Andrews University
SEMINARY
STUDIES

Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

* * * * * * * * * * *

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica;
Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament
Abstracts; Index theologicus/Zeitschrifteninhaltsdienst Theologie; Old Testament Abstracts;
Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Religion Index One, Periodicals; Religious and Theological
Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die
alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL OF LIGHTS[1]

RICHARD DAVIDSON
Andrews University

Reveling in Christmas Lights

I revel in the lights of Christmas! And I am not alone in such reveling. Our wider Christian family is entranced each year by the lavish display of lights so festively decorating our homes. If I were forced to eliminate all types of Christmas decorations but one, I could forego the tree, the tinsel and Christmas balls, the snowflakes, and many other things, but I would keep the lights! Somehow, for me, the holiday lights capture the essence of Christmas.

Objections to the Lights of Christmas

Not all Christians share this love of the lights of Christmas. In my travels for speaking engagements, I encounter well-meaning individuals who decry the fact that Christians celebrate Christmas at all. Everyone knows, as they say, that Christ was not born at this time of year. Such individuals are especially appalled by the lights, which remind them of secular commercialism, and which are ultimately rooted, as they are quick to point out, in the winter-solstice light festival of pagan Rome.

In the past, I have been satisfied to answer these skeptics of Christmas celebration with the argumentation that since society has traditionally celebrated the birth of Christ at this time of year, it is not inappropriate to take this opportunity to join in honoring the birth of Jesus, if it is done in the right spirit, with Jesus at the center of our celebrations.

In the last few years, however, I have become increasingly aware of what I consider a supplementary, and perhaps even more effective, answer to these contemporary skeptics of Christmas celebration in general and of the use of Christmas lights in particular, which provides, for me, a powerful reason to celebrate the incarnation of Christ at this time of year and a potent explanation of why Christmas lights indeed capture the heart of this celebration.

The Other Christmas Story

During the Christmas season, Christians usually focus upon the Bible stories connected with Christ's birth, as found in Matthew and Luke: the accounts of the shepherds (Luke 2) and the Wise Men (Matt 2). The "other Christmas story," which is not so often referenced at Christmas time, is found in the Gospel of John (1:1-5, 9, 14). The emphasis of John's Prologue is upon Christ's incarnation as the "true light . . . coming into the world" (v. 9, NRSV).

---

[1]From a Christmas presentation at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University.

Two important questions to consider regarding this account are, What time of year did the incarnation of Christ take place? and What is the connection between Jesus' incarnation and light?

When Did Christ's Incarnation Occur?

We cannot know the exact date of Jesus' incarnation, and probably for good reason in order to avoid venerating a day rather than a person. However, I believe that Scripture gives us clues so that we may know at least the approximate times of year that he was conceived and born. These clues are concentrated in two chapters of the Bible, Luke 1 and 1 Chron 24, and are tied to the account of John the Baptist's conception and birth.

According to Luke 1:5, Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, who was priest in the course (or division) of Abijah, was serving in the temple "when his division was on duty" (v. 8, RSV). First Chronicles 24:7-19 lists twenty-four divisions of priests. The Talmud indicates that, in the period contemporary with Jesus, each division of priests served for one week, from noon on Sabbath until noon the following Sabbath.[2] The only exceptions to this schedule were the annual festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, when all the priests served. The priests' cycle-of-service periods probably commenced at the beginning of the first month of the Hebrew year (which came in the spring), as did the service periods for the other officials at Jerusalem (see 1 Chron 27:1, 2). The twenty-four divisions of priests thus served biannually, starting respectively in the spring and autumn. The forty-eight weeks (or twenty-four divisions times two) plus nearly three weeks of festivals when all priests served, covered the span of the Jewish year.[3]

According to 1 Chron 24:10, Abijah was leader of the eighth division of priests. If the divisions began serving the first Sabbath of Nisan, the first month of the Hebrew religious calendar, two divisions would serve before Passover (Nisan 14), all priests would serve during the week of Passover, and six more divisions would serve before Pentecost. Thus the division of Abijah, of which Zechariah was a part, would have served just prior to Pentecost (Sivan 6), which usually occurred sometime during the first part of June.[4]

---

[2]Talmud, *Sukkah*, 55b; see also Josephus, *Ant.* vii, 14, 7. This weekly service, which begins on the Sabbath, is already implied in 2 Kgs 11:5 and 1 Chron 9:25.

[3]About every three years, an extra or intercalation month was added, during which the priests who served during the twelfth month served again in the thirteenth (Talmud, *Megillah*, 6b).

[4]It is possible that Zechariah was ministering in the temple during his second and not first round of service for the year, but in the absence of any evidence indicating otherwise, I take the statement in Luke 1:8 as referring to his first round of service. Reckoning from Zechariah's first round of service, it will be argued below that Jesus was born in the autumn. Such interpretation fits with the traditional evangelical understanding of Jesus being baptized at the age of thirty (Luke 3:23) and having a three and one-half year ministry ending in the spring (Passover time): if Jesus died in the spring, three and one-half years earlier brings us to autumn, and thirty years earlier

During the time of Zechariah's service in the Temple, Gabriel told the aged priest that when he returned home his wife Elizabeth would become pregnant. Because the time following Zechariah's service period was Pentecost, when all divisions of priests were to serve, he would not have returned home until after Pentecost, or approximately the latter part of June. Luke tells us that "as soon as the days of his service were completed," Zechariah returned to his own house. "[A]fter those days his wife Elizabeth conceived, and hid herself five months" (Luke 1:23-24, NKJV). It is not known exactly how long "after those days" was, but the NLT translation "soon afterward" seems justified, given the language of "as soon as" in Luke 1:23, and it is safe to assume that the conception took place soon after Zechariah's return home. So probably sometime during the last part of June, Elizabeth became pregnant with John the Baptist.[5]

Luke 1:26 states that in the sixth month after John the Baptist was conceived, the Holy Spirit came upon Mary and she conceived Jesus. Verse 36 confirms that this was the sixth month of Elizabeth's pregnancy. This would bring us to approximately the time of Hanukkah, the Feast of Dedication, which begins on Chislev 25 (often corresponding with the last part of December) and continues for eight days. Thus it may be argued that Jesus was conceived during the Feast of Hanukkah. Assuming a full-term pregnancy for Mary, Jesus' birth would have occurred approximately during the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, Tishri 15-22, near the end of September or early October. So it may well be that during the Feast of Tabernacles "the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us" (John 1:14, NASB, margin).[6]

Some have objected that Jesus could not have been born during the Feast of Tabernacles because the record states that Mary and Joseph went to Bethlehem,

---

likewise brings us to autumn of the year. For support of the three and one-half year ministry of Jesus, see, e.g., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1980), 5:190-248.

[5]If John the Baptist was conceived at the end of June (late in the Jewish month of Sivan), he would have been born sometime at the beginning of Nisan, around the time of Passover. This is intriguing, given the ancient Jewish expectation that Elijah would come at Passover time, symbolized by the extra cup of wine placed on the table at the Passover meal in hopes that Elijah would come and drink it. John, the one who came "in the spirit and power of Elijah" (Luke 1:17; cf. Matt 11:14; 17:12), was, indeed, probably born at Passover time.

[6]The announcement of the angel at the time of Jesus' birth may point to a connection with the Feast of Tabernacles. Tabernacles (Hebrew *Sukkot*) was considered the "Festival of Joy" par excellence (see God's special command for the people to rejoice during this festival in Lev 23:40), and it was also considered the "Festival of the Nations" since in the OT it is the only feast in which all the nations of the earth are encouraged to participate (Zech 14:16-19). In light of these designations for the Feast of Tabernacles, the angel's announcement to the shepherds takes on new significance: "Do not be afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will be for all the people" (NASB). The angel is announcing the birth of Christ in the language of a Feast of Tabernacles greeting.

not to Jerusalem, where they should have been going for a festival. But, according
to the Talmud, Bethlehem, which was only about five miles south of Jerusalem,
was considered one of the towns in the "festival area" of Jerusalem.[7] That is,
Bethlehem was one of the towns that people stayed in as they came to the annual
Feasts. According to Josephus, more than two million Jews thronged Jerusalem
for Passover in Jesus' day,[8] and if that is correct, we can assume that about that
many also came to the two other annual feasts. Since Jerusalem had less than
120,000 inhabitants at that time,[9] it seems likely that accommodations in
Bethlehem were utilized by the pilgrims coming to the Feasts.[10]

Another objection concerns the timing of Roman calls for taxation, which
some have stated would not have come at a festival time. However, at this time
Judea was a protectorate of Rome and thus not under its direct taxation. Rather,
Rome received tribute from Herod, who gathered these taxes as he saw fit.
Herod, following the customary laws of the Jews, conducted this taxation, or
enrollment, according to the Jewish manner. According to Jewish custom,
taxation came at the end of the agricultural year in Palestine, i.e., in the early
autumn just before the Feast of Tabernacles. It was customary to pay the taxes on
agricultural products at the end of the civil year, or at the end of the harvest (see
Deut 14:14). Thus, in Jesus' day, the logical time for people to enroll and pay taxes
was when they attended the annual Feast of Tabernacles at the end of the harvest
season and the civil year.[11] Thus a fall date for Jesus' birth at the time of the Feast
of Tabernacles fits with the Jewish customs and the situation at Jesus' time.

The date of December 25, which contemporary Western Christians
designate as the time to celebrate Christ's incarnation, is, therefore, not off the
mark, but often coincides with the time of the Feast of Dedication that begins on
Chislev 25. Since Jesus' conception, as well as his birth, are part of his incarnation,
we do well to remember Christ's incarnation at Christmas time—although instead
of (or along with) saying "Merry Christmas!" (and thinking primarily of his birth)
we might consider greeting one another with something like "Happy Conception
Day!" (and thus sharpen our understanding of the incarnation to include his
conception that probably took place at this time of year). If the above
reconstruction is correct, Jesus' incarnation began with his conception at
Hanukkah/Christmas time and climaxed with his birth at about the time of the

[7]Talmud, *Shekalim*, vii. 4.

[8]Josephus, *J.W.*, vi.9.3.

[9]Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 78, 83.

[10]The word "inn," used for where Mary and Joseph were to stay in Bethlehem, is the
Greek word *kataluma*. The same word is used elsewhere in the NT for a "guest room," where
people could go to keep the annual festivals (Mark 14:14; Luke 22:11). Of course, during the
Feast of Tabernacles, there would also be occasion to stay in *sukkot* ("tabernacles"), but no
doubt these booths, as today in Israel, would have normally been attached to permanent
dwellings. Many pilgrims apparently also reserved rooms in order to keep out of the elements
at least part of the day—something that would have been especially true for pregnant women!

[11]*Encyclopedia Biblica*, cols. 3,994-3,996.

Feast of Tabernacles in September/October. But this leads to the second main question, What is the connection between Jesus' incarnation and light?

What Is the Light Connection?

Long before it became a Roman pagan festival in celebration of the winter solstice in the first century A.D., the beginning of winter already had a well-established Hebrew holiday, the Feast of Lights, otherwise known as "Hanukkah" or "Dedication." In 167 B.C., on the twenty-fifth day of the Jewish month Chislev, the darkest day of the calendar year, the Seleucid King Antiochus Epiphanes, "The Illustrious," or, as he was also known, Epimanes, "The Madman," conquered Jerusalem, desecrated the Temple, stopped the regular ceremonies, offered swine's flesh on the altar of burnt offering, and sprinkled swine's blood in the Most Holy Place. Exactly three years later, on the twenty-fifth of Chislev in 164 B.C., Judas Maccabees, "The Hammer," having won a stunning victory over the much larger Seleucid army, came to Jerusalem and reconsecrated the Temple, restoring the services of the holy place (cf. 1 Macc 4).

In that year, 164 B.C., on the darkest day of the year (Chislev 25), at the darkest time of Jewish history, the miracle of the light came. According to Jewish tradition, only one bottle of the consecrated lamp oil was found to light the Temple menorah. The oil from this bottle, which normally lasted only a single day, continued to burn for eight days until more oil could be manufactured and consecrated. Hence, the Feast of Hanukkah also became known as the Feast of Lights.

Some 160 years later, at the darkest time of human history—possibly during the Feast of Lights—Jesus, the Light of the world, was incarnated. In the prophetic words of Ps 40:6-8 (cf. Heb 10:5-9), the preexistent Christ, the King of the universe, called out from his heavenly abode: "Lo, I come!" The next instant, he who had created countless galaxies and nebulae, became flesh, a single cell in Mary's womb, the Light of the world! John 1:9, 14 captures this light connection by indicating that the one coming into the world, the one becoming flesh, was the Light of the world.

It appears to be no accident that John connects the theme of Jesus' incarnation (becoming "one flesh") with light, if indeed he is aware that historically Jesus was conceived during the Feast of Lights. Further confirmation that John consciously connects Jesus' incarnation with the Feast of Lights is found in John 10, where the apostle carefully records that at the time of Hanukkah (Feast of Dedication, v. 22) Jesus himself alludes to his incarnation (v. 32, "coming into the world") and thus announces himself in his incarnation as the fulfillment of the Hanukkah typology.

How does this all relate to us? As Christians celebrate with family and friends around a lighted Christmas tree, string the lights outside, or enjoy the light displays at neighbors' homes and municipal centers, remember "the other Christmas story" and celebrate Christ's incarnation as the true Light!

CAIN, ABEL, SETH, AND THE MEANING
OF HUMAN LIFE AS PORTRAYED
IN THE BOOKS OF GENESIS
AND ECCLESIASTES

RADIŠA ANTIC
Newbold College
Bracknell, Berkshire, England

Jean-Paul Sartre, one of the most influential philosophers of the twentieth century, wrote in his philosophical works about a pessimism that is the result of the plight of human beings in the modern world. He claimed that any authentic human being knows that his or her acts are ultimately futile in the face of death and the absurdity of existence.[1] As with God, human beings create worlds upon worlds; as with Sisyphus, they push their boulder daily up the steep incline of existence without complaint since it is their boulder—they created it.[2]

If consciousness is made the object of reflective study, Sartre continues, it is found to be "a monstrous, impersonal spontaneity," in which thoughts come and go at their will, not ours. Human beings constantly struggle to impose order on that spontaneity; when they fail to do so, they suffer from psychoses and neuroses. Human beings, Sartre contended, have been thrown into an absurd, meaningless world without their permission, where they discover that nothingness separates them from themselves.[3] There is nothing between humanity and its past (i.e., humans are not who they were), or between humanity and its future (i.e., the persons humans will be is not who they presently are). Thus humanity awaits itself in the future, but is in anguish because it has discovered that it is not there; that it is not a stable, solid entity that can last through time. Rather, humans are a self-made creation, made and remade from moment to moment by themselves.[4]

Sartre's worldview is correct if human beings are alone in the universe. However, if the universe was originally a friendly place with a moral structure established by God, then everything must be seen differently. For instance, the story of Cain, Abel, and Seth in Gen 4 presents an account of how harmony and happiness were transformed into absurdity, meaninglessness, and pessimism. The book of Ecclesiastes develops a similar idea by attempting to answer the riddle of human existence.[5] Thus the purpose of this article is to compare these two

[1]See Donald Palmer, *Looking at Philosophy* (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1998), 375.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 362.

[4]Ibid., 368.

[5]See Ellen van Wolde, "The Story of Cain and Abel: A Narrative Study," *JSOT* 52 (1991): 29.

passages in Scripture, showing how the characteristics portrayed respectively by
Cain, Abel, and Seth reappear in the book of Ecclesiastes.

The Meaning of the Names "Cain," "Abel," and "Seth" and Their Theological Significance in Genesis 4

In biblical times, a name was not merely a label, but often referred to its
bearer's reputation and power (cf. Mark 6:14; Rev 3:1) or to his or her character
(cf. Ps 68:4; Isa 25:1).[6] For instance, 1 Sam 25:25 describes the relationship
between the name and character of a person: "Nabal . . . is just like his
name—his name is Fool, and folly goes with him." Additionally, the name of
God and his being are often used interchangeably, thus expressing their
essential identity: "Therefore I will praise you among the nations, O Lord; I will
sing praises to your name" (Ps 18:49).[7] John 3:18 proposes that believing in
Jesus' name is the same as believing in Jesus himself. Therefore, Jesus is like his
name, which means "Savior" (Matt 1:21). Thus it seems obvious to assume that
the names "Cain," "Abel," and "Seth" are used carefully in Gen 4 to
communicate an important theological proclamation about the gloomy reality
of human existence and, at the same time, to suggest a possible solution for the
problem of meaninglessness.

Cain

Some OT scholars have expressed a certain uneasiness in philologically relating
the word *Qayn* to *qanah* ("to acquire, to possess, to get"), arguing that the word *qin*
("smith or worker in metal") fits the context of Gen 4 much better.[8] However, it
seems that the mentality of "possessing," "acquiring," and "getting" adequately
expresses the character of Cain, as well as his actions, in Gen 4.

   1. *A new worldview.* First, Cain *possessed* or *acquired* his own conception of
how God should be worshiped and served.[9] Hebrews 11:4 points out that "by
faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain," suggesting
that the different motives of the two brothers, known only to God, account for
their different treatment.[10] Their motives were also reflected in the quality of
their gifts. The biblical text says that Cain simply offered "some produce of the
land," whereas Abel offered the choicest animals from his flock—"firstlings"
and "their fat portions" (Gen 4:4).

   By committing the original sin, Adam and Eve refused to accept the state of
created beings; by eating the forbidden fruit, they acknowledged to God that they

   [6]Ibid.

   [7]Cf. R. Youngblood, "Names in Bible Times, Significance of," *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 750.

   [8]L. Hicks, "Cain," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1:482.

   [9]See Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, WBC 1 (Waco: Word, 1987), 104.

   [10]Ibid.

wanted to be a law to themselves. However, it seems that the intensity of their rebellion is less in degree compared to that of Cain's. The intensity of Cain's passionate rebellion is expressed: "Cain was very angry" (Gen 4:5)—a state of mind that is often a prelude to homicidal acts. God's questions, "Why are you angry?" and "Why is your face fallen?" are parallel to the questions addressed to the man in Gen 3 ("Where are you?" "Who told you that you were naked?" and "Have you eaten from the tree that I commanded you not to eat from?" vv. 9, 11). In Cain's case, the questions were intended to provoke a change of heart. Nevertheless, Cain was not dissuaded from his murderous intent by the Creator's demand (Gen 4:4-6). While Adam, Eve, and the serpent accepted God's verdict of punishment without anger (Gen 3:14-20), Cain protested, saying that he was being treated too harshly (Gen 4:14).[11]

Thus it seems obvious that, for the author of Genesis, the murder of Abel is not simply the reappearance of the original sin, but is rather a progressive development: "Sin is more firmly entrenched and humanity is further alienated from God."[12] Cain *possessed* a new worldview that is radically opposed to God, and by using his sinful mind he *acquired* an understanding that he could be a law to himself.

2. *A brother.* Cain *possessed* a brother. In Gen 4, Abel is called the brother of Cain, but Cain is never referred to as the brother of Abel.[13] The use of the possessive pronouns "his" (i.e., brother, vv. 2, 8a, 8b), "your" (i.e., brother, vv. 9, 10, 11), and "my" (i.e., brother, v. 9) demonstrates that Cain neither behaved as a brother nor acted as a brother toward Abel.[14] In vv. 6 and 7, God reproached Cain for not looking directly at Abel (since to look at someone is a way of expressing good relationship) and for lying in ambush for him like a wild animal prowling for prey. Here sin is personified as a demon crouching like a wild beast on Cain's doorstep. Although Cain did not raise his head to look at his brother, he "raises his body from its ambush and jumps on his prey like a wild animal . . . and kills in one savage attack."[15]

Consequently, Cain *possessed* not only a new understanding of the role of man in the universe and his relationship to God, but he also *possessed* a brother. Thus the Gen 4 narrative records the further deterioration of humanity from its original perfect state. In Gen 3, when Adam was confronted with his sin, he told the truth, at least partially: "I heard you in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked; so I hid" (Gen 3:10). On the other hand, Cain told a complete lie. When asked where his brother was, he replied, "I don't know," then sarcastically added, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen 4:9).

---

[11]See Wenham, 100.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Wolde, 33.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., 35.

3. *A special mark or sign.* Cain *acquired* a special sign of protection: "the Lord put a mark on Cain" (Gen 4:15). The question of the nature of Cain's mark has been the object of endless discussion.[16] Some commentators argue that the mark of Cain must have been something that would demonstrate that he had divine protection and would thus deter would-be attackers. It could have been, according to them, a special hair style, a tattoo, or a dog that accompanied him on his wanderings, which served not only to reassure Cain of God's protection and to scare off any attackers, but also as a wild foreboding appearance that frightened his would-be assailants.[17] While "the precise nature of the sign remains uncertain, . . . its function is clear."[18] The sign placed on Cain served to remind him of his sin and God's mercy, in the same way that the clothing given to Adam and Eve after the Fall served as a reminder of God's continued care for humanity (Gen 3:21).[19] Thus whatever the real nature of the mark of Cain was, it seems obvious that God was still attempting to reach Cain's heart. By expressing his love and protection, God was trying to change the being of Cain, which was permeated by hatred and petrified in rebellion.

4. *A land.* Cain *possessed* a land: "Cain went out from the Lord's presence and lived in the land of Nod" (Gen 4:16). It remains uncertain where the land of Nod was geographically located,[20] but this is not of vital importance for the meaning of the text. "Nod" means "wandering," a meaning that underscores that Cain was to leave God's presence—to go away from the garden of "delight" to become a "wandering vagrant." Sin separated him from the presence of his Creator. However, the *possession* of the land of Nod also gave Cain apparent security, as well as a future. The "land of wandering" became the symbol-type for the residence of all those who rebel against God.

5. *A wife.* Cain *possessed* a wife. There have been many questions about the origins of Cain's wife. It seems obvious that the text before us is not an official record or a "family tree," giving all the details of Adam's family. Genesis 5:4 says that "Adam bore sons and daughters," thus indicating that Cain had sisters, nieces, and grandnieces. Thus Cain's wife was, most likely, his sister. Although it is not certain who Cain's wife was, what is important for this study is the fact that Cain *acquired* a wife and, thereby, the apparent security of family life, happiness, and a future.

6. *A son.* Cain also *possessed* a son, whose name was Enoch. While "Enoch" and "Lamech" are the only two names in the Gen 4 genealogy that reappear in the genealogy of Adam via Seth (Gen 5), enough details are given in both

---

[16]See Wenham, 109.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., 110.

[19]Ibid.

[20]The text indicates that Nod was located east of Eden. It is possible that while Adam and Eve remained in the general area of the Garden of Eden, Cain could not stay there and had to go eastward.

genealogies so as not to confuse them.[21] Thus Cain had a posterity since Enoch will *have* his own children.

7. *A city.* Cain *possessed* a city. According to some commentators, the name of the city sounds like "Eridu," which, according to Mesopotamian tradition, is the oldest city in the world.[22] Building a city was an attempt by Cain to thwart the penalty God had imposed on him and to establish a place of safety for his family.[23]

As a result of God's mercy in response to his sin, Cain *possessed* a new concept of worshiping God, a brother, a special sign of protection, a land, a wife, a son, and a city. He secured his future and lived an apparently meaningful life, but he lived his life independently of God. Human life without God seems to have meaning; opposition to God has proven to be rewarding. Evil and all those who have incorporated it in their lives will, according to Cain's experience, rule the world. But what about those who are faithful, true sons of God?

Abel

Abel's name *Hebel* ("breath, vapor, vanity")[24] stresses the transitory nature of human life, the sense of transience and worthlessness. It also emphasizes the fact that in the eyes of other people Abel did not amount to much.[25] When he was born, he was called the "brother of Cain," and even after that event he was constantly referred to as "the brother," "Abel his brother," "Abel your brother," "my brother's keeper," "your brother's blood." Abel is a brother; yet "he does not have a brother, he is a brother only."[26]

The presence of Abel in Gen 4 is reduced to a minimum. His only action in the narrative was that of making an offering to the Lord. He did not *possess* a worldview that was opposed to God, a brother, a sign of protection, a land, a wife, a son, or a city. He appeared on the scene almost silently; without saying a word, he disappeared like "vapor" or "breath." His life gives the impression of being meaningless, absurd, sheer transience, worthless. Although he was obedient to God and God looked favorably on his offering, his existence seems to be nothing but vanity. Although he was the true brother, the future apparently did not exist for him.

Pessimism and meaninglessness continued to grow and progress as human history unfolded. While in Gen 3 sin disrupts the relationships between God and humanity and between husband and wife, in Gen 4 the separation from

[21]Wenham, 110. Cf. Travis R. Freeman, "A New Look at the Genesis 5 and 11 Fluidity Problem," *AUSS* 42 (2004): 259-286.

[22]Wenham, 110.

[23]See G. C. Aalder, *Genesis*, Bible Student's Commentary 1 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 121.

[24]L. Hicks, "Abel," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1:4.

[25]See Wolde, 29.

[26]Ibid., 36.

God introduces hate of one brother for another: "Cain is portrayed as a much more hardened sinner than his father. Adam merely ate the fruit given him by his wife; Cain murdered his brother."[27]

The author of Gen 4 further emphasizes the progression of evil in the world in conjunction with the disappearance of good (epitomized in the personality of Abel) by comparing Lamech to Cain: "Cain will be avenged sevenfold, but Lamech seventy-sevenfold." The barbarity of humanity infected by the virus of sin is portrayed here; Lamech was "even more depraved than his forefather Cain."[28]

Although Noam Chomsky writes from an atheistic perspective, he adequately describes the progressive self-destruction of humanity:

> [T]he answer can only be that humans were a kind of "biological error," using their allotted 100,000 years to destroy themselves and, in the process, much else. The species has surely developed the capacity to do just that, and a hypothetical extraterrestrial observer might well conclude that humans have demonstrated that capacity throughout their history, dramatically in the past few hundred years, with an assault on the environment that sustains life, on the diversity of more complex organisms, and with cold and calculated savagery, on each other as well.[29]

Cain's sin remains with humanity today. Genesis 4 reveals that humanity is heading toward self-destruction. Sin is an active, suicidal power, opposed to the principle of creation. God has brought forth, created something out of nothing; sin, on the other hand, transforms God's creation into nothing. Probably the greatest contradiction of sin is that in the process of destroying the world, it also destroys itself.

Seth

Only in Gen 4:30, when it would be expected that humanity would finally be destroyed due to its rebellion against God, does hope suddenly reappear with the birth of Seth (Gen 4:25, 26). His name is derived from the verb *shith*, meaning "to place, put," and suggests the idea of a substitute.[30] Thus the birth of Seth, the meaning of his name, and, importantly, the fact that humanity called on the name of the Lord are elements that point to the only possible solution for a planet of rebels. Eve says that Seth was given to her as *God's gracious gift*, "instead of Abel, because Cain killed him" (Gen 4:25). Eve "can as little forget the murdered as the murderer, for both were her children and in one sentence she mentions the name of all three sons."[31]

[27]See Wenham, 117.

[28]Ibid., 114.

[29]Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival* (New York: Holt, 2003), 2.

[30]L. Hicks, "Seth," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4:294.

[31]Wenham, 115.

With the coming of the Flood (Gen 6–8) came the destruction of all the descendants of Cain. Cain's posterity, the symbol-type of the man who wanted to be a law to himself and to live independently from God, was completely destroyed. Only the descendants of Seth, the one whom God put in place of Abel, survived the Flood.

"Everything is Meaningless": The Relationship
of Ecclesiastes to Genesis 4

The claim that the author of the book of Ecclesiastes was deeply influenced by Gen 4 is not without foundation. For instance, Jacques Chopineau notes the relation between the name "Abel" in Gen 4 and the word *hebel* that is found at the heart of Ecclesiastes.[32] The word *hebel* is used not only by the author of Ecclesiastes, but also by Isaiah and Jeremiah. As seen above, it is also the proper name of Abel, the son of Adam.[33] Chopineau concludes that the influence of the early chapters of Genesis on the book of Ecclesiastes was intentional.[34]

In the same line of thought, Andre Neher explains that the word *hebel* primarily designates a person who, from the outset, was given a special, unusual destiny, that is, to disappear like breath and mist.[35] Neher demonstrates the close thematic and theological relationship between Gen 4 and the book of Ecclesiastes.[36] Jacques Ellul also argues that "the meaning of *hebel* in Genesis is especially important, since Qohelet continually refers to Genesis. . . . *Habel* evolves from a concrete to an abstract meaning: it is 'lexicalized metaphor.'"[37]

The author of Ecclesiastes used the word *hebel* thirty-eight times—more than all the other books in the Bible combined—thereby giving the word the character of a *leitmotiv* in the book.[38] The author of Ecclesiastes used nearly all the nuances of *hebel* to express transience or the vanity of human existence.[39] The phrase *habel habalim* means "utter meaninglessness," "utter frustration," or "utter futility."

At the end of Ecclesiastes, "the words of the wise" are "given by one shepherd" (12:11), which may also be a reference to Abel. Chopineau states that the term "shepherd" was carefully chosen by the author of Ecclesiastes to

[32]Jacques Chopineau, "*Hevel* en Hebreu Biblique: Contribution à l'Etude des Rapports Entre Sémantique et l'Exégèse de l'Ancien Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Strasbourg, 1971), 145.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 145.

[35]Andre Neher, *Notes sur Qohelet (L'Ecclesiaste)* (Paris: Minuit, 1951), 71-79.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Jacques Ellul, *Reason for Being* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 54.

[38]*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, s.v. "Hebhel; Habhal."

[39]See Wolde, 29.

designate, first, the wisdom of the one who leads his flock and, second, to Abel's occupation.[40]

Although the dominant word in Eccl 1 is *hebel*, in chapter 2 the prevailing words are "*I* planted" (v. 4), "*I* built," (v. 5), "*I* bought" (*qanah*, v. 7), "*I* amassed" (v. 8), and "*I* acquired" (v. 8), clearly showing that the character of Cain is also present in the author of Ecclesiastes. Neher states that "when all the great works are described, they are designated by the verb *qanah* (2:7), the root of the name 'Cain' (*qayin*)."[41] According to Neher, Cain possessed, acquired, and represented permanence.[42] Jacques Doukhan proposes that Cain represents an antithesis to Abel. As the first child of the family, Cain established himself as a brutal leader. He had successors, built a city, cultivated land, and acquired possessions—activities that are also found in Ecclesiastes.[43] Thus it is obvious that the author of the book of Ecclesiastes is referring to the mind-set of Cain, as opposed to that of Abel.

After having described the mentality of Abel in Eccl 1 and that of Cain in chapter 2, the author expresses one of the most puzzling dilemmas in human existence: "Yet when I surveyed all that my hands had done and what I had toiled to achieve [the mentality of Cain], everything was meaningless [the perception of Abel]" (Eccl 2:11).

However, is Cain really equal to Abel? Does this equation adequately describe human life on this planet? It seems clear that both the way of Cain and the way of Abel are ultimately meaningless. Both wisdom and folly are followed by death. Cain's great accomplishments of possession are also *hebel*. Doukhan writes that "Cain finishes like Abel. All the energy, will to create, to possess, led to the flood. Nobody from the family of Cain survived. If we attempt to establish the end result, Cain arrives to the same point like [*sic*] Abel. Judging by the end, Cain = Abel."[44]

Is there any hope "under the sun?" As in Gen 4, where the birth of Seth, "God's gracious gift," brought hope, so the expression "the gift of God" appears as a regular refrain in Ecclesiastes (3:13; 5:19; only "gift" in 5:1; "from the hand of God," 2:24; "that God has given you under the sun," 9:9). Doukhan states that although there may not be any linguistic connection between Gen 4 and Ecclesiastes, there is a thematic one.[45] The key statement at the beginning of the book, "*everything is hebel*" (*hakhol habel*, 1:2), finds its parallel at the end of the book, "*khol haadam*" ("the whole of man," 12:13). If human history has come to a state of total self-destruction and annihilation

---

[40]Chopineau, 156.

[41]Neher, 79.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Jacques Doukhan, "La 'Vanite' dans l'Ecclesiaste-Notes d'Etude," *Srvir*, February 1997, 30.

[44]Ibid., 30.

[45]Ibid., 31.

(Abel), it is necessary to restart everything (Adam). Seth, who was given "in place of Abel" as God's gift, was the only son to carry on the line of Adam, thereby completing Adam's genealogy. He was the only son to truthfully reveal the image of Adam (Gen 5:3). Thus, in order to recover the image of God lost in Abel and distorted in Cain, humanity must begin again from point zero.[46] By stating that "everything is Abel" and by concluding with "everything is Adam," the author of Ecclesiastes speaks about the only possible solution and hope for humanity, that is, the new-birth or new-creation experience that comes from God. The new world and the new man must be put in place of the present one.

Neher sees a clear allusion to Seth in Eccl 4:15 and thus translates the verse: "I have seen all who live, who walk under the sun: with the second child, the one who stands in his place."[47] Doukhan, who concurs with Neher, states that the "second son," who stands in place of the first, is an allusion to Seth as a substitute. For Doukhan, the language seems to become messianic, as in Gen 3:15 and 4:23, with reference to the Seed. In Ecclesiastes, this "second son," while king, is yet rejected, as the later generation does not rejoice in him.[48]

As it was God who granted to Eve "another child in place of Abel," so, in the same way, a solution must come from God. God will *put* another world in place of this world. God has promised that he will *put* enmity between the serpent and its posterity and the woman and her posterity, and that, finally, the serpent's head will be crushed by God himself, who took on human nature, thereby becoming the second Adam (Gen 3:15; Eccl 12:13). Thus the meaninglessness brought into the world through Cain's murder of his brother is forever revoked by the death of Jesus, the second Adam.

[46]Ibid.
[47]Neher, 86.
[48]Doukhan.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF
JEREMIAH 21:1-10

MICHAEL AVIOZ
Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, Israel

Scholars seeking to reconstruct the historical continuity of the descriptions of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem must rely on biblical sources, since the extrabiblical sources contain no orderly documentation of those times. This applies in particular to the Babylonian chronicle,[1] in contrast to other chapters of the book of Jeremiah, which have parallels in various extrabiblical sources or which are supported by archaeological finds.[2] An additional difficulty is that this quest is connected to the question of the composition and redaction of the book of Jeremiah, a problem whose resolution is still far from being agreed upon by all scholars.

The purpose of this essay is to endeavor to reconstruct the historical background of one of the stages in the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem in the days of Jeremiah, as described in 21:1-10.[3] It is of interest that scholars tend to ignore Jer 21 when striving to reconstruct the historical events during the last days of Jerusalem.[4] This holds true both with regard to historical surveys of the

---

[1]For a translation and discussion, see William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 467-468.

[2]On the historical study of the book of Jeremiah, see, most recently, D. J. Reimer, "Jeremiah Before the Exile?" in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. J. Day, JSOTSup 306 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 207-224. Reimer does not include Jer 21 in his essay, erroneously assuming that the historical setting of biblical prophecies can be reconstructed only when it is accompanied by relevant archeological findings. This approach was refuted by J. M. Miller, "Is it Possible to Write a History of Israel Without Relying on the Hebrew Bible?" in *The Fabric of History: Text, Artifact and Israel's Past*, ed. D. V. Edelman, JSOTSup 127 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 93-102; and most recently by J. B. Kofoed, *Text and History: Historiography and the Study of the Biblical Text* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005). My approach as to the possibility to reconstruct history from the biblical text is close to that of Miller and Kofoed.

[3]Among the biblical sources dealing with the Babylonian siege in the book of Jeremiah, we may list the following: Jer 32, 34, 37–38. Outside the book of Jeremiah, see 2 Kgs 24–25; Ezek 17; Obadiah; Lamentations; 2 Chron 36. For a discussion of the other passages in Jeremiah, see Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: The History of Judah Under Babylonian Rule* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Institute, 2004). Lipschits's book is in Hebrew; however, an English edition of it is forthcoming from Eisenbrauns.

[4]See, e.g., H. Migsch's study, which does not deal with Jer 21 since he holds the view that it is a doublet of Jer 37–38 (*Gottes Wort über das Ende Jerusalems: Eine literar-, stil-, und gattungskritische Untersuchung des Berichtes Jeremia 34,1-7; 32,2-5; 37,3–38,28*

period and also with regard to studies dealing with the chronology of the
conclusion of the era of the kingdom.[5]

Abraham Malmat's studies[6] contain a historical reconstruction of the
events described in the chapters on the siege. However, Jer 21 is missing from
his charts, as well as from his historical reviews. In light of this, the main
references to the historical background of Jeremiah are to be found in the
commentaries to the book of Jeremiah.

The prophetic unit in Jer 21:1-10 describes a certain stage in the course of the
Babylonian siege of Jerusalem that is difficult to uncover at first sight. From the
opening words of 2 Kgs 25:1, it transpires that the siege started in the ninth year
of the reign of Zedekiah, that is, in 589 B.C.E. The verse continues: "in the tenth
month, in the tenth day of the month." Therefore, the siege started on the tenth
of Tevet in the year 589 B.C.E. (December 588/January 587 B.C.E.). The biblical
sources, according to 2 Kgs 25:3, also give the date the siege ended—"on the
ninth day of the month"—though this passage can be assumed to be incorrect.[7]
In the parallel passages in Jer 39:2 and 52:6, a full date is given: "in the fourth
month, the ninth day of the month," that is, on the ninth of Tammuz (July 586
B.C.E.). On that date, the Babylonians breached the walls of Jerusalem.[8]

In contrast to other prophesies in the book of Jeremiah, which give the
year the events took place (e.g., Jer 25, 26, 28, 29), chapter 21 does not give a
date beyond noting the fact that the event was during Zedekiah's reign. Most
scholars are of the opinion that there is a close connection between the
description in Jer 21:1-10 and a similar description in Jer 37:1-10, but they
differ on the question of the nature of the connection between the narratives.
Many scholars are of the opinion that these are two versions of the same
event.[9] The arguments for this approach include:

(Klosterneuburg: Osterreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 210.

[5]H. Tadmor, "The Chronology of the First Temple Period," in *The Age of the
Monarchies: Political History*, World History of the Jewish People, 4/1, ed. A. Malamat
(Jerusalem: Massada, 1979), 44-60; E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew
Kings*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983); J. Finegan, *The Handbook of Biblical
Chronology. Principles of Time Reckoning in the Ancient World and Problems of Chronology in the
Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998); G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and
Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Lipschits.

[6]A. Malamat makes no mention of Jer 21; only Jer 37–38 is discussed (*History of
Biblical Israel: Major Problems and Minor Issues* [Leiden: Brill, 2001]).

[7]See, e.g., Mordecai Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, AB 11 (New York: Doubleday,
1988), 315, 317, and the literature cited in Lipschits, 96, n. 15. I tend to accept the view that
the MT in Jer 52 is to be preferred over the parallel version in 2 Kgs 25 ("When Was the
First Temple Destroyed, According to the Bible?" *Bib* 84 [2003]: 562-565).

[8]Scholars are divided as to the duration of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem and the
exact year that the First Temple was destroyed. See the literature cited in Lipschits, 96, nn.
14 and 17.

[9]See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT 1.12, 3d ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968), 135;

1. *The similarity of the situation.* Chapters 21 and 37 describe the dispatch of a royal delegation of two ministers to the prophet. A. Rofé's excuse for the different names of the minister in Jer 21:1 (Pashhur) and in Jer 37:3 (Jehucal) is that the author did not remember the exact name of the second minister.[10]

2. *The similarity of purpose.* The purpose of the dispatch of the delegation and the prophet's reply are identical in both narratives. The delegation asks the prophet to pray for the people and to try to avert the evil decree. The prophet responds that Jerusalem will not be saved and will fall into the hands of the Babylonians.

c. *Similarity of language.* For example, 21:1 = 37:3; 21:2 = 37:3; 21:2 = 37:5; 21:3 = 37:7; 21:4 = 37:5.

d. *Emphasis on the Lord's role.* Jeremiah 21:1-10 teems with deuteronomistic terminology and so cannot be regarded as a historical source, documenting events as they occur.[11] The purpose of the deuteronomistic editing is not to deliver a historical report of the battle between the fighters of Jerusalem and the Babylonians, but to emphasize the Lord's role in bringing the calamity on the people: the Lord is the one who will fight against his own army, and will help the Babylonians. This accords with the perception reflected in deuteronomistic literature (e.g., Deut 1:30; 3:22; 20:4; Josh 10:14, 42; 23:3).

If it is the case that these passages describe the same event, how can the fact that the narrative appears in both chapters 21 and 37 be explained? Scholars who support one single event claim the reason for this problem lies in how the book was edited. Yair Hoffman believes that the topic under discussion is a prophecy and thus is appropriate in the context in which it appears: the chapters contain calamity prophesies against Judah (1–24 or 1–25). He resolves the question of the connection between chapters 21 and 37 thus:

> The episode [= Jer 21] was written as a quasi-summary of chapters 37–38, with the intent of providing very few details on the exact historical circumstances of the event, so as to stress the essential contents of the prophesy [*sic*]. The use of language taken from the same episode is intended to refer the reader, interested in the historical details, to it [i.e., to Jer 37–38].[12]

W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, WMANT 41 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 230-237; A. Rofé, "Studies in the Composition of the Book of Jeremiah," *Tarbiz* 44 (1975): 5-10 (Hebrew); C. R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 253; W. J. Wessels, "Setting the Stage for the Future of the Kingship: An Ideological-critical Reading of Jeremiah 21:1-10," *Old Testament Essays* 17 (2004): 470-483.

[10]Rofé, 6. For a different explanation, see Seitz, 253.

[11]On the deuteronomistic phrases in Jer 21, see M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 329, 346, 348; Thiel, 86-87, 233, 235-236; Rofé, 6, 8-10. For a survey of research regarding the relationship between Jeremiah and the deuteronomistic literature, see R. Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 302-345.

[12]Y. Hoffman, *The Book of Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25, Miqra Leyisrael* (Hebrew)

According to some scholars, chapter 21 is a deuteronomistic adaptation of chapter 37, which contains the older, historical description of the event.[13] K. F. Pohlmann and W. McKane go even further: they believe that the descriptions in both chapters 21 and 37 are historically unreliable.[14]

Faced with these arguments, I would like to present a different picture of the course of events. I am of the opinion that chapters 21 and 37 describe two separate events, and that the dispatch of the delegation to Jeremiah in chapter 21 occurred earlier than the event described in chapter 37.[15] Here are my main arguments:

1. *The names of the delegates.* It is hard to explain the two different names as negligence on the author's part. A typical characteristic of the prophetic narratives in the book of Jeremiah is their accuracy in the names of places, people, and dates. Therefore, there is no reason not to assume that the king sent a delegation to the prophet more than once.[16]

2. *The military situation.* It emerges from the description in chapter 21 that the fighters of Jerusalem tried to attack the Babylonian army from the rear and to cause it losses: "'I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon'" (Jer 21:4). There is no mention of Egypt in this chapter. On the other hand, Jer 37:3-10 deals with the temporary pause in the Babylonian siege that occurred following the arrival of the Egyptian auxiliary force. In chapter 21, the king expresses his wish that the Chaldeans will retreat, but no actual retreat is described.[17] It emerges from his wish, "peradventure the Lord will deal with us according to all His wondrous works" (Jer 21:2), that he hoped for a miracle like the one that occurred during

---

(Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 439.

[13]See J. P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah," *Interpreter's Bible* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 5: 977; Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 134; Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, 230–237; R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1986), 410; Rofé; G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Bruchschrift*, BZAW 122 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 100-102. Carroll, 408-410, 672, considers all of these stories "variations on a theme." For a similar opinion, see W. McKane, "The Construction of Jeremiah 21," *VT* 32 (1982): 59-73.

[14]K. F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches*, FRLANT 118 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1978), 183-197; W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 1: 493-494; idem, *Jeremiah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 2: 943.

[15]W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992); J. R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, AB 21B (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 95.

[16]Holladay, 570; Jones, 279.

[17]Holladay, 570. On the Egyptian aid of Judah in Jer 37:11, see the literature cited in Lipschits, 98, n, 25. It is possible that Jer 34:8-22 is to be dated to this period as well. See Lisbeth S. Fried and D. N. Freedman, "Was the Jubilee Year Observed in Preexilic Judah?" in *Leviticus 23–37*, ed. J. Milgrom, AB 3B (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2, 260.

Sennacherib's expedition. In addition, the king's appeal to the prophet is reminiscent of the narrative on Sennacherib's expedition.[18] These allusions do not appear in the narrative in chapter 37.

3. *The attribution of expressions to deuteronomistic editing is unjustified.* It should be noted that, in recent years, there have been calls for a reexamination of the hypothesis of the deuteronomistic school.[19] However, even if we accept the assumption that there ever was such a school, a comparison between the passages in Jer 21 and the passages in the books of Deuteronomy through Kings shows that the differences between the meanings of the same expressions in Jer 21 and in the book of Deuteronomy are greater than the similarities.[20] Thus, for example, the expression in Jer 21:5, "with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm," has the opposite meaning to the same expression used in the book of Deuteronomy (4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:5). In the former, the expression means: the war is not YHWH's war on behalf of

[18]For the analogies between these stories, see C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas: Erzählkommunikative Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und Jeremiaerzaehlungen in II Reg 18–20 und Jer 37–40*, BZAW 187 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 307ff., 358-362; A. R. P. Diamond, "Portraying Prophecy: Of Doublets, Variants and Analogies in the Narrative Representation of Jeremiah's Oracles—Reconstructing the Hermeneutics of Prophecy," *JSOT* 57 (1993): 113-114. Kings appealed to the prophets during times of war, as can be shown from 1 Sam 28, 1 Kgs 22, and other sources. This motif also appears in ancient Near Eastern documents. See Hans M. Barstad, "Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah and the Historical Prophet," in *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll*, ed. Alastair G. Hunter and Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 348 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 87-100, esp. 90-92; D. Launderville, *Piety and Politics: The Dynamics of Royal Authority in Homeric Greece, Biblical Israel, and Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 194-202; K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 384-392.

[19]Several scholars have recently doubted the existence of the so-called "Deuteronomistic School." They have also doubted the methodology used to find deuteronomistic phrases. See R. Coggins, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?" in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan–Deuteronomism*, ed. L. S. Schearing and S. L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 22-35; N. Lohfink, "Was There a Deuteronomistic Movement?" in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists*, 27-57; R. R. Wilson, "Who Was the Deuteronomist? (Who Was Not the Deuteronomist?): Reflections on Pan-Deuteronomism," *Those Elusive Deuteronomists*, 67–82; W. L. Holladay, "Elusive Deuteronomists, Jeremiah, and Proto-Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 66 (2004): 55-77. The most thorough study made on this topic is by Helga Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW 132 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973).

[20]H. J. Stipp states: "[I]ts terminology is related to Deuteronomistic language, but it is relatively unspecific" ("Zedekiah in the Book of Jeremiah: On the Formation of a Biblical Character," *CBQ* 58 [1996]: 633, n. 17). See, further, J. M. Berridge, *Prophet, People, and the Word of Yahweh: An Examination of Form and Content in the Proclamation of the Prophet Jeremiah* (Zurich: EVZ Verlag, 1970), 204-205; H. Weippert, "Jahwekrieg und Bundesfluch in Jer 21:1-7," *ZAW* 82 (1970): 398-400; Holladay, *Jeremiah*; Lundbom, 102.

his people but, rather, against them.[21] The use of the expression "the way of life and the way of death" (Jer 21:8), which also appears in Deut 30:15-20, must be regarded similarly. In the book of Deuteronomy, it is used in connection with keeping the covenant between the people and their God. However, in the book of Jeremiah, "the way of life" is the voluntary surrender to Babylon, while "the way of death" is to fight against Babylon, contrary to Divine command.[22]

4. *The Lord's place in Jer 21, as compared to Jer 27.* As for the argument regarding the Lord's place in Jer 21, compared with the description in Jer 27, I accept I. L. Seeligmann's position: "In Israeli thought, just as in thought outside of Israel, the divine element is not separated from the human element. The integration of both elements is no reason to assume the integration of two different sources."[23] And indeed, there is not necessarily a contradiction between the religious shaping of Jer 21:1-10 and the assumption that the passage is a historical description by an eyewitness. The ascription of victory or loss in battle to the Lord lies within the bounds of the worldview prevalent among the nations surrounding Israel. Such a description is found in many documents from the ancient Near East.[24]

Indeed, chapter 21 is not the ideal historical source for historians. It uses stereotypic expressions and a style foreign to historical reports. At the same time, however, this does not necessarily mean that historical facts cannot be elicited from it.[25] Chapter 21 is constructed according to the covenant model,

[21]W. L. Moran, "The End of the Unholy War and the Anti-Exodus," *Bib* 44 (1963): 333-342; Lundbom, 102.

[22]Cf. Lundbom, 105. Jer 21:8-10 is not part of the dialogue between Jeremiah and the royal messengers. Whereas in these verses God appeals directly to Jeremiah, in vv. 3-6 Jeremiah is speaking to the king's messengers. The date of this oracle is probably later than vv. 1-7. See Carroll, 408.

[23]I. L. Seeligmann, "The Might of Man and the Deliverance of God: Dual Causality on Biblical Historical Thought," *Studies in Biblical Literature*, ed. A. Hurvitz et al. (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 73. See also A. R. Millard, "Story, History, and Theology," in *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context*, ed. A. R. Millard et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 37-64.

[24]See Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East*, BZAW 177 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989). I follow Stolz, who views the concept of "Holy War" or "Yahweh War" as an early construction, stemming from the Monarchic age or even before it. See F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Krieg. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen im Glaube des alten Israels* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972). For the opinion that the concept of "Holy war" is based on historical reality, see T. R. Hobbs, *A Time for War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989).

[25]See Weippert, "Jahwekrieg"; K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*, trans. D. E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 58, n. 108; Weinfeld, 136; Lundbom, 101. The threat of sword and pestilence already appears in Lev 26. For an early dating of this chapter, see J. Milgrom, "Covenants: The Sinaitic and Patriarchal Covenants in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–27)," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*, ed. C. A. Cohen et al. (Winona Lake, IN:

which contains curses against those breaching the covenant.[26] Jeremiah's threats of pestilence, the sword, and famine (Jer 21:7) are reminiscent of the curses in Deut 28, an episode that has parallels with the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. On the other hand, the description in 37:1-10 has all the characteristics of a historical report, and does not mention the covenant. It can be hypothesized that the editors of the book of Jeremiah did not place chapters 21 and 37 after each other because each chapter has a different purpose and is incorporated in a different framework: chapter 21 opens the unit of prophecies about the kings of Judah, which are mainly calamity prophecies. In contrast, chapter 37 is incorporated in the narrative part of the book (chaps. 26–45)—its framework is the narratives dealing with the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem, the destruction of the city, the Babylonian exile, and the history of the survivors of Judah after the destruction (chaps. 36–45).

Summary

In this essay, I attempted to uncover the historical background of Jer 21:1-10. I did this primarily by comparing this unit to a narrative with a similar historical background, Jer 37. Jeremiah 21:1-10 describes the first stage of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem, which started on the tenth of Tevet in the year 588 B.C.E.[27] We do not have enough details to determine the exact date. However, it seems it occurred several months after the start of the siege. At this stage, Egyptian help had not yet arrived and Zedekiah, king of Judah, hoped that the Babylonians would retreat miraculously, just as the Assyrians did during Sennacherib's expedition. Jeremiah 37:1-10 describes the dispatch of an additional delegation to the prophet, apparently during the final days of the siege. This delegation reached the prophet following the arrival of the Egyptian army, which led to a temporary Babylonian diversion from the siege.

Eisenbrauns, 2004), 91-101. For arguments against the view that considered Deut 28 to be a seventh-century composition, see Kitchen, 283-294.

[26] For a thorough analysis of Jer 37–45, see Lipschits, 353-388.

[27] See J. Bright, *The Book of Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 216-217; B. Oded, "Judah and the Exile," *Israelite and Judaean History*, ed. J. Hays and J. M. Miller (London: SCM Press, 1977), 473; P. C. Craigie, P. H. Kelly, and J. F. Drinkard, *Jeremiah 1–25*, WBC 26 (Dallas: Word, 1991), 284; Holladay, *Jeremiah*; Lundbom, *Jeremiah*.

ויהי AS A DISCOURSE MARKER IN KINGS[1]

TARSEE LI
Oakwood College
Huntsville, Alabama

Introduction

The distinction between ויהי as a verb and as a discourse marker was first proposed by E. König in 1897[2] and is now generally accepted. W. Richter called the latter a text deicticon.[3] Unlike regular verbs, the discourse markers ויהי and והיה need not agree in person, gender, or number with the subject of the clause to which they are attached.[4] Nevertheless, the exact discourse function of והיה/ויהי is still open to debate. The explanations cover a wide-ranging spectrum, including *inter alia*, a semantically empty temporal marker,[5] an emphasis of the temporal setting,[6] a marker of progress,[7] a connection that introduces an independent narrative or a new section,[8] the beginning of a new narrative or a turn of the plot in the narrative,[9] an interruption without a significant break,[10] and "continuity at an intra-scene level."[11] Others simply

---

[1]This is an expanded and revised version of a paper presented at the NAPH session of the annual AAR/SBL meeting in Toronto, Canada, November 26, 2002.

[2]Cited in *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar: As Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch (GKC)*, 2d Eng. rev. ed. of the 28th German ed., trans. A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), 327 n. 1.

[3]W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. Band 3: Die Beschreibungsebenen. Der Satz (Satztheorie)* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1980), 206.

[4]G. Hatav, *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality: Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew*, Studies in Language Companion Series 34 (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997), 76. See also W. Groß, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im Biblischen Hebräisch*, ATS 27 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1987), 174-175.

[5]R. Bartelmus, *HYH. Bedeutung und Funktion eines hebräischen 'Allerweltswortes'—zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage des hebräischen Tempussystems*, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 17 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1982), 114, 208-225.

[6]Y. Endo, *The Verbal System of Classical Hebrew in the Joseph Story: An Approach from Discourse Analysis* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996), 187.

[7]J. P. Floß, "Verbfunktionen der Basis HYY," *BN* 30 (1985): 89-90.

[8]*GKC*, 327.

[9]J. Junger, "Aspect and Cohesion in Biblical Hebrew Narratives," *Semitics* 10 (1989): 86-87.

[10]A. Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 48-61.

[11]C. H. J. van der Merwe, "The Elusive Biblical Hebrew Term ויהי: A Perspective

accept it as multifunctional.[12] A good summary and discussion of the previous
studies concerning ויהי may be found in C. H. J. van der Merwe[13] and need not
be repeated here, though I will interact with various views as necessary and
relevant to this article. The present study compares selected sentence initial
expressions with and without ויהי in a specific corpus, i.e., the book of Kings,
and concludes that ויהי is a discourse particle that marks the beginning of a
discourse segment. In what follows, I use the term "segment" to refer to any
discrete unit of discourse and "segmentation" to the formal marking of
segments in a discourse. Hence, ויהי is a discourse segmenting device.[14]
Additionally, although it is commonly believed that ויהי is a temporal marker,
I will argue that it is not temporal in nature.

