the meaning of God’s “presence” and God’s “glory” overlap, so that in some contexts they are used interchangeably (Exod 33:18–23; Num 16:16–19; 20:6–9; Ps 26:8).³ The same overlap applies to God’s “dwelling” and “presence” (Deut 12:11–12; Pss 26:8; 132; Jer 7:9–15; Zech 2:10–11), which then yields an overlap of God’s “dwelling” and “glory” (Exod 29:43–45; 2 Chr 6:1–2; Ps 26:8). This overlap reflects and complicates the intersection of the semantic domains of the specific Hebrew and Greek lexemes that often convey “glory” (כבוד/δόξα), “presence” (יְהוָה/πρόσωπον) and/or “dwelling” (שכן/κατοικέω); moreover, the Bible communicates these three concepts with lexemes other than these Hebrew/Greek lexeme pairings.⁴ This biblical overlap of terminology produces a similar ambiguity in contemporary discussions.

The overlap in terminology reflects the fact that God’s presence means different things in different contexts, and the same can be said of dwelling and glory. Terence Fretheim helpfully suggests that the concept of God’s presence resides on

³ Other non-biblical passages which depict Yahweh’s presence as glory include: Tob 12:15; 1 En. 14:20; 2 En. 22:1–4 (Face, throne=glory); 3 En. 5:14; T. Levi 3:4–7; 3 Macc 2:16.

⁴ Weinfeld, “כבוד,” *TDOT* 7:22–38. O. Michel, “κατοικέω,” *TDNT* 5:153–54. Michaelis, “σκηνή,” “κατασκηνώω,” *TDNT* 7:385–87. Tremper Longman, “The Glory of God in the Old Testament,” in *The Glory of God* (ed. Christopher W. Morgan and Robert Peterson; Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 47–78.

a continuum with “differing intensifications of the divine presence.”⁵ Diagram 1 below utilizes Fretheim’s terminology to represent the definitions/relationships that exist for God’s presence/dwelling.⁶ On one end of the continuum resides God’s general presence in all of creation. On the other end resides the intensive world-wide theophany promised on the Day of the Lord. Between these poles are what Fretheim dubs God’s *accompanying* presence (his presence with his people as he binds himself to them in their journeys) and *tabernacling* presence (God’s choice to focus his presence and provide access to that presence in a particular place).⁷ While a continuum of intensity helpfully reflects the flexibility of the concept and guards against an imposition of distinct categories not found in the text/culture, factors other than “intensity” (like duration, scope, or accessibility) influence the concept. Moreover, “dwelling” may refer to both the “accompanying” and “tabernacling” ideas, even if dwelling most often corresponds to the tabernacling presence (Exodus 33; Num 35:34; Isa 57:15; 1 Cor 3:16).⁸ Nevertheless, this framework helps identify how “dwelling” relates to “presence,” and allows “theophany” to act (as it often does) as an intense inbreaking of God’s presence to establish a more perpetual relationship—either an accompanying or tabernacling presence. Whether it was a theophany combined with the message “I am with you” or the glory cloud, theophanies often were temporary manifestations that announced an ongoing presence (Gen 26:24; 28:15; Exod 3:12; Jer 1:8).

During the course of this paper, the term “dwelling” will refer to the ongoing presence, focus, and connection upon the place of God’s choosing. With the presence/dwelling continuum of Diagram 1 in mind, the concept of dwelling shifted during the Second Temple period toward “less intense” ideas of God’s accompanying presence, while still remaining within the conceptual range of “tabernacling.” An important caveat is that the decreased intensity of God’s presence applied to the second temple, whereas there was an expectation of an *increased* intensity, scope, and duration during the *eschaton*—a perpetual theophany. That shift in the dwelling concept allowed Jews of the Second Temple period to await an unprecedented manifestation of God’s presence in the future along with believing that God currently dwelled in the temple.

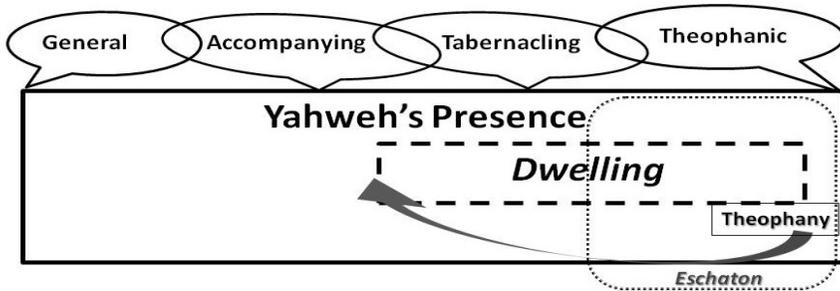
⁵ Terence E. Fretheim, *The Suffering God* (OBT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 60–65.

⁶ To avoid cluttering, “glory” has been left out of the diagram. The range of “glory” (as it relates to God’s presence) would approximate the range of “dwelling” in the Second Temple period.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸ Exodus 33 does not contain one of the typical lexemes for “dwelling,” but God’s tabernacling presence (expressed by the word “face” פָּנָי) accompanying the people is clearly in view. Brueggemann notes that this passage wrestles with the tension between the freedom God has over his presence and the people’s access to that presence. In light of Israel’s rebellion in Exodus 32, God’s full glory is unavailable, his dwelling is always on his terms, and access to his presence is “precarious.” Walter Brueggemann, “The Crisis and Promise of Presence in Israel,” *HBT* 1 (1979): 47–86.

