

Andrews University
**SEMINARY
STUDIES**

Volume 30

Number 2

Summer 1992



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

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Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.
Tel: (616) 471-6395 / (616) 471-6023.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and brief notes on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, Biblical theology, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, systematic theology, philosophy of religion, ethics, history of religions, missiology, and special areas relating to practice of ministry and to religious education.

The opinions expressed in articles, brief notes, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1992 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	\$16.00	\$19.00
Institutions (including Libraries)	22.00	25.00
Students	13.00	16.00
Retirees	13.00	16.00

(Price for Single Copy is \$8.00 in U.S.A.; \$9.00 Foreign (in U.S.A. funds).)

*NOTE: These are net rates for prepaid orders. A handling and service fee of \$1.50 will be added if orders are to be billed.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect (old address as well as new address must be given). Send all communications to AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica*; *International Bibliography of History of Religions*; *Internationale Zeitschriftensschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*; *New Testament Abstracts*; *Old Testament Abstracts*; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *Orient-Press*; *Recently Published Articles* (publication of the American Historical Association); *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (formerly *Index to Religious Periodical Literature*); *Religious and Theological Abstracts*; *Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index*; *Theologische Zeitschrift*; *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

RICHARD BAXTER AND THE HEALING OF THE NATION

WALTER DOUGLAS
Andrews University

In this essay an attempt will be made to establish the role and influence of Richard Baxter (1615-1691) in working for peace and unity within the English nation in the difficult period following the Civil War (1645-1648). The first part of the study covers the necessary background for understanding and appreciating the complex nature of the conflict between Anglicans and nonconformists, both under the Commonwealth and under the Protectorate. The final section relates Baxter's part in bringing ecclesiastical and political leaders together.

Richard Baxter, with a love for the monarchy and the soul of the nation which transcended religious boundaries and political loyalties, became a prophet of moderation. He took a mediating position and pleaded with the leaders of the Presbyterians and Independents to bury their differences and work together for a united Protestant England. He based his urging on simple Christianity.

W. K. Jordan's research has shown that Baxter's position

. . . represented a principle of order which appealed to sober and responsible men, harassed by the steady deterioration of Protestantism into extreme and bickering sects. . . . It appealed particularly to responsible elements of lay opinion that were seeking to coalesce on some orderly, systematic, and disciplined National Establishment which would do a minimum of violence to traditional religious conceptions.¹

¹W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 3:317.

1. *The Situation under the Commonwealth*

After the overturn of the established order by the parliamentary forces during the English Civil War of 1645-1648, the question of what shape the new social and political order would take became acute. Disagreement on the matter divided the non-conformists into contending camps. The settlement of the church loomed large in the minds of many, since it was assumed that whatever form it took would almost inevitably involve the whole structure of society. The distemper of the nation grew worse as the victors battled for their own characteristic view of the right settlement for the church.

In their scramble for control of a new ecclesiastical government, inevitable with the breakdown of the monarchy, the Presbyterians were, from the beginning, clearly the dominant force. Their strength was derived chiefly from the support of Scottish Presbyterianism and from their influence in Parliament and in London.

The task undertaken by the predominantly Presbyterian-controlled Parliament in 1645 was difficult indeed. Some semblance of order must be brought into a church that was, at least to the Presbyterians, quite chaotic. The Church must—they felt—be reformed in harmony with the Word of God, after the example of the most godly Reformed Churches on the European continent.

Accordingly, the Presbyterian-dominated Parliament appointed committees for removing "scandalous ministers" and for dealing with the "plundered ministers," those who had been deprived of their positions by the Anglicans. Nor did the ruling party forget the distractions and ejection which many of its clergy had experienced under Anglican diocesan rule. Now that circumstances were different, the human spirit of revenge was manifested in the ejection of many Anglican clergymen. The vacancies thereby created were filled by the appointment of Presbyterian ministers, a number of whom had not been episcopally ordained. The new leaders were so sure of the strength of their regime, that they soon instituted Presbyterian ordination. This new ecclesiastical practice was legitimized and sanctioned by Parliament.

Officially, the prelacy established by Archbishop Laud had been abolished in 1643. Thereafter the Presbyterian-dominated Westminster Assembly began its proceedings to advise the government on a settlement of the church in terms of doctrine,

worship, and government. The results of these meetings were a series of recommendations to the Presbyterian-dominated Parliament. The recommendations included a basically Presbyterian form of government in 1644, a confession of faith in 1646, and two catechisms in 1647.

Baxter described the very significant Westminster Assembly of 1643 as follows:

Those who made up the Assembly of Divines, and who through the land were the honour of the Parliament party, were almost all such as till then had conformed and took ceremonies to be lawful in cases of necessity, but longed to have that necessity removed. . . . The matter of bishops or no bishops was not the main things, except with the Scots, for thousand that wished for Good Bishops were on the Parliament side. Almost all those afterwards called Presbyterians, and all learned and pious synod at Westminster, except a very few, had been conformists, and kept up an honourable esteem for those Bishops that they thought religious; as Archbishop Usher, Bishops Davenant, Hall, Morton, etc. Those would have been content with an Amendment of the Hierarchy. . . . The Assembly at Westminster were all save eight or nine conformable.²

Through the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, which was the means of binding the English and Scottish Presbyterians together, the Scots sought to bring the English Church into conformity with the Scottish Presbyterian model. The "dissenting brethren" of the assembly—Philip Nye, Henry Vane and others—had, in some measure, anticipated the Scottish design and worked to soften the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Parliament eventually ordered that all of England subscribe to the Covenant. Failure to take the oath of subscription resulted in fines or other penalties. Yet Baxter persuaded his people at Kidderminster not to subscribe to the Covenant, for fear it should ensnare their consciences. In 1652 he wrote about his conviction regarding this:

Above all, I could wish that the Parliament and their more skillful hand, had done more than was done to heal our breaches, and hit upon the right way either to unite with the episcopals and Independents (which was possible as distant as they are) or at least had

²Richard, Baxter, *A Treatise of Episcopacy* (1681), 2:211.

pitched on the terms that are fit for Universal Concord, and left all to come in upon those terms that would.³

These are revealing words. They indicate how far the Presbyterians had copied the Laudians in their determination to bring the whole country into conformity. At the same time, in many minds there was a growing apprehension that the country had not yet been freed from intolerance, as one form of enforced conformity to authority gave way to another.

One of the most remarkable events of the period of Presbyterian control was the ordinance passed by Parliament on 3 January 1645, repealing certain statutes of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Parliament also ruled that, after eighty-five years of use, the Book of Common Prayer should no longer be the official service book and forbade its use in any church, chapel, or place of public worship in England or Wales. The book was replaced by A Directory for the Public Worship of God.

The new Directory consisted of general instructions for the conduct of worship rather than of set forms. The principal services consisted of prayers, two lessons, psalms, and a sermon. Holy Communion followed the morning sermon, with the people seated around the table. Provisions were also made for baptism, visitation of the sick, and marriages. Burials, however, were to be conducted without ceremony. Feast days, except Sundays, were abolished.⁴ Extempore prayers were permitted.⁵

The imposition of the Directory was repugnant to all constitutionally-minded conformists and royalists. They refused to accept it in place of the Book of Common Prayer. To ensure conformity, Parliament passed measures reinforcing the ordinance against the Book of Common Prayer, attaching fines or other penalties to its use. Even the private use of the book was prohibited.

Opposition to Presbyterian rule, particularly to the form of discipline outlined in the Directory, did not come only from

³Richard Baxter. *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (London: Matthew Sylvester, 1696), 1.1.117. Hereafter cited as RB.

⁴*A Directory for the Public Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the Taking Away of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Evan Tyler, 1644).

⁵A. H. Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity* (London: Epworth Press, 1963), 42.

conformists and royalists. The Erastians, Independents, and left-wing Puritans began to look upon Presbyterian rule with the same distaste and bitterness with which only a short time earlier they had regarded Laudian prelacy. They now began to advocate new plans for a "settlement of the Kingdom," plans which were wholly inconsistent with the temperament and aims of the Presbyterian Scots and right-wing Puritans. For instance, in the army debates of the summer of 1647, the left-wing Puritans vigorously advocated liberty of conscience and a democratic government based on a proper constitution, called the Agreement of the People.⁶ At the other extreme of the political spectrum, the Erastian members of Parliament were equally suspicious of, and consequently opposed to, the Presbyterian measures. In their view, Parliament, not the Presbyterian clergy, should control the Church in England.⁷

Baxter's cogent statement, "Overdoing is undoing," aptly describes the fate of Presbyterianism for the next few years. England was not prepared for the overdoing of either Scottish or English Presbyterianism. Therefore, when attacks were made on the Book of Common Prayer, thousands in England were willing to bleed for it, even though they would not lift a finger to defend the bishops.⁸ That book, which the English people had accepted for so many years and on which they had placed but little esteem, became the object of their special regard when its use was restricted and finally banned. Indeed, abolition of the Common Book of Prayer gave new impetus to anti-Presbyterian feelings.

In the meantime, another religio-political party, the Independents, increased their strength in the army. As a center party they were strongly supported by the left-wing Puritans and by the more politically conservative Erastians. The influence of the Independents was undoubtedly strengthened by Oliver Cromwell.

By 1658 Cromwell and his army were able to wrest control from the Presbyterians and seek, in their own way, to achieve their vision of the properly ordered society. These new leaders felt that

⁶A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1938), 14.

⁷For a full discussion of this Erastian position, Henry Parker's study, *The True Grounds of Ecclesiastical Regiment* (1641), is most useful. The Parliament Erastians differed from the Royalist Erastians in maintaining that Parliament rather than the King, was the supreme head of Church and State.

⁸Wood, 76.

the mistake of their predecessors was the insistence on a form of government too exact in discipline, which placed power and authority in the hands of clerics.

Edward Cardwell has focused on the cause of the Presbyterian downfall as follows:

They [the Presbyterians] succeeded in obtaining an ordinance that all parishes should be brought under the government of congregational, classical provincial national assemblies; but when they demanded that the spiritual authority of the Keys should be supported by the power of suspending from the Lord's Supper and excommunicating, with a view also to the imposition of civil penalties, they exposed themselves on all sides to suspicion and jealousy, and laid a certain train for their own destruction.⁹

2. The Situation under the Protectorate

From the summer of 1647 onwards Baxter was displeased with the development of events. After the defeat of the king's forces in 1646, Baxter thought that some form of negotiation would bring the dissenting and factious groups together and restore authority to the king. But Cromwell and the army were not thinking along these lines. Thus they obstructed not only the imposition of Presbyterian discipline, but also a return to the monarchy.¹⁰

On 6 December 1648, in what has come to be known as Pride's Purge, the Presbyterian members of Parliament, who had been hostile to the new leaders, were thrown out.¹¹ Cromwell and the army felt that negotiations with the king were not going to achieve the aims they held for a rightly-ordered society. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, insisted on some form of compromise that would save both monarch and monarchy. Colonel Pride, with a strong contingent of soldiers, marched up to the House of Commons and arrested or turned away the majority of the Presby-

⁹Edward Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and Other Proceedings Connected with the Book of Common Prayer from 1588-1690* (Oxford: University Press, 1841), 243.

¹⁰E. C. Ratcliff claims that Cromwell was more in favor of toleration than the Presbyterians. See E. C. Ratcliff, "The Savoy Conference," *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962*, G. F. Nuttal and O. Chadwick eds. (London: SPCK 1962), 91-146.

¹¹For a full discussion of this, see David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

terians trying to enter the House.¹² The Rump Parliament that resulted removed whatever major obstacles might have averted or frustrated their plans for the execution of the king, for abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of Independent rule.

Now the Independent party could have full liberty of worship. Their free proceedings were calculated to enhance traditional Anglican liturgical order as well as their own particular interests and concerns.

In the turmoil that had resulted from the abolition of the Prayer Book under Presbyterian rule, Cromwell perceived that the people had developed a new attachment, indeed a fascination for the Book. Wisely, he refrained from strictly enforcing the laws against its use. In many city churches, the Book was now openly used. There is good reason to believe that the prescribed Anglican services were also followed in many country places. Part of the evidence for this conclusion is the fact that many of the earlier ejected clergy, who for conscience' sake could not feel any kinship with their moderate Anglican brethren and who had sought a compromise with the Puritan Church, now found warm welcome and friendship in the homes of many Cavaliers. In fact, a number of these clerics lived in the Cavaliers' country manors as resident chaplains and tutors of the landowners' children.

Cromwell grew increasingly apprehensive about the alliance between landowners and Anglican clerics. This is revealed in his complaint that the Royalists had "bred and educated their children by the sequestered and ejected clergy . . . as if they meant to entail their quarrel and prevent the means to reconcile posterity."¹³

However, in spite of this apprehension, Cromwell still maintained a tolerant attitude towards religious practices. It was not until the abortive Royalist uprising of 1655 provoked him to action that he did, in fact, announce stern measures of repression against the sequestered clergy and the usage of the Prayer Book. On 4 October 1655, Cromwell issued an order against harboring sequestered clergy, prohibiting landowner families to keep them as tutors or chaplains. It was made illegal for the Anglican clergy to preach in public or private, or to administer the sacraments, solemnize marriages, or use the Book of Common Prayer. At the

¹²Ibid.

¹³Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement, 1649-1662* (London: Dacre Press, 1957), 40.

same time Royalists were warned of heavy fines for violating the order.

In November of the same year a proclamation from the Lord Protector confirmed the order. But the ordinance promised some lenience toward such as should give "a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, offering that to such so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation."¹⁴

Those Anglicans who persisted in resisting the government found life more difficult. They were, however, willing to suffer hardship and deprivation for the worship and observances of the church which they cherished with such deep affection. One such Anglican was John Evelyn, who wrote in 1656 that the Church of England was reduced to a Chamber and Conventicle, so sharp was the persecution. The continued existence and use of the Book of Common Prayer was due largely to clerics who, despite threats, held steadfastly to it.

Baxter was bitterly disappointed by the developments in both Church and State. All along, amidst the political clashes between the King and Parliament and between the Presbyterians and Independents, he had nursed the hope that some form of understanding might be forthcoming. His activities during this period were calculated to encourage the speedy realization of this hope. When the Presbyterians were in control he advised many of the leaders to devise a scheme of unity with the other groups, particularly the Independents and Anglicans.¹⁵ But Presbyterians, particularly of the Scottish mentality, would hardly accommodate Anglicans and Independents, and the latter found a defender in Cromwell.¹⁶

The reasons for this resistance are to be found in the Presbyterian program for the nation and the church. Anglicans found it difficult to accept a Presbyterian church because of their rejection of *jure divino* as the *esse* of the Church. On the other hand, Scottish Presbyterians appear to have been more insistent on getting rid of the episcopacy than the English Puritans. Furthermore, the

¹⁴S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (New York: AMS Press, 1965), 3:334-335.

¹⁵RB 1.1.117.

¹⁶Geoffrey Gould, ed., *Documents Relating to the Settlements of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1862), 72.

Independents were alienated by the Presbyterian insistence on maintaining the monarchy.

The Presbyterians refused to join the king and the Anglicans unless they abandoned their theory of episcopacy. Likewise, they remained intransigent in their opposition to the Independents and Cromwell, who wanted the expulsion of the Stuarts and the abolition of the monarchy.

The Presbyterians' attachment to the monarchy was deeply grounded. They never really accepted Cromwell's leadership. This is seen in the fact that shortly after the execution of Charles I in 1649, the Presbyterians proclaimed his son Charles II as king in exile.

Cromwell and the Presbyterians clashed in a death struggle over the crown. Many Presbyterian ministers were deprived of their livings, sequestered, forced, and threatened by the army radicals because they had opposed the execution of the king and had called those who did it "murderers and the like."¹⁷ Cromwell had little sympathy with a party whose sole conception of the reformation, as symbolized by the Covenant, was the substitution of a domineering Presbyterianism for a domineering Episcopacy.

In this conflict, Cromwell must be seen as a Puritan, motivated by religious considerations. One writer points out that Cromwell's Puritanism "had been from the first, what the best of English Puritanism was, not a preference of one Church government to another, but a life of spiritual, personal religion, and intense realization of the presence of God, a devotion of the entire being to him."¹⁸

Yet the fact must not escape notice that Cromwell himself declared that in the conflict between King and Parliament, and between Presbyterians and Independents, "Religion was not the thing first contested for," although he added "but God brought it to that issue at last."¹⁹ He was undoubtedly interested in the peace and unity of both Church and State. Cromwell understood that many Englishmen were against bishops but had no thought of destroying the monarchy.

The Presbyterians resisted the overthrow of the monarchy at the price of their own political destruction. They might have

¹⁷Ibid., 75.

¹⁸Ibid., 78.

¹⁹Underdown, 9.

accepted Cromwell, but only if he had spared the king. Cromwell suspected that the Presbyterians would subvert his rule and refused to allow them to assemble in synods or to exclude Independents from church preferments.

Partly through force of circumstances, and partly through a logical development of their own basic doctrines, the Independents became known as the party of toleration. This new image gave them an immense advantage outside Parliament, for it enabled them to draw support from the parties of the left, which were almost unrepresented in the House of Commons, but very strong in the army. And in the last analysis, the Independents relied on the army.

The rift between Presbyterians and Independents widened on the question of a civil settlement. If, as the Independents said, "new Presbyters were old priests writ large," the new Parliament also bore a striking resemblance to the old monarchy. Hence they became more and more suspicious of the notion of the effectual sovereignty of Parliament and the tyranny of Cromwell. They argued for the kind of settlement that would put definite limits to Parliament's life and provide measures that would deal not only with the power of the restored King, but would also check the self-perpetuating tyranny of future Parliaments.²⁰

The Independents would be ready to support the King if he were to accept their policy of ecclesiastical liberty and their principle of biennial Parliaments. As a part of the plan for arriving at a settlement, they proposed certain electoral reforms and the limitation of some of Parliament's powers.

3. *Baxter's Role in the Healing of the Nation*

It became quite clear that any attempt at enforced uniformity, whether by Laudians or Covenanters, could not but widen the gap between contending religious and political parties. Baxter had been advocating a way out of the impasse: "Unity in essentials, diversity in forms and charity for all." Such, indeed, was the plan agitating the minds of many Englishmen, among them Cromwell.

Why then did not the Lord Protector succeed in unifying the country? Many important reasons could be offered. First of all, Cromwell was not himself free. Even as Lord Protector he was in

²⁰Woodhouse, 17.

some measure forced to move cautiously in order to protect himself from the radical and left-wing elements in the Army. Furthermore, Baxter was one of his severest critics and charged him with deliberately filling the army with radical or left-wing Puritans, uniting them under the banner of liberty of conscience, and using them to promote his own interests.

Clarendon says that Cromwell was resented by the three nations. His actions were always fresh in their memories. The fact is that Cromwell, by sheer military force, had taken control of the government and expelled a large number of the representatives of England. The people never forgave him for using the Parliament, adapted of course to his purpose, to bring about the condemnation and execution of the King. Despite his attempt to moderate between the differing factions in order to bring them into some form of reconciliation and his further—and sincere—efforts to win the good will of the English people, Cromwell was still considered a usurper and, as such, was despised.

On 17 December 1654 Baxter preached before the Lord Protector and Parliament at Westminster. Here was his opportunity to declare in public much of what he had been advocating to many of his influential friends. In his discourse before Parliament he spoke out

... against the Divisions and Destructions of the Church, and showing how mischievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such Divisions for their own Ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the Church by its Divisions in a state of weakness, lest it should be able to offend them and the Necessity and means of Union.²¹

Cromwell and his policies were clearly the target of his sermon in which Baxter lambasted the Lord Protector. Cromwell restrained himself from responding, due in part to the fact that he knew of Baxter's influence. About the same time, in two personal conferences, Cromwell solicited Baxter's support for his policies. Baxter's account of one of these meetings is revealing.

