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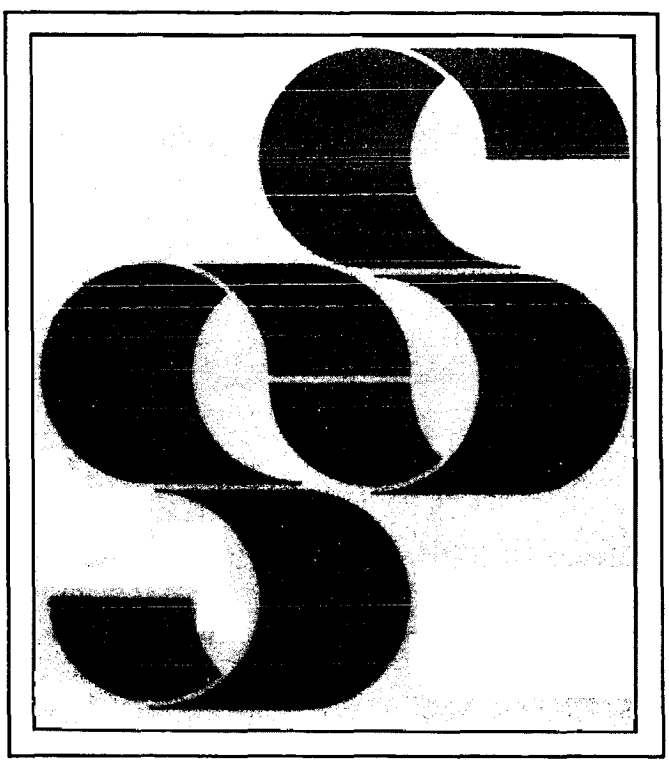

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Volume 24 Autumn 1986 Number 3

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

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THEOLOGICAL MOTIVES FOR THE USE OF 1 CHRONICLES 16:8-36 AS BACKGROUND FOR REVELATION 14:6-7

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In a previous article I set forth linguistic, contextual, and theological evidence that David's "Psalm of Praise" in 1 Chr 16:8-36 provides the basic OT literary source for the "First Angel's Proclamation" in Rev 14:6-7.[1] The present study focuses more closely on the similarity of theological concerns in the two passages—this, in turn, giving an indication of the theological basis for Revelation's literary use of elements from the Psalm of Thanks in Rev 14:6-7.

The central theological concern in both instances embraces the covenant, as represented by the ark of the covenant. David's Psalm is prepared for, and sung in, the setting of the bringing of the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem after its having remained twenty years in Kearjath-jearim subsequent to its recapture from the Philistines. The section of the book of Revelation in which the proclamation of the first angel occurs is similarly introduced by a reference to "the ark of testimony"—on this occasion, in the "temple in heaven" (11:19).[2] In the two passages themselves—1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7—as well as in their broader contexts, there are evidences of this underlying theological motif and of other, related theological affinities between these passages. It is to such evidences that we devote our attention in the present article.

1. *The Ark of Covenant in the Context of David's Psalm of Thanks*

As already noted above, the occasion for David's Psalm of Thanks in 1 Chr 16:8-36 was the bringing of the ark of the covenant

[1]Willem Altink, "1 Chronicles 16:8-36 as Literary Source for Revelation 14:6-7," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 187-196.

[2]It seems clear that Rev 11:19 furnishes the introductory heavenly vision for the major section in Revelation that concludes with 14:20. See Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Fla., 1979), p. 48.

into Jerusalem, "David's own city." Indeed, the Psalm of Thanks is introduced as follows: "That day David first committed to Asaph and his associates this psalm of thanks to the Lord." Thus, 1 Chr 16:8-36 was written with a special focus on the ark—a fact that is further substantiated by statements in 16:37 and 17:1, after the conclusion of the psalm itself.

As we look at the broader context for David's Psalm of Thanks, it is interesting to note that there is a remarkably high frequency of the terms "ark of the covenant" and "ark" (in reference to the ark of the covenant) in chaps. 13-17—second only to the frequency of these terms in the book of Joshua. In these chapters of 1 Chronicles in the LXX the terms κιβωτός τῆς διαθήχης ("ark of the covenant") and κιβωτός ("ark") occur, in fact, no fewer than thirty-one times.[3] Thus, in comparison with the whole of the OT, the emphasis on the ark of the covenant in these chapters is by no means insignificant and is surely more than incidental.

2. *Other Key Terms in the Psalm of Thanks Referring to the Ark of the Covenant*

Apart from the terms "ark of God," "ark of the Lord," and "ark of the covenant" that occur in 1 Chr 16 (see vss. 1, 4, 6, 37), there are other words and expressions in the Psalm of Thanks itself that appear to stand as synonyms for this ark. G. Henton Davies has pointed out, for example, that in the Psalter such terms as "might," "before Yahweh," and "glory, beauty, honor" are at times used in this way.[4] Although his argument relates to certain psalms in the Psalter, it seems pertinent also for David's Psalm of Thanks in 1 Chr 16.

3. *Redemption and Law*

The basic double feature of the ark of the covenant is its containment of the *Decalog* and the presence of the *mercy seat.* Thus, law and redemption are two major aspects that stand out clearly in the very existence and function of the ark.

[3]See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, vol. 2 (Graz, 1954), pp. 763-764.

[4]G. Henton Davies, "Ark of the Covenant," *IDB* 1:222-226.

Redemption

Taking a closer look at 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7, we find a parallel between the two in the motif of mercy and redemption: In the Psalm of Thanks, there are statements such as these, for example: "He [Yahweh] remembers his covenant for ever; . . . to you will I [Yahweh] give the land of Canaan as the portion you will inherit. When they [Israel] were but few in number, few indeed and strangers in it, they wandered from nation to nation. . . . He allowed no man to oppress them; for their sakes he rebuked kings: do not touch my anointed ones; do my prophets no harm" (1 Chr 16:15, 18-22). The same motif is underscored by the call to "remember the wonders he [Yahweh] has done" (vs. 12).

The connection with covenant (and the ark of the covenant) must not be overlooked here. Also, it is important to note that the LXX term for the ark's cover, "mercy seat" (ἱλαστήριον), is the very same word used in the NT with respect to Christ's redemptive sacrifice: "For all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God and are justified freely by his grace and redemption that came by Christ Jesus. God presented him as a sacrifice of atonement [ἱλαστήριον] through faith in his blood" (Rom 3:23-25; cf. also Heb 9:5).[5] Thus, the mercy-seat in the Israelite tabernacle became a type of the redemptive mission of Jesus—which is the heart of the "everlasting gospel" (in addition to Rom 3 and other references in the Pauline epistles, cf. Luke 2:10-11, 30-32, 39; 4:18-19; John 3:14-18; Rev 1:5-6; 5:6-10; et al.).

Another theme which points to the redemptive motif represented by the ark of the covenant is that of divine judgment. In both Rev 14:6-7 and 1 Chr 16:8-36, the joy of gospel ("good news") is connected with judgment: The proclamation of the "eternal gospel" by the first angel includes the statement that "the hour of his [God's] judgment has come" (Rev 14:7), while in the Psalm of Thanks there is reference to "singing for joy before the Lord, for he comes to judge the earth" (1 Chr 16:33). Judgment for the believer is *basically good news,* inasmuch as it assures deliverance. As stated by W. Schneider,

[5]In the LXX, all the occurrences of ἱλαστήριον refer to the mercy-seat. See Exod 25:17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; 31:7; 35:11; 37:6, 7, 8, 9; Lev 16:2, 13, 14, 15; Num 7:89; Ezek 43:14, 17, 20; Amos 9:1.

"He who judges brings salvation, peace and deliverance, especially to the persecuted and oppressed (cf. Deut. 10:18)."[6]

The Law

Aside from the "mercy-seat" cover on the ark of the covenant, the other main feature of the ark to which we have referred is the Ten-Commandment law of God that was placed inside it. In this connection, the four key words of Rev 14:6-7 treated in my earlier study—"glory," "fear," "judgment," and "worship"—have a correlating significance, to which we may give brief attention here.

"Glory." In the OT the term "glory" (כָּבוֹד) is used for the revelation of God himself. As stated by S. Aalen, it "expresses itself above all in salvation history, i.e. in God's great acts (Exod. 14:17 f.; Ps. 96:3), and especially in God's presence in the sanctuary (Exod. 40:34 f.; 1 Ki. 8:10 f.; Ps. 26:8)."[7] And W. Dyrness has pointed out that "it [glory] rested in particular where God was to be worshiped, in the temple."[8] In 1 Sam 4:21, the loss of the ark of God to the Philistines meant that "the glory was departed from Israel" (vs. 21). The event was reflected in the name Ichabod (אִי־כָבוֹד, "Where is glory?"). Dyrness also points out that in biblical use, the term "glory" has a double meaning: "The idea of glory is used in the double sense of showing respect (or glorifying) and of that which inspires such respect."[9] This double meaning of glory (glory "from" God, and glory "to" God) fits well with the overall concept regarding the ark of the covenant, where the love *from* God (his presence) meets man's love *to* God (in keeping his commandments).

"Fear." In referring to the biblical term "fear," W. Mundle states: "God's grace and favour do not abolish the solemnity of the address [to fear]. It demands man's total obedience."[10] Fearing God is not merely a feeling or a certain state of the mind, but is expressed in one's action. The fear of God and the commandments are linked

[6]W. Schneider, "κρίμα," *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (hereinafter *NIDNTT*), ed. Colin Brown (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), 2:363.

[7]S. Aalen, "δόξα," *NIDNTT*, 2:45.

[8]W. Dyrness, *Themes in Old Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1979), p. 43.

[9]Ibid., p. 42.

[10]W. Mundle, "φόβος," *NIDNTT*, 1: 622.

together. As Mundle further states, "The fear of God is the first essential motive in the laws of the Pentateuch (Lev. 19:14, 32; Deut. 13:11; 17:13 etc.)."[11]

"Judgment." We have noted in the previous section of this article the relation of the judgment theme to that of redemption. It is important at this juncture to note, as well, its connection to the concept of law. In both 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7 there is an obvious link between judgment and God's commandments: For instance, 1 Chr 16:33 states: "They will sing for joy before the Lord, for he comes to judge the earth." This is a reference in which, as we have already noticed, judgment is correlated with the ark of the covenant. In Rev 14:6-7, the call is sent forth to "fear God . . . because the hour of his judgment has come." In the same general context, we find an explicit reference to God's commandments: "This calls for patient endurance on the part of the saints, who keep God's commandments and have the faith of Jesus" (vs. 12).[12]

"Worship." The original meaning of "worship" (προσκυνέω) is "to kiss." In the ancient Greek world, one prostrated oneself on the ground in order to worship a deity. This heathen worship was connected with images; but "the God of Israel is worshipped without images and therefore is not within the grasp of the worshipper. Προσκυνέω retains its physical sense of bending, however, except that this is understood as bowing to the will of the exalted One (cf. Exod. 12:17f.)."[13] Moreover, the root concept of προσκυνέω as "kissing [the soil]" (or in the biblical context, "bending [to the will of God]") indicates a connection between worship and God's commandments, in that a person's attitude in worship expresses itself foremost in willingness to do the will of God (i.e., to keep his commandments). H. Schönweiss and C. Brown have put it nicely, in stating that "man's relation to God is expressed principally in worship, and above all in prayer. The call to conversion can therefore be put in the form: 'Worship God!' i.e. recognize him in all

[11]Ibid.

[12]Another link between judgment and the commandments is the fact that divine judgment proceeds from the sanctuary, where the commandments were; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19; Ps. 9:4, 7, 8, 11; 76:8, 9; 102:19, 20; Micah 1:3-5; Ezek 1:8-10; Mal 3:1-5; Isa 18:4; Amos 1:2; Rev 7:15; 11:19; 14:15, 17; 15:5, 6, 8; 16:1, 17.

[13]H. Schönweiss and C. Brown, "προσκυνέω," *NIDNTT* 2: 876.

his power and glory as creator and judge, acknowledge his exclusive sovereign rights and claim upon you (Rev. 14:7)."[14]

In the book of Revelation προσκυνέω has a high frequency of occurrences: 24 times of the NT total of 59! Those who "remain faithful to Jesus" (Rev 14:12) are those who worship Jesus in spirit and truth (cf. John 4:22-24), who are not deceived or intimidated by the dragon of Rev 12 and the two beasts of Rev 13. It is not accidental that the main section of the book of Revelation in which the message of 14:6-7 occurs is *introduced* by a vision of the "ark of the testimony" in "the temple in heaven" (11:19). Nor is it coincidental that the "commandments of God" are specifically mentioned in conjunction with the "testimony of Jesus" in identifying God's loyal "remnant"—those against whom the dragon manifests special wrath (12:17).

The Creation Motif and the Law of God. In addition to the occurrence of the four key-words, "glory," "fear," "judgment," and "worship," a further connecting link between the Decalog and the message of Rev 14:6-7 is the mention of God as Creator: "Worship him, who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water" (Rev 14:7). A marginal note to Rev 14:7 in Nestle-Aland's Greek edition of the NT refers to Exod 20:11 ("the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea, . . ."), a part of the Sabbath commandment in the Decalog.[15]

4. *Paralleling Aspects of the Covenantal Form in 1 Chronicles 16 and Revelation 14*

Recent articles in *AUSS* have drawn attention to the occurrence of a covenantal form, similar to that of the ancient Hittite suzerainty treaties, in the seven letters to the seven churches in Revelation[16] and in the entire book of Revelation.[17] The two authors of these articles—W. H. Shea and K. A. Strand—refer to the work of George Mendenhall, who pioneered the study of the Hittite suzerainty-treaty formu-

[14]Ibid., 2: 877.

[15]Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1927).

[16]W. H. Shea, "The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 71-84.

[17]K. A. Strand, "A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 251-264.

lary as it was reflected in ancient Israel.[18] Five of the most basic elements in that particular formulary are the following:[19] (1) *preamble,* in which the king as author of the covenant mentioned his name, titles, attributes, etc.; (2) *historical prologue,* which looked back upon the earlier relationship between the two parties of the covenant; (3) the *stipulations,* mentioning the obligations of the vassal; (4) the *witnesses,* which were the gods of the two parties in the extra-biblical treaties, but were other elements in monotheistic Yahwism; and (5) the *blessings and curses,* pertaining to the matter of the vassal's future obedience or disobedience to the covenant.

Interestingly, elements of these five basic aspects of the formulary can also be found in both 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7—albeit, not in a clearcut sequence (which was not necessarily even the case with regard to the Hittite examples themselves). The occurrence of this kind of covenantal language in both of these passages is in harmony with the focus of these passages on the centrality of the covenant concept, including its tangible expression in the ark of the covenant. Below, I highlight some of the common aspects, dealing first with David's Psalm of Thanks and then the message of the "first angel" in Rev 14.

1 CHRONICLES 16:

Preamble

"Lord" (vs. 8)

"He is the Lord our God" (vs. 14)

"For great is the Lord" (vs. 25)

"The Lord made the heavens" (vs. 26)

"God our Saviour" (vs. 35)

"God of Israel" (vs. 36)

Historical Prologue

"Tell of all his wonderful acts" (vs. 9)

"Remember the wonders he has done, miracles and judgments he pronounced" (vs. 12)

[18]G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1955).

[19]The following summary is from Shea, p. 72.

"The covenant he made with Abraham, the oath he swore to Isaac, he confirmed it to Jacob as a decree, to Israel as an everlasting covenant: . . . "(vss. 16-18)

"He allowed no man to oppress them, for their sake he rebuked kings" (vs. 21)

Stipulations

"Give thanks to the Lord, call on his name" (vs. 8)

"Make known among the nations what he has done" (vs. 8)

"Sing to him," "sing praise to him" (vs. 9)

"Tell of all his wonderful acts" (vs. 9)

"Glory in his name" (vs. 10)

"Look to the Lord" (vs. 11)

"Declare his glory" (vs. 24)

"Ascribe to the Lord glory and strength" (vs. 28)

"Ascribe to the Lord the glory due to his name" (vs. 29)

"Bring an offering and come before him" (vs. 29)

"Worship the Lord" (vs. 29)

"Give thanks to the Lord" (vs. 34)

Witnesses

"Let the *heavens* rejoice, let the *earth* be glad" (vs. 31)

"Let the *sea* resound (vs. 32)

"Let the *fields* be jubilant and *everything* in them" (vs. 32)

"The *trees of the forest* will sing" (vs. 33)

Blessings and Curses

"He remembers his covenant forever" (vs. 15)

"His love endures forever" (vs. 34)

REVELATION 14

Preamble

"Lamb" (vss. 1, 4, 5)

"God" (vs. 7)

"Him, who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water" (vs. 7)

Historical Prologue

Eternal gospel (vs. 6): i.e., what Christ has done to save mankind (cf. the background in 13:8 and 14:1-5 concerning the Lamb's redemptive work)

Stipulations

"Fear God" (vs. 7)

"Give him glory" (vs. 7)

"Worship him" (vs. 7)

Obedience to God's commandments (vs. 12)

Faith of Jesus (vs. 12)

Witnesses

Three angels (vss. 6, 8, 9)

Heavens, earth, sea and the springs of water (vs. 7)

The Spirit (vs. 13)

Blessings and Curses

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on . . . they will rest from their labor, for their deeds will follow them" (vs. 13)

"If anyone worships the beast and his image and receives his mark on the forehead or on the hand, he, too, will drink of the wine of God's fury, which has been poured full strength into the cup of his wrath. He will be tormented with burning sulphur in the presence of the holy angels and of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment rises for ever and ever. There is no rest day or night for those who worship the beast and his image or for anyone who receives the mark of his name" (vss. 9-11).

5. *Conclusion*

Both the text of 1 Chr 16:8-36 and its context point to the ark of the covenant, as is also true with regard to Rev 14:6-12 and its context (including, in the latter case, the explicit mention of the ark in Rev 11:19). The two-faceted aspect of the ark—gospel and law—is manifested in both passages. And moreover, five basic components

of the ancient covenant formulary—preamble, historical prologue, stipulations, witnesses, blessings and curses—can be traced in both 1 Chr 16 and Rev 14. Thus, the attention that is drawn to the *ark* itself (with the mercy seat and Decalog as integral to it), plus the occurrence of elements of the covenant formulary, in both 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7 (and their contexts) reveals a common underlying motif and a motivational basis for the use of the former passage as background for the latter—namely, the centrality of the ark of the covenant.

It should be mentioned, in concluding this study, that the use of David's Psalm of Thanks as background imagery for Rev 14:6-7 is fully in line with "typological usage" in the NT—a usage which takes into account basic theological concerns of the OT root passage. The following "Excursus" will treat briefly the matters of "Typology" and "Theology of the Chronicler."

EXCURSUS

NOTES ON TYPOLOGY AND THE THEOLOGY OF THE CHRONICLER

1. *Typology*

The nature of biblical typology has aptly been described as follows: "God's manifestations in the past—His great redemptive activities—will repeat themselves in greater fulfillments yet to come and of which those former experiences were, in a sense, a foretaste and promise."[20] This definition is applicable to David's Psalm of Thanks in 1 Chr 16:8-36 in the following sense: That Psalm deals with the restoration of proper Yahweh worship on a *local* scale at a time when the ark of the covenant that had earlier been recaptured from the Philistines was brought to Jerusalem,

[20]Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, p. 22; cf. R. M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τύπος Structures*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 2 (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1981). Dyrness, pp. 145-146, underlines the typological realities within Scripture by pointing out that "the cult [in the OT] was at the same time typical. That is, it was prospective, pointing in its very limitations to what would be real in the future. OT worship was heavy with its future."

whereas the message of the first angel in Rev 14:6-7 is a call also to restoration of proper Yahweh worship—but now on a *universal* scale. A further point of interest is that whereas 1 Chr 16:8-36 and its context focus on the ark of the earthly tabernacle, the context for Rev 14:6-7 directs attention to "God's temple in heaven" as the locus for the "ark of his [God's] covenant" in that vision (Rev 11:19).[21]

2. *Theology of the Chronicler*

The books of 1 and 2 Chronicles were written around 400 B.C., at a time when the Israelite nation was endeavoring to re-establish itself after the Babylonian exile. Where or how could the people find strength for the tasks before them? "The answer given by the Chronicler," Dyrness points out, "is that the rebuilding must be restoration. Only by recalling the covenant forms that David received from Moses and that were most perfectly realized in the temple worship could God be properly honored."[22] Thus, in the midst of the danger of syncretism, the Chronicler calls for a return to the covenant relationship. D. N. Freedman points out that "the author is above all a legitimist, and he is concerned with the divinely appointed institutions and duly authorized personnel which administer them in behalf of the people of Israel. Thus, his interest focuses on the kingdom of Judah, its capital city Jerusalem, and at the very center the temple."[23]

In considering the paralleling motifs between David's Psalm of Thanks and Rev. 14, we may further suggest, in the light of the above, that when John draws on material from 1 Chr 16:8-36, he is in reality touching on the very central issues in the theology of Chronicles—namely, restoration of the covenant and restoration of Yahweh worship. This is, of course, in harmony with the observations made immediately above in our discussion of "Typology," and is the conclusion that is obvious from the evidence presented in the main article. We may reiterate, in closing, that in harmony with NT applications of OT materials, the details as given in Rev 14:6-7 (and its context) have been broadened from a *local* to a *universal* scale.

