

SHOFAR, SALPINX, AND THE SILVER TRUMPETS:
THE PURSUIT FOR BIBLICAL CLARITY

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אַשְׁת־חַיִּל מִי יִמָּצֵא וְרָחֵק מִפְּנִינִים מְכֻרָה:

To Kimberly

ABSTRACT

SHOFAR, SALPINX, AND THE SILVER TRUMPETS: THE PURSUIT FOR BIBLICAL CLARITY

The trumpet is the most mentioned instrument in the Old and New Testaments. However, because of the lack of specificity in translation, the word “trumpet” in the Bible is oftentimes assumed to be *shofar* in its derivation when it may be *chatsoserot* (silver trumpets) or even *salpinx* (Greek New Testament trumpet). This generalization may lead from mere confusion to full doctrinal misconceptions. This study seeks to clarify these misunderstandings by examining the different trumpets in Scripture: the *shofar*, the *chatsoserot*, and the *salpinx*. I will use this examination to argue that the *shofar*, though lauded by both Jews and Christians, is not a sacred instrument according to the Bible, but that the *chatsoserot* was, and the *salpinx* will be. Furthermore, I demonstrate that the *shofar*’s now sanctified existence is ostensibly talmudic.

After an introductory chapter, chapter 2 details that the *shofar* currently has an inordinate amount of prestige among both the Jewish people and charismatic Christians. I make this claim by first looking at the *shofar*’s use in the modern Hebrew calendar and then in the milieu of Pentecostal Christianity. Chapter 3 serves as a detailed examination of the trumpets in the Old Testament by analyzing the etymologies of each instrument, their construction, references in Scripture, and extra-biblical writings. Furthermore, I demonstrate that the dominant status of the *chatsoserot* remained through the diaspora. Chapter 4 surveys the Second Temple period through the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 and

chronicles how the *shofar* eclipsed the *chatsoserot*, rising to its modern status after AD 70. To determine this, I examine the prominence of the *chatsoserot* just before the Common Era, and the rise of the *shofar* soon after AD 70 using pseudepigraphical and deuterocanonical passages, coinage, imagery from synagogue ruins, and liturgies that include the *shofar*. Additionally, I will illustrate the *Talmud*'s positive effect on the status of the *shofar*. I also conclude the chapter with a study of the Greek New Testament trumpet: *salpinx*. Chapter 5 concludes this dissertation by discussing why this information is relevant to today's evangelical church with four conclusions from this study toward better translation, and keener understanding of the trumpeting instruments in Scripture.

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PREFACE

This study is derived from having my feet firmly planted in two beautiful worlds that often collide: the musical and the theological. While I can say the subject of biblical trumpets has been my focus for four years, it has actually been a lifetime pursuit. Ever since taking the trumpet, and my faith, seriously in high school, I have wondered about the trumpet's biblical heritage. This dissertation is the product of that query, and is where my thanks now begin:

First, I wish to thank my mother, Joann Burton. Thank you, Mom, for your incessant and near aggravating belief in me. You prayed the “sinner’s prayer” with me, and at the same time, you would not let me quit the trumpet in sixth grade. I also wish to thank my father, Ira Francis. Dad, you never thought your name would wind up in a doctoral dissertation. Thank you for pushing me to become the man I am today; I will see you again someday. Many thanks go to my musical father, Richard Illman. Rich, thank you. You taught me the power of steady practice and a relaxed mind. You are a true blessing to me, and when I miss a day of practice, I still look over my shoulder. Also, I bestow great thanks to my private Hebrew mentor, Robert Bergen: *Mazel tov*, my friend.

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The greatest thanks I owe is to my wife, Kimberly. Kim, you are the love of all my life, my primary editor, proofreader, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. Thank you.

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John Leslie Francis
St. Louis, Missouri
August 2020

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The trumpet is the most frequently mentioned musical instrument in the Bible,¹ with the *shofar* comprising well over half of those mentions.² While the trumpet has been written about from various viewpoints, from the rabbinical to the musicological,³ little academic research exists about this instrument from an evangelical Christian perspective. This lack of biblical analysis has led to misunderstandings in the origin, praxis, and ontology of the instrument. Because of the overall absence of clarity on the subject,

¹ The number of references depend upon some translation considerations as Scripture contains concrete mentions of the trumpet, as well as implied references. Examples of implied trumpet references include Leviticus 23:24 and Numbers 29:1 in the *Yom Teruah*, or “Day of (trumpet) alarm.” In these passages *teruah*, which is a trumpet call, is mentioned but the actual trumpet is not. Other indirect references include the mention of trumpet calls or trumpeters in Numbers 10, 2 Chronicles 5:13, and 7:6. Including such references, there are 139 citations of the trumpet in Scripture. All 139 references are detailed in the appendix.

² Seventy-four mentions of the *shofar* occur in the Bible according to musicologist Joachim Braun (*Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*, trans. Douglas W. Stott [Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002], 26).

³ Modern musicological examples include Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*; Yelena Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2002); Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940; reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006); Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969). Rabbinical examples go back centuries, such as the *Talmud* and Moses ben Maimonides’s *Mishnah Torah L’HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*. Recent books have been written by Jewish *Ba’al Tekiah* (ceremonial *shofar* players) such as: Jeremy Montagu, *Shofar: Its History and Use* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015); Arthur Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique, and Jewish Law* (Saarbrücken: Hadassa Word Press, 2015); and Abraham B. Witty and Rachel J. Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition: A Transliterated Guide to Everyday Practice and Observance* (New York: Doubleday, 2002). These are modern texts that summarize ancient liturgies and rabbinical directives for this instrument.

some misapprehensions arise through translational and exegetical discrepancies about the *shofar* and the generic Greek term *salpinx*.⁴ The two terms have been mistakenly interchanged, including in some Septuagint and Latin Vulgate Bible translations to English as recently as 1967.⁵ A few interpretations of Scripture, such as the *New Jerusalem Bible*, and the Jewish Publication Society's *Tanakh*,⁶ removes some ambiguity by consistently translating *shofar* as "ram's horn." This contrasts with most mainstream translations of the word *shofar* to a generic term such as trumpet, cornet, or tuba.⁷ The New Testament *salpinx* is a manufactured instrument rather than an organic product of creation like the ram's horn. The genesis of this instrument is much more comparable to the Old Testament *chatsosera* (silver trumpet) than the *shofar*, as both the *salpinx* and *chatsosera* are man-made.⁸

⁴ *Salpinx* and *salpizo* comprise all twenty-three occurrences of the word "trumpet" in the New Testament (Matt 6:2, 24:31, 1 Cor 14:8, 15:52 [2x], 1 Thess 4:16, Heb 12:19, Rev 1:10, 4:1, 8:2, 6 [2x], 7, 8, 10, 12, 13 [2x], 9:1, 13, 14, 10:7, 11:15).

⁵ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 26.

⁶ *Tanakh* is an acronym of *Torah* (law), *Nevi'im* (prophets), and *Ketuv'im* (writings). Except for some books that are truncated, such as Esther, Ezra, Daniel, Jeremiah, and Chronicles, it is basically the same as the Old Testament codex, as interpreted in Christianity (*Jewish Virtual Library*, s.v. "*Tanakh*").

⁷ There are exceptions to this rule, which creates even more confusion. The ESV, HCSB, and NKJV translations and others use the terminology "ram's horn" or "horn" in the following passages: Exodus 19:16, Joshua 6:5, 1 Samuel 13:3, 2 Samuel 15:10, 2 Samuel 20:1, 1 Kings 1:39, Psalm 81:3, Psalm 98:6, Hosea 5:8, Amos 2:2, and Amos 3:6. Another source of misdirection are texts for church musicians and music educators such as *The Instrumental Resource* that refer to the *shofar*, *qeren*, and *yobel* interchangeably, blurring distinctions with "horns on the altar" with the musical instrument of the same name (Julie Barrier, *The Instrumental Resource for Church and School: A Manual of Biblical Perspectives and Practical Instruction for Today's Christian Instrumentalists* [Nashville: Church Street Press, 2002], 21).

⁸ Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet*, trans. S.E. Plank (London: B. T. Batsford, 1988), 24.

Additional inquiry also reveals a new set of questions about the *shofar*'s real significance: Was the *shofar* ever meant to serve in a cultic role for the Jewish faith? Was the *shofar*'s purpose as a liturgical instrument in the Jewish faith prescribed in Scripture as some musicologists have claimed,⁹ or did the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 precipitate this role? Are there dictates beyond the Old Testament about the use of the *shofar*?

It is not hard to argue the fact that the *shofar* has grown in interest in Christianity over the past several years. For instance, in a recent blog article on the *Christianity Today* blog site, Kate Shelnutt states:

Christian use of the *shofar* has grown in certain traditions over the past 25 years, along with interest in the Holy Land and dispensationalist understanding of the end times. Believers who incorporate the *shofar* often echo biblical references to sounding a trumpet, such as its use in warfare by Gideon's army (Judg 7:15–22) or the battle of Jericho (Josh 6), as a call for repentance (Isa 58:1, Hos 8:1), as a way to gather an assembly (Num 10:3, Joel 2:15), or for other occasions of praise and proclamation (Psalms and Revelation).¹⁰

Another Christian blogger states, “the sounding of the *shofar* was blown to make proclamation . . . as a distinct sound to guarantee the chasing away of Satan and evil forces.”¹¹ *Shofar* player Don Heist claims that the *shofar* aids in the “war against the evil

⁹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 26.

¹⁰ Kate Shelnutt, “Why So Many Christians Sound the Jewish Shofar in Israel,” *Christianity Today* (blog), accessed May 24, 2018, https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2018/may-web-only/christians-jewish-shofar-israel-huckabee.html?fbclid=IwAR3dZO8uMKko8TazsIX6saa7UGjF5xJNdWAOeZi6-NDpILEU-CM_o7Maf0.

¹¹ “Blowing of the Shofar,” *Galilee of the Nations* (blog), accessed November 20, 2019, <https://galileeofthenations.com/blogs/knowledge-center/16329168-blowing-of-the-shofar>.

powers in the spirit realm.”¹² Not only does the *shofar* imply a spiritual war-like tone to some, but it was also recently blown as a clarion call for political saber-rattling on the night before the 2016 US Presidential Inauguration of Donald J. Trump, in the presence of the President-elect.¹³

The over-generalization of the term “trumpet” in Scripture has resulted in some confusion that deserves further academic scrutiny. These lapses in understanding have allowed many to associate the *shofar* with heightened spirituality, claiming that the sound of the *shofar* can reach “into our very souls.”¹⁴

Need for the Study

I believe that various mistranslations and interpretive ambiguity have further bolstered a perceived change of purpose in the *shofar* over the past twenty centuries. The *shofar*, once the instrument played by all Jews in celebration (Lev 23:23, Num 29:1),¹⁵ has now become an instrument of worship, with vast spiritual import. This perceived shift leads to the purpose of this writing.

¹² Don Heist, director, 2016. *Shofar! The Voice of God* (Carlisle, PA: Shaffer Films). DVD.

¹³ Elizabeth Diaz, “Evangelical Leaders Celebrate the Day Before Donald Trump’s Inauguration,” *Time* (blog), modified January 20, 2017, accessed February 15, 2019, <http://time.com/4640436/evangelical-leaders-donald-trump-inauguration/>.

¹⁴ Mois Navon, “Anticipation and Consummation: A Perspective on the Shofar,” *Alei Etzion* 15 (2007): 55.

¹⁵ All children were even encouraged to blow the *shofar* in the festivals. An example is the *Mishnah Torah L’HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, Chapter 2, Halacha 7 because it is written, “all are obligated to blow . . . even toddlers who have not reached the age of Chinuch [Jewish education] . . . we do not prevent them from blowing” (Yad Hachazakah with Pirush Hameir [Nanuet, NY: Feldheim Publishing, n.d], 117–19).

This study seeks to position the *shofar*, and other period trumpets, properly following a biblical practice. As musicologist Joachim Braun correctly points out, “in the discussion of the meaning and symbolism of the instruments, interpreters unfortunately often confuse the *shofar* and the *chatsosera*.”¹⁶ As I agree with this statement, I will clarify translation over-generalizations that have occurred in the past.

The study of Scripture has concluded the trumpet is the most mentioned musical instrument within its pages.¹⁷ The lack of keen discernment over language, the misunderstandings of usage, and the copious occurrences of the word “trumpets” in Scripture are reason enough to warrant this academic investigation. Accuracy should prevail in the translation of the horns: *chatsosera*, *shofar*, and *salpinx*; this dissertation seeks to illuminate these differing terms. I will do so by providing clarity to the diverse instruments, documenting the ascension of the *shofar* as the “spiritual instrument” in Jewish history, and comparing spiritual value given by tradition as opposed to value assigned by Scripture.

¹⁶ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 16.

¹⁷ In the introductory material of *Music of Ancient Israel*, Braun quantifies these Old Testament instruments in the following categories: *kinnor* (lyre) 42 mentions, *asor/nebel* (strings) 27 mentions, *tsetselim* (cymbals) 17 mentions, *tof* (drum) 16 mentions, *pa'man* (bells) 4 mentions, as well as the *u'gab* (pipes) 4 mentions. None of these counts can even closely compare numerically to the 139 mentions of the trumpeting instruments in Scripture (Braun, *Music of Ancient Israel/Palestine*, “Introduction”).

Thesis and Purpose

By examining the trumpets of Scripture comprehensively, this dissertation will argue that although many consider the *shofar* a vital instrument of worship, the *shofar* was not intended in Scripture as a cultic instrument beyond calling people to gather. In the midst of much confusion and speculation,¹⁸ I will furthermore assert that the *chatsoserot* are the correct recipients of any biblical or spiritual significance, instead of the *shofar* of the Old Testament. I come to the above conclusion through the examination of Numbers 10, the Josephus accounts, and by other primary sources that were written before the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70. Furthermore, I will explain that the trumpets played in the eschaton will not be *shofarot*,¹⁹ but the *salpinx*, which are akin to the *chatsoserot* in their physical and sacerdotal nature.

This dissertation will survey the different trumpets in biblical literature to understand better how the *shofar* has become such an item of interest in Jewish and even Christian worship. After reviewing all biblical trumpets, I will carefully observe how the movement of the *shofar* to prominence over the *chatsoserot* blurred the roles of both instruments. Moreover, I will demonstrate that over-generalization in biblical translation

¹⁸ Even the most recent book on biblical musicology claims that the “*shofar* was perceived as a sacred symbol (voice of God)” in the Sinaitic era, citing Leviticus 23:24 and Numbers 29:1. This statement is made in the book even though the *shofar* is not mentioned in either of these passages (Yelena Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible* [New York: Routledge, 2014], 16).

¹⁹ There is plenty of imagery that portray the *shofar* as the end times instrument of the seven angels found in Revelation, such as the medieval “Trier Apocalypse,” “Bamberg Apocalypse,” and the “Apocalypse Picture Book” of 1225 to name a few.

has aided in this obscurity. After processing this information, I will then conclude by discussing why this information is relevant to today's evangelical church with four conclusions and three implications from this study.

Historical Survey and Literature Review

Precision in this work can only be accomplished by thoroughly understanding the writings that have come before. Therefore, I will review precedent literature concerning the *chatsosera*, the *shofar*, and the *salpinx*.

The *chatsosera* and the *shofar* spent a good deal of their Old Testament existence in a divided reality. *Chatsoserot* served exclusively as priestly instruments, and *shofarot*²⁰ were present in the hands of the common man and the warrior. As this section will review the literature on biblical trumpets, I will include writings from musicologists and theologians categorically: first the silver trumpets, then the ram's horn. This review is assembled in chronological order.

The Literature on the Silver Trumpet: *Chatsosera*

In his writings in *The Antiquities of the Jews*, historian Flavius Josephus discussed the *shofar* by generalizing its Old Testament Hebrew existence into one paragraph that mentions the Gideon *shofar* in the Old Testament. In contrast, he has many accolades and flowery descriptions saved for the *chatsosera*, nearly mirroring Numbers 10 as he describes:

²⁰ *Chatsoserot* and *shofarot* are the respective plural forms of *chatsosera* and *shofar*.

Moses further invented a kind of clarion, which he had made for him in silver. And in length a little short of a cubit, it is a narrow tube, slightly thicker than a flute, with a mouthpiece wide enough to admit the breath and a bell-shaped extremity such as trumpets have. It is called *asosra* in the Hebrew tongue. Two such instruments were made, one being reserved for summoning and collecting the people to the assemblies: if only one sounded, it behooved the chiefs to meet for deliberation on their own affairs; with the two together, they convened the people.²¹

While this account is not necessarily revelatory, further disclosure came later in Josephus's description of the grandeur of Solomon's Temple when he relayed, "he made two hundred thousand trumpets, in accordance with the commandment of Moses, and two hundred thousand robes of linen for the Levite singers."²² Whether this statement is true or hyperbolic, it certainly does assign the *chatsosera* a role of great prominence in Jewish worship.

In the *War Scrolls of the Qumran* found in the eponymous caves in the mid-twentieth century, one sees yet another point of demarcation in favor of the *chatsoserot*. In this passage, priests play *chatsoserot*, and the more common Levites play *shofarot*. The following translation by Géza Vermès from the scroll describes using the *chatsosera* and the *shofar* together in battle. These trumpets each had specific tasks with communicating battle lines and commands:

The Priests shall sound a second signal, soft and sustained, for them to advance until they are close to the enemy formation . . .

The Priests shall blow a shrill, staccato blast on the Six Trumpets of Massacre to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a

²¹ Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: The Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003), 116.

²² Josephus. *Josephus*, 260.

mighty alarm to terrify the heart of the enemy, and the javelins shall fly to bring down the slain. Then the sound of the horns [*shofarot*] shall cease, but the Priests shall continue to blow a shrill, staccato blast on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times against the enemy formation. And then they shall sound a soft, a sustained, and a shrill sound on the trumpets of withdrawal.²³

This description shows the power of these instruments in warfare and for evoking fear in the hearts of the enemy. The above account is echoed later in the same chapter of the *War Scroll*.

There are also three significant accounts of the *chatsoserot* in 1 Maccabees in the Apocrypha:

And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down; They rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, And fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and cried toward heaven. (1 Macc 4:38-41)²⁴

So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and cried with prayer. (1 Macc 5:33)

Then sounded them with the holy trumpets [*chatsoserot*]: whereupon Cendebeus and his host were put to flight so that many of them were slain, and the remnant got them to the stronghold. (1 Macc 16:8)

These accounts were probably recorded soon after the Maccabean revolt, so a rough estimate of writing would be second century BC (1 Macc 1:1, 2 Macc 7:24) or soon after.

²³ Géza Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 1962), 134.

²⁴ *Holy Bible: King James Version, 1611 Edition*, 400th anniversary ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006).

A final, much later treatment of the *chatsoserot* in literature is by Johann Ernst Altenburg in his *Heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter und Pauker Kunst (The Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummer's Art)* of 1794. In this book, this early trumpet historian discusses *chatsoserot* at length as he parallels the eighteenth-century “trumpet guild” of his day with that of the priesthood of the Old Testament. Altenburg states:

The trumpeting priests, [who] were almost always with the king, wore magnificent garb, and were, at that time, completely separated from common horn players, who were only allowed to play on their trombones [instruments unapproved for biblical use] and ram's horns outside the temple. Consequently, these [priests] were invested with the name of “holy trumpeters.”²⁵

Altenburg also brings a noteworthy perspective concerning the *chatsoserot* usage for the Hebrew liturgical terms *selah* and *amen*. He notes that the blast of the trumpets marks these liturgical moments.²⁶ Altenburg continues to speak glowingly of their usage in the return of the Ark of the Covenant, yet failed to mention the tragedy of the death of Uzzah, which infers the misuse of sacred objects, or *instrumenta*.²⁷

Most other mentions of *chatsoserot* beyond these texts have been in entries in reference books from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as *The Music of*

²⁵ The term “holy trumpeters” is translated from the Luther German Bible (which would have been the version of Scripture Altenburg would have invariably used) as *halldrommeten*, occurring twice: Numbers 31:6 and 2 Chronicles 13:12 (Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter und Pauker-Kunst: Zu mehrerer Aufnahme derselben historisch, theoretisch und praktisch beschriben Zway Theile*, [reprint, London: Forgotten Books, 2017], 18).

²⁶ Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Trumpeters and Kettledrummers Art*, trans. Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: Brass Press, 1974), 19. This claim is corroborated by the Babylonian Talmud (*Mishnah, Erubin 54a*).

²⁷ Altenburg, *Trumpeters and Kettledrummers Art*, 19.

the Most Ancient Nations by Carl Engel,²⁸ *The Music of the Bible* by John Stainer,²⁹ *The Music of the Jews* by Aron Marko Röthmüller,³⁰ *The History of Musical Instruments* by Curt Sachs,³¹ and *Music in Ancient Israel* by Alfred Sendrey.³² The term is also found in etymological studies such as *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*³³ and *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*.³⁴ Current books also include similar entries such as *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine* by Joachim Braun³⁵ and the recent publication of *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible*,³⁶ based on a doctoral thesis by the Russian Orthodox writer Yelena Kolyada.³⁷ A thorough examination of these entries follows in later chapters of this work.

²⁸ London: John Murray, 1864.

²⁹ New York: The H. W. Gray Company, 1914.

³⁰ New York: Beechhurst Press, 1954.

³¹ New York: W. W. Norton, 1940.

³² New York: Philosophical Library, 1969.

³³ *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “Ḥatzotzerot.”

³⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “Hasosera.”

³⁵ Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2002.

³⁶ New York: Routledge, 2009.

³⁷ Donna Campbell, “Critical Review: A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible,” *Theological Librarianship* 3, no. 2 (December 2010): 48–50.

Curiously, two well-known and highly regarded books in the trumpet world, *The Trumpet* by Edward Tarr,³⁸ and *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* by Don Smithers,³⁹ do not refer to *chatsoserot* at all, yet they each have entries about both the *shofar* and *salpinx*.

The Literature on the Ram's Horn: *Shofar*⁴⁰

Academic studies of the *shofar* from an English perspective do not emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century. Many previous references that I have reviewed of the *chatsosera* also refer to the *shofar*. I will not include them in this section of the review as they will manifest themselves later as this study necessitates.

Ancient Hebrew Writings on the *Shofar*

Because the use of the *shofar* was the unique method that the Hebrews used for communication as well as celebratory purposes, it would figure that the bulk of post-biblical literature about the *shofar* before the nineteenth century⁴¹ was Jewish in origin, such as the *Talmud*.⁴² The widespread use of the word *Talmud* refers to the *Babylonian Talmud* or *Talmud Bavli*, first written around AD 200 by R. Judah ha-Nasi. However,

³⁸ London: B. T. Batsford, 1988.

³⁹ Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989.

⁴⁰ There are some other words that are used interchangeably with *shofar*, namely *takoa* and *yobel*. These terms will be dealt with fully in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁴¹ The growth of serious study of musical instruments in the Western world began about this time, and all the more in church music research with the beginning of the Oxford movement.

⁴² Adin Steinsaltz, *The Essential Talmud*, 30th anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 3.

before the sixth century AD, there were two *Talmuds*: the *Talmud Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem Talmud) and the *Talmud Bavli*.⁴³ In ha-Nasi's time, Babylonia grew in power and Jewish tolerance. Therefore, the *Babylonian Talmud* rose to prominence, becoming only a one-word title, *Talmud*.⁴⁴

The first section of the *Talmud* is the *Mishnah*. The *Mishnah* is held second only to the *Torah* in esteem by the Jewish people. In it are six *Sedarim* or orders.⁴⁵ The *Sedarim* are *Zera'im* (seeds, for agricultural rules), *Mo'ed* (festivals), *Nashem* (women), *Nezikin* (damages), *Kodashim* (sacred matters), and *Taharot* (purity).⁴⁶ In *Seder Mo'ed*, there are twelve *masechet* or tractates. The eighth one, *Masechet Roš Haššanah*, deals with the rituals of *Rosh Hashanah* and, subsequently, the *shofar*.⁴⁷ This chapter codifies the rules of *shofar* use. The *shofar* is also referenced in other tractates within the *Talmud*.⁴⁸ The *shofar* is written about later in two other texts, *Mishnah Torah* *L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar* and the *Shulchan Aruch*.

⁴³ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 11.

⁴⁴ James H. Charlesworth and others., *Partings: How Judaism and Christianity Became Two*, ed. Hershel Shanks (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2014), 277.

⁴⁵ These six orders are often called *Z'man Nakat*, which is an acronym of the first letter of each order (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 13.)

⁴⁶ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 11.

⁴⁷ It should be noted that the *Mishnah* is often surrounded by commentary (*gemara*) as the economy of language in the original *Talmud* is austere, with many times a single word representing a full thought or sentence.

⁴⁸ Talmudic references include: Šabad. 35, 36, 96, 131, Roš. Haš. 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, Sukkah 34, 54, 5, Beṣah 5, Ta'an. 15, Mo'ed Qaṭ. 3, B. Qam. 37, Sanh. 110, Šebu. 36, 'Arak 2, Nid. 38.

This written summary of oral law is a primary source of theological and cultural decrees of the Jews. In above directives, there are various guidelines specific to playing the *shofar* for the season of *Rosh Hashanah*.⁴⁹

The *Shulchan Aruch*, Hebrew for “set table,” also known as “Code of Jewish Law,” is a sixteenth-century manuscript organized by R. Joseph Caro. It was paramount in bringing together works of all the prominent Jewish sages into a single, four-part codex: *Orach Chayim*, *Yoreh De’ah*, *Even HaEzer*, and *Choshen Mishpat*.⁵⁰ The *Orach Chayim* discusses home and synagogue religious conduct and contains various rites and rituals for the liturgical year. Its chief contribution to *shofar* practice deals with its use in the *Ya’Mim Nora-im* or the “Days of Awe.”⁵¹

RAMBAM is an acrostic name for one of the most revered Jewish philosophers of the Common Era, R. Moshe Ben Maimonides (1135–1204).⁵² Few Jewish philosophers have written more profusely on Jewish law and concepts. A relatively small volume is his *Mishnah Torah L’HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar* or *Hilchos Shofar*. This work, dedicated to *shofar* playing, details rules for the validity of the instrument and its player. The *Hilchos Shofar* is divided into three chapters followed by a section of *Rosh Hashanah* prayers.

⁴⁹ While *Rosh Hashanah* is the best known label for this holiday, it was known in Scripture as *Yom Teruah* or “Day of (trumpet) alarm” (Le 23:24). For purposes of clarity it remains *Rosh Hashanah* in this paper, though it is not the biblical term.

⁵⁰ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 17.

⁵¹ This period contains *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. I will expound on these rituals in the next chapter.

⁵² Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 28.

Chapter 1 deals with the *shofar* itself. The second chapter is about those worshippers who are obligated to hear the sound of the *shofar*. The final chapter spells out *shofar*-blowing procedures. The *Hilchos Shofar* is a collection of commands (*halacha*) that focuses on proper guidelines for the *shofar* in Jewish worship. I will utilize the Meir Horowitz translation for this study in describing the *shofar* in detail throughout this dissertation. The *Hilchos Shofar* is among the earliest extant literature devoted solely to the playing of the *shofar*.⁵³

Another ancient text mentioning the *shofar* is *The Zohar*. *The Zohar* is the holy book for practitioners of Kabbalah, an off-shoot of Judaism that deals with a more “esoteric or mystic” view of God and the universe.⁵⁴ *The Zohar*, which first appeared in Spain in the thirteenth century,⁵⁵ ascribes strong mystical powers to the sounding of the *shofar* when it states:

The letter Yud [י] made an opening in that temple so that the sound of the *shofar* can be heard through it . . . because the *shofar* is blocked on all sides, Yud came and opened it so that the sound could be heard. When it opened it, the *shofar* was blown and emitted . . . So by blowing the *shofar*, Yisrael was delivered from Egypt. And so another time in future, at the End of Days, every deliverance originates from this *shofar* . . . Because it is a result of this *shofar*—by the force of the letter Yud—that the womb was opened, enabling it to bring forth its sound to redeem the slaves.⁵⁶

⁵³ Moses Maimonides and Meir Alter Halevi Horowitz, *Mishnah Torah L’HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, Yad Hachazakah with Pirush Hameir (Nanuet, NY: Feldheim Publishing, 2018), 9.

⁵⁴ *The Jewish Encyclopedia:1906 Edition*, s.v. “Cabala.”

⁵⁵ *The Jewish Encyclopedia:1906 Edition*, s.v. “Zohar.”

⁵⁶ Michael Berg, ed., *The Zohar*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Kabbalah Centre International, 2013), 1:13b:7.

These sources from antiquity were devoted to customs and liturgy of the instrument and were orally passed, rabbinically codified, read, and understood in the native Hebrew. Not until the nineteenth century did the *shofar* become the subject of interest in the English-speaking world.

Late Nineteenth-Century Musicological Literature

After eighteen-hundred years with minimal English writing on the subject,⁵⁷ the Victorian era brought about the momentum of more profound study in the worship arts through the Oxford movement which created a theological desire to pursue research and proper clerical training. Two sources of that era are of early import—first, Carl Engel’s *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations Particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews, with Special Reference to Recent Discoveries in Western Asia and in Egypt* and then a later writing with a similarly lengthy title, *Music of the Bible: With Some Account of the Development of Modern Musical Instruments from Ancient Types* by John Stainer and F. W. Galpin. All the musicologists, as mentioned earlier, were Anglican, and Galpin held the office of vicar. The *Galpin Society Journal*, named after him, is still in publication.⁵⁸ A beneficial addition to John Stainer’s text is Appendix Five, “The *Shofar* in the Synagogue,” presumably by Galpin (as he refers to John Stainer in the third

⁵⁷ A Google NGram search of the word “*shofar*” or “*shophar*” shows no real mention until the late 1800s; https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=shofar&year_start=1700&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cshofar%3B%2Cc0, accessed October 25, 2018.

