

DOES THE DAY BEGIN IN THE EVENING OR MORNING ?

SOME BIBLICAL OBSERVATIONS

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Summary of views

The following study is intended to contribute to the discussion, which has been in progress for some decades, concerning the question whether the day ¹⁾, before as well as after the exile, both as to the civil and cultic conception, (1) begins with the evening, i.e., with *sunset*, as has often been assumed or, as strongly argued at present (2) the *sunrise* heralds the new day.

The view under (1) will be denoted, for the sake of brevity, as the "evening theory", and the other (2) as the "morning theory".

In B. JACOB the evening theory has found a new proponent. In his comments on Gen. i 5 ²⁾ he makes a clarifying distinction between "Rangordnung" and "Zeitfolge" as regards night and day and states that according to the "Rangordnung" for the agrarian people of Israel the day took precedence over the night. The night is regarded as "quantité négligeable". Only in cases where it is necessary to lay emphasis on "night" or "at night" the usual order "day and night" will be changed into "night and day" (cf. sub II, 1c below). But speaking about the "Zeitfolge" (necessarily taking his starting point at the beginning, i.e., the creation), he sets forth that the first days began with the light (Gen. i 3) and were completed by the night (Gen. i 5b). But since God ceased working at the *evening* of the 6th day, the beginning of the 7th day, the sabbath day, should be fixed on the *evening*—"also begann der siebente Tag am Abend, also auch jeder folgende".

¹⁾ Unless otherwise stated, by day is meant "space of 24 hours".

²⁾ *Das Erste Buch der Tora, Genesis*, 1934.

Of the morning theory there exist several variations:

1. P. J. HEAWOOD, for example, argued ¹⁾ that from the creation till A.D. 50, the division morning-morning applied. Starting from a different point of view U. CASSUTO ²⁾ came to a similar conclusion: There only exists one time standard in the whole period covered by the Bible, i.e., the one taking the morning as the beginning of the day, "but in regard to the festivals and appointed times, the Torah ordains that they shall be observed also on the night of the *preceding day*" (the italics are CASSUTO's).

2. In a reaction to the article by HEAWOOD, S. ZEITLIN ³⁾ has introduced as a rather sharp *caesura* the Babylonian exile in the sense that earlier the morning-morning division applied, and after the Babylonian exile the evening-evening division. Except for some minor distinctions, (see below), this is also the view of R. DE VAUX ⁴⁾.

A variation to both theories is represented by G. BARROIS ⁵⁾: Both methods of reckoning occur in the Bible *at the same time* and next to one another. This also seems to be the view of G. VON RAD ⁶⁾ when he poses that the "althelbräische Tag. . . — wenigstens offiziell kultisch — abends (begann)".

Purpose and method

We intend to come to a judgement with regard to the above views on exegetical grounds using as a working hypothesis the *caesura* as brought forward by ZEITLIN and DE VAUX. We therefore first examine the texts from the post-exilic period in order to find out whether on the one hand HEAWOOD and CASSUTO or on the other hand JACOB, ZEITLIN and DE VAUX are right (the latter three agree in their view that the day, at least after the exile, both cultic and civil, started with the evening) or that, with BARROIS, one has to transcend the dilemma. We further examine the pre-exilic texts in order to find out whether there really exists a *caesura*, and whether JACOB or HEAWOOD, CASSUTO and ZEITLIN are right, or maybe BARROIS, DE VAUX and VON RAD with their gradations. In this part of our

¹⁾ P. J. HEAWOOD. "The Beginning of the Jewish Day", *J.Q.R.*, vol. XXXVI, 1945/46 p. 393-401.

²⁾ On Gen. i 5 in his *Commentary on Genesis*, I. (English edition in 1961).

³⁾ S. ZEITLIN. "The Beginning of the Jewish Day during the second Commonwealth", *J.Q.R.*, vol. XXXVI, 1945/46, p. 403-414.

⁴⁾ *Les Institutions de l'Ancient Testament*, I, 1958, p. 275ff.

⁵⁾ *Manuel d'Archéologie Biblique*, II, 1953, p. 183f.

⁶⁾ In: *Th.W.Z.N.T.*, vol. II, s.v. ἡμέρα p. 945.

study we will use as a working hypothesis a difference between cultic and civil texts.

