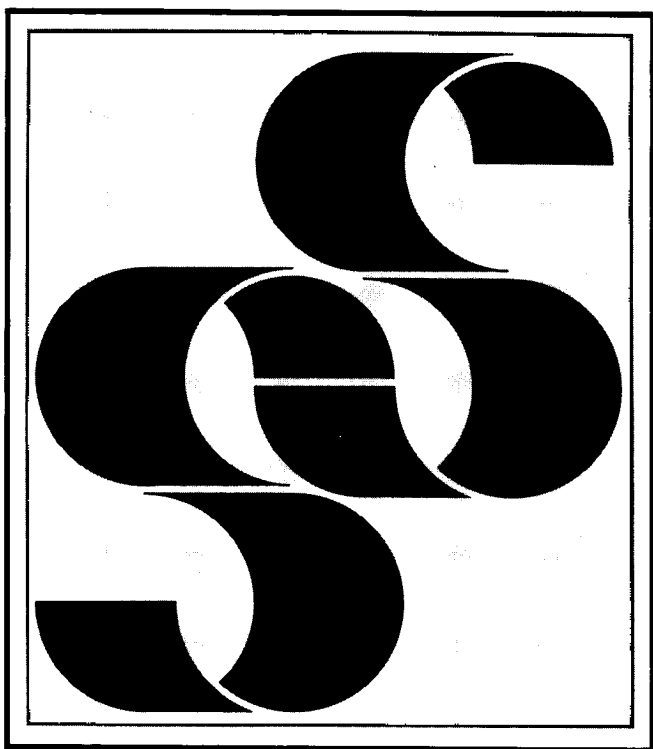


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## A SMALL SYMPOSIUM

Not only readers with an interest in current NT studies, but many others as well, will enjoy the cluster of articles on intertextuality and authorial intent in the book of Revelation, a discussion that arose recently and has been conducted until now in British publications. This small symposium is, to our knowledge, the first publication of this issue in an American journal.

Jon Paulien leads off with an assessment of the ongoing debate between G. K. Beale and Steve Moyise, after which Moyise and Beale offer rejoinders. The editors would like to express appreciation to Jon Paulien for suggesting the idea and to Greg Beale and Steve Moyise for their willingness to participate.

Another NT article, three from OT, two related to science and creation, and two from early church history, round out Volume 39, Number 1. Enjoy!

JM

### SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS

The *AUSS* Board recently voted three actions regarding subscriptions.

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Hopefully these incentives will encourage some new readers to sample the *AUSS* menu, as well as improve service to the many who have already found the journal useful.

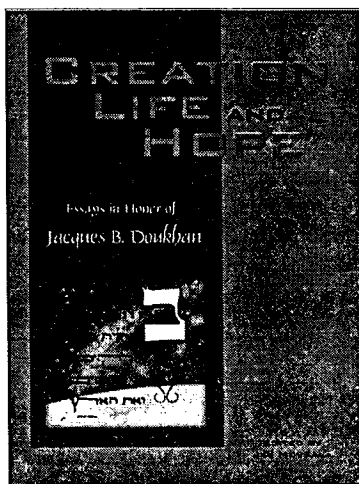
# Creation Life and Hope

**Essays in Honor of Jacques B. Doukhan**

Edited by Jiří Moskala

This Festschrift on the occasion of the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of Jacques B. Doukhan, D.H.L., Th.D., professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Andrews University, Michigan, contains essays from different fields of scholarship, namely, biblical exegetical studies and articles of Jewish-Christian dialogue. They are arranged according to three main theological emphases of Jacques Doukhan—**Creation, Life, and Hope**.

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**DREADING THE WHIRLWIND  
INTERTEXTUALITY AND THE  
USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT  
IN REVELATION**

JON PAULIEN  
Andrews University

*Introduction*

This article is focused on a major recent development in the study of John's use of the OT in Revelation. Within the last five years significant attention has been directed toward the issue of whether literary-critical categories such as intertextuality are appropriate to the way in which the book of Revelation interacts with the OT. This discussion is being framed by an ongoing debate between Steve Moyise and G. K. Beale. After a brief review of the broader field, specific attention will be given to that debate and its implications for future study of Revelation.

I know of no one who would argue that an understanding of the OT is irrelevant to an understanding of the Apocalypse. When reading the book, one is plunged fully into the atmosphere of the OT.<sup>1</sup> No other book of the NT is as saturated with the OT.<sup>2</sup> One cannot expect, therefore, to penetrate the symbolism of the book without careful attention to its OT antecedents.

The book seems, on the other hand, to resist efforts to understand its relationship to the OT. Rather than quoting or citing the OT, the book interacts with it in the most allusive manner. A word here and a phrase there, the barest hint of an echo in another place: this is the substance of how Revelation evokes the OT. And that is only the beginning of complications. While there is a general consensus that Revelation was written in Greek,<sup>3</sup> there

<sup>1</sup>To borrow language from Henri Stierlin, *La vérité sur L'Apocalypse* (Paris: Editions Buchet/Chastel, 1972), 55.

<sup>2</sup>Pierre Lestrangant suggests that one-seventh of the substance of the Apocalypse is drawn from the words of the OT (*Essai sur l'unité de la révélation biblique* [Paris: Editions "Je Sers," 1942], 148).

<sup>3</sup>David Tabachovitz, *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament*, Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, series 8 vol. 4 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1956), 125-126. See further Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 2 vols., Anchor Bible, vols. 29 and 29a (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 1:cxxix; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, no. 25 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 6-8, 38-43.

is much dispute with regard to the language and text tradition of the OT that John utilized.<sup>4</sup> The difficulty is compounded by the fact that there are a number of striking irregularities in the Greek grammar of the Apocalypse.<sup>5</sup> So having granted the central place of the OT in the book of Revelation, it is still difficult to determine exactly how it is being used there.

Scholars have sensed that although the Apocalypse is a veritable mosaic of OT words, themes, and passages, the end result is something entirely new.<sup>6</sup> This creativity requires interpreters to consider what kind of "exegetical" method the author of Revelation employs when he draws on the language of the OT.<sup>7</sup> Other documents of the NT, where direct quotations enable us to gain a clear picture of the author's exegetical method, reveal that early Christian writers made use of a number of different ancient approaches to the

<sup>4</sup>Selected literature reflective of the debate: R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920), 1:lxvi; Ugo Vanni, "L'Apocalypse johannique. Etat de la question," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et L'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Thèologiarum Lovaniensium, vol. 53, edited by J. Lambrecht (Leuven University Press, 1980), 31; Charles C. Torrey, *The Apocalypse of John* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 27-48; [Leonhard] P. Trudinger, "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n. s. 17 (1966):82-88; G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of John*, Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 10-11; Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 47. Henry B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London: MacMillan, 1906), cl, clv; Pierre Prigent, *Apocalypse et liturgie*, Cahiers Théologiques, 52 (Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1964), 10; James A. Montgomery, "The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 45 (1926): 73-74; D. Moody Smith Jr., "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays*, ed. James M. Efird (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972), 61; A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezékiel dans l'Apocalypse," *Biblica* 43 (1962):436-476.

<sup>5</sup>Note the following discussions on this issue: R. H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), 79-102; Heinrich Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung des Johannes," *Theologische Rundschau* 38 (1973):93; G. Mussies, "The Greek of the Book of Revelation," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et L'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Thèologiarum Lovaniensium, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Leuven University Press, 1980), 167-170; idem, *The Morphology*, 6; Tabachovitz, 125-126; Torrey, 13-58. Martin McNamara, for example, points to the Aramaic Targums as the explanation for Rev 1:4 and many other irregularities (*The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, *Analecta Biblica*, vol. 27a, second printing with supplement [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978], 109-117, 124-125, 189-190).

<sup>6</sup>Rudolf Halver, *Der Mythos im letzten Buch der Bibel*, *Theologische Forschung*, vol. 32 (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Evangelischer Verlag, 1964), 15.

<sup>7</sup>I use the term "exegetical" here in the sense of how ancient writers approached what they considered to be an inspired text in order to make persuasive use of that text in their own situation and for the sake of their own perceived audience.



OT, approaches for which we have evidence also outside the NT.<sup>8</sup>

The exegetical method most strikingly common between NT writers and their Jewish contemporaries is midrash, in which an author reflects homiletically on Scripture, often making use of detailed analysis of specific texts.<sup>9</sup> A liturgical method of exegesis (which may have particular relevance for Revelation's liturgical passages) was utilized in the Aramaic Targums to the Hebrew OT text.<sup>10</sup> There is also a method we could call "typological exegesis," where an author invites ancient readers to see analogies between the situations of Israel's past and their own situation. In typological exegesis persons, institutions, and/or events described in an earlier text can be regarded as models or prefigurations of later persons, institutions, or events.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup>For general studies of this subject see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Sources for Biblical Study, vol. 5 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), 16-52, and Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975).

<sup>9</sup>My definition is based on that of Renée Bloch, "Midrash," *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert and Henri Cazelles (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957), 5:1280. In midrashic exegesis, the OT material was used not so much to bolster the authority of the exegete as to update the OT message in the light of contemporary understandings and situations. An examination of the literature suggests that we do not understand midrashic exegesis sufficiently at this point to fully understand the role it may play in the book of Revelation. Important discussions of the use of midrash in the NT include G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984); E. Earle Ellis, "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), 61-69; Lars Hartman, "Scriptural Exegesis in the Gospel of Matthew and the Problem of Communication," in *L'évangile selon Matthieu*, ed. M. Didier (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1972), 131-152, note especially Hartman's comment on p. 133; Merrill P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 2 (1971): 29-82. For a perspective on the use of midrash in Early Judaism see Jacob Neusner, *Midrash in Context: Exegesis in Formative Judaism*, The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine, pt. 1: Method (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), especially 1-21.

<sup>10</sup>Through the Aramaic Targums and the LXX, NT writers had already inherited what we could call an "interpreted Bible." Important discussions of targumic exegesis and the NT include Roger le Déaut, "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974):243-289; Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, *Analecta Biblica*, vol. 27a, second printing with supplement (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978); and Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 65-81.

<sup>11</sup>Major studies on this topic include Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos*, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982; David L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 29 (1975):137-157; Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 2 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981); Hans K. LaRondelle, *The Israel of God in*

While various aspects of the above have been addressed in scores of books, articles, and commentaries since the middle of the 1980s, a number of major specialized works have addressed the larger picture. According to G. K. Beale,<sup>12</sup> the most significant of these works are those of Beale,<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey Marshall Vogelgesang,<sup>14</sup> Jon Paulien,<sup>15</sup> Richard Bauckham,<sup>16</sup> Jan Fekkes,<sup>17</sup> and Jean-Pierre Ruiz.<sup>18</sup> These works all focused on John's intentions with regard to his use of the OT. In spite of the allusive nature of the evidence, attempts were made to catalog John's choices of OT texts to allude to and consider the impact of such allusions on his purposes for the book.<sup>19</sup> Increasing attention was also given to the criteria for determining when and where the author intentionally alluded to portions of the OT. These concerns seemed weighty enough and problematic enough to engage teams of scholars for generations to come. But the enterprise has been further complicated by the arrival of new literary approaches to the topic.

This new direction was signaled by the research of Devorah Dimant on the use of the OT in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.<sup>20</sup> Her research led

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*Prophecy* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1983), 35-55; Roland E. Murphy, "Christian Understanding of the Old Testament," *Theology Digest* 18 (1970):321-332; and Jack Weir, "Analogous Fulfillment," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 9 (1982):65-76.

<sup>12</sup>G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, JSNTSup, 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 13-59.

<sup>13</sup>G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).

<sup>14</sup>Jeffrey Marshall Vogelgesang, "The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985).

<sup>15</sup>Jon Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Allusions and the Interpretation of Rev 8:7-12*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 11 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1988).

<sup>16</sup>Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

<sup>17</sup>J. Fekkes, *III Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*, JSNTSup, 93 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).

<sup>18</sup>Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16, 17-19, 10*, European University Studies, series 23, vol. 376 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989).

<sup>19</sup>All of the specialized works address these issues to one degree or another.

<sup>20</sup>Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 381-384. My attention was drawn to Dimant's work by the article of Louis Painchaud, "Use of Scripture in Gnostic Literature," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4:2 [1996]:129-

her to the conclusion that these Jewish writers utilized the OT in two distinct ways that she categorizes as “compositional use” and “expositional use.”<sup>21</sup> According to her, these two categories represent “fundamentally different attitudes to the biblical material,” leading to correspondingly different literary genres and styles.<sup>22</sup>

Dimant defines “expositional use” as a literary strategy in which the OT text is presented explicitly, with a clear external marker.<sup>23</sup> In expositional use the biblical text is introduced in order to be the object of interpretation.<sup>24</sup> The aim of the writing is to explain the biblical text. This usually involves a fixed terminology and special syntactical patterns, in order to separate the biblical element from the author’s exposition. Genres utilizing this category include rabbinic midrash, Qumranic *pesher*, the commentaries on the Torah by Philo, and certain types of quotations in the NT.<sup>25</sup>

“Compositional use,” on the other hand, occurs when the biblical elements are interwoven into the work without external formal markers.<sup>26</sup> The biblical element is subservient to the independent aim and structure of its new context. Genres employing compositional use do not have the same exegetical or rhetorical aims as exposition, but instead create a new and independent text. The biblical material becomes part of the texture of these works. Typical compositional genres include narratives, psalms, testaments, and wisdom discourses, which use biblical elements for their own patterns, style, and terminology.<sup>27</sup>

While Dimant does not mention apocalyptic among the genres in which compositional use is employed, studies in Revelation clearly demonstrate that John was utilizing the OT compositionally rather than expositionally. While

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146), which I became aware of thanks to a conversation with Leonard Thompson.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 382-383.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 382.

<sup>23</sup>This would seem to correspond to what I call a citation of which a number of instances can be seen in the Gospel of Matthew, for example (Paulien, 102). Some have called these citations in Matthew “Formula Quotations.” Cf. Merrill C. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 102; Richard B. Hays and Joel B. Green, “The Use of the Old Testament by New Testament Writers,” in *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation*, ed. Joel B. Green (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 226.

<sup>24</sup>Dimant notes that similar distinctions have been made by Heinemann and Perrot; cf. Dimant, 382, n. 16.

<sup>25</sup>Dimant, 382-383.

<sup>26</sup>This corresponds roughly to the categories of direct allusion and echo what I worked with in my dissertation on Revelation (Paulien, 175-178).

<sup>27</sup>Dimant, 382-383.

a handful of scholars argue for anywhere from one to eleven “quotations” of the OT in the book of Revelation,<sup>28</sup> the overwhelming majority of scholars conclude that there are none.<sup>29</sup> And there are certainly no explicit citations of the expositional type.<sup>30</sup> If Dimant’s observations can be verified within the context of NT studies, therefore, they would have large implications for our understanding of John’s use of the OT.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of the degree to which other NT writers respect the context of their OT antecedents,<sup>32</sup> the author of Revelation may be signaling a generic preference for creativity in his use of Scripture.

### *Recent Developments*

While Dimant’s distinctions and their potential significance seem not to have impacted on studies of Revelation so far, the debate regarding John’s use of the OT in Revelation broke new ground with the published monograph by Steve Moyise in 1995.<sup>33</sup> Moyise provides the first serious

<sup>28</sup>See, for example, Robert G. Bratcher, ed., *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1967), 74-76; Johann Christian Carl Döpke, *Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1829), 288; David McCalman Turpie, *The New Testament View of the Old* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), 323.

<sup>29</sup>Selected examples: Kurt Aland, et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, 3d ed. (NY: United Bible Societies, 1975), 903; Werner Foerster, “Bemerkungen zur Bildsprache der Offenbarung Johannis,” in *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin*, ed. Otto Böcher and Klaus Haacker (Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, 1970), 225; Roger Nicole, “A Study of the Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament with Reference to the Doctrine of the Inspiration of the Scriptures” (M.S.T. Thesis, Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1940), passim; Ernest Leslie Peerman, *Living Messages from Patmos* (NY: Pyramid Press, 1941), 51; Pierre Prigent, *L’Apocalypse de Saint Jean*, Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, second series, vol. 14 (Lausanne: Delachaux et Niestlé), 368; Jürgen Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Zürcher Biblekommentare NT, vol. 18 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 20; F. Stagg, “Interpreting the Book of Revelation,” *Review and Expositor* 72 (1975): 333; Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 392; R.V.G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1946), 168; Vanhoye, 436-437; Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis*, 42.

<sup>30</sup>The only “citation” of the OT occurs in Rev 15:3, the “song of Moses,” which seems an evident reference to Exod 15. But the content of the “song” in Rev 15:3-4 is a mosaic of language from the Psalms and the prophets, not Exodus. There are, therefore, no citations of the OT of the expositional type.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. the detailed evidence for Dimant’s theory in Dimant, 384-419.

<sup>32</sup>Beale offers a representative anthology of the literature on this topic with some bias in favor of respect for context. G. K. Beale, ed., *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994).

<sup>33</sup>Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, JSNTSup, 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Beale chose to review Moyise in *John’s Use* precisely because

attempt to apply the literary perspective of intertextuality to the use of the OT in Revelation.<sup>34</sup> Working inductively, he argues that the intertextual approach is appropriate to the study of Revelation.

Traditional studies of allusion in NT scholarship were interested primarily in the “influence” of the OT as scripture upon the NT writers and the resulting documents.<sup>35</sup> Intertextuality broadens the process by a concern for the impact of the reader on the process of intertextual interpretation.

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Moyise was the first to apply postmodern hermeneutical perspectives to the debates surrounding John’s use of the OT. G. K. Beale, “Questions of Authorial Intent, Epistemology, and Presuppositions and Their Bearing on the Study of The Old Testament in the New: A Rejoinder to Steve Moyise,” *Irish Biblical Studies* 21 (1999): 152.

I have not included Beale’s 1994 book on the NT use of the OT, *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, because it is an anthology of earlier works on the general subject of the degree to which NT writers respected the original context of the OT writers. That volume contains an excellent short summary of Beale’s perspective, published at greater length in his monograph of 1998 and his commentary of 1999.

<sup>34</sup>Literary approaches to the book of Revelation have been around for about fifteen years, beginning with the work of David Barr in the mid-1980s (David L. Barr, “The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: A Literary Analysis,” *Interpretation* 38 [1984]: 39-50; “The Apocalypse of John as Oral Enactment,” *Interpretation* 40 [1986]: 243-256; *Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation* [Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1998]. Note also the work of Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World*, Proclamation Commentaries, ed. Gerhard Krodel [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], and Tina Pippin, *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John* [Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992]). Barr argued for a more oral and narrative approach to the book in contrast to its critical analysis as a historical document. In doing so he helped open the field to literary and social approaches to the book. In 1990, under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature, he guided the establishment of the “Literary Criticism and the Apocalypse Consultation,” which was replaced after two years by the “Reading the Apocalypse Seminar.” The two groups were largely made up of younger scholars eager to move the debate forward.

The purpose of the seminar was to explore the “intersection between literary and social readings of the Apocalypse.” I sense that Barr was hoping to avoid the quagmires of both precritical and critical readings of the Apocalypse and develop some consensus among those advocating more contemporary approaches to the book. As the years went by, however, I sensed his increasing frustration as the fifteen to twenty members of the group seemed to fragment in a variety of directions: literary, structuralist, feminist, rhetorical, theological, liturgical, and so on. The publication of a couple of books that would highlight a variety of reader responses to Revelation is still in process.

With regard to the issue that has exercised Beale and Moyise, the group seemed to divide almost 50/50 between those who prefer to retain an interest in the original author’s intention, and those who are primarily interested in how contemporary readers respond to the book. The work of the group did not cover the area of intertextuality, however, so I have not chosen to highlight its literary critical work in this article.

<sup>35</sup>Willem S. Vorster, “Intertextuality and Redaktionsgeschichte,” in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. Sipke Draisma (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989), 18-22.

According to Moyise, “the task of intertextuality is to explore how the source text continues to speak through the new work and how the new work forces new meanings from the source text.”<sup>36</sup> “By absorbing words used in one context into a new context or configuration, a metaphorical relationship is established.”<sup>37</sup> “The reader ‘hears’ the OT text but its meaning is affected by the new context or configuration.”<sup>38</sup> When a reader of Revelation who is not conscious of an allusion reads allusive words in their new context, that reader will naturally read connotations into those words that were not present in the OT context. When the reader becomes aware of the allusion, a “cave of resonant signification”<sup>39</sup> is opened up that affects the reading of that part of Revelation.<sup>40</sup>

Moyise then compares the use of the OT in Revelation with Thomas Greene’s four “forms of imitation.”<sup>41</sup> Based on this research he argues that John deliberately leaves his use of OT allusions open-ended. He invites the reader to engage in thought and analysis of his text (Rev 13:8; 17:9). Thus, there may be no gap between the author’s intention for Revelation and the process of reader response to the cave of resonant signification.<sup>42</sup>

Moyise’s approach was quickly called into question by G. K. Beale in the most comprehensive single work ever written on the subject of allusions to the OT in Revelation.<sup>43</sup> The book is not a coherent whole, but reads like a series of independent units written at different times but with a common general purpose. In fact, many of the parts had been published separately.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Moyise, *The Old Testament*, 111.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 110.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 110-111.

<sup>39</sup>Quoted from John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 65.

<sup>40</sup>Moyise, *The Old Testament*, 118.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 118-132. Based on Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 16-53. Greene’s four categories are reproductive, eclectic, heuristic, and dialectic. Moyise concludes that there is nothing in Revelation that could fairly be described as reproductive, and little that fits the eclectic category (Moyise, *The Old Testament*, 120-123). The heuristic and dialectic categories seem worthy of exploration with regard to Revelation (ibid., 123-132).

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 133-134.

<sup>43</sup>G. K. Beale, *John’s Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, JSNTSup, 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

<sup>44</sup>The sources of the book are detailed in James E. West’s review of G. K. Beale, *John’s Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, in *Review of Biblical Literature*, found at <[www.bookreviews.org/Reviews/1850758948](http://www.bookreviews.org/Reviews/1850758948)>.

The main purpose of the book seems to be an extension of the thesis that drove Beale's 1994 anthology.<sup>45</sup> Beale argues that John uses the OT with sensitivity to its original context. The OT is not just the servant of the gospel, as Barnabas Lindars has expressed it, but also a guide. In other words, NT writers did not simply impose their understanding on the OT text; it also became a source of their understanding of the events they had experienced.

Beale develops the analogy of a basket of fruit to express his viewpoint. He argues that while an apple in a basket of fruit has been removed from its original context, it has not lost its identity as an apple. It has simply been placed in a new context. So when NT writers quote the OT, they are placing such texts in a new context and giving them new significance within that new context, but they are not altering what the original writer meant.<sup>46</sup> While others have articulated such a viewpoint with respect to the NT as a whole,<sup>47</sup> no one else has articulated it in such detail with regard to Revelation.<sup>48</sup> Beale considers his position in serious disagreement with Moyise.<sup>49</sup>

In a short response article Moyise expressed puzzlement regarding this disagreement.<sup>50</sup> He feels that Beale's distinction between meaning and significance is a hermeneutical coverup.<sup>51</sup> He went ahead to articulate a threefold difference between his position and that of Beale: (1) They differ over whether or not NT writers give OT texts new meanings; Moyise believes they do. (2) They differ over whether or not NT authors take OT texts out of context; Moyise believes they do. (3) Beale insists that meaning derives solely from an author's intention; Moyise believes that meaning also derives from the creative processes of readers.<sup>52</sup>

Moyise prefers the analogy of a fruit salad to Beale's fruit basket. In

<sup>45</sup>"The Right Doctrine From the Wrong Texts?" The book, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, is an expansion of the ideas laid out in Beale's chapter of the anthology: "The Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," 257-276.

<sup>46</sup>Beale, *John's Use*, 51-52.

<sup>47</sup>In Beale's anthology, *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, Beale includes articles favoring respect for context by C. H. Dodd, I. Howard Marshall, Beale himself, and David Secombe.

<sup>48</sup>I have benefited from the brief summary of Beale's *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, by Kenneth Newport in *Review of Biblical Literature* found at <[www.bookreviews.org/Reviews/1850758948](http://www.bookreviews.org/Reviews/1850758948)>.

<sup>49</sup>Beale, *John's Use*, 50-59.

<sup>50</sup>Steve Moyise, "The Old Testament in the New: A Reply to Greg Beale," *Irish Biblical Studies* 21 (1999):54-58.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 54.

a fruit salad there are no more shiny apples, but pieces of apple mixed with other fruits and covered with syrup. While the connection remains between the apple on the tree and the apple in the fruit salad, one is more struck with the differences between the two forms of apple than one is in the fruit-basket analogy.<sup>53</sup>

Moyise seems to believe that he has been unfairly characterized as a radical reader-response critic who believes that a text can mean whatever a reader wants it to mean.<sup>54</sup> He argues instead that readers are not free to make a text mean whatever they like, but in order to arrive at a coherent interpretation, readers must make choices regarding what constitutes evidence and how it should be construed. He feels that the differences between himself and Beale demonstrate that there is no consensus on how to make such choices. More often people such as Beale interpret according to their own presuppositions and presume that they have attained the author's intention.<sup>55</sup>

A few months later Beale responded to Moyise with a vigorous and lengthy defense of his position on authorial intention and respect for context.<sup>56</sup> He argued that the debate is fundamentally about epistemology, which would require specific book-length treatments.<sup>57</sup> He sought to summarize the parameters of such a lengthy treatment in his twenty-nine-page article. Beale clarified that his approach is based on the work of E. D. Hirsch, K. J. Vanhoozer, and N. T. Wright.<sup>58</sup> He argues that while no interpretation ever reproduces an author's original meaning in full, adequate understanding is possible.<sup>59</sup> While understanding can never be fully certain, it is not impossible either.<sup>60</sup> Beale insists on maintaining

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 55-56. As Moyise himself acknowledges, both analogies break down as attempts to explain what is happening in the interpretation of texts. Regardless of how it is interpreted, the original text remains intact. Once removed from a tree, however, an apple can never be replaced. The tree is fundamentally changed by the "interpretation," whether it is a fruit basket, a fruit salad, or applesauce that results!

<sup>54</sup>He expresses some doubt that such radical reader-response critics actually exist (ibid., 57).

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 57-58.

<sup>56</sup>G. K. Beale, "Questions of Authorial Intent, Epistemology, and Presuppositions and Their Bearing on the Study of The Old Testament in the New: A Rejoinder to Steve Moyise," *Irish Biblical Studies*. 21 (1999): 152-180.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 153, 173.

<sup>58</sup>E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); K. J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998); N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God, Christian Origins and the Question of God*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), *passim*.

<sup>59</sup>Beale, "Rejoinder to Steve Moyise," 155.

<sup>60</sup>Beale takes up Wright's analogy of the historian (ibid., 161). Historians do not record



Hirsch's distinction between meaning and significance.<sup>61</sup> He considers it critical that good interpretation be judged by the degree to which it conforms to essential elements of the author's original meaning.<sup>62</sup>

I sense a certain amount of frustration in Beale's response article. He believes that Moyise's own statements rank him with the more radical reader-response critics that can make a text mean whatever they like.<sup>63</sup> For Beale this is an unnecessary abandonment of "commonsense," which implies that the probability of one interpretation being superior to another consists in the degree to which there are fundamental correspondences between that interpretation and its source text.<sup>64</sup>

With regard to respect for context, Beale lays out a number of arguments against Moyise's position: (1) In a number of instances it can be demonstrated that NT writers did interpret an OT text in harmony with its original intention. (2) Twenty years of detailed research have led Beale to the conclusion that John generally and consistently uses the OT with significant recognition of its context. (3) When NT writers do shift from the exegetical meaning, they often do so using presuppositions that are rooted already in the OT itself. (4) Allegory, as a method, is not found in the NT; therefore its writers were not haphazard in their methodology.<sup>65</sup> He notes that Moyise has done little exegesis of Revelation in the public arena and implies that the burden of proof is on him to show that the results of Beale's textual observations are incorrect.<sup>66</sup>

Beale also challenges Moyise to show that his rejection of authorial intention is not part and parcel of a rejection of a faith-based perspective on the claims of Scripture.<sup>67</sup> Ultimately texts need to be approached from a "hermeneutic of love" which avoids the twisting of another author's perspective to serve one's own selfish ends or to caricature the other's position to enhance one's own.<sup>68</sup> A "loving" approach to Scripture would be to take seriously its claim to a comprehensive world view in which ultimately

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events fully as they actually happened. Neither are they unable to record anything that happened. Wright calls this "critical realism."

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 155-159.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 159.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 162-163, 173-174.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 164-166, 175-178.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 167-170.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 166.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 171-172.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 178-179.

both OT and NT are the product of a single, divine, authorial purpose.<sup>69</sup>

We gain some insight into Moyise's response to the above from an even more recent article.<sup>70</sup> He has also responded to me personally by e-mail.<sup>71</sup> Moyise believes that the term "intertextuality" has become a generic label for a lot of different practices in NT scholarship regarding the use of the OT.<sup>72</sup> Instead of its technical meaning in the world of literature, it has become an umbrella term, requiring the use of subcategories in order to be rightly understood.<sup>73</sup>

Moyise offers three such categories in the article. The first he calls "intertextual echo." Grounded in the work of Richard Hays,<sup>74</sup> this approach demonstrates that a particular allusion or echo can be more important to the meaning of a text than its minor role in the wording might indicate.<sup>75</sup> The second category he proposes is "dialogical intertextuality." In this category the interaction between text and subtext operates in both directions.<sup>76</sup> The third proposed category is "postmodern intertextuality." Postmodern intertextuality seeks to demonstrate that the process of tracing the interactions between texts is inherently unstable. While meaning can result from interpretation, it happens only when some portions of the evidence are privileged and other portions are ignored.<sup>77</sup> While Beale would appear to be comfortable with the first two categories,<sup>78</sup> it is the third that troubles him. Beale's great fear, according to Moyise, is the suggestion that readers "create" meaning.<sup>79</sup>

Moyise attempts to bridge the gap by elaborating "postmodern

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 165.

<sup>70</sup>Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, JSNTSup 189, ed. Steve Moyise (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

<sup>71</sup>Friday, August 4, 2000.

<sup>72</sup>Moyise, North festschrift, 16.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>74</sup>Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

<sup>75</sup>Moyise, North festschrift, 17.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>78</sup>After all, for him the OT is both servant and guide to the writers of the NT. Among many occurrences of this expression in Beale note *John's Use*, 127, in context.

<sup>79</sup>Moyise, North festschrift, 31.

intertextuality” in the light of John 4:16-20.<sup>80</sup> He is aware that many will ask the question: “What possible benefit is it to show that all interpretations are inherently flawed?”<sup>81</sup> He offers three answers to the question: (1) Postmodern intertextuality is not saying that meaning, in the sense of communication, is impossible, but that it always comes at a price. Interpretation is not arbitrary, but the openness of texts like John 4:16-20 allows for interpretational choice. (2) In showing that a text can point in a number of directions one reveals something about the potentiality of the text. There is more than one valid reading possible. All readings based on genuine potential within the text tell us something about the text as it really is. This is different from making a text mean whatever one likes. (3) Since it is clearly impossible for any one individual to perfectly grasp the meaning of a text, particularly a text like Revelation, it seems to Moyise inescapable that postmodern intertextuality must be true “*to some degree*” (emphasis original).

Moyise concludes with a fresh analogy, this time from the world of music. Every performance of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony will be different. Regardless of the extent of the differences, however, there will be no doubt that one is hearing Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony and not his Sixth. The differences are real and worthy of study since they affect one’s enjoyment of the performance, but they should not be used to suggest that one can do nothing about the symphony! Likewise, postmodern intertextuality can contribute a great deal to our understanding of text without eliminating all meaning or understanding.<sup>82</sup>

In his e-mail, Moyise suggests four points of difference between himself and Beale: (1) He is attempting to describe the product that John has produced; Beale seeks to describe the author’s intention for that product. (2) Moyise sees himself in the middle between Beale, who sees John as a serious exegete of the OT, and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, who sees John “using scripture as a language arsenal for rhetorical purposes.”<sup>83</sup> (3) Beale believes that John’s four “presuppositional lenses” produce a true meaning for the text; Moyise sees those various lenses providing the basis for multiple readings of the text, none having preference over the others. (4) Moyise sees himself as seeking to describe texts as dynamic entities, interacting with each other; he believes that

<sup>80</sup>Whether one blames the Samaritan woman for exploiting the six men in her life or the men for exploiting her depends on the standpoint from which one views the text. The text itself is silent on the matter, invoking the reader’s involvement.

<sup>81</sup>Moyise, North festschrift, 37-40.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>83</sup>This entire paragraph is drawn from the e-mail of Steve Moyise to Jon Paulien on August 4, 2000. I use quotations when I reproduce Moyise’s exact wording.

Beale is describing “a static reality, how things are.” Moyise allows for the possibility that these differences might reflect differences in personality—Beale has more of an either/or approach (my words) to textual options by nature, and Moyise has a natural preference for a both/and approach (again my words).

### *Making Sense of the Debate*

It is difficult to say how much the discussion between Beale and Moyise is semantic or real.<sup>84</sup> In some ways it seems to be a replay of the epistemological debate framed by Hirsch on the one hand and Martin Heidegger and Jacques Derrida on the other.<sup>85</sup> Beale and Moyise are each defending against perceived extremes of the other which they believe, if left unchecked, would undermine their own contribution to scholarship. Each, to some degree, seems to be reacting to a caricature of the other’s position. Beale fears the rebirth of allegory, which he would understand as the indiscriminate “creation of meaning” when interpreting texts. Moyise also fears allegory, which he would understand as the indiscriminate bias of interpreters who pick and choose textual evidence that fits their presuppositional lenses and then declare that their resulting generalizations reflect the author’s intention.

Beale is afraid that in approaching texts without the goal of attaining the author’s intention, interpreters will be mired in a sea of subjectivity where any interpretation of the text will be of equal validity. Moyise, on the other hand, is concerned that we pay serious attention to literary critics who caution against arbitrary and totalizing interpretations that draw their authority from overconfidence in having attained the author’s authoritative intention. Could it be that this is one of those times when both sides are right, at least in part? Read separately, one can easily get the impression that the issue between them is life and death. Read together, one wonders at times if it is much ado about

<sup>84</sup>At the root of the debate seems to be the “meaning of meaning.” Beale defines “meaning” as “the intention of the author.” Moyise defines “meaning” as “communication.”

<sup>85</sup>E. D. Hirsch Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); idem, *The Aims of Interpretation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); idem, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). For a general introduction to the complexities of Derrida’s thought see Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). On the relationship between Heidegger and Derrida see Herman Rapaport, *Heidegger and Derrida: Reflections on Time and History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992). On the tension between the thought of Hirsch and Derrida see Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998).

nothing. While both seem to agree that the nature of the issue is difficult to grasp, my impression is that each is right in what he affirms, but wrong in what he denies.

Does anyone, even Beale, seriously argue that indisputable and complete access to an author's intention can be achieved, even by the author? Does anyone, including Beale, seriously argue that NT writers were doing academic exegesis when they "respected the context" of OT antecedents? On the other hand, does anyone, including Moyise, seriously think that all interpretations are equally valid (that the seven seals could be seriously interpreted as aquatic animals, for example)?<sup>86</sup> Do any literary critics seriously apply such an extreme view of reader response to their students' papers? Are life and death issues really at stake here?

When the debate is approached from a positive direction rather than a "hermeneutic of suspicion," Beale and Moyise don't seem so far apart. My sense is that if Moyise were to write a commentary, it would not differ hugely from Beale's. The differences between them may be more on points of emphasis than a serious divide. It seems to me that the real division between Beale and Moyise arises from another place. While Hirsch's defense of authorial intention makes a lot of sense to me, I'm not sure he would agree with the specific use that Beale has made of his work in relation to Revelation. Let me explain.

If by "meaning" we are speaking of an author's intention, how can NT writers be said to respect the original meaning and intention of Jeremiah as a human author, for example? They are clearly not "exegeting" Jeremiah in the sense that we would do so today. New Testament writers had an immediate and pragmatic purpose in their use of the OT, rather than a scientific, descriptive, and exegetical one. When they studied the OT, they were not driven by the need to understand the human intentions of an Ezekiel or a Jeremiah, but by the desire to be more effective in communicating the gospel as they understood it.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, they were not reckless in their reading, as Beale has pointed out. They were operating under consistent principles and assumptions that were not radically different from those of similar groups in the Jewish environment of the Roman world.

I believe that Beale is right when he says that the NT writers respect the larger context of OT writings, given two realities: (1) They are reading

<sup>86</sup>My appreciation to Leonard Thompson ("Mooring the Revelation in the Mediterranean," a paper presented to the annual meeting of the Reading the Apocalypse Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature, November 23, 1992) for the pointed illustration.

<sup>87</sup>Norman R. Ericson, "The NT Use of the OT: A Kerygmatic Approach," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 30 (1987):338.

OT writers in terms of the total context of "Scripture" as they perceived it, not primarily in terms of an individual writer's intention for a specific time and place; and (2) they were reading the OT from the perspective of where they understood themselves to be in the context of a divine plan for history. Given the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the fulfillment of a divine plan announced in the context of Scripture as a whole, the NT writings are a reasonable and contextual reflection on that whole, as C. H. Dodd among others has pointed out.<sup>88</sup> New Testament writers were offering an interpretation of the OT that they believed the OT writers would have given had they been alive to encounter Jesus.

Here is where I think the disconnect is based. For Beale the "author's intention" is not limited to the perspective of the individual OT author, but includes the divine superintendence and authorship of Scripture as a whole. So his approach to the NT use of the OT is normative, comprehensive, and global. For Moyise, on the other hand, the concept of "author's intention" is limited to what a human writer intended at a specific turn of events in history. His approach to the OT text, therefore, is descriptive, immediate, and local. Given these differing definitions, it is not surprising that Beale and Moyise would disagree on whether or not NT writers respected the context of the OT.

Beale seems to imply, therefore, that the divide between him and Moyise is grounded in a different faith perspective.<sup>89</sup> He accepts the idea of divine superintendence in Scripture; Moyise (by implication) does not. While I have no idea from what faith perspective Moyise is coming, if any, I do not believe that this assumption is accurate. Even faith-based scholars would in most cases agree that there is a human element in the Scriptures and that this human element is an important aspect of the scriptural message. A believer in the divine superintendence of Scripture can also be interested in the human writer's intention, without denying the more global insights of a Dodd or a Beale. I believe that what we are dealing with, then, is more a matter of semantics than a real divide.

I must admit that I am naturally attracted to Hirsch's position and, therefore, that of Beale. It seems to me that all genuine human knowledge is a reflection of past experience. Our own personal experiences are expanded by the experiences of others, which we can gather through conversation, observation, and reading. The collective wisdom of the human race comes to us in books and other media. For us to truly learn from reading, it is

<sup>88</sup>I have wondered at times whether Moyise discounts this "christocentric" principle in the NT too much. See, for example, his thoughts on presuppositional lenses in an as-yet-unpublished article entitled, "The Use of Analogy in Biblical Studies."

<sup>89</sup>Beale, "Rejoinder to Steve Moyise," 165, 171-172.

imperative that we go beyond our own impressions of the text and ascertain something of the understanding and intention of the author. The experiences of others will be worthless to me unless they are, to some degree, understood and appreciated. The human race progresses from generation to generation as the learning, experience, and values of earlier generations are accurately passed on. An understanding and appreciation of authorial intention, therefore, seems to me a critical part of this process.

That there is a strong element of common sense in the previous paragraph is underscored for me by the very debate we are summarizing here. Moyise is just as eager as Beale to understand the intention of the other and also to be understood. He expresses frustration at Beale's lack of comprehension of what he is trying to express. He also is concerned about the misuse of the term "intertextuality" within NT scholarship.<sup>90</sup> "Reader response" as a literary approach is very compelling in the abstract, but when one's own work is at stake at a practical level, one's intentions as an author resist open-ended interpretation as if by reflex.

Having said this, I have come to appreciate that we cannot live as though Derrida (or Moyise) had never existed.<sup>91</sup> Far too often authoritative appropriations of Scripture or other significant texts are based not on careful exegesis but on presupposition-laden "reader responses," treated as accurate reflections of the text's intent. The ground of such readings has often been the drive for power and control more than faithfulness to the authoritative text. Calling attention to such abuse of texts is a valuable contribution to human experience. By increasing our awareness of human limitations to understanding, and of the effect that readers have on texts, literary critics have instilled a greater degree of humility into the process of interpretation. While I find Beale's fears understandable, Moyise's brief scholarly contributions to the exegesis of Revelation thus far have been insightful and not far different from the kind of work Beale has done. Learning to profit from the experiences of others, therefore, not only requires us to seek authorial intention but also to learn the limits of our ability to learn. The ultimate goal, authentic existence, can be enhanced by both attention to authorial purpose and attention to reader limitations.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup>Moyise, North festschrift, 15-17.

<sup>91</sup>Kirsten Nielsen, "Shepherd, Lamb, and Blood: Imagery in the Old Testament—Use and Reuse," *Studia Theologica: Scandinavian Journal of Theology* 46 (1992): 126.

<sup>92</sup>Kirsten Nielsen offers a fascinating observation that mediates the divide in a unique way for the study of Revelation. She argues that in a book such as Revelation, where allusion is central to the imagery, the concepts of authorial intention and reader response come together. In other words, whenever we are dealing with allusion, we are dealing with an author that is also a reader (ibid., 126-127). The author of an allusive text begins as reader of

I would conclude that Beale and Moyise have brought to the topic two sides of a necessary dichotomy. Both a hermeneutic of suspicion and a hermeneutic of retrieval<sup>93</sup> are needed and provide a necessary balance for interpretation. While a given interpreter may prefer to spend more time on one side or the other of the dichotomy, awareness of both sides is valuable to developing understanding. We grope toward a better understanding of existence, including an understanding of each other's texts and purposes. We all want to be understood and to make a contribution to the human endeavor. We all want our ideas and intentions to be heard and taken seriously. At the same time we must acknowledge that authorial intention will always remain a goal of interpretation. We will not fully arrive; seeking authorial intention will always be a process. As long as human existence goes on, we will continue to raise questions and strive to understand.

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an earlier text. For Nielsen, then, "we cannot proclaim the death of the author without proclaiming the death of the reader, because every author is a reader as well. And conversely, if we claim the existence of the reader, we must accept the author as well" (127).

<sup>93</sup>I was intrigued by this pair of phrases in a listserv reply to David Barr by Ian Paul at <rev-list@sunsite.auc.dk> on August 24, 2000. Paul stated there that the language was based on the work of Paul Ricoeur.



## A RESPONSE TO JON PAULIEN ON THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN REVELATION

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I want to express my appreciation to Jon Paulien for his attempts to summarize and evaluate the recent debate between Steve Moyise and me on the use of the OT in John's Apocalypse. He has made an excellent effort at accurately restating and assessing the two approaches. Among many good discussions, I want to highlight a couple. I especially like the way Paulien has explained the "fears" which Moyise and I have concerning the dangers in this hermeneutical debate. He says that we both "fear" what would amount to an uncontrolled allegorization of texts: I, because of the peril of "indiscriminate 'creation of meaning'" and Moyise, because of the "indiscriminate bias of interpreters who pick and choose textual evidence that fits their presuppositional lenses."<sup>1</sup> He also well observes that in debates over hermeneutics, regardless of which side one is on, both debaters want their "intention" to be understood, since "when one's own work is at stake at a practical level, one's intentions as an author resist open-ended interpretation as if by reflex."<sup>2</sup>

The following comments show areas where I would want to nuance Paulien's representation of my views.<sup>3</sup>

(1) First, he accurately says that I believe that "when NT writers quote the OT they are placing such texts in a new context and giving them new significance within that new context, but they are not altering what the original writer meant."<sup>4</sup> He notes that, in response, Moyise "feels that Beale's distinction between meaning and significance is a hermeneutical coverup."<sup>5</sup> Moyise made this conclusion because I did "speak of New Testament authors

<sup>1</sup>Jon Paulien, "Dreading the Whirlwind: Intertextuality and the Use of the Old Testament in Revelation, *AUSS* 39 (2001): 18.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>3</sup>I remain content to let my previous article, "Questions of Authorial Intent, Epistemology, and Presuppositions and Their Bearing on the Study of the Old Testament in the New: A Rejoinder to Steve Moyise," be a response to other issues raised in Paulien's article, which I do not address below (*Irish Biblical Studies* 21 [1999]: 151-180).