[21]Cf. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, p. 48, and also the outline on p. 51 and the diagram on p. 52.

[22]Dyrness, p. 121.

[23]D. N. Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 436.

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THE USE OF *EK* IN REVELATION: EVIDENCE OF SEMITIC INFLUENCE

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The frequency of *ek* ("out of") in Revelation is noticeable. In all, it is used 135 times, a figure exceeded in the other NT writings only in the Gospel of John. Luke comes third with 87 occurrences.

It is often argued that the Greek of Revelation is under heavy and significant semitic influence. The possibility, therefore, arises that the frequency of *ek* in this book may, in part, be the result of its being used to translate Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents. It is the purpose of the present study to investigate this possibility. Where semitic influence does seem likely, I will also suggest new translations in order to make due allowance for this influence in the cases that would seem to require such.

1. *Ek Cheiros*

The construction *ek cheiros* ("out of the hand [of]") is found three times in the book of Revelation: 8:4, 10:10, and 19:2. R. H. Charles has noted that the last of these three involves a semitism by inserting "*myḏ*" after the Greek, but he makes no further comment.[1] He perhaps has in mind the use of *miyyaḏ* following *nāqam*, meaning "to avenge on," as in 2 Kgs 9:7: "I will avenge the blood of the servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord on Jezebel" (Hebrew, *miyyaḏ ʾîzāḇel*; LXX, *ek cheiros Iēzabel*). The following verse, too, has the same idiom.

In translating Rev 19:2 the New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures has maintained literalness, rendering the verse, "For he has executed judgment upon the great harlot who corrupted the

[1]R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh, 1920), 2:119.

earth with her fornication and he has avenged the blood of his slaves at her hand." Most of the other translations (e.g., NIV, RSV, NEB) simply leave out the prepositional phrase altogether, but the NIV seems to capture the sense of the idiom in its rendition, "He has condemned the great prostitute who corrupted the earth with her adulteries. He has avenged on her the blood of his servants."

A similar use of *ek*, though this time without *cheiros*, is found in Rev 6:10: "And they cried out in a great voice saying, 'How long O Lord, holy and true, will you not judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?'" (. . . καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). Here the use of *ek* following *ekdikeō* probably reflects *nāqam min*,[2] a use also found in the LXX (see, e.g., Num 31:2; Isa 1:24).

Hebrew idiom may again be responsible for the occurrence of *ek cheiros* in Rev 8:4. The Hebrew *yāḏ*, of which *cheiros* is the most obvious Greek translation, has a wide variety of meanings. Pertinent perhaps to the present discussion is its use to mean "side" or even "direction."[3] In Num 24:24 this use is present in the phrase *miyyaḏ Kittîm*, which seems to mean "from the direction of [or, region of] the Kittim." The LXX translates, "*ek cheiros kitiaiōn*." Further evidence is found in 1 Sam 4:18, where *beʿaḏ yāḏ* is probably best translated "from the side of" or "beside." These considerations suggest that Rev 8:4 may need re-examination. A more idiomatic translation might read, "And the smoke of the incense rose with the prayers of the saints from the direction of [or, from beside] the angel, going up into the presence of God." It perhaps makes better sense to view the smoke as ascending from beside the angel or coming from his general direction, than coming up "out of his hand."

The occurrence of *ek cheiros* in Rev 10:10 does not seem to be under serious semitic influence. The usage could, however, be paralleled from semitic sources.[4]

2. *Metanoeō Ek*

Outside of Revelation the construction *metanoeō ek* (literally, "repent out of") does not appear in the NT. Neither are there any

[2]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 667-668 (hereinafter BDB).

[3]Ibid., pp. 390-391.

[4]E.g., Exod 29:25, LXX (Hebrew, *lāqaḥ min*).

examples in the LXX. The verb does appear in these sources, but *ek* is not used with it (see Acts 8:22; 2 Cor 12:21; Jer 18:8; Amos 7:3, 6; Joel 2:13). The construction seems absent also from the classical sources and extra-biblical Koine literature.[5]

The case for the peculiarity of *metanoeō ek* in Revelation is not weakened when we remember that by Koine times the process of encroachment of *apo* ("from") and *ek* upon one another's grammatical territory was well under way, for while two examples of *metanoeō apo* are found, these are both in places where semitic influence may well have been at work (Acts 8:22; Jer 8:6, LXX).

In Revelation, however, *metanoeō ek* appears five times. This phenomenon needs explanation. Once again, recourse to the semitic languages, and in particular to Biblical Hebrew, seems to provide a possible solution. As noted above, *metanoeō apo*, a close parallel to *metanoeō ek*, appears in Jer 8:6, LXX. Here it is used to translate *niqām ᶜal*. It is possible, therefore, that the use of *metanoeō ek* in Revelation likewise reflects the Hebrew phrase, and should accordingly be translated as "repent of."[6]

This argument, however, is rather weak, for although *niqām ᶜal* is extremely common in the OT, it is only at Jer 8:6 that the LXX translators have employed *metanoeō apo* as the Greek rendering. A far more common LXX rendition is *metanoeō epi*, and this usage is paralleled in the NT (2 Cor 12:21).

There is a further possibility as to Hebrew background for *metanoeō ek* in the book of Revelation. Charles has suggested that this expression in Revelation reflects the Hebrew *šûḇ min* ("turn away from").[7] But against Charles is the LXX evidence, for there would seem to be only one example in the LXX of *šûḇ* being translated using *metanoeō* (Isa 46:8). Evidence is, however, available from the later Greek translations. Symmachus uses *metanoeō* as a translation of *šûḇ* in several places, as Charles himself notes (Sym Job 36:10; Isa 31:6; 55:7; Jer 18:8; Ezek 33:12).

It seems possible, therefore, that the explanation of the rather strange Greek construction *metanoeō ek* may be found in the

[5]Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1861), p. 1115; Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 511-512.

[6]BDB, pp. 636-637.

[7]Charles, 1:71.

common Hebrew phrase *šûḇ min*. If so, the occurrences in Revelation will need to be looked at carefully, for if the author had in mind the Hebrew (or Aramaic) phrase when he wrote the Greek, a translation might better read "turn away from" rather than "repent of."[8] In fact, all five occurrences of *metanoeō ek* in Revelation seem to accept—and indeed, perhaps even prefer—this translation. The phrase in Rev 16:11, for example, could easily be translated, ". . . and they did not turn away from their works." This rendering is perhaps better than "repent of," which verb focuses upon the mental transformation of the individual and his "feeling sorry" for past actions. The Vulgate may have completely missed the point in translating the phrase as *et non egerunt paenitentiam ex operibus suis* ("and they did not do penitence for [?] their works"). English translations likewise generally fail to allow for the possible influence of *šûḇ min*.

3. *Nikaō Ek*

The use of *ek* following the verb *nikaō* ("conquer") in Rev 15:2 is difficult to explain. G. B. Winer suggests that the expression is a Latinism,[9] but Charles rejects this explanation and views *nikaō ek* as deriving rather from *gāḇar min* ("be greater than").[10] The LXX does not support Charles's case. Neither of the examples he gives from the OT is translated using either *nikaō* or *ek*, and Charles wisely covers his remarks with the statement that "no adequate explanation has yet been offered."

G. C. Ozanne has taken up the issue and offers the construction *ḥāzaq min* ("be stronger than") as a possible solution to the problem.[11] Again, LXX evidence is lacking, for none of Ozanne's texts (1 Sam 17:50; 2 Sam 10:11; 1 Kgs 20:23, 25; 2 Kgs 3:26) lends real support.

Part of the reason for the general confusion is, perhaps, the infrequency of the use of the verb *nikaō* amongst those books of the

[8]BDB, pp. 996-997.

[9]G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. W. F. Moulton (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 460.

[10]Charles, 2:33.

[11]G. C. Ozanne, "The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Manchester University, 1963), pp. 44, 46.

LXX that are known to have had a Hebrew base.[12] The use of the verb in the apocryphal books is also of little or no help, for in their case a comparative study with Hebrew texts is not possible.

What might be said with somewhat more confidence, however, is that the *ek* of Rev 15:2 most probably reflects Hebrew/Aramaic *min* where the semitic preposition is used comparatively.[13] This is true whether *nikaō* reflects *gāḇar*, as Charles suggests, or *ḥāzaq*, as proposed by Ozanne. The translation of Rev 15:2 will be affected, for if the *ek* here does reflect comparative *min*, the word "conquered" is not a suitable translation of *nikaō*. A translation such as "were stronger than" or possibly "prevailed over" is required.[14]

4. *Methuō Ek*

The occurrence of *methuō ek* (literally, "be drunk out of") in Revelation cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as a Hebraism, for the construction is not completely absent from non-biblical Koine sources. Oppianus Apamensis gives an example of it, and Xenophon has at least two.[15] But in Revelation the usage may well be dependent upon semitic syntax, for *methuō ek* appears in the LXX at Joel 1:5; and a close parallel, *methuō apo*, is found in Deut 32:42 as the translation of *šāḵar min*.

There are two occurrences of *methuō ek* in Revelation: 17:2 and 17:6. In the second of these the repetition of the preposition before each noun perhaps strengthens the case for semitic influence, for such repetition is, as Matthew Black argues, "a characteristic feature of Semitic usage" and "intolerable in literary Greek."[16]

5. Ek *Denoting Cause*

The use of *ek* to denote cause is certainly not foreign to Classical Greek or extra-biblical Koine Greek,[17] and thus it is not

[12]There are three occurrences only—Ps 50 (51):4; Prov 6:25; Hab 3:9. Symmachus, Theodotian, and Aquila have the verb also at Ps 50 (51):6. In none of these places is the Hebrew verb *ḥāzaq*.

[13]BDB, p. 582.

[14]For such a meaning of *ḥāzaq min*, see 1 Sam 17:50.

[15]Liddell and Scott, p. 1092.

[16]Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 114-115.

[17]H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), sec. 1688.

possible to argue conclusively that causative *min* is responsible for the occurrences in Revelation. But more usually in Classical Greek, cause is expressed by use of the genitive alone or *hupo* followed by a genitive.[18] Further, the several examples of causal *ek* in Revelation (e.g., Rev 8:13, 16:11) could doubtless be paralleled from semitic sources where *min* used in this way is frequently rendered *ek* or *apo* in the LXX (e.g., *ek* in Exod 15:23 and Prov 5:18; *apo* in Exod 2:23 and 6:9). It therefore seems probable that causal *ek* in Revelation is based upon Hebrew idiom.

6. Ek *Denoting Agent (Personal and Impersonal)*

Closely connected with the use of *ek* to denote cause, is its use to indicate agent. Like causative *ek*, *ek* denoting agent is not entirely absent from the classical literature,[19] though in that literature the personal agent is more normally expressed using *hupo*, the impersonal with the dative case.[20] In Revelation, however, there are numerous examples of *ek* used to indicate the agent of an action (e.g., Rev. 2:9; 3:18; 8:11; 9:18). This may be explained by the influence of Hebrew *min*,[21] an influence felt also in the LXX (e.g., in Gen 19:36; and in Isa 28:7 [with *apo*]).

7. *Partitive* Ek

Black has drawn attention to the partitive use of *ek* in constructions such as those found in Rev 2:10 and 11:9, noting that while parallels are found in extra-biblical Koine Greek, occurrences in the NT are more likely to be based upon semitic influence.[22] To the examples of partitive *ek* in Revelation noted by Black, those given by Charles need to be added (Rev 3:9; 5:5; 5:9; 6:1; 7:13; 17:11).

Particularly common is the phrase *heis ek* ("one out of") (5:5; 6:1 [twice]; 7:13; 13:3; 15:7; 17:1; 21:9). This construction is not found in the Epistles, it occurs nine times in the Synoptics, and it is comparatively common in John's Gospel (twelve examples). The

[18]Smyth, secs. 1405 and 1698.

[19]Liddell and Scott, p. 499.

[20]Smyth, secs. 1493 and 1494.

[21]William Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, trans. Samuel P. Tregelles (London, 1857), p. 482.

[22]Black, pp. 107-108.

appearance of *heis ek* in literature suspected of being under semitic influence may be due to the common Hebrew equivalent *ʾeḥaḏ min* (e.g., Gen 2:21; 3:22; 1 Sam 9:3; 16:18).

8. Ek *Denoting the Material Out of Which Something Is Made*

That *ek* can be used in Classical Greek to denote the material out of which something is made is unquestionable,[23] but the use of *min* in this way is equally possible. An example of the semitic preposition so used is found in Hos 13:2, which the LXX translates, *epoiēsan heautois xoneuma ek tou argurion* ("and they made for themselves images of silver"). This meaning for *ek* is found also in Rev 18:12: "all kinds of scented woods, ivories and every sort of things made out of costly woods [*ek xulou*]."

9. Ek *Following* Esthiō

Both *esthio apo* ("eat from") and *esthio ek* ("eat out of") appear in the LXX as translating the Hebrew *ʾāḵal min* (e.g., Lev 22:13; 25:12; 2 Sam 12:3). In the NT, *esthiō* is followed by one or the other of the prepositions *apo* and *ek* ten times, yet the construction appears to be lacking in Classical Greek.[24] Such being the case, it would appear that the occurrence of *tō nikōnti dōsō autō phagein ek tou xulou tēs zōēs* in Rev 2:7 is dependent upon semitic syntax.

Similar is the use of *ek* in Rev 18:3, where it follows *pinō* ("drink"): "All the nations have drunk from [*pepōkan . . . ek*] the wine of the madness of her fornication" (see also Rev 14:10). Though *ek* following *pinō* is as old as Homer,[25] in Revelation it may reflect good Hebrew where *min* regularly follows *šāṯâ*, as in Job 21:20: "And he will drink from the wrath of the almighty" (*ûmēḥᵃmaṯ šadday yištê*). Another example is in Gen 9:21, where the LXX gives the translation *kai epien ek tou oinou. . . .*

10. *Conclusion*

The evidence suggests that the use of *ek* in Revelation is heavily influenced by the Hebrew (and Aramaic) preposition *min*. This

[23]Liddell and Scott, p. 499.

[24]Smyth, sec. 1355.

[25]Liddell and Scott, p. 1406.

observation may, in part, explain the relative frequency of the Greek preposition in the book. In some cases, allowance for semitic influence will significantly alter the translation, and therefore the meaning, of a verse; in other cases, it is less important in this regard.

The exact extent to which the use of *ek* was influenced by the semitic languages is impossible to tell, for as we have seen, good Greek can sometimes reflect good Hebrew. It may be noted, however, that in the book of Revelation an attempt to track down a usage of *ek* which is solely Greek is a difficult task. Any given usage can normally be paralleled from Hebrew or Aramaic sources.

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THE DURATION OF THE ISRAELITE SOJOURN IN EGYPT

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From possibly as early as the LXX (ca. 250-150 B.C.[1]), there has been a tradition that the 430 years in Exod 12:40 (or apparently rounded to the 400 years of Gen 15:13) represent only 215 actual years of Israelite sojourn in Egypt, with the other 215 years representing the sojourn in Canaan. The Hebrew MT of both of the above verses, however, appears to indicate that the total years constituted the full period of time of the sojourn in Egypt prior to the Exodus.

The Jewish historian Josephus (first century A.D.) provides a divided testimony—one time apparently following the LXX, and thus associating the rise of Joseph to power as vizier of Egypt with the Hyksos (Dynasties 15-16, ca. 1730-1575 B.C.[2]), and another time following the MT.[3] Rabbinic tradition as reflected in *Seder ʿÔlām* (second century A.D.)[4] and Rashi (eleventh century A.D.)[5] allows but 210 years for the sojourn in Egypt. The Midrash is more vague.[6]

The NT also appears to be divided on the subject. In Acts 7:6-7, Stephen uses essentially the same wording as the Genesis passage, which appears to allocate a full and literal 400 years to the Israelite sojourn in Egypt. In Gal 3:17, however, Paul seems to indicate that the 430 years extended from Abraham to the giving of the Law,[7]

[1]I.e., if MSS B and h, which carry this tradition, reflect that early a form of the text.

[2]Josephus, *Ant.* 2.15.2; and *Ag. Apion* 1.14 (trans. Thackeray, in LCL).

[3]Josephus, *Ant.* 2.9.1.

[4]Edgar Frank, *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology* (New York, 1956), pp. 11, 19. For a list of those who hold this position in rabbinic tradition, cf. H. H. Rowley, *From Josephus to Joshua* (London, 1950), pp. 67-69.

[5]Rashi, *Pentateuch with Rashi's Commentary*, vol. 1, ed. A. M. Silbermann and trans. M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silbermann, (London, 1945), Part 1, pp. 61-62, and Part 2, p. 61.

[6]*Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Freedman and M. Simon (London, 1939), 1: 373.

[7]Leon Wood, *A Survey of Israel's History* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), p. 88, points out that Gal 3:16 says it was "not only to Abraham but to 'his seed'" which the

rather than representing the totality of the sojourn in Egypt. In this, he appears to be following the LXX of Exod 12:40.[8] Acts 13:17-20 is a further NT passage that is sometimes seen as having a bearing on this question, though its reference to "about 450 years till Samuel the prophet" pertains to a period of time subsequent to the Sojourn.[9]

Among the Early-Church Fathers there is also division of opinion on the interpretation of the chronology in these biblical references. For instance, Tertullian supports the short chronology,[10] whereas Hippolytus favors the long one.[11]

Since different versions of the OT have carried these two traditions, and commentators have aligned themselves accordingly to one tradition or the other, it is necessary to examine the various ancient texts, in order to discover the preferable reading. It is also necessary to take a look at the history, archaeology, and other biblical data which may have some bearing on the text, so as to ascertain the best setting for the events dealt with in Gen 15:13-21 and Exod 12:40.

Depending on the interpretation given to the 400 (430) years, the events of Gen 15 happened either during Middle Bronze Age I (2200-1950 B.C.) or during Middle Bronze Age IIA (1950-1800 B.C.)—or more specifically, about 2095 B.C. or 1880 B.C., respectively. Therefore, Abraham came to Canaan either during the Ur III Dynasty (ca. 2112-2004 B.C.) or during the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1894-1595 B.C.).[12] (Through the years considerable attention has

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covenant promises were spoken; and indeed, just before Jacob went down into Egypt they were spoken to him for the last time (Gen 46:2-4)—exactly 430 years before the Law was given, if the long chronology is allowed.

[8]This is disputed by Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953), p. 136, n. 8.

[9]Harold W. Hoehner, "The Duration of the Egyptian Bondage," *B Sac* 126 (1969): 313-314; Jack R. Riggs, "The Length of Israel's Sojourn in Egypt," *Grace Theological Journal* 12 (1972): 29-30; James R. Battenfield, "A Consideration of the Identity of the Pharaoh of Genesis 47," *JETS* 15 (1972): 79. On the basis of MSS B, ℵ, A, and C, the text should indicate, according to B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, a period of "about 450 years" (or more precisely 447 years)—i.e., 400 years of bondage in Egypt, 40 years in the wilderness, and 7 years of conquest of Canaan. See Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Original Greek* (New York, 1948), p. 276.

[10]Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews* 2 (*ANF*, 3:153).

[11]Hippolytus, *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* 6 (*ANF*, 5:220).

[12]The foregoing dates are based on the Middle chronology for the beginning of Hammurabi's reign (i.e., 1792 B.C.), and follow J. A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian

been devoted to the date of the Exodus, and I have obviously opted for an early dating. On this point, see my further discussion in "Excursus A" at the end of this article.)

It will be pertinent to begin our analysis with the two OT passages which are the most relevant to our discussion, Exod 12:40 and Gen 15:13-21, noted at the outset of this article. The former is given within a chronological statement in the context of the account of the Exodus itself, and the latter is in the setting of God's ratification of his covenant with Abram, which included both the confirming of the promises of the seed (vss. 13-17) and the land grant (vss. 18-21).[13]

1. *Textual Evidence on Exodus 12:40*

In Exod 12:40, the extent of Israel's sojourn in Egypt is given in the MT as 430 years (the more exact amount for the round number of Gen 15:13).[14] The major manuscript evidence for the LXX,[15] plus the Samaritan Pentateuch,[16] supports the addition of "and their fathers" to the phrase "the children of Israel," as do a number of other ancient versions.[17]

As for the time period itself, the 430 years are divided between Canaan and Egypt in at least two manuscripts of the LXX (LXX^{Bh}) and in an obelus of the Syro-Hexapla, as well as in all known manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Vulgate, Peshitta, and the Targum follow the MT. Although when the Samaritan

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Chronology of the Historical Period" in A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 336-337.