As a discourse marker, ויהי does not occur with the same frequency in all
periods of Biblical Hebrew, and may not even have the same functions in all
periods. E. Jenni concludes that the use of ויהי/והיה in temporal clauses is more
frequent in earlier Biblical Hebrew than in later Biblical Hebrew.[15] On the other
hand, A. Schüle argues that ויהי is a latecomer into Hebrew and belongs to what
he calls "Mittelhebräische,"[16] i.e., a stage of literary Hebrew that developed
beyond the earlier Hebrew, but independently from the spoken language.
Though I will not attempt to resolve the issue of whether the use of ויהי is early
or late, it is clear that diachronic distinctions must be recognized. Furthermore,
regardless of whether ויהי is early or late, diachronic changes take time, and one
must still explain the difference in function between clauses with and without
ויהי during the synchronic period when they are both in common use.
Therefore, I have chosen the book of Kings as the corpus for this research.
Although Kings is a compilation from various sources, some of which are
named in the book itself, the present study is based on the book in its
completed consonantal form, on the assumption that it must have made sense

---

in Terms of Its Syntactical, Semantics, and Pragmatics in 1 Samuel," *Hebrew Studies* 40
(1999): 114.

[12]W. Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch. Ein Lehrbuch*, 4th ed. (München:
Claudius, 1980), 265-266. E. Talstra agrees with Schneider and adds that ויהי also
distinguishes the main story from embedded stories ("Text Grammar and the Hebrew
Bible 1: Elements of a Theory," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35 [1978]: 173).

[13]Van der Merwe, 85-92 and 103-113; especially useful is van der Merwe's
distinction between studies that deal with its syntactic functions from studies that deal
with the macro-syntactic or discourse functions.

[14]Thus, I am adopting Hatav's, 70-83, terminology "segmentation particle," though
she did not define it, but I will argue that the function of ויהי is not that of an obligatory
particle (78), but rather an optional marker.

[15]E. Jenni, *Die hebräischen Präpositionen. Band 2: Die Präposition kaph* (Stuttgart:
Kohlhammer, 1994), 149-150.

[16]A. Schüle, "Zur Bedeutung der Formel *wajjehi* im Übergang zum
mittelhebräischen Tempussystem," in *Studien zur hebräischen Grammatik*, ed. A. Wagner,
OBO 156 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 116, 122-125.

to the original readers. The results presented here apply to the specific diachronic period represented by the completion of the compilation of the book of Kings, but not necessarily to other periods of Biblical Hebrew.

The book of Kings may be thematically outlined as consisting of three major divisions, the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 1–11), the history of the divided kingdom (1 Kgs 12–2 Kgs 17), and the history of the kings of Judah until the captivity (2 Kgs 18–25). Each division contains several major narrative sections, and these in turn may contain subsections, which may, of course, be even further subdivided. Although there may be differences of opinion on the exact subdivisions of the book, one must begin with the assumption that, due to the nature of the book, the reign of a king or queen constitutes a major narrative section, unless there is evidence to the contrary. Thus, for example, the stories concerning the reign of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18–20) constitute a major narrative section. However, other features may also determine the boundaries of narrative segments, and, where necessary, must be discussed on a case-by-case basis. Furthermore, the various sources incorporated into the book of Kings may or may not coincide with narrative segments in the completed form of the book. Also, although the pre-Masoretic boundary markers *petuhah* and *setumah* attest to how later tradition may have partitioned the book, they are of limited value for the present study, because they, like chapter and verse divisions, were added after the compilation of the book was completed.[17]

An important phenomenon that helps us to understand the function of וַיְהִי is the fact that narrative segments do not have to begin with an overt marker. For example, there is no segmentation marker at the beginning of the new thematic segment that begins in 1 Kgs 12.[18] Therefore, discourse segmenting devices, such as וַיְהִי, are generally not obligatory markers, but are optional devices that help maintain discourse cohesion. According to M. A. K. Halliday, the components that make a text or discourse, as opposed to a group of unrelated sentences, include the structural features indicating thematic structure and focus, as well as the cohesive features of reference, ellipsis, conjunctions, and lexical cohesion.[19] Nevertheless, although a text as a whole must be cohesive, there are breaks or transitions in the thematic structure—and these may not always coincide with paragraph breaks, since paragraphs are phenomena belonging to the

[17]However, all passages are cited with their respective *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* sigla, i.e., פ and ס, so these markers can be discussed where necessary.

[18]Instead, the formulaic language relating to Solomon's death at the end of chap. 11 is sufficient to alert the reader that the previous segment has come to an end. For another example, see 1 Kgs 17:1, the beginning of the Elijah pericope.

[19]M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2d ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 308-339. These are grouped under four categories in the analysis of the "texture" of the text: theme and focus, lexical cohesion and reference, ellipsis and substitution, and conjunction. It is also possible that temporal continuity, which Halliday, 324-327, subsumes under the category of conjunction, is an important enough feature of Biblical Hebrew narrative to deserve a separate category heading.

writing system, not the discourse. Hence, I would suggest that expressions that
signal a thematic break or transition (e.g., certain sentence initial temporal
expressions,[20] which Halliday categorizes as "conjunction") also promote
discourse cohesion, since two completely unrelated stories do not need to be
stitched together. Thus, I suspect that what has been described as ויהי marking
"continuity" expresses not continuity, but discourse cohesion.[21] As a discourse
marker, ויהי contributes to cohesion by marking transitions, i.e., the beginning
of narrative segments.

Finally, the discourse function of ויהי/והיה is not a unique phenomenon,
but simply the outgrowth of the normal function of the verb "to be." R. E.
Longacre attributes the fact that ויהי "does not function on the storyline of a
narrative" not to a peculiarity of ויהי itself, but to the "peculiarity of the verb *be*
in many languages."[22] Similarly, van der Merwe's explanation of ויהי + nominal
clauses assumes a distinction between the form with the notion "be" and the
"normal verb," which has the notion "become" or "come to be."[23]

The Present Study

The present study consists of a comparison of four major types of expressions
found in the book of Kings introduced by ויהי with corresponding expressions
and without ויהי, i.e., sentence initial expressions containing date formulas
(month and/or year), sentence initial expressions containing the word יום,
sentence initial expressions containing the word עת, and the participial clauses
waw + X + participle and ויהי + X + participle. For the sake of clarity, I have
limited the comparison to only ויהי clauses and their counterparts that either
begin with a simple *waw* or are asyndetic, though occasional reference is made
to clauses introduced by other words, such as כי. These four expressions were
chosen because there are a sufficient number of instances both with and
without ויהי to allow for meaningful comparison.

The function of ב and כ + infinitive has already been surveyed, and there
is no need to repeat the information here, except to point out that the presence
or absence of ויהי does not alter the temporal reference or temporal referent of
these expressions. Jenni observed that an event in a temporal sentence with כ

[20]As T. Goldfajn points out, Biblical Hebrew time adverbials set "the stage for
subsequent events and reference times" (*Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*
[New York: Oxford University Press, 1998], 88).

[21]Van der Merwe, 114. This observation also applies to Niccacci's, 57, claim that ויהי
does not mark off narrative units. Furthermore, although his distinction between an
"interruption" and a "significant break" is valid, his, 59-60, claim that ויהי as a macro-syntactic
sign never occurs at the absolute beginning of an independent narrative unit is dubious; e.g.,
Ruth 1:1.

[22]R. E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence: A Text Theoretical and
Textlinguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39–48* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 66.
Likewise for והיה (ibid., 109 and 134 n. 11).

[23]Van der Merwe, 99.

immediately precedes the event of the main sentence, whereas an event in the temporal sentence with ב is concurrent with that of the main sentence.[24] D. Gropp explains the distinction in function between the two syntagms as follows: כ + infinitive temporal clause could "be considered an infinitival transformation of a narrative clause," whereas ב + infinitive temporal clause "might be derived from a circumstantial clause."[25]

Sentence Initial Expressions Containing Date-Formulas

Of the expressions to be considered in this study, the most numerous are sentence initial expressions containing date-formulas (month and/or year). Since all instances occur with a preposition, the two basic types of syntagms consist of clauses with ויהי and those without ויהי. Sentence initial expressions containing words for month and/or year do occur without a preposition. However, they are not date-formulas. They express either duration (1 Kgs 5:28; 11:16; 2 Kgs 24:8) or frequency (1 Kgs 10:22) rather than temporal position.[26]

A comparison of occurrences of sentence initial date formulas introduced by ויהי with corresponding instances without ויהי shows that ויהי does not mark continuity as van der Merwe suggests. Instead, whereas the fronting of these temporal adjuncts can serve various functions and do not always stand at the beginning of new narrative segments, such adjuncts introduced by ויהי consistently stand at the beginning of narrative segments. Therefore, van der Merwe is correct that ויהי avoids ambiguity, but for a different reason. That is, the addition of ויהי functions as a marker of segmentation.

2 Kings 8:25

The most frequent way in which sentence initial date-formulas are introduced is with the preposition ב without ויהי. In most instances, it is the standard formula for dating the beginning of a king's reign.[27] Since this formula does not have to be sentence initial (e.g., 2 Kgs 15:13), its sentence initial position is discourse motivated. In at least twenty instances, the formula also is used to

---

[24]Jenni, 142.

[25]D. Gropp, "Progress and Cohesion in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: The Function of ke-/be- + the Infinitive Construct," in *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers*, ed. W. R. Bodine, *SBLSS* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 183.

[26]C. H. J. van der Merwe cites Harkness and others to distinguish temporal adverbials into groups that refer to duration, frequency, and time position ("Reconsidering Biblical Hebrew Temporal Expressions," *ZAH* 10 [1997]: 48). Temporal expressions that fall under the last category are better candidates for a discourse function because they can more easily update the reference time of subsequent sentences in a narrative, whereas a "temporal adjunct denoting *duration* cannot anchor an event on the time-line" (idem, "Elusive Biblical Hebrew Term ויהי," 96).

[27]This formula is absent from the narrative section on Queen Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:1ff.). This may reflect the perspective of the book of Kings that she was an illegitimate usurper.

introduce a narrative section about a king's reign (1 Kgs 15:1, 9, 33; 16:8, 15, 23; 2 Kgs 8:16, 25; 13:1, 10; 14:1, 23; 15:1, 8, 17, 23, 27, 32; 16:1; 17:1).

בִּשְׁנַת֩ שְׁתֵּים־עֶשְׂרֵ֨ה שָׁנָ֜ה לְיוֹרָ֤ם בֶּן־אַחְאָב֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל
מָלַ֛ךְ אֲחַזְיָ֥הוּ בֶן־יְהוֹרָ֖ם מֶ֥לֶךְ יְהוּדָֽה׃

> In year twelve of Joram son of Ahab king of Israel, Ahaziahu son of Jehoram king
> of Judah began to reign.

2 Kings 9:29

Nevertheless, this typical formula for dating the beginning of a king's reign does not always introduce a new narrative segment. Thus 2 Kgs 9:29 initiates a parenthetic statement after the story of Jehu's killing of Ahaziah. Here the sentence initial date formula serves to signal a digression from the narrative rather than to introduce a new narrative segment (the section on Ahaziah's reign is found earlier in 8:25-29).

וּבִשְׁנַת֙ אַחַ֣ת עֶשְׂרֵ֣ה שָׁנָ֔ה לְיוֹרָ֖ם בֶּן־אַחְאָ֑ב
מָלַ֥ךְ אֲחַזְיָ֖ה עַל־יְהוּדָֽה׃

> (And in year eleven of Joram son of Ahab, Ahaziah began to reign over Judah.)

2 Kings 12:1-2

A potentially equivocal instance is found in 2 Kgs 12:2, where the formula for dating the beginning of Jehoash's reign occurs immediately after the statement of his age.

בֶּן־שֶׁ֥בַע שָׁנִ֖ים יְהוֹאָ֣שׁ בְּמָלְכֽוֹ׃ פ
בִּשְׁנַת־שֶׁ֤בַע לְיֵהוּא֙
מָלַ֣ךְ יְהוֹאָ֔שׁ וְאַרְבָּעִ֣ים שָׁנָ֔ה מָלַ֖ךְ בִּירוּשָׁלָ֑ם

> Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign. In year seven of Jehu,
> Jehoash began to reign. And he reigned forty years in Jerusalem.

The statement of Jehoash's age when he ascended to the throne in v. 1 could be interpreted as either the end of the previous narrative section or the beginning of the section on Jehoash's reign (12:1-22), an ambiguity reflected in the difference between the chapter division of the Hebrew Bible[28] and the placement of the *petuḥah* after v. 1, which favors the chapter division of the English Bible (i.e., Heb. 12:2 = Eng. 12:1). Since a statement of a king's age when he came to the throne is another common way of beginning a narrative section concerning that king's reign (cf., e.g., 2 Kgs 21:1, 19; 22:1), it is more likely that the narrative segment begins in v. 1, and that the sentence initial ב + date-formula in v. 2 does not initiate the narrative segment.

2 Kings 18:13

Aside from its use to date, i.e., the beginning of a king's reign, there are eight other instances of the sentence initial ב + date-formula. Six of these stand at the

---

[28]As well as the placement of the *setumah* at the end of chap. 11.

beginning of a new narrative event or subsection (1 Kgs 6:37; 2 Kgs 11:4; 17:6; 18:13; 25:3, 8).[29]

וּבְאַרְבַּע עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ חִזְקִיָּה
עָלָה סַנְחֵרִיב מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר עַל כָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבְּצֻרוֹת וַיִּתְפְּשֵׂם:

And in year fourteen of king Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and seized them.

1 Kings 6:37-38

The remaining two instances of sentence initial ב + date-formula do not initiate narrative segments (1 Kgs 6:38; 2 Kgs 19:29). Both are instances of fronting for topicalization—an organizational strategy to clarify the topic.[30] The first instance occurs within a summary or epitome, which consists of the beginning and ending dates for the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 6:38).

בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית יֻסַּד בֵּית יְהוָה בְּיֶרַח זִו:
וּבַשָּׁנָה הָאַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה בְּיֶרַח בּוּל
הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי כָּלָה הַבַּיִת לְכָל־דְּבָרָיו וּלְכָל־מִשְׁפָּטָו וַיִּבְנֵהוּ שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים:

In the fourth year the foundation of the house of the LORD was laid, in the month Ziv. *And in the year eleven, in the month Bul,* which is the eighth month, the house was finished in all its parts and according to all its specifications. And so he built it in seven years.

Although both sentence initial date-formulas in the above example involve topicalization—the topic of this narrative unit is clearly the length of time it took to build the temple, which in turn serves as a fitting conclusion to the larger narrative concerning the building of the temple (5:15-6:38)—, only the first one (v. 37) stands at the beginning of a narrative segment. The second date-formula (v. 38) does not initiate a narrative segment, but occurs within the segment initiated by the previous date-formula.

[29] 1 Kgs 6:37 initiates a summary or epitome. I consider an epitome a narrative subsection, although I acknowledge that this may be debatable. See further comments on 1 Kgs 6:37-38 below.

[30] I am not impling that segmentation and other discourse functions, such as focusing or topicalization, are mutually exclusive, but simply that these instances do not stand at the beginning of narrative segments. For the distinction between focusing and topicalization, see R. Buth, "Functional Grammar, Hebrew and Aramaic: An Integrated, Textlinguistic Approach to Syntax," in *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers,* ed. W. R. Bodine, *SBLSS* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 84-85. I provisionally adopt his definition of "topic" as a "contextualizing constituent," whose purpose is "to help the listener understand how and on what basis some sentences are grouped together." There is some difference of opinion on the nature of fronting for topicalization; e.g., C. H. J. van der Merwe, who initially used J. Jacobs's terminology "focus of topicalisation" ("The Function of Word Order in Old Hebrew—with Special Reference to Cases Where a Syntagmeme Precedes a Verb in Joshua," *JNSL* 17 [1991]: 138-140), now calls it fronting as a "topic-promoting device" ("Towards a Better Understanding of Biblical Hebrew Word Order," *JNSL* 25 [1999]: 294-295; see also "Explaining Fronting in Biblical Hebrew," *JNSL* 25 [1999]: 173-186).

2 Kings 19:29

The other instance of a nonsegmenting sentence initial ב + date-formula occurs in direct speech with a series of expressions containing the word שנה in the same segment of the discourse (2 Kgs 19:29).

וְזֶה־לְּךָ הָאוֹת אָכוֹל הַשָּׁנָה סָפִיחַ
וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשֵּׁנִית סָחִישׁ
וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית
זִרְעוּ וְקִצְרוּ וְנִטְעוּ כְרָמִים וְאִכְלוּ פִרְיָם׃

> "And this will be your sign: Eat this year the after growth, and in the second year what grows of itself. *And in the third year*, sow, reap, plant vineyards, and eat their fruit."

In the above example, the discourse segment consists entirely of v. 29, which presents the "sign," since v. 30 begins an explanation of the significance of the sign. The temporal expression וּבשנה השלישׁית does not introduce a new narrative unit, but is fronted for topicalization (i.e., "this year . . . , and in the second year . . . , and in the third year"). In addition, it is possible that וּבשנה השנית begins an elliptical sentence with the elision of the verb, in which case both וּבשנה השנית and וּבשנה השלישׁית could be considered examples of fronting for topicalization.

2 Kings 18:1

In contrast to sentence initial ב + date-formula without ויהי, which may or may not initiate narrative segments, sentence initial instances of the ויהי + ב + date-formula all stand at the beginning of narrative segments. There are ten instances of the ויהי + ב + date-formula. Of these, one instance serves as a formula for dating the beginning of a king's reign and introduces the narrative section about his reign (2 Kgs 18:1).

וַיְהִי בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלשׁ לְהוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל
מָלַךְ חִזְקִיָּה בֶן־אָחָז מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה׃

> *In year three of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel,* Hezekiah son of Ahaz king of Judah began to reign.

2 Kings 18:9

The remaining nine instances of the ויהי + ב + date-formula also stand at the beginning of new narrative segments (1 Kgs 6:1; 14:25; 22:2; 2 Kgs 12:7; 18:9; 22:3; 25:1, 25, 27).

וַיְהִי בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית לַמֶּלֶךְ חִזְקִיָּהוּ
הִיא הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית לְהוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר
עַל־שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ׃

> *And in the fourth year of King Hezekiah,* which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it.

1 Kings 22:1-2

One of the instances of the ויהי + ב + date-formula listed above deserves special comment.

וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים אֵין מִלְחָמָה בֵּין אֲרָם וּבֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל: פ
וַיְהִי בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית
וַיֵּרֶד יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:

And they lived three years without war between Aram and Israel. *And in the third
year*, Jehoshaphat king of Judah came down to the king of Israel.

This narrative segment continues until the death of Ahab in v. 40. The story focuses on the alliance of Jehoshaphat king of Judah and "the king of Israel" against Aram. It is curious that Ahab is not mentioned by name until v. 39, which uses formulaic language for the end of a king's life, but Ahab is regularly mentioned by name in the previous chapter. This suggests that 22:1 belongs with the previous narrative segment since the verse mentions only Aram and Israel, but not Judah or specifically Jehoshaphat, who is more prominent in this chapter. Thus, although the chapter division reflects a contrary perspective, the placement of the *petuhah* after v. 1 appears appropriate.[31] The ויהי + ב + date-formula in v. 2 is a transitional statement, involving a backreference[32] to the "three years without war" (v. 1) and initiating a new narrative segment, in which Jehoshaphat is more prominent.

Mention should be made of four other instances of ויהי + preposition + date-formula. Of these, three instances involve מקץ (1 Kgs 2:39) or מקצה (1 Kgs 9:10; 2 Kgs 8:3), and one instance involves ל (1 Kgs 20:26). All occur at the beginning of narrative subsections and involve some type of backreferencing. However, there are no exact matches without ויהי in the corpus to compare them with. The only instance of ל + שנה without ויהי occurs in an explanatory clause introduced by כי (1 Kgs 20:22).

Sentence Initial Expressions Containing the Word יום

Sentence initial expressions containing the word יום exhibit the greatest variety, i.e., they occur in at least three basic types of syntagms: preposition + יום, ויהי

---

[31]Besides, the statement that there were three years of peace seems a fitting conclusion to the previous narrative segment (21:17–22:1) because it follows after the Lord's message to Elijah that, due to Ahab's humility, Ahab's penalty would be deferred until after his lifetime (21:28-29).

[32]"Backreferencing," also called "tail-head linkage," is a means of providing discourse cohesion between separate narrative segments. That is, "something mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph is referred to by means of back-reference in an adverbial clause in the following paragraph" (S. A. Thompson and R. E. Longacre, "Adverbial Clauses," in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Vol. 2: Complex Constructions*, ed. T. Shopen [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 209). Backreferencing is a common segmentation device.

+ יום, and ויהי + preposition + יום.[33] For reasons already mentioned above, sentence initial occurrences of יום other than in temporal adjuncts (e.g., 2 Kgs 19:3) are excluded from the study.

2 Kings 20:1

There are fourteen instances of sentence initial ב + יום. Of these, at least five instances stand at the beginning of new narrative events (2 Kgs 8:20; 10:32; 15:29; 20:1; 24:1).

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם

חָלָה חִזְקִיָּהוּ לָמוּת וַיָּבֹא 'אֵלָיו יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶן־אָמוֹץ הַנָּבִיא וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו

In those days Hezekiah became deathly sick. And the prophet Isaiah son of Amos came to him, and said to him, . . . [direct speech].

2 Kings 23:28-29

Additionally, in a few instances, ב + יום could be analyzed either as initiating a very short narrative segment or a parenthetical digression. There is at least one instance of the former (2 Kgs 23:29) and three instances of the latter (discussed later below).

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:

בְּיָמָיו עָלָה' פַּרְעֹה נְכֹה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עַל־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר עַל־נְהַר־פְּרָת

וַיֵּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ לִקְרָאתוֹ וַיְמִיתֵהוּ בִּמְגִדּוֹ כִּרְאֹתוֹ אֹתוֹ:

As for the rest of the acts of Josiah and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? *In his days* Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt came up to the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates. And King Josiah went to meet him. And he killed him in Megiddo when he saw him.

In this example, v. 28 contains formulaic language typically introducing the end of the narrative of a king's reign. Then the sentence initial ב + יום in v. 29 initiates a more detailed account of how King Josiah met his death (vv. 29-30).

1 Kings 21:29

In at least seven instances, sentence initial expressions of the type ב + יום do not stand at the beginning of a narrative segment. In two of these instances, the temporal expression is fronted for the sake of focusing, i.e., highlighting the contrast (1 Kgs 2:26; 21:29).[34]

הֲרָאִיתָ כִּי־נִכְנַע אַחְאָב מִלְּפָנָי 'יַעַן כִּי־נִכְנַע מִפָּנַי לֹא־אָבִי הָרָעָה' בְּיָמָיו

בִּימֵי בְנוֹ

אָבִיא הָרָעָה עַל־בֵּיתוֹ:

---

[33]The only instance of יום without either ויהי or a preposition occurs in a protasis and is introduced by אם (1 Kgs 12:7). This cannot be analyzed for segmentation because it occurs at the beginning of a direct speech.

[34]Compare these to an occurrence of ב + יום introduced by אך (1 Kgs 11:12).

"Do you see how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Because he has humbled himself before me, I will not bring calamity in his days. *In the days of his son* will I bring calamity upon his house."

2 Kings 20:5

In two instances, the sentence initial ב + יום consists of topicalization within the same discourse segment (1 Kgs 8:66; 2 Kgs 20:5).

שׁוּב וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־חִזְקִיָּהוּ נְגִיד־עַמִּי כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי דָּוִד אָבִיךָ שָׁמַעְתִּי
אֶת־תְּפִלָּתֶךָ רָאִיתִי אֶת־דִּמְעָתֶךָ הִנְנִי רֹפֶא לָךְ
בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי
תַּעֲלֶה בֵּית יְהוָה:

"Go back and say to Hezekiah the prince of my people, 'Thus says the LORD the God of David your father, "I have heard your prayer. I have seen your tears. Look, I am going to heal you. *On the third day* you will go up to the house of the LORD."'"

2 Kings 15:36-38

In three instances, the sentence initial ב + יום initiates a parenthetical statement, indicating a digression from the narrative, rather than a new narrative event (1 Kgs 8:64; 16:34; 2 Kgs 15:37).

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יוֹתָם אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:
בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם
הֵחֵל יְהוָה לְהַשְׁלִיחַ בִּיהוּדָה רְצִין מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם וְאֵת פֶּקַח בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ:
וַיִּשְׁכַּב יוֹתָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד אָבִיו
וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָחָז בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו: פ

The rest of the acts of Jotham which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? (*In those days*, the LORD began to send Rezin king of Aram and Pekah the son of Remaliah.) And Jotham slept with his fathers. And they buried him with his fathers in the city of David. And Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

1 Kings 2:42 (beginning of quoted speech)

One instance of ב + יום occurs at the beginning of quoted speech and cannot be analyzed for segmentation (1 Kgs 2:42). However, a comparison between it and the speech from which it is quoted is enlightening, because the statement in the original speech comes in the middle, rather than at the beginning, of the speech.

הֲלוֹא הִשְׁבַּעְתִּיךָ בַיהוָה וָאָעִד בְּךָ לֵאמֹר
בְּיוֹם צֵאתְךָ
וְהָלַכְתָּ אָנֶה וָאָנָה יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת

"Did I not adjure you by the LORD, and warn you saying, '*On the day that you go out*, and go here or there, know for certain that you will surely die'?"

Since the quotation in v. 42 begins with this statement of the consequence, there is no need for a transitional marker, and hence no need for ויהי.

1 Kings 2:37 (middle of direct speech)

In the original statement (v. 37), יום + ב is introduced by והיה, which marks a transition from the king's command (v. 36) to the statement of the consequence of transgressing the king's command.

וְהָיָה בְּיוֹם צֵאתְךָ
וְעָבַרְתָּ אֶת־נַחַל קִדְרוֹן יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע כִּי מוֹת

> *"And on the day that you go out*, and cross the brook Kidron, know for certain that you will surely die."

In passing, I mention instances of other sentence initial prepositions besides ב that occur with יום without ויהי. There is one instance of יום + מן (1 Kgs 8:16), but it occurs at the beginning of quoted speech and cannot be analyzed for segmentation. There is also one instance of יום + עד (2 Kgs 17:34). It initiates an explanatory parenthesis (so also another instance introduced by כי, 2 Kgs 18:4). There are no corresponding instances with ויהי in the corpus to give an exact comparison.

2 Kings 4:18

In contrast to the above expressions without ויהי, which sometimes initiate narrative segments and sometimes not, instances with ויהי consistently appear to stand at the beginning of narrative segments. There are four instances of ויהי + יום, all of which stand at the beginning of narrative segments, introducing new narrative events (1 Kgs 18:1; 2 Kgs 4:8,11,18).

וַיִּגְדַּל הַיֶּלֶד
וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם
וַיֵּצֵא אֶל־אָבִיו אֶל־הַקֹּצְרִים:

> And the child grew. *And on a certain day*, he went out to his father to the reapers.

In the above example, the first clause ("And the child grew.") concludes the segment begun in v. 11, which narrates the miraculous gift of a son. Then the expression ויהי + יום in v. 18 initiates a narrative segment concerning the boy's death and subsequent healing by Elisha (2 Kgs 4:18b-37).

1 Kings 20:29-30

There are two instances of יום + ב + ויהי. Both introduce narrative subsections (1 Kgs 3:18; 20:29).

וַיַּחֲנוּ אֵלֶּה נֹכַח אֵלֶּה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים
וַיְהִי בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי
וַתִּקְרַב הַמִּלְחָמָה וַיַּכּוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אֲרָם מֵאָה־אֶלֶף רַגְלִי בְּיוֹם אֶחָד:
וַיָּנֻסוּ הַנּוֹתָרִים אֲפֵקָה אֶל־הָעִיר
וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה עַל־עֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה אֶלֶף אִישׁ הַנּוֹתָרִים
וּבֶן־הֲדַד נָס וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָעִיר חֶדֶר בְּחָדֶר: ס

And they encamped against each other seven days. *And on the seventh day*, the battle was joined. And the Israelites beat the Arameans, one hundred thousand foot soldiers in one day. And those who were left fled to Aphek, into the city. And the wall fell over twenty-seven thousand men of those who were left. Now Ben Hadad had fled. And he came into the city to an inner chamber.

This example is part of a larger narrative section, consisting of the entire chapter (20:1-43), which deals with Ben Hadad's battles against Ahab. Verse 26 introduces a new invasion by Ben Hadad, which begins with a ויהי clause, includes the prophecy of the man of God (v. 28), and ends with the first sentence of v. 29 (see above). The expression ויהי + יום (v. 29b) consists of a backreference to the "seven days," initiates the narrative segment of the battle (vv. 29-30a), followed by the plot by Ben Hadad's aides to save his life (vv. 30b-32).

There is also one instance of יום + מקץ + ויהי (1 Kgs 17:7), which introduces a narrative subsection. There are no instances of the same expression without ויהי in the corpus. There is also one instance of והיה + ב + יום, which introduces a subsection of a direct speech (1 Kgs 2:37, cited above).

Sentence Initial Expressions Containing the Word עת

The third group of expressions to be considered consists of sentence initial expressions involving the use of the word עת. Since all instances contain a preposition, the two basic types of syntagms consist of clauses with ויהי and those without ויהי. Although the number of instances of sentence initial expressions with עת is relatively small, they fit the same pattern noticed in the previous two types of expressions. That is, whereas instances without ויהי may or may not stand at the beginning of a narrative segment, the addition of ויהי occurs only at the beginning of a narrative segment.

1 Kings 14:1

There are five instances of sentence initial עת + ב without ויהי. Of these, three stand at the beginning of narrative segments (1 Kgs 14:1; 2 Kgs 20:12; 24:10).

בָּעֵת הַהִיא
חָלָה אֲבִיָּה בֶן־יָרָבְעָם׃

At that time Abijah the son of Jeroboam became sick.

The above example occurs as part of the narratives concerning the reign of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12:20–14:20). The temporal expression in 14:1 stands at the beginning of a narrative segment in which his son's sickness and his wife's visit to Ahijah provide the setting for the prophetic pronouncement of judgment on Jeroboam and his family (14:1-18).

2 Kings 18:15-16

In two instances, sentence initial עת + ב (without ויהי) do not stand at the beginning of narrative segments, but rather introduce parenthetical explanatory statements (2 Kgs 16:6; 18:16).

וַיִּתֵּן֙ חִזְקִיָּ֔ה אֶת־כָּל־הַכֶּ֥סֶף הַנִּמְצָ֖א בֵית־יְהוָ֑ה וּבְאֹצְר֖וֹת בֵּ֥ית הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃
בָּעֵ֣ת הַהִ֗יא
קִצַּ֨ץ חִזְקִיָּ֜ה אֶת־דַּלְת֨וֹת הֵיכַ֤ל יְהוָה֙ וְאֶת־הָאֹ֣מְנ֔וֹת אֲשֶׁ֣ר צִפָּ֔ה חִזְקִיָּ֖ה מֶ֣לֶךְ יְהוּדָ֑ה
וַֽיִּתְּנֵ֖ם לְמֶ֥לֶךְ אַשּֽׁוּר׃ פ

And Hezekiah gave all the silver found in the house of the LORD and in the
treasuries of the house of the king. (*At that time*, Hezekiah cut off the doors
of the temple of the LORD and the pillars that Hezekiah king of Judah had
overlaid, and gave them to the king of Assyria.)

The narrative segment of the above example begins in v. 13, and is the account
of Sennacherib's invasion and Hezekiah's tribute. Here, the expression עת + ב
does not initiate a new event, but a parenthetical explanation placed at the end of
the narrative unit.

1 Kings 11:29

The sole instance of עת + ב + ויהי introduces a narrative subsection (1 Kgs
11:29).

וַיְהִי֙ בָּעֵ֣ת הַהִ֔יא
וְיָרָבְעָ֖ם יָצָ֣א מִירוּשָׁלִָ֑ם וַיִּמְצָ֣א אֹת֡וֹ אֲחִיָּה֩ הַשִּׁילֹנִ֨י הַנָּבִ֜יא בַּדֶּ֗רֶךְ

And at that time, Jeroboam went out from Jerusalem. And Ahijah the Shilonite
the prophet found him on the way.

The above example begins the narrative segment in which the prophet Ahijah
predicts the division of the monarchy and Jeroboam's accession to the throne
of Israel (vv. 29-39).

Instances of עת also occur with the prepositions ל and כ, but there is not
an exact match for comparison. The only instance of עת + ל without ויהי,
which initiates a parenthetic statement (1 Kgs 15:23), is not useful for
comparison because it is introduced by רק. The sole corresponding instance
of עת + ל + ויהי is also problematic (1 Kgs 11:4) because its context shows
evidence of textual corruption.[35] There is one instance of a sentence initial
expression מועד + ל (followed by עת + כ) (2 Kgs 4:16) that stands at the
beginning of direct speech and thus cannot be analyzed for segmentation.
There is also one instance of a sentence initial עת + כ (2 Kgs 7:1) that occurs
at the beginning of direct speech and likewise cannot be analyzed for
segmentation.[36]

---

[35]There is possibly an instance of dittography in 1 Kgs 11:3, due in part to the
repetition of לבב + נטה in vv. 2 and 4. Following the LXX arrangement of vv. 1-3, v.
4 clearly begins a narrative subsection. That is, after presenting the situation that
Solomon loved many foreign women in LXX vv. 1-3, vv. 4-8 narrate how they turned
his heart after other gods.

[36]Two other instances of עת + כ are introduced by conjunctions other than *waw*
(כי in 1 Kgs 19:2 and כי אם in 1 Kgs 20:6), neither of which begin a narrative segment,
but are rather instances of sentence initial focusing.

A Comparison of ויהי *+ X + Participial Clauses*
and Waw + X + Participial Clauses

Since narratives presuppose a temporal framework, it is tempting to interpret all forms of segmentation as temporal.[37] However, not all segmentation markers are temporal in nature. According to J. E. Grimes, a discourse may be partitioned on the basis of setting, including temporal and spatial setting, theme, uniformity of the cast of characters, participant orientation, and even switching between different levels of organization.[38] In what follows, I would like to show that Biblical Hebrew participial clauses, with or without ויהי, may introduce the setting or circumstances for a narrative segment without explicit reference to time. The clause *waw* + X + participle without ויהי may constitute an unmarked beginning of a narrative segment, whereas the clause ויהי + X + participle constitutes a marked segmentation.

As in the foregoing comparisons, I include here only participial clauses introduced by either ויהי or the conjunction *waw* (i.e., clauses introduced by, e.g., הנה, אשר were not considered). Needless to say, participles with a nominal function are irrelevant for this study (e.g., 2 Kgs 11:3). Also excluded are instances of two or more (*waw*) + X + participial clauses occurring in a series describing a series of simultaneous events (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:23; 6:27; 10:24-25; 22:10; 2 Kgs 2:12; 4:5; 6:32), even though some of these may also stand at the beginning of narrative segments. That is because, besides the fact that no corresponding series of clauses containing ויהי are attested in the corpus, a clause in such a series cannot be said to function as a temporal or circumstantial protasis to the other clause(s). Likewise, the only instances of ויהי + X + participle included are those where ויהי functions as a discourse marker. That is, I have excluded instances where ויהי is an auxiliary verb (e.g., 1 Kgs 5:24; 2 Kgs 18:4), or where ויהי is simply the verb "to be" (e.g., 2 Kgs 11:3).

1 Kings 8:14

According to G. Hatav, participles express the progressive aspect in Biblical Hebrew, which means that the Reference time[39] is included, and must be expressed either before or after the participial clause. Whereas the Reference time of *waw* + X + participial clauses is normally that of a preceding clause, the Reference time of ויהי + X + participial clauses is that of the following clause.[40]

[37]See, e.g., Longacre, 70.

[38]J. E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 207 (New York: Mouton, 1975), 102-107.

[39]Hatav follows Reichenbach, who distinguishes three different times in discourse: (S) speech time, (E) event time, and (R) reference time. The Reference time is the vantage point from which specific narrative events are viewed. It may either coincide with the S-time, or the E-time, or consist of another point in time specified (explicitly or implicitly) in the context.

[40]Hatav, 104. She admits to some exceptions, such as "futurate" instances that

Most instances of *waw* + X + participial clauses describe circumstances relating to a preceding clause (i.e., the Reference time is that of the preceding clause), just as Hatav claims (1 Kgs 1:15, 40; 3:22, 26; 8:14; 13:1, 24, 25, 28; 15:27; 19:19; 20:12, 16; 22:3, 20; 2 Kgs 2:18; 5:18; 7:9; 17:31; 24:11).

וַיַּסֵּב הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־פָּנָיו וַיְבָרֶךְ אֵת כָּל־קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְכָל־קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹמֵד:

And the king turned his face, and blessed all the congregation of Israel, *as all the congregation of Israel was standing.*

2 Kings 22:14

Nevertheless, there are some instances where it is not clear whether the *waw* + X + participial clause states circumstances relating to the preceding or to the following clause (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:15; 22:12; 2 Kgs 8:7). Indeed, some participial clauses function as independent sentences, such as in parenthetical statements (1 Kgs 11:29; 2 Kgs 6:30; 8:4; 22:14), or as part of a descriptive context (1 Kgs 10:20; 21:5), or when the participle has a habitual function (1 Kgs 17:6). For the purpose of this article, it suffices to simply give an example of a *waw* + X + participial clause in a parenthetical statement.

וַיֵּלֶךְ חִלְקִיָּהוּ הַכֹּהֵן וַאֲחִיקָם וְעַכְבּוֹר וְשָׁפָן וַעֲשָׂיָה
אֶל־חֻלְדָּה הַנְּבִיאָה אֵשֶׁת שַׁלֻּם בֶּן־תִּקְוָה בֶּן־חַרְחַס שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים
וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלַ‍ִם בַּמִּשְׁנֶה
וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלֶיהָ:

And Hilkiah the priest and Ahikam and Achbor and Shaphan and Asaiah went to Huldah the prophetess the wife of Shallum son of Tikvah son of Harhas keeper of the wardrobe. *(Now she was living in Jerusalem in the Second Quarter.)* And they spoke to her.

1 Kings 13:11

Aside from instances where a *waw* + X + participle stands at the beginning of direct speech or immediately after a formula of direct address, which cannot be analyzed for segmentation (e.g., 1 Kgs 2:20; 3:17; 2 Kgs 4:13), there are at least nine instances in the book of Kings where these clauses indicate circumstances relating to the following clause(s). I would, therefore, argue that the Reference time of this group of participles is specified in the following rather than the preceding clause. Of these, there are six instances of *waw* + X + participial clauses that provide the setting for a new narrative segment (1 Kgs 1:5; 8:62; 10:1; 13:11; 2 Kgs 2:23; 9:17). They function in a way that resembles וַיְהִי + X + participial clauses, but are not marked with וַיְהִי.

וְנָבִיא אֶחָד זָקֵן יֹשֵׁב בְּבֵית־אֵל
וַיָּבוֹא בְנוֹ וַיְסַפֶּר־לוֹ אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּעֲשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים הַיּוֹם בְּבֵית־אֵל

"denote future events" (109-110), those that involve perception (110-112), and habituals (112-113).

Now a certain old prophet was dwelling in Bethel. And his son came in, and told him
all the work that the man of God had done that day in Bethel.

The example above occurs within a larger narrative concerning the man of
God who prophesied against Jeroboam (13:1-34). After the man of God began
his journey back home by a different way from which he came, the *waw* + X +
participial clause in v. 11 begins a narrative subsection which introduces an old
prophet who convinced the man of God to come and eat with him (vv. 11-19).

2 Kings 4:38

The remaining three instances of *waw* + X + participial clauses that are
circumstantial to a following main clause do not initiate new narrative segments
(1 Kgs 14:17; 16:9; 2 Kgs 4:38).

וֶאֱלִישָׁע שָׁב הַגִּלְגָּלָה וְהָרָעָב בָּאָרֶץ
וּבְנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יֹשְׁבִים לְפָנָיו
וַיֹּאמֶר לְנַעֲרוֹ

Elisha had returned to Gilgal, as there was a famine in the land. *And as the sons
of the prophets were sitting before him,* he said to his servant, . . . [direct speech].

In the above example, the participial clause does not initiate a narrative
segment, but is part of a series of clauses that provide the setting for the
ensuing story.

2 Kings 2:11

In contrast to the *waw* + X + participial clauses, which only occasionally
stand at the beginning of narrative segments, the ten instances of ויהי + X +
participial clauses attested in the book of Kings all stand at the beginning of
narrative subsections (1 Kgs 13:20; 20:39, 40; 2 Kgs 2:11; 6:5, 26; 8:5, 21;
13:21; 19:37).

וַיְהִי הֵמָּה הֹלְכִים הָלוֹךְ וְדַבֵּר
וְהִנֵּה רֶכֶב־אֵשׁ וְסוּסֵי אֵשׁ וַיַּפְרִדוּ בֵּין שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיַּעַל אֵלִיָּהוּ בַּסְעָרָה הַשָּׁמָיִם׃

And as they continued walking and talking, look, there was a chariot of fire and
horses of fire. And they separated the two of them. And Elijah went up in a
windstorm to heaven.

2 Kings 8:3-5

It is interesting to observe the function of the *waw* + X + participle and the
ויהי + X + participial clauses when they occur in the same context (2 Kgs 8:4-5).

וַיְהִי מִקְצֵה שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים
וַתָּשָׁב הָאִשָּׁה מֵאֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַתֵּצֵא לִצְעֹק אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־בֵּיתָהּ וְאֶל־שָׂדָהּ׃
וְהַמֶּלֶךְ מְדַבֵּר אֶל־גֵּחֲזִי נַעַר אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר
סַפְּרָה־נָּא לִי אֵת כָּל־הַגְּדֹלוֹת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה אֱלִישָׁע׃
וַיְהִי הוּא מְסַפֵּר לַמֶּלֶךְ אֵת אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱיָה אֶת־הַמֵּת
וְהִנֵּה הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱיָה אֶת־בְּנָהּ צֹעֶקֶת אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל־בֵּיתָהּ וְעַל־שָׂדָהּ וַיֹּאמֶר גֵּחֲזִי

> At the end of seven years, the woman returned from the land of the Philistines, and went forth to plead with the king for her house and for her land. (*Now the king was speaking with Gehazi the servant of the man of God saying*, "Please tell me all the great things that Elisha has done.") *And as he was telling the king how he had raised the dead to life*, look, the woman whose son he had raised to life was pleading before the king concerning her house and concerning her land. And Gehazi said, . . . [direct speech].

In the above example, the episode of the woman's return from the land of the Philistines is initiated with a ויהי + date-formula clause (v. 3). Nevertheless, although the woman "went forth to plead with the king" in v. 3, her "pleading" does not occur until v. 5. The *waw* + X + participial clause in v. 4 initiates a parenthetic digression from the woman's story in order to introduce the king into the story. Then the ויהי + X + participial clause in v. 5 resumes the story line and initiates the episode of the woman's plea before the king (vv. 5-6).

The occurrence of ויהי with circumstantial participial clauses demonstrates that ויהי is temporally neutral. That is, ויהי is not in essence a temporal marker. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that, as remarked earlier in this article, ויהי does not alter the temporal reference or the referent of the temporal clauses to which it is attached. The function of ויהי as a temporally neutral segmentation marker explains its use in those instances where there is no apparent reference to time (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:31).

Conclusions

The conclusions from the above study may be summarized as follows. First, the use of ויהי as a discourse marker is not obligatory.[41] That is, ויהי is an optional particle that can be attached to some temporal and circumstantial clauses. In fact, some of these clauses occur more frequently without ויהי. On the other hand, the fact that ויהי is an optional particle does not preclude some types of clauses from occurring more frequently with ויהי than others.[42]

Second, the function of ויהי as an optional discourse marker can be illustrated by comparing clauses introduced by ויהי with corresponding clauses without ויהי. Although sentence initial temporal and participial expressions without ויהי often coincide with the beginning of narrative segments, there are many instances that do not begin narrative segments, but have other discourse functions. In contrast, these same expressions introduced by ויהי consistently occur at the beginning of narrative segments. Therefore, the addition of ויהי

---

[41]The optional nature of ויהי in certain types of constructions was already noted by Groß, 64-77. See also Schüle, 120-121.

[42]For example, ויהי/והיה occur more frequently before כ + temporal sentence than before ב + temporal sentence (van der Merwe, "Reconsidering Biblical Hebrew Temporal Expressions," 57).

marks temporal and circumstantial expressions for segmentation.[43] And segmentation, in turn, is one of the strategies by which discourse cohesion is achieved!

Finally, ויהי is a temporally neutral discourse marker. This can be demonstrated in at least two ways. First, the presence of ויהי does not change the referent or the temporal reference of a temporal clause. Second, ויהי can occur with clauses other than temporal clauses, such as participial clauses. Thus its primary function is to segment the narrative, not to indicate whether the segmentation entails a change in time or a change in setting.

These conclusions apply to the period of Biblical Hebrew represented by the completion of the compilation of the book of Kings. Further research could show to what extent they are or are not applicable to other periods of Biblical Hebrew or even to Biblical Hebrew in general.

[43]Thus van der Merwe is correct that the use of ויהי avoids ambiguity, but not for the reason he claims.

THE TECHNIQUES OF THE SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL AND ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA: NEW INSIGHTS THROUGH COMPARISON, PART 2

JoAnn Scurlock
Elmhurst College
Elmhurst, Illinois

Introduction

In the first section of this article,[1] we began our study of the sacrificial systems of ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East in comparative perspective in the hope that the why's and why not's of each system might be better understood by putting the beliefs and practices of ancient Israelites back into their original context. So far, we have examined the preliminaries for sacrifice, including the choice of animal, the laying on of hands, the importance of blood, and the preparation of the sacrificed animal. We have also looked at holocaust offerings in Mesopotamia and leftovers of the sacrifice. In what follows, we shall extend our examination to include occasional sacrifices, regular offerings, and the problem of interpreting the language of offerings.

Occasional Sacrifices

General Remarks[2]

As a general rule in nonsalvation religions, occasional sacrifices are made in a spirit of a contract between a person and a god or between a person and a demon with a god as guarantor. The technical term for such spontaneous offerings in ancient Mesopotamia was *sagigurû*, which means literally: "what you have your heart set on" (ŠÀ IGI *karru*) or "wish" (*bibil libbi*), a good indication that a *quid pro quo* was involved.[3] The person agreed to provide animals or other gifts or, at the very least, to be thankful, and the spirit engaged to cure him or to solve his problems (*do ut des*). The person had the option of fulfilling his side of the contract up front, thus putting the deity under obligation.[4] Alternatively,

---

[1] JoAnn Scurlock, "The Techniques of the Sacrifice of Animals in Ancient Israel and Ancient Mesopotamia: New Insights Through Comparison, Part 1, *AUSS* 44 (2006): 13-49.

[2] For more details on occasional sacrifices, see JoAnn Scurlock, "Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, ed. B. J. Collins (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 395-397.

[3] For references, see *CAD* B 220-221 s.v. *biblu* mng. 3b; *CAD* Š/1 72-73.

[4] As in many ancient Mesopotamian magical rituals.

he could simply ask for assistance, promising to pay later.[5] Finally, he could offer a partial payment up front, with the rest to follow upon compliance.[6] In any case, the giving of a sacrificial "gift"(Akkadian *qīštu* or *kadru*)[7] could be seen to "complete" or "fulfill"(*šullumu*)[8] the human being's side of the contract, thus "pacifying"(also *šullumu*) an otherwise outraged spirit. Such a contract could also be initiated by a deity, who, by performing some unasked-for benefit, obligated the person to respond with a corresponding sacrifice.

The idea of performing rituals to initiate a contractual relationship between a human being and god is usually characterized as "polytheism" or even "magic"; it was, nonetheless, an important part of ancient Israelite religion, enshrined in the dictum: "No one shall appear before me empty-handed."[9] Until the first fruits had been offered, no bread, roasted grain, or fresh kernels could be eaten.[10]

No offense against YHWH could be forgiven without payment,[11] whether *ḥaṭṭāʾt* or *ʾāšām*.[12] *Ḥaṭṭāʾt* and *ʾāšām* were rites designed to ensure divine forgiveness in cases of what might be termed sins against god and sins against man, respectively.[13] The former could be forgiven if there was actually no intent

---

[5]As in the biblical *neder*, the Akkadian *ikrību*, and the Medieval English "vow."

[6]As in the Moroccan *ʿar* and *hedīya*; see Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan, 1926), chap. 10.

[7]For the Sumerian equivalent (A.RU.A), see M. van der Mierop,"Gifts and Tithes to the Temple in Ur," in DUMU-É-DUB-BA-A: *Studies in Honor of Ake W. Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens et al. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989), 397-401.

[8]For the use of *šullumu* to refer specifically to completely carrying out a sacrifice, see, e.g., A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C. 1 (1114-859 B.C.)*, RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 151:74-75.

[9]Exod 23:15; 34:20; Deut 16:16-17.

[10]Lev 23:10-11, 14; cf. 2:14-16. The *shavuot* festival that took place seven weeks after the first sheaf offering and that mandated the offering of leavened bread made from new grain (Lev 23:15-22) was the only context in which *šelamîm* offerings were made on a scheduled basis as part of the public cult (see Levine, *Leviticus*, 159).

[11]Lev 5:19.

[12]For details, see Lev 4–5; 6:17-23; 7:1-10.

[13]That the *ʾāšām* offering was specifically for "sins against man"(*ḥaṭṭāʾ ot ha-ʾadam*) is made explicit in Num 5:5-8, which also notes that the *ʾāšām*, properly speaking, was the restitution made to the injured party. On this point, see also Theodor Herzl Gaster, "Sacrifices," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 152. Cf. Baruch Levine, "Leviticus," *ABD*, K-N:313; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 230, 345; idem, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary 4 (Philadelphia: JPS, 1989), 34-35. The distinction is obvious if you are expecting it, but rather hard to derive from the examples quoted. The reason for this is quite simple—as has long been recognized (see idem, *Leviticus 1-16*, 310)—priestly legislators had a distinct tendency for teaching by extreme example. Instead of defining terms, they presented the reader with borderline cases whose placement was problematical. Sins against humanity were obviously sins against

to sin;[14] the latter only if restitution was also offered to the injured party.[15]

No request to YHWH could be unaccompanied by a compensatory sacrifice. One alternative was to present a "freewill" offering (*nĕdābâ*),[16] ostensibly the Israelite equivalent of the Mesopotamian *šagigurû*,[17] and probably, as with it, a sacrifice offered "voluntarily" before the granting of a request in hopes of eliciting the sympathy of the deity. The other possibility was for the petitioner to offer nothing up front, but to give the promise of a substantial reward to follow the granting of the request, the *neder* ("vow").

Even spontaneous benefits, unasked for either by sacrifice or prayer, obligated the beneficiary to respond with a corresponding sacrifice, the biblical *tôdâ*.[18] With the exception of the "sin" and "guilt" offerings, this system of occasional sacrifices is immediately recognizable from Plato: "[I]t is the common way . . . with persons in danger or any sort of distress, as on the other

---

God as well, so it was not always easy to determine who was the injured party. Sins that might more properly be considered sins against humanity, but where the primary infraction was disrespect for an oath (Lev 5:1, 4-6) rather than the injury to another person resulting from that disrespect (Lev 5:21-26), fell into the "sin" offering category. Conversely, sins that might more properly be thought of as sins against God, but in which some human being was also involved as an injured party went into the "guilt" offering category. Misappropriation or misuse of sacred things (Lev 5:14-16) was obviously robbing God, but it also affected God's servants for whom the sanctuary was the sole source of income. It was for this reason that restitution was not made to the sanctuary but directly to the priest, and that a "guilt" rather than a "sin" offering was required. Finally, "guilt" offerings were more expensive than "sin" offerings and were therefore required when it was not certain which one was actually called for (Lev 5:17-19; on this point, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 333).

[14]Num 15:30-31; but see an exception in Lev 5:1. The rabbis deemed confession of an undiscovered sin as equivalent to inadvertence (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 373-378; also idem, *Numbers*, 34). Roy Gane disputes this idea (*Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005], 206-208).

[15]Only part of a sin against man can be forgiven by God; the rest must be forgiven by the injured party. This means that in contrast to "sin" offerings, "guilt" offerings had to be always accompanied by some other action (viz. divorcing the illegal wives in Ezra 10:19, returning the ark of the Covenant in 1 Sam 6:3-5, reconsecrating the head and renewing the Nazirite vow in Num 6:11-12, or making restitution in Lev 5:16, 23-24).

[16]This term does not seem to be related to its obvious cognate, *nindabu* (see *CAD* N/2: 236-238). This is apparently also the case with the ancient Mesopotamian term *zību*, which is certainly used of offerings, but not with the same meaning as the Hebrew *zebah*. For references, see *CAD* Z: 105-106; cf. also W. Lambert, "Donations of Food and Drink to the Gods in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, OLA 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 193-194; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 217-218.

[17]On the similarity of these two offerings, see also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 219.

[18]On the strength of Ps 107:4-32, Rabbinic tradition requires thanksgiving on safe return from a sea voyage or desert journey, recovery from illness, or release from prison (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 219).

hand with those who have enjoyed a stroke of good fortune, to dedicate whatever comes to hand at the moment [cf. Hebrew *nĕdābâ* for the former and *tôdâ* for the latter] and to vow sacrifices [cf. Hebrew *neder*] and endowments to gods, spirits, and sons of gods as prompted by fears of portents beheld in waking life, or by dreams."[19] The term *šĕlāmîm* ("peace" offerings), then, probably reflects the same ideas of "fulfilling" the human being's side of the contract[20] and "pacifying" an otherwise outraged spirit as are suggested by the use of the Akkadian equivalent *šullumu* to refer to completely carrying out a sacrifice.[21]

This similarity of approach to the divine is somewhat obscured by differences of emphasis. Although vows are certainly attested in ancient Mesopotamia, it was a common pattern for the sacrifice (if there was to be one) to be made right away, with praise to follow if the spirit fulfilled his side of the bargain. It was also the custom in ancient Mesopotamia for the prayers associated with occasional sacrifices to be recited after the associated sacrifice had been performed and not before, as would invariably be the case with a vow. It was for this reason that the diviner's prayer, which asked the god to "write" the answer to the sponsor's question in the exta,[22] and which, of necessity, had to be recited before the attendant sacrifice could be performed, was called by the term also used for "vow" (*ikrību*).[23] Among the Israelites, by contrast, the most typical arrangement seems to have been the vow (*neder*), although the "freewill offering" (*nĕdābâ*) may have been more common than it seems, receiving little attention in the sources precisely because it was ubiquitous and typically used for small private requests with little individual relevance for the fate of the community as a whole.