<sup>4</sup>Paulien, 13.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

offering 'new understandings' of Old Testament texts 'which may have been surprising to an Old Testament audience,'" and since I even refer to these "authors offering 'new interpretations.'"<sup>6</sup> One of the main purposes of my subsequent response to Moyise (in *Irish Biblical Studies [IBS]*) was to clarify the distinction between "authorial meaning" and "significance," since I believed that Moyise had a misunderstanding of the way I conceived of the distinction. As I have read and reread Paulien's summary, I do not think he has sufficiently reflected the way I tried to elaborate on the distinction between "meaning" and "significance" in the *IBS* response to Moyise. I want to clarify this, since this is a crucial, if not *the* crucial, issue in the debate.

If one acknowledges on the epistemological level that an original authorial meaning is partially though not exhaustively recoverable from OT texts, then it is beneficial to distinguish between the enduring original meaning and how that meaning is responded to by subsequent writers, i.e., the "significance" of that earlier meaning. E. D. Hirsch says that "meaning" refers to the "entire verbal meaning of a text" and "significance" to "textual meaning in a context beyond itself" (in relation to a later time, a later mind, a wider subject matter).<sup>7</sup> At this point, I want to conclude my explanation by quoting a relevant, extended segment from my *IBS* article which lies at the heart of my approach and speaks directly to Moyise's objection, and which I think Paulien did not adequately summarize:

If the basic distinction is not maintained, however, between an author's original meaning (i.e., what it meant then) and what it means for today, then meaning and the contemporary relevance of meaning (i.e., application) are collapsed, and the ultimate meaning of a text becomes merely the reflection of the interpreter's own purely socially constructed thoughts: "Understanding is not the same as authoring." This would mean that "interpreters[would] risk confusing the aim of the text with their own aims," and that what any interpreter says is the meaning of an ancient text is as valid as what any other interpreter says. One may disagree with the terms Hirsch uses to distinguish authorial meaning from significance (i.e., application of that meaning), but whatever terms are used, the distinction needs to be maintained, if one does not hold to the presuppositions of radical "reader-response" criticism and deconstructionism (i.e., that no meaning is recoverable from an original author's intentional acts of writing and, in the case of deconstructionism, that the enterprise of interpretation is primarily the exposing of authors' or interpreters' triumphalistic presuppositions). "Hermeneutical realism ultimately rests on this distinction between meaning and significance, on the distinction between an object of knowledge and the context in which it is known."

<sup>6</sup>Steve Moyise, "The Old Testament in the New: A Reply to Greg Beale," *Irish Biblical Studies* 21 (1999): 55.

<sup>7</sup>E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale, 1967), 19; cf. also 2-3, 156.

Hirsch has further defined his meaning/significance dichotomy by the concept of “transhistorical intentions.” While maintaining this distinction, he believes that an intended original meaning can go beyond the original content or original context. Authors using some genres will to extend meaning to analogous and even unforeseeable situations so that their meaning is intended to have presently unknowable, future implications. In this respect, one can “speak of open-ended authorial intentions” and “extended meaning” in which an original meaning can tolerate some revision in cognitive content and yet not be essentially altered. It is in this sense that some applications of original meaning pertain more to the “meaning” side than the “significance” side. Interpretation should go beyond the author’s letter, but it must never exceed the author’s spirit. Therefore, the task of “interpretation” includes: (1) ascertaining the original meaning; (2) ascertaining the ongoing extended meaning, which may be present in some genres but not others (i.e., which is discerned by noticing when authors intend to will to extend implications of their meaning into the indefinite future by espousing principles intended for an indefinite number of applications); (3) recontextualizing meaning by ascertaining creative applications of the meaning to new contexts, which in some genres may not involve extending the original meaning.

These three aspects of interpretation do not collapse original meaning into the readers’ response to that meaning. The two are still kept separate, though there is some overlap between “original meaning” and “significance” in the second step. It is helpful to expand a little on Hirsch’s middle step, what Vanhoozer calls “extended meaning.” Hirsch refers to this as an expansion of the original author’s “willed type.” I summarized and illustrated this in my book as part of the response to Moyise, but it bears repeating here (in connection with “significance”) with another illustration from Hirsch. Civil codes are good examples of genres in which authors realize that no law can cover all the future instances which will fall under legitimate application of the law originally legislated. The principle of the originally formulated law must be applied to later instances to see whether or not it is relevant. If the new instance falls within the “willed type” of the original legal author, then the original law applies. For example, a traffic code may assert that a violation occurs when any wheeled vehicle on a public thoroughfare fails to stop at a red light. Suppose that years later a vehicle was created which had no wheels but moved instead on currents of compressed air. Does the law still apply to such a vehicle, since the formulation of the law explicitly referred to wheeled vehicles? The original intent of the law would apply to this new instance, since what was in view from the beginning was a “willed type” of “any vehicle.” The law might be amended to include “all vehicles serving the function of wheeled vehicles within the purpose and intent of the law.’ The idea of a law contains the idea of *mutatis mutandis*, and this generic convention was part of the meaning that I willed.” It should be easy to see

that such a genre convention could be included in biblical literature which has legal, ethical, and theological content.

To come back full circle to Moyise's critique and question: why I am reluctant to say that "new understandings and interpretations" are not "new meanings" but "new significances." I am reluctant because I do not want to confuse original authorial meaning with the extension of that meaning or the application of that meaning. Indeed, one cannot judge whether a meaning is being extended or amplified unless there is a clear understanding of a determinate original meaning. And, of course, one cannot apply an original meaning to a new situation without knowing that original meaning. In this light, I am happy to equate "new interpretations or understandings" with "interpretative significance" or "meaningful significance" or even "*extended* meaning." I am loath to confuse *original* meaning with anything that is subsequently *derivative* of it. Consequently, I can understand that New Testament authors creatively develop "new interpretations" of Old Testament texts but not "new meanings," since that *could* be understood to indicate that what they develop is not organically related in some way to the earlier source text. I would not be "picky" about semantics if there were not the potential danger of sliding into saying that "new meanings" indicate something cut off from the conceptual roots of the base text. I am content to see "new meanings" as creative developments or outgrowths, but not "absolutely new" meanings. A feature of any good interpretation is some *essential* element of recognizability with the original meaning of the text being interpreted.

Of course, interpreters can wrongly interpret and have no idea of an original meaning (which is the conclusion many make about New Testament authors), but this is a different matter than saying that it is impossible for interpreters to gain some approximate understanding of the original meaning of a text. My "apple" illustration was an attempt to underscore the indelible line between some unchanging aspect of the original identity of a meaningful act of communication and the effect of that act (i.e., recontextualization through extended implications of "willed types" or applications or both). Moyise's illustration of the relation of an apple to fruit salad (or one could even compare apple sauce) might still be compatible with my idea and my own analogy of an apple in a decorative basket of fruit: there is still some identifiable aspect of the original apple, whether through sight or taste, though I think this illustration obscures the original identity of the apple too much. Moyise says that a better illustration should not be something corporeal (like apples), since texts do not have firm boundaries which protect them from being altered by changing contexts. Moyise offers less corporeal analogies of ripples in a pond which combine with other ripples and form new patterns or sound waves which interfere with one another. These analogies, however, seem to me to lose the distinction between some identity between the original ripple and the combination of other ripples or between the original sound

wave and the other sound waves which interfere with it.

A better analogy than either mine or Moyise's needs to express the nature of original meaning as part of a "three-dimensional communicative action": (1) the literary act of putting words together to make a proposition (locution); (2) the particular way in which this literary act is executed (illocution, i.e., what is done with the propositional content, e.g., greeting, promising, commanding, wishing, being ironical, polemical, etc.); (3) what is effected by or results from the communicative act (perlocution, e.g., obedience, persuasion, surprise, etc.). "If a text is a meaningful action . . . we can . . . have as much confidence in determining what an author is doing in a discourse as we can when we seek to determine what a person is doing in other kinds of action." The meaning of a communicative act is dependent not on its effect (e.g., how it is responded to by readers, i.e., perlocution or "significance") "but on the direction and the purposive structure of the author's action" (illocution). In fact, another way of formulating the meaning/significance distinction is to say it is "a distinction between a completed action and its ongoing intentional or unintentional consequences.

The three aspects of a communicative act are comparable to any physical act which becomes part of history. A professional golfer (1) uses a club to swing and hit the ball, (2) though the kind of swing he uses may put spin on the ball to slice, hook, or he swings to hit straight or he can swing to make it go high or low, all with the purpose of accomplishing a par on the hole and a low score for the round; (3) the actual effect is how the ball flies and how that particular shot contributed to the overall shots of the round and to the final score. A radio commentator explains the shot to the audience. The commentator observes the swing (stage #1) and its effect (stage #3), and he also tries to explain the kind of swing and the intent behind it (stage #2). Though he cannot completely understand the precise kind of swing actually used and the exact purpose in the golfer's mind in swinging the way he did, the commentator can still comprehend these two things adequately to make an educated guess (i.e., interpretation) for the listening audience (illocutionary physical and literary actions may be complex, so that there may be multiple ways of describing the action, not all of which will exactly portray the intent of the action). A golf historian who writes years later about his particular round will rely on the commentator's account, on newspaper and magazine accounts, and perhaps add his own understanding to the commentary (perhaps, he has access to something the radio commentator did not, e.g., the commentator may have "inside" information from the golfer's caddie or his family who revealed that the golfer may have been ill for three weeks prior to the tournament, which explains why some of his shots were hit poorly and why he did not win the tournament, etc.).

Likewise a written communicative act is just as historical as any other

act in history and its meaning is just as accessible. Of course, as in hermeneutics, so in the philosophy of history, there is debate about whether historians can objectively report history. Both the naive positivistic objectivist and the postmodern solipsistic, subjectivist skeptic are too extreme. The truth lies somewhere in between: historians do not record events fully as they actually happened nor are they unable to record anything that happened. Tom Wright calls this "critical realism," which applies both to the historian's as well as the interpreter's craft. In fact, ultimately, these are not two different disciplines.<sup>8</sup>

Hence, to interpret a text involves what one might call "thick description" (a phrase introduced by Vanhoozer<sup>9</sup>). Good interpretation needs to unravel, not exhaustively but to a significantly partial extent, the meaning imbedded in onion-like layers of a threefold communicative act: (a) the original proposition of authors, (b) the particular manner by which authors execute their literary act, and (c) the effect on readers intended by authors.

(2) Paulien states that he is not sure that Hirsch "would agree with the specific use that Beale has made of his work in relation to Revelation."<sup>10</sup> He says that I affirm that NT writers "respect the larger context of OT writings . . . not primarily in terms of an individual writer's intention for a specific time and place" but with respect to how they perceive a particular passage only with reference to how it fits into the broader plan of canonical history.<sup>11</sup> Actually, this represents only part of my view. I have always affirmed both that "the immediate authorial intention" of a passage in its historical particularity needs careful scrutiny, and then attention needs to be paid to how other parts of the canon shed light on the broader meaning of the particular text. Both are important, but the former must be done first in order to see what organic links there are between the source text and other texts related to it.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Beale, 156-162. The reader needs to consult my article for footnote references to quotations and references from Hirsch and Vanhoozer, which I have deleted in the above quotation because of constraints of space. In addition to the preceding illustrations of recontextualized apples, apple sauce, fruit salad, and golf, Moyise's illustration of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (cited by Paulien, 17) also has potential, but I would need to hear further elaboration in order to determine if his understanding of the illustration fits well into my hermeneutical approach.

<sup>9</sup>K. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), e.g., 282-285, 291-292, 331-332.

<sup>10</sup>Paulien, 19.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>12</sup>As examples of how I see both the necessity of a "narrow and wide-angle interpretative lens," see my following articles: "An Exegetical and Theological Consideration of the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart in Exodus 4-14 and Romans 9," *Trinity Journal* 5 (1984): 129-154; "The Old

All of this is to say that I think my application of Hirsch fits not only his general view of authorial intention, but also his view of “willed types,” on which I have elaborated at point #1 above!

On a related issue, Paulien concludes that NT authors did not “exegete” the OT “in the sense that we do so today” (i.e., in a descriptive scientific sense). He explains: “When they studied the OT, they were not driven by the need to understand the human intentions of an Ezekiel or a Jeremiah, but by the desire to be more effective in communicating the gospel as they understood it.”<sup>13</sup> Paulien then gives a caveat to this by acknowledging, in agreement with me, that “they were not reckless in their reading” [of the OT] and that they “were offering an interpretation of the OT that they believed the OT writers would have given had they been alive to encounter Jesus.”<sup>14</sup> My interpretation of this last comment is that the NT writers were concerned even with the human intention of OT prophets in their immediate historical situation, since they would have believed that God inspired them to speak to Israel for a particular purpose which was important to understand also for the distant future. To say, as Paulien does, that their main focus was not “to understand the human intentions of an Ezekiel or Jeremiah” but rather to be “effective in communicating the gospel as they understood it” is to affirm that they were not too concerned with what the OT originally said, which I think is an overstatement.

(3) A third issue I want to clarify is Paulien’s claim that I challenge “Moyise to show that his rejection of authorial intention is not part and parcel of a rejection of a faith-based perspective on the claims of Scripture.”<sup>15</sup> In fact, I do not “challenge” Moyise about this, though I do raise the issue in the course of my response whether it is appropriate in the midst of the postmodern *Zeitgeist* to “ask the epistemological question, ‘are John’s presuppositions true, and if so, should the answer not have a bearing on his

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Testament Background of Reconciliation in 2 Corinthians 5-7 and Its Bearing on the Literary Problem of 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1,” *New Testament Studies* 35 (1989): 550-581; “The Hearing Formula and the Visions of John in Revelation,” in *A Vision for the Church: Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology in Honour of J.P.M. Sweet*, ed. M. Bockmuehl and M. B. Thompson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 167-180; this last article is especially to be seen in the foundational light of an earlier article, “Isaiah 6:9-13: A Retributive Taunt Against Idolatry,” *Vetus Testamentum* XLI (1991): 257-278). Another example would be the Passover lamb text of Exod 12 (as perhaps Num 9:12 and Ps 34:20) which must be first understood before one attempts to perceive how John 19:13-31 conceives of that passage in application to Jesus’ death. Therefore, I wholeheartedly agree when Paulien says: “A believer in the divine superintendence of Scripture can also be interested in the human writer’s intention” (Paulien, 20).

<sup>13</sup>Paulien, 19.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 15.

interpretative approach?"<sup>16</sup> This, however, does not necessitate that a scholar who rejects John's presuppositions could not, nevertheless, affirm that John's interpretation of the OT is consistent with the authorial intention of OT authors (intriguingly, Hirsch does not identify himself with any particular theological or religious truth claims and certainly, as far as I can tell, would not say such claims affect the hermeneutical enterprise).

Therefore, Paulien misses the mark when he asserts that a major "disconnect" between my approach and that of Moyise is in my acceptance of not only human but divine authorship of Scripture, whereas Moyise holds only to the former.<sup>17</sup> It is possible for a scholar who disagrees with the notion of divine inspiration of Scripture to agree that a NT author is executing an interpretative development of an OT text consistent with and organically related to the original intention. While I think that divine authorship enhances this kind of hermeneutical integrity, from a *limited* epistemological viewpoint, such an understanding does not require this theological undergirding.

I would say, on the other hand, that those scholars who take a conservative Hirschian hermeneutical approach without basing it on, at least, the presupposition of the existence of a personal God who reveals himself are, from a full-orbed epistemological perspective, inconsistent. This may sound like a radically dogmatic assertion by those who believe no religious truth claims can be made. The reason, however, for the assessment is that I believe there is an inextricable link between a Christian, theistic biblical worldview and epistemology, including how people know that they know anything in reality, including what an author has said. Hirsch himself, for example, while making no theistic worldview claims, affirms, following the philosopher Husserl, that the mind can "demarkate" meaning of a communicative act so that the meaning remains constant over time (and, I would add, can be recalled by the interpreter and rewritten to inform other interpreters of an original intention). I would agree with other theologians that the enduring basis for an ongoing determinant meaning which can be retrieved from texts is the assumption of a sovereign, omniscient, and transcendent God who comprehends the true, determinant, and exhaustive understanding of all texts because he stands above the creation he has constructed and over the various social constructs his human creatures have erected, yet he has created them to be capable of sharing partially in his attributes and, consequently, to be able to perceive some kind of "determinant meaning

<sup>16</sup>Beale, 171.

<sup>17</sup>Paulien, 20; note, however, that in the first line of the very next paragraph Paulien does say I "only" imply his contention.



of the communicative acts” of fellow-human beings.<sup>18</sup>

In this connection, Paulien posits that I claim that a “hermeneutic of love,” ultimately based on Christian truth claims, is crucial in not selfishly twisting another author’s perspective to serve one’s own ends.<sup>19</sup> One could, however, be an atheist and still hold to such a hermeneutical ethic. Paulien presses this further and says that my view entails that a loving approach would require readers “to take seriously” Scripture’s claim to be “the product of a single, divine, authorial purpose.”<sup>20</sup> This statement also does not represent my view. Precisely, I maintain that such a loving perspective means that one will try to hear what the intention of another’s communication is, not carelessly or consciously twist that meaning to make it something else which suits the purposes of the interpreter. Once we understand the meaning of another person, then we can assess its truth claims and decide whether or not to accept or reject them. The point is that a “hermeneutic of love” does not entail accepting the truth claims of another but only of trying truly and earnestly to hear what the other has said.

I do say at the conclusion of that discussion, however, that an ethic of love is based epistemologically on the “Christian, theistic biblical worldview.”<sup>21</sup> But many who disagree with the Christian faith nevertheless could hold to an ethic of love and would, in some cases, base such an ethic on other truth claims. Of course, my own perspective is that a theistic outlook, especially the Christian worldview, makes more sense of moral values such as love than do nontheistic vantage points. I believe that *ultimate* meaning for anything in creation, whether in the area of ethics or hermeneutics, comes from and is made possible by God. This would not prevent Moyise and me from coming to agreement about the interpretative task, but it does mean that we might well disagree about the epistemological, philosophical, and theological underpinnings of such a task.

(4) Finally, Paulien says that the contribution of Moyise’s work, as well generally of “deconstructionism” and “reader-response” criticism, is to be aware of the limits of their ability to interpret accurately and, therefore, to be humble about the possibility that their particular interpretations may be incorrect.<sup>22</sup> I heartily agree (and the point I make about the “hermeneutic of love” comes close to making a quite similar point). Nevertheless, the lesson of humility is a “bonus prize” or residual

<sup>18</sup>See Beale, 170, n. 65.

<sup>19</sup>Paulien, 15.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>21</sup>Beale, 179.

<sup>22</sup>Paulien, 18-19.

benefit of more radical literary criticism, and one can benefit from it without “buying in wholesale” to the main approach. I would make the same assessment of Moyise’s work as well.

Paulien’s final evaluation that both my approach and that of Moyise are equally needed to “provide a necessary balance for interpretation”<sup>23</sup> is, in my view, too diplomatic, and I cannot agree (though I doubt that Paulien is surprised!). Simply put, I believe that a trait of any valid interpretation is some element of recognizability with the original meaning of a text, and, as far as I can tell, Moyise would not define interpretative validity in this manner. Instead, Moyise affirms that readers create meaning not ultimately anchored in original authorial intent. Therefore, it is not clear to me what Paulien means when he says that hermeneutical truth lies somewhere between my view and Moyise’s. I have already conceded that readers can “create” meaning, but a meaning, at least, implied by and partially derivative of authorial intent. If one goes further than this concession, then one places the reader in a sphere separated from all significant links to a text’s original meaning, which appears to be Moyise’s position.

It is true that the humble attitude often associated with the “hermeneutic of suspicion” can be well utilized by those seeking a text’s original meaning, but, as I have just underscored above, this can be done without accepting the methodological essence of that hermeneutic (indeed, to say that “humility” is a trait of one hermeneutic and not another is to assume that the other

<sup>23</sup>In this regard, Paulien positively cites Moyise’s illustration of the variety of potential interpretations of John 4:16-20 and the difficulty of interpreting that text as evidence of his reader-oriented approach (Paulien, 16-17). But most texts are not so potentially difficult. Furthermore, I am not convinced that this text is as difficult as some contend: one needs to discern the main point of the narrative in John’s context in order to determine whether or not it is proper and germane even to ask the interpretative questions about “blame” for exploitation (see *ibid.*, 17, n. 80). Finally, merely because there may be several equally competing and possibly incompatible interpretations of a text does not mean that this is evidence of postmodern intertextuality. Accordingly Paulien says, apparently because of competing interpretations of a text, that since it is “impossible for any one individual to perfectly grasp the meaning of a text . . . it seems to Moyise that postmodern intertextuality must be true *to some degree.*” But I know of no scholar who believes that there can be a “perfect grasp” of a text’s meaning; therefore, what Moyise (and/or Paulien) must mean in the preceding quotation is that is “impossible for any one individual to grasp the meaning of a text with reasonable certainty (i.e., with degrees of probability about the validity of an interpretation).” There may be also multiple interpretations of many texts, and these may not be mutually contradictory but supplemental (like layers of an onion). To have knowledge of, say, only one layer of meaning is to have some, though not complete, apprehension of intent. The upshot of this response and my earlier *IBS* article is to argue that interpreters can typically have some definite knowledge of authorial intentions, though, of course, not exhaustively. For this reason, the notion that readers are doomed to remain essentially agnostic about meaning is, in my view, a conclusion which is too skeptical.

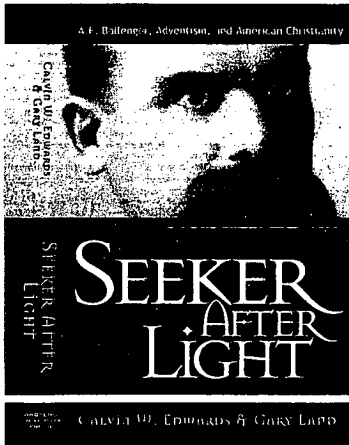
hermeneutic is “arrogant,” and that would be reductionistic and, therefore, unfair). The lessons of humility from a reader-response position provide an attitude which is subservient to and one of the means to the end of “a hermeneutic of retrieval.” An attitude of humility is not the unique possession of and does not have to be seen as inextricably linked to deconstructionism or radical reader-oriented approaches, but can be integrated well (and, I would say, necessarily) into a “hermeneutic of retrieval.” Consequently, for “Hirschians” to be humble in interpreting does not mean that they are practicing a “hermeneutic of suspicion” and “balancing” out their interpretative approach. The ultimate goal in reading writings from the past (especially Scripture, but also good literature) is not to conclude that we cannot be certain about any meaning of any text because of our human limitations,<sup>24</sup> but to learn from them in order better to “retrieve” meaning and let the meaning we glean from them guide our lives. And, I would add, the ultimate goal of all such reading is that our lives would glorify the divine Author of meaning (hence, *contra* Paulien, I would disagree that “the ultimate goal” is “authentic experience,” which sounds like an echo of Bultmann’s hermeneutic). I suspect that the very fact that Moyise defines meaning as “communication” and not, like me, as “the intention of the author” (at least, this is Paulien’s view of the distinction) indicates a significant divide between us on both epistemological and methodological grounds!

### *Conclusion*

Paulien has endeavored to summarize a very thorny debate, and I congratulate him for his effort to be even-handed and fair. He has certainly striven to practice a “hermeneutic of humility and love” as well as a “hermeneutic of retrieval,” in reading and interpreting my writings and those of Moyise. I would say on the basis of the above discussion that he has truly understood our determinate authorial meanings but not exhaustively.

<sup>24</sup>Paulien, 21.

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## AUTHORIAL INTENTION AND THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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It is a great honor to have one's work scrutinized by a scholar of Jon Paulien's standing, and I am most grateful for the opportunity to write a brief response.<sup>1</sup> I happily agree with many of his judgments and find his final paragraph a stirring vision for research. I believe he is correct in linking the discussion with the great epistemological debates of the past, notably between Hirsch and Derrida. I am in substantial agreement with his description of NT authors' discernment of the "word of God" for their own age rather than an archaic pursuit of what Isaiah or Ezekiel might have meant prior to the advent of Christ. And his insight that Beale and I are using the term "authorial intention" differently is helpful. In this response, I would like to be more pragmatic and ask whether "authorial intention" is really as helpful in interpreting the book of Revelation as is so often claimed.

As Paulien points out, the importance of authorial intention to scholars such as Beale is to safeguard interpretation. Meaning is not created by readers but is embedded in the text by an author. The task of interpretation is to discern what the original author intended and to use this as a criterion for judging later interpretations. It undoubtedly works best for the Pauline epistles, where Paul seeks to resolve specific congregational problems. We can reasonably ask what he was hoping to achieve and see if there are implications for today's church. But I would suggest that it is less useful for the rest of the Bible. For example, what is the "authorial intention" behind collections such as the Proverbs and Psalms? Perhaps one could attempt a general summary such as "to enhance the wisdom/worship life of Israel," but that is hardly going to adjudicate between competing interpretations of a particular psalm. What are the authorial intentions behind composite books such as Genesis or Isaiah? Is it the intention of the original stories/oracles or the final editor(s)? What is the authorial intention behind the Gospels that is supposed to act as a criterion for correct interpretation? Is it what Jesus had in mind when he told a particular parable or what Mark had in mind when he included a Greek form of it in his Gospel?

If authorial intention is so vital for interpretation, then I would suggest that we are in a perilous state, particularly for the book of Revelation. After

<sup>1</sup>Jon Paulien, "Dreading the Whirlwind: Intertextuality and the Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 5-22.

centuries of intense study, scholars cannot agree whether John wrote to comfort the persecuted or challenge the complacent. Genre is said to be vital for interpretation, but scholars debate whether Revelation is best seen as an apocalypse, a prophecy, or a circular letter. Most now conclude that it shares features of all three. If these basic questions of "intention" cannot be settled, how is "authorial intention" going to arbitrate between the subtleties of pre-, post-, and a-millennialism? How does it help us decide whether Revelation offers new meaning to old texts (Moyise) or simply gives old texts new significance (Beale)?

The reason I used intertextuality in my analysis of John's use of the OT was not because I decided beforehand to apply a radical literary theory to a NT text. It was because I felt the complexity of the book of Revelation, with OT allusions in nearly every verse, required it. Traditional categories such as "exegesis," "midrash," and "typology" seemed inadequate to describe the complex texture of the book of Revelation. No wonder some scholars have concluded that it is shaped around Daniel, while others that it is modeled on Ezekiel. The complexity permits a number of interpretations. If we were able to ask the author which of these he intended, I suspect he would look puzzled and reply: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (Rev 1:10).

Paulien follows Beale's observation that although I argue for multiple interpretations of a text, I am keen that my own work be correctly understood and hence do show an interest in "authorial intention" after all. This is quite correct but I have a counter point. In my "reply" to Beale's book, I specifically stated that my position is not that readers can make texts mean whatever they like. But in his "rejoinder," he suggests that what I have written implies that I do believe this, so he disregards my explicit statement of intention for his own construction. Similarly, Beale insists that there is no change of meaning when OT texts are used in Revelation, but I argue that this is not borne out by his own list of the seven different ways that Scripture is used by John. In other words, our debate not only shows that both of us have a deep concern to be correctly understood. It also shows that both of us analyze the dynamics of each other's work and *construct* the central thrust that makes most sense to us. And since each of us has come to conclusions that differ from the other's stated purpose, I think it is justified to substitute the word *create* for *construct* in the above sentence.

Of course, this does not mean creation *ex nihilo*. Both of us are trying to do justice to each other's work, just as we are each trying to do justice to the book of Revelation. The difference, of course, is that the author of Revelation is unable to answer back. Each of us *constructs* an

interpretation of the book that we think does most justice to it. We do not possess anything called "authorial intention" that will adjudicate between our interpretations. We simply offer it to the world and see if it convinces anyone. If it convinces a lot of people, it might even become a consensus, and perhaps we will conclude that here, in the year 2001, the truth has finally been unveiled. But scholars made similar claims in 1901 and 1801 and 1701. I have tried to describe the complex interactions between texts and images in Revelation in a way that shows what sort of book Revelation is. Beale offers a different understanding. Readers and scholars will have to decide which is the more illuminating. To use Paulien's example, appeal to "authorial intention" can declare the "aquatic animal" interpretation unlikely. But this is not because we *know* that John had no such interest (it might have been a hobby of his). It is because it does not make sense of the major themes of Revelation *for the majority of people*. As I see it, the difference between Beale and myself is not that I pursue "my construction of Revelation" while he pursues "John's intention." It is that he chooses to identify his construction of Revelation with "John's intention."

Lastly, Paulien raises the question of faith perspective. The suggestion is that those who approach the Scriptures "in faith" see things differently than those who do not. Thus Beale cites four presuppositions (Christ corporately represents Israel; history is a unified plan; the end-time has been inaugurated by Christ; Christ is the key to the OT) which he believes governed John's approach to Scripture. He then suggests that interpreters who agree with these presuppositions will conclude that John respects the original context of his allusions, while those who do not (by implication, me) must conclude that John's interpretations are alien to it. But to my mind, this simply confirms the postmodern insight that what one sees depends on where one stands. Interpretation is not *independent* of readers. What one brings to the text, in this case, a particular faith perspective, has a significant affect on what one finds there. I would simply wish to add that this is true of other attributes as well. For example, consider the use of Scripture in Rev 3:20: "But I have this against you; you tolerate that woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophet and is teaching and beguiling my servants to practice fornication and to eat food sacrificed to idols."

How is one to evaluate this use of Scripture? Male commentators generally assume that John's opponent was actually called Jezebel, in which case they assert that her name was particularly apt; or they argue that the abominations practiced by this woman *justify* John's linking her with the OT "Jezebel." Feminist scholars, however, see it differently. They claim that this

is not a contextually sensitive use of the OT. It is an attempt to demonize an opponent by using a typical male form of abuse—the whore deserves what’s coming! Far from being a clever or sophisticated use of Scripture, it is cheap and exploitative.

Who is best equipped to determine John’s “authorial intention” in this verse, men or women? Some would argue that gender has nothing to do with it. After all, John is an author of Scripture, a holy man who would surely not possess such chauvinistic attitudes. But feminist scholars can point to other verses. For example, when John wishes to describe the purity of the 144,000, he says that it is those “who have not defiled themselves with women” (Rev 14:4). When he wishes to portray the destruction of evil, it is in the image of a whore: “they will make her desolate and naked; they will devour her flesh and burn her up with fire” (Rev 17:16). My point is that this language inevitably affects men and women differently. So who is best equipped to deduce from it John’s “intention”? Does Beale really think that his gender has no influence on how he evaluates this type of discourse? Would it not be more honest to state that it is open to a number of interpretations, depending on one’s presuppositions, and leave it at that?

This raises another point about “authorial intention.” What if we could interrogate John on this matter and he told us that he certainly did not *intend* to cause offense by using this type of language. Would that be the end of the matter? Would we not wish to challenge him by saying that the evidence suggests otherwise? In other words, is “authorial intention” only to be equated with the conscious thoughts of the author? Or might it go deeper than that? Like most people, John was probably unaware of how deep-seated are the prejudices between the sexes. An analysis of his book would surely want to consider what he *actually* produced as well as what he thought he was producing.

In an article about to be published in ANVIL (“The Use of Analogy in Biblical Studies”), I suggest that scholars have frequently confused two tasks in the study of the OT in the NT. One is to determine how it might have looked to the original author. The other is to determine how it looks to us. For example, Matthew claims that Jesus’ sojourn in Egypt was a fulfillment of Hos 11:1 (“Out of Egypt I have called my son”). From a modern perspective, the link appears tenuous. Hosea 11:1 is not a prophecy (no future tenses) and the subject is clearly the Exodus. It is not about Jesus, as the following verse makes clear (“The more I called them, the more they went from me”). Thus some scholars have said that Matthew’s use of Scripture is arbitrary, *ad hoc* and atomistic. But it is unlikely that Matthew would have seen it that way. For him, the



connection between Israel and Jesus, the mention of “son” and the reference to “Egypt” would probably have made the connection seem obvious. But that is not to say that it is obvious to us.

Let me give an illustration. If we were to dig up an artifact of the first century, we might try to explain it in terms of the science of the day. Or we might use the very latest scientific equipment to determine what it is and what it does. Both might yield useful results. When Beale describes John as respecting the OT context and offering interpretations that are in continuity with them, he is probably correct in assuming that this is how it looked to John. But that is not necessarily how it looks to us. My work on intertextuality is directed toward an understanding of the book from our perspective. John has juxtaposed and combined a host of OT texts and images with aspects of Christian tradition. Intertextuality is a modern way of analyzing this. I am not suggesting that this is how John would have explained it. It is a modern attempt to analyze the artifact known as Revelation.

Lastly, let me say something about my own “faith perspective.” It seems to me that Scripture (and Christianity) can support two quite different perspectives. One stresses confidence to know the truth (John 16:13). The Bible is God’s Word. It is not merely “human opinion” but God’s revealed truth (Mark 7:8). Furthermore, God desires us to know this truth. He has become incarnate in Jesus in order to make himself known and gives his Holy Spirit to those who genuinely seek the truth. The interpreter can, therefore, be confident that the truth is out there, that God wants him or her to find it, and it is attainable.

On the other hand, other traditions stress the chasm that separates the finite creature from the infinite Creator. In Rom 9-11, Paul attempts to give a rationale for the unbelief of the Jews, but ends with the doxology: “O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!” (Rom 11:33). In Mark’s Gospel, Jesus confesses ignorance about the “day or hour” (13:32) and ends his life with a question: “My God, my God, why?” (15:34). Paul says in 1 Cor 13:12: “For now we see in a mirror dimly.”

I once belonged to the former, confident that the Bible gave me the truth while the masses were in darkness. Experience and scholarship has since convinced me that I was wrong. Life is more complicated than that and so are people. I am not what Vanhoozer (1998) calls a nonrealist. I do believe in a God who makes meaning possible. But the implication of that for me is not confidence that I possess it but humility that I only “see in a mirror dimly.” Much remains hidden. I do not know what John was trying to achieve when he wrote the book of Revelation. Some options

("the aquatic interpretation") can be ruled out for not doing justice to the book *for anyone*. Others can be virtually ruled out for being convincing only to a *minority interest group*. But there remain a number of important theories, all of which have something to be said for them. They illuminate different aspects of the book, just as the four Gospels illuminate different aspects of Jesus. I am suspicious of those who would dispense with the Gospels in favor of their own "Jesus of history," and I am suspicious of those who claim that there is but one correct way of reading Revelation. Unsurprisingly, that one way is of course their own!

## RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE NON-BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS OF 2 PETER

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### *Introduction*

One of the ongoing discussions in NT text-critical studies involves the methodology for classifying manuscripts into families and text-types.<sup>1</sup> This study focuses on the text of 2 Peter, following a three-step method. First, all the manuscripts in the study were compared and tentatively grouped through hierarchical cluster analysis. Next, based on these tentative groupings, profiles of nonmajority text readings were created. Then, working with and refining these profiles, the groupings were finalized.<sup>2</sup> A short profile of text readings is also provided for each group to aid in the quick identification of other manuscripts.

With the groupings in hand, the next task involved comparing them with similar studies in the Catholic epistles, as well as with the broader picture of NT text-critical research, specifically, within the “family/text-type” paradigm. Two text-types have received general acceptance: the Byzantine and the Alexandrian.<sup>3</sup> The majority of NT manuscripts belong to the Byzantine text-type. The level of variance between the subgroups or families of Byzantine manuscripts is relatively low. The identity of the Alexandrian text-type is based on relationships to two key manuscripts,

<sup>1</sup>See Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3d enlg. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 287-295.

<sup>2</sup>The data on the text of 2 Peter is taken from “The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of Second Peter” (M.A. project, Andrews University, 1980). The project compared collations from 150 manuscripts, which were selected for completeness. The methodology, with minor innovations, followed that of W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977). Joel D. Awoniyi introduced hierarchical cluster analysis, which produced a graph known as the “dendrogram.” The project on 2 Peter concluded that the dendrograms did facilitate the identification of groups, but profiles were still necessary to refine subgroupings, especially among Byzantine manuscripts (“The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Epistle of James” [Th.D. dissertation, S.D.A. Theological Seminary, 1979]).

<sup>3</sup>General discussions of text-types can be found in Metzger, 213-216; Keith Elliott and Ian Moir, *Manuscripts and the Text of the New Testament: An Introduction for English Readers* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995), 24; and Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 50-52.

Sinaiticus (01) and Vaticanus (02), both uncials from the fourth century. A third text-type which has received general acceptance by text-critics in the Gospels and Acts is the “Western” text-type as witnessed by Codex Bezae (05). A fourth proposed text-type in the Gospels, Caesarean, has been largely discredited. This study evaluates the non-Byzantine groups of 2 Peter in view of this established text-type paradigm.

The problem is compounded because studies of the Catholic epistles have suggested that not all groups fit neatly into the Byzantine/Alexandrian paradigm. Attempts to import labels such as “Caesarean” have generated considerable opposition. C. B. Amphoux has suggested a “Western text.”<sup>4</sup> W. L. Richards offers a “Mixed Text.”<sup>5</sup> Joel D. Awoniyi adds a siglum “C” for one group of manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> How do we correlate the classification of these nonconforming groups to the accepted paradigm?<sup>7</sup>

Another factor that complicates this discussion includes the freighted meanings of the labels because of expectations based on research in the Gospels or other parts of the NT.<sup>8</sup> When a homogeneous group is identified, are we inviting controversy based on labeling rather than internal objective relationships? On the other hand, how do we fit the group into the history of the text if we don’t use the “established” labels?

Methodological questions remain as to the level at which groups must agree statistically to belong to the same text-type.<sup>9</sup> How closely must the homogenous groups agree with one another to be included in the same

<sup>4</sup>Leon Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2d ed. rev. and updated, ed. C. B. Amphoux (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 23-24.

<sup>5</sup>Richards, “Johannine Epistles,” 176.

<sup>6</sup>Awoniyi, 54.

<sup>7</sup>These issues will be discussed in the context of the analysis of the groups that follows.

<sup>8</sup>This has been an element of the debate since Westcott and Hort proposed a “Neutral Text.” How one “freights” a label with meaning depends on individual orientation, i.e., whether one supports and defends the Majority Text or not.

<sup>9</sup>Ernest C. Colwell suggests “that the quantitative definition of a text-type is a group of manuscripts that agree more than 70 percent of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10 percent from its neighbors” (*Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [Leiden: Brill, 1969], 59). W. L. Richards discusses the limitations of this definition at length in his article “Manuscript Grouping in Luke 10 by Quantitative Analysis,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 379-391. That particular study involved 212 manuscripts and 131 variants. Richards found that 10-percent percentage gaps did not exist; “rarely as much as 3 percent, and even gaps as large as 1 percent are uncommon” (383). He also noted that “the 70 percent figure is meaningless so far as a general guide is concerned, simply because Byzantine manuscripts which relate to one another at least 90 percent of the time also relate to many of the Alexandrian manuscripts in the 65-70 percent range. Furthermore, Alexandrian manuscripts often agree less than 70 percent of the time with each other” (ibid.).

text-type? How different must they be before they are considered a separate text-type? To what degree do the parameters (i.e., criteria for identifying variants or selecting manuscripts) of the comparison define the classifications?

This study focuses on the non-Byzantine groups of 2 Peter and how they are impacted by these issues and contribute to text-critical theory.

*Identification and Description of the Groups*

Twenty-seven manuscripts were identified as non-Byzantine from a selection of 150 manuscripts using hierarchical cluster analysis as graphed by a dendrogram. These manuscripts were further classified into four distinct groups, again by referring to a dendrogram incorporating only the twenty-seven manuscripts (see Figure 1).

The groups consist of the following manuscripts:

Group I: MSS 323, 945, 1739, 1241, 1881, and 2298.

Group II: MSS P<sup>72</sup>, 03, 04, 1175, and 1243.

Group III: MSS 01, 02, 044, 5, 33, 1735, and 1845.

Group IV: MSS 206, 378, 522, 614, 1505, 1611, 1799, 1505, 2412, and 2495.

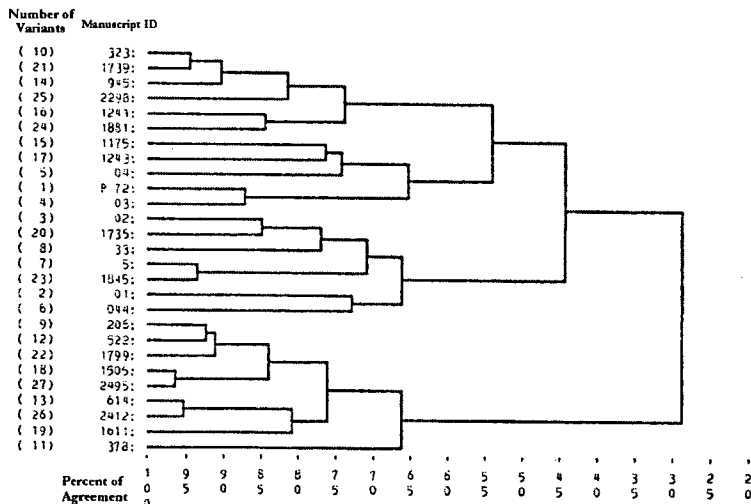


Figure 1. For explanation, see paragraph 2 above, and note 2 on p. 41.

Based on these identified groups, profiles of variant readings were prepared and used to analyze and compare the different groups. Of the original 173 Units of Variation identified using all 150 manuscripts, ninety-one included a nonmajority text reading that was either a primary reading (supported by two-thirds of the manuscripts in the group) or a secondary reading (supported by one-half of the manuscripts in the group) for one or more of these four groups. In order to be defined as a member of a group, each manuscript must agree with the profile a minimum of 66 percent of the time (most manuscripts agreed more than 80 percent, with only a couple of marginal members dropping below 75 percent).

<i>Group</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
Omissions	5-0-1	4-3-2	4-1-0	5-2-5
Additions	3-0-1	2-0-0	4-1-2	10-2-9
Substitutions	11-0-3	4-7-1	7-2-4	11-2-4
Transpositions	8-0-4	4-1-1	4-1-0	8-0-6
Verb Changes	2-0-0	3-3-3	1-1-1	1-0-0
Noun Changes	11-0-2	3-4-1	5-1-1	7-3-2

The first number indicates the number of primary readings, the second indicates the number of secondary readings; and the third, the number of these which are unique readings to the group.

An additional step was taken to characterize the groups according to the types of variation which predominate. To do this, each reading has been described as one of six classes of variation: (1) omission, (2) addition, (3) substitution, (4) transposition, (5) verb changes, or (6) noun changes.<sup>10</sup> Finally, a short profile of test readings was listed that could be used efficiently to identify potential new members of each group.

<sup>10</sup>For a discussion of types of variation, see Richards, *Johannine Epistles*, 32-41.

## Group I

In the first group, MSS 323, 1739, and 945 form one tight cluster, while MSS 1241, 1881, and 2298 are more loosely attached, with MS 1241 and 1881 showing a closer agreement with each other than with the rest of the group.

Richards classified three of these manuscripts—MSS 323, 1241, and 1739—all together in the same Alexandrian subgroup, A<sup>3</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Awoniyi added MS 2298 to these, and again found them closely related to each other, except for MS 323, which he included in an Alexandrian subgroup labeled A<sup>2</sup>.<sup>12</sup> In James, MS 323 stood by itself between the clear Byzantine and Alexandrian traditions and so was labeled B/A<sup>1</sup>, the only manuscript designated as such. It was described further as being “more closely related to those manuscripts which represent the Byzantine text traditions in other sections of the NT than it is to those manuscripts which witness to the Alexandrian text traditions.”<sup>13</sup> In his discussion of categorizing NT manuscripts, Thomas C. Greer used “Family 1739” as an example for family profiles in Acts. He includes MSS 323 and 945 along with others not in this study as members of this family.<sup>14</sup>

Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland classify manuscripts by dividing them into five categories, relative to their value in determining the original text in their estimation. These manuscripts fall into one of three of his categories. Category I, the Alexandrian text-type, is the most reliable. Category II, the Egyptian text, includes manuscripts of special quality, but unlike Category I contains readings that show “alien influences.” Category III includes manuscripts of “a distinctive character with an independent text, . . . particularly important for the history of the text.”<sup>15</sup> Of the manuscripts in Group I, Aland places MSS 1739 and 1241 in Category I; MSS 323, 1881 and 2298 in Category II; and MS 945 in Category III.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 141.