I. *Post-exilic texts*

1. The New Testament (only a few texts).

a. Acts xx 7. Paul speaks to the congregation on their Sunday meeting until midnight. The reason for his long speech is his intended departure (τῇ ἐπαύριον). As an explanation of the fact that most probably (for it lasted until midnight) he only began to speak *in the evening* (though he had been staying in Troas for seven days!), one could think of a congregation meeting which only started *in the evening* because then the Sunday began. (There is no reason to associate this nocturnal meeting with persecution).

b. Matth. xxviii 1. Apart from the isolated variant "in the end of the sabbath" in xxvii 66 it here clearly appears, in my opinion, that the sabbath ended with Saturday evening. Here the night is the self-evident complement of the day, which does not need further mention.

c. This text can also serve to clarify Lu. xxiii 54. In both texts the "daybreak" plays a role: Matth. xxviii 1: τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ

Lu. xxiii 54: καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν.

HEAWOOD, who only refers to Lu. xxiii 54 in this context (p. 400 f.), derives from this an argument for his thesis that in the New Testament the day began with dawn because after the day of preparation the sabbath drew on (ἐπέφωσκεν). If one wants to take this expression literally, this would mean that Joseph has done all sorts of work in the night preceding the sabbath, for which the sabbath command also applied (with the morning theory: retrospective). However, this seems impossible and raises the question whether one may draw conclusions here from the etymology of the word.

For these last two texts it seems to be justified to conclude that Jews knew the new day to begin with the *evening*, if it concerned a *precise* interpretation (for example with the sabbath)¹ and otherwise with sunrise (cf. τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ in Matth. xxviii 1). This precise interpretation is also clearly pointed out by:

d. Mark xvi 1 f.: And immediately when the sabbath was past, the women bought (ἡγόρασαν; *aur.*) sweet spices and—(paraphrasing) they then took a rest² and after that—very early in the morning, the

¹ According to our "watch mentality" on New Year's Eve.

² I think to be justified to appeal to the use of the times for this intermezzo (cf. F. BLASS-A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1954, § 328¹ and § 332).

first day of the week (when it was yet dark; John xx 1) they went (ἔρχονται; *praes.*) unto the sepulchre.

Conclusion: Their spices have been bought in the *evening* immediately after the sabbath. They were aware of the official interpretation. Their behaviour cannot be explained with the morning theory.

2. The Old Testament (some *evidently* post-exilic texts).

a. The expression "day and night" appears in the following texts: 1 Chron. ix 33; 2 Chron. vi 20 (see below); Neh. i 6; iv 3 (iv 9); (Is. lx 11 and lxii 6¹) and Eccl. viii 16 (cf. ii 23!). Considered in itself, one could derive an argument in favour of the morning theory from this expression where the day precedes the night. But then one could paraphrase all these texts: not only by day (which is self-evident) but even *at night* (which one would not so easily expect). It seems to me that this explanation does not differ too much from ZEITLIN's statement: "when they (the wise men from the Talmud) spoke of a day of importance as one for work, study etc. they put the day first, since in actual life the day takes precedence over the night as regards activity"². I prefer such explanations to those of DE VAUX because the latter is thinking, for example, in Eccl. viii 16, of a *terminus technicus*. That the view of DE VAUX is questionable becomes evident, in my opinion, when comparing 1 Kings viii 29 (pre-exilic: "night and day") and the parallel place 2 Chron. vi 20 (post-exilic: "day and night"). To adjust 1 Kings viii 29 to 2 Chron. vi 20, as DE VAUX wants to do on the ground of some old translations, does not seem permissible to me because most probably the translations themselves, in a tendency to harmonize, have preceded DE VAUX.

With regard to group 2a my *conclusion* is that the order day-night cannot be used as a proof against the evening theory.

b. Zech. xiv 6 f. cannot serve as a proof for HEAWOOD's theory either, because the miracle of the *continued* day is put here against the day *and the night*. The order here could not possibly be otherwise.

c. The following texts speak of "night and day":

α. Judith xi 17. Judith serves God "night and day". It seems to me that one cannot say here that serving at night is self-evident and that the day then follows as something unusual (cf. Neh. i 6, see above).

β. Esther iv 16. One could speak here, perhaps, of a *terminus technicus* (three days, *lāylāh wāyōm*), because in fact there is no reason

¹ These two texts are generally dated post-exilic.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 410 (though in another context).

for mentioning the night separately when speaking about fasting. In that case this text may be counted in favour of the evening theory and against the morning theory.

γ. Ps. lv 18. (Many take this psalm as post-exilic¹). At least this text is a strong argument in favour of the division evening-evening, as long as no other satisfactory explanation for this order can be found.

δ. Jer. xxvii 3 (almost generally understood as post-exilic) and

ε. Is. xxxiv 10 (ditto). Because in both cases a plausible explanation for night preceding day is missing (in Jer. xxvii 3 this could possibly be sought in the accent), we could also think here of a *terminus technicus* (cf. β).