A while after Cromwell sent to speak with me! And when I came, in the presence only of three of his chief men, he began a long and tedious speech to me of God's Providence in the change of govern-

²¹RB 1.2.57.

ment, and how God had owned it and what great things had been done at home and abroad. . . . When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him, it was too great condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these matters which were above me, but I told him we took our Ancient Monarchy to be a Blessing, and not an Evil to the land, and humbly craved to ask him how England had ever forfeited that Blessing, and unto whom the forfeiture was made? . . . Upon that question he was awakened into some passion and told me it was no forfeiture but God had changed it as pleased him, and then he let fly at the Parliament . . . and especially by name at four or five of those Members which were my chief acquaintance; and I presumed to defend them against his Passion; and thus four or five hours were spent.²²

Baxter's devotion to monarchy was too strong for Cromwell to break. Both meetings proved fruitless because Baxter found himself defending Parliament against Cromwell's attack. The principal subjects on which the two men could not agree were the legitimacy of Cromwell's authority and Cromwell's ecclesiastical policies.

Throughout the long and bitter conflict between the King and Parliament, and until the King's eventual defeat, Baxter held high hopes that the King, after learning the bitter lesson that despotism led nowhere, would be given back his rule and respect. He also hoped that negotiations between the two parties would lead to reconciliation based on a limited monarchy and a broadly based but united national Church. When this ideal proved unreachable, Baxter laid the blame squarely on Cromwell. He was convinced that for his own interest Cromwell had executed the King and usurped the government. This is how Baxter expressed his conviction:

I thought then that both sides were faulty for beginning the War; but I thought the *Bonum Publicum* or *Salus Populi*, made it my duty to be for the Parliament, as defensive against Delinquents, and as they professed to be 'only for King, Law and Kingdom.' When at the New Moddle they left out [for the King] and changed their cause, I changed from them and was sent by two Assemblies of Divines to do my best, though to my utmost labour and hazard, to dissuade them. Cromwell having noticed of it would never let me once come near him or the Head-Quarters. I continued on all occasions publicly and

²²RB 1.2.58.

privately to declare my judgment against him as a rebellious usurper till he died.²³

Furthermore, Baxter accused Cromwell of promoting his own ambitions by uniting the radicals and left-wing under the cry of religious liberty. This accusation was based largely on his own teaching of religious liberty and his view of the State.

I believe that Baxter was so profoundly influenced by his theological understanding of the nature and function of the State—a political government for the happiness of man and the everlasting glory of God—that to be consistent, he felt compelled to write that men should have "liberty for true religion, true faith, and true worship of God. For these have more than liberty." On the other hand, he thought that there should be no "liberty for false religion, false faith, and false worship," even if those who practiced them did "think them true."²⁴ Sectarianism was without doubt an affront to the glory of God and to the good of the Commonwealth.

It was well-nigh impossible for Baxter and Cromwell to come to any understanding since Baxter did not disguise his feelings for Cromwell. Baxter indignantly remarked:

The intelligent sort by this time did fully see that Cromwell's design was, by causing and permitting destruction to hang over us, to necessitate the Nation whether they would or not, to take him for their Governor, that he might be their Protector; being resolved that we should be saved by him, or perish: he made use of the wild headed sectaries then barely to fight for him: they now serve him as much by their heresies, their enmity to learning and ministry, their pernicious demands which tended to confusion, as they had done before by their valour in the field. He can now conjure up at pleasure some terrible apparition, of agitators, levellers, or such like, who as they affrighted the King from Hampton Court, shall affright the People to fly to him for refuge; that the hand that wounded them may heal them. For now he exclaimeth against the giddiness of these unruly men, and earnestly pleadeth order of Government, and will

²³Baxter, *A Third Defence of the Cause of Peace* (1681), 101f. This reference, taken from his personal notes on Baxter, was first brought to my attention by Dr. G. F. Nuttall of the University of London.

²⁴Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (1673), 4.79.

need become the Patron of the ministry, yet so as to secure all others of their liberty.²⁵

Powicke is quite correct in describing Baxter's dislike for Cromwell's policies as the "warping effect of an inveterate prejudice."²⁶ Baxter would never endorse nor forgive Cromwell the "usurper," for Cromwell had pulled down "our lawful English Monarchy" against the will of almost the whole kingdom. He had also reviled many of the worthiest members of Parliament, some of whom were among Baxter's dearest friends.²⁷

Some of the leading politicians, for whom Baxter's ideas had strong appeal, were Baron Broghill, Colonel John Bridges, Major Thomas Grove, Sir Thomas Rous, and Sir Edward Harley. However, Baxter's political influence was not confined to a small group of propertied men active in politics. Geoffrey Nuttall has shown that Cromwell's own chaplain, John Rowe, had written to Baxter soliciting his advice on "the main evils of the nation" that he "would judge capable of redress by the present Governors."²⁸ Baxter had earned the influence and respect necessary for assuming the role of leading spokesman for conservative Puritanism, on both religious and political matters.

Yet it seems paradoxical that Baxter never gave his support to any plot against Cromwell or for the restoration of Charles II. Neither did he advocate resistance to the Lord Protector. On the contrary, he was active in public life under Cromwell and was chosen a member of the parliamentary committee commissioned to draw up a list of fundamentals of Christianity which were to be the basis for toleration.

The question may be raised, why did Baxter not advocate resistance to Cromwell's rule if he thought it contravened God's absolute authority and threatened the welfare of the Commonwealth? The reason Baxter himself provided is very revealing. He claimed that he did not advocate disobedience because such a course of action would not be in the best interest of the common

²⁵RB 1.1.114.

²⁶F. J. Powicke, *Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1924), 115.

²⁷Baxter, *A Third Defence*, 101.

²⁸G. F. Nuttall, "Richard Baxter's Correspondence: A Preliminary Survey," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1 (1950):93.

good. Submission and obedience were to be preferred to any alternative such as a civil war to restore the monarchy or to establish a sectarian Leveller democracy.²⁹

It is only fair to point out that Baxter did not consider Cromwell to be the incarnation of evil, despite his denunciatory attacks of the Lord Protector's policies. He did, in fact, show some regard and appreciation for him because Cromwell "kept up the approbation of a godly life in general . . . and . . . it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel and the dissatisfaction both politically and ecclesiastically."

The religious and political conflicts between Presbyterians and Independents were not resolved until 1660. As the final years of the Protectorate rolled slowly to their close, a state of temporary compromise was reached and the wish of the people could be clearly expressed. Thereupon, an invitation to take up the royal throne was sent to Prince Charles and his court, who had been in exile since the execution of his father eleven years earlier.

²⁹RB 1.1.114.

LINGUISTIC LINKS BETWEEN VERSES 12 AND 13 OF ISAIAH 58

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More than six decades ago, C. C. Torrey made a charge regarding Isa 58:13-14 that has been widely accepted in OT studies: namely, that this passage is "utterly out of keeping with its surroundings," its author being the same person who allegedly inserted another sabbath pericope in 56:2-6.¹ In a similar vein Bernhard Duhm and others have insisted that this passage comes from very late, possibly the time of Nehemiah in the mid-fifth century B.C., for the sabbath was stressed at that time, during a period of Jewish history which was purportedly a time of particularly heavy emphasis upon externals.²

While some commentators, such as George A. F. Knight, merely assume that this passage is an "appendix,"³ or like A. S. Peake simply state that it "bears the marks of a later corollary,"⁴

¹Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 439.

²See Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), 3: 425; see also Neh 13:15-22. Reference to Duhm is *Das Buch Jesaia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1968).

³George A. F. Knight, *The New Israel: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 56-66* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 29.

⁴Arthur S. Peake, ed., *A Commentary on the Bible* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1919), 469.

others, including James D. Smart,⁵ have tried to prove that it is an unwarranted insertion.

In the same vein, Julian Morgenstern states that "even a tyro [i.e., a novice], who knows nothing whatever of the problems and techniques of Biblical science, can hardly escape the feeling that verses 13, 14 seem at the very least like a late and weakening addition to the address proper, and that, too, by another hand."⁶ The reason for this, he believes, is that these verses deal with a theme not touched upon in any way in verses 1-12. Moreover, they enjoin a manner of sabbath observance which is, in its intense ritualism, the complete antithesis—both in spirit and in letter—of all that which the immediately preceding text in verses 1-12 commends and urges.⁷

Morgenstern argues further that if the author of verses 1-12 had added verses 13 and 14 at the time of his address (or even somewhat later) he would have stultified and betrayed himself completely, nullifying whatever effect his earlier words might have had. Thus, Morgenstern concludes: "There can not be the slightest question that verses 13-14 are the work of a different writer and of a somewhat later day."⁸

Statements such as these cause one to wonder whether there is any persuasive proof to support the traditional view of the unity of chapter 58 in Isaiah. Is there any compelling evidence that verses 13-14 are an original part of the chapter, not merely an addition by another author at a later date?

⁵James D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40-66* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 252, categorically asserts: "It makes nonsense of the prophet's sermon to have him reject a religious observance such as fasting because it has become a substitute for works of love and mercy and then add at the end a note to the effect that if only the members of the nation are scrupulous in the keeping of the Sabbath, God will reward them abundantly. The Sabbath [passage] was the enthusiasm of a later orthodox community, not of Second Isaiah."

⁶Julian Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies from the Fourth Century B.C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur," *HUCA* 24 (1952-53): 68.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., 68-69.

Admittedly, questions of this nature have already been addressed by various scholars.⁹ However, most of these investigations have considered the problem from the perspective of the overall theme and the basic framework and structure of the chapter. In this present short essay I seek to supplement such studies by two other means: (1) a brief linguistic analysis of a crucial concept that occurs in chapter 58, and (2) a comparative word study of two important terms.

1. The "Sabbath"/"Rest" Concept

A literal rendering of the last line of Isa 58:12 and of the first line of verse 13 reads:

Restorer of paths to rest in/

If you turn from the sabbath your foot.¹⁰

A closer look at the original text reveals that the word for "rest" in verse 12 and for "sabbath" in verse 13 are actually based on the same Hebrew root שבת (*šbt*). Stressing the importance of this link between verses 12 and 13, Elizabeth Achtemeier has shown "that the thought of the sabbath rest [in vs. 13] follows naturally on the thought of rest in the land, in verse 12."¹¹ Thus, rest in "space" is followed by rest in "time."

Further examination of the Hebrew text of verses 12 and 13 yields an even more intriguing possible connection between these two verses. In the consonantal Hebrew text the final word of verse 12 is לִשְׁבַת (*lišbet*). The Masoretes pointed it to read: לְשִׁבָּה (*lāšābet*). This is properly translated as "to rest in." However, when the

⁹See, e.g., John T. Willis, *The Living Word Commentary on the Old Testament: Isaiah* (Austin, TX: Sweet Publishing Co., 1980), 448-449; Yehezkel Kaufmann, *History of the Religion of Israel*, vol. 4, *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1970), 174; G. Ernest Wright, *The Layman's Bible Commentary*, vol. 2, *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Balmer H. Kelly (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1964), 143; Elizabeth Achtemeier, *The Community and Message of Isaiah 56-66* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982), 60; Claus Westermann, *The Old Testament Library: Isaiah 40-66*, ed. G. Ernest Wright, John Bright, James Barr, and Peter Ackroyd (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 340-341; Rachel Margalioth, *The Indivisible Isaiah: Evidence for the Single Authorship of the Prophetic Book* (New York: Sura Institute for Research, Yeshiva University, 1964), 64, 94, 168.

¹⁰See Young's Literal Translation of the Holy Bible for a similar rendering.

¹¹Achtemeier, 60.

Masoretes came to the identical word **לִשְׁבֹּת** (*lšbt*) in verse 13, they utilized a different vowel pointing: **לְשַׁבֵּת** (*laššabbāt*). Literally translated, this would be rendered as "to the sabbath." Concerning this matter, R. N. Whybray states: "It may be significant that in the consonantal Hebrew text the final word of verse 12, *lasabet*, to dwell in, could also be read as *laššabbāt* on (or "for") the sabbath."¹²

Even though it is admittedly best to stay with the MT under most circumstances, here it appears that the final word of verse 12 could legitimately be repointed to read the same as in the first line of verse 13—namely, **לְשַׁבֵּת** (*laššabbāt*). In this case the closing line of verse 12 would be translated as "restorer of paths leading to (the observance of) the sabbath."¹³ Verse 13, which deals specifically with the manner of sabbathkeeping, would then be a natural extension and elaboration of the point just made in the previous verse.

In brief, whether one retains the Masoretic pointing and renders the final word of verse 12 as "to rest in" or whether one interprets the consonantal Hebrew text to read "to the sabbath," this concept of "sabbath"/"rest" can be seen to form a close and vital connection between verses 12 and 13, thus linking what is often considered as being the first part of Isa 58 (i.e., vv. 1-12) with the final section of that chapter (vv. 13-14).

2. The "Path"/"Way" Parallelism

An analysis of the use of the noun for "path" (**נְתִיבָה** = *netibāh*) reveals that it is used a total of 26 times in the Hebrew Bible. Of these, 21 occurrences are in the form of a feminine noun. In the prophetic writings, it is only in its feminine usage that this noun occurs eight times.

¹²R. N. Whybray, *New Century Bible: Isaiah 40-66*, ed. Ronald E. Clements and Matthew Black (London: Oliphants, 1975), 218.

¹³This is the translation of Torrey, 439. Admittedly, Torrey uses this translation in an attempt to prove that the passage was possibly misinterpreted, which might have led to the "addition" of vv. 13-14 to vv. 1-12. While disagreeing with his conclusions, I believe that this so-called misinterpretation in v. 12 could actually represent the correct rendition.

Careful investigation of the usage in these eight occurrences reveals several significant facts. Hosea, an eighth-century contemporary of Isaiah but working and writing in the Northern Kingdom of Israel, whereas Isaiah's ministry was in the Southern Kingdom of Judah uses the term "path" only once, and that is in a synonymous parallel construction with דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*), translated "way" (Hos 2:6). Jeremiah, writing a century or more after Isaiah, but working in the Southern Kingdom where Isaiah had mainly ministered, uses נְתִיבָה (*netibāh*, "path") three times, in every instance as a synonymous parallel with דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*, "way") (Jer 6:16; 18:15; Lam 3:9).

The book of Isaiah itself makes use of נְתִיבָה (*netibāh*) four times (42:16; 43:16; 58:12; 59:8). In chapters 42 and 43 this term is employed in the same parallel form with דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*) as used by Hosea and Jeremiah. However, in chapters 58 and 59 it is utilized differently. Turning to the latter chapter first, we notice that in 59:8 the words "way" and "path" are set forth in a non-synonymous or contrasting manner: "the way of peace" versus "their crooked paths."

When one looks at Isa 58:12 it soon becomes evident that this is the only verse in all the prophetic writings where נְתִיבָה (*netibāh*) stands alone—that is, without the normally comparative or contrasting word *derek*. However, reading on in the chapter we discover that verse 13 contains the "missing" word! It is, of course, a well-known fact that verse (and chapter) divisions in the Bible are not original to the text but were added centuries later. In view of this, we may ask whether it is not possible, or even probable, that the division made between verses 12 and 13 represents simply an unintentional disruption of this passage? In other words, is it not likely that the author intended to use "path" and "way" in a distinct contrasting parallelism, just as he did in the very next poem (chap. 59:8)? In my judgment, this is indeed most probable.¹⁴

Thus, when the arbitrarily inserted verse divisions are removed or ignored, the following picture of the use of נְתִיבָה (*netibāh*) and דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*) emerges: just as in 59:8 the people are

¹⁴It should be noted that in its parallel construction the word "path" appears in the final position in five out of its eight usages in the prophetic writings, with the reverse for the other three. Apparently the order of the words "path" and "way" is not vital to the construction.

depicted as rejecting "the way of peace" (God's way) for "their [own] crooked paths," so here in 58:12-13 they are confronted with the charge of "doing your ways" (i.e., their own ways), rather than being "the restorer of paths" (viz., God's paths). Thus, both passages depict how human beings—in this instance, God's very own people—selfishly choose to go their own perverse way instead of accepting God's promised path of peace and restoration. Therefore, on the basis of the contrasting parallel usage of "path" and "way," there is a clear linkage between verses 12 and 13 in Isa 58.

Up to this point we have considered the parallel use of "path" and "way" only in relationship to the translation of verse 12 as based on the MT: "restorer of paths to rest in." However, if one accepts the equally legitimate translation of the consonantal Hebrew text, "restorer of paths leading to the sabbath," then verse 12 appears to have an even stronger linkage with verse 13. For in this case the passage makes a sharp distinction between those who restore paths leading to the correct observance of the sabbath and those who desecrate God's holy day by going their own ways. Nevertheless, whether one accepts the traditional translation or my suggested one, the contrasting usage of נְתִיבָה (*netibāh*) and דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*) still remains a strong evidence in favor of the integral relationship between verses 12 and 13. Thus it also stands in favor of connecting the first 12 verses and the last two verses of Isa 58, thereby establishing the unity of that chapter.

3. Summary and Conclusions

Over the years many biblical scholars and theologians have questioned the unity of Isa 58. They have suggested that verses 13 and 14 are a later addition, probably by a different author. While other Christian scholars have used the overall theme as well as the framework and structure of the chapter to demonstrate that verses 1-12 are integrally related to verses 13-14, I have sought in this essay to demonstrate the same textual unity by analyzing some significant linguistic links between verses 12 and 13.

As shown above, if one follows the MT there is a close connection between the "rest" in the land and the sabbath "rest" of verses 12 and 13, respectively. This link is seen to be even more compelling if the final word of verse 12 in the consonantal Hebrew

text is legitimately repointed as **נִשְׁבַּת** (*laššabbāt*). Based on this repointing, the translation of the closing part of verse 12 would read "restorer of paths leading to (the observance of) the sabbath."¹⁵ Consequently verse 12 would thus be even more naturally and contextually connected with verse 13, wherein the specific details of proper sabbathkeeping are outlined.

A comparative word study of the eight occurrences of the word translated "path" in the prophetic writings is also enlightening. The evidence suggests that the various authors—Hosea and Jeremiah, in addition to Isaiah—consistently used the terms "path" and "way" in parallel constructions. Six times these terms appear in synonymous parallelisms. Once, in Isa 59:8, there is a contrasting parallelism; and the same kind of contrasting parallelism occurs in Isa 58 if verses 12 and 13 of that chapter are considered as a unit. On the basis of the strikingly consistent manner in which the prophetic writers have elsewhere used these terms in parallel, it appears that in Isa 58 the verse division between verses 12 and 13 forms an unnatural break and that the terms are also in parallel here, even though they are located in two different, but adjoining, verses. In the final analysis, then, the foregoing study of "path" and "way" serves to provide one further line of evidence that verses 13 and 14 are an original part of the complete text of Isa 58, a chapter which is a cohesive unit.

¹⁵Again, Torrey's rendition. See n. 13, above.

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A LITERARY STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OF EXOD 25-40¹

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1. Introduction

The first two studies on Exod 25-40 dealt primarily with the etymology and use of *miškān* and *ʾḥel mōʿēḏ* within the passage, and so provided an overarching, "terminological" structure.² This final article provides a structural overview which takes its cue from the literary, topical, and grammatical dimensions within the passage.

The structure of the Masoretic text of Exod 25-40 shows several dimensions.³ To correctly describe the complex, multi-dimensional structure of the passage, clear terminology is essential. In this study, the term "axis" is used to describe that dimensional plane along which the text divides itself. This structural axis (or form of the text as determined by internal parameters) may be seen in terms of structural size (sub-structural components within larger structures). "Literary structure" is determined by the order of these

¹The author here wishes to express appreciation to J. Bjørnar Storfjell, Richard M. Davidson, and Randall W. Younker, members of the faculty of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, for their patience in overseeing the preparation of this, and related, studies.