<sup>12</sup>Awoniyi, 43-44, 53.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 49, 54.

<sup>14</sup>Thomas C. Greer, “Analyzing and Categorizing New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Colwell Revisited,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Woods (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 264.

<sup>15</sup>Aland and Aland, 159.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 129-138.

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Primary Readings</i>	<i>Secondary Readings</i>	<i>Surplus</i>	<i>Nonreadings</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1739	41-40	0-0	1	0-0	98-00
945	41-37	0-0	3	1-0	90-00
323	41-36	0-0	2	2-0	88-00
1241	41-33	0-0	8	9-6	80-00
2298	41-32	0-0	4	1-0	78-00
1881	41-32	0-0	6	2-1	78-00

In the Primary and Secondary readings columns, the first number indicates the number possible for that manuscript, and the second number indicates how many actually occur. Surplus readings indicate how many additional nonmajority text readings the manuscript has in this profile list. The Nonreadings column indicates how often a manuscript is missing a reading because of lacunae or singular readings: The first indicates the total number, and the second indicates how many are profile readings. The Percent column gives the percent of primary readings first, and second, the percent of secondary readings. For example, MS 1241 has thirty-three out of forty-one primary readings and eight surplus readings. It has a lacuna or singular reading in six of the profile readings, as well as three others. It agrees with the primary reading profile for this group 80 percent of the time. This same format is used for tables 2-5.

Regarding types of variation (see Table 1), Group I is characterized primarily by substitution and noun changes (of the latter, eleven of fourteen examples). It also has more transpositions than Groups II and III. The profile readings not shared with any other group profile are primarily transpositions (Units of Variation 2, 15, 26, 83) (see Appendix 1) and substitutions (44, 52, 85). The other unshared profile readings are 35, 46, 58, and 64. There are two more omissions than additions, so the length of the text varies little from the majority text. The most distinguishing characteristic of this group is its unity—there are no secondary readings.

The manuscripts date from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. MS 1739 is of special interest and has been considered a key manuscript by several authors. Francis Wright Beare cites G. Zuntz:

In the opinion of Zuntz, it was copied from a 4<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, which in the Pauline epistles at least offered a text closely akin to that



used by Origen, and was made in all its parts by a scribe who “was not a copyist, but a scholar commanding a refined critical method and animated by a truly philological interest.”<sup>17</sup>

Bruce Metzger includes it as an example of a Later Alexandrian text.<sup>18</sup> Amphoux and his coauthors, again citing Zuntz and emphasizing the manuscript’s relationship to Origen, suggest that it is a type of “Caesarean” text.<sup>19</sup> While finding the best label for the group is open for discussion, there is general agreement that MS 1739 is a witness to an ancient text of 2 Peter.

Quick identification profile: Units of Variation # 15, 26, 44, 52, 85.

### Group II

This group invites attention because it includes P<sup>72</sup> and the great uncials, 03 and 04. P<sup>72</sup> and 03 are the most closely related, with the other three forming a separate cluster. Because of the limited size of the group (there are only five), determining primary and secondary readings becomes more stringent, with primary readings common to four of the five MSS, and secondary readings common to three of the five. This has resulted in a relatively low number of primary readings (nineteen as compared to forty-five in Group IV) and a higher number of secondary readings (there are nineteen). However, because no consistent pattern of agreement among the secondary readings has emerged, there are not three manuscripts that have a preponderance of agreement which isolates the other two.

All of the manuscripts, except P<sup>72</sup>, which does not contain the Johannine epistles, were classified by Richards. MSS 03 and 04 are members of his group A<sup>2</sup>; MS 1243 of his group A<sup>3</sup>; and MS 1175, which changed text-type completely, is in his group B<sup>6</sup>.<sup>20</sup> Awoniyi has only MSS 03, 1175, and 1243, which were placed in the same group, A<sup>1</sup>.<sup>21</sup> Aland includes all but MS 04 in his Category I, with MS 04 in Category II.

<sup>17</sup>Francis Wright Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 2. See G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 68-84.

<sup>18</sup>Metzger, 216.

<sup>19</sup>C. B. Amphoux and Dom B. Outtier, “Les versions géorgiennes de l’épître de Jacques,” *Biblica* 65 (1984): 374-375; Vaganay, 24, 104-105.

<sup>20</sup>Richards, *Johannine Epistles*, 141, 159. For MS 1175, see also Richards, “Gregory 1175: Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles,” *AUSS* 21 (1983): 155-168.

<sup>21</sup>Aland and Aland, 100, 107-109, 134.

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Primary Readings</i>	<i>Secondary Readings</i>	<i>Surplus</i>	<i>Non-readings</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1175	19-18	19-14	6	4-2	95-74
P <sup>72</sup>	19-18	19-9	6	8-5	95-47
1243	19-16	19-11	11	3-0	84-58
03	19-16	19-12	5	0-0	84-63
04	19-14	19-10	5	8-5	74-53

For explanation, see Table 2.

Muriel M. Carder has suggested that MS 1243 represents the Caesarean text of the Catholic epistles. Her conclusions are based on a ratio of Alexandrian and Western readings which are found in the epistles she studied: 1 Peter and 1-3 John.<sup>22</sup> Aland has responded by arguing that the only true means for identifying the Caesarean text-type is the writings of Origen and Eusebius.<sup>23</sup> Even though MS 1243 has a significant number of surplus readings and further analysis may be fruitful, since in 2 Peter, MS 1243 is more closely related to P<sup>72</sup> and 03 than any other group of manuscripts, it should be recognized as an example of the Alexandrian text-type.

Group II is not especially characterized by any single type of variant. It has more examples of verb changes than any of the other groups, of which Units of Variation 70, 74, and 86 are profile readings not shared with any other group profile. It is the only group which has more omissions than additions, which suggests it is marginally shorter than the Byzantine text. Two omissions are unshared profile readings: Units of Variation 48 and 67. The other unshared profile readings are Units of Variation 23, 35, and 42.

Another outstanding characteristic of this Group is that it has no primary readings until 2 Pet 1:18 (Unit of Variation 23). Prior to that verse, it has only four secondary readings. When compared with the other groups in this portion of the profile, this characteristic stands out. In this

<sup>22</sup>Muriel M. Carder, "A Caesarean Text in the Catholic Epistles," *NTS* 16 (1970): 252-270.

<sup>23</sup>Kurt Aland, "Bemerkungen zu den gegenwärtigen Möglichkeiten text-kritischer Arbeit aus Anlass einer Untersuchung zum Casarea-Text der Katholischen Briefe," *NTS* 17 (1970): 1-9. MS 1739.

same section, Group I has eight primary readings; Group III has eight primary and three secondary readings; and Group IV has thirteen primary and two secondary readings. When this portion of text was analyzed using all the 150 MSS, MSS P<sup>72</sup> and 03 were indistinguishable from the Byzantine textual tradition. In contrast, another portion of the text, 2 Pet 2:13-3:3 (Units of Variation 42-61), has eight primary readings and only one secondary reading. This accounts for almost half the primary readings for the total group profile. Though there are five primary readings, ten of the nineteen secondary readings are found in 2 Pet 2:13-3:3. It is interesting to note, following Blakely's suggestion, that these portions parallel the lectionary reading divisions.<sup>24</sup>

Quick identification profile: Units of Variation # 23, 35, 42, 70.

### Group III

This group is equally significant with such illustrious members as MSS 01, 02, and 33, thus suggesting an ancient text of 2 Peter within the Alexandrian tradition. MSS 5 and 1845 are the most similar, while MS 1735 and 33 show the lowest agreement of all the members of the group.

Of these manuscripts Richards has classified five: MSS 01, 02, and 044 in his group A<sup>2</sup>; MS 5 in group A<sup>3</sup>; and MS 1845 was classified as M<sup>w</sup> in 1 John, but A<sup>3</sup> in 2, 3 John.<sup>25</sup> Richards defines M<sup>w</sup> as follows: "They have a significant number of A and B readings but show no agreement with any of the A, B, or M group profiles."<sup>26</sup> Awoniyi's results are similar: MSS 01, 02, 044, and 1735 are classified in group A<sup>1</sup>; and MSS 5 and 1845 are classified as B/A<sup>2</sup>.<sup>27</sup> Aland includes MSS 01, 02 and 33 in Category I; MSS 044 and 1735 in Category II; and MSS 5 and 1845 in Category III.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Wayne Allen Blakely, "Manuscript Relationships as Indicated by the Epistles of Jude and II Peter" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1964). Blakely argued that the meaningful text-unit for classifying manuscript relationships was the lectionary divisions. My own study in 2 Peter suggests that these divisions are not generally reflected in manuscript relationships. It is only in this one group that a profile pattern has emerged which hints at such a division, and which might be an interesting conundrum in the history of the text.

<sup>25</sup>Richards, *Johannine Epistles*, 141, 177.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 177.

<sup>27</sup>Awoniyi, 43-44, 49-50, 53-54.

<sup>28</sup>Aland and Aland, 107-109, 118, 129, 135-136.

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Primary Readings</i>	<i>Secondary Readings</i>	<i>Surplus</i>	<i>Non-readings</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1845	27-25	7-3	12	0-0	93-43
044	27-24	7-5	17	6-2	89-71
02	27-23	7-5	9	2-2	85-71
5	27-21	7-3	11	1-1	78-43
01	27-21	7-2	12	6-2	78-29
1735	27-21	7-4	5	1-1	78-57
33	27-19	7-6	7	7-2	70-86

For explanation, see Table 2.

Group III is strongest in substitution and addition, with seven of the nine of the profile readings not shared with any other profile group coming from these types. The unshared additions are Units of Variation 10, 31, 36, and 50. The unshared substitutions are Units of Variation 16, 22, and 54. The other unshared readings are 21 and 76. The group also has a good representation of omissions, transpositions, and noun changes. This group is characterized by a high number of surplus readings. MS 044 has the most, seventeen. However, it has 89 percent of the primary readings and 71 percent of the secondary readings. In spite of the surplus readings, this manuscript does not fit any better in any other group. We could speculate that should more manuscripts be added to the study, and should a significant number of them agree closely with MS 044 in these surplus readings, it would warrant forming a new family group. MS 1845, which has a mixed text elsewhere in the Catholic epistles, has twelve surplus readings. But note that it shares each of them with some other member of the same group. MS 33 only has 70 percent of the primary readings, which defines the manuscript as a marginal member. Its inclusion in this group is warranted because it has 86 percent of the secondary readings.

Quick identification profile: Units of Variation # 16, 22, 31, 54, 76.

Group IV

Group IV stands apart. Hierarchical cluster analysis shows a marked separation between this group and the rest of the textual tradition. In 2 Peter, this group appears to be highly independent of the rest of the manuscript tradition while maintaining a close internal statistical agreement. It is suggested that this group should be considered an independent family with no affinities with either the Byzantine or Alexandrian text traditions.

Richards classified five manuscripts: MSS 206, 614, 1611, 1799, and 2412 in A<sup>1</sup>.<sup>29</sup> Noting the singularity of group A<sup>1</sup>, he states: "A<sup>2</sup> and A<sup>3</sup> have a larger number of shared readings than any other combination of the A groups."<sup>30</sup> He identifies only three A groups. Concerning MSS 614 and 2412, he observes that they "have the lowest number of group readings in 1 Jn and that a look at (the group profile) shows that where these two manuscripts miss the group readings, they agree with one another."<sup>31</sup> This is equally true for 2 Peter.

Table 5  
Group IV Statistics

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Primary Readings</i>	<i>Secondary Readings</i>	<i>Surplus</i>	<i>Non-readings</i>	<i>Percent</i>
522	44-44	8-5	2	1-1	100-63
206	44-41	8-7	3	0-0	93-87
1505	44-41	8-7	3	4-0	93-87
2495	44-41	8-6	4	3-1	93-75
1799	44-41	8-5	0	3-0	93-63
1611	44-40	8-5	4	2-2	91-63
614	44-38	8-2	5	4-3	86-25
2412	44-35	8-2	2	5-5	80-25
378	44-27	8-1	6	3-3	61-13

For explanation, see Table 2.

<sup>29</sup>Richards, *Johannine Epistles*, 140.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 138.

Awoniyi classified all the manuscripts except MS 2495. MSS 378 is classified as B/A<sup>32</sup>. The rest belong to a separate group identified by the siglum "C." This is in turn divided into subgroups: MSS 206, 522, and 1799 are members of his group C<sup>1</sup>, and MSS 614, 1505, 1611, and 2412 belong to his group C<sup>2</sup>.<sup>33</sup> In 2 Peter, the division of Group IV into two subgroups would be similar, except that MS 1505 would change sides. However, both the hierarchical cluster analysis and the profiles suggest that for 2 Peter the division is not clear enough to warrant such a distinction. Aland includes all these manuscripts except 1799, which he does not classify, into his Category III.<sup>34</sup> Amphoux, based on his study of James, has included all but MS 378 in his Family 2138. This group has a close textual relationship with the Syriac Harclean version, which suggests a text that is much older than any of the individual members.<sup>35</sup> He classifies the group as a "Western text."<sup>36</sup>

MS 378 presents a special problem. It is as good as any other member of the group from the beginning to Unit of Variation 18 (2 Pet 1:15) and from Unit of Variation 49 through 66 (2 Pet 2:18-3:9). In these two sections, it has seventeen of twenty-one primary readings, while in the rest of the book it has only ten of twenty-three primary readings. Nor does the profile of readings outside these two sections significantly match any other group profile. Even though it has an obviously mixed text, it has a higher percentage of agreement with Group IV than any other group.

Portions of two additional manuscripts also witness to this group: MSS 1522 and 1890. Awoniyi classified them as C manuscripts.<sup>37</sup> Richards used only MS 1522, and he classified it as M<sup>w</sup> in 1 and 3 John, and B in 2 John.<sup>38</sup> Aland includes neither one of them. These manuscripts have all twelve of the primary readings and one of the two secondary readings in Units of Variation 1-19 (2 Pet 1:1-17a). From 2 Pet 1:17 through the end, both manuscripts

<sup>32</sup>Awoniyi, 50, 53.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 51, 54.

<sup>34</sup>Aland and Aland, 132-137.

<sup>35</sup>These manuscripts date from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

<sup>36</sup>Vaganay, 23-24. See also C. B. Amphoux, "La paranté textuelle du sy<sup>h</sup> et du groupe 2138 dans l'épître de Jacques," *Biblica* 62 (1981): 259-271; idem., "Quelques témoins grecs des formes textuelles les plus anciennes de l'épître de Jacques: le groupe 2138 (ou 614)," *New Testament Studies* 28 (1982): 91-115; and idem., "Note sur le classement des manuscrits grecs de 1 Jean," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, 61 (1981): 125-135.

<sup>37</sup>Awoniyi, 50-51, 54.

<sup>38</sup>Richards, *Johannine Epistles*, 177.

represent a Byzantine text.<sup>39</sup> Group IV has a strong representation of each class of variation except in verb changes. In contrast to the other groups it has a larger number of additions. But the most outstanding feature is the number of readings not shared with any other group profile. Fifty percent (26 of 52) of its variations from the majority text used in the profile are unshared with any other group. Its nearest competitor has a ratio of only 27 percent. It also represents 50 percent (24 of 48) of the total of all unshared readings in all four of the group profiles.

The unshared readings for Group IV are: (1) Omissions—9, 17, 43, 74, 87; (2) Additions—6, 18, 19, 29, 32, 45, 54, 62, 88; (3) Substitutions—20, 24, 56, 89; (4) Transpositions—2, 5, 14, 25, 61, 79; and (5) Noun changes—37, 90.

Quick identification profile: Units of Variation # 2, 18, 29, 56, 79.

### *Summary*

#### The Manuscript Groups and the Text-type/Family Paradigm

Five distinct, homogenous groups have been identified within the manuscript tradition of 2 Peter. The largest, incorporating 123 of the 150 manuscripts, or 82 percent, belongs to the Byzantine text-type. There is little controversy over the identity of this text-type. The remaining four groups do not correspond as readily to the accepted paradigm.

Group II, led by MS 03, and Group III, clustered around MS 01, have been generally labeled Alexandrian, again with little controversy. Enough is known about the history of the two manuscripts, along with their established relationships in the other parts of the NT, that using the same label for both of them would be accepted by most textual critics. But in 2 Peter these groups could appear to belong to differing textual traditions based on substantially unique profiles. In the ninety-one selected Units of Variation, MSS 01 and 02 agree on a nonmajority text reading only thirteen times, of which six are profile readings. When the profiles of the two groups are compared, the profiles agree on only thirteen nonmajority text readings out of the fifty-nine units of variation where one or the other has a nonmajority text reading (for 22 percent agreement). Thus it appears that if we are to label both groups as Alexandrian in 2 Peter, we must postulate that the Alexandrian text-type has two distinct strands. Justification for using the same text-type label is thus based less on statistical relationships, and more on relationships in the larger

<sup>39</sup>When MS 1890 was examined at the place of change, it was noted that the significant point was at the end of a page. The page ends in v. 17 with *δοξαν*, and the new page begins with the word *φωνης*. This occurs between Units of Variation 19 and 20, both of which are primary readings for Group IV. This manuscript has the first primary reading, but not the second and only one thereafter. The collations for MS 1522 came from a published source, so it was not possible to check for a similar pattern.

context of the NT and on history. The internal statistical relationships between the manuscripts within each group are not as close as in Groups I and IV, and so “family” relationships are not being suggested for either group.

The remaining two groups are much more challenging. Should Group I, with its flagship MS 1739 be labeled “late Alexandrian” or “Caesarean”? Neither label would satisfy everyone. Of the two, “late Alexandrian” would be less controversial, simply because the existence of a “Caesarean” text has been successfully questioned. Statistically, Group I remains closest to Group II. When the profiles of these two groups are compared where one or the other of the profiles has a nonmajority text reading, they agree twenty-five out of fifty-three times (47 percent). It is also interesting to note that Group I has as profile readings ten of the fourteen readings where 01 and 03 agree. However, the Group has a number of unique readings and forms a distinct profile with forty-four readings. Because of internal cohesiveness the designation “Family” applies, as has been noted in Acts. Its value as a witness to an early form of the text of the NT has been generally accepted.

Group IV is consistent with Amphoux’s Family 2138, both in terms of relationships and in general description of the text. He labeled it as a “Western text.” However, the history and identity of a “Western text” have not received the same level of acceptance as the Byzantine and Alexandrian text-types outside of the Gospels and Acts. Thus, using that label for this group would be open for discussion. Since none of the generally accepted text-types based on the broader NT context describes this group adequately, it is suggested that it be labeled simply as Family 2138, following the example of Amphoux and such examples from the Gospels as Family 1 and Family 13. Thus for 2 Peter, the Alexandrian text-type has three distinct strands, as illustrated by Groups I-III, each significant for the study of the history of the text. Because of the relationship between Group IV and the Syriac Harklean version, the readings of this group also need to be taken seriously as an early witness to the form of the text of 2 Peter, even though all the manuscripts are late minuscules. These results confirm for 2 Peter what has generally been demonstrated throughout the Catholic epistles.

### Methodological Issues

Certain parameters directly impact the levels of agreement between the groups. The first involves the number of Units of Variation used. When all 173 Units of Variation were included, the percentage of agreement between the groups was relatively high. It could be argued that, based on the results of the cluster analysis, Groups I, II, and III could be



considered as the same text-type. However, when only the ninety-one Units of Variation relevant to the twenty-seven non-Byzantine manuscripts were used, eliminating all shared majority text readings, percentages of agreement dropped dramatically, so that Groups I, II, and III clustered at less than 45 percent. Shared agreements with the majority text had been eliminated from the analysis, thus magnifying the differences.

The second parameter involves the number of manuscripts. When the groups were compared one on one, using only readings where one or the other had a nonmajority text reading, percentages of agreement dropped even further.

This illustrates that statistical agreement between groups of manuscripts is directly impacted by the size of the sample, both by the number of variants and the number of manuscripts. The implications of these observations for textual theory suggest that text-type identification and analysis can take place only when the sample is large enough. Comparing two manuscripts with one another, or even two homogenous groups with one another, will not contribute to the classifying of manuscripts on the level of text-types.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 86-89. After a close comparison of W with other texts of Mark, including both agreements and disagreements, Hurtado concluded that "W is not a good supporter of any major text group." He also concluded that what had been called the "pre-Caesarean" text should be abandoned. The manuscript relationships in 2 Peter illustrate that similar results would take place if any of the major early uncials were to be studied one on one. For general descriptive purposes, this level of analysis may not be helpful.

## Appendix—Profile Readings

1. 2 Pet 1:1		2.σπουδασατε ινα δια	
1.συμεων		των καλων εργων	I, III, IV
2.σιμων	ii, IV	13. 2 Pet 1:12	Test
3.συμων		1.ουκ αμελησω	
2. 2 Pet 1:2		2.μελλησω	I, ii
1.θεου και ιησου		14. 2 Pet 1:12	
του κυριου ημων		1.αιε υμας υπομιμησκειν	
2.θεου και ιησου χριστου		2.υμας αιε υπομιμησκειν	
του κυριου ημων	I	3.υπομιμησκειν υμας αιε	IV
3.κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου	I	4.υμας υπομιμησκειν	
4.θεου και χριστου ιησου του		5.αιε υπομιμησκειν υμας	
κυριου		15. 2 Pet 1:13	
3. 2 Pet 1:3		1.τουτω τω σκηνωματι	
1.παντα		2.τω σκηνωματι τουτω	I
2.τα παντα	III, iv	16. 2 Pet 1:13	
4. 2 Pet 1:3		1.υπομιησει	
1.δια δοξης και αρετης		2.τη υπομιησει	III
2.ιδια δοξη και αρετη	I, III, I	17. 2 Pet 1:15	
5. 2 Pet 1:4	Test <sup>40</sup>	1.και	
1.τιμια ημιν και μεγαιστα		2.omit	iv
2.μεγιστα ημιν και		18. 2 Pet 1:15	
μεγιστα	I, ii, III	1.υμας	
3.τιμια και μεγαιστα ημιν	I	2.υμας ταυτα και	IV
6. 2 Pet 1:4		19. 2 Pet 1:17	
1.κοσμω		1.θεου	
2.τω κοσμω	I	2.του θεου	IV
7. 2 Pet 1:4		20. 2 Pet 1:17	
1.εν επιθυμια φθορας		1.εις ον εγω	
2.επιθυμιας και φθορας	I, ii, iii, IV	2.εν ω	IV
8. 2 Pet 1:5		21. 2 Pet 1:17	
1.αυτο τουτο δε		1.ευδοκησα	
2.αυτο δε τουτο	I, ii, III, IV	2.ηυδοκησα	iii
3.αυτοι δε		22. 2 Pet 1:18	
9. 2 Pet 1:5		1.εχ ουρανου	
1.σπουδην πασαν		2.εκ του ουρανου	III
2.σπουδην	I	23. 2 Pet 1:18	Test
3.πασαν σπουδην		1.ορει τω αγιω	
10. 2 Pet 1:8		2.αγιω ορει	II
1.υπαρχοντα		24. 2 Pet 1:19	
2.παροντα	III	1.φωσφορος	
11. 2 Pet 1:9		2.εωσφορος	iv
1.αμαρτιων		25. 2 Pet 1:20	
2.αμαρτηματων	I, III	1.προφητεια γραφης	
12. 2 Pet 1:10		2.γραφη προφητειας	IV
1.σπουδασατε			

26. 2 Pet 1:20		3. παρα Κυριου	
1. ιδιας επιλυσεως		40. 2 Pet 2:12	
2. επιλυσεως ιδιας	I	1. φυσικα γεγεννημενα	
27. 2 Pet 1:21		2. γεγεννημενα φυσικα	I, II, iii, IV
1. ποτε προφητεια		3. γεγεννημενα	
2. προφητεια ποτε	II, IV	41. 2 Pet 2:12	
28. 2 Pet 1:21	<i>Test</i>	1. καταφθαρησονται	
1. αγιοι Θεου		2. και φθαρησονται	I, ii
2. απο Θεου	I, II, IV	42. 2 Pet 2:13	<i>Test</i>
3. αγιοι του Θεου		1. κομιουμενοι	
29. 2 Pet 2:1		2. αδικουμενοι	II
1. λαω		43. 2 Pet 2:13	
2. λαω εκεινω	IV	1. εν (2)	
30. 2 Pet 2:1		2. <i>omit</i>	IV
1. εαυτοις		44. 2 Pet 2:13	
2. αυτοις	ii, iv	1. απαταις	
31. 2 Pet 2:4		2. αγαπαις	
1. τηρουμενους		3. αγνοιας	I
2. κολαζουμενους τηρειν	III	45. 2 Pet 2:13	
32. 2 Pet 2:5		1. υμιν	
1. κατακλυσμον κοστω ασεβων		2. εν υμιν	IV
2. κατακλυσμον κοσμου		46. 2 Pet 2:14	
κατα ασεβων	IV	1. ακαταπαυστους	
33. 2 Pet 2:6		2. ακαταπαυστου	I
1. καταστροφη		47. 2 Pet 2:17	<i>Test</i>
2. <i>omit</i>	I, II	1. νεφελαι	
34. 2 Pet 2:6		2. και ομιχλαι	I, II, III
1. ασεβειν		3. και νεφελαι	
2. ασεβεσι	ii, IV	48. 2 Pet 2:17	
35. 2 Pet 2:8		1. εις αιωνα	
1. εγκατοικων		2. εις αιωνας	
2. κατοικων	I	3. <i>omit</i>	
3. εγκατοικων	II	49. 2 Pet 2:18	
36. 2 Pet 2:8		1. ασελγειαις	
1. ανομοις		2. ασελγειας	I, IV
2. αθεσμοις	III	50. 2 Pet 2:18	
37. 2 Pet 2:9		1. οντως	
1. πειρασμου		2. ολιγον	
2. πειρασμων	IV	3. ολιγως	III
38. 2 Pet 2:10		4. οντας	
1. επιθυμια		51. 2 Pet 2:18	
2. επιθυμιας	I, ii, IV	1. αποφυγοντας	
39. 2 Pet 2:11		2. οντες	
1. παρα Κυριω			
2. <i>omit</i>	iii, IV		

52. 2 Pet 2:19		1.ο	
1.υπαρξοντες		2.omit	I, II, III
2.οντες	I	66. 2 Pet 3:7	
53. 2 Pet 2:20	Test	1.εις	
1.Κυριου		2.διδ	III, IV
2.Κυριου ημων	I, II, III, IV	67. 2 Pet 3:10	
54. 2 Pet 2:21	Test	1.η	
1.επιστρεψαι		2. omit	ii
2.υποστρεψαι	I, II	68. 2 Pet 3:10	Test
3.εις τα οπισω επιστρεψαι	IV	1.εν νυκτι	
4.εις τα οπισω ανακαμψαι	III	2.omit	I, II, III
55. 2 Pet 2:21		69. 2 Pet 3:10	
1.εκ		1.οι	
2.απο	III, IV	2.omit	III, IV
56. 2 Pet 2:22		70. 2 Pet 3:10	
1.το ιδιον εξεραμα		1.λυθησονται	
2.το ιδιον εξερασμα		2.λυθησεται	II
3.τον ιδιον εμετον	IV	71. 2 Pet 3:10	Test
57. 2 Pet 2:22		1.κατακαησεται	
1.κυλισμα		2.ευρεθησεται	I, ii
2.κυλισμον	I, II, iv	3.κατακαησονται	
58. 2 Pet 3:2		72. 2 Pet 3:11	Test
1.ημων/υμων		1.ουν	
2. omit	I	2.ουτως	I, ii, IV
59. 2 Pet 3:3		3.δε ουτως	
1.εσχατου		4.omit	
2.εσχατων	I, II, III, IV	5.δε	
60. 2 Pet 3:3		73. 2 Pet 3:12	
1.εμπαικται		1.Θεου	
2.εμπαιγμονη εμπαικται	I, II	2.Κυριου	I, ii
3.εν εμπαιγμονη εμπαικται		74. 2 Pet 3:12	
4.εμπαιγμονης εμπαικται		1.και στοιχεια . . . τηκεται	
61. 2 Pet 3:3		2.omit	iv
1. επιθυμιας αυτων		3.και στοιχεια . . . τακησεται	ii
2.αυτων επιθυμιας	IV	75. 2 Pet 3:13	
3.επιθυμιας		1.γην καινην	
62. 2 Pet 3:4		2.καινην γην	I, III
1.πατερες		76. 2 Pet 3:13	
2.πατερες ημων	IV	1.το επαγγελμα αυτου	
63. 2 Pet 3:7		2.τα επαγγελατα αυτου	III
1.τω αυτου		77. 2 Pet 3:13	
2.τω αυτω	I, ii, IV	1.κατοικει	
64. 2 Pet 3:7		2.ενοικει	iii, IV
1.πυρι		78. 2 Pet 3:14	
2.εν πυρι	I	1.αμωμητοι	
65. 2 Pet 3:9		2.αμωμοι	iii, IV

79. 2 Pet 3:15	
1. ημων αδελφος	
2. αδελφος ημων	IV
3. ημων	
80. 2 Pet 3:15	
1. αυτω δοθεισαν	
2. δοθεισαν αυτω	I, II, III, IV
81. 2 Pet 3:16	Test
1. ταις	
2. omit	ii, III
82. 2 Pet 3:16	
1. οις	
2. αις	I, ii, III, IV
83. 2 Pet 3:16	
1. εστι δυσνοητα	
2. δυσνοητα εισι	I
84. 2 Pet 3:16	
1. στρεβλουσιν	
2. στρεβλωσουσιν	I, II
85. 2 Pet 3:16	
1. ως (2)	
2. καθα	
86. 2 Pet 3:18	
1. αυξανετε	
2. αυξανεσθε	ii
87. 2 Pet 3:18	
1. δε	
2. omit	IV
88. 2 Pet 3:18	
1. Χριστου	
2. Χριστου και Θεου πατρος	iv
89. 2 Pet 3:18	
1. αυτω	
2. ω	IV
90. 2 Pet 3:18	
1. ημεραν αιωνος	
2. ημερας αιωνος	iv
3. τους αιωνας των αιωνων	
91. 2 Pet 3:18	Test
1. αμην	
2. omit	I, ii

<sup>40</sup>Kurt Aland, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I. die Katholischen Briefe* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 1:93-125. Aland includes fourteen "Teststellen" from 2 Peter in his "Die Resultate der Kollation." Thirteen were used in this study and are listed here. They are identified by the "Test" after the reference. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to evaluate his results in comparison with the methods used here. Richards has published such a study, "An Analysis of Aland's *Teststellen* in 1 John," *NTS* 44 (1998): 26-44.

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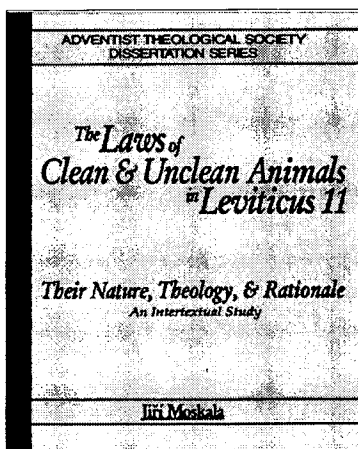
Author Jiří Moskala, Th.D., Ph.D., is currently an Associate Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Theology in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University.

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## THE BOOK OF JOSHUA, PART I ITS EVALUATION BY NONEVIDENCE <sup>1</sup>

DAVID MERLING  
Andrews University

No other biblical book has been as thoroughly reviewed by the archaeological community as Joshua. The reason for this interest is that no other book of the Bible appears to be as susceptible to archaeological investigation as the book of Joshua. The stories of the patriarchs provide few concrete details that Syro-Palestinian archaeologists could investigate; nor do the other Pentateuchal books, which are largely set outside of Canaan.<sup>2</sup> Joshua, on the other hand, describes events which seemingly occur in Late Bronze Age Canaan. Among its many stories is the destruction by Joshua and the Israelites of named cities. It seems obvious that the book of Joshua is an ideal candidate for archaeological investigation. Over the past decades connections between every city mentioned in the book and identifiable tells have been made.<sup>3</sup> The arguments and conclusions have been made on the basis of biblical, archaeological, and geographical considerations.

The proponents of the Conquest Theory have been in the forefront in gathering information about "biblical" sites with the intention of supporting the theory that the Israelites took Canaan by military conquest.<sup>4</sup> For the past thirty years, however, there has been a growing

<sup>1</sup>This paper is a revised and expanded version of research directed by William H. Shea, to whom it is dedicated in honor of his sixty-fifth year; cf. David Merling Sr., *The Book of Joshua: Its Theme and Role in Archaeological Discussions*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 23 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1997), 238-262.

<sup>2</sup>Recent examples of those who have worked on Egyptian/Exodus issues: James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Frank J. Yurco, "Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins," in *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 27-55; Abraham Malamat, "The Exodus: Egyptian Analogies," in *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 15-26; Donald B. Redford, "Observations on the Sojourn of the Bene-Israel," in *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 57-66; William H. Shea, "Date of the Exodus," in *ISBE* (1982), 2:230-238.

<sup>3</sup>Merling, *The Book of Joshua*, 115-145.

<sup>4</sup>William G. Dever, "Is There Any Archaeological Evidence for the Exodus?" in *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 76-77.

dissatisfaction with the Conquest Theory and, by extension, with the explanation of the book of Joshua as to how the Israelites came to occupy Canaan.<sup>5</sup> The primary problem has been that archaeologists have not found evidence that can be correlated with the book.<sup>6</sup> In fact, some have concluded that both the Conquest Theory and the book of Joshua have

<sup>5</sup>Merling, 59-62.

<sup>6</sup>Table 1 summarizes the archaeological data for Joshua. The biblical place names are followed by the archaeological sites suggested for them. This table also shows whether or not material cultural remains from the Late Bronze Age (LB, LBI, LBII)—the time most likely for the events of Joshua to have occurred—have been found at those sites. The last column shows that at no site so far excavated and associated with the book of Joshua has any *specific* evidence been found of Joshua or the Israelites.

Sites, Biblical and (Archaeological)	LB Settlement	LBI Destruction	LBII Destruction	*Specific Mention
T es-Sultan	✓	?	—	—
Ai (et-Tell)	—	—	—	—
Makkedah (T es-Safi) (Kh el-Qom)	✓ ?	? —	? —	— —
Libnah (T es-Safi) (T Bornat) (T Judeideh)	✓ ? ?	? ? ?	? ? ?	— — —
Lachish (T ed-Duweir)		—	✓	—
Eglon (T el-Hesi) (T <sup>c</sup> Aitun)	✓ ?	? ?	? ?	— —
Hebron (T Hebron)	✓	?	?	—
Debir (T Beit Mirsim) (Kh Rabûd)	✓ ✓	✓ ?	✓ ?	— —
Hazor (T el-Qedah)	✓	✓	✓	—
Madon (T Q Hiṭṭin)	✓	—	✓	—
Shimron (T Shimron)	✓	?	?	—
Achshaph (T Keisan)	✓	—	✓	—

\*Specific mention of Joshua or Israelites.



been disproved by the archaeological evidence.<sup>7</sup>

Specifically, excavated sites such as Jericho (Tell es Sultan), Ai (et-Tell), and Gibeon (el-Jib) have provided no substantiating evidence for the accounts of the book of Joshua. An obvious question arises from this situation: "What sort of conclusion is to be reached, when carefully excavated archaeological evidence does not seem to meet the minimum requirements of the historical implications of the biblical texts?"<sup>8</sup> The result has been a growing consensus that the biblical text of Joshua is historically unreliable. Such a conclusion calls for a reassessment of the relationship between Joshua and archaeology, especially since some significant considerations have been omitted in previous discussions.

To state the problem as clearly as possible, I use J. M. Miller to frame the dilemma of et-Tell:

That biblical Ai is to be equated with present-day et-Tell is an obvious conclusion, therefore, and one which scholars were agreed upon before any excavations were undertaken at the site. According to Josh 7-8, Ai was a fortified city at the time of the Israelite invasion (this is implied by the description of Joshua's military tactics and confirmed by the reference to the city gate in 7. 5); it was conquered and burned by Joshua; and it remained "forever a heap of ruins" (*t'el 'olām*; 8. 28) from that day onward. However, archaeological excavations at et-Tell have indicated rather conclusively that the site was virtually unoccupied following c. 2000 B.C.E. except for a small unfortified village which stood on the old ruins c. 1200-1050 B.C.E. (Marquet-Krause, Callaway). Thus, if the conquest occurred at any time during MB or LB, Ai/et-Tell would have been nothing more than a desolate ruin.<sup>9</sup>

Miller's deduction about et-Tell and the Israelite conquest is based not on evidence found at et-Tell but, rather, on the lack of evidence. In other words, archaeologists discovered nothing to substantiate the account of the book of Joshua. What archaeologists expected to find at et-Tell was one or more Late Bronze Age levels of occupation ended by destruction. They might have been satisfied to have found at least a Late Bronze Age settlement, but their excavations found no settlement at all. Thus, Miller's conclusion is that "the archaeological situation at et-Tell cannot be squared with the biblical claims,"<sup>10</sup> and "what archaeology does not

<sup>7</sup>Thomas L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (New York: Brill, 1994), 158.

<sup>8</sup>J. Maxwell Miller, "Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan: Some Methodological Observations," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 109 (1977): 88.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 88-89.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 89.

confirm, indeed, what archaeology denies, is the explanation provided by the narrative as to how the ruins came to be.”<sup>11</sup>

Miller’s conclusions raise the question, what does the *archaeology* of et-Tell “deny”? His comment suggests that he has confused the archaeologist with archaeology. Miller, as an archaeologist,<sup>12</sup> has noted et-Tell’s lack of archaeological evidence for a settlement during the Late Bronze Age. His conclusion is that this lack of evidence is evidence against the reliability of the book of Joshua. A major point of the present article is that there is an intrinsic difference between the evidence which archaeologists find and what they do not find. While this statement may seem sophomoric, in current archaeological discussions what archaeologists have found and what they have not found are treated as equally conclusive evidence.

The stories of the book of Joshua are in seeming conflict with archaeology not because of the evidence of archaeology but because of the lack of evidence (i.e., “nonevidence”). The archaeological community needs to more fully discuss the nature of archaeological nonevidence before it attempts to use nonevidence as a means of evaluating the historicity of the book of Joshua or any other ancient literature. Such an evaluation is the first step in understanding the relationship between archaeology and the Bible, for, in reality, nonevidence is currently the mechanism used, more than any other, to specify that relationship.

### *The Fallacy of Negative Proof*

The pragmatic reality is that current and past archaeological discussions are built on two types of “data”: what is found and what is not found. Both forms of “data” are mixed to produce archaeological explanations. The already cited words of Miller are an example of what can be shown at every level of archaeological explanation.<sup>13</sup> Although nonevidence has been assumed to be a form of “data” that is methodologically sound, the only real archaeological data are those found. Data not collected or not found constitute nonevidence, an argument

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Miller prefers to be identified as a biblical historian, but his fine survey work in Jordan and his use of the archaeological data in his many articles and books identify him as an archaeologist. See idem, “Reflections on the Study of Israelite History,” in *What Archaeology Has to Do with Faith*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Walter P. Weaver (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992), 60.

<sup>13</sup>Differentiations are made between archaeological periods, ethnic groups, and literary abilities of ethnic groups, partly based on what was not found in one stratum and what was found in another. Such explanations are examples of the mixing of evidence and “nonevidence” as data.

from silence which does not have the same weight as data that are found.

Almost thirty years ago David Hackett Fischer compiled a list of the false assumptions made by historians. One of those false assumptions is the “fallacy of the negative proof.” Wrote Fischer, “*The fallacy of the negative proof* is an attempt to sustain a factual proposition merely by negative evidence. It occurs whenever a historian declares that there is no evidence that *X* is the case, and then proceeds to affirm or assume that not-*X* is the case” (emphasis supplied).<sup>14</sup>

Applying Fischer’s dictum to Near Eastern archaeology, it may be said that the assumption that a specific point of an ancient literary account is disproved because one does not know of or cannot find any evidence of its historicity, is a historical fallacy. To admit that one has no information does not prove the information does not exist. Fischer summarizes: “A good many scholars would prefer not to know that some things exist. But not knowing that a thing exists is different from knowing that it does not exist. The former is never sound proof of the latter. Not knowing that something exists is simply not knowing.”<sup>15</sup>

More specifically, applying Fischer’s description of the fallacy of negative proof to Miller’s statements above, then, the archaeologists at et-Tell did not find evidence of a settlement during the Middle Bronze or Late Bronze Ages. Making assumptions beyond the data goes beyond the evidence and, therefore, cannot be the same as evidence. When Miller suggests that “archaeology denies” the biblical account, he has assumed “the fallacy of the negative proof” as the basis of his conclusion. What archaeologists do know is that the excavators found no evidence for a Late Bronze Age settlement at et-Tell. What archaeologists do not know is *why* they did not find any evidence. Miller has filled in that blank himself.

### *The Serendipitous Nature of Archaeology*

There are a number of possible explanations why evidence could be lacking at a given archaeological site. Archaeology is dependent on the skill of the archaeologist, the serendipitous nature of the finds, the arbitrary and incomplete methods of selecting a tell’s excavation areas, and the limited information gathered. Some archaeologists have acknowledged the limits of archaeology. William Dever, for example, has written that what archaeologists

<sup>14</sup>David Hackett Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 47. I was alerted to Fischer’s work by James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10-11.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 48.

find is “pure luck.”<sup>16</sup> While he didn’t mean that remark to be taken totally at face value, it does acknowledge the tentative nature of archaeological data. Theoretical constructs are mirages when built on “silent” evidence (Mazar’s term for what I call nonevidence).<sup>17</sup>

Miller has called nonevidence “negative archaeological evidence” as though something not found testifies in a negative way.<sup>18</sup> The reality is that finding nothing is nonevidence. Miller himself advises caution when evidence is lacking, thus admitting the limitations of nonevidence<sup>19</sup> and warning other archaeologists of the potential danger of using “negative archaeological evidence.” But his “negative archaeological evidence” is in reality nonevidence and as such has no value because it does not materially exist. Archaeologists once denied the historical existence of the Hittites because archaeological evidence had not been found. But when material evidence was discovered, the nonevidence, not surprisingly, disappeared. The argument from silence, which had been used as “evidence” for the Hittites’ nonexistence, remained what it was, nonevidence because in Fischer’s terms, it was based on fallacious assumptions.<sup>20</sup> The unique nature of archaeology, which is at least as much art as science, makes the use of nonevidence (what is not found) even more problematic.

The essential difference between what is found and what is not found is that, although the interpretation of collected data may change, the collected data itself, whether a soil layer or artifact, has its own, verifiable existence.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, nonevidence has no existence in itself. It is an assumed reality.

Currently there is the paradigm shift occurring among Syro-Palestine archaeologists regarding ethnicity and pottery in the Iron 1 period. At one time, a direct link was made between Iron 1 pottery, especially collared-rim

<sup>16</sup>William G. Dever, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies: Retrospects and Prospects*, William C. Winslow Lectures, 1972 (Evanston, IL: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1974), 41, 46.

<sup>17</sup>Amihai Mazar, “The Iron Age I,” in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 281.

<sup>18</sup>Miller, “Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan,” 89.

<sup>19</sup>J. Maxwell Miller, “Site Identification: A Problem Area in Contemporary Biblical Scholarship,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins* 99 (1983): 121.

<sup>20</sup>Perhaps a better term than my own “nonevidence” would be “fallacious evidence.”

<sup>21</sup>When an archaeologist discovers a bowl, the purpose of the bowl may be argued as “common” or “cultic,” or its identification and/or function may be argued (“lamp,” “chalice,” “basin” or “drinking,” “food preparation” or “storage”), but the bowl itself has its own existence regardless of whether the interpretation is correct or changes over time.

pithoi and Israelite settlements.<sup>22</sup> The primary basis of this connection was the uniqueness of certain pottery forms and their limited distribution in the hill-country of Israel, which is another way of saying, the nonappearance of these pottery forms in other regions. Further excavation, producing additional finds of these “unique” pottery forms outside the hill-country of Israel and more carefully considered conclusions has brought this link between pottery and ethnicity into question.<sup>23</sup> What has happened to the nonevidence, that is, the lack of the “Israelite” pottery forms in “non-Israelite” territories, which was the fundamental datum for previous areas. In fact, that “evidence” never existed. It was the imagined construct of interpreters. It was, in effect, what the theorists wanted it to be. It existed in their mind, not in the evidence.