Conclusion: These texts plead, in my opinion, strongly (but not always conclusively) in favour of the opinions of JACOB, ZEITLIN and DE VAUX and against the views of HEAWOOD and CASSUTO.

d. Neh. xiii 19 deserves special mention. Referring to this text DE VAUX says: "Ici il semble que le jour commence au coucher du soleil". Considered in itself it is quite possible that Nehemiah, as a precaution, had the gate shut well in time though the sabbath only began the next morning. In that case, however, there is no explanation for the fact that such a routine matter as shutting the gate at nightfall should be mentioned so emphatically.

In my opinion, a better explanation is given if one might deduce from Joshua ii 1 ff. that a considerable span of time elapses between the beginning of twilight and the shutting of the gate at dark. For I take it that that period begins before the entry of the spies through the gate (what other access could there possibly be?) *hāllāwāb* (*lāwāb* stands, in a general sense, as the opposite of *yōm*) and ends after the men (according to the woman!²) have departed to be just able to leave through the gate before it is shut *bāhōšēk* (vs 4 and 5, paraphrasing: the men came to my house after you saw them enter this evening but they have left rather soon in order to be able to leave the town before the gate is shut, when the darkness is complete).

[For the considerable space of time which is assumed here, we may refer to the expression *bēn hā'arbāyīm* (cf., e.g., Ex. xii 6; xxix 38 ff.; Numb. ix 3, 5, 11 and xxviii 4, 8), which also pertains to a space of

¹) BRIGGS in the *I.C.C.*, *inter alia*, on the very ground of the evening-morning-afternoon order used here. The pre-exilic dating is advocated, among others, by GUNKEL and R. KITTEL.

²) This should, according to vs 8, refer to *that same* evening.

time in which apparently a lamb was killed; in other words this space of time could cover at least an hour (cf. below, sub II, 1d, γ!).]

If we may deduce from all this that the gate was shut when it was completely dark (or even later), then the shutting of the gate in Neh. xiii 19 meant an earlier-than-usual measure because this text speaks of falling dusk (*sālālū*). Then the most obvious explanation for this haste is the fact that the sabbath was drawing near (with the evening!). This text seems to me an almost conclusive indication that the sabbath, at least post-exile, began in the evening.

Summarizing I, 1 and I, 2 as regards the conclusions reached, I think I may postulate that the texts mentioned include some strong indications in favour of the evening theory (at least after the exile), both from a civil and cultic point of view, and do not offer compelling arguments against this view.

II. *Pre-exilic texts* ¹)

1. The civil texts.

a. First of all a great number of texts (DE VAUX speaks of about 50) in which "day" occurs first, followed by "night", and to which the conclusion is linked that the day, at least before the exile, began with the morning. But the conclusive force of these texts is relatively small if one realises that the majority (α) reflect the simple day notion (see above, the quotation from ZEITLIN) or (β) can be explained from a stressing of the night as the unusual: "even the night" (see above, sub I, 2a) ²).

α. Ex. xiii 21; Lev. viii 35; Numb. ix 15; 2 Sam. xxi 10; Jer. viii 23 (ix 1); xvi 13; xxxvi 30, for example, can be classed under category α.

β. Under category β come: Gen. xxxi 39, 40 (Jacob having to compensate for that which was stolen by day seems to be normal, but he had also to make up for the nocturnal theft (39) so that even then the sleep departed from his eyes (40)); Josh. i 8; 1 Kings viii 59; Is. xxviii 19; xxxviii 12, 13 (even at night there is no place); Ps. xxii 3; xxxii 4; xlii 4; Lam. ii 18.

γ. In the texts Ex. xiii 21; 1 Sam. xix 24; xxviii 10, not taking into

¹) Insofar as we are concerned with texts produced by the proponents of the morning theory, the dating, not always *evidently* pre-exilic, is, from a methodological point of view, irrelevant; because if the conclusive force in favour of the morning theory is doubtful when using a pre-exilic dating, this applies *a fortiori* with a post-exilic dating (cf. my conclusion, I, 1, 2).

²) A division between α and β, as appears below, is sometimes doubtful.

account whether the day begins with the morning or evening, the order cannot be turned because the beginning of the story is laid in the daytime.

δ. Deut. xxviii 67 deserves special mention: morning followed by evening, then the reverse order. In this verse we have to do with a beautiful chiasm. For the very sake of the climax—the story does not end with *fear*; they will see it *happen*—the morning-evening period had to occur first.

α'. The texts in which "days and nights" are mentioned. In the cases of Ex. xxiv 18; xxxiv 28; Deut. ix 9, 11, 18, 25; x 10 (Moses's stay during 40 days and 40 nights with the LORD on mount Horeb during which period he did neither eat bread nor drink water) and 1 Kings xix, 8 (Elijah who went 40 days and 40 nights unto mount Horeb) one can think of category II, 1a, α and β or of a *terminus technicus* (cf. Matth. iv 2; cf. also Acts i 3). In 1 Sam. xxx 12 one can posit that the attack probably started in the daytime, so that, beginning by that day, he had not eaten (cf. II, 1a, γ).