[13]Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15," *JSOT* 19 (1981): 67-70. See also M. Weinfeld, "Bᵉrîth," *TDOT* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), 2: 259-260; and "The Covenant of Grant in the OT in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 90 (1970): 196-200.

[14]The ancient versions follow the MT for the most part in Gen 15:13-21. However, the LXX (all MSS except 82*) adds the phrase "and humble them," to the list of things that will happen to Abram's seed during the 400 years (300 years, MS 79*). There are a few other minor variations that also affect the meaning of this passage very little, if at all. In essence, it is only Exod 12:40 that has a bearing textually on the problem under consideration.

[15]MSS AFM a-tv-c_2. The fact that the various manuscripts place this phrase in two different locations in this verse would seem to indicate its secondary character.

[16]MSS ABCD[4]EFG[1]HINPQW[3]X[1]BDCF (=) *dln*.

[17]Armenian, Bohairic, Ethiopic, Syro-Hexapla, Eusebius-*Chron*.

Pentateuch and the LXX coincide they are usually considered to be preferable to the MT, the manuscripts in this case do not reflect the exact same original. They are divided in terms of their order of elements, with LXX^B reading "in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan," whereas LXX^h reads "in the land of Canaan and in Egypt." It is the latter reading (but with a second "the land of") which occurs in all known manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Interestingly, LXX^B also originally added an extra five years to the sojourn, here and in vs. 41, whereas the other LXX manuscripts, as well as the other ancient versions, are agreed on 430 years. This deviation of LXX^B and the afore-mentioned one suggest that LXX^B is evidently not to be taken as the original and better reading of this verse. Table 1 gives an overview of the textual data on Exod 12:40:

TABLE 1

Summary of Textual Data on Exod 12:40

Variant	MT	Samaritan	Josephus	LXX	Other Ancient Versions
Egypt (only)	All known MSS	———	Ant. 2.9.1	AFM a-gi-tv-c_2	Arm, Bo, Aeth, O. Lat^z, Tg, Pesh Vulg
Canaan & Egypt	———	All known MSS	———	h	———
Egypt & Canaan	———	———	Ant. 2.15.2	B	Syro-Hexapla (obelus)

As can be seen from these data in Table 1, the majority of the ancient texts lend support to the long chronology (for the sojourn in Egypt alone). While this fact does not, of course, provide conclusive support for that chronology, it does indicate a direction of probability as to the original. The LXX^{Bh} and Samaritan Pentateuch readings seem, therefore, to be Midrashic exegesis, as is Rashi.[18]

[18]U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 85-86. Indeed, Rashi is somewhat dependent on the LXX (cf.

2. *Interpretational Problems in Genesis 15:13-21*

With regard to Gen 15:13-21, there are two interpretational matters that have a specific bearing on this investigation; namely, (1) the question of who is the oppressor of the descendants of Abraham for the "400 years" (vs. 13); and (2) the significance of the term "fourth generation" in designating the time of return from captivity (vs. 16).

Who Oppresses Whom?

Although Abraham and his descendants were sojourners (*gēr*) in both Canaan and Egypt (Gen 21:34; 26:3; Ps 105:23), there is no record of their being servants to the Canaanites, or being in any way oppressed by them. In fact, these patriarchs were treated well and were allowed to travel freely throughout the land.

It has been pointed out by those favoring the short chronology for the Egyptian sojourn (i.e., 215 years, with the previous 215 years in Canaan) that Isaac was "persecuted" by Ishmael, that Jacob fled from Esau, and that Joseph was sold as a slave by his brothers.[19] However, these events or situations were intra-family quarrels and hardly qualify for the expression "they will oppress them." That expression requires an entirely different entity as the oppressor (cf. the inverted parallelism of vs. 13). The Egyptians are the only ones who would appear truly to qualify for this role.

A further indication that the oppression must relate to the Egyptian sojourn emerges from the fact of God's promise to Abraham in vs. 15 that Abraham would not be involved in these tragedies, but would die in peace. Abraham lived for a century after the events described in Gen 15, Jacob and Esau being 15 years old when he died (Gen 25:7, 26). Oppression to the patriarch's descendants would

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Rashi, 2:61). It is also interesting to note that it is an anachronism to call Abraham, Isaac, and even Jacob himself "children of Israel and their fathers" (as in the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch) before Jacob had sons at Haran or had received his new name on his way back to Canaan. This could, however, have added only about 33 years (1913-1880 B.C.)—or the time of Jacob's return to Canaan until the time when he went down to Egypt—if their sojourn was also "in Canaan." (The writer is indebted to William H. Shea for this observation.)

[19]Cf. Martin Anstey, *The Romance of Bible Chronology* (London, 1913), 1:114, 117; also Francis D. Nichol, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1953): 314.

have been oppression to the patriarch himself; and thus, whether oppression had come from his own family or from outsiders, Abraham would have had a difficult time dying in peace if, indeed, as the short chronology necessitates, there was already oppression to the patriarch's descendants during his own lifetime.

Problem of the Four Generations

"And in the fourth generation they will return here" (Gen 15:16). The time reference in vs. 13 is the "400 years"; therefore, the meaning in vs. 16 appears to be four generations of 100 years each. This length for a generation does not occur elsewhere in the OT, but this is possibly so because people in patriarchal times were recognized as living to be 100 years of age and older, as a general rule.[20]

However, there is a more simple solution to this matter. The Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, dated long periods of time in terms of lifetimes,[21] or the circle of a person's lifetime,[22] the word *dôr* coming from a root meaning "to go in a circle."[23] This is to be contrasted with the word *tôlēḏôṯ*, which is also translated as "generations," but in the biological sense of descendants.[24] Therefore, *dôr* should be seen as a circle or cycle of time, rather than generation(s), as both etymology and context would suggest.[25]

Starting from at least the time of Rashi,[26] and using the traditional definition of a generation to mean from the time of a man's birth to the birth of his offspring, those who have favored the short

[20]K. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch*, vol. 1, trans. James Martin, in *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952), p. 216.

[21]D. N. Freedman and J. Lundbom, "*Dôr*," *TDOT* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), 3:170, 174; W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation," *BASOR*, no. 163 (1961), pp. 50-51; and Robert Baker Girdlestone, *Synonyms of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1948), p. 315.

[22]R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke, eds., "*Dôr*," *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago, 1980), 1:186.

[23]William Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, trans. Samuel P. Tregelles (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), p. 193.

[24]William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), p. 387.

[25]Cognates in Akkadian (*dārû*) and Arabic *dāra*) also bear this out (cf. Freedman and Lundbom, pp. 170, 172).

[26]Rashi, 1:61.

chronology have pointed to Exod 6:16-27, which would indicate four generations from Levi to Moses.[27] Furthermore, a comparison with another four-generation genealogy in Num 26:57-62 would seem to strengthen their case. On the basis of these two apparently rather weighty pieces of evidence, it would seem that 400 (430) years would be far too long a period of time between Jacob's descent into Egypt and the Exodus, or the time or number of generations between the leaving of Canaan (obviously into Egypt, by either interpretation) and the return into Canaan.

There are indications, on the other hand, that both of the above four-generation genealogies of Moses are stylized and incomplete. Exod 6:14-27, which gives genealogies for Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, begins by saying, "These are the heads of their fathers' houses," a technical term for a collection of families (or more accurately, kin-groups) denominated by a common ancestor, i.e., a lineage.[28] Also included are the names of such sons as were founders of families: *mišpāḥôṯ* (i.e., lineage segments). Thus, stated in another way, the names included in this genealogy are "the heads [*rā'šē*] of the father's-houses of the Levites according to their families" (vs. 25b—not each individual. The heads of families, thus, are: Levi (actually the tribal or lineage founder), the first generation; Kohath (with his brothers Gershon and Merari), the second generation; and Amram (and his brothers Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel), the third generation. However, this is where the heads of families conclude.

The name Amram of vs. 20 may be a conflation of the name of the Amram who was the head of one of the third-generation families of Levi, with the name of a later Amram who was the father of Moses and Aaron.[29] There was a tendency among the Levites to name their sons after their forefathers (cf. 1 Chr 6:7-13; Luke 1:5, 59-61). Thus, several generations appear to have been telescoped here, with

[27]This assumes the validity of basing the fulfillment of this verse on Levi's genealogy.

[28]Keil and Delitzsch, 1:469.

[29]Those listed as sons of Izhar and Uzziel, vss. 21-22, are possibly several generations later, the term "son" thus indicating a later descendant, with the most important names listed first in that they appear in current events surrounding the Exodus (cf. Lev 10:4; Num 3:30; 16:1). For examples of this phenomenon elsewhere, cf. Gen 11:26, 32; 12:4; 46:16-18, 24-25.

Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron, probably being at least the grandson of the original Amram, if not even a later descendant.[30] (See Table 2.) According to Num 3:27-28, after the numbering of the people in the wilderness in the second year after the Exodus, the Kohathites were divided into four families (*mišpāḥôṯ*). These families of the Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites consisted of 8600 men and boys (not including women and girls), of which about a fourth (or 2150) were Amramites. This would have given Moses and Aaron that incredibly large a number of brothers and brothers' sons (brothers' daughters, sisters, and their daughters not being reckoned), if the *same* Amram, the son of Kohath, were both the head of the family of the Amramites and their own father.[31] Obviously, such could not have been the case.

The genealogy of Num 26:57-62 is also incomplete (possibly representing a harmonization with Exod 6). After the list of eight families (*mišpāḥôṯ*), there is a break at vs. 58. Again Levi, Kohath, and Amram are first-through-third generations, respectively. Jochebed is not the daughter of Levi, but rather *a* daughter of Levi—that is, "Levitess" (cf. Exod 2:1; the Hebrew of the two verses is the same, *baṯ Lēvî*).

Further evidence pertinent to the Levi genealogies may be found in the fact that the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr 2:1-20) and Ephraim (Num 26:35-36; 1 Chr 7:20-27) indicate seven and eight generations, respectively,[32] for the same or a slightly lesser time period than that encompassed in the four-generation genealogies of Levi in Exod 6:16-27 and Num 26:57-62. At the very end of each of these other genealogies, we find reference to several contemporaneous individuals from the three tribes. Thus, these more-extended genealogies of Judah and Ephraim would seem to indicate incompleteness in the Levi genealogies.

[30]An alternative view is that there is only one Amram, thus leaving the parents of Moses and Aaron unnamed; cf. W. H. Green, "Primeval Chronology," *BSac* 47 (1890): 293.

[31]Keil and Delitzsch, 1:470.

[32]The genealogical comparisons of this section of the paper (including Table 2) reflect only the data given in the biblical text. I am not attempting here to do a thorough historical reconstruction of these genealogies, which would of necessity include all instances of genealogical fluidity; cf. Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven, 1977), pp. 27-36.

My reconstruction of the genealogical data is summarized in Table 2, and further elaboration is provided in Excursus B at the end of this article.

TABLE 2

Summary of Genealogical Data

Gen., Num 26:35-36 and I Chr 7:20-27			Exod 6:16-27	I Chr 2:1-20	
1	Joseph		Levi	Judah	
2	Ephraim		*Kohath*	*Perez*	
3	*Shuthelah* *Becher* (Bered)	*Tahan*	*Amram*	*Hezron*	
4	*Eran* & Tahath	Laadan	?	*Ram*	*Caleb*
5	Eleadah	Ammihud	Amram = Jochebed	Amminadab	*Hur*
6	Tahath	Elishama†	Aaron† = Elisheba	Nahshon†	Uri
7	Zabad	Nun†			Bezaleel†
8	Shuthelah	Joshua†			
9	Ephraim				
10	Ezer & Elead & Beriah				
11	Rephah & Resheph				
12	Telah				

† Contemporaries during the Exodus and after.
Italics indicate founders of families.

3. *Historical Setting*

In the previous two sections, we have dealt with the biblical and textual data as well as the interpretational problems which accompany them in presenting a case for the long chronology. It was found that these data allow for such a reconstruction. In the present section we deal briefly with historical and archaeological data that have significant implications for the "long-chronology" view presented here. These relate to the historical setting for Abraham and for Joseph, and to the time of the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt prior to the Exodus.

Abraham

The long chronology for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt would place the birth of Abraham ca. 2170 B.C., and thus would locate the events of his first year in Canaan, his visit to Egypt, and the events of Gen 15 ca. 2095 B.C. The basic question to be asked here

is this: Are the conditions in Canaan and Egypt at that time compatible with the narratives in Genesis? Indeed, the case seems to be such that we can answer in the affirmative.

Both Ur and Haran were flourishing at the time. Shechem and Bethel were uninhabited,[33] but the Jordan valley was well populated.[34] In the Negev, there was settlement from the twenty-first to the nineteenth centuries B.C., but not before or afterwards (cf. Gen 20:1, 24:62; 28:20).[35] However, in the central hill country there was apparently a sparseness of population, reflected by the fact that Abraham could move freely between Shechem and Beersheba,[36] where he could pitch his tent and graze his flock as he pleased, as did Isaac and Jacob. Archaeological findings reveal the same condition, particularly in the interior of Canaan, and further indicate that during the nineteenth century the cities west of the Jordan were again occupied.[37] It is interesting, moreover, that Asiatics during Egypt's First Intermediate Period (ca. 2181-2022 B.C.) entered the Delta

[33]On Shechem, see G. Ernest Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (New York, 1964), pp. 110-112; and William H. Shea, "Famines in the Early History of Egypt and Syro-Palestine" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976), pp. 151-152. On Bethel, see W. F. Albright and James L. Kelso, "The Excavation of Bethel (1934-1960)," *AASOR* 39 (1968): 10, 21, 45. The conclusion is valid if indeed Bethel is Beitin: cf. David Livingston, "Location of Biblical Bethel and Ai Reconsidered," *WTJ* 33 (1970): 20-44, and "Traditional Site of Bethel Questioned," *WTJ* 34 (1971): 39-50.

[34]M. Ibrahim, James A. Sauer, K. Yassine, "The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975," *BASOR*, no. 222 (1976): 51-54.

[35]Nelson Glueck, "The Age of Abraham in the Negeb," *BA* 18 (1955): 6-9; "Exploring Southern Palestine (The Negev)," *BAR* 1 (1959): 4-5; and *Rivers in the Desert* (New York, 1959), pp. 60-101. Cf. William G. Dever, "The EB IV-MB I Horizon in Transjordan and Southern Palestine," *BASOR*, no. 210 (1973), pp. 37-63; also R. Cohen and W. G. Dever, "Preliminary Report of the Second Season of the 'Central Negev Highlands Project,'" *BASOR*, no. 236 (1979), pp. 42, 57-58; and "Preliminary Report of the Third and Final Season of the 'Central Negev Highlands Project,'" *BASOR*, no. 243 (1981), p. 61.

[36]Both Gen 12:6 and 21:31 use the term *māqôm* ("place") rather than *ʿîr* ("city") for these sites, as does Gen 28:19 for Bethel at the time Jacob went through on his way to Haran. This terminology indicates that there was no inhabited city at these sites at those particular times (i.e., MBI for the former, and MBIIA for the latter).

[37]G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 47, and Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, trans. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 144-147.

region with relative ease.[38] Thus, it would not have been difficult for Abraham to enter the unguarded borders of Egypt at that time.

Joseph

If the long chronology puts Abraham in Canaan ca. 2095 B.C., then it also puts Joseph in Egypt during the Twelfth Dynasty (ca. 1991-1782 B.C.), instead of (as with Josephus and tradition) during the Hyksos Period. Likewise, it brings Jacob into Egypt ca. 1880 B.C. Again, it is necessary to see if this period correlates with what we know from the narratives in Genesis and Exodus.

From this point of view, the Beni-Hasan Asiatics (depicted on a wall of the tomb of the nomarch Khnum-hotep III) reflect the time of Jacob and Joseph, rather than that of Abraham.[39] There is also mention of famine during the Twelfth Dynasty.[40] These circumstances correlate with the biblical evidence.

According to Gen 37:2, Joseph was sold into slavery and brought down into Egypt when he was 17 years old; this would be, according to my suggested reconstruction, in 1902 B.C., or late in the reign of Amenemhat II (1929-1895 B.C.). There is concurrence with Egyptian history in that during the Twelfth Dynasty slavery of Syro-Palestinians was growing.[41] Joseph was purchased by an Egyptian official named Potiphar (Gen 37:36), and was made a domestic servant or steward, something which was quite common during the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties XI-XII, ca. 2022-1782 B.C.).[42]

When Joseph became vizier to Pharaoh,[43] he was given Pharaoh's second chariot (Gen 41:43; cf. 46:29). This fact may seem to pose a problem in that the Hyksos brought the horse (cf. Gen 47:17) and chariot to Egypt for use in war.[44] However, a horse burial

[38]Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 109-110.

[39]Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Part 1 (London, 1893), pp. 2-3.

[40]Shea, "Famines," pp. 69-71, 171-173; Gardiner, p. 129.

[41]William C. Hayes, ed., *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1972), pp. 87, 92 and passim; *ANET*, pp. 553-554.

[42]Charles F. Aling, *Egypt and Bible History* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1981), pp. 30-31, 34-36.

[43]See J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte* (Louvain, 1959), p. 102.

[44]J. A. Thompson, *The Bible and Archaeology*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), p. 44. For doubts concerning this longstanding argument, cf. John Van Seters,

antedating the Hyksos Period has been found at Buhen in Nubia, from ca. 1875 B.C.[45] The wording "second chariot" in Gen 41:43 may suggest, of course, that chariots were uncommon.[46]

Joseph's marriage to the daughter of a priest of On (Heliopolis), as arranged by the Pharaoh (Gen 41:45), is also significant. On was the center of worship of the sun-god Re, and Joseph's father-in-law was no doubt a priest of Re. Although the Hyksos did not suppress the worship of Re, they venerated Seth, who was their primary deity. If Joseph had lived during the Hyksos Period, he probably would have received a wife from the family of a priest of Seth, rather than of Re.[47] It is also possible that Joseph's land reforms during the famine (Gen 47:20-26) may be connected with the breaking of the dominance of the great nomarchs of the land by Pharaoh Sesostris III (ca. 1878-1843 B.C.) at this very time.[48]

A further argument put forward for the view that Joseph was ruler of Egypt during the Hyksos Period is that the Hyksos capital Avaris was in the Delta, and this is coupled with the fact that Joseph told his father to dwell in the land of Goshen so that he could be near him (Gen 45:10).[49] However, the land of Goshen is spoken of as if it were in a part of Egypt other than where the Pharaoh and Joseph resided (see especially Gen 46:29, 31, telling of Joseph's going to Goshen to meet his father, and then going elsewhere to Pharaoh). During the Twelfth Dynasty, the capital was at It-towy (Lisht), a site compatible with the conditions of the narrative, which require a capital neither too near to, nor too far from, Goshen.[50] There was also a secondary capital, possibly at Qantir.[51] (Both the "land of Ramses" [Gen 47:11] and the storage cities of Pithom

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The Hyksos: A New Investigation (New Haven, 1966), p. 185, and T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," *JEA* 37 (1951): 59-60.

[45]Walter B. Emery, *Egypt in Nubia* (London, 1965), p. 107.

[46]Aling, p. 45. However, a viable alternative is "second" in the order of procession.

[47]Aling, pp. 45-46; cf. also Wood, p. 38, n. 45.

[48]Battenfield, pp. 82-84.

[49]Nichol, 1:462.

[50]Battenfield, p. 81.

[51]Ibid., pp. 81-82. See also Manfred Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta* (London, 1979), pp. 228, 237-241.

[probably Tell er-Retabeh][52] and Per Ramses [probably Qantir],[53] which were built well before the birth of Moses,[54] are probably insertions of later names by a copyist to identify Goshen and the storage cities to readers who would not know the original locations.[55])

As can be seen from the above reconstruction, the Israelite Patriarchal period spans the transition between MBI and MBII. When MBI came to be recognized as a discrete historical period, it was suggested by Nelson Glueck and W. F. Albright that this was the period of the Patriarchs.[56] Since then, this conclusion has been disputed by Thomas L. Thompson and J. Van Seters.[57] A recent survey of the archaeological data,[58] however, supports the position of those initial conclusions for MBI as the period of settlement in the Negev by Abraham and Isaac, but it also suggests, further, that the Jacob narratives belong to MBIIA. It would seem, then, that these archaeological data support a biblical chronological framework based on the long chronology.

The Time of Oppression

We turn our attention next to the time of the Oppression of the Israelites after the death of Joseph, when there arose over Egypt a new king who "did not know Joseph" (Exod 1:8). In Hebrew, the verb *qwm* plus the preposition *ʿal* often means "to rise against" (cf. Deut 19:11; 28:7; Judg 9:18; et al.), and as such would not indicate a

[52]Alan Gardiner, "The Delta Residence of the Ramessides," *JEA* 5 (1918): 268. T. Eric Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Liverpool, 1924), pp. 87-91.

[53]Bietak, pp. 230, 268-271, 273, 278-283.

[54]John Rea, The Time of the Oppression and the Exodus," *JETS* 3 (1960): 62.