Mazar has likewise recognized that nondata are a key problem in explaining the Israelite conquest and settlement. He writes, “The subject as a whole is fraught with methodological difficulties, for the silent archaeological evidence may always be interpreted in more ways than one.”<sup>24</sup> Calling it “silent archaeological evidence” suggests that it says nothing, and is an admission by Mazar, whether he recognizes it or not, that it cannot be valued as evidence. Kitchen is well aware of the problem of the attempted use of nonevidence:

Absence of evidence is not, and should not be confused with, evidence of absence. The same criticism is to be leveled at the abuse of this concept in archaeology: the syndrome: “we did not find it, so it never existed!” instead of the more proper formulation: “evidence is currently lacking; we may have missed it or it may have left no trace”; particularly when 5 percent or less of a mound is dug, leaving 95 percent or more untouched, unknown, and so, not in evidence.<sup>25</sup>

### *Nonconfirmation of Invasion Data*

Since the background of most of this discussion of the relationship between archaeology and the biblical stories centers on conclusions deduced from destruction layers, it would be helpful to consider the results of Isserlin’s study of historically-documented invasions. Isserlin

<sup>22</sup>E.g., Israel Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988): 270-285.

<sup>23</sup>Israel Finkelstein, “The Rise of Early Israel Archaeology and Long-term History,” in *The Origin of Early Israel—Current Debate: Biblical Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Shmuel Ahituv and Eliezer D. Oren (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1998), 16-17.

<sup>24</sup>Mazar, 281.

<sup>25</sup>Kenneth A. Kitchen, “New Directions in Biblical Archaeology: Historical and Biblical Aspects,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today: 1990* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 48.

demonstrates the difficulty of detecting evidence of invasions from the archaeological data, even when historical details are not disputed.<sup>26</sup> Isserlin has compared the literary record of the Norman conquest, the Anglo-Saxon settlement in England, and the Muslim Arab conquest of the Levant with the archaeological evidence of those events. That is to say, he has selected five determinatives of those later invasions as a means of testing what evidences should be expected from the Israelite conquest.

Table 2 summarizes the findings of Isserlin's study. No one disputes the "historicity" of the Norman or Anglo-Saxon conquests, even though, based on the literary evidence, one would expect destructions to be found. However, none of the three invaders (Normans, Anglo-Saxons, or Muslim Arabs) left any material evidence of their conquest for archaeologists to detect.<sup>27</sup> This is true even though, in the literature describing their invasions, destructions are described.<sup>28</sup> If the same archaeological standard were applied to these invasions as is applied to Jericho and Ai, the conclusion could only be that the Normans, Anglo-Saxons, and Muslims never expanded their territory through destructive conquests.

Item	Norman Conquest	Anglo-Saxon Settlement	Muslim Conquest
1. Attested destruction	0	0	0
2. New pottery	0	X	0
3. Cult constructions	X	X	X
4. New names	X	X	0
5. New languages	X	X	X

"0" = no evidence. "X" = evidence

Note. Based on Isserlin 1983: 85-94.

<sup>26</sup>B.S.J. Isserlin, "The Israelite Conquest of Canaan: A Comparative Review of the Arguments Applicable," *PEQ (Quarterly Statement)* 115 (1983): 85-94.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

Among the three groups, only the Anglo-Saxons introduced new pottery forms. Isserlin explains the uniqueness of the Anglo-Saxons in this regard. They were a small number of ruling-class gentry and the pottery styles introduced were unique pieces brought with them from their homelands. Isserlin concludes that only elitist populations are likely to impose new pottery styles on local populations.<sup>29</sup> Isserlin's article, showing that archaeological evidence for military invasions may not be as forthcoming as archaeologists would like, should warn those who give nonevidence the same weight as actual material evidence found. Dismissing a literary reference to a city's destruction simply because evidence of a destruction is not found in archaeological excavations may be a hastily drawn conclusion. Such a warning, however, runs counter to Albright's theorem of using archaeology to check literary statements.<sup>30</sup> For him, archaeology had the last word of reality because he saw archaeology as neutral. Isserlin's article suggests that the findings of archaeology are not unbiased. They may be biased by the expectations of the archaeological community, whether or not these expectations are based on substance. They may be additionally biased by the inherent limitations of archaeology.

The biblical text is not the only ancient Near Eastern historical record that has problems reconciling its stories with the archaeological record. The record of Thutmose III's first military campaign against Canaan is the most complete military account of any Egyptian pharaoh.<sup>31</sup> According to the account, the Egyptians and a coalition of Canaanite resisters met in a great battle on the plain near Megiddo. In the end, the rebel army fled to the safety of Megiddo.<sup>32</sup> Because the defensive features of Megiddo were strong, Thutmose III was forced to construct a counter wall built of timbers.<sup>33</sup> It is likely that this wall was made of local fruit trees and was of significant size, since it was said to be a "thick wall" and even given a name.<sup>34</sup> Megiddo's city wall is also mentioned in the account. Yet archaeological work has found no evidence of Megiddo's Late-Bronze-Age wall or Thutmose's wall. In fact, it has found no evidence of any Late-Bronze-Age fortifications at

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>30</sup>W. F. Albright, "The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 74 (1939): 13.

<sup>31</sup>James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (London: Histories and Mysteries of Man, 1988), 2:391.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 430.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 433.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

Megiddo, leaving archaeologists to ponder the “odd” anomaly and to question the Egyptian story.<sup>35</sup>

Another example in which textual evidence has not been supported by archaeological excavations comes from Carchemish. According to the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses III, the Sea Peoples destroyed Carchemish, yet no archaeological evidence has been found to substantiate that claim.<sup>36</sup> Additional examples could be given in which missing archaeological evidence provides no visible confirmation for literary evidence.<sup>37</sup>

A similar problem, even closer to Israelite settlement issues, is encountered in the search for the new population groups introduced by the Assyrians to Israel after the conquest of that land (Ezra 4:1-2). No such new groups have been identified by archaeology.

According to biblical and Assyrian sources, thousands of deportees of various origins (Arameans, Babylonians, Iranians, Arabs, Elamites) were exiled to the country at that time. But these ethnic groups, which settled in various parts of the country, are not reflected in the material culture of the period.<sup>38</sup>

An example of a people who left little archaeological evidence is the Assyrian merchants who lived in Cappadocia in the nineteenth and early eighteenth centuries B.C. They lived in Anatolian houses, used local pottery, and adopted other elements of the local material culture. It is only from the information provided in tablets and seals that their long presence in Anatolia can be clearly detected.<sup>39</sup>

We may conclude that when it comes to the origins or migrations of peoples during the late second millennium B.C., there is no certainty that written sources can be reliably verified by archaeology. Material culture may indicate their presence, but no negative conclusions can be

<sup>35</sup>R. Gonen, “Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 253 (1984): 213, 219.

<sup>36</sup>Hans G. Guterbock, “Survival of the Hittite Dynasty,” in *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. William A. Ward and Martha Sharp Joukowski (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1992), 55.

<sup>37</sup>For example, Michael G. Hasel writes about Dibon, “This gap in occupation presents a challenge to the records of Ramses II.” About Akko, he notes, “Excavations have not uncovered an LB gate and there is no evidence for fortifications,” which counters the Ramses II account that includes a picture of the defeated city “with its gates askew” (*Domination & Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, 1300-185 BC* [Boston: Brill, 1998], 164, 169).

<sup>38</sup>Gabriel Barkay, “The Iron Age II-III,” in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 55. The biblical account is supported by Sargon’s claim that he resettled Samaria with new inhabitants (Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* [London: Histories and Mysteries of Man, 1989] 2:17, 55).

<sup>39</sup>Barkay, 243.



drawn from the lack of positive evidence.<sup>40</sup>

In 1968, S. Horn began excavations at Tell Hesban. Although I believe that archaeologically he was well ahead of his time, reading his reports makes it clear that among the other goals of the project was the discovery of Heshbon, the city of Sihon the Amorite (Num 21). The name of the project "The Heshbon Expedition" and the interchangeability of the names Hesban and Heshbon in his report testify to that aim.<sup>41</sup>

After five seasons, no evidence of Late-Bronze-Age materials was found at Tell Hesban. As the later project director Lawrence Geraty wrote, "The only substantive non-correlating data appear to be the biblical allusions to the date, nature, and location of Sihon's Amorite capital, and the archaeological evidence that human occupation at Tell Hesban did not antedate ca. 1200 B.C."<sup>42</sup> The unusual turn in Geraty's article was his willingness to probe a broad-ranging list of options as to what the nonevidence of Tell Hesban means. He listed eight possible explanations, finally admitting that he was not satisfied with any of them.<sup>43</sup>

His suggestions make it apparent that critical schools of thought favor one option; traditional or conservative schools of thought favor others, and so on. What Geraty has tried to do is to introduce the reader to the spectrum of possibilities. The primary weakness of archaeology is not so much the skill of the archaeologist or the limited exposure of the tell. It is the inability of nonevidence to give any direction. Archaeology stops with what an archaeologist finds. Beyond that lies speculation.

In the current archaeological paradigm, the Bible and all written records are on trial subject to disproving, not only by evidence but also by nonevidence. Such a methodology is untenable since, as noted above,

<sup>40</sup>Nadav Na'aman, "The Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua and in History," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, ed. Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994), 242, 243.

<sup>41</sup>R. S. Boraas and S. H. Horn, "The First Campaign at Tell Hesbân," *AUSS* 7 (1969): 97, 99.

<sup>42</sup>Lawrence T. Geraty, "Heshbon: The First Casualty in the Israelite Quest for the Kingdom of God," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, ed. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A.R.W. Green (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 242.

<sup>43</sup>One of those possibilities, of course, is that the biblical account is false (i.e., not historical), which many biblical historians have assumed. While that is a possibility, it cannot be assumed because of the lack of evidence. Real, self-existing evidence must be found to disprove literary evidence. Only then can literary evidence be considered unreliable. After all, literary evidence is evidence. It has an existence. Theories, however, like the documentary hypothesis, are nonevidence because they are constructs of theoreticians. The disagreements of proponents of the documentary hypothesis, in every new book supporting the theory, demonstrate this.

archaeological data are incomplete, collected in various uncontrolled environments, and subject to accidental and unusual finds, or nonfinds.

Unlike “found,” “tangible” evidence, nonevidence does not originate from an archaeological site but, rather, from theories created by archaeologists. According to Brandfon, archaeologists assume that what they are doing is objective science, when in fact their interpretations of the archaeological data are not any more factual than are the interpretations of written history. The very act of developing “typologies” (used by Brandfon to mean the descriptive process) moves the architecture and objects found by archaeologists into the realm of theory.<sup>44</sup> When nonevidence is used as data and is assumed within a theory, it becomes destructive because theorists are then obligated to fight for the validity of the nonevidence as though it had an existence. For this reason new ideas or alternate suggestions for interpreting the archaeological and biblical data may be ignored or dismissed out of hand.

It is more than telling that Isserlin’s article has been ignored by the archaeological community. The idea that archaeology is the verifier of ancient literary works has been accepted at face value, and evidence to the contrary is not easily accepted.

For archaeological theories to have valid bases, they must be built on evidence, not on nonevidence. Likewise, it is not logically sound to dismiss evidence, such as the biblical text or any other ancient literature, on the basis of nonevidence. Written documents and existing data must be used together. Neither of these may be invalidated by nonevidence—arguments from silence. The archaeological community needs to rethink the relationship of archaeological evidence to ancient literary works, in order to develop reliable parameters within which these two categories of evidence can be related.

<sup>44</sup>Fredric Brandfon, “The Limits of Evidence: Archaeology and Objectivity,” *MAARAV: A Journal for the Study of the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures* 4 (1987): 17.

## WOMAN AS THE OBJECT OF QOHELET'S SEARCH

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Qohelet 7:23-29 has elicited numerous approaches to explain why there is a negative estimation of womanhood found on the lips of the wise. Below it will be argued that the text picks up the narrative of the first two chapters of Ecclesiastes and briefly continues the characterization of the life of Solomon. Part and parcel of that life was the pursuit of women. This pursuit had a negative effect on the reputation of Solomon. Some part of what it means to be wise seemed to have eluded him; therefore, the relation between "woman" and "wisdom" becomes an important hermeneutical approach to the understanding of the text. Before turning to this approach, however, a brief review of recent scholarship will be presented.

### *Various Approaches to Qohelet 7:23-29*

Various hypotheses have been advanced to explain the passage in question. Michael V. Fox reads the text as simple misogyny.<sup>1</sup> Frank Zimmermann envisions a sexually frustrated sage, who speaks of his own embittered experience.<sup>2</sup> Scholars such as Sinclair Ferguson see a male perspective that can easily be transposed into the female.<sup>3</sup> A feminine perspective might have read:

I find more bitter than death the man who is an iron fist and whose heart is arrogant and whose feet are steel boots. The woman who fears God will escape him, but the sinner he will crush. . . . I have found one woman among a thousand, but a man among all these I have not found.<sup>4</sup>

Kathleen Farmer claims that 7:26 invokes a certain kind of woman,

<sup>1</sup>Michael V. Fox states: "The passage remains irreparably misogynistic," and 9:9 does "not ameliorate the sourness of the passage" (*Qoheleth and His Contradictions* [Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989], 237-238).

<sup>2</sup>Frank Zimmermann, *The Inner World of Qoheleth* (New York: KTAV, 1973), 152.

<sup>3</sup>Sinclair Ferguson, *Pundit's Folly* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1995), 35.

<sup>4</sup>Duane A. Garrett, "Ecclesiastes 7:25-29 and the Feminist Hermeneutic," *Criswell Theological Review* (1988): 318.

such as can be found in Prov 7; only the sinner is taken.<sup>5</sup> This reading leaves virtually all women morally flawed, since Qohelet did not find a single (upright) woman among a thousand.<sup>6</sup>

Further analyses border on the esoteric. Klaus Baltzer finds a military commentary in the text, as if Qohelet had written: "You have heard it was said, 'More bitter than death is the woman,' but I have searched the death-dealing אֶלֶף ("military unit"), and I found no woman there." The הַשְׁבִּיטָה of 7:29 is a machine of war, as are other elements of the text: chains, nets, and snares. The misogynistic meaning disappears and becomes a testimonial to the female gender. God made the male upright, but he has searched out machines of war.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Krüger proposes that wisdom is personified; that is, the "sinner" comes under the inevitable snares and nets (discipline) of the wisdom school, but the good man escapes evil consequences.<sup>8</sup> H. C. Leupold argued that the woman symbolized heathen philosophy.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps she is the proverbial Dame Folly. Duane A. Garrett suggests that there is an echo of Gen 3 in these verses, with the curse of the woman, who "will try to trap" her husband.<sup>10</sup> It appears that 7:29 seems to have the Fall in view: "God made mankind upright, but men have gone in search of many schemes." Ingrid Riesener proposes that Qohelet's words are not his own, but are cited from "traditionelle *Weisheit Aussagen*," of the sort one encounters in the book of Proverbs, where warnings are given against the foreign woman.<sup>11</sup> Chapter 7:29 underlies the traditional negative statement with a positive judgment from Creation in this reading.

<sup>5</sup>Kathleen Farmer, *Who Knows What Is Good? A Commentary on the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 179. Her opinion is derived from the close association she sees between Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

<sup>6</sup>Tremper Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 204. Longman argues from the lack of a single woman in a thousand that Qohelet had all womanhood in mind, not just a certain kind of woman.

<sup>7</sup>Klaus Baltzer, "Women and War in Qohelet 7:23-8:1a," *HTR* 80 (1987): 127-132.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Krüger, "'Frau Weisheit' in Koh 7,26?," *Biblica* 73 (1992): 394-403. Krüger argues that the discussion is about wisdom, but that the disciplinary aspect of traditional wisdom, erotically personified, had disillusioned Qoheleth, who came to regard it as *bitterer als der Tod*.

<sup>9</sup>H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1952), 173-177. Leupold also argues that women "never produce constructive wisdom works or systems of thought that are truly creative" (177). Commentators, perhaps, can also be misogynists.

<sup>10</sup>Duane A. Garrett, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs* (Nashville: Broadman, 1993), 325.

<sup>11</sup>Ingrid Riesener, "Frauenfeindschaft im Alten Testament? Zum Verständnis von Qoh 7,25-29," in *Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit . . .*, ed. A. Diesel (Berlin: Gruyter, 1996). See also Norbert Lohfink, *Kohelet* (Würzburg: Echter, 1980), 56.

Recently Dominic Rudman has suggested that the woman of 7:26 is not evil, but is used by God as a tool to prevent the discovery of the sum of human life. The woman *per se* is not the “archetype of wickedness,” since Qohelet refers only to her inevitable role as the thwarter of discovery. Qohelet seeks to understand human motivation and actions rather than abstract truths. Therefore, as one embarks on a search for understanding, it would appear to be impossible not to be ensnared by a woman, thus ending the search.<sup>12</sup>

The above synopsis illustrates the hermeneutical disparity among interpreters. Below we will examine another possible approach, in which 7:23-29 is read as a synopsis of Qohelet's search of chapters 1 and 2, and as a commentary on the life of Solomon. It will be argued that Qohelet's quest was, in part, for a female companion.

### *The Life Story of Qohelet*

In Ecclesiastes, the “frame narrator” records the reflections of Qohelet: summary of Qohelet's words (1:1-3), an evaluative epilogue (12:8-14), and a third-person reference, “says Qohelet,” (7:27). The frame narrator, rather than Qohelet, is the final author of Ecclesiastes.<sup>13</sup>

Qohelet himself speaks the first-person language, which is reminiscent of King Solomon. He is the “son of David, king over Israel” (1:1), dedicated to the pursuit of wisdom (1:13), engaged in great building projects and the acquiring of a harem (2:4-10). He is the greatest king of Israel (2:9). Qohelet presents his case in the guise of Solomon in order to more effectively make his point.

In the first two chapters Qohelet records his story, thus setting the stage for the argument presented in the subsequent material: Qohelet claims that he was king in Jerusalem; he desired to be wise, to “seek” (רָשָׁ) and to “explore” (חִיר) everything that is done under the sun (1:13);<sup>14</sup> to “test” (נִסָּה) and “explore” (חִיר) mirth and pleasure (2:1-3); to know wisdom, madness, and folly. Qohelet explored his world looking for that which is good and profitable. To see what is good, he tried wine and pleasure. He also built vineyards, gardens, ponds, and houses; he acquired servants, concubines (2:8, the delights of the heart of man), gold, and

<sup>12</sup>Dominic Rudman, “Woman as Divine Agent in Ecclesiastes,” *JBL* 116 (1997): 411-427.

<sup>13</sup>Since this is the case, Ecclesiastes seems somewhat distant from the historical Solomon. Although the points of argumentation in this paper do not require a postexilic date for the book, such a date is assumed below where pseudepigraphic and Rabbinic sources are used to define a postexilic understanding of Solomon.

<sup>14</sup>The only instance of רָשָׁ in Ecclesiastes.

silver. He became greater than “all who were before” him and denied himself nothing that he desired (2:10).

But Qohelet did not find what he was searching for. He excelled in wisdom only to find that it brings great sorrow. He discovered that his wisdom and his work would end existentially in his own death, thereby giving him no advantage over the fool. He concluded:

A man can do nothing better than to eat and drink and find satisfaction in his work. This too, I see, is from the hand of God, for without him, who can eat or find enjoyment? To the man who pleases him, God gives wisdom, knowledge and happiness, but to the sinner he gives the task of gathering and storing up wealth to hand it over to the one who pleases God. This too is meaningless, a chasing after the wind (Qoh 2:24-26, NIV).

The pleasure of the moment is all a man can expect from life. If God is pleased he gives enjoyment; if not, he gives hardship (2:26). All falls under the censure of “meaningless” (הבל). After this conclusion, Qohelet examines other fields of knowledge and experience and pronounces them “meaningless” as well. But Qohelet’s “experiment” as an ongoing endeavor in the *persona* of Solomon is not mentioned again until 7:23-29.

### *The Summation of 7:23-29*

The first two chapters are recalled in 7:23-29, where the only other uses of the words “חור” and “נסה” occur in 1:13 and 2:1-3. The search for “wisdom” and “folly” evokes 1:17 and 2:12. Chapter 7:23-29 is an evaluation and synopsis of the “experiment” of the first two chapters. Only wisdom has ultimately eluded Qohelet: He “found” (מצא) no wisdom and no חשבון. (It will be argued below that חשבון may be glossed “intrigue.”) But the exploration of wisdom and folly did reveal three salient facts. First, he “found” (מצא) an אשה (“woman”), who is a snare and a trap. Second, he “found” (מצא) one man among a thousand, but no woman. Third, he “found” (מצא) that God made man upright and that they seek חשבונות.

### *An Odd Thing to Find*

While searching for wisdom, Qohelet found a dangerous woman. His statement about the “one man in a thousand” serves to highlight his inability to find any other woman than that which he found.<sup>15</sup> If 7:23-29

<sup>15</sup>The section of 7:23-29 is tied together in part by a seek-and-find motif. This being the case, even if 7:28 were proverbial it would have served to reinforce Qohelet’s argument that to seek after a satisfying intrigue with a woman is a dangerous undertaking with small chance of success.

evaluates the “test” of chapters 1 and 2, then why is this new element (his encounter with a woman) introduced? Qohelet did not seem to be searching for a woman in the earlier chapters.

In 9:9-10 there is some evidence that in Qohelet’s mind the search for a woman and the search for wisdom are equated. The relevancy of these verses will be presented below.

### *The Equation of the Woman and Wisdom*

Enjoy life with the woman whom you love, all of the days of your meaningless life that he has given you under the sun, all your meaningless days. For this is your portion in life and in your laborious toil under the sun. Whatever your hand finds to do, do it with your might, for there is no doing nor intrigue nor knowledge nor wisdom in the grave, where you are going (9:9-10, author’s translation).

Here the reader is not called upon to enjoy his wife as a facilitator of pleasure. The man is not told to “enjoy your wife,” but rather “enjoy life with the wife whom you love.” There seems to be an element of companionship and togetherness in the verse in the spirit of 4:11 (RSV): “If two lie together, they are warm; but how can one be warm alone?” The woman is not lumped together with white garments, oil, food, and drink.<sup>16</sup> The man and the woman, whom he loves, should enjoy good things together.

### *חֵשְׁבֹן and the אִשָּׁה*

חֵשְׁבֹן (“intrigue”) is set parallel to דַּעַת (“knowledge”), חָכְמָה (“wisdom”), and מַעֲשֵׂה (“doing, activity”) in 9:10. Together these should be enjoyed in life, since they do not exist in the grave. These terms are set parallel to enjoying good things with the woman one loves in 9:9. Qohelet did not say: “Enjoy life with your wife, since there is no enjoyment in the grave,” or “Enjoy life with her, since there is no marriage there.” Rather, he says: “Enjoy life with your wife,” because there is no חֵשְׁבֹן, wisdom, doing, or knowledge in the grave. Qohelet equates enjoyment with wisdom, knowledge, and activity. Enjoy life with her now, since there will be no wisdom then. Therefore, Qohelet equates enjoying the good things of life with one’s beloved with having knowledge and wisdom.

What was the object of Qohelet’s search as he presented wisdom and knowledge in the first two chapters? Do “wisdom” and “knowledge” mean a philosophical understanding of how things add up? When he asks, “Where is the profit?” is this a philosophical question? He notes in 9:9-10

<sup>16</sup>Contra Krüger, who states: “. . . nennt er doch die Frau ‘in einer Reihe mit guten Speisen und süßem Wein, mit frischer Wäsche und duftendem Haaröl!’” (“Frau Weisheit,” 394-395).

that enjoying life with one's beloved is synonymous with wisdom, knowledge, and activity. Perhaps this explains why Qohelet searched for the one, but found the other. Rudman asserts that Qohelet sought to discover what resides in the hearts of individuals, and it is this kind of knowledge that he labels חִשְׁבוֹן.<sup>17</sup>

There is an association between the אִשָּׁה ("wife") and the חִשְׁבוֹן ("intrigue") throughout Ecclesiastes. The words are found in alternate verses in 7:25-29 and are found together again in 9:9-10. The words occur only in these passages in the book. If they are intentionally linked, then חִשְׁבוֹן may denote a particular kind of knowledge, activity, or wisdom that involves personal interaction.

### חִשְׁבוֹן and Its Meaning in Ecclesiastes

חָשַׁב is usually glossed "devise" or "reckon." Often the verb deals with court intrigue or politics (1 Sam 18:25; 2 Sam 14:15; Esth 8:3; Neh 6:2). חָשַׁב also commonly indicates an evaluation or scrutinizing of a person (1 Sam 1:13, Job 13:24, Neh 13:13, Prov 17:28; see also, "My maids reckon me a stranger" [Job 19:15]). The word also can mean skillful and clever designing (2 Chron 2:13, 26:15). The noun חִשְׁבוֹתָא can be glossed "thoughts" or "devisings" (Prov 16:3). The form חִשְׁבוֹן, however, is found in Ecclesiastes in the context of discussions of wisdom and women. In 7:29 we find חִשְׁבוֹנוֹת to be the plural form of a "synonymous variant" חִשְׁבוֹן.<sup>18</sup> It occurs once elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures in the plural form, where it is glossed "siegeworks" (2 Chron 26:15).<sup>19</sup> If one would devise (חָשַׁב) a political or amorous strategy, that devising would be called an

<sup>17</sup>Rudman, "Woman as Divine Agent," 425.

<sup>18</sup>T. A. Perry, *Dialogues With Qohelet* (Penn State Press, 1993), 132. Perry glosses "strategy" for חִשְׁבוֹן and "stratagems" for the plural חִשְׁבוֹנוֹת. He suggests that the terms do not refer to "totaling up his experiences," but to an aspect of wisdom that plans for the future by anticipating danger. But if this were its meaning, then humans have no access to it (8:7), and Qohelet would hardly imply that living persons might possess it (9:10). Perry also sees the plural form indicating a shift from a positive to a negative nuance; the wise begin by seeking a wise strategy, but end by devising mere trickery.

<sup>19</sup>Most commentators see little, if any, difference in meaning between the two forms distinguished only by number and vocalization. The חִשְׁבוֹן of 7:29 has been compared to the חִשְׁבוֹן of previous verses along these lines: "The word points to the futility of the attempt—to which [Qohelet's] own experiment recorded in these verses is an example—to discover by wisdom the 'sum of things'" (R. N. Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, NCBC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 128). "This is clearly self-directed irony. . . . Such cogitation, he says here, is contrary to the way man was created" (Fox, *Qoheleth and His Contradictions*, Biblical and Literature Series 18, JSOT Supplement Series 71 [Sheffield: Omen Press, 1989], 243). There is no discernable difference in the uses of the two variants by Qohelet.



“intrigue.”<sup>20</sup> Qohelet uses the term to associate wisdom and אִשָּׁה. The connection of wisdom with the devising of amorous intrigue has examples in Scripture. Jonadab was “wise” (חָכָם) in devising a way for Ammon “to do” (לַעֲשׂוֹת) something to Tamar (2 Sam 13:2-3). The Queen of Sheba was attracted by Solomon’s wisdom, so she “tested” (נִסָּה) him (1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chron 9:1). The word used to describe the queen’s testing of Solomon is that used by Qohelet to describe his own exploration of mirth and good things (2:1). Her response in part was to proclaim: “Happy are your wives!” (1 Kgs 10:8).<sup>21</sup> 1 Kings 11, then, delineates Solomon’s many wives. He loved these women and they “turned his heart (הִטּוּ אֶחְלִיבוֹ) after other gods” (1 Kgs 11:4). In Proverbs, the youth who is enticed by the adulteress lacks “sense” (לֵב, Prov 7:7). The wise youth knows that the end of all who follow her is death, and that life is found in the embrace of one’s “loving doe, graceful deer,” whose breasts always satisfy (Prov 5:1-23). In the first nine chapters of the Proverbs of Solomon folly and wisdom are represented as women, who seek to engage the young man. In the end of the book, to possess the virtuous wife is also to possess wisdom.<sup>22</sup>

There does seem to be a connection in sapiential tradition between wisdom and the ability to handle the venereal appetite. Since חֲשִׁבּוֹן occurs only in close proximity to Qohelet’s discussions of women, it appears to be a particularly nuanced term that refers to that aspect of Qohelet’s exploration of wisdom. The חֲשִׁבּוֹן, then, seems to be a term that involves a fitting and appropriate amorous relationship with a woman. It is a dangerous, yet rewarding, facet of the path of wisdom that the sage enjoys. Assuming that wisdom and women are related in Qohelet’s (and Solomon’s) story, a fresh look at 7:23-29 will be discussed below.

### *Qohelet Tested One Woman after Another*

All this I tested with wisdom. I said, “I will be wise!”—but it was far from me. Whatever wisdom may be, it is far off and very deep, who can find it? I turned my heart to know and to explore and to seek wisdom and an intrigue, and to know wickedness and folly and the foolishness of madness. And I found more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets and whose hands are chains. He who is pleasing to God escapes her, but she will capture the sinner. Look, this I have found [says Qohelet!], testing one woman after another to find an intrigue,

<sup>20</sup>See Rudman, *Woman as Divine Agent*, 426. “The חֲשִׁבּוֹת of the MT has the general idea of ‘intrigues.’”

<sup>21</sup>Following the Old Greek.

<sup>22</sup>See Thomas McCreesh, “Wisdom as Wife: Proverbs 31:10-31,” *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985): 25-46.

which my passion still pursues, but I have not found. One man among a thousand I have found, but a woman in all these I have not found. Except—Look, this I have found: God made mankind upright, but they have sought many an intrigue (7:23-28, author's translation).

In Ecclesiastes, נפש always occurs with the meaning "appetite."<sup>23</sup> It is very rare in the Hebrew Scriptures to have נפש as subject with בקש as verb.<sup>24</sup> The only examples of a נפש "seeking" (בקש) something are in Lam 1:11,19, where the people seek food to fill their נפש, and in Cant 3:1-3 and 5:6, where the girl seeks him "whom my soul loves."<sup>25</sup> נפש can be understood in 7:28 to indicate sexual desire, glossed "passion" above.

In 7:23-29 the same parallels are being drawn as in 9:9-10. An "intrigue" is again parallel with "wisdom" (and in antithetical relation to "folly" and "madness"). Again, one's relations with a woman are intertwined with wisdom: "I searched for wisdom and an intrigue" (7:25), but "I found a woman more bitter than death" (7:26). One might paraphrase it with the words of 9:10: "More bitter than the grave." "I found this [says Qohelet!] one to one to find an intrigue" (7:27); "I found one man, but no woman" (7:28)—"I found that men go after intrigues" (7:29). Perhaps the "one to one" that Qohelet was searching for were people, not facts. אשה is feminine and may indicate "one woman after another."<sup>26</sup> Qohelet tested one woman after another to find an intrigue, but could find only a woman worse than death.

In 9:9-10 Qohelet claims that there is no intrigue in the grave, so one should enjoy pleasures with one's beloved now; he commends intrigue, wisdom, knowledge, and activity, which may be found in a companion, especially a woman. But in 7:23-29, he complains that what he discovered was the opposite; the women he explored made his life more bitter than death.

### *Women in Ecclesiastes*

If Qohelet's search was for a companion, why does he elsewhere show little interest in love? He does acknowledge that there is a time for it (3:8). In 4:8-12 he claims that the horror of life is mitigated somewhat if one is not alone (4:8-12). But the word אשה is found nowhere in his search, except in his account of how women (אשה, "woman," probably

<sup>23</sup>See 2:24; 4:8; 6:2-3; 6:7; 6:9; and 7:28.

<sup>24</sup>A soul "seeks" (ררש) in Deut 4:29.

<sup>25</sup>See Riesener, "Frauenfeindschaft im Alten Testament?," 201.

<sup>26</sup>The language of "one" to depict "one person" is found also in each verse of 4:8-12. See also Isa 27:12, לְאִתָּר לְאִתָּר "one by one." For instance, In 1 Kgs 3:25, Solomon says, "Divide the living child in two, and give half to one [לְאִתָּר] and half to one [לְאִתָּר]."

related to שָׁד, “breast”) were to him objects of pleasure (2:8). Although chapters 1 and 2 do not seem to allude to a search for companionship, 7:23-29 reads into it the aspect of a הַשְׁבִּיחַ. Later in his positive statement about a wife (9:9), Qohelet claims the grave and “meaninglessness” is the end of any הַשְׁבִּיחַ. He comments on love, hate, and jealousy (a word closely associated with marriage) immediately before he comments about this wife (9:6, 9). Love, hate, and jealousy<sup>27</sup> seem to be related to “madness” (9:3)—a rare word in Ecclesiastes that seems to be a synonym for “folly,” and an antonym for “wisdom” (7:25). But in 9:3-6 “madness” seems to have relational connotations. If all along his search was for a companion, why has he not been more specific about it? The following is a speculative attempt to answer this question.

#### *Woman as the Instrument of הַבְּלָה*

Qohelet speaks as Solomon. In 7:23-29 his “test” of aspects of life recalls the first chapters; in the middle verse of this sequence the editor interjected “says Qohelet,” reminding the reader that the text recounts Qohelet’s experiences—the statements concerning the woman and the intrigue are Qohelet’s (i.e., Solomon’s) idiosyncratic judgments.

A 7:25 I searched for an *intrigue*

B 7:26 I found a *woman* more bitter than death

C 7:27 I tried to find an *intrigue* (“*says Qohelet!*”)

B 7:28 I found no *woman*

A 7:29 Men search for *intrigues*

Although Qohelet (in the guise of Solomon) enjoyed pleasurable women in great numbers, there is no hint in chapters 1 and 2 of a particular woman who was a companion in the sense of 9:9-10 or 4:8-12. 1 Kings 3 records the first and noteworthy marriage of Solomon with the daughter of Pharaoh. Solomon also loved other “foreign” women (1 Kgs 11:1-11), who seduced him to idolatry. 2 Chronicles ignores this part of Solomon’s history, regarding the king as faultless. The Chronicler seems to have influenced later Rabbinic evaluations of Solomon. R. Joseph suggested that the daughter of Pharaoh was converted by Solomon. R. Papa argued that Solomon did not actually marry foreign women (*Yeb.* 76); Solomon failed only to control his wives (*Shab.* 56). However, the 1 Kings record did mar the king’s reputation. Even in the Rabbinic justifications, the women are censored as having been a poor influence. The Targum to Ecclesiastes relates how his marriages to these women

<sup>27</sup>The use of the word קָאָ in 4:3 and 9:6 (and nowhere else) demonstrates the affinity between these sections. 4:1-12 is the most extensive section on the subject of companionship.

angered God, who drove the king from his throne.<sup>28</sup> The *Testament of Solomon* (first-to-third century A.D.) portrays Solomon as out of his senses with love for the “Shummanite,” finally serving Jebusite gods for her.<sup>29</sup> R. Hiyya b. Ammi used Solomon’s marriage with Pharaoh’s daughter to illustrate the loss of restraint (*Ber.* 8). Therefore, from before the postexilic period a very stable tradition can be demonstrated of Solomon the wise king, who was seduced to idolatry by his passion for women. It is reasonable to anticipate that this regard for Solomon also characterizes the book of Ecclesiastes.

Qohelet’s perennial complaint is that all of life is “meaningless” or “absurd” (הבל). Isaiah and Jeremiah dismissed idols as הבל (Isa 57:13; Jer 10:3,15; 51:18). It is not hard to imagine the Jewish mind connecting Solomon’s idolatry with Qohelet’s ascription of his own works and wisdom as הבל. The idol-worshiping daughter of Pharaoh was the instrument of Solomon’s הבל, of his life cursed with meaninglessness.

#### *Companionship and Wisdom*

Companionship is an important theme in Ecclesiastes. Chapter 4 emphasizes leaving an inheritance to one’s sons, having a brother to help one, and so forth. But love for a woman in marriage is not made explicit (e.g., 4:11). It seems to be consciously avoided. Perhaps what is not explicit earlier in the book is made explicit in the summation of Qohelet’s quest in 7:23-29 and in 9:9-10, where Qohelet speaks of something elusive to himself (9:9-10), yet important to understand his search (7:25-29). So important, in fact, that finding a beloved woman is an “intrigue” and “wisdom,” the opposite of “madness” and “folly,” the best summation of life under the sun.

In the first nine chapters of Proverbs, folly and wisdom are represented as women, who seek to engage the young man; and in the end of the book, to possess the virtuous wife (Prov 31) is also to possess wisdom. In Ecclesiastes, to enjoy life with one’s beloved is to test and explore wisdom, the very thing Qohelet sought but did not find. Solomon was a lover of women, but his women became snares into a life of meaninglessness and idolatry for him.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup>P. S. Knobel, “Targum Qoheleth: A Linguistic and Exegetical Inquiry” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1976), 28.

<sup>29</sup>D. C. Duling, “Testament of Solomon,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 986-987.

<sup>30</sup>In Prov 31:30, the book ends with a tension between the woman who “fears Yahweh,” and qualities which are הבל.

As the laborer has some benefit that the rich does not have (5:12), and as riches do not satisfy (5:10), so also the man with one wife may have an advantage over the man with a palace filled with “breasts.” Qohelet claimed that his “reward” was to enjoy his labor of building and searching while he was doing it (2:10). Could it have been said that Qohelet also enjoyed his work with a companion? Given the known history of Solomon, it would have been inappropriate to include the aspect of how “Solomon” also gained satisfaction with his own beloved (which is perhaps celebrated in the Song of Songs), since she was to him an instrument of meaninglessness. She instead became an obstacle to the fear of God—the very thing the epilogue presents as the sum of human life.<sup>31</sup> Knowing how Pharaoh’s daughter reduced Solomon to idolatry, Qohelet could not have said: “I found pleasure and delight with my beloved as I searched for what is good.” This would have undermined his thesis. In other words, Solomon’s search in chaps. 1 and 2 for something which profits might have explicitly included his search for a woman to be a companion; the “second” to Solomon’s “being alone” (4:10-11), except that in his case the very thing that is the essence of a wise life reduced him to *הבל*.

### Conclusion

The frame narrator introduces Qohelet’s words as a commentary upon, or as a notable companion piece for, the known life history of King Solomon. The king was certainly wise, but his amatory fascinations led him to worship vain idols. Traditional sagacity renders a wise life as that which is able to control the venereal appetite. In fact, the blessed life of a sage with a virtuous woman is the culmination of a life of wisdom (Prov 31). The desire to know this aspect of wisdom led Solomon to futility and folly. His downfall, however, is not explored in chapters 1 and 2, but is reserved for later in the book.

Qohelet is presented in the *persona* of Solomon to argue that no human endeavor yields satisfaction. The only enjoyment one may reasonably expect out of life is to enjoy the actual doing of the creative labor. Although the contented life of a sage with his wife is touched upon in Ecclesiastes, it does not seem to be a factor in the portrayal of Solomon’s experiences until 7:23-29. A dimension of his story is explored that was all but absent in the first two chapters—Solomon’s desire for such a relationship. The component of wisdom that Solomon pursued—the amorous intrigue—is given its own terminology, the *השבוין*.

<sup>31</sup>To indicate the sum of the matter, the editor did not use *השבוין*, but *כִּי יִהְיֶה כָּל הָאֵרֶם*.

The word depicts a judicious relation with a woman. While Solomon continued his landscaping and construction activities of 1:12-2:26, we know from 7:23-29 that he also sought a satisfying intrigue. In the king's case, however, the intrigues that his passion pursued led quickly to his own reduction to *הֶבֶל*. Traditional wisdom argues that the pursuit of a woman can be dangerous. However, this is not at issue in 1:12-2:26. The futility of trying to find lasting significance in any human interest is highlighted. The dangerous and ensnaring aspect of this is postponed until Solomon's story is revisited in 7:23-29.

In 7:23-29 Qohelet speaks again of Solomon's pursuit of wisdom. But this time the pursuit takes the form not of architectural projects, but of seeking after an intrigue. A sage can successfully embrace a wife in love and find blessing and honor; the historic Solomon failed at this test of wisdom. His failure was worse than any disappointment of 1:12-2:26, since it reduced him to futile idolatry. In 7:23-29 we see Qohelet, speaking as Solomon, lamenting over the fact that he had become so ensnared.

The frame narrator called the reader's attention to the fact that 7:23-29 reflects Qohelet's (Solomon's) particular experience. Love is an important part of sagacity and thus is mentioned elsewhere (9:9-10). The composition is designed such that Solomon's personal failure does not discredit the astute observations of human life (cf. 1:12-2:26). In addition the pursuit of love is an extremely important aspect of wisdom, worthy of its own separate treatment. For these reasons the recounting of the downfall of the king is reserved until 7:23-29. Thus one may read 7:23-29 as a recounting of how Qohelet (Solomon) was ensnared by a dangerous aspect of wisdom. This is told in a way so as not to denigrate or discourage the wise man from seeking his own intrigue. To enjoy good things with one's wife is part of the enjoyable aspect of life that Qohelet commends. But 7:23-29 also warns the reader to take care when pursuing such an intrigue, so that the temptations that ensnared Solomon may be avoided. In combination with 1:12-2:26 and 9:9-10, Qohelet may be paraphrased: "Do not seek to find with the wife that you love more than the moment-by-moment enjoyment of loving. To try to get more than this out of your intrigue can lead to the worst *הֶבֶל* of all."

## “CAN THESE BONES LIVE AGAIN?”: A RHETORIC OF THE GOSPEL IN EZEKIEL 33-37, PART I

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### *Introduction*

The book of Ezekiel can probably lay claim to being the least among the Major Prophets as far as recent scholarly interest and output go.<sup>1</sup> This study is intended to rectify this situation to some degree by providing a detailed text-rhetorical perspective on a crucial segment that begins the third major portion of Ezekiel's prophecy: chapters 33-37.<sup>2</sup> This section is especially appealing because of its “gospel” emphasis and consequent relevance to the entire message of the NT.<sup>3</sup> In these five chapters most of the “good news” of Ezekiel's message to Israel (actually Judah) is concentrated, giving the unit a theological significance far beyond its actual size in relation to the rest of the book. My aim is to reveal some of the main compositional techniques used by the prophet to persuade his compatriots to adopt a new attitude along with a “new heart” and a “new spirit” (36:26).

I will begin by describing the major literary and topical markers that serve to delineate chapters 33-37 as a cohesive and coherent text segment within this artfully constructed dramatic prophecy in defense of the justice of God (Part 1). This compositional feature has not always been recognized or

<sup>1</sup>For a brief survey of the field, see H. McKeating, *Ezekiel* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), chaps. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>The nature and scope of my analysis do not allow me to deal substantially with the outstanding lexical or textual problems in Ezekiel. In any case, these do not affect my presentation in a significant way. On the textual difficulties, I subscribe to the position taken by L. Allen: “In the quest for an eclectic text MT is of such importance that very strong grounds are needed to substantiate other readings. . . . The principle of the harder reading will often induce the retention of MT” (*Ezekiel 20-48* [Dallas: Word, 1990], xxvii-xxviii). The differences between the MT and the LXX are probably best explained as a reflection of the translation process itself or perhaps different underlying literary traditions; thus the LXX probably utilized a variant translational *Vorlage* (cf. L. E. Cooper Sr., *Ezekiel* [Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994], 36); see also R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).

<sup>3</sup>Especially Ezek 37:27 = > Rev 21:3, as substantiated in Paul Decock, “The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation,” paper presented at the Annual Congress of the New Testament Society of South Africa, 8 April 1999, 1-25.

fully appreciated, especially with regard to the inclusion of chapter 33.<sup>4</sup> Part 2 of my study is devoted to an examination of the primary structural and stylistic properties of this pericope. My overview includes a survey of some of the principal literary features that play a prominent role in the prophet's gospel-based rhetorical strategy. I will also consider their chief pragmatic functions in relating a twofold message of comfort and hope to a receptive minority, coupled with a stern warning and rebuke for a rather hardened and hostile audience living in justly deserved exile.

My presentation illustrates the application of a discourse-oriented methodology for analyzing the structure, sense, and significance of a poetic-prophetic text. In the process it reveals the many exegetical and hermeneutical insights to be gained from a careful form-functional investigation of the original biblical message, viewed as a unified whole consisting of an artistic selection and arrangement of thematically interrelated parts.