With regard to the texts mentioned under II, 1a and 1a', the *conclusion* seems to be justified that they do not conclusively support the morning theory, but because of their abundance still indicate, to some extent, the preference of this theory. On the other hand they do not speak against the evening theory.

b. The texts in which God, as a seal of His fidelity, refers to the appointed ordinances of summer and winter, day and night *etc.*, form a group apart. The following texts can be mentioned:

α. Gen. viii 22. Because of the chiasm that exists among the parallel members

seedtime and harvest	cold and heat
×	×
summer and winter	day and night

it would be difficult to think of a different order.

β. Jer. xxxi 35 (cf. vs 37). 1) One could think here of the ordinary day notion. 2) One could (further) posit that the sun (vs 35) and heaven (vs. 37) belong in the first instance to God and that only after that come the earth and the moon (cf. also Ps. lxxiv 16). 3) Perhaps Jer. xxxi 35 echoes the idea of Gen. i 14ff.

γ. Jer. xxxiii 20, 25. See the reasoning above for Jer. xxxi 35. (Similarly Am. v 8: The fact that God turns the darkness into light comes first. That He also makes the day dark with night should be emphasized in this context of judgment and naturally comes last).

The *conclusion* with regard to this group of texts concurs with that

under 1a and 1a', on the understanding that the positive indications in favour of the morning theory seem to me to be even weaker here.

c. There are a few texts in which the night is mentioned before the day. For reasons given above sub I, 2a, I consider Deut. xxviii 66¹⁾, 1 Sam. xxv 16 and Jer. xiv 17 as having no conclusive force in favour of the evening theory. With the two other texts 1 Kings viii 29 and Deut. i 33, in my opinion, the order cannot be explained in this way. But these texts are too isolated to draw conclusions from them. Moreover, with 1 Kings viii 29 we could think of a *cultic* influence and in the cult the evening-evening division existed, at least in the opinion of some of the above mentioned scholars, *before* as well as *after* the exile.

d. Some *māhār*- and *'èmèš*- texts²⁾.

It appears from Ex. xix, 10f. that with *māhār* we are concerned with a full day of "24" hours: *hāyyôm ûmāhār* have to be sanctified, "and against the *third* day they shall be ready because the LORD will come down".

α. Gen. xix 34, which is appealed to both by DE VAUX and CASSUTO³⁾ in favour of their morning theory. The text states, however, that the oldest daughter tells her sister the next day (*mimmôh'ôrāt*): Yesterday (*'èmèš*) I lay with my father, this night (*bāllāylāb*) it is your turn. Because it appears from vs 32 that the arrangements have been made earlier, the most obvious thing is to assume that this remark was made when the moment, the next night, had come for her sister to lie with her father. In that case, the evening theory is also possible.

β. Gen. xxxi 29, 42. Laban receives a dream at night, pursues Jacob the next morning and overtakes him when the latter had already pitched his tents. This probably did not happen before the evening, because Jacob was in flight. Consequently, when Laban speaks of *'èmèš* meaning the night of *the day before*, this fits in both the morning and the evening theory.

γ. Judges xix 4-9, 11 is also appealed to by DE VAUX as supporting his view. Comparing vs 9 with vs 11, however, it appears that between

¹⁾ Unjustifiably appealed to by DE VAUX in favour of his morning theory.

²⁾ It is assumed that the *māhār*-texts have a connotation beyond the ordinary day notion. If they do not have this connotation they are of no relevance to our discussion.

³⁾ CASSUTO, *o.c.* p. 28: "An examination of the narrative passages of the Bible makes it evident that whenever clear reference is made to the relationship between a given day and the next, it is precisely sunrise, that is accounted the beginning of the second day".

“the day draweth toward evening” (vs 9; *rpb en hnm*) and “the day was far spent” (vs 11) some time must have elapsed which was needed to get ready to set out and travel from Bethlehem (vs 2) to Jerusalem (vs 11). Only when they were at Gibeah (vs 14) the sun went down. Because, according to vs. 14, they set out *before sunset*, in vs. 9 with both theories the next morning belongs to *mābār*.