²Ralph E. Hendrix, "*Miškān* and *ʾḥel mōʿēḏ*: Etymology, Lexical Definitions, and Extra-biblical Usage," *AUSS* 29 (1991): 213-224; *Idem*, "The Use of *Miškān* and *ʾḥel mōʿēḏ* in Exod 25-40," *AUSS* 30 (1992): 3-13.

³John H. Stek, "The Bee and the Mountain Goat: A Literary Reading," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 59. Here Stek compares these *dimensions* to a "hologram" rather than a "photograph." Also, see S. Bar-Efrat, "Some Observations on the Analysis of Structure in Biblical Narrative," *VT* 130 (1980): 170, where he discusses "structural patterns" which belong to various "structural levels."

components within the text. One stratum or level within a structure of the text is called an "element."

Literary structures may be delimited both by "numbers" of elements (in this case, six- or nine-element groups) or by "type" of elements (physical items, verbal ideas, etc.). A large, overarching literary form ("maxi-structure") may encompass smaller sub-structures ("midi-" and "mini-structures"). A "terminological" structure takes its form from the use-pattern of a certain term or phrase (as in the case of *miškān* and *ṯhel mō'ēd*). A "topical" structure receives its form from the recurrence of a common theme or topic or subject.⁴ A "grammatical" structure reflects patterning at the level of grammar. In short, literary axes concern the overall form of the text and may include variations such as lists, parallels, inverse parallels (chiasms)⁵ gathered in such a way as to augment the surface meaning of the text.

In practice, structure is not as difficult to recognize as it may be to describe. For example, the structure of Exod 32:1-33:6 is a six-element inverted-parallel structure, thematically focusing on its central structural element.⁶ As shown below, Exod 40:1-8 is a simple list of nine elements which is parallel to Exod 40:17-33 (which has the same nine elements in the same order).

The previous analysis of the use of *miškān* and *ṯhel mō'ēd* in Exod 25-40 provided a concrete example of a "terminological" structure. Table 1 of that study⁷ displays the existence of four terminological units which occur within the basic literary structure of the passage. This terminological axis, missed by many scholars, has resulted in insensitivity to the discrete and separate connotations of *miškān* and *ṯhel mō'ēd*. *Miškān* is used in contexts describing the physical construction, primarily associated with commands to manufacture and assemble the Dwelling Place of YHWH, but secondarily in its generic sense simply as "dwelling place." The phrase *ṯhel mō'ēd* appears where the concern is the cultic function of the habitation. The house of YHWH must,

⁴Bar-Efrat, 157, 168-169, cf. his "level of conceptual content" with our "topical" structure, and his "verbal level" with our "terminological" structure.

⁵Bar-Efrat, 170, lists "parallel" (AA'), "ring" (A×A'), "chiastic" (ABB'A'), and "concentric" (AB×B'A') patterns.

⁶Ralph E. Hendrix, "A Literary Structural Analysis of the Golden-Calf Episode in Exodus 32:1-33:6," *AUISS* 28 (1990): 211-217.

⁷Hendrix, "Use," 7.

therefore, be understood as a transient dwelling place, corresponding to the dwelling places of nomadic peoples (and so the choice of *miškān*), yet its continual function of fostering the cultic relationship (best expressed by the choice of *ṯhel mô'ēd*) must also be acknowledged. All of this is evident from the terminological structure of Exod 25-40.

The structural analysis which follows is not exhaustive. It is meant to point a direction and to encourage further sensitivity to literary structure as an aid to understanding the biblical text.

2. Overview of the Literary Structure

A Structural Summary. The terminological maxi-structure formed by the succession of occurrences of *miškān* and *ṯhel mô'ēd* forms an important literary dimension in Exod 25-40. This was presented in the second study, mentioned above. As I shall present below, this large, overarching, four-part maxi-structure encompasses two sub-structures (Exod 25:1-31:18 and Exod 35:1-36:7). Further, each of these two main sub-structures is also sub-divided. Exod 25:1-31:18 includes six midi-structures: the second (Exod 27:20-21) and fifth (Exod 30:1-10) of which are transitional passages, and the first (Exod 25 1-27:19), third (Exod 28:1-43), fourth (Exod 29:1-46), and sixth (Exod 30:11-31:18) of which are divided into four sub-structures of six major elements each. Taken together, the passage consists of alternately-sized structures: LARGE-small-LARGE-LARGE-small-LARGE (Table 1). Next come four supportive, interlocutory narratives (the Golden-Calf episode, Exod 32:1-33:6; the episode of Moses' Tent, Exod 33:7-11; the Theophany, Exod 33:12-23; and the Giving of the Second Tables, Exod 34:1-35) as presented in Table 2. Exod 35:1-40:38 has four smaller midi-structures, which alternate with four nine-element midi-structures: small-LARGE-small-LARGE-LARGE-small-LARGE-small (Exod 35:1-36:7, 36:8-38:20, 38:21-31, 39:1-43, 40:1-8, 40:9-16, 40:17-33, and 40:34-38) as shown in Table 3. Taken together, these three tables present the overarching literary structure of Exod 25-40. These midi-structures are, themselves, composed of even smaller sub-structures: topical, grammatical, and terminological.

3. Instructions for Making the *Miškān*: Exod 25:1-31:18

The first midi-structure includes instructions to make the holy precinct for YHWH. The literary structure is composed of six sections which will be considered individually.

Exod 25:1-27:19. This section includes three introductory statements: YHWH speaks to Moses (25:1) saying, bring offerings (25:2-7), and make a *miškān* (25:8-9). These are followed by six topical elements: Ark (25:10-22), Table (25:23-30), Lampstand (25:31-40), the Dwelling Place (26:1-37), Altar of Burnt Offering (27:1-8), and the Courtyard (27:19). The concern of this passage is the design of the dwelling place: its size, pattern, and materials. The name for the physical structure described here is exclusively *miškān*. The phrase *ʾōhel mōʿēd* does not occur in this section. Here first appears a connection between the idea of "construction" and the term *miškān*.

Exod 27:20-21. This next section deals with how the Dwelling Place is to be used. These verses mark the transition from a "construction" context to a "function" context: Exod 27:19 instructs that the tent pegs for the courtyard be made of bronze, but Exod 27:20-21 gives instructions on how the sons of Israel are to bring olive oil for the lamp so it can burn continually before YHWH. These are clearly two different types of activities. At precisely this transition in context, comes a transition from *miškān* to *ʾōhel mōʿēd*. Both topically (construction versus function) and terminologically (*miškān* versus *ʾōhel mōʿēd*), Exod 27:20 begins a new literary sub-structure, characterized by three elements: Command (to bring oil, Exod 27:20), Explanation (of its cultic function, Exod 27:21a), and Duration (lasting ordinance, Exod 27:21b).

Exod 28:1-43. In this passage come the commands to gather the priests (28:1) and to make garments (28:2-5). A consideration of six more topical elements follows: Ephod (28:6-14), Breastpiece (28:15-30), Robe (28:31-35), Turban (28:36-38), Tunic and small garments (28:39-41), and Undergarments (28:42-43). Each topical element further includes the Command to make it, and an Explanation of its function within the cult. The literary structure of this section is similar to that of Exod 25:1-27:19, considered above: Said-Bring-Make-Six Elements // Bring-Make-Six Elements.

Exod 28:1-43 emphasizes the function of each item. The Ephod was to act as a memorial (28:12). The Breastpiece, with its Urim and Thummim, was to be Aaron's means of making decisions

(28:29-30). The Robe, with its bells, was to preserve Aaron's life (28:35). The Turban and plate enabled Aaron to bear the guilt of the sacred gifts (28:38). The Tunic and small garments were to bring the priests "dignity and honor" (28:40). The Undergarments were to be worn by the priesthood as they ministered so that they would not "incur guilt and die" (28:43). The subject matter clearly concerns the cultic function of the topical elements, rather than simply manufacturing instructions. In this cult-functional context, the dwelling place is called only *ṯhel mō'ēd*, thereby linking the cult-function with the phrase *ṯhel mō'ēd*.

What is particularly interesting, from the perspective of analyzing the literary structure of Exod 25-40, is that a comparison of Exod 25:1-27:19 and Exod 28:1-43 reveals the interrelation of two different structural dimensions: terminological and topical. The terminological structure (*miškān* in the first section and *ṯhel mō'ēd* in the second) meshes with the topical structure found in both (Bring-Make-Six Elements). Since the first, six-element section is strictly a *miškān* section, and the latter is exclusively an *ṯhel mō'ēd* passage, the intentional use of two different denominatives within a single literary structure is apparent.

Exod 29:1-46. Still within the *ṯhel mō'ēd* terminological structure (the phrase occurs seven times), this section considers the consecration of cultic objects. Two preliminary instructions, consecrating (make holy) the priests (29:1a) and bringing the priests and sacrifices (29:1b-4), are followed by six elements: Dressing the priests (29:5-9), the Bull (sin) Offering (29:10-14), the Ram (burnt) Offering (29:15-18), the Ordination Ram (Wave) Offering (29:19-24), the Ordination Ceremony (29:25-37), and the "Daily" Offering (29:38-41). All of this action is to take place either in the *ṯhel mō'ēd* or at the entrance to the *ṯhel mō'ēd* (further cementing the association of cult-function and *ṯhel mō'ēd*). Once again, six elements are introduced with commands to "make" and "bring" (although in inverted order from that in the preceding sections). Exod 29:42-46 acts as an Epilogue.

Exod 30:1-10. This section is another short transitional passage, similar to Exod 27:20-21. Two commands (to "make," Exod 30:1-5, and to "place," Exod 30:6, the incense altar), are followed by an explanation of the altar's use (Exod 30:7-10b) and a statement regarding its duration (generations to come, Exod 30:10c). Hence, we find the same basic elements in both this transitional section (Exod 30:1-10) and the previous one (Exod 27:20-21), namely:

Command(s), Explanation, and Duration. This similarity occurs in the linguistic dimension as well, with both sections including the root: *ḏrt* in reference to perpetuity. This second transitional section serves, as did the first, to link two larger sections. Thus, the two transitional sections are similar in three ways: topically, linguistically, and functionally.

Exod 30:11-31:18. This section includes the now familiar six-elements: Atonement Money (30:11-16), [Wash] Basin (30:17-21), Anointing Oil (30:22-33), Incense (30:34-38), Craftsmen (31:1-11), and the Sabbath(s) (31:12-17). Following, comes an Epilogue (31:18). Each of the six elements begins with a similar phrase: "YHWH spoke (*ḏbr*) to Moses saying (*ʾmr*)" (Elements 1,2,3,5), "YHWH said (*ʾmr*) to Moses" (Element 4) or "YHWH said (*ʾmr*) to Moses saying (*ʾmr*)" (Element 6). The repeated use of the roots *ḏbr* and/or *ʾmr* provides internal grammatical structure.

Summary of Exod 25:1-31:18. The literary structure of this passage is based on four sections, each composed of six elements. The first two and last two are divided by smaller, transitional sections, providing a LARGE-small-LARGE-LARGE-small-LARGE pattern. The transitional sections are characterized by Command(s)-Explanation-Duration elements. The first two large sections have introductory Bring-Make elements, while the third has a Make-Bring sequence. The last two large sections have Epilogues. The first section uses the term *miškān*, while the latter five sections use *ʾḫel mōʿēd*. Noteworthy is that these structures co-exist along different dimensional axes.

4. Interlocutory Narratives

Four narratives appear next in the literary structure of Exod 25-40. The Golden Calf episode (Exod 32:1-33:6), the episode of Moses' Tent (Exod 33:7-11), the Theophany (Exod 33:12-23), and the Giving of the Second Pair of Tables (Exod 34:1-35) divide the previous midi-structure (characterized by six-element topical structures) from the closing midi-structure which will be seen to have nine-element structures.

Rather than being interruptions in the flow of the *miškān* / *ʾḫel mōʿēd* (Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting) construction account, these four narratives serve to focus the reader's attention on YHWH's uninterrupted desire to dwell among the people. The first and last narratives exemplify the basis of YHWH's relationship with the people: law / grace. The middle two narratives manifest the purpose

of the *miškān/ ʾohel mōʿēḏ* to allow YHWH to live amid the people (by Moses' representation in his tent and then by direct theophany).

The Golden Calf Episode: Exod 32:1-33:6. This narrative has been treated previously,⁸ and will not be presented in detail here. The passage is structurally divided as follows: A (32:1-6) people act/Aaron reacts, B (32:7-10) YHWH's two utterances, C (32:11-14) Moses intercedes, D (32:15-20) Moses goes down the mountain, E (32:21-25) Moses investigates judgment, F (32:26a) opportunity for repentance, E¹ (32:26b-29) Moses executes judgment, D¹ (32:30) Moses goes up the mountain, C¹ (32:31-32) Moses intercedes, B¹ (32:33-33:3) YHWH's two utterances (inverted from previous order), A¹ (33:4-6) YHWH acts/people react. The central structural element, F, is a call for repentance and illustrates that the narrative is about a more fundamental human issue than anger, idolatry, or law: it is about the opportunity for repentance.⁹

The Episode of Moses' Tent: Exod 33:7-11. There is considerable disagreement over the relation of the *ʾohel mōʿēḏ* mentioned here with the *ʾohel mōʿēḏ* mentioned elsewhere in Exodus.¹⁰ Theological and historical issues arising from the passage should be considered in another forum. Whatever the interpretation of the passage, its structure is linear. It is divided on the basis of its action: Moses took an *ʾohel* (33:7a), pitched it outside of camp (33:7b), called it the *ʾohel mōʿēḏ* (33:7c). All the people who were inquiring of YHWH went to the *ʾohel mōʿēḏ* (33:7d). When Moses went to the *ʾohel*, the

⁸See note 6.

⁹Brevard S. Childs sees that "the canonical function of Ex. 32-34 is to place the institution of Israel's worship within the theological framework of sin and forgiveness" (*Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press], 175).

¹⁰Jack P. Lewis, "Mo'ed," *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 1:339; Joe O. Lewis, "The Ark and the Tent," *RevExp* 74 (1977): 539; Childs, 173; J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Introduction to the Book of Exodus," *IB* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952) 1:845; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1969), 587; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row Pub. Co., 1962), 1:236. See also, W. Johnstone, *Exodus*, Old Testament Guides (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1990); Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991); Nahum M. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1991).

people arose (33:8a); each person stood at his own *ṯhel* (33:8b); they watched Moses enter the *ṯhel* (33:8c). When Moses went to the *ṯhel*, the Cloud Pillar came (33:9a); it stayed at the entrance of the *ṯhel* (33:9b); it spoke with Moses (33:9c). All the people saw the Cloud stand at the entrance of the *ṯhel* (33:10a); all stood (33:10b); all worshipped at the entrance of their own *ṯhel* (33:10c). YHWH spoke with Moses face-to-face (33:11a). He (Moses) returned to camp (33:11b); Joshua did not leave the *ṯhel* (33:11c). This forms a certain pattern in terms of who performs the action: Moses-Moses-Moses-People-People-People-Moses-Cloud-Cloud-Cloud-People-People-People-YHWH-Resolution (Moses, Joshua). The parallel of Moses//Cloud Pillar, of People//People, and of Moses//YHWH is evident.

The content is undoubtedly one of cult-function and it is not surprising that *ṯhel* or *ṯhel mō'ēd* occurring eleven times in the five verses. Moses acts in the priestly role as representative of the people. YHWH is present in the "Pillar of Cloud" which "stayed" or "stood" at the entrance to the tent (precisely where the cultic ministry took place; cf. esp. Exod 29:1-46 and Lev 8). This context of close intimacy between YHWH and the people is paralleled in the next interlocutory narrative.

The Theophany: Exod 33:12-23. Here Moses glimpses the "faces" of YHWH. This straightforward dialogue parallels the previous section (and perhaps compliments Exod 34:5-9), indicating that the central two interlocutory narratives emphasize YHWH's insistent longing to dwell amid the people; His desired immanence. Based on the verb *wayyōmer* (and he "said"), the structure of the narrative is: A (33:12-13) Moses said, B (32:14) [YHWH] said, A¹ (33:15-16) [Moses] said, B¹ (33:17) YHWH said, A²(33:18) [Moses] said, B² (33:19) [YHWH] said, B³ (33:20) [YHWH] said, and B⁴ (33:21) YHWH said.

The Giving of the Second Pair of Tables: Exod 34:1-35. This last interlocutory narrative concerns the events surrounding the giving of a second set of tablets including A (34:1-3) YHWH's command to Moses, B (34:4) Moses' response: made tablets, A¹ (34:5-7) the theophany, B¹ (34:8-9) Moses' response: worshipped, A² (34:10-26) the specifics of YHWH's Covenant, B² (34:27) YHWH's command to Moses to write the covenant, and an Epilogue (34:28). The passage provides historically and theologically important information which precedes the resumption of the process of establishing the *miškān/ṯhel mō'ēd*.

In the overall literary structural framework of Exod 25-40, these interlocutory narratives form the center, between a pattern of six-element structures and a pattern of nine-element structures. These four interlocutory narratives also thematically form a structure: A-B-B¹-A¹. The "A" elements both deal with a tablets/covenant context; while the "B" elements both deal with the immanence of YHWH. Therefore, the central focus of the literary structure of Exod 25-40 appears to be the co-elements: Exod 33:7-11 and 33:12-23, both of which emphasize the immanence of YHWH among the people.

5. Making and Assembling the Components: Exod 35:1-40:38

The final chapters of the segment analyzed provide the second maxi-structure of Exod 25-40. It is composed of a linkage of mid-structures in a manner similar to that found in the first maxi-structure (Exod 25-31). Notably different is the number of topical elements which make up each sub-structure. Here, the number of elements is nine, rather than six as found in the first. There are four nine-element sections which alternate with smaller structures in a small-LARGE-small-LARGE-LARGE-small-LARGE-small pattern.

Exod 35:1-36:7. These verses form an introduction to the task of actually making the components of the Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting which were already described in Exod 25-31. Exod 35:4-9 very closely parallels Exod 24:2-7, both enumerate the specific offerings of raw material in some detail. The Sabbath reminder of Exod 35:1-3 is generally equivalent to Exod 31:12-17, though the Exod 35 section has a more specific focus. Exod 35:30-36:1 parallels Exod 31:1-11 regarding the craftsmen Bezalel and Oholiab.

Overall structure is given by the term *šiwwāh*, "commanded." This appears as "YHWH commanded" at the beginning of Element A (Exod 35:1-4a) and Element B (Exod 35:4b-19) and at the end of Element B¹ (Exod 35:20-29) and Element A¹ (Exod 35:30-36:1). The verb, placed at the beginning two elements and the end of the other two, provides the passage's inverted parallel literary structure (chiasm). Verses 2-7 provide an epilogic response to call for materials.

Miškān appears three times in this passage (35:11, 15, 18) and *ʾehel mōʿēd* appears once (35:21). Although both words appear, *miškān* occurs much more often than *ʾehel mōʿēd*, and so begins the

third terminological literary structure, a "*miškān*-dominant" section.¹¹ Here for the first time both terms occur in the same literary unit, which marks the transition between the second terminological literary structure (*ʿhel mōʿed*-only) and the third terminological literary structure (*miškān*-dominant).

The first element, A (Exod 35:1-4a), deals with the Sabbath and specifically with a prohibition against lighting fires. This prohibition is remarkable in the context of the construction of YHWH's dwelling, especially since fire is essential for smelting ore and working with gold, silver, and bronze. Later, in the epilogue of this passage, the Israelites respond with more offerings than needed. Perhaps such a prohibition was necessary as a restraint against those, who in their overzealousness, were tempted to work seven days a week. According to the literary structure of this passage, this prohibition is parallel to the element detailing the provision of workmen (A¹): Bezalel, Oholiab, and their helpers, as if to indicate that there is no need to break the Sabbath, as YHWH has provided enough workers.