#### *The Importance of Discourse (Structural) Analysis*

My overview of the larger compositional organization supports Joseph Blenkinsopp's contention (with specific reference to Ezekiel) that "since the way a text is structured is an integral part of the total meaning, it is important in the first place to understand how the book is put together."<sup>5</sup> This is because meaning is always construed in terms of units and relationships that are either similar or different quantitatively (size/scope) and/or qualitatively (salience/significance). A variation in one's hypothesis regarding the total discourse organization of a given passage will conceptually juxtapose correspondingly different segments and linkages, thus giving an alternative perspective on the text's constitution. On its own, a single difference of opinion with regard to textual arrangement may not matter too much. But the combination of a number of divergencies will undoubtedly affect one's overall interpretation and application of the data.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Cf. D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 25-48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 234-235.

<sup>5</sup>J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel, Interpretation, A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 3.

<sup>6</sup>This may be observed, for example, in the editorial decision to group chaps. 33-34 together under the heading "True Shepherd," chaps. 35-36 under "Land," and chaps. 37-39 under "People" (William La Sor, D.A. Hubbard, and F. Bush, *Old Testament Survey: The Message, Form and Background of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 466); or in the opinion that chap. 33 "interrupts" the basic tripartite structure of the book (A. Rofé, *Introduction to the Prophetic Literature* [Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 41); or in a compositional arrangement based on only two major "parts," which leaves chap.



On the other hand, the search for structure and a unity of discourse form (whether explicit or implicit) is an essential analytical exercise, for in the case of Ezekiel (as with the entire prophetic corpus), "the unique style and use of structuring devices (especially the recognition formula) so permeate the book . . . that it cries out for the commentator to discern an overarching theological conception behind it."<sup>7</sup> In this case, the reiterated declaration of divine revelation ("then you/they will know that") reinforces the basic nature of the work as a *theodicy*. Furthermore, the highly organized arrangement of the discourse on all levels of composition attests to the surpassingly upright character of the God it proclaims (as epitomized in the prolonged temple vision, chaps. 40-48). Finally, the book's graphic, often shocking and/or surprising imagery intimates the seriousness of the message as well as the perfect holiness (complete "otherness") of its divine Author (e.g., chap. 37).

From a macrostylistic perspective, Ezekiel presents the two prominent features of significant segmentation and parallel paneling. Segmentation refers to the compositional technique whereby many of the larger discourse components of the book are either unexpectedly interrupted or forcefully concluded by some dramatic passage of special importance, which is thereby emphasized.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this constitutes a subtle literary means of reflecting the manner in which the Lord suddenly intrudes upon the seemingly relentless cycle of events to demonstrate his supreme righteous sovereignty over human history (by bringing disaster upon a wicked Gog, 39:1-20), as well as his constant and abundant mercy to his people (by undoing their foreign captivity, 39:21-29).

In parallel paneling,<sup>9</sup> one integral portion of text is later reflected upon by another section, for thematic contrast, reversal, reinforcement, and/or expansion.<sup>10</sup> So it is that the competent and attentive reader or

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33 completely detached from chaps. 34-37 (D. I. Block, "Ezekiel: Theology of," *NIDNTT*, 4:617-618); or in a "grand apologetic scheme" that omits any reference to *YHWH*'s essential Spirit-directed action of purifying his polluted people (Block, *Ezekiel*, 272; cf. 36:24-27, 31, 33; 37:23, 28).

<sup>7</sup>L. Boadt, "The Function of the Salvation Oracles in Ezekiel 33-37," *Hebrew Annual Review* 10 (1990): 21.

<sup>8</sup>For example, 3:24-27, Ezekiel is stricken with selective dumbness; 10, the divine glory departs; 16:59-63, covenant renewal; 20:39-44, land restoration; 28:24-26, return of the people; 35, judgment of Edom (cf. 25:12-14); 43:1-7, the divine glory returns.

<sup>9</sup>Block calls this stylistic feature "halving" (*Ezekiel*, 310) and points out many instances in Ezekiel, both large and small.

<sup>10</sup>For example, the prophetic commissioning of Ezekiel, 2-3 => his recommissioning, 33; the "mountains of Israel" ruined, 6 => they are restored, 36:1-15; the Lord's glory

listener encounters many welcome surprises in the form of theological insight and practical life-application in the intricately patterned organization of the message of Ezekiel, whether as a whole or within any of the carefully positioned parts.

The structural study of a complete text, as outlined below (i. e., from the “top down”), is generally carried out before a detailed examination of any of its compositional sections—a constituent pericope analysis (i. e., from the “bottom up”). The second type of analysis is presented in Part 2 of this study, in conjunction with a survey of some of the main stylistic features of the discourse, for example: its prominent inventory of graded prophetic formulae pertaining to direct speech: to indicate an oracular unit beginning, ending, or peak;<sup>11</sup> evocative, memorable, message-reinforcing imagery and symbolic actions; different literary genres in felicitous combination; topical (+ /- lexical) or intratextual recursion; plus noteworthy intertextual citations of and allusions to other works of the Hebrew canon or its related religious tradition.

### *The Drama of Prophetic Discourse in Ezekiel*

#### Overall Plot Progression

Figure 1 attempts to depict the larger organizational and connotative “plot” design of the complete prophetic work known as Ezekiel,<sup>12</sup> with

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departs from the temple, 10 = > it returns again, 43:1-5; prophecy against the nations, 25-32 = > against Gog and allies, 38-39; the sheep scattered by their shepherds, 34:1-10 = > gathered by their divine Shepherd, 34:7-16 (note the overlapping segment, 7-10).

<sup>11</sup>See H. van Dyke Parunak, “Some Discourse Functions of Prophetic Quotative Formulas in Jeremiah,” in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. R. D. Bergen (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994), 489-519.

<sup>12</sup>Evidence in favor of the essentially unitary authorship of the book of Ezekiel, as a text produced (orally and/or in writing) by a seventh-sixth-century B.C.E. Judean prophet by that name, far outweighs the various arguments adduced against such a position. This includes such factors as the book’s well-organized and balanced overall structure, a general uniformity of language and style (also certain linguistic anomalies that reflect great emotional agitation and possibly an in-group, “priestly” register), its strongly autobiographical nature, its extended sequence of dated prophecies, the content progression moving conventionally from condemnation (judgment) to blessing (restoration), and the relatively consistent reflection of a single implied author in terms of character and personality. For further discussion in support of this position, see Cooper, 31-37; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, AB 22B (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 396; J. B. Taylor, *Ezekiel: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale OT Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1969), 14-16; also M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, AB 22A (New York: Doubleday, 1986), 27; M. Greenberg, “The Design and Themes of Ezekiel’s Program of Restoration,” in *Interpreting the Prophets*, ed. J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 215, 219, 222; J. Rosenberg, “Jeremiah and Ezekiel,” in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode

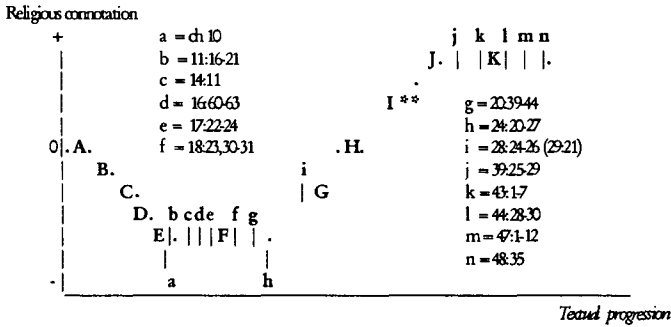


Figure 1. A depiction of the dramatic macrostructure of Ezekiel 1-48 (X = main compositional units, x = focal internal pericopes/passages).

special reference to the crucial kerygmatic core comprising chapters 33-37.

The sequence of principal compositional units is marked by the uppercase letters in Figure 1. The lowercase letters, except for the emotively negative boundary texts of *a* and *b*, refer to periodic passages of covenantal blessing (or "gospel") that fall notably outside the cluster of chapters 34-37 [segment I]. The same basic tripartite macrostructure is found in several other prophetic texts: Isa 1-27, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah (LXX). This arrangement consists of: (a) contemporary judgment oracles against "Israel" (Judah), demonstrating the Lord's justice in dealing with their persistent covenantal violations (chaps. 1-24); (b) corresponding oracles of condemnation upon proud surrounding foreign (pagan) nations, displaying God's righteous impartiality (25-32); (c) salvation oracles (near future) coupled with prophecies predicting blessings for his faithful people (distant future), thus manifesting the Lord's undeserved mercy (33-48). Ezekiel, however, is distinct in that the work evinces a rather more detailed architectonic arrangement, one that assumes the shape of a seminarrative, dramatic plot development as shown in Figure 2.<sup>13</sup>

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 194-195.

<sup>13</sup>P. R. House has similarly, but with considerably more detail, analyzed the book of Zephaniah as "a prophetic drama" on the basis of these criteria: "It has a structure of alternating speeches between characters, a plot construction around a distinct conflict and resolution, a set of developing characters, and a dramatic point of view" (*Zephaniah: A Prophetic Drama* [Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988], 106). The text of Ezekiel

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- A. Ezekiel's vision of the glory of the Lord in exile! (chap.1)
    - | B. The Lord calls Ezekiel to be a prophetic "watchman" announcing a message of judgment (2-3)
    - | | C. Prophetic symbolic actions and their significance with respect to the judgment of Jerusalem (4-5)
    - | | | D. Oracles of judgment against the "house of Israel" (6-7)
    - | | | | E. Visions of a defiled Temple and a corrupt leadership (8-11)
    - | | | | | F. Various symbolic acts, oracles, laments, legal addresses, disputations, parables, allegories of judgment, and priestly regulations—all condemning "Israel" (12-24)
    - | | | | | G. Oracles of judgment against surrounding pagan nations (25-32)
    - | | H. The Lord renews Ezekiel's prophetic commission as a "watchman" for the "house of Israel" (33)
      - | | | I. Messianic oracles, parables, and a vision of the return, renewal, and restoration of Israel (34-37)
      - | | | | J. Oracles of judgment concerning the pagan prince Gog of Magog (38-39)
  - K. Ezekiel's vision of the new Temple and the glory of the Lord, living among his people (40-48)
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- A. initial situation (chap. 1)
- B. problem (2-3)
- C-D. complication (4-9)
- E. crisis (10: the Lord's *glory leaves* the Temple!)
- F. deepening crisis (11-24)
- G. interlude (25-32)
- H. turning point (33)
- I. thematic "gospel" peak (24-36)
- I. emotive climax (37)
- J. reinforcement (38-39)
- K. denouement/ resolution (40-48: the Lord's *glory returns* to the Temple, thus residing once more among his people)

Figure 2. The macrostructural "plot" of Ezekiel.

There is an overall recursive balance in the construction of the book of Ezekiel and also of many of its constituent sections. The beatific vision of the Lord dwelling harmoniously and benevolently among his people in a religious, temple-dominated realm at the end of the book (K, on Figure 1) contrasts markedly with the turbulent, theophanic depiction of God's kinetic glory being manifested to Ezekiel in the place of exile at the beginning (A). The prophet is divinely called into service twice: first, for a ministry of condemnation (B) and then, once the judgment has taken place, to deliver a message of consolation and hope for the future (H). Thus the various oracles, symbolic actions, and visions of indictment, disputation, and reproach that appear in sections C-F correspond by way of reversal to those of comfort, hope, and encouragement in the apical portion I. Finally, the sequence of

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manifests these same basic features, but in a considerably more complicated construction, as would be expected in a work that is over ten times as long. The "character" of the Ezekiel prophet, for example, is developed through actions (his own and what happens to him), as well as by his words, which generally express some message from the Lord. The nature of his opposition among the people, on the other hand, is usually revealed by means of a short, internal, characterizing quotation, e.g., 33:24, 30.

standard judgment speeches against seven representative foreign nations (G) is both balanced and rhetorically enhanced by the epiphanic sevenfold prophecy against the alien alliance of Gog et al. in J.<sup>14</sup> In short, within the inclusion formed by segments A and K there is a general unfolding (terrace) pattern of elements that repeats itself in terms of a basic thematic polarity of similarity and contrast, i.e., B + C (D-F) + G :: H + I + J. Obviously, Ezekiel is no hodgepodge collection of oracles; it is rather a skillfully and purposefully constructed prophetic compilation that brings "the word of the Lord" to its addressees of all world ages in a most convincing and convicting manner.<sup>15</sup>

As the dramatic plot of Ezekiel unfolds, we find, in addition to the ubiquitous emphasis on the divine word (e.g., כה אמר אדני יהוה), a continuous recycling of the "seven common [thematic] components of prophetic writing":<sup>16</sup> election/covenant = > sin/unfaithfulness = > judgment/punishment = > mercy/recalling = > repentance/recommitment = > redemption/restoration = > testimony/praise. Considered individually and together, these concepts serve to foreground Ezekiel's primary concern: to describe, vindicate, and magnify the awesome grace, glory, and holiness of the Lord.

### The Unfolding Good News of Chapters 33-37

A major "turning point" in the progression of Ezekiel is reached with chapter 33 [H]. This transitional and resumptive unit (i.e., following

<sup>14</sup>Each of the seven constituent units in chaps. 38-39 is introduced by the citation formula, "Thus speaks the Sovereign Lord" (NIV, כה אמר אדני יהוה): 38:3-9, 10-13, 14-16, 17-23; 39:1-16, 17-24, 25-29. There are other ways of segmenting this section (e.g., Block, *Ezekiel*, 431-432), but the overall emphasis, especially in chap. 39, is on manifesting the Lord God in his great glory and holiness (cf. 38:23; 39:7, 21-22, 27).

<sup>15</sup>For a different view of the symmetrical macrostructure of Ezekiel, see W. A. Van Gemeren, *Interpreting the Prophetic Word* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 326. The seemingly sequentially disruptive oracles against the nations (segments G and J) are intercalated between the two distinct periods of YHWH's dealing with "Israel," namely, for judgment: 1-24 | 25-32 | 33, and for blessing: 34-37 | 38-39:20 | 39:21-48. Thus the larger discourse structure itself suggests that God reproves and restores his people as a testimony to the surrounding nations, "so that they will know that I am the Lord!" (36:22-23, 36; cf. *ibid.*, 333). Certain aspects of this work that may make it sound redundant, bombastic, contrived, or clumsily redacted to the modern reader and critic were undoubtedly evaluated differently by those who received the prophet's message aurally and in the original language—whether first- or secondhand, e.g., with regard to the sometimes shocking imagery (e.g., in chap. 16) and the many punctuating discourse formulae, which serve to stress the divine source and authority of Ezekiel's oracles and other speech forms. The well-crafted composition of Ezekiel leads some scholars to conclude that "much of his prophecy . . . is likely to have been *conceived* as literature from the beginning" (McKeating, 13), but the eloquent and dramatic manner of expression of at least some of these oracles (e.g., in chap. 37) would seem to suggest a text of oral origin.

<sup>16</sup>House, 113.

logically and temporally from 24:27) reiterates a number of images and topics that appeared in the first half of the book (e.g., Ezekiel's summons to be a "watchman"; cf. 3:17-21/ 33:2-9 [B]), with a special concern for a linkage with autobiographical elements in the text-framing chapters 3 and 24.<sup>17</sup> The fugitive who had escaped the devastation of Jerusalem according to divine prediction (24:25-27) arrives in Babylon to report that "the city has fallen!" (הַכְּתָה הָעִיר, 33:21-22). The preceding evening, in a special visitation, God restored Ezekiel's voice (cf. 3:26 / 24:27 / 33:22), so that he was ready to utter an appropriate prophetic response to the tragic news—that is, he could speak words other than those expressing primarily condemnation and woe in conjunction with a message of righteous judgment from the Lord (2:9-10).<sup>18</sup> In short, he is now able to resume a much more positive pastoral role among his people.

Thus the first half of chapter 33 (vv. 1-20) functions as a formal recommissioning of Ezekiel as a "prophet" among God's flock in parallel with chapters 2-3 (2:5/33:33, cf. Jonah 3:1-2; see also the medial segment of 18:21-32).<sup>19</sup> Ezekiel begins his work anew in the next discourse section (33:21-33), that is, *after* the cataclysmic fall of the sacred city of *YHWH* has been announced. Ezekiel now acts as a messenger of *good* news (of "sweetness," cf. 3:3) and a spokesman of the Shepherd-Lord's future program of gracious restoration (chap. 34). But first, the still-outstanding sins of the nation need to be punished to lead people to complete repentance, especially with regard to their sordid moral and spiritual corruption of idolatry and adultery (33:25-26;

<sup>17</sup>The corresponding segments in chaps. 24 and 33 that refer to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple are an illustration of the structural bounding device of *exclusio*. They serve to *externally* bracket the enclosed foreign judgment oracles section (chaps. 25-32). The operation of *exclusio* is thus similar to that of *inclusio*, except that the former is constituted by a pair of passages that lie just *outside* the initial and final borders of the demarcated unit. Other salient structural evidence must, of course, be evaluated in order to determine precisely which marking device is present in any given instance. Parunak, for example, regards the correspondences in chaps. 24 and 33 to be an instance of *inclusio*, thus enclosing the single discourse block covering chaps. 24-33 (as cited in Allen, xxiii, who disagrees). In this connection it may be noted that it is both structurally and thematically inaccurate to regard 33:1-20 as the "latter half of Ezekiel's concluding prophecy against Egypt" (Alexander, 904).

<sup>18</sup>Alexander does not regard 33:22 as the only flashback in time and thus interprets the entire discourse from 33:23 to 39:29 as uttered by Ezekiel the night before the messenger arrived with his sad report concerning Jerusalem (909). Though possible, this does not seem to be a logical perspective on these passages, which follow more naturally upon the news of the city's fall (cf. Allen, 151; Greenberg, *Ezekiel* 21-37, 681-682). For some pertinent remarks on Ezekiel's divinely imposed "silence," see Rosenberg, 200 (cf. Taylor, 27, for further thoughts on his "ritual dumbness").

<sup>19</sup>Although it is "not cast in the form of a call narrative" (Block, *Ezekiel*, 235), 33:1-20 clearly corresponds to 3:17-21 in both form and function.

cf. 22:1-16). These spaced autobiographical references (chaps. 3, 24, 33) serve to highlight the tripartite division of the book into its foundational beginning (chaps. 1-3 + 4-24), which covers the Babylonian period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem (586/587 B.C.E.); a temporally diverse, topical bridge (chaps. 25-32); and a triumphant ending that presents a revelational post-586 perspective on the rejuvenated, reconstituted people of God (chaps. 33-48).

After chapter 33, Ezekiel's proclamation is progressively focused on the blessings for the Lord's followers in both the near and distant future. The first setting undoubtedly has reference to a return of the Jews to Palestine after their captivity in Babylon. The second age, however, may be posited, on the basis of earlier prophets such as Isaiah, as a prediction of the incorporation of individuals from all nations into the holy people of God, that is, "Israel" of Messianic times (e.g., 34:11-16; 36:24; 37:21-23; cf. Isa 11, John 10; see also 39:25-29; cf. Matt 25:31-46; Rev 7:9-17, 20:11-15). The generally optimistic atmosphere of Ezekiel's all-encompassing "gospel" is occasionally interrupted by retrospective judicial reminders of the nation's apostate past and present, giving detailed reasons why a complete renewal and divine restoration are necessary (e.g., 36:16-23).<sup>20</sup> The different aspects of the broken covenant needing repair are briefly summarized in 37:23-24 (cf. 18:30-32, 20:32-44). These involved, for example, a penitent recognition of the absolute sovereignty of *YHWH*, a complete religious transformation and purification of the people, an empowering outpouring of the divine Spirit upon them, and the "return" to a blessed state of fellowship with the Lord.

The wondrous results of this return of a "remnant" to the Lord (cf. 11:13, 16-21; 14:22-23) are revealed in a manner that impressively reverses the former images of death and devastation. God's regathered, chosen people receive a new land, a new Shepherd-King, a new sanctuary, a new heart and spirit, and a new covenant (chaps. 34-37). However, *YHWH* stresses that his merciful acts of restoration and renewal are effected solely for the sake of his "holy name" (= ethos/personality/character) and to manifest his glorious omnipotence before all nations (36:22-23), as notably expressed in the book's reiterated

<sup>20</sup>The universalism of a prophet like Isaiah is often contrasted with the alleged ethnic "parochialism" of Ezekiel, who is viewed as focusing his hope "on peace for the restored nation of Israel" (Cooper, 43; cf. Block, "Ezekiel, Theology of," 47). Such a contrastive hermeneutical perspective depends, of course, on one's interpretation of the reference underlying the key term "Israel" in Ezekiel, that is, whether broader or narrower in scope. I adopt a wider, accommodative, "Messianic" viewpoint based on Ezekiel's assumed familiarity with the prophecies of Isaiah and their incorporative nature, e.g., chap. 56; see Ezek 47:22-23 (cf. Taylor, 253, which reflects E. J. Young, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), 247-248. This position is echoed by C. H. Bullock, *An Introduction to the Old Testament Prophetic Books* (Chicago: Moody, 1986), 249; see also the relevant remarks in Van Gemeren, 335-337).

leitmotif, e.g., “Then you will know that I am the Lord” (36:11). This “divine recognition formula,” which underscores the fundamentally *theocidal* character of Ezekiel’s message, occurs in this or some variant form sixty-six times throughout the text.<sup>21</sup> The central edifying and encouraging truths contained in chapters 33-37 are prophetically heightened (but not necessarily clarified) in terms of their temporal as well as spatial scope by means of the militant, apocalyptic, battle imagery of the paired judgment speeches found in chapters 38-39.<sup>22</sup>

Within the book’s final third portion, important backward and forward references function to demarcate its dynamic good-news nucleus. For example, the prophecy concerning the Lord serenely dwelling in his sanctuary at the end of its climactic segment (37:28; cf. 24:21) anticipates the impressive temple vision of chapters 40-48 (note 48:35), hence functioning also as an externally defining *exclusio* for the eschatological overview and powerful divine warrior scenery of chapters 38-39. There is also a double reference to “Meshech and Tubal” (38:2; cf. 32:26), which serves two purposes. Thematically these names incorporate Japhethites together with the previously mentioned Shemites and Hamites into Ezekiel’s expansive revelation of the future of all nations. Structurally they create another *exclusio*, this time around the dramatic peak of chapters 33-37. The book’s concluding section recounts an architectural vision of the holy perfection of the restored temple and its sacred precincts (chaps. 40-48).<sup>23</sup> This includes several strong, intertextually resonant depictions of salvation (e.g., 44:28-30, priesthood; 47:1-12, river of life) plus a vital image of reversal as the Lord’s radiant glory is seen to reenter the temple (43:1-7; cf.

<sup>21</sup>Note esp. 20:5, 7, 12, 20, 26, 38, 44; cf. Exod 6:2, 7:17, 10:2. For this reason the following conclusion by McKeating concerning the Lord’s motivation would seem to be in error: “The origins of the Lord’s interest in Israel are in the book of Ezekiel left totally unexplained” (80). Then, as now, God’s manifestation of saving mercy to his people is motivated solely by grace (cf. Rom 1:16-17, 3:21-26).

<sup>22</sup>This complex “proof oracle” of apocalyptic judgment is progressively developed in two stages (chaps. 38-39). It shows by vivid, panoramic (at times grotesque and subtly ironic) imagery that *YHWH* in his supreme sovereignty also controls the distant, unforeseeable future and will most certainly defeat even the most formidable foe of his faithful flock in order to allow his manifold promises to be realized.

<sup>23</sup>Israel’s hope was assured in the final extended vision of a new country, city, sanctuary, and cultus of the Lord (chaps. 40-48). This quartet of powerful traditional symbols stood as God’s guarantee of all his covenantal commitments, made on behalf of a renewed community of faith among whom his glory would forever dwell (43:1-7) and from whom the river of lasting life is continually dispensed (47:1-12). It is an ideal place where everything is in order and every person has his or her place—with the Lord (47:13-48:35). In this way the initial crisis of the prophecy is resolved on a familiar note, with some powerful consolatory imagery which evokes concepts that are found both at the beginning and ending of Holy Scripture (47:1-12, cf. Gen 2:8-14; Rev 22:1-5).



10:18-19).<sup>24</sup> Ezekiel's prophetic corpus now comes to a most satisfying "narrative" close (resolution) as *YHWH* is once more portrayed as tabernacling in peace among his obedient people and for their eternal well-being (שְׁלוֹם; 43:7; 44:28-30; 47:9-12; 48:35b; cf. 37:26-28; Ps 46, esp. vv. 7,11).

### *Chapters 33-37 as a Compositional Unit*

As we shall see in Part 2, the section covering chapters 33-37 includes numerous structurally cohesive and thematically emphatic reiterations of sayings that occur earlier in the book (i.e., *intratextual* recursion—that is, along with the numerous consequential *intertextual* allusions, especially to prominent covenantal passages such as Lev 26). There are a number of demarcative features, however, in addition to the semantic focus on return, renewal, and restoration that function to set this portion off as a distinct compositional unit within the book. The principal division that precedes it—a series of "oracles against the nations"—obviously begins at chapter 25 and ends at the close of chapter 32. There is an elaborate structural pattern that functions to reinforce this major break in the text: Seven distinct nations are included in this ethnic catalogue or religious rogue's gallery (Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt; cf. Deut 7:1). The last section is clearly divided (especially by apertures of time setting) into seven segments (29:1-16, 29:17-21, 30:1-19,<sup>25</sup> 30:20-26, 31, 32:1-16, 32:17-32). The final mock lament for Egypt manifests (by key, repeated opening and closing expressions) a further seven strophes (32:17-21, 22-23, 24-25, 26-27, 28 + 31-32 [a disjunctive judgment against Pharaoh], 29, and 30). The recursive number seven in this section may serve to emphasize the completeness of the Lord's condemnation of *all* possible forces of wickedness in the world that would oppose the execution of his gracious covenantal plan (cf. 28:24-26).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup>The two dominant pericopes of this final unit—the vision of the return of God's glory to the temple (43:1-9) and that of the river of life (47:1-12)—appear to divide chaps. 40-48 into three sections: 40:1-43:9; 43:10-47:12; 47:13-48:35 (for a different structural perspective, see Block, *Ezekiel*, 498). Block notes some interesting parallels between chaps. 40-48 and the "Exodus narratives" on the one hand, and Rev 21-22 on the other (*ibid.*, 499-503). Ezekiel's priestly role in relation to the crucial manifestation of the "glory of the Lord" is considered in M. A. Sweeney, "The Latter Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel," in *The Hebrew Bible Today: An Introduction to Critical Issues*, ed. S. L. McKenzie and M. P. Graham (Louisville: John Knox, 1998), 91-92.

<sup>25</sup>There is no distinctive time setting at the onset of this particular oracle, perhaps due to the presence of the striking contrastive prophecy of a positive nature concerning "the house of Israel" + "on that day" in the passage that precedes it (29:21).

<sup>26</sup>For some evidence of the importance of "structural sevens" in the composition of biblical discourse, see E. R. Wendland, "7 X 7 (X 7): A Structural and Thematic Outline of John's Apocalypse," *OPTAT 4* (1990): 371-387. The considerable influence of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation has already been noted.

It is clear, then, that at 32:32 the discourse section covering chapters 29-32 (the composite oracle against and lament concerning Egypt and its Pharaoh) comes to an end. The onset of Ezekiel's gospel-oriented kernel in chapter 33 is marked by a key-word overlap (i.e., *anadiplosis* with כרד "sword," 32:31-32/33:2-3; cf. also 24:21)<sup>27</sup> plus several initial markers: the "word-event [prophetic word] formula"—"And the word of the Lord was to me saying"—which usually begins a high-level discourse unit; (cf. 33:23; 34:1); a vocative of address; and the command to "speak!" (33:1-2). The expected date notice, which normally signals the beginning of a significant segment of text, is rhetorically postponed for special effect to 33:21, where it is especially relevant. No other temporal setting of this nature is given until the book's final major constituent (chaps. 40-48), that is, at 40:1. The section covering 33:1-20 reiterates and reinforces God's call to Ezekiel to be a prophetic "watchman" for his people (cf. 3:16-27); it thus serves as a transitional introduction to the main division that follows.

The close of the unit spanning chapters 33-37 is also quite patently indicated in the text. After its dramatic and distinctive opening vision (vv. 1-14), the climactic chapter 37 concludes (vv. 15-28) with the last, and only connotatively positive, in the series of twelve prophetic displays that are scattered primarily throughout the first half of the book. This particular symbolic action portrays two sticks of wood ("Judah" + "Ephraim") dramatically joined together to form one. It is compositionally significant that the preceding picturesque narrative event of this type occurs in 24:15-24, at the conclusion of the book's first principal division (an instance of structural *epiphora*, or similar discourse unit endings).

Commentators differ over whether or not the twofold prophecy concerning "Gog" (divided roughly in the middle by analogous discourse openings, 38:1-4 and 39:1-2, i.e., structural *anaphora*) should be included as an integral part of the section beginning in chapter 33.<sup>28</sup> Despite the presence of several clear ties between chapters 38-39 and 33-37,<sup>29</sup> there are

<sup>27</sup>For a definition and illustration of some of the major demarcative devices of Hebrew literary discourse, e.g., "anadiplosis," see E. R. Wendland, *The Discourse Analysis of Hebrew Prophetic Literature: Determining the Larger Textual Units of Hosea and Joel* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1995), chap. 2.

<sup>28</sup>For example, Cooper (291) and Block (*Ezekiel*, 273) do include chaps. 38-39 in the section beginning at chap. 33 (or 34), while Allen (xxiv) and Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37* (760) do not.

<sup>29</sup>Note, for example, the several references to the metonymically symbolic "mountains of Israel" (e.g., 38:8; 39:2,4; cf. 36:1, 4, 6, 8, etc.), the mass judicial slaughter that will take place there (e.g., 38:22; 39:4; cf. 37:1-2), the need for a similarly great purging and cleansing of God's people (e.g., 39:12-16; cf. 36:25,33; 37:23), and particularly the words predicting a return and spiritual restoration of the "house of Israel" (39:25-29; cf. 34:13; 36:24,27; 37:12-14,21). We also observe that the next major dating formula occurs at 40:1 (cf. 33:21).

a number of important distinguishing features and supporting evidence that would justify a decision to retain chapters 38-39 as a separate and discrete compositional unit.<sup>30</sup> According to this vision, *YHWH* will mightily reveal his holiness and omnipotence in the eyes of everyone on earth, that is, "Israel" (= the people of God) and all heathen nations in the world (38:23; 39:27; as metonymically represented in geographic relation to the land of Palestine: "Meshech and Tubal" + "Gomer" = *N*, "Persia" = *E*, "Cush" = *S*, and "Put" = *W*; 38:2, 5-6).

In addition to the boundary markers listed earlier, the composite pericope of chapters 33-37 is set apart by means of a major *inclusio* through its topically contrastive beginning and ending. In 33:2 *YHWH* instructs Ezekiel to tell "[his] countrymen" (an expression of interpersonal estrangement) that he is about to bring destruction upon the "land" (of Israel) and its "people" as their righteous Judge (cf. 33:20). In 37:27, on the other hand, the word of *YHWH* is transformed into one of blessing for "[his] people" (personal fellowship), namely, that he will be "their God" and will settle "among them" (in the land) as their benevolent covenantal Lord. The coming "sword" of the Lord (רֶבֶר, 3x in 33:1-3) will one day—and "forever" (לְעוֹלָם, reiterated for emphasis)—be replaced by his divine "sanctuary" (מִקְדָּשׁ, 3 times in 37:27-28). Then there will no longer be any need for a prophetic "watchman" (צַפֵּרָה, 33:2); instead, the Davidic (Messianic) servant of the Lord will be their protective "monarch" (מֶלֶךְ) and guiding "shepherd" (רֹעֵה, 37:24).

So it is that the solemn warning in 33:4-6, enjoining each and every individual to watch out for his or her "life" (נַפְשׁ + דָּם), is topically counterbalanced by the obvious stress throughout chapter 37 upon a harmonious "living" (חַיִּים) and "dwelling" (שָׁב), with *YHWH* on the part of the entire resurrected community (e.g., vv. 5-6, 9-10, 14, 25, 27). In this connection we observe the alternating pattern of judgment and blessing that

<sup>30</sup>Note, for example: the previously mentioned *exclusio* involving the Lord's sanctuary/temple, where he will dwell among his people forever (37:26-28/40:2, 5; cf. 43:7); the prominent, repetitive sectional aperture that includes names mentioned nowhere else in the book (38:1-3); the exaggerated, apocalyptic and mythopoetic imagery, which is "unlike anything else in [Hebrew] prophecy up to the exilic period" (e.g., 38:4-9, 19-23; 39:17-20; McKeating, 114; see also Boadt, 17-18; D. S. Russell, *Prophecy and the Apocalyptic Dream: Protest and Promise* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 30-32); an apparently different, eschatological temporal setting *after* the initial restoration of "Israel" (38:8, 11-12, 14—a time frame which varies in turn from that suggested at the end of the unit in 39:22-29, which harks back to the Messianic temporal setting featured in chaps. 33-37); the distinct possibility that the prophecy against "Gog" in chaps. 38-39 also represents a "heavily coded message predicting the demise of the Babylonian power" (McKeating, 122; see also P. C. Craigie, *Ezekiel*, Daily Study Bible [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983], 266-267), which is surprisingly not included in the catalogue of nations denounced in chaps. 25-32; the depiction of a complete destruction and burial of the enemy (Gog's forces) *within* the land of Israel (38:16; 39:2-4, 11); and finally, the fact that chaps. 38-39 occur in a displaced position in some LXX manuscripts (i.e., after chap. 36; Taylor, 241; Allen, xxviii).

runs throughout chapters 34-37 (extending also into chaps. 38-39) and indicates the two possible consequences of the human response to the Lord's call to "repent" in 33:11. This contrastive sequence, as shown below in Figure 3, begins after Ezekiel's own commission has been renewed (33:1-20), prior to an announcement of the fall of Jerusalem (33:21-22), as a testimony to God's people "that a prophet has been among them" (33:33).

<u>Judgment</u>	<u>Deliverance</u>
	33:23-33
34:1-10	
	34:11-16
34:17-21	
	34:22-31
35:1-15	
	36:1-15
36:16-21 (22-23)	
	36:24-38
(37:1-3)	
	37:4-14
(37:15-18)	
	37:19-28
38:1-16	
	38:17-23
	39:1-29

**Figure 3.** The alternation of judgment and deliverance speeches in Eze 33-39. (Debatable passages are indicated in parentheses.)

These and many other subtle, less apparent literary features enable us to read and interpret chapters 33-37 as a consciously composed (or compiled)

unit of prophetic discourse and hence also to discern its crucial thematic and rhetorical function as an integral part of the complete text of Ezekiel.

*The Rhetorical Purpose of Ezekiel's Prophecy*

A closer look at the texture of chapters 33-37 (Part 2 of this article) helps to determine how its diverse stylistic devices, coupled with significant theological content, function together in elegant combination to promote the practical rhetoric of this section as a discrete unit within the book.<sup>31</sup> It shows how the prophet (or a close associate-disciple-redactor), acting as a spokesman for the Lord, strategically shaped the central argument of his momentous message to perform a number of closely related communicative functions in relation to its intended audience: reproof, warning, appeal (for repentance), instruction, revelation, exhortation, and encouragement. It is clear, however, that such a specification of illocutionary purposes is only as valid as the degree to which the analyst is able to posit a plausible hypothesis concerning the original setting of message transmission and reception. In the case of much of the literature of the Scriptures, this task is not always so easy to accomplish with certainty, due to a considerable lack of reliable information regarding the initial circumstances for a particular text.

As far as the book of Ezekiel is concerned, there is not much information other than what is stated in the text. However, in contrast to Jeremiah, his prophetic contemporary, there are many precise dates and a number of diachronically arranged narrative segments included. These allow for a fairly accurate guess as to the external historical setting in which the prophet was working, shortly before and for some years after the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians (586 B.C.E.). Such contextually-related information, when linked with various other current sources, makes it possible to assume a rhetorical situation (exigency) that involved, among other tensions, a severe crisis of faith for all Jewish survivors of the national calamity, those who remained in the land, but especially those who were taken captive into Babylon (Ezekiel focuses on the latter group, where the spiritual future of Israel lay; 11:14-21; 33:23-29; cf. Jer 24:1-10). There were five main options open for enabling people to deal with this overwhelming threat

<sup>31</sup>The detailed textual study also leads to an evaluation concerning the book's style that is very different from the following: "As a writer Ezekiel is often ponderous and repetitive. . . . For the most part he writes in prose; not a colorful, descriptive prose, but a sombre prophetic prose" (Taylor, 28; cf. also McKeating (17) on the "wordy and repetitive" prose style of Ezekiel. Indeed, the man seemed to have been one of the most popular litterateurs of his day—but sadly to little religious effect (cf. 33:30-32). In those places where the text may sound relatively "stiff, if not monotonous" (e.g., chap. 45), there is usually some generic explanation, such as discourse that is "characteristic of formal ritual prescriptions" (Block, *Ezekiel*, 660).

to their conceptual worldview and religious perspective:<sup>32</sup>

a. *Accommodation*. The “pragmatists” would swiftly shift their fickle allegiance to the seemingly more powerful Babylonian gods and serve them, either instead of, or syncretistically alongside, *YHWH* (cf. 8:14-15).

b. *Nationalism*. The “radicals” maintained that their recent defeat and exile were only temporary and that God would soon act to miraculously overthrow Babylon and enable them to return home to their former lives (cf. Jer 28:1-4).

c. *Resistance*. The “fanatics” were convinced that their future lay in the eyes of optimistic magicians and diviners who were urging them not to submit to Babylonian rule, but rather to resist and seek freedom through military means (cf. Jer 27:8-15).

d) *Fatalism*. The “pessimists” concluded that all was lost, that there was no hope left for the people or their religion; they were all as good as dead and might as well be buried—along with *YHWH*, their God (37:11).

e) *Reformation*. The “penitent” among the people were moved to take Ezekiel’s message to heart, acknowledge their sins, and “return” to a renewed commitment to serve *YHWH*, their covenant Lord (36:26-28), trusting that he would one day work saving wonders on their behalf for the sake of his holy name (36:22-23).

It was Ezekiel’s divinely-given task to stimulate and encourage this last, unpopular, position. The majority of the people did not seem to get the point of his message. If they did, they stubbornly refused to accept its pressing import and implication—despite the indisputable correctness of the prophet’s argument regarding the reason for their national disaster and current slavery. For the faithful remnant, however, Ezekiel sought to promote a clear(er) understanding of, and a total commitment to, the Lord’s desire for a restored spiritual relationship with a cleansed covenantal people: “Then [everyone] will know that I *YHWH* am the One who makes Israel holy” (37:28).

This was the central focus of Ezekiel’s twofold, mutually interactive prophecy: an announcement of God’s righteous judgment (law, foregrounded in chaps. 1-32) coupled with promises of providential blessing (gospel, chaps. 33-48). God’s longsuffering spokesman faithfully carries out his challenging mission—exalted (with respect to *YHWH*), but humbling (with respect to himself)—under the inspiring guidance of the Spirit of God (2:2; 37:1), who activated and animated all the verbal (homiletical and visionary) as well as nonverbal (representational) rhetoric at his disposal (3:1-3). Ezekiel proclaims an intensely dynamic prophetic Word concerning the Lord’s surpassing glory, perfect justice, and utter holiness.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. T. C. Butler, *NIV Disciple’s Study Bible* (Nashville: Holman, 1988), 982.

## THE LOGOS: LORD OF THE COSMOS, AND RECENT TRENDS IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION<sup>1</sup>

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“In the beginning was the Word, . . . the Word was God . . . , and without him was not anything made that was made” (John 1:1-3). The acceptance of this profound concept has spawned three positive trends in recent discussions of science and religion.

Although current leading Christian thinkers in the discussion of science and religion represent contrasting approaches to origins, these same theologians and scientists are deeply committed to some form of faith vision, which holds that the cosmos represents the Creation of God the *Logos*, as outlined in John 1:1-3.<sup>2</sup> This means that whether by the lure or persuasion of future realization, as in process theology;<sup>3</sup> whether by invisible “non-interventionist objective special divine action” at the quantum level, as suggested by thinkers such as Robert John Russell;<sup>4</sup> or whether inferred at the empirical level, as indicated by William Dembski and others in the intelligent design movement,<sup>5</sup> scientists and theologians who are Christians concur in the stunning proposition that without some kind of divine input, nothing was made that was made.

<sup>1</sup>This article is adapted from a presentation to the Berkeley 2000 Science and Religion Symposium with the theme, “God and the Cosmos,” Berkeley, California, August 16, 2000. Some traces of the oral delivery style have been left unaltered.

<sup>2</sup>See Joël Delobel, “Christ, the Lord of Creation,” *Louvain Studies* 16:2 (1991): 155-169.

<sup>3</sup>John Polkinghorn, “Chaos Theory and Divine Action,” in *Religion and Science: History, Method, Dialogue*, ed. W. Mark Richardson and Wesley J. Wildman (New York: Routledge, 1996), 245.

<sup>4</sup>Robert John Russell, “Does the ‘God Who Acts’ Really Act? New Approaches to Divine Action in the Light of Science,” *Theology Today* (1997): 43-65; see esp. 51. See Russell, “Quantum Physics in Philosophical and Theological Perspective,” in *Physics, Philosophy and Theology: A Common Quest for Understanding*, ed. Robert John Russell et al. (Vatican City State: Vatican Observatory, 1988); and Russell’s article, “Special Providence and Genetic Mutation: A New Defense of Theistic Evolution,” in *Evolutionary and Molecular Biology: Scientific Perspectives on Divine Action*, ed. Robert John Russell, William R. Stoeger, and Francisco J. Ayala (Vatican City State: Vatican Observatory Publications, and Berkeley, CA: Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences, 1998), 191-223.

<sup>5</sup>William A. Dembski, *Intelligent Design: The Bridge Between Science & Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999); see also idem, “Reinstating Design Within Science,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1 (1998): 503-518.

Echoing and expanding this point, physicist and theologian Peter Hodgson writes that “God is the supreme Lord of nature, who can make and unmake its laws and bring it into being, modify it, or extinguish it at will.”<sup>6</sup>

However, the word “*Logos*” in John 1:1-3 carries significant new meaning for today’s scientists and theologians. The range of meanings in the original Greek includes concepts such as “word,” “logic,” “reason,” and “information.” Taking, for example, a minimal meaning of *logos* as “information” yields the following translation: “Without divine information, was not anything made that was made.” This interpretation might inform our understanding of the origin, for example, of the genetic code and its language.

Moreover, the creative divine input by the *Logos* is commonly held by Christians to be of at least two different, but vitally important, kinds of creative power, which are briefly summarized in Col 1:16-17. First, the passage tells us that “all things have been created by Him” (Col 1:16). That this original Creation is understood as *ex nihilo* is suggested by Heb 11:3: “By faith we understand that the worlds were prepared by the word of God, so that what is seen was not made out of things which are visible.” This implies that matter is not some reality existing eternally alongside God, but that it and we are ultimately and absolutely dependent upon God for our being.

Second, Colossians indicates that Christ’s creative power does not stop with creation *ex nihilo*. Rather, according to v. 17, “in Him all things hold together.” Hebrews 1:3 expresses the same idea: “He . . . upholds all things by the word of His power.” These passages imply that Christ is continually sustaining the being of all reality. Thus because of Christ’s continuous activity, there are no gaps in his sustenance of all reality.<sup>7</sup>

In broad perspective, these texts also imply that Jesus Christ upholds the electroweak force, the strong nuclear force, and gravity. However, the galactic universe does not run on its own inherent power, but is continuously perpetuated by divine power.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Peter E. Hodgson, “God’s Action in the World: The Relevance of Quantum Mechanics,” *Zygon* 35 (2000): 514. Hodgson heads the Nuclear Physics Theoretical Group and the Nuclear Physics Laboratory, University of Oxford.

<sup>7</sup>Perhaps this might suggest a “gap-less economy,” at least at the sustaining level, to use Van Till’s phrase (Howard J. Van Till, “When Faith and Reason Cooperate,” *Christian Scholar’s Review* 21 [1991]: 42-43).