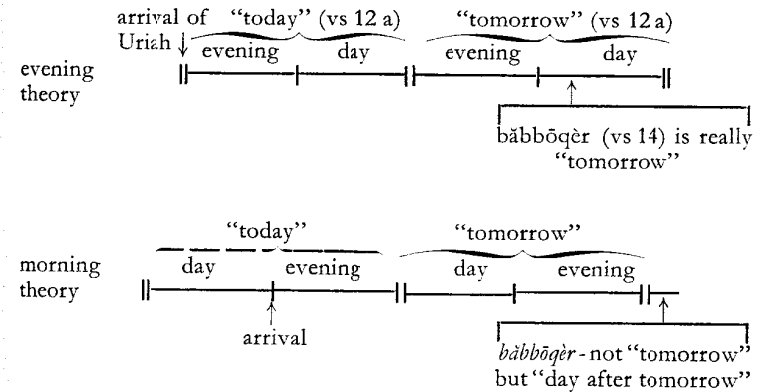
δ. Judges xxi 2-4. Appealed to by CASSUTO; DE VAUX calls it “less conclusive”. They stayed until the evening (*‘ad-hā’ērēb*) before God. The next day (*mābār*) early (*škm*) they built an altar. Nothing here militates against the evening theory. If the verb *škm* must be interpreted as “before sunset” then, strictly speaking, this text excludes the morning theory.

ε. 1 Sam. xix 11. David escaped that night to his house (vs 10). Saul sends messengers to slay him there in the morning (*bābbōqēr*). The most obvious thing would be to assume, with DE VAUX, that the *mābār* of Michal refers to the following morning. And then it suggests, according to this exegesis, the morning-morning division (cf., moreover, the *part. hof. mūmāt*, referring to a *near future*¹). Another possible construction (though less plausible!) could be that Michal, who had her plan ready and knew in advance how to detain Saul’s messengers with the image, sends David away urging him to do what he can in order to escape from Saul’s men before they see through the trick and continue their pursuit. Michal knows just as well that this will only be the next day at the earliest, i.e., after evening. In this context one also might call attention to the fact that Michal uses *mābār* in reply to the hasty *bābbōqēr* from Saul. In that case there comes room to have *mābār* started with the following evening. In any case, the evening theory is also not impossible here.

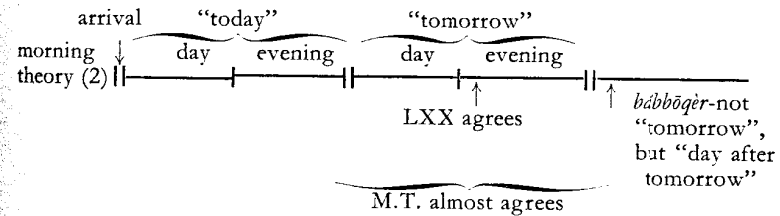
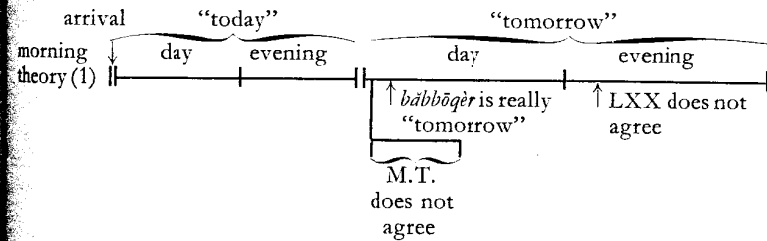
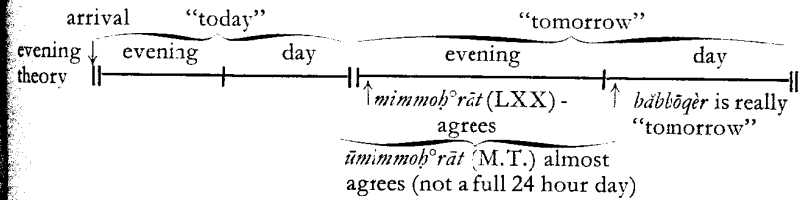
ζ. 2 Sam. xi 12. In case David called Uriah back that same night², the following two constructions—schematically represented—are possible:

¹) Cf. P. JOÜON. *Grammaire de l’Hébreu Biblique*, 1947², § 121 d and e.

²) Most exegetes reject this interpretation (see below). It still appears to me to be more likely that David, who no doubt has been informed immediately (!) by those who “followed Uriah with a mess of meat”, called Uriah back at once because of the urgency of the matter. According to many exegetes, the fact that David’s affair with Bathsheba did not escape the attention of the Court should be seriously taken into account. Hence the fact that David calls Uriah back should not have roused special suspicion. Moreover, it would have been very strange if, after having delivered his message, Uriah had stayed another day for no reason (!). If Uriah did not take to David’s proposal, David had still to decide upon this much more dangerous invitation.