⁵⁸ <http://www.galpinsociety.org>.

person). In this appendix, Galpin transcribes the four *shofaric* calls: *tekiah*, *teruah*, *shevarim*, and *tekiah gedolah*. He transcribed them while hearing them performed by the *Ba'al Tekiah* (one who blows the *shofar*) of the London Western Synagogue.

Engel, in *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, thoroughly explains the types of the *shofar* (using at that time the standard transliteration spelled *shophar*). Additionally, in this early book, Engel brings to light the apparent continuity of the calls of the *shofar* according to ancient Hebrew practice:

The signals blown on the *shophar* are said to be the same, at least rhythmically, as those which were used more than three thousand years ago. This is the more probable because they are strictly prescribed and adhered to: they are simple, characteristic, and easily preserved traditionally, and they are very much the same in all the synagogues. The liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, known as the Sephardic Liturgy, is different from that of the German and Polish Jews. The fact of their signals being nearly the same furnishes a strong proof of their having been in use anterior to the settlement of the Jews in the Spanish Peninsula, and in Northern Africa, which took place at the time of the Mohammedan conquests. And as the signals have been preserved intact, notwithstanding the subsequent persecutions and expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula, it is not at all improbable that they may have been likewise preserved through many centuries before the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world, when the Jews formed a large community, and when a strict adherence to their ancient religious usages was therefore comparatively easy.⁵⁹

Engel's work was referenced later by Stainer and Galpin as they also investigated the *shofar* along with other instruments. Chapter 8 of their book is titled "Wind Instruments—*Keren*, *Shophar*, *Khatsotserah*." In this chapter are detailed drawings of the instruments as well as lengthy and valuable descriptions. One problem with the writings is Stainer's use of the Septuagint for reference rather than the original Hebrew. These

⁵⁹ Engel, *The Music of The Most Ancient Nations*, 294-95.

primary source issues in translation are the same as translation concerns to some versions of Scripture, like the American Standard Version and King James Version in their use of “cornet” and “sackbut” in differing passages, perplexing the reader.⁶⁰ Engel also points out a curious observation of the *chatsosera* when he discusses its prominence on the Bar-Kohkba coinage during the of the Second Jewish revolt. This coin, reviewed later in chapter 4, connotes real importance to the political and cultic strength of the *chatsosera* in the latter Temple period.

The Engel and Stainer/Galpin accounts helped pave the way for an understanding of the usage of these instruments and forged the way for more academic research in the twentieth century.

Twentieth-Century Musicological Literature

The book by Curt Sachs titled *The History of Musical Instruments* introduced the current standard classification system of musical instruments in English. While not revealing new information about the *shofar*, Sachs references medieval Jewish writings on the subject. Proof of this is in his reference to the player of the *shofar* mutating the sound of the instrument by “playing it in a pit,” which is a clear allusion to *Mishnah*

⁶⁰ Both translations use “cornet” in 1 Chr 15:28, Ps. 98:6, Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15. The translations also use “sackbut,” which was the predecessor of the modern trombone, in Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15.

Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar by Maimonides, who addresses the same affectation.⁶¹

Sachs also describes the different calls of the instruments as well. The *tekiah* is “an appoggiatura on the tonic prefixed to a long blow on the fifth.” The *shevarim*, he states, is a “rapid alteration between tonic and fifth.” Sachs states that the *rua (teruah)* is “a quavering blow on the tonic, ending on the fifth.” Finally, the *tekiah gedolah* he describes as “a call with a longer sostenuto on the fifth always played at the end.”⁶² These descriptions are slightly different than that of Galpin’s as Galpin looks more at the pitches of the notes, where Sachs considers the characteristics of the notes played. The Galpin references, though older, seem to be more congruent with the modern playing of the *shofar*, as is evidenced by later, more practical recommendations such as the Finkle book, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, which will be reviewed later in this chapter.

The *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, in its definition of *shofar*, points the reader to a fundamental article:

Shofar [Heb.] A ram’s-horn trumpet of ancient Israel and modern Jewish worship. It produces primarily two pitches, corresponding to the second and third harmonics and thus a fifth apart, though other pitches may be produced by liping. Today it is sounded on Rosh Hashanah (New Year) and Yom Kippur

⁶¹ Sachs is referring to the *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, Halacha 8: “If one blows *shofar* inside a pit or inside a cave, then those that are standing inside the pit have fulfilled their *mitzvah*” (Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 112).

⁶² Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 110.

(Day of Atonement). Bibl.: David Wulstan, “The Sounding of the *Shofar*,” *GSJ* 26 (1973): 29–46.⁶³

The cited 1973 article, “The Sounding of the *Shofar*,” is quite definitive in its scope and treatment of the nature of the *shofar*. As it is the only reference for the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, it bears strong significance in this review. It is a benchmark piece on the *shofar* that discusses the LXX and Vulgate’s loose translation issues on the *shofar* and *chatsosera*. It also describes in detail the various calls of the horns, categorizing the calls *shevarim* and *tekiah gedolah* as post-Old Testament, though ancient. Finally, the article makes an extremely detailed case for importance of the silver trumpets mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as this chapter mentioned earlier.⁶⁴

Contemporary to this article comes the book from Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, written in 1969. Like its predecessors, this work examines the *shofar* in the context of other instruments of the time. It is comprehensive in scope, devoting its more than six hundred pages to spelling out exhaustive treatises on each instrument. The *shofar* and the *chatsosera* passages are lengthy and fairly thorough. Sendrey’s approach seems to be written from a rationalistic point of view, using terminology such as “legends,” “sorcery,” and “magic” to describe events such as the collapse of the walls at Jericho and other biblical events.⁶⁵ Despite his perceived lack of reverence, no one can question his care in presenting the subject matter. Sendrey’s says of the *shofar*:

⁶³ *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “*shofar*.”

⁶⁴ David Wulstan, “The Sounding of the *Shofar*,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 26 (1973): 29ff.

⁶⁵ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 73.

What has remained was solely a rather primitive instrument of religious import, easy to make from the horn of certain domestic animals, and which could be handled by anybody without much study. Furthermore, there remained in the subconscious of the Jews certain residues of ancient magic and sorcery, long connected with the use of the *shofar*, and which in the national tragedy were felt even more keenly. To this was added the messianic significance attributed in the Diaspora to the *shofar*. Thus, it came about that from all the biblical instruments, the *shofar* alone has survived.⁶⁶

A decade later, researcher Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura tried to capture the sounds of period Biblical instruments recreated via audio recording, with an accompanying book. There is little reference to the *shofar* in her biblical-musicological treatise *The Music of the Bible Revealed*. The one significant mention of trumpets in this book is a recounting of the retrieval by King David of the Ark of the Covenant in 1 Chronicles.⁶⁷ The Chronicles mention notwithstanding, the lack of *shofarot* or *chatsoserot* in Haïk-Vantoura's writing is not surprising as these instruments are not melodic in the context of a musical consort. Even if the blasts of the *shofarot* or *chatsoserot* were included in the *selah* and *amens* as asserted by Altenburg, Sendrey, and others, they are still not considered melodious nor harmonic. However, the silver trumpets are a small feature of Haïk-Vantoura's recordings. The *shofar* is not used, nor mentioned, in the book or recording.

⁶⁶ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 364.

⁶⁷ Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura, *The Music of the Bible Revealed: The Deciphering of a Millenary Notation*, ed. John Wheeler, trans. Denis Weber (Berkeley, CA: Bibal Press, 1991), 115.

Twenty-First Century Musicological Literature

While not nearly as thorough and exhaustive as Sendrey's work, Braun's *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* is valuable for this study as it presents more recent information, such as the Hammat Tiberius ruins, which were hidden from view at the time of Engel, Stainer, and Galpin.⁶⁸ Braun also provides a subtle acknowledgment of the change from the importance of the *chatsosera* to the *shofar* when he states, "After the fall of Jerusalem, these calls and flourishes were played in the synagogues on the *shofar*."⁶⁹ However, most of Braun's inferences in his book place the *shofar* sounding calls before the time of AD 70, as I will detail in chapter 3.

One of the most recent books on biblical musical instruments is *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible*. In this text, Kolyana points out the first blast of the *shofar* in Exodus 19:16 as *meshek*, or "one continuous blast."⁷⁰ *Meshek* is descriptive of the call performed on the mountain but not prescriptive, like the calls that were given later in the Book of Numbers. The author also lists examples of the *shofar* imitated in orchestral literature.

There are a few musical pieces in which the composers included imitations of the *shofar* blasts. Such, for instance, are the oratorios "John the Baptist" by G. A.

⁶⁸ Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 177.

⁶⁹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 15–16.

⁷⁰ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 71.

MacFarren (1873) and “The Apostles” by E. Elgar (1903). The latter reproduces the rhythm but distorts the intonation formula by changing a fifth to a sixth.

Kolyana’s work also has noteworthy recounts of medieval Jewish literature as well as *Rosh Hashanah* liturgies and other extra-biblical references. It is the most recent of the listed books that this dissertation will explore.

While not written for historical purposes, works such as *The Instrumental Resource for Church and School*⁷¹ also includes mention of the *shofar* as well as the *chatsosera*. Brian Hedrick’s argument for instrumental music in worship, *The Biblical Foundations of Instrumental Music in Worship*,⁷² treats the subject matter more thoroughly. Hedrick adds biblical trumpet knowledge to his argument when he claims that God’s approval of the use of these and other instruments in worship comes from passages such as 2 Chronicles 5:13–14.

It was the duty of the trumpeters [*chatsoserim*] and singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, and when the song was raised, with trumpets [*chatsoserot*] and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise to the Lord, “For he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever,” the house, the house of the Lord, was filled with a cloud so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the house of God.⁷³

Another recent and elegant writing is by Jeremy Montagu, musicologist and *Ba’al Tekiah* for London’s famed West Central Synagogue. His book, *The Shofar: Its History*

⁷¹ Nashville: Church Street Press, 2002.

⁷² Denver: Outskirts Press, 2009.

⁷³ Brian L. Hedrick, *The Biblical Foundations of Instrumental Music in Worship: Four Pillars* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2009), 37-38.

and Use,⁷⁴ is written from a historical standpoint and then continues with the liturgy of post-temple Judaica, which springs from his earlier book, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*. Montagu also has a descriptive article published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* on the trumpets found at the tomb of King Tut'ankhamūn titled, "One of Tut'ankhamūn's Trumpets."⁷⁵ What is thought-provoking in Montagu's *Shofar* writing is the historical examination of slight variations of calls presented by various Jewish cultures such as Sephardic, Polish, and Ashkenazi Jews. He also spends a great deal of his book examining the shapes of horns and their structure. His collection is extensive and photographically well represented. Akin to this, Montagu spends some time discussing the actual process of "Making a *Shofar*" in chapter 6 and reminding the reader of the laws of kosher being a part of procuring the *shofar*. Because of kosher, issues arise with using longer horns.

The ram must be over thirteen months old for the horn to be long enough to be useful and even older if a larger horn is required. Such horns are not available in Israel because the rams are slaughtered at a younger age.⁷⁶

Rabbinical interpretation of the laws of kosher in the making of the *shofar* made for rigorous debate for millennia. The discussion was finally settled, providing latitude

⁷⁴ Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.

⁷⁵ Jeremy Montagu, "One of Tut'ankhamūn's Trumpets," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64 (1978): 133–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3856451>.

⁷⁶ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 63.

for even a non-kosher animal's horn to be used in a Jewish rite, as explained in detail by Mois Navon in a recent article on the subject.⁷⁷

Contemporary Periodicals Referencing the *Shofar*

There are a plethora of commentaries on the use of the *shofar*. However, when it comes to scholarly articles that are not about the *Rosh Hashanah* liturgy, or current Jewish cultic practices, the list noticeably dwindles.⁷⁸ The article “Music, Singing, and Dancing in Relation to the Use of the Harp and the Ram’s Horn or *Shofar* in the Bible” describes the *kinnor* (lyre of *cithara*) and *shofar*, which are still present in synagogue life. According to Morakeng:

Whilst the harp music calmed the spirit and soul; the *shofar* was used to grab hold of the attention and spirit of the people. The harp can be referred to as a consoler, whilst the *shofar* was a preparer.⁷⁹

Morakeng’s comments about unaccompanied vocal worship will prove to be important in my later defense of the time of the *shofar*’s ascension in chapter 4.

⁷⁷ Mois Navon, “The Hillazon and the Principle of ‘Muttar-Be-Fikha,’” *Torah U-Madda Journal*, no. 10 (2001): 142.

⁷⁸ A small 1894 Smithsonian Institution booklet titled *The Shofar* by Cyrus Adler speaks of several of the more modern usages of the *shofar* claiming its extra-biblical use in some Jewish funerals (Cyrus Adler, *The Shofar* [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1894]). Another article, bringing the reader to the twenty-first century, seeking to clarify the etymology of the *shofar* can be found in the *Jewish Bible Quarterly*. Daniel Stuhlman writes that “the word shofar itself comes from the root sh-p-r which has the basic meaning of ‘hollowness’ and in both biblical and modern Hebrew it also means ‘beautiful, fair or nice’” (Daniel D. Stuhlman, “The Translation of the Biblical Word Shofar” *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 40, no. 2 [2012]: 111–15).

⁷⁹ The mention of the “harp” as *kinnor* in the Moraking quote is debatable as the instrument is translated as *lyre*. (Morakeng E. K. Lebaka, “Music, Singing, and Dancing in Relation to the Use of the Harp and the Ram’s Horn or *Shofar* in the Bible: What Do We Know About This?” *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 70, no. 3 [2014]: 4).

To further exemplify the *shofar* as an important symbol to the Jewish faith another article discussing the discovery of the zodiac wheel along with Jewish iconography in the *Hammat Tiberius* synagogue site from the second-century states: “The ark, candelabrum, *shofar*, etc. were put in synagogues (and on tombstones, lintels, doorposts, and catacombs), the most serious of places for the Jewish community.”⁸⁰ The Hammat Tiberius synagogue site is just one of many explored by the *Biblical Archeological Society*, demonstrating the worth of the *shofar* as a symbol of great import. Corroborated in more detail in Lee Levine’s *The Ancient Synagogue*, Levine shows several examples of iconography found in these ancient places of worship that can further trace the liturgical ascension of the *shofar*.

Relevant Contemporary Jewish Literature Concerning the *Shofar*

There are some compelling examples in Jewish literature of the *shofar* within the context of Jewish cultic or cultural value. Co-authored by Abraham and Rachel Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition: A Transliterated Guide to Everyday Practice and Observance* is a voluminous work that describes the modern customs of everyday Judaism. The *shofar* features prominently in the book describing the *Rosh Hashanah* liturgy, as well as many simple traditions of the *shofar*.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Walter Zanger, “Jewish Worship, Pagan Symbols: Zodiac Mosaics in Jewish Synagogues.,” Biblical Archeological Society, *Bible History Daily* (blog), accessed July 6, 2018, <https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/ancient-israel/jewish-worship-pagan-symbols/>.

⁸¹ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 478ff.

Sound the Shofar: A Witness to History is a full-color, bilingual pictorial volume produced by the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem. Written in both Hebrew and English, this docent-style literature takes the reader through the history of the *shofar* in Jewish culture with photographs of various types of horns. This writing also concurs with my argument of the ascension of the *shofar* happening in AD 70, which I will articulate later.⁸²

More recently, a celebrated American *Ba'al Tekiah*, Arthur Finkle, wrote a small book titled *Shofar: History, Technique, and Jewish Law* to serve as a guide for one taking on the responsibility of being the “*shofarist*” at a local synagogue. In this book, though somewhat of a user’s guide, Finkle adds another piece to the *shofaric*-dominance timeline.

If we believe archeological findings, the frieze on the Arch of Titus in Rome depicts the captured *hatzozerot* (trumpets) from the Jewish Second Temple being borne in triumph among the other sacred objects.

Finkle goes on to say:

Further, we see the symbol of the *shofar* as a symbol of Judaism in the archeological record (Capernaum synagogue of the 1st century CE; Ephesus of the second-third centuries; Rome, second to fifth centuries, etc.) as well as the early centuries of the Common Era.⁸³

⁸² Filip Vukosavovic, *Sound the Shofar: A Witness to History* (Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 2011), 30.

⁸³ Arthur Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law* (Saarbrücken: Hadassa Word Press, 2015), 17.

These quotes of Finkle, who is an enthusiast of the *shofar*, will aid in determining when the *shofar* indeed ascended to prominence in Hebrew rite. This timeline will be covered later in chapter 4.

The Literature on the New Testament Trumpet: *Salpinx*

The Septuagint and Vulgate use *salpinx* in their Old Testament translation of *chatsovera*.⁸⁴ *Salpinx* is a noun, occurring eleven times in the Greek New Testament.⁸⁵ It refers to a trumpet made of bronze, ivory, or other materials.⁸⁶ *Salpizo* is the verb form of *salpinx*, describing the sounding of a trumpet and occurs twelve times in Scripture.⁸⁷ As to the call of the *salpinx*, Yelena Kolyada, in her dissertation-turned-book, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible*, has an interesting description of the perceived sound of the instrument from various primary sources when she states:

Ancient authors characterize it in various uncomplimentary ways. Aeschylus (ca. 525–456 BCE: Eum. 567) describes the *salpinx* as δῖατοπος, that is, “shrill.” Pollux (second century CE: Onom.) calls it “horribilis, raucus (sic),” that is “horrible, hoarse.” Plutarch (ca. 45–ca. 125: Quaest. conv.) likens it to the braying of a donkey.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 14.

⁸⁵ The *salpinx* occurrences are Matt 24:31, 1 Cor 14:8, 1 Cor 15:52, 1 Thess 4:16, Heb 12:19, Rev 1:10, 4:1, 8:2, 8:6, 13, 9:14.

⁸⁶ Thomas Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 232.

⁸⁷ The *salpizo* occurrences are Matt 6:2, 1 Cor 15:52, Rev 8:6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 9:1, 13, 10:7, 11:15.

⁸⁸ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 82.

The *salpinx* is a Greek descriptor of one of six types of trumpets, with three of them being most common: *chnous*, *boīnos*, and *tuba*. The Egyptian *chnous* is somewhat cochlear shaped. The Paphlagonians had the *boīnos*, which is curvaceous like an animal horn. However, the point of reference for the New Testament writers was more the *tuba* or “long tube.”⁸⁹ The Greek *tuba* is a straight tube about four feet long. It has a mouthpiece and a flared bell at the end.⁹⁰ According to two Gaul specimens on display at the Vatican’s Museo Etrusco, the *salpinx* of the New Testament period is approximately 1.20 meters in length and may weigh from two pounds to a bronze sample weighing over thirteen pounds.⁹¹ The *salpinx* is in most music reference books described as “a straight trumpet”⁹² and one of “divine praise and veneration,”⁹³ citing its New Testament usage throughout the Book of Revelation.

Challenges and Delimitations

A challenge in this paper is choosing an era for source material. Therefore, I will focus on primary source writings occurring before AD 135, except for the *Mishnah Torah* *L’HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, the *Shulchan Aruch*, and the *Rosh Hashanah* section of

⁸⁹ Edgar Turrentine, “A Translation of the Trumpet Articles in the Dictionnaire des Antiqué,” *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 9, no. 2 (1984): 14.

⁹⁰ Mathiesen, *Apollo’s Lyre*, 232.

⁹¹ Turrentine. “Dictionnaire des Antiqué,” 14.

⁹² *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “salpinx”; Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 145.

⁹³ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 44.

the *Talmud*. The reason for this delimitation is due to the closing of canonical literature. AD 84 marks the closure of the canon of Jewish writings (the Old Testament) at the first Rabbinic Academy of Yavneh, whereas the writings of the New Testament seem to end at approximately AD 135.⁹⁴ This limited period allows this dissertation to focus research on Scriptural text and, at the same time, cite liturgies and significant writings, post-*Tanakh*. This is done for the reader to understand better the rising trajectory of the importance placed upon the *shofar*. The reason for the inclusion of the three works, *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, the *Shulchan Aruch*, and the *Rosh Hashanah* section of the *Talmud*, is that they are the source for modern rabbinical thought for commands or *mitzvahs* concerning the *shofar*.⁹⁵ Without their reference, the reader does not receive the full picture of the importance and ascent of the *shofar*, which is central to the thesis of this work. Furthermore, because the *shofar* entwines the *chatsoserot* inextricably throughout Hebraic history, I will examine the life of the silver trumpets as well, concluding with the fall of the Temple of Jerusalem in AD 70. AD 70 is the date that I will argue later to be the terminus of the use of the *chatsoserot*.

Another challenge, alluded to earlier, is academic. Musicologists did not seem to research these instruments seriously until the middle of the eighteenth century. As musicology, especially biblical musicology, became more of an academic endeavor, so

⁹⁴ James H. Charlesworth, *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism: A Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archeological Society, 2011), 339.

⁹⁵ Finkle, *Shofar History*, 94.

did the exploration of the *shofar*, the *chatsovera*, and the *salpinx*. As the research continued over time, the subject matter became more contested in origin, praxis, and ontology. This dissertation will examine some of these different points of view to better defend its thesis that the *shofar* itself is not an instrument of biblical cultic value.

To conclude this section on delimitations, the arguments found within this dissertation will be based upon a literal view of the sixty-six books of the Holy Bible, as closed canon. This literalist platform will, in some scenarios, shape the dissertation's response to secular arguments.

Methodology

Chapter 2: The Eminence of the *Shofar* in Modernity

The purpose of Chapter 2 is to demonstrate the need for this research by further examining the contemporary Jewish “Days of Awe” liturgies and current media reflecting the interest in the *shofar* from both the Jewish and Christian standpoint. Then I will move to studies of Christian *shofar* players more fixated on the instrument such as “*Shofar Jim*” Barbarossa, who makes the blowing of the *shofar* his prime ministry. His book, *The Ministry of the Shofar: Blow the Trumpet in Zion*, depicts his basic views of the spiritual aspect of the *shofar*. I will also examine the work of Christian *shofar* player Don Heist. Heist is a celebrity of the Christian Broadcasting Network and an outspoken apologist for the use of the *shofar*. As a layman, Heist relies considerably on the theological suppositions of Karl Coke. He cites Coke on the healing features of the *shofar*. I will review his writings, as well as content from a recent DVD, referring to Heist's (and Coke's) view that the sound of the *shofar* can heal the sick and perhaps even raise the

dead. I will also review the writings of theologian Richard Booker, an advocate of the *shofar* in Christian worship who is a Christian *shofar* blogger and an extensive writer on the subject. I will use the above material to demonstrate the argument that the *shofar* has become a rising feature, not only in Jewish rite but in Christian worship as well.

Chapter 3: The Old Testament History of the *Shofar* and the *Chatsosera*

My purpose in chapter 3 is to clarify all trumpet terminology found in the Old Testament by defining and systematically classifying the instruments. This chapter will serve as a primer of biblical trumpets in Scripture as I will methodically discuss the five trumpets mentioned in the Old Testament. While I will reference many sources of literature dealing with these instruments, my most significant source of information will be the Old Testament.

In clarifying the instruments used in Scripture, I will show that the *chatsoserot* were the spiritual instruments prescribed in the Bible, and circumstantially establish that this status remained beyond the Mosaic, Davidic, and Solomonic periods including and through the Great Dispersion of the Jews, or the diaspora.

Chapter 4: The Positions of the Trumpets in the Second Temple Period through their Subsequent Role Reversal

Chapter 4 will continue the chronology of chapter 3 as it historically documents the movement of the *shofar* over the *chatsosera* in importance and usage in the Jewish faith. It is an exploration of the ascension of the *shofar* over the *chatsosera* from the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 forward. To present the thesis more fully, this chapter will detail the dual existence between the *shofar* and the *chatsosera* and their exchange of cultic

roles in the New Testament age. This chapter, by referencing archeological finds, coinage, and Scripture, will place the date of the preeminence of the *shofar* over the *chatsosera* from AD 70 onwards. I posit that the precipitation of this change comes from the de-centralization of the temple through the fall of Jerusalem when the silver trumpets were stolen from the temple, as well as the *taqqunots* (enactments) of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai and subsequent talmudic writings.

This chapter will also consider passages of the *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar* and the *Shulchan Aruch* dealing with the subject of the *shofar*. By examining rules for playing, liturgies created, and spiritual values assigned, I will argue that the significance attributed to the instrument by many Jews and Christians likely comes from these works. I will also examine the talmudic discourse over the two Old Testament instruments; then, I will conclude the chapter with a review of the New Testament *salpinx* to demonstrate it is actually the heir to the Old Testament *chatsosera*.

Chapter 5: Conclusions from this Study

In this chapter I will reiterate my thesis that the *shofar* is not a recipient of any biblical sacerdotal function, then I will give four conclusions from this study and follow with three implications from this research. I will conclude that the *shofar* points backward in time, and the trumpet (*chatsosera* or *salpinx*) looks forward to the Christian's "already/not yet" reality.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMINENCE OF THE *SHOFAR* IN MODERNITY

In the course of time, the perception of the *shofar* changed from a folk instrument that possessed magic qualities to a sacred instrument used in organizing society and its religious symbols.¹

The above statement by Yelena Kolyada concisely exemplifies the transition of the *shofar* moving from a folk instrument into the realm of the sacred. The relationship of the *shofar* to Judaism has grown so strong that it even serves as a Jewish symbol of the Messiah.² Thus, the imagery of the *shofar* is not only manifested in sound and action but through its very appearance, as seen in its imagery from the fall of Herod's temple to present-day.

The purpose of this chapter is to substantiate the need for this study by demonstrating the contemporary significance of the *shofar* in Jewish cultic rite and Christian practice when set against the absence of any explicit commands toward the use of the *shofar* in the Old Testament. This will demonstrate the basis for my thesis that the instrument's status and use has shifted from the biblical period to the present. To demonstrate this hypothesis, I will first briefly point out the iconology of the *shofar*, past and present. Then to further establish its sacred dominance in contemporary Hebrew

¹ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 72.

² Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 478.

culture, I will examine the use of the instrument in the context of the Hebrew religious year. Next, I will further examine contemporary media that reflect an interest in the *shofar* from both the Jewish and Christian standpoint.³ Finally, I will examine Christian *shofar* players who are more fixated on the instrument in the sphere of the experiential (e.g., supernatural healing). For the elucidation of my argument, I will cite some stories of *shofar* blasts purportedly healing people or causing a heightened sense of spiritual awareness. However, it is not within the realm of this dissertation to become an exposé about *shofar*-healing. Therefore, it will be mentioned in this chapter only anecdotally to illustrate my thesis that the *shofar* has indeed risen to extra-biblical prominence.

The *Shofar* as a Visual Icon in Judaism

The *shofar* has long been an icon of the Jewish faith, both in image and sound. Along with the *menorah*, it has been archetypal of Judaism for millennia to the present. As a visual icon, the *shofar* is even present on some modern Jewish gravestones, along with the *menorah* and the “Hands of Cohen.”⁴ However, I assert its iconic importance is a phenomenon reaching from later antiquity to the present day and was not fully developed at the time of the Old Testament. In chapter 4, I will contend that the emergence of its iconic importance occurs only after AD 70.

³ Many blogsites are reviewed for this chapter. While this dissertation is an academic study, many charismatic writings about the *shofar* are primarily available on the internet rather than codified in book form. An accurate picture of the Pentecostal *shofar* movement would be incomplete without this aspect of research.

⁴ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Blessing, Priestly.”

Ancient Near East excavations and site discoveries, especially of early synagogue sites, have aided in the understanding of the growing importance of the *shofar* as a visual symbol of Judaism. One of the earliest known cases of the iconography of the *shofar* is a mosaic floor dating around AD 200 at the Hammat Tiberias synagogue excavation site.⁵ The mosaic, found at the site south of the Israeli city of Tiberias, reveals the *shofar* clearly and prominently.

This tiled imagery places the importance of the *shofar* on the same level as the other icons of the faith, such as the candlestand, the ark containing the Torah scrolls, as well as an incense pan with palm fronds as part of the image. The discovery and dating of the Hammat Tiberias synagogue further corroborate my speculation that the *shofar* rose in prominence beginning toward the end of the first century AD. I will cover this in more detail in chapter 4, along with other synagogue findings, such as the artwork of the Bet Alpha and the Bet Shean synagogue remains.

The *Shofar*'s Significance in the Modern Hebrew Calendar

While the *shofar* is ubiquitous in the visually iconic world of Judaism, its most considerable prominence is in the cultic rituals of the Jewish people, most noticeably in the later evolved “Days of Awe” or *Ya’Mim Nora-im*.⁶ I will now examine how these

⁵ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 177.

⁶ It should be stated that the *Ya’Mim Nora-im* observance, while containing biblical feasts, is not biblical. It is a construct by the talmudic scholar Maharil (1365–1427), and its current form is a result of a “process of development” (Isaac Klein, *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992], 176).

rituals have evolved throughout millennia to demonstrate the growth in status of the *shofar* in Judaism. First, I will detail the forty days of *Ya'Mim Nora-im*, highlighting the *shofar's* involvement in this season as it is currently observed. After this, I will show how these simple observances, ending with *Yom Kippur*, evolved into the event that it is today with the sound of the *shofar* interwoven throughout. I do this to demonstrate that the *shofar's* current use, to the exclusion of the other trumpets mentioned in Scripture, is an extra-biblical affectation that has nothing to do with biblical instructions or commandments.

The *Shofar* in *Elul*

The sound of the *shofar* begins in the Hebrew year at the start of *Ya'Mim Nora-im*, which commences on the first day of the month of *Elul*. *Elul*, the sixth month of the Jewish calendar,⁷ is twenty-nine days of spiritual preparation for *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.⁸ According to tradition, the “Days of Awe” season commemorates the forty days that Moses spent receiving the stone tablets from God. Hebrew tradition states that on the first day of *Elul*, Moses ascended Mount Sinai and descended at *Yom Kippur* forty days later.⁹ These forty days contain the most sacred and holy moments of the Jewish

⁷ Peter Knobel, ed., *Gates of the Seasons* (New York: CCAR Press, 2003), 37.