<sup>8</sup>On this point Ellen G. White writes that “not by its own inherent energy does the earth produce its bounties, and year by year continue its motion around the sun. An unseen hand guides the planets in their circuit of the heavens” (*Education* [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1952], 99). Cf. *idem*, “The God of nature is perpetually at work. His infinite power works unseen, but manifestations appear in the effects which the work produces. The same God who guides the planets works in the fruit orchard and in the vegetable garden” (*Testimonies to the Church*, vol. 6 [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948], 186).



The acceptance of this basic Christian faith vision has produced three discernable trends in the contemporary discussion of science and religion.

*Openness to New Evidence of Intelligent Design*

A significant contemporary issue concerns whether the inference to intelligent-design natural structures can be drawn in some sense empirically, or whether the claim that nature is intelligently designed is made exclusively by faith. This question has spawned lively and fruitful discussion in recent years as some philosophers, theologians, and scientists, working in the interface between theology and science, are exploring evidence that seems to suggest that this is possible.<sup>9</sup> Even thinkers with deep concerns about the new intelligent-design movement, such as William Hasker, indicate that the formulations by academic and scientific thinkers, such as Alvin Plantinga and Michael Behe, are much more sophisticated and operate on a different level than the arguments offered by the classic natural theologian, William Paley (1802), and, therefore, these newer articulations deserve a hearing.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences (CTNS) at University of California, Berkeley takes a stance similar to Ernan McMullin toward the intelligent-design movement. However, building on the commendable commitment to openness and humility in scientific investigations encouraged by the John Templeton Foundation, CTNS has recently awarded a \$100,000 grant to William Dembski, author of the book *Intelligent Design*, to further his research in this area.<sup>11</sup>

Plantinga implies that the need for adopting a new scientific method not limited wholly to methodological naturalism can be partly inferred empirically by considering the traditional macroevolutionary accounting for the development of a population without eyes into a population with eyes. Plantinga points out that in such a macroevolutionary process there would be many adjacent points in the pathway that would have no selective advantage in going from one point to the next. In light of this he wonders whether this would be the path taken. If indeed this path is not

<sup>9</sup>See, e.g., William A. Dembski, *Intelligent Design*, chap. 4, "Naturalism and Its Cure," in which the author cites evidence that design is empirically detectable; and also chap. 5, "Reinstating Design Within Science," where Dembski shows that specified complexity is how we detect design empirically.

<sup>10</sup>See, e.g., William Hasker, "Darwin on Trial Revisited: A Review Essay," *Christian Scholar's Review* 24 (1995): 479-488.

<sup>11</sup>John Templeton Foundation, "Winners of the PCRS/Templeton Grants for Research and Writing on the Constructive Interaction of the Sciences and Religions" (<[http://www.templeton.org/pers\\_winners.asp](http://www.templeton.org/pers_winners.asp)> Sept. 2000).

taken, Plantinga states that this consequence seems to suggest the need for an approach not limited to methodological naturalism.<sup>12</sup>

The intelligent-design movement is receiving attention not only in major academic centers, such as in Berkeley, California, but also in European universities, such as the University of Aberdeen and three other renowned Scottish universities supporting the Gifford Lectures on natural theology. In May of this year these four universities sponsored a special International Gifford Bequest Lectureship entitled: "Natural Theology: Problems and Prospects." Philosophers and scientists, including Michael Behe, were invited to the Lectureship to discuss issues including the future of the empirical inference to intelligent design.

It was my privilege to chair and to respond at a session of this Lectureship,<sup>13</sup> in which Michael Thrush of Notre Dame University read a paper criticizing Michael Behe's notion of irreducible complexity. Shortly after this presentation, and as the concluding lecture of the Lectureship, Michael Behe explained the notion of irreducible complexity and responded to concerns by Michael Thrush and key world-class biologists.

Behe showed how, at the genetic level, irreducibly complex biological machines exist, such as the immune response and flagellum, which defy fortuitous piece-by-piece development because all parts are required to be present at the beginning for function to occur. As he lectured, the hall became increasingly quiet. At one point the house air conditioning was turned off, adding clarity to each word Behe spoke. Highly trained academicians were hearing, as it were, a voice from the past, albeit a freshly articulate one. Ideas thought to have been retired long ago were being argued with a new clarity, scientific plausibility, and freshness, giving the occasion a historic dimension, while highlighting a recent trend in science-and-religion discussions.

We now turn to a second trend, which addresses a challenge discussed for centuries.

### *Increasing Willingness to Address the Difficult Question of God and Natural Evil*

A second encouraging trend in science-and-religion discussions is the increasing willingness of thinkers who represent various orientations regarding origins to address the classic challenge of natural evil, or what

<sup>12</sup>Alvin Plantinga, "When Faith and Reason Clash: Evolution and the Bible," *Christian Scholar's Review* 21 (1991): 25; see also idem, "Methodological Naturalism?" in *Facets of Faith & Science*, vol. 1, ed. Jitse M. Meer (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 177-221.

<sup>13</sup>The International Gifford Bequest Lectureship was held in Kings College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

today we might call paleonatural evil and the character of God. This problem has been classically raised, for example, in David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*<sup>14</sup> and in J. S. Mill's *Nature*.<sup>15</sup>

However, willingness to address the problem of God and natural evil has not always been the case, as documented in a recent Ph.D. dissertation written by Gregory Elder at the University of California, San Diego. Elder shows that while major English religious bodies readily accepted Darwin's theories immediately upon the publication of his *Origin of Species* in 1859, these same religious institutions intentionally avoided discussing the difficult theodical issues raised.<sup>16</sup>

Happily, this situation is beginning to change, and CTNS is among those leading the way. The founder and director of CTNS, Dr. Robert John Russell, shared his convictions on this point with me recently. His words may be paraphrased: "I do not mind that we have discussions of design in the science-and-faith dialogue. Such matters are useful. But there is something that is very important. In fact, we need to blow the whistle and tell folk that it's time to get out of the pool, we have a serious issue to address: that is the question of death, suffering, disease, and the character of God." I appreciate and commend Bob for his concerns in this respect. While approaches to this difficulty may differ, Christians can press together in shared concern and explore the Scriptures, seeking counsel and guidance from the Word of God in this matter as illumined by the Holy Spirit.

Responses to this issue seem to cluster around the concept of the relation of God to the world, but in terms of various characterizations of divine creative method. For example, Philip Clayton describes the difficulty and hints at a tentative solution as follows:

A God who allows countless billions of organisms to suffer and die, and entire species to be wiped out, either does not share the sort of values we do, or works in the world in a much more limited and indirect way than theologians have usually imagined. Since revelation rules out a pernicious God, it may ultimately be that one must let go of the idea that God directly brings about the details of the evolving biological world.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup>David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (London: Routledge, 1991).

<sup>15</sup>John Stuart Mill, "Nature," in *Nature: The Utility of Religion and Theism*, reprint of the 3d ed. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923), 3-65.

<sup>16</sup>Gregory Parviz Elder, "Chronic Vigour: Evolution, Biblical Criticism and English Theology" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1990). See especially the concluding chapter.

<sup>17</sup>Philip Clayton, "Metaphysics Can Be a Harsh Mistress," *CTNS Bulletin* 18 (1998): 18. Clayton is Professor and Chair of Philosophy, California State University, Sonoma, and is associated with CTNS.

While adopting a more classical posture toward this challenge, Dr. James Gibson, director of the Geoscience Research Institute, also suggests that the way one characterizes the divine method of creation directly impacts one's concept of the character of God.<sup>18</sup> Gibson's claim concurs with a strategically important biblical passage in Rev 14:7. Here the heavenly messenger calls all human beings living just before the return of the resurrected Lord to worship "Him who made the heaven, earth, the sea and the fountains of waters." In general, the messenger implies that God wishes to be worshiped as Creator in our day.

However, the message also suggests something new, which has deep significance. The words constitute a definite allusion to the fourth commandment of Exod 20:11, which affirms a rapid, death-free and destruction-free method of divine creation. Perhaps through this message God intends for contemporary humans to reconsider the particular method of creation, which implies the goodness of God as Creator. Thus the affirmation of a death-free method of creation constitutes a powerful basis for worship, because God is thereby shown to be a truly benevolent Creator and thus worthy to be worshiped.

We turn now to a third encouraging trend in science-and-religion discussions.

### *A New Shouldering of Responsibility to Care for God's Creation*

The words of Joël Delobel, professor of New Testament exegesis in Belgium, can capture the spirit of a refreshing third new trend in the thinking of Christians regarding God and the world in science-and-religion discussions.<sup>19</sup> Delobel states: "To consider the cosmos as 'creation,' and thus as . . . [continuously] created by God, is an attitude of pure belief which exceeds the bounds of verifiable experience. Such a vision has consequences . . . [it] gives a deeper dimension to all care for the world."<sup>20</sup>

This biblically based faith vision means that the Christian should no

<sup>18</sup>L. J. Gibson, "Theistic Evolution: Is it for Adventists?" *Ministry* 65 (1992): 22-25.

<sup>19</sup>The literature in this movement is rapidly increasing. A few important sample sources include the following titles: I. Bradley, *God Is Green* (New York: Doubleday, 1990); C. De Witt, ed., *The Environment and the Christian* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991); W. Grandberg-Michaelson, *Ecology and Life* (Waco, TX: Word, 1988); W. Pratney, *Healing the Land: A Supernatural View of Ecology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993); S. B. Scharper and H. Cunningham, eds., *The Green Bible* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993); T. Stafford, "God's Green Acres," *Christianity Today* (June 15, 1998): 32-37; and Dennis W. Woodland, "Christian Environmental Stewardship," *Lake Union Herald* (December 1996): 12-13.

<sup>20</sup>Joël Delobel, "Christ, the Lord of Creation," *Louvain Studies* 16 (1991): 168.

longer be captive to the assumption of much of modern culture, which severs God from Creation and subjects it to humanity's arrogant power. In this context, the last words of the book of Jonah constitute a moving insight into God's interest in saving not only humans, but also animals: "And should I not have compassion on Nineveh, the great city in which there are more than 120,000 persons who do not know the difference between their right and left hand, as well as many animals?"

Unfortunately, as Lynn White noted, there has been misinterpretation of the intent of two phrases in Gen 1:26: "dominion over" and "subdue it."<sup>21</sup> The true and contextual meaning refers to the sense of to "manage," "oversee," "care for," and "be steward of."<sup>22</sup> Botanist Dennis Woodland, of Andrews University, outlines four of nature's principles of sustainability: First, ecosystems use sunlight as their source of energy; second, ecosystems dispose of wastes and replenish nutrients by recycling; third, the size of consumer populations in nature is maintained in such a way that overgrazing does not occur; and fourth, for ecosystem sustainability, biodiversity must be maintained. In light of these principles, Woodland challenges individuals to do the following: to (1) become energy-use conscious, (2) become ecoconsumers when shopping, (3) begin recycling domestic waste, (4) encourage institutions to make their campuses into arboretums, (5) label campus trees to encourage care for and appreciation of God's green earth, (7) support local conservation groups, (8) spend more time in nature, and (9) "think global, act local."<sup>23</sup>

### Conclusion

We have touched upon three important trends—new design arguments, the issue of God and natural evil, and increasing the care of God's creation—emerging in consequence of a Christian faith vision embracing the cosmos as the creation of the *Logos*, Jesus Christ. Taking this vision to heart permits us to praise God daily as by faith we discern new instances of his superb workmanship and wonderful care in nature.

<sup>21</sup>Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967): 1204-1207.

<sup>22</sup>Dennis W. Woodland, "Christian Environmental Stewardship," *Lake Union Herald* (1996): 12-13.

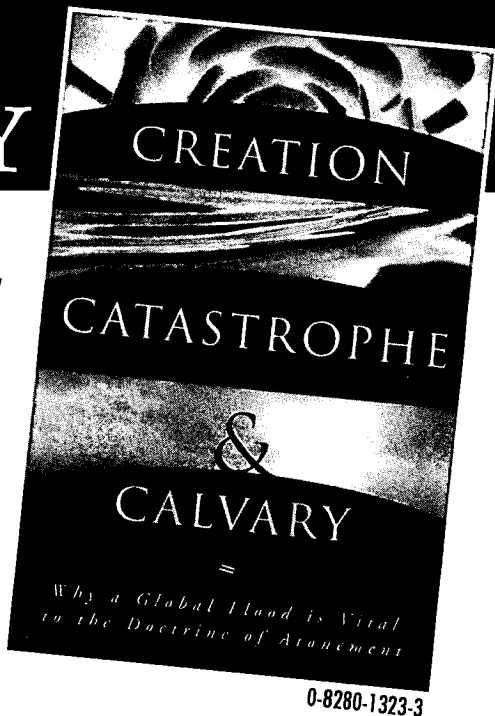
<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

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## DIVINE ACCOMMODATION AND BIBLICAL CREATION: CALVIN VS. MCGRATH

PETER M. VAN BEMMELEN  
Andrews University

In two recent publications, Alister McGrath cites John Calvin in support of divine accommodation in a theory of origins. In order to evaluate the validity of McGrath's use of Calvin, it is necessary, first, to look briefly at the concept of divine accommodation and its use as a hermeneutical tool.<sup>1</sup>

Other publications have drawn attention to the prominent role that the concept of divine accommodation has played in the history of biblical interpretation.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere I have argued that, while accommodation is found in all of God's dealings with the human race,<sup>3</sup> it is important to distinguish between true and false applications of this concept in biblical hermeneutics.<sup>4</sup> This article will focus on the use of accommodation as a hermeneutical tool for interpreting the account of the Creation of the world in six days as recorded in Gen 1.

In a historical survey of interpretations of the six days of creation, Jack Lewis has shown that from at least the first century A.D., Bible students have been divided concerning the nature of the days of Genesis.<sup>5</sup> The well-known first-century Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, already exemplified this diversity; the latter understood the days of Creation to be literal days, while the former rejected a literal interpretation. According to Philo,

it is quite foolish to think that the world was created in six days or in a space of time at all. Why? Because every period of time is a series of days and nights, and these can only be made such by the movement of

<sup>1</sup>Alister E. McGrath, *Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 125; idem, *Science and Religion: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 11.

<sup>2</sup>The most significant historical survey is found in Stephen D. Benin, *Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

<sup>3</sup>See Peter M. van Bemmelen, "Revelation and Inspiration," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 33.

<sup>4</sup>Peter M. van Bemmelen, "Divine Accommodation in Revelation and Scripture," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 9 (1998): 221-229.

<sup>5</sup>Jack P. Lewis, "The Days of Creation: An Historical Survey of Interpretation," *JETS* 32 (1989): 433-455.

the sun as it goes over and under the earth: but the sun is a part of heaven, so that time is confessedly more recent than the world. It would therefore be correct to say that the world was not made in time, but that time was formed by means of the world, for it was heaven's movement that was the index of the nature of time.<sup>6</sup>

God did not need six days to create the world; rather, Philo posits: "We must think of God as doing all things simultaneously."<sup>7</sup> The idea that God created all things at once, rather than in a period of six days, can also be found in the writings of early Christian writers, such as Origen (c. 185-c. 254) and Augustine (354-430). One reason why they opted for some form of nonliteral interpretation was the scorn and criticism heaped by opponents of Christianity upon the idea that God would use six literal days to create the world. Celsus (2d century A.D.), a pagan philosopher and author of the oldest literary attack on Christianity, entitled *On the True Doctrine*, sarcastically observed:

Look further at the creation story credited among them, where we have read that God banishes man from the garden made specifically to contain him. Silly as that may be, sillier still is the way the world is supposed to have come about. They allot certain days to creation, before days existed. For when heaven had not been made, or the earth fixed or the sun set in the heavens, how could days exist? Isn't it absurd to think that the greatest God pieced out his work like a bricklayer, saying, "Today I shall do this, tomorrow that," and so on, so that he did this on the third, that on the fourth, and something else on the fifth and sixth days! We are thus not surprised to find, that like a common workman, this God wears himself down and so needs a holiday after six days. Need I comment that a god who gets tired, works with his hands, and gives orders like a foreman is not acting very much like a god?<sup>8</sup>

Augustine, before his conversion to Christianity, had been a Manichaean for nine years. The Manichaeans rejected the OT, including the Creation of the world in six days. Augustine, even after his conversion, was never able to adopt a fully literal interpretation of the six-day Creation, although he struggled all his life to find a literal interpretation of Genesis that would answer the objections of the Manichaeans.<sup>9</sup> His major work on the subject, *The Literal Meaning of*

<sup>6</sup>Philo, *Legum Allegoriae* 1.2 cited in Lewis, 434-435.

<sup>7</sup>Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* 13 cited in Lewis, 435.

<sup>8</sup>Celsus, *On The True Doctrine: A Discourse Against the Christians*, trans. R. Joseph Hoffmann (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 102-103.

<sup>9</sup>See, e.g., Roland J. Teske, "Introduction," in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 84, *Saint Augustine on Genesis*, trans. Roland J. Teske (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 3-4.



*Genesis*, is an exhaustive commentary on Gen 1 to 3. John Hammond Taylor, who provided a modern English translation with annotations of this work, makes an interesting observation on the title Augustine chose for his commentary:

A reader unfamiliar with Augustine's thought cannot progress very far in this work without being puzzled by the fact that he has called it a literal commentary. The days of creation, he suggests, are not periods of time but rather categories in which creatures are arranged by the author for didactic reasons to describe all the works of creation, which in reality were created simultaneously.<sup>10</sup>

Augustine, like Philo and others before him, was convinced that God created all things simultaneously. One of the arguments he presented in favor of this idea was a text in the apocryphal book Sirach, which in the Latin version reads: "He who lives forever created all things together" (Sir 18:1).<sup>11</sup> Augustine was apparently not aware that the Latin was incorrectly translated here.<sup>12</sup> The ambiguity in the writings of Augustine and other Church Fathers can also be found in the writings of certain medieval scholars. On one hand, the idea was put forth that the world was created in six days; on the other, that everything had been created all at once.<sup>13</sup>

With the Protestant Reformers came a renewed emphasis on the interpretation of Scripture in its literal, grammatical, and historical sense. Martin Luther (1483-1546) stressed that "the literal sense of Scripture alone is the whole essence of faith and of Christian theology."<sup>14</sup> In this he was followed by other Reformers, including John Calvin (1509-1564). For this study it is of special interest to examine Calvin's view of the six days of Creation. In his comments on the expression "the first day" in Gen 1:5, Calvin rejects the idea that God created all things at once and that the six days of Gen 1 are a didactic device, as Augustine and others had taught. He states:

Here the error of those is manifestly refuted, who maintain that the world was made in a moment. For it is too violent a cavil to contend that Moses distributes the work which God perfected at once into six days, for the mere purpose of conveying instruction. Let us rather

<sup>10</sup>John Hammond Taylor, "Introduction," in *Ancient Christian Writers*, vols. 41-42, *St. Augustine: The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 2 vols., trans. John Hammond Taylor (New York: Newman, 1982), 1:9.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 1:150, 168, and passim.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 254, n. 69.

<sup>13</sup>Lewis, 449.

<sup>14</sup>Cited in Frederic W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, Bampton Lectures 1885 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1961), 327. See also Gerhard Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, trans. Robert W. Yarbrough (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1994), 70.

conclude that God himself took the space of six days, for the purpose of accommodating his works to the capacity of men.<sup>15</sup>

Calvin does not deny that God could have created all things at once,<sup>16</sup> but he concludes that God deliberately created the world in six days “for the purpose of accommodating his works to the capacity of men.” Here Calvin uses the concept of divine accommodation to human capacity to explain the reason why God created the world in six days rather than all at once. Further, he explains that God “distributed the creation of the world into successive portions, that he might fix our attention, and compel us, as if he had laid his hand upon us, to pause and to reflect.”<sup>17</sup> He elaborates this point in his comments on the phrase “and God blessed the seventh day” (Gen 2:3). Here he explains that God rested on the seventh day, then blessed and sanctified that day for the same reason that he created the world in six days. Calvin writes:

I have said above, that six days were employed in the formation of the world; not that God, to whom one moment is as a thousand years, had need of this succession of time, but that he might engage us in the consideration of his works. He had the same end in view in the appointment of his own *rest*, for he set apart a day selected out of the remainder for this special use. Wherefore, that benediction is nothing else than a solemn consecration, by which God claims for himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day [emphasis original].<sup>18</sup>

Calvin sees the Sabbath rest following creation to be an accommodation on God's part, who in this manner set an example for all humanity: “For God cannot either more gently allure, or more effectually incite us to obedience, than by inviting and exhorting us to the imitation of himself. Besides, we must know, that this is to be the common employment not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race.”<sup>19</sup>

It is, therefore, surprising that Alister McGrath, in his recent book *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion*, suggests that for

<sup>15</sup>John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis*, 2 vols., trans. John King (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 1:78.

<sup>16</sup>Calvin is aware of the appeal by Augustine and others to the text in Sir 18:1, and points out that the “passage from Ecclesiasticus is unskillfully cited. ‘He who liveth for ever created all things at once,’ (Eccles. 18:1). For the Greek adverb *κοινη*, which the writer uses, means no such thing, nor does it refer to time, but to all things universally” (Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, 1:78).

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 1:105.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 1:106.

Calvin “the biblical stories of creation (Genesis 1-2) are accommodated to the abilities and horizons of a relatively simple and unsophisticated people; they are not intended to be taken as literal representations of reality.”<sup>20</sup> This suggestion is repeated in his book *Science and Religion: An Introduction*, where he asserts that, for Calvin, “the phrase ‘six days of creation’ does not designate six periods of twenty-four hours, but is simply an accommodation to human ways of thinking to designate an extended period of time.”<sup>21</sup>

In view of what Calvin actually wrote in his commentary on Genesis, McGrath’s assertion must be judged a serious misreading of Calvin’s words. Nowhere does Calvin say that the six days of Creation in Gen 1 are an accommodation to designate an extended period of time. On the contrary, Calvin holds that God created the world in six days as an example for humans and rested on the seventh day as an example for the whole human race, thus accommodating himself to the capacity of his creatures. McGrath does not share Calvin’s concern, which was to refute the claim of the philosophers and Church Fathers that God created all things at once, i.e., Augustine. McGrath is, rather, concerned about the continuing dominance of “conflict” models in science and religion. We will now briefly consider this point.

McGrath’s books, *Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* and *Science and Religion: An Introduction*, form the first installments of a larger project “envisaged as a series of works which aim to explore the relationship of the natural sciences and religions from a variety of standpoints—historical, philosophical, scientific, and theological.”<sup>22</sup> With this project McGrath intends to move beyond the still influential metaphor of a warfare or conflict between science and religion to a more productive climate of dialogue between the two. Obviously, the question of how the biblical account of Creation should be interpreted will occupy a prominent place in such a project. It is not possible, however, to discuss here the many facets of creation discussed by McGrath. The present discussion is limited to his emphasis on the significance of John Calvin and his use of accommodation in interpreting the Creation account of Gen 1 and 2.

In *Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion*, McGrath identifies three broad methods of biblical interpretation that emerged during the Patristic period and were developed and refined in the following centuries: (1) a *literal* approach, which argues that the passage in question is to be taken at

<sup>20</sup>McGrath, *Foundations*, 125.

<sup>21</sup>McGrath, *Science and Religion: An Introduction*, 11.

<sup>22</sup>McGrath, *Foundations*, 1.

its face value; (2) an *allegorical* approach, which stresses that certain sections of the Bible are written in a style that is not appropriate for a literal interpretation; and (3) an approach based on the idea of *accommodation*, which argues that revelation takes place in culturally and anthropologically conditioned manners and forms, with the result that the revelation needs to be appropriately interpreted. According to McGrath, the third approach “has been by far the most important approach in relation to the interaction of biblical interpretation and the natural sciences.”<sup>23</sup>

Not only does McGrath identify these three hermeneutical approaches, but he also gives a brief description of how each affects interpretations of the six days of Creation: “A literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis would argue that creation took place in six periods of twenty-four hours.” In his opinion this is a minority view in the history of the church. The allegorical approach, which was especially prominent in the Middle Ages, “regards the opening chapters of Genesis as poetic or allegorical accounts, from which theological and ethical principles can be derived; it does *not* treat them as literal historical accounts of the origins of the earth” (emphasis original).<sup>24</sup> The accommodation approach, although influential in the Patristic period, found its mature development in the sixteenth century. This approach argues “that the opening chapters of Genesis use language and imagery appropriate to the cultural conditions of its original audience; it is not to be taken ‘literally,’ but is to be interpreted to a contemporary readership by extracting the key ideas which have been expressed in forms and terms which are specifically adapted or ‘accommodated’ to the original audience.”<sup>25</sup> It is evident that McGrath considers the third approach most useful for interpreting the biblical account of Creation.

However, it is necessary to question McGrath’s description of the accommodation approach—especially in view of his appeal to Calvin’s use of this approach. While McGrath argues that, according to the accommodation approach, the language and imagery of the early chapters of Genesis are not to be taken literally, but adapted or accommodated to the cultural conditions of the original audience, Calvin argues that the six days are to be taken as six real days and that God created the world in this way as an accommodation to humanity. The difference is obvious. McGrath’s understanding of accommodation turns the imagery and language of Gen 1 into a teaching device for the original audience,

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 122.

something that Calvin had strongly rejected in the hermeneutical approach of Augustine and others.<sup>26</sup> We must, therefore, call into question the validity of McGrath's application of accommodation as a hermeneutical key to interpreting the six days of Creation as nonliteral.

While there is accommodation in the way God reveals himself to humanity and in the way he speaks to us in the Scriptures, this does not necessarily mean that the language of Genesis is not to be understood in a literal sense. Calvin believed that God did create the world in six days not because he could not have done it otherwise, but as an accommodation to his creatures. Calvin uses accommodation as a hermeneutical key not to deny the literal sense of a Creation in six days, but rather to affirm the literal sense of the Creation account.

In the final edition of *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin reiterates his view, developing more fully the reason why God created in six days rather than simultaneously. He contrasts the biblical accounts of Creation with "the monstrous fables that formerly were in vogue in Egypt and in other regions of the earth," and refutes the

impious scoff . . . that it is a wonder how it did not enter God's mind sooner to found heaven and earth, but that he idly permitted an immeasurable time to pass away, since he could have made it very many millenniums earlier, albeit the duration of the world, now declining to its ultimate end, has not yet attained six thousand years.<sup>27</sup>

Calvin did not believe that the world had existed for millions of years; rather, he posited its age was actually less than six thousand years (this was prior to Bishop Ussher's similar calculation of the age of Earth). The idea that God could or should have created the universe innumerable ages before is nothing but idle curiosity to Calvin: Through Moses God gave us a definite history of Creation in six days, "for by this circumstance we are drawn away from all fictions to the one God who distributed his work into six days that we might not find it irksome to occupy our whole life in contemplating it."<sup>28</sup> All of this is evidence of "God's fatherly love toward mankind, in that he did not create Adam until he had lavished upon the universe all manner of good things."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>See the quotation from John Calvin referenced in n. 15 above.

<sup>27</sup>John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 1:14:1; LCC 20:160. Quotations from the *Institutes* are taken from idem, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20, 21 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960).

<sup>28</sup>*Institutes* 1:14:2; LCC 20:161.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*; LCC 20:161-162.

It seems likely that Calvin would protest McGrath's use of accommodation to nullify the literal sense of the Creation story. Accommodation is a legitimate hermeneutical key, but it must be used in harmony with other principles of biblical interpretation.

## SABBATH AND COVENANT IN THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

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The Epistle of Barnabas is usually dated to 130 A.D., though some have placed it earlier.<sup>1</sup> Chapter 15 is often considered to contain the earliest definite reference to Sunday observance by Christians,<sup>2</sup> with the purpose of discouraging the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath.<sup>3</sup> If this is true, it may be claimed as a witness to the early observance of Sunday in place of the seventh-day Sabbath.

Several considerations indicate a need to reopen questions regarding the interpretation of this epistle. First, it has been maintained that the author's choice of terms implies an observance of Saturday and Sunday conjointly.<sup>4</sup> Such practice on the part of the author of Barnabas would not be consistent with his supposed attack on the seventh-day Sabbath. Is there, then, sufficient evidence in the Epistle of Barnabas to affirm that its author defended the observance of Sunday, or that he discouraged the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath?

It is true that the author had an obvious anti-Jewish bias and that he interpreted some aspects of the Torah allegorically, but one cannot necessarily infer from these facts that he also allegorized the Decalogue. He does maintain in chapter 15 that the purest form of Sabbath-keeping will only occur during the eschatological rest following the Second Coming, and that one cannot gain covenant status through Sabbath observance, but this article will argue that it does not necessarily follow from these statements that the Sabbath is not binding on Christians.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Edgar J. Goodspeed dates it to 130-131 A.D. (*A History of Early Christian Literature* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966], 20); other scholars have proposed a date within the first century; see Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 1:335-336.

<sup>2</sup>Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977), 218.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Robert L. Odom, *Sabbath and Sunday in Early Christianity* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1977), 86-92; William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," *AUSS* 4 (1966): 168.

<sup>4</sup>Bacchiocchi, 284-285.

<sup>5</sup>Besides chap. 15, there is little in Barnabas that can be brought to bear on Sabbath-

Indeed, there are no clear references to Sunday in *Barn.* 15 and nothing in it that disallows Sabbath observance. A careful study of the argumentative function of the OT quotations in the epistle shows that the author is attempting to invalidate Sabbath-keeping as a means of obtaining the covenantal favor of God for literal Israel; but he is not attempting to discourage Sabbath-keeping in general. It is possible, then, that this epistle cannot be claimed as a witness to the substitution of Sunday for Sabbath observance in primitive Christendom.

The text of chapter 15, as given in the translation of Kirsopp Lake,<sup>6</sup> is as follows:

1. Furthermore, it was written concerning the Sabbath in the ten words which God spake on Mount Sinai face to face to Moses: "Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart." 2. And in another place he says, "If my sons keep the Sabbath, then will I bestow my mercy upon them." 3. He speaks of the Sabbath at the beginning of the Creation, "And God made in six days the works of his hands and on the seventh day he made an end, and rested in it and sanctified it." 4. Notice, children, what is the meaning of "He made an end in six days"? He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years, for a day with him means a thousand years. And he himself is my witness when he says, "Lo, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years." So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed. 5. "And he rested on the seventh day." This means, when his Son comes he will destroy the time of the wicked one, and will judge the godless, and will change the sun and the moon and the stars, and then he will truly rest on the seventh day. 6. Furthermore he says, "Thou shalt sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart." If, then, anyone has at present the power to keep holy the day which God made holy, by being pure in heart, we are altogether deceived. 7. See that we shall indeed keep it holy at that time, when we enjoy true rest, when we shall be able to do so because we have been made righteous ourselves and have received the promise, when there is no more sin, but all things have been made new by the Lord: then we shall be able to keep it holy because we ourselves have first been made holy. 8. Furthermore he says to them, "Your new moons and the Sabbaths, I cannot away with."<sup>7</sup> Do you see what he means? The present Sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that which I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an eighth day, that is the beginning of another world. 9. Wherefore we also celebrate with gladness the eighth day in which Jesus also rose from the dead, and was made manifest, and ascended into Heaven.

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keeping. In 2:6, following the quotation from Isa 1:13, the author comments, "These things then he abolished." The subject, however, is "sacrifice" rather than "days of rest."

<sup>6</sup>Lake, I:392-397.

<sup>7</sup>A more modern translation of "I cannot away with" would be "I cannot endure."



As may be readily seen, this chapter of the epistle is composed of OT passages and the author's commentary. To assess the meaning, it is important to notice the placement of the chapter in the epistle. Previous chapters (especially 13 and 14) attempt to demonstrate that even though God did grant a covenant and its attendant blessings at Sinai to the literal Israelites, it was lost almost immediately through idolatry and was never granted again (4:6-8; 14:1); instead, the Christian church has received it (13:5-7). Chapter 15 is intimately related to this idea, as evidenced by the opening conjunction *eti oun* ("furthermore"). It appears that Barnabas is amassing evidence for his position on the exclusion of literal Israel from the covenant. This calls into question whether Christian Sabbath-keeping is being discouraged in this chapter. There is nothing in the context of the previous chapters to suggest that he may be dealing with Christian practices. The question of whether *Barn.* 15:9 refers to Christian Sabbath or Sunday observance will be dealt with below.

First, however, what is the precise connection between the exclusion of Israel from the covenant and the OT quotations in 15:1, 2? The answer to this question is complicated by the idiosyncratic way in which the author quotes the OT. Research has established that some of the quotations in Barnabas are exact, while others are not.<sup>8</sup> This variance may be partially explained by supposing that the author was using *testimonia* (collections of passages for apologetics), rather than the LXX text.

Lake translates the quotation in *Barn.* 15:1 thus: "Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart." This quotation cannot originate from the Decalogue since the fourth commandment does not mention hands or heart. We may assume that this usage of "pure hands and a pure heart" is not to be explained in terms of a grossly loose quotation practice or faulty memory, but is purposeful. Barnabas returns to the subject "purity of heart and hands" in 15:6, with the remaining verses of the chapter hinging on the idea of purity (cf. 15:7). It is not likely that Barnabas would entrust the biblical authority of his argument to a concept absent from Scripture without ever bothering to check it or being corrected by others. It seems preferable, therefore, to understand the meaning of 15:1 in the following manner: "Furthermore, concerning the Sabbath [which is] in the ten words God spoke on Mount Sinai face to face, it is written, 'Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart.'<sup>9</sup> When interpreted in this way, one can see that the

<sup>8</sup>L. W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background* (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), 109-136.

<sup>9</sup>In this elucidation of the meaning, the phrase "in the ten words God spoke" (*en tois deka logios en hois elálāsen*) is connected not with the verb "it is written" (*gēgraphtai*), but with

quotation is not referring directly to the Decalogue, but to another OT passage concerning the Sabbath in the Decalogue (and not concerning other sabbaths, such as the annual ones).<sup>10</sup>

A reasonable candidate for this quotation is Isa 56:2, where the injunction “keep the Sabbaths from profaning them” may be considered loosely equivalent to “sanctify the Sabbath,” and “keep his hands from doing unrighteousness” is comparable to “with pure hands and a pure heart.” While Isa 56:2 is not a perfect match for the quotation in *Barn.* 15:1, it does appear to be a much more reasonable one than the fourth commandment of the Decalogue. More importantly, Isa 56 is more appropriate in the context of *Barn.* 15 than the Decalogue, since it deals repeatedly with both Sabbath and covenant (56:2, 4, 6), which is the subject of *Barn.* 15 (cf. chaps. 13 and 14). It is clear from the remainder of chapter 15 that the concept “purity of hands” is considered to be integral to the biblical authority to which *Barn.* 15:1 appeals.

Accordingly, the argumentative function of the OT quotations in 15:1, 2 seems to be the solution for the problem of literal Israel and the covenant. In Isa 56:2, 4, 6, as well as other similar OT passages, the observance of the seventh day is linked with God’s covenant: “Blessed is the man who does this . . . , who keeps the Sabbath without desecrating it and who holds fast to my covenant.” There is no question that literal Israel observes the seventh-day Sabbath, and thus Jews might claim to be in the covenant—a conclusion Barnabas wishes to argue against. Additionally, other OT passages, such as Jer 17:24-26 and Exod 31:13-17, definitely promise the favor of God for Israel if the Sabbath is kept, a fact duly noted in *Barn.* 15:2.

To resolve the conflict between OT promises of blessing to literal Israel and his personal desire to exclude them from these blessings, Barnabas introduces a doctrine of an eschatological holy state in the future world. The condition established in the OT for receiving covenantal grace is not, according to *Barn.* 13:1, 2, mere Sabbath-keeping; purity of hands and heart is conjointly necessary (as may be inferred from Isa 56:2). Therefore, Sabbath observance will become a source of covenantal grace only in the future world, when true purity and righteousness will be obtained for the first time by God’s people and the promised divine favor and grace will be manifest in the new earth (*Barn.* 15:3-7). In the meantime, Sabbath observance does not obtain the grace of God for literal

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the noun “Sabbath” (*sabbátou*). The translation supplied the phrase “which is,” according to a familiar Greek pattern as in *pater hem̄n ho en tois ouranois*, “our Father which art in heaven” (KJV).

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Lev 23:4-39.

Israel. This is precisely the point of chapters 13-15.

Another OT quotation occurs in 15:8. It has generally been identified as Barnabas's interpretation of Isa 1:13, in which he takes the position "that God has abolished Sabbath observance."<sup>11</sup> However, when the author states that "the *present* Sabbaths are not acceptable," he does not mean in this context that God now rejects Sabbath-keeping. Rather, he means that the present forms of Sabbath-keeping performed by literal Israel have not earned them God's covenantal favor. This is shown by the fact that the time has not yet come in which God will give "rest to all things and make the beginning of an eighth day, that is, the beginning of a new world," thus realizing his grace and favor in a concrete way.

The theory of an eschatological holy rest, then, does not purport to invalidate Sabbath observance generally, but rather only the Jewish claim to a present covenantal status because of such observance. To buttress this theory, Barnabas appeals to the Christian practice of celebrating "also" the eighth day with gladness, as if anticipating the future age (15:9).<sup>12</sup> A Christian observance of the seventh-day Sabbath would not be affected by Barnabas's considerations, since the status of Christians as the people of the new covenant depends on the sacrifice of Christ, which has already been accomplished (*Barn.* 14:5); and, therefore, there is no appeal to Law-righteousness, as in the case of the Jews.

Barnabas's theory of eschatological rest should, therefore, be read in its proper context of OT quotations and not as a general commentary on Sabbath observance. The OT quotations may seem initially to imply that, in his view, the Jewish community has a legitimate claim to God's covenant, but through the use of eschatology he tries to forestall such a conclusion. At present, literal Israel does not have access to covenantal blessings through Sabbath observance, since the condition of absolute purity of heart and hands cannot now be met. In contrast, Christians have immediate access to those promises through the sacrifice of Christ.

The Epistle of Barnabas allegorizes several commandments of the Pentateuch, such as the prohibition of eating unclean animals. However, in so doing Barnabas recommends a series of ethical norms clearly inspired by the Decalogue. For instance, abstaining from the meat of the "hawk, kite, and crow" means that Christians should abstain from stealing, and the prohibition against the use of hyena meat indicates that Christians

<sup>11</sup>Odom, 91.

<sup>12</sup>This "also," as intimated before, might conceivably imply a double observance of both Saturday and Sunday, which was common for centuries in the East. But it could also refer to an additional reason for joy, besides the resurrection of Christ, namely, the anticipation of the joys of eternity, rather than the observance of Sunday in addition to that of Saturday.

should abstain from adultery (*Barn.* 10:4, 7). In view of this influence of the Decalogue upon Barnabas, and since the only reference he makes to the Sabbath is to disprove the Jewish claim to covenantal status, it seems unlikely that Barnabas intended that the "Sabbath which is in the ten words God spake on Mount Sinai" is no longer binding on Christians. Additionally, his apparent distinction between the Sabbath of the Decalogue and other (annual) Sabbaths suggests he did not consider it so. In any case, if his purpose was to discourage the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, he certainly could not have accomplished such an objective through the arguments advanced in chapter 15.

Another interpretation of *Barn.* 15, namely that it could have helped to give Sunday prominence among early Christians, is equally far from certain. Later writers such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen often quoted the Epistle of Barnabas as Scripture, but they never used it in their argumentation for Sunday-keeping,<sup>13</sup> suggesting that they did not understand it to support Sunday observance.

Though the "eighth day" of 15:9 is usually understood today to indicate Sunday (as, for example, in the recent papal episcopal letter *Deus Domini*) on the grounds that Sunday comes after the seventh day, no known author before Barnabas used the phrase in that sense;<sup>14</sup> rather, he uses it in two ways: In an eschatological sense, it denotes a new age of the world when God will "make the beginning of an eighth day, that is, the beginning of another world" (15:8); in a present sense, however, it refers to Christian praxis (15:9).

Many have assumed that this "eighth day" praxis is a reference to a weekly day of rest different from the seventh-day Sabbath. However, in the immediate context Barnabas is not making such a contrast; instead he draws a parallel between the eighth age of the world and the Christian observance of the "eighth day." Scholars suggest that the Epistle of Barnabas is a paschal homily, basing their arguments on the strength of 15:9, among other passages.<sup>15</sup> Thus the "eighth day" probably refers to the high day of the paschal festival, the "eighth day" counting from Palm Sunday at the beginning of Holy Week to Easter day proper, or the feast of the Resurrection. Evidence for this view may be found in the mention

<sup>13</sup>Odom, 91f.

<sup>14</sup>Later authors did use "eighth day" for Sunday, but such use seems to depend on Barnabas or on a misunderstanding of the same. Slavic Enoch (*2 Enoch*) has been cited as an early witness of the "eighth day" concept, but this appears only in the extremely late J recension of this pseudepigraphical work, from the twelfth century or later (Kenneth A. Strand, ed., *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* [Washington DC: Review and Herald, 1982], 68).

<sup>15</sup>Barnard, 78.

of the “gladness” of the eighth day, a feeling which contrasts with the sadness of Good Friday and, indeed, of most of the season. It was common in the early centuries of the Christian era to expect the Second Coming at Easter.<sup>16</sup> Because of this hope, the “gladness” of the feast of the Resurrection included an element of expectation—of an immediate realization of the “new world”—the eschatological “eighth day” (15:8). Hence, the eighth day *of the Easter festival* “in which Jesus also rose from the dead,” may be connected with the eschatological theory of Barnabas in a much more natural way than to the first day of each week.

It is, therefore, not clear whether *Barn.* 15 refers to Sunday observance at all. Even if it does, such reference is not meant to propose Sunday as an alternative rest day, but only as a day celebrating the biblical hope in an age to come—an age when the conditions for the Sabbath observance will be met from the standpoint of the arguments presented in the Epistle of Barnabas. This possibility challenges the use of Barnabas as an early witness for Sunday observance; and, further, it does not provide adequate argumentation for the abandonment of the seventh-day Sabbath at the time the Epistle was written.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

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## ESCHATOLOGICAL INCONSISTENCY IN THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS?

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From the late nineteenth century onward, eschatology has been one of the most important factors considered in determining the date, authorship, and integrity of works written during the NT and intertestamental periods. Followers of Albert Schweitzer and Johannes Weiss, for instance, have argued that eschatological ideas provide clear guidelines for separating Jesus' genuine teaching from later additions made by the church. According to this "consistent eschatological" approach to the NT, only those teachings reflecting confidence in a nearly-immediate Parousia can with certainty be attributed to the "historical" Jesus or his first followers.<sup>1</sup>

The Schweitzer/Weiss hypothesis has been used as a starting point by many patristic scholars, most notably Martin Werner. Werner tried to show that the "de-eschatologization" of the gospel message, which took place in response to the delay of the Parousia, caused nearly every theological difficulty the church would later face.<sup>2</sup>

Recent studies in both patristics and the NT have moved away from the consistent eschatological approach. Brian Daley, for instance, provides an impressive refutation of Werner's monocausal explanation of the development of Christian theology.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, there is still some tendency to make at least some use of

<sup>1</sup>The eschatological theories of Weiss (*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, Göttingen: 1892) and Schweitzer (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede* [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1906]), particularly the idea that disappointment in the delay of the Parousia was a major problem in the early church, have been echoed again and again, not only in twentieth-century scholarly literature, but in the popular press. There are, however, serious problems with "consistent eschatology." C.F.D. Moule offers a critique of this approach and suggests a more promising NT methodology (*The Birth of the New Testament* [London: Black, 1981]).

<sup>2</sup>Martin Werner, *Formation of Christian Dogma* (New York: Harper, 1957).

<sup>3</sup>Brian Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Daley's challenge to Werner's ideas on patristic eschatology appeared first in *Eschatologie in der Schrift und Patristik* (Freiburg: Herder, 1986). For other alternatives to Werner, see Charles E. Hill's *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); and A. Marmorstein, "Marking Well the End: Eschatological Solutions to Dilemmas Faced by the Ante-Nicene Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1988).

eschatological ideas in determining the authorship and integrity of early Christian works. Works that differ markedly in eschatology are assumed to come from different hands, regardless of what tradition might say. Many would agree, for instance, with Pierre Nautin's argument that the eschatological differences between the *Refutation of All Heresies*<sup>4</sup> and some of the other works attributed to Hippolytus (e.g., *On Christ and Antichrist* and the *Commentary on Daniel*) constitute evidence against the unity of this corpus.<sup>5</sup> Even Daley suggests there might be some validity to this approach.<sup>6</sup>

There certainly are striking eschatological differences in the works usually attributed to Hippolytus. The *Refutation* makes only passing reference to the resurrection, ignores the antichrist completely, and nowhere mentions the millennium, stressing instead the immortality of the soul and mystic unity with God as the ultimate hope of the believer.<sup>7</sup> The latter two works give some of the most detailed pictures of the antichrist and of the millennial kingdom in all of Ante-Nicene literature, even going so far as to fix a time for the beginning of the millennium. Participating in the reign of Christ on this earth seems the ultimate joy of the believer.