The appeal for raw material offerings in vv. 4b-19 (Element B) has its parallel in the bringing of those offerings by the people in vv. 20-29 (Element B¹). Exod 36:2-7 provides an epilogue regarding the abundance of offerings which resulted from the plea. The literary structure of Exod 35:1-36:7, therefore, exhibits four elements in an inverted parallel pattern provided by *šiwwāh*: A-B-A¹B¹, followed by the Epilogue.

Exod 36:8-38:20. The narrative moves directly to the account of making the components of the Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting. Again, this section parallels the previous "command" section (Exod 25:8-27:19). Terminologically, this passage continues the *miškān*-dominant structure of the preceding section.

The call to construct the *miškān* in Exod 25:8, with its resulting treatment of six elements (Ark, Table, Lampstand, *Miškān*, Altar of Burnt Offering, and Courtyard), is augmented here with three additional elements: Altar of Incense (seen in the transitional passage, Exod 30:1-10, esp. vv. 1-5); the Anointing Oil and Incense (from Exod 27:20-21; 30:34-38); and the [Wash] Basin (found also in Exod 30:17-21). The passage contains a list of nine elements, the first of four such nine-element lists which characterize the literary structure of the latter portion of Exod 25-40.

¹¹See Hendrix, "Use," p. 8.

The order of the elements is the same in both the "command" and "execution" passages, except for the rearrangement of the *miškān*-element, from the fourth place into the first place, and the addition of three new elements. The overall terminology of the passages is also very similar, almost as if in the course of the narrative, the author were purposely drawing attention to the minute and detailed fulfillment of YHWH's design orders.

Exod 38:21-31. Now follows the second, short passage within the Exod 35:1-40:33 midi-structure. It is an account of the gold, silver, and bronze used in the manufacturing process. The passage continues the *miškān*-dominant terminological structure of the preceding sections. Its topical structure consists of an introduction (38:21), a discussion of the workers (38:22-23), and a tally of the amount of raw materials used in the manufacturing process (38:24-31).

Exod 39:1-43. Here is the second, nine-element passage. Terminologically, it continues the *miškān*-dominant section while the verb *šiwwāh* ("commanded") provides the literary structure. Each of nine elements ends with YHWH *commanded*, providing little room for error in recognizing its inherent structure. This second passage in the "execution" section parallels Exod 28:1-43, the second passage in the "command" section. It incorporates five of the six elements of the preceding passage and inverts the preceding order of elements four and five.

In contrast to Exod 36:8-38:20, the total number of nine elements in this passage is made up of emphasized events as well as physical objects. The nine elements are: an Introduction (39:1), Ephod made (39:2-5), Stones assembled (39:6-7), Breastpiece made (39:8-21), Robes made (39:22-26), Tunic made (39:27-29), Plate made (39:30-31), the *Miškān* presented (39:32-42), and the *Miškān* inspected (39:43). As this is a combination of physical objects and literary statements, it is the use of the verb *šiwwāh* which insures recognition of each structural element. The inclusion of nine elements within the literary structure appears to be intentional, bringing this section into balance with the other sections in the literary structure.

Exod 40:1-8. This forms the third, nine-element passage which follows the general order of Exod 25:1-19 and 36:8-38:20. These nine elements include an Introduction (40:1), the *Miškān* (40:2), Ark (40:3), Table (40:4a), Lampstand (40:4b), Incense Altar (40:5), Altar of Burnt Offering (40:6), [Wash] Basin (40:7), and the Courtyard (40:8). The *miškān* element in Exod 40:2 is rearranged from the

order of Exod 25:1-19, just as it was in Exod 36:8-38:20. The *anointing oil/incense* element of Exod 36:8-38:20 is not present here; an element of introduction is added. Still, the major elements of the Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting are included and generally retain their order of appearance as in parallel passages. Terminologically, *miškān* and *ʕhel mōʕd* appear both alone and grammatically linked. Thus, a new terminological sub-structure is introduced, the "mixed *miškān-ʕhel mōʕd*" section.

Exod 40:9-16. This short passage continues the section that mixes the terms *miškān-ʕhel mōʕd*. Its five-element linear structure concerns the Anointing of the *Miškān* (40:9), the Altar of Burnt Offering (40:10), the [Wash] Basin (40:11), the Priests (40:12-15), and an Epilogue (40:16).

Exod 40:17-33. This passage rounds out the group of four sub-structures, each with nine elements. It is a virtual rehearsal of the elements included in the commands to assemble the Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting given in Exod 40:1-8. The elements include an Introduction (40:17), the *Miškān* (40:18-19), Ark (40:20-21), Table (40:22-23), Lampstand (40:24-25), Golden Altar (40:26-28), Altar of Burnt Offering (40:29), [Wash] Basin (40:30-32), and the Courtyard (40:33). Terminologically, this passage continues the mixed *miškān-ʕhel mōʕd* structure found in the immediately preceding passages.

Exod 40:34-38. One final passage remains for consideration. This provides an epilogue to the accounts of Exod 25:1-40:33. A straightforward, linear structure (A-B-A¹B¹A²B²) is apparent. Exod 40: 34a, 35a, and 36-37 (the "A" elements) concern the Cloud; Exod 40:34b, 35b, and 38 (the "B" elements) concern the immanence of YHWH (Glory, cloud-by-day, fire-by-night). The passage closes out the mixed *miškān-ʕhel mōʕd* terminological structure of the preceding three sections, and completes the description of the construction of YHWH's Dwelling Place among the people.

6. Summary

Exod 25-40 has at least three maxi-structural axes: literary, topical, and terminological. It has at least one subsidiary, mini-structural axis: grammatical. Its structural integrity, particularly that integrity demanded by the presence of overarching maxi-structures, has given strong argument for approaching the biblical text in its canonical form.

As considered in a previous study, in Exod 25-40 the terms *miškān* and *ʕhel mōʕd* provide a four-section terminological

structure. In these sections the term(s) used to name the physical construction were variously *miškān*, *ʾohel mōʿēd*, *miškān*-dominant, and mixed *miškān-ʾohel mōʿēd*. Within this terminological structure, coexisted topical structures (generally presented in lists of six or nine elements) and literary sub-structures such as parallelism, inverted parallelism, and linear lists. In their co-existence, none of the literary structures negated the others, but rather complemented them along axes within differing literary dimensions.

Exod 25:1-31:18 exhibits six literary midi-structures: four with topical structures of six elements each, and two small literary midi-structures each with three parallel elements. These basic elements show a pattern: 6-3-6-6-3-6. This topical structure provides continuity over the transition between two of the *miškān/ʾohel mōʿēd* terminological structures. The term variation *within* the literary maxi-structure minimizes the likelihood of an intentional source seam between literary structures. The overarching literary structure argues strongly in favor of a unified literary product. The six midi-structures concern the design of the physical Dwelling Place/cultic Tent of Meeting.

Exod 32:1-34:35 incorporates four interlocutory narratives: the Golden Calf Episode (Exod 32:1-33:6), the episode of Moses' Tent (Exod 33:7-11), the Theophany (Exod 33:12-23), and the Giving of the Second Set of Tablets (Exod 34:1-35). These range in structure from complex, inverted parallelism (Golden Calf) to simple, linear narrative (the others).

Exod 35 begins the second, major maxi-structure of the Exod 25-40 complex. In Exod 35:1-40:38, there are eight midi-structures: four of which are very short, transitional, structures, and four of which exhibit a nine-element topical form. In terms of numbers of elements, these eight midi-structures follow a 5-9-3-9-9-5-9-3 pattern. The first four structures are *miškān*-dominant; the latter four are mixed *miškān-ʾohel mōʿēd*. The first four structures consider the making of the Dwelling Place/Tent of Meeting; the latter four concern its assembly. Exod 33:7-11//Exod 33:12-21 provide the thematic focus for Exod 25-40, namely, the immanence/indwelling of YHWH among the people of Israel.

"Command Narratives"

Exod 25:1-27:19 <i>miškān</i>	Exod 27:20-21 <i>ʾōhel mōʿēḏ</i>	Exod 28:1-43 <i>ʾōhel mōʿēḏ</i>	Exod 29:1-46 <i>ʾōhel mōʿēḏ</i>	Exod 30:1-10	Exod 30:11-31:18 <i>ʾōhel mōʿēḏ</i>
Lord Said	Command	--	--	Command	--
Bring	--	Bring	Make	Command	--
Make	Explanation	Make	Bring	Explanation	--
--	Duration	--	--	Duration	--
1 Ark		1 Ephod	1 Dress		1 Money
2 Table		2 Breastpiece	2 Bull		2 Washbasin
3 Lampstand		3 Robe	3 Ram		3 Oil
4 Dwelling		4 Turban	4 Ord. Ram		4 Incense
5 Altar		5 Tunic	5 Ceremony		5 Craftsmen
6 Courtyard		6 Garments	6 Daily Epilogue		6 Sabbath(s) Epilogue

TABLE 1: LITERARY STRUCTURE OF EXODUS 25-31

"Interlocutory Narratives"

Golden Calf Exod 32:1-33:6	Moses' Tent Exod 33:7-11 <i>ʿOhel mōʿēd</i>	Theophany Exod 33:12-23	Second Tablets Exod 34:1-35
A Act/React	A Moses took	A Moses said	A Y's command
B Spoke/Said	A [Moses] pitched it	B [YHWH] said	B Moses's response
C Moses intercedes	A [Moses] called it	A ¹ [Moses] said	A ¹ Y's Theophany
D Moses goes down	B people went	B ¹ YHWH said	B ¹ Moses's response
E Investigation	B people arose	A ² [Moses] said	A ² Y's Covenant
F Repentance offered	B [people] stood	B ² [YHWH] said	A ³ Y's command
E ¹ Execution	A Moses entered	A ³ [YHWH] said	Epilogue
D ¹ Moses goes up	C Cloud Pillar came	A ³ YHWH said	
C ¹ Moses intercedes	C Cloud Pillar stayed		
B ¹ Said/Spoke	C Cloud Pillar spoke		
A ¹ Act/React	B [people] saw		
	B [people] stood		
	B [people] worship'd		
	C YHWH spoke		
	Resolution		

STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OF EXODUS 25-40

TABLE 2: LITERARY STRUCTURE OF EXODUS 32-34

"Execution Narratives"

	Exod 35:1- 36:7 <i>miškān</i> - dominant	Exod 36:8- 38:20 <i>miškān</i> - dominant	Exod 38:21-31 <i>miškān</i> - dominant	Exod 39:1-43 <i>miškān</i> - dominant	Exod 40:1-8 Mixed- terms	Exod 40:9-16 Mixed- terms	Exod 40:17-33 Mixed- terms	Exod 40:34-38 Mixed- terms
A Sabbath	1 <i>miškān</i>	1 Intro.	1 Intro.	1 Intro.	1 <i>miškān</i>	1 Intro.	1 Coming	
B Offering	2 Ark	2 Workers	2 Ephod	2 <i>miškān</i>	2 Altar	2 <i>miškān</i>	2 Function	
B ¹ Offering	3 Table	3 Amounts	3 Stones	3 Ark	3 Basin	3 Ark	3 Duration	
A ¹ Work Epilogue	4 Lamp 5 Incense 6 Oil 7 Burnt 8 Basin 9 Court		4 Breast 5 Robe 6 Tunic 7 Plate 8 Present 9 Inspect	4 Table 5 Lamp 6 Incense 7 Burnt 8 Basin 9 Court	4 Priests Epilogue	4 Table 5 Lamp 6 Incense 7 Burnt 8 Basin 9 Court		

TABLE 3: LITERARY STRUCTURE OF EXODUS 35-40

DANIEL: A BOOK OF SIGNIFICANT REVERSALS

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Recent studies on the OT book of Daniel have underscored the literary beauty of that book's narrative and prophetic sections.¹ Among the literary devices used is the "reversal," a term which in common parlance is frequently understood to indicate an adverse change of fortune. In biblical usage, reversals are broader in intent and scope than this, however, for they frequently serve as a literary device more akin to the dictionary definition of "reversal" as "causing to move or face in an opposite direction."² Moreover, in the Bible, reversals are used, as well, as a means for producing a heightened emphasis.

The book of Daniel is especially rich in its use of reversals. These occur with respect to both thematic and linguistic features. In this brief essay only the thematic reversals are treated, but I hope at a later time to present also a brief study on reversals in language expression.

1. Thematic Reversals in the Historical Section of Daniel

Thematic reversals appear in the book of Daniel in both its historical section (chaps. 1-6) and its prophetic section (chaps. 7-12). We shall examine these sections in turn.

The book of Daniel opens in chapter 1 with the record of a Babylonian triumph over Judah, Yahweh's chosen nation, in the

¹Among basic works on this topic is J. C. Greenfield, "Early Aramaic Poetry," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 11 (1979): 45-51. Other discussions on the topic include A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7," *Bib* 53 (1972): 169-190; W. H. Shea, "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 5, and the Broader Relation within Chapters 2-7," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 277-295; and P. W. Coxon, "The 'List' Genre and Narrative Style in the Court Tales of Daniel," *JOT* 35 (1986): 95-121.

²See, e.g., Webster's Third New International Dictionary, s.v. "reversal."

late seventh century B.C. At this time, captives were taken from Palestine and led into Babylonian exile. This exile (Dan 1:2) to "Shinar" (that is, Babylonia) represents, in fact, a reversal of events recorded in Gen 11:31-12:7, wherein Abraham left the land of Shinar and eventually reached Palestine, where he entered into covenant with Yahweh. Now, with the covenant broken by the descendants of Abraham, there was—by means of a captivity—a movement back to Shinar.

In both the official and popular thinking of the Ancient Near East, Nebuchadnezzar's carrying of the Jewish people, their king, and the holy vessels of the temple in Jerusalem to Babylon would mean that the chief Babylonian god Marduk had triumphed over Yahweh. In view of this, it would seem that a major purpose of the historical-apocalyptic book of Daniel was to prove the opposite, answering specifically—and in the negative—the question of whether Yahweh could be defeated by exile, as could Chemosh, Milkom, and other deities (cf., e.g., Jer 48:7 and 49:3). Indeed, throughout the first five chapters of the book of Daniel, Yahweh repeatedly triumphs over Marduk, as evidenced by the triumphs of the Hebrew captives over their captors. In fact, in several of these chapters we find that even the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar finally capitulates to the God of his Jewish captives—at least to the extent of giving praise to Yahweh.

"Reversal" in Chapter 1

In Daniel 1 we immediately encounter the story of the four young Hebrew captives—Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah—who gave allegiance to Yahweh and his covenant rather than to Nebuchadnezzar and to the latter's table.³ Instead of choice food (*pat-bag*) and strong drink, these four Hebrew youths opted for a simple diet of "seed" (*zēro'im*, sometimes translated "vegetables") and of natural water (v. 12). This diet was officially approved for them on a ten-day trial basis (vv. 12-14). At the end of the ten days, the result was exactly opposite to what was expected by the royal supervisor, for the Hebrew captives were

³For J. Baldwin the words, "from the king's table," are an expression of allegiance to the king and dependence on him and his supplies. To support her point she quotes Dan 11:27 (*Daniel* [Wheaton, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1978], 83). In the ancient Near East and in biblical usage, covenantal connotations were present in the sharing of a meal (cf. Gen 31:54).

"better in appearance and fatter in flesh than all the youths who ate the king's rich food" (v. 15).⁴ Because of this result, these four young Hebrews were then permitted to continue their vegetable diet (v. 16). At "the end of the 'time'" (v. 18; that is, at the end of the three years mentioned in v. 5), when they were examined by the king, Nebuchadnezzar "found them ten times better" in "wisdom and understanding . . . than all the magicians and enchanters" in his entire realm (v. 20).⁵

The reversal that occurs in this case involves a play on the number "ten." The Hebrew youths had a "ten-day" test with a special diet and they later demonstrated a "tenfold" superiority in mental acumen when examined by the king himself at the end of their three-year training period. The first test came at the very beginning of this three-year period of Babylonian education, and the last came at the close of that same period. Moreover, the whole episode reveals that Yahweh was fully able to act in behalf of his faithful ones even in their captivity and distress in Babylon.

"Reversals" in Chapter 2

In the second narrative of the book of Daniel, as recorded in chapter 2, the bankruptcy of Babylonian wisdom, magic, and astrology is made manifest. The wise men of Babylonia who had been trained to decode dreams and to read the future proved totally incapable of doing what they were requested to do by the king: namely, to bring back to Nebuchadnezzar's mind a disturbing dream that he had seen but had forgotten, and to give the meaning of this dream (vv. 1-13). This account of the failure of Babylonia's wise men serves as a foil or backdrop for the main point of the chapter: i.e., Daniel's being brought to the king by Arioch, "the captain of the king's guard," for the purpose of doing precisely what the wise men of Babylonia had miserably failed to do—recall to the king his dream and to give him its interpretation (vv. 15-16, 24-25).⁶ Daniel was, of course, fully successful (vv. 26-45). Yahweh

⁴Quotations from the biblical text are from the RSV.

⁵Daniel may have followed this special diet only for a time, however, since Dan 10:2-3 suggests that meat and wine were later a part of his diet.

⁶There is an apparent discrepancy between chaps. 1 and 2 in that Arioch appears here to make Nebuchadnezzar acquainted with Daniel when in fact Daniel had already in chap. 1 been brought before the king and given significant

was exalted, and Nebuchadnezzar was so impressed that he praised Daniel's God as the "God of gods and Lord of kings, and a revealer of mysteries" (v. 47). The king also made Daniel "ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon," giving, at Daniel's request, high offices to Daniel's three companions as well (vv. 48-49).

The major reversal in this episode is found in the fact that Daniel succeeded precisely where Babylon's wise men failed. From this emerged other reversals: a remarkable attitude change on the part of Nebuchadnezzar, and a new and exalted status for Daniel and his three companions, one which gave these captives authority over the Babylonian people who had taken them captive! There may also be a minor reversal in that Daniel was evidently able to spare the lives of the intellectual element of the very people who had made him a captive (not specifically stated in the text, but certainly strongly implied; see, e.g., vv. 15-16, 48).

"Reversals" in Chapter 3

In Daniel 3 we find Nebuchadnezzar transforming the golden head of his dream of chapter 2 into an actual image made totally of gold. All the persons whom he had summoned to the plain of Dura, where this image had been erected, were required by the king to fall down before the image and worship it. The royal decree was that anyone who would fail to do obeisance before this image should immediately be thrown into a fiery furnace (vv. 1-6).

In contrast to all the other imperial officials at the convocation,⁷ the three young Hebrew friends of Daniel dared to

recognition. A close reading of Dan 2:25, however, shows that the problem is simply that Arioch is eager to take credit to himself for having located Daniel and therefore introduces Daniel accordingly. The context in chap. 2 reveals, on the other hand, that the king's behavior towards Daniel was what would normally be expected for a person he already knew. In fact, it appears that Daniel had free access to the throne (2:16, 26). Some interesting contrasts and comparisons may be mentioned here: Arioch's designation of Daniel as one of the exiles from Judah is far different from that made by Nebuchadnezzar in 4:8,9. Daniel was later considered in the same negative way by Belshazzar (5:13) and again still later by Persian officials (6:13).

⁷The repetitive lists that occupy much of the narrative strongly suggest the art of persuasion in the ancient world. See Coxon, 107-117. As to the persons assembled on the Plain of Dura on this occasion, see William H. Shea, "Daniel 3: Extra-Biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 30-32.

disobey the king's command. When thrown into the furnace that had been fired to sevenfold heat, these Hebrews were, however, unharmed by the fire. Rather, they were now accompanied in the furnace by a divine being (vv. 19-25), whom the king described as being "like a son of the gods" (v. 25) and as God's "angel" (v. 28).⁸

The entire episode of chapter 3 may, in fact, be considered as a reversal. The major theme is one in which Nebuchadnezzar at the outset commanded false obeisance and at the close praised the God of Daniel, describing him as "the Most High God" (v. 26).⁹ A further, and somewhat minor, reversal occurs in the fact that in contrast to the good outcome for the three faithful Hebrews, the strong men who threw them into the superheated furnace died from the fire blast.