It is also striking how frequently, by comparison, Israelite sacrificial ritual insisted on the presence of an animal. For the holocaust offering, a bird was the least expensive sacrifice allowable.[24] The "peace" offering's only concessions

---

[19]Laws XI.909d-910a. See also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 220, but note that he unaccountably reverses the attribution of *nĕdābâ* and *tôdâ*. Persons "in danger or any sort of distress" do not typically make "thanksgiving" offerings.

[20]Note Ben Sirach 35:4, 9-10: "Appear not before the Lord empty-handed. . . . Give to the Most High as he has given to you, generously, according to your means for the Lord is one who always repays and he will give back to you sevenfold."

[21]The more usual etymology (see, e.g., Baruch Levine, *Leviticus*, JPS Torah Commentary 3 [Philadelphia: JPS, 1989], 14-15; Levine, "Leviticus," 312) connects *šĕlāmîm* with Akkadian *šulmānu* ("audience present"), but this would not change the essential meaning of the term. Audience presents were called *šulmānu* because they were intended to "pacify" a potentially angry ruler and as payments "in full" designed to elicit a particular response, most typically agreeing to hear the presenter's legal case.

[22]*BBR* nos. 1-20. For actual Neo-Assyrian examples of such "oracle questions," together with an illustrated discussion of the terms used in extispicy, see I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod*, SAA 4 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990).

[23]For references, see *CAD* I: 62-66.

[24]Milgrom sees the cereal offerings of Lev 2:1-16 as a substitute for the holocaust

to expense were to allow flock rather than herd animals and a female rather than an exclusively male offering. "Guilt" offerings had to be male, but the mandated offering was the somewhat less expensive ram and not the most expensive bull. Only for the "sin" offering was substitution of fine flour for the animal actually mentioned as a possibility.[25]

By contrast, it was possible in ancient Mesopotamia to make a purely vegetarian occasional offering, even to deities as exalted as Marduk and Šamaš.[26] The closest ancient Mesopotamian equivalent to "sin" and "guilt" offerings is the ritual series *Šurpu*.[27] To be precise, *Šurpu*'s endless enumeration's of possible offenses, cultic and otherwise, which the offerer might have committed suggest that this set of rituals was a relatively close equivalent to that category of "guilt" offerings that came due "if someone, without being aware of it, commits such a sin by doing one of the things which are forbidden by some commandment of the lord."[28] Israelite "guilt" offerings of this type mandated an unblemished ram. By contrast, *Šurpu* involved the supplicant in copious amounts of washing, wiping, peeling, and

---

(*Leviticus 1-16*, 195-202). What is described is a completely separate set of grain offerings that could be given at any time at the discretion of the offerer, with the obvious exception of the first-fruit offerings, which came due every year at harvest time. These cereal offerings, which are also mentioned in a few other passages (for references, see Levine, *Leviticus*, 9-10, 42-43), are not to be confused with the cereal offerings that accompanied both holocaust and "peace" offerings, although the rules for preparation and what could or could not be burnt on the altar were the same for the independent cereal offerings as they were for those that accompanied animal sacrifices. Although such cereal offerings were clearly acceptable, and in a few cases (viz. Lev 23:10-11, 17; see Levine, *Leviticus*, 157-160) actually mandated, they were not YHWH's preferred offering and no substitute for animal sacrifice, as the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4:3-5) makes abundantly clear.

[25]Lev 5:11-13. For references to substitutions of this sort in Mesopotamia, see W. R. Mayer and W. Sallaberger, "Opfer.A.I," *RLA* 10 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 96-97.

[26]For vegetarian sacrifices, see, e.g., S. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), §§ VIII.1.2:5-10, VIII.4:17-22, VIII.5:7-10, VIII.6.2:8-12, VIII.7:7-9, VIII.10:14-17, VIII.11:9´-23´, VIII.13:21´-24´, VIII.15:9-13, VIII.16:3-6, VIII.19:3´-7´, VIII.21.2:9´-12´; R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum. II," *OrNS* 36 25 no. 20:13´-15´; W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), 129:25-32; W. Lambert, "An Incantation of the *Maqlû* Type," *AfO* 18 (1957/1958), 296:2-3; E. Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion.II*, MVAG 23/2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1919) 33:14-16; E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk 3*, ADFU 12 (Berlin: GeBrüder Mann, 1988), no. 84:40-43.

[27]For details, see J. Bottéro, *Mythes et Rites de Babylonie* (Paris: Libr. H. Champion, 1985), chap. 5.

[28]Lev 5:17-19.

unraveling, but did not actually require the sacrifice of an animal.[29]

The fact that the infraction of ancient Israelite laws and religious rules meant the obligatory performance of "guilt" or "sin" offerings, where the offense was not so serious as to draw a mandatory death penalty,[30] also suggests that pacification rather than remuneration of the divine patron may have been the major focus of *šelāmîm* (the opposite being the case with Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices). This would be consistent with the Israelite preference for holocaust offerings, a form of sacrifice believed by Mesopotamians to be appropriate to an angry god.[31]

This hard edge to the relationship between human beings and deity in ancient Israelite religion is particularly evident in the custom of "dooming" (as opposed to simply vowing) persons to YHWH. The vowing of persons is also attested in ancient Mesopotamia, the result being that the donated person became a slave of the temple and part of the temple staff.[32] This arrangement was not possible in ancient Israel due to the monopolization of priestly functions by the Levites, but vowed persons could still serve as priestly servants or be redeemed at a set tariff. Persons "doomed" to YHWH, by contrast, had to be killed (see below).[33]

Presentation

In the open though it was, the ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifice was still a god's meal. As such, at the very least, a libation was in order and maximally jars of beer (and water for mixing or washing the hands) could be provided for the god's convenience.[34] Incense was usually burned to keep away unpleasant smells.

[29]Note also von Weiher, nos. 76-77 (ŠU.ÍL.LÁ, prayers to soothe angry gods).

[30]As, e.g., Lev 20:1-3 (dedicating offspring to Molech); 20:27 (acting as a fortune teller); 24:14-16, 23 (blasphemy); Num 15:32-36 (collecting wood on the Sabbath); Deut 17:2-7 (idolatry); 22:20-21 (fornication). The death penalty in all these cases was by stoning, reflecting the rejection of the offender by the entire community and, incidentally, ensuring that any rubbing-off of the "sin" or "guilt" onto other people was retransferred to the miscreant via the stones.

[31]See Part 1 of this article, 42 f.

[32]See I. J. Gelb, "The Arua Institution," RA 66 (1972): 1-32.

[33]Animals, people, or hereditary land doomed to the Lord became sacred and unredeemable (Lev 27:21, 28-29; cf. Num 18:14).

[34]For Maul's reconstruction of the exact layout of the offering arrangements, see his illustrations on pp. 59 and 70. I would, however, argue that the *siddu* of flour (nos. 12, 6) was not a sort of lopsided circle around the offerings, but a more or less straight line running parallel to them along the long side (and separating the offerings and the performers of the ritual from the steppe etc. beyond). Cf. the arrangement of curtains in Christopher Walker and Michael B. Dick, "*The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian* mīs pî *Ritual,* SAALT 1 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001), 234-235: 31-38; 236:45-46. For more on this subject, see J. Scurlock, *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Groningen:

A polite sacrificer also withdrew to give the god or gods some privacy.[35] Ancient Israelite "peace" offerings were also presented like a meal, accompanied by specially baked or fried unleavened[36] loaves, cakes, and wafers.[37]

Only part of this sacrifice was, however, actually intended for the deity to whom it was offered. In ancient Mesopotamia, the god's share consisted of the shoulder, the caul fat, and some of the roasted meat, which were laid, along with loaves of pita-type bread, on top of the offering table.[38] Subsequently, the caul fat was set to sizzle on a brazier.[39] "O Šamaš," Etana complains, "you have eaten the fatty parts of my sacrificial sheep!"[40]

> In ancient Israel, too, only the caul fat was actually burned on the altar: From the peace offering, he shall offer as an oblation to the Lord the fatty membrane over the inner organs, and all the fat that adheres to them, as well as the two kidneys, with the fat on them near the loins, and the lobe of the liver, which he shall sever above the kidneys. All this Aaron's sons shall then burn on the altar with the holocaust, on the wood over the fire, as a sweet-smelling oblation to the Lord.[41]

"Sin" and "guilt" offerings were not shared between worshipers and YHWH, but here too only the caul fat was actually burned on the altar,[42] with the remainder, if any, going to the officiating priest.[43]

Styx, 2006), ad no. 219.

[35]For more details, see J. A. Scurlock, "Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia," Ancient Magic and Divination 3 (Leiden: Brill/Styx, 2005), 41-45.

[36]Exod 23:18; 34.25; Lev 2:11; 7:12; 8:2, 26; Num 6:15, 17, 19. Leavened bread was sometimes included, but could not be placed on the altar (Lev 2:11-12; 7:13; 23:17; cf. Num 15:18-21).

[37]Exod 29:2-3; Lev 7:9, 12; Num 6:15, 17, 19; cf. Lev 8:26. The method of preparation is described in Lev 2:4-7.

[38]For an illustration, see F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, Part 1, SAA 7 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992), 180.

[39]Maul, §§ V.3.1:15, 81, V.3.2:16-17, VIII.14:14″-15″; cf. *BBR* no. 26 iv 37-40 (scattered on the incense burner along with *mashatu*-flour and juniper). Note also the burning of ox horns, sheep tendons, and pieces of meat on the incense burner during calendric rites (B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Series Maior 10/2 [Rome: Studia Pohl, 1981], T 38 I 3-4; T43:22; T 94 iv 1).

[40]J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Legend of Etana* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1985), 100:132.

[41]Lev 3:3-5. See also Exod 29:22, 25; Lev 3:9-11, 14-17; 6:5; 7:29-31; 8:25, 28; 9:19-20; 17:5-6; cf. Lev 7:25; 9:24; Ezek 44:7, 15.

[42]Exod 29:13-14; Lev 4:8-10, 19-20, 26, 31, 35; 7:3-5; 8:16; 9:10; 16:25; cf. Lev 7:25; Num 18:17-18 (first fruits of animals).

[43]Lev 6:19; 7:7; cf. Lev 14:13; 23:20. For the substitute "sin" offering of cereal, a "token" offering was burnt on the altar, and the rest went to the officiating priest (Lev 5:11-13).

The exact procedure for "peace" offerings is difficult to extract from the rules as given, but the animal and (in some cases) a basket of unleavened cakes and wafers was presented to YHWH;[44] one of each type of cake or wafer and the animal's fat were waved as a wave offering.[45] The breast[46] of the animal was also waved as a wave offering, possibly as a platform for the fat and breads.[47] Although never described as such, the right leg of the animal was either waved with the breast[48] or lifted as a lifted offering,[49] thus forming a cross over the sacrifice.[50]

After the caul fat had been burned,[51] the rest of YHWH's share of the sacrifice (the breast, the leg, and the cakes and wafers), marked out for YHWH by the waving or lifting,[52] went to the priests as their perquisites (see below). For thanksgiving offerings, in which leavened bread was to be included,[53] one of the leavened breads was also waved and again went to the officiating priest.[54] For "guilt" offerings, the entire animal seems to have been waved,[55] confirming

[44]Exod 29:2-3, 23; Lev 8:2, 26; Num 6:14-16.

[45]Exod 29:22-24; Lev 8:25-27; 10:15; cf. Num 6:17.

[46]For a description of the cut in question, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 430-431.

[47]Exod 29:26-27; Lev 7:29-31, 34; 8:29; 9:19-21; 10:14-15; Num 18:18. In passages describing the ordination "peace" offering (Exod 29:26; Lev 8:29), the breast is described as having been separately waved by Moses (see below). For the Nazirite vow's "peace" offering only (Num 6:19-20), a boiled shoulder, a cake, and a wafer were waved as a supplemental wave offering by the priest after the completion of the regular "peace" offering.

[48]In Lev 8:25-29, the leg is used as a platform to hold the wafers and fat for their wave offering, and in Lev 9:21 (cf. Num 18:18) the leg is waved with the breast, which is used as a platform for the fat.

[49]Exod 29:27; Lev 7:32-34; 10:14-15.

[50]According to the Mishnah Menahot 5:6, the difference between the "lifted" offering (*terumah*) and the "waved" offering (*tenufah*) is that the latter was carried to and fro in a raised position. The intent of both gestures was to show the offering to God for his acceptance (see Levine, *Leviticus*, 46; cf. 43; Nahum Sarna, *Exodus*, JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: JPS, 1991], 189-90). Milgrom disputes this Rabbinic interpretation of these two types of offering, giving a rather complicated alternative that is not wholly logically consistent (*Leviticus 1-16*, 415-416, 461-481). It was certainly not the case, as Milgrom argues, that anything which had undergone *tenufah* had to be offered on the altar (*Leviticus 1-16*, 531). Leavened breads that underwent this procedure (Lev 23:17, 20) could not possibly have been so offered.

[51]Exod 29:22, 25; Lev 7:29-31; 8:25, 28; 9:19-20; cf. Num 6:17-18.

[52]Cf. Num 8:11, 13-16, 21-22.

[53]According to the Mishnah, the proportion was thirty unleavened to ten leavened breads in this sacrifice (see Levine, *Leviticus*, 43).

[54]Lev 7:13-14.

[55]Lev 14:12, 21, 24; cf. 23:20. Cf. the waving of the first sheaf of grain and of leavened bread at the first fruits offerings (Lev 23:10-12, 15, 17, 20) and the "lifting" of

that, in this type of offering, there was to be no share of the meat for the nonpriestly sacrificer.

Two interesting differences between ancient Israelite and ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices were that in the latter the animal was slaughtered and roasted before the caul fat was burned and presentation made to the gods, whereas instructions to Israelite priests make it clear that the priestly share of the meat was to be boiled in the temple kitchens,[56] and this was to take place only after the caul fat had been burned and the raw meat waved or lifted to YHWH.

The presentation of roasted meat (*šumu*) in Neo-Assyrian rituals[57] marks off occasional sacrifices from regular offerings and calendric rites of the same period, during the course of which it was boiled meat (*silqu*) that was typically offered to the gods. As argued above, the reason for the difference may well have to do with the fact that ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices were typically made out in the open, in an area specially cleared off for the rite, in which the relatively "uncivilized" technique of spit-roasting meat over an open fire would seem naturally appropriate. By contrast, according to Lev 17:3-9, Israelites were to bring all sacrificial animals "to the entrance of the meeting tent" before slaughtering them, which means that even occasional sacrifices in ancient Israel were to be prepared in or near a sanctuary where the technique of boiling would be appropriate.

It is sometimes argued that this Leviticus passage must postdate the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem.[58] Jacob Milgrom, however, makes a very effective counter argument[59] that, on the contrary, the Leviticus Holiness Code is predicated on the existence of multiple sanctuaries. Since the alternative to bringing the animal to "the entrance of the meeting tent" is not offering at an open air altar or "high place" or even "under a green tree" but specifically "in the open field," the obvious suggestion is that what the ruling was originally intended to prevent was not sacrifices performed outside of Jerusalem, but occasional sacrifice[60] in a clearing in the steppe in ancient Mesopotamian style, as opposed to Levitically sanctioned occasional

---

the first batch of dough (Num 15:18-21).

[56]Ezek 46:19-24; cf. Exod 29:31-32; Lev 8:31.

[57]Among the rare exceptions to this rule are Caplice, 118 no. IX:11-12, (a duck, a bandicoot rat, and boiled meat join the usual offerings), *BBR* no. 1-20:52, 109, and A. L. Oppenheim, "A New Prayer to the 'Gods of the Night,'" *AnBi* 12.286:97 (boiled meat is added to the usual offerings). In none of these cases is boiled meat served alone, as it would regularly be in calendric rituals.

[58]See, e.g., Wellhausen, apud Levine, *Leviticus*, xxviii.

[59]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 17-22 1503-1514, (with Kaufman and citing Mary Douglas on the need to periodically slaughter animals as part of herd management).

[60]Milgrom's explanation for the ruling of Lev 17:5 is a ban on nonsacrificial slaughter. The passage, however, clearly and specifically refers to sacrifices.

sacrifice in the shelter of a legitimate sanctuary of YHWH.

In short, the reform which preceded Leviticus, and which may have actually inspired its composition, would appear to have been a regularization of cult praxis designed to give the priesthood better control over occasional sacrifices. Compare Plato's recommendations for a similar regularization of pagan cults: "[W]hen a man feels himself moved to offer sacrifice, he shall go to the public temples for that purpose and deliver his offerings to the priests of either sex whose business it is to consecrate them."[61]

Assuming that we have understood correctly, after this regularization of the cult all Israelite sacrifices, with the exception of Passover, would have had to have been performed in a "sacred place" or just outside the sanctuary and not somewhere out in the open as in ancient Mesopotamia. If roasting was an open-air method of preparing meat and boiling the cooking method of choice in the shelter of a temple or sanctuary, the inevitable result of this regularization of the cult would have been to ban roasting and to require boiling as the method by which sacrifices other than the Pascal lamb were to be cooked. Interestingly, one of the two evils of which Eli's sons were accused[62] was insisting on taking raw meat from the sacrificer and roasting it before the caul fat had been burned on the altar, as would have been correct procedure in ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices.

This convention of boiling rather than roasting in the vicinity of the sanctuary may also be the source of the confusion in Deut 16:5-7, where the Passover lamb is described as being "boiled" rather than "roasted," as is explicitly required in Exod 12:9 and which, as a result of the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, could now only be offered in "the place which he chooses as the dwelling place of his name."[63]

Leftovers of the Sacrifice

When an ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifice was completed, the shoulder and roasted meat from the sacrificial table presumably went to the exorcist (āšipu) as his perquisite. Less clear is what happened to the rest of the animal (hide, internal organs, and the remaining cuts). In biblical "peace offerings," as in ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices, the caul fat was all that was actually burned, although other parts, viz. the breast and leg, were "waved" or "raised up" before the divinity. If this parallel is apt, then the sponsors of the ancient Mesopotamian sacrifice should have been allowed to eat whatever of the meat was not actually presented on the offering table.

In biblical "peace" offerings, the officiating priest was entitled to eat the

[61]Laws XI.909d-910a.

[62]1 Sam 2:12-17.

[63]Rabbinic tradition follows the ruling in Exodus, and translates the "boiled" of Deut 16:7 as "cooked" to avoid contradiction (see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: JPS, 1996] 155). The KJV simply interpolates in "roast."

breast and leg that were "waved" or "raised up" before the divinity plus one each of the proffered breads as his share of the sacrifice.[64] Deuteronomy 18:3 gives the priest the shoulder, jowls, and stomach.[65] As the procedure for the Nazirite vow[66] reveals, this shoulder (and presumably also the stomach and jowls) were given to the priest boiled after the completion of the regular "peace" offering and in addition to his normal share of that sacrifice.[67] Deuteronomy 18:3 also indicates that this supplemental priest's share was intended as a sort of tithe of the meat that was kept by the sacrificer, which, as with the first fruits offerings of the grain, wine, and herds mentioned together with it,[68] were "portions due to the Lord" (serving to make the meat safe for the sacrificers to eat). The sin of Eli's sons,[69] then, was not in claiming this portion, but in taking potluck while the meat was still boiling rather than receiving their due portions from the sacrificer after the cooking process had been completed. For minor "sin" and "guilt" offerings (and in the case of the firstborn males of herd and flock, and the tithes),[70] the entire animal (apart from the blood and caul fat) went to the priests.[71]

Of these benefits, the priest was expected to share, specifically, some of the breast of the "peace" offering with his colleagues[72] and, as with every other Israelite, he was also expected to give part to YHWH. The contribution of a priest apparently consisted of fried wafers prepared as cereal offerings to accompany the morning and evening holocaust.[73] Priests were also required to give YHWH the cakes and wafers and thigh of their ordination "peace"

[64]Exod 29:26-28; Lev 7:9, 14, 31-36; 8:29; 10:14-15; Num 6:19-20; 18:11, 18.

[65]For a discussion of the exact parts of the carcass involved, see Tigay, 171.

[66]Num 6:17-20.

[67]This anomaly led Milgrom to suggest that the Nazirite vow was older than the other sacrifices (*Leviticus 1-16*, 223; idem, *Numbers*, 49-50). What is odd is not that the priest received the boiled shoulder, but that it was separately presented as a wave offering and that the priest received an extra share of the sacrificial breads in the process. The reason for this is, presumably, that the sacrificer is not merely being given permission to eat his share of the sacrifice as with a normal "peace"offering, but also to resume cutting his hair and drinking wine as before his vow.

[68]Deut 18:1, 4-5.

[69]1 Sam 2:12-14.

[70]Num 5:9; 18:14-15, 17-19.

[71]Lev 6:18-19; 7:2-7; 14:12-13; Num 5:8; Ezek 46:20; cf. Lev 5:11-13; 6:10; 10:17; 23:20; Num 18:9-10; Ezek 44:29-30. For a complete list of priestly perquisites as compiled by the Rabbis, see Milgrom, *Numbers*, 148-149; cf. Baruch Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 436-437.

[72]The leg of the "peace" offering went to the officiating priest (Lev 7:31-34), as did the breads (Lev 7:14).

[73]Lev 6:13-16.

offering, all of which were, contrary to normal practice, completely burnt[74] on the altar.[75] The breast of the ordination ram was, however, separately waved as a wave offering and went to the officiant (a role played by Moses in the accounts given) as his perquisite.[76]

After the priest had taken his share, the rest of the meat of the "peace" offerings was boiled and eaten by the sponsors of the sacrifice, along with what was left of the breads in the basket, on the condition that the person who ate it be in a condition of cleanliness[77] and that none of the meat be kept over beyond the second day at the latest.[78]

On a scale of holiness as measured by restrictions on the eating of the leftovers of the sacrifice, "peace" offerings ranked below holocausts (completely offered to YHWH) and "sin" and "guilt"offerings (burnt or eaten only by priests).[79] By the same scale, vow and "freewill" offerings, which were potentially kept over until the second day, ranked below "thanksgiving" offerings, which were to be eaten the same day.[80] The latter ranking, like the

[74]Normally, only the usual "token" offering was burnt from the cooked cereal offerings (Lev 2:4-10).

[75]Exod 29:22-25; Lev 8:25-28. It is possible that these rules applied to all of the priest's private "peace" offerings (see, e.g., Levine, *Leviticus*, 34, 38-39, 53-54; cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 400-401, 411) on the principle that the priest should not profit except from services rendered privately to the Israelite community.

[76]Exod 29:26; Lev 8:29. Milgrom's explanation for the allocation of shares at this sacrifice is rather backward (*Leviticus 1-16*, 531-532). Moses was not a priest but a lay officiant, and we are to believe that for this reason he was given the share (the breast) that normally went to priests and denied the share (the thigh) that normally went to officiants? Or that giving him the officiant's share would have made him a priest, when giving him the priest's share did not? Is it not more sensible to assume that the thigh, which the new priest would have eaten if he had performed the sacrifice, was his offering to the deity, but that he had no right to give away the breast, which he was required to share with his colleagues? See Levine, *Leviticus*, 53-54.

[77]Lev 22:3-8; 7:19-20.

[78]Lev 7:15-21; 19:5-8; 22:29-30; cf. Exod 29:31-34; Lev 8:31-32.

[79]The consensus of ancient sources was that these had to be eaten the same day (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 402). Note also the ranking of offerings in accordance with the sex of those allowed to eat the leftovers. By this measure also the holocaust offering, whose cereal component only males of the priestly line might eat (Lev 6:7-11; Num 18:8-10), and the "sin" and "guilt"offerings, which were also a male prerogative (Lev 6:22; 7:5-6; Num 18:8-10; cf. Lev 10:16-17), ranked above "peace" and first-fruits offerings that might be eaten by "all who are clean," including daughters, as well as sons (Lev 7:19-20; 10:14-15; Num 18:11-13, 17-19). The priests' share of offerings, even of this less-sacred category, were still restricted to family members, including slaves and daughters who were no longer married and had returned to their fathers' houses, but excluding tenants or hired servants (Lev 22:10-13).

[80]It is presumably for this reason that Rabbinic tradition, in which the holiness ranking of sacrifices is given great importance, separates off the thanksgiving from the

former, would seem to reflect the extent to which YHWH needed or wanted the offering. In both of the least holy sacrifices, it was the human partner who wanted something and who initiated the contractual relationship.[81]

The sponsors of ancient Mesopotamian occasional sacrifices also probably ate a share of the sacrificial animal. Eating together is a common way for humans to set up or confirm contractual relationships with each other; the difference between ancient Mesopotamian and ancient Israelite uses of this principle, if any, would have been in the emphasis in the former case on the setting (sacrifice typically before favor) and in the later on confirming (sacrifice typically after favor) the relationship. In both cases, the deity and humans were to each eat part of the sacrifice. With Milgrom,[82] these sacrificial meals were in no sense intended as "partaking of the life and body of the god," and it is therefore necessary to look elsewhere for ancestors to Christian communion.[83]

Relationship between Occasional Sacrifices and Regular Offerings

All nonsalvation religions are predicated on a relationship between man and god that is mutually beneficial to both parties. However, some parts of this interaction are more beneficial to the divine and others to the human partner. Regular offerings, understood in both Mesopotamia and Israel as food for the god(s), are focused on benefit to the divine partner. Occasional sacrifices, by contrast, focus on what humans need or want. One might think that in Israel, at least, there was

---

other "peace" offerings (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 219, 413-414).

[81]The vow sacrifice, in which something promised to YHWH was delivered, should, correspondingly, have been more holy than the "freewill" offering and, indeed, it was, as may be seen from the fact that "freewill" offering animals were subjected to less stringent requirements for perfection than those destined for vows (Lev 22:23; see Levine, *Leviticus*, 151-152).

[82]Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 221. Christian commentators, such as R. de Vaux (*Ancient Israel* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965], 417-418), are understandably eager to see the origin of their own practices in the ancient Israelite sacrificial system.

[83]The obvious ancestor is a type of sacrifice that was popularized by Hellenistic Greek philosopher/magicians (the Theurgists), and that continues to be practiced by Moroccan folk healers. In this sacrifice, pieces of shaped dough or the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose are consumed with the express intent of causing the sacrificer to be possessed by a spirit. The Theurgists favored this particular form of sacrifice since for them, as for their spiritual descendants, what mattered was not to achieve practical this-worldly goals nor indeed to keep a potentially irascible deity fed and happy, but to establish a special relationship with god. For more on the connections between Theurgy and early Christianity (and specifically on Theurgistic implications of the Eucharist), see Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, who reads *theourgias* as "theurgy," as does P. Struck ("Christian and Pagan Theurgies" read at the 129th annual meeting of the American Philological Association, Chicago 1997), and not *contra* the Luibheid/Rorem translation as "divine works."

no question that the regular offerings were more important than the occasional sacrifices. The ranking of sacredness of offerings (see above) certainly would support this contention. However, one must be careful not to underestimate the importance of the human-centered part of the relationship in Israel. This may be seen readily from a closer examination of two further issues: under what circumstances it was legitimate to offer a human being to YHWH, and which of the two parties was actually bound by Abram's covenant sacrifice.

Human Sacrifice in Israel?

In ancient Mesopotamia, human beings were not included among the contemplated offerings of either regular or occasional sacrifices. This is not to say that human beings were not killed in desperate circumstances to avert divine wrath. Actual attested examples, however, take the form of an explicit or implicit scapegoating as, for example, the substitute king [*šar pūhi*] ritual. Similarly, in penalty clauses in late Neo-Assyrian contracts, the performance of impossible tasks or the immolation of children is proposed as an alternative to the terrifying prospect of having the gods as personal enemies.[84] Human beings were *never* included in the food offerings to the gods. This is for the simple reason, widely attested in nonsalvation religions, that including a human in these offerings would imply that the recipient was a god of sorcery.

A repugnance to killing, even of animals, is one of the salient features of ancient Israelite law. In addition to the obvious "Thou shalt not kill" in the ten commandments,[85] there was a specific prohibition on the shedding of human blood[86] that required untraced murder to be cultically expiated.[87] The improper slaughter of animals (without appropriate benedictions and reserving of the blood and caul fat) was counted as murder.[88] There was even an origin story for the use of sheep for sacrifice that involved a putative (and) rejected human victim.[89]

No principle could, then, have been more clearly stated than that human beings were *not* an appropriate sacrifice to YHWH under any circumstances,[90] or so one might think. And yet, the rules for votive offerings given in Leviticus are explicit that all human beings doomed to the Lord lose the right to be

---

[84]For examples, see J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), 20.

[85]Exod 20:13.

[86]Gen 9:5-6.

[87]Deut 21:1-9; cf. Num 19.

[88]Lev 17:3-4.

[89]Gen 22:1-19.

[90]Note also that although every male first-born of humans or animals was consecrated to YHWH, the sons *had* to be redeemed, whereas the animals, with some exceptions had to be sacrificed (Exod 13:1-2, 11-15; 34:19-20; cf. Num 3:12-13, 40-51; 8:15-19).

redeemed and must be killed.[91] This is particularly shocking in view of the very clear statement in Deuteronomy that, in addition to incest, it was the alleged practice of human sacrifice by the Canaanites that justified their extirpation from the land.[92] In a similar vein, Ezekiel lists the alleged practice of Canaanite-style child sacrifice by the Israelites as among reasons for the divine wrath that resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.[93]

Curious in this connection, then, is the incident of the Amalekites. The prophet Samuel ordered Saul, on divine authority, to subject Amalek to *ḥerem*.[94] When, in the event, Saul spared the ruler, and the best of the sheep and oxen of the city were not put under the ban but instead saved back for sacrifice, he received the following tongue lashing from the prophet: "Does the Lord so delight in holocausts and sacrifices as in obedience to the command of the Lord? Obedience is better than sacrifice, and submission than the fat of rams!"[95] This and similar passages are usually quoted, with justice, as deemphasizing the importance of sacrifices.[96] What is less appreciated is that the rules of the ban, which could involve the holocaust offering of an entire city,[97] and the rules of sacrifice, which did not allow for human victims and which required the best of even the tithes of the Levites to be offered as first fruits to YHWH,[98] were in conflict, and that the former were being preferred to the latter.[99]

The reason for this preference is quite simply this: throughout the Hebrew Bible, "dooming" typically appears in situations that were seen to represent either life or death for the Israelite community.[100] In fact, it was precisely the absolute prohibition on murder that mandated that prisoners of war, if they were to be killed, had to be doomed to YHWH.

This prioritizing of the specific needs of the human community (only indirectly beneficial to YHWH, hence the insistence in the most controversial examples of *ḥerem* that the ban in question was divinely inspired)[101] is perhaps the

---

[91]Lev 27:28-29. For a further discussion of this passage and other references to *ḥerem*, see Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 23-27, 2391-2393.

[92]Deut 12:29-31.

[93]Ezek 20:26, 31.

[94]1 Sam 15:1-3.

[95]1 Sam 15:22.

[96]For a discussion of the prophetic polemic against sacrifices, see de Vaux, 454-456.

[97]1 Sam 15:3-9; Josh 6:17-19, 24.

[98]Num 18:25-32.

[99]In the case of the Midianites, Moses, although angered, ultimately allowed the sparing of virgin girls and animals on condition that a tithe be given to the priest Eleazar (Num 31:1-31).

[100]As, e.g., Josh 6.

[101]By making YHWH the initiator of the ban, the redactor made it clear that this particular sort of contract was acceptable to, even desired by, YHWH much as, in

least expected feature of ancient Israelite religion, although logically consistent with its position on "sins against man" (see above).[102] This would seem to suggest that the order of priority between regular and occasional sacrifice in ancient Israel should be reversed; i.e., that the object of keeping YHWH localized in his sanctuary was less to define an Israelite identity than to make a very important and powerful deity available for the specific needs of the human community, viz. defeating powerful enemies and sending rain to produce plentiful crops as well as for individual needs such as curing sick children and making barren women bear fruit.

Which Party was Bound by Abram's Covenant Sacrifice?

It is interesting to note that of the various types of ancient Mesopotamian sacrifice one of the most striking parallels with Israelite practice is to be found in the celebration, apparently, of the New Year's *akītu*-festival from Middle Assyrian Assur. Since, in Assyria, the relationship between man and god was understood as a form of loyalty oath (*adê*),[103] and since Mesopotamian *akītu*-festivals, it has been persuasively argued,[104] were intended to celebrate the first establishment of a relationship between gods and their constituents, it is tempting to view in this ceremony a form of "covenant sacrifice" whereby the new relationship between Marduk and the people of Assur was meant to be finalized:

> They sea[t] Marduk on the dais of destinies; they do not seat the [r]est of the gods (who remain standing). He (the king)scatters coals on a brazier made of bricks of . . . clay. They cut a live lamb in two opposite Marduk. They place (the pieces) on the coals. The king and the priest simultaneously scatter ½ *qû* of juniper, ½ *qû* of cedar chips (and) three *kalu*-bowls of *mashātu*-flour on the lamb. He (the king) completely pours out onto the ground one *lahannu*-vessel of wine and one *lahannu*-vessel of beer on either side of the brazier.[105]

To this sacrifice, in which the offerings are made to surround the sacrificial fire, compare the biblical "covenant sacrifice" described in Gen 15. Here, a smoking brazier and a flaming torch are seen to pass between halved animals prepared by Abram in confirmation of a covenant between the

---

human contracts, where the clause "of his own freewill" made it clear that he who surrendered rights to, e.g., a house was happy with what had been offered to him in return. Similar considerations doubtless inspired the inclusion of orders to clear the promised land of previous inhabitants alongside religious rules and social laws in enumerations of the specific terms of covenants with YHWH (Exod 23:23-33; 34:10-16).

[102]Note also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 370.

[103]ABRT 1 23 ii 27-32; see *CAD* A/1: 133a s.v. *adû* A mng. d.

[104]M. E. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), 400-406.

[105]F. Köcher, "Ein mittelassyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrsfest," *ZA* 50 (1952): 194:11-19.

future god of the Israelites and his worshipers:

> "Bring me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old she-goat, a three-year-old
> ram, a turtledove, and a young pigeon [i.e., all allowable animal sacrifices]."
> [Abram] brought him all these, split them in two, and placed each half
> opposite the other; but the birds he did not cut up. . . . When the sun had set
> and it was dark, there appeared a smoking brazier and a flaming torch, which
> passed between those pieces. It was on that occasion that the Lord made a
> covenant with Abram.[106]

In both of these "covenant sacrifices," the positioning of the brazier (or
the pillar of fire) between the two halves of the sacrifice is suggestive of a
relationship in which the divine partner voluntarily binds himself to keep his
side of the covenant.[107] This enclosure of the divine party in a symbolic circle
is also echoed in the arrangement of the ark that contained the tablets of the
covenant. The *kapporet* that sat upon this ark was decorated with two facing
cherubim from the space between which the voice of YHWH was heard to
speak to the Israelites.[108]

The full implications for the covenanted party of this "covenant" sacrifice
are made explicit in Jer 34:18-20, where a covenant between the Jerusalemites
and YHWH on the subject of freeing of slaves is described as having been
signed by cutting apart a calf and having the princes of Judah and the people
pass between the parts of the calf. Having done this, and then subsequently
violated the covenant, those who had passed between were to become "like the
calf which they cut in two, between whose two parts they passed," that is,
handed over to their enemies to be slaughtered and their corpses left for the
birds. The divine equivalent to such a punishment would be to be reduced to
otiose nonexistence by the cessation of the daily cult.

To summarize, in both Mesopotamia and Israel, although one might have
supposed the god-centered part of the religion to take priority over the
man-centered part, this was not, in fact, the case. Instead, the man-centered
part of the religion was actually given priority when the needs of both parties
to the relationship could not be satisfied at once, although this was not
admitted directly before the deity.

Interpreting the Language of Offerings

In both Israel and ancient Mesopotamia, there were some sacrifices that were
atypical from the point of view of the contents of the sacrifice and that were
clearly intended to encode special messages to the divinity. Of these, the most

---

[106]Gen 15:9-10, 17-18.

[107]On this point, see esp. Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old
Testament and in the Ancient Near East" in *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near
East*, ed. F. E. Greenspan (New York: New York University, 1991), 69-102.

[108]Exod 25:22; Num 7:89. Both passages are quite insistent that the voice of God
emerged physically from between the cherubim.

obvious example in Israel is the ordeal for the suspected adulteress. This does not involve an animal, but does include an unusual variant of the cereal offering that normally accompanied the holocaust: "[the suspicious husband] shall bring his wife to the priest and shall take along as an offering for her a tenth of an epthah of barley meal. However, he shall not pour oil on it nor put frankincense over it,[109] since it is a cereal offering of jealousy, a testimonial cereal offering that testifies to wrongdoing."[110]

The woman was to hold this offering with an uncovered head before YHWH while being made to swear a self-cursing oath over holy water mixed with dust from the floor of the sanctuary. When the priest burned a handful of the barley meal as a "token" offering, it brought in YHWH as guarantor to ensure that the woman either survived the ordeal or received her just punishment from the bitter water in which the text of the self-curse had been dissolved.[111]

Perhaps the best examples of encoded rituals that do include an animal are the heifer, which was killed in a case of untraced murder, and the red heifer, whose ashes were used to purify those who had touched a dead body. Neither animal could have been put to work as a draft animal under the yoke.[112] The reason for these requirements, as with the requirements that the bull, whose hide was used to manufacture a Mesopotamian *kalû*'s copper kettledrum, had to be black and could not have been "struck with a staff or touched by a goad" (see above), flow naturally out of this common system of encoded offerings. The Mesopotamian bull was black because his hide was meant to absorb or drive away the evil of eclipses; the red heifer was red to symbolize blood;[113] in both cases, a happy and unbeaten animal was obviously a better choice than an unhappy and possibly angry one.[114]

Meat and fat were the usual fare of divine meals. As sometimes happened in ancient Mesopotamia, when parts that did not have much meat or fat were being specially offered, we may presume them to also encode special messages to the divinity. A particularly clear case is the liver, which was presented to Anu in the course of the seventh-month *akītu*-festival at Uruk. This was laid on the

[109]A quite reasonable explanation for this prohibition, as with the similar absence of oil and frankincense from the cereal offering, which is the poor man's substitute for the "sin" offering (Lev 5:11-13), is that YHWH would just as soon not have had to receive these offerings at all (see Levine, *Leviticus*, 29-30).

[110]Num 5:15. Another meaning of *zakāru* ("to invoke") in Akkadian is "to make a declaration under oath" (in a court of law), i.e. "to testify."

[111]Num 5:11-31.

[112]Deut 21:3; Num 19:2; cf. also Deut 15:19.

[113]See also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 272.

[114]Note that in the first case, the stream by which the heifer was killed had never to have dried up and the nearby ground had to be never plowed or sown, meaning that they were also undisturbed and hence equally unstressed (Deut 21:4).

dais and then taken away by the diviner and the priest of Adad, doubtless to
ensure veracity in omens for the coming year.[115]

   Also periodically attested is the special offering of the heart of a sacrificed
animal, as with the offering of a piglet for the demoness Lamaštu and that of
a virgin she-goat for the goddess Ištar. The goddess, at least, got her heart
cooked;[116] the demoness had hers rudely stuffed raw into the mouth of her
figurine.[117] The piglet offered to Lamaštu was certainly intended as an object
on which her misplaced affections (the cause of her deleterious effects on
human babies) might be safely lavished.[118] In the case of Ištar, it is to be
remembered that the goat is the characteristic animal of her hapless lover (and
husband) Dumuzi.

   As with us, for ancient Mesopotamians "heartache" was a sign of one
unhappy in love, as in the following diagnosis:

> DIŠ NÍG.ZI.IR ŠUB.ŠUB-su ZI.MEŠ-sú LUGUD.MEŠ NINDA KÚ A
> NAG-ma UGU-sú NU DU-ak ᵓú-a ŠÀ-bi i-qab-bi u uš-tan-na-ah GIG ra-mi GIG
> ana NÍTA u SAL I-ma ("If depression continually falls upon him, his breath is
> continually short, he eats bread (and) drinks water but it does not agree with
> him, he says 'Ua my heart' and he is dejected, he is sick with lovesickness; it is
> the same for a man and a woman"; TDP 178: 8-9; K 2203+3257: 9-10).

The "love" element involved would explain why the heart is the focus of these
particular offerings. Note also the heart and lungs of a sheep that are offered
to the god Iškur for seven days during the celebration of his marriage to his
NIN.DINGIR and her installation as his priestess.[119]

   Equally striking is the offering of two sheep heads to Marduk to "calm"
the divinity at every stage of his movements during his akītu-festival.[120] The
heads of sacrificial animals seem to have been set aside normally, to judge from
an occasional ritual in which the āšipu is instructed to take some of its hair for
a transfer rite, but to be careful not to move it in the process from the place
where it had been put after the sacrifice.[121] Note also that a post-sacrifice ritual

---

[115]Racc. 92 r. 2-3.

[116]Farber, 57:20, 62:87; cf. 57:29-30.

[117]D. W. Myhrman, "Die Labartu-Texte," ZA 16 (1902): 164 iv 7-8, 192 r. 22.

[118]In the course of the ritual, she is also "married" to a black dog (ibid., 16.192 r. 22).
Note also Ebeling, 23/1:45/46:8, 11, where a figurine of illness is "married" to a piglet.

[119]Emar VI.3 no. 369:50-51. If, as seems likely, the bull of the Kislimu procession
ritual (G. Çağirgan and W. G. Lambert, Journal of Cuniform Studies 43-45:93/94: 6-13 and
passim) represents Nergal, then the sheep's heart burned on a reed torch (94:38) would
be a reference to his impending marriage to Ereškigal.

[120]Köcher, 194:20-31. Note also Emar VI.3 no.369:28, 49-50; 370:61; cf. 395:11 (at
the enthronization of priestesses).

[121]"You make a sacrifice. You set out the shoulder, the caul fat and (some of) the
roasted meat. . . . When the fumigant has begun to smolder (and) the incense burner has
finished its portion, you do not move the head of the sheep from where it was placed (but)

was performed over the head of the divinatory sheep (see above).

Similarly, when Anu returned to his temple in the seventh-month *akītu*-festival, he received *merdītu*-offerings of an ox and a sheep at several stages of his peregrinations within the temple. The animals were sacrificed in his presence and the heart of the ox and head of the sheep were set before him. The heart was covered with a golden *malītu*-bowl of *mashatu*-flour and the head had a libation of wine poured over it *(redû)* from a *maqqû*-bowl.[122] It was the general practice in ancient Mesopotamia for defeated enemies to be beheaded[123] and for the heads to be sent to the king. We know, moreover, from the epigraph of a lost relief of the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal that it was customary for a ceremony to be performed in which the king poured out a libation of wine over these heads.[124] What more appropriate offering could be offered to a god being welcomed home in the course of an *akītu*-festival than the hearts of his subjects and the heads of his enemies?[125]

Heads and hearts also feature in a riverine offering to the Pleidies found in a Neo-Assyrian ritual to avert the ominous consequences of mold growing on the wall of a house:

> You cut (the throat) of a russet adult male goat before the stars, saying "Receive, Sibitti, great gods; dissipate this evil" and you scatter juniper on a censer (burning) *asāgu*-thorn coals. He (the house owner) carries the uncooked shoulder, the heart, the head and the fetlocks in his right (hand) and he carries flour, dates (and) *sasqû*-flour in his left. He goes to the bank of the river and steps into the water and takes off his clothing and immerses himself facing upstream and he releases the shoulder, the heart, the head and the fetlocks. He immerses himself facing downstream and

---

you pull out hair from its forehead and you let it fall either on an unclean person or on someone who is full of *saharšubbû*. When you let it fall (on him) nobody is to see" (W. R. Mayer, "Das Ritual BMS 12 mit dem Gebet 'Marduk 5,'" *OrNS* 62 [1993] 315:7, 321:96-98).

[122]*Racc.* 90:30-33, 91:21-r. 3; cf. Lackenbacher, *RA* 71. 41:29-31 (Ištar's *akītu*). It is presumably this pouring out of the libation onto the animal being offered rather than onto the ground or into a second vessel as in ordinary sacrifices, which gives this particular sacrifice its name. Note also "you pour *(redû)* a *merdītu*-offering over the death wound of the sheep" *(BBR* no. 1-20:75).

[123]So too with the god's enemies—note the fate of the two figurines that occupied the god Nabû's cella during the Babylonian New Year's festival *(Racc.* 133:214-216).

[124]E. F. Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen der Kriegs-Reliefs Assurbanaplis," *AfO* 8 (1932/3): 180 no. 14. Similarly, libations were poured out by the Assyrian king over the bodies of slain lions and bulls, also "kings" in their own realms. Another of Assurbanipal's relief epigraphs refers to this latter ceremony as a *muḫḫuru*, the term also used for the presentation of the heads of enemy kings (see *CAD* M/2.176a s.v. mng. 1a).

[125]Note also Menzel, T 77 ii 11-14, where the king is instructed to go to the heads, apparently of the sheep that have been sacrificed in the course of the rite (part of the Assyrian *akītu*-festival) and to pour a libation of an alabastron of water, beer, wine, milk, and blood over them.

releases the flour, dates and *sasqû*-flour.[126]

In this case, the fact that all of the meat, including the shoulder, is uncooked suggests that what is going on is less a sacrifice, properly speaking, which in ancient Mesopotamia would invariably have involved cooked meat (see above) than a transfer rite involving an animal surrogate disguised as an offering.[127] This suggestion is reinforced by the way in which the disarticulated bits of carcass are treated. It was frequently the practice in ancient Mesopotamia to use an animal substitute as a carrier to get an evil wherever it was going (usually the Netherworld) either directly by killing and burying it or indirectly by putting it into somebody else's grave, leaving it out in some wasteland, or throwing it into a nearby river.[128]

Thus a sacrifice to a Netherworld divinity always presented the possibility of a concomitant purificatory dumping of one's problems on the recipient of the offerings. If such a secondary benefit was desired, one way of signaling this was to use in the sacrifice an animal, such as the pig, which was otherwise closely associated with purificatory rites.[129] Another way of making one's intentions clear in this regard was to use uncooked meat since there could be no question of any human participant eating any of the meat of such a purificatory sacrifice.

Other practices also suggest the transferal of evils as the primary motivation for the "offerings" to the household gods in this antimold ritual. Note the purificatory washing of the affected householder over two of the other "offerings":

> On that day, you cut (the throat) of a red (variant: yellow) sheep[130] before Išum in the heart of the house, saying 'May Išum receive this' and then you put the head and fetlocks into beer and you bury (them) individually and you have that [person] stand over (them) and you pour (the contents of) the holy water basin over him."[131]

[126]Maul, § VIII.10:62-71.

[127]Similar rituals may be the source of many of what are conventionally referred to as foundation deposits; see R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 42-45, 130. With p. 44, it is highly unlikely that the gazelle found under the floor of the palace of Aššumaṣirpal at Nimrud has anything to do with the *mashultuppû*—the latter was intended to soak up evil influences lurking in the house for disposal elsewhere and, for that reason, will hardly have been buried on location.

[128]See J. Scurlock, "Animal Recipients, Carriers, and Substitutes," in *Animals in Ancient Mesopotamian Religion*, ed. B. J. Collins A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 371-386.

[129]For more details, see my "167 B.C.E.: Hellenism or Reform?" *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian Hellenistic and Roman Periods* 31 (2000): 125-161.

[130]Išum seems to be in charge of the hearth; the color of fire is therefore appropriate for his sacrificial animal. Cf. the choice of a red heifer (combined with other red offerings, such as cedar wood and scarlet yarn) for the production of the ashes that are to be used for purificatory purposes in Num 19.

[131]Maul, § VIII.10:34-38. The "outer gate" of the translation is an interpolation.

A black she-goat whose forehead is white (variant: entirely black)[132] you
slaughter at the doorposts of that house for Ištar, saying "Receive, Ištar" and
then you bury the head and fetlocks in the threshold and you have that
person stand over (them) and you pour (the contents of) the holy water basin
over him.[133]

The riverine offering to the Pleiades of the antimold ritual is paralleled in
the Neo-Assyrian *mis pî* by the following curious offering to Ea: "You hollow
out the thigh of a sheep and you put into it a copper axe, copper needle, a
copper saw, (and) a turtle and tortoise of gold and silver. You sew it up and
throw it into the river."[134]

In this case, the object of transfer is a little less conventional. The tools, as
one of the versions makes clear, represent those used by the craftsmen to
manufacture the god's statue,[135] and Ea is to "take them away from (the god's)
body."[136] The accompanying ritual "cutting off" of the hands of the craftsmen
allows us to "translate" this encoded offering as follows: "I did not make (the
statue), Ninagal (who is) Ea, the divine smith, Ninildu who is Ea, the divine
carpenter (etc.) made him."[137]

The parallel with ancient Mesopotamian uses of uncooked meat in
offerings to Netherworld spirits suggests an emphasis in ancient Israel, where
it was the practice to offer raw meat to YHWH (see above), on sacrifice as a
means of transferring sins, guilt, or other problems from the sacrificer to the
priests, altar, and sanctuary via the sacrificial animal. It was perhaps for this
reason that the flesh of "sin" offerings that were intended for the priest or for
the community as a whole, which, by this understanding, would have been
particularly saturated with transferred evils, was not eaten but burned outside
the camp (see above).[138] Correspondingly, the flesh of minor "sin" offerings,
which was eaten by the priests with the explicit intent "that you might bear the
guilt of the community,"[139] was attended by unusually strict precautions (e.g.,

---

[132]The black color may be an indicator of chthonic connections. There is not a
great deal of information available on the colors of sacrificial animals in ancient
Mesopotamia (see F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* (Rome: Pontificio
Instituto Biblico, 1934), 1:158-160); however, the association of black with the
Netherworld is fairly universal and sorts well with the generally gloomy atmosphere that
ancient Mesopotamians believed to prevail there.

[133]Maul, § VIII.10:49-53.

[134]Walker and Dick, 74: 8-9; 43: 78-80.

[135]Ibid., 42-43: 68-80.

[136]Ibid., 44: 88-93.

[137]Ibid., 76: 49-52; 50: 179-186.

[138]On this point, see also Levine, *Leviticus*, 21-22. Aaron was protected from
contamination by a gold plate worn on his forehead (Exod 28:38; see Sarna, 184).

[139]Lev 10:17-18. Sifra comments: "The priest eats of the sin offering and the
donors thereby secure cleansing" (cited in Levine, *Leviticus*, 62). It was presumably for

scouring and rinsing or breaking the cooking utensil).[140]

The practice of reserving the meat of "sin" and "guilt" offerings for priests was understood similarly to what the pre-Reformation English called "sin eating": "In the county of Hereford was an old custome at funeralls to hire poor people, who were to take upon them the sinnes of the party deceased. . . . [A] loafe of bread was brought out and delivered to the sinne eater, over the corpse, as also a mazar bowle, of maple, full of beer (which he was to drink up) and sixpence of money; in consideration of whereof he took upon himself, *ipso facto*, all of the sinnes of the defunct.. . . This custome alludes, methinks, something to the scapegoate in the old lawe, Levit. XVI. 21-22."[141] Compare Hosea's angry words: "[T]hey feed on the sin of my people and are greedy for their guilt."[142]

Conclusion

Two conclusions suggest themselves from this survey of the evidence in comparative perspective. One is that it is not necessary to resort to alleged historical developments or cultural borrowings to explain the sacrificial system of ancient Israel. Although there were indubitably historical developments and although cultural borrowings were probably inevitable, once the instructions for the various forms of ancient Israelite sacrifice have been placed back into their proper Ancient Near Eastern context, most of the apparent anomalies disappear and the sacrificial system as we have it described for us is revealed, with a few very minor exceptions, as a coherent whole.

This is not to say that the system as we have it was necessarily generated all at once. Large parts of it might have been, but even if they were not, a concerted effort would certainly have been made to incorporate new developments seamlessly into the existing system. Only where these efforts of assimilation failed should we able to discern a disjunction. An example of such a disjunction which we have seen above is the Deuteronomistic centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, which produced a ruling requiring the boiling of the Pascal sacrifice. This modification itself echoed an earlier modification of sacrificial procedure that

this reason that it was the officiating priest alone, and males of his family, who were to eat of it (see above).

[140]Lev 6:19-22. On this point, see also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 403-407.

[141]For more details, see John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britian*, 3d ed. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853-1855), 2:246-248.On the parallel and its implications, see also Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 622-625.

[142]Hos 4:8. The "guilt" offerings made at the reconsecration of the accidentally defiled Nazirite in Num 6:11-12 or slaughtered to provide the blood for the daubing of blood and oil on the cured "leper" in Lev 14:14-18 would have been eaten by the priests, thus drawing off any remaining impurities from the sacrificer. The fact that the Nazirite had to shave his head before his vows were completed, thus depriving the priest of his share of the sacrifices that would have accompanied the ritual burning of the hair, may also have entered into consideration when assigning the type of offering that was required when there was accidental, indirect contact between the Nazerite's consecrated head and a dead body.

accompanied the Levitical regularization of the cult and that replaced roasting in the open field with boiling near a legitimate sanctuary.[143]

Second, although there are clearly numerous differences, if only in the greater wealth of details and number of different types of sacrifice in ancient Mesopotamia, it is obvious that there is a significant overlap between sacrificial practices in Israel and in ancient Mesopotamia, especially in the later periods. The reason for these similarities in cultural praxis is not difficult to find, namely, that Morton Smith was correct in arguing that Israelite religion was not inessential philosophy different from that of its mighty neighbor, barring such obvious dissimilarities as the institution of *herem*, the high esteem accorded to a "bedouin," fiercely egalitarian and nomadic way of life, and the substitution of a single and iconic deity for the many statuesque gods of ancient Mesopotamia. In both cases, man found his life complicated by the existence of a spirit/spirits that actively sought contact with him, whose anger and ill will were greatly to be feared, but a relationship with whom promised great benefits in the here and now. In both cases, the basic relationship was a contractual one, of benefit to the spirit as well as to humanity, and cemented by "covenant sacrifices." The spirit could expect the human community to conform to certain behavioral and cultic rules and to provide him with food and shelter. In return, the spirit could be counted on for general benevolence and assistance to the community as a whole, an arrangement readily recognizable to practitioners of salvation religions as "religion." Equally importantly, however, the provision of a regular cult, punctuated by daily feedings and periodic celebrations ("regular offerings"), made the spirit available to individual members of the community for private contracts for practical ends ("occasional sacrifices").