[55]Nichol, 1:473, 497-498; Aling, p. 95.

[56]Nelson Glueck, "The Age of Abraham in the Negev," pp. 6-9; *Rivers in the Desert*, p. 68; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Gloucester, 1971), pp. 82-83; "Abraham the Hebrew," pp. 36-54.

[57]Thomas L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (New York, 1974), pp. 182-183; and John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, 1975), pp. 104-112.

[58]J. J. Bimson, "Archaeological Data and the Dating of the Patriarchs," in *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives*, ed. A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman (Winona Lake, Ind., 1980), pp. 53-89.

peaceable accession to the throne of a nation. This statement would, therefore, fit more precisely with a situation in which the Hyksos or other outsiders were taking over the Egyptian throne than it would with the rise of a native Egyptian Dynasty.[59] Although possibly, as is sometimes suggested, it could refer to Ahmose I (ca. 1575-1553 B.C.), the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1575-1318 B.C.), in taking back a throne that was rightfully his, other considerations seem to go contrary to this. For instance, in Exod 1:9-10, the new king says: "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies and fight against us, and go up from the land."

This statement may well have been made long before Israel finished multiplying to the population peak which they reached just prior to the Exodus. The Israelites were, in fact, never more numerous and mighty than the native Egyptians; but they were indeed so, in comparison to the Hyksos, who were never very numerous in Egypt, and who ruled by holding key positions rather than by numbers. If the new Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" was a Hyksos ruler, he could expect war with the Egyptians at any time; and since Joseph and the Hebrews had been on friendly terms with the Egyptians, he could also expect the Hebrews to join themselves to the Egyptians.[60]

There are other reasons which support the suggestion that it was the Hyksos who began the oppression of Israel. For instance, if Ahmose had been the Pharaoh of the oppression, it would seem illogical that the Egyptians would fear the Israelites after the Egyptians' successful expulsion of the Hyksos, pushing them back into Palestine and even besieging them there. Moreover, if the Hyksos had enslaved the Hebrews, the latter would certainly have had no desire to leave with the Hyksos; and since the Jews were on friendly terms with the Egyptians, a clear distinction would be made.[61]

[59]Rea, p. 60.

[60]Ibid., p. 61.

[61]Ibid., pp. 60-61.

It seems, therefore, that the Hyksos were the ones who enslaved the Hebrews.[62] They forced them to build the storage cities Pithom and Per-Ramses (cf. Exod 1:11), the latter of which (if at Qantir) has finds from the Hyksos Period and earlier (associating it with Avaris) and which also has finds from the Nineteenth Dynasty (ca. 1318-1209 B.C.), including bricks with the name "Ramses," as well as ostraca which have the name "Per-Ramses." These finds correlate well with the literary sources concerning Per-Ramses.[63]

There is no need, then, to try to circumvent the lack of Eighteenth-Dynasty remains at Qantir,[64] for it was not during this period, but rather during the Hyksos Period, that the Hebrews were forced to build these cities. The Hyksos oppression, therefore, probably began about 1730 B.C.[65] The difference between that date and 1450 B.C., the date of the Exodus, is 280 years. When 40 years for the wilderness wanderings are added, the time is 320 years—or "*in* the fourth generation or cycle of time" (cf. Gen 15:16), when Israel returned to Canaan.

Indeed, an even earlier, but lesser period of oppression can be seen as existing at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III (1842-1797 B.C.), or during a possible coregency between him and his father Sesostris III,[66] since this was the approximate time that Asiatic slaves appeared in Egypt.[67] This oppression may be dated to ca. 1850 B.C., in fulfillment of the 400 years of Gen 15:13,[68] with a more intense period of oppression during the Hyksos domination, as mentioned above. Subsequent to the Hyksos domination, the

[62]If the tradition in Josephus is correct, the Hyksos did make some people slaves; cf. *Ag. Apion* 1.14.

[63]Aling, pp. 66-69; cf. Shea, "Exodus," pp. 231-232.

[64]Bietak, pp. 236, 268.

[65]Rea, p. 61. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 165; *ANET*, pp. 252-253.

[66]G. Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), p. 22; James Henry Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1908), p. 160; and W. K. Simpson, "Historical and Lexical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions," *JNES* 18 (1959): 20-37; and William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 9-13, 228-229.

[67]Georges Posener, "Les Asiatiques in Egypte sous les XII[e] et XIII[e] dynasties," *Syria* 34 (1957): 146; Hayes, "Papyrus," pp. 87 and passim; *ANET*, pp. 553-554.

[68]Battenfield, p. 84.

Egyptian rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, evidently after a brief period of relaxation from the Hyksos oppression, found it to their advantage to oppress the Hebrews.[69] Thutmose I (ca. 1532-1518 B.C.), who acceded to the throne in 1532 B.C., would be a likely candidate for the Pharaoh of the death decree,[70] if we reckon an Exodus of ca. 1450 B.C. According to Exod 1:15-22 and 7:7, this decree was probably issued about half way between the birth of Aaron and the birth of Moses.

4. *Summary and Conclusion*

Ever since the appearance of LXX^{Bh}, with variant translations of Exod 12:40, there has been a division among scholars as to whether the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt was 215 (or 210) years long, as the variant reading claims, or 430 years long, as the Hebrew text gives the time period. Although, along with Gen 15:13-21, Exod 12:40 is our primary source, evidences other than the variants of the ancient translations of the Scriptures are needed in order to reach a decision with respect to whether the long chronology or the short one for the Israelite sojourn in Egypt is to be preferred.

A comparison of various genealogical data reveals that while on the surface, at least, the Levitical genealogy of Moses shows only four generations, other genealogies, such as those of Judah, and the two sons of Joseph, reveal six, seven, and eight generations for the same time period, evidencing that there are some missing generations in the genealogy of Moses. Thus, this genealogy in Exod 6:16-27 should not be taken as support for the 215-year view. The genealogical data favor, instead, a longer time period.

The historical and archaeological evidence also seems to have a closer correlation with the biblical data if the 430 years are taken to be the length of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt alone. Especially does the career of Joseph seem to fit well into the Twelfth-Dynasty circumstances in Egypt, with the sojourn and the oppressions of varying intensities bridging the reign of Amenemhat III, the Hyksos Period, and the Eighteenth Dynasty. Also, Abraham appears to fit just as well, if not better, into the twenty-first century, than into the nineteenth century. Moreover, not only are the evidences from these various directions compatible with Palestinian and Egyptian

[69]Rea, p. 61.

[70]Shea, "Exodus," p. 233.

history, but they also seem to provide preferable explanations for—or, at least, to avert—some of the problems that arise in connection with the short chronology (such as the lack of Eighteenth-Dynasty remains at Qantir, and the reference in Num 3:27-28 to 8,600 brothers and cousins of Moses and Aaron).

In short, the various lines of evidence would seem to indicate that the 430 years should be taken at face value for the Israelite sojourn in Egypt. In any event, it seems to me that the case for this particular reconstruction is tenable and defensible, and that it deserves attention as an alternative to the "short-chronology" interpretation.

EXCURSUS A
DATE OF THE EXODUS

The dating of the Exodus is very controversial. There are two main periods which have been suggested as fitting best the evidence for this event—one at the end of the Late Bronze Age I, and the other at the end of the Late Bronze Age II. A thirteenth-century date has been favored by most of the scholarly world, with either a low date of ca. 1220 B.C. (cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Egypt and Israel* [London, Eng., 1911], p. 53) or a high date of ca. 1280 B.C. (cf. W. F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity* [Garden City, N.Y., 1957], p. 256).

However, a fifteenth-century-B.C. date is preferred by other scholars. These scholars, too, hold either to a high date of ca. 1470 B.C. (cf. J. Bimson, "Redating the Exodus and Conquest," *JSOT* 5 [1978]: 144) or a low date of ca. 1445 B.C. (cf. J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus* [Edinburgh, 1925], p. 199).

I have opted for the fifteenth-century "low date," as recently modified to ca. 1450 B.C. by W. H. Shea, "Exodus, Date of the," *ISBE*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 2: 230-238. The dates found throughout my foregoing article are based on this date for the Exodus.

EXCURSUS B
THE GENEALOGIES OF EPHRAIM, LEVI, AND JUDAH

In Table 2 in the preceding main article, I have summarized my reconstruction of data from several genealogical lists: for Ephraim (beginning with his father, Joseph) in Num 26:35-36 and 1 Chr 7:20-27; for Levi in Exod 6:16-27; and for Judah in 1 Chr 2:1-20. Although it is not my purpose

to provide a detailed analysis, a few of the specifics deserve mention, and this excursus is devoted to them.

Nahshon, the sixth generation from Judah, was still alive in the second year after the Exodus and was at that time the prince or leader (*nāśî'*; cf. Num 2:3; 7:12) of the tribe of Judah. Aaron married Nahshon's sister, Elisheba (Exod 6:23). Since Levi was Jacob's third son (Gen 29:34) and at least presumably married before Judah[71] (who took a long time to have a surviving male offspring in Perez [Gen 38]), it is unlikely that Aaron would be the fourth generation of Levi while taking a wife from the sixth generation of Judah. It would seem more probable that Aaron, too, was at least the sixth generation from the sons of Jacob. It may be noted also that Bezaleel (Exod 31:2), one of the builders of the Tabernacle and a contemporary of Moses and Aaron, was of the seventh generation of Judah.

Ephraim was the second son of Joseph (Gen 41:52). Taken together, Num 26:35-36 and 1 Chr 7:20-27 indicate four family lines for this tribe, two of which are treated in detail.[72] The family of Shuthelah is carried down for twelve generations into the days of the Judges (1 Chr 7:21b-24), whereas the family of Tahan is traced eight generations up through Joshua, who was also contemporary with Moses and Aaron. The sixth generation from Ephraim is indicated as Elishama (Num 7:48), who was the leader (*nāśî'*) of the tribe of Ephraim at that time. Indeed, it is possible that the high number of generations for Ephraim might be explained by the population explosion toward the end of the 430 years, or that some of the names represent the sons of one and the same individual. In any case, however, the first generation of Ephraim himself and the last four generations are clearly continuous (Num 7:48; 13:16), reducing Ephraim to six generations, at the most.[73] This is consistent with what we have seen for the genealogy of Judah, and thus seems to be the case for Levi also.

On the basis of the above evidence, it would seem plausible that the genealogies of Levi in Exod 6 and Num 26 are incomplete. As such, they are consistent with a view that the 400 (430) years could refer to the Israelite sojourn in Egypt alone. A period of only 215 years would be too small to accommodate the above data; however, 400 (430) years would accommodate those data rather well. It would seem, then, that the expression "in the fourth generation [*dôr*]" should be understood as "in the fourth cycle of time," as suggested in Section 2 of the main article.

[71]Levi and Judah were probably only about 1 year apart in age. In fact, it would seem that all eleven sons born to Jacob in his exile, exclusive of Benjamin, were born within a seven-year period (Gen 29:28-30:28; 31:38).

[72]Keil and Delitzsch, *The Books of Chronicles*, trans. Andrew Harper, in *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952), pp. 139-142.

[73]Before he died, Jacob prophesied that Joseph's descendants would be fruitful (Gen 49:22). There are also six generations from Joseph to Zelophehad for the tribe of Manasseh (cf. Num 26: 28-33, 27:1, and Josh 17:3).

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THE ESCHATOLOGICAL THEOLOGY OF MARTIN LUTHER
PART I: LUTHER'S BASIC CONCEPTS

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As soon as one delves into the study of Luther's works, especially his sermons and expositions of the Bible, one is rather fascinated by the overwhelming presence of eschatological thought in what this great Protestant Reformer had to say and write. The crux of the matter is not to be found simply in his references to the papacy as the antichrist, nor in his clear warnings against the Turks, nor even in his expressions of a longing for the last day. Rather, it is to be found in the fact that the eschaton—the consummation of all things into the coming Kingdom of God—was a central and very compelling force that drove and motivated Luther as a person and as a theologian.

Historical studies on Luther have understandably tended to focus on the earlier period of the Reformer's life, since it was then that he was most active publicly.[1] One major implication of this trend to focus on the "early Luther" has been to emphasize the Reformer as the herald of justification by faith, which was indeed one of his most outstanding contributions to his own generation and to posterity. To limit Luther's accomplishments to the proclamation of faith versus works, however, would be to minimize both his theology and influence. Indeed, as we look at the whole of Luther's life and works, we may rightly marvel at the large extent to which his theology and practice were permeated by his eschatological concerns.

[1]For a further discussion of this phenomenon, see the article "Current Issues and Trends in Luther Studies" by Kenneth A. Strand in *AUSS* 22 (1984): 127-156, esp. pp. 134-139. An even more recent study should also be noted here: Gordon Rupp, "Miles Emeritus?: Continuity and Discontinuity Between the Young and the Old Luther," in George Yule, ed., *Luther: Theologian for Catholics and Protestants* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 75-86. See also Johann Heinz, "The 'Summer That Will Never End': Luther's Longing for the 'Dear Last Day' in his Sermon on Luke 21 (1531)," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 181-183.

Before we proceed to our more detailed analysis of these concerns, it would be well at this point to summarize briefly some of the possible grounds for Luther's eschatological outlook. By doing this, we may also be reminded once again of the context in which the Reformer found himself, and of the importance of that context to his developing religious thought and conceptualization.

First of all—and foremost—in his early career Luther came to love the Scriptures and to give them priority in his studies. His familiarity with the Bible, enhanced both by his having gained competence in the biblical languages and by his own work in translating the Bible into German, certainly gave him an increasing awareness of the eschatological emphases revealed in the Scriptures. Corollary to this was the fact that he had a profound grasp of the concept of salvation, which in Scripture is closely tied in with eschatology. Furthermore, the very time in which he lived led him to feel that conditions in the world, in the church, and in society essentially called for a soon-return of Jesus. Particularly the situation in which he found himself in relation to the Roman Church contributed to a deepening of his eschatological concepts and convictions. Also, his own awareness of the task he felt himself being called to fulfill (a part of which was to meet the heresies of the papacy) contributed to his eschatological beliefs; and it may justly be said that Luther came to the place in his experience and in the concept of his vocation that he longed with his whole being for the ultimate consummation of all things earthly and for the coming of Christ that would bring about this consummation. Finally, in considering Luther's eschatological thought, we must not overlook the fact that he was aware of, and to a degree informed by, the tradition of prophetic interpretation of the early and medieval church.

As we recognize the contribution of factors such as the foregoing in structuring Luther's religious thought, and as we consider the "whole" Luther rather than only a limited period in his career, we may well become intrigued at how closely his convictions followed the eschatological mainstream of the Scriptures and how, in his later years, his thinking was so shaped by this trend towards an eschatological emphasis that his theology may rightfully be labeled as "eschatological."

In the present study of Luther's eschatology, we take notice in this article of certain basic components of that eschatology. Then, in a subsequent article we will turn our attention more specifically

to the Reformer's treatment of the prophetic forecasts in the two full-fledged biblical apocalypses—the OT book of Daniel and the NT book of Revelation.

1. *The Existential Component in Luther's Eschatology*

It has been noted that the Reformation was actually born of a twofold discovery: (1) of Christ and his salvation as accessible only through faith, rather than by works, and (2) of the identity of the antichrist and his subversions.[2] With respect to the latter, it was not that Luther was the first or only person who in that general time period had come out with apocalyptic news, but he was the most notable person who dared to pinpoint the symbolic language of apocalyptic passages in Scripture as applying to contemporary figures and forces. Jaroslav Pelikan sums up well the general situation, as follows:

> To be sure, ever since the transformation of the apocalyptic vision in the early church, the component elements of that vision had remained present in Scripture and in the creeds of the church. They may have seemed more or less quiescent for long periods, but repeatedly they had erupted when a historical crisis found a prophet to sound the alarm and issue the ancient summons: "Repent, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand." For some medieval believers (though perhaps not, it would seem from the sources, for as many of them as modern writers often suppose), one such apocalyptic moment had been the end of the first Christian millennium. Such a reawakening of the apocalyptic vision in the tenth century—or in the fourteenth and fifteenth—would not of itself belong to the history of the development of Christian doctrine, since, strictly speaking, the doctrine of the last things had always been on the books and apocalypticism was merely the application of the doctrine to a particular epoch. What made late medieval apocalypticism important doctrinally was the growing belief in this period that "the man of sin, the son of perdition," the Antichrist whose coming was to be the principal sign of the end, was not some emperor (Nero or Frederick II) nor some false prophet (Arius or Mohammed), but the noble head of Christendom himself.[3]

[2]See L. E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 2 (Washington, D.C., 1948): 241-265.

[3]Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 4: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 37-38.

Concerning the existential connection between Luther's soteriology and eschatology, it may be pointed out that he seems to have had a burden on his heart to make it abundantly clear that there cannot possibly be a separation between salvation as an existential experience in "the here-and-now" and in the eschaton of "the hereafter." A large number of his rather strong statements give a clear indication, as well, that there was no doubt in Luther's mind as to the direct effect of the fast-approaching end upon the life which preceded it. Moreover, in its awareness of conditions inside the church and also in the world, Luther's eschatology reveals an undeniable salvation-historical accent in that it looked upon certain conditions as causes that would hasten the coming of the last day.[4]

This general outlook on the part of Luther led him to the vivid belief that the "teaching of the last things" is intimately related to the other facets of systematic theology, such as christology, the doctrine of justification, sanctification, the sacraments, and ecclesiology. Ulrich Asendorf has made a most helpful contribution to studies on Luther by providing a rather detailed overview of the eschatological connotations in Luther's theology.[5] He traces the Reformer's eschatological thinking as it appears in all major lines of Luther's theological thought. Although only thirteen pages are devoted specifically to "the last things," Asendorf concludes that these "last things" are only part of a comprehensive eschatology in Luther—in a way, the last act.[6]

It seems particularly significant to note how closely Luther's eschatology was connected with his understanding of justification.

[4]See the *Weimar Ausgabe* of Luther's works, 10/1/2:93-120. Preaching on Luke 21:25-33 in his "Adventspostille" of 1522, Luther decries papal and worldly sins, declaring that Christ must soon come, inasmuch as such sins are so great that Heaven can no longer tolerate them. He concludes that if it were only unchastity of the kind at the time of the Flood or certain worldly sins as at Sodom, "I would not maintain that the last day would come on account of them." But God's worship, word, sacrament, children, and all that pertains to God have been "disturbed, destroyed, condemned, and calumniated," with the devil being substituted for God and "worshipped and honored, [and] his lies held to be God's word ["anbeten unnd ehren, seyne lugen fur gottis wortt hallten"] . . . (p. 97). (The *Weimar Ausgabe* will hereinafter be cited as *WA*, with additional abbreviations for the *Briefwechsel* [*WA-Br*] and the *Tischreden* [*WA-Tr*].)

[5]Ulrich Asendorf, *Eschatologie bei Luther* (Göttingen, 1967).

[6]Asendorf, p. 280. See also Hans Ulrich Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 1-2.

A balance in Luther's doctrine of justification is achieved by his use of the terms "iustus" and "initium." The "iustus" in his lectures on Romans in 1515-16 and then also in those in Galatians in 1531 includes the assurance of being led away from God's wrath to his mercy.[7] This justification then sets in motion an eschatological process which finds its final culmination in the resurrection to eternal life. What will be perfected there has already started here and now. In his *Disputationes* on Rom 3:28 from 1535 and 1536 (the dates indicate how advisable it is to consider the later Luther), he repeatedly points to the eschatological facets of the process of justification.[8] Asendorf has remarked in a forthright manner:

> Justification is at first the anticipation of the Last Day and this insofar as the judging and saving decree of God is being received today as well as at the end of time. Besides this eschatological present there is the eschatological future of the consummation. In view of the latter, our justification is only a beginning. . . . The strong emphasis on the *simul* in the Luther research of the past must not be set up as something absolute. *Simul* and *initium* belong directly together.[9]

It may be noted at this juncture that Karl Barth has claimed in his *Kirchliche Dogmatik* that eschatology—the hope and destination of human life through the coming Kingdom of God—had come off badly in the theology of the Reformers.[10] Paul Althaus has challenged this contention, indicating that such could, at the most, be true for Zwingli and Calvin, but never for Luther! He goes on to say:

> He [Luther] rejects all expectation of a millennium as a future reign of Christ: now Christ is reigning through his Word. Does the eschatological tension seem to be solved here already?
>
> But this is only one side with Luther. At the same time eschatology comes out strongly. This is to be concluded from the whole of his theology, even if all of the eschatological statements of the Reformer were lost to us. Luther proclaims the *theologia crucis*. Christ's victory and kingship are still hidden. The enemies, death and Satan, have been imprisoned and judged by the Easter

[7] *WA* 40/2:86, lines 3-9.

[8] *WA* 39/1:83, line 20.

[9] Asendorf, p. 42.

[10] Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (Zürich, 1948), 2/1:5-712 and passim.