⁸ Lit. “Day of Atonement” (*The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906 Edition*, s.v. “Yom Kippur”).

⁹ Klein, *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice*, 177.

year. They are also systematically punctuated with the sound of the *shofar*.¹⁰ The sound of the *shofar* is constant throughout *Ya 'Mim Nora-im*.

The first day of *Elul* until 'Erev Rosh Hashanah,¹¹ and excepting the weekly sabbaths, the *Ba'al Tekiah* blows the *shofar* daily after *shacharit*¹² as a reminder of repentance.¹³ It serves as a witness of the moment God called the Hebrews from Mount Sinai to repent. The final day of *Elul* is 'Erev Rosh Hashanah. There is no sounding of the *shofar* on this date to “make a distinction between the voluntary blowing of the *shofar* and the blowing [of the] *shofar* in fulfillment of the *mitzvah*.”¹⁴ The passing of the month of *Elul* leads the devotee into the month of *Tishri*, which begins with the two-day celebration known as *Rosh Hashanah*. The month of *Elul* contains a methodical call system from the *shofar* to the worshippers, twenty-four times in the month. There are no rabbinical prescriptions for any instrument other than the *shofar* to be played throughout this time of preparation.

¹⁰ *Elul* begins around August-September and *Yom Kippur* usually right at the end of September, or early October.

¹¹ The day before *Rosh Hashanah* (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 111).

¹² “Morning prayers” (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 80).

¹³ Klein, *Jewish Religious Practice*, 177.

¹⁴ Avrohom Davis, trans., *Metsudah Kitzur Shulchan Aruch* (New York: Metsudah Publications, 1996), 863.

The *Shofar* in *Rosh Hashanah*

The month of *Elul* foreshadows the most extensive annual performance of the *shofar*, the Hebrew new year celebration known as *Rosh Hashanah*. *Rosh Hashanah* falls on the first day of the seventh month, *Tishri*. The Bible refers to this event as *Yom Teruah* or “day of (trumpet) alarm.” Scripture speaks of this event first in Leviticus 23:23–25, then in Numbers 29:1–6. The Bible does not refer to this event as *Rosh Hashanah*, or “Head of the Year”; this is a sobriquet that came into use later. The “day of (trumpet) alarm” does not even prescribe a particular instrument. It only mentions the call stipulated in the Numbers 10:4 silver trumpet passage, which is “alarm” or *teruah*. However, the modern celebration of *Yom Teruah*, or as it is now better-known, *Rosh Hashanah*, prominently features the sound of *shofarot* during this now two-day event.¹⁵

The modern practice evolved beyond prescriptions in the Pentateuch and was later codified in the *Babylonian Talmud*, again written around AD 200 by R. Judah ha-Nasi.¹⁶

In the *Roš-Haššanah* 26b of the *Talmud*, one reads:

The *shofar* used on the new year was of an antelope’s horn and straight, and its mouth was overlaid with gold. There were two trumpets [*chatsoserot*], one on each side of it. The *shofar* gave a long blast and the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] a short one since the proper ceremony of the day was with the *shofar*. On fast days they used *shofarot* of rams, the mouths of which were overlaid with silver. There were trumpets [*chatsoserot*] between them; a short blast was made with the *shofarot*, and a long one was with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] because the religious duty of

¹⁵ There is speculation on why this day was extended to two days. It most likely comes from rabbinic dissention on when the new moon actually occurs (Karl Coke, “Feast of Trumpets: Bible Study with Dr. Coke” [Timothy Program International, 1998]).

¹⁶ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 11.

the day was with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*]. The Jubilee is on a par for the New Year for blowing the *shofar* and for blessings.¹⁷

This passage illustrates *shofarot* usage being predominant for *Rosh Hashanah*, according to the *Talmud*, not the Old Testament.

Around AD 120, an official liturgy began to revolve around these two days replete with benedictions, readings, and a tripartite rite known as *Malkuyot*, *Zikronot*, and *Shofarot*, according to the Jewish historian Sidney Hoenig:

In Jabneh and Usha, the benedictions accompanying this ancient rite of blowing were introduced. These are known as *Malkuyot* (Kingship), *Zikronot* (Remembrance), and *Shofarot* (Trumpet blowing). Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri and Rabbi Akiba discuss its place in the liturgy; hence it must have been inaugurated about 120 CE after the *Amidah*¹⁸ was instituted. Interestingly Rabbi Akiba's practice was followed in Judea, whereas Galilean Jewry followed Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri's mode.¹⁹

After the talmudic description in *Roš-Haššanah* 26b, the use of silver trumpets is no longer mentioned liturgically. However, as the rituals continue to evolve over centuries, the *shofar's* presence increases. Indeed, *shofar* blasts become so vital to the festival that precepts regarding the instrument and its player became essential to at least one Jewish philosopher, R. Moses ben Maimonides.

Maimonides's work, *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, is characterized more by its descriptions of the features of the *shofar* and its usage at *Rosh*

¹⁷ Steinsaltz, *Essential Talmud*, 159.

¹⁸ *Amidah* are three groups of blessings that are also known as the *Shemoneh Esrei* (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 97).

¹⁹ Sidney Hoenig, "Origins of the Rosh Hashanah Liturgy," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57 (1967): 321.

Hashanah, as compared to the *Talmud*, which involves itself more with the *shofar* inside the liturgical context of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. Maimonides first details the provenance of the *shofar* used and its condition. Then, in solely focusing on the *shofar*, Maimonides officially describes and codifies the *Rosh Hashanah* calls of the instrument: *tekiah*, *teruah*, and *shevarim*. In chapters 2 and 3, he explains that the Torah is unclear in the playing of the individual calls of the trumpet. Maimonides states, “we do not know how it [the *shofar*] is supposed to sound.”²⁰ He then spends the remainder of those chapters describing his speculation of the three sounds. While describing these calls through the two chapters, he covers other aspects of *shofar* playing. The second chapter is devoted to the listener and the blower of the *shofar*. Then, the third chapter is dedicated to describing the blasts themselves as well as the responsibilities of the *Ba'al Tekiah* in the *Malkuyot*, *Zikronot*, and *Shofarot* of *Rosh Hashanah*. Furthermore, in the *Hilchos Shofar*, Maimonides details the deportment of the player and the physical integrity of the instrument. This work, more than any other, serves as the official instruction book for the instrument and its Jewish player. These *mitzvot* have been observed from the 12th century to this day.²¹

The final large liturgical step in the development of *Rosh Hashanah* and, subsequently, the importance of the *shofar* in *Rosh Hashanah* derives from Chapter 129 of the *Metsudah Kitzur Shulchan Aruch*. The *Shulchan Aruch* spends quite a bit of text

²⁰ Maimonides and Meir Alter Halevi Horowitz, *Hilchos Shofar*, 153.

²¹ Maimonides and Meir Alter Halevi Horowitz, *Hilchos Shofar*, 3.

regimenting the two days of *Rosh Hashanah* by determining the wording of prayers, blessings, and songs,²² the meals to be served,²³ the liturgy,²⁴ and the individual's behavior before, during, and after the service.²⁵ The *Shulchan Aruch* also deals with the responsibilities of the *Ba'al Tekiah*, stating he should be a "Torah scholar and God-fearing,"²⁶ and corroborates the Maimonides description of the different calls of the *shofar* for *Rosh Hashanah*. Coupled with the liturgy for the celebrants of *Rosh Hashanah*, the *Shulchan Aruch* details specific times and praxis for the playing of the *shofar*.²⁷

As one can see, the observance of the two days of *Rosh Hashanah* has grown more sophisticated and complex over the centuries. Stemming from two short biblical commands, the observance of *Rosh Hashanah* has become a two-day festival, divided further into four parts, featuring a talmudic liturgy that evolved over the centuries.²⁸ The four sections are 1) the *Ma'ariv*, an evening prayer service, 2) the *Shacharit*, which is

²² Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 871–74.

²³ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 876.

²⁴ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 877–81.

²⁵ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 881–84.

²⁶ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 869.

²⁷ In chapter 129, paragraphs 17–19 the *Shulchan Aruch* speaks strongly about when the *shofar* is not to be played or even practiced during this two-day event.

²⁸ One should note that the liturgy of the *shofar* is synagogue liturgy. There are more activities observed in homes and social gatherings during *Rosh Hashanah*. The evening symbolic repast of *challah* and honey for instance, is also covered in the *Shulchan Aruch*. These evening times, while involving Psalms and prayers, would not involve the *shofar*.

observed the following morning, including calls from the *shofar*, 3) the *Musaf* of *Rosh Hashanah*, the spiritual climax of the day with the final *shofar* calls²⁹ and ending with 4) the *Minchah*, the late afternoon prayer.³⁰ The third, the *Musaf*, also requires reading the *shofar* passage in Psalm 81:1–10, among other Scriptures:

Sing aloud to God our strength; shout for joy to the God of Jacob!
 Raise a song; sound the tambourine, the sweet lyre with the harp.
 Blow the trumpet [*shofar*] at the new moon, at the full moon, on our feast day.
 For it is a statute for Israel, a rule of the God of Jacob. (81:1–3)

There is even a special blessing, spoken at the playing of the *shofar* in modern celebrations of *Rosh Hashanah*, as an *amidah*:³¹

*Baruch ata Adonai Eloheinu melech ha-olam, shehecheyanu, vekiymanu, vehigi'anu lazman hazeh*³² (Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, Master of the Universe who sanctifies us with His commandments and commands us to hear the sound of the *shofar*).³³

This blessing is to be spoken by the *Ba'al Tekiah* before the *shofar* is blown, to which the congregation replies, “Amen.”

²⁹ This quadrant of the two-day liturgy includes the *Malkuyot*, *Zikronot*, and *Shofarot*.

³⁰ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 209.

³¹ *Amidah* also means “to stand.” This would have been an official physical gesture in the liturgy by the congregation (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 97).

³² The second blessing that the *Ba'al Tekiah* speaks is: *Baruch ata Adonai Eloheinu melekh ha-olam shehecheyanu v'kiyimanu v'higiyanu lazman ha-zeh*. (Blessed are You, Ruler of the World, for giving us life, for sustaining us, and for enabling us to reach this season). “Amen” is the congregational response here as well (Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Traditions*, 218).

³³ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Traditions*, 218.

These evolving liturgies are illustrative of the complexities that revolve around the modern Jewish observance of *Rosh Hashanah*. These increasing intricacies undeniably attest to the growing importance of the *shofar* in the life of the Jewish culture throughout this rite.

The *Shofar* in *Yom Kippur*

As the modern-day observance of *Ya 'Mim Nora-im* continues, so does the daily blast of the *shofar* after morning prayers until *Yom Kippur* ten days after *Rosh Hashanah*. *Yom Kippur* also has a lengthy order of worship. It begins with a fast for the worshipper. Then the day ends with the blowing of the *shofar*. This time the playing of the ram's horn is not for a time of repentance but to remind the worshipper of the Jubilee.³⁴

This final blast also ends a forty-day journey of *Ya 'Mim Nora-im*. Suffice it to say the *shofar* is central to Jewish worship and has become a symbol that looms large in their culture. At this point in Jewish cultic ritual, unless it is for practice, the *shofar* is not sounded until *Elul* begins again;³⁵ until that time, the officiants will ceremonially cover the *shofar*.³⁶

The *shofar* has its own liturgical days, *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*, on the Hebrew calendar. These feasts have been a development beyond the feast days described in Scriptures. To the observing Jew, the rabbinically prescribed Jewish year is sacrosanct;

³⁴ Klein, *Jewish Religious Practice*, 223.

³⁵ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 48.

³⁶ Klein, *Jewish Religious Practice*, 193.

as the German rabbi, Samson Raphael Hirsch has been quoted, “the catechesis of the Jew is his calendar.”³⁷ If that is a correct assessment, then the *shofar* is most assuredly a relevant icon in contemporary Judaism.

The prominence of the *shofar* in modern Jewish practice has impacted perceptions of its significance outside Judaism as well, as illustrated by a few prominent examples in American culture. The social media magnate Mark Zuckerberg has two separate videos of himself practicing the work of a *Ba'al Tekiah* with a *shofar* posted on his Facebook page for *Rosh Hashanah* 5778 (2017) and 5779 (2018).³⁸ Lately, there has been a report of another computing mogul, Marc Benioff. Benioff is the Chief Executive Officer of the cloud computing company known as Salesforce. He was recently observed being active in his *Ba'al Tekiah* duties:

Mr. Benioff, 54, was blowing his own [*shofar*], in a synagogue, before a congregation at the ornate-domed Temple Emanu-El in the Presidio Heights neighborhood of San Francisco. (The city's largest congregation, and one of the oldest West of the Mississippi, it has grown from a small group of Jews, during the Gold Rush.)³⁹

³⁷ Knobel, *Gates of the Seasons*, 11.

³⁸ “Mark Zuckerberg Blowing the Shofar for *Rosh Hashanah*, 5778 on his Facebook Page,” accessed January 2, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/zuck/videos>. “Mark Zuckerberg Blowing the Shofar for *Rosh Hashanah*, 5779 on his Facebook Page,” accessed January 2, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/zuck/videos>.

³⁹ Rachel Levin, “Is the Shofar an Instrument of Technological Disruption?,” *New York Times* (blog), September 17, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/17/style/marc-zuckerberg-blowing-shofar.html>.

The article goes on to say that he played the calls through to the *tekiah gedoulah*, or the very long blast marking the end of the one-hundred calls of *Rosh Hashanah*.⁴⁰

These cultic expressions by influential personalities underscore the popularity of the *shofar* in the culture of the Jewish people, or as *New York Times* reporter Rachel Levin wrote, “[the *shofar* has] been around since biblical times, but suddenly the *shofar* is trending among Bay Area billionaires.”⁴¹

Interest in the *Shofar* in Christianity

While the use of the *shofar* has iconic permanence in the world of cultural and religious Judaism, it has also made its way into the Christian world, bringing with it some spiritual gravitas. I assert that the fascination with the *shofar* stems much more from rabbinical thought than anything written of in Scripture as the Bible does not ascribe any of the protocols espoused by ben Nuri, Akiba, or Maimonides. While there have been no firm statements as to when the *shofar* first came into use in Christian worship, I speculate that this fascination may have been cultivated through the intersection of growing American Dispensationalist thought and by a strategic touring initiative started by Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin.

⁴⁰ One-hundred calls are customary for the instrument but are not spelled out in any of the primary Jewish religious sources. Arthur Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 24, cites Jewish commentator Sifteï Kohen (1621–1662) with the creation of the one-hundred blasts. This is further corroborated in Klein, *Jewish Religious Practice*, 196.

⁴¹ Levin, (Technological Disruption), *New York Times*, September 17, 2018, comment on “Bay Area Billionaires.”

In his book, *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*, Timothy Weber describes the flourishing relationship between Israel and Dispensationalist Christianity. He writes that after becoming Prime Minister of Israel in 1977, Menachem Begin encouraged American evangelicals to visit Israel via free “familiarization tours.” He also personally assisted Assemblies of God evangelist David Lewis in starting Lewis Tours in 1981 in a successful effort to bring many believers to Israel.⁴² These “familiarization tours” may very well have brought the *shofar* to the attention of these believers, creating a tangible relic for those hungry to connect Christianity to its Jewish roots.

Also, in the twentieth century Jewish converts to Christianity formed the Messianic Christian movement. Messianic Christians practice a syncretic approach to worship. Not only do they believe that Jesus Christ is Savior and adhere to strong orthodox Trinitarianism,⁴³ but they also believe in combining conventional Christianity with Jewish ritual practices. These practices include:

lighting menorahs and Shabbat candles as part of their congregational life, along with the cultic practice of installing Arks and filling them with Torah scrolls. Wearing yarmulkes and prayer shawls, they are active in blowing *shofarot* in their common liturgy.⁴⁴

⁴² Timothy P. Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend* (Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing, 2004), 214.

⁴³ Jews for Jesus, “Statement of Faith, Jews for Jesus,” accessed November 28, 2019, <https://jewsforjesus.org/about/statement-of-faith/>.

⁴⁴ Patricia Power, “Accounting for Judaism in the Study of American Messianic Judaism” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2015), 15.

Their use of the *shofar* as prescribed for *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* in their practices is identical to Judaism. Both Messianic Christians and Jews consider the blast of the ram's horn "a sacred sound whose various blasts express the soul of [their people]."⁴⁵

It is merely speculative to assert that the popularity of dispensationalism in the 1970s increased Christian tourism to "the Holy Land," or that the American Messianic movement is responsible for *shofar* use in Christian circles. However, it may be that the synergy of these events could possibly have been a part of the rising interest in *shofar* use in Christian worship and fostered the growth of awareness of this instrument among individuals. This certainly might be the case for those who were strongly sympathetic to a Semitic cause, such as American dispensationalists and mainstream Pentecostals. It seems that the latter have also been interested in any healing power that they perceive this instrument may evoke.⁴⁶

While the above may be hypothetical or speculative, an empirical fact is that Christian interest in the use of the *shofar* is a growing trend. One Assembly of God source claims that *shofar* sales in 2018 reflect a seventy percent sales increase in the United States during the past decade.⁴⁷ Anecdotally, "Shofar Jim" Barbarossa says that

⁴⁵ Jews for Jesus, "*Rosh Hashanah*: The Jewish New Year and Feast of Trumpets," accessed November 28, 2019, <https://jewsforjesus.org/jewish-resources/community/jewish-holidays/rosh-hashanah/>.

⁴⁶ The Assemblies of God denomination lists as Article 12 of their core beliefs that "Divine healing is an integral part of the gospel. Deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement and is the privilege of all believers" (Assemblies of God, "16 Fundamental Truths," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://ag.org/Beliefs/Statement-of-Fundamental-Truths>).

⁴⁷ Out of Zion, "Blow the Trumpet in Zion," accessed July 23, 2019, <http://www.out-of-zion.com/articles/blow-the-trumpet>.

his online *shofar* sales have increased consistently for twenty years and are continuing to rise each year, showing “no signs of peaking.”⁴⁸

The *Shofar* in Charismatic Circles

The rest of this chapter will shift the focus to the Pentecostal sect of Christianity, as its adherents are more outspoken about the use of the *shofar*. This is to highlight the growth of the usage of this instrument and the need for more theological scrutiny of biblical trumpets.

“Divine Healing” is a concept embraced by the Pentecostal movement. With the perceived importance of the *shofar* so pronounced in Hebrew worship, especially in its Exodus 19 association with the voice of God, it is somewhat understandable how some might see this “divine instrument” as something beyond a mere horn of an animal. With an emphasis on the voice of God and healing, some groups believe that the sound of the *shofar* possesses an apostolic or healing nature.

The *Shofar*’s Importance in Charismatic Experiential Discourse

The *shofar*’s appearance in charismatic circles is peripheral but undoubtedly evident. One of the early, high-profile adopters of *shofar* use is Christian trumpet artist Phil Driscoll. His use of the *shofar* may still be seen regularly in his concert circuit and his CBN cable program, “The Phil Driscoll Connection,” which aired in the past. At a Hillsong conference at around that time, Driscoll played the ram’s horn over the

⁴⁸ Jim Barbarossa, interview by author, Lake Ozark, MO, January 23, 2020.

congregation, stating a blessing: “As I play it [*shofar*] over you, I play it prophetically over your life, and I believe that something will happen in your heart as the sound goes into you. As the sound goes in your world, so goes your world.”⁴⁹ While Driscoll utilizes the *shofar* in concert, the *shofar* does not serve as a centerpiece; instead, it is more of an accessory to his more substantial modern trumpet repertory. However, there are other Christians who utilize the *shofar* more as a centerpiece for their ministries, as this study will now highlight.

“Shofar Jim” Barbarossa

Jim Barbarossa, or *Shofar Jim*, is one of these *shofar* evangelists. The following are a few testimonials recounted by Barbarossa in his book, *The Ministry of the Shofar*.

In this season, as never before, we are seeing the effective use of the *shofar* in opening the heavens, in spiritual warfare, and calling the people of God together for action. The *shofar*, in this manner, is truly a weapon of war. —Jim Stevens⁵⁰

My wife had a nagging pain in her lower back healed at the blowing of the *shofar* in one of those meetings. —Tim Whitehead⁵¹

When you softly blew the *shofar* and waved it across the room, in the Spirit, I could see waves of fire, one after another. It was like a blanket of fire covering the room. —Anonymous worshipper in Versailles, Indiana⁵²

⁴⁹ “Phil Driscoll Playing the Shofar Like a Trumpet,” YouTube, accessed January 2, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2TWQv16JvIE>.

⁵⁰ Jim Barbarossa, *The Ministry of the Shofar: Blow the Trumpet in Zion* (Valparaiso, IN: ACW Press, 2000). iv.

⁵¹ Barbarossa, *Ministry of the Shofar*, iv.

⁵² Barbarossa, *Ministry of the Shofar*, 16.

Barbarossa is representative of a growing number of *shofar* players who provide testimony to the ministry of the *shofar*. Barbarossa recounted the beginning of his *shofar* ministry:

I purchased a *shofar* in Israel in May 1996. In October of 1996, I felt led of the Lord to take it to Africa with us. Just before leaving for Africa, Carla [his wife] had a dream. In that dream, she was pregnant. We were in a small car, and I was taking her to the hospital. On the way to the hospital, I reached under her seat and pulled out a giant *shofar*. I then said to her, “I will blow the *shofar* during the birthing process.”⁵³

Compelled by this dream, Barbarossa took the ram’s horn with him to Kenya and began a “healing ministry” with the instrument. He has now moved his efforts from evangelism to preparing many *shofar* blowers for an “end-time army of *shofar* sounders.” Subsequently, at Barbarossa’s revival campaigns, there are typically dozens of *shofar* blowers.⁵⁴

Barbarossa quotes Nehemiah 4:20 as his inspiration in the paranormal aspect of the *shofar*: “In the place where you hear the sound of the trumpet [*shofar*], rally to us there. Our God will fight for us.” He feels that there is an awakening of a *shofar* army “for the purpose of the end-time harvest.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Barbarossa, *Ministry of the Shofar*, 1.

⁵⁴ The Shofar Man, “Shopping Cart,” accessed January 14, 2020, <http://www.theshofarman.com/cartcall.htm>.

⁵⁵ Jim Barbarossa, interview by author, Lake Ozark, MO, January 23, 2020.

Dennis “Mr. *Shofar*” McKirahan and His *Shofar* Armies

“The army of *shofar* sounders” is precisely what Dennis “Mr. *Shofar*” McKirahan seeks through his ministry, The *Shofar* Call.⁵⁶ McKirahan has assembled an online guild of *shofar* players. Like many of these *shofar* ministers, he also oversees internet sales of *shofarot*. His claim of the *shofar*’s use and power is listed on his website:

The *shofar* is thought to release the Presence and Voice of God and is blown during any number of worship services and meetings where God is believed present and speaking as well as for repentance, warfare, and celebration.⁵⁷

As previously mentioned, there is a trend within these circles to have a *shofar* army. Not only does McKirahan have a *shofar* army for events, but he encourages everyone to blow the *shofar* every day for the United States and the nation of Israel, noon Central Time or 8 p.m., Israel Standard Time.⁵⁸

Another charismatic organization, Revival Fire Ministries, has a “Ministry of Horns/*Shofars*.” This group calls upon its disciples to pray and blow the *shofar* daily as it is a “time to repent and be proactive, not just pray.” In the Ministry of *Shofars*, the four calls that are prescribed in the Jewish celebration of *Rosh Hashanah* are used and are ascribed with differing attributes: “Call to Worship—*Tekiah*, Repentance, and Brokenness—*Shevarim*, Warfare, and Celebration—*Teruah*, Healing and the Rapture—

⁵⁶ Shofar Call International, “Join Us,” accessed July 8, 2019, <http://www.shofarcall.com/join-us-to-stay-connected.html>.

⁵⁷ Shofar Call International, “Join Us.”

⁵⁸ Shofar Call International, (home page), accessed July 8, 2019, <http://www.shofarcall.com>.

Tekiah Gedolah.”⁵⁹ Of note is the *tekiah gedolah* call. Traditionally, this call is one long *shofar* blast at the end of the one hundred blasts heard at *Rosh Hashanah*. In this charismatic context, the adherents at Revival Fire Ministries believe that this call can give healing.

One final example of a *shofar* army is a one-time reenactment performed in 2007 in Nashville in a Gideon modernization, as illustrated in this blog description:

Over 70,000 people attended The Call, a Christian prayer gathering that took place in the Nashville Tennessee Titan’s Stadium on July 7th, 2007 (07–07–07). The highlight of the event was a powerful use of the *shofar*. Three hundred men marched to the stage bearing long *shofarot* while African drums pounded out a rhythm. The subsequent mass sounding of the *shofar*, led by country musician Ricky Skaggs, ‘was awe-inspiring,’ witnesses said. This part of the event, called Gideon’s Army, was inspired by a section in [the Book of] Judges.⁶⁰

This reenactment, though not entirely faithful to the original (with the addition of African drums), seems only to have been for demonstration. However, enthusiastic circles perceive the *shofar* not only as a reminder for prayer but also as an instrument of healing and an invocation of the supernatural. Also, judging by the use of emerging *shofar* armies, the perception is: the greater the number of *shofar* blowers, the better the result.

⁵⁹ Revival Fire Ministries, “Ministry of the Shofar,” accessed July 23, 2019, <http://www.revivalfireministriesinc.com/horn-ministry>.

⁶⁰ Breaking Israel News, “More and More Christians are Heeding ‘Sound from Sinai’ in Powerful Call of the *Shofar*,” accessed July 1, 2019, <https://www.breakingisraelnews.com/94410/sound-shofar-christian-call-prayer-watch/>.

Don Heist

The best-documented example of a *shofar* minister is perhaps Don Heist. Heist is a music graduate from Elizabethtown College (PA) who began playing the *shofar* many years ago, as he said, “to accentuate the music of the praise band.”⁶¹ However, according to an interview on Sid Roth’s *It’s Supernatural*, Heist was prophesied over by evangelist Bob Griffen who stated, “I have a word from the Lord for you, ‘Whenever you blow, the cancer must go.’” Since then, Heist has traveled the world playing the *shofar* over people claiming supernatural healing has occurred.⁶²

Like many other *shofar* ministers, Heist is an evangelist, blower, and seller of *shofars*. He has performance DVD’s for purchase as well as an autobiographical documentary of his ministry. The latter explores many aspects of his life with the *shofar*: his call to ministry, the care, and use of the *shofar*, and most tellingly, an on-camera dialogue with theologian Karl Coke. In this conversation, Coke and Heist discuss aspects of the theology behind the instrument, saying that the *shofar* itself is “a weapon in the spirit” and refer to it apostolically as “the living word.” Coke is so convinced of the healing power of the instrument that he warns Heist to avoid playing the *shofar* in a graveyard.⁶³ One can only presume from this warning that Coke believes that there is a chance that the sound of the *shofar* has the power to raise the dead.

⁶¹ “Don Heist on *It’s Supernatural* with Sid Roth—Sound of the Shofar,” YouTube, accessed January 12, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGAmQ-_cLy0.

⁶² Sid Roth (Don Heist on *It’s Supernatural* with Sid Roth).

⁶³ Don Heist, director, 2016. *Shofar! The Voice of God* (Carlisle, PA: Shaffer Films). DVD.

Coke stated, concerning the divinity of the *shofar*, that “the sound of the *shofar* is for the living and the dead [and that] the *shofar* is God continuing to speak.”⁶⁴ Heist continues the thought when he states, “It’s God’s voice that comes out of the end of the *shofar*, so miraculous things happen when God’s voice touches you.”⁶⁵

I have listed several examples of charismatic *shofar* blowers and given a thumbnail sketch of their respective ministries. What is not listed are various local congregations that may use the *shofar*. Because the *shofar* is not typically the center of their worship, churches do not have a statement of beliefs concerning its use.⁶⁶

The *Shofar*’s Importance in Charismatic Theological Discourse

The modern dialogue of charismatic theology includes some discussion of the *shofar*. First, I will share some significant biblical passages that many charismatic theologians use to defend the playing of the *shofar*. Then I will review a list of passages by a *shofar* apologist, Richard Booker, in his book, *The Shofar, Ancient Sounds of the Messiah*.

Two passages of Scripture are used extensively to defend the use of the *shofar* in Christian worship. The first is Numbers 29:1–6:

⁶⁴ Don Heist, “Shofar!” DVD.

⁶⁵ “Ancient Praise Method Still Used to Honor God, Interview with Don Heist,” accessed November 25, 2017, <http://www1.cbn.com/ancient-praise-method-still-used-honor-god>.

⁶⁶ However, there is a non-denominational group of churches named “Shofar Christian Church” in various locations: Cape Town, South Africa, Mugendo, Burundi, Utrecht, Netherlands, Swakopmund and Walvis Bay, Namibia, Florissant (St. Louis), Missouri, and London.

On the first day of the seventh month, you shall have a holy convocation. You shall not do any ordinary work. It is a day [*Yom*] for you to blow the trumpets [*teruah*], and you shall offer a burnt offering, for a pleasing aroma to the Lord: one bull from the herd, one ram, seven male lambs a year old without blemish; also their grain offering of fine flour mixed with oil, three-tenths of an ephah for the bull, two tenths for the ram, and one-tenth for each of the seven lambs; with one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you; besides the burnt offering of the new moon, and its grain offering, and the regular burnt offering and its grain offering, and their drink offering, according to the rule for them, for a pleasing aroma, a food offering to the Lord.⁶⁷

The above passage is describing *Yom Teruah*,⁶⁸ or *Rosh Hashanah*. However, as previously noted, this passage never actually mentions the *shofar*; it merely indicates a blast or an “alarm” (*teruah*). Every other time the Book of Numbers mentions trumpets, it is the *chatsosera*, the silver trumpet, not the *shofar*.⁶⁹ Yet, because of the prominence of the *shofar* in Scripture, its presence seems naturally assumed by many readers.