---

[143]A possible third example is the "sin" offering description of Num 15:22-29 that appears to represent a modification of Lev 4:13-25. The private "sin" offering of a female animal by the individual sinner is the same in both passages, but the prince's he-goat offering of Lev 4:22-26 seems to have disappeared. Assuming that this is not simply a mangling of the text but an intentional change, the former prince's "sin" offering of a he-goat seems to have been added to the community's bull offering in order not to deprive YHWH of his wonted sacrifices. Since both animals could not be "sin" offerings, the more valuable one was turned into a holocaust offering, with the result of downgrading the community "sin" offering to the category in which the carcass was not burned outside the camp, but instead eaten by the priests. For more discussion, see Milgrom, *Numbers*, 402-405.

EZEKIEL 40:1 AS A CORRECTIVE FOR SEVEN WRONG IDEAS IN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

RODGER C. YOUNG
St. Louis, Missouri

Ezekiel 40:1 is often viewed by commentators as a mere chronological note that can be passed over quickly before taking up the formidable task of interpreting the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's book. Yet a careful analysis of this verse, when combined with some knowledge of the various events and institutions to which the verse makes explicit or implicit reference, shows that it is rich in information that sheds light on the events and institutions to which it refers. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the five pieces of chronological data given in the verse provide useful correctives to several ideas that have gained widespread currency in biblical and historical interpretation, while at the same time allowing us to replace those ideas with counterparts that are more in keeping not only with the information in this verse, but also with the teaching of other Scriptures that deal with these matters. It will be shown that this one verse, used in conjunction with a small amount of external historical data, contradicts the following seven wrong ideas:

- The idea that Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians in 586 B.C.
- The idea that Ezekiel reckoned the calendar year to start in Nisan.
- The idea that Judah used Nisan years for the reign length of kings.
- The idea that Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, was always on the First of Tishri.
- The idea that Jubilees were never observed in the history of Israel.
- The idea that the Exodus occurred in the thirteenth century B.C.
- One more idea that will be explained later, having to do with literary sources in the Scripture.

Those familiar with OT interpretation, particularly in the area of chronology, will recognize that these are all controversial questions. It may seem hard to believe that this one verse can shed light on all these matters. Yet a careful analysis of each phrase in the verse, followed by reconciling each phrase with the other phrases in the verse and with events that the verse is referring to, will confront the interpreter with information that is pertinent to each of these questions. To pursue this analysis, it is necessary to look at the verse first *in toto*, then quite carefully at its particular parts.

Preliminary Analysis of the Verse

In the twenty-fifth year of our exile, at the beginning of the year, on the tenth of the month, in the fourteenth year after the city was taken, on that same day the hand of the Lord was upon me and He brought me there (Ezek 40:1, NASB).

There are five items here of chronological interest. Each is the subject of controversy:

1. It was *"the twenty-fifth year of our exile."* This was an exile that Ezekiel shared with King Jehoiachin (see Ezek 1:2; 2 Kgs 24:10-16; and 2 Chron 36:10). Although Nebuchadnezzar's first capture of Jerusalem and its King Jehoiachin can be firmly dated from the Babylonian Chronicle to Adar 2 of 597 B.C., various scholars have advocated that Jehoiachin's exile should not be measured from that month, but from some time in the following month, Nisan of 597. Others have maintained that such an interpretation was only introduced to resolve chronological problems that do not appear if a different chronology is adopted, and so there is no reason to move the beginning of the captivity (or exile) from the month of Adar given in the Babylonian records.

2. It was *"at the beginning of the year."* This translates the phrase בְּרֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה—"at Rosh Hashanah." Some have interpreted this to be the beginning of the religious new year, in the spring month of Nisan, in spite of the connotation that this phrase continues to bear down to modern times, namely that it refers to the beginning of the civil new year in the fall month of Tishri.

3. It was *"on the tenth of the month."* There are two opinions regarding which month is meant, differing basically on their interpretation of the preceding phrase.

4. It was *"in the fourteenth year after the city was taken"* by the Babylonian army, thus ending the Judean monarchy. Great has been the controversy over whether the city fell in 586 B.C. or in 587 B.C.[1]

5. It was *"on that same day,"* indicating there was something special about this day. The ideas about what made the day special depend on the question of which month is intended.

In resolving the various issues, such as which year is indicated by Ezekiel's date-formulas, we should first adopt the viewpoint that the prophet was able to express with exactitude each of the five pieces of data specified above. It is not only those who have a high view of the inspiration of Scripture who could be

---

[1]Jeremy Hughes listed eleven scholars who dated the fall of Jerusalem to 586 and eleven who dated it to 587 (*Secrets of the Times* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990], 229 n.). Several verses that bear on this question can be interpreted in favor of either a 586 or a 587 date, depending on the assumptions made regarding, for example, accession vs. nonaccession years for kings, Nisan vs. Tishri years. However, if we approach the question by making it our first priority to determine the methods of counting that were used by the authors of Scripture, and then checking to see if the methods so determined are consistent with all the biblical data, then only one date, 587, survives. For a study showing that this is the case for all the relevant texts in 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, see R. Young, "When Did Jerusalem Fall?" *JETS* 47/1 (2004): 21-38.

expected to agree with this presupposition, since Ezekiel is one book of the Bible that radical criticism has had difficulty in attributing to anyone other than the prophet of that name who lived during the exile. Ezekiel was also a priest (Ezek 1:3). Among all societies of the ancient Near East, it was the duty of the priests to keep track of such chronological matters as when the month was to begin and when the religious feasts were to be held, as well as such longer-term matters as, for example, when a Sabbatical year was due. Therefore, unless Ezekiel's date-formulas can be shown to be in irreconcilable conflict with established external dates, or in conflict with other statements within Ezekiel's own writings, then the chronological data in this verse should be treated as matters of exact measurement and knowledge from a reliable source. There was no reason why Ezekiel would not record the dates exactly, and his multiple way of specifying the date shows that this was a matter of some concern to him. If any interpretation can be found that is in harmony with all of Ezekiel's data, that interpretation must be preferred over any interpretation that is in conflict with such data or that is not in accord with a strict examination of the Hebrew phrases used in the text under review. With this understanding, let us examine the phrases regarding which year, month, and day are implied in Ezekiel's dating of his vision.

Resolving Which Year Is Indicated

It was "the twenty-fifth year of our exile (לְגָלוּתֵנוּ)," and also "in the fourteenth year after (אַחַר) the city was taken" by the Babylonians. The two prepositions used here, לְ and אַחַר, must be clearly distinguished as to their meaning. לְ is the "of" in the phrase "of our exile," and its use in Hebrew time expressions means that the full amount of time had not elapsed, but it was in the "xth year" of the period mentioned. This is similar in English to our speaking of our first year of college, meaning the time before we had been there one full year.[2] The preposition אַחַר, in contrast, means that a full fourteen years had passed since the destruction of the city, an interpretation that can be verified by examining the usage of this word in Gen 5 and elsewhere in Scripture. When used in a temporal sense, the word is identical in meaning to the English preposition "after," so that Gesenius in this regard defines it as "*after*, Gen. 9:28." These two phrases therefore mean that twenty-four full years had elapsed since the year that marked the beginning of Ezekiel's exile, and fourteen full years had elapsed since the destruction of the city. It might seem to be an easy matter, then, to give the date of Ezekiel's vision, since the date that Jehoiachin was captured can be determined from the Babylonian Chronicle to be the Second of Adar, 597 B.C. And, once the date of the vision is established, going back fourteen years should give the year in which the city fell.

There are, however, three complicating factors that must be investigated

[2]See a more extended discussion of this matter in R. Young, "When Did Solomon Die?" *JETS* 46/4 (2003): 602. The issue discussed there is that the proper interpretation of this preposition in 1 Kgs 6:1 means that 479 years had passed, not 480, from the Exodus to the time of the laying of the foundation of Solomon's Temple.

before this simple calculation can be done: Did Ezekiel consider that the year began in Nisan, the beginning of the religious year, or in Tishri, the month that marked the beginning of the civil year and the beginning of years for a king's reign?[3] Should Jehoiachin's exile be dated from Adar, when the Babylonian Chronicle indicates he was initially captured, or from some time in the following month, Nisan, therefore bringing in a new year if Ezekiel considered the year to start in Nisan?[4] Did the city fall in 586 or 587?

This represents three variables, each of which can take two possible values. At this point, a fundamental question of methodology arises. For each of these three variables, there have been able advocates for both of the values that the variable can take. Therefore, any proper methodology would have to give due consideration to every one of these possible values, and all the combinations thereof, before a conclusion is reached regarding the most suitable choice. It is a matter of some concern that, to my knowledge, no OT scholar has ever stopped to make the simple observation that three variables, each of which can take two possible values, give eight possible combinations that must be investigated. Each of these combinations might produce a different value for the result that is sought, namely the years to be assigned to the vision and to the fall of the city fourteen years prior.

The same problem occurs to anyone attempting to derive chronological data from the stereotyped formula given for synchronisms in the books of Kings and Chronicles, namely that "In year X of Y, King of Israel, King Z of Judah began to reign." The way that any verse that follows this pattern is to be understood depends on how each of the separate parts of the verse is interpreted. The variables are: whether year X of King Y refers to the year that

[3]For evidence that Judah measured its regnal years from Tishri, see Edwin Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1981), 51-53; or D. J. A. Clines, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-Exilic Israel Reconsidered," *JBL* 93/1 (1974): 22-26.

[4]Thiele, 187, argued that Ezekiel was using a Nisan-to-Nisan year, contrary to the practice of Judean court recorders, and that Jehoiachin's exile is not to be measured from his capture in Adar, but from the next month, Nisan, when Thiele presumed he began the journey to Babylon. This delay of one month was introduced in an attempt to accommodate Thiele's date of 586 for the second capture of the city. Since his date for this event was one year too late, means had to be found to move the first year of Jehoiachin's captivity one year later than that suggested by a normal interpretation of the relevant texts. Another attempt to accommodate the 586 date for the fall of Jerusalem was given by Gershon Galil, "The Babylonian Calendar and the Chronology of the Last Kings of Judah," *Bib* 72/3 (1991): 367-378. Galil conjectured that in 597 B.C. the Babylonians had already inserted the intercalary month, but that Judah had not yet taken this step, with the consequence that when the Babylonians captured Jerusalem it was 2 Adar according to their calendar but 2 Nisan by Judah's calendar. Both these methods of getting Jehoiachin's captivity to start after Nisan 1 of 597 are covered by the decision table in the appendix of this article. The Decision Table shows that neither of these stratagems is capable of putting the fall of the city in 586 unless we assume that Ezekiel was inaccurate or wrong in his dating methods.

his sole reign started, or whether it possibly refers to the year he became coregent or rival (two possible values); whether year X of King Y is measured according to a Nisan year, such as the northern kingdom used throughout its history, or according to the Tishri years that Judah used throughout its history (two possible values); whether year X of the King of Israel is according to accession (noninclusive) or nonaccession (inclusive) reckoning (two possible values); and whether this verse is referring to the year that Z, King of Judah, began his sole reign, or to the year he became coregent with his father (two possible values). Unless some of these possibilities can be ruled out at the start (for instance, King Y may have usurped the throne by killing his predecessor, thus ruling out a coregency), there are sixteen combinations that need to be investigated before it can be said that all the possibilities inherent in this formula have been investigated. A complete analysis should first seek to eliminate some of the various possibilities through other information, and then, for those options that cannot be eliminated, a way must be chosen to fully explore all their combinations. Any methodology that does not take these steps in analyzing this kind of information is a deficient methodology.

There are two methods of dealing with the complexity introduced when two or more variables can assume two or more states, and the resulting combinations produce different values of a desired result. These two methods are the case structure and Decision Tables.[5] They are logically equivalent, as long as both are used correctly. Of the two, Decision Tables provide a more graphic or tabular way of organizing the data and displaying all possible combinations and their results, and so this is the recommended method that should be mastered by those who deal with the chronological data of the Hebrew divided monarchies, or with other selected texts, such as the one of current interest, Ezek 40:1. In an earlier article,[6] I used Decision Tables to decide which combinations of the three variables previously discussed are viable for Ezek 40:1.[7] The conclusion from the tables is as follows: there are no combinations of the twenty-fifth year of exile and a year fourteen years after the city fell that allow for a 586 date. Neither are there any combinations that indicate that Ezekiel was using Nisan years. It is therefore concluded that the city fell on the ninth of Tammuz (July 28[8]) of 587 B.C. (Jer 52:6-7), and that Ezekiel was consistent with the method of Judean court recorders throughout

[5]Case structures resemble an outline. Examples of Decision Tables may be seen in the tax tables of Form 1040 for the U. S. income tax. For an introduction to Decision Tables, see www.cems.uwe.ac.uk/~jharney/table.html.

[6]Young, "Jerusalem," 26.

[7]By permission of the editor of the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, the tables are reproduced in the appendix.

[8]Month and day according to the Julian calendar are from the NASA tables at http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/phase/phases-0599.html. The older tables of Richard Parker and Waldo Dubberstein would make the ninth of Tammuz to be July 29 (*Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* [Providence: Brown University, 1956], 28).

the history of the southern kingdom when he reckoned that the year began in
Tishri. These then are the first conclusions that can be inferred by a careful
study of just two pieces of data from Ezek 40:1. It therefore must be concluded
that the idea that the city fell in 586 and that Ezekiel used Nisan years (the first
two of the seven wrong ideas initially presented) are not compatible with
Ezekiel's twofold method of expressing the year.

If Ezekiel was using Tishri years in his calculations, then the only adequate
explanation for this is that he was following the practice of Judean court
recorders, and probably also the practice of the people in general.[9] Perhaps
Ezekiel could have switched from a Tishri year to a Nisan year, since the
Babylonian New Year was in Nisan and Ezekiel was in exile in Babylon, but if
both Judah and Babylon were using Nisan years, then there would have been no
reason for Ezekiel to switch to Tishri years. Therefore, a third consequence of the
analysis of the two year-formulas used by Ezekiel is that, since it has been shown
that Ezekiel *was* using Tishri years, this verse refutes the idea that Judah measured
the reign of its kings using Nisan years, as taught in the Talmud.[10]

Resolving Which Month Is Indicated

Ezekiel's vision was "at the beginning of the year" [הַשָּׁנָה שׁבְּרֹאשׁ—"at Rosh
Hashanah"], but the month is not otherwise named. It has already been shown
that Ezekiel used Tishri years, in keeping with the practice of Judah throughout
its history. The month was, therefore, Tishri. Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New
Year, is celebrated in Tishri to the present day.

Resolving Which Day Is Indicated

The vision was "on the tenth of the month," that is, the tenth of Tishri. This
is the great Day of Atonement, the most solemn date of the Jewish calendar.
Ezekiel adds "on that same day," indicating the special recognition that has
been given to this day ever since its institution in the Desert of Sinai. The
Talmud (*b. 'Arakin* 12a) agrees with this, saying that Ezek 40:1 refers to the
tenth day of the month Tishri. Edwin Thiele interpreted the phrase "on that
same day" in light of his idea that Jehoiachin began the journey to Babylon in
Nisan, and since the day of Ezekiel's vision was the tenth of the month, Thiele
maintained that this verse taught that Jehoiachin's journey to Babylon began on

---

[9]It has already been mentioned that the work of Thiele has shown that Judah
measured its regnal years from Tishri throughout the lifetime of the southern kingdom.
The Gezer Calendar, usually dated to the latter half of the tenth century B.C., is based
on a Tishri year, showing that others in Judah besides official court recorders were using
a Tishri year long before the exile (Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* [Peabody,
MA: Hendrickson, 1998], 29).

[10]*b. Rosh Hashanah* 1a: "On the first of Nisan is New Year for kings and for
festivals. . . . On the first of Tishri is New Year for release [Sabbatical] and jubilee years,
for plantation and for the tithe of vegetables."

the tenth of Nisan.[11] But it has been demonstrated that the month was Tishri, and the day was the Day of Atonement.

How Can Rosh Hashanah Be on the Tenth of the Month?

Ezekiel said his vision was both "at the beginning of the year"—at Rosh Hashanah—and "on the tenth of the month." It might be thought that this is a mistake at worst or an inexactitude at best, since Rosh Hashanah, the New Year, is observed on the first of Tishri, not the tenth. That is true today, but it has not always been true. There was one time in the calendar of Israel when Rosh Hashanah, the New Year, was celebrated on the tenth of the month. That was when the year was a Jubilee. The Talmud, in the passage already cited dealing with this verse (b. 'Arakin 12a), asks: "Now which is the year the beginning of which falls on the tenth of Tishri? Say: This is the jubilee year." b. Rosh Hashanah 8b explains further: "Surely [the New Year for] Jubilees is on the tenth of Tishri," citing then Lev 25:9, which says regarding the Jubilee: "You shall then sound a ram's horn abroad on the tenth day of the seventh month; on the day of atonement you shall sound a horn all through your land" (NASB). Since this was to be done in the seventh month of the forty-ninth year of a Jubilee cycle, according to a calendar that measured the months from Nisan, it might be conjectured that the Jubilee year did not start until six months after the blowing of the ram's horn, that is, in Nisan of the next year. This idea that the Jubilee did not start when the ram's horn was blown is contradicted by several factors, one of which is that the Talmud specifically says (b. Rosh Hashanah 1a) that Sabbatical and Jubilee years began in Tishri. Some reflection on what the Leviticus passage is saying would also dictate that the year began on the tenth of Tishri. Surely the dramatic effect of the blowing of the ram's horn throughout the land would indicate an immediate event, not one that was to be deferred six months. For these and other reasons, the Talmud must be correct when it says that the Jubilee year started when the ram's horn was blown on the tenth of Tishri, the Day of Atonement. This was the only time in the history of Israel when Rosh Hashanah was not on the first of Tishri, and, therefore, the information in Ezek 40:1, by saying that it was both Rosh Hashanah and the tenth day of the month, establishes that the date of the vision, Tishri 10 of 574 B.C.,[12] marked the beginning of a Jubilee year. The Jubilee, however, could not be celebrated because the people were captive in a foreign land.

An objection has been put forth to this interpretation, as follows: it is claimed that since this is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where the phrase Rosh Hashanah occurs, this phrase might not have quite the precision that it had in later years and still bears today, namely in referring to New Year's Day, the very

[11]Thiele, 187.

[12]For the year, see Young, "Jerusalem," 28, or Table 1a of the present article. The Julian month and day were November 1, according to the NASA tables of phases of the moon, or November 2, according to the tables of Parker and Dubberstein, 28.

first day of the new year. Instead, it is suggested, Rosh Hashanah may have meant
just the general time of the year, in the same way that the "turn of the year" (Exod
34:22) was the general time during which the Feast of Ingathering occurred. If this
were so, Ezekiel would only be saying that it was the general season for a new
year, and it also happened to be the tenth day of the month, so that the argument
that it was a Jubilee because the new year's day was on the Day of Atonement
would not hold. The year could be any ordinary year.

This inference is not likely for the following reasons:

1. It implies that there was a change in meaning of this phrase between the
time of Ezekiel and later Jewish history. The burden of proof should be on the
argument that there was such a change—evidence for the change should be
given—rather than having the burden of proof on the simpler interpretation
that Rosh Hashanah meant the same in Ezekiel's day as it did later.

2. The objection would imply that the rabbinic scholars who gave us the
Talmud were wrong when they stated that Ezekiel's date-formula is explicit in
designating a Jubilee year. It is instructive to consider how this passage is
presented in the Talmud, in tractate *b. 'Arakin* 12a. As is well known, the
general format of the Talmud is to present a scriptural text or some piece of
information that rabbinic scholars accepted as true, and then to present a series
of divergent interpretations of the Scripture or datum. In the passage of
interest, the text of Ezek 40:1 is presented, immediately followed by the
question (and answer): "Now which is the year the beginning of which falls on
the tenth of Tishri? This is the Jubilee year." The discussion that follows
presents many controversial issues: for example, whether it was really the
twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year of exile, and how many periods of exile were
involved. But one thing that is never questioned is that the text implies a
Jubilee. If this question were at all open to debate, why is it not debated along
with all the other relevant issues in the Talmudic discussion? The rabbis knew
that Rosh Hashanah meant the New Year's Day, not a general time of year.

3. A rabbinic work that is even older than the Talmud also mentions Ezek
40:1 and associates it with a Jubilee. This is the *Seder 'Olam* of Rabbi Yose ben
Halaphta, which dates from the second century A.D. In chapter 11 of the *Seder
'Olam*, Rabbi Yose quotes the first few words of Ezek 40:1 and then rhetorically
asks when Ezekiel saw the vision introduced in the verse. His reply is "At the
beginning of a Jubilee."[13] There is no appeal here to the argument that the text
says it was both Rosh Hashanah and the tenth of the month. This part of the
verse is not even supplied in the original Hebrew text, as given by Heinrich
Guggenheimer (only the first few words of the verse are supplied, since the
reader was expected to provide the rest of the verse from memory). This means
that either it should have been obvious to the reader that the text of this verse

---

[13]The recent translation of Heinrich Guggenheimer, *Seder Olam—The Rabbinic View
of Biblical Chronology* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005) renders בחחלת היובל
in the *Seder 'Olam* passage as "[a]t the beginning of a Jubilee period," which is misleading.
The proper translation is "at the beginning of a Jubilee."

implied a Jubilee year (and thus "Rosh Hashanah" meant specifically the New Year's Day), or else Rabbi Yose was not basing his statement about the Jubilee on the circumstance of Rosh Hashanah being on the tenth of the month, but was instead basing it on historical remembrance of an actual Jubilee. Either alternative argues against the idea that Rosh Hashanah was a general term and that Ezek 40:1 only refers to any ordinary year, not a Jubilee year.

It has been shown that the proposition that "Rosh Hashanah" meant the same to Ezekiel as it did in all later periods is more reasonable than the alternative proposition that there was a change of meaning. Nevertheless, this falls short of an absolute proof that there was no change in meaning. But this brings up the question of whether "absolute proof" should be the criterion for the historical reconstruction of any period of history. It could be argued that there is no absolute proof for any of the following supports for the thesis that Sabbatical and Jubilee years were known before the exile: that the passage about the year of no sowing or reaping in Isa 37:30 refers to a Sabbatical year; that the release of slaves in the days of Zedekiah had to be done in a Sabbatical year; that the widespread tradition that Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar in a Sabbatical year is correct; and even whether the passages about Jerusalem falling to the Babylonians in the early sixth century B.C. are real history. All of these points could be challenged by someone whose criterion for reconstructing history is "absolute proof." But is "absolute proof" the proper criterion for determining the validity of historical and scientific theories? Is it not instead the modern scientific paradigm built on that seven-hundred-year-old principle known as Ockham's Razor? Ockham's Razor states when there are alternate explanations of a phenomenon or series of phenomena, the explanation that is simplest and requires the fewest additional assumptions is always to be preferred. The whole scientific revolution of modern times is built on this principle, as contrasted to the principle that no new idea will be accepted until the powers that be have received what they arbitrarily consider an "absolute proof" that each phenomenon supporting the new idea is correct.

One simple idea explains the whole series of phenomena that have already been presented and those that will be presented in the remainder of this paper. That idea is that the priests really did start counting the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles when they were commanded to do so in Lev 25, namely at the entrance into Canaan, and then they continued the counting, which is also implied in the command. With this, everything else falls into place. Much quibbling can be done about the individual phenomena that are explained by this thesis. What has not yet been explained, except by this simple thesis, is why all these phenomena that attest to preexilic knowledge of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years fit into a harmonious pattern, a pattern that in every case harmonizes with the calendar of Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles that can be constructed from a Jubilee established on the text of Ezek 40:1. Until we have an alternate thesis with equal or better explanatory power, the final argument against any change in the meaning of "Rosh Hashanah" over the years is that the idea that there was no change fits with a significant number of other phenomena that follow, based on the thesis that the

priests really were counting the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles, as they were commanded to do. The best way to overthrow this thesis will not be to demand absolute proof for each of the phenomena, but to produce and clearly state an equally simple alternate thesis that explains them. Until that is done, we might be forgiven for entertaining the idea that the real stumbling block in accepting the thesis presented here is not the several specific things that the thesis can explain, but a fear of the consequences if the thesis is true.

The conclusion that the language of Ezek 40:1 implies the beginning of a Jubilee year refutes two more ideas in our initial list, namely that Rosh Hashanah was always on the first of Tishri, and that no Jubilee years were observed in the history of Israel. This does not mean that the people were obeying the stipulations of the Jubilee; all that has been demonstrated is that the priests, one of whom was the prophet Ezekiel, knew when the Jubilees were due to be observed.[14]

Some Additional Information About
the Time of the Jubilees

The priests such as Ezekiel knew when the time of a Jubilee was due because in Lev 25:8 they were commanded to count seven Sabbatical cycles until the year of the Jubilee. But if they counted the Sabbatical cycles, would they not have also counted the Jubilee cycles? The Talmud (*b. Sanhedrin* 40a, b) relates that in the time of the judges, the dating of events was done by relating in which Jubilee cycle, in which Septennate (Sabbatical cycle) within the Jubilee cycle, and in which year within the Septennate an event occurred. The necessity of counting the Sabbatical years suggests that a similar practice for calendrical purposes would be adopted by the society. Besides knowing that his vision was on the New Year's Day of the seventh year of the seventh Septennate, and, therefore, at the start of a Jubilee, would Ezekiel also have known the numbering of the Jubilee? Since the text of Ezek 40:1 is sufficient by itself, even without the Talmud's explanation of this matter, to show that Ezekiel knew which year and which Septennate it was, then it is not at all improbable that he also knew which Jubilee it was.

Ezekiel did not leave us any record of the number of this Jubilee, but the Talmud (*b. 'Arakin* 12b) states that it was the seventeenth. The *Seder 'Olam*, chapter 11, also says that Ezekiel's Jubilee was the seventeenth. Combining this

---

[14]There is also a certain psychological harmony that appears when Ezekiel's vision is placed on the Day of Atonement *and* at the beginning of a Jubilee year, as contrasted with the opinion that his vision was on the tenth day of the month of Nisan. If the vision had been given in Nisan, the context would have been the preparation for the Passover. But the Passover celebration has always been a looking back into Israel's past to the deliverance that God gave the people in bringing them out of Egypt. The Jubilee, in contrast, has long been recognized as having eschatological overtones, much more in keeping with Ezekiel's great eschatological vision than would be the case if the vision had come in a Passover setting.

information with the Jubilee cycle-length of forty-nine years,[15] it can readily be calculated that the starting of counting for the Jubilees at the entrance of Israel into Canaan must have been in 1406 B.C., with the Exodus in 1446 B.C. These dates are in exact agreement with the dates for the Exodus and the entry into Canaan that can be calculated from Thiele's date for the beginning of the divided monarchies and the 480-year figure of 1 Kgs 6:1.[16]

Ezekiel 40:1, by placing Rosh Hashanah on the Day of Atonement, provides adequate information to determine that the time of Ezekiel's vision marked the beginning of a Jubilee year. Given the Jubilee cycle of forty-nine years, there is only one chance in forty-nine that the year starting in Nisan 1406 B.C. would match the first year of a Jubilee cycle. Since this date is consistent with a Jubilee beginning in 574, this gives strong support for the correctness of the chronology that dates the Exodus in 1446 and the entry into Canaan in 1406, in keeping with the LORD'S instructions to Moses in Lev 25:2-10 that the people were to start counting Sabbatical years and Jubilee years when they entered the land of promise. Negatively, the agreement of a Jubilee in 574 with the start of counting in 1406 is evidence against chronologies that give any other date for the Exodus, such as those that place it in the thirteenth century B.C. This much information can be deduced simply by the proper interpretation of Ezek 40:1 and the passage that instituted the Jubilees in Lev 25. But when we combine this with the *Seder 'Olam's* (and the Talmud's) statement that Ezekiel's Jubilee was the seventeenth Jubilee, then the fact that this gives 1406

[15]That the cycle length was forty-nine years, not fifty years as assumed by most modern commentators, can be shown by several considerations: (1) The oldest references to Jubilee cycles outside the Bible are the *Book of Jubilees* (second century B.C.) and the fragments from Qumran known as *11QMelchizedek* (early first century A.D.). Both of these assume a forty-nine-year cycle. (2) All ancient writings that deal with the Jubilees, including the *Seder 'Olam* and the Talmud, always assumed that the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles would be in phase. This would not be the case for a fifty-year Jubilee cycle unless an extra year were inserted in the Sabbatical cycles at every Jubilee, and there is no support in the Scriptures or any other ancient writing for such an extra year. (3) There is no indication in the Scriptures (certainly not in Lev 25:21-22 or Isa 37:30) that the people were commanded to observe two voluntary fallow years in succession, which would be the case if the Jubilee was a separate year following the seventh Sabbatical year (see Rodger Young, "The Talmud's Two Jubilees and Their Relevance to the Date of the Exodus," *WTJ* 68 [2006]: 76, n. 14). (4) By stating that the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee year both began in the seventh month of a Nisan-based year, the Talmud (*b. Rosh Hashanah* 1a) supports the idea that the seventh Sabbatical year and the Jubilee began at the same time, in year forty-nine-and-one-half of the cycle. This is called the "fiftieth year" in Lev 25:10-11. (5) The Samaritan community always observed a forty-nine-year cycle, a remembrance which they have to this day, even though they do not currently observe the Jubilee.

[16]See Young for the correct way to calculate this date, given that the division of the kingdoms occurred sometime between Nisan 1 of 931 B.C. and the day before Nisan 1 of 930 B.C. ("Solomon," 601–602), as Thiele determined. Thiele's date for the beginning of the divided monarchies has been widely accepted among scholars and has needed no modification since it was published in the first edition of *Mysterious Numbers* in 1951.

as not just the start of a cycle, but the start of the very first cycle, in agreement with the date of 1406 for Israel's entry into the land as measured by an independent method, then it logically follows that the counting really did begin in 1406, and the Levitical priests were faithfully measuring the Sabbatical and Jubilee years over all the time that Israel was in its land.

The Talmud mentions another Jubilee in Josiah's eighteenth year (*b. Meg.* 14b). The dates of the last two Jubilees, and their agreement with the date for the entrance into Canaan derived from 1 Kgs 6:1, could not have been contrived by the authors of the *Seder 'Olam* and the Talmud because their known calculation methods are incapable of producing this agreement.[17] The reason that the seventeenth Jubilee in the time of Ezekiel is exactly consistent with the date of 1406 B.C. for the entry into Canaan as derived from Thiele's date for the beginning of the divided monarchy is because the following items are all authentic: Thiele's date for the beginning of the divided monarchy, the statements of the *Seder 'Olam* and the Talmud that Ezekiel's vision was at the beginning of the seventeenth Jubilee, and the statement of 1 Kgs 6:1 that Temple construction began in the 480th year of the Exodus era. But the connecting thread that allows us now, in the twenty-first century, to see that all figures are in harmony was the steadfastness of Israel's priests in faithfully marking the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles over the centuries of Israel's time in its land. Beyond this, we get a glimpse of one aspect of the divine wisdom that went into the formulation of the laws that established the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles—namely the aspect of their chronological function. The interlocking nature of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years, with seven Sabbatical cycles making one Jubilee cycle, was an excellent method of keeping track of the years over a long period of time. Many chronological difficulties of the OT would have been resolved long ago if Israel had faithfully observed the stipulations of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years when the priests proclaimed their set times, so that we would have more references to the observance of these institutions than the few allusions presently found in the OT.[18]

The Egyptian Connection

Whenever a date is derived for the Exodus from the biblical data, then it is always of interest to correlate that date with events in the history of Egypt.

---

[17]For the demonstration that these calculation methods could not have been used to back-calculate the date of the Exodus, thereby allowing a correct placing of Josiah's and Ezekiel's Jubilees under the presumption that the timing of the Jubilees had been lost or that the whole concept was invented in exilic or postexilic times, see Young, "Talmud's Two Jubilees," 77.

[18]For scriptural allusions to the observance of Sabbatical years before the exile, see my "Seder Olam and the Sabbaticals Associated with the Two Destructions of Jerusalem," Part 2, forthcoming in *JBQ* 34/4 (October-December 2006). This article demonstrates that the dates associated with all these references are compatible with the preexilic calendar of Sabbatical cycles.

There is quite a diversity of opinion over how such a correlation should be made. Those holding these diverse opinions may be grouped into three main camps: those who hold to a thirteenth-century Exodus during the reign of one of the pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty,[19] those who hold to a fifteenth-century Exodus during the reign of one of the pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty,[20] or those who hold to a fifteenth-century Exodus, but who maintain that Egyptian chronology needs emendation so that a dynasty prior to the Eighteenth was in power in the fifteenth century B.C.[21] There is quite a large amount of discussion and literature advocating positions in each of these three camps, and at present no one theory of Egyptian-Hebrew correlation has reconciled all the archaeological findings. It would be far beyond the scope of the present article to deal with all the issues involved in reconciling the history of Egypt with the biblical account of the Exodus. It may be stated, however, that the proper understanding of the chronological notes of Ezek 40:1 gives yet another argument to add to the many difficulties of theories that place the Exodus anywhere but in the middle of the fifteenth century B.C.

A Necessary Consequence, Given That
Counting Started in 1406

The preceding sections showed that many phenomena have an immediate explanation if we assume that counting for the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles began in 1406 B.C. and that the priests kept track of these cycles over the years down to the time of the final Jubilee in the twenty-fifth year of Ezekiel's captivity. These assumptions explain why rabbinic tradition, as found in the *Seder 'Olam* and the Talmud, remembers that Ezekiel's vision was at the beginning of the seventeenth Jubilee and why the numbers all come out exactly correct when compared to a chronology based on 1 Kgs 6:1 and the regnal years of Solomon. They explain why the other Jubilee mentioned in the *Seder*

[19]The chief modern proponent of this view is Kenneth Kitchen. See, for example, his *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 307-310. For a recent critique of the thirteenth-century Exodus theory, see Bryant G. Wood, "The Rise and Fall of the 13th-Century Exodus-Conquest Theory," *JETS* 48 (2005): 475-489.

[20]Recent attempts to reconcile the history and inscriptions of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty with the biblical account of the Exodus are William Shea, "Amenhotep II as Pharaoh of the Exodus," *Bible and Spade* 16 (2003): 41-51; Wood; Douglas Petrovich, "Amenhotep II and the Historicity of the Exodus Pharaoh," *TMSJ* 17/1 (2006): 81-110.

[21]Two of the more interesting alternatives in this regard are David Rohl, *Pharaohs and Kings* (New York: Crown, 1995); and Ted Stewart, *Solving the Exodus Mystery* (Lubbock, TX: Biblemart.com, 2003).

Perhaps one other view should be mentioned, namely that the Exodus never happened, or that it was a very minor event that was immensely exaggerated in the biblical history and in other ancient accounts. This view has never been able to explain all the phenomena that have a natural explanation if we assume that the Exodus was a real event (see Kitchen, 241-245).

'Olam (chap. 24) and the Talmud (b. Megillah 14b) in Josiah's eighteenth year
was exactly forty-nine years prior to Ezekiel's Jubilee, as determined by modern
chronological findings. They explain the widespread tradition that Jerusalem fell
to Nebuchadnezzar in the latter part of a Sabbatical year.[22] They also explain
why the language of Ezek 40:1 takes the unusual step of placing Rosh
Hashanah on the Day of Atonement. The simple hypothesis just given accounts
for all these phenomena. Unless another hypothesis can be advanced that can
also explain these things in such a simple fashion, then it would seem that the
reasonableness of this proposition could be accepted by all calm and rational
minds, and we can go on from there to draw whatever secondary conclusions
reasonably follow from it.

Realistically, however, it should be expected that many historians will not
accept the hypothesis because of the consequences it entails, even though they
can offer no alternative hypothesis to explain the phenomena just listed. Their
reason for not accepting the hypothesis will not be because they have a better
one, but because they realize that accepting it would challenge the last of the
seven wrong ideas to be addressed in this paper. This last wrong idea may now
be presented: it is the Goliath of them all, the idea that the Pentateuch was
written at any time later than the time of Moses.

But how can a little pebble from the brook of Ezek 40:1 slay such a giant
as this? In the first place, we should be under no illusion that the giant will be
slain, because it has survived many other onslaughts that should have been
fatal.[23] Our goal must be something more modest, namely, to show that the
idea that Israel began counting for the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles in 1406 is
not compatible with the idea that the Pentateuch was not in existence in 1406.

The incompatibility of these two ideas can be demonstrated quite simply.
It is based on a finding of archaeology, in contrast to most of the theories of
the higher-critical school, which are based on theories brought from outside the
Bible and archaeological findings and which are then imposed on the scriptural

---

[22]Seder 'Olam chap. 30; t. Ta'anit 3:9; y. Ta'anit 4:5; b. 'Arakin 11b; b. 'Arakin 12a; b.
Ta'anit 29a. See my analysis of this tradition in "Seder Olam and the Sabbaticals," Part 2.

[23]A central tenet of the Documentary Hypothesis, which has been the most widely
known of challenges to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, was that the use of
different divine names implies different sources. This was disproved at Ugarit, but it is still
taught as axiomatic in various universities and seminaries. The Documentary Hypothesis
and later critical approaches, such as the traditiohistorical school and the socioeconomic
approaches, assumed that the Pentateuchal legislation was from the seventh century B.C.
or later, but it was found that the treaty forms used in this legislation are similar to those
of the middle of the second millennium B.C. and dissimilar to those of the middle of the
first millennium B.C. (Kitchen, 283-300). The developmental approach in these various
theories dictated that monotheism was a very late development in history, whereas a
monotheistic poem praising the one Creator of all things was found at Ebla and dated to
2500 B.C. by its translator (Giovanni Pettinato, The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in
Clay [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981], 259).

writings.[24] The archaeological finding is that cultic practices, such as the observance of special days and years, were always codified in writing in Near Eastern societies. In the words of R. K. Harrison:

> The scribal practices of the ancient Near East point to a custom of preserving at an early stage those sources of information or procedure that were of importance to the particular profession. As regards cultic functionaries, the liturgies and rituals that they utilized were committed to writing and treasured in one form or another for many succeeding centuries. They were not transmitted down the ages in an oral form before emerging in their written state, as the modern oral-traditionists imagine. . . . This contention is supported, as observed above, by the religious rituals and incantations from the third-millennium B.C. texts in the pyramids of Unis, Teti, and Pepi I (Fifth to Sixth Dynasties) at Saqqarah as well as by the third-millennium B.C. Sumerian religious texts, divine hymns, and mythological compositions from Ur, Nippur, and elsewhere.[25]

If the Sabbatical and Jubilee laws were being observed in the fourteenth century B.C., then they necessarily would have existed in written form at that time. Do we have any candidates for the text (or *der Urtext*) of these laws? There is only one candidate, and it is found in Lev 25 and 27, and Exod 23:10-11. These passages must have been written either in 1406 B.C. or shortly before then.

At this point, the theories of the higher criticism (for those who accept them) can be used to draw a further conclusion. Despite all the blows that these theories have suffered from archaeological findings and sound biblical scholarship, almost all their advocates tenaciously hang on to the tenet that the document they call the "Priestly" or "P" document was the last part of the Pentateuch to be written, as shown by the following quotes:

- *New Interpreter's Bible.* "Today, most biblical scholars think that Leviticus (and parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers) originated during post-exilic times in conjunction with the Priestly source, often designated as "P." . . . [T]he similarities between P and Chronicles, especially emphasis on ritual matters, suggest that most of the materials in Leviticus derive from the same period as Chronicles—namely the post-exilic era."[26]
- *The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible.* "[T]he jubilee year is found in the Old Testament only in Leviticus and in Num. 36:4, a piece of late priestly material. It is possible, therefore, that the regulations for it were only framed after the exile."[27]

[24]Kitchen, 494, writes of Wellhausen's deductive method: "Not only did Wellhausen (like his peers) work in a cultural vacuum—that is how he *wanted* it to be, undisturbed by inconvenient facts from the (ancient) outside world. He resented being pointed toward high-antiquity data from Egypt and Mesopotamia. . . . How he hated Egyptologists! . . . In due course he also lashes out at the Assyriologists. . . . Clearly, he resented any outside impact that might threaten his beloved theses on the supposed development of Israelite religion and history. And that attitude, one can detect in his equally resistant disciples today."

[25]R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 592.

[26]*New Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 1: 995-996.

[27]J. R. Porter, *Leviticus*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 197.

- *Harper's Bible Dictionary.* "The Book of Leviticus is assigned by modern critics to the so-called Priestly Code (designated by "P"), compiled by the priests of Jerusalem in the period 500–450 B.C., but incorporating considerably earlier legislation, like the Holiness Code (11:43–45, 17–26) which seems to date from 650 B.C. in its original form (which was known to Ezekiel)."[28]
- *R. H. Pfeiffer.* "Only gradually was the relative lateness of the "First Elohist" or "Fundamental Writing" (*Grundschrift*, now called Priestly Code or P) recognized. . . . The narrative portions of P were shown by J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal (1862–1879), to be unhistorical and late . . . [,] while A. Kuenen (d. 1891) finally proved conclusively that the *Grundschrift* as a whole, both in its legal and in its narrative parts, was postexilic in date."[29]
- *Otto Kaiser.* "Accordingly the *terminus a quo* [earliest possible date] for the origin of P is placed by most scholars at the end of the seventh century, but by a minority only at the end of the sixth century."[30]
- *Jeffrey Fager.* "For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the priestly group which formulated the jubilee legislation in the late exilic period. . . . The jubilee land laws were used by P to perform this threefold function in the social milieu of the exile for the sake of the community and in order to promote some of their own interests."[31]

The whole scheme that sees the development of Israel's religion as based on an evolutionary process depends on placing the P document late because the priestly phase, according to these theories, was the last stage in the development of Israel's religion. The Scripture passages regarding the Sabbatical and Jubilee years are often assigned by liberal scholarship to the P tradition, or to the "H" (for Holiness Code) tradition within P. But if these passages, as part of P, were in existence in written form in 1406 B.C., then the earlier writings J, E, and D of the JEDP theory also existed in written form in 1406 B.C. If we accept the premises of the classical Documentary Hypothesis regarding the priority of writing, then it follows that the whole Pentateuch was codified, written, and known when Israel entered Canaan.

This line of reasoning shows the weakness of the Documentary Hypothesis. If the critical premise is true, that these passages about the Sabbatical and Jubilee years were part of the latest portions of the Pentateuch to be written, then it follows that the rest of the Pentateuch had an even earlier date.[32] Thus it is hoped that the goal of the present article has been achieved,

---

[28]Madeline S. Miller and J. Lane Miller, *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, 7th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 391, s.v. "Leviticus."

[29]Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 139.

[30]Otto Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, trans. John Sturdy (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975), 105.

[31]Jeffrey Fager, *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee: Discovering a Moral World-View through the Sociology of Knowledge* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 15 n. 4, 52.

[32]The traditional view of the Scriptures, of course, maintains that the Pentateuch's frequent phrase "The LORD said to Moses" is an accurate statement about its authorship. Conservative scholarship does not claim that every word in the Pentateuch

namely to show that a careful exegesis of Ezek 40:1, in conjunction with a few external facts and simple arithmetic, provides positive evidence against theories of post-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

---

had to be in existence in 1406 B.C. The last chapter of Deuteronomy, e.g., was obviously written after the death of Moses. But any position that denies Mosaic authorship to the preceding chapters of Deuteronomy and to the preceding four books of the Pentateuch conflicts directly with the teaching of Christ in the NT.

APPENDIX
DECISION TABLES SHOWING ALL POSSIBILITIES
FOR INTERPRETATION OF THE TWO
YEAR-FORMULAS OF EZEKIEL 40:1

Table 1a. Options for Ezekiel 40:1 Assuming Tishri Years				
Possible interpretation of dates in Ezek 40:1	1	2	3	4
Does Ezekiel use Tishri or Nisan years?	T	T	T	T
Captivity started before or after Nisan 1, 597?	before	before	after	after
City fell in (B.C.)	587	586	587	586
A. 25th year *of* captivity (implies non-acc. reckoning)	598t-24 = 574t	598t-24 = 574t	598t-24 = 574t	598t-24 = 574t
B. 14 years *after* city fell (implies acc. reckoning)	588t-14 = 574t	587t-14 = 573t	588t-14 = 574t	587t-14 = 573t
C. Overlap of A and B	574t	none	574t	none

Table 1b. Options for Ezekiel 40:1 Assuming Nisan Years				
Possible interpretation of dates in Ezek 40:1	5	6	7	8
Does Ezekiel use Tishri or Nisan years?	N	N	N	N
Captivity started before or after Nisan 1, 597?	before	before	after	after
City fell in (B.C.)	587	586	587	586
A. 25th year *of* captivity (implies non-acc. reckoning)	598n-24 = 574n	598n-24 = 574n	597n-24 = 573n	597n-24 = 573n
B. 14 years *after* city fell (implies acc. reckoning)	587n-14 = 573n	586n-14 = 572n	587n-14 = 573n	586n-14 = 572n
C. Overlap of A and B	none	none	573n	none

Years in these tables are expressed in terms of the Nisan/Tishri notation, in which a year starting in Nisan of 598 B.C. and ending the day before Nisan

1 of 597 B.C. is written as 598n. The year starting in Tishri of 598 B.C. and ending the day before Tishri 1 of 597 B.C. is written as 598t; notice that this represents a twelve-month period that is six months later than 598n. To use the tables, start at the top of one of the columns (also called rules) numbered 1 through 8. Read down through the three assumptions in the left part of the table; the values for those assumptions will be in the top part of the column, and their consequences will be in the lower part, below the heavy line. For the present table, row C must show an overlap if the assumptions in the column are to be tentatively accepted.

No scenario (set of hypotheses) works that assumes that the city fell in 586 B.C. Scenarios that work assuming the city fell in 587 B.C. are Rules (columns) 1 and 3 (Tishri years, captivity began before or after Nisan 1, 597) and Rule 7 (Nisan years, the captivity beginning after Nisan 1, 597). Rule 7 can be eliminated when its hypotheses are tested against the statement in Ezek 33:21 that news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Ezekiel in the tenth month of the twelfth year of his exile, which would be in Tebeth (January) of 585 B.C., eighteen months after the city fell in 587 under the conditions of Rule 7. This is an unreasonably long time for the news to reach Babylon, compared to the six months under the conditions of Rules 1 and 3, and so Rule 7, the last possibility that Ezekiel was using Nisan years, must also be eliminated. Rules 1 and 3 differ on whether Jehoiachin was taken captive in Adar or in Nisan, but for calculation purposes this question is immaterial, since the year started in Tishri.

BIBLICAL METAPHORS FOR THE CHURCH
AND ADVENTIST ECCLESIOLOGY

JOHN K. MCVAY
Walla Walla College
College Place, Washington

The republication of Paul Minear's classic treatment, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, provides apt occasion to reconsider metaphors for the church and their appropriation today.[1] The purpose of this essay is threefold: to outline appropriate ways to analyze and understand NT metaphors for the church, to provide a fresh survey of the metaphors in the light of that methodology, and to reflect on how the biblical metaphors for the church should impact our thinking. "If the church is to recover the integrity of its life and mission, it must have adequate images to capture and inspire its imagination."[2] While I trust a wider audience will find the reflections useful, I am especially interested in the function of NT metaphors in Seventh-day Adventist understandings of the church.

A Survey of Metaphors for the Church

Minear catalogued ninety-six images of the church in the NT;[3] then he sifted out thirty-two "minor images" (e.g., the salt of the earth, a letter from Christ) and grouped the remaining images under the rubrics "The People of God," "The New Creation," "The Fellowship in Faith," and "The Body of Christ." Reproducing his list offers a helpful outline of NT metaphors for the church:[4]

---

[1]Paul S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, foreword, Leander E. Keck (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004), xiii-xxvii.

[2]John Driver, *Images of the Church in Mission* (Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1997), 21.

[3]Minear.

[4]Ibid., 268-269. I have adapted Minear's appendix, in which he outlines "Analogies Discussed in the Text." I have added the headings and biblical references, attempting to include those passages Minear specifically mentions where he believes the image/metaphor is or may be used. A question mark indicates that Minear expresses doubt as to whether the metaphor is actually present. Occasionally, too, he does not see a specific metaphor actually present, but still believes the language nonetheless provides "an important clue to the church's self-understanding" (a phrase he uses in treating the image "The Cup of the Lord," 39). I have included such references. It should be borne in mind that Minear is, in general, attempting to be representative, rather than exhaustive, in the citations he provides. I have listed references in canonical order rather than the order in which Minear discusses them and have retained his use of the abbreviation "f."

Minor Images of the Church

[1] the salt of the earth (Matt 5:13)

[2] a letter from Christ (2 Cor 3:2-3)

[3] fish and fish net (Matt 4:19; 13:47-50; Mark 1:17; Luke 5:1-11; John 21:1-14)

[4] the boat (Matt 8:23-27?; 14:22-27?; Mark 4:1?; John 21:8?)

[5] the ark (1 Pet 3:18-22)

[6] unleavened bread (1 Cor 5:7)

[7] one loaf (John 6; 1 Cor 10:16-17)

[8] the table of the Lord (1 Cor 10:21)

[9] the altar (1 Cor 9:13; Heb 13:15; Rev 6:9; 16:6-7)

[10] the cup of the Lord (1 Cor 10:16, 21)

[11] wine (Mark 2:27?; John 2:1-11?)

[12] branches of the vine (John 15)

[13] vineyard (Matt 21:28-41; Mark 12:1-9; Luke 20:9-16; 1 Cor 9:7?)

[14] the fig tree (Mark 11:12-14; Luke 13:6-9; John 1:47)

[15] the olive tree (Rom 11:13-23)

[16] God's planting (1 Cor 3:9)

[17] God's building (1 Cor 3:9)

[18] building on the rock (Matt 16:18-19)

[19] pillar and buttress (Col 1:23; 1 Tim 3:5; Rev 3:12)

[20] virgins (Matt 25:1-13; Rev 14:1-4)

[21] the Messiah's mother (Rev 12:1-2)

[22] the elect lady (2 John 1:1)

[23] the bride of Christ (John 3:29; 2 Cor 11:1f.; Eph 5:22-31; Rev 21:2-4; 22:17)

[24] the wedding feast (Matt 22:1-10; Mark 2:19; Luke 12:36; Rev 19:8-9)

[25] wearers of white robes (Matt 22:1-14; Rev 19:7)

[26] the choice of clothing (Rom 13:12, 14; 1 Cor 15:51-54; 2 Cor 5:2-3; Gal 3:27; Eph 4:22-24; 6:11f.; Col 3:9-11; 3:12f.; 1 Thess 5:5-8)

[27] citizens (Gal 6:10; Eph 2:10; Phil 3:20)[28] exiles (Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:1; 2:11)

[28] exiles (Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:1; 2:11)

[29] the dispersion (Jas 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1)

[30] ambassadors (2 Cor 5:18-21)

[31] the poor (Luke 6:20?; Jas 2:2-6?)

[32] hosts and guests (Matt 25:31-46)

The People of God

[33] the people of God (Rom 9:25-26; 1 Pet 2:9-10)

[34] Israel (Gal 6:16; Eph 2:10; Heb 8:8-10; 11:25; Rev 2:14)[5]

[35] a chosen race (1 Pet 2:9)

[36] a holy nation (1 Pet 2:9)

[37] twelve tribes (Matt 19:28; Jas 1:1; Rev 7:4)

[38] the patriarchs (Rom 15:8-10; 1 Cor 10:1-10)

[39] circumcision (Rom 2:25-29; Phil 3:3-11; Col 2:11-12)

[40] Abraham's sons (Rom 4:16; Gal 3:29)

[41] the exodus (passages that demonstrate the belief that "Christians were repeating the communal experience of the exiles from Egypt," see, e.g., John 3:14; Heb 11:23-29; 1 Cor 10:1-12)[6]

[42] house of David (Acts 15:16-18 and implied in many passages focused on the origins of Jesus)

[43] remnant (Rom 9:27; 11:5-7)

---

[5]It is worth noting that, in treating this image, Minear, 72, writes: "Paul did not fall back [in Gal 6:16] upon a concept of two Israels, the old and the new, or the false and the true. He defined God's Israel as one people. . . . So strong is this sense of solidarity that one must conclude that the continuity between the two Testaments is grounded in the fact that both tell the story of how the same God fulfills his covenant promises to the same people."

[6]Ibid., 78.

[44] the elect (e.g., Luke 9:35; 23:35; John 1:34; 1 Cor 1:27; Eph 1:4; 1 Thess 1:4; Jas 2:5; 2 Pet 1:10)

[45] flock (Matt 26:31; Luke 2:8?; 12:32; John 10, eps. v. 16; 21:15-17; Acts 20:28-29; 1 Cor 9:7; Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 5:2-3).