"Reversals" in Chapter 4

The fourth episode in the book of Daniel is presented as an autobiographical report by Nebuchadnezzar. In Daniel 4 the king turns into a wild beast because of his pride (vv. 10-33). This type of reversal is common in the OT and is used in such major instances as the fate of ancient Egypt and its Pharaoh in connection with the Israelite exodus from Egypt, and it is also used for the fall of Babylon (cf., e.g., Isa 13:19-22; 14:12, 18-21; etc.).

At the end of the narrative of Dan 4, the king, after his restoration to health and to the throne, shifted his focus from himself and from Babylon, the city of which he had been the proud builder (see vv. 28-30), to the most high God. Yahweh he now praised in most glowing terms (vv. 34-37).

Thus, in the episode of Dan 4, we find two main reversals. The first pertains to Nebuchadnezzar's physical and temporal condition—his loss of health and throne, followed by his restoration in both respects. The second relates to his attitude change that resulted as a consequence—from pride over his own accomplishments to an expression of honor for the God of heaven.

The further point should not be missed that in this episode Nebuchadnezzar's insanity had been the theme of a dream, and

⁸An "angel" is mentioned also in another rescue operation in Daniel—that of Daniel in the lions' den (Dan 6:22).

⁹It is evident that Nebuchadnezzar even considers himself as protector of the most high God. See P. R. Davies, *Daniel* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 84.

that this dream was interpreted to him by Daniel after Babylon's wise men had failed to accomplish the feat. Thus we have once again the same kind of dynamic that we noticed in connection with chapter 2.

"Reversal" in Chapter 5

In Dan 5 we find a sudden transition from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the time of Babylonia's defeat by the Median and Persian armies. Several reigns of Babylonian kings have been skipped over, as we come to the last king of Babylon, Belshazzar, the monarch who was in the city itself on the night of Babylon's capture. That night turned out to be the final one for both his rule and his life.

This king apparently bore the very same Babylonian name as that for Daniel, Daniel's name being given as "Belteshazzar" in v. 12 (compare chapters 1 and 4 as well). The name "Belteshazzar" seems to have been an intentionally corrupted form of "Belshazzar," as has been pointed out by William H. Shea.¹⁰ In spite of the name similarity of these two persons, their characters stood in striking contrast. Belshazzar defied the very God of heaven whom Daniel adored and worshiped. He even openly challenged Yahweh (who to him must have seemed to be only a "defeated" Jewish deity) by using Yahweh's sacred vessels from the temple in Jerusalem in a drinking orgy (vv. 1-4). That night, however, Belshazzar's own sentence was written on the wall of his palace by that very same "living God" (vv. 5-9, 22-28),¹¹ and the story itself also ends "that very night" as Belshazzar the king was slain and his kingdom taken over by the Medo-Persians (vv. 28, 30). Rather than having an opportunity to enjoy the result of his "crowning" at the feast, he closed his career in ignominy and death.¹²

¹⁰See W. H. Shea, "Bel(te)shazzar Meets Belshazzar," *AUISS* 26 (1988): 72-81. I concur with Shea that there was most likely an intentional corruption in producing the name Belteshazzar, this as a negation of the validity of the Babylonian deity Bel Marduk. The same phenomenon appears in "Abed Nego" for "Abed Nabu" and possibly also "Nebuchadnezzar" for "Nebuchadrezzar."

¹¹In Daniel's speech, six impotent gods are contrasted with the living God (v. 23).

¹²Davies, 95, opines: "Daniel alone is rewarded, without reference to his God; Belshazzar, unlike Nebuchadnezzar, is not interested in the source of Daniel's wisdom."

The most obvious reversal in the narrative of this chapter is undoubtedly the change in the situation concerning Belshazzar the king. We should not overlook, however, the fact that in contrast to Nebuchadnezzar, whose changes of attitude led him repeatedly to give honor to Daniel's God, Belshazzar ignored Daniel completely until the queen mother brought Daniel to the king's attention as a person who would be able to read the mysterious handwriting on the wall of the palace (vv. 10-12). Moreover, though Belshazzar honored Daniel personally because of the latter's interpretation of the mysterious handwriting on the palace wall (v. 29), there is no evidence of any meaningful repentance on Belshazzar's part and no evidence that he ever gave any praise whatsoever to Yahweh. Thus Belshazzar's experience can be considered as a reversal of Nebuchadnezzar's. The latter had his reign prolonged because of his repentance; Belshazzar, on the other hand, met the end of his kingdom and of his life because of his intransigent defiance of Yahweh.

"Reversals" in Chapter 6

The last story in the historical section of Daniel (chap. 6) takes place after Medo-Persia's victory over Babylonia. Nevertheless, it continues the biography of Daniel that was begun in chapters 1 and 2. After being the Babylonian king's appointee "over the whole province of Babylon" (2:48), Daniel was now similarly honored by Darius the Mede, who made Daniel one of three "presidents" and who further planned to set him over the whole kingdom (6:1-3). Because of this situation there was jealousy on the part of other officials, causing them to instigate a ruse that resulted in Daniel's being thrown into a den of lions (vv. 4-17). Through God's intervention, however, Daniel's situation was once again reversed so that he was saved from the fate planned for him and was restored to a position of honor (vv. 19-23, 28). In contrast, the perpetrators of the plot against Daniel experienced a negative reversal, they themselves and their families becoming the food for the lions (v. 24).

As for Daniel's own situation of reversals in this chapter, it is noteworthy that these bear a partial resemblance to Nebuchadnezzar's experience of downfall and restoration reported in chapter 4. There is a significant difference, however, in the fact that, whereas Nebuchadnezzar underwent his adverse experience because of his own pride, Daniel's adversity came about because

of his faithfulness to Yahweh, coupled with jealousy on the part of non-Hebrew officers of the Medo-Persian king.

As for the monarchs themselves in chapters 4 and 6, their eventual change of attitude was similar. Both Nebuchanezzar and Darius the Mede gave high praise to Yahweh at the conclusion of their respective experiences.

Assessment

The line of thematic-theological development given in the historical chapters of the book of Daniel deserves at least brief mention here. The historical section of the book of Daniel is one which in a step-by-step progression continually vindicates Yahweh and proves that the universal ancient Near-Eastern pagan notion of a deity's being defeated when that deity's people were taken captive was totally untrue in the case of the God of the Hebrews. Yahweh was repeatedly victorious and was even glorified by such pagan monarchs as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius the Mede. A corollary lesson emerges in the fact that Yahweh brings blessings not only to his people, but also to heathen kings who will treat his people rightly.

2. Thematic Reversals in the Prophetic Section of Daniel

The prophetic section of Daniel in chapters 7 through 12 carries forward further the theme of Yahweh's supremacy over all earthly powers and over the gods of foreign nations. The several main vision sequences in this section expand the historical arena so as to portray Yahweh's absolute supremacy and control for the entire span of earth's history and for the eternity that follows. A variety of symbols is used in portraying earthly kingdoms or other earthly rulerships and their activities.¹³ In whatever way these empires or other rulerships are represented, the point of importance is that all of them, together with the evils which they have perpetrated and executed, will meet a total and final end in the greatest reversal of all time—this by none other than Yahweh himself. Moreover, in this end-time reversal which carries these

¹³It is noteworthy that the first three chapters of the prophetic section of Daniel portray God's control from the perspective of judgment (chap. 7), sanctuary (chap. 8), and covenant or Messiah (chap. 9), respectively. It may also be noted that the presence of lions in chap. 6 helps prepare the reader for the first image of chap. 7, the lion.

entities down from their position of dominance to their utter doom and destruction, the status of God's people whom they have oppressed will also be reversed. Decisively and permanently God's saints will be removed from a condition of subservience and tribulation to a position of honor and safety in Yahweh's everlasting kingdom.

"Reversal" in Chapter 7

In chapter 7, the depiction of world history from the Babylonian Empire onward is represented as dominated first by empires symbolized by four dreadful and mighty beasts (vv. 2-7, 14). The fourth beast was especially ferocious. Each new empire brought reversal, of course, to the fortunes of its immediate predecessor.

The four beasts themselves seem suddenly to pale in significance, however, as the major focus of the vision turns to a "little horn" that becomes very great and powerful (vv. 8-9, 11, 20-22, 24b-26). This little horn acquires domination over God's saints (vv. 21, 25), and even blasphemes Yahweh himself (v. 25). Because of its horrendous misdeeds of lawlessness, oppression, persecution, and blasphemy this mighty oppressor will eventually, in a striking reversal, face the judgment bar of God, where the verdict will be rendered against it and in favor of God's suffering saints (vv. 9-10, 26-27). The message of chapter 7 is clear: God controls earth's history and will in the end reverse the historical situation in such a manner as to vindicate and reward his faithful people. These downtrodden saints of the Most High will be vindicated in God's heavenly "supreme court" (cf. v. 26), and subsequently will receive an everlasting and all-glorious kingdom and dominion (*šoltān*).¹⁴

"Reversal" in Chapters 8 and 9

In Dan 8 the reader encounters a different set of animal symbols, beholding first a powerful ram whose aggressiveness seems to know no bounds (vv. 3-4). Nevertheless, when this ram is at the height of its power a goat with one great horn on its head

¹⁴On the importance of "dominion" (*šoltān*) in Dan 7, see Arthur J. Ferch, *The Son of Man in Daniel Seven*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 6 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987), 136-145, 179. Whereas the earthly powers take hold of the dominion for a time, the dominion of the Son of Man and the saints is permanent.

enters the picture and defeats the ram (vv. 5-7). Then the goat's horn is broken, and from it emerge four other horns (v. 8). The various reversals in fortune symbolized by this sequence of events is, however, once again overshadowed, as was the case in chapter 7, by a "little horn" that appears on the scene (v. 9). Now too, the major discussion focuses on this particular entity, which flagrantly works its own will and damages the sanctuary and the very worship of Yahweh himself (vv. 10-12, 23-25). The divine decree reveals that at a set time—after 2300 evenings and mornings—this little horn's activities and prosperity will meet reversal (vv. 13-14). God will act in behalf of his people and will restore fully the sanctuary and proper worship.

In a similar vein, chapter 9 also decrees the end for the cruel devastating power. Here the prophet is once more assured that God's faithful people will triumph in the midst of what appears to be their defeat (vv. 24-27).

"Reversal" in Chapters 10-12

The prophetic section which begins in Dan 10 and concludes in chapter 12 reiterates scenes in earth's history under two new symbolisms, the "king of the North" and the "king of the South." Most of chapter 11 (i.e., vv. 5-43) describes a long series of reversals in the battles which these two powers wage against each other. Like the little horn of Dan 8 the king of the North does "according to his will," magnifying "himself above every God" and speaking "astonishing things against the God of gods" (v. 36; compare the characteristics also of the little horn in Dan 7:25). When, however, everything seems to have been achieved for this "king of the North" and he has gained the full ascendancy, his fortunes are reversed through the activity of a new source that brings him evil tidings from the east and north (v. 44). This former conqueror then comes to his end, "with none to help him" (v. 45).¹⁵ The language would indicate here a divine intervention as the cause of this conqueror's demise.

But again, the real climax is reached, not simply in the degradation of this "king of the North," but also in the reversal of fortune for God's own people. At the end of the time periods

¹⁵Expressions parallel to this one include the following: "by no human hand," 2:45; mysterious "fingers of a man's hand" writing on the wall, 5:5; and "by no human hand," 8:25.

indicated by the divine decree, special blessings emerge for them (12: 4, 7, 9-13). Among the specific promises are increased knowledge (v. 4), deliverance (v. 1), a resurrection (v. 2), and the assurance that "the wise" will shine "like the stars for ever and ever" (v. 3). As for Daniel himself, he will stand in his "allotted place at the end of the days" (v. 13).

3. Conclusion

The numerous thematic reversals in the book of Daniel deal with the fate of individuals, of nations, of world history, and of God's own people. In the historical section of the book, demonstration is given that—contrary to the view current both officially and popularly in the ancient Near East to the effect that the deities of captive peoples were inferior to deities of their captors—Yahweh was and remained the one true and all-powerful God of heaven and earth. The Babylonian captivity of the Hebrew people contained magnificent illustrations of Yahweh's full control of history and destiny, and of the fact that Yahweh is a God who can and does bring complete and glorious deliverance to his faithful children in the severest of circumstances.

The prophetic chapters of the book expand the motif introduced in the historical chapters. In the visions of chapters 7 through 12, the historical developments from the prophet's time onward are symbolically portrayed, and it is once again clearly demonstrated that Yahweh is in full control. Irrespective of the ups and downs of earthly powers, and no matter what oppressiveness these powers may use against God's people, their end will be in complete destruction. On the other hand, the all-powerful Yahweh, Lord of all history and of all people, will in the great denouement vindicate his saints fully and will grant them a place in his glorious and eternal kingdom.

Two further points should be noted in closing: (1) this very message of the prophetic visions of Daniel had already been highlighted in summary fashion in the forecast of Dan 2. As Daniel in that earlier chapter interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, he pointed to a time when the individual parts of the great image—each part standing for an earthly world power (as the context makes clear)—would all meet their doom when the total image would be destroyed and the stone striking the image on the feet would become a great mountain to fill the whole earth (2:34-35, 44-45). (2) There is a certain confluence between Daniel's first

chapter and twelfth chapter. In the first the end of the kingdom of Judah comes to view, and in the twelfth the end of the prophet's life is foreseen. The two events are brought together, however, into the same beautiful context of an assured favorable reversal. There will be a glorious new beginning both for Daniel and for God's saints.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. K. Strand for his generous scholarly and editorial help in the final shaping of this article.

THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF LXX EXODUS 20:11 ON ACTS 14:15

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A number of recent commentators have noted that in Acts 14:15, Luke does not mention Jesus as the content of the gospel, but instead mentions God the Creator as that content.¹ Some interpreters, such as E. Haenchen, have also observed that Acts 14:15b contains a quotation from LXX Exod 20:11.² However, no one, so far as I can tell, has investigated the theological affinity between the two verses. To do so is the purpose of this brief study.

In short, my suggestion is that Acts 14:15 quotes LXX 20:11 as a validation of the Gentile mission. This mission as a fulfillment of the divine plan is, of course, a major theme of Luke Acts (cf. e.g., Acts 13:44-52 and 28:28).

Exod 20:11, like Acts 14, refers to God as the Creator of the world. In fact, it contains the only reference to an act of God within the context of the Decalogue. As such, it could have been considered an ideal text for first-century Gentile Christians to use in demonstrating that the Creator God included all humanity when he gave the Torah to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Although God first revealed himself to the Jews, He did so with an understanding that ultimately the entire human race would obey the Torah. Both Rev 7:4-9 and Rom 9-11 appear to convey expectation.

Acts 14:15b is almost a verbatim quotation of the corresponding line in LXX Exod 20:11. The only difference is that *hos* in Acts

¹For example, F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 275-278; F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 4, *English Translation and Commentary*, by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1933), 165-166; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 431; W. Neil, *Acts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 164-165.

²Haenchen, 428; cf. Bruce, 276.

replaces *kurios* in Exodus. This change could result from the grammatical syntax and/or from the writing style of the author. The author has "God" in the main clause as the antecedent and therefore the subordinate clause reads better with the relative pronoun.

There is a similar passage in LXX Ps 145:6, but there the verb is an aorist active participle, whereas the verb in both LXX Exod 20:11 and Acts 14:15 is an aorist active indicative. Thus on purely literary grounds, the quotation in Acts 14:15 appears more closely related to the Decalogue passage than to LXX Ps 145:6.

Acts 14:15b tends to support M. Dibelius' contention that the speeches in Acts are for the reader rather than for the participants in the story.³ They do not, for example, contain a quotation formula by the speaker (cf. Acts 2:16 and 23:5b). The use of Exod 20:11 in Acts 14:15 would have had the intent of conveying to the reader the immutable plan of God. Specifically, by quoting the Decalogue, the text in Acts 14 associates the giving of the Torah with the mission to the Gentiles. The intent of the author might well have been to convey to the reader the concept that the same God who gave Moses the Ten Commandments and established a covenant with Israel had now established, through the Gentile mission, a new people of God, the Church, as part of the divine plan (see 15:7-11 and 15:13-21). Indeed, Luke-Acts concludes with God's calling a new people from among the Gentiles because the Jews had rejected the Christian gospel (28:26-29; cf. 14:19).

Acts 14:15b is an integral part of the agenda of Acts 13-15, the narrative of the first missionary journey and of its acceptance by the Jerusalem Church. These chapters indicate that the first missionary journey of Paul was ordained by God, and that the results of the mission—the persecution from the Jews (e.g., 13:32-41, 46, 50; 14:1, 19; cf. 14:22) and the positive reception by the Gentiles (13:46-47; 14:8-18, 21-28; 15:7-11, 13-21; cf. 14:21 and 15:3)—also were ordained by God. Thus, the quotation from LXX Exod 20:11 tells the reader that the Creator God, who gave the Torah at Mt. Sinai and chose a select people to Himself, now has chosen a new people, the Christians, from among the Gentiles (cf. 28:26-29).

³M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. H. Greeven (London: SCM, 1956), 4-11; see also, Bruce, 276-277 and 332-342; B. Gärtner, "Paulus und Barnabas in Lystra: Zu Apg 14, 8-15" *Soenisk exegetisk årsbok* 27 (1962): 83-88; see also, J. T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 54-56.

**ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
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AN EVALUATION OF EDWARD HEPPENSTALL'S DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION

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One of the major problems in the study of the doctrine of redemption is that it has been linked to the cross while overlooking its etiological and eschatological perspectives. This has caused many to dissociate creation and redemption, leading to the acceptance of an evolutionistic approach to theology, redemption, and eschatology, leading to the weakening of the connection of the two in the New Testament.

While other Christian traditions emphasize the atoning death of Christ, Adventist theology has tended to overemphasize its eschatological significance. Thus, in Adventism, there is need to present a more balanced view of redemption. Edward Heppenstall was chosen as the subject of this dissertation since he comprehensively deals with this doctrine.

Factors that shaped Heppenstall's particular understanding of redemption are presented in a brief biographical, historical, and theological overview in chapter 1. His view on the scope and the need of redemption, the nature of man, and sin are discussed in chapter 2. Chapters 3 through 6 encompass Heppenstall's scheme of redemption, namely: its promise, its act and results, and its work of judgment. Each chapter analyzes the way Heppenstall links God, sin, law and covenant, Christology, salvation, and eschatology to his general view of redemption. In chapter 7, a comparison of his understanding of redemption is made with the views of other Adventist writers and E. G. White.

The final chapter evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of Heppenstall's model for describing redemption. It was noted that he did not develop a biblical foundation to support his view of the "great controversy." However, it was found that this motif is a valid biblical model for understanding the doctrine, since it forms an adequate foundation for a more comprehensive view of redemption. In relationship to his theology of redemption, it was pointed out that he gave little

attention to some aspects of anthropology, and ecclesiology. At the same time serious questions are raised concerning his understanding of some aspects of the doctrine of the sanctuary. Positively, Heppenstall introduced new aspects in the biblical concept of the covenant and reemphasized some neglected aspects in the understanding of law, Christology, soteriology, and the sanctuary doctrine.