Diagram 1: Presence/Dwelling Continuum



2. *Beliefs about God's presence in the second temple.* In Second Temple Judaism the Jerusalem temple was interwoven with a myriad of ideas and practices, and the importance of the temple could not be reduced to a single concept.⁹ Second Temple Judaism was diverse, and the temple theology of various groups reflected that diversity. For some, the temple was a symbol of national unity and the fate of the nation was bound up with the fate of the temple (2 Macc 5:17–20). Others emphasized the temple as the place for pilgrimage feasts, where sacrificial atonement could be made (Deut 12:5–14) or forgiveness requested (2 Chr 6:21–27). Alongside the above concepts, many Jews sought divine revelation and guidance at the temple like their forefathers had done (Exod 33:9; Num 27:21; Josh 19:51; 1 Sam 3:3–4; 2 Kgs 19:14).¹⁰

While all the above temple concepts were held in varying degrees in different circles, in some way they all were inextricably linked to the assumption that Yahweh was present (or should be present) in his temple.¹¹ As the Hebrew Scriptures attested, the belief that Yahweh uniquely dwelled in the temple was fundamental to Jewish belief.¹² The temple was the place of Yahweh's tabernacling presence; where he chose his name to dwell (Exod 25:8–9; 1 Kgs 6:12–14; 8:13; 2 Chr 6:5–9; Ps 132:13–14; Jer 34:15; Mal 1:6–7). The manifestation of the glory cloud visibly confirmed the divine presence in, and God's acceptance of, the tabernacle and Solomon's temple (Exod 40:34–38; Num 9:15–22; 1 Kgs 8:10–13, 29; 2 Chr 5:13–6:2; 7:1–3).

⁹ Many of the central concepts that the Jerusalem temple shared with temples of the broader ancient near east are surveyed by John M. Lundquist, "What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall* (ed. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 205–19.

¹⁰ Koester mentions the tabernacle as a place of revelation and also points out that most Jews saw the temple in continuity with the tabernacle. Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament* (Washington DC: Catholic Bible Association of America, 1989), 73–75.

¹¹ Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 130–31.

¹² R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 76.

Were similar assumptions concerning Yahweh's dwelling in Solomon's temple applied to the second temple despite the lack of the glory cloud theophany? The fact that sacrifice, pilgrimage, and nationalistic zeal for the temple continued throughout the Second Temple period suggests that many Jews assumed God dwelled in the temple in some fashion.

Indeed, Second Temple sources attest that many Jews assumed God dwelled in the second temple (2 Macc 2:5–18; 14:35–36; Sir 50:1; 3 Macc 2:16). Of these sources, 2 Maccabees most clearly presupposes God's presence in the temple (3:38–39; 14:35–36) by connecting the second temple's establishment and sacrificial fire with that of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple (1:18–36; 2:5–18), as well as relating miraculous happenings therein (3:22–40; 10:1–9).

Immediately before the second temple's destruction, Josephus reports several remarkable omens (*J.W.* 6.290–309; Tacitus *Hist.* 5.13 probably reflects the same events). Of particular relevance are the manifestations of an earthquake, bright light, and a voice that announces a departure right after appearances of angelic figures in the skies; these phenomena imply a special divine presence in the temple before the destruction causes a divine departure.¹³

In the NT, Luke 1:8–22 depicts Zacharias as performing his priestly service “before God,” when an angel appears. This angelic appearance may not rise to the intensity of a cloud theophany, but Gabriel is an angel “who stands in the presence of God.” Luke presents the temple as a place of God's presence and renewed activity (Luke 2:22–49; see also John 2:16). In Matthew's Gospel, Jesus also seems to assume God's presence in the temple when he rebukes the religious leaders' practice of oaths by saying, “Whoever swears by the temple swears by it and by him who dwells in it” (Matt 23:21). Without the assumption that God dwells in the temple, the seriousness of the rebuke/warning is lost. Moreover, the next verse provides a parallel based on a place-presence correspondence: “And whoever swears by heaven, swears both by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it.” These NT passages reveal an assumption that God dwelled in the second temple.

After assessing all the data, Davies is most likely correct when he states, “A belief in God's presence in the Second Temple may have been held among a wide variety of groups. It seems that this belief may have been not so much the exception but the rule.”¹⁴ These sources and the continued functioning of the temple cult demonstrate that most Jews probably believed God dwelled in the second temple, even if the concept of dwelling was less intense than previous epochs of Israelite history.

¹³ Josephus (*Ant.* 3.215–218) describes another relevant phenomenon that ceased only 200 years prior to Josephus's writing. At the sacrifice, the precious stones in the high priest's vestments would shine brightly as evidence of God's assisting presence. This statement, and other evidence, leads E. P. Sanders to state that “God's special presence” in the temple was “denied by some, accepted by most.” *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 69–128.

¹⁴ G. I. Davies, “The Presence of God in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Doctrine,” in *Templum Amicitiae* (ed. William Horbury; JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 36.

Of course, not every Jew of the Second Temple period held this belief, and a few extant sources attest to a contrary view (*Sib. Or.* 4:6–31; *CD* 1:3; 2 *Bar.* 8:2; *b. Yoma* 21b). Half the texts that portray God as no longer present in the temple attribute it to Israel's sin (*CD* 1:3) and/or in anticipation of the temple's defilement or destruction (2 *Bar.* 8:2; a concept that echoes OT Ezekiel). The sins of the temple's priesthood caused the Qumran community to consider the second temple as defiled. Groups that objected to the temple largely were critical of the priesthood, and its effect on temple worship, rather than the temple itself.¹⁵ Those at Qumran responded to the temple's defilement by withdrawing until a purer restoration would take place.