In this case I much prefer the evening theory. In case David only sent for Uriah the *next* morning, the following constructions are possible:



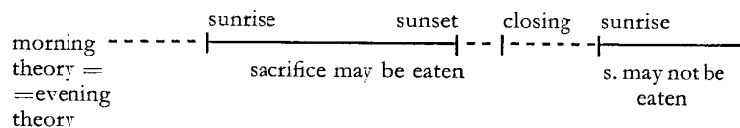
Also in this case I am strongly in favour of the evening theory. Consequently, the *conclusion* regarding this group (d) must be that the evening theory is possible in all texts discussed, with the exception perhaps of 1 Sam. xix 11, and seems almost imperative in 2 Sam. xi 12. Almost the same can be said of the morning theory, whereby the two texts mentioned above change places.

e. Though under this heading a discussion of Gen. i 5 seems appropriate, we shall wait until after the discussion of the cultic texts (in view of the close relation which is often laid here with the sabbath; cf. below immediately after II, 2).

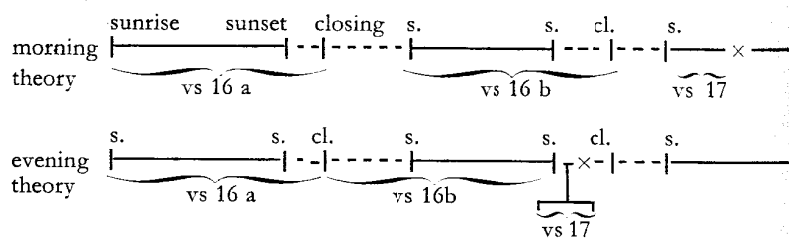
2. The cultic texts.

a. Though DE VAUX, broadly speaking, believes in the evening theory as far as cult is concerned, he is still of the opinion that there are also divergencies here and points then to Lev. vii 15, from which it would appear that the morning theory must be included here.

α. Assuming that the sanctuary is closed at night, it appears, in my opinion, from the following sketch that no preference can be given here for either of the two theories. Both are very well possible:



β. Lev. vii 16 f.



My preference here is for the evening theory, which has the obvious advantage that the flesh of the sacrifice could be eaten in a period of about one and a half days, whereas according to the morning theory, the flesh of the sacrifice could be eaten in a period of two full days. This last solution appears less acceptable considering the perishableness of meat.

γ. From Numb. xxxiii 3 (appealed to by DE VAUX for the same purpose as mentioned above) combined with Ex. xii 12, 29, 33-37 it appears that the morning of the 15th of Nisan, when the Israelites departed from Rameses, is called the *mōbrāt hāppēsāb!* The morning theory seems imperative here. It still appears that the other view is not out of the question; it even seems to be, on the grounds of Ex. xii 43-51 (esp. vs. 51) the only possibility! For in these last verses it is mentioned that the *eating* (not the killing, see below) of the Paschal lamb coincided with the exodus from Egypt, i.e. (see above) the *15th of Nisan*, just as (vs 39) the unleavened cakes were *only* baked and eaten *on the 15th*. And this fits in very well with Ex. xii 8: the eating of the Paschal lamb, of the unleavened cakes and the bitter herbs took place in the *night* of the exodus (vs 11) i.e. (according to Numb. xxxiii, 3) *the 15th of Nisan*. In other words, the division between the 14th and 15th of Nisan (the *killing* of the Paschal lamb) lies *at even, i.e., "between the two evenings"* (cf. Lev. xxiii 5; cf. also sub II, 2b). That evening itself, as appears now, *is still considered as belonging to the 14th of Nisan*, and then the real Passover falls: the killing of the lamb as symbol of the killing of the firstborn, from which the Israelites were saved (Ex. xii 26 f.).

δ. From Numb. ix 11 one could get the impression that the eating of the unleavened cakes and the bitter herbs falls on the 14th of Nisan; but both from Ex. xii 39, 51, and from Lev. xxiii 6 (!) it appears that this happens on the 15th of Nisan together with the eating of the Paschal lamb, of which nothing may be left over till the morning (cf. sub II, 2b). Here also it is quite evident that the division between the 14th and 15th of Nisan fell in the evening-twilight.

The *conclusion* to be drawn here, in my opinion, is that the whole celebration of Passover is a very strong argument in favour of the evening theory. Numb. xxxiii 3 no longer offers difficulties either. The same applies to Josh. v 10.

ε. Ex. xxix 38f. This text cannot be appealed to against the evening theory because 1) here the ordinary day notion should also be considered and/or 2)—supposing that the evening-twilight still belongs to the preceding day, as most of the texts treated above suggest—we can state that the normal order is observed here, i.e., the morning and then the last hour of the day, in the evening-twilight.

b. Obvious evening texts.