[46] lambs who rule (Rev 2:26-27)

[47] the Holy City (Gal 3; Heb 12; Rev 11)

[48] the holy temple (1 Cor 3:16-17; Eph 2:18-22; 1 Pet 2:5)

[49] priesthood (1 Pet 2:9; Rev 1:6; 5:10)

[50] sacrifice (Hebrews)

[51] aroma (2 Cor 2:15; Phil 4:18; Rev 5:8; 8:3)

[52] festivals (esp. Passover, Pentecost, and Sabbath)

The New Creation

[53] the new creation (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15-16; Jas 1:18)

[54] first fruits (Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:15; Jas 1:18; cf. Rom 8:23; 11:16; 1 Cor 15:20-23)

[55] the new humanity (Col 3:10; Eph 4:22, 24)

[56] the last Adam (Rom 5:12; 1 Cor 15:21-22; Eph 2:14-15)

[57] the Son of Man (John 1:51; Heb 2:6)

[58] the Kingdom of God (Gospels)

[59] fighters against Satan (see images nos. 26 and 55)

[60] Sabbath Rest (Mark 2:23–3:6; Luke 13:6-21; John 5; Heb 4:1-11)

[61] the coming age (1 Cor 15:28; Heb 12:28)

[62] God's glory (1 Thess 2:12; 2 Cor 3:7-18)

[63] light (Matt 5:14; Luke 16:8; John 8:12; Acts 13:47; Eph 5:8; Phil 2:15; 1 Thess 5:5; 1 Pet 2:9; Rev 1:20; 2:1, 5)

[64] the name (Matt 7:22; 18:5; Rev 3:12)

[65] life (John 20:31; Col 3:3; 1 Pet 3:7; Rev 3:1)

[66] the tree of life (Rev 2:7; 22:1-5)

[67] communion in the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 13:14; passages mentioning "one spirit")

[68] the bond of love (linked to many "new creation" passages)

The Fellowship in Faith

[69] the sanctified (e.g., 1 Cor 1:2)

[70] the faithful (e.g., Col 1:2)

[71] the justified (e.g., Rom 3:26)

[72] followers (Call narratives in the Gospels)

[73] disciples (Call narratives in the Gospels)

[74] road (Matt 7:13-14; Luke 13:23-24; John 14:4-6; Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22)

[75] coming and going (Gospel of John)

[76] witnessing community (John 15:26-27; 1 John 1:1-4; 4:11-18; 5:19; Rev 6:9-11; 12:11, 17; 19:10)

[77] confessors (see passages for "witnessing community," just above)

[78] slaves (1 Cor 9:19; 2 Cor 4:5; Gal 1:10; 5:13; Eph 6:6)

[79] friends (Luke 12:4; John 11:11; 15:15-20; 20:2; 21:16; 3 John 15)

[80] servants (Mark 9:35; 10:43; John 12:25-26; 2 Cor 3; Eph 4; 1 Pet 4:10-11; Rev 2:19)

[81] "with . . ." (e.g., Rom 8:32; Col 3:3-4)

[82] edification (1 Cor 8:1; Eph 2:21; 4:7-12, 16; 1 Pet 2:5)

[83] household of God (Heb 3:1-6; 8:1-13; 1 Pet 2:5-10; 4:17)

[84] sons of God (Matt 23:9-10; John 1:12; 11:52)

[85] brotherhood (Matt 25:40; Mark 3:35; 10:29-30; 1 Pet 2:17; 5:9; 1 John 3:1–5:5)

The Body of Christ	[91] head of cosmic spirits (Col 2:9-10)[7]
[86] the body of life (Rom 5:8)	
[87] members of Christ (1 Cor 6:12-20)	[92] head of the church (Col 2:9-10, by implication)
[88] the body and the blood (1 Cor 10:16-17; 11:23-26)	[93] the body of this head (Col 2:11, 18, 23, passim)
[89] the diversities of ministries (1 Cor 12:12-27, in the setting of 1 Cor 12–14; Rom 12)	[94] the unity of Jews and Gentiles (Colossians)
[90] spiritual body (1 Cor 15)	[95] the growth of the body (Col 2:19)
	[96] the fullness of God (Ephesians)

While Minear's taxonomy is helpful, a different organization is adopted here. I have emphasized those metaphors that are present both in the earlier and the later letters of Paul, the apostle's sustained interest suggesting they are worthy of close attention. I propose to treat here five clusters of biblical metaphors for the church:

Corporal: The Church as Body
Architectural: The Church as Building/Temple
Agricultural: The Church as Plant/Field/Vineyard/Vine
Martial: The Church as Army
Familial and Marital: The Church as Family and as Bride

In each case, I shall discuss the (usually OT) background, survey the uses of the cluster in the NT, examine selected passages more closely in view of the method described below, and emphasize the contributions the cluster makes to a well-rounded and vibrant understanding of the church.

How to Analyze Metaphors for the Church

Exegetes and theologians have sometimes operated with a dated set of presuppositions concerning metaphor, presuppositions that denigrate its use.[8] However, the metaphors of the Bible are surely to be regarded as inspired in the same way as the rest of it. So it is welcome news that some theorists offer an understanding of metaphor that comports well with its ubiquitous use in the Bible.

In the place of dated presuppositions about "mere metaphor," a distilled set of concepts about metaphor provide a truer perspective. The first of these ideas is that *metaphor is not mere adornment of language*. It is not "a sort of happy trick with words" or "a grace or ornament *added* to the power of language." Instead, metaphor is "the omnipresent principle of language" since language

[7]In dealing with images 91-95, Minear, 203-220, focuses solely on the occurrence of them in Colossians, reserving the discussion of Ephesians until image 96.

[8]See the elaboration of this point in Ian Paul, "Metaphor and Exegesis," in *After Pentecost: Language and Biblical Interpretation,* ed. Craig G. Bartholomew, Colin Greene, and Karl Möller, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 2 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 389-390.

itself is metaphoric and metaphor simply illustrates the workings of human language and thought as a whole.[9]

Second, *the meaning of metaphor cannot be adequately or fully paraphrased.* In this sense, metaphor—and especially poetic metaphor—is "irreducible." "The richer and more suggestive a metaphor is, the more impossible it is to spell out explicitly all the similarities that underlie it."[10] We should not be surprised that our explanations of biblical metaphors are not as convincing or durable as the metaphors themselves.

Third, *the communicative impact of metaphor should be appreciated* (rather than depreciated). Too often in biblical studies and theology, statements regarded as "literally true" are set over against those thought to be "only metaphorically true." However, "to say that a statement is metaphorical is a comment on its manner of expression and not necessarily on the truth of that which is expressed." If we were to warn someone, "Watch out! That's a live wire!" we would not be inclined to add, "Of course, that is only metaphorically true." It is both true and expressed with metaphor.[11]

The fourth idea is closely related: *Complex and "mixed" metaphors are, similarly, to be acknowledged and studied rather than overlooked and devalued.* From a classical perspective, occurrences of metaphor should demonstrate harmony and congruity of metaphorical elements, as well as visual clarity. From such a perspective, some uses of metaphor within the Bible do not measure up and so are devalued or dismissed. A more enlightened view demonstrates willingness to explore biblical metaphor and appreciate its complexity. Against the customary prohibition, such a view suggests that in mixed metaphor "we understand the speaker's intention directly; hence mixed metaphor is a sin against eloquence rather than a sin against meaning."[12]

With these four ideas clearly in mind, we may turn to some definitions and terms that will aid in disciplined analysis of biblical metaphors for the church.[13]

---

[9]I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 90, 92. While the idea that "ornament and style have no place in pure argument" is often credited to Aristotle and Quintilian, that origin has been controverted by Janet M. Soskice, who argues instead that the real source of the idea "is to be found in those philosophers of the seventeenth century who chose as their model the arguments of mathematics and the new sciences" (*Metaphor and Religious Language* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1985], 12).

[10]William P. Alston, *Philosopy of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1964), 100-101. See also Edmund P. Clowney, "Interpreting the Biblical Models of the Church: A Hermeneutical Deepening of Ecclesiology," in *Biblical Interpretation and the Church: Text and Context*, ed. D. A. Carson (Exeter: Paternoster, 1984), 71.

[11]Soskice, 70. See also George B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 131-132.

[12]Soskice, 73.

[13]The Wikipedia articles on "Metaphor" and "Conceptual Metaphor" provide a helpful review of wider concepts of metaphor. Wikipedia contributors, "Metaphor" and "Conceptual Metaphor," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia,*

How can we identify an occurrence of metaphor? Janet M. Soskice provides a helpful working definition: *"Metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another."*[14]

Once we have identified such a case where, for instance, "the church" is spoken about in terms of a "temple," how can we identify the components of metaphor and ponder their interaction? I. A. Richards's terms "tenor" and "vehicle" have proved enduring ones to identify respectively "the underlying idea or principal subject which the vehicle or figure means" and the basic figure that is used to carry the "tenor."[15] Richards illustrates these terms by referring to Shakespeare's phrase from *Othello*, "Steep'd me in poverty to the very lips," where he identifies the "tenor" as poverty and the "vehicle" as "the sea or vat in which Othello is to be steeped."[16]

In addition to being able to identify the "tenor" and "vehicle" of an instance of metaphor, two additional concepts help us evaluate the mechanics of metaphor: *How full is the metaphor?* Full metaphors explicitly reveal the following (using the temple metaphor of Eph 2:19-22 as an example): the tenor or object of the comparison (e.g., you, the church); the vehicle or image of the comparison (e.g., temple); and the "ground" of the comparison (e.g., God dwells in you, as a deity is thought to inhabit a temple). However, metaphors may be abbreviated, with one or two of these elements being implicit.[17]

Also, *to what extent is the metaphor guarded?* Metaphors are "frequently guarded, so as to take advantage of their values without courting their dangers." Such guarding occurs when "the metaphor is hedged about with protective rules and auxiliary explanations" and so "becomes less rich in meaning, but safer."[18] Among the ways an author can guard a metaphor is to express it fully, spelling out the tenor, vehicle, and ground of the comparison.

To understand a metaphor, though, we need to do more than ponder its mechanics, the pieces of the metaphor. We also need to consider how those components interact to create meaning. How do the tenor and vehicle interact? And what meaning(s) does this interaction yield? Here, another term is helpful,

---

<en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Metaphor&oldid=47789471>   and <en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Conceptual_metaphor&oldid=46813884> (accessed March 19, 2006).

[14]Soskice, 15.

[15]Richards, 96. It may be helpful to compare J. A. Cuddon's summary of Richards's terms: "By 'tenor' he meant the purport or general drift of thought regarding the subject of a metaphor; by 'vehicle', the image which embodies the tenor" (*A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3d ed. [Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991], 959).

[16]Richards, 104-105.

[17]I am adapting the concepts of Jan de Waard, "Biblical Metaphors and Their Translation," *BT* 25 (1974): 109-111.

[18]Monroe C. Beardsley, "Metaphor," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. P. Edwards (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 286.

that of "associated commonplaces."[19] Imagine reading the metaphor, "Men are wolves." We would know that the writer is speaking about "men" in terms of "wolves." What "associated commonplaces" might the writer and hearers share about wolves? We could construct quite a list, including, for example, that wolves run in packs, are voracious hunters, and are wily and sly. The more we know about the "associated commonplaces" attached to the vehicle "wolves," the more likely we are to understand the metaphor and be able to analyze the context in order to know which of these "associated commonplaces" may be active there.

A similar need confronts us as we interpret the Bible. We need to carefully consider the meaning of the metaphors within their literary and cultural contexts. "A given metaphor is capable of very diverse uses; the setting becomes as decisive for its meaning as the image taken by itself."[20] Metaphors for the church "need to be understood in their formative settings, in their social and religious contexts of origin."[21] Ellen White's exhortation applies here:

> Let us in imagination go back to that scene, and, as we sit with the disciples on the mountainside, enter into the thoughts and feelings that filled their hearts. Understanding what the words of Jesus meant to those who heard them, we may discern in them a new vividness and beauty, and may also gather for ourselves their deeper lessons.[22]

With the above concepts and terminology in view, a set of evaluative questions may be composed to structure the analysis of a given occurrence of biblical metaphor for the church:

1. *Identification.* Is a specific biblical statement about the church an example of metaphor?

2. *Mechanics.* Assuming the statement constitutes a metaphor, what are its "tenor" and "vehicle"? How full is it? In what ways is the metaphor guarded?

3. *Interaction of Components.* What "associated commonplaces" might have occurred to the author and the writer's audience? How many of these ideas does the context indicate are active? How do these "associated commonplaces" contribute to the understanding of the church?

4. *Function.* How does the metaphor function in this context? Why does the author employ it?[23]

---

[19]I borrow the term "associated commonplaces" from Max Black, *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 40. Peter Cottrell and Max Turner use the term "presupposition pool" (*Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1989], 301). Peter W. Macky uses the more complex taxonomy of positive, negative, and neutral analogies (*The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought: A Method for Interpreting the Bible*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 19 [Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1990], 104-105, 251).

[20]Minear, 30.

[21]Driver, 17.

[22]Ellen G. White, *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1955), 1.

[23]This basic outline of metaphor analysis may be compared with benefit to the

Five Clusters of Metaphors for the Church

Corporal: The Church as Body

Of the clusters of metaphors employed to describe the church, the use of the human body is especially important because of the frequency of its use, the variety of ways it is employed and developed, and its theological importance. Of the clusters reviewed here, it is the only one that is not readily traced to the OT. While a variety of origins for the imagery have been proposed, it is difficult to imagine that Paul does not draw on the frequent Greco-Roman use of the body metaphor for the society or the state.[24]

The Greco-Roman use of the body metaphor seems to hark back to the fable credited to Aesop, "The Belly and the Feet" (and the more elaborate speeches, based on the fable, attributed to Menenius Agrippa):

> The belly and the feet were arguing about their importance, and when the feet kept saying that they were so much stronger that they even carried the stomach around, the stomach replied, "But, my good friends, if I didn't take in food, you wouldn't be able to carry anything."[25]

One ancient author, Seneca, uses the body metaphor with a similar range of meaning, as we find in the writings of Paul. He uses the metaphor in a cosmic sense to indicate the unity of the human and the divine (cf. Col 1:15-20; Eph 1:22-23; 5:23, 30), to indicate the unity of the members of human society (cf. Rom 12:4-5; 1 Cor 12:12-27; Eph 2:16; 3:6; 4:4, 25), and to elucidate the relationship between the state as "body" and the emperor as "head" (cf. Col 1:18; 2:19; Eph 1:22-23; 4:11-16; 5:23).[26]

In the earlier epistles, Paul employs "The Church is a Body"[27] to describe

---

more detailed pattern offered by Peter Macky in *Centrality of Metaphors*, with special attention to pp. 278-297. I should note that in this section of my essay, "How to Analyze Metaphors for the Church," I am summarizing the first chapter, "Approaching Ecclesial Metaphor in the Epistle to the Ephesians," pp. 1-73, of my "Ecclesial Metaphor in the Epistle to the Ephesians from the Perspective of a Modern Theory of Metaphor" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1995).

[24]Gosnell L. O. Yorke classifies theories of origin of the body metaphor into "Extra-New Testament" proposals (The Old Testament, Rabbinic Judaism, Gnosticism, Greco-Roman Philosophy, and the Corinthian Asclepion) and "Intra-New Testament" proposals (Paul's Christophanic Encounter, Paul's Eucharistic Christology, Nuptial Theology, or Theology of Baptism) (*The Church as the Body of Christ in the Pauline Corpus: A Re-Examination* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991], 1-7).

[25]The translation is from Lloyd W. Daly, *Aesop without Morals: The Famous Fables, and a Life of Aesop* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), 148. For the speeches of Menenius Agrippa, see Ruth Ilsley Hicks, "The Body Political and the Body Ecclesiastical," *JBR* 31 (1963): 29-35.

[26]For more detailed discussion, see John K. McVay, "The Human Body as Social and Political Metaphor in Stoic Literature and Early Christian Writers," *BASP* 37 (2000): 135-147.

[27]I adopt the standard of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in capitalizing a

the church in 1 Corinthians (10:17; 11:29; 12:12-27) and Romans (12:4-5). The first two uses in 1 Corinthians (10:17; 11:29) are in the context of a discussion of the Lord's Supper. Issuing a warning against partaking of the "cup" and "table" of demons (1 Cor 10:1-22, esp. vv. 14-22), Paul writes, "Is not the cup of thanksgiving for which we give thanks a participation in the blood of Christ? And is not the bread that we break a participation in the body (σῶμα) of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we, who are many, are one body (σῶμα), for we all partake of the one loaf" (vv. 16-17, NIV).[28]

The use of σῶμα in 1 Cor 11:29 is debated. Is it eucharistic (failing to distinguish sacramental from common food), Christological ("he fails to distinguish the Lord's body in the bread which he eats"), or ecclesial in the sense of failing "to discern and to give due weight to the church, assembled at the Supper as the body of Christ"?[29] In favor of the ecclesial understanding, it may be noted that Paul has defined that sense of "one body" at 10:17 and the use here seems to point back to it. "Most likely the term 'body,' ... deliberately recalls Paul's interpretation of the bread in 10:17, thus indicating that the concern is with the problem in Corinth itself, of the rich abusing the poor."[30] These two uses (or only one if 1 Cor 11:29 is discounted) point to a profound unity among believers, one rooted in God's action in Christ. Sacramental participation in the body of Christ through the "one loaf" and Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper joins believers together as "one body."

1 Corinthians 12:12-27 and Romans 12:4-5

The uses of the body metaphor in 1 Cor 12:12-27 and Rom 12:4-5 are quite similar. In both cases, the body metaphor is offered in the context of affirming the smooth function and appropriate valuation of spiritual gifts. Romans 12:4-5 functions nicely as a summary: "Just as each of us has one body with many members, and these members do not all have the same function, so in Christ we who are many form one body, and each member belongs to all the others."

---

summary statement of metaphors as a way of identifying them clearly (*Metaphors We Live By*, 4 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003], 243-276).

[28]Unless otherwise noted, quotations from the Bible are drawn from the NIV.

[29]C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2d ed., BNTC (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), 274. Barrett argues that the reference is best viewed as Christological, based on "the parallelism between verses 27 and 29" and the use of σῶμα as a "shorthand form" of the earlier phrase, "the body and blood of the Lord." Ivan Blazen, too, believes the reference to be Christological, but artfully melds the Christological and ecclesial views: "Better examine yourselves then, admonishes Paul, for when you celebrate the Lord's Supper 'without discerning the body,' the presence of Christ whose body was broken for us that He might forge us into His body, the church, you bring the judgment of weakness, illness, and even death upon yourself (11:29, 30)" (*The Gospel on the Street: Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians* [Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press, 1997], 90).

[30]Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 563.

The accent here is on the need for healthy relationships among church members, where due respect is given to the diversity of gifts in the context of treasuring every member, especially those who are "weaker" or "less honorable" or "respectable" (1 Cor 12:22-23).

At this point, it is helpful to introduce an additional term used in the study of metaphor: submetaphors. Submetaphors are related to the overall metaphor as parts to the whole. So, in 1 Cor 12:12-27, the various "members" (μέλη) or body parts may be identified as submetaphors of the wider body metaphor: foot, hand, ear, eye, head, weaker parts, less honorable parts, unpresentable parts, presentable parts. While these are not supplied with direct referents, so that these submetaphors are not fully expressed, there is an implied and general identity with various gifts listed in vv. 28-31.

Much as in the fable of Aesop, the function of the metaphor is to highlight the interdependence of church members who have been arranged in the ecclesial body just as God intended (1 Cor 12:18). Ideally, when this interdependence is realized and actualized, there will be "no division in the body," but, instead, the various parts will "have equal concern for each other. If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honored, every part rejoices with it" (1 Cor 12:25-26).

Ephesians 4:1-16

Ephesians 4:1-16 represents the most detailed use of the body metaphor in the later writings of Paul. In a way reminiscent of Rom 12, where a call to unity is followed by a discussion of the role of spiritual gifts in advancing it, the passage focuses on the role of the "gifts" (δόματα, v. 8) as they relate to the theme of unity. It is instructive to compare the use of the body metaphor in Eph 4 with the earlier one in 1 Cor 12. In both passages, the body metaphor is employed in relation to a discussion of spiritual gifts. In 1 Cor 12, while God arranges the gifts in the body (vv. 18, 24, 28), it is the Spirit who gives the gifts (vv. 4-11). In Ephesians, the gifts are given by the triumphant Christ (Eph 4:8, 11).

In 1 Cor 12, there is a greater variety listed of both spiritual gifts and body parts (foot, hand, ear, eye, head), though none of the gifts is identified with a specific body part. In Eph 4, referents are provided for a shorter list of body parts. Christ is the "head,"(κεφαλή, v. 15). By way of contrast, in 1 Cor 12 the head was not distinguished as a particularly significant body part, ministers of the word (v. 11) are "ligaments" (ἁφή [s.], v. 16),[31] and other church members are "parts" (μέροι, v. 16). "The emphasis here is on the gift of the ministry of the Church."[32] In Ephesians, Paul is anxious to assert that "the function of the

---

[31]I follow the technical sense of the term defended by BDAG 155; J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1904), 186; J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2d ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1.101-102; H. Balz, G. Schneider, eds., *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1.181).

[32]R. Newton Flew, *Jesus and His Church: A Study of the Idea of the Ecclesia in the New*

various ministers in the church is critical for its growth and that such people are to be seen as part of the royal largesse which Christ distributes from his position of cosmic lordship after his triumphal ascent." These individuals "are to be highly valued as gifts from the exalted Christ."[33]

Paul also innovates in his use of the body metaphor in introducing the concept of the growth of the body, a thought that permeates vv. 11-16, which display a chiastic structure:

A—Growth *from* Christ (vv. 11-12; "It was he who gave . . . that the body of Christ might be built up")

   B—Growth *toward* Christ (v. 13; "Until all of us come . . . to the measure of the full stature of Christ," NRSV)

      Warning: The Alternative to Growth (v. 14)

   B'—Growth *toward* Christ (v. 15; "We must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ," NRSV)

A'—Growth *from* Christ (v. 16; "From him the whole body . . . grows and builds itself up in love")

The function of the body metaphor in the passage is nicely highlighted by citing the closely related passage, Col 2:18-19:

> Do not let anyone who delights in false humility and the worship of angels disqualify you for the prize. Such a person goes into great detail about what he has seen, and his unspiritual mind puffs him up with idle notions. He has lost connection with the Head (τὴν κεφαλὴν), from whom the whole body (τὸ σῶμα), supported and held together by its ligaments and sinews (διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων), grows as God causes it to grow.

In Eph 4, Paul employs the body metaphor to underscore relationships among members, but with a special emphasis on valuing and following those "ministers of the Word" given to the church by Christ from his position of lordship over the cosmos. In addition, in both Eph 4 and Col 2, Paul is keen to accentuate the importance of the relationship between the churchly body and Christ, the head of it. He worries that some may not be "holding fast" to the head (Col 2:19) and that others may, in refusing the resources Christ offers, miss that growth and maturity, which finds its source, direction and goal in Christ, the Head (Eph 4:11-16).

To survey the uses of the body metaphor is to be reminded that biblical metaphors for the church are not static images: "'[T]he body of Christ' is not a single expression with an unchanging meaning. Paul's thought remains extremely flexible and elastic."[34] Close attention to the use in a specific context is essential to both the interpretation and appropriation of the metaphor.

Testament, 2d ed. (London: Epworth, 1943), 183.

[33]Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology*, SNTSMS 43 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 162.

[34]Minear, 173-174.

The metaphor "The Church is a Body" or, more specifically, "The Church is the Body of Christ" reminds us that healthy relationships among members and cohesion to Christ are essential for the church. Interestingly, advancing knowledge of anatomy and physiology, far from rendering Paul's use of the metaphor obsolete, has only served to heighten the impact of these points. While the missional significance of the metaphor is more assumed than detailed, "The thrust of these passages is one of activity. Christ directs, controls, and energizes the members . . . so that they may serve his purpose in the world. Thus part of the church's reason for being is that *it may minister to the world as Christ's agent.*"[35]

Agricultural: The Church as
Plant/Field/Vineyard/Vine

In the OT, the grapevine and the vineyard symbolize Israel, pictured by the Psalmist as "a vine from Egypt" that God transplanted and nurtured in the Promised Land before judging Israel as a vineyard by breaking down its walls (Ps 80). Isaiah crafts an extended parable, explicitly using the metaphor "Israel is a Vineyard" ("The vineyard of the LORD Almighty is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah are the garden of his delight," Isa 5:7) and emphasizing God's care for the vineyard (vv. 1-2) and the divine judgment following a failed harvest (vv. 3-7).[36] Other plants, too, can be used to represent Israel, including an oak tree (Isa 61:3), a palm or cedar (Ps 92:12), and an olive tree (Jer 11:16-17).[37]

In Ezek 17:1-24, the prophet relates an elaborate "allegory" or "parable" (v. 1) about an eagle who broke off the topmost shoot of a cedar (Jehoiachin) and transplanted it in "a city of traders" (Babylon, v. 4 cf. v. 12). Meanwhile, the eagle planted "some of the seed of your land" in fertile soil, where it became a luxuriant, spreading vine, an image of Israel under the rule of Babylon (vv. 3-6, referring especially to the rule of Mattaniah/Zedekiah). This vine, though, "sent out its roots" to another eagle (Egypt) and, as a result, will "be uprooted and stripped of its fruit" (v. 9). However, God himself will plant a clipping from the top of a cedar and plant it "on a high and lofty mountain" in Israel, where "it will produce branches and bear fruit

---

[35]Ralph P. Martin, *The Family and the Fellowship: New Testament Images of the Church*, 1st American ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 123.

[36]Cf. the brief mention in Jer 2:21, "I had planted you like a choice vine of sound and reliable stock. How then did you turn against me into a corrupt, wild vine?" The imagery is used differently in Jer 6:9, where checking the vines a second time in the harvest is a metaphor for judgment; Hos 10:1-2, 13, where judgment follows an abundant, but evil, harvest; and Ezek 17, discussed below, where judgment seems to precede the time of harvest (v. 9). Dan 4, which employs the agricultural metaphor "The King is a Tree," illustrates the continuity of the themes of "privilege" and "judgment" expressed through such metaphors.

[37]The agricultural metaphors of Isa 61:3 and Ps 92:12 are formulated in a wholly positive manner, while that of Jer 11:16-17 again expresses the theme of judgment.

and become a splendid cedar" (v. 23; cf. Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24-25).[38]
There is considerable consistency with this cluster of metaphors as it is carried into the NT, with the imagery of the vine/vineyard conveying both the sense of God's care and the potential of his judgment. This is the case in two prominent uses in the Gospels: the Parable of the Wicked Tenants (Matt 21:33-46; Mark 12:1-12; Luke 20:9-19) and Jesus' discussion of the vine and its branches (John 15:1-8).[39] In these parables, which seem to trace salvation-history in an allegorical fashion, the metaphor is implicit and obvious: "The People of God are the Vineyard of God." The Jewish leaders who are being addressed in the parable (Mark 11:27; 12:1, 12), having refused repeatedly to return to the owner the agreed-upon portion of the harvest even to the point of killing and ejecting the owner's son (Mark 12:7-8), stand under judgment (Mark 12:9).

John 15:1-8

In John 15:1-8, Jesus becomes "the true vine" and disciples are branches that hold the promise of bearing much fruit, but are under the threat of being "thrown away" and "burned" (v. 6). Jesus' use of the organic image in the Gospel of John provides a remarkably personal and intimate image of the relationship between disciples and Jesus. As fruit-bearing branches must "remain in the vine" (v. 4), so disciples who flourish and bear much fruit must remain organically connected to Christ and accept the nourishing resources he offers (vv. 5-6, 8). "Much fruit" (v. 5) results from abiding in Jesus and praying in his name (vv. 7-8), and consists of obedience to Jesus' commands (v. 10), experiencing Jesus' joy (v. 11), love for fellow believers (v. 12), and persistent, faithful witness to the world on the pattern of Jesus' own witness and with a similar and negative reception (vv. 18-27).[40]

1 Corinthians 3:6-9

Paul uses the agricultural metaphor "Believer's are God's Field" implicitly in 1 Cor 3:6-9a and explicitly in v. 9b. Here, though, the focus is on the workers (Paul and Apollos), their differing roles, and essential equality, rather than the field itself.

Romans 11:17-24

The privilege/judgment theme is obvious when Paul employs the image of the olive tree in an allegorical manner in Rom 11:17-24 to illustrate salvation history

[38]Two additional passages in Ezekiel also employ the vine metaphor to express judgment on Jerusalem (15:1-8) or the princes of Israel (19:10-14).

[39]Additional passages in the Gospels also employ the imagery of the vineyard, but the metaphor "The People of God are the Vineyard of God" is less obvious and central: The parables of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt 20:1-16), the Two Sons (Matt 21:28-32), and the Fig Tree (Luke 13:6-9). In the latter case, though, Minear, 44, argues that "[t]here is probably involved here an identification of God's people with God's tree."

[40]Following D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 517.

to Gentile addressees. He highlights both the privilege of their identity as branches in the tree that share in "the nourishing sap from the olive root" (v. 17) and the threat of judgment (cf. Jer 11:16-17). They, as wild olive shoots grafted into the tree, should not "be arrogant" toward Jews who have been "cut off," "but be afraid. For if God did not spare the natural branches, he will not spare you either" (v. 21).[41] Paul's use of the metaphor is especially interesting here as he employs "The People of God are an Olive Tree" in a way that accents the continuity of the people of God.

Agricultural metaphors, when used to highlight the identity of believers in the NT, function to accent the privileged connection believers have to Christ and the resources they receive from him. In line with earlier uses in the OT, the metaphors also function to describe the attendant responsibility of Christians to offer a "harvest of righteousness and peace" (Heb 12:11) and warn of the judgment that will surely follow the misuse of such exalted privileges.[42] This cluster of metaphors, then, offers the biological dynamism of nourishment and growth, as well as warning of the negative results of refusing such nourishment.

Architectural: The Church as Building/Temple

The authors of the NT frequently employ building and temple imagery in relation to the Christian community. In doing so, they draw on the rich tradition and history of the wilderness tabernacle and the temple in Jerusalem. The metaphor "The People of God are the Temple of God" is not employed explicitly in the OT. However, important themes build toward it. God the Creator is portrayed as a builder: "My own hand laid the foundations of the earth" (Isa 48:13; cf. Job 26:10; 38:4-7; Pss 102:25; 104:3; Prov 8:27-31; Isa 40:12; Jer 31:27; Amos 9:6). In giving detailed instructions for construction of the tabernacle and temple, God is cast as the paradigmatic Builder. Importantly, God "builds" Jerusalem (Ps 147:2) and the remnant of Judah (Jer 31:4, 28).[43]

There exists also a strong and poignant theme, especially in the prophetic literature, that acts of justice and attitudes of humble worship are to be preferred to cultic acts of festival and sacrifice (Ps 40:6-8; Isa 1:10-20; 66:2b-4; Jer 6:20; Hos 6:6; Amos 5:21-27; Mic 6:6-8). To spiritualize the cultus of

---

[41]For a concise discussion of whether or not Paul's metaphor reflects "actual arboricultural practice," see C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans: A Shorter Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 278. Cranfield concludes: "In this use of metaphor—and it is surely a perfectly proper use of it—the verisimilitude of the metaphorical details is not important; the important thing is that the author's meaning should be quite clear. And about Paul's meaning here there is no doubt."

[42]See Jesus' succinct statement of the judgment theme in Matt 15:13: "He replied, 'Every plant that my heavenly Father has not planted will be pulled up by the roots.'"

[43]Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman III, eds., *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1998), 128-129. This brief entry on "Build, Building" is insightful and I am dependent on it in tracing the OT themes.

worship in this way was to take a significant step toward identifying the people of God as the locus of true worship.

In addition to the OT tradition, the Greco-Roman "temple culture" of the first century was a part of the everyday lives of believers.[44] In one or both of these ways, the authors of the NT documents could count on their addressees being familiar with the building and function of temples.

Matthew credits Jesus with the pronouncement, "'On this rock I will build my church'" (16:18), identifying the church as a building rising on a solid foundation. Other NT authors use terms from the content domain of architecture to describe individual believers or the Christian community (Matt 7:24-27 [cf. Luke 6:47-49]; 1 Cor 3:9b-17; 6:19;[45] 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; Gal 2:9; Eph 2:19-22; Col 1:21-23; 2:6-7; 1 Tim 3:5, 15; 2 Tim 2:19; Heb 3:1-6; 10:21; 1 Pet 2:4-8; 4:17; Rev 3:12). Of these passages, four offer developed building/temple metaphors for the church: 1 Cor 3:9b-17; 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; Eph 2:19-22; 1 Pet 2:4-8.

1 Corinthians 3:9b-17

In 1 Cor 3, Paul treats the issue of "jealousy and quarreling" among the Christian congregations in Corinth. Complaining that they identify with himself or Apollos, Paul uses an agricultural metaphor, in which he identifies himself as the one who planted and Apollos as the one who watered, to describe their equality as "only servants" (vv. 5-9a). Paul then modulates to an architectural metaphor: "You are God's field, God's building" (οἰκοδομή, v. 9b).

The function of the architectural metaphor of house/temple is different than the agricultural one, for now Paul wishes to distinguish, rather than coalesce, his role with those of Apollos and others. These are now cast as other builders on the foundation he laid as "expert builder" (NIV) or "skilled chief builder" (ἀρχιτέκτων, v. 10).[46] He issues a warning to them to take care in their building, mentioning a variety of building materials suggestive of temple construction, and describing the eschatological test that awaits (vv. 10b-15). If the builder's work survives the fiery, eschatological test, he will be rewarded; if not, he will "suffer loss."[47] Addressing Christian believers directly, Paul employs

[44] A brief and helpful introduction to Greco-Roman temples is found in J. R. C. Cousland, "Temples, Greco-Roman," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, ed. A. Evans Craig and E. Porter Stanley (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000), 1186-1188.

[45] 1 Cor 6:19 is the only passage that applies ναός ("temple") to the individual believer. In the passage, Paul queries Christian men who were visiting prostitutes and offering theological justification for doing so: "Do you not know that your body is a temple (ναός) of the Holy Spirit?"

[46] So McVay, "Ecclesial Metaphor," 174-175 n. 61.

[47] Jay Shanor argues, in the context of examining an ancient inscription about temple building, that this is part of the building/temple metaphor and should be translated "he shall be fined." Similarly, he believes that the term μισθός (vv. 8, 14; NIV, "be rewarded"; "reward") should be understood as "wages" ("Paul as Master Builder," *NTS* 34 [1988]: 461-471).

the term "temple" (ναός) three times, concluding the passage by explicitly offering the metaphor "Christian Believers are God's Temple": "Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit lives in you? If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy him; for God's temple is sacred, and you are that temple."

As noted, Paul employs submetaphors of "skilled master builder" and other builders. In addition, he identifies Christ as the "foundation" (θεμέλιος) and lists a variety of possible building materials, though he provides no referent for them. Associated commonplaces active in the context include: a temple belongs to its god and is of value to that deity and (its corollary) damage to a temple is an affront to the deity; a temple houses the deity; the building of a temple requires supervision; contractors are rewarded for successful work and fined for poor craftsmanship; and the process of temple building involves the selection of appropriate, and rejection of inappropriate, building materials.

2 Corinthians 6:14–7:1

Paul again uses temple imagery to query his addressees in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, a passage in which he advocates separation from "idols" and the "unclean thing."[48] As a culminating question he asks, "What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols?" He follows with a strong, declarative statement: "For we are the temple (ναός) of the living God" (v. 16). The tenor of the temple metaphor in the passage may be described as "the distinct sanctity of Christians" and the associated commonplace, "a temple is inhabited by the deity," is clearly active ("'I will live with them,'" v. 16). Here, Paul employs the temple metaphor in an exclusive manner to stress the need for separation between believers and unbelievers.

Ephesians 2:19-22

The exclusive use in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 contrasts with the inclusive one in Eph 2:19-22, where the temple metaphor is the final in a string of telescoped metaphors and functions as a poignant metaphor for the inclusion of Gentiles as full partners in the Christian community.[49] The wider passage, Eph 2:11-22, celebrates the work of Christ on the Cross, by which Christ creates "in himself one new man out of the two" (Jew and Gentile, v. 15). Gentiles "are no longer foreigners and aliens," but, instead, are "fellow citizens" and "members of God's household" (οἰκεῖοι). This language of citizenship and household gives way to the imagery of building and temple.

Submetaphors of builder (implied; = God who is also the occupant of the

---

[48]I note that the placement (Did the passage stand originally in this context or is it an interpolation?), authenticity (Does the passage come from Paul or from someone else?), and provenance (To what extent was a pre-formed tradition taken over and from where?) of the passage are oft-discussed issues.

[49]By "telescoped metaphors," I mean a string of metaphors, in which "the vehicle of one metaphor becomes the tenor of another" (Cuddon, 958).

structure), foundation (θεμέλιος; = apostles and prophets), cornerstone (ἀκρογωνιαῖος; = Christ, probably as coping stone rather than foundation stone), and building materials (ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε; = both Jewish and Gentile believers) are used. The tenor of the metaphor may be identified as "the cohesion of Jews and Gentiles in the church." A number of associated commonplaces are active, including structural integrity (a building or temple made of different materials coheres), the process of building (temples are built), and habitation (here, the temple is "a dwelling in which God lives by his Spirit").

1 Peter 2:4-8

A final passage, 1 Pet 2:4-8, employs temple imagery ("spiritual house," οἶκος πνευματικός, v. 5) to designate Christian believers and offers a developed temple metaphor. Believers as "living stones" are built upon "the living Stone," Jesus, who is the "chosen and precious cornerstone" (ἀκρογωνιαῖος; here, clearly a foundation stone). The role of the believers as a "spiritual house," though, is complicated by the fact that they are also portrayed as priests who offer "spiritual sacrifices" in this temple (v. 5; in both cases "spiritual" translates πνευματικός, pointing to the essential function of the Holy Spirit). The identity of builders is implied in the rejection of the living stone "by men," an act corrected by the true divine Builder (v. 4). A number of associated commonplaces are active, including: temples require a process of building; the process of building involves the selection and rejection of building materials; a temple is the site for ministry of consecrated priests superintending sanctioned rituals; the building of temples is supervised by a builder or builders; and a temple houses the deity. In the setting of a Christian community wrestling with problems of alienation and "homelessness," the house/temple metaphor functions to portray vividly the relationship between the addressees and Christ.

In the context of the temple in Jerusalem, as well as the ubiquitous Greco-Roman structures, NT authors employ the temple metaphor to enable believers to visualize the sanctity of the church, God's role in founding and growing the church, the defining nature of the work of Christ and the Spirit on behalf of the church, and the solidarity of believers within the church as blood-bought privilege. The architecture domain would seem to imply a static image. However, the metaphor is used in conjunction with biological imagery and the process of building is often accentuated. Rather than a static image, "We are impelled to visualize a story of the process of construction rather than a completed edifice."[50] The metaphor, then, is an ancient analogy to the modern "web cams" that have become popular means of keeping a constant eye on the progress of a building project. The present active role of the Spirit in the church-as-temple also contributes an important element of dynamism. The church is granted the wondrous privilege of humbly and joyously acknowledging in its life and story "the temple of the living God" (2 Cor 6:16).

[50]Minear, 97.

Martial: The Church as Army

The identity of believers as combatants in an extended war between good and evil is an extension of OT understandings of God as the divine warrior engaging in combat against his foes.[51] This OT theme, reflected in passages such as Isa 59, is "democratized" in the NT, where it is now Christian addressees who wear the divine armor and do battle.[52] Seventh-day Adventists, for whom the "Great Controversy" serves as metanarrative, should attend carefully to the corresponding biblical metaphor "The Church is an Army."

Passages in the NT that identify believers as combatants in the battle against evil are to be understood in the setting of the wider NT story. In his book, *God at War: The Biblical and Spiritual Conflict*, Gregory Boyd argues with considerable success that "almost everything that Jesus and the early church were about is decisively colored by the central conviction that the world is caught in the crossfire of a cosmic battle between the Lord and his angelic army and Satan and his demonic army."[53]

As Boyd suggests, believers are drawn into this struggle as soldiers. In the Gospels, one thinks of the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9-13), in which believers "ask God to protect them from hardships that accompany their kingdom work as they approach the end of the age," hardships they expect to come "from the evil one."[54] In a noted promise, Jesus declares that "'the gates of Hades'" will not overcome the church (Matt 16:18-19). Boyd comments: "[M]inistering in his authority and his accomplished victory, the church is to storm the fortress of Hades and bash down its gates."[55]

At the end of the NT, the Apocalypse reinforces the identity of believers as combatants in the cosmic war against evil. In the face of satanic opposition (e.g., 2:10), the risen Christ offers repeated promises to believers who endure and "conquer" ("to the one who conquers," τῷ νικῶντι (and variants); 2:7, 11,

---

[51]Theodore Heibert provides a helpful survey of the theme ("Warrior, Divine," in *ABD*, ed. David Noel Freedman [New York: Doubleday, 1992], 6:876-880). In addition, see Gregory A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1997), 29-168. Boyd's conclusions are controversial. However, he does successfully highlight the theme of divine warfare in the OT. See also Martin G. Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography*, OBO 169 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1999).

[52]So Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld, *Put on the Armour of God: The Divine Warrior from Isaiah to Ephesians*, JSNTS 140 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). I critique Neufeld's arguments in "'Our Struggle': *Ecclesia Militans* in Ephesians 6:10-20," *AUSS* 43 (2005): 91-100. To Isa 59 may be added Isa 11:4-5 (which describes in military terms the work of the "shoot . . . from the stump of Jesse," the "Branch") and Wis 5:17-22.

[53]Boyd, 172. Boyd invests the last five chapters of his volume (pp. 169-293) in developing this thesis.

[54]Ibid., 219.

[55]Ibid., 217.

17, 26-28; 3:5, 12, 21). The struggle is intense with the church (as the woman) bearing the brunt of the dragon's wrath, a foe who "makes war" on "the rest of her offspring" who "obey God's commandments and hold to the testimony of Jesus" (12:17). Casualties are to be expected (6:9-11; 14:13), as is victory (12:11) and celebration before the throne of God for those who have come out of "the great ordeal" (7:14, NRSV; 7:9-17; 14:1-5). Repeatedly, believers as combatants in this struggle are exhorted to exercise endurance and faith (13:10; 14:12) and to stay awake and clothed (16:15). Fighting behind enemy lines, they await the conquest of the Lamb (17:14), the victory of the rider on the white horse who leads "the armies of heaven" (19:11-16).

The cosmic battle and the role of believers in it are clearly reflected in the writings of Paul as well:

> [I]n Paul's writings we recognize that one of his ways of presenting the gospel was by using military symbolism, imagery taken from the realm of warfare—armies, soldiers, weapons and physical destruction. The conflict between good and evil, which is the inner driving force of the story of Christ, is pictured here as a long-running cosmic war: battles ebb and flow between two armies which face each other down through the ages until one wins the final confrontation by destroying the other completely.[56]

Romans 13:11-14

When one thinks of military metaphor in Paul's writings, one passage looms large: the armament passage of Eph 6:10-20. However, we should note that other, earlier passages offer similar imagery.[57] Behind the urgent appeal of Rom 13:11-14 is the implied metaphor that believers constitute the *ecclesia militans*. The appeal mirrors exhortations to soldiers as dawn breaks on the day of battle:

> And do this, understanding the present time. The hour has come for you to wake up from your slumber, because our salvation is nearer now than when we first believed. The night is nearly over; the day is almost here. So let us put aside the deeds of darkness and put on the armor of light. Let us behave decently, as in the daytime, not in orgies and drunkenness, not in sexual immorality and debauchery, not in dissension and jealousy. Rather, clothe yourselves with the Lord Jesus Christ, and do not think about how to gratify the desires of the sinful nature.[58]

---

[56]Peter W. Macky, *St. Paul's Cosmic War Myth: A Military Version of the Gospel*, Westminister College Library of Biblical Symbolism 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 1.

[57]For a more thorough survey of military language and imagery in Paul's letters, see David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Context and Character* 5 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 211-244; and Anthony Byatt, *New Testament Metaphors: Illustrations in Word and Phrase* (Edinburgh: Pentland, 1995), 192-204.

[58]In the Greco-Roman world, "ethical teachers used military language constantly" and so it is no surprise that considerable portions of Paul's language of exhortation reflect the same feature, one that is especially prominent in Philippians. Edgar M. Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd,*

The metaphor "The Church is an Army" becomes quite explicit in v. 12 with the command to "put on the armor of light" (ἐνδυσώμεθα [δὲ] τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός), in which believers are cast in the role of soldiers arming for battle. That a spiritual battle is in view is confirmed by the parallel exhortation to "clothe yourselves with the Lord Jesus Christ" (ἐνδύσασθε, v. 14).

1 Thessalonians 5:8

First Thessalonians 5:8 offers a similar exhortation in a parallel framework. Paul exhorts his addressees to "not fall asleep as others do, but let us keep awake and be sober" (v. 6). Then, repeating the exhortation to sobriety, he enjoins: "But since we belong to the day, let us be self-controlled, putting on faith and love as a breastplate, and the hope of salvation as a helmet" (v. 8). Again, the metaphor "The Church is an Army" becomes quite explicit as Paul casts the believers as well-disciplined troops suiting up to do battle in the full light of day.

2 Corinthians 10:3-6

Paul employs the military metaphor differently at the outset of the stormy final section of 2 Corinthians (chapters 10-13), where he offers strident defense of his and his colleagues' ministry (2 Cor 10:3-6):

> For though we live in the world, we do not wage war as the world does. The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds. We demolish arguments and every pretension that sets itself up against the knowledge of God, and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ. And we will be ready to punish every act of disobedience, once your obedience is complete.

Paul and his coworkers are now the combatants and emphasis is placed on the nature of their battle (a spiritual clash of worldviews), the quality of the weaponry they wield, and the complete victory to be expected. In the context of the wider argument of the section, Paul issues a warning that the addressees, in agreeing with his opponents, not be found on the wrong side of a lopsided battle—the losing one.[59]

---

ed. Bradley H. McLean, JSNTSup 86 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 105-127. I note in particular that 1 Cor 16:13, Phil 1:27-30, and Col 1:11 issue the command to "be strong" or "stand" in a way that seems to evoke battle exhortations. The general argument that portions of Paul's exhortation reflects battle rhetoric could be argued, as well, for portions of the General Epistles, especially 1 Pet 5:8-10.

[59] Similarly, and earlier in 2 Cor, Paul describes his and his colleagues' use of "weapons of righteousness in the right hand and the left" (6:7). In the Pastoral Epistles, Paul also exhorts Timothy to faithfulness in ministry through the use of military language and imagery ("Fight the good fight," 1 Tim 6:12; "Endure hardship with us like a good soldier of Christ Jesus," 2 Tim 2:1-4). To the passages that cast believers as warriors against evil may be added additional passages that describe Christ in the role of warrior. 1 Cor 15:24-28 describes the future victory of Christ when "he has destroyed every ruler and every authority and power" (v. 24) and cedes the kingdom to

Ephesians 6:10-20

In Eph 6:10-20, Paul works out the identity of the church in relationship to the theme of the extended cosmic war between good and evil. Intriguingly, the presence of the metaphor "The Church is an Army" is often missed in the passage as, especially in popular Christian literature, the subject is assumed to be the individual Christian. That the passage comes at the end of an epistle that focuses on the church suggests the primary reference to be to Christian community, a conclusion confirmed by the earlier mention of the church in relationship to the powers (3:10) and Paul's exhortation to pray "for all the saints" (v. 18).[60]

In the passage, Paul employs vivid military imagery in a bid to summarize and apply the themes of the composition. The addressees are invited to outfit themselves with the armor of the divine warrior (6:10-11) as a way of ensuring victory in their struggle against the cosmic powers (6:12). A reprise of the exhortation to dress for battle offers the command in a more detailed way. Readers are to cloth themselves with a soldier's weaponry, donning it in the order in which a soldier might prepare himself for battle (6:13-17). This elaborate military imagery is completed by a call to prayer both for "all the saints" and for Paul (6:18-20).

In describing the church's life and mission in terms of military conflict and weaponry, Paul clearly assumes some risk. However, Paul, as "an ambassador in chains" (v. 20), shapes the rhetoric from below as a victim of Rome's military might. The wider context, with its emphasis on unity, edifying speech, and tenderheartedness, also guards the meaning of the metaphor (see esp. 4:25-5:2). This "guarding" is carried into the immediate context in the relation of elements of the panoply to "truth," "righteousness," "faith," "salvation," "Spirit," and "word of God." Most significantly and explicitly, the metaphor is guarded in the invitation for the addressees to have their "feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace" (v. 15). Moreover, as vv. 18-20 make clear, the modalities the author expects his addressees to employ to press the battle are prayer and bold proclamation of "the mystery of the gospel." As someone has put it so aptly, the church is to "wage peace."

The thorough manner in which the language is guarded ensures that the "interactivity" between the vehicle and the tenor is controlled. Given this careful guarding, principal concepts that are underscored include (associated commonplaces are listed in parentheses): active, zealous engagement in the

---

his Father (cf. Rom 16:20). Similarly, Col 2:15 describes Christ's past victory: "And having disarmed the powers and authorities, he made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the cross." It may be argued that "the idea of sinister world powers and their subjugation by Christ is built into the very fabric of Paul's thought, and some mention of them is found in every epistle except Philemon" (George B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1956], viii.).

[60]For an extended defense of a corporate, over against an individualist, reading of the passage, see McVay, "'Our Struggle.'"

church's mission is called for on the part of the addressees (soldiers are to be fully committed to battle); they must be alert to unseen dimensions that impact their lives and witness (soldiers are to look to the patron gods and goddesses for protection and aid); they have the assurance of divine provision for their success (the gods have promised the success they have granted in the past); and they are called to Christian community and collaboration (soldiers are to support one another and encourage one another to fight courageously).

What is the function of Paul's extended military metaphor? He draws on a number of associated commonplaces of ancient battle to motivate the addressees to active combat against evil. The key moment of an ancient battle was when the two phalanxes came crashing together in "a terrible cacophony of smashed bronze, wood, and flesh."[61] Holding one's ground at this strategic moment was the great challenge of ancient battle. In the close combat that would ensue, each side would seek momentum for "the push."[62] Paul's vigorous call to arms reflects this often sustained, close-order combat, in which soldiers were "bunched together, giving and receiving hundreds of blows at close range."[63]

In addition to motivating the addressees to active combat, the military metaphor functions to reassure them of the divine provision for their victory. In formulating the passage, Paul draws on the OT tradition of battle exhortations (e.g., Deut 20:1-9), mimicking these in form and theology in his opening command, which offers divine aid in battle: "Finally, be strong in the Lord and in his mighty power."[64] While fully acknowledging the reality of the battle against evil and the power of the church's foes, Paul points addressees to the quality of their armor (the armor *of God*), the benefits of Christian camaraderie, and the effectiveness of prayer. It is clear that Paul believes that victory is to be experienced against the devil and his minions.

In short, the military metaphor developed in Eph 6:10-20 depicts the church's battle against evil as combat that requires full, sustained, and energetic engagement of the foe. Believers are not merely sentinels, who stand stoically

[61]Victor D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 152. Krentz, 109, n. 110, notes that Hanson writes of hoplite warfare, but, he argues, "much of what he says applies to any battle of foot soldiers in pre-gunpowder days."

[62]Hanson, 171-184.

[63]Ibid., 152. That Paul draws on the clash of phalanxes and the ensuing combat in crafting the conclusion to the Epistle to the Ephesians is confirmed early in the passage. He characterizes the church's battle against its foes as a wrestling match (v. 12, ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη). This is not a mixed metaphor. The skills of the wrestler were essential in the hand-to-hand combat that followed on the clash of the phalanxes. Michael E. Gudorf, "The Use of πάλη in Ephesians 6:12," *JBL* 117 (1998): 331-335. See also Hanson, 164-167.

[64]I expand on this point in some detail in "Ephesians 6:10-20 and Battle Exhortations in Jewish Literature," in *The Cosmic Battle for Planet Earth: Essays in Honor of Norman R. Gulley*, ed. Ron du Preez and Jiří Moskala (Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 2003), 147-169.

at watch, but combatants (albeit in the interest of peace). The passage represents a call to arms that is especially interested in the *esprit de corps* of believers. It does not envision Christians (or Paul) as lone warriors battling in splendid isolation, but instead portrays the *ecclesia militans*, in which the addressees are to enlist as fellow soldiers against the church's foes. Read in this way, the passage presents a developed metaphor for the church, the importance of which is emphasized by its climactic position in the letter. The metaphor "The Church is an Army" highlights, in a way other metaphors do not, the church's engagement against the forces of evil and the real struggle and suffering that such conflict entails, all the while assuring believers of the adequacy of God's provision and the victory that awaits.[65]

Richard Rice critiques contemporary uses of the metaphor "The Church is an Army." The adoption of such a metaphor can lead to tragic consequences if it inspires physical combat; evangelism becomes equated with conquering the enemy or taking captives; members are depersonalized, and/or the only measure of mission becomes whether or not it succeeds (since an "army church" may become "impatient with tactics that do not lead to victory").[66] I have no quarrel with these criticisms of a military metaphor for the church. I would point out, though, that these criticisms do not describe the use, or even overuse, but the misuse of the biblical metaphor "The Church as an Army." Prayerful appropriation of the biblical metaphor provides a corrective to such misuse and inspiration in a moving call to the church to wage peace.

Familial and Marital: The Church as Family and Bride

In the context of the OT, family relationships are employed to describe the wider relationships of government, society, and religion. The patriarchal family, with a strong father-figure, meant that elder or distinguished men were given the honorific title "father" (e.g., Judg 17; 1 Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 2:12), while leading women could be thought of as "mothers in Israel" (Judg 5:6-7). The otherness of God meant that he was not a "biological" father (e.g., Hos 11:9, "'I am God, and not man'"). However, "to be able to

---

[65]Ernest Best, who does not include *ecclesia militans* as described in Eph 6:10-20 among metaphors for the church, faults the ecclesiology of the letter for its lack of interest in the non-Christian world, an absence of any sign of harassment of Christians, and a lack of reference to suffering, arguing that all of this "lends a triumphalist aspect to the church" (*Ephesians*, NTG [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], 72). Acknowledging the ecclesial military metaphor of Eph 6:10-20 provides access to a more accurate and well-rounded view of the ecclesiology of the Epistle to the Ephesians and of the NT as a whole.

[66]Richard Rice, *Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Finding New Love for the Church* (Roseville, CA: Association of Adventist Forums, 2002), 98-100, 22-24, 47, 60, 72-73, 99-200, 205. Rice adopts a well-reasoned view of metaphor and takes seriously the idea that metaphors are influential for shaping our understandings of the church. His lucid, thoughtful book is deserving of close attention.

understand God, human images were used anyway."[67]

God, in the role of Creator, is thought of as the Father of Israel (e.g. Deut 32:6) who loves (Jer 31:1-9), protects (Ps 89:23-26), and disciplines (2 Sam 7:14) the nation and adopts them as his own (Exod 4:23; 6:6-8; Lev 26:12; Deut 32:10; Jer 3:19; Hos 11:1). As a result, "The people of Israel are with systematic regularity described as children, daughters and sons of God."[68] While it may be asked to what degree the metaphor of God as a father has slipped into the background, the fact that God is also described on occasion as a mother suggests the metaphor remains active.[69] God gives birth to Israel (Deut 32:18; Isa 42:14, 66:5-13; Num 11:10-15, by implication) and declares, "'As a mother comforts her child, so will I comfort you'" (Isa 66:13).[70]

This pattern of thought is carried forward in the NT, where God is the Father (πατήρ, frequently, and, transliterated from Aramaic, ἀββά, Matt 23:9; Mark 14:36; Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6), Jesus is Brother (Rom 8:29; Heb 2:11-12), and believers are thought of as related to one another as siblings.[71] The fact that early Christians met in homes and early congregations often mirrored the extended family of the patron or patroness of the group meant that the relationships of the family were a natural source on which to draw in understanding relationships within the church. It should be no surprise, then, that this cluster of metaphors is a pervasive one for early Christians and significantly reflected and shaped the life and mission of the early Christian church.[72] The household codes of the NT, which provide guidance for various

[67] Eva Maria Lassen, "Family as Metaphor: Family Images at the Time of the Old Testament and Early Judaism," *SJOT* 6 (1992): 251.

[68] Ibid.

[69] When a fresh metaphor is created, it is generally highly poetic and in the "foreground." With use, it can fade into the "background" and be described as "dead" or, better, "retired."

[70] Lassen, 253-254, disagrees with Trible's conclusion that "the God-image male *and* female is *basic*, i.e. God was as much woman as man" (emphasis original). Instead, Lassen argues that "The fundamental parent-image of God is the image of a father, and the fundamental human image of God is the image of a man. But in order to give God wider dimensions, female metaphors are occasionally included." I am indebted to Lassen's article for much of the thought and wording of the prior two paragraphs.