> event, but not yet executed. The Christian has freedom and salvation in the faith, however, until now *only* in the faith and not in experience yet. . . . How should Luther not intensely look forward to the end of this life and of history! Therefore his faith is longing for the last things.[11]

Althaus elsewhere, after speaking of the close and inseparable connection of eschatology with salvation and righteousness by faith in Luther's understanding, says:

> Luther's theology is thoroughly eschatological in the strict sense of expecting the end of the world. His thoughts about the eschaton are not a conventional appendix but a section of his theology which is rooted in, indispensable to, and a decisive part of the substance of his theology. Luther did not merely repeat the old traditional answers to the central questions of eschatology. In this doctrine, too, he is the Reformer.[12]

In this respect it would be a distortion if we were to think of the explicitly "last things" in Luther's writings. His whole theology has to be regarded as essentially eschatological, so that we must agree with Asendorf in declaring that "the 'last things' are only the consequence and final stage of eschatology, not their actual theme. They are the prospective final point. In sanctification as well as in the consummation of the last things, elements of *Heilsgeschichte* are taken up again."[13]

This soteriological-eschatological confluence within Luther's religious thought is also elucidated by his treatment of the sacraments. In his "Sermon on the Holy and Worthy Sacrament of Baptism" in 1519 he argues that Christian life is nothing else than the commencement of dying, from the time of baptism until the grave; for God wants to create men anew at the last day.[14] This *mortificatio* begins with baptism and is nothing else than its daily realization. Only at the last day will the real meaning of baptism be fulfilled and come true—namely, to be resurrected from death,

[11]Paul Althaus, "Luthers Gedanken über die letzten Dinge," *Luther Jahrbuch* 23 (1941): 10.

[12]Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 404-405.

[13]Asendorf, p. 294.

[14]*WA* 2:728, lines 27-29.

sin, and all evil, and to live renewed in body and spirit for eternity.[15]

In several places Luther mentions the inner connection between baptism and communion. Both are essentially related to each other as beginning and continuation of the eschatological process. What was begun in baptism needs to be constantly strengthened.[16] Both belong together in order to foster a strengthened belief in that which shall be accomplished spiritually and ultimately eschatologically by taking part in the communion.[17]

2. *Allegorical Application of Apocalyptic Language and Symbols*

What also rather typically belongs to Luther's eschatology is his allegorical application to the present era of certain well-known end-time expressions of Scripture. The darkening of the sun, for example, means that Christ's light does not shine in Christendom any more and that the gospel is not being preached. The falling of the stars is the loss of faith on the part of those who want to become monks or priests in order to earn their salvation. Christ, Luther says, is the Sun, the church is the moon, and the Christians are the stars. The rush and brawl of water and wind is the discord of the world, and the lack of discipline that has gained so much ground. The term "the day breaks" means that the gospel will "rise" and be preached in anticipation of the last day! And rather pessimistically, but with unrestrained intrinsic hope, Luther says of the world that it has become a senile old man (*Greis*) now that goes to his grave. Admonitions are worthless, because—and one can almost hear the Reformer's indignation—in the villages they do not want to support the sacristans anymore. Therefore the world is ripe for destruction. Because all hope for improvement has vanished, there is nothing more than the anticipation of the last day, and this Luther longs for with all his heart.[18]

Luther's interpretation of apocalyptic symbols and prophecies agrees, of course, to a certain extent with the interpretation of his time. Naturally, he took over some of Augustine's teachings in this respect—so, for example, the latter's allegorizing of last-day events

[15] *WA* 2:728, lines 30-37.

[16] *WA* 2:746.

[17] *WA* 2:751, line 31, through 752, line 3.

[18] *WA* 29:617-624; and cf. Asendorf, p. 281.

and the belief that the millennium of Rev 20 was already being fulfilled in the present age (commonly called the "amillenial view"). In Luther's interpretation of the OT book of Daniel we find clear traces, as well, of Joachim of Floris, in addition to his own innovative concepts, such as pointing to the Turks as the historical fulfillment for the last beast in Dan 7. However, to make the Reformer simply either a product of his own time or an interpreter who merely harped on the ideas of his forebears would cause us to miss (to a great extent, at least) the real thrust of Luther's apocalyptic stance. He proved to be very original and daringly revolutionary in his interpretive approach.

In Luther's view of the millennium and end-time—one of the major facets of his teaching on the last things—he was a follower of the basic Augustinian amillennial view, as we have already noted. In his exposition, he rejected chiliasm and forcefully pointed out that the "thousand years" of Rev 20 began at the time when the book of Revelation was written. The end of this time period, the release of Satan according to Rev 20:7, he viewed as being the papacy's becoming the antichrist when Gregory VII became pope in 1073 and signaled his desire for world dominion. A second event causing Luther to think that Satan had been released and thus that the end of the millennium had already come was the Turkish threat to the Christendom of Europe.

3. *Setting the Time for Christ's Return*

In his interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism, Luther was influenced by various ideas that prevailed in his day and was nurtured by a number of people who tried to work out the time of the last day. In 1499, for example, the mathematician Johannes Stöffler had predicted an eschatological flood (on astronomical grounds) for the year 1524. Luther supported the basic idea and hoped that this then would indeed be the last day.[19] The mathematician Johann Carion, who later became a friend of Luther, supported the same theory, adding that there would come a change in the church and great bloodshed among the Christian peoples in conjunction with this flood.[20]

[19]*WA* 10/1/2:108, lines 1-4. Cf. the summary in A. Modalsli, "Luther über die letzten Dinge," in H. Junghans, *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526-1546* (Berlin, 1983), p. 335.

[20]*WA* 10/1/2:108, n. 1.

Although Luther viewed Stöffler's theory as a serious confirmation of his own expectation, he nevertheless was strictly against anyone's predicting the exact date of Christ's coming. As a case in point, we may note that another mathematician, Michael Stiefel, set the date for the second advent of Christ as October 19, 1533, at 8 a.m. Luther rejected this outright, and called Stiefel's idea "all his [Stiefel's] own." Luther gave two reasons for his objection: first, Christ's proclamation in Matt 24:36 that no one except the Father knows the day and hour; and second, Stiefel's approach would invalidate the literal meaning of Scripture. However, Luther considered this fanaticism on the part of his friend as being only "a little temptation" (*ein Anfechtlein*)—a matter having no serious danger for the church.

Luther must, however, have been quite intrigued by the time-calculating efforts of his friends and contemporaries, for he began some calculations of his own. He says that he did this work *"per otium"*—"in his spare time"—, perhaps to play down its significance, even though he did not seem to regard it as unprofitable.[21]

What is known as his *supputatio annorum mundi* (1541) allows us a fairly good insight into Luther's thinking along these lines. Starting from the ancient Jewish idea that earth's history would last 6,000 years, he was convinced that the fifth millennium comprised the time from Christ to the eleventh century. This fifth millennium, Luther apparently believed, was the "thousand years" of Rev 20. In the sixth millennium, the world-year 5500 in his calendar was in the year A.D. 1540. In his reckoning, he felt himself supported by the epistle of Apostolic-Father Barnabas, which speaks of the seventh day in an eschatological sense, as the seventh millennium and coming day of rest. Also, Joachim of Floris had already made the statement that in the coming millennium, the "everlasting Gospel" of Rev 14:6, which is the spiritually interpreted Bible, would reign in this world. Finally, Stiefel understood Luther to be the apocalyptic angel with the everlasting gospel, and Luther must have felt the support of this idea for his own calculation, in that he did not object to the designation given him by Stiefel. (It is interesting to note that Rev 14:6 later even became a pericope of the Reformation festival.)

However, the foregoing calculations did not mean for Luther that the end of the world could not be expected until another few

[21] *WA* 42:245, lines 16-19.

centuries had gone by, because the end of the sixth millennium was still far off. The sixth millennium, Luther said, would not be fully consummated, just as the three days of Christ's death had not been completed. (Here, obviously, he missed the significance of inclusive reckoning.) Christ's second coming should, on such grounds, be expected around the middle of the sixth millennium. The Lord, he added, will certainly come "before the time" and will hasten the end. Thus, Luther firmly believed that the last day was right at hand—and all the more so in that the world as he saw it was ripe for judgment.[22] (See the chart on the facing page.)

4. *End-Time Signs*

There is one aspect in Luther's eschatology which is so strong and vivid that it seems responsible for the impetus and energy of his belief and teaching on the last things. This is his amazing ability to see events and developments outside and inside the church as signs of the end. Luther was of a very practical nature when it came to the observance and interpretation of things that were going on around him. And he was fearless in pointing his finger at contemporary events and developments in the ecclesiastical and political realms, and in loudly proclaiming them to be a definite sign of the nearness of the end. He also observed natural phenomena that he considered as end-time signs, and called attention, as well, to social decrepitude.

Luther once remarked that a whole book could be filled with the signs that happened in his day and that pointed to the approaching end of the world.[23] He thought that the "worst sign" was that human beings had never been so earthly minded "as right now." Hardly anyone cared about eternal salvation.[24] Also, natural occurrences, such as storms and floods, were certain signs of the time, and Scripture was the only key for the interpretation of phenomena in the sky and astronomical conceptions.[25] There had been signs in the sun and the moon, comets had appeared, etc. In his approach here, Luther vigorously fought the idea of Aristotle

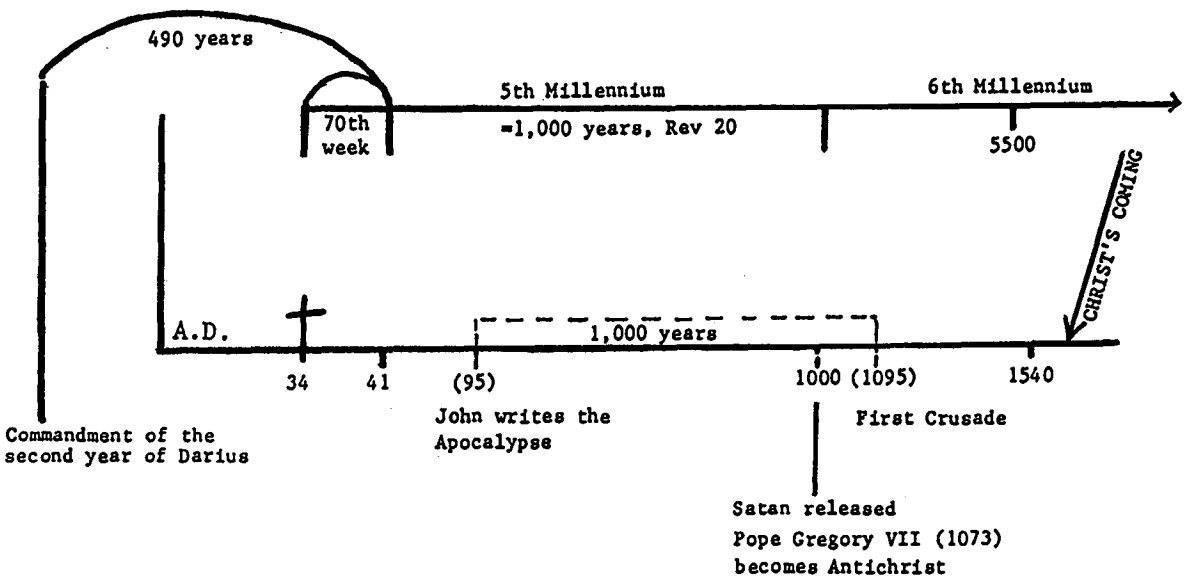
[22] *WA* 53:13, lines 22-23.

[23] *WA* 32:228-231.

[24] *WA* 29:616, lines 9-12.

[25] *WA* 10/1/2:104, line 3, through 105, line 12.

DIAGRAM OF LUTHER'S CHRONOLOGY FOR THE MILLENNIUM
(Prepared by Winfried Vogel)



in treating such things as simply natural and insignificant phenomena.

However, there are also miraculous events, Luther says, that are "against all reason" (*"wider alle mathematica"*): crosses that fell from the sky,[26] and the beast (*Untier*) which came out of the Tiber in Rome in 1496, which "means the papacy."[27] It is interesting to note that there is evidence that Luther did understand this "pope ass" to be a literal beast that was retrieved from the river. (See the woodcut on the facing page.) But he also gave warning not to expect all sorts of miracles (*"allerlei Mirakel"*). In fact, the increased number of natural occurrences are the promised signs, which only faith can perceive.[28] Particularly uncanny signs of the nearness of the end, he felt, are the two beasts of the Apocalypse (chap. 13:1, 11). These, he suggested (and here again Luther made forceful application to his own day) were present already—the first one, the Turk; the second one, the Pope. Both, he said, have in common that they oppose the church of Christ, use force, and will find their downfall and end shortly before the last day.[29]

In one place, Luther declares that the surest sign of the end is the "abomination of desolation." This, for him, was the perversion of the divine service and the Word of God (*"Gottesdienst und Gotteswort"*).[30]

5. *The "Beloved Last Day"*

Probably the most crucial point of contact between Luther's soteriology and eschatology is to be found in his view of the last day, a view which underwent dramatic change at the same time that his understanding of salvation changed. The question of the

[26]*WA* 10/1/2:104, n. 4. Here reference is to elucidative accounts of historians that point out the significance of these crosses in conjunction with a mania for miracles.

[27]*WA* 10/1/2:105:1-12: "Also how many signs and wonders have appeared in the sky in these four years, as in the sun, moon, stars, rainbow and many other strange images? Let it be signs, great signs, which are of great significance, and of which the astronomers ["Sternmeister"] and Lady Hulde ["Frau Hulde," referred to in the apparatus as "domina Agape Physiologika"] also may not say that these result from natural causes, for they have not known or prophesied about them before. . . ." (Then Luther goes on to describe in detail the terrible beast, "which the Tiber at Rome cast out dead only a few years ago.")

[28]*WA* 17/1:481, lines 13-18; 10/1/2:93, lines 21-28.

[29]*WA* 39/2:62, lines 1-2 (on Matt 19:21, in the year 1539).

[30]*WA* 10/1/2:97, lines 9-26.

iustitio Dei ("God's righteousness"), with which he wrestled and to which he found the answer in his *Turmerlebnis* ("Tower Experience") while thinking on Rom 1, has been given wide attention. But at the same time he also found a new relationship to the endpoint of human history. Albrecht Peters refers in the following way to the tension of the *simul iustus et peccator*, which Luther felt and even suffered in his very own experience:

> The eschatological movement of Scripture has been endured anew by a human heart and thus has disclosed its inner form. The pathway the church has walked from the Old Testament to the witness of Christ is here being accepted by a Christian in the innermost parts of his soul and consciously reenacted. Luther does not describe this tension from the outside as a passive observer; neither does he silence it by way of a systematic artistry; he endures it consciously to the brink of his own being shattered and by this very act carries it in prayer through into the eschaton. And here the real secret of his theology has its basis; it is a theology of the eschatological way.[31]

The discovery of the tension of being fully justified and yet at the same time of being a sinner awaiting the consummation of Christ's victory at Christ's second coming became the solution to Luther's trembling in view of the last day. Looking back to his early days, he said in 1545 that "I was terribly afraid of the last day."[32] But with both the assurance of salvation and the acute awareness Luther always had of his own sinfulness and the sinfulness of the church, he could write in 1540, "Come, beloved last day, amen."[33] Or some years earlier, in 1532, he could preach that "with the right hand and with all our hearts we should anticipate this day, when He will come in His glorious majesty."[34] And in

[31]Albrecht Peters, "Luthers Turmerlebnis," in Bernhard Lohse, ed., *Der Durchbruch der reformatorischen Erkenntnis bei Luther* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 278. In n. 16 on this page, Peters especially points to *WA* 18:784-785 as a reference to this aspect of Luther's thought.

[32]*WA* 54:179, line 32.

[33]*WA-Br* 9:175, line 17 (no. 3512). It is hardly possible to render the phrase "lieber jüngster Tag" in such a way as to bring out its full meaning in English. Even "jüngster Tag"—literally "youngest day"—has a special ring to it, which is somewhat lost in the widely used English term "last day." Johann Heinz in his recent article (see n. 1, above) speaks of the "dear last day," but I prefer the term "beloved" in order to convey an idea of the tender emotion with which Luther undoubtedly used this expression.

[34]*WA* 36:379, lines 28-30.

1544, two years before his death, he expressed in a letter to Joachim Mörlin: "Come, come, Lord Jesus, come!"[35]

Thus, Luther longed for the day when Christ would make an end to all corruption and strife and death. This utmost desire cannot possibly be separated from his other theological thinking, for it is the lifeblood of his theology, fixing ultimate hope and meaning to his teaching on both justification and sanctification.

6. *The Condition of the Dead*

Luther also was a reformer in his teaching on the condition of the dead and on the question of their resurrection on the last day. According to Paul Althaus, Luther reinstated the resurrection to its significant position by speaking of death as a "sleep" which affects the whole man, not only the body. However, Althaus claims that Luther also shared "the dualistic definition of death as separation of soul and body; accordingly, he also teaches that the souls enjoy a bodiless existence until the Last Day."[36] But Althaus has to admit that "Luther generally understands the condition between death and the resurrection as a deep and dreamless sleep without consciousness and feeling"[37] and that Luther "says nothing about souls without their bodies enjoying true life and blessedness before the resurrection. They sleep in 'the peace of Christ.'"[38]

The designation of death as "sleep" is probably emphasized by Luther not so much for the sake of a detailed description of man's condition in death as to show the certainty of the resurrection.[39] Almost all researchers have to agree that Luther's statements in this area are rather ambiguous. One of the most recent, Modalsli, speaks of different "tendencies" in Luther's view on this subject—one of these in the direction of the total destruction of man in death, and the other as "only a part of man is dead."[40] On the one

[35]*WA-Br* 10:525, line 22 (no. 3966).

[36]Althaus, *Theology*, p. 414. He refers to *WA* 36:241 and 39/2:386 to support his claim.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 415.

[39]*WA* 46:463-471, alluded to in Asendorf, p. 288.

[40]*WA* 36:241, lines 8ff.; quoted in Modalsli, p. 335.

hand, Luther thinks it ridiculous that the soul in heaven would long for the body, and he characterizes the belief in the separation of a living soul from a dead body as "garbage."[41] On the other hand, he adheres to the church's teaching that the soul (*anima*) is separated from the body in death.[42]

But Luther does reject the statement of the Fifth Lateran Council (1513) on the immortality of the soul. Here a very interesting dispute has arisen between Althaus and Carl Stange.[43] Whereas Althaus claims that Luther rejected the Council's statement because he did not deem it necessary at all to mention a very usual and commonly held belief of the church (Althaus tries to support his position by pointing out that Luther employs the style of ridicule for his rejection), Stange is convinced that Luther did so because the Reformer had realized that the immortality idea was deeply pagan and totally unchristian. Althaus's arguments on this question are, frankly, not very convincing, and I would tend to agree with Stange, who has argued for a whole new anthropology of Luther (and who, in this, is now also supported by Modalsli[44]).

As to Luther's general ambiguity on the state in death, perhaps we may venture a possible reason for it. On the one hand, Luther shunned the idea of an immortal soul for fear of weakening the belief in a literal and soon-coming resurrection and because he rejected the Greek philosophical origin of it, while on the other hand he was reluctant to speak of the total death of a person when at the same time strongly believing in the certainty of this person's being awakened by the voice of God at the last day.[45] Therefore, Luther's emphasis lay rather on the Bible's own description of death as "sleep" and on the *verbum Dei*, which can and will penetrate the ears of the "sleeping." Similarly, Luther goes to great

[41]In the original: "die *distinctio* ist ein dreck!" *WA-Tr* 5:219, lines 12-17 (no. 5534).

[42]*WA* 39/2:354, lines 9-11, 25-26; also p. 386, lines 5-7. These references are noted by Modalsli, p. 335.

[43]Paul Althaus, "Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele bei Luther," *ZST* 3 (1925), pp. 725-734.

[44]Modalsli, p. 335.

[45]See also Paul Althaus, "Retraktationen zur Eschatologie," *TLZ* 75 (1950): 254-255.

length to bring clarity to the question of the death and resurrection of the wicked.[46] Also, he is clear and unambiguous in treating the biblical term that has generally been translated "soul."[47]

7. *Antichrist*

It is well known among those who have read and studied Luther that the figure of the Antichrist played a significant role in his eschatology and had a direct impact on his theology. This subject will be taken up again in my next article, but a few observations may be made here as to his understanding of the antichrist. Modalsli has summed up the matter well by pointing out that Luther mentions both the pope and the Turks together as the manifestation of the antichrist, the former working from within the church, the latter from outside and threatening the whole of Christianity. However, it is only the pope who is to be considered as the *real* antichrist, because the most dangerous enemies are those who deceive the soul (Luke 12:4-5) and it is the sign of the antichirst to sit in the temple of God, which is the visible church (2 Thess 2:4).[48]

It is not surprising that Luther connected these two powers—the papacy and the Turks—in his interpretation of the antichrist, for they prevailed in his day and the Reformer watched their development very closely. However, it is interesting to note with Mark Edwards that Luther obviously saw the two as more intrinsically connected than just because of a historical coincidence. Edwards even holds that Luther's central conviction regarding the Turks for the rest of his life was that "they were God's punishment on a sinful Christendom that, among other sins, tolerated the papal abomination."[49]

(To Be Concluded)

[46]See D. Carl Stange, "Zur Auslegung der Aussagen Luthers über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele," *ZST* 3 (1925): 779-780.