The expectation of a restored eschatological temple went far beyond Qumran and was rather widespread in Second Temple Judaism.¹⁶ The presence of this expectation complicates analysis of attitudes toward the second temple. Sources that expressed a disappointment with the current temple and/or a hope for a worldwide intense manifestation of God's glory in a renewed temple (or heavenly temple come to earth) did not necessarily presuppose God's absence from the second temple. One need only look to Ezekiel and Jeremiah for examples of criticism of the temple cult alongside an assumption of God's presence and an eschatological hope for an even greater presence (Ezekiel 8; 10; 43:1–12; Jer 3:16–17; 7:4–15; 23:11). If such an attitude could exist concerning the first temple, it could exist concerning the second. Despite this qualification, a few sources clearly expressed the belief that God did not dwell in the second temple.

The existence of rival "Jewish" temples at Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis also argues against God's unique presence in the Jerusalem temple. However, most pagan gods of that time were said to dwell in the many and various temples that bore their names; the insistence on only one temple was a peculiarly Jewish practice. Moreover, many worshippers in these rival temples may have still held to the primacy of the Jerusalem temple.¹⁷ Nevertheless, some people clearly had reservations about the temple for various reasons, one reason being that God had abandoned his sanctuary because of the sins of the priests and people.

While the evidence demonstrates that many believed God dwelled in the second temple, the purpose of this paper is not to argue that this view dominated. The purpose is to clarify what temple dwelling means during the Second Temple period (in light of this well-attested view), and how that meaning allowed for a belief in temple dwelling that did not depend on a glory cloud theophany. The next sections

¹⁵ Such criticism can be found in *1 En.* 89:72–73; *T. Mos.* 5–6; *T. Levi* 4:20–29; 5:10–12. Timothy Wardle, "Continuity and Discontinuity: The Temple and Early Christian Identity" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2008), 142–46.

¹⁶ Some of the sources that predict a new temple include: Isaiah 66; Ezek 43:1–12; Tob 14:5–61; *1 En.* 25:5; 11QT 29:7–10; *Jub.* 1:16–28; 2 *Baruch* 4; 4 *Ezra* 10:44–50.

¹⁷ Jörg Frey, "Temple and Rival Temple: The Cases of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 196–97.

will advance that purpose by explaining the relationship between the glory cloud, theophany, and dwelling.

3. *Glory cloud, theophany, and temple dwelling.* As Diagram 1 demonstrates, the divine presence is a complex and multi-layered issue that intersects and transcends both the glory cloud theophany and the idea of temple dwelling. Thomas Mann comments, “The presence of God can be represented by everything from divine messengers to thunderstorms, from fiery theophanies to the silent evidence of providence.”¹⁸ Of course, the glory cloud theophany represents one intense manifestation of God’s presence, but, as established above, the biblical literature depicts God’s presence in varied ways and intensities. Genesis depicts God’s presence as: God appearing/talking directly to humans (3:8–4:16; 6:13–9:17; 12:1–8; 28:12–17; 32:24–30; 46:1–4), a flaming torch (15:17), mediated through the angel of the Lord (16:7–11; 22:11–15), and finally God providentially providing for his chosen people (39:1–5, 21–23; 45:5–9; 50:25). The theophanies in Genesis are temporary manifestations or specific interventions, none of which are represented by the glory cloud. The glory cloud does not become prominent until the exodus and the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. After that time, the glory cloud becomes paradigmatic for theophanies throughout Scripture.¹⁹

Yahweh’s presence in a man-made sanctuary can be traced to the exodus, which established Israel in its law and land. Commentators have noted that the book of Exodus presents a “theology of Yahweh present with and in the midst of his people Israel. . . . this theme is constantly in evidence, serving as a theological anchor and also as a kind of compass indicating the directions in which the book is to go.”²⁰ Before the Israelites even build the tabernacle, Yahweh’s presence takes on tangible form in a cloud on several occasions (Exod 13:21; 14:20; 16:10; 19:9, 16; 24:16–18). Unlike previous theophanies, the glory cloud visibly represents God’s *tabernacling* presence as he rescues, leads, and enters into covenant with his people.

Yahweh’s covenant-keeping presence dwells in the midst of his people (Exod 25:8; Lev 26:11), and Israel receives instructions to make, and worship at, a dwelling place built according to Yahweh’s specifications (Exodus 25–31).²¹ When the construction of the tabernacle is complete, the glory cloud of Yahweh’s presence descends upon the tabernacle (Exod 40:34–38; Josephus *Ant.* 3.202–203) to mark it as his dwelling place.²²

A similar scene consecrates the divinely designed (1 Chr 28:19) temple (1 Kgs 8:10–13; 2 Chr 5:13–6:2; 7:1–3; Josephus *Ant.* 8.106–114). The Chronicler, in particular, “draws numerous parallels between the building of the tabernacle and the building of the temple.”²³ From the perspective of the OT and Second Temple

¹⁸ Thomas W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1977), 233.

¹⁹ Jeffrey Niehaus, *God at Sinai* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 16.

²⁰ John Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco, TX: Word, 1987), xxi. A similar sentiment is expressed by Mann, *Divine Presence*, 233–40.

²¹ Koester, *Dwelling of God*, 20–22.

²² Durham, *Exodus*, xxi.