Another passage often quoted by Christian *shofar* apologists, such as Barbarossa, McKirahan, and others, is Joel 2:1, which states:

Blow a trumpet [*shofar*] in Zion; sound an alarm on my holy mountain! Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble, for the day of the Lord is coming; it is near.

This passage indeed utilizes the *shofar* as the instrument of choice. It is used throughout the book of Joel as an instrument of repentance and to gather people, as illustrated later in the same chapter.

⁶⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all biblical passages referenced employ the *English Standard Version* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2008).

⁶⁸ *The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906 Edition*, s.v. “*shofar*.”

⁶⁹ *Chatsosera* is the trumpet mentioned in Num 10:2 and implied in Num 10:4, 7. The “trumpet” again mentioned in Num 10:8–10 and 31:6 is *chatsosera* in transliterated Hebrew.

Blow the trumpet [*shofar*] in Zion; consecrate a fast; call a solemn assembly; gather the people. (15)

While passages mentioning the *shofar* are numerous in the Old Testament, many theologians defend its use as a holy instrument with these two passages. Theologian Richard Booker combines the two scriptures to emphasize repentance as portrayed by the blowing of the *shofar*, claiming that its playing is a “warning of the Day of Judgement.”⁷⁰ Booker has written profusely about the power of the *shofar* in Christian worship. He has a list of six *Messianic sounds* that emanate from the *shofar*. First, he mentions that it is the sound of revelation, and he reflects on the premiere of the *shofar* in Scripture in Exodus 19, as God revealed himself on Mount Sinai. The second is the sound of redemption, where he refers to Isaiah 27:13 when it states:

And in that day a great trumpet [*shofar*] will be blown, and those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship the Lord on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

The third is the sound of release, where he refers to the Jubilee. I will describe this passage more in the next chapter as it relates to the *yobel*. The fourth sound is the sound of rest. He notes that Jews would historically sound the *shofar* before the sabbath.⁷¹ The fifth sound is repentance, and he directs this reference toward *Yom Kippur*. The sixth sound is the sound of resurrection. Booker did not cite any Old Testament passages of the *shofar* that led to this last connection.

⁷⁰ Richard Booker, *The Shofar: Ancient Sounds of the Messiah* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982), 1.

Jewish Links to Healing through the *Shofar*

Missing from mainstream Jewish writings are inferences of mystical value affixed to the sound of the *shofar*. In his book, *Shofar: History, Technique, and Jewish Law*, Arthur Finkle states that there are “no articles currently in circulation [that] address the mystical tradition of the *shofar*.”⁷² Finkle goes on to state that only Shneur Zalman of Liadi (1745–1812), founder of the Chabad branch of Hasidic Judaism, even touches on the phenomenon, equating it with “God’s delight” when he states:

A *shofar* is made of the horn of a docile animal, symbolizing a willingness to go along with God’s will over our own. In addition, a *shofar*-blast is a piercing cry that reaches the very depths of a person’s heart and soul; this represents, and in fact, helps to stimulate our heartfelt remembrance—a repentance that is also rooted in the very deepest depths of the soul. Only this deep level of commitment to God, embodied in the *mitzvah* of the *shofar*, is capable of evoking a correspondingly deep response from God, a response in the level referred to above as ‘delight.’⁷³

There are, however, some mystical attributes of the instrument assigned in the chief Kabbalistic writing, *The Zohar*. This holy book for practitioners of Kabbalah, an off-shoot of Judaism that deals with a more “esoteric or mystic” view of God and the universe,⁷⁴ first appeared in Spain in the thirteenth century.⁷⁵ *The Zohar* ascribes strong mystical powers to the sounding of the *shofar* when it states:

The letter Yud [י] made an opening in that temple so that the sound of the *shofar* can be heard through it because the *shofar* is blocked on all sides, Yud came and

⁷² Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 29.

⁷³ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 30.

⁷⁴ *The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906 Edition*, s.v. “Cabala.”

⁷⁵ *The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906 Edition*, s.v. “Zohar.”

opened it so that the sound could be heard. When it opened it, the *shofar* was blown and emitted. So by blowing the *shofar*, Yisrael was delivered from Egypt. And so another time in future, at the End of Days, every deliverance originates from this *shofar*. Because it is a result of this *shofar*—by the force of the letter Yud—that the womb was opened, enabling it to bring forth its sound to redeem the slaves.⁷⁶

In summary, this passage indicates that the writer believed that the sound of the *shofar* was a crucial component in the exodus from Egypt and will have a vital part to play in the eschaton.

The supernatural power of the *shofar* is depicted in the contemporary Yiddish play, “The Dybbuk.” This play is a depiction of a woman possessed by an evil spirit, the Dybbuk. The *shofar*, along with black candles, is used in the fourth act to exorcise the demon from the femme fatale, Leah.

LEAH (DYBBUK [Screams]) I’m lost!
 REB AZRIEL I banish and cut you off from the community of Israel! Blow the ram’s horn!
 THE MESSENGER The final spark has dissolved in the flame.
 LEAH (DYBBUK [feebly]) I have no more strength to resist. (The ram’s horn blows again)
 REB AZRIEL (Quickly silences the horns, speaks to Leah) Do you submit?
 LEAH (DYBBUK [In a dying voice]) I submit.
 REB AZRIEL Do you swear to leave the body of the maiden Leah, the daughter of Hannah, and promise never to return?
 LEAH (DYBBUK [as before]), I promise.⁷⁷

While no strong theological presuppositions should be drawn from the fictitious work of a playwright, the play most likely reflects a general understanding of the *shofar* among

⁷⁶ Michael Berg, ed., *The Zohar*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Kabbalah Centre International, 2013), 1:13b:7.

⁷⁷ S. Ansky, *The Dybbuk and Other Writings*, ed. David G. Roskies, trans. Golda Werman (New York: The New Yiddish Library, 2013), 46.

the masses. Therefore, this passage in fiction does seem to give at least a Yiddish link to the perceived supernatural power of the *shofar* in Judaism.

Conclusion

At this point in the discourse, at least two facts seem clear: First, while the *shofar* is highly regarded in modern Judaism, outside of Kabbalah, it does not seem to be ascribed healing characteristics, but rather is viewed as a blessing and as a command. Second, many charismatic ministries seem not only to see the *shofar* as valuable in symbolism but also to assign supernatural powers to the *shofar*, whether this is healing, calling out to God, or as an apostolic voice of God.

The mission of this chapter was direct: to demonstrate that the *shofar* has prominence in contemporary Judaism and certain circles of Christianity. According to culture, calendar, and liturgy, this is proven clearly in Judaism. According to websites, videos, and testimonies, the historical and mystical symbolism of the *shofar* has clearly taken root in some pockets of Christianity. This addition has seemingly taken place to the exclusion of any other trumpet found in the Bible, of which there are three principal natural trumpets: *shofar*, *chatsovera*, and *salpinx*. In the following chapter, I will thoroughly examine in detail the aforementioned trumpets of the Bible to better understand the *shofar*'s ascension, as described in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3

THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY OF THE *SHOFAR* AND *CHATSOSERA*

While the previous chapter examined the prominence of the *shofar* in contemporary Judaism and its being a source of growing fascination in Christianity, there are still two other types of trumpet in Scripture for consideration. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to clarify trumpet terminology found in the Bible by defining and systematically classifying the two main trumpeting instruments found in the Old Testament: the *shofar* and the *chatsosera*. In the next chapter, I will cover the New Testament trumpet known in its Greek transliterated form as the *salpinx*.

This chapter will serve as a primer of Old Testament trumpets as I will thoroughly discuss these two trumpets mentioned in the *Tanakh* and add some of the other synonyms used by Hebrews, Chaldeans, and the pagan religions of the day. While I will reference many sources of contemporary literature that corroborate (and sometimes disagree with) my findings, the Old Testament and other ancient texts will be my most significant sources.¹

¹ Ancient texts include passages from the *Babylonian Talmud*, the *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, and the *Metsudah Kitzur Shulchan Aruch*.

Before investigating the three aforementioned instruments, it would serve this work to preface the information with a brief understanding of the trumpet through a more functional lens. The classification of all trumpets is “aerophone, second-class,” according to the Hornbostel-Sachs scheme of musical instrument classification; its number in the catalog is 423.¹ This category can be further divided into *natural trumpets* and modern trumpets. I will not discuss the modern trumpet whose prototype was developed in 1815 by Heinrich Stötzel.² I only mention modern trumpets here to clarify to the reader that their nineteenth-century genesis disqualifies them for consideration within the realm of biblical trumpets. *Natural trumpets* have a set of notes that can be played simply by increasing the speed of the lips’ vibration and the speed of air, without any modification to the length of the instrument. Conversely, the modern trumpet uses valves, keys, or rotors to essentially alter the length of the instrument, resulting in a wider range of possible notes that can be played.³ All trumpets in Scripture are *natural trumpets*.

This discourse will now continue with the *natural trumpets* in Scripture and how they have been named in Hebrew, Chaldean, and Greek languages. In addition, I will demonstrate how these have been translated into English over time. I will review them in order of their appearance in Scripture: *shofar* then *chatsosera*. I will also articulate the

¹ Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” trans. Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann, *Galpin Society Journal* no. 1 (1961): 27.

² Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 15.

³ Jean-Baptiste Arban, *Complete Conservatory Method for Trumpet* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1982), 38.

etymologies, classifications, Scripture references, and extra-biblical writings when applicable. I will conclude this chapter by examining their roles through the Mosaic, Davidic, and Solomonic periods including and through the Great Dispersion of the Jews of 588 BC.⁴

Shofar

The five transliterated terms in the Old Testament for trumpet are *shofar*, *yobel*, *qeren*, *taqoa*, and *chatsosera*. The first, the *shofar*, is the most mentioned, most iconic, and is currently the most associated with the Hebrew faith, as established in the previous chapter. The *shofar*'s first appearance in Scripture is found in Exodus 19:16–19.⁵ The *shofar* blower is supernatural in this passage, as well as the subsequent *shofar* reference in Exodus 20:18:

Now when all the people saw the thunder and the flashes of lightning and the sound of the trumpet [*shofar*] and the mountain smoking, the people were afraid and trembled, and they stood far off.

After these passages, the instrument was used by man as a source of signaling or for celebration.⁶

⁴ *Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906*, s.v. “diaspora”

⁵ It is interesting that its final appearance is in Zechariah 9:14, and its player also exists in the spirit realm: “Then the LORD will appear over them, and his arrow will go forth like lightning; the Lord GOD will sound the trumpet (*shofar*) and will march forth in the whirlwinds of the south.”

⁶ See the appendix for a list of uses for the *shofar* along with their biblical citations.

Shofar: Etymology

The term *shofar* is a Hebrew masculine noun that some scholars speculate is of Akkadian origin, from their word *sapparu*. *Sapparu* may very well come from its relative Sumerian *segbar*, which refers to the ibex, a type of goat in that region.⁷ I covered some other etymological speculations of the word *shofar* footnoted in chapter 1, namely that of Daniel Stuhlman, claiming that it may mean either “hollow” or “beautiful.”⁸ While the origin of the name is not essential in understanding the concerns of translation, it is worth knowing the ambiguity in the word’s derivation.

Curt Sachs describes the *shofar* as a “plain goat’s or ram’s horn without a mouthpiece.”⁹ Yelena Kolyada broadens the definition by claiming it may come from five different kinds of animals: a wild goat, a ram, an antelope, a gazelle, or a bull.¹⁰ While Kolyada freely admits that a bull’s horn was rarely used, I assert that it is not within the category of the *shofar*. The horn of a bull is not permissible for use in Hebrew worship by explicit talmudic instruction. Instead, a bull’s horn would most likely be

⁷ *Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament*, s.v. “שׁוֹפָר.”

⁸ Stuhlman, “The Translation of the Biblical Word *Shofar*,” 114.

⁹ Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 11. A minor issue with the Sachs definition is that silver and gold mouthpieces are indeed used for liturgical purposes as Braun will assert in his book, *Music of Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 27.

¹⁰ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 68.

referred to as *qeren*, and not the *shofar*. I will expound upon that subject later under the subheading, *qeren*.¹¹

Jewish researcher and *Ba'al Tekiah* Jeremy Montagu asserts that the *shofar* “can fairly claim to be the oldest musical instrument in written history that is still in use.” His claim places the Exodus writing at 1500 BC.¹² He also refers to a legend attributed to R. Hanina ben Dosa, which purports that the horn blown at Mount Sinai before the trembling camp was the left horn of the ram sacrificed at Abraham’s altar in Genesis 22. Furthermore, the right horn of the same ram featured in the *Akedah* is held in reserve for blowing “in times to come,” referring to Isaiah 27:13:¹³

And in that day a great trumpet [*shofar*] will be blown, and those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship the LORD on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

The Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon concurs with the *sapparu* derivation and, while in agreement with the other definitions, points out that the *shofar* is used “rarely, and chiefly late as a sacred instrument.”¹⁴ This statement supports my thesis that the *shofar* was not originally for cultic use, but ascended to that place in latter times.

¹¹ “All *shofars* may be used except for that of a cow” (Roš Haš 3:2). This passage continues to state that if it is a cow’s horn it is *qeren*. This Chaldean term will be scrutinized later in this chapter.

¹² Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 1–2.

¹³ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 3.

¹⁴ *BDB*, s.v. “שׁוֹפָר.”

Shofar: Classification and Construction

While the *shofar* is iconic and easily identified, it also comes in differing forms. For the remainder of this section, this dissertation will assume that the provenance of the horn is from one of four primary sources: a wild goat, a ram, an antelope, or a gazelle. For further identification, I will emphasize the two most prominent types, the horns of the kudu or the ram.

The antelope's (kudu) horn has a long curvy shape that the Westerner often pictures when thinking of a *shofar*. This long curvaceous horn is known as a "Yemenite *shofar*" to merchants.¹⁵ In contrast, the ram's horn is a shorter, blunt instrument, commonly known in the marketplace as the "Jerusalem *shofar*."¹⁶

A *shofar* used at modern New Year celebrations often has a gold-plated mouthpiece and a silver-plated mouthpiece at *Yom Kippur*.¹⁷ Curt Sachs asserts that new moon ceremonies since late antiquity would often use an ibex (wild goat) horn, shaped explicitly like a crescent moon.¹⁸ *Ba'al Tekia'im*, such as Jeremy Montagu and Arthur Finkle, separately assert that the ram's horn is rabbinically preferred for this celebration.¹⁹

¹⁵ Barbarossa, *Ministry of the Shofar*, 9.

¹⁶ Barbarossa, *Ministry of the Shofar*, 9.

¹⁷ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 27.

¹⁸ Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 111.

¹⁹ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 6; Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 44.

As to the construction of the *shofar*, regardless of type, the manufacture of these instruments is relatively straight-forward. The horns are seasoned for several months permitting the cartilage inside the horn to dry so that it is easily removed. The horn is then lightly heated and shaped so that the “bell” of the instrument points upward. After shaping and cleaning out the horn, the tip is cut where the “natural hollow” begins, and an ovoid embouchure is shaped. The horn is then cleaned and perhaps even buffed and polished.²⁰ In this cleansing and shaping task, the worker must take care that the instrument is not cracked in any way. If it is, it is considered void “for ritual purposes.”²¹

Shofar: Scriptural References

The *shofar* weaves its way through the life of the Old Testament, but rarely as a celebrated icon. After its Sinaitic appearance in Scripture, many believe that the *shofar* is implied in Leviticus 23:24:

Speak to the people of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall observe a day of solemn rest; a memorial proclaimed with blast of trumpets [*teruah*], a holy convocation.

In this description of *Yom Teruah*, the *shofar* is not explicitly mentioned. Instead, it is merely the sound, *teruah*. *Teruah* is from the verb *rua* meaning to “give a blast with a clarion or horn.”²² Marking the beginning of the ceremonial *Days of Awe* in Hebrew liturgy, this particular passage is the description of *Rosh Hashanah*. While *Rosh*

²⁰ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 61ff.

²¹ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 67.

²² BDB, s.v. “רָוַע.”

Hashanah has been associated with the *shofar* in latter times, it is not necessarily prescribed.

The above notwithstanding, there does seem to be a biblical inference to the *shofar*'s use during *Rosh Hashanah*. Psalm 81:1–3 states:

Sing aloud to God our strength; shout for joy to the God of Jacob! Raise a song; sound the tambourine, the sweet lyre with the harp. Blow the trumpet [*shofar*] at the new moon, at the full moon, on our feast day.

There is strong agreement that this passage points back to *Rosh Hashanah*, as it is the only prescribed feast that takes place on the new moon.²³ Therefore, one can easily justify its prominence on this day. However, this is not a priestly function, nor liturgical, and certainly not as a solo. The *shofar* was the people's instrument. This was clearly an instruction to the general public in celebration of this "day of (trumpet) alarm." I will cover this passage in more detail and context in chapter 4.

One reason for the plethora of references to the *shofar* in the Old Testament may be owed to the stories of Joshua at Jericho (13 mentions in Joshua 6) and Gideon's battle against the Midianites (6 mentions in Judges 7). In these nearly twenty references, the use of the *shofar* is not prescribed for a player in any sacred function. The *shofar* proves itself to be a utilitarian instrument. It is uncommon for the player in most *shofar* passages in

²³ As the Judaic year is lunar and each month is "birthed in the new moon" (Knobel, *Gates of the Seasons*, 6) *Rosh Hashanah*'s implication in Psalm 81 is proven through the process of elimination: Passover is *Abib* 14, Unleavened Bread is *Abib* 15–21, Firstfruits is *Abib* 16, Weeks is *Sivan* 6, Atonement is *Tishri* 10, Sukkot is *Tishri* 15–21. However, the Feast of Trumpets falls on the first day of *Tishri*. It is the only feast on the first day of the month.

the Bible to even be named in Scripture.²⁴ Whether or not a name is given, the *shofar* is on the periphery of the story, and certainly not the center. Instead, as these two prominent references illustrate, the *shofar* in Scripture was used primarily for military use, or for important occasions of gathering. I will now elaborate on these two applications.

Military Usage

The *shofar* easily lent itself to use as a war-like instrument, either for communication on the battlefield or as a weapon of psychological warfare. As to the latter, the famed battle at Jericho is a clear example. The *shofar* was an instrument intended to evoke fear in this particular engagement. This passage also gives the reader some examples of terms used as synonyms for *shofar*. While most mentions of the trumpet in the story of the battle of Jericho are translations of the *shofar*, some are not, which illustrates the synonymous quality of words such as *yobel* or *yobel'im*. As one can see, the context of these mentions reveals that they are the same instrument:

And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets [*shofarot*] of rams' horns [*yobel'im*] before the ark of the LORD walked on, and they blew the trumpets [*shofarot*] continually. And the armed men were walking before them, and the rear guard was walking after the ark of the LORD, while the trumpets [*shofarot*] blew continually.²⁵ (Josh 6:12–13)

Furthermore, *yobel* or *yobel'im* are always the second references in each instance in the story, preceded by the term *shofar* or *shofarot*. This writing is much like a simple, *elegant*

²⁴ Those *shofarists* mentioned by name are: Ehud (Judg 3:27), Gideon (Judg 6:34), Saul (1 Sam 13:3), Sheba (2 Sam 20:1), Joab (2 Sam 2:28, 2 Sam 18:16, 2 Sam 20:22), and Nehemiah (Neh 4:18).

²⁵ *Yobel'im* is a plural transliteration of *yobel*.

variation of synonymy in the English language, where a repeated term utilizes a synonym to minimize monotony.

Another use of the *shofar* in psychological warfare was in Gideon's army. The *shofar* in Gideon's story appears in Judges 7:16, where every soldier was given a *shofar* for the battle to instill fear in the enemy. Unlike the Joshua passage, the word *shofar* is the only trumpet word in the entire story. The sounding of three hundred *shofarot* culminated in the Midianite's retreat and self-destruction:

When they blew the 300 trumpets [*shofarot*], the LORD set every man's sword against his comrade and against all the army. And the army fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah, as far as the border of Abel-meholah, by Tabbath.

In other stories of military engagements, the *shofar* was used as a signaling instrument such as in the recount of Saul's attack on the Philistine outpost in 1 Samuel 13:3:

Jonathan defeated the garrison of the Philistines that was at Geba, and the Philistines heard of it. And Saul blew the trumpet [*shofar*] throughout all the land, saying, "Let the Hebrews hear."

Because of the *shofar*'s numerous uses in military activities, it would make sense that Joab was the most frequently named user of the *shofar* in Scripture. He used the instrument to call off the attack on Israel when David was the King of Judah: "So Joab blew the trumpet [*shofar*], and all the men stopped and pursued Israel no more, nor did they fight anymore" (2 Sam 2:28). Then his *shofar* heralded the end of the tragic story of Absalom's coup d'état against his father David: "Then Joab blew the trumpet [*shofar*],

and the troops came back from pursuing Israel, for Joab restrained them” (2 Sam 18:16).²⁶ Finally, Joab blew the *shofar* at the beheading of Sheba, the Benjamite:

Then the woman went to all the people in her wisdom. And they cut off the head of Sheba the son of Bichri and threw it out to Joab. So he blew the trumpet [*shofar*], and they dispersed from the city, every man to his home. And Joab returned to Jerusalem to the king. (2 Sam 20:22)²⁷

The use of the *shofar* in military settings is a natural one as *shofarot* were plentiful and can be heard from a great distance. This ability to communicate across a considerable expanse also made the *shofar* useful for heralding important occasions for the vast Hebrew nation, as I will now review.

Important Occasions

In ancient Hebrew culture, instances of the *shofar* signaling the beginning of events are plentiful. It was recorded in Scripture as being blown at two coronations: Solomon (1 Kgs 1:34, 39, 41) and Jehu (2 Kgs 9:13). The *shofar* also marked the deposition of two malevolent rulers: Eglon (Judg 3:27) and Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:14). Nehemiah used it for signaling purposes in the rebuilding of the wall in his eponymous book (Neh 4:18, 20), and it was used for dedicatory purposes for the rebuilt temple (Ezra 3:10).

²⁶ Absalom’s takeover also began with the sound of the *shofar*; see 2 Samuel 15:10.

²⁷ Sheba’s rebellion also began with the sound of the *shofar*; see 2 Samuel 20:1.

The *shofar* was also a reminder of God’s voice to the Hebrews through prophecy.²⁸ A study of the following passages shows that the *shofar* was a remembrance of God’s voice being “imperious, stern, and alarming.”²⁹ A clear example of this notice to the Hebrew nation is found in Joel 2. This chapter describes a “solemn assembly” and utilizes the *shofar* twice to summon worshippers. He begins the chapter with a warning:

Blow a trumpet [*shofar*] in Zion; sound an alarm on my holy mountain! Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble, for the day of the LORD, is coming; it is near.
(Joel 2:1)

Then the prophet reiterates bringing people in with the *shofar* for this solemn occasion:

Blow the trumpet [*shofar*] in Zion; consecrate a fast; call a solemn assembly; gather the people. Consecrate the congregation; assemble the elders; gather the children, even nursing infants. Let the bridegroom leave his room and the bride her chamber. (Joel 2:15–16)

These passages typify a purposeful use of the *shofar*: to herald a solemn assembly of the people. While some may see this as a sacred use of the *shofar*, this passage in Joel very clearly underscores the *shofar* as a calling instrument for the Jews.³⁰

²⁸ These passages are found in Job 39:24–25, Isa 18:3, 27:13, 58:1, Jer 4:5, 19, 21; 6:1, 17; 42:14; 51:27, Ezek 7:14, 33:3–6, Hos 5:8, 8:1, Amos 2:2, 3:6, and Zeph 1:16.

²⁹ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 74.

³⁰ There are four *shofar* calls. Two are found in Scripture: *tekiah* and *rua*. Two are extrabiblical and traditional: *shevarim* and *tekiah gelulah*. The specific patterns of these calls are traditional and seem to have been codified post AD 70 by Maimonides in the *Hilchos Shofar*.

Shofar: Synonyms

While the term *shofar* is commonly used in Scripture, there are also words used that are interchangeable with this expression, as already illustrated above from Joshua. I will now examine these synonyms: *yobel*, *taqoa*, and *qeren*.

Yobel

According to musicologist Alfred Sendrey, the word *yobel* first occurs in Leviticus 25, in describing the Jubilee Year.³¹ However, according to Masoretic texts, the *yobel* is actually mentioned in Exodus 19:13, giving *yobel* the distinction of being the very first mention of the trumpet in Scripture.³² Translation issues obscure this first mention. It is *salpinx* in the LXX, and the Luther Bible translates it as *posaune* (signaling trombone).³³ The Young's Literal Translation calls *yobel* a "jubilee cornet." Most English translations are divided, however, on trumpet or ram's horn.³⁴ The Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon classifies it as a masculine noun meaning "ram's horn."³⁵

³¹ *Yobel* as Jubilee can only be practiced when the entire nation of Israel is gathered together (Le 25:11). Since the disappearance of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh (1 Chr 5), there has been no true *Yobel*.

³² Translation used is the JPS *Tanakh*, which uses the Westminster Codex of the Bible.

³³ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 79.

³⁴ The following translations use the term trumpet: ESV, NKJV, KJV, GNT, NHEB, KJV2000, ASV, BST, Douay-Rheims, ERV, WBT, and WEB. The following translations use the term ram's horn: NIV, NLT, BSB, NASB, CSB, ISV, NET, GWT, JPS, and NAS.

³⁵ BDB, s.v. "יֹבֵל."

The term *yobel* is used five other times individually as a trumpet. All five mentions are found in the Jericho narrative.³⁶ The other twenty-one mentions refer to the word “Jubilee,” an event. In the Jubilee year, the Judean soundscape has been described as a “continuous blast” of the *shofar* (*yobel*), as a *mitzvah* or command to all to hear its sound.³⁷ Dennis Wretlind summarizes the synonymous use of *shofar* and *yobel* to describe the ram’s horn:

The *shofar*, like the other “horns” in the Bible— designated by the words *qeren* and *yobel*— was made from the horn of an animal, usually a ram. It thus differed from the trumpet (*chatsosera*), which was made of metal, silver, or bronze (see, e.g., Num 10:2–10), and was used chiefly in cultic contexts.³⁸

Sendrey hypothesizes that, according to the talmudic Mishnah tractates in Kelim 11:1 and 11:7, the *yobel* is a variation of the *shofar* with a detachable metal mouthpiece.³⁹ However, an examination of that particular passage reveals that the text is discussing a *qeren* and not a *yobel* stating: “A curved horn [*qeren*] is susceptible to impurity” (m. Kelim 11:7). Moreover, the term *yobel* is not mentioned in either of these tractates. Therefore, despite the above speculation, *yobel* appears to be an equivalent of the *shofar*.

³⁶ Josh 6:4, 6, 8, 9, 13.

³⁷ Witty and Witty, *Exploring Jewish Tradition*, 219.

³⁸ Dennis Wretlind, “The Last Trumpet: A Demarcation Event between the Present Temporal World and the Eternal World to Come” (PhD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1997), 15.

³⁹ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 370–71.

***Qeren* or *Qarna*:**

The *qeren*, on the other hand, is different, though some see it as synonymous with the *shofar*. *Qeren* is a Chaldean feminine noun for horn.⁴⁰ Its definition has been given as “horn, vessel for oil—horn, wind instrument.”⁴¹ It does not require a great deal of imagination to understand this as a visual reference for a “handle” (Ps 118:27) or even as an “oil flask” (1 Sam 16:1, 13). Another lexicon refers to this Chaldean term as a “horn-vessel” or “oil horn.”⁴² In the King James Version, the *qeren* is called “cornet,” to differentiate it from a trumpet. Not only is the King James terminology inaccurate, but it is a misleading anachronism, as the terminology of cornet in 1611 (or now) is unrelated to any biblical instrument.⁴³

While *qeren* may refer to a generic horn, Sendrey believes that this horn had a particular derivation from cattle.⁴⁴ The Hebrews would not have sounded a horn made from cattle in cultic ritual, as they strictly forbade the use of a cattle horn as a musical

⁴⁰ BDB, s.v. “קֶרֶן.”

⁴¹ *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, s.v. “קֶרֶן.”

⁴² *Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament*, s.v. “קֶרֶן.”

⁴³ In the King James Version, *qeren* is translated *cornet* in Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 13. The term *cornet* is also used as the English equivalent of *shofar* in 1 Chr 15:28, Ps 98:6, and Hosea 5:8. At the time of the 1611 translation, *cornet* or *cornett* would have been more of a word for “a curved woodwind instrument covered with leather [having] seven finger-holes and was played with a small, cup-shaped mouthpiece” (Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 65.)

⁴⁴ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 264.

instrument.⁴⁵ However, it would be perfectly fitting for a Babylonian pagan ceremony, especially one that may imitate Hebrew cultic rites derisively, such as in the Daniel narrative in which the term is used. Braun counters Sendrey with the opinion that the *qeren* was not necessarily a cow's horn, but likely a molded instrument of clay or bronze as was most likely used in that time in Babylon. Braun contends:

[The *qeren*] is probably referring to a metal or clay trumpet. In the New Babylonian Kingdom, cylindrical trumpets between seventy and ninety centimeters long with gently conical ends were used as signaling instruments. When the book of Daniel was composed, trumpets about fifty centimeters long made of clay with broad bells were used at festive occasions in the Parthian Kingdom.⁴⁶

In the Bible, the term *qeren* is used only in Daniel to connote a musical instrument (3:5, 7, 10, 13). In this narrative, the *qeren* was the principal instrument in the pagan ritual shunned by the Jewish servants: Hanania (Shadrach), Mishael (Meshach), and Azaria (Abednego), who refused to pay obeisance to King Nebuchadnezzar's graven image in the plains of Dura.