ECCLESIOLOGY IN DIALOGUE: A CRITIQUE OF THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH IN THE THOUGHT OF G. C. BERKOUWER

Author: **Bruce R. Norman**, Ph.D., 1991

Adviser: Raoul Dederen

This dissertation deals with the concept of the nature of the church in the thought of G. C. Berkouwer as indicated in the following chapter sketches.

Chapter 1 briefly outlines the historical and theological development of thought about the nature of the church, function, and the inter-relationship of the two. The most relevant elements of the church's nature are identified, described, and analyzed in both Roman Catholic and Reformed thought.

Chapter 2 presents biographical, methodological, and theological backgrounds of Berkouwer. These provide the framework within which one must understand Berkouwer's view of the nature of the church.

Chapter 3 describes and analyzes Berkouwer's understanding of the nature of the church. It interprets the manner in which the Dutch theologian relates the church's essence to its function.

This study ends in chapter 4, with a critical appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of Berkouwer's position on the nature of the church. It is concluded that his model for solving the tension between the church's essence and her function is inadequate because it fails to take into account all of the pressing questions which need to be addressed by contemporary ecclesiology. Finally, some of the tensions of the Dutch theologian's view on the nature of the church are raised as fruitful areas for further investigation.

RELIGION, CULTURE, AND MODERNITY: SOME MISSIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROCESS OF SECULARIZATION IN EAST ASIA

Author: **Gan-Theow Ng, Ph.D., 1991**

Adviser: Russell L. Staples

This study investigates the outcome of the process of secularization in three modernized urban Chinese societies in East Asia and seeks to describe the resultant patterns of change and continuity. Some missiological implications are drawn from the findings of the investigations.

Chapter 1 is an account of the historical development of secularization in Western societies and the effects of secularization on religion, society, and the individual. The focus in chapter 2 is on worldview and worldview change and the functions of these in the process of secularization. A five-part theoretical paradigm of the traditional Chinese worldview analyzed vis-a-vis the themes, hierarchy, antiquity, particularity, harmony, and practicality is presented in chapter 3. In chapter 4 the impact of modernization and secularization on these Chinese societies and the emergence of a new hybrid worldview in which elements of both the traditional and modern are synthesized, are examined. Some aspects of the traditional Chinese worldview, such as affinity for hierarchy and antiquity, have gone through radical and perhaps irreversible change, whereas the Chinese esteem for particularity, harmony, and practicality has largely remained intact. Chapter 5 focuses on the implications of continuity and change, and seeks to show how these dynamic patterns of change have created new conditions conducive to mission.

The missiological conclusions of the study are spelled out in categories: mission, conversion, and church.

1. The process of secularization has opened up a degree of freedom from family and historical tutelage. This signals new opportunities for mission.

2. The Chinese group consciousness calls for a rethinking of the evangelistic process to include a more family and group oriented approach.

3. The sense of unease induced by change has created an atmosphere in which the church as the Body of Christ needs to function as a socially supportive and meaning reifying community.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL JUDGMENT IN JOB 19:21-29:
AN EXEGETICAL STUDY.

Author: **Gordon E. Christo, Ph.D., 1992**

Adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan

Practically all scholars today acknowledge the juridical features of the book of Job. The purpose of this study is to identify the legal event that we understand Job believed would take place in the eschaton. Chapter one first analyzes the significance of the place of our passage in the structure of the book. Job 19 is found to be the center of a structurally balanced composition. Further study of structure reveals that vss. 25-27b can be viewed as: (1) the heart of the chiasm in 19:21-29, (2) the node of that speech, and (3) a pivot of the book. We then consider the immediate context of Job 19. Though Job echoes the vocabulary and imagery of Bildad (chap. 18), he rejects Bildad's tenets: (1) that there is no future life, at least for the wicked, and, by implication, for Job; and (2) that rewards are given in this present life. In contrast, Job is seen to affirm a belief in vindication in a future life.

Chapter two examines the vocabulary of Job 19:21-29. OT usage suggests that numerous words are technical terms from both the juridical and eschatological associated fields. Comparison with other OT texts, whose contexts are considered established, and which utilizes similar clusters of terms as our passage, confirms that Job 19:21-29 combines technical terms of both the juridical and eschatological fields, to describe an eschatological judgment.

We begin chapter three with an interpretation of the passage by attending to its form. Genre, structure, and poetic devices appear to have been specially selected to give body and shape for the message of the poet, and to highlight the significance of vss. 25-27b in his thinking.

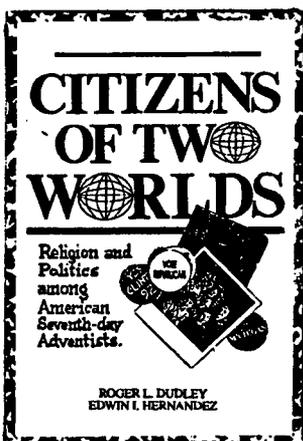
Our explanation of Job 19:21-29 is built upon the arguments of the previous chapters, and further confirms our thesis that Job believed he would die, but be raised for the purpose of vindication, in the eschaton.

We conclude that the eschatological judgment of Job 19:21-29 is central to the solution of Job's problem. The thought of ultimate vindication, and faith in his redeemer satisfied the theological problem for the moral order of the universe and the existential problem of Job's suffering.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Barnes, Robin Bruce. *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988. 371 pp. \$29.95.

In *Prophecy and Gnosis*, Robin Barnes opens a new frontier in the study of the Lutheran movement. Challenging the deeply rooted belief that the Puritans were the foremost Protestant students of Biblical prophecy, Barnes affirms: "[Puritan] England saw only a weak reflection of the eschatological excitement that obtained among the Lutherans" (5). After reading this work one must be convinced that justification by faith cannot be separated from eschatology in early Lutheran theology.

Barnes supports his thesis with the careful analysis of materials from more than 500 books and pamphlets published during the first century of Lutheranism. He places those writings in their cultural and historical contexts and thus gives his work the additional value of a demonstration of how culture and history affect theology.

While Barnes' main concern is for Luther's successors, he shows clearly the debt of Lutheranism to late medieval thought and clarifies several aspects of the Saxon reformer's ideas on eschatology. For instance, he points out that Luther's main contribution was his belief that Antichrist was not an individual wicked pope or king still to come but an institution, the papacy. He also shows how Luther's understanding of the end was closely bound with his view of the unconscious condition of the dead in the grave. He could also have written that the concept *simul justus et peccator* made it impossible to believe, as did Calvinists, in the possibility of establishing a kingdom of Christ on earth.

Luther's main theme, however, was the imminence and hiddenness of the end. His followers, on the other hand, tried to find the proper method of reading biblical prophecy to determine when that event would come. In their eagerness they turned to every other source of speculation on the future to try to solve the puzzle. Publishing interests fostered the flood of books on the topic. This obsession with biblical prophecy was reflected in the painting of biblical, prophetic symbols on clocks.

By his study of numerology, Michael Stifel came to the conclusion that Christ would return in 1533. Because Christ had announced that there would be signs in the heavens, many tried to read the book of Revelation in the light of astrology. From celestial events in 1571, for instance, the date of 1588 was set for the end. From a new star in 1604, Paul Nagel reckoned the date 1618. Some even believed that it took a certain spiritual gift to interpret prophecy, a gift that was also found among the heathen,

and thus the Sibylline Oracles and other classical oracles were included in those eschatological speculations.

The main sign for many was the preaching of the gospel by Luther, seen as a fulfillment of Jesus' promise that the gospel would be preached and then the end would come. Likewise the flourishing of so many heresies, such as Calvinism, Anabaptism, and Antitrinitarianism, was interpreted as the fulfillment of the announcement of the coming of many false prophets. One is struck by the way eschatology fostered the study of history, natural science, and even mathematics.

The approach of the Thirty Years War with its election of a Calvinist to the throne of Bohemia and the renewed belligerence of Catholicism increased the excitement. The field became a true Babel of confusion, and there arose a polarization between the eschatologists and the exponents of the new Protestant scholasticism, who branded eschatological speculation as spiritual pride or ignorance, an accusation made credible by the total failure of the many efforts to identify events of the war with prophetic announcements. Thus the eschatological ferment came to an end. A personal quest for piety replaced in Pietism the hope of a collective divine transformation of all things.

Because of the mass of information it contains, the book requires careful reading, especially due to the fact that the author has chosen a thematic approach which, at times, makes the chronological framework difficult to follow. But the reading of this book is a must for anyone who is interested in the history of eschatology or Lutheran theology.

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DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther. Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532*. Trans. James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990. xvi + 543 pp. \$39.95.

This volume is the second of three in the extended biography of Luther by Martin Brecht, Professor of Reformation and Modern Church History, Evangelical Theological Faculty, University of Münster, Westphalia, Germany. The first volume, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*, was well received by scholars, as this one will be. Brecht covers here the middle period of Luther's life, essentially the same period as that covered by Heinrich Bornkamm's 1979 study, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521-1530* (trans. E. Theodore Bachmann. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1983). The main justification for a volume so soon on the same subject and time period is simply that this will be a part of a comprehensive overview of the whole Luther. In this regard, Brecht's work is welcome. This time period in Luther's story is too often neglected in

detail. It is important because during this time Luther himself was struggling with the routinization of his Reformation insights.

Brecht begins with Luther at Wartburg and then turns to the struggle for order at Wittenberg (1522-24). His study is not merely a chronicle of Lutheran reforming efforts, which would be an impossible task. Rather, Brecht covers major topics of the reform, themselves spread over the chronological period under scrutiny. Luther's lengthy encounters with the radicals—a term Brecht himself will not use—as well as the efforts to address marriage, home, and family in the course of his ministry, reveal a Luther whose reform is indeed to be understood as comprehensive, with major implications for the whole of life and society. Luther the theologian in debate with Erasmus, and Luther the academician and pastor are both described. The conflicts over the Lord's Supper and baptism receive attention. Major attention is given to the matter of politics in the Reformation, and a review of the matrix of events surrounding the Augsburg Diet and Confession emerges. The events after Augsburg, omitted from Bornkamm's study, are analyzed. An inquiry into home, community, family, and theology from 1530-32 concludes the book. This later portion of the study is particularly welcome, for it is not readily available in existing English works. The third volume, which is already in process of translation, will cover the final fourteen years of Luther's life.

The author is clearly one of today's leading interpreters of Luther. He brings masterful skills to the task. His research is grounded in the sources; for this reason alone the volume will be of use to scholars and serious students of Luther.

An uncommon strength of the volume is the attention to details in the life and work of Luther that are often unnoted. Such is the impact Luther's ill health made on his work. Many other personal details of Luther's daily living are also noted, all of which allow him to emerge as a real human being. If there is a weakness in the work, it is closely allied to its strength, namely, that Brecht summarizes carefully the writings of Luther on the subjects under consideration, but thereby limits his analysis and critique. This particular style sometimes leaves the reader incapable of distinguishing when Brecht is speaking and when Luther. The summaries of Luther's perspective are so fluent that the reader will need to exercise some caution in order to distinguish between the Lutheran perspective and other possibilities. Although the author does not completely accept Luther uncritically, he does tend to underplay the significance of Luther's supporters and opponents.

I understand why the German Lutheran Brecht, located in Münster, finds it difficult to accept the commonly used terms of "radicals" and "left-wing" when referring to Müntzer, Karlstadt, the Anabaptists, and others. It is, however, unfortunate that he utilizes the Lutheran epithets "enthusiasts, iconoclasts and fanatics" so willingly. Brecht attempts to be

somewhat critical of Luther's role in the Peasants' War, but he underestimates how much he was viewed as rejecting the common person while too easily agreeing with the princes. I find the treatment of the Zwinglian position, and especially the reasons for Zwingli's disagreement with Luther, to be less than satisfactory.

The translation is splendid and only occasionally slips into German language structure. James Schaaf also cites the English translations of Luther whenever possible. It is unfortunate that he omitted readily available translations of Zwingli's writings. Scholars owe a debt of gratitude to Schaaf for making this work available in English. The third volume will be a welcome conclusion to a valuable set on this most important of Protestant Reformers.

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H. WAYNE PIPKIN

Carden, Allen. *Puritan Christianity in America: Religion and Life in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. ix + 237 pp. \$16.95.

Most people, in every society and in every period of history, expect religion to be relevant for morality and life. Indeed this was particularly the case in 17th-century America. American Puritanism provided a system of ultimate meaning and interpretation that could hardly avoid being linked to spiritual experiences and prescriptions of ethical conduct. Morality, theology, and ethics provided the framework by means of which American Christianity gave finite expression to its system of ultimate meaning. Through this framework and the quality of commitment to their particular form of Christianity, the Puritans hoped that their faith or system of alternate meaning would become more visible and therefore more accessible to others and certainly more enduring.

Puritan Christianity in America claims: "Although the Puritans have been the focus of hundreds of journal articles and monographs within the past century, historians have often minimized or misunderstood the spiritual dimension of the Puritan experience. Most recent studies have betrayed a limited perspective, dealing with a particular town, individual, family, or issue. It is hoped that this volume will provide a concise, yet thorough synthesis of the Puritan's own ideas and recent scholarship in order to provide the reader with an overall perspective encompassing the multifaceted experiences of Puritan Christianity in America" (12). The subject matter of the book is precisely a history of the interpretation of the religious experience of the Puritans, embodied in their notions of the "Holy Commonwealth" and "God's errand in the wilderness."

Beginning with the Reformation in England as the immediate preparation for the rise of Puritanism, Allen Carden focuses on the historical background of the causes and influences that led to dissatisfaction and discontent within the established Church. Quite correctly he notices that the influence and work of the returning exiles during Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) provided the leadership that was needed to carry reformation forward in a thorough fashion. The issues that led to dissatisfaction and discontent were doctrine, liturgy, and ecclesiastical government. The influence of the "returning exiles" on the interpretation of these issues was particularly striking. In the remaining chapters of the book, the author focuses on an evaluation of Puritan theology, ethics, family life, liturgy, and politics. Carden exercises great care and accuracy in presenting these teachings of the Puritans. Wherever necessary he points out the variations in Puritan beliefs.

Carden's perception and analysis of seventeenth-century Puritan ideas reflect his mastery of the material and his ability to present it in a lively, attractive, and clear style. With close attention to the original writings, Carden makes it easy for the reader to grasp the main points of the Puritan's understanding and practice of Christianity.

Although Carden has established his thesis that "the spiritual dimension of the Puritan experience" cannot be minimized in any attempt to understand and explain Puritan Christianity in seventeenth-century America, one must not think that this book has only historical interest. Indeed the forcefulness and relevance of his study lie precisely in his gallant effort to deal with a problem that is of critical importance in our contemporary society.

The Puritan legacy to American Protestant culture is beyond dispute. Carden claims that "the sweep of American history, modern American culture, and especially evangelical subculture can be more fully understood as we recognize the legacy we have received from our Puritan forebears" (211).

Perhaps the major weakness in this study is its failure to give more focused attention to the role of the Holy Spirit in the Puritan experience. This is a subject much neglected by recent scholarship. It seems inconceivable that Carden would not address this in a book that seeks to highlight "the spiritual dimension of the Puritan experience" (12).

Altogether, *Puritan Christianity in America* has the distinction of giving a new dimension to the discussion of Puritanism and has profound implications and insights for our age.

Davis, Cyprian. *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*. New York: Crossroad/Continuum, 1990. xv + 347 pp. \$24.95.

The history of black Catholics in the United States has never really been told. In the first part of this century John T. Gillard published two books on the American black Catholic community: *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (1929) and *Colored Catholics in the United States* (1941). Both were learned studies but defended the relations of the Catholic Church with blacks in an apologetic way few find comfortable today.

Other carefully researched histories have appeared since then, dealing with specific dimensions of the history of American black Catholics, such as Albert Foley's biographical sketches of black priests in the last one hundred years (1955), Marilyn Nickel's excellent study on Thomas Wyatt Turner, the great black Catholic lay leader of the first half of this century (1988), and, even more recently, Stephen Och's study on blacks and the Roman Catholic priesthood, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960* (1990).

What has been lacking, however, is a historical overview of the African American *community* in the United States. Father Cyprian Davis, a black Benedictine monk and professor of church history at the St. Mainard School of Theology in Indiana, deserves credit for addressing this want and for treating black Catholics as a people with a history within the American Catholic Church. His book tells the gripping story of a people first crushed by slavery and later struggling to counteract indifference and racism within a church they insist on calling their own. In so doing his tenacious research (see, for instance, his 76 pages of endnotes and bibliography) unveils things both enlightening and intriguing.

Much of what appears in *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* does not make for pleasant reading, yet will help one understand why some contemporary black Catholics describe the Catholic Church as a white racist institution. From today's vantage point, it is depressing to encounter the names of bishops long considered stalwarts of the U.S. Catholic Church—John England, Francis Patrick Henrick, John Hughes—and see how widely in the pre-Civil War period, like many others, they missed the mark on racial issues or found themselves obligated to defend the status quo on the basis of traditional Catholic interpretation of the Scriptures.

Nor were the American bishops able, a few years later, to work out a practical and unified way to address the crisis caused by the emancipation of the slaves. In Davis' view, by passing up this chance to redeem past errors, they were responsible for a failure that was "one of the tragedies of American church history." As the author evidences, whatever

progress took place in the following century in making blacks part of the U.S. Catholic mainstream was due most of all to the renewed pressure of Rome and the persistent efforts of black Catholics themselves. It was mainly on their own initiative that blacks moved forward, even when the time came, to respond to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s protest.

Rather than a synthesis of carefully researched histories carried out on the local level, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* is an attempt to provide the larger framework within which further historical research can be developed. One might wish, for instance, to see further serious investigation regarding the Catholic reaction to slavery. Did Protestants have a keener sense of justice than Catholics in the United States? Would a more thorough study of the documents of those religious congregations and secular priests that owned slaves reveal insights into the question of racial feelings that lay at the heart of proslavery and anti-slavery mentalities?

As demonstrated by Davis, the history of black sisters in the 19th century is a pivotal chapter in the history of African American Catholicism. They witness to the existence of a vigorous black Catholic community even prior to the Civil War. The documentation of the history of the black religious communities needs to be developed and adequate biographies of their founders written. At the same time, a more detailed examination of the history as well as the spirituality and the type of education of the black Catholic sisterhoods should contribute to understanding the spiritual and cultural framework within the black community today, as Davis himself admits.

More recently, George Stallings, a black charismatic priest of the Washington, D.C. archdiocese, launched a call for separate, semi-autonomous status for black Catholics through the formation of an African American ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Stallings subsequently severed his ties with the Catholic hierarchy. His popular following—if it grows—may well present a challenge and an opportunity to the Catholic American Church that could mark another turning point in its history.

African American Catholics have traditionally been relegated, for the most part, to footnotes and afterthoughts. It is Davis' merit to have highlighted what had been hidden and to have retrieved a mislaid memory. He has convincingly shown that if one seeks a more complete picture of the Catholic Church in the United States, it will be necessary to know the accounts of the African American Catholics.

Dunn, James D. G. *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. x + 277 pp. \$19.95.

This collection of essays written on the law deals with Mark and Galatians. Each article has been updated to take into account material written since the first publication. Dunn deals with the following passages: Mk 2:1-36; Mk 7:15; Gal 1 and 2; Gal 2:11-18; Gal 3:10-14. In addition he deals with the following topics: "Pharisees, Sinners and Jesus"; "'A Light to the Gentiles', or 'The End of the Law'? The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul"; "The New Perspective on Paul"; and "The Theology of Galatians."

Dunn's articles on Mark attempt to show how statements dealing with the law serve as a transition to Paul's teaching. While the original context indicates an internal Jewish dialogue, Mark's wording of Jesus' saying shows a Hellenistic-Jewish Christian setting. Paul was not influenced directly by Mark but extended the way of thinking of those who had collected the traditions of Jesus in the Hellenistic communities. Dunn is masterful in showing how a saying in Jesus' own Jewish situation could be shaped in another context to lead to a more radical interpretation and practice and yet be fully in harmony with Jesus' spirit and teaching.