[71]For a thorough survey of the "kinship metaphor" in the undisputed letters of Paul, I commend chap. 4, "The Communities of Paul of Tarsus," in Joseph H. Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 92-126.

[72]See Roger W. Gehring, *House Church and Mission: The Importance of Household Structures in Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004). The family has been argued to be the favorite image for the community of believers of both Jesus and Paul (see Driver, *Images of the Church in Mission*, 139). Others argue for the centrality of the image in various NT documents. For example, J. G. van der Watt makes the argument that family imagery, while not the only metaphorical network in the Gospel of John, is the most prominent (*Family of the King: Dynamics of Metaphor in the Gospel According to John*, Biblical Interpretation Series 47 [Leiden: Brill, 2000]). Abraham J. Malherbe makes a

groups in the Christian household, suggest that early Christians both thought of their life within the church in terms of family and also distinguished their identity as believers from their identity as members of households (Eph 5:21-6:9; Col 3:18-4:1; 1 Pet 2:18-3:7; Titus 2:2-10; 1 Tim 2:9-15; 6:1-2). The claims of the ecclesial family were higher even than those of the social one, mirroring Christ's identification of his disciples with the declaration, "'Here are my mother and my brothers'" (Matt 12:49; cf. Mark 3:34; Luke 8:21).

The metaphor "The Church is the Family of God" becomes, for Paul, a profound theological declaration. God is the Father (πατήρ) of every family (πατρία) in heaven and on earth (Eph 3:14-15; cf. Acts 17:24-29).[73] It is through the atoning work of Christ that those once alienated from God and each other become members of God's family (οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ, Eph 2:19; cf. Gal 6:10; 1 Tim 3:15; 1 Pet 4:17). The intimacy of the family board is reflected around the table of the Lord, where the hard-won unity of the ecclesial family is celebrated (1 Cor 10:16-17).

Ralph P. Martin summarizes well the promise set forth in this accessible and moving metaphor for the church: "The church at its best reflects all that is noblest and most worthwhile in human family life: attitudes of caring and mutual regard; understanding of needs, whether physical or of the spirit; and above all the sense of 'belonging' to a social unity in which we find acceptance without pretence or make-believe."[74] To the extent that we fulfill that promise in today's church, we revive the pattern of early Christians,[75] live out the high-priestly prayer of Jesus himself (John 17), and emulate early Christian mission, in which the family environment of the house church also proved attractive to non-Christians.[76]

The NT presents us with a developed and specialized use of the family metaphor in "The Church is the Bride/Wife of Christ." The development of this metaphor from its OT origins is neatly summarized by R. C. Ortlund: "What begins as Pentateuchal whispers [Gen 1-2; Exod 34:11-16; Lev 17:7; 20:4-6; Num 15:38-40; Deut 31:16] rises later to prophetic cries [Hosea; Isa 1:21; 50:1; 54:4-6; 57:3; 62:5; Micah 1:7; Jer 2-3; 13:20-27; Ezek 16; 23] and is eventually echoed in apostolic teaching [Matt 9:14-15 (cf. Mark 2:18-20; Luke

---

similar argument for 1 Thessalonians ("God's New Family in Thessalonica," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, ed. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 116-125).

[73]Harold W. Hoehner contends: "The anarthrous adjective πᾶσα could be translated 'all' or 'whole' family (AV, NIV), as in 2:21, but in this phrase it seems more appropriate to accept the normal grammatical usage meaning 'every' family (RV, ASV, RSV, NASB, NEB, TEV, JB, NJB, NRSV)" (*Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002], 475).

[74]Martin, 124.

[75]The early critic of Christians, Lucian, noted that "[t]heir [Christians'] first lawgiver persuaded them that they are all brothers of one another" (*Peregr.* 13 as cited in Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family*, 221).

[76]See Gehring, 89-95.

5:33-35); 22:1-2; 25:1; John 3:28-30; 1 Cor 6:15-17; 2 Cor 11:1-3; Eph 5:21-33; Rev 14:4; 19:6-9a; 21:1-3, 9-10]."[77] The NT metaphor rests solidly on the OT one, "The People of God are the Bride/Wife of YHWH," a metaphor that is generally employed to spotlight the apostasy-as-adultery of God's people, Israel.

2 Corinthians 11:1-4

In 2 Cor 11:1-4, Paul views the Corinthian congregations as the betrothed bride of Christ. He views himself as the agent, friend, or best man of the bridegroom, Christ.[78] In drawing them to faith, he has arranged the betrothal, the legal equivalent of marriage.[79] And he looks toward the Second Coming of Christ as the moment when he will be privileged to present the Corinthian believers to Christ as his bride: "I am jealous for you with a godly jealousy. I promised you to one husband, to Christ, so that I might present you as a pure virgin to him" (v. 2). Meanwhile, in the time between the betrothal and the marriage-presentation, he worries that they may succumb to other paramours and "be led astray from your sincere and pure devotion to Christ" (v. 3). The metaphor provides a vivid eschatological setting for the Corinthians' current conduct. This stress on the risk of apostasy-as-adultery resonates with the dominant emphasis of OT uses of the metaphor.

The tenor of the metaphor is "the need for devotion to Christ" and the vehicle, the marriage imagery, is used with an accent on betrothal as a time of risk. In addition to the central metaphor of bride-bridegroom, Paul portrays himself as the bridegroom's representative, employs the betrothal and wedding ceremonies to structure the addressees' understanding of their relationship to Christ and to him, and includes the element of possible seduction. Associated commonplaces that are active include, "a betrothed bride should be faithful to her husband," "a betrothed bride may be unfaithful to her husband," and "'jealousy' is appropriate on the part of the bridegroom's agent."

Ephesians 5:21-33

Paul employs the metaphor more idealistically in Eph 5:21-33, where, as part of an extended exhortation to husbands in the household code, he recasts the metaphor "The Church is the Bride/Wife of Christ" with a decidedly Christological focus.[80] A number of elements and roles of wedding ceremony,

---

[77]R. C. Ortlund, *Whoredom: God's Unfaithful Wife in Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 8. I have inserted in the quotation the references that Ortlund designates in his wider discussion.

[78]A detailed discussion of this matter may be found in McVay, "Ecclesial Metaphor," 267-270.

[79]As such, Richard Batey notes that the submetaphor of betrothal "stresses the seriousness and permanency of the Corinthians' past encounter with God's elective love" (*New Testament Nuptial Imagery* [Leiden: Brill, 1971], 13).

[80]Paul's formulation seems especially dependent upon Ezek 16:3b-14 in adopting the three basic events described there—the rescue, cleansing, and endowment of the

representing submetaphors, are consolidated in Christ.[81] In addition to his central role as groom, Christ himself is the bride price (since he "gave himself up for her"), the one who administers the bridal bath ("to make her holy, cleansing her by the washing with water through the word," v. 26), and the one who presents the bride (to himself! v. 27). All of these represent contraventions of ancient wedding practice, but the resulting stress on the metaphor serves only to emphasize the importance of Christ for the church. While the passage underscores the past and present attentions of the bridegroom toward the bride, it retains an important element of eschatological expectation in the future "presentation" (v. 27). At that time, the full result of the bridegroom's work will be manifested in the splendor of the bride.[82]

This is a good example of a two-way metaphor in which it is difficult to determine which is the tenor and which is the vehicle. Is the principal subject "Christian marriage," understood in terms of the relationship between Christ and Christians? Or is the principal subject "the relationship between Christ and Christians," understood in terms of Christian marriage? The fact that the passage is couched in a household code as part of exhortation to Christian husbands ensures that the function of the metaphor is to bring the covenant-loyalty of the divine bridegroom to bear on the marital fidelity of Christian husbands.[83]

The identity of the church through the familial and marital metaphors has much to contribute to the doctrine of the church. No other cluster can vie with it in offering such an accessible and intimate portrait of relationships among fellow believers and the relationship between the church and its Lord. With such accessibility and intimacy, it harbors important warnings about the present

---

foundling bride.

[81]I reflect the happy phrase of Daniel von Allmen, who describes a "concentration christologique" in the passage (*La Famille de Dieu: La Symbolique Familiale dans le Paulinisme*, OBO 41 [Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1981]).

[82]Many scholars support an eschatological reading of the "presentation" in Eph 5:27, including Markus Barth, *Ephesians*, AB 34 and 34A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 2:628, 69, 278.; Batey, 29.; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1974), 273-274.; James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*, SBT 15 (London: SCM, 1970), 162. Dunn writes, "In Eph 5:27 it is clearly an eschatological 'presentation' of the church to Christ that is in view." Hoehner, 761; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, Pillar New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 424-426; J. Paul Sampley, *'And the Two Shall Become One Flesh': A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33*, SNTSMS 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 154-155. Others disagree, including Andrew T. Lincoln (*Ephesians*, WBC 42 [Dallas: Word, 1990], 377), who earlier supported the idea of a "future element in verse 27" (*Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 164). Cf. Col 1:21-22.

[83]I am unable to take up the complex uses of marriage imagery and metaphor in the Apocalypse. It may be noted that the uses there cohere with that in Ephesians in two ways: there is a strong eschatological element to the metaphor, and it is employed in a wholly positive and idealistic fashion.

and offers immense hope for the future in its portrait of Jesus Christ as the bridegroom returning to lay claim to his bride. The cluster also challenges our understanding of the church's mission: "Christianity was, and grew because it was, a great fraternity. The name 'brother' . . . vividly expressed a real fact. . . . [A] Christian found, wherever he went, in the community of his fellow-Christians a welcome and hospitality."[84]

Metaphors for the Church and Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in their masterful book *Metaphors We Live By*, make the point that metaphors both "highlight" and "hide."[85] By speaking of one thing in terms of another, a metaphor brings a set of features to light. However, in accenting a specific set of realities, a metaphor downplays or hides other aspects. An architectural metaphor for the church may highlight church organization and durability. However, that same architectural metaphor may hide other important aspects of the church, especially the dynamism and growth that might be made evident in, say, an agricultural metaphor. Paul, at least, seems to recognize this feature of metaphorical language, pushing the limits of the language by mixing the metaphors. So, for example, he describes the church as building/temple that is "growing," employing a verb that is more naturally used of biological growth (αὐξάνω, Eph 2:21).[86]

In this light, it is interesting to consider what the "master metaphor" for church may be within a specific denomination or global church community. Within the context of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, it seems to me that the temple metaphor has been particularly influential. A lot of the language we use to describe our own church is drawn from the context domain of architecture. "The Church has One Foundation" is our most-often-used ecclesiological hymn. We speak of the "pillars of the faith," "fundamental beliefs," and the like. Our organizational "structure" is very important to us. The "Shaking Time," as it is generally understood, becomes part of the metaphor, an eschatological event when the church as temple experiences seismic stress.[87]

---

[84]Edwin Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches: Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1880*, 3d ed. (Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1888), 43-44, as cited in David A. deSilva, "Re-Writing 'Household' in the Early Church," *ATJ* (2004): 91. DeSilva, 89-93, also offers challenging suggestions with regard to appropriating the family metaphor.

[85]Chap. 3, "Metaphorical Systematicity: Highlighting and Hiding," pp. 10-13 in Lakoff and Johnson.

[86]Following Joachim Gnilka, *Der Epheserbrief*, HTKNT 10/2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 158. See the helpful discussion of mixed metaphors in Ephesians in Gerald Klingbeil, "Metaphors and Pragmatics: An Introduction to the Hermeneutics of Metaphors in the Epistle to the Ephesians,"*BBR* (forthcoming).

[87]See Don F. Neufeld, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, Commentary Reference

If there is any truth in these observations, it is interesting to consider the impact such a master metaphor may have on our ecclesiology. If the temple metaphor serves as our master metaphor for church, ministers of the Word, for example, become mere caretakers of the Temple, focused less on proclamation and growth than on cleaning and maintenance. More pervasively, the architectural metaphor, functioning apart from its biblical use, offers a static image of the church, one that hides important aspects of dynamism and growth that find greater emphasis in other metaphors. If we now operate with a master metaphor, should we switch to another? One could argue that the ubiquitous family metaphor or the often-employed and highly-developed body metaphor should hold pride of place as a metaphor for the church.

I do not believe that we should adopt a master metaphor for the church to the loss of the others.[88] God has chosen to divulge, in Scripture, a rich variety of metaphors in a bid to provide a well-rounded and fulsome understanding of the church. Since any given metaphor highlights some aspects of the church and hides others, we need to employ the variety of metaphors given to us to offer an accurate and inspiring view of the church.[89] The challenge is to continue to seek deeper understanding and truer appropriation of the biblical metaphors for the church, a task the church has often failed to accomplish.

John Driver describes what happened when Christians, more attune to contemporary realities than biblical images of the church, "recast" them "to serve as vehicles of the church's distorted self-understanding."[90] In the "Constantinian shift" of the fourth century, still worse occurred with the church increasingly drawing its models from the Roman empire. Each successive era of church history, it could be argued, has seen the church adopt the models and metaphor of its time rather than remaining true to the biblical metaphors for the church. So, the church has, in turn, reflected feudal models, imperial expansion, colonial imagery, democracy, or corporate-business models. The church has repeatedly either adopted images from secular culture or "given" biblical images "unbiblical twists to carry its deformed self-understanding."[91] So what is to be done?

> If the church is to recover the integrity of its life and mission, it must have adequate images to capture and inspire its imagination . . .

Series 10 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976), 1339. Rice, 96-105, makes an excellent case for the military metaphor ("the army church") and economic metaphor ("the business church") as especially influential ones within Adventism.

[88] Without fully explaining the approach, Rice, 94, presses the need to identify "a root metaphor": "Our goal is to find a root metaphor for church that will help us experience the quality of corporate life the New Testament describes."

[89] Reflecting on Minear's lengthy list of images for the church, Martin, 112, writes: "Each term has something special to contribute to our understanding, and we need the wide variety of these many terms . . . to portray the fullness of the church."

[90] Driver, 17-18.

[91] Ibid., 17-21.

Biblical images must be read and interpreted afresh, freed from traditional
and current ecclesiastical practices. That new reading comes to us as a gift
from the Spirit of God. The images must be grasped in the context of the
faith community, committed to obedience. This is the realm in which God's
will can be most fully discerned (John 7:17). We need to make a self-
conscious attempt to remove those Constantinian grids through which we
all, consciously and unconsciously, look at reality in the "Christian" West.[92]

An important note should be added. The biblical metaphors for the church
as a whole need to be augmented by the wider record of the NT. For example,
the metaphors do not describe the evangelistic mission of the church as
explicitly as we might wish. We shall need to study the words of the Great
Commission and the life of the intrepid missionary-apostle Paul to understand
fully what the metaphors do not as clearly provide—an emphasis on the
church's role in reaching out to the lost.[93] The metaphors for the church should
not be segregated from the rest of Scripture as though they offer, in themselves,
a complete ecclesiology.

As one reflects on the plethora of metaphors/images for the church, it
becomes obvious that these metaphors are emphasizing—in different ways and
with different accents—three relationships or sets of relationships that are vital
to the church: the relationship to God, Christ, and/or the Spirit; the
relationships among fellow believers; and the church's relationship to the world
and the powers.

A simple grid (see figure below) may help to visualize the point. I have
attempted to "grid" a few of the metaphors discussed in this paper. For example,
the body metaphor, as contained in Col 2:19, accents the relationship of believers
to "the head," while "the whole body" remains in view. So I have placed it close
to "God/Christ/Spirit." Similarly, the body metaphor, as developed in 1 Cor 12,
accents the relationships among believers as body parts, though the relationship
of the church to the Spirit, who gives the gifts (vv. 4-11), and to Christ ("the body
of Christ," v. 27) is clearly in view. So I have graphed this metaphor close to
"Fellow Believers," but part way toward "God/Christ/Spirit."

The military metaphor of Eph 6 accents the relationships of the church to
"World and Powers," but also has in view rather evenly both the relationship
with "God/Christ/Spirit" (since believers are to be strong in God's power, vv.
10-11, 13, and are to "pray in the Spirit," vv. 17-18) and that with "Fellow
Believers" for whom they are to fight shoulder-to-shoulder and for whom they
are to pray (v. 18). So I have placed this metaphor on the "World and Powers"
axis, equidistant from the other two.

The graph is clearly not a precise instrument and one could argue about
where a specific instance of metaphor should be placed on it. The point of the

---

[92]Ibid., 21.

[93]However, see ibid.; Donald Senior, "Correlating Images of Church and Images
of Mission in the New Testament," *Missiology* 23 (1995): 3-16; and Minear, 152-155,
where he treats the image of the church as "witnessing community."

illustration, though, is not precision but to underline the crucial nature of the three relationships it portrays. A checkup of practical ecclesiology—how well the church is living out its identity—would query the health of each of these. Each of the metaphors invites us to consider carefully one or, usually, more of these relationships: Are we, as Christian communities of faith, relating to God or Christ (e.g., as Head, Builder, Bridegroom) in the way we should? Are our relationships with fellow believers (e.g., as other body parts, building components) healthy and appropriate, based on an attitude of humility and respect? Are we combating the evil influence of the powers and maintaining an appropriate engagement with, and distance from, the world?
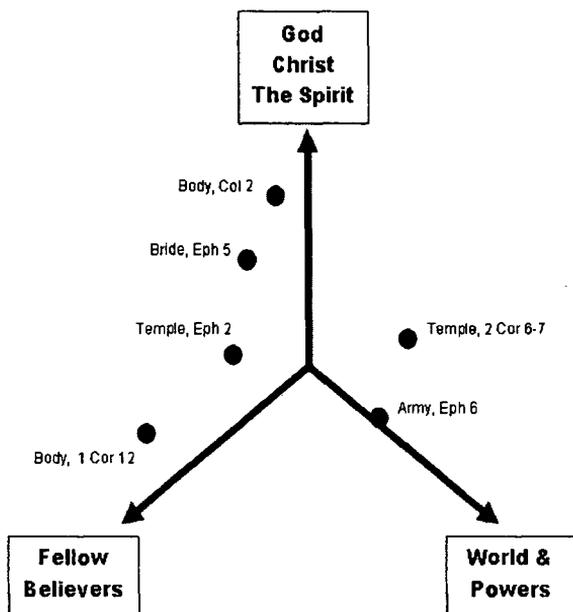
We must pray for the God-given ability to interpret clearly and contextually the biblical metaphors for the church. We must pray for the courage to appropriate them obediently and convincingly, allowing them to transform our communities of faith today. And we must see in these poignant metaphors a call to sterling loyalty toward God, compassion and grace toward one another, and vigorous engagement with the world.

THE *DAY-DAWN* OF CANANDAIGUA, NEW YORK: REPRINT OF A SIGNIFICANT MILLERITE ADVENTIST JOURNAL

MERLIN D. BURT
Andrews University

The *Day-Dawn*, first published in Canandaigua, New York, in March 1845, was unknown to scholarship in the twentieth century, except for four later issues and scattered secondary references. Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day-Star*, another Millerite paper, noted in his April 15, 1846 issue (p. 36), that the *Day-Dawn* showed a "good spirit," though he didn't deem its contents much different from several other contemporary Millerite Adventist papers. Jacobs's brief and enigmatic reference to the *Day-Dawn* only whetted the interest of later scholars of Millerite Adventism to know exactly what the initial number of the *Day-Dawn* actually contained. But for most of the twentieth century, no extant copies of the inaugural issue of the *Day-Dawn* were known.

In April 1995, while going through microfilm copies of area newspapers at the Canandaigua, New York, Historical Society, I found, in the *Ontario Messenger* of November 1844, various references to, and one anonymous defense of, the Millerite position. To my great surprise, in the issue of March 26, 1845, I discovered that the entire back page of the *Ontario Messenger* contained the first number of the *Day-Dawn*. I suspect that the first number of the *Day-Dawn* was printed as a broadside. Since the newspaper office had printed the *Day-Dawn* on a contract basis and already had the type set, the editor decided to include it on the last page of the newspaper as an item of interest. The bulk of the broadside was devoted to an article by Crosier suggesting that the answer to the October 1844 disappointment was a correct understanding of the heavenly-sanctuary ministry of Jesus.[1] He tentatively suggested that Jesus had begun a special extended atonement in the heavenly sanctuary on the tenth day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement according to the Karaite calendar. A year later, Crosier set forth his matured understanding in a seminal article, "The Law of Moses," which took up an entire issue of the *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846. His exposition of the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries became a major foundation of Seventh-day Adventist theology. But without the earlier exposition in the *Day-Dawn*, it was impossible to trace in detail the development of Crosier's sanctuary theology.

The initial issue of the *Day-Dawn*, so long sought, is here republished for the first time since 1845. Except for minor corrections, the publication appears just as it did on the back page of the *Ontario Messenger*, Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York, March 26, 1845. Following the *Day-Dawn* is an article offering a preliminary assessment of its significance for Millerite Adventist history.

---

[1]As a periodical, the *Day-Dawn* also contained a second article by T. F. Barry.

THE MILLERITES, OR ADVENTISTS—THEIR
DELUSIONS—THEIR FAITH, &C.:

The latter part of last week we were called upon, in haste, to print the following matter in the form of a paper, called the 'Day-Dawn.' Seeing that we could insert it in our paper without lessening our usual quantity of reading matter, we have done so, partly to gratify the "believers," but more particularly, because we believe that 'error may be freely tolerated, when truth is left free to combat it.'—Editor *Messenger.*

TO ALL WHO ARE WAITING FOR REDEMPTION,
THE FOLLOWING IS ADDRESSED.
[First article, by editor O. R. L. Crosier]

"And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage; and the door was shut." Mat. 25. 10.

Beloved Brethren and Sisters,

May charity that suffereth long and is kind beget in us a sweet meekness and resignation to God, while under the guidance of the spirit of truth, we "search the scriptures" upon a subject of thrilling interest to us all; and one which if rightly understood will produce in us such faith and groaning of spirit for the redemption of Israel as we have never before known. May God enable you to forget the humble writer and the world in the bathing glory of this stupendous subject. Yield yourselves to the impulses of the spirit, then if there should be a wrong word herein advanced it will do you no harm. Pray as you read, and do not condemn till you have read. We trust your whole being continually prays, "Thy kingdom come;" if so, you will not shrink to find yourselves upon its very borders. We have indeed entered the crisis.

The sermon of which the text is a part has been from the first one of the principle bulwarks of the advent cause; and we have frequently been led to admire its wonderful strength. It has been assailed at every point; but like a mighty arch the greater the pressure the firmer it stands, which proves its architecture divine.

As we have passed the fulfillment of its various parts we have found it clear as light and strong as adamant. Its language is neither redundant, deficient nor ambiguous. It was elicited by the question: "When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?" C[h]. 24. 3. He answers the whole question doubtless—*"when"* & *"the sign,"* which he comprehends in "the *coming of the Son of man,"* called by Peter "the *restitution."* Our blessed Prophet leads our minds by several successive series of prophetic events down to the desired object which is always clearly and cautiously defined; so that there is no need of a mistake in supposing that we have arrived at the end before we really have. Each series closes with some important feature of the end. (1) After a synoptical view of the rise and fall of nations, the disasters incident to this sin-poisoned system, and the havoc to be made of his

people, the preaching of his Advent, *"This gospel* of the kingdom" ushers in the end. v. 14. (2) After the destruction of Jerusalem, the long and deathly night of Papal rule and the false Christs and false prophets, now so numerous, the Son of man comes with all the splendor and fleetness of lightning, and all his saints as by instinctive impulse rise and flock around him. v. 28. (3) After the physical signs in the sun, moon and stars we are "even at the doors" of the grand event, and *"the sign* of the Son of man" and mourning of all the tribes of the earth introduce the Son of man in person and visible, who by his angels gathers his elect. v. 30, 31. (4) The world will be buried in antediluvian sensuality and consequent ignorance of their approaching fate, which comes like a desolating torrent upon them. v. 39. (5) The faithful servant will be rewarded, while the evil servant, ignorant of the day and hour[,] will be doomed with the hypocrits [*sic*]. v. 50, 51. He then closes with two parables, (Ch. 25) which bring very clearly to our minds the two great events involved in *"the coming of the Son of man,"* viz: The marriage and the Judgement [*sic*]. As the coming of Christ to the earth is to be literal, personal and visible he has not yet come to the earth the second time in any sense whatever. We understand the parable of the virgins to be one, and the last of these signs, designed to explain and give us the chronology of four important events, viz: (1) The Tarrying time, (2) The midnight cry, (3) The marriage, and (4) shutting of the door, the marriage being the point or nucleus about which all the others cluster.

THE MARRIAGE—WHAT IS IT?

This is a figure used to express the close alliance to be created or consummated between Christ as the Bridegroom and something denominated the Bride. What this is, whether the City, land or the Church is held in difference among the learned and the good. There are texts, which, when taken literal and alone, would prove either one of them to be the Bride. Discussion on this point we fear would divert the mind from the main subject, hence we will only give a few texts on each and let the reader examine for himself. The City, Rev. 21. 2, 9, 10; Is. 54. 5; Gal. 4. 26, 27; Is. 54. 1; 49. 13, 18; Ezek. 16. The land[,] Hosea 1 & 2 chs. The Church, Rom. 7. 4; 2 Cor. 11. 2; Jer. 31. 31; 3. 14; Ps. 113. 9.

In making either one of these the bride to the exclusion of the other two, we meet with insuperable difficulties. The city and land can be true or false to God only by figures of speech, the people being the real actors and objects of reconciliation and favor.

When God remembers his covenant to his people he has promised to remember the land also. Lev. 26, 42. Under the Jewish Theocracy when the Lord was King over his people he says[,] "I was an husband unto them." Jer. 31. 32. [Margin]: "Should I have remained an husband unto them?" Then when he remembers his covenant, inherits Judah his portion, chooses Jerusalem again, makes it "the throne of the Lord" and becomes King over all the earth, will he not again be the husband of his people? Evidently so. The marriage then is a transaction in which Christ becomes King over his people and kingdom.

This is to take place before his visible appearing, for when he comes it will be at his "return from the wedding," Lu. 12. 36, after "having received the kingdom," C[h]. 19. 15. "with power and great glory," Mat. 24. 30.—Then his saints will meet him at the supper, Lu. 12.37. There is no promise of seeing him at the wedding or inauguration. When did he receive his kingdom? Not at his first advent; for then it was not for him to give seats to James and John in his kingdom, Mat. 20. 20-23. When he was crucified he was "Prince of princes," Dan. 8. 25, hence not King. When the husbandmen saw the Son, they said among themselves: "This is the *heir,* come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance," Mat. 21. 38. The Father hath appointed the Son "*heir* of all things." Heb. 1. 2; Rom. 8. 17.—If he was an *heir* of a kingdom he was not King over it, "We see *not yet* all things *put* under him," Heb. 2. 8. Had he been King he could [have] saved or destroyed his enemies at pleasure.—"But this man when he had offered one sacrifice for sin, forever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his *enemies be made* his footstool. Heb. 10. 12, 13.—"For he (the Father) must reign till *he hath put* all things under his (Christ's) feet," 1 Cor. 15. 25. From the moment he becomes King his enemies are his footstool and he is no longer Mediator or Advocate with the Father for them; but, his will being absolute law throughout his kingdom, his enemies are at his disposal. But before this event he had an important work to do for his enemies with the Father, to make "intercession for the transgressors," at the end of which he has a work to do for his saints exclusively before their resurrection; then follows his visible Advent, the resurrection and destruction of his enemies. The object of the typical institutions was to bring these two offices, that Christ was to perform as the Redeemer of mankind, to our limited comprehension. These were typified by the two apartments or services in the two apartments of the tabernacle, Heb. 9. 1-5; Ex. 26. 30-38. Moses was to make all things according to the pattern shewed to him in the mount, Heb. 8. 5. These two holy places were figures of the true. C[h]. 9. 24. If there were two figures there must also be two realities. They were the shadows and must meet their substance in Christ.

In the first or holy place[,] "Every Priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices." Heb. 10, 11; Ex. 29. 38. If an Israelite sinned he brought the sacrifice prescribed by the law for his offense to the priest who offered it for him in the holy place or tabernacle of the congregation. By this act the offender obtained *forgiveness.* Just so the sinner, repenting of his sins[,] approaches the Father by the merits of Christ, his sacrifice, and is converted or forgiven. "The priests went always [at any time] into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God." "But into the second went the high priest only once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people."—Heb. 9. 6, 7. Though the people had individually obtained *forgiveness* of their sins, they all had to go up to Jerusalem to the yearly expiation when the high priest with the appointed sacrifices entered the holy of holies within the vail [*sic,* veil] and made atonement for the sins of all Israel and thus reconciled the holy place. Lev. 16.

But as those mere typical sacrifices could not "make the comers thereunto perfect" they had to be repeated every year. Heb. 10. 1-3. As Christ is the substance of the Levitical shadows, the Antitype of all the priesthood, we shall of course find the reality and perfection of these two typical offices in him. The prevalent opinion is that he made the atonement on the cross. But did he forgive and atone for the sins of an individual before he was born? Certainly not. Then the atonement cannot be made until the last sin is pardoned that ever will be pardoned. The sacrifice was the Lamb of God at the first advent. Heb. 9. 26-28; 13. 11, 12. He then entered upon the office of Mediator or Advocate with the Father for sinners, Heb. 9. 15; 1 Joh. 2. 1[,] presenting "himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour." Eph. 5. 2. Peter presents both of these offices, "Repent ye therefore and be converted, *that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come* from the presence of the Lord; and he shall send Jesus Christ, &c." Acts 3. 19-21. The conversion or forgiveness follows immediately upon repentance; but the blotting out of sins, Peter places at the times of refreshing or restitution when Jesus Christ is sent again. That is the final atonement in which the sins of the whole house of Israel from Abel to the latest child of God are cast into eternal oblivion, and their effects wiped out from redeemed humanity and the curse removed from the earth. In the year of the jubilee trumpet, (the 49th,) this atonement was inseparably connected with the sounding of the jubilee trumpet. Lev. 25, 9.—"Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound, on the tenth day of the seventh month, *in the day of atonement* shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land." As the antitype of the jubilee trumpet (Rev. 10. 7; 11. 15) occupies more than a literal day[,] may not the atonement also occupy more than a literal day? "But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel when he shall *begin* to sound *the mystery of God should be finished.*" What is this mystery? "The mystery of the Gospel." Eph. 6. 19. "That the gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel." Ch. 3. 1-9; Rom. 16. 25, 26. When Christ enters upon the work of atonement for all his people and the sanctuary[,] that must finish this mystery, and that atonement must take place or begin on the tenth day of the seventh month or the type will be broken. When that mystery is finished; "MENE: God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it" is write [*sic*] upon the dynasties of earth: Satin's [*sic*] lease of this world is out—the dispised [*sic*] Nazarene is anointed King of Kings upon the holy hill of Zion—he asks the Father and receives the heathen for his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. Up to this point of time he had been the *heir;* but now he becomes the Inheritor of David's throne. There is the marriage at which the Noblem[a]n receives the kingdom preparatory to his return to earth. As in the days of our Savior the Roman Governors or princes were accustomed to go up to Rome, the source of civil power in the whole earth at that time, to receive their kingdom[,] i.e. to receive from the proper officers *authority to reign as Kings* over their native provinces.—Their enemies are then made their footstool and they are absolutely kings over their respective provinces, though those

provinces at the time may actually be in the hands of usurpers. They now have power to drive out all opposing rule. So Christ is to receive his kingdom *before, and preparatory to*, the utter desolation of the kingdoms of this earth. "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, it *shall break* in pieces and *consume all these kingdoms* and it shall stand forever." Dan. 2. 44. (Compare with Rev. 10. 7.) "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days [the Father.]" "And there was given him dominion, and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him." Dan. 7. 13, 14. The Son of Man came, not to the earth; but to the Ancient of days and received dominion and *a kingdom*; then he became King.—This event is prior to the destruction of the kingdoms of this world; for it was "*that all people, nations, and languages* should serve him." The finishing of the mystery of God when the seventh trumpet began to sound (Rev. 10. 7) was the event that made Christ's enemies his footstool. 1 Cor. 15. 25; Eph. 1. 22; and Heb. 1. 13; 10. 13. And now the voices in heaven are beginning to declare this message saying, "The kingdoms of this world ARE BECOME, the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." Rev. 11. 15. What disposition will he make of them? Rev. 2. 26, 27. "He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: (and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father." "Let the saints be joyful in glory; let them sing aloud upon their beds: Let the high praises of God be in their mouths and a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people to bind their kings in chains and their nobles with fetters of iron, to execute the judgement written; this honor have all his saints. Praise ye the Lord." Ps. 149. 5-9. See also Hag. 2. 22; Jer. 13. 14-16; Rev. 19. 11-27.

OUR CHRONOLOGY, FROM EVENTS.

A chronology founded on a consecutive order of events is of the strongest and safest kind. We have such a chronology from the signs in the 24 & 25 of Mat. Thus our Savior answers the question: "When?" The principle [ones] of the signs have been nearly or quite confined to our own country; which, instead of being an objection, is in perfect keeping with the providence of God. The Teacher that came from God confined his labors to the land of Judea, and as the Gospel Sun has moved on through succeeding ages from east to west, only one region at a time has enjoyed the full-orbed light of truth. This Sun appears to have reached its western limit and for a few years passed [*sic*, past] to have stood directly over our heads and poured its meridian glory upon us. But, notwithstanding this infinite favor of God, our guilty people have shut their eyes to its lovely light and madly rushed to ruin. And now Alas! it has set or is setting in eternal night upon them. The leading events in the parable of the virgins seem to be the last that bears [*sic*] mercy to a rebel race. Under them the saints of God are sealed for glory and his enemies for destruction. Those who

have obediently followed the consecutive line of events in the development of God's word & providence may still know their "latitude and longitude." Our compass has not failed nor our chart deceived us. The lamplight we have followed has not been a tantalizing phantom, sent to decoy us into an inextricable maze. No, the truth of God has lit our entire pathway and still sheds its light around us. Our way indeed has been narrow and filled with strait gates for the carnal heart; as to the humble pilgrim each gate has opened fresh floods of glory, while dark night has set upon those who have lingered behind the advancing light. Not one of these gates has been approached until the time came for us to pass it, and then the Spirit of God urged us through. Let us not fear then to move onward; if God is for us who can be against us? We are all agreed that we have had the signs of Mat. 24, by which we know the advent is at the doors. And we are now considerably advanced in the parable of the virgins, which we believe to be "THE SIGN," and the last. We can no more regard that parable as having been in process of fulfillment during the Gospel dispensation than the darkening of the Sun or falling of the Stars. It is as clearly given for a sign as either of those events; for "Then shall the kingdom of heaven *be likened unto &c.*"; but if it has a general or indefinite application it is not *a sign.* True, general truths may be drawn from its figures, but the figures themselves never met their realities except in the advent cause. The tarrying time and the cry are the two great Signs involved in the parable, which were designed to serve two important ends: 1. To prepare God's people for the marriage—2. To give us its chronology. We find a tarrying time in Hab. 2. 1-4; Heb. 10. 35-39; Ezek. 12. 21-25; but none of those texts specify what was to tarry. Our Savior defines that by this parable; "THE BRIDEGROOM TARRIED." It is true, during the Gospel dispensation, the fulfillment of great prophetic events has several times excited an expectation that the Lord would then come; but those disappointments did not fulfill the tarrying time, from the fact that they did not look for him as bridegroom. According to the nature of those events and the character of the times in which they were fulfilled, this expectation was created by: "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh", "The kingdom of heaven is at hand", "The Judge standeth at the door", or that Christ would come to destroy the Man of Sin. But for a few years passed [*sic,* past][,] a prominent feature of the preaching and publications on the Second Advent has been: "Behold, the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him." In the preaching of the Advent to occur in 1843, called by the Revelator "the hour of his judgment" (Rev. 14. 6, 7), the primitive faith which had been lost in the fog of modern spiritualisms was restored."

It is a remarkable fact that the parable of the virgins up to the present time has been a kind of rallying point. God so ordered it doubtless because it contained the great preliminary work in the event for which we looked; the coming of the bridegroom. Though individuals had fixed on different points of time for the Advent previous to 1843; yet that was the first point around which the advent hosts rallied their united energies, the eyes of the world were turned to that year as the time for the consummation of earth's history and the

proclamation spread over sea and land and entered every port to which our vessels sail. But despite of [*sic*] our faith and the mighty and unanswerable array of evidence, the spirit put a condition in our hearts and mouths: "*If it tarry wait for it.*" According to our understanding then the prophetic periods met their harmonious termination in that year; and so the proclamation went. Was there not among advent believers (for we believe the parable is confined to them) a general expectation of meeting the Savior at that time? He did not come. Did he not tarry then in some sense? We were lost as to definite time, "slumbered and slept." Those, to the world enigmatical, movements in the advent cause since '43, have not, as they suppose, been fortuitous or mere shifts to avoid confession—but were entered by an omniscient and merciful God into his plan to prepare a people for the reception of his Son, and were noted in his prophetic word. It is because we have taken heed to that "sure word of prophecy," that we have not cast away our hope, nor yielded to the persuasions of our friends to "come back." God, foreseeing the lamentable state of the world and church in the last days (2 Tim. 3. 1-5,) his people divided, scattered and immersed in the world, provided means to separate his obedient people from the corrupting abominations of the times. These means were a series of searching, testing truths which have sanctified the hearts of those who have believed and obeyed them; but brought blindness and stupid sensuality on those who rejected them. Thus they have proved a savour of life to one and of death to the other.

On passing '43 we entered the crucible to be purified (See Dan. 12. 10; Heb. 10. 36 Lu. 21. 19; James 1. 3-4; 1 Pe. 1. 6-8.) We now admire the wisdom of Providence in turning our eyes for a few months from definite time to examine the sea we were in. In this apparent suspense the following trying, but very profitable subjects were urged upon us as present truths. Viz: "Babylon is fallen[,]" Rev. 14.8; 18.2 "Come out of her," Rev. 18. 3; 14. 8-12; Zech. 2. 7; and the state of the dead, Rev. [verse indecipherable]. This brought us in the order of events to the "white cloud[,]" Rev. 14. 14[,] compare Dan. 7. 13.

Were not all of the features of the true tarrying time found in the first 3 or 4 months of the present Jewish Sacred year? Did not the bridegroom then tarry? If so, that was *the real tarrying time*, unless a counterfeit, or two real ones can be found in the Bible. Is it not a general truth that in that tarry the believers in '43 "slumbered and slept," became rather indifferent on the *time* of the Advent? Our conduct with an emphasis answers, *Yes*. Then we have had an awakening cry *following* the tarry, and at about *midnight* of the present prophetic day or Jewish year.

But may not the midnight cry be the "trump of God" that shall raise the dead, or some sign about 7 days previous at the end of probation? Let us see. The action of the virgins under the cry is voluntary; but that of the saints at the appearing of Christ is involuntary or passive. Under the cry in the parable they "go[,]" arose[,] "*trimmed*" and "*answered*;" but at the appearing of Christ the saints are to be *raised*, "*gathered*[,]" "*caught up*," Mat. 24. 31; 1 Thess. 4. 17. Again there is neither time nor need for the events which succeed the cry at[,] nor after the

Savior's appearing; nor if the cry is made at the end of probation several days previous to the Advent. The cry is evidently made in probationary time; for the cry itself, the arising, going out, trimming the lamps and answering the foolish, all imply a work of preparation. The fact that the cry of the 7th month [was] being given in the language of the previous proclamation is an argument in favor of its being the true one. We cannot see that its limited range or locality is the least objection to it. It was evidently to be a hasty movement, not designed to affect the whole world a second time.

It is obviously one of those chronological signs in Mat. 24 & 25 and need be universal no more than the darkening of the sun or falling of the stars; but we might expect to find it in and affecting the same region. This it did. If any object to it because the whole world should have shared its benefits, they may tell if they can, why our Savior confined his salutary labors to the narrow limits of Palestine; also why the whole world at the same time has not always enjoyed the same degree of moral light. It was sufficiently efficient and extensive for its great object viz: To prepare those who had been affected by the previous truths for the marriage and fix its chronology. Again the *time* at which the cry was made proves it correct. At midnight of a prophetic day (Mat. 24. 36,) the present Jewish Sacred year. Tho' a few had embraced the tenth day of the seventh month as the day for the Advent, *they* even preached it with much uncertainty as to the year. But about July or August last, the bridegroom having tarried and virgins slumbered, God's time came, the present was incontrovertably [*sic*] proved to be the year for the sounding of the jubilee trumpet and that which had been but a feeble whisper assumed the character of a stern (Rev. 10. 5-7) and enthusiastic cry *at midnight.* And from that time till the 23d Oct. about 3 months, its astounding peals reverberated throughout our land. All the advent presses were driven to the utmost of steam power and the lecturers and brethren hardly rested day nor night, lecturing and scattering papers like leaves of autumn, that this sealing truth might be published to the greatest possible extent. They indeed labored as though they were doing their last work for the world. By whom was the cry made? God's ministers as in Rev. 14. 6, 7. "Then all those virgins arose and trimmed (searched) their lamps (Bibles)." The word 'all' may have its limited or general signification in this parable as in Mat. 3. 5, 6. Such intense interest on the subject of the Advent was never before known. That of '43 was entirely eclipsed by this [of 1844]. "The foolish *took no oil* with them;" hence could not replenish their lamps. Oil was an indispensable prerequisite to meet the bridegroom. This we understand to be "Faith which worketh by love." Gal. 5. 6. The foolish it appears had a mental belief that the bridegroom would come near the time specified, else they would not have asked the wise for 'oil' to be ready. Hence they were with the wise; but betrayed their want of hearty earnest and love for his appearing by their may-be-so's, ifs and unwillingness to consecrate all and venture out upon the naked word of God, pressed with a heavenly sweetness to their hearts by the Holy Ghost and demonstrated in their sight by a multitude of indubitable evidences.

"And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil: for our lamps are gone (going, margin) out['] V. 8. They went with the advent people, and attended their meetings (being "almost,") as though they expected to receive from them a supply of their conscious deficiency. "Lest there be not enough for us and you." v. 9. The wise themselves felt that they should "scarcely be saved," and however anxious they may have been to aid the foolish, they could only advise and communicate to them knowledge on the event and time; but to give faith and love, is the prerogative of God only.

"Go ye rather to them that sell and buy for yourselves." v. 9. "THE SPIRIT AND THE WORD" will give you light. They are the delegated dispensers of faith and love. The foolish exhibited much zeal in following out the advice of the wise; but they carried so much of the world and name about them, that they could not obtain "oil." This apparent anxiety continued till about the tenth day of the seventh month. Since that they have left, not to buy "*oil*" of the *spirit and the word*, so as to be ready for the bridegroom. O no; that, was "a false alarm"—they knew nothing about it—the bridegroom may not come yet in some years—we are now at liberty to return to the world and churches again, not for "*oil*"particularly, for there is no pressing need of that since the time is passed; but to buy back our reputation, wealth and friends. They have acknowledged they get no meat from the churches. In the parable "*oil*" was the thing to be bought; hence you see the foolish *have not* "gone to buy" "*oil*" *since* the tenth, *but they did go to buy before*. Therefore the bridegroom has not come since the tenth; but he did come before, or at the tenth, while the foolish were after "*oil.*" For "WHILE THEY WENT TO BUY THE BRIDEGROOM CAME," v. 10. We are ready to confess our mistake in having supposed this to be the visible appearing or revelation of Jesus Christ to gather his elect. We now see nothing to justify such an opinion.

The office of the bridegroom at the marriage is evidently a preliminary transaction [that] involved "the coming of the Son of Man," when he is invested by the Father with authority, as "King over all the Earth," or "set upon the throne of his glory" preparatory to his coming as King and Judge brought to view in the next parable, v. 14, 46. This reception of the kingdom by Christ[,] we have already seen[,] is "*in the days of these Kings*" which now ruleth the earth, before, and preparatory to, their total destruction—Dan. 2. 44; 7. 13, 14. There in Mat. 25. 10 is the chronology of the marriage or setting up of the kingdom clear as noon-day, when the foolish went to buy. But will it not be saying "Lo, here is Christ, or there" to say that the bridegroom came on the tenth. No more than for Daniel to say, "I saw in the night visions; and behold, one like the Son of Man came to the ancient of days—and there was given him dominion, glory, and a kingdom, *that* all people, nations, and languages should serve him[,]" as in Ps. 2. 9. These texts are very clearly parallel and neither teach a coming to earth. Now what was the great burden of the Midnight Cry! It was not the King of Kings cometh, though that and the judgment were to some extent connected with the cry; it was rather by way of exhortation than argument; they by no means constituted the heart of that cry. To find what it was you may examine the most efficient publication at the time and you will invariably find at the head: "Behold, the bridegroom

cometh." In that was involved the sounding of the jubilee trumpet and making of the atonement on the tenth day of the seventh. God has thus joined these events, and man cannot separate them. He generally causes his obedient servants to write and speak the truth, and unless He gave His moral machinery into the hands of Satan and sanctified His people with error, the burden of that cry was truth. Most of our brethren still believe this is the jubilee year, and that the trumpet then sounded in the 49th year, and that the release takes place at the opening of the next year, as in the type, Lev. 25. 8-13—a few good brethren, however, have "said in haste, 'All men are liars;'" Ps. 116. 11, and entirely thrown away human chronology which has been proved nearly if not quite correct by the fulfillment of several prophetic periods.—You will observe that in the year of the jubilee trumpet, the atonement was inseparably connected with the sounding of that trumpet. Lev. 25. 9.

If the jubilee trumpet sounded or began to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month—of which we have not a doubt—on that day our great High Priest made, or began to make, the grand and final atonement: See Lev. 16. 33, 34. That is the act that married Christ to his people and kingdom. We are now prepared to consider; "They that were ready went in with him to the marriage."

Here we tremble, for we tread on holy ground. The spirit urges and we dare not resist. God forbid we should hurt the oil and the wine. Who were ready? All who professed to be Adventists? No. Were any ready beside Adventists? Yes. What then constituted a readiness for the marriage? The being "An Israelite indeed in whom—there is no guile," in whatever land he lived. Those who "loved the praise of men more than the praise of God," and to shun the reproach of Christ, rejected His truth, of course[,] were not ready; and those who never heard the advent truths, but lived up to the light they had, of course, were ready. Faith cometh by hearing. "For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not." 2 Chron. 8. 12. How did they go in with him. It is generally supposed that to go in with Him the virgins must personally enter and be present at the marriage in company with the bridegroom. But, by consulting Webster's large Dic. for the definition of "with," you will find "in company" given as the fifth, and of course the remote definition; while *"By,* noting cause, instrument, or means," is given as the first and legitimate meaning. Then they that were ready went into the marriage *by means of the bridegroom;* Heb. 10. 19. A few words on the typical atonement will make this point clear. Preparatory to entering the Holiest of all to make the annual atonement, the high priest had to change his garments, i. e. lay off those of daily ministration and put on those which were made "for glory and for beauty." See Lev. 16. 1-4; Ezek. 44. 17-19. See also, Ex. 28 for a description of those garments. In the two onyx-stones on the shoulders of the ephod and the twelve stones around the breast-plate of judgment, are contained the names of the children of Israel. "And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breast-plate of judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place for a memorial before the Lord continually." v. 29. On the hem of the ephod at the bottom, were golden bells that the people without, waiting and listening, yet with intense prayer—Lu. 1.

21—might hear and know if their priest lived as he approached the mercy seat before God with the atoning blood and lifted a prayer for Israel's sins. Thus, *with or by their priests*, all Israel entered the Holiest of all and became reconciled to God. All doubtless admit that this act must meet its antitype in Christ. Zachariah [*sic*] speaking of Joshua as an emblem of Christ, makes the change of garments plain. "And, the Lord shall inherit *Judah* his portion (kingly authority) in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. *Be silent*, O all flesh, before the Lord: for He is raised up out of His holy habitation. And he shewed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord. Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments." Zech. 2. 12, 13; 3. 1.3. What were Christ's filthy garments? Is. 53. "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all." "And he bare the sin of many and made intercession for the transgressors." When he rises up, there is silence—Satan is rebuked; c[h]. 3. 2—Heb. 10. 12, 13—His garments are changed and He chooses Jerusalem, the throne of the Lord, again. "And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment." c[h].3. 4. This office of the Priest is connected with or involved in that of the bridegroom: "For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe or righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself, as a priest (margin) with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels." *"And thy Land shall be married."* Is. 61. 10; 62. 4. Now how and when does he make up His jewels or the names of his Israel in order to enter the Holiest of all? Mal. 3. 16, 17. Just before the day that burns up the proud and them that do wickedly. "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened and heard it: and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels." Did not they that feared the Lord emphatically speak often one to another under the midnight cry when they held meetings day and night almost continually? That appears to be the time when His jewels were numbered. "And when he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven *about* the space of half an hour;" Rev. 8. 1. A silent consternation spread upon "all flesh" as he came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer (in the Holiest of all[,] Heb. 9. 3, 4) and there was given him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the [most holy?; text indecipherable]. The time for this was on the tenth day of the seventh month. As in the type, so in the antitype, Israel was [bowed; text indecipherable] praying in anxious suspense; the cry having ceased, while our great High Priest within the vail [*sic*, veil] entered upon the work of final atonement with the Father for them. In that act the Father is reconciled to man, the seal of eternal alliance is fixed between Christ and his people and kingdom, and he becomes KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.*

*In the ancient marriages from which this figure is taken, the contract was made between the bridegroom and the bride's father in the absence of the bride, and *after* the

"And the door was shut." "I am the door, by me if any man enter in he shall be saved;['] Joh. 10. 9. "Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for *many*, I say unto you, *will seek* to enter in, and shall *not be able*. When once the master of house is risen up and hath shut to the door;" Lu. 13. 24, 25. Compared [*sic*] Zech. 2. 10-13; 3. 1-5; 6. 11-13; Rev. 10.7; Prov. 1. 24-31; Jer. 11. 11-14; 14. "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy let him be holy still. *And behold I come quickly*." Rev. 22. 11, 12.

When is the door shut? Of course before the marriage proceeds; when the bridegroom came and the mystery of God was finished, the Savior's intercession for his enemies ceased.—Ps. 110. Who shut the door? Not the sinner, but "the Master of the house." Can any enter after the door is shut? "*Many*, I say unto you, will *seek* to enter in, and shall *not be able*." We need not be surprised at babylonish revivals. Foolish virgins will knock and the priests who have been profound to make slaughter and would not turn unto God, "Shall go with their flocks and their herds to seek the Lord; but they shall not find him; he hath withdrawn himself from them." Yet they may beget "strange children" which may be known by their receiving no persecution, from the fact that they do not embrace all the truth. Lu. 13. 25; Mat. 25. 11; Hosea 5. 1-7; 2 Cor. 11. 14, 15; 2 Tim. 3. 12; Heb. 12. 8. Alas, alas! they have wearied kind mercy away, and God says, leave them to their idols. Ho. 4. 17; Mat. 15. 13, 14; Jer. 11. 11-14. It is for our greatest good and God's glory meekly to acquiesce in his plan. The Judge of all the earth will do right. Can any fall away after the door is shut? It appears they *can* if they WILL. Heb. 10. 26, 27; 6. 4-8. The *impossibility* to Sin does not lie thus [*sic*] side of immortality. Hence, "Blessed is he that WATCHETH, and *keepeth* his garments, [Rev. 19. 7, 8] lest he walk naked, and they see his shame," Rev. 16. 15; Mat. 22. 11-13.

It is evident that we *may* assume our sins again at any time before the fulfillment of the type of the scape goat. Please turn and read it in Lev. 16. 20-22. This will doubtless be at the instant of the change to immortality, when he hath made *an end of reconciling the holy place &c*." Till then Satan will do his utmost. But let us make God our refuge, his Spirit our guide, his word our counselor and charity our bond of perfectness. Let us consider one another and in all meekness and forbearance comfort, exhort, instruct, reprove, admonish and encourage, and VERY SOON eternal glory will be our reward.

THE MARRIAGE SUPPER OF THE LAMB.

[A second article written as a letter to the editor in support of the Bridegroom concept.]

Most persons have been accustomed to suppose that the wedding and marriage feast will occur at one and the same time,—but we do well to consider if this

---

marriage the bride and the bridegroom met, Gen 29. The same custom prevails to some extent in the east at the present time.

is so in fact; all say no! that one *is prior* to the other. The Saviour's parables then illustrate what is truth and no fiction. We will then notice what the sacred oracles say. First. As to where is the Marriage Supper to be celebrated? Isaiah 24. 23 speaks of the Lord's reign in *Mount Zion*, then in chapter 25. 6-8. In *this mountain* shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, of wines on the lees[,] &c. Lu. 24. 15-24. Jesus said[,] Blessed is he that shall eat bread *in the "kingdom of God."* Lu. 22. 19—"For I say unto you I will not drink of the fruit of the wine until the Kingdom of God shall come," 28-36.

Second. What is the marriage?—the reception of Jerusalem as the "Throne of the Lord" or Capitol of the Kingdom of God. Jer. 3. 17; Isa. 62. 4-5. We read *thy land* shall be married. And as a young man marrieth a virgin so shall thy sons marry thee, i. e. Jesus the heir and his people as joint heirs become united to their inheritance or Holy City.

This evidently precedes the APPEARING of the Lord, see Luke 12. 32-37. "And ye, yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord, when *he* will return *from the wedding*, verily I say unto you that he shall gird himself and will come forth and serve them." Dr. Adam Clark says on Mat. 22. 2 that "the original word rendered Marriage, properly means Marriage feast or Feast of Inauguration, when his Son *was put in possession of the government*," see 1st Kings 1. 5-9, 19, 25[,] where such a feast is mentioned. "And now behold Adonijah *reigneth* and he hath slain oxen and fat cattle and sheep in abundance, and *hath called* all the *sons of the King, &c.*"

It is apparent from these texts that the marriage is the reception of the "City of great King," after which he appears, returns to glorify his saints, and permit them to sit down with him in *his throne*. Rev. 3. 21; Jer. 3. 17; Rev. 21. 24.

BRO. HAHN[2]:—I have hastily penned but a *few* lines according to promise—I am very sick this P. M., or I should write much more. This may be of some little service.

<div align="center">
Yours in love,
T. F. BARRY.
</div>

N.B. For the views presented in this sheet, the subscribers alone are responsible. As disciples of Jesus we present to our Brethren what has been irresistibly impressed upon us as the truth of God's word and our present position. When God bids we can not forbear to act.—We therefore present these views to you Dear Brethren without money and without price.—We shall be amply rewarded if, amid the confusion and perplexities of the present crisis[,] they serve in any degree to comfort the hearts of God's waiting Israel.

<div align="right">
O. R. L. CROSIER
F. B. HAHN
</div>

[2]Franklin B. Hahn functioned as publisher of the *Day-Dawn*, while O. R. L. Crosier was the editor.