Regardless, whether the *qeren* was a cow's horn or a natural trumpet made of clay, metal, or terra cotta, it was not synonymous with the *shofar*. The issue of kosher, or *muttar-be-fikha*,⁴⁷ was naturally not relevant to the Babylonians and therefore was not a restriction, allowing for the use of a horn of bovine origin. Therefore, while *qeren* is a

⁴⁵ Davis, *Shulchan Aruch*, 586.

⁴⁶ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 33.

⁴⁷ Lit. "Permissible in mouth" (Mois Navon, "The Hillazon and the Principle of 'Muttar-Be-Fikha,'" *Torah U-Madda Journal*, no. 10 [2001]: 142).

generic term for a horn, it is not a direct synonym for the *shofar*, at least as used in the Bible.

Taqoa

The masculine noun *taqoa* is used once in Scripture for a trumpet in Ezekiel 7:14: “They have blown the trumpet [*taqoa*] and made everything ready.”⁴⁸ Most likely an example of onomatopoeia, *taqoa* refers to a non-descript musical instrument that made a trumpet-like sound. Its root, *taqa*, describes the sound of the trumpet with the literal meaning “a horn blast.”⁴⁹ This trumpet is not described in its physical form and may only be discerned within the context of the passage. It could either be a *shofar* or *chatsosera*. However, as this trumpet is in the singular form, I speculate it refers to a *shofar* as the *chatsoserot* were blown in pairs to communicate attack (Num 10). What is known is that this is a trumpet sound, blown by the Hebrews on a day of judgment to no avail. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I will recommend using the non-descript term “trumpet” for the translation of Ezekiel 7:14.

Qeren notwithstanding, these various shades of the term *shofar* should now give the reader a more robust understanding of Old Testament trumpet classification. This synonymy will help one examine the *shofar* outside of the boundaries of canon and aid in understanding what other authors say about this instrument.

⁴⁸ *Taqoa* is also a city in south Judah (2 Sam 14:2), known as the birthplace of Amos (1:1). It is also the target of word play from the prophet Jeremiah when he states, “Flee for safety, O people of Benjamin, from the midst of Jerusalem! Blow (*taqa*) the trumpet (*shofar*) in *Taqoa*” (Jer 6:1).

⁴⁹ *BDB*, s.v. “תָּקָא.”

Shofar: Extra-biblical Ancient Writings

The bulk of ancient writings on the *shofar* appear in three primary sources: the *Roš Haššanah* chapter of the *Talmud*, *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, and the *Shulchan Aruch*⁵⁰ already described in chapter 1. However, a few more writings occur in prayer books or *siddur*.

***Siddur*, and Other Works**

The *Seder Tefillot*, also known as *Siddur*, is a book of Hebrew prayer for weekdays and holy days.⁵¹ While not as detailed as the more significant, earlier texts, the *Siddur* contains some important, albeit, short references dealing with the use of the *shofar*, one of which comprises the ten reasons for blowing the *shofar* from the tenth-century *Siddur* entry of Saadiah Gaon:

1. The sound of the *shofar* is analogous to the trumpet blasts, which announce the coronation of a king. On *Rosh Hashanah*, God created the world and became its sovereign. By sounding the *shofar*, we acknowledge him as our King.
2. *Rosh Hashanah* is the first of the ten days of penitence, and the *shofar* is sounded to stir our consciences, inducing us to confront our past errors and return to God, who is always ready to welcome the penitent.
3. The *shofar* is reminiscent of God's revelation at Sinai, which was accompanied by the sounding of the *shofar*. It reminds us of our destiny to be a people of Torah, pursuing the study of the Torah and practicing its commandments.
4. The sound of the *shofar* is reminiscent of the exhortations of the prophets, whose voices rang out like a *shofar* in denouncing their people's wrongdoing and calling them to the service of God and man.
5. The *shofar* reminds us of the destruction of the temple and calls upon us to strive for Israel's renewal in freedom and in fellowship with God.
6. The *shofar*, since it is a ram's horn, is reminiscent of the ram offered as a sacrifice by Abraham in place of his son Isaac. It thus reminds us of the heroic faith of the

⁵⁰ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 94.

⁵¹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*: 1906, s.v. "siddur."

fathers of our people, who exemplified the highest devotion to God, of which man is capable.

7. The *shofar* urges us to feel humble before God's majesty and might, which are manifested by all things and which constantly surround our lives.
8. The *shofar* is a reminder of the Day of Final Judgment, calling upon all men and all nations to prepare themselves for God's scrutiny of their deeds.
9. The *shofar* foreshadows the jubilant proclamation of freedom when the exiled and homeless of Israel return to the Holy Land. It calls upon us to believe, at all times and under all circumstances, in Israel's coming deliverance.
10. The *shofar* foreshadows the end of the present world order and the inauguration of God's reign of righteousness throughout the world, with regenerated Israel leading all men in acknowledging that God is One and His name One.⁵²

Another *Siddur* entry is the thirteenth-century *Codex Adler*, which visually describes the *shofar* calls. While not musical notations, per se, these pictographs of *shofar* calls correspond to the calls that have been passed down for generations. As nineteenth-century musicologist John Stainer observed concerning these visual annotations:

The signals blown are said to be the same, at least rhythmically, as those which were used more than three thousand years ago. This is the more probable because they are strictly prescribed and adhered to: they are simple, characteristic, and easily preserved traditionally, and they are very much the same in all the synagogues.⁵³

Finally, there were the liturgies of R. Johanan ben Zakkai. His guidance will help propel the *shofar* into dominance in the first century of the Common Era.⁵⁴ Zakkai will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁵² Translated from the original Hebrew by Issac Klein (Klein, *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice*, 191–92); Montagu, *Shofar: Its History and Use*, 25.

⁵³ Engel, *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, 294–95.

⁵⁴ Solomon Zeitlin, "The Taqqunot of Rabban Yohanan Ben Zakkai." *Jewish Quarterly Review* vol. 54, no. 4 (2016): 290.

Given these references and the description of the evolution of liturgies such as *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* as described in chapter 2, it is easier to understand how the *shofar* has moved from being a tool of communication to one of cultic expression. The instrument used for calling troops by secular tacticians such as King Saul and Joab moves to an instrument of high cultic importance in later antiquity. This *natural trumpet's* perceived role in the sacred, amongst Judaism, still survives intact today, as proven in chapter 2 of this dissertation.⁵⁵

The thesis of this dissertation, however, is the claim that the choice of the *shofar* as sacred is not biblical. Its function as a communicative instrument, and its abject popularity should not equate to being cultic according to the Holy Bible. Nevertheless, there is a trumpet prescribed for this high attribute in the Old Testament: the *chatsosera*.

Chatsosera

The second of the *natural trumpets* in the Bible is the *chatsosera*. Its creation and specificities are prescribed in the book of Numbers.

The LORD spoke to Moses, saying, “Make two silver trumpets [*chatsoserot*]. Of hammered work, you shall make them, and you shall use them for summoning the congregation and for breaking camp. And when both are blown, all the congregation shall gather themselves to you at the entrance of the tent of meeting. But if they blow only one, then the chiefs, the heads of the tribes of Israel, shall gather themselves to you. When you blow an alarm, the camps that are on the east side shall set out. And when you blow an alarm the second time, the camps that are on the south side shall set out. An alarm is to be blown whenever they are to set out. But when the assembly is to be gathered together, you shall blow a long blast, but you shall not sound an alarm. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*]. The trumpets [*chatsoserot*] shall be to you for a

⁵⁵ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 29.

perpetual statute throughout your generations. And when you go to war in your land against the adversary who oppresses you, then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*], that you may be remembered before the LORD your God, and you shall be saved from your enemies. On the day of your gladness also, and at your appointed feasts and at the beginnings of your months, you shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] over your burnt offerings and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings. They shall be a reminder of you before your God: I am the LORD your God.” (Num 10:1–10)

Chatsosera: Etymology

Because of the duplication of the sibilant “ts” (צִצִּי) in the pronunciation of *chatsosera*, Hebrew philologist Wilhelm Gesenius believes the derivation of this word is onomatopoeic in origin.⁵⁶ However, Sendrey asserts that its etymological derivation is from the Hebrew verb *hazar* or “to be present” and hypothesizes that in its applied form, it means to “call a meeting.” Sendrey acknowledges Gesenius’s theory on the provenance of the term, so it seems that the twin etymological origins may be complimentary.⁵⁷

The issue of etymology arises in the translation of this word as the Septuagint and Vulgate both interpret this term generically as *salpinx* and *tuba*, respectively. A review of the Greek term *salpinx* occurs later in the following chapter. Nevertheless, there is little argument that *chatsoserot* were silver trumpets and used by priests.⁵⁸ They were also,

⁵⁶ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 81.

⁵⁷ Sendrey, *Music of Ancient Israel*, 332.

⁵⁸ BDB, s.v. “חֲצֹצֶרֶת.”

nearly always, in pairs (*chatsoserot*); however, because of being identical in size, chances are they played in unison.⁵⁹

Chatsosera: Construction

The *chatsosera* has the distinction of being the only musical instrument whose construction is not only described but prescribed in Scripture. Its context and placement in Scripture make it an element of the tabernacle.⁶⁰ Not only was it precious in a cultic sense, but it was also tangibly valuable as it is evident in Numbers 10:1 that the *chatsosera* was made from hammered silver.⁶¹ Trumpet historian and musicologist Edward Tarr interprets Josephus's description of "a little less than a cubit" as stating that these trumpets were "45.72 centimeters long."⁶² The length of construction as compared to the sonorous one-hundred, eighteen centimeters of a Yemenite *shofar*⁶³ would, by nature of acoustical physics, be a comparatively shrill sound. One description survives of the sound of this instrument from the writings of the Greek philosopher Plutarch,

⁵⁹ Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 113.

⁶⁰ See Numbers 1–10.

⁶¹ Numbers 10:1 states that these instruments were "of hammered work." This may indicate that each were made from a whole piece of silver if the "hammered work" method of construction is like the *menorah* in Exodus 25:36.

⁶² It is the opinion of this dissertation that while the figure "45.72 centimeters" is a direct quote from an academic source, it is extremely specific given that there are no existing *chatsoserot* for proof of measure (Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 22.)

⁶³ This figure is derived from averaging the listed sizes of the Yemenite *shofar* inventory found on <https://talit.com/>.

recounting it as like the “braying of a donkey.”⁶⁴ The construction size would place the natural overtone series of the instrument higher than the *shofar*, impeding the *chatsosera*’s ability for accurate intonation.⁶⁵ The shrillness implied in the structure of this trumpet would be a positive attribute, presumably drawing attention for a long-distance as well as creating a sense of upheaval on the field of battle.

Chatsosera: Scriptural References

The first mention of *chatsoserot* in Scripture is also the most descriptive. Numbers 10:1–10 prescribes their build and use, as mentioned above. Also, in verses three through seven, the Bible gives very detailed definitions of the calls. There are two mentioned in Scripture: the “alarm” (*teruah*) and the “blow” (*taqa* or later known as *tekiah*).

And when both are blown [*taqa*], all the congregation shall gather themselves to you at the entrance of the tent of meeting. But if they blow [*taqa*] only one, then the chiefs, the heads of the tribes of Israel, shall gather themselves to you. When you blow [*taqa*] an alarm [*teruah*], the camps that are on the east side shall set out. And when you blow [*taqa*] an alarm [*teruah*] the second time, the camps that are on the south side shall set out. An alarm [*teruah*] is to be blown whenever they are to set out. But when the assembly is to be gathered together, you shall blow a long blast [*taqa*], but you shall not sound an alarm [*teruah*].

These calls were later joined by the extra-biblical calls: *shevarim* and *tekiah gedoulah* and are discussed more thoroughly in chapter 1 of this dissertation. The *teruah* and *tekiah* were prescribed exclusively for the silver trumpets. This is an important fact to consider

⁶⁴ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 82.

⁶⁵ Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments*, 82.

because eventually these calls are rabbinically reassigned to the *shofar* along with the addition of the other two aforementioned calls.⁶⁶

The Numbers passage also describes who are to blow the *chatsoserot* (8) and their importance to Israel's daily life (8–10):

On the day of your gladness also, and at your appointed feasts and at the beginnings of your months, you shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] over your burnt offerings and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings. They shall be a reminder of you before your God: I am the LORD your God.

This priestly prescription dictates that these instruments were meant for “feasts,” “burnt offerings,” and “peace offerings.” Furthermore, these offerings existed singularly at the tabernacle, where God ordered sacrifice:

Take care that you do not offer your burnt offerings at any place that you see, but at the place that the LORD will choose in one of your tribes, there you shall offer your burnt offerings, and there you shall do all that I am commanding you. (Deut 12:13–14)

This centralized act of sacrifice was reiterated early in the establishment of the Hebrew nation when Israel narrowly circumvented national sin against God when the eastern tribes sought to build their altar to the Lord:

Far be it from us that we should rebel against the LORD and turn away this day from following the LORD by building an altar for burnt offering, grain offering, or sacrifice, other than the altar of the LORD our God that stands before his tabernacle! (Joshua 22:29)

⁶⁶ The *shevarim* and *tekiah gedoulah* are codified in sections of the *Babylonian Talmud*, *Mishnah Torah L'HaRambam-Hilchos Shofar*, and the *Shulchan Aruch*, but not in the Old Testament except as a geographic reference (*shevarim*) in Joshua 7:5: “and the men of Ai killed about thirty-six of their men and chased them before the gate as far as *Shebarim* and struck them at the descent. And the hearts of the people melted and became as water.”

Sacrifices were made at the tabernacle, and the *chatsoserot* were to be played over these sacrifices: This was the sacred work prescribed for these instruments. The thesis of this dissertation is that the *shofar* was not the recipient of extra-spiritual favor in the Bible. With Numbers 10:10, it becomes clear that the priests in the act of blowing “the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings” make the *chatsoserot* part of holy and sacred rituals, prescribed by God, to the Jews. Without verse ten, an argument of spiritual precedence is challenging to make. With verse ten, the argument is clear and unequivocal.⁶⁷

There is no other musical instrument that has this sort of pedigree in all of Scripture. Two main items become apparent in the Numbers 10 narrative; first, the *chatsosera* was an instrument of spiritual necessity or for communication, and second, its users were exclusively priests, as spelled out in verse eight: “The sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*].”

The *shofar* and *chatsosera* share some verses in coexistence. In Psalm 98:6, it is written: “with trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and the sound of a ram’s horn [*shofar*] make a joyful noise before the King the LORD!”⁶⁸ The *shofar* was invited to be blown in

⁶⁷ While not being used in this argument, one could also point to Numbers 31:6. In this passage, the original Hebrew assigns the adjective *ha-kodesh* or “the holy” before *chatsoserot* (הַקֹּדֶשׁ וְהַצִּצְרוֹת) in the Westminster-Leningrad Codex. However, no current English version of Scripture places this adjective before “trumpets.” Most translations instead prefer to place the word “holy” or “sacred” in front of the word “objects” that is coupled with “trumpets,” if the adjective is used at all; for example: “the holy vessels and the trumpets for the alarm in his hand” (NASB).

⁶⁸ This sentence is translated rather evenly among versions: “trumpets/ram’s horn” is used in BSB, CSB, ISV, NETB, NHEB, GW and, WEB; “trumpets/horn” is used in AMP, ESV, NASB, NKJV, CEV, GNT, JPS, NAS and, KJV2000; “trumpet/cornet” is used in KJV, AKJV, ASV, ERV, WBT, YLT, DRA

celebration, along with *chatsoserot* and the *kinnor*.⁶⁹ This passage describes the coexistence of these three instruments. Some musicologists believe that this is prescriptive of the *shofar* in *Rosh Hashanah*.⁷⁰ There is nothing to the text that implies a specific event, but instead, the command is for general celebration.⁷¹

Two authors mention both the *shofar* and *chatsosera* in the same writings: Hosea and Nehemiah. Hosea has been called the “deathbed prophet of Israel,” as his writings were the last prophetic writings before the fall of the Northern Kingdom to Assyria in 722 BC.⁷² In Hosea 5:8, the prophet writes: “Blow the horn [*shofar*] in Gibeah, the trumpet [*chatsosera*] in Ramah. Sound the alarm at Beth-aven; we follow you, O Benjamin!” In this passage, one sees a *shofar* in a town named Gibeah. This town has strong historical ties to some national tragedies of early Israel. First, Gibeah means a hill or hill-town. It is also the birthplace of King Saul (1 Sam 10:26, 15:34) and is the site of the “terrible outrage [that] was committed on the Levite's concubine which led to the almost utter extirpation of the tribe of Benjamin (Judg 19, 20).”⁷³ Then in the town

and, DARBY. However, the most exacting translation may be found in the 1851 Brenton-Septuagint translation, which states: “with trumpets of metal, and sound of a trumpet of a horn.”

⁶⁹ *Kinnor* is the Hebrew transliteration for an instrument similar to a “Greek lyre or cithara” (*The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906*, s.v. “harp and lyre.”)

⁷⁰ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 22.

⁷¹ Many theologians firmly believe that this Psalm was written for the return of the temple (Allen Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms: 90-150* [Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2013], 163).

⁷² “Hosea, Introduction” (*English Standard Version* [Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2008]).

⁷³ *Easton's Bible Dictionary*, s.v. “Gibeah.”

Ramah, one sees the *chatsosera*. Ramah is described in 1 Kings 15 and 2 Chronicles 16. It is a place of national sorrow for the Southern Kingdom as it is where the Babylonians assembled the Jewish captives after attacking Jerusalem, as a final outpost before moving them to Babylon, beginning the diaspora (Jer 40:1). Attempting to attribute spiritual significance from this passage to these instruments and their respective locations would be highly speculative. Suffice it to say that the use of these towns in these passages was symbolic of the national tragedies that would befall first the Northern Kingdom, then the Southern Kingdom.

Unlike the previous passage, the duality of the trumpets in Nehemiah gives some clear perspective on the use and rank of these instruments. First, there is an account of a *shofar*:

And each of the builders had his sword strapped at his side while he built. The man who sounded the trumpet [*shofar*] was beside me. And I said to the nobles and to the officials and to the rest of the people, “The work is great and widely spread, and we are separated on the wall, far from one another. In the place where you hear the sound of the trumpet [*shofar*], rally to us there. Our God will fight for us.” (Neh 4:18–20)

Then there are two accounts of *chatsoserot* being used in a dedicatory service:

Then I brought the leaders of Judah up onto the wall and appointed two great choirs that gave thanks. One went to the south on the wall to the Dung Gate. And after them went Hoshai and half of the leaders of Judah, and Azariah, Ezra, Meshullam, Judah, Benjamin, Shemaiah, and Jeremiah, and certain of the priests’ sons with trumpets [*chatsoserot*]: Zechariah, the son of Jonathan, son of Shemaiah, son of Mattaniah, son of Micaiah, son of Zaccur, son of Asaph; and his relatives,

Shemaiah, Azarel, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethanel, Judah, and Hanani, with the musical instruments of David, the man of God. And Ezra, the scribe, went before them. (Neh 12:31–36)

So both choirs of those who gave thanks stood in the house of God, and I and half of the officials with me;⁴¹ and the priests Eliakim, Maaseiah, Miniamin, Micaiah,

Elioenai, Zechariah, and Hananiah, with trumpets [*chatsoserot*]; ⁴² and Maaseiah, Shemaiah, Eleazar, Uzzi, Jehohanan, Malchijah, Elam, and Ezer. And the singers sang with Jezrahiah as their leader. ⁴³ And they offered great sacrifices that day and rejoiced, for God had made them rejoice with great joy; the women and children also rejoiced. And the joy of Jerusalem was heard far away. (Neh 12:40-43)

In the last two Nehemiah passages, the author describes the foundation ceremony and inaugural service of the Second Temple. The *chatsoserot* are used as the musical tool for ceremony. The players were mentioned by name, as was their lineage. The *shofar* passage (Neh 4:18-20) at the wall reconstruction was certainly less assuming. The player is described as “the man who sounded the *shofar*.” In the *shofaric* passage, there is no lineage, and no name is mentioned. Herein, the *shofar* was clearly described as a tool for communication, not for sacred ritual. The rebuilding of the wall is considered by most scholars to have occurred around 424 BC.⁷⁴ Regardless of the exact date, what seems irrefutable is that this occurred after the exile. Therefore, at least between the diaspora and the erection of the Second Temple, there does not seem to be any change in the roles of the *chatsoserot* and the *shofar*.⁷⁵ This fact is not a point of agreement among scholars,

⁷⁴ Theresa Plemmons Reiter, *Nelson's Complete Book of Bible Maps & Charts: Old and New Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1996), 154.

⁷⁵ One interesting extra-biblical text that mentions the *chatsoserot* is *Heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter und Pauker-Kunst: or The Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummer's Art* of 1794 of Johann Ernst Altenburg. In this work, the court trumpeters of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries reclaimed a sense of priestly distinctiveness, comparing themselves to Jewish priests. Their craft gave them a sense of near-ecclesiastical bearing in the thirteenth and final precept of field trumpeting: “No apprentice shall presume to associate with city pipers or horn players much less teach them the field pieces; nor [shall he] use his trumpet at the beer-bench or at other peasants' revels, but rather [reserve his art] for emperors, kings, princes, counts and sovereigns as well as [for] all distinguished military officials” (Altenburg, *Trumpeters and Kettledrummers*, 37). Furthermore, Altenburg states that the *chatsoserot* were kept in Moses's tent in the desert and were hung along the fifteen steps leading to the vestibule of the temple, further validating their sacred nature (5–6). This reference may have come a loose interpretation of Sukkah 51b, of the *Talmud*, that alludes to the “innumerable musical instruments [that] stood on the fifteen steps.”

as this dissertation will be spending the final part of this chapter and the first part of the next elucidating.

The Dominance of the *Chatsosera* through the Diaspora

With the tabernacle wares described in the first ten chapters of Numbers, the *chatsosera* seems to clearly be the sacred instrument prescribed to the Hebrews in the Mosaic period. They were present for both Davidic trips of the Ark of the Covenant in 1 Chronicles 13:8 and chapters 15–16, placing them firmly as a sacred instrument in the Davidic period. Furthermore, they were also part of the worship service of the dedication of Solomon’s Temple, played by one hundred twenty priests in 2 Chronicles 5. The instrument in this passage is implied by the word *hazar* in the 2 Chronicles 7:6 account of the 120 trumpets:

The priests stood at their posts; the Levites also, with the instruments for music to the LORD that King David had made for giving thanks to the LORD—for his steadfast love endures forever—whenever David offered praises by their ministry; opposite them, the priests sounded trumpets [*hazar*], and all Israel stood. (2 Chr 7:6)

Hazar, meaning “to call an assembly,” is a root form of *chatsoserot*. In addition, at the playing of these one-hundred twenty trumpets, all of Israel stood. This would have been presumably an act of obeisance, and more important to my thesis, a liturgical response from the people. This act of worship from the Hebrew nation certainly shows deference to these instruments in the Solomonic era.

Jewish historian Flavius Josephus’s critical account, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, contains several mentions of the silver trumpets. While passages in *Antiquities* were referenced in chapter 1, one particular passage offers even more in-depth insight for

asserting the prominence of the *chatsoserot* in the Old Testament. In this account,

Josephus describes the inventory of King Solomon's Temple:

The sacerdotal garments which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God] was only one and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles for every priest; and two hundred thousand trumpets [*chatsoserot*], according to the command of Moses; also, two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called *nablee* and *cindree* [psalteries and harps] which were made of electrum [the finest brass] forty thousand.⁷⁶

The amount of *chatsoserot*⁷⁷ here is listed at two-hundred thousand. This massive number of one instrument, made of silver, would be extravagant to mass produce. Thus, they must have been exceedingly important. Josephus also mentions that these trumpets were used in their "sacred ministrations."⁷⁸ While the number two-hundred thousand could be an overstatement, as Josephus was born too late to be an eye-witness, these writings are valuable in understanding the role of the *chatsosera* and its supreme importance in the Solomonic era.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Josephus, *Josephus*, 260.

⁷⁷ *Chatoserot* is assumed here, because Josephus points out that they were made "according to the command of Moses," implying the commands for silver trumpets found in Numbers 10.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *Josephus*, 116.

⁷⁹ While a contemporary of Josephus, the works of Philo are less specific. Philo, also known as Philo the Jew, or Philo of Alexandria, lived from around 20 BC to AD 50. His writings include references to the trumpet. However, Philo wrote exclusively in Greek; therefore, the word for trumpet used in English translation is *salpinx* as the term *shofar* is not used. Furthermore, most of his discussions of the sound of the trumpet either describe the Sinaitic narrative or the Feast of Trumpets (C. D. Yonge and David M. Scholer, *The Works of Philo*, updated ed. [Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991], Kindle).

However, Solomon's Temple would not stand forever. The Jews would be scattered in the Great Dispersion or the Diaspora. I argue that the *chatsovera* continued to be viewed as the sacred instrument of the Hebrews up to AD 70, marking the fall of Jerusalem and culminating in the immolation of Herod's Temple. As I intimated earlier, this argument is not shared by all. Musicologist Alfred Sendrey writes:

What has remained was solely a rather primitive instrument of religious import, easy to make from the horn of certain domestic animals, and which could be handled by anybody without much study. Furthermore, there remained in the subconscious of the Jews certain residues of ancient magic and sorcery, long connected with the use of the *shofar*, and which in the national tragedy were felt even more keenly. To this was added the messianic significance attributed in the *diaspora to the shofar*. Thus, it came about that from all the biblical instruments, the *shofar* alone has survived.⁸⁰ (Italics mine)

This proposed shift in the status of instruments in the period of the diaspora is not only a foregone conclusion of Sendrey but also more recently of Joachim Braun when he states on the lines of development of the *shofar* in the Old Testament:

The first involves the *shofar* as an instrument of communication during times of war, a function and line of development the exile, of course, brings to an abrupt end. The second involves the *shofar* as a cultic instrument, and this line continues event into the present.⁸¹

While these comments seem almost nonchalant in their references to the diaspora and this switch in importance between the instruments as an inevitable conclusion, I posit that their conclusions are lacking proof and most likely erroneous. Therefore, I will conclude this chapter with a refutation to this claim by hypothesizing that the *shofar* and

⁸⁰ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 364.

⁸¹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 29.

chatsosera were in a period of stasis for the seventy years between the diaspora and the return to Jerusalem. To do this, I will examine primary sources from near this era, as well as scholarly sources that give some further insight into the diaspora to at least render educated speculation on the use of the *chatsosera* as the primary instrument of cultic import. Furthermore, I assert that this pause was not permanent, nor was it detrimental to the apparent sacred nature of the *chatsosera* up through the Second Temple. I will affirm its continued dominance through biblical and extra-biblical Hebraic literature.

The diaspora of 588 BC had a profound effect on temple practice, as the temple was destroyed, and the Jews were dispersed from Jerusalem.⁸² After the dispersion, temple practices were on pause. Sacrifices were not observed, as there “was no place to sacrifice properly.”⁸³ In the synagogue setting, “sacrifice was unknown.”⁸⁴ Not only that, but the desire for celebratory music itself may have stalled, at least according to Psalm 137:

By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. On the willows there we hung up our lyres. For there our captors required of us songs, and our tormentors, mirth, saying, “Sing us one of the songs of Zion!” How shall we sing the LORD’s song in a foreign land?

If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its skill! (Psalm 137:1–5)

⁸² Daniel 1:1.

⁸³ Tracey Rich, “Qorbanot: Sacrifices and Offerings,” *Judaism 101*, accessed November 23, 2019, <http://www.jewfaq.org/qorbanot.htm>.

⁸⁴ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 131.

However, worship in the scattered Hebrew nation continued. The diaspora introduced the winds of change in Jewish worship. Israeli philosopher and biblical scholar Yehezkel Kaufmann stated, “The exile is the watershed. With the exile, the religion of Israel comes to an end, and Judaism begins.”⁸⁵ While the temple and the sacrifices were afar off, these displaced Jews had the opportunity to come together, have community, and study Torah law, by way of the synagogue.

The synagogue became the meeting and worship center for the expatriate Jews in the lands of their captors after the dispersion.⁸⁶ While most physical evidence of synagogues can only be traced to near the beginning of the Common Era,⁸⁷ many scholars agree that they began forming in the sixth-century BC, or even before.⁸⁸ According to Levine, there are only thirteen known ruins of synagogues from the era of the Great Dispersion.⁸⁹ Of these thirteen, the only evidence of “holy object” iconography is the *menorah* and the Torah Scrolls. These two icons corroborate with archeological research of diaspora burial sites by Stephen Fine and Leonard Rutgers as well.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Nic Young, “Nova,” *Secrets of Noah’s Ark* (PBS, October 7, 2015).

⁸⁶ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 2.

⁸⁷ Hershel Shanks, ed., *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2010), 218.

⁸⁸ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 22.

⁸⁹ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 250.

⁹⁰ Steven Fine and Leonard Victor Rutgers, “New Light on Judaism in Asia Minor during Late Antiquity: Two Recently Identified Inscribed Menorahs,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1996): 1–23.

Consequently, it would be difficult to draw any specific conclusions about the state of trumpets and instrumental music dependent on archeological data, as it is seemingly non-existent in the area of research in instrumental music. The synagogues can, however, give the researcher some circumstantial evidence as manifested in the worship practice of the day.