²³ Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 4.

literature, Solomon's temple was the legitimate successor to the tabernacle and served the same functions.²⁴ Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, Yahweh was said to dwell, cause his name to dwell, or be present in the temple (Deut 12:11; 14:23; 2 Sam 7:13; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chr 33:7; Ps 132:13–14; Jer 7:10–14). Even a term like “the bread of the presence” owes its name to being set before the Holy of Holies—the place of God's tabernacling presence.²⁵

While the glory cloud accompanied Moses up to the Promised Land, it is unclear when the cloud departed and if it remained in the Holy of Holies and/or above the ark of the covenant. The last mention of the glory cloud (until it fills Solomon's temple) occurs in Deuteronomy 31 when Moses prepares Joshua to lead in his place. The Lord tells Moses that after the people go into the land they will follow other gods, and “then my anger will be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them and hide my face from them, and they will be consumed, and many evils and troubles will come upon them; so that they will say in that day, ‘Is it not because our God is not among us that these evils have come upon us?’” (Deut 31:17). Yahweh forsaking and hiding his face as a result of sin is a common canonical theme from this point on. Sometime after Moses's death, the glory cloud ceases moving with the people. While God's glory cloud presence is featured in the Pentateuch after Genesis, Clements rightfully notes, “This abiding in Israel, however, is neither unconditional nor unchangeable, but is only a ‘tabernacling,’ and may be withdrawn in the face of national disobedience. Therefore, although the cloud is a permanent mode of Yahweh's being and action, its stay on earth may be only temporary, or at least interrupted.”²⁶ Since the Hebrew Scriptures do not mention the glory cloud again until Solomon's temple dedication, Clements appears to be correct about the temporary or interrupted nature of the glory cloud theophany.

Two incidents suggest that the glory cloud did not permanently reside above the ark of the covenant either: the Philistine capture of the ark (1 Samuel 4–6) and the installation of the ark in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6). Neither account mentions the glory cloud. While the glory cloud could have become permanent in Solomon's temple, it is unlikely for three reasons. (1) The temple mimics the tabernacle, and it seems the glory cloud did not permanently abide above the ark in the tabernacle. (2) Other than the exodus event, biblical theophanies are *brief* God-initiated manifestations.²⁷ (3) The history of the Israelite monarchy is filled with the type of apostasy that God told Moses would cause God to “hide his face” (Deut 31:17).

Of course, the impermanence of the glory cloud did not mean an impermanence of God's tabernacling presence. God “caused his name to dwell” on the temple and promised an abiding connection to the people through the temple (1 Kgs 8:27–30; 2 Chr 6:18–21).²⁸ The promise of God's continued accompanying or

²⁴ Koester, *Dwelling of God*, 73–75.

²⁵ C. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 130.

²⁶ Clements, *God and Temple*, 117–18.

²⁷ Niehaus, *God at Sinai*, 20–30.

²⁸ The relationship between Yahweh's “name” and presence adds another layer of semantic overlap that I have decided to forgo for brevity's sake. Samuel Terrien (*The Elusive Presence: Toward a New Biblical*

tabernacling presence was often an important verbal element of theophanies (Gen 26:24; 28:15; Exod 3:12; Jer 1:8).²⁹ In a similar way, the cloud theophanies in the tabernacle/temple provided important verifications of God's continuing presence.

Another common aspect of theophany was that once a theophany (of any kind) occurred, that location was considered a place of connection to the heavenly realm. Jacob built and maintained an altar at Bethel because of the theophany that took place there (Gen 28:11–22; 35:1–15). Jeroboam most likely erected his illegitimate temple at Bethel because of the previous theophany and Bethel's continuing status as a sacred place of connection (1 Kgs 12:28–33). Solomon's temple was built on Mount Moriah, upon Ornan's threshing floor. This location experienced two previous angel of the Lord theophanies. The first occurred when Abraham sacrificed Isaac (Gen 22:2–18), and the second occurred when David built an altar for sacrifice in order to stop the angel of the Lord from destroying Jerusalem (1 Chr 21:15–30; 2 Chr 3:1). Because the second temple was rebuilt upon this place of multiple theophanies, it most likely continued to be considered a special connecting point to God's heavenly presence, even if the glory cloud was never manifested again.

Regardless of the glory cloud in the sanctuary, the Lord continued to manifest his presence in other ways besides the glory cloud. The Lord appeared/spoke directly to people (Josh 1:1–9; 1 Samuel 3; 2 Sam 21:1; 1 Kgs 3:5–15; 9:2–9; 19:11–13; Isaiah 6; Jer 31:3;) as well as through the angel of the Lord (Josh 5:13–14; Judg 6:12–16; 13:1–22; 2 Kgs 1:15; 1 Chronicles 21). The biblical data show that the glory cloud was only one type among many theophanies, even if it was the way God chose to communicate a more perpetual dwelling in his chosen sanctuary.³⁰ Other than the cloud theophany of the exodus, biblical theophanies were short-lived manifestations of the divine presence—a “surging that soon vanishes.”³¹ These varied theophanies established and reinforced the continuing reality of God's accompanying and tabernacling presence.

When the Babylonians destroyed the temple, not only did the prophets reassure the Jews that God could still be present with them apart from the temple, but temple theology developed to reinforce that idea and to allow access to that pres-

Theology [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978], 151–52) eloquently notes, “The name of Yahweh is not an empty sound. It bears the presence of infinity within the finite, . . . In Hebraic religion, the name plays the theological role which other religions ascribe to divine images and cultic representations. . . . The hearing of such a name and the bearing of its implications require a response different from that inherent in the contemplation of an image. The name demands active participation in the totality of life.” The Name dwelling in the temple may have suggested a greater accessibility to the tabernacling presence than the glory cloud. J. Gordon McConville (“God's ‘Name’ and God's ‘Glory,’” *TynBul* 30 [1979]: 156) argues that “name” was more associated with regular worship and notes, “The glory of God is unapproachable and dangerous and may not be seen by the people, or even by Moses. The name of God, on the other hand, is something with which his worshippers are permitted to become familiar.”

²⁹ Fretheim, *Suffering of God*, 98.

³⁰ The glory cloud was not the only theophany in the house of the Lord. In 1 Samuel 3, God spoke directly to young Samuel; 2 Maccabees 3 and Luke 1 include angel theophanies within the sanctuary.

³¹ Terrien, *Evasive Presence*, 476.

ence. In particular, the exilic community emphasized the heavenly temple and spiritualized the earthly.