THE EXTENDED ATONEMENT VIEW IN THE *DAY-DAWN* AND THE EMERGENCE OF SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM

MERLIN D. BURT
Andrews University

To historians of American Christianity, it is well known that the Millerite movement of the 1840s gave rise to several different denominations, of which the Advent Christians, Church of God (Oregon, Illinois), Church of God (Seventh-day), and the Seventh-day Adventists, have endured to the present.[1] Not so well known are the theological issues that split the Millerites into divergent camps by 1846, a process in which the *Day-Dawn* played a key role.

The purpose of this study is to examine briefly the significance of the March 1845 *Day-Dawn* and the historical development of sanctuary-atonement theology as developed by Bridegroom Adventists and particularly by O. R. L. Crosier. This article does not intend to fully cover the various aspects of Crosier's arguments, but rather to give an overview to situate the *Day-Dawn* within the flow of postdisappointment Millerite Adventism and show the importance of the *Day-Dawn* for the emergence of Sabbatarian Adventism and later the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[2]

Beginning in the early 1830s, William Miller preached the Second Advent of Christ "about the year 1843" on the basis of the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation.[3] The most important of these prophecies was Dan 8:14: "Unto two thousand three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." Millerite Adventists understood this text to identify the time of Christ's return. Great revival and excitement accompanied the proclamation of the Second Coming. The movement grew and expanded until it was well known in America and could count its adherents in the tens of thousands.[4]

---

[1]Merlin D. Burt, "Historical Introduction," to the facsimile reprint of *Memoirs of Wm. Miller* by Sylvester Bliss (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1853; reprint, Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2005), vii. Cf. George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 327.

[2]For a more complete examination of Bridegroom Adventism and collateral topics see Merlin D. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 2002).

[3]William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (Troy, NY: Kemble & Hooper, 1836).

[4]George R. Knight, Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 213; Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 287.

In October of 1844, Millerites experienced their greatest anticipation regarding the Second Coming of Jesus, eventually focusing on October 22/23, 1844. Following this date, known as the Great Disappointment, the movement began to fragment over the meaning of Dan 8:14 in light of their collective experiences. By 1845, Miller, J. V. Himes, and other key leaders concluded that they had been mistaken in connecting prophetic chronology to the autumn of 1844 and began looking for a future date. A minority group, known as Bridegroom or Shut-Door[5] Adventists, continued to maintain the correctness of the 1844 date, but with a modified understanding of the event that occurred then.

By the summer of 1845, Bridegroom Adventism had further split over two major theological points. First, a growing majority of Bridegroom Adventists believed that (1) Jesus had come spiritually in October 1844, and (2) most also believed that he had in one day—the Day of Atonement in 1844—completed his high priestly work in the heavenly sanctuary and was now reigning as King. These held to a stricter shut-door view. The minority Bridegroom view was that (1) Jesus had not come in October 1844, but (2) had begun extended atonement as high priest in the heaven sanctuary and would soon return to earth literally. Sabbatarian Adventism followed the minority Bridegroom view on both points.

Bridegroom Adventism and the Advent Mirror

The baseline publication for Bridegroom Adventists was the January 1845 *Advent Mirror*, written and edited by two prominent Millerite ministers, Apollos Hale and Joseph Turner. Before the October 1844 expectation of the Second Coming of Jesus, Millerite leaders Josiah Litch, Hale, and Miller had laid the foundational ideas for a heavenly-sanctuary ministry of Jesus through the concepts of a special time-of-the-end judgment and a close of human probation, just preceding the Second Coming. Samuel Snow had more directly applied typological arguments on the Day of Atonement to conclude that Jesus would come on or about October 22, 1844. As with Miller, Snow examined the Jewish typical year to find typological connecting points to more specifically identify the ending points for the prophetic periods described in Daniel and Revelation. During the late summer of 1844, his *True Midnight Cry* was widely circulated and studied by Millerites.[6]

These background perspectives prepared the way for Hale and Turner to conclude that the parable of the ten virgins in Matt 25 portrayed the history of

---

[5]The phrase "shut-door" was initially used by Millerites to describe the close of human probation just before the Second Coming of Jesus. William Miller introduced the term and idea in 1836, using the parable of the ten virgins in Matt 25. After the autumn 1844 disappointment, Bridegroom Adventists continued to use the term, but the definition became more fluid and did not exclusively refer to the final close of probation. See William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (Troy, NY: Kemble & Hooper, 1836), 97, 99.

[6]Samuel S. Snow, "Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh; Go Ye Out to Meet Him," *True Midnight Cry*, August 22, 1844; see also Burt, "Historical Background," 2002, 33-36.

the Advent movement and allegorically explained the meaning of the October 1844 disappointment. Since Christ had not come as king at the expected time, they proposed that he had instead come as a Bridegroom to a heavenly wedding. With Jesus as the Bridegroom, they identified the heavenly New Jerusalem as the bride, the marriage as the act of Christ in receiving his kingdom in heaven, and the Advent believers as the virgins.

The main focus of the *Advent Mirror* was to explore the meaning of the marriage. The paper divided the marriage into two steps: the marriage and the marriage supper. The supper was linked to the Second Coming of Jesus as king (Rev 19:7-9; 11-16). The marriage, it was argued, occurred in heaven and preceded the Second Coming. Turner and Hale presented the coming of the Son of Man (Jesus) to the Ancient of Days (God the Father) in Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 as describing events connected with a heavenly marriage. The Ancient of Days sat in judgment and gave to the Son of Man "dominion, glory and a kingdom." Christ was made a king as he received the New Jerusalem at the marriage. As king, Jesus then went from the wedding to the "marriage supper," which occurred when he gathered his saints at the Second Coming. Thus Hale and Turner linked the autumn 1844 date to the marriage, which they believed confirmed the soon return of Jesus.[7]

O. R. L. *Crosier and the* Day-Dawn

While the *Advent Mirror* did not explicitly suggest an extended atonement in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary beginning in 1844, it did theologically prepare the way for this conclusion. This idea was first proposed in print by Crosier in the first issue of the *Day-Dawn*, published in Canandaigua, New York, during March 1845. This broadside publication is republished for the first time in this issue of *Andrews University Seminary Studies*.[8]

The *Day-Dawn*, though not widely influential among Millerite Adventists, was the first source to propose the idea of an extended atonement by Jesus in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, beginning in 1844. In the *Day-Dawn*, Crosier modified Snow's antitypical Day of Atonement explanation for 1844. Throughout 1845 and continuing into 1846, Crosier continued to develop his typological explanation for the disappointment through the *Day-Dawn* and through correspondence to the *Day-Star* and other papers, culminating in his February 7, 1846, *Day-Star* Extra issue. The *Day-Star* Extra became the seminal publication that combined sanctuary typology with extended atonement. These concepts later combined with Sabbatarian sentiment, launched the movement that would eventually become the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day-Star*, gave a brief notice of the March 1845 issue of the *Day-Dawn*, but apparently did not carefully read the paper. His

----

[7]A. Hale and J. Turner, "Has Not the Savior Come as the Bridegroom?" *Advent Mirror*, January 1845, 1-2.

[8]See previous article, 317-330.

conclusion was that it had a "good spirit—the sentiments differing but a little from those of Bro. Hale—'The Jubilee Standard,' and 'The Hope of Israel.'"[9] In fact, the paper contained dramatically important new ideas that connected the heavenly sanctuary to the Bridegroom concept. It built on the earlier concepts of the preadvent judgment and close of probation published by Miller, Litch, and Hale,[10] and on the new Bridegroom understanding presented in the *Advent Mirror.* Though Jacobs did some creative modification of the heavenly judgment ideas presented by Litch and Hale in November 1844 by suggesting it would last forty days, he did not connect the heavenly judgment idea to a heavenly-sanctuary atonement ministry of Christ.[11] In the *Day-Dawn,* Crosier's major contribution was publishing the idea that the October 1844 date was the beginning of a new and unique extended heavenly sanctuary atonement by Jesus in the Most Holy Place.[12]

Crosier believed that the parable of the ten virgins in Matt 25 gave a "chronology of four important events, viz: (1) The tarrying time, (2) the midnight cry, (3) the marriage, and (4) shutting of the door." Of these four, he saw the

[9][Enoch Jacobs], *Day-Star,* April 15, 1845, 36.

[10]Josiah Litch, "The Doctrine of the Millennium: The Order of the Resurrection and Order of the Judgment," *Second Advent Tracts,* No. 12, June 1841, 11, 12; Apollos Hale, *Herald of the Bridegroom! In Which the Plagues That Await the Enemies of the King Eternal Are Considered; and the Appearing of Our Lord to Gather His Saints* . . . (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, December 1, 1843), 22, 23; William Miller, "Brother Miller's Letter, on the Seventh Month," *Midnight Cry,* October 12, 1844, 122. See also P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Historical Background: Early Nineteenth Century," in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863,* ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 1-16; Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary," 91-94; C. M. Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment," 545-581; C. M. Maxwell, *Magnificent Disappointment,* 71-85.

[11][Enoch Jacobs], "The Time," *Western Midnight Cry!,* November 29, 1844, 3, 4. See also Bert Haloviak, "From Millerism, through the Scattering, to the Third Angel: Ellen White and Light from the Most Holy Place, 1844-1851," paper read at Andrews Society for Religious Studies, San Francisco, California, December 16-18, 1981, Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, LLU; C. M. Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment," 545-581.

[12]Crosier began his ministry in the Wesleyan Church, but withdrew in 1843 at the age of twenty-three to begin preaching the Advent message. Being an orphan, he developed strong attachments with various associates during his childhood and young adult life. One of these was an Adventist and respected medical doctor, Franklin B. Hahn of Canandaigua, whom Crosier joined together with to publish the *Day-Dawn.* Crosier did the writing and Hahn provided the funding and served as publisher. In fact, Hahn's home in Canandaigua was always open to Crosier. It also doubled as the Advent meeting place. Crosier often traveled in New York between Port Gibson, Rochester, and Canandaigua. When in Port Gibson, he stayed in the home of Hiram Edson, another Adventist whose home also served as a place of meeting. See O. R. L. Crosier, "Early History of Ontario County Revealed in Story of Late Owen R. L. Crozier," *Daily Messenger,* November 22, 1923, 17, 22. See also 1850 United States Federal Census for Ontario County, New York; Alberto Ronald Timm, "O. R. L. Crosier: A Biographical Introduction," Term Paper, AU, 1991; Hiram Edson, Manuscript Fragment, n.d., AU.

marriage as "being the point or nucleus about which all the others cluster."[13] Crosier equated the "tarrying time" with the period during the late spring and early summer of 1844, when the "believers" "slumbered and slept." He saw the Midnight Cry as the October 1844 movement and believed that the shutting of the door occurred "before the marriage proceeds." His explanation of the marriage was that Jesus had begun a special extended mediatorial work in the Most Holy Place for his saints: "As the anti-type of the jubilee trumpet (Rev 10:7; 11; 15) occupies more than a literal day[,] may not the atonement also occupy more than a literal day?"[14] Later in the article, he continues: "If the jubilee trumpet sounded or began to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month—of which we have not a doubt—on that day our great High Priest made, or began to make, the grand and final atonement: See Lev. 16:33, 34." Thus Crosier concluded: "So Christ is to receive his kingdom *before, and preparatory to,* the utter desolation of the kingdoms of this earth."[15]

Crosier divided the mediatorial work of Christ into two parts: "The object of the typical institutions was to bring these two offices, that Christ was to perform as the Redeemer of mankind, to our limited comprehension. These were typified by the two apartments or services in the two apartments of the tabernacle."[16] He proposed that the holy place applied to "intercession for transgressors," which continued until the beginning of the marriage on the Day of Atonement, or the "tenth day of the seventh month" 1844, at which point Christ began a work in the "holy of holies" "for his saints exclusively." This work was a "final atonement," when the "sins of the whole house of Israel" were to be "cast into eternal oblivion." Quoting Lev 25:9, he wrote: "Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound, on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land."[17]

The Extended Atonement and the Shut Door

By April 1845, Crosier had progressed further in his understanding:

On that day (Oct. 23 [, 1844]), Jesus closed the tarrying time by entering upon the office of bridegroom or the final atonement. Our great High Priest is now making the atonement for the whole Israel, while we should be engaged in the most important work of prayer. Some supposed that if Christ entered upon the

[13]O. R. L. Crosier and F. B. Hahn, reprint of early 1845 *Day-Dawn* issue published on last page of *Ontario Messenger*, March 26, 1845. Cf. George Storrs developed the first two of Crosier's four points previous to the October 1844 disappointment ("Go Ye Out to Meet Him: The Tenth Day of the Seventh Month," *Bible Examiner*, September 24, 1844, 2).

[14]Crosier and Hahn, 321.

[15]Ibid., 322.

[16]Ibid., 320.

[17]Ibid., 321.

work of atonement on the tenth, he has left the mercy seat, and hence that all access by prayer is cut off. But the mercy seat is in the Holiest of all ... so that he has approached directly to the mercy seat. ... To encourage us in this crisis he says, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith. [18]

Thus, while the door had been shut for the world, Crosier sought to encourage Bridegroom Adventists to look to Jesus and come to him in prayer with "full assurance." He wished to affirm that Jesus had not left them alone, but instead stood before the mercy seat in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. For Bridegroom Adventists, there was an open door into the Most Holy Place.[19]

The most important aspect of Crosier's article was his proposal that the final ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary extended over a period of time. During March and April 1845, two views developed on the heavenly atonement ministry of Jesus in the heavenly sanctuary. The extended-atonement view as presented by Crosier was the minority position. He was joined in his views by Emily Clemons, a prominent editor, poet, and writer in the Millerite movement, and Ellen Harmon (White), who began to receive prophetic visions in December 1844 and became a cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It appears that each of these individuals developed their ideas independently. Clemons developed an experiential application of the extended atonement and connected it with the New Covenant and personal holiness.[20] But although she went on to edit her own paper during the summer of 1845, titled *Hope Within the Veil,* she soon abandoned her position.[21] Harmon (White) had a vision in February 1845, where she saw Jesus as a "great High Priest," rather than as a king, as proposed by Snow. Snow limited Christ's high-priestly atonement to a single day, October 22, 1844, after which, in his view Christ had begun to reign as king.

[18]O. R. L. Crosier, "From Bro. Crosier," *Hope of Israel,* April 17, 1845, 4. There was some ambiguity among the Millerites whether the close of the prophecy Dan 8:14 would occur on October 22 or 23.

[19]Major treatment on the shut door includes: Burt, "Historical Background"; P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995), 104-124; Herbert E. Douglass, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1998), 500-512, 549-569; Francis D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and her Critics: An Answer to the Major Charges that Critics have Brought Against Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Washington DC: Review and Herald, 1951), 161-252; Robert W. Olson, "The Shut Door Documents: Statements Relating to the 'Shut Door,' the Door of Mercy, and the Salvation of Souls, by Ellen G. White and Other Early Adventists Arranged in a Chronological Setting from 1844 to 1851," April 11, 1982, Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD; Rolf J. Poehler, "'... And the Door Was Shut' Seventh-day Adventists and the Shut-Door Doctrine in the Decade after the Great Disappointment," Term Paper, Andrews University, 1978, Berrien Springs.

[20]For more detail on Clemons, see Merlin D. Burt, "Emily C. Clemons and the Developing Sanctuary Doctrine During 1845," research paper, AU, 1997.

[21]Burt, "Historical Background," 179.

One-Day Atonement View

It is important to understand that during 1845 most Bridegroom Adventists,[22] including James White (later an important Sabbatarian Adventist and cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church), believed that the atonement was *completed* on the tenth day of the seventh month 1844.[23] This had been the position of Snow in August 1844 as he promoted the October 1844 Day of Atonement date for the Second Coming of Jesus. Snow argued that on the Day of Atonement the high priest went in and came out of the Most Holy Place of the tabernacle on the "*same day.*" His conclusion was thus:

> Now the *important point* of this type is the *completion* of the reconciliation at the *coming* of the high priest *out of* the holy place. The high priest was a type of Jesus our High Priest; the most holy place a type of heaven itself; and the coming out of the high priest a type of the coming of Jesus the second time to bless his waiting people. As this was on the tenth day of the 7th month, so on that day Jesus will certainly come, because not a *single point* of the law is to fail. *All must be fulfilled.*[24]

Snow further noted that the Day of Atonement was also the time of the blowing of the jubilee trumpet for the redemption of all the land. Since the Feast of Tabernacles began five days after the Day of Atonement, he believed it to be a type of the "marriage supper of the Lamb; which will be celebrated in the New Jerusalem, the tabernacle of God which is to be with men."[25]

Snow remained steadfast in his one-day-atonement view during 1845 and became an active and sometimes strident critic of Crosier, Clemons, and others who promoted the idea of an extended atonement. In 1845, he wrote against the extended-atonement view:

> The point of time arrived, on the 10th day of the 7th month, when the atonement or reconciling was completed, and of course *no more were to be reconciled.* . . . The message was accompanied by the seal of the Holy Ghost, and was therefore truth. It follows, therefore, that the Bridegroom received the Bride, i.e. New Jerusalem the capitol of his kingdom, the atonement was finished and the Jubilee trumpet was blown, on the 10th day of the 7th month.[26]

---

[22]Enoch Jacobs, "The Time," *Western Midnight Cry*, November 29, 1844, 19; "To the Believers Scattered Abroad," *Day-Star*, April 22, 1845, 21-24 (taken from the *Hope of Israel*); F. G. Brown, "Letter from Bro. Brown," *Day-Star*, April 15, 1845, 34; G. W. Peavey, "Unto Two Thousand and Three Hundred Days: Then Shall the Sanctuary be Cleansed," *Jubilee Standard*, August 7, 1845, 166; John Lewis, "Letter from Bro. Lewis," *Day-Star*, October 25, 1845, 8; Lewis Hersey, "Letter from Bro. Hersey," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 24.

[23]James White, "Watchman What of the Night!," *Day-Star*, September 20, 1845, 26.

[24]Samuel S. Snow, "Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh; Go Ye Out to Meet Him," *True Midnight Cry*, August 22, 1844, 4.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Samuel S. Snow, "Behold He Cometh!!," *Day-Star*, April 22, 1845, 41.

Importance of the Extended Atonement View

The significance of the articles by Crosier and Clemons, in laying the foundation for the concept of an extended atonement in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary beginning in 1844, cannot be underestimated. These two individuals became the most important published promoters of the extended-atonement view during 1845.[27] Crosier, Clemons, and also Harmon (White) presented a position that theologically undermined a strict shut-door view. While Snow and other one-day-atonement advocates who no longer saw Jesus as a high priest after October 1844 would naturally conclude that probation had closed, those who presented an extended-atonement view continued to see Jesus in a mediatorial role. As the more radical spiritualizing branch of Bridegroom Adventism imploded during the first half of 1846, the same group's equally radical view that Jesus was king and no longer a high priest was abandoned. What remained was a literal view of the Second Coming of Jesus, with a clearer understanding of the extended atonement as an explanation for what happened in October 1844. The realization dawned on Sabbatarian Adventists that the 1844 shut-door view needed to give way to the idea that Jesus, as high priest, ministered for all humans—sinners and saints—until probation finally closed just before his Second Coming.

Crosier remained the principal advocate of the extended-atonement view through 1846. During 1845, he continued to write letters that developed and clarified his view.[28] His fully developed explanation was published in a lengthy article in the *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846.[29] Beginning in 1846, Harmon (White) emphatically supported Crosier's view.[30] Thus, by about 1851, the extended-atonement view had set the theological course that caused Sabbatarian Adventists to discard most aspects of the shut-door view

[27]See Burt, "Historical Background," 103-107, 178-191, 242-250.

[28]O. R. L. Crosier, "From Bro. Crosier," *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845, 4; idem., "Letter from Bro. O. R. L. Crosier," *Day-Star*, October 11, 1845, 50; idem., "The Springwater Affair," *Voice of Truth*, October 29, 1845, 505; idem., "Dear Bro. Jacobs," *Day-Star*, November 15, 1845, 23.

[29]O. R. L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *Day-Star* Extra, February 7, 1846, 38-44. While many aspects of Bridegroom Adventism during 1845 and 1846 have been only lightly studied, the February 7 *Day-Star* Extra has been carefully examined. See R. Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement," B.D. thesis, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, 1970, 111-129; P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Among Sabbatarian Adventists: 1845-1850," in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey, 1845-1863*, ed. F. B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 29-41; Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4:889-905, 1228-1234; K. Bangert, "A Summary and Appraisal of O. R. L. Crosier's Article in the *Day-Star* Extra" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1974); A. R. Timm, "O. R. L. Crosier: A Biographical Introduction" (Term paper, Andrews University, 1991), 8-17.

[30]Ellen G. White to Bro. Eli Curtis, April 21, 1847, in [J. White], *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* 12.

that they had inherited from Miller, Snow, and others.

Conclusion

After the 1844 disappointment, Millerite Adventism broke into two parts. The larger mainline group gave up faith in the October 1844 date, while the smaller group, Bridegroom Adventists, continued to hold to the October 1844 date. The Bridegroom view was initially presented by Hale and Turner in their seminal January 1845 publication, the *Advent Mirror.*

During 1845, Bridegroom Adventism divided in at least two major ways. The first concerned the time and meaning of the Second Advent. By 1846, a majority accepted the idea that Jesus had spiritually come the second time in 1844. A minority view, held by those who later became Seventh-day Adventists, rejected the spiritual view and argued for a future, literal Second Coming of Jesus. Both Bridegroom groups continued to argue for the prophetic significance of the 1844 date. A second point of fracture within Bridegroom Adventism was over the meaning of the atonement. The traditional pre-1844 Millerite view inherited from Miller and Snow was that Jesus would complete the Most Holy Place atonement in the heavenly sanctuary on one literal day—the Day of Atonement, after which he would come the second time to reign as king. During 1845, most Bridegroom Adventists, and particularly Snow, believed that Jesus ended his priestly ministry and began to reign as king in October 1844. The minority extended-atonement view presented by Crosier said that Jesus had begun a special end-time high priestly ministry in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary in October 1844 and that this ministry would continue until the final close of probation. During 1846, Harmon (White) and Sabbatarian Adventists embraced the extended-atonement view.

The emergence of Sabbatarian Adventism can be directly traced to its earliest roots in the publication of Crosier's March 1845 *Day-Dawn* article in Canandaigua, New York. The new and essential idea in his article was that Jesus had begun an extended atonement in the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary, beginning on the Day of Atonement in October 1844. This theological view was directly contrary to the view presented by Snow in his influential publication of August 1844, titled the *True Midnight Cry.* Snow continued to argue that Jesus completed his Most Holy Place atonement on one day, October 22, 1844. He further concluded that Jesus no longer functioned as a high priest, but rather as a king. Snow's position theologically tended toward a more strict interpretation of the shut door and promoted the idea that probation had closed for the world. Crosier's view, on the other hand, presented Jesus as remaining in his high priestly role with a mediatorial capacity. With the support of Harmon (White) and other Sabbatarian Adventists, this view would lead to the abandonment of most aspects of the shut door by the early 1850s. It also became the basis for a worldwide proclamation of the Sabbath in the context of the "gospel" and "judgment" messages of Rev 14:6-12.

REVIEW ARTICLE: ALISTER E. MCGRATH'S
A SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY

McGrath, Alister E. *A Scientific Theology: Nature, Reality, Theory*, 3 vols. Grand
    Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001-2003. 325, 343, 340 pp. Hardcover, $50.00 per
    volume.

_____, *The Science of God: An Introduction to Scientific Theology*. Grand Rapids:
    Eerdmans, 2004, 271 pp. Paper, $25.00.

Introduction

While working at the University of Utrecht on a European Molecular Biology
Organization fellowship in 1976, Alister E. McGrath conceived of the idea to
"explore the relation between Christian theology and the natural sciences, using
philosophy and history as dialogue partners" (1:xi). This project would "be
grounded in and faithful to the Christian tradition, yet open to the insights of the
sciences" (ibid.). McGrath notes that this initiative took "twenty years to follow
through" (ibid.). The wait has been worth the effort: McGrath's contribution to
Christian theological method is easily among the best works on the development
of a theological system in contemporary evangelical circles.

    McGrath's path to scientific-theological methodology is interdisciplinary.
Holding degrees in chemistry (bachelor's, Oxford), molecular biology
(doctorate, Oxford, post-doctorate fellowship, Utrecht; post-doctorate
advanced degree, Oxford), and theology (bachelor's, Oxford; doctorate,
Cambridge), McGrath brings depth to the often-misunderstood dialogue
between the natural sciences and Christian theology. Coming from a
background of atheism, his encounter with Christianity is not simply
intellectual. He reports that he is always learning, ever willing to build on his
current knowledge.

    A Scientific Theology ultimately falls within the genre of thought literature
most commonly found within nineteenth- and twentieth-century German
scholarly literature. Although on the surface, McGrath's approach is historical
theology, history becomes a mediating tool in which McGrath feels his way
through layers of thought. Often, as in the case of his pattern of movement
from Thomas Aquinas to Karl Barth to T. F. Torrance in volume 1, *Nature*,
McGrath seeks a trajectory of doctrinal development and justification for
theological theory. As in the style of the German philosopher Martin
Heidegger, reading the entire piece is necessary in order to see that McGrath
is often simultaneously endorsing and rejecting those whom he evaluates,
rather than simply relating a series of historical narratives. Unlike Heidegger,
however, McGrath not only carries out a thought experiment, but does so
through the medium of historical narrative. The end product is not, however,
simply a flight through various theories and systems of thought, but rather

is a thoughtful response to protracted periods of reflection that are grounded on a deep Christian faith. McGrath may have, admittedly, been drawn to study at Oxford because "it offered the possibility of a hugely stimulating intellectual environment in which to consolidate my atheistic views" (1:xiii), but his return to Oxford as a professor of Christian theology has been anything but atheistic: his discovery of the God who creates, coupled with his advanced understanding of the particular sciences, provides a fresh look at the dialogue between science and religion.

<div style="text-align:center">

Overview of A Scientific Theology *and*
The Science of God

</div>

The three-volume *A Scientific Theology* begins with a basic discussion of prolegomena, followed by extensive discussions of the development of definitions of "nature" (vol. 1), "reality" (vol. 2), and "theory" (vol. 3). *The Science of God: An Introduction to Scientific Theology* serves two basic purposes: to introduce the reader to the three-volume series as a type of prolegomena, and to provide a less scholarly and more concise summary of the larger work. McGrath's stated purpose for the overall project, which he refers to as *A Scientific Theology*, is "to examine, critically yet appreciatively, the way in which the working assumptions and methods of Christian theology and the natural sciences interact with and illuminate each other, and allow each other's distinctive characteristics to be appreciated, as an interesting means to the greater end of achieving at least a partial synthesis of their insights" (1:3).

<div style="text-align:center">

Volume 1: Nature

</div>

In order to clarify his position regarding hermeneutics, McGrath provides a substantial essay discussing the roles of science, theology, and philosophy in the dialogue between science and religion before launching into "a detailed engagement with the concept of 'nature,'" the definition of which, he believes, "represents a socially mediated construct" (1:3-4). McGrath contends that because the concept "nature" has been socially mediated, there is room for the individual to choose responsibly among possible definitions. McGrath is not intimidated by plurality, but rather firmly believes that truth may be found by earnest seekers of it. The basis for truth, in McGrath's opinion, is one based solidly upon Scripture, which is informed by Christian tradition. He notes: "The roots of a scientific theology are thoroughly evangelical, resting on a deep and passionate conviction that 'theology must be nourished and governed at all points by Holy Scripture, and that it seeks to offer a faithful and coherent account of what it finds there'" (*Intro.*: 14; cf. 1:60ff.). For McGrath, the process of interpretation of Scripture is guided by "the 'great tradition' of Christian theology and in response to the challenges to the Christian faith which are raised by other disciplines—such as the natural sciences" (ibid.). However, before moving into a discussion of his view of nature, he clarifies:

> The position adopted in this study is not that the concept 'nature' is totally socially or culturally constructed, but that the notion is partly shaped by socially mediated factors. This process of mediation means that our perception of what 'nature' means—or what it means to be 'natural'—is covertly shaped by a series of influences, which deny us direct access to an allegedly neutral or self-sufficient notion of 'nature' itself. How can nature shape our values and ideas, when that same nature has already been shaped by them? How can we construct a philosophy based on nature, when nature has been constructed by our philosophical ideas?" (1:133).

To avoid a socially mediated relativism, in which the concept 'nature' has no real foundation upon which to build a healthy dialogue between science and theology, McGrath notes that "The Christian theologian will wish to explore another category as a means of reclaiming the concept of 'nature' as an intellectually viable category, while at the same time interpreting it in a Christian manner. The category? Creation" (ibid.).

Volume 2: Reality

In volume 2, *Reality*, McGrath moves to a discussion of a creation-based reality, providing critiques of anti- and non-realism. Due to his position of critical realism, he defines the role of theology to be "an *a posteriori* discipline" (1:4). "The key," McGrath contends, "to understanding how the Christian tradition relates to other traditions lies in natural theology" (2:xvi). His appeal to natural theology "allows the Christian tradition to offer an account of why truth, goodness and beauty are pursued in other traditions, and accounts, to a limited yet significant extent, for the specific forms that these take within those traditions" (ibid., xvii).

Building upon his postclassical understanding of a single unified reality, in which reality is stratified across disciplinarian lines (2:195ff.), McGrath proposes that the observable and unobservable universe is best understood when each discipline, working within its own limits, presents its own particular collection of data. This data is then interpreted under the magisterial direction of divine revelation as "God's creation." McGrath is heavily influenced by social scientist Roy Bhaskar's critical realism. Bhaskar contends, and McGrath agrees, that "one assumes at the outset the intelligibility of science (or rather of a few generally recognized scientific activities) and asks explicitly what the world must be like for those activities to be possible" (*The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences*, 3d ed. [New York: Routledge, 1998], 8). Thus, while there may be many possible interpretations for data about the observable world, Christian theology necessarily limits probable explanations to those that correspond with divine revelation.

Volume 3: Theory

The discussion of reality leads naturally to McGrath's final thesis in volume 3, *Theory*, on "the origin, development and reception of such doctrines and

theories, and notes the important parallels between the scientific and theological communities in these important matters" (1:4). McGrath contends that theoretical reflection is necessary and inevitable: "To be human is to long to know more of God and the things of God in this world—in brief, to aspire to theological reflection" (3:65). Thus it is entirely appropriate to create Christian doctrine, even if classical dogmatic Christianity has received a rather tainted reputation. Therefore, in response to critics of formalized Christian doctrine, he proposes that

> To demand an 'undogmatic' Christianity often involves confusion over the *tone* and *substance* of Christian doctrine. 'Dogmatic' can rightly be understood as meaning 'enclosed within a framework of theoretical or doctrinal beliefs', and in this sense, I must insist, reflects some integral themes of the Christian faith. Yet the term can also bear the meaning of 'uncritical', 'unreflective' or 'authoritarian'—referring, in other words, to the tone or voice in which Christian theological affirmations are made, rather than to their substance. I have no interest in supporting shrill, strident, imperious and overbearing assertions of Christian doctrine, which demand silent unthinking compliance on the part of their audiences, and lead to conflict and tension. Yet I remain convinced that such statements are necessary and legitimate, while insisting that they can and should be stated in a more reflective tone. After all, the purpose of Christian doctrine is partly to inspire awe and worship, not to silence and threaten its audiences (3:60-61).

Ultimately, for McGrath, Christian doctrine is as awe-inspiring as a beautiful Gothic cathedral: "Just as Gothic churches embodied a sense of the spaciousness of heaven, the worship which was enacted within their walls further strengthened the corporate sense of beholding the vision of God. . . . The evocation of a sense of mystery both affirms the vitality of the vision of God, while at the same time suggesting that there are limits to the extent that any theoretical accounts of such a mystery can hope to represent it" (3:6). However, in spite of the seemingly impossible task of providing some theoretical description of God, McGrath contends that just such a task must be undertaken:

> *Yet some such theoretical account of this vision of God must be offered.* The development of theory is as inevitable as it is legitimate, and must be seen as an exercise of theological responsibility, a call to be answerable for and to the Christian gospel. A church which fails to reflect critically upon its identity and proclamation is ultimately a dead or dying church, which has lost confidence in the regenerative power of its ideas. Yet it must be conceded immediately that, while the living God possesses an ability to *excite* worship and delight, theories *about* God often seem to be rather lustreless, plodding and ponderous (3:6-7, emphasis original).

Building upon the approaches to *theoria* by writers such as Heidegger and Jürgen Habermas, McGrath brings to a conclusion his argument for the possibility of a scientific theology, which is delicately balanced upon divine revelation and observed reality. For instance, Heidegger's suggestion that the

Greek word θεωρέω could have been derived originally from the word θέος and ὁράω, "implies that 'theory' was essentially a beholding of the divine—an idea perhaps more naturally expressed in the Latin term *complatio*" (cited in 3:7; cf. Martin Heidegger, *Erläuterungen zu Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung* [Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1944], esp. the essay "Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung," 31-45). McGrath notes that Habermas, on the other hand, "sought to reconceive the notion [of *theoria*] in a purely social context, relocating an ostensibly theological activity within the public discourse of knowledge concerning the universe. The *theoros* was the representative sent by Greek cities to public celebrations whose function was *theoria*—that is, to behold what was taking place" (3:7-8). McGrath's goal throughout *Reality* is to reconcile these two perspectives, by showing the coming together of the human and divine in the process of revelation, as expressed in doctrine. Doctrine is thus built upon divine revelation, but because humanity cannot see the complete scope of reality, doctrine is also at least partially socially constructed.

Having laid a basic foundation for McGrath's work, we will evaluate his proposal.

An Evaluation of McGrath's Proposal in A Scientific Theology

McGrath, as noted above, was deeply influenced in his theological perspectives by a number of individuals, to whom he often returns: Thomas Aquinas, Karl Barth, and T. F. Torrance. While McGrath is certainly influenced by many others, including theologians, such as Jean Calvin, philosophers such as Roy Bhaskar and Martin Heidegger, and scientists, such as Niels Bohr, Louis De Broglie, and Werner Heisenberg, the remainder of this review will especially focus on the primary theological influences of Aquinas, Barth, and Torrance on McGrath, due primarily to space constraints (for further interaction with scientific and philosophical influences on McGrath, see my forthcoming dissertation).

The Aquinian Influence

The goal that McGrath wishes to realize in volume 1, *Nature*, is to demonstrate the necessity of a natural theology that is built upon Scripture, guided by tradition and observation, and described theoretically. As he lays the foundation of his approach to natural theology, McGrath grapples with Thomas Aquinas's philosophical-theological approaches. Aquinas is neither exclusively philosopher or theologian, but philosopher-theologian (cf. F. C. Copleston, *Aquinas: An Introduction to the Life and Work of the Great Medieval Thinker* [New York: Penguin, 1991]). In a similar manner, McGrath is both scientist and theologian.

Understanding the dual role carried out by Aquinas and McGrath as, respectively, philosopher-theologian and scientist-theologian is necessary for understanding their approaches to theology. An often-misunderstood point in

current evangelical circles is the miscategorization of natural theology as an element of theology proper. The role of a natural theology is, however, to act as a bridge between philosophy/science and theology. Rather than simply being the result of special revelation, natural theology takes its primary mode of interpretation from theology proper and applies it to the observable universe, thereby, as in the case of McGrath, interpreting nature as "God's creation." Generally, as Copleston notes: "The theologian, who bases his reflection on revelation, naturally starts with God and only afterwards proceeds to a consideration of God's creation. But the philosopher [i.e., natural theologian] proceeds the other way round. He starts with the immediate data of experience, and it is only by reflection on these data that he comes to some knowledge of what, considered in its essence, transcends natural experience. Hence the part of metaphysics which treats of God comes last in order from the philosophical point of view" (Copleston, 56). Thus a natural theologian moves through the realm of the observable, expressed philosophically and/or scientifically, to the realm of the unobservable, expressed theologically. Natural theology, coming at the end of philosophical discourse, provides the impetus for a movement beyond philosophy and science to the realm of theology. McGrath follows a similar trajectory, moving both within the realm of scientific discovery as he views the world as a critical realist who expects to find an objective reality existing beyond himself, and as a Christian theologian, who allows Scripture and Christian tradition to provide the ultimate foundation for the interpretation of nature. Thus Copleston's distinction between revealed theology and nonrevelatory philosophy is crucial: "Christianity is essentially a revealed way of salvation and not an academic philosophical system. It also brings out the fact that there is no revealed philosophy. One philosophy may be more compatible than another with Christianity. . . But in the long run a philosophical system stands or falls on its own intrinsic merits or demerits." To realize this fundamental difference between theology and philosophy will prevent one from treating "any philosophy as being part of the Christian faith," even Thomism and, I might add, McGrathism (Copleston, 58-59). McGrath essentially would agree with Copleston's view, noting that due to its partially socially mediated nature, natural theology and science must therefore be ancillary to Scripture (1:7ff.). Thus natural theology, while not special salvific revelation, functions as a general revelatory tool, pointing the observer beyond the observable universe to its ultimate cause in divine creativity. But, importantly, divine creativity is only understood through that which is directly revealed, i.e., through Scripture.

McGrath, while inspired by Aquinas, differs from him in important ways. For example, Aquinas posits an approach to natural theology that is built upon the notion of *principia per se nota* ("self-evident principles"). Copleston notes that Aquinas "did not admit any innate ideas or principles. He did, however, admit self-evident propositions which in some sense give information about reality" (*Aquinas*, 30). McGrath also explicitly rejects the notion of innate principles due

to his belief that they are built solely upon *a priori* (i.e., preconceived) notions about the world rather than an observed understanding of the world. Such a viewpoint, McGrath contends, forces theological positions upon the world, making the world conform to preconceived notions. To avoid such an approach, McGrath posits a critical-realist perspective that is firmly based upon *a posteriori* (i.e., observed) conceptions of the world. He notes that "One of the most important working assumptions of the natural sciences is that there exists a reality, independent of the human mind, of which some account may given" (1:71), but this is a reality that is viewed specifically from the perspective of Christian Scripture and tradition (1:135ff.). In order to guard the process of interpretation from imposing *a priori* presuppositions on a Christian interpretation of nature, McGrath contends that it is necessary to know the limits of each discipline, as well its language, area of described reality, and its intersect with other disciplines. Understanding the role of each discipline in providing a particular view of reality from its own perspective helps to prevent misunderstandings, protecting the integrity of the interpretive process, especially in regard to the ancillary role of science to Scripture and Christian theology. Likewise, the integrity of the scientific procedure is protected from being used for the sole purpose of maintaining a theological position (see esp. 3:77ff.). Social scientist Roy Bhaskar, with whom McGrath finds much agreement in regard to defining reality, warns:

> What would [a conflict between the disciplines] show? Merely that one had come up against the limits of a particular scientific form, just as the limits of the possibility of measurement may be given by quantum theory. But that measurement has limits does not mean that nothing can be said a priori about what the world must be like for measurement to be possible within those limits. *What it does mean is that there is no way in which philosophy can legislate in advance for the transportation of particular scientific procedures,* so that the minor premises of philosophy's arguments may have to be developed afresh in the case of each specific science. Indeed, were philosophy able to anticipate the form of or stipulate criteria *ex ante* for successful scientific practices, the historic aspirations of [for example,] absolute idealism and post-Cartesian, precritical, rationalism (including empiricism) would stand vindicated. For science would now appear as the simple realization of philosophy or as the automatic product of a practice (or method) authenticated by it (*The Possibility of Naturalism*, 7, emphasis supplied).

The point that Bhaskar makes, and that McGrath supports, is that each discipline has its place and necessarily unique methodology. For McGrath, however, the interpretation of reality is ultimately subservient to revealed Scripture. What McGrath ultimately hopes to accomplish is to provide a balanced view of natural theology, in which each discipline, working under the purview of Scripture and guided by Christian tradition, contributes its own special knowledge about the observable and unobservable universe. Thus, ultimately, there should not be contention between what Scripture reveals about how the universe is and what science shows it to be.

An important contribution that McGrath makes throughout his volumes is to illustrate the importance of not allowing an intermediate discipline, such as philosophy, to provide a second-hand interpretation of scientific data. Further, he is concerned about the readiness of some to throw out Christian tradition on the assumption that what is the most current theological pronouncement is, therefore, the best theological pronouncement (1:36).

First, the problem of placing undo emphasis upon secondary interpretations of scientific data is demonstrated in a classic example of Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. A hallmark of postmodern thought is the issue of antirealism or relativism. McGrath notes that antirealism "has had a major impact on most aspects of western culture during the late twentieth century. Yet its failings and weaknesses have become increasingly apparent, not least because of its failures in relation to the natural sciences" (2:191). He notes that

> The problem, as we have seen, is that the critiques directed by postmodernity against the alleged claims to objectivity of the natural sciences proved embarrassingly self-referential. Most damning of all, postmodernity has signally failed to explain why it is the case that the natural sciences continue to produce useful knowledge. Why do the laws of physics prove resilient to issues of gender, race or social class—to name only the three most obvious factors in a constructivist account? (ibid.).

But where did such antirealism originate from? One leading contribution has been, according to McGrath, the adoption of erroneous understandings of scientific data by philosophers, who have then created concepts of reality, which, in turn, are passed on to society at large and to theology in particular. The result, in regard to Heisenberg's uncertainty principle has been that some "fashionable French intellectuals . . . have altered a fundamental postulate concerning the limitations placed upon our knowledge of the quantum world to a global statement of relativism in all matters of truth, objectivity and judgment" (2:283-284). But is this really the point that Heisenberg was attempting to make in his principle?

The answer is no. In his landmark paper, "Über den anschaulichen Inhalt der quantentheoretischen Kinematik und Mechanik" (*Zeitschrift für Physik* 43 [1927]: 172-198), Heisenberg laid out the following fundamental principle: "if the position of an electron is determined by irradiation with high energy gamma rays, the electron undergoes a change in its momentum as a consequence of this process of irradiation. As a result, an uncertainty exists concerning both its position and momentum" (2:285). Heisenberg went on to note that "If one wants to be clear about what is meant by the 'position of an object', for example of an electron . . . then one has to specify definite experiments by which the 'position of an electron' can be measured; otherwise this term has no meaning at all" (cited in 2:285; Heisenberg, 172-198). Thus the issue that Heisenberg is addressing is not a global relativism, but rather "the limitations placed upon observation, and hence upon knowledge, by the entities it is proposed to observe. Heisenberg's uncertainty principle represents the

theoretical outcome of the application of the principle that we must encounter reality on its own terms, and accept the limitations which this entails" (ibid.).

The need for allowing the individual disciplines to speak their own language and methodology is crucial. But beyond that, having a clear understanding of what science means before applying it to a worldview is crucial. An entire Western worldview has been posited upon the mistaken notion that the new physics is relativistic. This point leads naturally to McGrath's second concern.

The second concern that McGrath addresses in regard to the development of a natural theology is the readiness of some to throw out theological tradition. McGrath notes that "Many of those theologians who have contributed to the dialogue between the natural sciences and Christian theology have done so on the basis of the assumption that classic Christian theology is faced with serious limitations, which require to be transcended before any meaningful or significant dialogue may take place" (1:37). A restlessness to transcend the past is often at issue. McGrath points to Ian Barbour, who "declines to talk about the 'two natures' or the 'substance' of Christ, preferring to talk about Christ's 'relationship with God'" (1:37), as an example of this trend. The danger of basing one's views upon transient and fashionable themes, political correctness, or cultural issues is that "such transient trends leads to the results of such a dialogue being discredited on account of the outdated theological assumptions which shaped and guided it in the first place—including both the criticisms made of orthodox Christian theology, and the alternative theological stances adopted in its place" (1:38).

Thus a correct understanding of the disciplines and the strata of reality that they portray is crucial for all those engaged in developing a Christian theology. A world that is viewed from a Christian critical-realist perspective will have a specific nature. McGrath cites Eric L. Mascall (1956 Bampton Lectures at Oxford University), who proposes that a world that has been created by God

> "will be both contingent and orderly, since it is the work of a God who is both free and rational. It will embody regularities and patterns, since its Creator is rational, but the particular regularities and patterns which it embodies cannot be predicted *a priori*, since he is free; they can only be discovered by examination. The world of Christian theism will thus be one whose investigation requires the empirical method, that is to say, the method of modern natural science, with its twin techniques of observation and experiment" (McGrath, 1:222; cf. Mascall, *Christian Theology and Natural Science: Some Questions on their Relations* [London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1956], 94).

Second, McGrath also finds continuity and discontinuity with Aquinas's reliance upon sacred tradition. Whereas Aquinas might have been inclined to see a more direct revelatory line extending from Scripture through classical literature (i.e., Justin Martyr's unintentional Christians) and the Church Fathers, leading to ultimate truth, McGrath is more inclined to also take note of social factors that cause digressions toward and away from truth and which causes

seekers to carefully evaluate the merits of any particular approach. Such a position makes McGrath a child of his own times. Influenced by postmodern approaches in this regard, McGrath is willing to acknowledge a number of different methods of inquiry, but grounds his own understanding upon Christian tradition, thereby willingly limiting possible alternatives. Therefore, in the case of defining "nature," McGrath limits his definition of "nature" to God's "creation."

A final point in which McGrath finds inspiration to journey with and beyond Aquinas is in the area of observation. Aquinas theorizes from within his own context, the Aristotelian/Neo-Platonic/Christian tradition. While Aristotle spoke throughout his works (e.g., *Physics, Parts of Animals*) of the necessity of personal observation in order to understand the real, Christian tradition had, by Aquinas's day, tended to accept a primarily deductive approach in regard to natural theology. A classic example of allowing theology to dominate observation of the natural world in an unhealthy way is the insistence of maintaining the Ptolemaic interpretation of celestial movements in spite of evidence to the contrary—evidence which extended from classical Greek thought to Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler. While medieval Christian scholars acknowledged interpretations of nature based upon observation, they often accepted interpretations of natural phenomena that were supportive of *a priori* theological assumptions regardless of what actual observation presented. McGrath, on the other hand, posits the importance of observation in the engagement between science and Christian theology, proposing that theological theories (i.e., doctrines) should not be dependent upon scientific theories, nor should theological theories presuppose the actual realities of nature. Rather, science and theology, each functioning within their own space of reality, work in complementary relationship together. "The real difficulty," McGrath contends, in "engaging in a critical yet appreciative dialogue with the natural sciences" by theologians, "is clarifying how this dialogue can take place without destroying the distinctive character of theology" (*Intro*, 17). Understanding the distinctive role of each scientific discipline is, therefore, central to McGrath's purpose for *A Scientific Theology* (ibid., 18).

The Barthian Influence

McGrath notes in his Preface to *Nature*, that "While I have misgivings about many aspects of [Karl] Barth's theology . . . it is impossible to understate the positive impact which Barth had upon my estimate of, and enthusiasm for, theology as a serious intellectual discipline" (1:xv-xvi). "Above all, I found myself impressed by the intellectual coherence of Barth's vision of 'theological science', and thrilled by the vision Barth offered of a sustained theological engagement with the past" (ibid., xv).

McGrath first encounters Barth in the doctrine of creation. He notes that "Barth's initial position may be regarded as a polemic against any possibility of discovering, discerning or encountering God through any natural resource,

whether this is to be understood in terms of the categories of creation, nature or culture. One of the central themes of Barth's theological enterprise is the elimination of any dependence of theology upon any form of natural mediation—such as human cultures, or natural theology" (1:177). For Barth, there is nothing "intrinsic" to nature that would allow it to serve as a source of divine revelation. Thus the subject of divine revelation lies outside Barth's doctrine of creation (1:178). However, interestingly, "For Barth, creation is the external basis of the covenant, just as the covenant is the internal basis of creation. It is the divine decision to enter into this covenantal relationship that underlies the creation of the world in general, and humanity in particular [cf. *Church Dogmatics* III/1, 94-95]" (1:180).

McGrath gleans three central insights from Barth's discussion concerning the nature and status of creation, including the ability of creation to reveal God: (1) "The doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* is seen as undergirding the fact that the entire created order owes its existence and purpose to God. . . . Creation is a direct consequence of the divine decision to create, the divine *fiat* which is grounded in the freedom and sovereignty of God." (2) Barth rejects any notion of the autonomy of the creation over and against the creator. . . . For Barth, the divine freedom is such that God is free to impose such meaning as God determines upon the creation—and that meaning is to be articulated in terms of a covenant between God and humanity." (3) "It therefore follows that the created order cannot be allowed to possess an ontological or revelatory autonomy—for example, by becoming the basis of an alleged 'revelation' of the nature and purposes of God" (1:180).

While agreeing with Barth, that Barth's doctrine of creation provides a needed corrective "to the quasi-deistical tendencies of many liberal Protestant theologies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (1:181), McGrath nevertheless finds it necessary to go beyond Barth's position.

As McGrath moves further into his engagement with science and Christian theology, he returns to the impact of human culture on theological development, pointing out that

> The appeal to human culture as either a foundation or norm of Christian theology can be argued to lie in the patristic period—for example, in Eusebius of Caesarea's 'imperial theology', which treated the culture of the Roman empire as being in some manner reflective of the divine will or character. The systematic development of the potential of culture as a theological resource is, however, generally regarded as dating from the nineteenth century, particularly through the rise of 'Culture Protestantism'—as the critics of the movement dubbed it (1:255).

Barth, McGrath notes, found liberal Protestant thought abhorrent as he reflected on the possibility of basing Christian theology on a revelation coming from within culture. And it is little wonder that he did so as he viewed the effects of the German Christian Movement, inspired by Adolf Hitler's fascist Nazis. "Might not such an approach lead to someone such as Adolf Hitler becoming authoritative for Christian theology?" (1:255). Thus Barth pushed for

a theology that was Christocentric, having no other source of revelation or authority other than Jesus Christ. In the Barmen Declaration, Barth asserted that "Jesus Christ, as he is attested for us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God which we have to hear and which we have to trust and obey in life and in death. We reject the false teaching, that the church could and should acknowledge any other events and powers, figures and truths, as God's revelation, or as a source of its proclamation, apart from or in addition to this one Word of God" ("The Theological Clarification of the Present State of the German Evangelical Churches" [1934], article 1, in *Bekenntnisschiften und Kirchenordnungen der nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirche*, ed. W. Niesel [Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1938], 335; cited McGrath 1:255). McGrath notes that "For Barth, a church which failed to define itself in relation to Christ and to judge its cultural context would be judged by and defined with respect to the prevailing culture" (1:255).

While sympathetic to Barth's position on the connection between revelation and nature, especially in light of the period of history in which he wrote, McGrath finds three serious criticisms against Barth's position: "It is seen to rest on inadequate biblical foundations"; "Barth's view on natural theology represents a significant departure from the Reformed tradition which he clearly regards himself as representing"; and "Barth's negative attitude towards natural theology appears to be linked to an indifferent attitude towards the nature sciences, stifling what potentially could be a significant theological exploration and engagement" (1:268).

However, McGrath's harshest criticism of Barth comes in his final synthesis of the Barthian doctrine of creation:

> Barth's greatest achievement may well turn out to be the shaping of perceptions of Christian history for those who are too lazy to study it for themselves. It does not seem to have occurred to some of these people that Barth has a theological agenda, and that this agenda shapes his presentation and interpretation of the past. Barth's reluctance to acknowledge that Calvin concedes a natural knowledge of God is not simply a case of a nodding Homer; it is a piece of purposeful theological polemic involving the reinterpretation of the formative phase of the Reformed tradition to suit Barth's agenda" (1:279).

Further, McGrath proposes, Barth's views on creation and natural theology, when studied against the Genevan school of Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (1671-1737), begin to make sense, for it is here that "Barth's polemic against natural theology, both as an autonomous discipline and as an independent means of gaining access to knowledge of God, resonates with the trends at Geneva reflecting the growing impact of the Enlightenment on Reformed theology in general" (ibid.).

Thus McGrath, while inspired by Barth's desire to create a Christocentric theology that is influenced as little as possible by transient and, especially, harmful social and cultural practices, must ultimately move beyond Barth.

The Influence of T. F. Torrance

Probably the single most influential theologian in the formation of McGrath's thought is his mentor, Thomas F. Torrance. Torrance believes that the dangers Barth tried to avoid in regard to a natural theology can be "averted if natural theology is itself seen as a subordinate aspect of revealed theology, legitimated by that revealed theology rather than by natural presuppositions or insights" (1:281). The source of legitimation of natural theology lies, Torrance contends, in divine revelation itself. "*Theologia revelata* both legitimates *theologia naturalis* and defines its scope" (1:281; cf. Torrance, "The Problem of Natural Theology in the Thought of Karl Barth," *Religious Studies* 6 [1970]: 128-129).
    McGrath notes that

> The doctrine of creation plays an especially important role in Torrance's reflections on the place of a reconstructed natural theology. The doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* is, for Torrance, the foundation of the idea that the world is contingent, and dependent upon God for its being and order. This allows for the notional separation of natural science and theology, while at the same time insisting that, rightly understood and conceived, the two enterprises can be seen as thoroughly compatible (1:284).

Thus, for Torrance, creation only reveals God "from the standpoint of faith. Nevertheless, to one who has responded to revelation (and thus who recognizes nature as God's creation, rather than an autonomous and self-created entity), the creation now has potential to point to its creator" (1:284). The observer who is aided by divine revelation will, thus, necessarily come to different conclusions about the universe than the so-called "neutral" observer, who sees the world only through a purely naturalistic methodology.
    McGrath's work is, thus, firmly founded upon Torrance's methodology. Although influenced by Bhaskar's social-scientific approach in regard to the question of reality (see above), McGrath gains a theological trajectory and purpose from Torrance's method that would not, naturally, be found in Bhaskar's secular explanation. Thus McGrath walks a careful line between the disciplines, thoughtfully choosing a scriptural foundation for his scientific theology.

Conclusion

McGrath's *A Scientific Theology* makes a number of important contributions to evangelical theology. *A Scientific Theology* is, as far as I am concerned, one of the most complete thought processes in contemporary evangelicalism on how a theological prolegomena comes into being. McGrath carries the reader along as he thinks through the implications of ascribing to any particular position. Thus McGrath is not simply a historian, relating a series of narratives, but a historical theologian, who uses history as the means of not only connecting his thought to Christian tradition, but for demonstrating the living and progressive nature of that tradition. Christian tradition is not simply a static entity that must be preserved in its exact original form from generation to generation—only

Scripture as the Word of God is worthy of such an honor—but is the continuing and progressive search for the deeper things of God. If McGrath made no other contribution to Christian theological scholarship than this, his efforts would not have been in vain.