Upon their construction, synagogues were the center of “scriptural readings, communal prayers, [and] hymns.”⁹¹ However, they were under the watchful eye of an oppressive government.⁹² As their liturgies were services in hostile territory to varying degrees, the music was probably kept to a “subdued tone.”⁹³ Some Jewish leadership believed because of the sins of the “generation of dispersion,” there should be no religious duties as is written in a minor tractate of the *Talmud*:

An assembly convened in fulfillment of a religious duty was that of the men of the Great Assembly, and that not convened in fulfillment of a religious duty was the assembly of the generation of the dispersion. (Avot D’Rabbi Natan 40:17)⁹⁴

According to these writings the celebrations were muted, and the chances are good that no instrumentation was used at all. Morakeng Lebaka corroborates this hypothesis:

⁹¹ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 2.

⁹² The book of Daniel gives a well-rounded account of the Babylonian Captivity and the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, as does the book of Jeremiah.

⁹³ Sendrey, *Music of Ancient Israel*, 63.

⁹⁴ A talmudic commentary study of the “generations of dispersion” reveals that the Jewish teachers and leaders felt that the diaspora was judgment from God upon sinful Israel, and they liken them to the “generation of the flood” (Chigagah 12a:9, Kiddushin 12a:5, Sannhedrin 109a:4, Mishnah Sannhedrin 10:3, Taanit 27b:4, et al., <http://www.sefaria.org>).

It was in the synagogue, however, that music continued to flourish and serve as an emotional and didactic aid to the maintenance of Judaism: “The Levitical guilds were now gone, and instrumental music was forbidden in the synagogue, leaving vocal music to evolve in a new way.”⁹⁵

The Jewish historian Philo concurred with the emphasis on vocal music in his description of a worship service in the synagogue before Common Era, in the era of the Alexandrian Jewry.⁹⁶

When, therefore, the president appears to have spoken at sufficient length, and to have carried out his intentions adequately, so that his explanation has gone on felicitously and fluently through his own acuteness, and the hearing of the others has been profitable, applause arises from them all as of men rejoicing together at what they have seen and heard; and then someone rising up sings a hymn which has been made in honor of God, either such as he has composed himself, or some ancient one of some old poet, for they have left behind them many poems and songs in trimetre iambics, and in psalms of thanksgiving and in hymns, and songs at the time of libation, and at the altar, and in regular order, and in choruses, admirably measured out in various and well-diversified strophes. And after him then others also arise in their ranks, in becoming order, while everyone else listens in decent silence, except when it is proper for them to take up the burden of the song, and to join in at the end; for then they all, both men and women, join in the hymn.⁹⁷

While singing was still a worship option, having no temple, no sacrifices, a muted ceremony, and an oppressive government would more than likely eliminate not only the *chatsoserot* as a worship instrument but probably all musical instruments at that time.

⁹⁵ Morakeng, “Music, Singing, and Dancing,” 2.

⁹⁶ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 89.

⁹⁷ “On the Contemplative Life” (Yonge and Scholer, *The Works of Philo*, Kindle).

Indeed, as James McKinnon has concluded, without the practice of sacrifice in the synagogue, there was no purpose for instrumental music.⁹⁸

This atmosphere of non-instrumental celebration was not the case elsewhere in the land, however. During the time of the Babylonian Captivity, there is one ironic scene featuring the trumpet, but neither *chatsosera* nor *shofar*. The instrument featured biblically in this era was the *qeren*:

Therefore, as soon as all the peoples heard the sound of the horn [*qeren*], pipe [*mashroḳita*], lyre [*ḳathros*], trigon [*sabbeka*], harp [*pesanterin*], bagpipe [*sumponiah*], and every kind of music, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell down and worshiped the golden image that King Nebuchadnezzar had set up. (Dan 3:7)

As mentioned in chapter 3, all that can be discerned is that this horn was horn-shaped and made a horn-like sound. However, it probably was neither a *shofar* nor a *chatsosera*. It is likely a cow's horn or a clay trumpet.⁹⁹ This panoply of instrumentation in Daniel was clearly for pagan ritual. One might also speculate that the Jews in captivity at that time would have attempted to make sure their worship was observed as quiet and reserved in comparison. The words of Amos echo this sentiment:

Woe to those [Jewish worshipers] who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp and like David invent for themselves instruments of music, who drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph! Therefore, they shall now be the first of those who go into exile, and the revelry of those who stretch themselves out shall pass away.” (Amos 6:4-7)

⁹⁸ James W. McKinnon, “The Exclusion of Musical Instruments from the Ancient Synagogue,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979): 85.

⁹⁹ See *qeren* in chapter 3.

The evidence during the diaspora is simply bereft of physical or literal indication of trumpets: neither *shofar* nor *chatsosera*. The burden of proof in this case is upon those who would state the contrary, such as Sendrey and Braun, as nothing can be found currently to prove their case. While this status would eventually shift toward the *shofar* in the synagogue after the Herodian Temple period, it was the *chatsoserot* of the temple that once again showed supremacy moving forward to the construction of Zerubbabel's Temple in 516 BC.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

From this chapter, several conclusions are apparent. First, there are two main kinds of Hebrew trumpets mentioned in the Old Testament: the *shofar* and the *chatsosera*. Each is distinctly referenced in the Bible, with details on their individual properties, mission, and culture. Next, the *chatsoserot* are always associated with priests, performing exclusively priestly functions. Conversely, the *shofar* is not a priestly instrument in Scripture. Third, English translations of these instruments have sometimes been anachronous, misleading, or erroneous. Last, the prominence of the *shofar* in modern Judaism, as detailed in the previous chapter, is not so evident in ancient pre-Common Era Judaism, as some scholars have suggested. Moreover, the *shofar*'s advancement in status occurred outside the dictates of Scripture. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how the *shofar* rose to this significant role. I will start at the Second

¹⁰⁰ Reiter, *Nelson's Complete Book*, 278.

Temple period, where the *chatsosera* is still dominant, then observe its decline and obsolescence. I will also affirm that it has a successor, but the *shofar* is not that instrument.

CHAPTER 4

THE POSITIONS OF THE TRUMPETS IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD THROUGH THEIR SUBSEQUENT ROLE REVERSAL

In chapter 3, I examined the various types of trumpets in the Old Testament. I categorized them into two specific instrument types: *chatsoserot*, otherwise known as silver trumpets, and the *shofar*, also known as the ram's horn. Additionally, I explained in chapter 2 that the *shofar* has ascended to the status of the solitary sacred instrument of the Jewish people. That evidence, combined with the biblical texts cited in chapter 3, demonstrated the need for my thesis: the perceived sacred significance of the *shofar* does not derive directly from Scripture.

Because of this, one may question how and when the *shofar* took precedence. The purpose of this chapter is to answer that question as I will focus on the *chatsoserot*'s descent from supremacy to obsolescence as the sacred instrument of the Jewish people after the Common Era, and the subsequent rise of the *shofar* after AD 70. I will accomplish this task by first asserting the prominence of the *chatsoserot* in the life of the Jewish nation from the Second Temple period up to the fall of Jerusalem. Then, I will examine the rapid decline of the *chatsoserot* in AD 70–71 by chronicling the use of the *shofar* and the subsequent absence of the *chatsoserot*. This will be demonstrated in four events that occurred beginning in AD 71. The first event was the “enactments” of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai. Second, and somewhat after Zakkai, were the talmudic writings discussing the *chatsoserot*. Third, I will examine equivocations and outright denials of

silver trumpets past the Mosaic era in talmudic commentaries. The fourth proof is the agreement within the *Talmud* of the importance of the *shofar* to the exclusion of any other instrument.

To conclude this chapter, I will present the third of the three biblical trumpets: the *salpinx*, or the New Testament trumpet. In this presentation, I will assert that the *salpinx* is not *shofaric* as there is another Greek term for *shofar* that was not used in the New Testament but used in the LXX translation of the Old Testament. This will end with my speculation that the *salpinx* is the true heir apparent of the Old Testament *chatsoserot*.

This investigation will provide a clear timeline of the ascendancy of the *shofar*, beyond the time of the *Tanakh*'s inception, to strengthen my claim of this extra-biblical promotion of the ram's horn. This understanding is essential in considering the thesis of this dissertation: The *shofar* was not intended in Scripture as a cultic instrument beyond calling people to gather.

Second Temple Period

In the previous chapter, I asserted that the *chatsoserot* did not go away during the diaspora, but was suspended during that span of time. This hypothesis is in contradiction with notable musicologists Sendrey and Braun, who speculate that the switch occurred between the trumpets during the diaspora. While Braun concedes that the *chatsoserot* remained valid as a Second Temple instrument, his concession does not come without condition:

The *chatsosera* was clearly a cultic instrument and a symbol of the institutionalized, sacral-secular and autocratic power of the Second Temple, while

the *shofar* was from time immemorial associated with the magical and mystical phenomenon of theophany.¹

Braun seems to indicate a duality of these instruments in his recognition of the silver trumpets. Archeologist Filip Vukosavavic, however, does seem to imply the *shofar* assumed the status of a sacred instrument after the destruction of the Second Temple, and not before:

Thus following the destruction of the Second Temple we find the *shofar* depicted on items such as mosaics, wall paintings, glass plates, oil-lamps, and tombstones both in the land of Israel and beyond its borders.²

In agreement with the above, it is my argument that the *chatsoserot* were clearly and solely spiritually dominant in Hebrew life well into the Second Temple period through AD 70, as history and Scripture will suggest.

After Cyrus defeated the Babylonians, a partial return to Jerusalem was allowed around 539 BC, and Zerubbabel began work on the temple soon after.³ With the temple comes the priesthood, and with the priesthood comes the *chatsoserot*. This fact is confirmed in Ezra 6 which records the sacred use of the *chatsoserot* in the inaugural Second Temple ceremony:

And when the builders laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord, the priests in their vestments came forward with trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the Lord, according to the directions of David king of Israel. And they sang responsively, praising and giving thanks to the Lord. (Ezra 3:10–11)

¹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 16.

² Vukosavovic, *Witness*, 30.

³ Shanks, *Ancient Israel*, 220.

After this passage and the Nehemiah passages referenced in the previous chapter, the Old Testament admittedly falls silent about the use of the *chatsoserot*. The research is now dependent upon writings such as the *War Scrolls* found in the caves of Qumran, and several deuterocanonical passages that shed light on *chatsoserot* use in the Maccabean era.

Chatsoserot: Extra-biblical Ancient Writings

In the *War Scrolls of the Qumran* found as part of the Dead Sea Scrolls, dated somewhere between 150 BC to AD 70,⁴ one sees yet another point of spiritual distinctiveness in favor of *chatsoserot* over the *shofar*. In these following passages, priests play *chatsoserot*, and the more common Levites play *shofarot*. Writings from the *War Scroll* in a chapter titled, “The War of the Sons of Light against the Company of the Sons of Darkness,”⁵ describe a multitudinous use of trumpets for the priests and rules for their playing in battles and in a religious assembly. The third column of the *War Scroll* of the Dead Sea Scrolls, refers to two different *chatsoserot*: *the Trumpets of Summons* and *the Trumpets of Alarm*. The “summons” was for the congregation, chiefs, Levites, heads of family, and for camps. Each was separate call. The trumpets of alarms were for battle formations, advance, ambush, pursuit, withdrawal, and return home. There was even one for the “massacre” titled “The Mighty Hand of God in War Shall Cause All the Ungodly

⁴ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 15.

⁵ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 15.

Slain to Fall.”⁶ In column eight of the same scrolls, there are particular trumpet functions: “to direct the slingers into place,” “to summon footmen,” and “to sound the battle array signal.”⁷ After this, the writer gives incredibly specific descriptions of the responsibilities of the trumpeters. There are two groups of players: Priests [*chatsosera*] and Levites [*shofar*]. The following English translation from Vermès describes using *chatsosera* and *shofar* together in battle.

The Priests shall sound a second signal, soft and sustained, for them to advance until they are close to the enemy formation.

The Priests shall blow a shrill, staccato blast on the Six Trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of Massacre to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams’ horns shall sound a mighty alarm to terrify the heart of the enemy, and the javelins shall fly to bring down the slain. Then the sound of the horns [*shofarot*] shall cease, but the Priests shall continue to blow a shrill, staccato blast on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times against the enemy formation. And then they shall sound a soft, a sustained, and a shrill sound on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of withdrawal.⁸

Details of the epic battle continue into the ninth scroll, where the *chatsoserot* are once again present:

Their hands shall begin to bring down the slain, and all the people shall quiet the sound of alarm, but the priests shall continue sounding on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of the slain to direct the fighting, until the enemy is defeated and turns in retreat. The priests shall blow the alarm to direct the battle, and when they have been defeated before them, the priests shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of assembly, and all the infantry shall go out to them from the midst of the front battle lines and stand, six divisions in addition to the division which is engaged in battle: altogether, seven battle lines, twenty-eight thousand soldiers, and six

⁶ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 126–28.

⁷ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 134.

⁸ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 134.

thousand horsemen. All these shall pursue in order to destroy the enemy in God's battle; a total annihilation The priests shall blow for them the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of pursuit, and they shall divide themselves for a pursuit of annihilation against all the enemy.⁹

The tenth column references the Numbers passage by the chief priest:

“Hear O Israel; you are approaching the battle against your enemies today. Do not be afraid nor fainthearted. Do not tremble, nor be terrified because of them, for your God goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, and to save you.” Our officers shall speak to all those prepared for battle, those willing of heart, to strengthen them by the might of God, to turn back all who have who have lost heart, and to strengthen all the valiant warriors together. They shall recount that which You spoke by the hand of Moses, saying: “And when there is a war in your land against the adversary who attacks you, then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] that you might be remembered before your God and be saved from your enemies.”¹⁰

This description shows the power of these instruments in warfare and for evoking fear in the hearts of the enemy. As this eschatological battle continues into the sixteenth column of the *War Scroll*, the final battle is waged against Satan, and the featured instrument here is clearly the *chatsoserot*.

They shall carry out all this Rule [on] that [day] at the place where they stand opposite the camps of the Kittim. Then the priests shall blow for them the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of remembrance. The gates of war shall open, and the infantry shall go out and stand in columns between the battle lines. The priests shall blow for them a signal for the formation, and the columns shall deploy at the sound of the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] until each man has taken his station. Then the priests shall blow for them a second signal: signs for confrontation. When they stand near the battle line of the Kittim, within throwing range, each man shall raise his hand with his weapon of war. Then the six priests shall blow on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of the slain a sharp staccato note to direct the fighting. The Levites and all the people with rams' horns [*shofarot*] shall blow a battle signal, a loud noise. As the sound goes forth, the infantry shall begin to bring down the slain of the Kittim, and all the people shall cease the signal, but the priests shall

⁹ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 135.

¹⁰ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 136.

continue blowing on the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of the slain, and the battle shall prevail against the Kittim. When Satan prepares himself to assist the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the infantry begin to fall by God's mysteries and to test by these mysteries all those appointed for battle, the priests shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of assembly so that another battle line might go forth as a battle reserve, and they shall take up position between the battle lines. For those employed in battle, they shall blow a signal to return. Then the Chief Priest shall approach and stand before the battle line, and shall encourage their heart by [the wondrous might of God and] fortify their hands for His battle.¹¹

This account of the apocalyptic war is revealing as the writer not only depicts the two instruments used in battle, but they clearly have rank. The *shofarot* seem to be sporadic, providing a background of sound, whereas the *chatsoserot* are more communicative and constant. The silver trumpets also had specific duties as the reader is reminded of the Numbers 10 passage in the chief priest's address. Moreover, the *chatsoserot* are played before the final battle is waged against Satan.

Another source of proof of the sacred attributes assigned to the *chatsoserot* are deuterocanonical passages that describe the priestly use of the *chatsoserot* referenced in chapter 1 in the literature review of this dissertation. In these apocryphal accounts, 1 Maccabees gives the reader a liturgical understanding of these instruments during the Maccabean era, at around second century BC:¹²

And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down, and they tore their clothes, and made great lamentation, and put ashes upon their heads, and fell on their faces to the ground, and blew with the solemn trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and cried toward heaven. (1 Macc 4:38–41 WEB)

¹¹ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 144–45.

¹² This date is derived from two deuterocanonical passages: 1 Macc 1:1, 2 Macc 7:24.

Still describing the temple scene one chapter later: “And he went forth behind them in three companies, and they sounded with their trumpets [*chatsoserot*] and cried out in prayer” (1 Macc 5:33 WEB). Other passages in 1 Maccabees include a description of a Maccabean battle in chapter 5:

And they sounded with the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] and cried with a loud voice. And after this, Judas appointed leaders of the people, captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens. (1 Macc 5:54–55 LSV)

Similarly, the KJV Apocryphal translation refers to *chatsoserot* as “holy trumpets” (1 Macc 16:8). Additionally, in this time period, there is another intertestamental work that mentions the *chatsoserot* in high regard. The apocryphal book of Sirach, written 190–170 BC,¹³ refers to *chatsoserot* as well. In the following passage, there is little question as to what kind of instruments these are: “Then shouted the sons of Aaron, they sounded the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of beaten work; they made a great noise to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High” (Sir 50:16).¹⁴ The time frame of these passages, and the firm reference to the silver trumpets, clarify the prominence of these instruments. Perhaps one of the most telling passages in the Apocryphal books is the recount of the dedication of the Second Temple in 1 Esdras 5:

And the priests stood arrayed in their vestments with musical instruments and trumpets, [*salpinx*] and the Levites, the sons of Asaph with their cymbals, singing songs of thanksgiving, and praising the Lord, after the order of David king of Israel. And they sang aloud, praising the Lord in songs of thanksgiving because his goodness and his glory are forever in all Israel. And all the people sounded

¹³ *The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906*, s.v. “Sirach, The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of.”

¹⁴ In examining the World English Bible’s deuterocanonical contents, there are no passages that include the *shofar*.

trumpets [*salpinx*], and shouted with a loud voice, singing songs of thanksgiving to the Lord for the rearing up of the house of the Lord. Also of the Levitical priests, and of the heads of their families, the ancients who had seen the former house came to the building of this with lamentation and great weeping. But many with trumpets [*salpinx*] and joy shouted with loud voice, insomuch that the people heard not the trumpets [*salpinx*] for the weeping of the people: for the multitude sounded marvelously, so that it was heard afar off. For that reason, when the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it, they came to know what that noise of trumpets [*salpinx*] should mean. And they perceived that those who were of the captivity did build the temple to the Lord, the God of Israel. So they went to Zorobabel and Jesus, and to the chief men of the families, and said to them, we will build together with you. For we likewise, as you, do obey your Lord and do sacrifice to him from the days of Asbasareth, the king of the Assyrians, who brought us here. Then Zorobabel and Jesus and the chief men of the families of Israel said to them; It is not for you to build the house to the Lord our God. We ourselves alone will build to the Lord of Israel; according as Cyrus, the king of the Persians has commanded us. But the heathen of the land lying heavy upon the inhabitants of Judea, and holding them strait, hindered their building; and by their secret plots, and popular persuasions and commotions, they hindered the finishing of the building all the time that King Cyrus lived: so they were hindered from building for the space of two years until the reign of Darius. (1 Esd 5:59–73 LSV)

Since this passage is originally in Greek, the word for trumpets here is *salpinx*. However, the context reveals that this was a priestly function in this dedicatory service.

Some of the pseudepigrapha also have references to trumpets. Written towards the end of the first century BC, “in good Hebrew,” the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* is representative of writings from a group of priestly reformers, or “Sons of Zadok.”¹⁵ In this particular portion is a description of Levitical rules that should be met on sacrifice day subtitled “Levitical Laws as to Uncleanness”:

No man shall send to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense or wood through the hand of a man (that is) unclean through any of the uncleannesses allowing him to defile the altar, for it is written: “The sacrifice of

¹⁵ Robert Henry Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, reprint ed (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2018). 1939.

the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous are like an offering of delight.” And none of those who enter into the house of worship shall enter when he is unclean even though washed. And when the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of the congregation sound, it shall be [done] before or after, and they shall not put an end to the whole service: [the Sabbath] is holy. No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary to defile the city of the Sanctuary by their impurity. (14:1–4)

Another extra-biblical writing places the *chatsosera* on an elevated level. The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius is quite descriptive in his third installment of *Antiquities of the Jews*, which seems to be an almost direct parallel to Numbers 10 in its depiction:

Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet [*chatsosera*], which was made of silver. Its description is this: In length, it was a little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man’s mouth: it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets [*chatsoserot*]. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue Asosra [*chatsosera*]. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: At the first alarm of the trumpet [*chatsosera*], those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets [*chatsosera*] in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days; and now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover in the Wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.¹⁶

¹⁶ Josephus, *Josephus*, 116.

This high regard to the *chatsoserot* in the Mosaic tabernacle from Josephus is understandable as the *Antiquities* was written in AD 93–94, just twenty years after the fall of the temple.¹⁷

In chapter 1, I detailed the six sections of the *Talmud*. The *Mo'ed* (festivals) section that contains many writings on the *shofar* (specifically the *Roš Haššanah* chapter) also contains a tractate titled *Sukkah* which is quite illustrative of the function of the *chatsoserot*. *Sukkah* 5 gives a concise report of what Temple worship was like during the Feast of Tabernacles in the Second Temple period:

The cast-off breeches and belts of the priests were torn into shreds for wicks, which they lighted. There was not a court in Jerusalem that was not illuminated by the lights of the water-drawing. Pious and distinguished men danced before the people with lighted flambeaux in their hands and sang hymns and lauds before them; and the Levites accompanied them with harps, psalteries, cymbals, and numberless musical instruments. On the fifteen steps which led into the women's court, corresponding with the fifteen songs of degrees, stood the Levites, with their musical instruments, and sang. At the upper gate, which leads down from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women, stood two priests, with trumpets in their hands. When the cock first crowed, they blew a blast, a long note, and a blast.

This they repeated when they reached the tenth step, and again (the third time) when they got into the court. They went on, blowing their trumpets as they went until they reached the gate that leads out to the east. When they reached that gate, they turned westward, with their faces towards the temple, and said: Our ancestors, who were in this place, turned their backs on the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east; for they worshipped the sun towards the east, but we lift our eyes to God. R. Jehudah says: They repeated again and again: "We belong to God, and raise our eyes to God." (*Sukkah* 5)

¹⁷ Charlesworth and others, *Partings*, 88.

There are some interesting features in this passage. First, the silver trumpets played three blasts (“a blast, a long note, and a blast”). Next, these trumpets played on a specific schedule (“when the cock first crowed”). Finally, the silver trumpets were featured in Jerusalem at the site of the temple.

Sukkah 5 clearly demonstrates the dominance of the *chatsoserot* in the religious life of the Jews. However, there are some other exhibits of physical evidence of that era and beyond.

Chatsosera: Other Tangible Evidence

Beyond Zerubbabel into the Common Era, some other artifacts show considerable favor toward the silver trumpets as being an unparalleled sacred instrument of the Hebrew worshiper during the first century of the Common Era. I will now review two: The first is the frieze on the Arch of Titus in Rome, commemorating the victory of Rome, revealing the silver trumpets as part of the victor’s spoils. Second, I will present the Bar Kokhba coinage, which will be the last time the *chatsoserot* will figure so prominently as part of Jewish culture: sacred and political.

The Arch of Titus was erected in Rome in AD 80. Its frieze portrays, in relief, the procession after Titus’s destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The attack that took place mid-summer AD 70, in the month of *Ab*, vanquished the famine-stricken Jews. The celebration was a parade in AD 71, with the “enemy” leaders at the fore, Simon bar Giora and John of Gischala, followed by temple relics such as the golden *menorah*, golden

table, and the silver trumpets. The frieze commemorates this victor's parade.¹⁸ Celebrated American *Ba'al Tekiah*, Arthur Finkle is quoted as saying:

If we believe archeological findings, the frieze on the Arch of Titus in Rome depicts the captured *hatozerot* (trumpets) from the Jewish Second Temple being borne in triumph among the other sacred objects.¹⁹

In a recent Biblical Archeology Society article on the colorization of this frieze, one finds more archeologic confirmation of these trumpets:

They colored the background sky blue, the tunics off-white, the overgarments reddish-purple, the wreaths green, the laurel berries purple, the sacred vessels gold, the trumpets silver, and the leather and wood brown.²⁰

There are, however, some skeptics of the frieze being used as historical proof of the silver trumpets being part of the spoils of war in this particular portrayal. Perhaps the most vocal, as of late, is Joachim Braun, who believes that it is unlikely that this is proof of *chatsoserot* in this visage:

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether these trumpets faithfully reproduced two silver *chatsoserot* of the Jerusalem temple, or Roman artists merely depicted the *tuba sacrum* already familiar to them.²¹

Then, Braun refutes this graphic expression of the *chatsoserot* by an actual denial of the Elohim-Mosaic origin of the instrument:

¹⁸ Shanks, *Ancient Israel*, 317–18.

¹⁹ Yossi Belz, "Sounding the Shofar or the Trumpet," *AJudaica* (blog), accessed November 23, 2019, <https://judaica101.ajudaica.com/sounding-of-the-shofar-or-trumpet/>.

²⁰ Megan Sauter, "The Arch of Titus's Menorah Panel in Color," Daily Blog from Biblical Archeological Society, Bible History Daily, May 7, 2019, <https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/archaeology-today/cultural-heritage/true-colors-the-arch-of-titus/>.

²¹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 207.

The *chatsosera* was actually borrowed from Egyptian models as attested, especially in the bronze and copper trumpets from the tomb of Tutankhamen (1347–1338 BC).²²

Braun's assertion is intriguing; however, it calls for a rejection of the literal interpretation of Scripture, which states the *chatsoserot* were prescribed by God (Num 10:1–2). Plenty of secular academics, such as Sendrey and Sachs,²³ believe that the Arch of Titus frieze is truly a depiction of *chatsoserot*, as do Jewish scholars, such as Finkle, mentioned previously. The frieze portraying silver trumpets is also an inescapable conclusion according to foremost trumpet historian, Edward Tarr.²⁴ Without having further evidence to the contrary, and disagreeing with Braun's basic premise of biblical non-literality, I concur with the assessments of the majority of scholars that the instruments portrayed in the Arch of Titus are indeed *chatsoserot*.²⁵

A final artifact depicting the strength of the *chatsoserot* in the psyche of the Jewish people is the Bar Kohkba coin. The Bar Kohkba coinage is from the second Jewish revolt (AD 132–35). On the front of the coin is a relief of two different kinds of lyres. On the reverse side of the coin is stamped two *chatsoserot*.²⁶ The date of the coin is somewhat dubious as it is attributed to being manufactured during the Second Jewish

²² Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 15.

²³ Both musicologists were of Jewish parentage (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Curt Sachs"; Robert Strassburg, "Alfred Sendrey: In Memoriam," *Journal of Synagogue Music* 6, no. 4 [July 1976]: 16).

²⁴ Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 22.

²⁵ Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 113; Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 334.

²⁶ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 252.

revolt. At this time, one would consider the *shofar* to already be prominent. However, Braun speculates that this coin could be more about propagandizing the insurrection than reflecting the realities of the day: drawing the people to long for the glory days of old.²⁷ But not surprisingly, like his conclusion on the Arch of Titus, Braun does not believe that the horns on the coinage depict *chatsoserot*, but rather the *zumra* or oboes:

Organological analysis of these particular representations, however, militates against [them being *chatsoserot*]. The portrayals on all these coins clearly show that the slender part ends with a disk that can be interpreted only as the pirouette of an oboe-type double reed (*zumra*) instrument. Similarly, the pipe, the bell, and spherical expansion beneath the pirouette are all characteristic of such reed instruments.²⁸

Braun's argument seems to have somewhat more strength than his claim about the Arch of Titus rendering. The "spherical expansion" that Braun speaks of would be known on a natural trumpet as a *pommel* and is evident as far back as the twelfth century. While it may go back further in history, the trumpet's *pommel* had a very specific purpose: to hide the weld line going from the cylindrical tube to the more conical bell.²⁹ The *chatsosera*, according to Scripture, was a piece of hammered work and would have had no welds if one presumed that it was to be pounded from a single block of silver. Therefore, it does make one wonder why these *pommels* were there if they were indeed *chatsoserot* except that it simply may be a use of the artistic license on behalf of the chief engraver.

²⁷ Braun, *Music of Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 252.

²⁸ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 291–92.

²⁹ Robert Barclay, *The Art of the Trumpet-Maker: The Materials, Tools, and Techniques of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Nuremberg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11.

However, in my opinion, these instruments are indeed *chatsoserot* and not *zumra*. I state this assertion since Braun seems to be at best ambivalent in deciding whether these are indeed *chatsoserot* or *zumra*. More importantly, if one believes that the *chatsoserot* were, as Braun said, “a symbol of the institutionalized, sacral-secular and autocratic power of the Second Temple,”³⁰ it would make sense that they would be the natural musical representative of the power of the state, as opposed to the *zumra*, which is an instrument obscurely mentioned in the *Tanakh*.³¹

As I have now attempted to establish, the *chatsoserot* remained prominent in the religion of Israel to the beginning of the Common Era, and just beyond. However, that changed when Rome invaded Jerusalem in AD 70, bringing about more than a change of power; the fall created a paradigm shift in the worship of the Hebrews that has stood firm for over twenty centuries, moving the locus of the sacred from the temple to the synagogue.

After the Fall of Jerusalem: AD 70

In AD 70, this splendid structure [the Temple] that had taken 46 years to build (John 2:20) was destroyed by the Romans. The only vestiges of the compound to survive the destruction were four retaining walls that supported the temple platform; the best known today is the Western Wall.³²

³⁰ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 16.

³¹ The term *zumra* or *zumr* has a double meaning: it can mean either an oboe or a psalm. This is why when it is used in Psalm 81:2 it is sometimes translated “raise a song (*zumrah*): sound the tambourine.” It might also easily be translated, “Lift up an oboe, strike a tambourine” (Wulstan, “Sounding of the Shofar,” 43).