Except for the texts treated above (Ex. xii 6, 8, 10, 18), Lev. xxiii 32

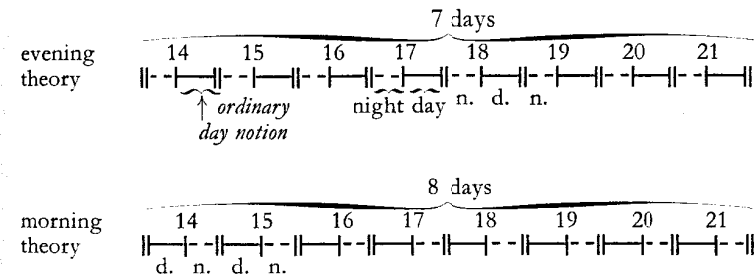
is almost always referred to as the classical example. It must be admitted that the use of this text as evidence for the evening division has been severely criticised. HEAWOOD, for example, points out the special character of the sabbath preceding the Day of Atonement: it is a day of penance and fasting, whereas the weekly sabbath is a festival day. But this then also means that this particular sabbath is of a different duration¹). ZEITLIN also denies the rightfulness of the traditional exegesis of this text and supposes that we are concerned here with a fasting consisting of 2 parts on 2 consecutive days, namely the 9th and 10th of Tisri, so that this text is no longer valid for the evening theory²). CASSUTO considers this text together with Ex. xii 18 as a proof for his thesis that the day began with dawn, because the evening preceding the 10th of Tisri is called the 9th of Tisri; just as in Ex. xii 18 the evening preceding the 15th of Nisan, when the obligation of the unleavened cakes becomes valid, is called the evening of the 14th.

It seems to be indisputable that Lev. xxiii 32 deals with that 10th of Tisri mentioned in vss 27ff.: a day of rest (vss. 28, 30 and 31) "when one shall afflict one's soul" (vss. 27 and 29). These two elements also appear in vs. 32: "It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your souls ('*ānāh*), on the ninth day of the month in the evening (*zāqēf*), from even unto even (*zāqēf*), shall ye celebrate your sabbath". When we are really concerned with another day, namely the 9th of Tisri, then, in my opinion, no '*ānāh* but a *sōf pāsūq* should have been used here. Add to this that Ex. xxx 10; Lev. xvi 29; xxv 9 and Numb. xxix 7-11 speak exclusively of "one day", namely of the 10th of Tisri. That is the reason why I feel justified in supposing that the ordinary day notion (the evening belonging to the 9th of Tisri) and the correct day division are mingled (something like Numb. ix 11). That such a thing is possible appears also from the text Ex. xii 18 mentioned by CASSUTO. If one assumes that "the fourteenth day of the month at even" in fact means the evening with which the 15th of Nisan begins, there is agreement with Lev. xxiii 6, and unleavened cakes are really eaten for 7 days³). With the morning theory, however, it must have been 8 days, as appears from the sketch below.

¹) For this HEAWOOD appeals (*o.c.* p. 396f.) to a note by Obadiah of Beitinoro (Mishna-treatise Pesahim iv 5) who speaks of the different duration of fast-day and feast-day.

²) ZEITLIN, *o.c.* p. 404f.

³) I feel justified in presupposing that '*ād yōm bā'ēbād w'ēšrīm* intends to include the 2th. My other presupposition is that we have to understand this week as a period of full 7 twenty-four hour days (cf. Lev. xxiii 33-36!).



My conclusion with regard to Lev. xxiii 32 is that the evening theory appeals legitimately to this text. The morning theory seems to me to be out of the question.

Considering group II, 2, the evening theory appears always possible and seems in some cases even imperative, whereas the morning theory is nowhere imperative and even seems impossible in some cases, so that the whole of this group strongly favours the evening theory.

Finally Gen. i 5.

Taking the extensive discussion of B. JACOB in his commentary on Genesis as our starting point¹), it appears that the latter as far as the "Zeitfolge" is concerned has the day beginning with the morning till the 6th creation day, because with the creation of the light the first day has begun. The change in the "Zeitfolge" came when God, starting with the evening of the 6th creation day, ended His work. That day of rest lasted 24 hours, for with sunset on the 7th day, the day when one should rest from the work was over. In that way the 8th day began with sunset and further all following days.

In my view, however, this construction, although attractive in itself, conflicts with Gen. ii 2, where it is said that God on the 7th day ended His work. For this means that the beginning of this new day, namely the 7th, does not depend on the fact that God had completed the work on the 6th day — for in that case the text certainly had said "and on the 6th day God ended His work which He had made; and He rested on the 7th day"²)—but depends on the fact that the "Zeitfolge" night-day was also then reality (see below). If this is

¹) See the beginning of this paper.