[47]Ibid., pp. 773-774.

[48]Modalsli, p. 332.

[49]Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983). p. 98.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beitzel, Barry J. *The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1985. xviii + 234 pp. $30.00.

A number of new Bible atlases have been published recently, but this volume certainly appears to be one of the better ones. Strictly speaking, this is more than a Bible atlas; in actuality it is a historical geography.

The Bible atlas type of book generally reproduces far fewer maps than does a historical geography, and thus the atlas tends to collect the important sites from various periods of history on maps that span several periods. In the case of this volume, however, the individual events are mapped on separate plates. This naturally requires a large number of maps; and indeed, there are 95 of them in the book. The publishers should also be commended for their generally high quality of production of those maps.

The historical geography also differs from the Bible atlas in that it provides much more explanatory text to go with the different events and features of the land that are mapped. Such is also the case here, for this volume provides an extended commentary on the maps and the features that are charted on them. All of this makes the book more usable for the general reader, but it also provides the specialist with more grist for the mill of his critique.

While the maps reproduced in this volume are excellent in quality, some of them seem a bit extraneous. Three examples of this come to mind; the borders of the promised land, in No. 2; the routes of travel taken by foreign conquerers coming into Canaan, in No. 6; and the extending of the Jordan-Rift-Valley fault line all the way into East Africa, in Map 8. Accompanying the 95 maps are 40 figures, mainly photographs of various scenes in the Middle East. These also are generally high in quality.

As a matter of personal preference, this reviewer would like to see the mapping of ancient sites supplemented on the same map with the routes of travel by which one obtained access to those sites. In this volume, however, the trade routes are charted separately (Map 19), while the cities are set in the topographical relief maps without showing the routes connecting these cities (Maps 14-15, 17). This procedure is, of course, simply a matter of judgment on the part of the author, the cartographers, and the publisher.

The author is known for his expertise especially in the area of geography of other parts of the Ancient Near East outside of Canaan. This is an interest which shows up in the maps of sites and routes of other parts of the ancient world that are not commonly included in the typical Bible atlas (Maps 16 and 18).

Beitzel writes from an unabashedly conservative or evangelical viewpoint. This reviewer is in sympathy with such a stance, but it is a stance that leads on occasion to unusual presentations. One case of this sort is the

charting of possible locations (two of them) for the Garden of Eden on Map 20—one in eastern Turkey, and one at the northern end of the Persian Gulf. The author might also have considered the territory of Bit-Adini, in the vicinity of the Upper Euphrates, for this is the only place in the ancient Near East where the name of Eden appears to have survived. Since all of these locations are speculative in character, one may question how much value there is in presenting them.

The route of the Exodus is perennially a matter of dispute in biblical geographies. The author opts for and charts the southern route to the traditional Mount Sinai at Jebel Musa. This may well be correct, and the author has considerable scholarly opinion in his favor (though also a considerable amount against him); but his choice is particularly problematical in view of the work done during the last decade by Israeli archaeologists in the Sinai penninsula. In this work, there has been no trace found of any Late-Bronze-Age settlement or even of transitory campsites during that period in the southern two-thirds of the Sinai penninsula. The question of the Exodus route remains open; nevertheless, Beitzel's views and discussion are useful in the ongoing consideration of the problem.

Matters of geography are also problematical in connection with the study of the Conquest in the book of Joshua. In Beitzel's rather brief presentation of this subject (pp. 95-99), he passes over quite briefly certain problems of rather large magnitude, such as the location of Ai, without giving much discussion of the issues. Some of the other sites connected with the southern campaign of Joshua are also in dispute, both with regard to their location and identification and with regard to how well the archaeology of those sites that have been excavated fit with this Conquest, whenever it is dated. This atlas is above all, however, a volume aimed at a readership among laypersons and pastors, so it is natural that a rather straightforward approach to the presentation of its various topics has been followed.

The mapping of the period of the Judges and the rise of David are quite complete—even extensive, one might say. In my view, it was optional whether to map all of the places where David fled as a fugitive from Saul (Map 43), but it certainly is important to chart the campaigns of David after he became king and the results of these campaigns (Maps 45-46).

The voyages of Solomon's ships (Map 47) present another matter that is somewhat speculative in nature. The charting of the divisions of Solomon's provinces (Map 49) is more important.

Map 52 gives a composite picture of the attacks of all of the foreign invaders against Israel and Judah from the tenth to sixth centuries B.C.—i.e., from the time of Shishak of Egypt to the time of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. Then subsequent maps take up some of these invasions individually. Two invasions that are not taken up individually, but which should

have been, in my opinion, are the attacks of Shishak and of Sennacherib, in the late tenth and eighth centuries, respectively.

One can always quibble with many small points in the presentation of any given Bible atlas, because geographers are not yet of one mind on all of the relevant matters. Given the aim of this volume, however, I would say that this is a Bible atlas that does very well in reaching its goal, and it should find a wide area of usefulness among laity and pastors alike. I would strongly recommend its use by both groups; and if it is put to effective use by them, it will go a long way towards enriching the understanding of the Bible-reading public concerning the places and times in which the events of biblical history occurred.

Two minor criticisms of the production may be noted in conclusion: the print is sometimes uneven on different parts of the pages, appearing darker in some parts and lighter in others; and one fold of four pages was loose from the binding in the copy which was received for review.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483-1521.* Trans. James L. Schaaf. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985. xv + 557 pp. $36.95.

Martin Brecht's *Martin Luther. Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521* (Stuttgart, 1981) richly deserves the attention of the wider audience that the present English translation affords it. One may ask the question, however, of just why there should be another biography of Luther added to the numerous ones that already exist, and why it should cover the Reformer's career only to 1521.

As the author himself points out, the massive amount of research on Luther in the decades since World War II has indicated the need for such an endeavor (p. xi). The decision to make the year 1521 the *terminus ad quem* for this biography is related to the author's intent to provide two further volumes in the series; and, moreover, there are volumes that for the present can close the gap—such as Heinrich Bornkamm's *Luther in Mid Career: 1521-1530* (translated by E. Theodore Bachmann and published in its English edition by Fortress Press in 1983 [German ed., 1979]), and the multi-authored two-volume *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526-1546*, edited by Helmar Junghans and published in Göttingen in 1983 (p. xii).

There is no question but that Brecht's work significantly updates that of other biographers of the Reformer's early career, such as Otto Scheel (1917-18), Heinrich Bornkamm (1925) and Herndon Fife (1928 and 1957). It does not always, however, give an intense scrutiny to significant backgrounds and developments as does E. G. Schwiebert's *Luther and His*

Times (St. Louis, 1950). For instance, the political backgrounds and other details pertaining to Luther's Saxony and the Universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg are covered better by Schwiebert, as are also the backgrounds for Luther's entry into the monastery, Luther's trip to Rome, and various other matters. On the other hand, this volume does include discussion of matters either touched upon too lightly or completely overlooked by most biographers. In this latter category are a succinct treatment of Geert Zerbolt's *Spiritual Ascensions* as this mystical production related to Luther's experience (pp. 97-98) and a considerably more detailed discussion of Luther's meetings with the Imperial States' Commission on April 24-25, 1521 (pp. 464-470). The latter item is almost invariably overlooked by Luther biographers, who tend rather to focus their attention on the Reformer's appearance before the Diet of Worms a week earlier and on the more direct aftermath of that striking event.

Brecht is, of course, a master of his subject, exceptionally knowledgeable concerning both the primary sources and secondary literature; and, by and large, he provides eminently fair, accurate, and convincing appraisals. The present reviewer therefore finds astonishing even the author's relatively few oversights or lapses in regard to significant research on Luther. A case in point emerges on p. 16, where I was surprised by Brecht's comment that it is "very improbable" that the Brethren of the Common Life had a school in Magdeburg and especially by his next statement: "Everything points to the fact that Luther attended the nearby cathedral school in the cathedral cloister." Brecht's only endnote comments (p. 481, sect. 6, nn. 4 and 5) are a statement that his view is "over against Scheel 1, 70-73" and a reference to Matthäus Ratzeberger (whose remark, incidentally, is neutral on the subject in hand). The outstanding research of William M. Landeen concerning the very probable existence of a school of the Brethren in Magdeburg (reported in *Research Studies of the State College of Washington* 21 [1953]:302-309) has apparently been completely overlooked.

The English edition of Brecht's masterful work has also had the benefit of a very competent and perceptive translator, James L. Schaaf of Trinity Lutheran Seminary in Columbus, Ohio. Schaaf has provided an eminently readable English translation with a very minimum of infelicities or other lapses (the reader may be slightly jarred, for instance, to find the word "monastery" as the antecedent for two uses of the pronoun "they" at the middle of p. 93). Moreover, Schaaf has been much more than just a translator, for he has laboriously searched out and furnished citation references to the American edition of *Luther's Works* (St. Louis and Philadelphia, 1955-) as a supplement to Brecht's references to the *Weimar Ausgabe*. Indeed, the translator has even fairly frequently utilized this American edition for direct quotations.

The volume is rather profusely illustrated throughout, as well as including a sixteen-page insert of photographs between pp. 238 and 239. The documentation also is substantial, occupying some sixty pages of endnotes. The book concludes with a helpful index.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Criswell, W. A. *Soteriology.* Great Doctrines of the Bible, vol. 5. Ministry Resources Library. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 154 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

This book on the biblical doctrine of salvation by the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, is a collection of his doctrinal sermons, not a systematic theological treatise for seminary students. The popular style and striking illustrations from life serve its purpose well.

Members of the Baptist churches will be edified in their faith by this publication, which is easy to read and evangelistic in tone in all of its "Great Doctrines of the Bible." (The preceding volumes deal with the following topics: Scripture and Its Authority; Christ; the Church; and the Holy Spirit.) For the Bible student who does not come from the Calvinistic or from the Baptist tradition, however, there will probably be disappointment to find certain religious assumptions made and certain serious omissions evident on the topic of Salvation, even if the volume takes the form of "doctrinal sermons." For example, chap. 12 assumes the Calvinistic doctrine of "Once-Saved, Always-Safe," without letting such a message emerge from Scripture itself in its full context. Only isolated "proof" texts are collated to support the preconceived doctrine that salvation can never be lost, no matter what the believer does. "Those who are saved, who are joined to Christ," declares the author, "are safe forever. That is the eternal security of the believer" (p. 116).

One would also expect in a volume of this sort a more careful approach that distinguishes, with the biblical prophets, between a blessed assurance and a false security (cf. Amos 5:18-27; 9:7-10; Isa 7:9; Jer 7:4-11). Lacking, as well, in this volume is a chapter on the vital matter of the divine imperative for the covenant people of God: sanctification and the moral requirements for participation in worship in God's sanctuary (see Pss 15, 24, and 50). Consequently, painfully absent, too, is the central biblical doctrine of divine judgment according to works (see Matt 16:27; 25:31-46; Rom 2:5-11; 2 Cor 5:10; Jas 2:12-13). And the author's *exclusive* focus on the admittedly significant and crucial topic of the perfect atonement of Christ on the cross has unfortunately led him into a complete omission of the biblical significance of Christ's post-resurrection ministry as our high Priest in the

heavenly temple, so much stressed in Hebrews, chaps. 2 and 8-10; in Revelation, chaps. 4 and 5; and in Rom 8:34. To the question which Criswell himself poses, "What is He [Christ] doing?", he replies solely, "He is guarding the security of our salvation" (p. 121).

With respect to the phenomenon of true and false prophecy in ancient Israel, a consideration of the extensive literature available today on this phenomenon would have brought more balance to Criswell's obviously sincere effort to be fully biblical. The *conditional* aspect of God's promise and curses cannot be ignored without the consequence of becoming too one-sided and of reducing the full counsel of God for his people.

Criswell repeatedly explains the biblical message of justification by the concept of God's looking upon us "as *ideally* pure and righteous" (p. 97, twice; cf. also p. 98, "In God's sight, the people are holy and pure, *ideally*," and similarly again on p. 99). The word "ideally" seems to be no improvement upon the time-tested term of "legal" or "forensic" justification, but rather tends to blur the essential theological distinction between justification and sanctification.

Regarding Rom 11:25-27, Criswell confesses twice that he "cannot understand" God's purpose expressed here for Israel. This reviewer recognizes the difficulty of this passage and has wrestled with it intensely for many years. It seems clear in any case, however, that one should not impose the dispensational idea of two successive ages upon this passage of Rom 11. The text does not read, "And *then* all Israel will be saved," as many take it chronologically (including Criswell, p. 121); but rather, it reads, "And *so* [*houtōs*, "in this way"] all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26, NIV). In other words, Jews will be saved *the same way* as Gentiles are—by faith in Christ, a topic I have treated extensively in chap. 8 of my *The Israel of God in Prophecy* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983).

Andrews University HANS K. LARONDELLE

DeMolen, Richard L. *Leaders of the Reformation.* Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press / London, Eng., and Toronto, Ont.: Associated University Presses, 1984. 360 pp. $39.50.

Richard L. DeMolen has once again gathered essays from a distinguished panel of Renaissance and Reformation scholars and produced another volume that is delightful to read, as well as informative. Two earlier publications of somewhat similar nature which he edited are *The Meaning of Renaissance and Reformation* (reviewed in *AUSS* 14 [1976]: 250-251) and *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (reviewed in *AUSS* 19 [1981]: 263-264).

The intent of *Leaders of the Reformation* is "to determine how some major figures in the Reformation perceived themselves as reformers" (p. 7).

The means by which this purpose is achieved is about as varied as the scholars who have undertaken the task. Probably DeMolen's own essay, chap. 1, "The Interior Erasmus" (pp. 11-42), goes at the task in the way in which the editor had envisaged—a review of statements of ideals, self-appraisal, etc., of the person to whom the chapter is devoted. With regard to Erasmus, DeMolen's fascinating sketch points out at one juncture an intriguing aspect of the famous humanist that usually has been overlooked or treated too lightly. On the basis of a statement from Erasmus' *Preparation to Death* in which he comments on the Apostle Paul's reference to being crucified to the world, DeMolen points out that "Erasmus was more than a humanist or a classical scholar, or even a reformer and theologian. He was an imitator of Christ's life. And as such, he was a man of great interior holiness" (p. 27).

The approach in chap. 2 (pp. 43-68) is somewhat different, as Luther is assessed by Scott H. Hendrix under the title "Luther's Communities." Hendrix subdivides his treatment into sections dealing with six such communities: the monastery, the university, Wittenberg, Electoral Saxony, Germany, and the church. How Luther interacted with these communities—both being shaped by them and helping to shape them—is the thrust of this illuminating chapter. In yet another kind of approach, David Foxgrover in chap. 7, "Calvin as a Reformer: Christ's Standard-Bearer" (pp. 178-210), deals almost exclusively with Calvin's eschatological perspective (or perhaps we should say, "view of world, church and the end-time").

Space limitations will not allow discussion, nor even brief overview, of all of the essays in this volume; but so as to provide the reader with at least a basic impression of the book's scope and contents, a listing is here given of the chapter titles and authors not already mentioned above: chap. 3, "Zwingli: Founding Father of the Reformed Churches," by Robert C. Walton (pp. 69-98); chap. 4, "Lay Religion in the Program of Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von Karlstadt," by Calvin A. Pater (pp. 99-133); chap. 5, "The Religious Beliefs of Thomas Cromwell," by Stanford E. Lehmberg (pp. 134-152); chap. 6, "For the Greater Glory of God: St. Ignatius Loyola," by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (pp. 153-177); chap. 8, "Machiavelli, Antichrist, and the Reformation: Prophetic Typology in Reginald Pole's *De Unitate* and *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum*," by Peter S. Donaldson (pp. 211-246); chap. 9, "Family, Faith, and *Fortuna*: The Châtillon Brothers in the French Reformation," by Nancy Lyman Roelker (pp. 247-277); chap. 10, "The Image of Ferdinand II," by Charles H. Carter (pp. 278-317); and chap. 11, "William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion," by J. Sears McGee (pp. 318-344).

The material in this volume is heavily documented in notes that appear at the end of each essay. There is an "Epilogue" (pp. 345-347) that summarizes the eleven essays, a section of "Notes on Contributors" (pp. 348-349), and an Index (pp. 351-360).

Because of its exceptional helpfulness, one further feature of this publication must be mentioned in closing: the inclusion of a "Select Bibliography" after each essay. The sections so entitled are especially valuable inasmuch as they are not merely listings of bibliographical entries (useful as these would be), but are actually short bibliographical essays.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Freedman, D. N., and Mathews, K. A. *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev).* With contributions by R. S. Hanson. The American Schools of Oriental Research. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985. xii + 97 pp., + 20 photograhic plates. $19.95.

This is a very important work, for it contains the primary publication of the fragments of the scroll of Leviticus that were found by the Taamireh bedouin in cave 11 near Qumran in January of 1956. The scroll fragments were purchased from their bedouin discoverers by the Palestine Archaeological (now Rockefeller) Museum of Jerusalem in May of that year. Some additional small fragments of this work were subsequently recovered through excavations conducted in cave 11 by Roland de Vaux. When the museum changed hands as a result of the 1967 war, this text was then assigned to D. N. Freedman for publication. Following a preliminary report on the variant readings in this text that was published in 1974, Freedman turned the text photographs over to a graduate student, K. A. Mathews, for study and incorporation into the latter's doctoral dissertation (completed in 1980).

This text was copied by its scribe in the palaeo-Hebrew script, as is the case at Qumran with other texts from the Pentateuch that were attributed to Mosaic authorship; hence the technical designation for this work in the catalog of works from Qumran is 11QpaleoLev. The surviving portions of this text include fifteen small fragments and one large portion of the scroll which includes seven columns of nine lines of texts each. An orphan fragment of this texts, which is now in the possession of G. Roux of France, has been included among the photographic plates. This piece was purchased in 1967 from Kando, the agent who has served as the middleman in the transactions of purchasing scroll fragments from the bedouin.

This text was written, like many others at Qumran, in lampblack ink on leather. The scroll ranges in color from light to dark brown. The lines from which the letters were hung can be seen clearly in the photographs. The series of smaller fragments covers approximately 75 verses that come from chaps. 4 through 22. The one large fragment comes from the latter sections of the book, providing portions of the text which span from chap. 22 through chap. 27. Readers of *AUSS* who may have a special interest in

the Day-of-Atonement passage may be disappointed to learn that only the very beginning and end of Lev 16 have been preserved, namely vss. 2-4 and vs. 34.

In the introductory chapter in this volume, the authors have dealt in some detail with the way in which the scribe who copied the text worked. In this analysis they have dealt with the manner in which he treated spacing for words, lines, columns, and margins. Perhaps the most interesting point made in this introductory section has to do with the matter of paragraphing. Ancient scribes did not divide their texts into verses, but they did divide them off into paragraphs. Indentations for eleven different paragraphs occur among these fragments. Certain characteristics of usage occur at these junctures, and these have also been examined in detail. The scribe who copied this scroll was quite careful, as there is evidence for only scribal correction among the preserved fragments. This is all the more surprising, since we would not expect him to be very familiar with this older and somewhat outmoded type of script.

Chap. 2 of the volume contains a study of the palaeography or date of the writing of the scroll. Samples of palaeo-Hebrew writing with which to compare the script of this scroll are rather few and far between. Richard S. Hanson, who contributed this specialized study, has summoned three sources for such a comparison: the Arad and Lachish Ostraca, the palaeo-Hebrew fragment of the Exodus scroll from Qumran, and the type of Palaeo-Hebrew writing employed on Hasmonean coins. Hanson concludes that the script of 11QpaleoLev is quite a bit later than the ostraca, a little bit later than the Exodus fragment, and contemporary or slightly earlier than the script of the Hasmonean coins. All factors taken into account, he assigns the scroll a date of ca. 100 B.C. Sad to say, therefore, we are not looking at a scroll here which had its origins in exilic or pre-exilic times, when this type of script went out of use. It is a text which was intentionally put back into an archaic and outdated form of script.

For the format of the presentation of the text of the fragments themselves, in chap. 3 the authors have chosen to present each fragment's text line-by-line in the later square script with which readers of the printed copies of the Hebrew Bible are familiar. A line-by-line textual apparatus is printed below the passage from each fragment.

Chap. 4 provides an extensive discussion of the writing system used by the scribe in this scroll. In particular, this discussion analyzes the way in which different nouns, verbs, and particles were vocalized by the writer. This is carried out in comparison to the way in which the writing systems for these features were employed in the MT, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Exodus and Samuel scrolls from Qumran. After giving a nine-page list of these features, the authors state: "A study of the spellings of 11QpaleoLev leads us to conclude that its orthographic system reflects the MT prototype

and is representative of the same orthographic tradition chosen by the rabbis for the official text of the Jewish Pentateuch" (p. 78).