II. DEVELOPMENTS IN TEMPLE THEOLOGY: EMPHASIZING THE HEAVENLY TEMPLE AND SPIRITUALIZING THE EARTHLY.

1. *Emphasizing the heavenly temple.* Although the glory cloud affirmed the tabernacle and temple as places of Yahweh's dwelling, Yahweh primarily dwelled elsewhere. In Solomon's dedicatory prayer (1 Kgs 8:27–30; 2 Chr 6:18–21), he acknowledges the “paradox” of the almighty Creator somehow having a home on earth.³² Solomon asks that God would “hear in heaven your dwelling place,” prayers uttered in “this house” (1 Kgs 8:30, 32, 34; 2 Chr 6:21). This passage reflects the “subtle equilibrium between I AM's absolute and immutable transcendence and his facile immanence.”³³ Although called a “house,” the temple functions more as an “extension or outpost of the heavens.”³⁴ For this reason the temple primarily provides a “place for mediation between the natural and the supernatural”³⁵ or the “axis of glory” between heaven and earth.³⁶ God's true dwelling place was located in the heavens.³⁷ Whereas theophanies were initiated by God, the earthly temple provided important access to God, which required his presence to dwell there in some fashion. Solomon's prayer records the tension between the temple as access point and Yahweh's absolute freedom over his own presence. Even absent the intense glory cloud, it is reasonable to assume the second temple could provide access to God's true heavenly dwelling. In this regard, the intensity continuum of presence/dwelling fails to integrate the important accessibility aspect of the dwelling concept.

Before Solomon's temple was destroyed, Ezekiel had a vision of God's glory departing the temple (11:23). Whether that glory presence returned or not, there was universal confidence in the Second Temple period that God still dwelled in his true heavenly temple (Ps 11:4; Isa 66:1; Pr Azar 1:31; 2 Macc 3:39; 3 Macc 2:15; 2 Baruch 4; Philo, *Spec.* 1.66–67). In addition, widespread expectations (regardless of one's beliefs about the second temple) existed for the heavenly temple to be the

³² John Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology: Israel's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), 570.

³³ Bruce Waltke, *An Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 741.

³⁴ Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology*, 570.

³⁵ Francis Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism* (trans. J. Edward Crowley; TBS 78; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 97; T. Desmond Alexander and Simon J. Gathercole, eds., *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2004), 269, state, “In all of this its [the temple's] primary function is to form a major interface between God and humanity.”

³⁶ Dan Liroy, *Axis of Glory: A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Temple Motif in Scripture* (SBL 138; New York: Peter Lang, 2010).

³⁷ Deut 26:15; Ps 97; 123:1; Eccl 5:1–2; Isa 6:1–6; 63:15; Jer 25:30; Mic 1:2–5; Hab 2:20; Zech 2:13; 1 En 14:8–23; Wis 9:8–10; 2 Macc 3:39; T. Levi 3:4; 4Q403 1 I, 30–46; Heb 8:1–6; 9:11, 23–26; 10:19–21; Rev 4:1–11; 8:1–5; 11:19; 15:5–8; Philo *Spec.* 1.66–67.

eschatological temple of the restoration.³⁸ God's heavenly tabernacling presence would be an eternal intense theophanic glory that would provide access to God for the entire earth (Isa 40:1–11; 52:10; 60–62; 66; Daniel 7; Joel 2:28–3:21; Zech 14:7–11). Even if the glory cloud had returned to the second temple, this greater eschatological expectation would have remained. While the heavenly temple concept existed throughout the biblical period, it received new emphasis from eschatological hopes. Until the arrival of the eschaton, many believed the second temple provided access to God's heavenly dwelling because God's name dwelled in the temple. For the Qumran community and others, the eschatological hope meant conceiving of their community as a temple that provided access to God until the consummation of the ages when a purer heavenly temple would be realized (the NT reflected similar ideas).³⁹

Regardless of a group's view on the divine dwelling in the second temple, that group viewed God's true dwelling as located in the heavens. Many awaited the future realization of that heavenly temple, but in the interim that heavenly emphasis made the earthly temple's function as connecting point to God's true heavenly dwelling even more important. The second temple could provide access to the heavenly tabernacling presence in some way—even if that presence did not include the glory cloud. Indeed, the historical record shows that in practice the second temple did serve as that heavenly connecting point for many Second Temple Jews.

2. *Spiritualizing the earthly temple.* After the exile and throughout the Second Temple period, temple theology not only emphasized the heavenly temple, it became more "spiritualized." The term "spiritualization" describes the de-emphasis of the physical temple structure.⁴⁰ "Spiritualization" includes the aforementioned emphasis on the heavenly temple over the wood and stone of the sanctuary. Furthermore, the earthly avenues to access the heavenly realities (God's true presence) increase so that access to God is available through the community, the Torah, visionary experience, or some other means.

The exile did not *create* spiritualized temple theology (the tension between God's immanence and transcendence had always raised questions about how Yahweh was present); it caused a shift toward more spiritualized avenues that spoke to the historical situation.⁴¹ The Babylonian exile and temple destruction called into

³⁸ See R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1969), 40–41; Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House* (Religion and Society 16; New York: Mouton, 1979), 65–67; Clements, *God and Temple*, 127–33.

³⁹ Craig A. Evans, "Opposition to the Temple: Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 248–50.

⁴⁰ Several contemporary authors (listed in the next note) use the term. Schüssler Fiorenza rightly criticizes the use of the term "spiritualization" as too imprecise and prefers the term "transference" when referring to the transferring of temple functions onto the community, Torah observance, etc. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 159–77.