These eschatological differences would seem to be incontrovertible evidence that it is wrong to assign all three works to Hippolytus. The problem is that, even in patristic works that are almost certainly by the same author, one can find differences in eschatology every bit as great as those one sees in the alleged works of Hippolytus. It would seem that, at least as far as patristics is concerned, the Schweitzer/Weiss hypothesis must not be considered to be valid: Eschatological ideas are of almost no value in trying to determine the date, authorship, and integrity of patristic works.

Justin Martyr is an excellent example of an Ante-Nicene writer whose

<sup>4</sup>Cited often as the *Elenchos*. Throughout this article I use the titles and translations found in the Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson revised edition of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. B. A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Co., 1896).

<sup>5</sup>Pierre Nautin, *Hippolyte et Josipe* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1947). David Dunbar provides a clear summary of the various arguments for and against common authorship of the books attributed to Hippolytus ("The Problem of Hippolytus of Rome: A Study in Historical-Critical Reconstruction," *JETS* 25 [1982]: 63-74).

<sup>6</sup>Daley, 41. C. E. Hill, likewise, makes appeal to eschatology in attempting to determine the authorship of patristic works. He argues that the eschatology of the fragment *De Universo* is so different from that of other works attributed to Hippolytus that one is almost forced to conclude that it is non-Hippolytan. He notes, for instance, that Hippolytus's acknowledged works consistently view the righteous dead as having already been transferred from Hades to heaven, while *De Universo* asserts directly that even the righteous remain in Hades awaiting the resurrection ("Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian? The Authorship of the Fragment *De Universo*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 [1989]: 105-126).

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Dietrich Ritschl, "Hippolytus' Conception of Deification," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 12 (1959): 388-399.



acknowledged works display marked differences in eschatology. In his two *Apologies*, Justin confines himself to one simple eschatological principle: There will be a resurrection and a day of judgment. There is no mention of the millennium in the *Apologies*, no discussion of the great tribulation, and no comment at all on the antichrist. Rather, they reflect what modern readers would term a "realized" eschatology, i.e., they show Hebrew eschatological prophecies to be largely fulfilled at Christ's first advent and in the church. Particularly interesting in this regard is Justin's interpretation of Isa 2:3: "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." Modern readers would expect Justin to connect this prophecy to the millennial kingdom of Christ, but this is not at all his approach; nor would this be a common theme in second-century literature. Instead, Justin insists that the going forth of the law out of Zion refers to the apostles' preaching of the gospel message and that the references to an end of warfare anticipate the peaceful conduct of formerly violent men upon their conversion to Christianity.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, Justin interprets the "rod of power" and the promise of ruling in the midst of enemies of Ps 110:2 as referring to the spread of the "mighty word" by the apostles and to the imperviousness of Christians to persecution, not to an earthly rule of Christ from Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup>

In the eschatological scheme of the *First Apology*, there is no apparent place for the millennial kingdom. The one passage that deals extensively with the return of Christ associates the Parousia closely with the resurrection and the final judgment.<sup>10</sup> These passages would seem to show conclusively that Justin was either amillennial or postmillennial in his eschatology. But his *Dialogue with Trypho* gives us an entirely different picture. Here Justin cites both Isa 65 and Rev 20 in an attempt to show that there will be a thousand-year reign of Christ in Jerusalem before the final resurrection and judgment.<sup>11</sup> Thus the *Dialogue with Trypho* differs considerably from the *First Apology* in its eschatological emphasis, though there is an overwhelming consensus that both works are rightly attributed to Justin.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 39.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 45.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 52.

<sup>11</sup>Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*.

<sup>12</sup>E. R. Goodenough, for instance, accepts unhesitatingly the attribution of both *Apologies* and the *Dialogue with Trypho* to Justin, although he complains of Justin's "inconsistencies" and "contradictions" in eschatology (*The Theology of Justin Martyr*

Similarly, the extant writings of Eusebius of Caesarea show marked differences in eschatological emphasis. This is particularly noticeable when one compares Eusebius's *De Evangelica Praeparatione* (*The Preparation for the Gospel*) with his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (*Proof of the Gospel*).<sup>13</sup> The *Preparation* seems to drift toward pure Platonism in both anthropology and eschatology. Eusebius insists that Plato is quite right in viewing men as immortal souls cloaked in corruptible bodies. This, he maintains, is sound biblical teaching: "In the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, Plato differs not at all from Moses."<sup>14</sup> Eusebius quotes at length—and with apparent approval—Plato's account of the fate of different types of souls in the afterlife. He includes Plato's description of the trial of souls, the purification of the unjust in Acheron or Tartarus, and the entry of those who had purified themselves through philosophy into the "pure dwelling place above."<sup>15</sup>

In addition to Plato himself, Eusebius draws on Plotinus and Porphyry and some otherwise unknown Platonist and Neo-Platonist authors such as Severus. Almost the entire argument in the *Preparation* is taken from such sources. But then Eusebius makes a strange reversal. In his follow-up work, the *Proof of the Gospel*, he abandons the testimony of pagan philosophers altogether and turns instead to the Hebrew Scriptures. The eschatological emphasis likewise changes markedly. Rather than the ultimate fate of the soul, Eusebius concentrates on "realized" eschatology, emphasizing ways in which the awaited eschaton had already entered history in Christ. He notes that Christ was both a "new" Moses and a "new" David, that he established a "new" law and a "new" covenant, and that he gave his followers a "new" song.<sup>16</sup>

Eusebius, then, regards himself as living in a new age, an age marked by important changes. First, the demons' hold on man has been broken. Christ has been triumphant both over the demons who oppress men in this life and the demons who formerly were able to dominate the dead. The fact that pagan oracles had ceased to speak as the gospel spread is

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[Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968], 281). The reasons for the apparent inconsistencies are well accounted for in L. W. Barnard's *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 157-168. Barnard notes that Justin's eschatological language varies with the circumstances he addresses, but maintains that there is no ultimate contradiction.

<sup>13</sup>I use the English titles chosen for these translations by W. J. Ferrar, *The Proof of the Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981); and Edwin Hamilton Gifford, *The Preparation for the Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981). All citations below are from these editions.

<sup>14</sup>Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Preparation for the Gospel*, 11:27.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 12:6.

<sup>16</sup>Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Proof of the Gospel*, 1.4-5.

further evidence of the end of demonic dominance. Even in the *Pax Romana* Eusebius sees evidence of the new age brought about by Christ. Eusebius maintains that the peace of this period was not man-made at all, but brought about by God intentionally in order to make possible the spread of the gospel.<sup>17</sup>

The *Preparation for the Gospel* with its Platonic eschatology and the *Proof of the Gospel* with its “realized” eschatology differ greatly in eschatological emphasis. Yet no one argues against the attribution of both works to Eusebius.

There are several reasons why Ante-Nicene writers might appear inconsistent in their eschatology. First is the danger of elaborating at length on eschatological prophecy. Justin notes that when Christians spoke of a coming kingdom, the Roman emperors assumed “without inquiry” that they meant a human kingdom and, therefore, wrongly believed the Christians to be politically subversive.<sup>18</sup> Second, these writers often seem to want to avoid controversy over nonessentials. Justin, for instance, is careful to preface his comments on the millennial kingdom with the concession that there are many “who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians,” and who do not believe in an earthly millennium.<sup>19</sup> Finally, there is a tendency among the Ante-Nicene fathers to choose “proof texts” only from among those works already considered authoritative to the ones to whom they write. In his *Address to the Greeks*, Tatian explains why he seldom uses Christian Scripture when addressing a pagan audience:

I will not bring forth witnesses from among ourselves, but rather have recourse to the Greeks; to do the former would be foolish, because it would not be allowed by you; but the other will surprise you, when, by contending with you with your own weapons, I adduce arguments of which you had no suspicion.<sup>20</sup>

Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras the Athenian, and Eusebius all follow a method similar to Tatian’s in their apologetic works: Wherever possible, they cite pagan rather than biblical sources in support of their arguments. One consequence of this technique is that the apologists emphasize primarily those eschatological ideas for which they can find some support in pagan writers. In works written primarily for Christians, however, the Ante-Nicene writers could make full use of Scripture and elaborate much more on their eschatological ideas.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 3.7.

<sup>18</sup>Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 11.

<sup>19</sup>Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 80.

<sup>20</sup>Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*, 31.

Athenagoras openly advocates just such a dichotomy of approach:

I think that those who bestow attention on such subjects should adopt two lines of argument, one in defense of truth, another concerning truth; that in defense of truth, for disbelievers and doubters; that concerning truth, for such as are candid and receive the truth with readiness.<sup>21</sup>

Eusebius goes so far as to suggest that a writer might legitimately employ an overly simplified theology even in dealing with some Christians:

For which cause also among us those who are newly admitted and in an immature condition, as if infants in soul, have the reading of the sacred scriptures imparted to them in a very simple way, with the injunction that they must believe what is brought forth as the word of God. But those who are in a more advanced condition, and as it were grown grey in mind, are permitted to dive into the deeps, and test the meaning of words.<sup>22</sup>

This is a clear indication that one might expect some important differences in the theological perspective whenever an Ante-Nicene writer switches genres or intended audience.

Such a switch in audience may also explain many of the apparent eschatological inconsistencies in the works attributed to Hippolytus. Several passages in the *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* suggest that the author of this work had the same attitude as Athenagoras. He warns his friend Theophilus not to share the deeper truths of scriptural eschatology indiscriminately:

See that you do not give these things over to unbelieving and blasphemous tongues, for that is no common danger. . . . If then, the blessed (apostle) delivered these things with a pious caution, which could be easily known by all, how much greater will be our danger if, rashly and without thought we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men?<sup>23</sup>

Later, he again urges the need for caution in dealing with such issues:

These things, beloved, we impart to you with fear, and yet readily, on account of the love of Christ, which surpasseth all. For if the blessed prophets who preceded us did not choose to proclaim these things, though they knew them, openly and boldly, lest they should disquiet the souls of men, but recounted them mystically in parables and dark sayings, speaking thus, "Here is the mind which hath wisdom," how much greater risk we shall run in venturing to declare openly things spoken by them in obscure terms.<sup>24</sup>

It would not be surprising to find an author, who expresses so clearly the need for caution in sharing the eschatological teaching of Scripture,

<sup>21</sup>Athenagoras, *On the Resurrection from the Dead*, 1.

<sup>22</sup>Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Preparation for the Gospel*, 12.1.

<sup>23</sup>Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, 1.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 29.

completely ignoring some of his “deeper” teachings in a work which, like the *Refutation of All Heresies*, is addressed, at least partly, to unbelievers.

A close examination of the treatment of prophecy in the *Treatise on the Antichrist* and in the *Refutation* suggests that this is exactly what Hippolytus did. In the former work, the author has this to say:

For as the blessed prophets were made, so to speak, eyes for us, they foresaw through faith the mysteries of the word, and became ministers of these things also to succeeding generations, not only reporting the past, but also announcing the present and the future, so that the prophet might not appear to be one only for the time being, but might also predict the future of all generations, and so be reckoned a (true) prophet. For these fathers were furnished with the Spirit and largely honoured by the Word Himself.<sup>25</sup>

Compare this passage to the discussion of the same subject in the *Refutation*:

Afterwards, just men were born, friends of God; and these have been styled prophets, on account of their foreshadowing future events. And the word of prophecy was committed unto them, not for one age only; but also the utterances of events predicted throughout all generations, were vouchsafed in perfect clearness. And this, too, not at the time merely when seers furnished a reply to those present; but also events that would happen throughout all ages, have been manifested beforehand . . . the Word by declaring them promulgated the divine commandment.<sup>26</sup>

The treatment of prophecy in the two passages is virtually identical. Both emphasize the fulfillment of the prophets’ visions in all generations. Both emphasize the role of the Word in prophecy. In context, both passages precede an account of the end times. The difference is that in the *Treatise on Antichrist* the ability of the prophets to foretell the future is followed by a number of very specific statements as to what they predicted and how these prophecies would be fulfilled, while the author of the *Refutation* is content merely to affirm that the prophets did utter detailed predictions of the future.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>26</sup>Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*, 10.29.

<sup>27</sup>While the works generally attributed to Hippolytus sometimes seem very different from one another, there is nothing in any of them that one would not expect from a student of Irenaeus. This is particularly the case when it comes to eschatology. Ritschl, 392-394, for instance, argues convincingly that the eschatological picture of *Refutation* 10.34 is derived directly from Irenaeus. The *Treatise on Christ and the Antichrist* may be dependent on Irenaeus’ eschatology. Note, for instance, that *Treatise* 55 parallels almost exactly the Irenaeus’ speculations on the number 666 (*Against Heresies* 5.30). The *Commentary on Daniel* also closely follows Irenaeus’ eschatology, particularly in its association of the six days of Creation with six thousand years of the world’s existence and the seventh day with coming millennial kingdom (*Commentary on Daniel* 2.4-5).

It would seem, then, that the different approach to eschatology in the *Refutation* and in the *Treatise on the Antichrist* and the *Commentary on Daniel* is insufficient to prove that different authors wrote them. They may all come from the hand of Hippolytus, who, in works intended for well-instructed Christians, was willing to plumb the depths of the mysteries of Scripture, but in a work intended for a general audience, was more cautious.

It would seem also that it is unsound to use differences in eschatological emphasis as grounds for supposing any two Ante-Nicene works come from different authors. The same author might well change his eschatological emphasis radically from work to work.

This should not be surprising. The books of the Bible themselves differ greatly in eschatological emphasis; sometimes emphasizing an earthly messianic kingdom, sometimes the transformed life of believers, and at others the believer's hope of unity with God.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it was not inconsistent for an Ante-Nicene writer to reflect a diversity of emphasis.

<sup>28</sup>C.F.D. Moule argues that most apparent discrepancies in NT eschatology are to be explained not as the result of theological development nor as a response to supposed disappointment at the delay of the Parousia, but as an appropriate response to different situations addressed by the authors ("The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Eschatological Terms," *Journal of Theological Studies* 15 [1964]: 1-15). L. W. Barnard, 157, rightly suggests that Moule's explanation applies to early patristic works as well.

## DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

### THE ISSUE OF ANTITRINITARIANISM IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY NOVGOROD-MOSCOW MOVEMENT: ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Name of Researcher: Oleg Zhigankov  
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Date Completed: December 2000

This study attempts to examine the trinitarian beliefs of the fifteenth-century Novgorod-Moscow movement, analyzing both their own writings and the polemical writings of those who considered their teaching antitrinitarian.

The main objective of the present research is to restore the authentic theological identity of this movement. Chapter 1 defines the problem, which has already been raised by some nineteenth-century scholars who have pointed out that the allegedly antitrinitarian character of the Subbotniks's movement must be open for further discussion. It also shows that no systematic research on the Subbotniks's theology has ever been produced.

The second chapter of this historical-theological study surveys the historical background of the Novgorod-Moscow movement and briefly analyzes the religious, political, and cultural context of fifteenth-century Russia. It demonstrates that the struggle surrounding this movement was motivated not only theologically, but also politically and culturally.

Chapter 3 analyzes the polemic documents, giving priority to the primary sources, contemporary to the Novgorod-Moscow movement, such as Gonosov's letters and Volotsky's *Instructor*. In general, the documents presented in this chapter differ in their charges of antitrinitarianism against the Subbotniks.

Chapter 4 analyzes the Subbotniks's sources, which include all the passages directly or indirectly dealing with their trinitarian views. The writings of Subbotniks in general represent the trends common for European reform movements of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The study of the Subbotniks's literature shows that the antitrinitarian character of this movement cannot be confirmed by the writings of Subbotniks themselves.

Chapter 5 presents a systematic-analytical and historical evaluation of the question of the trinitarian status of the Novgorod-Moscow movement. The present research found no traces of antitrinitarianism in the Subbotniks's movement.

## TELL HESBAN AND VICINITY IN THE IRON AGE

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### *Problem*

Tell Hesban is a major archaeological ruin in central Transjordan, excavated from 1968-1976 by Andrews University. However, almost twenty-five years after the termination of this endeavor, a final report dealing with the Iron Age remains has not yet appeared. Although relatively little remains from the Iron Age, which is the earliest period represented on the tell, an understanding of what is left is nevertheless important for comprehending the role the site played in the region at this time.

### *Method*

A historical research design has been used in this study. The excavated architectural and soil/debris layers were analyzed in order to isolate distinct strata. Their exact temporal parameters were arrived at by comparing representative samples of the ceramic remains gathered on the tell with those of the wider region. A reconstruction of the everyday life of the inhabitants of the tell and its environs was made by the integration of the available lines of evidence, some of which were obtained from the research of the scientific specialists who participated in this multidisciplinary effort. In addition, a study of the evolution of the excavation methodology was undertaken in order to understand the unique niche of the Heshbon Expedition within the development of "Processual Archaeology."

### *Conclusion*

Six strata were isolated. The first and third settlements (Strata 21 and 19) of Iron Age I Hesban appear to have been small unfortified Reubenite villages, while Stratum 20 seems to have been a large fortified village. These villages appear to have relied upon a medium-intensity food-production regime of mixed agro-pastoralism, dependent on cereal cultivation and animal products. Cottage industries played a major role among the economic activities. Stratum 18 became a small town with a high intensity food-production regime extending its repertoire into olive, fruit, and wine production.

During Iron Age II, the site seems first to have been severely reduced in size as it became a Moabite squatter settlement of pastoralists (Stratum 17), and then to have blossomed under the Ammonites (Stratum 16) into a small but prosperous town based on a market economy.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Armstrong, Donald, ed. *Who Do You Say That I Am? Christology and the Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 159 pp. Hardcover, \$20.00.

This volume consists of six essays originally presented at the Sixth International Conference of the Anglican Institute held in the fall of 1998 in Paris, France. The contributors are NT scholars and leaders of the Anglican church: George L. Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury; Alan R. Crippen II, senior fellow for religion and political studies at the Witherspoon Fellowship in Washington, DC; Christopher D. Hancock, former professor of theology at Virginia Theological Seminary; Alister McGrath, Principal of Sycliffe Hall at Oxford; Richard Reid, former Dean and Professor of New Testament Studies at Virginia Theological Seminary; and N. T. Wright, Dean of Litchfield Cathedral. The purpose of the volume is to respond to the radical feminist hermeneutic of the Bible and to reaffirm the conservative perspective of the significance of Jesus and of the church in the postmodern age.

In the opening essay, "The Christological Problem," Hancock maintains that the problem that the Christian student confronts today is the plurality of perspectives with regard to Christology. The real question is not, in his view, what we make of Jesus but rather what he makes of us and what God has to say to us through Jesus. In the rest of the essay he lists the problems that different types of inquirers face with regard to Christology. For example, for the critical skeptic the problem of Christology is the lingering cultural aura of Christ's person and work, while for the NT reader it is the historical reliability of the Gospel material. For the historian of doctrine the problem of Christology involves the divinity of Christ, the development of doctrine, the role of culture, and the impact of science. Hancock suggests that the understanding of Christ concerns both the whole Christian community and individual, committed Christians. Christological problems for the church today are caused by the modern debate about "the Jesus of history" and "the Christ of faith." The foregoing problems felt by the whole church affect, in his view, the heart and mind of each individual Christian.

Richard Reid, in his essay entitled "The Necessity of a Biblical Christology," suggests that Christology is a central Christian doctrine because the way we understand Christ affects how we understand God. A proper Christology is one that has its source in the Bible, which is the only real source of information about the person of Jesus Christ. The Bible not only provides information about Christ, but it also interprets that information and helps us to understand its significance. It provides the context for understanding Jesus as the fulfillment of the OT promises. It further provides the content of Christology, for the NT provides reliable information about Jesus' life, work, death, and resurrection. It finally provides continuity between the message of Jesus and his own understanding of his ministry and mission and the way the NT writers presented his role. In conclusion, Reid argues that "any Christology which is not rooted in the Bible—which does not take into account the context, and the content, and the continuity which the Bible provides, will always be inadequate, or worse, just plain wrong. It may even turn

Christianity into a different religion altogether" (45).

In "The Biblical Formation of a Doctrine of Christ," N. T. Wright argues that central to the church's mission, work, and life is the discovery of "more and more of who Jesus was and is precisely in order to be equipped to engage with the world that he came to save." The basic question that Christology entails is the divinity of Jesus the Messiah. New Testament Christology has developed from the Jewish monotheistic tradition, which is incompatible with ancient pagan and modern deistic and pantheistic ideas of God. It is not based on the idea of an abstract or distant God, but rather on the God involved and continually active in the world. The NT writers present Jesus as the Messiah in the language used in the OT for YHWH. It is "as part of his human vocation" that Jesus came to the realization that "he had to do and be, for Israel and the world, that which according to Scripture only YHWH himself could do and be" (47). In conclusion, Wright suggests that just as the early church was not reticent about confessing Jesus as the Messiah, that his death was God's saving act, and that he and his Father belonged together within the Jewish portrait of God, so there is no reason why the confession of the contemporary church should be reticent either. The mission of the church can be summed up in the phrase "reflected glory," that God's glory may "shine in us and through us, to bring light and life to the world that still waits in darkness and the shadow of death."

Alistair McGrath suggests in "Christology: On Learning from History" that a part of the Anglican heritage is to study the history of Christian thought in order to avoid past errors and to prepare to face the future. As his starting point, McGrath takes the Acts of the Apostles, which shows how early Christian apologetics proclaimed Jesus to both the Jews and the Greeks. Acts provides the church today with strategies for the proclamation of Jesus to modern Western pluralist culture. Other lessons that later history teaches us with regard to Christology are: the importance of tradition; the communication of the Gospel in a language understandable to the world; the dangers of allowing philosophical presuppositions and cultural pressures to determine theological agenda, of which Christology is a part; transdenominational collaboration in defending the orthodox view regarding the identity of Christ; and that the presuppositions which one brings to Scripture determine at least a part of his understanding of Christ. McGrath makes a strong appeal to Anglicans to take the past seriously and to learn from both the successes and failures of the past.

In his essay entitled "The Biblical Christ in a Pagan Culture," Allan R. Crippen II warns against any endeavor to subordinate Christ and Christianity to culture. He argues that the Anglican mainstream has always believed that Christ transcends and consecrates culture. Since culture arises from God's creative activity and is an aspect of Creation that he shares with humanity, it is to be ordered so as to fit the created reality. The beginning of the paganization of culture might be traced back to Gen 3: the disobedience of the first human couple has radically affected nature and the cultural norm. It is in Jesus Christ that the cultural dimensions of fallen humanity can be restored. The biblical Christ in the postmodern culture, however, will be made manifest through the church. Therefore, Crippen argues for the end of parochialism not for the purpose of becoming resident aliens, but that we might become soldiers with an invasion strategy. We are to be the church militant,

on the way to becoming the church triumphant. We are God's salvation army of occupation in the world. The mission of local parishes is to reorder their cultural life in anticipation of the coming new world order.

In the concluding essay entitled "Christ and his Church: The Implications of Christology for the Mission of the Church Today," George L. Carey argues that at the heart of the church is the living Christ, and that the way we experience him will guide our mission. Faith in Christ, first of all, challenges privatized forms of Christianity; and, second, it makes members a Christlike people. It calls people to discipleship, radical obedience, and faithfulness. The most important implication of Christology for the church today is to become Christlike and to put Christ at the center of all its activities. The perception of the church as a bureaucracy, institutionalized morality, social agency, or a school of liberal humanism, must be challenged and changed.

The overall approach of the volume is that of systematic theology and its objective is an apologetical response to the radical feminist hermeneutics of the Bible. The stand taken here is especially significant in light of the challenges that Anglican clergy and theologians have faced during the last decade.

Since the pivotal statement of the volume is "biblical Christology," it seems paradoxical that the Bible is not the primary source of the material; it is only referred to sporadically. The stress is on the Anglican traditional conservative position. The only exception is the essay of Wright, who takes a biblical-theological approach. More biblical treatment would be helpful, especially in light of the fact that feminist theologians point to the Bible to strengthen their position. The traditional church position on Christology is certainly important, but it is the NT in particular that defines true Christology and sets the standard for the church's beliefs and teachings.

In conclusion, despite the critique expressed above, the volume proves to be informative and inspiring. Even though I occasionally find it hard to follow the thematic flow of some of the essays, the book is helpful to those who seek some encouragement and direction with regard to the conservative position on biblical Christology.

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RANKO STEFANOVIC

Barr, James. *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999. xvii, 715 pp. Hardcover, \$ 48.00.

Fortress Press seems to have undertaken the task of publishing important OT and biblical theologies. After the monumental works of Childs (1993) and Brueggemann (1997), now James Barr's comprehensive analysis of biblical theology has appeared at the same time as Anderson's *Contours of Old Testament Theology*. In thirty-five highly perceptive chapters, Barr surveys twentieth-century works on biblical theology and draws the reader into the conceptual questions, both theological and philosophical, that everyone who is seriously engaged in the task of biblical theology needs to face. Barr's comprehensive knowledge of the scholarly literature as well as his sharp insights make this book a *tour de force*.

Barr begins by delineating the contested notion of biblical theology (chap.

1). After a brief historical survey of the origins of modern OT theology (chap. 2), he describes five main types of theologies, exemplified by Köhler, Eichrodt, Vriezen, von Rad, and Childs, and discusses them critically in a second round (chap. 3). In a transitional chapter Barr demonstrates that thematic and topical studies usually not designated as biblical theology nevertheless may belong to this genre and indeed are important for it (chap. 4).

Chapters 5-18 are an extensive elaboration on the concept that biblical theology is a contested notion. Barr compares and contrasts it with doctrinal theology (chap. 5), nontheological study of the Bible (chap. 6), evolutionary ideas (chap. 7), history of religion (chap. 8), philosophical and natural theologies (chap. 10), and historical theology, which he uses to offer an analogy to biblical theology (chap. 13). In chapter 9 Barr explains that size "has nothing particular to do with the establishment of a study as 'theological'" (141). In chapter 11 he observes the different ways in which OT theology has been related with the NT. He concludes that the two are intrinsically separate fields and urges scholars to undertake an OT theology on the terms of the OT itself. In chapter 12 Barr provides reasons why the question whether biblical theology is an objective discipline and thus descriptive (K. Stendahl), or whether it is a faith-committed discipline with implications for the present day (B. Childs) is only an apparent conflict. Barr then surveys and evaluates the different oppositions to biblical theology (chaps. 14 and 15) and identifies "Christianizing" of the OT as a fading problem (chap. 16). He tries to assess the relationship between OT theology and postbiblical Judaism (chap. 17), and the Jewish interest in and contributions to biblical theology (chap. 18).

In the second half of *The Concept of Biblical Theology*, Barr centers his discussion more around recent contributions to (mainly) OT theology. He briefly reviews OT theologies of the 1970s, including those of W. Zimmerli, C. Westermann, G. Fohrer, S. Terrien, and H. H. Schmid (chap. 19) and assesses the achievement of OT theology up to that time (chap. 20). Then in chapter 21 he reintroduces the concept of story as "an essential linkage between biblical narrative and theology" (354; cf. his *Old and New in Interpretation* [1966]). Barr assesses the work of H. Gese (chap. 22), theologies based on a canonical approach (chaps. 23-25), including especially that of Childs (chap. 24), and OT theologies of the 1990s by the Germans O. Kaiser, A. H. J. Gunneweg, and H.-D. Preuss (chap. 26). In chapter 28 he deals with the approach of M. Oeming, which he evaluates very favorably. Then he covers F. Mildenberger (chap. 29), H. Räisänen (chap. 30), W. Brueggemann (chap. 31), and D. Brown, whose thinking is for Barr "an ideal example of a type of theology with which I would be very happy for my own work to be associated" (xvi; cp. 586)—(chap. 34).

This second half contains an extensive effort to establish a place for natural theology within biblical theology (chap. 27). There is a chapter on the place of the Apocrypha and other noncanonical books, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, in biblical theology (chap. 32), and Barr briefly comments on the possibilities of a Christian OT theology and a panbiblical theology (chap. 33). In a final three-page chapter he identifies some major conclusions.

The book appears to be well edited. I detected only one typo on p. 133, line 7 from the bottom: "whiat" instead of "what." There are thirty-one pages of

bibliography, of which three and a half (more than 10%!) cover works by Barr. There are almost sixty pages of endnotes, plus exhaustive indices of names and concepts.

Barr writes in a fresh and largely easy-to-follow style, obviously due to the book's origin in his lectures and teaching (xiii). In line with his suspicion toward canonical approaches, particularly the one advocated by Childs, he engages in repeated and polemical criticism of this particular scholar. This is irritating, creating an atmosphere in which the reader expects to encounter the name of Childs in another animadversion at any moment (see, e.g., 153-154, 234, and 401-438 *passim*). Such a tone is unnecessarily hostile and only distracts from Barr's argumentation. It sometimes leaves the reader wondering whether Barr has fallen into the same attitude of judgmental "absoluteness" that he accuses Childs of having (403).

Barr's contribution is his thoughtful refinement of the contours of biblical theology in relation to similar disciplines that are sometimes introduced in or even considered to be biblical theology, such as doctrinal theology, history of religion, or philosophy and natural theology. Some of his main ideas for doing biblical theology spring forth from these contrasts. For example, Barr suggests that the history of religion approach, prominent again through the work of Albertz, which he finds highly stimulating (120-123, 605), should be "accorded full recognition and importance by biblical theology" (138). Another major suggestion is to incorporate natural theology, which he views quite positively (in reaction to Barth and Childs?), into biblical theology (168-170, 207, 468-496; cf. his 1991 Gifford lectures, published in *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology* [1993]).

Barr is to be commended for his outstanding survey of the scholarly contributions to biblical theology, notably for his endeavors to bring late twentieth-century European scholarship to the forefront, especially the work of German OT scholars such as Albertz, Gunneweg, Kaiser, Mildenerger, Oeming, Preuss, and Rendtorff. Due to the variety of these analyses, some parts of *The Concept of Biblical Theology* after chapter 20 give the impression that Barr's work is a conglomerate of individual surveys, criticisms, and ideas rather than an enfolding presentation of the state of art in biblical theology.

Barr's critical analysis is brilliant. The book is worth the money to find out how he assesses the approaches of his colleagues. However, his critical probing is not balanced by an equally weighted portion of constructive proposals. After all, the critical analysis of the approaches of others to biblical theology leads to a refined understanding of the issues in this field and should prepare well for a thoughtful formulation of one's own theological framework and approach. To be fair, Barr does not intend to present his own biblical theology. He clearly emphasizes right from the outset that his work "is a discussion of the whole idea of biblical theology, its possibilities and its prospects" (xiii). Nevertheless, the wording of the title leaves a reader wondering why, after such a remarkable exploration of the work of others, Barr does not clearly outline his own concept of biblical theology, or at least describe more explicitly the methodology he would use to engage in biblical theology. The reader is not necessarily satisfied by his assertion that "there is no such thing as a 'right' methodology" (59) or "the one appropriate method" (61) for carrying out the task of biblical theology.

To be sure, Barr sketches some fruitful avenues. For example, he suggests

that “separate ‘theologies’ of individual books, or groups of books, should be produced” (53, cp. 144), as well as “smaller” studies on more closely defined topics rather than an all-encompassing biblical theology (54). For Barr, then, biblical theology should pursue a theme or topic throughout the OT and NT, or it should confine itself to an exhaustive theological analysis of a limited text corpus, even “individual passages when seen properly in context” (145). Here I would like to side with Barr. The range of themes, motifs, and concepts in the biblical books, as well as various theologies of individual books or groups of writings, should be incorporated into biblical theology. To add to Barr’s suggestion, after these multi-oriented theological endeavors have been accomplished, it may be possible to undertake the next level of biblical theology: to analyze relationships between them and consider the possibility of theological unity at a higher hierarchical level. Barr may feel uncomfortable with this, of course, as he criticizes previous efforts to arrive at comprehensive biblical theologies.

In conclusion, *The Concept of Biblical Theology* is a book to which everyone who is seriously engaged in this field should give careful attention. It mines the riches of a seasoned scholar’s splendid analyses of his peers, and it draws the reader into intense reflection on the theological and philosophical contours of biblical theology. It can be hoped that in the future we will see Barr’s own comprehensive OT or biblical theology, which will certainly be eagerly awaited by the scholarly community.

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MARTIN PRÖBSTLE

Brueggemann, Walter. *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1997. 736 pp. Hardcover, \$48.00.

In this weighty volume Walter Brueggemann not only presents his approach to the genre of OT studies, but also his assessment of the past, present, and future of the field. He defends the need for a new work by asserting that critical theological exposition is currently in a state of disarray. He then proposes that the resultant theological unsettlement provides a “multilayered pluralistic” atmosphere that is begging for a “new and fresh” theology of the OT. Brueggemann’s goal is to avoid the temptation to “reductionism” of past OT theologies by focusing on process in the community presenting the text rather than on substantive or thematic matters. The book’s subtitle provides three indicators of how Brueggemann intends to accomplish this mission. First, rather than making history or ontology his starting point, he investigates Israel’s reflection on Yahweh by analyzing its “Testimony” and counter testimony in a court setting. Second, recognizing that testimony can be confusing, Brueggemann analyzes the resultant competing and conflicting “Disputes.” Third, in spite of the competing disputes in the testimony, Brueggemann analyzes Israel’s testimony, which takes a firm stand in “Advocating” that her truth is better than all other competing concepts of truth.

Because Israel’s testimony is so crucial, Brueggemann takes seriously the OT text in its final form. He points out that Historical Criticism’s emphasis on layers and sources detracts from the text, which is the only source of Israel’s testimony. To Brueggemann the order in which Israel gave her testimony is so critical that he normally rejects critical attempts to reorder the text. He proposes that Israel’s

testimony is reality enough, thus precluding the need to look for any pretext reference. In order to develop this reality, he constructs a theology based on grammar. To him, full sentences rather than individual words define the normative shape of Israel's testimony. For his purpose, he defines a sentence that contains a subject (Yahweh), an action verb, and an object. Seeing the verb as that which controls the sentence, Brueggemann breaks camp with those who focus on a static ontological definition of God. He consequently finds in the text a dynamic God and an object dependent on his action.

Brueggemann consistently and articulately follows a clear logical flow throughout each chapter as well as the entire book as he follows a presentation-of-testimony-in-a-courtroom theme. In 750 pages Brueggemann first examines Israel's core testimony about Yahweh by analyzing verbs, adjectives, and nouns, then her counter-testimony about Yahweh's hiddenness, ambiguity, and negativity, then her embodied testimony about Yahweh in the form of Torah, king, prophet, cult, and sage. Then he concludes with "new and fresh" suggestions for theological interpretation. Though Brueggemann resists hegemonic treatment of the OT, he cannot help but at times posit important themes built around Israel's testimony.

Brueggemann's impressive intellect becomes evident not only in his engaging thought processes but also in his vocabulary, which may drive the reader to occasional dictionary usage. He writes not only as a scholar with helpful, comprehensive, and at times interdisciplinary footnotes, but also as a pastor with helpful and practical advice. To Brueggemann OT theology should be more than an intellectual exercise; it should also affirm practice that effects a transformation (conversion) and that gives Yahweh life in his people and his people life in himself. Brueggemann is particularly pastoral in his treatment of the hiddenness and negativity of the OT, demonstrating that one can live a life of faith in an ambiguous world while trusting in a sovereign yet hidden Yahweh.

Brueggemann succeeds in bringing a "new and fresh" look into the field of OT scholarship by addressing contemporary social issues such as homosexuality and feminism with a text-based perspective. He also employs this perspective in addressing theological issues such as monotheism, creation *ex nihilo*, asserting one's self before Yahweh, the common need for closure versus the openness of Yahweh, and the term "son of man." Brueggemann is "new and fresh" as he takes on Historical Criticism, even suggesting that Moses was a real individual. He adds influential insights in his opposition to the normal Christian "legalistic" label for OT moral, cultic, and purity laws. However, in his support of OT law as a definition of relationship he nevertheless passes off the Sabbath law as that which merely provides a unique mark for Jews.

Brueggemann allows his thought to be influenced by a broad spectrum of scholars. These include Jewish as well as Christian scholars, whom he divides into the "centrist" camp (such as Childs, Barr, Levenson, Rendtorff) and the "marginal" camp (such as Tribble, Pixley, Mosala). It appears that Brueggemann's label of "marginal" is dominated primarily by the theological left. Despite his "new and fresh" perspective, Brueggemann is still affected by the Historical-Critical method as illustrated by his treatment of Second Isaiah as exilic.

Brueggemann can be repetitious and wordy, but in such a lengthy presentation

the repetition helps keep the reader focused. While not the lightest vacation reading, this book is a must read for any scholar who wants to keep abreast of current OT theological trends. At the same time, the book is also a must read for the pastor who is looking for biblically based insights and applications for sermons and Bible studies.

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KEITH MATTINGLY

Doukhan, Jacques B. *Secrets of Daniel: Wisdom and Dreams of a Jewish Prince in Exile*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000. 191pp. Paperback, \$12.99.

"The book of Daniel contains a universal message that transcends denominations and cultures. The book of Daniel concerns all of us," writes the author, who is a professor of Hebrew, Old Testament exegesis, and Jewish studies at Andrews University. Whereas Doukhan's first English book on Daniel, entitled *Daniel, Vision of the End*, dealt with the prophetic section of the book of Daniel, *Secrets of Daniel* offers an exposition of the whole book. This work is divided into twelve chapters, each dealing with the corresponding chapter from the book of Daniel. The Prologue to the book introduces Daniel as a book of prayer, wisdom and understanding, and promise.

The chapters in Doukhan's book are divided into three parts. First, there is an introduction that provides the historical and linguistic context. An exposition of the text follows, subdivided into sections that discuss smaller units of Daniel's chapter. The structure of the chapter is given at the end, followed by footnotes.

I commend the author for writing a book that treats the complete book of Daniel, rather than just one section of it. The end result, in this case, is a more balanced approach to Daniel's message. For example, Doukhan offers a detailed analysis of the seven prayers in Daniel's book and suggests a close link between the visions of this prophet and a life of consistent prayer.

In writing on Daniel's visions, Doukhan attempts to blend prophecy and history. He asserts that "history confirms the prophecy" (122), and also that "history fulfills the vision down to the smallest detail" (123). In doing this, the author is consistent in giving primacy to the wider biblical context.

The book is well written and richly documented, and it makes good reading for a wide circle of readers. I would like to mention a few points on which it could be improved. First, if the structure of a biblical unit is a vehicle of meaning, then it would be most helpful to have it in the beginning of the section on exposition. Second, a nonspecialist reader may wish to have more explanation on the chiasmic structures proposed in the book. Third, some statements dealing with the historical fulfillments of the visions, especially toward the end of the book, do not match the facts found in the proposed structures. In the text, for example, it is stated that "the first month of the year" is Nisan (158), yet in the structure on p. 164 it is the month of Tishri. Finally, there are a few typos such as the name "Ulich" on p. 11, note 6. These are only minor points of concern.

In conclusion, I would like to recommend Doukhan's book to everyone who is seriously interested in Daniel and its message. In particular, the book is a must for undergraduate theology students and seminarians.

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ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC



Erbes, Johann E. *The Peshitta and the Versions: A Study of the Peshitta Variants in Joshua 1–5 in Relation to Their Equivalents in the Ancient Versions*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, vol. 16. Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University Library, 1999. 374 pp. Paper, \$62.50.

One of the remarkable developments in biblical scholarship over the past several decades has been renewed scholarly interest in the Syriac Bible. One reason for this interest is that for most books of the Syriac OT we finally have a reliable text with which to work. The Leiden edition of the Peshitta OT, which is now nearing completion, has provided a more secure textual base for such research than was ever available in the past. As a result, modern scholars have been able to determine better than ever before the textual affinities of the Peshitta. This is a welcome development.

In the book under review here Erbes has provided a detailed and thorough analysis of the Syriac text of the first five chapters of the book of Joshua. His work on Joshua originated as a 1999 Ph.D. dissertation completed at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Erbes describes these chapters of Joshua not only in relation to the Hebrew text, but also in relation to the Greek, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Latin texts as well. In my opinion his work is now the definitive treatment of the Syriac text for these chapters. It is Erbes's intention to provide similar coverage for the remaining chapters of Joshua in the future. When that work is finished we will have for Joshua one of the most thoroughgoing textual analyses that is to be found for any book of the Syriac Bible. This is therefore a volume that should be consulted by all those who are interested in the role that the Syriac Bible plays in OT textual criticism.

The general approach adopted in the book and the major conclusions reached are as follows. In the apparatus of the Leiden edition for Joshua, which Erbes published in 1991, there are 459 Syriac variants for the first five chapters of Joshua. Erbes deals with each of these variants in the present volume, discussing their textual affinities and their relationship to readings found in the other ancient evidence. The sheer volume of material that is included is staggering. Some 3,000 versional details, affecting approximately 15 percent of the text of Joshua, are taken into account. Erbes concludes that in this portion of Joshua the text of the Peshitta is very close to the Hebrew Masoretic text. Occasionally it is influenced by the Septuagint. There is no evidence of influence from the Aramaic Targum, although there are points of contact between the Peshitta and the Ethiopic version. The Vulgate has little to contribute to this study, but the Coptic demonstrates an early origin for certain readings found in medieval Greek manuscripts. Because of its closeness to the MT the Peshitta of Joshua does not have a major role to play in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, according to Erbes. In his view the Syriac version probably dates to the second century of the Christian era, a date with which I would concur.

Erbes employs a comparative method in analyzing the readings of the Syriac text of Joshua. He of course situates the Syriac text against its parent Hebrew text, attempting to explain its distinctive features. As he points out, some of these features are due to the Syriac translator(s) having used a Hebrew *Vorlage* that was slightly different from the MT. Many other differences in the Peshitta are due to various translation techniques adopted by the translator(s). Erbes also takes into account the other ancient versions, so as to determine whether there are textual

affinities shared between them. He presents the evidence of the following versions: the Greek, the Aramaic, the Ethiopic, the Coptic, and the Latin. Herein is one of the chief values of this book: it makes available in a convenient location the essential textual data for evaluating the Syriac variants in these chapters of Joshua.

Another strength of this book is its careful sifting of the sometimes-difficult textual evidence for Joshua. Erbes demonstrates a judicious balance and fair handling of the materials as he goes about his text-critical assignment. When the evidence is clear he draws out the conclusions that are warranted. When the evidence is not convincingly clear in terms of the conclusions that it points to, he shows appropriate restraint. Although his resolution of problem passages is not equally persuasive in every case due to the limitations of the available evidence, his presentation of the data allows the reader to reach his or her own conclusions.

The book has been executed with considerable care. Typographical errors, whether in English or in one of the ancient languages cited throughout the book, are relatively few and far between. Given the complexity of the multilingual content of the book, the level of accuracy that has been reached is commendable.

I have only two concerns to express. First, the system of abbreviations utilized throughout the book is extremely complicated. This, along with the multilingual presentation of ancient texts, may prove to be a deterrent for many readers. This difficulty probably cannot be avoided entirely, but if there were some way to simplify the presentation this would be highly desirable. Second, there is a tendency to use terminology of dependence that is actually anachronistic when describing the relationship of the Syriac version to the Masoretic text. For example, in many places the author speaks of the Peshitta as "following" or being "based on" or being "a direct translation from" (or some similar expression) the Masoretic text. But an earlier text does not "follow" a later one. To say so is to invert the logical sequence. It would be preferable instead to speak of agreement or congruence with the MT rather than to speak of dependence upon it. In fact, Erbes often avoids this problem, describing the Peshitta as agreeing with "the equivalent of" the Masoretic text. But a more consistent use of suitable terminology is desirable.

These are relatively minor points, and they should not detract from the fact that this is an excellent textual treatment of these five chapters of Joshua. We look forward to the author's discussion of the remaining portions of the book of Joshua, a task that may require yet another three volumes!

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RICHARD A. TAYLOR

Green, Joel B. *The Gospel of Luke*, New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997. xcii + 928 pp. Hardcover, \$50.00.