²) The expression used now that God completed the work on the 7th day does not agree either with the remark of B. JACOB: „Der Abend ist also nicht der Anfang der Nacht, sondern das Ende des Tages“.

true we might draw the conclusion that the *first* day also started with the night. (The division between the 6th and 7th day lies in the twilight "between the two evenings", when God ended His work; cf. sub I, 2d and II, 1dγ).

CALVIN proposed, in his comments on Gen. i 5, that the *dark* had had priority: "scimus tenebras fuisse tempore superiores: quum lucem Deus subduxit, hoc erat diem claudere". He still considers a second explanation possible: namely that here the evening and the morning constitute the first day," vel quod ex vespere et mane *completus fuerit dies primus*". This last explanation has become the usual exegesis. The first possibility has been defended by D. HOFFMANN, in order to make Gen. i 5 in agreement with the "gesetzliche" day standard. According to him 'erēb and bōqēr indicate the *whole* night and the *whole* day; the fact that the writer does not use here lāylāb and yōm can easily be explained from reasons of style: the avoidance of a repeated yōm. 'Erēb (lāylāb) then means: "jene dem Licht vorausgehende Urfinsternis". B. JACOB, though appreciating HOFFMANN's motives, has put forward four objections against this: 1) With this view of 'erēb we go back beyond vs. 3. — Against this one may argue that the writer in vs 5 continues the wāyyiqrā' with weqārā'. One could conceive this as an indication of the "passé éloigné" ¹⁾ but also take it as "plus-que-parfait" ²⁾. The translation is then: "and the darkness He *had* called night". 2) Wāyehi is a continuation of wāyyiqrā' and wāyyār' and wāyyōmēr. — Precisely because exegesis must decide whether wāyehi is meant here statically or actively, the translation "et erat", "et fuit" ³⁾ is also possible for the time being. 3) Here, that which God in vs. 5a still called lāylāb is suddenly called 'erēb. — For this objection one could refer to Zech. xiv 7; whatever light this text could throw on Gen. i 5, in any case lāylāb also here alternates with 'erēb. Compare also Dan. viii 14! 4) It is very unlikely that a whole day (till the evening) is called bōqēr. — This objection has been met by HOFFMANN himself by pointing to reasons of style.

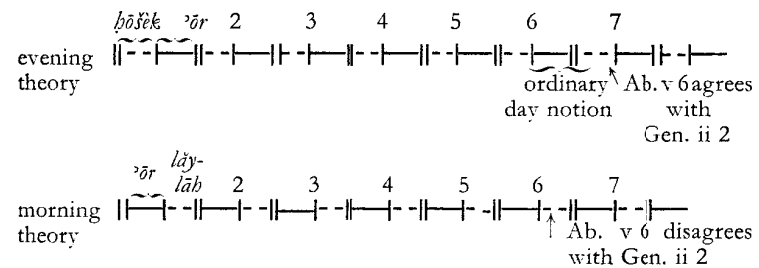
Though JACOB's objections can be refuted (?) in this way, I do not deny that his arguments are nevertheless very strong, even so strong that, considering Gen. i 5 in itself, it is justified, in my opinion, to conclude that the morning theory is the most obvious thing here,

¹⁾ JOÜON, *o.c.* § 112c.

²⁾ *Ibidem*, § 118d. In my opinion § 118d leaves open the possibility of translating qārā' by "plus-que-parfait", in spite of what JOÜON writes in § 118f.

³⁾ *Ibidem*. § 118b.

but that the evening theory is certainly not completely out of the question. If we may link Gen. i 5 with Gen. ii 2, then the evening theory should be preferred (see above). I even feel justified in adding to the argument already advanced, another point, namely, that when the Mishna-treatise Aboth v 6 speaks about ten creations which should have been taken place "between the suns" on the eve of the 6th day and when we then think of the period between sunset and sunrise ¹⁾, then this tradition can only be brought in agreement (which agreement would be intended by the Mishna-treatise) with Gen. ii 2 by holding the evening theory:



Summing up the whole of II, 1, we have to come to the conclusion with regard to the pre-exilic *civil* texts that in many cases both views are possible but the tendency is toward the morning theory.

Whether or not one has to speak of a break coming with the exile depends in my view on the answer to the question how much weight must be given to this tendency toward the morning theory. A similar observation must be made with regard to the question whether or not to accept a separation of a civil and cultic reckoning of the day. In my opinion the indications of such a separation are not trivial but, on the other hand, are not strong enough to be decisive.

With regard to group II, 2 my conclusion can be much more positive (which must be linked up with a much more accurate tradition!) and I feel justified in denying that there was a break between the pre-exilic cultic and the post-exilic reckoning of the day because here the conclusions agree in both cases.

Farther reaching conclusions than those drawn here and under I, 1 and 2 are, in my opinion, not possible for the time being.

¹⁾ HEAWOOD, *o.c.* p. 399.