⁴¹ Richard Skiba, "Until the Spirit from on High Is Poured out on Us (Isa 32:15): Reflections on the Role of the Spirit in the Exile," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 1–17; Jon D. Levenson, "From Temple to Synagogue: 1 Kings 8," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (ed. Baruch Halpern and Jon D. Levenson; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 164; Clements, *God and Temple*, 127. Grabbe (*Judaic Religion*, 316) states that two main forces shaped Jewish religion of the Second Temple period: the tem-

question how Yahweh could dwell among a people. Concrete notions of Yahweh dwelling in his temple were inadequate when that temple lay in ruins. Could the transcendent Yahweh who dwelled in heaven now be exiled to heaven? Throughout the exile, the answer was a resounding “no.” Despite the destruction of the temple, the people still had access to Yahweh—albeit through more abstract forms. Yahweh was still among the covenant observant community.⁴²

This spiritualization manifested itself early in the exile, when Ezekiel reassured the captives that Yahweh himself would be their sanctuary (Ezek 11:16) apart from the temple and the land. Ezekiel 11:16 formed a pointed rebuttal to any who claimed that the exiles were separated from God’s presence because they were separated from the temple.⁴³ This rebuttal comes in the midst of Ezekiel describing God’s glory departing from the Jerusalem temple and after the prophet had experienced God’s glory in Babylon (1:28; 3:23). The first eleven chapters of Ezekiel not only communicate God’s judgment upon Israel, they reassure the people that “Yahweh is present despite his seeming absence. . . . He has released himself from the Jerusalem Temple and has, as it were, gone walkabout. His absence from the Temple means his presence here, there and everywhere, in Babylon or anywhere, yes, or even in Jerusalem and Judah.”⁴⁴ God can manifest his tabernacling presence, referred to as “glory” in Ezekiel, wherever God chooses—even in Babylon. On the continuum of God’s presence, the tabernacling presence represented by “glory” in Ezekiel shifts towards an accompanying presence. Because of God’s continued presence, the people should repent of their unfaithfulness and return to Yahweh (Ezek 11:17–21; 14:6–11).

Some postexilic prophets looked to the exodus event as an occasion when Yahweh’s tabernacling glory was among Israel before any kind of sanctuary (Neh 9:9–20; Hag 2:3–7). Yahweh’s tabernacling presence with Israel prior to the tabernacle or temple encouraged Israel after the temple was destroyed. Such historical remembrances necessarily shifted emphasis away from the physical temple structure and towards the manifestation of Yahweh’s presence among the covenant community. As Turner notes, the exile caused a shift (spiritualization) in temple theology, and there was a “replacement of a place by a people as the dwelling of God in this world.”⁴⁵

This spiritualization of the temple broadened terminology as well as definitions. “Spirit” was increasingly used to refer to the many ways that Yahweh could

ple and the diaspora. The temple was a centripetal force whereas the diaspora was a centrifugal force. These forces were in differing degrees of tension depending on the particular group and historical situation.

⁴² Terrien, *Elusive Presence*, 213.

⁴³ Andreas Ruwe, “Die Veränderung tempeltheologischer Konzepte in Ezechiel 8–11,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel*, 3–18.

⁴⁴ John B. Taylor, “The Temple in Ezekiel,” in *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology*, 62, 67.

⁴⁵ Turner, *Temple to Meeting House*, 75. See also Bernd Janowski, “Ich will in eurer Mitte wohnen: Struktur und Genese der exilischen Schekina-Theologie,” in *Der eine Gott der beiden Testamente* (Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie 2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1987): 165–93; Margaret Barker, *The Gate of Heaven* (London: SPCK, 1991), 135.

be immanent (Ps 51:11; Neh 9:20; Hag 2:5; Zech 4:6; 1QH 8:19–20; Josephus *Ant.* 8.114). “Spirit” was used for Yahweh’s presence among his people, as well as the eschatological renewal through his presence, and the term was eventually applied to Yahweh’s temple presence as well.⁴⁶ The exile required a rethinking of Yahweh’s tabernacling presence, and it seems the concept of Spirit filled some of the void created by the missing glory cloud. This development was understandable since the Spirit had long been considered as Yahweh’s active presence among his people.⁴⁷ The Spirit also was associated with the eschatological renewal, which included notions of a new temple and an intensification/expansion of God’s presence (Isa 44:1–5; Joel 2:28–32). The Spirit constituted another flexible presence concept that could function both in a spiritualized temple connected more closely to the people than a place, but also in the context of the eschatological renewal.

In addition to the postexilic prophets reassuring the people of the Spirit’s presence in their midst, they also communicated God’s commands to build, and properly worship him at, the second temple. Through the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Yahweh commands the people to build his house (Ezra 6:14; Hag 1:8) because he is returning to Jerusalem (Zech 1:16). These commands would seem strange without a corresponding assumption that God would dwell in his house. When the exiles respond to Haggai and build the temple, God reassures them that that he is “with them” in a way that recalls the exodus (2:4–5). In the interpretive issues section below, we return to the importance of God’s command to rebuild the temple so that he may “be glorified” (Hag 1:8). God’s command to build and the reassurance of his presence are prophetic words that function in a way similar to the glory cloud—they signal God’s approval of the dwelling place. The prophet Malachi demanded that the Israelites bring proper sacrifice and tithes to the Lord’s sanctuary, “which he loves” (Mal 2:11); this command presupposed the second temple provided real access to the Lord’s presence.⁴⁸

Spiritualized temple concepts remained influential into the first century and cohered with Hellenistic notions. Philo reflected this synthesis and in typical Platonic thinking, the material earthbound temple was a shadow of a more transcendent truth located above, and in, the essence of things (*Somm.* 1.215; 1.149). Philo’s spiritualization seems to outstrip most other Second Temple Jews, but his thoughts show that spiritualized “heavenly” temple concepts flourished in the first century.