With the recent publication of several exhaustive commentaries on Luke, one might be tempted to not make another investment of time and money for yet another lengthy commentary on the same book. Such a decision, in this case, would be a mistake for unlike most Lukan commentaries, Green's commentary approaches Luke from a literary perspective while "showing very little concern for traditional form-critical and redaction-critical issues" (viii). It is this literary

perspective that provides many fresh insights into Luke thus making Green's commentary well worth the investment for his primary audience of "the working pastor and teacher" (viii). This commentary replaces Norval Geldenhuys commentary in the original NICNT series.

After an impressive sixty-seven page bibliography, Green, (currently professor of NT Interpretation at Asbury Theological Seminary) identifies, explains, and defends his methodology of narrative criticism in the introduction. The specific genre of Luke is identified as ancient historiography as opposed to "Greco-Roman biography" (5). On this basis, the reader should expect "a narrative in which recent history is given prominence, issues of both causation and teleology are accorded privilege, and determined research is placed in the service of persuasive and engaging instruction" (6). Green's literary perspective leads him to see a narrative unity in Luke-Acts with the single purpose of bringing "salvation in all of its fullness to all people" (9). As one might expect, this same literary perspective leads Green to give little consideration to authorship issues, and no consideration of either Lukan sources or the date of its composition. The relatively brief nature of the basic introductory issues seems to demonstrate that Green's concern is clearly to deal with the text as we have it today, and not to get side-tracked in theological speculation which is deemed irrelevant.

The commentary divides Luke into eight major sections. Each major section begins with an extensive discussion of the linking elements between the previous section and the one under discussion. Spread throughout the commentary are a total of twelve "interpretive asides" (xi) which deal more specifically and extensively with topics such as: "The Literary Structure of the Birth Narrative," "The Structure and Role of Mary's Song," "The Structure and Role of Zechariah's Song," and "The Birth of Jesus in Literary and Social Perspective," to only mention a few. Desiring to use a text "that is readily available and widely used in churches" (x), Green's commentary follows the translation of the NRSV.

The real strength of Green's commentary lies in his ability to constantly relate the individual parts of specific events in Luke to the larger overall literary picture of the entire Gospel. He does this with impressive skill throughout his discussion of the ministry of Jesus; even in the midst of discussing the crucifixion, Green points out the numerous motifs that connect it with events going all the way back to the birth narrative. Also helpful, are Green's lucid explanations of various cultural customs and issues (Graeco-Roman marriage customs, family relationships, and first-century table etiquette), which open up further insights into the meaning of the text. Combining these strengths with a very readable explanation of the texts (discussion of all Greek words and concepts are only found in the footnotes) and thirty-eight pages of scriptural index (including every reference in Luke) along with a comprehensive subject index make the material both readable and assessable for pastor or teacher.

If there is any shortfall to Green's commentary it is only those deficiencies which are inherent in the nature of literary criticism itself. Historical difficulties, such as those surrounding the census in Luke 2:1-7, are seen as insignificant to the literary meaning of the text and are therefore not dealt with. Along this same line, problematic issues between Luke and the other Synoptic Gospels are also not mentioned.

Green's commentary would make an important addition to the library of any pastor or teacher who is interested in preaching or teaching from Luke's Gospel. His work is well written, thorough, and coherent. However, due to some of the weaknesses associated with literary criticism, one should also supplement Green's commentary with a more detailed work like Bock's two-volume work (BECNT, 1994, 1996), which deals with the historical and synoptic issues not covered in Green.

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CARL P. COSAERT

Malphurs, Aubrey. *Advanced Strategic Planning: A New Model for Church and Ministry Leaders*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999. 288 pp. Paper, \$16.99.

Aubrey Malphurs is president of Vision Ministries International, an organization that assists churches with training and consulting on issues such as leadership, vision, church planting, and church renewal. He is perhaps best known, however, for the books he has written on these same topics, which include such titles as *The Dynamics of Pastoral Leadership*, *Planting Growing Churches for the Twenty-first Century*, and *Values-Driven Leadership*. Malphurs's *Advanced Strategic Planning* is of the same genre as his earlier works.

Malphurs contends that the church in North America is like a ship without a rudder, being blown about by the winds of cultural upheaval and change. His purpose in writing *Advanced Strategic Planning* is to provide church leaders with a good strategic planning process so they can better "think through the core issues of ministry and then implement their conclusions" (9). For Malphurs, this strategic planning process is "the necessary rudder that will biblically and thoughtfully guide the church through these and future times of unprecedented, convoluted change" (10).

Malphurs divides *Advanced Strategic Planning* into two major sections. First, he provides a preplanning checklist for leaders who are serious about the strategic planning process. He also includes a one-chapter primer on organizational development in which he focuses on the concept of the "sigmoid" (S-shaped) curve. Essentially, the sigmoid curve is an S-shaped line graph that represents the life cycle of organisms, civilizations, and organizations—including, Malphurs would say—the church. This curve depicts how things begin, grow rapidly, plateau, decline, and then die. Instead of simply assuming that the church is doomed, however, Malphurs argues that the strategic planning process he proposes will enable the church to start new, successful S-curves and thus stave off death (46).

The remainder of the book (section 2) is composed of nine chapters in which Malphurs takes his readers through a nine-step strategic planning process. These nine steps (and the basic question to be asked at each step) are as follows: (1) ministry analysis (What kind of church are we?), (2) values discovery and development (Why do we do what we do?), (3) mission development (What are we supposed to be doing?), (4) environmental scan (What's going on out there?), (5) vision development (What kind of church would we like to be?), (6) strategy development (How will we get to where we want to be?), (7) strategy implementation (Where do we begin, when, and with whom?), (8) preparation for ministry contingencies (How will we handle surprises?), (9) ministry evaluation (How are we doing?).

Malphurs concludes with a series of appendices which contain sample vision,

strategy, and core values statements from various churches, a "Readiness for Change" inventory, sample evaluations, and a wealth of other practical material.

One of the greatest strengths of *Advanced Strategic Planning* is the clarity with which Malphurs writes. The book is organized much like a "how-to" manual, and Malphurs does not deviate from his task. He leads his readers on a detailed and systematic journey through the planning process, and, as a result, Malphurs is able to make "advanced" strategic planning seem less intimidating. His book is not simplistic, but it is so well organized that the information is manageable.

Helpful introductions and summaries are provided in each chapter, as well as clear definitions and relevant, easy-to-read graphics. The reader should also take careful note of the appendices which were designed to be easily reproducible and useful in the local setting.

At its fundamental level, the process Malphurs presents is essentially the same as that espoused by a number of contemporary business management experts. (A brief survey of his bibliography demonstrates this connection.) So, while Malphurs's subtitle suggests that he is presenting "a new model," this is not actually the case. While borrowing from the business world in not necessarily negative, Malphurs's attempt to present his process as biblically based is tenuous at best. Malphurs did occasionally appeal to Scripture, but he tended to do so in order to confirm rather than form his model (see, for example, 12, 78-79, 81, 152, 201).

For example, as Malphurs argues for the importance of strategic planning, he twice cites the example of Moses, who led Israel "strategically through the wilderness as recorded in the Pentateuch" (12, see also 152). It is not an obscure biblical footnote that God was in fact the leader of the Israelites throughout their wilderness sojourn (Exod 3:8,17; 13:5,11,17), and the process God employed (a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night) was rather different than that proposed in *Advanced Strategic Planning*.

This misinterpretation of Moses' role in leadership further illustrates the tendency of Malphurs to rely excessively upon the human rather than the divine. While Malphurs justifies this lack of emphasis on divine guidance and trust in God by saying he assumes the importance of both, it is unfortunate that something so critical (and so often ignored) is essentially dismissed with a short paragraph disclaimer (63). So, while Malphurs says leaders should "bathe the entire process in prayer" (63), it becomes apparent that Malphurs expects leaders to ask God to guide as they implement his (Malphurs's) process.

Finally, one wonders if the strategic planning process is about finding God's values and mission, or simply articulating our own. Malphurs repeatedly calls for leaders to tap into the soul of their church in order to discover its core values and its mission, but he never suggests in any substantive, concrete way what these values *should* be. Are core values something a church can arrive at by "story boarding" or polling members, as Malphurs suggests? Certainly, this would uncover their core values, but is there ever a time when these values must be challenged and changed? A discussion dealing with issues such as these would have added to the value of Malphurs's work.

These weaknesses do not negate the importance of Malphurs's contribution. When a mere 20 percent of America's 367,000 congregations engage in active

strategic planning (9), Malphurs's call for more and better planning is clearly needed. Malphurs has also done more than simply appeal for change—he has also provided step-by-step instructions so that every church leader can strategically guide their congregation into the future. These leaders should, however, remain open to the mysterious workings of God, who may choose to lead his church through a process different from that proposed by Malphurs.

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PAUL DYBDAHL

Propp, William H. C. *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 2. New York: Doubleday, 1999. xl + 680 pp. Hardcover, \$44.95.

The book under review is the first of a projected two-volume set. Since Propp considers the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-21) as the midpoint of a bipartite work, the division between chapters 1-18 and 19-40 is purely a practical one based on the length of the material. The author writes lucidly and shows a masterful command of the scholarly literature. His style is well suited for the Anchor Bible series, which aims at reaching a wide, diverse audience, while maintaining high standards of biblical scholarship.

The work begins, after typical preliminary matters such as a table of contents, with a translation of the entire text. This is followed by "Introduction," "Bibliography," and "Analysis, Notes and Comments." The latter treats the book of Exodus by sections. Under each section there are Translation, Analysis, Notes, and Comments. Analysis includes textual notes, source analysis, and redaction analysis. Notes deal with matters of interpretation. Comments include extended discussions.

Propp categorizes the narrative as a "heroic adventure story or fairy tale" (32) based on the categories suggested by V. I. Propp. The author's basic approach is anthropological, which is evident in his desire to understand the social realities behind the text. For example, he interprets the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:1-13:16) as "primarily a rite of riddance" (434). This festival originated together with the paschal meal, but the two institutions were separated in the late monarchic period (428). Central to the author's anthropological approach is the Documentary Hypothesis, albeit with the innovative twist that the author sees more E material than J material in Exodus (50). Since the discussion of the validity of the Documentary Hypothesis is planned for Appendix A in volume 2, it is best to await its publication before evaluating his source criticism.

My comments here will focus primarily on Propp's translation. His preference for the literal rather than idiomatic is certainly laudable. However, a translation must do more than simply give the Hebrew in English words, which would result in a superfluous work, since one would need to know Hebrew to make sense of the translation. A comparison of the author's treatment of two words will suffice to illustrate some of the problems with what he calls a "hyperliteral" translation.

The author's translation of almost all occurrences of נֶפֶשׁ "nefesh" as "soul" (1:5 (2x); 4:19; 12:4, 15, 16, 19; 16:16), though apparently consistent, obscures the

fact that the same word may have different meanings in different contexts, and that the semantic range of the English word "soul" does not match exactly the semantic range of its Hebrew counterpart. Propp apparently realizes this in his one exception, Exod 15:9, which he translates, "My gullet will be full of them," rather than, "My *soul* will be full of them." Nevertheless, the word נֶפֶשׁ "nefesh" has a wider semantic range than just "soul" and "gullet." Take for example, Exod 1:5, which he translated, "Now, all of the *soul* coming from Jacob's *thigh* was seventy *souls*." Why not "all the persons . . . were seventy persons"? Furthermore, both occurrences of the word are morphologically in the singular, a fact not clearly reflected in the author's translation, and it is necessary to know Hebrew to realize that the singular נֶפֶשׁ "nefesh" is used in a collective sense, something that is not possible for the English word "soul." Of what use is a translation if one must know Hebrew to understand the translation? This problem calls into question the usefulness (or even the possibility) of a hyperliteral translation.

On the other hand, Propp's treatment of the word דָּבָר "davar" is anything but literal. It is generally translated "word" (4:10, 15, 28, 30; 5:9; 8:6, 9, 27; 9:20, 21; 12:35; 14:12; 16:16, 32; 18:16). But he also translates it otherwise according to context, including "thing" (1:18; 9:4, 5, 6; 18:14, 17, 18, 23), "affair" (2:14, 15; 18:11), "matter" (5:19; 8:8; 12:24; 16:4; 18:19, 22 [2x], 26 [2x]), and even "whit" (5:11). This sensitivity to context is certainly proper because these various meanings of דָּבָר "davar" are not interchangeable. For example, one could not make sense of translations such as, "not a *word* is deducted from your work" (5:11), or "I am not an *affairs* man" (4:10), or "a day's *word* in its day" (5:19), or "no *word* will die" (9:4) [These are Propp's translations, except that I transposed his various translations of דָּבָר "davar"].

Why should the translation of נֶפֶשׁ "nefesh" be rigid in contrast to the contextual rendering of דָּבָר "davar"? Though no translation can be completely consistent, what Propp calls a "hyperliteral" translation results in magnifying the inconsistencies.

On the whole, Propp's book contains a wealth of information and is a useful resource. Though other scholars will certainly disagree with some of his conclusions, his work is an important contribution. Another important contribution, the commentary by George W. Coats on *Exodus 1-18* (The Forms of Old Testament Literature, vol. 2A [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999]), appeared too late to be included in Propp's bibliography.

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TARSEE LI

Quinn, Jerome D., and William C. Wacker. *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*. Eerdmans Critical Commentary, ed. David Noel Freeman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. lxxxvii + 918 pp. Hardcover, \$65.00.

This tome is one of the first volumes of the Eerdmans Critical Commentary Series (ECC). The ECC series is slated to cover both the OT and NT. With a plethora of commentaries already available, one may be tempted to wonder why there is a need for yet another commentary series. According to the editorial

preface, the presentation of the ECC is justified in that it seeks to provide the latest contributions of "textual, philological, literary, historical, and archaeological inquiry, benefiting as well from newer methodological approaches." Each volume is to include a fresh translation of the text, followed by critical notes and commentary. The series is designated "critical" in view of its detailed analysis and explanation of the biblical text.

This volume is the culmination of Jerome Quinn's lifework on the pastoral epistles. Quinn, who was professor of Old and New Testaments at St. Paul Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, before his death in 1988, had intended that this commentary would serve as a companion volume to his Anchor Bible commentary on Titus. Unfortunately, Quinn was able to complete only the first draft of the present work before his untimely death. The task of finishing the commentary was turned over to one of his students, William C. Wacker. With the exception of the Notes sections from 1 Tim 4:6 through the end of 2 Timothy, which were composed by Wacker, the essence of the commentary is the work of Quinn.

The book contains a fifty-six page bibliography, although it should be noted that this reflects studies only as of 1988 and includes mostly bibliography items already found in Quinn's commentary on Titus. With the exception of a few minor changes, the entire introduction and the translation of 1 and 2 Timothy are as previously published in the Titus commentary. The present work contains an author index and an extensive index of extrabiblical material, as well as a thirty-nine page scriptural index.

In the commentary proper, each section commences with the translation of the text under discussion, followed by a detailed textual analysis, in two parts: a Notes section, and a Comments section. The primary strength of the commentary is contained in these two sections.

The Notes section provides an eminently detailed philological analysis of most words that appear in the letters to Timothy. A typical example of this section's attention to detail is the extensive analysis of what might appear as two inconspicuous words in 1 Tim 1:17: "honor" and "glory." Quinn not only examines their usage in the NT, but also references the way in which they are used in the MT, LXX, the Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers, Philo, and Josephus. When relevant, philological examination also deals with the Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, and various Greco-Roman authors.

The Comments section builds on the philological analysis in the Notes section and focuses more particularly on the explanation of the text. Attention is given to the syntax of the Greek text and to various aspects of the Greco-Roman milieu that shed light on the meaning of the text. Examples of the latter are the discussions of ancient magical traditions in relation to "handing over to Satan" in 1 Tim 1:20 (155-159) and of gender relations in the ancient world relating to the gender issues in 1 Tim 2:11-15 (221-243).

While the commentary is very technical, transliterations of Greek and Hebrew are used in an attempt to make the commentary accessible to a wider audience. The work contains no footnotes, leaving all reference information within the body of the text. The combination of the latter, along with the momentous size of this commentary, makes it difficult to read from cover to



cover. It will better serve as a reference volume for individual texts.

Unfortunately, the physical layout of the book does not facilitate its use as a reference volume. Outside the reference, in the translation of the text at the beginning of each section, there are no references to either chapter or verse in the top margins of a page. In addition, when the verse under discussion is referenced at the left margin, it is not set apart by either bold or larger print, making it difficult at times to locate the discussion of a particular verse. Another limitation is that the commentary is not complete in itself. There are numerous and significant references to comments and discussions on 1 and 2 Timothy that are found only in Quinn's commentary on Titus. Thus, in order to get the full benefit of this commentary, one would also need to invest in Quinn's commentary on Titus.

The commentary's primary weakness lies in the introduction, which is extremely cursory for a commentary of this type. The discussion of authorship issues falls far short of being comprehensive. In what little space is devoted to the possibility of Pauline authorship, the author does a less than satisfactory job of outlining the case for or against Paul, nor is there any discussion of the possibility that Paul used an amanuensis. Based on what he sees as ecclesial developments that were not evident in Paul's lifetime, Quinn assumes a non-Pauline authorship sometime around A.D. 80-85 but does not consider the ethical issues that non-Pauline authorship raises. While the introductory material is taken from Quinn's commentary on Titus, one could wish that Wacker had strengthened it.

Despite some weaknesses, Wacker's completion of Quinn's work on 1 and 2 Timothy is a notable achievement and one that will surely enrich our understanding of the language and literary content of Paul's letters to Timothy. The rich insights found in the word studies provide a gold mine of easily accessible material for the pastor, student, or teacher who may not have the time or resources to conduct such an exhaustive study. However, one would need to supplement this commentary with Quinn's Anchor Bible commentary on Titus and another commentary with a fuller introduction to 1 and 2 Timothy.

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Sundkler, Bengt, and Christopher Steed. *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xix + 1232 pp. Hardcover, \$140.00.

"A bitter pill which the majority of writers on Christianity and missionary activities in Africa should swallow is that they have not been writing African Church History . . . [they write] as if the Christian Church were in Africa, but not of Africa" (1). Bengt Sundkler (1909-1995), former missionary (South Africa, Tanzania) and later professor in Church History at the University of Uppsala, uses this incisive critique by two Nigerian scholars to preface his lengthy effort to set the record straight. Due to the author's death, this massive and magisterial account of the subject had to be completed and prepared for publication by Christopher Steed, his former research assistant and now instructor at Uppsala. Sundkler develops some prominent themes of earlier works (most notably, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2d ed. [London: Oxford University Press, 1961]) in stressing the

indigenous African initiative during the progressive Christian evangelization of this great continent. In fact, it is "a fundamental thesis of this book . . . [that] the Western missionary arriving at any place in Africa always found that he had been preceded by some group of African Christians" (299).

The well-known and documented missionary enterprise is certainly not ignored, but Sundkler and Steed (hereafter, S&S) take pains to point out that this is only a small part of the full story. It is crucial to view the whole picture and hence also the vital, creative role that Africans themselves—kings and catechists, merchants and migrants, refugees and returnees, itinerant prophets and independent religious movements—played in this dynamic process of Christianization. It is this particular local perspective, one that "focuses not on Western partners but on African actors" (3), which makes the book such a worthwhile study. S&S present a detailed, well-researched historical overview and evaluation that have important contemporary theological and missiological implications, not only for the church in Africa but also for Christianity worldwide.

In his personal introduction, Sundkler calls attention to several other principal concerns of his research. One is to demonstrate the close connection between the established mission-related churches and the so-called "African Independent Churches," which form such a distinctive, locally "charismatic" element of current Christianity south of the Sahara. Another interest is to present an ecumenical perspective by "highlighting Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Independent work . . . [so that] both Catholics and non-Catholics might find an interpretation of the essential intentions and achievements of their respective churches" (5). This is a worthwhile goal in view of the fact that, until recent times, at least, there has not been a great deal of interaction or cooperation among these different macrogroups, as indeed was (and often still is) the case also among the different denominations of Protestantism.

A major problem that S&S face in their treatment of African history is the "wide chronological discrepancy" (5) among the different regions of Africa—North, West, East, Central, and South—in terms of religious proselytization and development. In some parts of Africa, notably the northeast, Christian church history goes back nearly 2,000 years; elsewhere, especially in the inland areas, development has been limited to much more recent times. This has led the authors to adopt a helpful historical description on a more restricted, region-by-region basis but within some very broad time frames, namely: Part I—the first 1,400 years, Part II—the "middle ages" (1415-1787), Part III—the long nineteenth century (1787-1919), Part IV—the Colonial years (1920-1959), and Part V—the age of "independent Africa" (1960-1992). Despite the great period of history and large area covered, the treatment is quite complete and relatively balanced. Ironically, however, it is the most recent period that appears to be the most thinly discussed, with adequate coverage petering out rapidly during the final decade of the last century. This is reflected also in the otherwise extensive bibliography of forty-eight pages.

In addition to their special focus upon the significant indigenous African contribution to "missionwork" in Africa, S&S point out most, if not all, of the other important factors that have led to the relatively rapid growth of the Christian church throughout the continent (except for the northern region, which

due to the influence of Islam is a special case). In most instances, these topics are discussed diachronically as they happen to occur in the historical overview, not synchronically in extended sections. I would consider the following to be the most important of these strategic influences (noting particularly important exemplifying references in parentheses): use of the vernacular in popular communication in preference to a Western language (517-518); translation of the Bible, whether the whole or selected portions (157); a Scripture-based Gospel message (309); effective preaching/sermonizing (665-673); persistent and widespread lay witness (36-37), including that carried out by women (712) and youth (392-393); travel to new areas via the rivers of Africa (303) and newly built railroads (865); the development of distinctive Christian hymnody and liturgy (916-917) as well as literature programs (743); increased training and use of national pastors (509) and "evangelists" or catechists (310); the widespread promotion of literacy (573) and education, including that for girls and young women (249-250); agricultural (363) and medical missions (307); the establishment of mission stations (312-313) and Christian communities (377). A study of some of these constructive influences within their historical setting could be of benefit to African churches today as they plan for the future in view of the significant changes that have taken place already.

Side by side with such positive forces are factors that have definitely limited, hindered, or even prevented the church's advance in various times. S&S deal with these honestly and often with keen insight as to their original cause or subsequent exacerbation. Among the more serious of such obstacles to progress were: ecclesiastical rivalries and denominationalism; enforced or ritualistic sacramentalism and sacerdotalism; doctrinal disputes and consequent factionalism; association (whether real or supposed) of the church with slavery, colonialism, and/or apartheid; varied legalistic, paternalistic, or even prejudicial attitudes and practices on the part of Westerners; the imposition of Western cultural ideals and customs at the expense of African equivalents; debilitating tropical diseases and a high death rate among missionaries; interethnic tensions and tribal conflicts; and the continual advance of Islam from the north and east. These factors are all well known, of course, but a consideration of them in concrete historical contexts is useful.

Along with the preceding, relatively straightforward positive and negative considerations are a number of others that are not so clear as to their ultimate impact and effect on the growth of the *African Christian church*—or should we rather say, the *Christian church in Africa*? This matter of designation is important and concerns the principal issue of controversy, which in one way or another involves the relative past and present influence of traditional religious beliefs and practices on various Christian churches. These less than clear considerations would include: the use of indigenous symbolism and arts (painting, singing, instrumentation, dancing, dress, bodily decoration) in church buildings and during worship services; the communicative importance attached to dreams, visions, and possibly even divination; an appeal to rites aimed at combating sorcery and witchcraft; the continuation of certain "beneficial" magical practices; veneration of ancestors through prayers, sacrifices, offerings, life-cycle and agriculture-related ceremonies. Such influences have been and continue to be debatable, even divisive—that is, depending on a group's theological persuasion and beliefs with respect to what they regard to be a *biblically*

based Christianity. At times, through their lack of comment, S&S seem to be uncritical of *syncretism* involving an accommodation with ancient ancestral rites and ceremonies, such as the royal ancestral cult (61), sacrifices in times of calamity (181), "rain-making" rituals (474), dreams of divination (504), funerary libations (811), and miracle-working "prophets" (814). They can be congratulated for their "objective" record of the various sources that they utilize, leaving it up to current readers to make their own evaluation of such accounts. On occasion S&S do gently warn against a Christianity of "adhesion" (96), which is simply "a thin veneer over a groundwork of solid traditional religion" (55).

This is not some long and dry, fact-saturated historical report. On the contrary, S&S quickly engaged me by their generally clear, interesting, and informative manner of writing. Theirs is an easy style that is lightened by periodic, subtly humorous, and ironic comments, but one that is also punctuated by many important insights and penetrating observations. For example:

The village sermon must be appreciated against the background of a live, pulsating milieu with its tensions and afflictions, its witches and spirits, its fears and hopes and expectations, its sighs and tears, laughter and jubilation, and the Gospel text bringing the Holy Land with its demons and Beelzebub and its healing miracles close to the African village, and in the midst of all, the Christ, Son of God and Savior of the world (667).

The text's overall organization is enhanced by a helpful division into major and minor sections, all of which are provided with summary titles. A principal section is normally prefaced by an introduction that is accompanied by a map of the particular area of Africa to be covered. Detailed Name and Subject Indices enable the reader to quickly locate persons and topics of special interest. Several succinct topical studies are provided, for example, on: African religions, missionary societies, David Livingstone, church strategies, Islam, preaching, healing practices, African church music, and Independent churches. S&S also make pertinent suggestions concerning areas that could use further study, for example: reasons for the surprisingly rapid conversion of the Igbo people in Nigeria (253), differing preaching styles among various denominations (668), the relationship "between Christianization in Africa . . . and recruitment for jobs of discipline and order" (706), refugee peoples in relation to the society into which they move (796), a sociological study of those who were caught up in the East African Revival in the 1930s (864), and the varied evangelistic methods that were adopted on the coastal plantations of the Indian Ocean (872).

By way of criticism of the book, the inadequate treatment of the last decade has already been noted; hence the current AIDS pandemic in relation to medical missions is not mentioned (674). The three-page Epilogue could easily have been expanded to provide a summary of some more recent developments in the Christian history of Africa. The footnotes indicate the extensive documentation that underlies this study, but there is no evaluation of the relative reliability of the sources that are cited. A handful of quotations are left unattributed (e.g., 1025). I noted several errors of fact—for example, credit for the entire NT in Chichewa given to just one person, when a whole team was involved throughout (979). Also, I would disagree with several interpretations

of the historical record, for example, that it was mere "fortuitous chance, almost fate" that led certain missions to begin work among particular African societies (311-312). I believe that the Holy Spirit deserves a little more credit than that. All in all, however, there is precious little to complain about in this magnificent study.

In the publisher's opening remarks in this book, it is claimed that it "will become the standard reference text on African Christian Churches." I would heartily endorse that assessment. It is one of those essential books for the new millennium that needs to be displayed in every theological library worldwide. Having said that, I would also encourage the publishers to make a much more affordable (paperback?) edition available so that scholars, pastors, and teachers on the African continent can also have immediate personal access to a text that so completely and competently surveys their deep-seated Christian roots.

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Twelftree, Graham H. *Jesus the Miracle Worker: A Historical and Theological Study*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999. 470 pp. Paperback, \$24.00.

Graham H. Twelftree is senior pastor of North Eastern Vineyard Church in Adelaide, Australia. He is the author of two other books on Christology that have attracted scholarly attention: *Christ the Triumphant* and *Jesus the Exorcist*. As the title itself shows, the present volume deals with the miracles of Jesus. In it, Twelftree provides a comprehensive study of the miracles of Jesus and their historical reliability.

The opening section deals with some preliminary issues with regard to the subject of the book: the purpose and plan of the book, the problem of defining a miracle, and the historical reliability of the miracle reports in the Gospel narratives. The latter is discussed especially in light of the shadow cast over the miracles by two monumental figures in the modern critical studies of Jesus' miracles: David Friedrich Strauss, the pioneer of the mythical character of the miracles view, and Rudolf Bultmann, who argued for the extra-Christian origin of the Gospel miracle stories. In the conclusion of his first section, Twelftree argues that it is quite reasonable to suppose that miracles are possible; and that "in view of the nature of the God of the Gospels and a reasonable defense of the doctrine of the incarnation, such miracles as are reflected in the Gospel stories are likely to have happened" (52).

Part 2 occupies the bulk of the volume. It provides an extensive and detailed analysis of the miracles of Jesus within each of the four Gospel narratives. In exploring the Gospel material Twelftree takes redaction and narrative criticism as his guiding methods. He argues that despite the variety of apparent perspectives in the Gospels with regard to the miracles of Jesus, there are common trends. "The most obvious one is that the Gospel writers are all convinced that the miracles of Jesus carry in them the signature or fingerprints of the one who performed them. That is, the miracles of Jesus reveal his identity as God himself at work: indeed, God is encountered in the miracles. Thus the miraculous activity of Jesus is the eschatological work and message" (343).

In the third section of the volume the author considers Jesus' own understanding of the miracles. Twelftree maintains that it is possible to recover what Jesus thought about his miracles; namely, Jesus appears to have been aware that God's own power was represented in his activities as the beginning of the eschatological kingdom of God in operation. He argues that the evidence from a historically critical examination of the Gospels leads to the conclusion that "there is hardly any aspect of the life of the historical Jesus which is so well and widely attested as that he conducted unparalleled wonders. Further, the miracles dominated and were the most important aspect of Jesus' whole pre-Easter ministry" (345).

The final section of the book is devoted to a discussion of implications of the Gospel material for the contemporary reader with regard to the quest for the historical Jesus. Twelftree concludes that "the Gospels have given a credible picture of Jesus as a miracle worker that coheres well with the historical Jesus we are able to reconstruct" (352).

This volume is an important contribution to the quest for the historical Jesus. In an era characterized by skepticism with regard to the reliability of the Gospel material, readers will welcome this refreshingly readable and clear, yet deep analysis of the subject in NT scholarship. The vast bibliographical coverage adds to the scholarly quality of Twelftree's work. While taking differing scholarly views seriously, he discusses them fairly and honestly. While bold and persuasive in defending the historical reliability of the miracles in the four Gospels, he approaches this investigation cautiously: "In addressing the historical questions, I have been aware that some readers will have wanted to retreat in fear—the fear that the so-called facts of the faith will recede and their basis of faith will have shrunk, leaving them insecure. Such insecurities are unfounded" (344). When examining the Gospel material, it is not possible for historians to say with certainty that the miracle stories reflect or do not reflect an event in the life of the historical Jesus. "As is often the case, we have had to acknowledge the limits of historical inquiry and exercise intellectual humility" (345). Such an approach is commendable.

Weaknesses in Twelftree's work are too minor and few to mention. Leaving aside a few interpretive differences, this reviewer agrees with Craig Blomberg, Colin Brown, Ralph P. Martin, John P. Meier, Martin Hengel, Graham N. Stanton, Bruce D. Chilton, and others in commending this masterful exposition of the Gospel miracle stories as a great contribution. This volume deserves to be a standard textbook on the miracles of Jesus and the Gospels in general for years to come. It should be read by those who seek to understand the relevance of miracles for the modern mind.

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RANKO STEFANOVIC

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, Biblical Languages: Hebrew, 3. Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1999. 404 pp. Hardcover, \$90.00.

The specific purpose of *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (BHRG), a team work of three authors from South Africa, is "to serve as a reference work at an intermediate level for exegetes and translators" (9). It is not intended to replace

the well-established grammars by Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley (1909), Waltke and O'Connor (1990), or Joüon and Muraoka (1991).

The organization of the grammar follows the traditional word-class-based approach ("for didactic reasons," 11) rather than having a more modern linguistic structure according to sentence or textgrammatical functions. After a general introduction (chap. 1), an overview of the Hebrew alphabet and Masoretic signs (chap. 2), and a survey on word, clause, and text in Biblical Hebrew (chap. 3), the main bulk of the grammar follows with a chapter each on the verb (ca. 100 pages), the noun (ca. 100 pages), and other word classes (ca. 65 pages), concluded by a section on word order (chap. 7). An excellent glossary of almost twenty pages explains the linguistic metalanguage. The grammar is rounded off by a rather short, and thus not really helpful, four-page bibliography and indexes of BH words, OT texts, subjects (very extensive!), and authors (which covering only half a page lists redundantly the same page references under Joüon and under Muraoka, as well as under O'Connor and under Waltke).

The structure of the grammar is highly transparent. Hand in hand with the word-class-based approach goes the decision to present the material from form to function. This is a good choice, for the prospective group of users will identify forms more easily than functions. With the help of the table of contents and/or the subject index and BH word index one will find in seconds the information on a specific topic. However, since cross references use the paragraph numbering system, paragraph numbers in the page header are sorely missed.

Two other elements make this reference grammar rather easy to use. First, chapter 3 introduces the reader in a most clear fashion to the linguistic categories used in the grammar. This orientation about the metalanguage, along with the glossary, assists students of BH not only in following this grammar, but also in reading other (linguistic) studies in BH. And second, similar to Waltke and O'Connor's *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, the authors strive to provide for every grammatical entry and described function one illustrative example from the Hebrew Bible with English translation (mainly RSV). Furthermore, they indicate when a specific construction or function is found only rarely in BH.

A new feature in BH grammar writing, which I consider to be most important, is that *BHRG* introduces semantic and pragmatic considerations in a systematic way. In comparison to Waltke and O'Connor (1990) and Joüon and Muraoka (1991), who limit their levels of analysis to phonology, morphology, and syntax (and under the category of syntax often refer to what could be considered semantics), *BHRG* in its form-to-function presentation does not stop at the syntactic level but also includes semantic and pragmatic functions of specific forms. While observations on semantic functions are found throughout the grammar, pragmatic considerations are introduced especially in the comments on the conjunction וְ, (301-303), the focus particle אֲנִי (315-317), the discourse marker הִנֵּנִי (330), and word order (344-350).

*BHRG* tries to keep a balance between traditional language and linguistic terms (see the glossary), which at some places may be questioned. On the traditional side, *BHRG* uses, for example, the perfect/imperfect terminology for verbal forms. Though explained by apparent user-friendliness (10), as it is assumed

that most readers will be familiar with the traditional terminology, it nevertheless seems preferable to use the linguistic terms *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal*, *qatal* and *yiqtol* etc. for at least two reasons: first, these terms are already quite common in literature on BH, and second, by getting acquainted with such a terminology the users of *BHRG* would further their linguistic awareness (or knowledge of BH).

Innovative terms, for example, are “qenemlui letters” for those letters which sometimes drop the doubling of the consonant (40), the distinction between morphological, syntactic, and semantic gender of nouns (175-178), “*postconstructus*” for the second element of a construct phrase (192), or “prepositional verbs” for verbs which occur with certain preposition in a relationship which may almost be called a lexeme (275). In the survey of linguistic categories (chap. 3) the terms “adjunct” and “complement” are used for optional, respectively obligatory elements in the verb phrase. Strangely, the linguistic term “valency” is not introduced here—though the concept of complements and adjuncts is based upon it (60-62)—but only at the end of the chapter on the verb (172-173) where it almost serves as an appendage. More elaborate information on the value of the concept of valency in grammatical studies would have been desirable, e.g., the possibility to identify ellipsis of a complement, to determine the syntactic function of prepositions, or the relationship between verb valency and the meaning of the verb.

The authors attempt to utilize and incorporate recent research. For example, the section on construct relationships (191-200), especially the syntactic-semantic relationships in construct relations, is based on Kroeze’s previous study. The excellent overview on word order (336-350), which is an innovative but certainly indispensable section for any future grammar dealing with syntax, draws from studies by Walter Gross (unfortunately, the more recent studies on word order, topic, and focus by Rosenbaum [1997], Disse [1998], Goldfajn [1998], and Heimerdinger [1999] appeared obviously too late to be incorporated by the authors). The differentiation between preverbal field and main field, unmarked and marked order in the main field, and the nuanced view of the semantic-pragmatic functions of BH word order (not every fronting is regarded as marked for “emphasis”) deserve high commendation. Here, one issue may be in need of supplementation. As dislocated constituents *BHRG* mentions only *pendens* constructions or, in other words, left-hand dislocation (249, 339). The possibility of right-hand dislocation and its function should certainly also be considered (see, e.g., Josh 24:12).

Other sections that turned out particularly well are the syntax and semantics of finite and nonfinite verb forms, with a brief introduction to the problematics of the BH verbal system (141-163), verb chains and sequences (163-172), and the overviews on prepositions and conjunctions (272-305).

A grammar is a good place to draw a line between what we know and what we do not know (yet). Therefore, it is welcome that *BHRG* subtly points out areas that need further study, e.g., the use of the infinitive absolute in the place of other verbs (161), the semantic functions of some prepositions influenced by verbs that govern them (277), the question whether  $\text{כִּי}$  is a conjunction (304), or the (sociolinguistic?) function of a fronted constituent referring to God (349).

It is difficult, if not impossible, to combine in a grammar exhaustive comprehensiveness with practical considerations. The authors have opted for the



latter. It is not fair to blame them if one expects to find comprehensive treatment with detailed explanations but locates them only in some places. Here and there one may disagree, present things differently, or find inconsistencies (e.g., the internal object is categorized both under complements [242] and under adjuncts [245]). Numerous slips and minor errors should have been detected in the editorial process. Because this grammar is intended to be a reference work that is hopefully followed by future printings/editions, the mostly minor corrections below are suggested.

More serious is that references to BH in poetic sections are rare. A glance at the text index shows that the bulk of references (ca. 80%) comes from Genesis to 2 Kings. One gets the feeling that BH poetry functions under slightly different grammatical rules (cf. the author's brief comment on verb sequences, 165). An overview of these differences may well be worth a separate chapter in a reference grammar.

When it comes to determining the value of this reference grammar, it is in the end the decision of the students, teachers, and translators who will judge the usefulness of *BHRG* in the classroom, in study, and in the field. In my view, *BHRG* fulfills its stated purpose: it is an excellent and handy reference grammar for the intermediate level.

The "contemplated next volume" which is said to deal with such categories as "inter-sentence relationships, text types, speech acts and sociolinguistic conventions" (11) will fill in grammatical observations that may have been expected but not dealt with in this volume. Hopefully, the follow-up will become a reality. Such a *BHRG* 2 could have the potential to become the first modern standard work on the macro levels of BH language (syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and textual levels).

#### *Corrigenda to BHRG*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| p. 1, line 31      | read "§9.1." instead of "§9.1"  |
| p. 7, line 5       | read "§45.1." instead of "§45.1"  |
| p. 35, line 31     | read "third to last syllable" (or "first syllable") instead of "third or last syllable" |
| p. 45, line 14     | the accent <i>tifhā'</i> should be under the second letter                              |
| p. 45, line 23     | read "r <sup>ac</sup> bī" instead of "reb <sup>ac</sup> "                               |
| p. 45, line 35     | read "mūnāḥ" instead of "mūnah"   |
| p. 46, line 4      | the accent 'azlā' should be above the second letter                                     |
| p. 46, l. 15,21,24 | read "mūnāḥ" instead of "mūnah"   |
| p. 46, line 16     | the accent <i>mêr<sup>ac</sup>kā</i> in מֵרָמֵר is missing                              |
| p. 45, line 24     | read "r <sup>ac</sup> bī" instead of "reb <sup>ac</sup> "                               |
| p. 63, line 20     | read "facilitate" instead of "faci-litate"  |
| p. 71, line 22     | read "(Cf. §19.3.)" instead of "(Cf. §19.4.)"   |
| p. 78, line 9      | read "imperative" instead of "imperfect"  |
| p. 78, line 33     | read "(iii)" instead of "c."  |
| p. 80, line 17     | read "meaning" instead of "mean-ing"  |
| p. 81, line 25     | read מְחַבְּנֵה instead of מְחַבְּנֵה   |
| p. 89, line 19     | in the first three forms the vowel hireq should be centered under the letter ב          |
| p. 91, line 32     | read "/ - /" instead of "/ - /"   |

- p. 127, line 15-16 read "3 masculine singular" instead of "2 masculine singular"
- p. 131, line 8 read "the" instead of "The"
- p. 131, line 14 read "In the Qal imperfect" instead of "The Qal imperfect"
- p. 155, line 33 read לֵאמֹר instead of לֵאמֹר
- p. 192, line 35 read "*post constructus*" instead of "*status constructus*"
- p. 208 The type-area is positioned ca. 10mm too far to the right so that the right side of the print is slightly cut off.
- p. 212, line 21 read " - " instead of the second " - "
- p. 213, line 13 read מְלִכּוּה instead of מְלִכּוּה
- p. 220, line 12 read " - " instead of " - "
- p. 237, line 16 read "*The conjunction ׀ (and)*" instead of "*The conjunction*"
- p. 267, line 27-28 correct: "*Reversed gender: With the numbers 11 to 19 the teens as well as the units (1-2) always have the same gender as the noun, while the units (3-9) have the opposite gender.*"
- p. 325, line read "irritation" instead of "irratation"
- p. 337, line 5 read "Vorfeld" and "Hauptfeld" instead of "Vorveld" and "Hauptveld"
- p. 347, line 25 read "§46.1/3(ii) and (iii)" instead of "§46.2/2(i)a"
- p. 352, line 2 read "although" instead of "al-though"
- p. 355, line 20 read "secondary" instead of "second-dary"

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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

א = ' (aleph)	ה = h	ט = t	מ = m	פ = p	ש = š
ב = b	ו = w	י = y	נ = n	צ = s	שׁ = ś
ג = g	ז = z	כ = k	ס = s	ק = q	ת = t
ד = d	ח = h	ל = l	ע = ' (ayin)	ר = r	

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ְ = a	ֵ = e	ֶ = ê	ֹ = ô	ֻ = ô
ָ = ā	ֱ = ē	ִ = i	ֺ = o	ֽ = û
ֲ = a (vocal shewa)	ֳ = e	ִ = î	ֽ = °	ֿ = u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.</i>	<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Anchor Bible</i>	<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta orientalia</i>	<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum indaicarum</i>
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan</i>	<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>	<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>CJT</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>	<i>CQ</i>	<i>Church Quarterly</i>
<i>ANEP</i>	<i>Anc. Near East in Pictures</i>	<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i>	<i>CT</i>	<i>Christianity Today</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta orientalia</i>	<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt</i>	<i>CurTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationgeschichte</i>	<i>DOTT</i>	<i>Doc. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dict. of the NT</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	<i>EKL</i>	<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews Seminary Studies</i>	<i>Encls</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	<i>ER</i>	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research</i>	<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>BCSR</i>	<i>Bull. Council on the Study of Religion</i>	<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia</i>	<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>	<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
<i>BibB</i>	<i>Biblishe Beiträge</i>	<i>GJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>BIES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society</i>	<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin, John Rylands University</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>BKAT</i>	<i>Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament</i>	<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>	<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>	<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>	<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblishe Zeitschrift</i>	<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	<i>Biehefte zur ZAW</i>	<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Ency.</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur ZNW</i>	<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journ. American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>	<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>	<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journ. of Asian Studies</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>	<i>JATS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Adventist Theol. Soc.</i>

## Abbreviations (continued)

JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RevSém	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	RR	<i>Review of Religion</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</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>	RTP	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	SA	<i>Sociological Analysis</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	SB	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.</i>	SBLDS	<i>SBL Dissertation Series</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	<i>SBL Monograph Series</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBLMSB	<i>SBL Sources for Biblical Study</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBLTT	<i>SBL Texts and Translations</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
JReIS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the NT</i>	SCR	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	Sem	<i>Semítica</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 the OT</i>	SO	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scien. 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 Theological Studies</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the NT</i>
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the OT</i>
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review	TGI	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
Neot	Neotestamentica	TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NDNTT	<i>New Internl. Dict. of NT Theol.</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NIGTC	<i>New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NKZ	<i>Neu Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers	TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
NRT	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	TWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alien</i>
NTAp	<i>NT Apocrypha, Schneemelcher</i>	TWOT	<i>Theol. Wordbook of the OT</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia (Rome)</i>	VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens christianus</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
OTP	<i>OT Pseudepigrapha, Charlesworth</i>	VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studien</i>	WA	<i>Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	WBC	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca, Migne</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina, Migne</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.</i>
QDAP	<i>Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesll.</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	ZEE	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für historische Theologie</i>
RechSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
REg	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie</i>
RelS	<i>Religious Studies</i>	ZMR	<i>Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.</i>
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die neuest. Wissen.</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. und Geistesgeschichte</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>	ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>	ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie</i>