The fourth chapter is followed by a bibliography of relevant and cited works, and the final section of the book is the photographic plates. These plates present the text first in the form of the original photographs and then in the form of photos taken with new enhanced high-contrast techniques. The high-contrast techniques certainly do aid in the legibility of the passages of text on these fragments. The final plate is a foldout photograph of the entire portion of the largest fragment, which covers portions of seven columns. No color plates are included.

The material found in this volume will provide information for study for a long time to come. It will undoubtedly generate a new series of studies in the literature of Qumran, a fact that renders any remarks made here such that they must naturally be considered preliminary and tentative. Some criticisms might be made of this publication in passing, however. In the first place, the only part which includes a discussion of text-critical problems is in the line-by-line comment on the fragments. No overall summary of the material is provided. Presumably this omission has occurred because Freedman had earlier published an article on the subject. Such being the case, it would have been useful to have had that article republished as an appendix to this volume. As it is, one has to go to look up that article in *CBQ* of 1974 in order to obtain the overall summary.

Another matter that could have been discussed in this volume is the subject of the use of the palaeo-Hebrew script at Qumran. A number of questions remain about it; indeed, they have been raised by this publication. For instance: How extensive was the use of this script at Qumran, why did the Qumran community use it, and how literate in it were they, etc.? Some of these questions may never be answered, but this book would have been a convenient place in which to address them. For the present, however, one must consult instead Mathews's study on it in the Freedman *Festschrift* volume, *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 549-568.

Finally, there is the matter of the audience to which such an important publication is addressed. It is in particular a work for the technical specialist. I wonder, however, if it would not have been better to have addressed it—in part at least—to the larger Bible-reading public. Since this book provides the best and largest sample yet published of what the Hebrew Bible looked like in its earliest form, it seems to me that considerable interest (and sales circulation) could have been generated among the general public. To have appealed to such an audience would have necessitated, of course, English translations of the preserved portions of text, plus some simplified notes on the significance of any text-critical variants as these might affect the translation of new versions of the English Bible.

The authors are to be congratulated and given our profound thanks for providing us with this copy of this marvelous document.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Graham, Roy E. *Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.* New York: Peter Lang, 1985. xvi + 489 pp. $42.00.

"Any student who seeks to understand and evaluate the Seventh-day Adventist church discovers that he must also consider the phenomenon of Ellen G. White" (p. i). These words highlight a central theme of Roy Graham's study. The thought and ministry of Ellen White, he points out, were, and continue to be, factors of primary importance in the development of Adventism.

Most books about Ellen White, claims Graham, fall into one of two categories. The first category includes those that are written by Adventists for Adventists. These tend to be hagiographical and often exhibit a "story book" format (pp. ii, 7). The second genre is constituted largely of works written by non-Seventh-day Adventist writers for non-Adventist readers. Generally these books either "dismiss her as an extreme, even deluded, 'enthusiast,' or . . . evaluate her position as being typical of any 'prophet' in a 'new' church, sect, or religious group, with all the opprobium that goes with such an evaluation" (p. ii).

Both of these approaches to Ellen White, notes Graham, fail to do justice to the significance of her ministry in Adventism. Furthermore, he points out, such superficial assessments have detracted from the intrinsic worth of her work.

Graham has sought "to indicate the significance of EGW's work, first for her own church, and then for the churches, and society, at large" (p. iii). In seeking to achieve this aim, Graham has taken the role of a Seventh-day Adventist endeavoring to explain the ministry and significance of Ellen White to the non-Adventist world. Other Adventists—such as Francis D. Nichol in *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* and certain "popular" authors—have written books for non-Adventist audiences, but their style and content have tended to be apologetic and evangelistic, whereas Graham has attempted to write as a critical scholar for other critical scholars.

Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is a published version of a Ph.D. dissertation completed at the University of Birmingham in 1977. As a result, it retains the format and style of a dissertation. The untimely death of the author in 1984 prohibited further refinement of the text.

Graham believed that the general ecumenical climate of the 1970s made it both possible and necessary to study Ellen White in a more dispassionate

manner than had often been done in the past. As a result, he hoped that his study would serve as a further contribution to ecumenical understanding, especially as Ellen White's ecumenical significance became understood.

While, Graham points out, most previous scholarly studies of Ellen White had been of a non-theological nature (dealing with such areas as education and health), his study was concerned with her "theological understandings and their relation to Christianity's contemporary struggle" (p. iv). The aim of the study was (1) "to provide source material on EGW in compact and categorized form," (2) "to give a wider knowledge of EGW's work and writings," and (3) "to attempt an evaluation of EGW within the context of ecumenical theology" (p. 410).

The book is divided into ten chapters. The first describes the sources for the study of Ellen White. It is an excellent introduction to the topic for the non-Adventist reader, but of necessity it does not provide reference to the several significant works published between 1977 and 1985. Chap. 2 is an overview of the life and times of Ellen White. It sets the stage for more detailed discussion in subsequent chapters. Chap. 3 discusses the biblical base for the ministry of Ellen White and the reactions of early Adventists to her ministry. The fourth chapter deals with Ellen White's influence in the formative period of the Adventist church. It provides a helpful treatment of her role in initiating new ventures in the denomination. Chap. 5 is one of the most important chapters in the book. The subject is Ellen White and the Bible. Included are discussions of her concept of revelation-inspiration, her hermeneutical principles, and the consequences of these positions in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Chap. 6 investigates the question of whether Ellen White was a prophet. In attempting an evaluation, Graham surveys various prophetic models, and concludes that she best fits the model set forth in the Bible, as opposed to several more-contemporary paradigms. The seventh chapter examines Ellen White's influence on Adventist approaches to race relations, particularly in the United States and Great Britain. This section seems to be disproportionately long in relation to its significance in the presentation, but it is helpful in elucidating basic principles, even though the argument appears to be a little "thin" at times. Chap. 8 stands at the center of Graham's presentation. It examines Ellen White's influence on Adventist approaches to the then-recent (1965-1973) discussions between Adventists and the World Council of Churches. Graham presents Ellen White as an advocate of ecumenism, but an ecumenism doctrinally based on the authority of the Bible. Thus, he concludes, she, and the denomination to which she belonged, would not feel at home in the World Council. The ninth chapter, dealing with Ellen White and her critics, is one of the most valuable in the book. It is especially helpful in its treatment of Dudley Canright and L. R.

Conradi. The final chapter presents some "Theological Reflections and Some Conclusions."

Graham seems to have largely achieved his stated purpose in writing this thesis. As a survey of the chapter topics has demonstrated, he covered an enormous amount of territory. His contribution does not lie as much in original treatments of his topics as in his almost encyclopedic handling of an extensive array of topics, issues, and questions related to Ellen White. In providing this survey, Graham has presented to both non-Adventist and Adventist readers an invaluable catalog of primary and secondary materials related to Ellen White. Graham left few stones unturned in his search for materials and issues. Unfortunately, his work could not take into account the positive and negative studies of Ellen White that appeared between 1977 and 1985. Even though the book was somewhat dated at the time of its publication, it still provides one of the most comprehensive and helpful guides to the study of Ellen White yet published.

Beyond Graham's contributions in the realms of comprehensive treatment and bibliography, he also has provided us with one of the few, if not the only, significant discussions of Ellen White's theology in the context of contemporary theological issues. For these contributions we stand in his debt.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Inch, Morris, and Youngblood, Ronald, eds. *The Living and Active Word of God: Studies in Honor of Samuel J. Schultz.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. xiv + 355 pp. $20.00

In this *Festschrift,* dedicated to Wheaton College Emeritus Professor of Bible and Theology Samuel J. Schultz, the reader encounters an impressive array of prominent evangelical theologians and an even more impressive array of penetrating essays on crucial theological issues. Following a "Personal Portrait" of Schultz by Erwin P. Rudolph, a lead article by Schultz himself surveys various approaches for teaching OT overview, and suggests a new "Inductive Theological-Historical-Cultural" approach that takes as its point of departure the book of Deuteronomy. The twenty-four essays that follow are divided into three sections: (1) "How God 'Spoke Long Ago to the Fathers' " (essays on OT and the relation of the OT to the NT); (2) "How God 'Has Spoken to Us in His Son' " (NT essays); and (3) "How God's Word Abides With Us" (essays on the authority of Scripture and its contemporary relevance).

In Section 1, the contributors deal with pivotal biblical themes, concepts, and passages. F. F. Bruce traces throughout Scripture a theme of no

little contemporary concern—man's natural environment. The much-debated question of "The Abrahamic Covenant: Conditional or Unconditional?" is addressed by Ronald Youngblood, who marshalls some fifteen different biblical passages as evidence that the Abrahamic covenant contains conditional as well as unconditional elements and forms a basic continuity with the Mosaic covenant. Robert Coley illuminates the Canaanite understanding of the state of the dead by an examination of evidence from the excavation of a Dothan family tomb.

Merold Westphal, Jr., underscoring the need for evangelicals to recognize the personal as well as the propositional nature of revelation, challenges readers to encounter and give heed to even the "dark side" of prophetic revelation, such as the timely message about ingratitude, imperviousness, impiety and injustice found in Isa 1. An essay by the late J. Barton Payne focuses attention upon the *crux interpretum* of Isa 7:14, distinguishing what he terms "right" (most crucial) and "wrong" (diversionary) questions about the text, and suggesting what he considers "acceptable answers to the right kind of questions" (p. 84). The important question of the relationship between the Testaments—in particular the relationship between Jesus' ethic in Matt 5 and the law of Moses—is broached by Alan F. Johnson, who argues for elements of both continuity and discontinuity, with the final anthority on ethics to be found in the NT and not the OT. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., grapples with Peter's use of Joel 2 in his Pentecost sermon of Acts 2, adducing impressive exegetical evidence that Joel specifically intended to announce the outpouring of the Spirit upon Jews and Gentiles, and that both its preliminary fulfillment at Pentecost and its final future downpour are part of one generic whole.

Moving to NT essays (Section 2), Marvin Wilson cogently argues that the Hebraic mind-set which is reflected throughout the NT as well as the OT should be recovered in the life of the church today, through a greater emphasis upon perspectives that are holistic (versus dualistic), this-worldly (as well as other-worldly), and corporate (as well as individualistic). In the essay "Apostolic Eyewitnesses and Proleptically Historical Revelation," Stanley Obitts exposes what he sees as a fallacy in the claims by historical theologians (such as V. A. Harvey and T. A. Roberts) to be capable of "conferring" authority upon the eyewitness accounts of Jesus' resurrection, even when viewing the witnesses proleptically, as Wolfhart Pannenberg proposes. Morris Inch explores the thesis that the distinctive NT manifestation of the Spirit is not miracles, enthusiasm, nor individual piety, but the Messianic community, with its features of "proclamation, sharing, a harmonious co-operation and a creative diversity" (p. 155).

The biblical authority for a "going and sending ministry" in world evangelism (especially Rom 10 and 15) is examined by Robert Duncan Calver. J. Julius Scott, Jr., compares the textual variants of the "Apostolic

Decree" of Acts 15 and traces the "phases of interpretation and application of the decree that can be seen in the history of the transmission of the text of Acts 15:20 and parallel passages" (p. 183). An essay on "The Theism of the Apocalypse" by Merrill C. Tenney concludes the second section; this author views the picture of God in Revelation against the backdrop of the OT, and isolates three aspects (God's sovereignty, justice, and grace) and three progressive stages (opening, process, and conclusion) in the outworking of the divine purpose in relation to the world in general, to the people of God, and to the rebellious.

In the final section of the book, dealing with the authority and relevance of Scripture, Millard J. Erickson's lead essay on "Immanence, Transcendance and Scripture" perceptively analyzes major liberal and evangelical views of Scripture and elucidates the author's thesis that "there is a positive correlation between one's views of the relationship of God to His creation and one's conception of revelation" (p. 204). Bong Rin Ro provides a helpful historical perspective on "The Inspiration of Scripture Among the Seventeenth-Century Reformed Theologians." A penetrating study by Norman L. Geisler, "The Concept of Truth in the Contemporary Inerrancy Debate" (reprinted substantially from *BSac* 1980), pinpoints differing theories of truth which underlie the two "camps" in the inerrancy debate, and maintains that according to scriptural data and various philosophical arguments only the correspondence view and not the intentionality theory is adequate as a comprehensive view of truth.

Robert T. Sandin's essay, "The Clarity of Scripture," suggests (with analysis and illustration) that "some recent approaches to Biblical hermeneutics (as inspired by the writings of Dilthey, Heidegger, Bultmann, and Gadamer) are in fundamental conflict with the historic Protestant principles of *sola scriptura* and *claritas scripturae*" (p. 237). Jack Lewis traces the history of the use (and misuse) of "Italics in English Bible Translation" and offers cautions about italics in Bible translations that amount to a negative verdict on their usefulness. In his essay "The Bible the Foundation for a World and Life View," Harold Lindsell makes an impassioned appeal for evangelical Christians to embrace a two-fold objective: to "call men back to Scripture as the only source from which a world and life view that has true meaning and cosmic usefulness can be developed," and to "relate Scripture to life and apply its principles to the social sciences until they become a true image of God's revelation and are used by men in society for their well-being" (p. 281).

William A. Dyrness's provocative study of "Symbolism, Modeling, and Theology" surveys the insights from modern sociology of knowledge which make it possible to see the whole of theology as a "symbolic process," and explores possible advantages of looking at theology from this perspective. Finally, Harold Kuhn reflects on the use of the Bible in recent third-world

attempts to articulate and justify a theology of revolution or liberation, while Arthur P. Johnston gives attention to four contemporary theological trends which he sees threatening to undermine the effective use of the Bible in world evangelism.

While readers may not agree with every line of argument or conclusion of the contributors to this *Festschrift*, they will repeatedly be stimulated and challenged as they are brought face to face with leading evangelical thinkers who insightfully address prominent theological issues. A number of these essays are destined to become classics on the respective topics covered.

Andrews University RICHARD M. DAVIDSON

Kort, A., and Morschauser, S., eds. *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985. xviii + 274 pp. $25.00.

Samuel Iwry has taught in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins University and at Baltimore Hebrew College, where he also served as dean. This volume dedicated to him brings together some thirty studies written by his past and present students and colleagues, many of them well known in biblical and Ancient Near Eastern studies in America today. Since the volume was several years in preparation, three of the contributors died before their contributions were published (Moshe Held, Yigael Yadin, and Samuel Rosenblatt), and another potential contributor—Mitchell Dahood—was prevented by his death from completing his contribution.

The studies presented in this volume are arranged by the alphabetic order of their authors' names, not subdivided according to topic or time dealt with. The book opens with M. Auerbach's question concerning the Maccabean period: Did Alexander Yannai (Jannaeus) negotiate an alliance with the Parthians? There is no direct evidence that he did, contrary to some ancient and modern opinions. J. Baumgarten has studied the tithe in the Temple Scroll. From this study he concludes that—contrary to Lev 27, where the first tithe is assigned to the priests—the scroll designates this tithe for the Levites. This difference may have arisen because of the Essene view of the priesthood in Jerusalem. Differences between the scroll and the biblical text also occur in terms of the treatment of the second tithe of Deut 14. These differences involve both time factors for giving it and the question of redeeming it.

Three studies on Hebrew poetry appear in the volume. A. Berlin has examined the rhetoric of Ps 145. A. Hurvitz has made a poetic comparison between 1 Sam 2 and Ps 113 to elucidate their interrelationships. D. N. Freedman has contributed a statistical study of the frequency of use of the

article, the direct object marker, and the relative pronoun *ʾšr* in early prose and early poems; and he shows quite conclusively that these were used much more commonly in prose than in poetry. Two studies on Isaiah are included, one by J. J. M. Roberts on the children of Isaiah 7-10, and the other on Isa 66 by A. Rofé.

For historical or quasi-historical studies, one can consult R. Boling's contribution on the list of the Levitical cities in Joshua, which builds upon and expands his work on this subject in his commentary on this book in the Anchor-Bible series. Another update of commentary work is C. Moore's review of the recent work published on Esther since he published his volume on that book, also in the Anchor-Bible series. B. Gittlen's study of the "Murder of the Merchants" near Akko presents a nice case in which literary and archaeological evidence can be correlated. In this study, he relates the burials in five LB tombs excavated in the Persian garden north of Akko with the reference to the murder of some merchants referred to by Amarna Letter No. 8. The commercial nature of the grave goods appears to be specific enough to make so direct a connection. In his study on Rib-Hadda, W. L. Moran has drawn a comparison between this beleaguered ruler of Byblos in the Amarna period and Job of the Bible. J. Milgrom has studied the changes in the list of Hezekiah's sacrifices for the purification of the temple in 2 Chr. 29 and has concluded that the expansion of the list to take in "all Israel" beyond the royal house and the sanctuary was an effort to include the northern refugees who had come to Judah after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.

Some of the more general studies in the volume include J. Cooper's comparison of the roles of Sargon, king of Akkad, and Joseph of the Bible as receivers and interpreters of dreams. In his examination of the creation story from Egypt H. Goedicke has noted that the Egyptian words for "rib" and "clay" are homophones spelled *imw*, differing mainly in the determinative that accompanies them. This fact he suggests should be taken into account when the story of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib and Adam from clay/dust of the earth is examined in the Bible. G. Mendenhall has studied the function of the worship of Baal and Asherah to see how it was realized sociologically in Canaanite society.

In the area of linguistic studies, the volume includes J. C. Greenfield's study of an Elephantine-Aramaic term for dowry money which he suggests developed as a loan word from Biblical Hebrew. G. Krotkoff has provided a study of some lexical items in Neo-Aramaic. Moshe Held's posthumous study includes marginalia on several cognates between Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew. Frank Cross has re-examined Lachish Letter III and found that the soldier who wrote it was more accomplished in letters than either his ancient addressee or modern scholars have given him credit for. D. R. Hillers has studied a difficult line of text from a curse in

the Ugaritic Legend of Aqhat and has found in it a reference to leprosy. The text-critical study of Jer 18 contributed by Leona Running of Andrews University includes an interesting personal touch on the question of the interpretation of vs. 14. A particularly useful and interesting suggestion has been made here by either W. F. Albright or S. Iwry (The origin of this suggestion is difficult to trace because we encounter the unusual situation of each of these scholars giving the other credit for the idea!)

The volume concludes with Y. Yadin's interesting but, sad to say, posthumous study of the ancient god Reshep. Yadin dealt with his topic from the standpoint of both ancient texts and archaeological artifacts.

A striking feature of this *Festschrift* is the fact that virtually all of the studies contributed are relatively short in length. This appears to have been the consistent goal of the editors and they achieved it well. They also succeeded in gathering together a collection of interesting studies by a panel of distinguished contributors. It ranks as one of the better *Festschriften* produced recently in the area of OT studies, taking its place along with those for Mendenhall and Freedman reviewed earlier in *AUSS* (see *AUSS* 23 [1985]: 66-68 and 210-212, respectively).

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Leonard, Harry, ed. *J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985. xi + 355 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

John Nevins Andrews (1829-1883) was the foremost scholar in the Seventh-day Adventist Church from the 1850s up through the beginning of the 1880s. Among his scholarly accomplishments were pioneering works on the sanctuary doctrine, the three angels' messages, the law of God, and the systematic support of the ministry. Perhaps his greatest contribution was his monumental *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week.* First published in 1861, later editions were issued in 1873, 1887, and 1912—the last with major additions by L. R. Conradi. Andrews did much to establish Seventh-day Adventist doctrines firmly on their biblical base.

Beyond being the foremost scholar of the young denomination, Andrews was also its first official foreign missionary. Having been sent to Switzerland in 1874, he spent the last nine years of his life establishing the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, particularly in Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland.

Andrews also served as the third president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists from 1867 to 1869 and as editor of the denomination's "official" periodical, *The Review and Herald,* from 1869 to 1870. In addition, he established and edited religious periodicals in French, German,

and Italian. In recognition of his scholarly, missionary, and editorial contributions, Andrews University was named in his honor in 1960.

In spite of his centrality in early Adventistism, Andrews has remained a rather shadowy figure in Adventist history. Until recently there has been little serious research into his life or his contribution to the formation of Adventism. *J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission* has been published to begin filling that gap.

The various chapters were first presented as papers in two symposiums celebrating the centenary of Andrews's death. The first symposium was held from August 30 to September 1, 1983, at the French Adventist Seminary at Collonges, France. The second was held in Basel, Switzerland, on September 3, 1983. Thirty scholars from various countries of Europe and North America participated.

As a series of papers, this book was not viewed by the authors or editor as "the definitive biography of Andrews," but as a preliminary investigation of his life and work (p. ix). The papers in general are quite open and honest regarding Andrews's faults as well as his virtues. As such, they largely escape the error of hagiography. Andrews emerges, notes Harry Leonard, as "a credible human being whose faults do not diminish his achievements" (ibid.).