⁴⁶ Joseph R. Greene, “The Spirit in the Temple: Bridging the Gap between Old Testament Absence and New Testament Assumption,” *JETS* 55 (2012): 717–42.

⁴⁷ More specifically, the Spirit “mobilizes agents, such as the prophet and his community, Davidites, the servant(s) of the Lord, and even Cyrus” to execute Yahweh’s plan for the nation and world. Willem VanGemeren and Andrew Abernethy, “The Spirit and the Future: A Canonical Approach,” in *Presence, Power and Promise: The Role of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (ed. David Firth and Paul Wegner; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011), 335.

⁴⁸ The majority of contemporary scholars regards Malachi as postexilic. Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 156–62.

Spiritualization of the temple also helped Jews deal with the additional desecrations of the second temple by the Seleucids and the Romans.⁴⁹ Whereas the glory cloud should have struck down these pagan intruders, a more spiritualized and less intense presence allowed God to continue to dwell alongside his people and bring about deliverance by various other means (2 Macc 5:17–20).

Both the heavenly temple concept and the spiritualization of the temple pervaded Second Temple Judaism. Even those groups who questioned God's dwelling in the second temple spiritualized the temple by claiming access to God was available through their community. As was shown earlier, the soil for this kind of thinking was tilled during the exile when God's presence among his people continued, despite the loss of the temple.⁵⁰ God could still be "a sanctuary among them" (Ezek 11:16) in far-off lands. The physical temple did not contain Yahweh; it was a gateway. God dwelled in a heavenly tabernacle and could manifest himself wherever he chose, as the pre-tabernacle wilderness wanderings proved. While the trends to emphasize the heavenly temple and spiritualize the earthly temple did not require Jews to believe that God dwelled in the second temple, these trends helped shift the concept of God's dwelling towards less intense notions. For this reason, most Second Temple Jews seemed to assume God dwelled in the temple despite the lack of another glory cloud theophany.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Many Second Temple Jews believed that God dwelled in the second temple despite the glory cloud not being re-manifested. This belief could be held because the concept of God's dwelling shifted during the Second Temple period toward less intense ideas of God's accompanying presence while still remaining within the conceptual range of "tabernacling." The intense manifestation of God's presence in theophany often signaled that a particular place was chosen for a more sustained presence. In addition to the glory cloud of the first temple, the temple mount had experienced other theophanies and miraculous occurrences to legitimize it as a place of connection to God's heavenly tabernacling presence.

After the exile, the Israelites increasingly emphasized the heavenly temple and spiritualized the earthly. Despite the spiritualization, they still obeyed God's command to build a second temple of stone and wood—a command intertwined with the idea of access to God's presence. Regardless of a group's view on the divine dwelling in the second temple, that group viewed God's true dwelling as located in the heavens. Many awaited the future realization of that heavenly temple, but in the interim that heavenly emphasis also reaffirmed an avenue through which God's heavenly tabernacling presence could be accessed in the second temple. The interplay between the presence and dwelling concepts, alongside temple theology, pro-

⁴⁹ William Horbury, "Land, Sanctuary and Worship," in *Early Christian Thought in its Jewish Context* (ed. John Barclay and John Sweet; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 214–16.

⁵⁰ Sklba, "Until the Spirit," 1–17. Sklba's historical reconstruction is suspect but he makes the keen observation that the various exiles in Israel's history spurred on its pneumatology.

vided the avenue by which Second Temple Jews could believe *both* that the glory cloud was never manifested *and* that God still “dwelled” in the second temple. These beliefs also were compatible with the hope for an unprecedented theophanic dwelling of God in the eschatological/heavenly temple of the final restoration. The concept of dwelling seems to have become less intense for the second temple but more intense for the eschatological temple. Nevertheless, “dwelling” during this time period retained the notion of tabernacling presence—a presence which could be accessed through the second temple.

This conclusion is supported and illustrated by 2 Maccabees. Chapter 3 relates a story about a man named Heliodorus who came to take the second temple’s treasure back to his pagan king. Upon entering the temple treasury, an angel struck Heliodorus down. The author’s commentary about this event exemplifies what many Second Temple Jews believed about the temple. The author puts the following assessment of the temple on the lips of the humbled and converted Heliodorus: “There is certainly some power of God about the place. For he who has his dwelling in heaven watches over that place himself and brings it aid, and he strikes and destroys those who come to do it injury” (2 Macc 3:38–39 NRSV). The second temple connected to the heavenly temple and therefore to God’s tabernacling presence and power as well.

The belief that God dwelled in the second temple may have included the understanding that his dwelling in the second temple was of a different intensity than the first. The Talmudic passage that states the Shekinah glory was missing from the second temple includes the disclaimer that some rabbis thought it was present but “not as helpful” (*b. Yoma* 21b).⁵¹ Second Maccabees and this rabbinic passage exemplify the meaning of the dwelling concept in this time period. Perhaps God’s tabernacling presence was not quite as intense as it had been in Moses or Solomon’s day, but God still dwelled in this sacred place in a greater degree than anywhere besides heaven. As demonstrated above, temple theology of the Second Temple period supported this belief despite the lack of the glory cloud.

IV. INTERPRETIVE ISSUES

Applying the above findings raises some interpretive cautions. One caution concerns all interpreters, while the other especially concerns evangelical interpreters.

The first caution relates to the necessity of understanding words and concepts in the particular time period one is studying. In regard to the Second Temple period, Wright and Kaminski (discussed in the introduction above) interpret the lack of glory cloud report in Scripture as proof that God had not returned to the second temple. The more relevant interpretation, however, belongs to Second Temple Judaism. Diverse beliefs existed regarding the issue of God dwelling in the second temple, but many people assumed this to be the case. In a more recent work,

⁵¹ Davies (“Presence of God in the Second Temple,” 36) further notes that of the four rabbinic passages that list the things the second temple lacked this is the only one that includes the Shekinah as missing.