In his articles focused on Galatians, Dunn seeks to show the centrality of the Antioch incident in which Paul relates to the Jerusalem apostles. He also shows that through this incident Paul came to understand that justification involved the whole of life and, therefore, that it was not possible to "live in Christ" and "in accordance with the law." Dunn believes that Paul's rebuke of Peter did not overturn the situation in Antioch and that he henceforth disconnected himself from Antioch and became independent of Jewish Christianity.

The major emphasis of the book is reserved for chaps. 7-9 in which Dunn builds upon E. P. Sanders' work, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. Sanders' thesis is that the picture of Judaism drawn from Paul's writings of a religion based on earning salvation by fulfilling the works of the law is historically false. The Judaism of Paul's time was covenantal nomism. Obedience to the law did not bring one into the covenant but only kept one in. Dunn maintains that Sanders has not followed through on his thesis to show how Paul's writings reflect his opposition to covenantal nomism. Instead Sanders concludes that Paul's religion is simply different from Judaism. Paul abandons Judaism simply because it is not Christianity. Dunn attempts to spell out the implications in Paul's theology if Sanders' insight is taken seriously.

Assuming that justification by faith has the same meaning in Paul and Judaism, Dunn needs to explain what justification by works means since it no longer refers to salvation by works. Justification by works in

this new understanding of Judaism is the insistence that distinctive Jewish observances such as circumcision, the food laws, and the Sabbath are necessary in order for a person to be part of the covenant. But for Paul faith in Jesus Christ has taken their place. The law thus served as a boundary marker and identifier of the covenant people and excluded Gentiles.

Dunn has written a stimulating series of articles. He is at his best in analyzing a passage showing its different contexts. His treatment of Paul's relationship to the Jerusalem apostles (Gal 1) is superb. His treatment of Gal 2 is also excellent, although I would not agree with all his points. Some of his arguments appear strained because they seem to support a general theory which he has accepted (Sanders' proposal) and thus he needs to explain a passage in harmony with this conclusion. This is especially so in chaps. 8 and 9. Dunn's exegesis of Gal 3:10-14, which he calls a test case, is difficult to follow. He explains the curse of the law, not simply as the condemnation on those who break the law and fail to keep it, but especially on those who confine God's favor on nationalistic terms, based on boundary and ritual markers. Then Dunn says that Christ put himself under the curse and outside the covenant. It is not clear on the basis of the previous understanding how Christ becomes a curse. Does he become one who confines God's favor to the Jews exclusively? Yet Dunn says he puts himself outside the covenant. How does he do this if the curse is on one who thinks that God's grace is exclusively for the Jews?

The jury is still out as far as Dunn's proposal is concerned. And since it is based on Sanders' thesis, this, too, remains to be confirmed. Dunn himself has pointed out some of the weaknesses in Sanders' thesis.

Chico, CA 95926

SAKAE KUBO

Gitin, Seymour. *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*. Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1990. 270 pp. \$90.00.

Tell Gezer has been excavated by two major (and one minor) archaeological teams. The earliest of these excavations were conducted by R. A. S. Macalister (1902-1909). Suffering from too many workers and virtually no supporting staff, Macalister's work is only slightly useful for interpretive purposes. The second, and certainly more significant, series of archaeological investigations began in 1964 sponsored by Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Jerusalem.

This book is the first report of Phase II of the HUC excavations at Tell Gezer. Phase I of those excavations was initiated by G. Ernest Wright. The major part of the excavations was directed by William G. Dever (1966-

1970). Although innovative and most helpful in defining some of the earlier archeological periods, Phase I of the HUC excavations did not clarify Tell Gezer's later history (Late Iron II, Persian, and Hellenistic Periods). Thus, the Phase II excavations (Field VII) were launched with the express purpose of deciphering the chronology and history of Tell Gezer during those periods. Phase II excavations were directed by Joe D. Seger (1972-1973) and Gitin's book is a partial report of those excavations (27).

Gitin's work is divided into two volumes: *Text and Data Base and Plates*. The text is subdivided into three sections. "Part I: The Stratigraphy" outlines the balk/debris-layer method of the excavators and explains their record-keeping process, the stratigraphy of Field VII, and the basis for the developed chronology of the findings. "Part II: The Corpus" describes how the ceramic finds were processed and selected for publication. The final section of the text volume, "Part III: the Analysis," focuses on the classification of ceramic horizons and their parallels.

Although a few items of general interest are scattered throughout the book (e.g., dog burials, 20, 31; four-room houses, 15-16, 29-30; and a cache of farming tools, 23), Gitin's *Gezer III* will not appeal to a reader with a casual interest in archaeology. Gitin's book is designed for use by the research scholar. It is a detailed site report.

Following the superior traditions established in the earlier HUC Gezer volumes, the book excels many similar reports. Gitin seems to be aware, more than most, that archaeology is a destructive art. He painstakingly explains the method of the excavation and the rationale of each aspect of the project. Perhaps the detailed description of methodology is due to this book's derivation from Gitin's thesis (ix). In any case, the scholarly reader is well served.

Another significant aspect of this work is that the author references more than just comparable pottery plates at other sites. Gitin also discusses specific issues that affect his interpretations (e.g., the date of the destruction of Lachish III, 106, especially footnote 2). Such discussions, plus clearly defined specific chronological and historical assumptions (e.g., 16-18), make this work useful to all researchers.

Plans appearing in Part IX, "Plans (Master Sections, Field VII) and Phasing Plans, Field VII West," are clearly drawn and easily used with the text. This section is secured in a pocket inside the front cover of the *Data Base and Plates* volume. Parts IV-VIII—which include charts, indices, and plates—are in the same volume. The photographs are clear and illustrate the text well.

In short, Seymour Gitin's *Gezer III* is an excellent example of a well conceived and clearly written excavation report. Gitin has designed this report in such a way that those not physically present during the excavations can vicariously reexamine the project through the evidences he presents in this book. *Gezer III* will be a constant reference for those

interested in the Late Iron II through Hellenistic periods and for researchers desiring a guide for crafting excavation reports.

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DAVID MERLING

Harvey, Anthony E. *Strenuous Commands: The Ethic of Jesus*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990. viii + 248 pp. \$17.95.

In this book, Harvey reopens the study of the sayings of Jesus after Bultmann's "brilliant analysis," which, even if unintentionally, seems to have rendered the teaching of Jesus irrelevant to Christian ethics. As a result, today "the church and the entire structure of Christian moral theology" (17) has proceeded to devise guidelines for Christian living based on natural law. Others who are outside "the church," like Gandhi, Tolstoy, and Bernard Shaw (16), have recognized a distinctive ethic of Jesus.

Harvey acknowledges that "in what situation, or with how much emphasis, elaboration or repetition Jesus would originally have spoken them [his sayings] we shall never know" (38). Still, he wishes to establish "within which framework of thought such teaching would have been given and what response would have been expected from its hearers" (20). Here he does with the ethical teachings of Jesus what he did with his ministry and passion in *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (see my review in *AUSS*, 22 [1984]: 269-271). His argument is that the moral teaching of Jesus finds its most logical context in the aphoristic sayings of the Wisdom Tradition, even if at times it shares with *Koheleth* an antiwisdom stance. It also shares with Cynic teachers the desire to give moral instruction to the masses, rather than limiting itself to the leisure class.

The author makes a good argument for a Wisdom framework of thought, thereby rejecting both the Pharisaic project of building a fence around the law and the Essene constitutionalizing of a sectarian "rule." It seems, in fact, that Harvey's main concern is to deny that the ethic of Jesus was intended, or should function, as a "community rule" (27). Thus, while admiring those Christians who through the centuries have taken the strenuous commands of Jesus seriously, because they function "as a judgement on those more liberal and world-affirming Christians who have settled for an 'ethic of intention,'" Harvey criticizes them for having converted Jesus' instructions into "rules" (202).

According to Harvey what is distinctive about Jesus is the way in which he placed the Wisdom moral tradition at the service of his gospel of the kingdom. Some elements which are central to the Wisdom tradition, like the importance of a good reputation, the value of moderation, and the significance of friendship (67), are absent from Jesus' teaching. But what

is most striking is that Jesus does not assume that the past is a good guide for the future (191). Harvey does admit, however, that what is distinctive is not much (200).

The kingdom of God, according to Harvey, "embodies values that most human beings regard as ultimately desirable," and therefore, it would seem, shares with Wisdom a basis in common sense. It is conceived as "within the range of possibilities" which common sense agrees to and desires. On this account, "it cannot be dismissed as totally visionary or impracticable" (208). This means that the strenuous commands issue "a challenge to live 'as if' the kingdom were already a reality" (210). If this is the case, one may wonder at the option Harvey offers as an alternative to Bultmann. Bultmann taught that every human question about what to do in the present (ethics) is answered by Jesus with a counter-question about the future (eschatology), which places the present in jeopardy because God in heaven is Savior and Judge. Harvey tells us that when human beings ask Jesus how to live he answers by appealing to common sense, only making the point that one must include in the equation that the kingdom is already a reality and as such destroys the grip of the past as a guide for conduct. Whether one prefers Harvey's option to Bultmann's will be determined, I am afraid, on the basis of theological preferences, and not because Harvey has taken the strenuous commands more seriously.

Still, it must be said that Harvey has done a commendable job in his exploration of the strenuous commands and has expanded the discussion of their historical context. In the process he has taken some of their roughness and domesticated them for easy access in "the church." He wants to make sure that sectarians do not become the sole claimants to this tradition.

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HEROLD WEISS

Hill, Andrew E., and John H. Walton. *A Survey of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing Corporation, 1991. 448 pp. \$22.95.

Although several surveys of the Old Testament have been published, *A Survey of the Old Testament* is a welcome addition to the literature on the Old Testament. The contents of this book are divided into six parts. The first part is the prologue, containing general articles on the Old Testament. Topics covered include a historical overview of Old Testament times, geography, and archaeology. The last part is the epilogue.

In between, the books of the Old Testament are discussed. Each survey takes up the following aspects: authorship, historical background,

outline of the book, purpose and message, structure and organization, and major themes.

Early in the preface, the authors state their presupposition: "God has revealed himself in Scripture, and inspiration guarantees the authority and integrity of that revelation." Even though the book is evangelical in perspective, it presents the various positions held on problems encountered by Bible students. In addition, the annotated bibliography includes titles from various positions of biblical scholarship.

A commendable feature of the book is its readability. The use of a two-column page enhances this. In addition, the authors use simple and clear language. Maps and figures are included. The time lines provided are helpful. Questions for further study at the end of each survey are useful for classroom or small group discussion.

Notwithstanding its good points, the book has some weak spots. The article on archaeology in the prologue is brief. It does not discuss the archaeological periods which are mentioned in passing in the article on the historical overview of the OT (28-32). Yet, in some sections of the book, archaeological periods are used (165, 174).

Inasmuch as the book is a general survey of the Old Testament, it may be of limited value to the advanced student of the Bible. It is however, highly recommended for pastors, lay members, and undergraduate students. Anyone who uses this survey, I believe, will be encouraged to study more deeply into the Old Testament.

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FELIPE TAN

Linnemann, Eta. *Historical Criticism of the Bible: Methodology or Ideology?*
Translated by Robert W. Yarbrough. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book
House, 1990. 169 pp. \$9.95.

The author of this skillfully translated book has been best known to the English-speaking world through her *Jesus of the Parables*, a work applying principles learned from her mentors, Rudolf Bultmann and Ernst Fuchs, as well as other major lights of German scholarship. Her career was following a standard track in the German academic world when she experienced a religious conversion. In 1978 she totally repudiated her past life and work. Her book is a confession of faith, a passionate war cry, a call for repentance, a manifesto and a program. She explicitly regards her former orientation as not merely mistaken, but Satanic.

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1, "Christianity and the Modern University," is a broad attack on the modern intellectual scene.

Like Tertullian, she wants Jerusalem to have nothing to do with Athens: "The university as a phenomenon of Western culture was from the very beginning a pagan institution" (23). She deplores the story of successive Scholasticism, Humanism, Enlightenment, German Idealism, and modern technology as a steady march away from faith and God's revealed truth. Scientific thought is atheistic and even modern medical science is a mixed blessing at best, if not a positive evil (34). Truth and good are to be found only in God's Book, not "the many mutually contradictory books that claim validity for themselves on the basis of being 'scientific'" (35; it should be said that Dr. Linnemann, since writing this book, has moderated her view enough to acknowledge some positive uses of science).

Linnemann's arrows, shot by one who dwelt first in Athens and then in Jerusalem, are sometimes well aimed. She explodes the myth of academic neutrality and objectivity; she scathes the selectivity of scholarly tolerance and the maintenance of intellectual monopolies; and she convincingly describes the way young aspiring academicians are subtly pressed into a mold, made after their mentors' images. Beyond that, having warned against being unequally yoked with unbelievers, she sketches in some detail a program for a Christian alternative to the secular university, integrating faith and Bible-based learning. In this, philosophy will have no place: "A search for truth beyond God's word is sin" (54). Also to be avoided is the hubris of exploration without boundaries: she deplores "the tendency to regard everything that can be explored as something that should be explored" and "the compulsive preoccupation with 'progress'" (66).

At this point one begins to wonder if the cure might turn out to be worse than the disease, but Linnemann has not yet got down to her special villain. That is taken up in Part 2, "God's Word and Historical-Critical Theology."

The term is important. She is here attacking an ideology, not a method (though there are hints that she might not approve the classical historical-critical methods either). She charges that the basic principle of this ideology is to conduct research as if there were no God. The Bible is relativized in various ways and its inspiration, as well as its unity, is denied. She opposes "a canon within the canon." Linnemann believes that dependence on the Holy Spirit obviates the need for scholarly interpretation, which is inconclusive anyway (87). The basic fallacy of the ideology which she calls Historical-Critical Theology is naturalism, which has no place for divine intervention on earth.

Some of Linnemann's barbs penetrate sensitive and vulnerable heels: "In theory all relevant historical-critical publications on a given theme would be taken into account. In practice this turns out to be impossible due to the constantly growing flood of publication" (89). Perhaps with excessive harshness she contends that "the claim that truth is discovered

on the basis of critical argumentation is another self-deception" because one will be impressed only by the set of arguments which support conclusions held on ideological grounds or on the basis of the conventional wisdom of the time. Prevailing traditions had their genesis in nothing more than "sinful intuitions" (132). The dominant hypotheses cannot be verified and are accepted only because of their plausibility in the prevailing intellectual climate. "Overwhelmed by the 'expertise' of theologians, the student or the person being confirmed or the church member loses all confidence of being able to personally understand God's word" (95). Linnemann dislikes the incarnational model of Scripture which sees it as both Word of God and word of man (101), apparently believing in some sort of *communicatio idiomatum*, by which everything in or about the Bible is divine and not human. She denounces Baconian inductive study, claiming that "the so-called knowledge was in truth only a decision" (115).

Once again, Linnemann is not content to bombard what she opposes; she outlines an alternative. Thinking, she affirms, must of necessity be regimented in order to communicate. But reason must be subordinated to Bible, not the reverse. Presuppositions such as uniformitarianism and naturalism, which undergird critical thinking must be discarded. "In the theology of faith, the necessary regulation of thought must occur through the Holy Scripture. . . . Thought must subordinate itself to the Word of God. If difficulties crop up, it does not doubt God's Word but its own wisdom" (111). Though she insists that "Questions are solved on one's knees, not through ransacking commentaries," she does not despise all scholarly accomplishments. She affirms the need to learn the original languages and biblical backgrounds and to study typology.

What can be said about such a book? It must be pointed out that many of the stones thrown can easily be tossed back at the thrower. Persons of a Fundamentalist orientation exhibit no more agreement about the teaching of Scripture than the scholars whom she attacks. No less than "rationalists," fideists may bring to their Bible study presuppositions drawn from elsewhere. If learning does not insure infallibility, neither does lack of it. Who would affirm that the so-called Age of Faith produced a purer form of Christianity than the Enlightenment? Linnemann appears to replace one kind of intellectual arrogance with another.

In fairness it must be recognized that Linnemann speaks from her experience in the academic theology of the European Continent. She is either unaware of, or rejects on a priori grounds, the positive uses of historical-critical *methods* (as distinguished from *ideology*) by believing evangelical scholars in the English-speaking world (such as F. F. Bruce, T. W. Manson, G. E. Ladd, R. H. Stein, to name only a few). A popular canard runs: "New theological movements are created in Germany, corrected in Britain, and corrupted in America." If that was true of the

abuses of the historical-critical method, we can only pray that a worthy Briton will arise to salvage this would-be antithesis.

Andrews University

ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Pearson, Michael. *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-day Adventists and Contemporary Ethics*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990. x + 328 pp. \$54.40.

Michael Pearson's *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas* is the published version of his D.Phil. dissertation completed under the direction of Bryan Wilson of All Souls College, Oxford. The book's primary purpose "is to break new ground in the chronicling and analysis of significant developments in Seventh-day Adventist moral thought" (8). A secondary objective is to explore the actual practices of Adventists in the areas selected for study.

Some readers might feel that the book's title is misleading, since the "moral dilemmas" and "contemporary ethics" treated all fall in the sexual realm. The major portion of the book covers Adventist marital relations, Adventists and abortion, sex roles in the denomination, and the attitudes and practices of the denomination in regard to divorce and homosexuality. Two chapters are devoted to each of these topics.

Delimiting his coverage to American Adventism, Pearson provides general historical context on each topic, including the positions of other churches. He then develops a "detailed chronology" of Adventism's responses to each of the selected issues approximately through 1985. These responses include both official and unofficial statements. The treatment of each topic closes with an attempt to evaluate the relationship of the dilemma to actual Adventist practice.

The accomplishment of that last task, however, leaves much to be desired because of the dearth of statistical data in the field. That difficulty, of course, is no fault of Pearson, but rather indicates the work yet to be done in a field in which it is difficult to collect accurate data—especially from people who can be expected to be quite conservative in sexual matters and who might have a difficult time coming to grips with less-than-satisfactory behavior in areas traditionally associated with a great deal of guilt.

It should be noted that Pearson did not attempt to add to data on Adventist sexual attitudes and practices. Rather, he surveyed the existing knowledge.

Thus, unlike the general run of sociological dissertations, Pearson's doctoral study did not follow a statistical model. To the contrary, he surveyed a vast field and then drew out the sociological and theological implications of his findings. In accomplishing that task, the author has done an immense service both to the denomination he studied and to other religious bodies who can learn from the Adventist experience. There is nothing in the literature on Adventism that even begins to compare with the breadth and depth of Pearson's coverage.

The author's survey of issues related to human sexuality was preceded by several chapters that discussed the major influences in Adventist moral thought that have conditioned the denomination's responses to moral dilemmas. Among these influences are the tension between a belief in the nearness of the eschaton and the need to continue to live in the present world, the importance of maintaining a united church and stable homes, the role of Ellen White's counsel, and problems associated with the denomination's nineteenth-century Victorian and American heritage as it attempts to deal with moral problems on the eve of the twenty-first century.

Pearson has demonstrated that he is quite familiar with Adventist primary and secondary literature. However, an informed reader might wonder at certain omissions. For example, in a book claiming to be "an exercise in historical ethics" (14) it is quite surprising to find the author relying on A. W. Spalding's denominational history for background, while not even mentioning (even in the book's extensive bibliography) R. W. Schwarz's vastly superior history. Again, at times references to the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* were given as authority when entire dissertations and monographs exist on the topics under discussion. Finally, references to certain official General Conference actions pointed readers back to the abbreviated versions published in the *Adventist Review* when full reports of the denominational legislation under discussion exist. In spite of those documentary shortcomings, however, the work appears to be generally accurate, even where less than the best sources have been used.