The book is divided into three parts: the man, the scholar, and the missionary. In many ways, the first part is of most general interest. In it Joseph G. Smoot overviews the role of Andrews in Adventist history and investigates his relationship with other church leaders, and Ron Graybill portrays Andrews in the role of a family man. The second essay is enlightening not only on Andrews, but also on several other leading personalities in early Adventism, on their relationships, and on their mutual strengths and weaknesses.

Part 2 of the volume investigates Andrews as an architect of Adventist doctrine, as a theologian of the Sabbath, and as author of *History of the Sabbath.* It also examines his personal library and his development as a linguist. Especially penetrating is Raymond F. Cottrell's essay, which provides windows into the mind and habits of Andrews as a scholar at work.

Included in Part 3, which focuses on Andrews the missionary, are papers on European Adventist work prior to Andrews's arrival; Andrews's contribution to the beginning of missions in Switzerland, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and other countries; his work as a missionary editor; the financial aspect of his mission; and some intimate glimpses of the Adventist colony at Basel during the Andrews years. Taken as a whole, these essays provide a wealth of information on Andrews's contribution as a missionary.

J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission is a significant contribution to the historical understanding of Seventh-day Adventism. It provides a

great deal of information that was previously unavailable. The volume, however, is not without its weaknesses, including a large amount of redundancy. While some redundancy is to be expected in a collection of symposium papers, much of it could have been eliminated from this book in the editorial process.

The serious student will also look in vain for an index. If one had been included, this book would be more useful as a resource tool. Especially is this true with regard to this volume, since the same topics are often treated in different settings.

Fortunately, the virtues of the book outweigh its structural weaknesses. Several of its chapters will probably not be surpassed in published form, since they deal with detailed analyses of aspects of Andrews's life and work that would be out of place if they were given equivalent space in a systematic biography. As such, *J. N. Andrews* will remain an important secondary source for the study of early Adventist development, even after the publication of a definitive biography. The book, therefore, is not only of current value as the only extensive scholarly study of Andrews, but it will have permanent value for students of Adventiana.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Maxwell, C. Mervyn. *God Cares*, vol. 2: *The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family*. Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1985. 573 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

God Cares is a two-volume set dealing primarily with the apocalyptic books of Daniel (treated in volume 1) and Revelation, the major subject area covered in the present volume. It should be noted, however, that actually a "Part I" in this new publication devotes some 35 pages (pp. 13-47) to Jesus' "Olivet Discourse" as recorded in Matt 24:1-25:46, before Revelation is treated. Then "Part II: Revelation" follows, from p. 49 through p. 540. Although the author, C. Mervyn Maxwell, Chairman of the Church History Department in the Theological Seminary of Andrews University, has apparently included Jesus' Olivet discourse because of its references to the prophecies of Daniel and because it too has apocalyptic elements (excellent reasons for its inclusion as part of this volume), there are some parallels, as well, between this Olivet discourse and the book of Revelation, a fact noted by many commentators. Maxwell indeed recognizes such parallels, but he wisely avoids pushing them too far and refrains from making the so-called "Synoptic Apocalypse" the groundwork for his study of the book of Revelation.

Like its companion volume, this second volume of *God Cares* is written in informal and popular style. The intended readership is obviously foremost and primarily a general one, rather than NT specialists. Nevertheless,

the book is of truly scholarly stature—carefully researched, cognizant of current discussion on the book of Revelation, and responsive to the major questions that arise in connection with a study of this Bible book.

The general interpretational stance which Maxwell takes is the "historicist," inasmuch as this is the one which most genuinely reflects the perspective of historical presentations in apocalyptic literature (and also parallels the closely related book of Daniel). As a starting point in getting into the text of Revelation, Maxwell deals with the literary structure of the book, which he terms "The Organization of Revelation"—his title for a chapter on the subject (pp. 54-65). He has adopted basically (with a few modifications) an outline of chiastic structure which I first presented some three decades ago and which is currently in print in my *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979). This sets forth eight major visions in the Apocalypse. After Maxwell's initial presentation of the outline (across the top half of two facing pages, 60-61), the outline is repeated for each major section of Bible text treated, with the particular section under discussion being enlarged and color-coded in each case. This device helps the reader to follow readily the flow of the biblical narrative.

Each chapter in this publication has four parts: (1) an introduction, (2) the Bible text as given in the RSV, (3) the commentary proper, and (4) a section entitled "Your Questions Answered" (which addresses significant questions frequently raised in connection with the book of Revelation). Documentation is afforded in "endnotes" at the close of each chapter.

The volume is profusely illustrated with photographs, sketches, diagrams, tables, maps, etc.—many of them in color. Some of these are simply artists' pictorializations that have apparently been added by the author (or by the publisher?) basically for aesthetic purposes, so as to make the book more attractive to the general reader. Many of the pictures, sketches, and diagrams of various sorts—as well as the maps that are included—do much more, however, than simply enhance the volume's physical appearance. One readily thinks, for example, of the sketch on p. 211 of a seven-sealed scroll from 335 B.C., and the photographs of precious stones provided on p. 532.

In virtually any sizable publication—and especially in a volume of this massive proportion—a reviewer will inevitably find some points of difference from the author. Aside from a few minor divergences in the literary outlines of the book (nothing at all to quibble about!), it does seem to me that Maxwell has given less credence than the case merits to the view that a seven-sealed Roman will or testament lay in the background as at least one of the sources for the seven-sealed scroll in Rev 5. I opt for such a possibility inasmuch as a will or testament fits well the context of the pericope in Revelation *and* in view of the fact that seven-sealed Roman wills are known to have been in use in the Roman East at about John's time (for an example given in English translation and dated to within a half century of the

appearance of the book of Revelation, see Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, eds., *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, *The Empire* [New York, 1955], pp. 279-280). Nevertheless, Maxwell's fair and pertinent discussion on pp. 210-212 must be given full recognition, as he indicates that for wills "Romans preferred the traditional hinged pair of wooden tablets coated with wax" and that in Roman history there were seven-sealed scrolls that were not wills (as well as those that were). In any event, the shade of difference between Maxwell and me on this matter is insignificant, and I would heartily concur with his conclusion that the "Bible tells us only what happened as each seal was broken. We are on surest ground when we limit ourselves to this" (p. 212).

The publication contains an extensive bibliography on pp. 542-551 (though various of the titles that are included seem to stray somewhat from the subject of the volume itself). And there are helpful topical and scriptural indexes on pp. 552-573.

In closing this review, I would like to reiterate that *God Cares*, volume 2, is truly a scholarly production, even though its popular style might lead a reader at first glance to consider the publication as only a popular narrative. Popular in style it indeed is, and Maxwell is a master artist in his use of the English language. But the book also contains an amazing wealth of carefully researched and well-documented information that, in my view, makes it also a very useful tool indeed. And moreover, Maxwell's goal of showing how "God cares" (a fundamental purpose of the book of Revelation itself) is achieved with heart-warming splendor. Finally, I must confess that I am both astonished and delighted that the publisher could make available such a large, attractive, and informative volume for such a modest price!

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

The NIV Study Bible: New International Version. Kenneth Barker, general editor. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. xxi + 1,950 + 157 + 16 pp. $33.95.

Soon after the complete NIV was published in 1978, it became virtually the standard modern-speech translation of the Bible for evangelical Protestants. The appearance now of this massive study edition, after five years of hard work by a large team of conservative scholars, is sure to enhance the version's popularity even further.

The publisher's claim that the number of notes and helps is far greater than available in any other Study Bible may very well be correct. The nature

and method of these notes and helps are very clearly set out in the volume's Introduction. There are nearly 20,000 study notes explaining words and concepts, illuminating (theologically) difficult verses, drawing parallels between people and events, describing historical and textual contexts, and showing "how one passage sheds light on another." There is a cross-reference system (printed in the center margin between columns) with 82,000 entries, a concordance with 35,000 entries ("the largest ever bound together with an English Bible"), and numerous charts, maps, essays, and indices. The forty maps are first-rate and include sixteen in full color, produced by Carta of Jerusalem.

It is forthrightly announced that "doctrinally, the Study Bible reflects traditional evangelical theology"—meaning inerrantist, but not sectarian. Students of a less conservative persuasion should not, however, presume that the tone is obscurantist or unscholarly, though it is sometimes defensive. The notes generally reflect carefulness and learning. As an example of the tone, we may look at a part of the note to Jude 14:

"The quotation is from the Apocryphal [sic] book of Enoch, which purports to have been written by the Enoch of Ge[nesis] 5, but actually did not appear until the first century B.C. The book of Enoch was a well-respected writing in NT times. That it was not canonical does not mean that it contained no truth; nor does Jude's quotation of the book mean that he considered it inspired." The word *prophesied* in this verse is said to be "not in the sense of supernaturally revealing new truth, but merely in the sense of speaking things about the future that were already known."

Each section of the Bible (such as the Synoptic Gospels), as well as each Bible book, receives a concise introduction that includes an outline. Isogogical positions taken are predictably conservative. Thus, the internally claimed authorship of a book is accepted without question, but defended where necessary (e.g., Petrine authorship of 2 Peter, and—much less emphatically—Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes). But traditional attributions unsupported by scriptural attribution are questioned and even denied (e.g., Pauline authorship of Hebrews). At points where evangelicals differ doctrinally or exegetically (e.g., Rev. 20:2), the annotators evenhandedly set out more than one option of interpretation, though not necessarily all options.

This study Bible is available in both black- and red-letter editions, and the copy supplied to this reviewer was the latter. In deciding what words to print in red, the editors were guided by what the translators had ascribed to Jesus *within quotation marks*. Thus we find red print at Acts 20:35 and 1 Cor 11:24, 25, but not at 1 Cor 7:10. John 3:16-21 is attributed to Jesus, rather than to the Evangelist.

The typography and layout are legible and pleasing, the paper and binding strong and attractive. Bible students who favor the NIV will

undoubtedly find much to like in this edition, and they cannot help but learn a great deal from it.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Young, Davis A. *Christianity and the Age of the Earth.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982. 188 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

In his second book-length contribution on issues of science and Scripture, Davis A. Young addresses the question of the appropriate Christian stance regarding the age of the earth. The eleven chapters are divided into three unequal but fairly distinct parts.

Part One, "Church History and the Age of the Earth," traces some principal trends in the discussion, beginning with the Greek philosophers, and continuing with Christian thinkers from the early church to the twentieth century. While a number of pre-Christian Greek writers held the earth to be very old, they had no means of determining just how old. A general distrust of Greek science led early-church writers to steer clear of its speculations. In the early-church period from Augustine onward, nearly all Christian theologians posited an age for the earth of about 5,500 years. The Renaissance brought a renewed interest in fossils and diluvial theories. Crucial to the development of geology in this period was the work on the principles of rock strata (stratigraphy) by Niels Steensen (Steno).

By 1750, Steno's framework began to influence the infant discipline of geology, leading to various neptunist (oceanic) and plutonic (volcanic) theories of sedimentation and fossil preservation. With increasing geological field work, it seemed clear to some that a short age could not be correct. Young demonstrates how the publication of early estimates of the age of the earth led Christians who wished to retain the Bible's creation account to propose harmonizations from what appeared to be two contradictory conclusions regarding the earth's age. The "restitution theory," proposed by some Christian theorists, suggested an indeterminate period between Gen 1:1 and 1:2ff. In addition, the "day-age theory" saw in the "days" of Gen 1 very long periods of time. Some exegetes began to question the completeness of the biblical chronologies upon which a young-earth view rests. In the twentieth century many theologians accommodated to the evidence of great-earth age, while many other Christians reacted with new commitments to the young-earth viewpoint that is characteristic of modern "scientific" creationism.

In Part Two, "Scientific Considerations and the Age of the Earth," Young reviews four avenues of scientific inquiry which have attracted the attention of short-chronology advocates. Young suggests that the evidence of geological stratigraphy, sedimentation, fossilization, and related areas,

far from establishing the theory of a young earth, provides ample evidence that considerable time was required to produce the present crust. In addition, he holds that radiometric dating methods are sufficiently well-grounded theoretically and have been refined enough to provide another unassailable category of evidence for a very old earth. Recent claims that earth's magnetic field is weakening at rates that can only be interpreted in short-chronology terms have not taken into account, claims Young, evidence for the great variability of the field's intensity in the last 6,000-8,000 years. Likewise, he posits, the arguments for a short chronology based on meteorites and tektites, the nickel content of the earth's crust, and sediment volumes also fail to stand up to more careful examination.

Part Three, "Philosophical and Apologetic Considerations Related to the Age of the Earth," addresses the initial question from a more positive point of view. Given what he considers as evidence that earth is extremely old, Young raises the query, How can Christian faith survive? Some Christians, he claims, hold an incorrect view of the uniformitarian principle, which they see as inadequate to explain geological phenomena. Modern geologists, he points out, use a principle of uniformity not unlike that used by many catastrophists. Modern geology does not reject catastrophes as such, but just the idea that one single worldwide catastrophe—the Deluge—can explain all sedimentary phenomena.

Christians, Young further asserts, should not try to prove that the Bible is true by science. Scripture and nature are alike from God, and therefore they *cannot* speak contrarily. If they *seem* to, the author argues, it is because we misunderstand one or the other. The nature of human understanding is such that we must *expect* "loose ends"—in theology, as well as in science.

While the facts of nature cannot dictate our exegesis of Scripture, Young claims, we may be led by scientific data to take another look at our interpretation of Scripture. But in no case should Christians be guilty of twisting either Scripture or nature in order to achieve artificial harmony. Geological evidence that indicates great age for the earth, postulates Young, is not at odds with the Bible. And he goes on to suggest that our exegesis should attempt to find the underlying harmony by appeal to Scripture itself. The classic day-age hypothesis regarding Gen 1, he concludes, provides a viable exegesis of Scripture that harmonizes biblical and natural data on the age of the earth.

Though my training has not been such that I feel qualified to judge the validity of much of the scientific information and argument presented by Young, it does appear that he raises a number of crucial questions regarding certain creationist arguments against a long-earth chronology. Also, while I may disagree on specifics, I believe Young rightly formulates the relationship between nature and Scripture. Should Christians interpret the Bible by data from the natural world—or *vice versa*? Or should we rather use data

from each, carefully and sympathetically interpreted, to derive a more-or-less harmonious view of such things as the age of the earth and the universal Flood? At the very least, we should be willing to make Young's confession that we may not always see all things absolutely clearly.

My greatest problem is in regard to Young's exegetical treatment of Gen 1. This relates to a field in which I have had considerable training, in contrast to my relative lack of such in the fields of physical and biological science. In regard to his exegetical work, his general hermeneutical theory may be sound (p. 159), but in the case of the "day-age" theory his application is wrong. The arguments in favor of the "day-age" view are advanced in Young's earlier book (*Creation and the Flood* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1977]), and only affirmed in the present volume.

My criticism of the "day-age" theory is not simply a conservative short-chronology reaction. The question that Young fails to answer is, What did the inspired author of Genesis mean by "day"? It is my exegetical conviction that the only answer is "a twenty-four hour period." This conclusion obviously leaves unrelieved the tension that Young's exegesis seeks to relieve. I too would like to bring this tension into balance, but I *cannot* do so by making Genesis say something it does not mean. Although Young is prepared to live with some "loose ends" (p. 155), he is apparently not prepared to live with this one! But which is worse—to live with an unrelieved tension between biblical and scientific data, or to force a view on Genesis that may not conform to its intent?

Young asserts repeatedly that Christian faith in Scripture is not weakened by recognizing the evidences for a long chronology of the earth. On the other hand, I am not sure that faith in the Bible is effectively strengthened by a scientizing exegesis of Gen 1.

Since Young is offering a compromise position on a very complex issue, it is unlikely that people on either extreme will be pleased with his conclusions. In my judgment, Young has raised important questions. And after all, creationists and those who would advocate a short chronology are not about to *abandon* science. Indeed, no matter where Christians come down on the issue of the age of the earth, they will have to come to terms with the relationship between science and Scripture. Young's work contributes to this ongoing discussion.

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INDEX TO VOLUME 24 (1986)

ARTICLES

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d*	י	= *y*	ס	= *s*	ר	= *r*		
ב	= *b*	ה	= *h*	כ	= *k*	ע	= ʿ	ש	= *ś*		
ב	= *b̲*	ו	= *w*	כ	= *k̲*	פ	= *p*	ש	= *š*		
ג	= *g*	ז	= *z*	ל	= *l*	פ	= *p̲*	ת	= *t*		
ג	= *g̲*	ח	= *ḥ*	מ	= *m*	צ	= *ṣ*	ת	= *t̲*		
ד	= *d̲*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*				

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= *a*	ְ, ֱ	(vocal shewa)	= *e*		ֹ	= *ō*				
ָ	= *ā*	ֵ, ֶ	= *ē*			וֹ	= *o*				
ַ	= *a*	ִ	= *i*			וֹ	= *ô*				
ֶ	= *e*	ִי	= *î*			וּ	= *u*				
ֶ	= *ĕ*	ֹ	= *o*			וּ	= *û*				

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
AB	Anchor Bible
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ADAJ	*Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan*
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AHW	Von Soden, *Akkad. Handwörterb.*
AJA	*Am. Journal of Archaeology*
AJBA	*Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.*
AJSL	*Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANESTP	*Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* Pritchard, ed.
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOS	American Oriental Series
APOT	*Apocr. and Pseud. of OT,* Charles, ed.
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgesch.*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASV	American Standard Version
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUM	Andrews Univ. Monographs
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
BCSR	*Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BihOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BIES	*Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands Library*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BQR	*Baptist Quarterly Review*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CC	*Christian Century*
CH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIJ	Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum
CIL	Corp. Inscript. Latinarum
CIS	Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CR	Corpus Reformatorum
CT	*Christianity Today*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CurTM	*Currents in Theol. and Mission*
DACL	*Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.*
DOTT	*Docs. from OT Times,* Thomas, ed.
DTC	*Dict. de théol. cath.*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
EncIsl	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia judaica* (1971)
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FC	Fathers of the Church
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HR	*History of Religions*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dict. of Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR *Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.*
JAC *Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum*
JAOS *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*
JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*
JB Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR *Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.*
JEOL *Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux*
JES *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH *Journal of Medieval History*
JMES *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH *Journal of Modern History*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS *Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.*
JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR *Journal of Religion*
JRAS *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE *Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS *Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH *Journal of Religious History*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT *Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT *Journal for the Study of OT*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR *Journ., Scient. Study of Religion*
JTC *Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS *Journal of Theol. Studies*
KJV King James Version
LCC Library of Christian Classics
LCL Loeb Classical Library
LQ *Lutheran Quarterly*
LTK *Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche*
LW *Lutheran World*
McCQ *McCormick Quarterly*
MLB Modern Language Bible
MQR *Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NAB New American Bible
NASB New American Standard Bible
NCB New Century Bible
NEB New English Bible
Neot *Neotestamentica*
NHS Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT New International Commentary, NT
NICOT New International Commentary, OT
NIV New International Version
NKZ *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT *Novum Testamentum*
NPNF Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT *Nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA *New Testament Abstracts*
NTS *New Testament Studies*
NTTS NT Tools and Studies
ODCC *Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OIP Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or *Orientalia*
OrChr *Oriens Christianus*
OTS *Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEFQS *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.*
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG *Patrologia graeca,* Migne, ed.
PJ *Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL *Patrologia latina,* Migne, ed.
PW Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyl.*
QDAP *Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.*
RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.*
RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RArch *Revue archéologique*
RB *Revue biblique*
RechBib Recherches bibliques
RechSR *Recherches de science religieuse*
REg *Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS *Religious Studies*
RelSoc *Religion and Society*
RelSRev *Religious Studies Review*
RenQ *Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp *Review and Expositor*
RevQ *Revue de Qumrân*
RevScRel *Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém *Revue sémitique*
RHE *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR *Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.*
RHR *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL *Religion in Life*
RLA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RPTK *Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche*
RR *Review of Religion*
RRR *Review of Religious Research*
RS *Religious Studies*
RSPT *Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RSV Revised Standard Version
RTP *Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SB Sources bibliques
SBLDS Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ *Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR *Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem *Semitica*
SJT *Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr Studia Orientalia
SPB Studia Postbiblica
SSS Semitic Studies Series
ST *Studia Theologica*
TAPS Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD *Theology Digest*
TDNT *Theol. Dict. of NT,* Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT *Theol. Dict. of OT,* Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH *Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl *Theologie und Glaube*
THAT *Theol. Handwört. z. AT,* Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP *Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ *Theologische Quartalschrift*
Trad *Traditio*
TRev *Theologische Revue*
TRu *Theologische Rundschau*
TS *Theological Studies*
TT *Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday *Theology Today*
TU Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ *Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBSGNT United Bible Societies *Greek NT*
UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
VT *Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup *VT,* Supplements
WA Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe
WO *Die Welt des Orients*
WTJ *Westminster Theol. Journal*
WZKM *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.*
ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZÄS *Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache*
ZAW *Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.*
ZDMG *Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*
ZEE *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT *Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie*
ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT *Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie*
ZMR *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW *Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.*
ZRGG *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.*
ZST *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie*
ZTK *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche*
ZWT *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*