³² Leen Ritmeyer, “The Temple Mount in the Herodian Period (37 BC–70 A.D.),” Daily Blog from Biblical Archeological Society, *Bible History Daily* (blog), August 3, 2018,

As generally if not definitely established, the synagogue had already been in existence since the exile. However, after the fall of the Herodian temple, the shift toward the synagogue as the Jewish central worship space was irrevocable. With this shift comes the ascension of the *shofar*. Finkle sums this up well in noting other archeological findings:

Further, we see the symbol of the *shofar* as a symbol of Judaism in the archeological record (Capernaum synagogue of the 1st century CE; Ephesus of the second-third centuries; Rome, second to fifth centuries, etc.) as well as the early centuries of the Common Era.³³

In his book *Musical Instruments of the Bible* researcher and *Ba'al Tekiah* Jeremy

Montagu also corroborates my thesis on the time of ascension:

The *shofar* was the one ritual instrument to survive the destruction of the temple by the Romans in AD 70. This was partly because it was also a secular signal instrument, and not specifically a priestly one, and partly because it still had a part to play in the ritual life of the synagogue.³⁴

The only issue with this statement lies at the heart of the thesis of this dissertation: before AD 70, the *shofar* was not proven to be a ritual instrument, as pointed out earlier in chapter 3 in the argument toward the stasis of *shofar* and *chatsoserot* during the diaspora. In the thirteen diasporic synagogue ruins, as shown in chapter 3, there are no signs of the *shofar* in tiled mosaics, reliefs, and carvings. This would all change in the synagogues after AD 70, as I will now illustrate.

<https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/biblical-sites-places/temple-at-jerusalem/the-temple-mount-in-the-herodian-period/>.

³³ Finkle, *Shofar: History, Technique and Jewish Law*, 17.

³⁴ Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 24.

Investigating the ancient synagogue in his book of the same name, Lee Levine reveals that the *shofar* became an icon as archeologically indicated by the synagogue in Hammat Tiberius in the second century. In this multi-tiled representation, the *shofar* is coupled with another Jewish archetype, the *menorah*, in a floor mosaic.³⁵ Another synagogue example of the *shofar* is found in the Bet Shean, Israel synagogue remains of the fourth to the fifth century. Levine states that in this mosaic depiction “two *menorahs* flank the ark, while a symmetrical display of a *shofar* and an incense shovel is found alongside the *menorah*.”³⁶ These relics are a sample of a transfer of prominence to the *shofar*, presumably born in the absence of the *chatsoserot*. Furthermore, the ruins referred to earlier in this chapter from the diaspora synagogues and burial finds by Levine, Fine, and Rutgers revealed only the *menorah* and Torah scrolls as Jewish sacred archetypes. Inversely, these newer finds showed the *shofar* as part of the essential cultic relics.

Not only do the archeological finds of this era reveal a change in the *instrumenta*, but other written artifacts reflect this change in status. In this next section, I will demonstrate four rabbinic movements that promoted the *shofar* from utility to the sublime. First, I will examine the *taqqunot* or “enactments” of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai. His influence towards the *shofar* cannot be overestimated. Following that, I will feature talmudic writings that discussed the *chatsoserot* in the context of the *shofaric* narrative.

³⁵ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 5.

³⁶ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 216.

Thirdly, I will examine equivocations and outright denials of silver trumpets past the Mosaic era in rabbinical writings. The fourth proof is the agreement within the *Talmud* of the importance of the *shofar* to the exclusion of any other instrument.

The Taqqunot of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai

R. Yohanan ben Zakkai, otherwise known as *Zakkai Rabbah* (Zakkai the Great), was a scholar and influencer in post-temple Judaism.³⁷ There are “clear and consistent” testimonies that prove Zakkai composed a series of *taqqunots* (ordinances) that altered Jewish cultic practices to post-temple, post-sacrificial liturgies.³⁸ Part of this process was the shift from *chatsosera* to *shofar* as the instrument used for sacred events, such as *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. This first took place, under the guidance of Zakkai, at the court in Yavneh.³⁹ Levine confirms these edicts in his synagogue research:

The rabbinic desire that the synagogue evolves into a substantially different institution following the destruction of the temple is reflected in a series of *taqqanot* (enactments) and comments that sought to enhance its religious and liturgical dimension—immediately following the events of 70 CE, R. Yohanan b. Zakkai issued a series of *taqqanot* aimed at transferring a number of temple practices to this new setting. While some of these enactments were directed more toward the Jewish courts, and although the synagogue is never specifically mentioned, it is the latter institution that was undoubtedly the primary beneficiary. Blowing the *shofar* on *Rosh Hashanah* and using the *lulav* and *ethrog* during the seven-day *Sukkot* festival.⁴⁰

³⁷ *The Jewish Dictionary: 1906*, s.v. “Zakkai.”

³⁸ *Dictionary Early Judaism*, s.v. “Zakkai.”

³⁹ *Dictionary Early Judaism*, s.v. “Yavneh.”

⁴⁰ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 199.

According to the Jewish historian Solomon Zeitlin this *taqqunot* took place in AD 71.⁴¹ Zeitlin's revelation means that theoretically *Rosh Hashanah* may have been celebrated in the courts of *Javneh* as early as a year after the Roman conquest, only fourteen months after the fall of the temple.⁴² If so, this first-century action shows a strong predilection toward the *shofar* as the instrument of choice in worship. Also, in a second-century account, there is another instance of the instrument being used religiously. The following report describes a near-extemporaneous liturgy:

It once happened in the days of R. Halafta and R. Hanania b. Teradion⁴³ that someone led services and completed the entire benediction and no one responded "Amen" [The *hazzan* called out:] "Blow [the *shofar*], priests blow." [He recited:] "He who answered our father Abraham on Mt. Moriah, He will answer you and will listen to the voice of your cries this day." [the *hazzan* then said:] Blow, sons of Aaron, blow!"⁴⁴

In the above passage, the priests are instructed to use the *shofar* to invoke the presence of the Lord within the context of a primal liturgy. The *chatsoserot* were, of course, nowhere to be found in the afore-mentioned setting as Herod's Temple had been gone for some time, and with it, the silver trumpets.

⁴¹ Zeitlin, "Takkunot," 289.

⁴² Fourteen months was calculated by using the Hebrew calendar. The temple fell in *Ab*, 70 and the above account claims that *Rosh Hashanah* was celebrated in *Javneh* with the *shofar* in *Tishri*, 71, a span of fourteen months.

⁴³ "The days of R. Halafta and R. Hanania b. Teradion" were in the second century of the Common Era (*Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906*, s.v. Halafta.)

⁴⁴ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 205.

Chatsoserot in a Shofaric Context: A Talmudic Discourse

If, according to Kaufmann (as quoted earlier in this chapter), the religion of Israel has changed to modern Judaism, then religious dialogue must have occurred to allow the evolution of Judaism beyond the scope of the Torah. Therefore, it seems that the *Talmud* is where an evolutionary dialogue on sacred matters took place. In his dissertation on the tradition of the *Talmud*, Moulie Vidas supports this concept of an ever-changing conversation that is the *Talmud*:

The *Talmud* contrasts its own voice with that of tradition, employs a variety of techniques to distance itself from the sources it cites, underlines the arbitrary nature of its own commitment to its traditions, and marginalizes the role of tradition in its vision of Jewish culture and in its ideal model of the Jewish sage. While the cited sources remain authoritative and binding, their claim to enduring validity is significantly undermined, and they are estranged from the Talmud's audience.⁴⁵

To corroborate, the compiler of *The Essential Talmud*, Adin Steinsaltz, stated of the name *Talmud*:

The *Talmud* is best understood through analysis of the basic objectives of its authors and compilers. What were they aiming at, those thousands of sages who spent their lives in debate and discussion in hundreds of large and small centers of learning? The key is found in the name of the work: *Talmud* (that is, study learning). The *Talmud* is the embodiment of the great concept of *mitzvat talmud Torah*—the positive religious duty of studying Torah, of acquiring learning and wisdom, study which is its own end and reward.⁴⁶

In this section, I will examine some of the opinions on the silver trumpets as most of the earliest religious Hebrew writings, post AD 70, are talmudic. The following six passages

⁴⁵ Moulie Vidas, "Tradition and the Formation of the Talmud" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009), 3.

⁴⁶ Steinsaltz, *Essential Talmud*, 4.

from talmudic writings express divergent opinions on the cultic states of both the *shofar* and *chatsoserot*. Following this talmudic discourse, one finds a growing high opinion of the *shofar* and a deteriorating attitude toward the silver trumpets.

The first passage I present for examination is found in the *Roš Haššanah* tractate. This description reflects playing of the instruments side-by-side, perhaps during the Second Temple period.

The *shofar* used on *Rosh Hashanah* was that of an ibex, straight, and its mouth was overlaid with gold. There were two trumpets [*chatsoserot*], one on each side of it. The *shofar* gave a long blast and the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] a short one since the commandment of the day was with the *shofar*. (Roš Haššanah 3:3)

The above passage describes either a time when *chatsoserot* existed, or perhaps these were ceremonial and not the true temple trumpets. To provide proper context, I now provide two biblical passages below that most *shofaric* adherents use to support the *shofar* strongly in the ceremony of *Rosh Hashanah*, or consider the silver trumpets a mere after-thought in the celebration: Psalm 81:3 and Psalm 98:6.

Sing aloud to God our strength; shout for joy to the God of Jacob! Raise a song [or oboe]⁴⁷; sound the tambourine, the sweet lyre with the harp. Blow the trumpet [*shofar*] at the new moon, at the full moon, on our feast day. (Psalm 81:1-3)

Make a joyful noise to the LORD, all the earth; break forth into joyous song and sing praises! Sing praises to the LORD with the lyre, with the lyre and the sound of melody! With trumpets [*chatsoserot*] and the sound of the horn [*shofar*], make a joyful noise before the King, the LORD! (Psalm 98:4-6)

I listed both of these references with their preceding verses to provide perspective. In both passages, there are references not only to *shofar* and *chatsoserot* but to other

⁴⁷ See footnote 31 in this chapter.

instruments as well. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a designation for who would play the *shofar* in these occasions: not a *Ba'al Tekiah*, nor a Levite, and certainly not only a priest. In other words, these passages seem more to describe a chamber orchestra than simply featuring one particular instrument.

Interestingly, when the *Roš Haššana* 3:3 passage is compared with the enactments of Zakkai of AD 71, his *taqqunots* are missing any mention of the *chatsoserot*, or any other instrument for that matter. While this talmudic passage is admittedly vague on a quick and clear demise of silver trumpets, Zakkai's explicit instruction does not seem to mention any temple relics in religious service, *chatsoserot* or otherwise. Furthermore, what is notable about this talmudic passage is that *Rosh Hashanah* (*Yom Teruah*) here is given the term "day of the *shofar*." Therefore, this passage does not conflict with the overall thesis of this dissertation but supports it as the *shofar* takes precedence by talmudic edict and not by biblical mandate as nowhere in the *Tanakh* is *Yom Teruah* known as the "day of the *shofar*." This *Roš Haššana* passage also does not mention any other instruments to be used beyond *shofarot*, which through omission, contradicts the *Tanakh*.

The next example is perhaps the most confusing and contradictory set of *chatsoserot* passages in the *Talmud*: the book of *Sukkah*. *Sukkah* seems to shed authoritative light on the controversy that accompanies the switch from *chatsoserot* to *shofarot* in this discourse:

In addition, that which was called trumpet [*chatsosera*] was called *shofar* in later generations, and that which was called *shofar* was called trumpet [*chatsosera*] in later generations. The Gemara asks: What is the practical halakhic difference whether a *shofar* is called *shofar* or trumpet [*chatsosera*]? The Gemara answers:

It is significant with regard to the *halakhot*⁴⁸ of *shofar* of *Rosh Hashanah* . . . On *Rosh Hashanah*, one fulfills his obligation only by sounding a *shofar*. If one comes today and asks what instrument he should use to sound the requisite blasts, he should be told to use a trumpet [*chatsosera*]. (Sukkah 34a)

While somewhat supportive of continued use of the *chatsoserot*, the *Sukkah* 34 passage states *Rosh Hashanah* is indeed the “day of the *shofar*,” according to the *Talmud*. The book of *Sukkah* has the most mentions of *chatsoserot* in all the *Talmud* and seems, at least in this passage, to support the playing of this instrument when “requisite” even in post-temple Jerusalem.⁴⁹ However, the act of doing so would carry its own set of problems: first procurement of the instruments, then in designating a place for their playing.⁵⁰ Therefore, while these passages were seemingly biased toward the use of the *shofar*, the use of silver trumpets was at least acknowledged.

Nonetheless, later Hebrew writings inextricably connected the *chatsoserot* with the tabernacle. The tabernacle no longer existed, and according to the later writings, neither should the *chatsoserot*. This nexus of the trumpet to the tabernacle is shown in a debate over the phrase “make for yourself” in the Numbers 10:1 as the next discourse passage indissolubly links the *chatsoserot* to the tabernacle in the *Tanchuma*

⁴⁸ “When it is said in the *Talmud* that a *halakah* is according to this or that rabbi, it is meant that the opinion of the rabbi referred to, though in opposition to other opinions, is decisive for the practice” (*Jewish Encyclopedia:1906*, s.v. “halakah.”)

⁴⁹ Most of the mentions of “trumpets” in this tractate refer to the temple ceremonies of *Sukkot* (Feast of Tabernacles/Booths) and are found in *Sukkah* 51:b:1, 51:b:2, 51b:3, 51a:12, 51a:13, 51a:14, 53b:3, 55a:2, 55a:3, 54:a4, 54a:5, 54a:6, and 54b:8.

⁵⁰ See the section on “The Dominance of the *Chatsoserot* through the Diaspora” in the previous chapter to see a list of complications in the use of *chatsoserot* in a diasporic society.

Beha'alotcha, written between 500 and 800. Moreover, given the absence of *chatsoserot* and the temple, this writer also argues that the *shofarot* can fulfill any functions of the *chatsoserot*, giving Joshua's battle at Jericho as an example:

"Make for yourself." For yourself, you shall make [them] and not for others. You are to use them, and no one else is to use them. You yourself know that in the case of his disciple Joshua, he did not use those [*chatsoserot*] but horns [*shofars*]. When they came to fight against Jericho, there gathered in Jericho seven peoples. It is so stated, "When you crossed the Jordan and came unto Jericho, the citizens of Jericho, the Amorites, the Perizzites, [the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Gergashites,] the Hivites, and the Jebusites fought against you." Did seven peoples make up the citizens of Jericho, in that it says [here], "the citizens of Jericho: the Amorites." R. Samuel bar Nahmani said, "Jericho was the door bolt [for unlocking] the land of Israel. They said, 'If Jericho is conquered, the whole land will be conquered immediately.' For that reason, seven peoples gathered within it." What is written "So the people shouted when [the priests] blew on the horns [*shofarot*]." [This] teaches that even though Joshua was [Moses'] disciple, he did not use them [*chatsoserot*].

Later in this same passage, the author claims that the silver trumpets were hidden during the life of Moses and were also concealed in the Davidic period. Of interest in the following passages is the phrase "make for yourself."⁵¹

Moreover, you should not say [this only] about Joshua but even [about] our master Moses, [in that the trumpets] were hidden while he was [still] alive. R. Isaac said, "Note that when Moses was going to depart this world, he said, 'Gather unto me all the elders of your tribes [and your officials].' But where were the trumpets [*chatsoserot*]? After all, he did not say, 'Blow on them for [those people] to gather.' It is simply that [it was already] while he was [still] alive that they were hidden." R. Joshua of Sikhnin said in the name of R. Levi, "It was to fulfill what was said, 'nor is there control on the day of death.'" Ergo, "Make for yourself." Make it for yourself, but you shall not use them all the days of your life. Another interpretation, "Make for yourself." You are to use them because

⁵¹ An interesting connection to the tabernacle was made much later in a twelfth-century commentary concerning the passage: "Make for yourself two silver trumpets," (Num. 10:2). Since the work does not really belong to them, the writer posits that it should have said something like what it says about the tabernacle: "Make for the tabernacle" (Exod. 26:1) (Moses ben Nahman [Ramban], "Ramban on Genesis 12:1," <http://www.sefaria.org>).

you are a king, but another is not to use them except King David, as stated, “And the Levites stood... the song was sung, and the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] were blown.” Our masters have said, “The trumpets [*chatsoserot*] that were in the sanctuary were also hidden, but King David used the harp, as stated, ‘Awake, my glory; awake, O lyre and harp.’” R. Shimon Hassida said, “A harp was hanging above David’s bed.”⁵² (*Midrash Tanchuma Beha’alotcha*, Siman 10)⁵³

In the preceding passage, the *chatsoserot* are spoken of being part of a previous generation and hidden most of the time. However, biblical scrutiny finds this marginalization highly problematic. First, the existence and conspicuous nature of the *chatsoserot* are seen in the Mosaic passages discussing their use in Numbers 31 with Phineas:

And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand from each tribe, together with Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the priest, with the vessels of the sanctuary and the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] for the alarm in his hand. (Numbers 31:6)

Secondly, centuries later, the *chatsoserot* sound in the failed retrieval of the ark in 1 Chronicles 13: “And David and all Israel were celebrating before God with all their might, with song and lyres and harps and tambourines and cymbals and trumpets [*chatsoserot*]” (1 Chronicles 13:8). Also proof of the *chatsoserot* beyond the Mosaic era is found in the successful retrieval of the ark:

David was clothed with a robe of fine linen, as also were all the Levites who were carrying the ark, and the singers and Chenaniah, the leader of the music of the

⁵² While according to Rabbi Kahane, “it has been the custom of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem to sound the *shofar* rather than trumpets (*chatsoserot*) on fast days and in times of trouble.” It was reported that “in light of the serious threat of war which existed at that time the Bet Din of Jerusalem decreed that trumpets (*chatsoserot*) be sounded and accordingly, on 12 Iyar, 5730 (September 12, 1969 which was *Erev Rosh Hashanah*, <http://www.hebcal.com>), *kohanim* (priests) sounded trumpets of hammered silver before the Western Wall” (J. David Bleich, “Contemporary Halakhic Problems: Vol 1, No. 1: Miscellaneous Questions, Chapter IX: Rabbi Kahane” [Commentary, New York, 1977], <http://www.sefaria.org>).

⁵³ “Midrash Tanchuma Beha'alotcha, Siman 10,” <http://www.sefaria.org>.

singers. And David wore a linen ephod. So all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the LORD with shouting, to the sound of the horn [*shofar*], trumpets [*chatsoserot*], and cymbals, and made loud music on harps and lyres. (1 Chronicles 15:27–28)

Beyond their Davidic use, the *chatsoserot* were plainly evident by their well-described use in Ezra and Nehemiah, which seems to finally nullify the *Tanchuma Beha'alotcha* argument of no *chatsoserot* after King David.

As the talmudic discussion continues, equivocation turns to straightforwardness toward the use of the *shofar* exclusively as found in this argument about “fitment” for future generations, making the *chatsoserot* the exception of all the temple relics in the *Talmud* in the Menaḥot 28b:

The Gemara asks: What is the reason that the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] were unfit for future generations? If we say that it is because the verse states: “Make for you two silver trumpets [*chatsoserot*]” (Numbers 10:2), meaning that they are fit for you, but not for future generations, that is difficult; if that is so, then the verse: “Make for you an Ark of wood” (Deuteronomy 10:1), should also teach that the Ark is fit only for you, but not for future generations. This cannot be the *halakha*, as the baraita stated explicitly that all vessels, other than the trumpets that were fashioned by Moses, were fit for future generations.

Herein, the silver trumpets are singled out as not “fit for future generations,” unlike the other temple relics. It is unclear if the writer’s theory stems from an issue of interpretive syntax, making for a fairly weak argument, or that it is indeed singled out of the rest of the *instrumenta*. However, it does seem to attempt to marginalize the *chatsoserot*.

However, one anti-*chatsoserot* argument stands out above the rest: an outright denial of the existence of the silver trumpets after Moses.

God told Moses to make for himself two silver trumpets [*chatsoserot*] that were to be blown at the time the Israelites would be assembled.

The words “make for yourself,” mean that they will be yours exclusively; you will make them, and no one else is to use them. Even Moses’ successor and foremost disciple, Joshua, never used the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] to blow in but only ram’s horns, such as when he was about to capture the city of Jericho. In fact, we have reason to believe that Moses hid these trumpets [*chatsoserot*] already during his lifetime, as we read in Deut 31:28 that Moses commanded the Levites to assemble the people to him so he could address them. If the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] had been available at the time, why did he not sound the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] to assemble the people? Obviously, they had already been hidden in order to fulfill the statement that there is no authority exercised by a ruler on the day he dies. (Bamidbar 10:2)⁵⁴

Echoing the writing earlier in this section in the *Tanchuma Beha'alotcha*, the writer in the *Bamidbar* passage also points out the deathbed request by Moses, sans trumpets.

However, it goes further, stating that they were not merely hidden, but non-existent at the time of Moses’s death. Again, the defense against this talmudic commentary is the *chatsoserot*’s clear documented existence through the Second Temple period in Ezra, Nehemiah, and even *Sukkah* passages describing *Sukkot* as detailed in the previous chapter of this dissertation.

The final discourse presented here completely assigns the sacerdotal work of the *chatsoserot* irrevocably⁵⁵ to the *shofar*, as one derives from the Soṭah 43a:

And Moses sent them, a thousand of every tribe, to the war, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the priest, to the war, with the holy vessels and the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] for the alarm in his hand” (Numbers 31:6). The verse is interpreted as follows: “Them”; these are the Sanhedrin. “Phinehas”; he was the priest anointed for war. “And the holy vessels”; this is the Ark and the tablets that were within it. “And the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] for the alarm”; these are the *shofarot*.

⁵⁴ “Bamidbar 10:2,” <http://www.sefaria.org>.

⁵⁵ That is until the final temple period, when it is assumed that sacrifices will once again be offered.

The above passages express a dialogic desire to move all responsibilities, previously belonging to the *chatsoserot* to the *shofar*.

To review, the first statement placed the *shofar* in the middle of the *Rosh Hashanah* ceremony flanked by silver trumpets. The second talmudic statement expressed concern and questioned the need for both instruments. The third through fifth statements queried the continued “fitment” of the silver trumpets and contemplated their very existence after Moses. Then, the final statement attempted to secure the *shofar* into place by essentially endeavoring to revise history, changing the instrument in Numbers 31 from the *chatsoserot* to *shofarot*. These talmudic discussions seemed to formally close the curtains on the use of the *chatsoserot*. Furthermore, they paved the way for the *shofar* to be the sacred instrument of the people. All of the above examples further demonstrate my thesis that the *shofar*’s cultic significance was a talmudic, and not biblical, promotion.

Salpinx

Meanwhile, during the early dictates of a rabbinical post-*Tanakh* Judaism, the letters of Paul, Peter, John, and narratives of the Gospel were beginning to take hold in the early Christian church. In the epistles, a different trumpet sounded a clarion call, the *salpinx*. This instrument occurs either in its noun form *salpinx*, or verb form *salpizo*, only twenty-three times. However, it is worthy to note what this instrument is (*salpizo*), and what it is not (*keratinē*⁵⁶ or ram’s horn). In this section, I will describe the Greek

⁵⁶ κερατίνης in the Septuagint.

trumpeting instrument by its etymology, construction, and scriptural references. After that, to conclude this chapter, I will postulate that this instrument is the true progeny of the *chatsoserot*.

Salpinx is a Greek noun that refers very plainly to a trumpet made of bronze, ivory, or other materials.⁵⁷ *Salpizo* is the verb form of *salpinx* and describes the sound made by a *salpinx*.⁵⁸ The *salpinx* manifested itself in at least six different physical shapes;⁵⁹ however, what is probably the point of reference for the New Testament writers, was the “long tube” or the *tuba*.

Salpinx: Etymology and Construction

The anachronistic *tuba* reference found in the early English translations of the Septuagint has nothing to do with the modern English definition; instead, it is a straight tube about four feet long. It has a mouthpiece and a flared bell at the opposite end.⁶⁰ While it is longer, there is little doubt that its shape and form is very much like a *chatsosera*. According to two Gaul specimens on display at the Vatican’s Museo Etrusco,

⁵⁷ Mathiesen, *Apollo’s Lyre*, 232.

⁵⁸ *Salpinx* and *salpizo* comprise all twenty-three occurrences of the word “trumpet” in the New Testament (Matt 6:2, 24:31, 1 Cor 14:8, 15:52 [2x], 1 Thess 4:16, Heb 12:19, Rev 1:10, 4:1, 8:2, 6 [2x], 7, 8, 10, 12, 13 [2x], 9:1, 13, 14, 10:7, 11:15).

⁵⁹ Turrentine, “A Translation of the Trumpet,” 14.

⁶⁰ Mathiesen, *Apollo’s Lyre*, 232.

the *salpinx* of the New Testament period is approximately 1.20 meters in length⁶¹ and may weigh from two pounds up to a bronze sample weighing over thirteen pounds.⁶²

The Greeks heard the trumpet in at least four places; their use was for military (*salpingtis*), ceremonial (*keryx*), entertainment, and athletic (*komastes*) purposes.⁶³ So principal was the trumpet in daily Greek life that the playing of the *salpinx* was a contest at the Olympic Games of the times. In this event, the contestant, or the *salpingtis*, was judged on the length and strength of the notes played. The best-known player of the day was a *salpingtis* named Achias. Achias won Olympic contests three times, starting in 396 BC.⁶⁴ Therefore, Greek society was well aware of the look and the sound of the *salpinx* in the time of New Testament authorship.

Salpinx: Scriptural References

In the New Testament use of the term *salpinx*, the symbolic essence of the trumpet has changed from the Old Testament. The context of Scripture reveals that instead of the need for communication, to call people to worship, or as a priestly rite, the New Testament trumpet is cited mostly in dealing with prophecy or of the eschaton. The

⁶¹ This measurement is roughly three times the length of the *chatsosera*.

⁶² Nikos Xanthoulis, "The Salpinx in Greek Antiquity." *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 30, no. 1 (2006): 39.

⁶³ Xanthoulis, "The Salpinx," 39.

⁶⁴ Xanthoulis, "The Salpinx," 40.

salpinx is used in three different sections of New Testament Scripture: the book of Matthew, various epistles, and in the book of Revelation.

In the Gospels, the *salpinx* is only mentioned in Matthew. Jesus uses it metaphorically to teach about boasting in benevolent work (Matt 6:2) and about the day of the Lord (Matt 24:31). Outside these, when *salpinx* is mentioned or played, it is a symbol of prophecy or of the eschaton (Matt 24:31, 1 Cor 15:52, 1 Thess 4:16, Heb 12:19), with a single exception as using it as a metaphor for unclear instruction via glossolalia (1 Cor 14:8).

The rest of the references of *salpinx* in the New Testament are concentrated in the first eleven chapters of the Book of Revelation. The first two references are used as a description of Jesus's voice (1:10, 4:1). Following that, these instruments herald seven tragic and ever-intensifying judgments of God. After an introductory statement of the seven angels and trumpets in Revelation 8:6, the first of the seven announcements from the *salpinx* is found in Revelation 8:7:

The first angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and there followed hail and fire, mixed with blood, and these were thrown upon the earth. And a third of the earth was burned up, and a third of the trees were burned up, and all green grass was burned up.

Blood is the common theme as John continues to write of the second announcement:

“The second angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and something like a great mountain, burning with fire, was thrown into the sea, and a third of the sea became blood” (Rev 8:8). The third and fourth announcements were more celestial in nature as the third describes the falling star, Wormwood. The fourth event is the dimming of all cosmic lighting by a third:

The third angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and a great star fell from heaven, blazing like a torch, and it fell on a third of the rivers and on the springs of water. The name of the star is Wormwood. A third of the waters became wormwood, and many people died from the water because it had been made bitter. (Rev 8:10–11)

The fourth angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and a third of the sun was struck, and a third of the moon, and a third of the stars, so that a third of their light might be darkened, and a third of the day might be kept from shining, and likewise a third of the night. (Rev 8:12)

The final fifth, sixth, and seventh announcements were right after an eagle in Revelation 8:13 pronounced the upcoming blasts of the angel's trumpets. These "trumpets of woe" affect the human condition much more than the first four, which dealt mainly with the natural world. The fifth precedes the locusts' invasion (9:1). The sixth announces the horsemen (9:13–14), and the seventh heralds the final wrath on the wicked (10:17, 11:15):

And the fifth angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and I saw a star fallen from heaven to earth, and he was given the key to the shaft of the bottomless pit. (Rev 9:1)

Then the sixth angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar before God, ¹⁴ saying to the sixth angel who had the trumpet, "Release the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates." (Rev 9:13–14)

but that in the days of the trumpet [*salpinx*] call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God would be fulfilled, just as he announced to his servants the prophets. (Rev 10:7)

Then the seventh angel blew his trumpet [*salpinx*], and there were loud voices in heaven, saying, "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever." (Rev 11:15)

There has been much doctrinal debate about these passages over the centuries. The debate stems from whether these are real future events or emblematic. Regardless if these passages are literal or metaphorical, one fact is for certain: these trumpets are not *shofarot*. If they were, that particular terminology would most certainly have been used

as John was quite specific in his descriptions and was well-immersed in Hebrew culture. Furthermore, the Greeks had a specific word for animal horn, *salpinx keratinē*.⁶⁵ While *salpinx keratinē* is used in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament to differentiate the ram's horn from the trumpet (e.g., Ps 98:6), *keratinē* is not found in the New Testament.⁶⁶ This fact is crucial to understand since it undergirds the central argument of this dissertation. Etymologically speaking, the *shofar* could easily have been specifically referred to in the New Testament as *keratinē*, or more properly *salpinx keratinē*, as its Greek equivalent. Instead, all trumpet references in the New Testament, significantly those referring to the sound of Jesus's voice, are the *salpinx*.