Wright certainly overstates the case when he writes, “Nobody ever suggested that the divine Presence had actually returned in power and glory.”⁵² The above examination demonstrates that many people believed that God had returned in power, even if that power fell short of a glory cloud theophany. Wright fails to adequately account for the cultural and linguistic context of the time period in question. In this case, the concept of God’s dwelling shifted to include less intense notions. By the time we get to Jesus’s day, most Jews did not tie the glory cloud as tightly to the dwelling concept as Wright.⁵³ Wright, therefore, gives an inaccurate impression of first-century beliefs by exclusively featuring the (arguably minority) idea that God did not dwell in the second temple. Wright can certainly subscribe to this idea, but he does not even mention common contrary ideas of the first century. Understanding the temple theology behind the different use of words and concepts opens up a deeper, more nuanced interpretation of the issue. It also produces a more accurate integration of concepts, which then forms a broader theology.

In fairness, both Wright and Kaminski were integrating the lack of glory cloud to the larger sense of exile and incomplete fulfillment that many Second Temple Jews felt. Those points may still be valid even if most Second Temple Jews believed God dwelled in the temple. The prophets spoke of a worldwide and supremely intense manifestation of God’s theophanic presence at the eschaton (Isaiah 60–62; Hag 2:6–9; Zechariah 14). Israel clearly had not arrived at that point, so most anxiously awaited that new age of restoration. Longing for heavenly realities to fully and finally manifest on earth would have remained even if the glory cloud appeared in the second temple. Because belief in God’s dwelling could, and did, exist alongside a sense of Israel’s continued exile, Christian interpreters do not need to overstate God’s absence from the temple. Certainly, it makes for a more dramatic presentation of the longing for restoration that Christ satisfies, but that presentation is misleading in light of the above examination. Even those of us who believe that Christ manifested God’s tabernacling presence (John 1:14) and gives the indwelling presence through the Spirit await a future heavenly temple and an intensification of God’s presence (Revelation 21–22).

This caution to interpret words and concepts in their full and proper historical context applies to interpreters on either side of a given issue. Not only is it important to weigh the evidence and integrate it into one’s own interpretation, it is also important to understand how and why certain beliefs existed. This paper examined how many first-century Jews *could* believe that God dwelled in the temple despite the lack of glory cloud theophany. It is just one example of how interpretation and subsequent integration deepens and becomes more accurate when words and concepts are understood within the proper time period.

The second caution primarily concerns evangelical interpreters. When evangelical interpreters contend that the lack of glory cloud means a lack of God’s pres-

⁵² N. T. Wright, *The Day the Revolution Began* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2016), 112.

⁵³ Even those who consider most of the Hebrew Scriptures as postexilic documents should still differentiate between the time immediately after the exile in contrast to the first century CE. Both this paper and Wright are most concerned with the first century.

ence, they imply an experience is of greater value than God's word/promise. As mentioned above, the postexilic prophets communicated God's commands to build (Hag 1:8), and properly worship him at, the second temple. These commands at least imply that the second temple provides legitimate access to God's true heavenly dwelling. Many years after the temple was rebuilt, the prophet Malachi demanded that the Israelites bring proper sacrifice and tithes to the Lord's sanctuary, "which he loves" (Mal 2:11). Malachi's prophecies assume the Lord's approval of, and presence in, the second temple, an assumption that Ezra 7:15 communicates by referring to the God of Israel as the one "whose dwelling is in Jerusalem" (although these words are attributed to the pagan king Artaxerxes).

Along with the explicit commands and the implicit assumptions came promises of God's presence: "'Now be strong, O Zerubbabel,' declares the LORD. 'Be strong, O Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest. Be strong, all you people of the land,' declares the LORD, 'Work, for I am with you'" (Hag 2:4), and "I will return to Jerusalem with compassion; my house will be built in it" (Zech 1:16). Would not these promises of God's presence register his approval with the temple similar to the glory cloud? While Haggai does not seem to experience a theophany, Zechariah's visions can be considered theophanic, which would follow the aforementioned pattern of a theophany accompanying a promise of God's continued presence. Even without a theophany, Haggai and Zechariah promise God's presence in the temple building endeavor and Malachi and Ezra assume the temple provides real access to God's dwelling.

Evangelical interpreters claim the words of Scripture are authoritative and without error. In light of these promises of God's presence, evangelical interpreters would have the additional burden of explaining why these promises were temporary or not applicable. Plausible explanations exist, such as the promises being dependant on Israel's obedience or that God was promising his accompanying presence for the project but his tabernacling presence would come later.⁵⁴ Along a similar line, God could have removed his presence from the second temple as he did from the first. Without further explanation, however, evangelical interpreters risk minimizing scriptural promises as they maximize the experience/phenomenon of the glory cloud.

As this paper attempted to demonstrate, there is another explanation that integrates these Scriptures and the diversity of beliefs in the first-century on the subject of dwelling. Conceptual shifts allow for different nuances of meaning among different groups and contexts. The concept of dwelling in the second temple seems to have shifted toward less intense notions, with the expectation of a more intense manifestation of God's presence for the eschatological temple. Despite this shift, "dwelling" during this time period retained the notion of tabernacling presence—a presence which could be accessed through the second temple. The interplay be-

⁵⁴ Mark Boda contends that the promises of presence in Zechariah refer to (what we have been calling) God's accompanying presence and the promises for temple dwelling apply to the undefined future. Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 428.

tween the presence and dwelling concepts, alongside temple theology, provided the avenue by which Second Temple Jews could believe that the glory cloud was never manifested, but God still “dwelled” in the second temple.