Pearson is to be congratulated for making a major contribution to our understanding of an aspect of Adventism. A less ambitious scholar could have justifiably chosen a much narrower field to survey. It would be well if other doctoral students followed the model he has used as well. Meanwhile, his work will stand as the authority in the wide spectrum of Adventist sexual attitudes for years to come.

Smith, Mark S. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990. xxxiv + 197 pp. \$26.97.

The discovery of ancient texts of the Levant, especially the Ugaritic texts, has produced major attempts to understand the relationship of Yahweh to Canaanite deities. The most widely known of these studies is W. F. Albright's *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, published more than twenty years ago. Smith's work moves beyond the work of Albright and others to consider the implications of major epigraphic and archaeological discoveries, in particular the ongoing publication of the Mari letters and Ugaritic texts which provide new data. This development brings Smith to adopt four new perspectives to inform his work: Israel's cultural identity which now seems similar to that of the Canaanites; the nature of the Yahwistic cult which early contained Canaanite features, and later experienced modifications due to a break with Israel's Canaanite past; the role of the monarchy in influencing the inclusion of various deities in Israel's religion; and finally the role of goddesses in Canaanite religion which impacted on Israelite religion.

Smith finds that while the cult of Yahweh was dominant in the early religion of Israel, Israel's religion seems to have included worship of other deities as well, e.g. El, Asherah, and Baal. This picture eventually changed due to the convergence of other deities' features to the figure of Yahweh. El came to be identified with Yahweh, while Asherah lost identity as a separate deity. In addition, some features of El, Asherah, and Baal were absorbed and became features of Yahweh. Even the influence of Anat may be responsible for the martial characteristics of Yahweh, even though no features of Anat are visible in the Hebrew texts.

Differentiation was a second factor that brought change to the polytheistic picture. Features of the earlier Israelite cult were rejected as being Canaanite and alien to the cult of Yahweh. Baal Worship was condemned along with Asherah; solar worship, the high places, and other objectionable practices were suppressed. A complex historical development of Yahwism which earlier accommodated other gods eventually became monolatrous and monotheistic, although this statement must be made with a recognition of the difference between Israelite belief and practice which is easily confused by viewing it from the Christian perspective which easily separates them.

The conservative scholar may have questions about Smith's work, and wonder about the presuppositions which motivate his historical reconstruction. But he/she need not wonder for long, because Smith has clearly stated them in the introduction to the work. The more important ones are:

The Bible is not a history book in the modern sense, although the writers believed the data they worked with was historical; personal bias, both theological and nontheological must be recognized as affecting reconstruction; often most of the data desired is missing in the Bible, necessitating that scholars consult other sources such as archaeology, iconography, and inscriptions, which also suffer from the same problem. The study focuses on Israelite religion in its institutional expressions rather than individualistic expressions, and on Israel's religious practice rather than credal beliefs. The study is also motivated by contemporary interests such as the continuing interest in monotheism by major world religions, and interest in Northwest Semitic goddesses and the gender language applied to Yahweh. Lastly, the difference between the history of Israel's religion and the normative expressions of belief must be made clear; the latter are matters of personal faith, not historical reality. In other words, the "essence" of the religion is a secondary abstraction. Smith admits that given these considerations the picture portrayed will always be partial and subjective.

The book demonstrates impressive scholarship. About 30 percent of the text consists of notes in reduced print size. Regardless of one's agreement with Smith's assumptions, the book contains a wealth of information on Israelite religion and the environment in which it took shape.

Andrews University

A. JOSEF GREIG

Tomson, Peter J. *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*. *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990. xix + 327 pp. \$29.95.

In this work Tomson presents an argument against F. C. Baur and his influence on modern Pauline studies. He writes, "The basic Tübingen approach, which as Munck wrote is still widely supported, involves an antithesis between the revolutionary Paul of his own letters and the harmonizing Paul, who makes compromises with the Jews, created by Acts" (269). For his part, Tomson proposes that "while the working of Pauline motifs in Acts is unmistakably secondary, the basic correspondence between Paul and Acts on the significance of halakha constitutes a situation fundamentally different from the one presupposed by dominant post-Tuebingen scholarship" (269). Of course, Munck wrote in 1954, and at that time the Tübingen paradigm was *still* basically intact. Studies into Christian origins during the last 35 years have greatly modified and nuanced Baur's work. Apparently Tomson wishes to uproot it. His efforts in this regard, however, prove rather inadequate. Even if Hegelian

dialectics are no longer in vogue, many of Baur's basic observations have only been corroborated by further studies.

Tomson claims to have found the point of departure for his study in A. Schweitzer's analysis of Paul's ethic of the *status quo*. Clearly he was also influential on Tomson's rejection of righteousness by faith as the core of Paul's thought, a not unpopular opinion these days. But Tomson also follows Schweitzer in understanding Paul within the perspective of a thoroughly futuristic eschatology. The tensions of living between the times, according to Tomson, did not affect Paul because his present was totally controlled by his past.

Tomson argues for two things: (1) "that halakha was pervasive in Paul's thought" (264), and (2) that Paul had a "fundamentally positive relationship to the halakha" (263). About the second it may be conceded that Paul does not make derogatory remarks about "Jewish casuistry," a rather common phenomenon in some biblical scholarship, and in that regard Tomson's efforts toward better Jewish-Christian relations are praiseworthy. Has anyone of late questioned the Pauline use of halakha? The first argument, however, merits careful weighing. Tomson finds his sources in 1 Cor 7; 8:6-8; 9:19-23; 10:23-29; 11:2-16, 23-25; 14:34-36; Gal 2: 11-14; Rom 14:1-15:13. One could question whether this list qualifies as "pervasive." The problem is complicated by the fact that, in order to show the use of halakhic traditions in these texts, Tomson has to interpret them in contrived ways, or to force in parallels. (The problems encountered in the dating of Rabbinic traditions are never faced.) Moreover, clearly stated words of Paul are often ignored. Among them is one of his most famous halakhot, "For the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom 14:19).

Basic to Tomson's exegesis is the presupposition that Paul's Christianity did nothing to his Judaism. As a result he concludes that Paul held dual memberships (Jewish and Christian), envisioned dual elections (for all Israel and for all Jews and Gentiles) and preached dual gospels (one law-observant for Jews and one law-free for Gentiles). To characterize his methodological inconsistencies we may use an example. The possibility that 1 Cor 14:34-36 might be an interpolation is never considered and as a result we learn that Paul enjoined women to prophesy *silently* in church. The phrase "not being myself under the law" in 1 Cor 9:30, however, is taken to be a later addition on text-critical grounds, while ignoring one of the basic rules of textual criticism. Also problematic are his translations from the Greek, which cannot be taken up in detail here. It is regrettable that Tomson's considerable learning has been aimed at a preconceived conclusion.

Besides being linguistically, exegetically, and methodologically wrongheaded, the book is full of syntactical obscurities, English words used in the wrong sense, and spelling and typographical errors. The work

of Stanley Jones, referred to frequently in the footnotes, is listed neither in the Bibliography nor in the Index. Missing throughout is the work of A. Malherbe, even though Tomson finds in the Cynic tradition one of the important influences on Paul—via the Hillelite Rabbis, of course. The editors clearly failed to do their job.

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HEROLD WEISS

Walton, John H. *Ancient Israelite Literature in its Cultural Context*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 256 pp. \$19.95.

The scholarly evangelical community has for some years had a love-hate relationship with the cultures and literature of the ancient Near East. In teaching courses on the Old Testament books, evangelical instructors can be faulted for several limited or prejudicial positions: (1) treating the history and literature of the ancient Near East as an almost unimportant framework for understanding the OT; (2) behaving as if the writings of the Hebrew Bible *must* (according to their own presuppositions) be so utterly distinct from that larger world from which they came, that one need hardly mention anything about that world or its thought; (3) limiting their interest only to the extrabiblical literature which (they suppose) sheds light on the meaning of specific passages from the Bible; (4) considering such literature worthy of attention only if they were convinced that it enabled them to "prove" an earliest-possible date for the biblical literature under study; or, (5) studying Near Eastern literature and religion formally at the graduate level as an effective way of "dodging" the real problems in literary history with which the various disciplines of modern biblical criticism confront us.

Surely it is time to accept that the OT books may be fairly classed by specific genre with the literature of the ancient Near East. For this, John Walton's new work offers much light and guidance. This work is an invitation to conservative scholars to look more closely at the proper fields of Near Eastern literature to which the biblical books belong.

Walton's genres are those which have been typically described in works like *ANET* (3d ed.). His work shows what the Old Testament has in common with its Near Eastern contemporary documents, as well as how it differs from them, both thematically and religiously.

Walton arranges the Near Eastern material according to genres, treating each in its own chapter: cosmology, personal archives and epics, legal texts, covenants and treaties, historical literature, hymns (with prayers and incantations), wisdom literature, prophetic, and apocalyptic literature. Each chapter closes with a brief, usually current bibliography for further

study. The book ends with a chapter of brief conclusions and subject and author indexes.

In each chapter Walton identifies the theme or genre at hand, then presents pertinent materials from different regions of the Middle East. This section lists most relevant and current publications along with selective bibliographical information. Additionally the author summarizes the content of each ancient work and suggests a date of composition. This section in each chapter would have been even more helpful if there were a list of the specific books or passages from the Old Testament which belong in the genre under discussion. These could have been treated identically to the nonbiblical materials.

The informed reader will at times take exception to Walton's classifications. For instance, chap. 2 ("Personal Archives and Epics") would have been an appropriate place to discuss the numerous biblical genealogies and personnel lists. From the Near Eastern literature one would certainly have expected to find some treatment of the Gilgamesh epic. Gilgamesh is dealt with only in part in the initial chapter ("Cosmology"), where its flood account is compared with that of Genesis.

The section on genre identification is followed by a discussion of each literary piece, together with a comparison of its content and ideas with those of the corresponding Bible material. This is truly the heart of Walton's contribution to scholarship. In each case his remarks regarding similarities and differences are careful and tentative. Rather than relying on his own knowledge or opinions, Walter has drawn extensively from the conclusions of recent scholarship on the character and meaning of the ancient Near Eastern literary types. The author offers on nearly every page lengthy quotations from the specialists so that the reader may become informed on the position of each. Where there is debate, Walton juxtaposes alternate views. His own comments introduce the variant conclusions and offer smooth transitions from one point in the debate to the next.

Six chapters contain a curious section called "Cases of Alleged Borrowing." Walton has apparently seen the need to confront modern historical criticism's frequent allegations that a theme, genre, or document within the Hebrew Bible is dependent in some way on the literature of the older, surrounding cultures. Walton challenges such claims by examining the literary features which have led to such conclusions. For example, after emphasizing the differences as well as similarities between the creation story in Genesis 1-2 and Enuma Elish (34-38), Walton opts for a cautious position. He accounts for the similarities by recognizing "a common tradition in the past of the roots" of Israelites and Babylonians as "the source from which the similarities are derived" (37). This same degree of tentativeness, fairness, and honesty characterizes the entire book.

The teacher and advanced student of the Old Testament will find Walton's organizational and bibliographical work a valuable resource.

Eastern New Mexico University

PAUL DEAN DUERKSEN

Westermann, Claus. *The Parables of Jesus in the Light of the Old Testament*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990. 211 pp. \$12.95.

This book was originally published in German in 1984 and was developed from a paper presented at a meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study in July 1983. In this book Westermann first studies the parables in the OT and then seeks to apply the results to the NT parables.

Westermann questions the basic assumption of parable studies that parables serve to illustrate. His study of OT parables show that parables have different functions depending on their contexts. And their contexts are limited primarily to the prophetic books and the Psalms.

In Gen 49 and Deut 33 the parable has the function of praise or censure. In the Song of Songs in the context of love songs it functions as homage or praise. In the Proverbs, it serves to provide insight and understanding.

In the prophets primarily from Amos on the functions of parables are to intensify the indictments or accusations and the announcement of judgment. In the Psalms in the God-laments, they serve to radicalize the indictment against God and in the confessions of trust to confirm one's trust. The parables in Job's laments serve the same function as the God-laments in the Psalms, i.e., to intensify the indictment against God.

Turning to the NT, Westermann insists that the understanding of Jesus' parables can only come about by establishing the contexts in which they were uttered. In his critique of NT parable interpretation, he emphasizes that the assumption of most NT scholars that the function of parables is to illustrate and clarify has to be abandoned. Their use must be determined from the context. He rejects attempts to study the parables from a timeless and unhistorical linguistic phenomenon called "metaphor" (Ricoeur, Juengel, Weder).

In studying the NT parables he first groups them in order to determine their contexts. He has four groups: 1) Stories involving sudden change; 2) Parables of growth; 3) Announcement of judgment in a parable; 4) Instruction for present action.

He sees that by grouping the parables in this way, one can see their different functions. These groups can be broadly categorized into two groups, one dealing with God's activity and the other with instructions for human action. The first of these two groups can be divided to the saving acts of God and to the blessing activity of God. The second group can also

be divided into two, those dealing with actions having to do with the present and those which refer to a return of the Lord.

These groups show that the parables have different contexts and therefore different functions and different messages. It shows also that they cannot be approached from a single perspective, i.e. eschatologically or christologically.

He emphasizes the preliminary nature of his study yet he has provided some provocative, stimulating insights which can be used as a springboard for further investigations. He has suggested the need to study the comparisons in the Gospels with those in the Epistles.

It seems clear that Westermann is right especially with the parables in the OT, i.e., that their function was not merely illustrative. It is clear in the prophets, e.g., that they were used to intensify the indictments or accusations and announcements of judgment. However, in looking at his groupings and his explanation of the Parables under these groupings, it does not seem that the results obtained from his approach advances parable interpretation perceptibly. He does not set forth the functions for the various groups as explicitly here as in the OT parables. He connects Jesus' announcement of judgment to those of the prophets and instructions on actions to those in Proverbs.

I find it hard to rid the parables of the illustrative function even though that may not be the only or even main function. Westermann provides the context for the parable of the Prodigal Son but does not explicitly indicate its function. He says that it is an exposition of Ps 103:13 and is referred to in the Praise of God's Mercy in the Psalms. Is the function, then, to intensify the mercy of God? Or is its function to defend Jesus against the charge that he was associating with sinners? Westermann is correct in not simply looking at it as an illustration but it is very difficult to deny the illustrative element in the function of parables. One can say that the parable by an illustration functions to defend Jesus against the charges made against Him.

BOOK NOTICES

NANCY J. VYHMEISTER

Charlesworth, James H. *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992. 560 pp. \$150.00, hardcover.

This long-awaited tool provides access to all previously published Qumran materials. Over 59,000 entries are drawn from 223 texts and more than 3,500 fragments. Each is shown in its exact attested form.

De Witt, Calvin. *The Environment and the Christian: What Does the New Testament Say about the Environment?* Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991. 156 pp. \$7.95.

A study of NT teaching on stewardship of the earth by six Christian authors. The book includes endnotes, and general and scriptural indexes.

Elwell, Walter A., ed. *Topical Analysis of the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991. xiii + 894 pp. \$39.95.

This reference work presents basic teachings of Scripture in outline form, under 15 headings familiar to systematic theology. Biblical passages related to each topic are arranged without comment under various subheadings of the topic.

Faircloth, Samuel D. *Church Planting for Reproduction*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991. 206 pp. \$14.95.

Faircloth presents management model and techniques for planting churches that will be able to reproduce themselves. A PERT chart is followed throughout. The appendix contains materials needed for community and church analysis. Bibliography and index.

Fee, Gordon D. *Gospel and Spirit: Issues in New Testament Hermeneutics*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. xiv + 143 pp. \$9.95.

Fee intends this collection of essays and lectures to articulate a hermeneutics of the Pentecostal experience in a biblically consistent way. Fee argues for common sense and dedication to Scripture as basic to an Evangelical hermeneutic for today's Christians.

Longman, Tremper. *Old Testament Commentary Survey*. Grand Rapids, Baker, 1991. 160 pp. \$9.95.

Longman surveys OT reference works, Hebrew helps, and commentaries. Commentaries are evaluated on a 1-5 scale and categorized as being useful to laypersons, ministers, and scholars. The description includes size and price. The appendix contains suggestions for developing personal libraries.

McGrath, Alister E. *The Sunnier Side of Doubt: What It Is, How to Handle It, When to Value It, Why It Deepens Our Faith*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990. 160 pp. \$7.95.

The book's subtitle says it all. Doubt is, says McGrath, an invitation to grow in faith rather than something we need panic about.

O'Collins, Gerald, and Edward G. Farrugia. *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*. New York: Paulist, 1991. 268 pp. \$18.95.

This comprehensive dictionary offers clear explanations of more than 1000 words and phrases relating with

theology through the centuries. A convenient reference, this Catholic work is sensitive to matters important to other faiths.

Pilch, John. *Introducing the Cultural Context of the New Testament*. Hear the Word, vol. 1. New York: Paulist Press, 1991. xiv + 212. \$9.95.

Pilch, John. *Introducing the Cultural Context of the New Testament*. Hear the Word, vol. 2. New York: Paulist Press, 1991. xiv + 254 pp. \$9.95.

These Bible-study workbooks for adults analyze the culture and values of the Mediterranean in Bible times. The OT volume deals with wisdom literature; the NT volume deals with the 1st century A.D. The purpose is to create a foundation for Bible interpretation in today's culture.

Robinson, Thomas A. *Mastering Greek Vocabulary*. 2d rev. ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. x + 178 pp. \$7.95.

Greek words are organized by roots. For each item Robinson gives meaning, part of speech, and similar English words that serve as memory aids.

Shelton, James. *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. xii + 196 pp. \$11.95.

A comprehensive study of Pneumatology in Luke's writings. Includes bibliography, index of authors, and Scripture index.

Taylor, William David, ed. *Internationalizing Missionary Training: A Global Perspective*. Exeter, U.K.: Paternoster, 1991. xiv + 286 pp. \$19.95.

Papers from the 1989 Manila Consultation on Two-Thirds World Training of Missionaries discuss both Western and Two-Thirds World approaches. Several chapters present models of training and issues facing mission.

Theissen, Gerd. *The Open Door: Variations on Biblical Themes*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. xii + 191 pp. \$11.95.

The volume is a collection of 25 sermons and meditations based on biblical stories. Each sermon interprets the story differently from the normal, traditional way and applies it to Theissen's modern congregation.

Turner, Dean. *Escape from God: The Use of Religion and Philosophy to Evade Responsibility*. Pasadena, CA: Hope, 1991. \$17.95.

Turner details how philosophy, theology, and psychology have been subverted to draw humankind away from God. He shows how people have attempted to escape from God and what they miss in so doing: the joyful rewards of commitment.

Wall, Robert W. *Revelation*. New International Bible Commentary. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991. xvi + 295 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

The NIBC series seeks to provide the best of contemporary scholarship in a form understandable to those who have not had formal theological education. As former chair of the Hebrews to Apocalypse Section of the SBL, Wall is well qualified to represent contemporary scholarship. As a believer, he writes for the church, particularly, for pastors and laity.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = \aleph	ב = b	ב = \bar{b}	ג = g	ג = \bar{g}	ד = d	ה = h	ו = w	ז = z	ח = h	ט = t	י = y	כ = k	כ = \bar{k}	ל = l	מ = m	נ = n	ס = s	ע = c	פ = p	פ = \bar{p}	צ = ζ	ק = q	ר = r	ש = \dot{s}	ש = \bar{s}	ת = t	ת = \bar{t}
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MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	וּ, י (vocal shewa) = e	ׁ = \bar{o}
ָ = \bar{a}	ׂ, ׃ = \bar{e}	ׄ = o
ֶ = a	ִ = i	׆ = \bar{o}
ֵ = e	ֶ = i	ׇ = u
ׁ = \bar{e}	ׂ = o	ׄ = \bar{u}

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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