To this end, the New Testament conclusively illustrates that the instrument described in its pages is not the *shofar* by the instrument's total lack of mention. I suggest that the *salpinx* is an echo of an instrument of an earlier time: the *chatsosera*. The description of "the final battle" found in the eschatological War Scrolls from the Qumran, quoted earlier, would corroborate my statement, as it describes in the sixteenth column:

When Satan prepares himself to assist the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the infantry begin to fall by God's mysteries and to test by these mysteries all those appointed for battle, the priests shall blow the trumpets [*chatsoserot*] of assembly so that another battle line might go forth as a battle reserve, and they shall take up position between the battle lines.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 334.

⁶⁶ The closest use was its derivative, *keration*, used once in the Prodigal's son pericope: "And he was longing to be fed with the pods (*keration*) that the pigs ate, and no one gave him anything" (Luke 15:16).

⁶⁷ Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 144–45.

Salpinx: Extra-Scriptural References

There are other lesser-known pseudepigrapha that also contains references to trumpets of “ductile” means, such as the near AD 70 writing of *The Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, which speaks of the sound of the trumpet at the end-times:

And again, the great angel comes forth with the golden trumpet [*salpinx*] in his hand blowing over the earth. They hear (it) from the place of the sunrise to the place of the sunset and from the southern regions to the northern region. And again, he blows up to heaven, and his sound is heard. I said, "O Lord, why did you not leave me until I saw all of them?" He said to me, "I do not have the authority to show them to you until the Lord Almighty rises up in his wrath to destroy the earth and the heavens. They will see and be disturbed, and they will all cry out, saying, 'All flesh which is ascribed to you we will give to you on the day of the Lord.' Who will stand in his presence when he rises in his wrath [to destroy] the earth [and the heaven?]" (12:1–7)⁶⁸

Another passage, also describing the eschaton, is the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, also written in this era:

And then I will sound the trumpet [*salpinx*] out of the air, and I will send my chosen one, having in him one measure of all my power, and he will summon my people, humiliated by the heathen. And I will burn with fire those who mocked them and ruled over them in this age, and I will deliver those who have covered me with mockery over to the scorn of the coming age. (31:1–3)⁶⁹

Not only are the angelic *salpinx* blown at the end of the age of man, but at least one unknown writer speculates that it occurred at the beginning as well. In the pseudepigraphical, *The Books of Adam and Eve*, there is an account of Adam’s abduction and cleansing before God:

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, lo, an angel blew the trumpet [*salpinx*], and there stood up all the angels (and they were) lying on their faces,

⁶⁸ Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:515.

⁶⁹ Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:683.

and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God. (37:1–3)⁷⁰

Angelic trumpets also sounded in the *Apocalypse of Moses* when the visitation of Adam's body occurred:

But after all this, the archangel asked concerning the laying out of the remains. And God commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets [*salpinx*]. And lo! the 'Lord of Hosts' came on, and four winds drew Him, and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him, and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. (38:2–3)⁷¹

Also, *salpinx* blew at the assumption of Enoch, in 2 Enoch:

And they listened to my admonition and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men, four trumpets [*salpinx*] trumpeted [*salpizo*] together with a great voice, and the Grigori⁷² broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.⁷³

These apocryphal and pseudepigraphal sources reveal late intertestamental Jewish thought. Regardless of how these stories and visions manifested themselves during this era, what is evident is that the trumpet (*salpinx*) was indelibly marked in their consciences, as was the *chatsoserot*, as I affirmed earlier in this chapter.

⁷⁰ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2: 388.

⁷¹ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2: 390.

⁷² This supernatural vision features the Grigori, or “watchers” who were angel-like beings.

⁷³ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Volume Two*, 1120.

Conclusion

Given the above information, I claim that the shift from the *chatsoserot* to the *shofar* in prominence as a perceived sacred instrument occurred soon after the time of the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70. I have supported this by demonstrating the eminence of the *chatsoserot* both before and after the Great Dispersion, and the archeological and liturgical proof of the *shofar*'s ascendancy after the destruction of the Herodian Temple. I also explained in chapter 2 that the *shofar* has become the heir apparent of *teruah* and *tekiah* of the erstwhile heralding instrument, the *chatsoserot*. Furthermore, while it would be hasty to conclude that Yohanan ben Zakkai was the sole cause of this shift, I contend that it is fair to infer that he was a pivotal component in this movement, bolstered by the burgeoning rabbinical thought favoring the *shofar*.

This dissertation affirms that the critical factor in the loss of the *chatsoserot* is the demise of Herod's Temple. The inventory of the decimated temple was presumably taken away, never to return, and the *chatsoserot* were part of that casualty. Consequently, so was the priesthood, though it should be said that the sanctified status of the *kohanim* remains as the Jewish state awaits the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the priesthood for sacrificial service.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Klein, *Jewish Religious Practice*, 387–88.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The thesis of this work is that the *shofar* was not intended in Scripture as a cultic instrument beyond calling people to gather, though it has indeed become an instrument of strong sacred status within Judaism and even into pockets of Christianity. I demonstrated this fact in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I further illuminated my thesis by first presenting a robust understanding of the Old Testament trumpeting instruments. In that chapter, not only did I present primary and secondary source information on both the *shofar* and *chatsosera*, I also used Scripture to compare and contrast the two. I showed that the *shofar* was an instrument for military purpose, communication, and festive events. I demonstrated that the *chatsoserot* were played exclusively by priests; these men were even chronicled in rituals such as the dedication of Zerubbabel's Temple in Ezra and the service of dedication for the wall in Nehemiah. In this chapter, I also defended a hypothesis that the *shofar* did not appreciably rise in status during the diaspora, and I articulated the opinion that the silver trumpets were the instrument for cultic purport until the fall of the Herodian Temple in AD 70. In chapter 4, I postulated a timeline in which the exchange of trumpeting supremacy occurred. I used six talmudic passages to illuminate my argument that this transition of *chatsosera* to *shofar* happened by rabbinic consensus. I also defined and described the *salpinx* and claimed that it was in fact the heir apparent to the *chatsosera*.

In addition, I have also drawn several ancillary suppositions. The following four conclusions, along with a three-fold set of implications, complete this dissertation.

Conclusions from This Study

This study exists because of questions shared in the introduction of this dissertation. Was the *shofar* ever meant to serve in a cultic role for the Jewish faith? Was the *shofar*'s purpose as a liturgical instrument in the Jewish faith prescribed in Scripture as some musicologists have claimed,¹ or did the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 precipitate this role? Are there dictates beyond the Old Testament about the use of the *shofar*?

Answering these questions led me to formulate a thesis for this dissertation. The exploration of these research questions also led this inquiry to four major conclusions.

First Conclusion: Suggestions for Future English Translations for the Trumpeting Instruments in Scripture

The Septuagint and Vulgate clearly misunderstood the reference [of *shofar*] and translated it as *salpinx* and as tuba; unfortunately, the modern versions that have followed them have gone astray.²

When one considers English translations of Scripture, it becomes clear that some words are not easily interpreted. Any student of languages can attest that there are not always exact parallels in languages such as Hebrew and English, but merely close equivalents. Various translations of the term “trumpet” have certainly proven to be no exception to this translation conundrum. In addition, as pointed out in chapter 3, some

¹ Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 26.

² Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 26.

English words that have been used can then morph in their definition over the course of time either into obsolescence, such as *cornetto*, or change entirely in their meaning, like *tuba*. Therefore, it is my suggestion for future English translations of Scripture that the following, non-dated terminology be used for the highest regard for biblical clarity:

First, I present the translation of the Hebrew word *shofar*. *Shofar* is now a member of the English lexicon.³ To simply use this Hebrew transliteration would clarify and set apart this reference. The second choice of English interpretation of the word *shofar* would be “ram’s horn.” The noun *shofar* could also be used for the Hebrew word *yobel* as it has been shown to be an exact equivalent of *shofar*, thanks to its interchangeability proven in the Jericho narrative.⁴ Contrariwise, the term “horn” or “trumpet” alone is too ambiguous to use for this instrument. Therefore, the best practice, in the opinion of this study, is to let the *shofar* simply be *shofar*.⁵

Second, *chatsosera* would be translated as “silver trumpet,” and subsequently, *chatsoserot* would translate to “silver trumpets.” There really is not a second suggestion for a couple of reasons. “Trumpet” alone is too uncertain and can be confused with

³ The term *shofar* is found in the latest editions of the Oxford English Dictionary, The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, dictionary.com, and Wikipedia, to name a few.

⁴ Josh 6:4, 6, 8, 9, 13.

⁵ There is precedence in English translation of Scripture for this, as proper nouns such as Hebrew months and currency are mentioned by their actual transliterations (e.g., *shekels*, *cubits*, *Tishri*).

salpinx, *qeren*, or even *shofar*. Another slight concern is the proper translation of Numbers 31:6; I footnoted this query elsewhere in this dissertation.⁶

Qeren is a Chaldean word that is only used in the Book of Daniel. Its exact composition is unknown. It is, however, translated as “horn, vessel for oil—horn, wind instrument.”⁷ As its terminology is vague, the translation for this instrument should simply be “horn.” This fits all aspects pertaining to its definition and gives it a name that would not be confused with the *shofar* or *chatsosera*.

The Hebrew transliterated *taqoa* is used once in Scripture for a trumpet in Ezekiel 7:14. “They have blown the trumpet [*taqoa*] and made everything ready.” This refers to a musical instrument that made a trumpet-like sound. Therefore, the word “trumpet” seems fitting for this particular onomatopoeia. The word “trumpet” should also be maintained for all trumpets translated from the New Testament word *salpinx*. In the Greek language, as pointed out earlier, the word *salpinx* may manifest itself in several different physical forms. However, it does not have the ambiguity of being a “carrying vessel,” as does the *qeren*. A *salpinx* is a trumpet and should be referred to thusly.

Finally, I would suggest a more precise translation for *Yom Teruah* or “day” of “blowing an alarm,” along with a footnote appendage. Scripture speaks of this event twice in Leviticus 23:23–25 and in Numbers 29:1–6. Neither passage, in the Hebrew, uses any trumpet noun such as *shofar*, *chatsosera*, or *yobel*. Hence, I recommend that this

⁶ See chapter 3, fn 67 for more information.

⁷ *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, s.v. “קֶרֶן.”

phrase be translated as “Day of Sounding Trumpets.” The phrase “Festival of Sounding Trumpets” or “Feast of Sounding Trumpets” would also suffice. Furthermore, footnoting these passages with the following statement would be helpful: “*Yom Teruah* means literally ‘day’ of (trumpet) ‘alarm.’ This was later rabbinically supplanted with the name, *Rosh Hashanah* or ‘Head of the New Year.’” These translation changes would go far in helping the reader understand the varying shades of the current word “trumpet” or “horn” in Scripture.

Second Conclusion: The Rise of the *Shofar* is Talmudic, Not Scriptural

In this conclusion, several facts present themselves: First, the *shofar* is not scripturally endowed with any sacerdotal function, unlike the requirements of the *chatsovera* in Numbers 10:10. Additionally, the *chatsovera* is never affiliated with anything outside the religious realm, except for war. Second, the study has concluded, in chapter 2, that the *shofar* did rise to become a cultic instrument, but not in Scripture; ostensibly its sacred ascriptions are talmudic. Third, given the other two facts, the researcher is presented with a classic conditional statement: if one considers the *shofar* as a sacred instrument, then one must regard rabbinical teaching, such as the *Talmud*, on par with Torah law. While this is acceptable in the Hebrew faith, it would be considered unorthodox in Christianity. Therefore, a Christian should assume the *shofar* neither sacred nor having any sacred status.

Third Conclusion: The *Shofar*’s Ascendancy Occurred After AD 70

In chapter 4, this study affirmed that the ascension of the *shofar* occurred after AD 70, and not before. The time period between the diaspora and the fall of Jerusalem

did mark a noticeable change in the perspective of Jewish worship with the rise of the synagogue. The *shofar*, however, has not been proven to be a component in that change, archeologically, nor through any observed ancient writings and liturgies. Furthermore, worship services were probably subdued at best, centered on community, prayer, and the study of Torah law. Unaccompanied singing was probably the norm.

Nevertheless, an abundance of information leads the researcher to understand that the *shofar*'s use did very rapidly dominate in post-temple worship ordo. This can be proven by the *taqqunots* of Yohanan ben Zakkai and the first-century synagogue sites that show the *shofar* equal in status with other sacred objects such as the *menorah*.

Fourth Conclusion: The *Salpinx* is the Instrument of the New Testament and Particularly the Eschaton

As previously mentioned, the “silver trumpets” were specified in Scripture to be played by priests (Num 10:8) in times of great spiritual significance (10:10). They were highly regarded in the temple of Solomon, in the Second Temple, and in the Herodian Temple. Their images were minted into coinage by the Kohkba and sculpted by the Romans. Then, soon after, they disappeared in the first century of the Common Era. To the Christian, who looks forward to the second coming of Christ, the derivative instrument of the *chatsosera* is not the *shofar*, but the *salpinx*. With a little study, this instrument certainly seems to be the heir apparent to the *chatsosera* as it too heralds very spiritual moments, as was explained at the end of chapter 3 in the seven trumpets of the angels in Revelation. The *salpinx*, like the *chatsosera*, is an instrument of crafted work.

Most importantly, in Revelation, it is also used as an auditory icon for the voice of Christ himself,⁸ who is the great high priest.⁹

Conversely, the association of the *shofar* with the Messiah is an association that has no direct biblical basis. Instead, the association can be traced to R. Ḥanina ben Dosa, who purports that the horn blown at Mount Sinai before the Jews was the left horn of the ram sacrificed at Abraham's altar in Genesis 22; the right horn of the same ram featured in the *Akedah* will be used to announce Messiah.¹⁰ It is worthy to note that Ḥanina ben Dosa was also a direct, first-century pupil of Yohanan ben Zakkai, mentioned extensively in chapter 4, who himself had pivotal ties to the popularization of the *shofar*.¹¹

All four of these conclusions are, in varying degrees, suggestions for further study either in translation issues or in more careful exegesis of the word “trumpet” in the future.

Implications from This Study

This dissertation asserts my thesis that the *shofar* does not have overt spiritual significance in Scripture. Along with developing this thesis, I have given strong evidence that the *shofar* was given spiritual import in the *Babylonian Talmud* and later works.

⁸ Rev 1:10 and 4:1.

⁹ References to Christ as “high priest” can be found in Heb 3:1, 4:14–15, 5:5, 5:10, 6:20, 7:26, 8:1, 9:11, 25.

¹⁰ Montagu, *The Shofar: Its History and Use*, 3.

¹¹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906*, s.v. “Ḥanina ben Dosa.”

Because of this, and the four conclusions drawn above, I feel that there are three strong implications born from this study.

Proper Doctrine

As I have already stated, the enhanced spiritual attributes of the *shofar* stem from a lack of discernment between the biblical understanding of the ram's horn and talmudic precepts that arose only after the close of the New Testament. More importantly, Christian theologians should seek to perpetuate a clear understanding of what the *shofar* is and what it is not. Without biblical clarity, pre-conceived notions of these instruments can lead to unsound doctrine. This has been exemplified through the perceived abilities of the *shofar* by some outliers in the Christian faith.

Proper Eschatology

If one regards proper eschatology as a means of understanding the biblical trumpets, then one instrument stands out above all the rest, the *salpinx*. This instrument is heard multiple times in the book of Revelation, covered in chapter 3. However, the *shofar* is not heard in Revelation. It has been demonstrated many times in the Septuagint that there is a specific word for animal horn, *salpinx keratinē*. This phrase is not only absent in the book of Revelation but missing from the entire New Testament.

In the last chapter, I presented several rabbinic entries from the early Common Era. At the same time, the early church fathers were writing their own commentaries. When the commentaries discussed the “trumpet,” their words seemed to always point to Christ and the eschaton. They pointed away from the actual trumpet, making Christ the focus. In Athanasius's first letter, one reads: “But let us pass on to the meaning, and

henceforth leaving the figure at a distance, come to the truth, and look upon the priestly trumpets of our Saviour.”¹² Then later in his ninth letter:

Since then we have passed beyond that time of shadows, and no longer perform rites under [trumpets], but have turned, as it were, unto the Lord; “for the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty” (2 Corinthians 3:17) as we hear the sacred trumpet, no longer slaying a material lamb, but that true Lamb that was slain, even our Lord Jesus Christ.¹³

Athanasius refers again to the trumpet when we will meet Christ in the eschaton, in his nineteenth letter:

For this is the season of the feast, my brethren, and it is near; being not now proclaimed by trumpets, as the history records, but being made known and brought near to us by the Saviour, Who suffered on our behalf and rose again, even as Paul preached, saying, “Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.”¹⁴

Augustine spoke of the trumpets of the priests, using them in a literary personification of the sufferings of Christ. Augustine refers to these trumpets as “ductile” when he says in his exposition of Psalm 98:

This ductile trumpet is still under the hammer...We have heard how He was hammered; let us hear how He sounds: let us, if it please you, hear the sweet sound of this ductile trumpet.¹⁵

Psalm 46:6 reads: “The nations rage, the kingdoms totter; he utters his voice, the earth melts.” This passage moved music theorist Cassiodorus (c 485–580) to write, “The voice

¹² Church Fathers, *The Complete Works of the Church Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff (Toronto: Patristic Publishing. 2016), 2861.

¹³ Fathers, *Complete Works*, 2866.

¹⁴ Fathers, *Complete Works*, 2937.

¹⁵ Fathers, *Complete Works*, 14073.

of the *tuba* [*salpinx*] represents the words of the angels which resounded with a great uproar of the trembling air.”¹⁶ Cassiodorus was clearly influenced by the early Church fathers’ appreciation of the *salpinx* being the instrument of the eschaton.

Proper Vocabulary

Finally, and most importantly, Southern Baptists are people of the Word. The Baptist Faith and Message 2000 edition states in its first article: “[The Bible] has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter. Therefore, all Scripture is totally true and trustworthy.”¹⁷ In the introductory chapter of this work, I stated, “words matter.” This is especially true for a denomination who stakes their doctrinal distinctiveness on the reliability of the Word. We have long been the champions of the quest for inerrancy when it comes to biblical interpretation and proper hermeneutics. So the subject of appropriate translation is crucial, no matter the perceived minutiae of the subject, so that we may receive clear instruction. This is why, in the first of four earlier conclusions, I address the need for more specific translation work as it deals with biblical trumpets. With clearer translation, richer and more accurate doctrine will result.

¹⁶ Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 33.

¹⁷ Southern Baptist Convention, “The Baptist Faith and Message, 2000,” Southern Baptist Convention, 2020, accessed July 19, 2020, <https://bfm.sbc.net/>.

Conclusion

This dissertation began with a desire to better understand why the *shofar* is so highly regarded. Its perceived status is understandable. After all, it was heard atop Mount Sinai; they were blown while encircling the walls at Jericho. The *shofar* was also invited to be blown in celebration, along with *chatsosera* and the *kinnor* in Psalm 98. It was blown in war and for communication. However, what I demonstrated is that the *shofar*'s sacred status in Judaism, and in some pockets of Christianity, has no biblical attribution, and its exalted position seems to be born from the absence of *chatsoserot* and mere expedience. Furthermore, Christ's voice is represented by the sound of the *salpinx*, and, according to the Greek New Testament, his return is heralded by seven angels playing *salpinx*. The *shofar*, on the other hand, is a relic of the past and not a biblical symbol of the future.

The *shofar*, along with other specific musical instruments, is an *adiaphoron* in worship: an indifferent thing. How one deals with this in worship is based upon where one lies on a spectrum of regulative or normative principled worship. However, no matter where a church presides on that continuum, the trumpets of the Bible add nothing spiritual, sacerdotal, or supernatural to the worship experience.

I conclude this study by quoting an unlikely, if not ironic, text. This entire dissertation has been about looking to Scripture, not the *Talmud*, for answers. Indeed, a passage from the Talmud (Sukkah 34a) serves as a foil for the approach of this dissertation as interpreted by Jeremy Montagu:

Since the destruction of the temple, the following . . . things have had their names interchanged: [What was before called] *shofar* [is now called] *chatsosera* and

what was *chatsosera* is now *shofar*. In what respect does this legally matter?—In respect for *Rosh Hashanah*, does it apply only to *Rosh Hashanah* (which would cause chaos enough), or is it meaningless?¹⁸

While the instruments themselves are merely tools of a bygone era, the quest for proper doctrine, proper eschatology, and proper vocabulary in a world where words count is the furthest thing from “meaningless.”

¹⁸ Montagu, *Shofar, History*, 53–54.

APPENDIX

TRUMPETS IN SCRIPTURE WITH STRONG'S REFERENCE NUMBERS

Reference	Type	Call	Event	Player	Strong's
Exod 19:13	yobel	mashak	pre-cursor		H3104
Exod 19:16	shofar	kol	first blast	God?	H7782
Exod 19:19	shofar	kol	first blast	God?	H7782
Exod 20:18	shofar	kol	first blast	God?	H7782
Exod 23:24*		teru'a	Festival of Trumpets		H7782
Exod 25:9	shofar	teru'a	Jubilee		H7782
Lev 25:9	shofar	abar	Jubilee		H7782
Num 10:2	chatsosera		rules for chatsosera		
Num 10:4*		taqa	rules for chatsosera	Priests	
Num 10:7*		taqa	rules for chatsosera	Priests	
Num 10:8	chatsosera	taqa	rules for chatsosera	Priests	H2689
Num 10:9	chatsosera	ru'a	rules for chatsosera	Priests	H2689
Num 10:10	chatsosera	taqa	rules for chatsosera	Priests	H2689
Num 29:1*		teru'a	Festival of Trumpets	Phineas	
Num 31:6	chatsosera	teru'a	war Priest	7 Priests	H2689
Josh 6:4	shofar		Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:4	yobel		Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:4	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:5	yobel	mashak	Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:5	qeren	mashak	Jericho	7 Priests	H7161

Josh 6:5	shofar	kol	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:6	shofar		Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:6	yobel		Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:8	shofar		Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:8	yobel		Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:8	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:9	yobel	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:9	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:13	shofar		Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:13	shofar		Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:13	yobel	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H3104
Josh 6:13	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:16	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:20	shofar	taqa	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 6:20	shofar	kol	Jericho	7 Priests	H7782
Josh 3:27	shofar	taqa	Eglon	Ehud	H7782
Josh 6:34	shofar	taqa	Gideon	Gideon	H7782
Judg 7:8	shofar		Gideon		H7782
Judg 7:16	shofar		Gideon		H7782
Judg 7:18	shofar	taqa	Gideon	The 100	H7782
Judg 7:20	shofar	taqa	Gideon	The 300	H7782
Judg 7:20	shofar	taqa	Gideon	The 300	H7782
Judg 7:22	shofar	taqa	Gideon	The 300	H7782

1 Sam 13:3	shofar	taqa	Victory	Saul	H7782
2 Sam 2:28	shofar	taqa	Calling army	Joab	H7782
2 Sam 6:15	shofar	kol	Moving the Ark	people	H7782
2 Sam 15:10	shofar	kol	Absalom's foil	servant	H7782
2 Sam 18:16	shofar	taqa	David reinstated	Joab	H7782
2 Sam 20:1	shofar	taqa	Davidic dissidence	Sheba	H7782
2 Sam 20:22	shofar	taqa	Death of Sheba	Joab	H7782
1 Kgs 1:34	shofar	taqa	Solomon's coronation	People	H7782
1 Kgs 1:39	shofar	taqa	Solomon's coronation	People	H7782
1 Kgs 1:41	shofar	taqa	Solomon's coronation	People	H7782
2 Kgs 9:13	shofar	taqa	Jehu's coronation	soldiers	H7782
2 Kgs 11:14	shofar		Athaliah deposed	Priests	H7782
2 Kgs 11:14	shofar	taqa	Athaliah deposed	Priests	H7782
2 Kgs 12:13	chatsosera		Joash's Temple		H2689
1 Chr 13:8	chatsosera		Ark's 1 st trip	People	H2689
1 Chr 15:24	chatsosera	hassar	Ark's 2 nd trip		H2689
1 Chr 15:28	chatsosera	kol	Ark's 2 nd trip	People	H2689
1 Chr 16:6	chatsosera		Ministry of the Ark		H2689
1 Chr 16:42	chatsosera		Tabernacle		H2689
2 Chr 5:12	chatsosera	hassar	120 Priests	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 5:13	chatsosera		120 Priests	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 5:13	chatsosera	hassar	120 Priests	Priests	H2690
2 Chr 7:6*		hassar	Solomon's prayer	Priests	

2 Chr 13:12	chatsosera	teru'a	Abijah's victory	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 13:14	chatsosera	hassar (2)	Abijah's victory	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 15:14	chatsosera	teru'a	Asa's covenant	People	H2689
2 Chr 15:14	shofar	teru'a	Asa's covenant	people	H7782
2 Chr 20:28	chatsosera		Jehosaphat's victory	people	H2689
2 Chr 23:13	chatsosera	taqa	Athaliah deposed	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 23:13	chatsosera		Athaliah deposed	Priests	H2689
2 Chr 29:26	chatsosera		Hezekiah's cleansing		H2689
2 Chr 29:27	chatsosera		Hezekiah's cleansing		H2689
2 Chr 29:28	chatsosera	hassar	Hezekiah's cleansing	Priests	H2689
Ezra 3:10	chatsosera		Dedication of the temple	Priests	H2689
Neh 4:18	shofar	taqa	Rebuilding of the wall	Nehemiah	H7782
Neh 4:20	shofar	kol	Rebuilding of the wall		H7782
Neh 12:35	chatsosera		Dedication of the wall	7 Priests	H2689
Neh 12:41	chatsosera			7 Priests	H2689
Job 39:24	shofar	kol	God speaks		H7782
Job 39:25	shofar		God speaks		H7782
Ps 47:5	shofar	teru'a/kol	Korahite Song	God?	H7782
Ps 81:3	shofar	taqa	New Year		H7782
Ps 98:6	chatsosera	rua	Psalm for all people		H2689
Ps 98:6	shofar	kol	Psalm for all people		H7782
Ps 150:3	shofar	taqa	On praise w/ Instruments		H7782
Isa 18:3	shofar	taqa	Prophecy on Cush		H7782

Isa 27:13	shofar	taqa	Prophecy of Christ	Prophecy	H7782
Isa 58:1	shofar	kol	On Isaiah's Prophecies	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 4:5	shofar	taqa	Prophecy of Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 4:19	shofar	kol	Prophecy of Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 4:21	shofar	kol	Prophecy of Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 6:1	shofar	taqa	Prophecy of Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 6:17	shofar	kol	Prophecy of Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 42:14	shofar	kol	Egypt's destruction	Prophecy	H7782
Jer 51:27	shofar	taqa	Prophecy of Babylon	Prophecy	H7782
Ezek 7:14	shofar	taqa	Desolation of Israel		H7782
Ezek 33:3	shofar	taqa	The Watchman	Watchman	H7782
Ezek 33:4	shofar	kol	The Watchman	Watchman	H7782
Ezek 33:5	shofar	kol	The Watchman	Watchman	H7782
Ezek 33:6	shofar	taqa	The Watchman	Watchman	H7782
Dan 3:5	qeren	kol	Shadrach & Company	pagans	H7161
Dan 3:7	qeren	kol	Shadrach & Company	pagans	H7161
Dan 3:10	qeren	kol	Shadrach & Company	pagans	H7161
Dan 3:15	qeren	kol	Shadrach & Company	pagans	H7161
Hosea 5:8	shofar	taqa	Prophecy to Israel		H7782
Hosea 5:8	chatsosera	taqa	Prophecy to Israel	Prophecy	H2689
Hosea 8:1	shofar		Prophecy to Israel	Prophecy	H7782
Joel 2:1	shofar	taqa/rua	Prophecy to Israel	Prophecy	H7782
Joel 2:15	shofar	taqa	Prophecy to Israel	Prophecy	H7782

Amos 2:2	shofar	kol	Prophecy to Moab	Prophecy	H7782
Amos 3:6	shofar	taqa	Prophecy to Israel	Prophecy	H7782
Zeph 1:16	shofar	teru'a	Prophecy to Judah	Prophecy	H7782
Zech 9:14	shofar		Last blast of O.T.	God?	H7782
Matt 6:2	salpizo		Jesus on giving		G4537
Matt 24:31	salpinx	phone	Predicting the Rapture		G4536
1 Cor 14:8	salpinx	phone	Paul on glossolia		G4536
1 Cor 15:52	salpinx		The Rapture		G4536
1 Cor 15:52	salpizo		The Rapture		G4537
1 Thess 4:16	salpinx		The Rapture	God	G4536
Heb 12:19	salpinx	echos	The Rapture		G4536
Rev 1:10	salpinx	phone	Jesus's voice		G4536
Rev 4:1	salpinx	phone	Jesus's voice		G4536
Rev 8:2	salpinx		Description of the event	Angel	G4536
Rev 8:6	salpinx		Description of the event	Angel	G4536
Rev 8:6	salpizo		Description of the event	Angel	G4537
Rev 8:7	salpizo		First trumpet	Angel	G4537
Rev 8:8	salpizo		Second trumpet	Angel	G4537
Rev 8:10	salpizo		Third trumpet	Angel	G4537
Rev 8:12	salpizo		Fourth trumpet	Angel	G4537
Rev 8:13	salpinx		The Three Woes		G4536
Rev 8:13	salpizo		The Three Woes		G4537
Rev 9:1	salpizo		Fifth trumpet	Angel	G4537

Rev 9:13	salpizo		Sixth trumpet	Angel	G4537
Rev 9:14	salpinx		Sixth trumpet		G4536
Rev 10:7	salpizo		Sixth trumpet		G4537
Rev 11:15	salpizo		Seventh trumpet	Angel	G4537

* Indicates that the word *shofar*, *chatsosera* or one of its derivatives was not written but within the context of the passage it is clear that a trumpeting instrument was implied.

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