McGrath's sense of value in all disciplines, as they are submitted to an ancillary position to Scripture, makes it the responsibility of Christians, whether they are, for example, theologians, scientists, or historians, to preserve the Christian faith. Understanding reality from a uniquely Christian perspective helps to limit the possible definitions that may be given to constructs that are at least, according to McGrath, partially socially mediated. Preserving the discoveries of scientific and theological thought via theoretical (i.e., doctrinal) statements, formulated in the light of Scripture and Christian tradition, helps to ground and preserve Christian thought, giving it a sense of completeness, but yet, at the same time, providing a launching point for even deeper exploration in future generations. Therefore, McGrath views all disciplines as essential, in their own unique ways, to the welfare of Christian thought.

Some minor criticisms are called for. First, volume 2, *Reality*, was poorly edited, especially for a quality publisher such as Eerdmans. The second chapter of the book needs a thorough going over to clear up numerous spelling errors, although spelling and grammatical errors are found throughout the book. Further, general content editing is needed that would streamline the basic content of the entire book and eliminate unnecessary repetition.

Second, while I understand McGrath's reasons for writing *The Science of God*, compressing the information into a smaller format for the convenience of the reader does take away from a major contribution of *A Scientific Theology*. To struggle and think along with McGrath as he works through his problem is as important as the content of his thought. There are precious few theologians who work within thought genre, thereby passing on content, but little "how-to."

McGrath has not finished thinking through all of the implications of *A Scientific Theology* or a definition of nature as "God's creation." But he promises to keep thinking. Though he is not a biblical scholar in the traditional sense of the word, he is nevertheless committed to the primacy of Scripture. I would like to see him step out of historical theology a bit more and engage even more directly with the text of Scripture, especially since he has a such high view of Scripture. For example, he chose not to enter into the debate on Gen 1–2. While I understand why he might have chosen to do so, perhaps because so much negative theology has emerged around the mechanism of origin that it seriously detracts from (creation) theology, there is nevertheless a wealth of informative details about the creation of the world in these chapters that could only strengthen his position. This is especially true for McGrath because he chooses to see the beauty of creation, the necessity of a natural law that finds its origin in God, and the worth that God places upon human beings as his special creation.

But these are minor criticisms. McGrath is, in a word, amazing: his ability

to discuss a wide range of scholars from a number of disciplines including theology, biblical theology, philosophy, the social sciences, physics, biology, chemistry, and mathematics; his use of English, German, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew literature, covering a wide span of history and genre types; his willingness to share his faith and his thought processes—these are worthy of emulation. McGrath tells you what he personally believes; one is not left to read between the lines or guess what his real perspective is. Nor must one sort through a virtual tirade of "righteously" indignant and/or misinformed authorship. While much of evangelicalism seems to be going through a negative-attitude slump, McGrath's ability to find something truly wonderful about Christianity is refreshing.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE CONCEPT OF NATURE IN THE WRITINGS OF HENRY M. MORRIS AND BERNARD L. RAMM

Name of Researcher: Andrew M. Mutero
Faculty Adviser: John T. Baldwin, Ph.D.
Date completed: February 2006

The study examines two major contrasting theological accounts of nature within the contemporary North American evangelical community, as articulated by Henry Morris and Bernard Ramm. In doing so, the dissertation analyzes nature considered diachronically in three epochs: *Natura Originalis* (the origin of nature), *Natura Continuo* (the contemporary status of nature), and *Natura Nova* (the future of nature).

The purpose of this research is to discover, describe, analyze, and compare the shape of the two contrasting concepts of nature articulated respectively by Morris, a strict concordist and special creationist, and Ramm, a broad concordist and a progressive creationist, as a first step in a systematic, theological, and comparative study of the contemporary North American evangelical understanding of nature.

The core of the dissertation is a critical comparison and evaluation of the three epochs of nature, according to Morris and Ramm. Their different views on nature and hermeneutics are analyzed and evaluated, and their respective strengths and weaknesses are highlighted.

The evangelical discussion of nature as represented by Morris and Ramm is framed synchronically and diachronically. In doing so, the study reaches four critical conclusions: (1) Whereas Ramm requires reinterpretation of Scripture when Scripture appears to make statements that counter current scientific beliefs regarding nature, the dissertation concludes, such a methodology may, however, result in giving unintended meaning to scriptural statements about nature. (2) The synchronic and diachronic framing by the dissertation of the evangelical discussion of nature by Morris and Ramm is a useful way of illuminating their views of nature. For example, the close diachronic framing reveals that Morris's claim that future nature mirrors original nature is not fully consistent due to the presence of hell in future nature. (3) The strict and broad concordists' approaches to nature, as articulated by Morris and Ramm, are inadequate and insufficient for the task of developing a fully coherent evangelical concept of nature. (4) While Morris's emphasis on a literal interpretation of Scripture is a positive development, Ramm's call to evangelicals to be open to science and to develop a healthy attitude toward science is also commendable. However, both thinkers tend to appeal to the extremes of the evangelical spectrum. The dissertation suggests that there is a need for a more centrist approach to nature in evangelical discussions. The dissertation ends by making recommendations for further study.

TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED
ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

Name of Researcher: Martin Pröbstle
Faculty Adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan, D.H.L., Th.D.
Date completed: July 2005

Daniel 8:9-14 constitutes the climax of the vision reported in Dan 8, and is arguably one of the most difficult Danielic passages. This dissertation investigates the Masoretic Text of Dan 8:9-14 by means of a detailed and comprehensive text-oriented analysis that utilizes linguistic, literary, and intertextual procedures.

In chapter 1, an overview of modern text-oriented approaches and a review of recent literature on Dan 8 pave the way for a description of this study's methodology, which consists of a combination of linguistic (syntax, semantics, and text-grammar), literary (style and structure), and intertextual approaches (textual relations within the book of Daniel), using them as a threefold avenue to the understanding of the text, while at the same time demonstrating their interdependence.

The linguistic analysis in chapter 2 analyzes the syntactic and semantic features of each clause and of significant terms and expressions in Dan 8:9-14. A text-grammatical analysis identifies the interclausal relations in the passage.

The literary analysis in chapter 3 examines the rhetorical and stylistic devices and their function in Dan 8:9-14, and describes the literary structure and dynamics of the passage. Stylistic and structural devices include poet-like language in v. 11, verbal gender shifts in vv. 9-12, the use of the key word גדל in a "hubris-fall" pattern, and spatial imagery. The investigation of terminological fields and their distribution observes the interplay of military, royal, cultic, creation, and judgment terminology, showing how these themes characterize the role of the horn figure and convey the text's theological message.

The intertextual analysis in chapter 4 explores the lexical and thematic links of Dan 8:9-14 with other texts in the book of Daniel—particularly with 8:23-25 and chaps. 7, 9, and 10–12—and how these texts contribute to the interpretation of Dan 8:9-14.

The summary and conclusions in chapter 5 highlight the results of each of the three avenues of the text-oriented approach to Dan 8:9-14.

The climax of the vision report with its accompanying audition, against the general opinion, is linguistically well-composed and an extremely artistic literary piece that combines significant theological themes. The Day of Atonement serves as macrotheme and typifies the divine reaction to the cosmic challenge created by the cultic war of the horn. By its complex textual relations, Dan 8:9-14 constitutes a central passage in the book of Daniel.

BOOK REVIEWS

BibleWorks 7. Norfolk, VA: BibleWorks, 2006. Software Program. $349.00.

BibleWorks has established a reputation as one of the most popular Bible software programs for serious scholars. On its website, the vision statement proposes, among other things, that the "purpose of BibleWorks, LLC is to provide pastors, teachers, students, and missionaries with the tools they need to 'rightly divide the word of truth' (2 Timothy 2:15)." "Our goal is to provide a complete package containing the tools most essential for the task of interpreting the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew, and to do it at a price that poor pastors and students can afford" (www.bibleworks.com/about.html).

Version 7 includes new and improved features, such as corrections to lexicon hypertext links. The program has an upgraded user interface, intended to be more intuitive and user-friendly. Also, until now, only *Logos Bible Software* from Libronix Corporation used Unicode, with its Libronix Digital Library System in XML format, or "Extensible Markup Language," which is part of a set of standards originally designed for encoding documents intended to be viewed in the worldwide web. But with version 7, *BibleWorks* can also export Greek and Hebrew text in Unicode, though the databases themselves do not handle Unicode. The advantage of Unicode is twofold: first, since the computer itself keeps track of the language used and its direction, right-to-left text (e.g., Hebrew, Aramaic) does not need to be typed in reverse, and it wraps correctly regardless of how drastically the margins may be readjusted; second, since character assignments are font independent (e.g., an aleph is an aleph regardless of whether one uses Times Roman, Arial, or Ezra SIL), one is no longer dependent on the fonts that come with a specific Bible program. Another improved feature is a text editor that is compatible with Word and WordPad. The new version also includes a number of new databases, such as editable satellite maps; morphologically analyzed Greek texts of Philo and the Apostolic Fathers; a number of new Bible translations in modern languages, such as Bulgarian, Portuguese, and Polish; and other miscellaneous books.

Many features have now become standard in the leading Bible software programs, such as the ability to search morphologically tagged Greek or Hebrew texts, to do sentence diagramming, and to conduct graphical queries. Also, virtually all programs now offer maps and language-study tools. Nevertheless, there are a number of features that *BibleWorks 7* offers as part of the standard package that other programs either do not offer or only sell separately. For example, *BibleWorks* now includes the Targums and Bible translations in thirty-two modern languages.

Although the plethora of features in any Bible program entails a steep learning curve for the novice, *BibleWorks* is impressively user-friendly. When the mouse cursor is on a Hebrew or Greek word, a pop-up window appears, giving its dictionary form and morphological analysis. Alternatively, the Analysis Window gives conveniently arranged access to lexicons, grammars, and translation notes. A click of the mouse on the appropriate icon toggles the Browse Window between looking at a verse in as many parallel versions as one wishes and scrolling through one single version. A left double click of the mouse on a word produces a list in the Search Window of all the occurrences of a form in that database. The program also provides a "getting started" window for new users, full documentation, and online help. Registered users also have access to *BibleWorks* forums, where they can interact with each other and even upload and download individually created databases, e.g., a translation of the Qur²an.

Personally, I would summarize the advantage of *BibleWorks* over other Bible programs as a combination of three features: speed, the ability to allow users to create their own text databases, and the ability to concord texts. Speed is important because the benefit of computers is not in the tasks performed, but in the speed at which these are accomplished (e.g., a competent scholar could list all words in the Bible that match a given morphological pattern without the aid of computers, but it might require many months of labor). *BibleWorks* performed searches much faster than a competitor program installed in

my computer. As for the other features, both *BibleWorks* and *Accordance* (from Oak Tree Software) allow users to create concordances, but *Logos* does not. Also, whereas all Bible programs sell text databases entered by someone else, *BibleWorks* is probably the best program for those who wish to enter their own texts—a task that is not necessarily easy, but easier in *BibleWorks* than in most other programs. This feature was originally designed to help missionaries, but is also useful to scholars. Although anyone with some background knowledge can study and learn from the research that others have done, real cutting-edge research often involves doing something that others have not yet done, and the latter may require creating one's own database and concordance. Therefore, *BibleWorks* allows the most flexibility for the user to adapt it for his or her own research projects. (Another program that allows the creation and concording of texts is *Bibloi*, formerly *Bible Windows*, by Silver Mountain Software, which has the advantage of being able to handle Unicode databases. Since it can read Libronix databases, it is a good alternative as an add-on for those who currently use *Logos*, but are unhappy about its limitations. Silver Mountain Software also offers *Workplace Pack* for use with the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and *Packard Humanities Institute* CD-ROMs.)

I should also point out some areas where other programs do better. First, to my knowledge, *Accordance* is the only Bible software that works on both Macintosh and Windows platforms. Also, *Gramcord-Lite* is the only software package that includes the same morphologically analyzed Bible texts in the original languages for handheld computers that run Palm or one of the stripped-down versions of Windows. In addition, although *BibleWorks* offers some add-on modules, a number of databases are not (yet) available, such as the morphologically tagged Mishna and Hebrew Inscriptions, both available in *Accordance*, or biblical texts analyzed for syntax, available in *Logos*. Nor does it offer the extensive commentary sets and other libraries that *Logos* offers. The latter program is best suited for those wishing to quickly consult a vast array of secondary literature in digital format. But *BibleWorks* is still a good choice for those using computers with Windows and wishing to focus on cutting-edge research on the primary sources in Greek, Hebrew, and some dialects of Aramaic.

All in all, *BibleWorks* 7 is an excellent program. It is well designed, and meets the company's stated goal of providing tools for biblical research for pastors, scholars, students, and missionaries. One might quibble over whether the price of version 7 meets the other company goal of being affordable to "poor pastors and students." However, it is competitively priced in comparison with other Bible software programs, and it is definitely worth what is included in the basic package. I would strongly encourage those who own an earlier version to upgrade. For those who own a different Bible software program, the decision of whether or not to switch depends on what type of research one does, i.e., whether the current program is adequate for one's needs. Anyone looking for a Bible program that handles the original languages will be more than well served by *BibleWorks*.

Oakwood College   TARSEE LI
Huntsville, Alabama

Brand, Leonard, and Don S. McMahon. *The Prophet and Her Critics*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2005. 128 pp. Paper, $11.99.

As its name suggests, this volume is another in that series of independent monographs by Seventh-day Adventist authors interested in clarifying the legacy of Ellen G. White. Disparate and memorable contributions to that series include Walter Rea's *The White Lie* (Turlock, CA: M & R Publishing, 1982); and Ronald Numbers's *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). The present volume gives ample attention to the contributions and perspectives of these two writers, as well as to that of Jonathan Butler and his article "The World of E. G. White and the End of the World," which appeared in 1979 in *Spectrum* (10/2: 2:13). The book's major question may be put as follows: Does the data available discredit White's claims to be a specially supernaturally inspired prophetess/messenger of God?

Principal author Brand is a long-time researcher and professor of biology and

paleontology at Loma Linda University, California. McMahon, a surgeon and academic from Avondale, New South Wales, Australia, contributes considerable research in chapter 5, comparing White's health principles with those articulated by her ostensible human sources, as well with modern medical principles. A full report of that research is available in McMahon's own publication *Acquired or Inspired? Exploring the Origins of the Adventist Lifestyle* (Pacific Press, 2005).

The *Prophet and Her Critics* is most noteworthy for two features: the aforementioned research by McMahon, and the fact that fully 25 percent of its oddly balanced makeup (91-123) is dedicated to an appendix that reproduces material from two much older volumes (White's *Prophets and Kings*, and several pages from Daniel March's *Night Scenes in the Bible*). Underlined material throughout the appendix indicates words and sentences White borrows from March when composing her own work. In 1992, Rea's *The White Lie* set forward this evidence of borrowing as disconfirmation of White's claim to be a true prophetess. Brand's appendix is not a repetition of Rea's work as much as it is an answer to it. Brand publishes the borrowed lines in context of both White's and March's original usage, something Rea did not do. By reprinting White's entire chapters, inclusive of underlined borrowing, along with March's original material, Brand allows the reader to personally evaluate the nature and extent of White's borrowing. In comparing the writers, I elected to do some counting of my own: I found that the total number of lines of printed text in White's chapter 1, as it appears in Brand and McMahon's book, is 269. Twenty-nine of those lines had some kind of underlining. This datum says nothing about the relatedness of ideas or similarities of treatment, but illustrates how persuasive a testimony one can make by proving that dozens of lines or portions thereof have been borrowed by one author from another. Fred Veltman's more scholarly and objective analysis of White's use of sources is offered for comparison with Rea's work (*"The Desire of Ages* Project, Parts 1 and 2, *Ministry*, October and December 1990).

In regard to the book's main question, McMahon's findings are impressive. He shows that White, judged by the latest standards of medical science, is seen to be significantly more correct in her ideas than all the health reformers of her time, including the famous John Harvey Kellogg. Often, White does not know why her instruction is correct. Indeed, her explanations as to "why" things should be done are consistently less reliable than "what" should be done. McMahon's study of White's *Spiritual Gifts* disclosed forty-six "what" statements, of which forty-four (96 percent) have been verified by modern medical science, with 70 percent being significant principles. Compared with the other reformers whose books were in her library, the authority of White's *Spiritual Gifts* and *Ministry of Healing* is unmistakable. For White's *Ministry of Healing*, the volume of confirmed and significant medical principles is 56 percent compared to Sylvester Graham, 22 percent; James Caleb Jackson, 26 percent; Larkin Coles, 23.3 percent; and William Alcott, 15 percent. In McMahon's estimation, White is more accurate about her "whats" than her "whys" because she was much more dependent on her own resources for making sense of her divine revelations. McMahon's point is well taken. "It is evident," he summarizes, "that God has communicated the truths we need. It also is evident that the explanations He didn't communicate—which, in fact, He couldn't realistically communicate at that time—wouldn't affect our health anyway" (74).

The true wonder is not, in the end, how scholars arrive at such radically contrasting conclusions about White's work. Numbers's preface to his *Prophetess of Health* explains his approach: "I have tried to be as objective as possible. Thus, I have refrained from using divine inspiration as an historical explanation" (cited in McMahon and Brand, 44). Numbers's conclusions are the predictable and reasonable results of being "as objective as possible." And conclusions of such a nature are not unique to White studies; they also regularly appear in relation to biblical study. The true wonder is that believers should express perplexity when rigorously nonsupernaturalist analyses produce reasonably nonsupernaturalistic explanations. This is no mystery. Rather, it is entirely understandable, even though, as Brand and McMahon remark, it is the result of inadequate research design and faulty logic (87).

Andrews University   LAEL CAESAR

Chennattu, Rekha M. *Johannine Discipleship as a Covenant Relationship*. Peabody, MA:
    Hendrickson, 2006. 256 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Rekha M. Chennattu, Chair of the Department of Scriptural Studies at Jnana-Deepa
Vidyapeeth, the Pontifical Institute of Philosophy and Religion, India, makes a significant
contribution to Johannine studies by arguing that the Evangelist models discipleship in his
Gospel after OT covenant-renewal motifs. Chennattu argues that John made extensive use
of covenant motifs from the Hebrew Bible, primarily Josh 24. She draws a number of
implications based on covenant language for reconstructing the idea of discipleship in
Johannine community. Chennattu proposes to limit her study to the "call stories" found
in John 1:35-51 (chap. 1), the "covenant re-enactment" found in John 13–17 (chaps. 2–3),
and the postresurrection discipleship narrative in John 20–21 (chap. 4). A final chapter
draws conclusions for understanding the Johannine community within first-century
Palestinian Judaism.

    Chennattu begins her study with a literature survey on the Johannine view of
discipleship. As she notes, until recently few scholars have produced detailed studies on the
theme of discipleship in the NT. Of these studies, only a handful have focused on the
Gospel of John, in spite of Raymond Brown's statement that "discipleship is the primary
category in John" (2). Chennattu offers critiques of more than a dozen works produced
since 1970 that highlight the problems associated with how the disciples are portrayed in
the Gospel. The disciples, according to Chennattu, represent the disciples of the historical
Jesus and the believing Johannine community, as well as the contemporary reader (18).
After a brief exegetical survey of 1:25-51, she offers several discipleship motifs that look
back to OT covenant themes, which are expanded in the second discipleship section (John
13–17). Of primary importance is the "abiding motif" (43-44). In this early section of John,
the disciples ask Jesus where he "abides," anticipating the expansion of this theme in John
15. Abiding in the words of Jesus is a theme found frequently in "invitation" contexts in
John (4:40; 6:27, 56; 8:31-32). Chennattu argues this idea is found in Isa 30:18 (LXX), the
one who abides in the Torah will be blessed. A second aspect of discipleship is knowledge
of Jesus. The disciple's knowledge grows in the call stories in John 1, initially calling Jesus
"Rabbi," but eventually "Messiah." True knowledge of God was to be a part of the
covenant (Exod 29:45-46; Jer 9:24; Isa 11:1). Third, those who abide in Jesus' words are
called to be witnesses. In John 1, those who become Jesus' disciples immediately find others
and bear witness that they have found the Messiah. Chennattu notes that the Law was to
be read to all the people (Deut 31:9-13, 24-27) and that the people of Israel were to pass
their knowledge of God on to the next generation (Deut 6:20-25; 11:1-9). A fourth aspect
of the call stories is the renaming of Simon Peter (John 1:47), analogous to covenant scenes
in the OT in which God renames the recipient of his promises (e.g., Abram is renamed
Abraham, Gen 17:1-22). Lastly, the call stories contain a number of promises. For example,
when Jesus calls people to follow him, he promises that they "will see" (1:42); Peter "will
be called" Cephas (1:42), and Nathanael "will see greater things" (1:50). For Chennattu,
these promises recall the frequent covenant promise that God dwells with the people
(Exod 29:45-46; Num 14:14; Deut 12:11).

    After a short survey of covenant motifs in the OT (50-66), Chennattu attempts to
demonstrate that John 13–17 is a covenant reenactment. Although covenant themes are
found throughout John (70-80), it is in the second half of the Gospel of John that she finds
covenant motifs are the most clearly expressed. While Chennattu is not the first to suggest
parallels to covenant structure in John 13–17 (cf. Yves Simoens, *La Gloire D'aimer: Structures
Stylistiques et Interprètatives dans Le Discours de La Cène [Jn 13–17]*, where this section as parallel
to Deuteronomy is cited and critiqued, 66-68), she makes a unique contribution by
demonstrating a number of parallels with the covenant renewal at Shechem (Josh 24),
which is more appropriate to the evangelist's purpose because it is a renewal rather than an
initial enacting of the covenant. Chennattu is clear, however, that there is no structural
parallel (68) between these passages: John 13–17 is only analogous to the covenant renewal
in Josh 24, although she describes the two covenants as "very similar" (208). Six elements
are then listed as rough parallels: the people's gathering in the presence of God (Josh 24:1;
John 13:1-38), the proclamation of God's election and guidance (Josh 24:2-13; John 14:1-

31), a call to decision and obedience (Josh 24:14-15; John 15:1-17), a warning of the consequences for disobedience (Josh 24:16-20; John 15:18–16:24), the people's promise of total obedience to God (Josh 24:21-24; John 16:25-33), and a sealing of the covenant (Josh 24:25-28; John 17:1-26).

Chapters 3 and 4 are a demonstration of elements of NT discipleship that are parallel to covenant-renewal motifs in the OT. It is in the details that Chennattu's thesis has some difficulties. For example, John 13 as analogous to the people's gathering in the presence of God is attractive, but the connection between footwashing and covenant motifs is tenuous at best. While it is true that the OT describes footwashing as hospitality in several contexts, Chennattu cites only one text where the washing of feet is mentioned as a preparation for meeting God (Exod 30:17-21); the rest of the texts she assembles speak of washing, but not at all like the footwashing found in John 13, nor is this washing part of a covenant renewal similar to Josh 24. That Aaron is told he will have no share in the land (Num 18:20) has some verbal parallel to Jesus' words to Peter in 13:8; however the connection is superficial and does not really help since Num 18:20 is not in the context of a covenant renewal, nor is washing of any kind mentioned. A second example is in the "warning of consequence" section (John 15:18–16:24). Chennattu observes a symmetrical pattern in the text (119) that highlights the central purpose of the discourse as 16:1: the disciples ought not give up their faith. The real danger is not persecution, but rather the potential to forsake Jesus and to no longer "abide" in him. Chennattu sees this as analogous to the total commitment envisioned in the command to not worship idols in Josh 24:14, 23. There is, however, a major difference between Jesus' warnings of persecution and the covenant warnings typically found in the OT. In the covenant, these warnings are threats of punishment when the nation is disobedient to the covenant, but in John the persecutions are promised in spite of the obedience of the disciples—they will occur. One final example is the discussion of the gift of the Paraclete. The idea of the Paraclete finds OT grounding in the promises of a presence of God among his people, but this is the new-covenant language of the prophets and not at all a predominating theme in the covenant-renewal materials cited by Chennattu. In the end, the parallels to Josh 24 may not be as closely aligned as Chennattu would believe. At best, the idea of covenant in John 13–17 seems present merely in a general sense.

In the final chapter of the book, Chennattu develops some implications on her thesis for understanding the Johannine community. This section follows Brown's reconstruction closely, although the view is modified with insights from sociology. Any reconstruction of the community behind the Gospel is necessarily hypothetical, a concern Chennattu recognizes (196). In her view, the Johannine community continued to worship in the synagogue as believers in Jesus the Messiah. At some point, these believers were put out of the synagogue as deviants from Judaism and persecuted. The community dealt with a crisis of identity and faith by developing a high Christology and by defining their disciple relationship with Jesus in terms of an OT covenant. In order to develop this idea, Chennattu briefly sketches the covenant motif in first-century Judaism (examining the Qumran literature, Pseudo-Philo, 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra), concluding that these texts respond to the crisis of 70 A.D. by reasserting Israel's election by God and emphasizing the promises of God in OT covenants. The Johannine community responded similarly to their expulsion from the synagogue by defining themselves as the true remnant of God and heirs of the OT promises.

In spite of misgivings concerning some of the parallels with specific OT covenant ideas, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of John's Gospel. Chennattu has produced a well-written text that describes the idea of discipleship and covenant in the Fourth Gospel from a decidedly Jewish perspective. Many of the conclusions about the Johannine community are valuable and could have been expanded more fully.

Grace Bible College   PHILLIP LONG
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dewey, David. *A User's Guide to Bible Translations: Making the Most of Different Versions.*
     Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004. 252 pp. Paper, $15.00.

Real, intimate, reciprocal love is difficult to understand and describe. The translators of the
Contemporary English Version (CEV) of the Bible had a problem with translating the
concept of love found in John 15:9. David Dewey notes that the last part of this text "So
remain faithful to my love for you" was the translators' most difficult phrase to translate
in the entire Bible. For the CEV translators, the problem was making clear in a current
language what the passage meant when it was written thousands of years ago. What did
Jesus mean when his farewell words to the disciples included the counsel, "remain faithful
to my love"?

     Meaning, Dewey points out, is only one of many questions in the translation process.
The book's first section covers a range of concerns that translators address: the unique style
of individual Bible books, the reading level of their target audience, and how translation
sounds when read out loud. Dewey helps the reader to understand scholars' efforts to
translate Scripture into prose that is easy to remember, their struggles with appropriate
rendering of the divine name and with issues of gender and theological bias. He gives
insight into the difficulties involved in preserving the unity of the whole Bible as translators
concentrate on individual passages or genres, books, sections, or testaments, and the
idiosyncracies of the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The reader begins to sense the
relative newness and extreme challenge of this most complex process when it is considered
that the Bible as a single book was not usually available until the fifteenth century, and that,
apart from paraphrases, Bible translation is consistently a committee effort.

     If Part 1 of this book is technical, Part 2 is a story. Dewey traces the epic of how the
English Bible came to the twenty-first century from early Anglo-Saxon songs on the lips
of the Yorkshire laborer Caedmon, as far back, perhaps, as the seventh century A.D. He
presents Wycliffe, the Reformation's "morning star," and the Bible that bears his name
(although we do not know how much of it is his own work). He also recounts Tyndale's
famous outburst against the blasphemy of a certain divine, "We were better to be without
God's laws than the Pope's" (*Foxe's Book of Martyrs*), to which Tyndale responded: "I defy
the Pope and all his laws. If God spare my life, before many years I will make sure that a
boy who drives the plough knows more of the Scriptures than you do" (120).

     For all its careful research and impressive wealth of information, *A User's Guide to
Bible Translations* remains thoroughly accessible throughout. Dewey's gift for comprehensive
and comprehensible detail shows that he can solve mysteries, as well as generate them—a
practice he follows consistently from his introduction. He teases: "[D]on't turn to that final
chapter just yet; you will spoil the plot" (25). I offer no encouragement to spoil the plot
either. Rather, I urge the reader to secure a copy of this book, whether you are a college
student, experienced layperson, theological scholar, or aficionado of English literature.
Dewey's presentation of the latest trends in translation and his informative and valuable
appendices provide discussion about issues of translation, such as textual criticism, disputed
Bible passages (e.g., the endings of the Lord's Prayer and Mark's Gospel), as well as Bible
websites and handheld and desktop software. *A User's Guide to Bible Translations* is reading
for total profit.

Andrews University   LAEL CAESAR

Hamilton, Marci A. *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law.* Foreword, Edward R.
     Becker. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 428 pp. Hardcover,
     $28.00.

If religious groups are treated as entirely benign by lawmakers it will be at society's peril.
Citizens of the United States tend to see religion as an "unalloyed good," as if it were
consistently altruistic and philanthropic. *God vs. the Gavel* posits that "the unrealistic belief
that religion is always for the good, however, is a hazardous myth" (3). It is true that
humanity has profited in countless ways by religious institutions; however, the focus of
this work is the negative side of religion concomitant with faulty legislation. The author

admits that her purpose "is to bring to light the remarkable power of religious entities to obtain special treatment in the legislatures" (237).

Marci A. Hamilton begins with a critique of Stephen Carter's (*Culture of Disbelief*) characterization of a secular America with religion as the underdog. Thinking that religion has lost its force in this culture has opened the door for religion's role as not only the downtrodden institution but also as a clandestine political power. (Reverend Jerry Falwell has recently opened a law school to educate "Christian lawyers.") In fact, religious groups are as savvy and politically entrenched as any K-street lobbyist. Since the late fifties, while minority groups have been fighting for equality, religious entities have been "starting from equality under the law and then asking for privileges beyond equal treatment" (229). Religious organizations live in the world not above it. Even preachers of the eighteenth century exhorted their parishioners that as they had chosen their leaders they must also obey them. The author maintains that the American myth of religion as indubitable causes some to think religious behavior should be beyond the law.

Hamilton avers that religion as a whole should be looked upon with a healthy dose of incredulity and supports her thesis with myriads of examples (endnotes constitute twenty percent of the book). Six areas in Part 1—children, marriage, religious land use, schools, prisons and the military, and housing and employment discrimination—elucidate why in the American social contract law must trump religion and lawmakers must be chary. Religiously motivated crimes are not limited to stereotypical outcast groups. Established, legitimate institutions, such as the Catholic Church, as well as the modern and bizarre, are exhibited.

If "separation of church and state" clarifies the government's role toward the ecclesia, why should it be looked upon with suspicion or even regarded whatsoever? The unsavory conduct of certain parishioners and the cover-ups by religious superiors means that lawmakers owe it to their constituents to scrupulously legislate on religious matters. Silence and semblance have been resorted to in order to defend a religious institution's public image as a close-knit model community. Such a Pollyanna image, as with an innocuous clergy, kept the press from reporting many crimes for decades. Blindly trusting any group is renouncing one's social responsibility. Such cynicism "is not antireligious . . . it keeps the system honest, the result just, and the First Amendment legitimate" (165). Some, revealing a chimerical optimism, may argue that legislation can not be based on a few bad apples. One writer in particular has brazenly written that "the exercise of religion should trump most governmental regulation." Hamilton espoused this understanding in 1993, but since then she has been enlightened to the fallacy of Carter's argument that religion is weak in government and forgotten by lawmakers. She rebuts her previous position by stating that "even if these are bad apples, these bad apples are precisely whom the law is intended to deter and punish" (47).

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "[T]he life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience" (*Common Law*, 1881, 1). Part 2 gives a historical perspective in order to elucidate how the relationship between legislation and religion has evolved into the present confusion. In Britain, at least back to the twelfth century, the church and crown were on an equal footing. The clergy were beyond the reach of the law (*privilegium clericale*) and, if ever found guilty, received lesser punishments than ordinary citizens. This ecclesiastical court system of the medieval world was removed by the seventeenth century. If "executive privilege" for clergy were given today, it would be a throwback to a darker time when the church dominated society. The pioneering colonists, children of Queen Elizabeth I, whose reign abolished these courts from criminal jurisdiction, brought with them the knowledge of the consequences arising from an ecclesiastical state. The Founders—relying on the experiences of European history—rejected a society under the crown or the church. Church autonomy, in their opinion, was a will to power, not an inherent right. They believed that humans, even religious ones, will often abuse the power they have and thus developed checks and balances, such as, in this case, the law.

Recently, however, this check has become derelict. Church hierarchy, responding to child abuse accusations, has broached the First Amendment as a restraint on the courts from intervening in interchurch squabbles. Forty years ago, the Supreme Court began to

pander to religious groups by "treating every law that substantially burdened religious conduct as presumptively unconstitutional" (206). The Constitution may not have obviated the specifics of present-day abuses, but it did set up a framework to apply the law. Does the Second Amendment give license for any criminal to own any gun they wish? Does "a speedy trial" mean "immediately"? Yet, the First Amendment is interpreted unconditionally in the vaguest of cases. The results of such a doctrine are that religious institutions are "free to engage in immoral or antisocial behavior" (196).

"The First Amendment is about freedom from government overreaching, not about finding loopholes for criminals to avoid paying what they owe society" (47). Once government intrudes upon belief, then and only then is it overreaching. In *Reynolds vs. United States* (1878), the defendant asked the Supreme Court to apply religious freedom to behavior, as well as belief. Thomas Jefferson precluded this argument, and the Court upheld it, by stating that "the legislative powers of the government reach actions only, and not opinion" (207). In another place, he said that "it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg." Liberty of belief is absolute; however, once conduct stemming from a conviction begins to harm society then the government has the responsibility to execute the law without exception. Religion, like all entities, must be subject to the law—"unless they can prove that exempting them will cause no harm to others" (5). The public good is the defining factor.

If one is guided by the public good as a bedrock of legislation then why does Bob Jones University's sanctioning of an interracial dating prohibition (the I.R.S. threatened to revoke its tax-exempt status for this regulation) fail to meet the criteria, but churches rejecting women as clergy, noticeably absent from the book, does not enervate society? Hamilton splendidly built the case for the principle, but arbitrarily applied it in the examples. So it must be, for arbitrariness will be perpetual as long as legislators in a republic are given the latitude to vote the way they interpret the public good.

This debate over public policy belongs, Hamilton vigorously argues, in the legislative branch of government rather than the judicial or the executive. A judge is hemmed in by the facts of a case and the executive lacks the constant and varied contact with the *hoi polloi*. The legislative, on the other hand, can call hearings, appoint expert commissions, order extensive studies, and look at the larger picture of society. If a religious accommodation is to be made, it is to be enacted solely by a legislature. All too often, though, religious exceptions are the creation of surreptitious lobbying groups with uncanny political dexterity rather than "the result of legislative consideration in light of the public good" (196). With these distinctions made, the reader must ask whether the abuses of the law are due to religious groups working the system, lawmakers who are not scrupulous enough to probe the consequences of legislation, or the courts for meddling in public policy without the pertinent tools?

Hamilton's personal legal work in religious land use causes her to exaggerate this field of litigation. The examples appear trivial adjacent with chapters on child abuse and discrimination. Although the cases referenced are not as numerous as other chapters, religious land abuse is adumbrated and made as important as it can be in light of the public good. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 gave enormous latitude to religious landowners until 1997 when the Supreme Court held that federal legislation could not supersede state authority in this realm. Religious groups were not daunted and convinced Congress to pass the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act in 2000. Hamilton believes this is the epitome of special-interest legislation and it has "turned neighbor against neighbor" (97). For example, the emergence of mega churches has, at times, brought disruption and an image transformation to halcyon residential neighborhoods. The author depicts houses of worship intentionally bringing in tatterdemalions to pollute once-pristine neighborhoods. In one case, malcontent residents complained about increased noise and the grievance was labeled as a pretext for antireligious sentiment. The view of this specific court was that whatever the religious institution desired to do would be beneficial for all. Whose view of the public good should be followed—the courts or Hamilton?

It is difficult to divine the author's view of religion. Is she worried that America is

kowtowing to powerful and devious religious groups? Is she applauding society for being more agnostic than the pious would have? At times—as when disputing Carter's thesis—she states that religion is a powerful force in the country, yet when finding fault with the nation's rejection of gay marriage, which she apparently supports under law, the United States is unequivocally not "Christian." Is it possible America is both?

There is an apparent agenda against religious convictions under the guise of the public good. After opining that religious organizations ought to be curbed from using their property to suit their desires when it interferes with a neighborhood's image, Hamilton continues to asseverate that landlords contravene fair-housing laws by rejecting unmarried couples or other tenants that run contrary to their own beliefs. The author even indiscreetly finds fault—because of public good—with the religiously motivated act of home schooling. It has always been tenebrous aligning individual liberties with the larger society. Hamilton's emphasis upon *res republica* ("public good") makes her appear to be a pre-Revolutionary Whig, who would have neglected individual liberties for the whole. However, it depends upon the issue at hand. In religious land use cases the individual must accede to the many, but with gay marriage, she implies that the multitude must comply with the wishes of the individual. It is a difficult issue that remains opaque after reading this work.

The issues raised in this work affect all. Whether one believes they belong to God or to the state, it is vital that humans belongs to each other. There is a unitary harmony that must be maintained in a commonwealth. *God vs. the Gavel* leaves the impression that freedom is not so much passively demanding one's own rights, but rather actively being a keeper of each other's.

Daegu Catholic University   NICHOLAS CROSS
Daegu, South Korea

Harris, Murray J. *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text.* NIGTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. cxxviii + 989 pp. Hardcover, $75.00.

Murray J. Harris is Professor Emeritus of New Testament Exegesis and Theology at Trinity Evangelical School, Deerfield, Illinois. He has published a number of scholarly articles and his published books include *Raised Immortal: Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament* (Eerdmans, 1983); *From Grave to Glory: Resurrection in the New Testament: Including a Response to Norman L. Geisler* (Zondervan, 1990); *Colossians and Philemon (Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament)* (Eerdmans, 1990); *Jesus as God: The New Testament Use of Theos in Reference to Jesus* (Baker, 1992); *Three Crucial Questions about Jesus* (Baker, 1994); and *Slave of Christ: A New Testament Metaphor for Devotion to Christ*, New Studies in Biblical Theology 8 (InterVarsity, 2001). He also coedited *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce* (Eerdmans, 1980).

It has been said that if Solomon would write Eccl 12:12 today, he might well say: "Of the making of many Bible Commentaries there is no end." That is why Harris is aware that "it has become incumbent on authors to indicate in what ways they believe their commentaries make a distinctive contribution to New Testament studies" (xiii). Harris offers three reasons for the uniqueness of his commentary: he is "now inclined to defend the integrity of the canonical 2 Corinthians with even more confidence" (xiii) and has seen many other commentators recently come to similar conclusions; one of the aims of the New International Greek Testament Commentary series is to "cater particularly to the needs of students of the Greek text" (xii) because "Scripture cannot be understood theologically unless it has first been understood grammatically" (xiv); and the commentary offers a "Chronology of the Relations of Paul, Timothy, and Titus with the Corinthian Church" (xv).

In the introduction, Harris discusses literary issues, such as authorship, the "severe letter" and the integrity and purpose of the letter. There is agreement among scholars about Pauline authorship of 2 Corinthians since it belongs to the *Hauptbriefen*, as F. C. Baur called them. However, no letter is more closely tied to the vagaries of historical circumstance than 2 Corinthians, not so much in regard to the historicity, but to the identity of the "severe letter" or *Tränenbrief.* Harris offers, to those who reject the identification of the "sorrowful letter" as 1 Corinthians or 2 Corinthians 10–13, the option of a letter that is no longer

extant (7). According to Harris, "the 'severe letter' may have been a very brief and intensely personal missive, simply calling for the discipline of the 'guilty party'" (8). Almost all twentieth-century hypotheses regarding the integrity of 2 Corinthians are based on nineteenth-century antecedents (8). After listing the main theories, Harris discusses 2 Cor 2:14–7:4; 6:14–7:1; 8–9; 10–13. While most scholars hold to the integrity of 2 Cor 1–7, Harris and others see 2:14–7:4 as a digression not in the sense that Paul departs from his central theme, but in the sense that he leaves the topic of his personal travel narrative, only to resume it at 7:5 (14). Regarding 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, Harris concludes "that, notwithstanding the *prima facie* non-Pauline features of the paragraph, its incontestable Pauline characteristics . . . suggest that it stems *in toto* from Paul's own hand" (25). Once it is agreed that chapters 8 and 9 belong together, there is no difficulty in viewing them as a natural addition to 2 Cor 1–7 (29). Finally, Harris discusses the reasons for separating 2 Cor 10–13 from 1–9, but opts for the integrity of the letter since the Hausrath and Semler hypotheses create more difficulties than they solve (51). Does that mean, asks Harris, that the letter was written on one single occasion, at one sitting? "Not at all" (50). He holds only that the work was regarded as a single composition and was dispatched to its addressees as a single missive (50).

Harris states the twofold purpose of the letter. First, the arrival of Paul's assistant Titus brought good news of the favorable response of the majority of the Corinthians to the "severe letter" (7:6-16). Second, with the arrival of Titus came fresh, disturbing news concerning Corinth (51).

Following the introduction, Harris deals with historical issues. He finds textual support (12:14; 13:1-2) for an extra visit to Corinth (the so-called "painful visit") between the founding visit and the one recorded in Acts 20:2-3 during Paul's Ephesian ministry (54, 57), which Harris dates to a period of about eighteen months between the writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians, dating 2 Corinthians to the autumn of 56 (67).

Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians are identified as Jews from Judea, "who came to Corinth as self-appointed agents of a Judaizing program" (87). Organizing the collection for the mother church in Jerusalem, Harris concludes, was not motivated by a desire to find a Christian substitute for the Temple tax (97), but because Paul envisaged the collection as "cementing Jewish-Gentile unity" (99). Last, in terms of introductory material, Harris displays his "Chronology of the Relationship of Paul, Timothy, and Titus with the Corinthian Church," analyzes the form, structure, and content of 2 Corinthians and summarizes its theology.

Considerations of space prohibit a verse or even a chapter-by-chapter summary and critique. The commentary is more than 1,100 pages without the introduction. Harris himself is aware that some passages receive a disproportionate amount of space, but justifies it by the fact that 2 Cor 1:8-11; 5:1-10; and 5:16-21 are among the most theologically important sections of 2 Corinthians (xv). Since 2 Cor 5:1-10 is probably the most contested section of the letter and, at the same time, was the focus of Harris's doctoral thesis at the University of Manchester in 1970, I will interact with him at this point.

In 2 Cor 5:1-10, Paul describes the Christian confidence in the face of death. Most commentators find it impossible to deny that Paul is here reckoning with either the possibility or probability of his own preparousia decease (365). It is commendable that Harris treats the passage as directly related to 2 Cor 4:7-18. Already v. 1 presents its challenge by stating that "we have (ἔχομεν) a building from God." Does this denote present possession or future acquisition? Before detailed discussion is undertaken, Harris provides an overview of the major interpretations of ἔχομεν (375). Of the five views outlined and discussed (375-380), the author separates the two with the least difficulties attached to them, which are "resurrection at the parousia" and "ideal possession of the spiritual body at death with real possession at the parousia," of which Harris favors the latter, while preserving resurrection for the parousia in accordance with 1 Cor 15 (380). Against those exegetes who refer vv. 6-10 to the parousia, Harris asserts that a temporal distinction can hardly be drawn between the destruction of the earthly house (v. 1) and the departure of the mortal body (v. 8) (400). He correctly states that the ἐκδημία of v. 8, as with the κατάλυσις of v. 1, transpires at death (400). He sees no reason to suppose that an

interval of time separates the absence from the body and the being at home with the Lord (400). Unfortunately, Harris does not state that he presupposes the parousia in between. Several pages later he points out unambiguously that "[f]or Paul immortality was not a natural attribute of the human soul which guaranteed its survival through and after death, but a gift from God which the Christian gained at the parousia by means of the resurrection" (410). Those dying before the parousia will experience an interval of disembodiment, to speak with the metaphor used by Paul in this passage, between their death and the resurrection (402). The author concludes this pericope with a summary of 2 Cor 5:1-10, in which he mentions among other things that there is no indication that the physical body is the container of the soul, the despicable outer garment which oppresses the soul and hampers its free expression, or that the body is worthless (410).

The format of the commentary is logical and useful. Each passage is accompanied by an introduction, a translation with detailed textual notes, a thorough line-by-line exegesis, and, finally, a relevant bibliography in an abbreviated form—a format that makes the commentary accessible at any verse.

On the whole, the strength of the commentary is manifold. The substantial bibliography demonstrates that the author has worked through an impressive amount of secondary literature on the epistle. The many footnotes throughout the commentary reveal the engagement with this vast amount of secondary literature and leave one with the impression that hardly any stone remains unturned. Indexes of subjects, authors, and Greek words conclude a serious piece of scholarship. The series title makes clear that this commentary targets those who have a working knowledge of NT Greek.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   ERHARD GALLOS

Keller, Eva. *The Road to Clarity: Seventh-day Adventism in Madagascar.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. xvii + 286 pp. Paper, $24.95.

Question: What is the result of Seventh-day Adventist religious activity in a country such as Madagascar? *Answer:* An association of African intellectuals. This is one of the major results of this study, which is a significantly revised version of a Ph.D. dissertation in social anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The author is a Research Fellow in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

The Road to Clarity is the first major publication about Adventism in Africa from the perspective of the anthropology of religion, and indeed one of the few published scholarly monographs on African Adventists. It is a unique study in that it explores the actual lives of non-Western Christians, based on a comparatively long period of participant observation—something which has been done so far by only a few scholars. After twenty months of field work, Eva Keller authentically portrays the nature of Malagasy Adventists' dedication to their faith in their particular cultural context.

After several introductory chapters dealing with Maroantsetra and Sahameloka (places where she conducted her research), Christianity in Madagascar, Adventism, and the people with whom she lived, Keller unfolds a discourse about Bible study, knowledge, and learning, and presents several chapters that discuss the problems that Adventists encounter in dealing with Malagasy culture. She comes to the conclusion that, for them, the major attraction of becoming and, especially, remaining Seventh-day Adventists is the excitement brought by study and intellectual activity. Thus, she disputes the common concept that in their religious choice, adherents of Christian churches in Africa are mainly motivated by utilitarian motives.

With *The Road to Clarity*, Keller has produced a pioneering study in several respects. First, she describes the religious activities, persuasions, and worldview of ordinary "Third World" Adventist Christians in a most empathic and realistic way, which is quite impressive given the fact that she is not personally connected to the Christian faith. It is probably not an overstatement that this is the most sensitive study of Adventism outside North America by a non-Adventist. Details which a casual observer might overlook are explained accurately, such as the importance of the "Great Controversy" motif as the framework of

theological thinking (65, 157-168) or the fact that almost everyone in local congregations is involved in decision-making processes (61). Observations on apocalyptical expectations (133-134) are as precise as a subtle discussion of Malagasy Adventists' reasoning regarding their rejection of Catholicism (65-66). Such a comprehensive picture of local Adventist believers outside the Northern hemisphere is rare.

Second, Keller provides an excellent analysis of the complexity of Adventism, Malagasy mainstream culture, and ancestral religion (169-232). On the one hand, she shows that Malagasy Adventists are really average people (68-70) and "make every effort to blend in with their social environment and to not offend anybody, if at all possible, while remaining truthful to their religious commitment" (208). On the other hand, they emphatically reject a whole array of cultural elements that they identify as unacceptable or even satanic: alcohol, exhumation ceremonies, cattle sacrifices, divination, and traditional medicine. The Malagasy and the Adventist components of identity lead to an "endless process of decision making" (235); thus life becomes "extremely ambiguous" (239). By showing that Malagasy Adventism contains elements of both continuity and discontinuity with traditional culture, Keller elucidates the composite nature of the faith to which such religionists adhere. Thus she illustrates, with an anthropologist's tools, what a theologian or missiologist would call a natural inculturation or contextualization process.

Third, the main emphasis in *The Road to Clarity* is an assessment of what Keller identifies as the major pursuit of her Malagasy Adventist friends: Bible study (85-156). Far from being a mere system of indoctrination, the Adventist Sabbath School and other opportunities of studying the Bible, such as family devotions, are regularly used for a "genuine engagement" with texts (91). Keller feels reminded of university seminars and highlights the "dialogical, discursive and participatory nature" of Malagasy Adventist Bible study and the "critical thinking" that it entails (114). She even invents a term for this practice: the "Socratic method of Bible study" (114; she uses the term twenty times). Of course, these Christians search for truth only inside a firmly established framework: the Bible. Yet by doing so, they resemble most people at most times, even academics, who commonly engage in what Thomas Kuhn in his well-known book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* calls "Normal Science," i.e., working and thinking within a fixed paradigm. Still, according to Keller, the importance and intellectual nature of Bible study among Malagasy Adventists can hardly be exaggerated, for it is the very pleasure of inquiry within the biblical paradigm that is central to their identity.

Finally, Keller arrives at a skillfully painted and complex picture of "fundamentalist" religious movements. Although in my view this awkward term should not be applied to Seventh-day Adventism as a whole, Keller uses it for these Malagasy believers in a gentle way: she identifies as a central concern of "fundamentalist" groups the refusal to accept the separation between a religious and a secular sphere (185), which does not imply the polemic tone generally associated with the word. Thus Keller arrives at an appropriate understanding of Adventist religiosity as a comprehensive system that is much more attractive than an outsider might think. From initial fears that these might be people with "whom it would be highly unpleasant to spend any considerable amount of time," she came to the conclusion that they were actually "among the most pleasant and also the most open-minded people I have ever met" (41). Like Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, who in *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* emphasize the rationality of religious choice and spiritual dedication, Keller thus advances the view that religious commitment does not preclude rationality and open-mindedness. However, she goes beyond Stark and Finke by contending that intellectual endeavor may actually be a main factor of religious life.

Keller is to be congratulated for each of these contributions. The book stands out as a ground-breaking study, and one hardly finds a point to criticize. At times I was tempted to doubt whether the "intellectuality" of Keller's Malagasy Adventists is really all that remarkable or if perhaps it may be attributed partly to her surprise of finding Christians, especially of the committed sort, being so open-minded. However, her findings can hardly be disputed by someone who is not personally acquainted with Keller's Malagasy friends, and given the background of Adventism as a movement dedicated to an immensely rational search for truth, her thesis is definitely plausible. A limitation inherent in her

methodology is that she dealt with relatively few people, who may not be representative for the whole of Madagascar and certainly not for the whole of Africa. Yet, this is not a weakness but a dimension of anthropological research, which depends on intimate knowledge of people. The lack of a broader field of data collection, which a sociologist would prefer, is compensated in the study by a comparison between two different geographical areas and by the high level of accuracy, depth, and discernment.

The only negative point that might be mentioned is that Keller lumps Adventists together with what she calls "New Churches" (41-55, 244), i.e., the various Pentecostal and African-initiated Christian movements, which are so influential on the African continent today. Although there are structural parallels (e.g., a literal understanding of the Bible, strictness, intensity, and dedication), many of these movements differ from Adventists not only in their historical origin, but also in regard to the core of Keller's observation: the focus on intellectual activity. Keller believes that what she found "may be relevant for followers of other New Churches" as well (116), but I doubt that it will be such a central concern as in the case of Adventism.

Yet this one point where I would raise a concern does not in any way diminish the merit of the study as a whole. Most important, Keller's analysis demonstrates that further empathic investigation is needed in several fields and with different academic approaches: the beliefs, lives, and dilemmas of ordinary believers; the interaction of non-Western Christians with culture in concrete situations; the nature of the faith held by those who are labeled "fundamentalists" by outsiders; and especially the place of intellectual activity in living religion.

Scholars of religious studies, mission, or anthropology, as well as any reader interested in Christianity in Africa or in Seventh-day Adventism, will find this book extremely enlightening. One would wish that more in-depth studies of Christianity in particular contexts might become available.

Theologische Hochschule Friedensau   STEFAN HÖSCHELE
Friedensau bei Burg, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany

Land, Gary. *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2005. 420 pp. Hardcover, $80.00.

Gary Land is Professor and Chair of the Department of History and Political Science at Andrews University. *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists* is number 56 in a series of Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements published by Scarecrow Press. The amount of material that is densely packed into this four-hundred-page book is impressive.

Land investigates not only the official Seventh-day Adventist Church, beginning about 1860, but also the Millerite movement from which it grew. The book begins with a six-page annotated chronology covering major events in the Seventh-day Adventist Church from 1818 to 2002, followed by a nine-page essay summarizing the highlights of Adventist history, which provides the overall framework of the dictionary.

Dictionary entries range from "Academy" to "Zimbabwe." The topics cover the great sweep of the Seventh-day Adventist movement: the worldwide scope of the church, persons important to the history and current life of the church, organizational features, world missions and evangelism, publishing and media, education, doctrinal development, creation science, healthful living, and controversy. Statistics, where given, are based on the 2003 edition of the *Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*. Because the material presented in the *Dictionary* is too vast to comment on each of these sections in detail, this review will focus on a representative sampling.

Every nation in the world in which Adventists have now or once had a presence merits some sort of entry. For example, Morocco was entered by lay workers in 1925. By 1964, it boasted five churches with 165 members; then the Moslem government prohibited mission work. By 1993, only 12 members remained, meeting in private homes. The latest report indicates that no known Adventist presence remains. On the other hand, Brazil (entered in 1893) had, according to the

2003 *Yearbook*, 4,223 churches and more than one million members.

Other interesting facts that may be found in the *Dictionary* include, for example, the short biographical entries on every General Conference president from John Byington to Jan Paulsen. Organizational articles describe the structure of the church, as well as the church's General Conference session, held every five years with representation from every sector of the worldwide church. A separate entry is devoted to the 1888 General Conference session and the struggle over righteousness by faith. Another important issue related to the administration of the church that also merits an entry is the subject of ordination.

Given the Adventist focus on world mission, it is not surprising to see many missionaries included; for instance, Michael Czechowski, a former Catholic priest who worked to spread the Adventist message throughout Europe, beginning in 1864; John N. Andrews, the first official Seventh-day Adventist missionary; Ludwig Conradi, the influential and controversial German church leader; and Frank Westphal, missionary to South America. One can also find the story of the *Pitcairn* mission ship, which helped to greatly expand Adventist missions in the Pacific. As to missions at home, one can read about the Tract and Missionary Societies and Edson White's mission to Black America via the steamboat *Morning Star*.

The *Dictionary* also recognizes the work of women in building the church. A major article of five pages is devoted to women, describing the history of their involvement in the ministry of the church. Ellen White remains the leading woman of the church, but many others have served in areas of administration, pastoral and evangelistic ministry, authorship, and education.

Adventist media and publishing receive numerous entries. For instance, H. M. S. Richards Sr.'s ministry, the Voice of Prophecy, founded in 1929, is one of the oldest continuous radio broadcasts in existence. Tele-evangelists, such as George Vandeman, Mark Finley, Doug Batchelor, and Lonnie Melashenko, have helped to bring the Seventh-day Adventist message to television.

Christian education has been a vital component of Adventism for 130 years. For example, educator and scholar Siegfried Horn, following his release from a Dutch POW camp in the Dutch East Indies and a British camp in India after World War II, became a leading expert in biblical archaeology, helped to excavate archaeological sites in Jordan that remain significant centers of research, and founded the journal in which this review is published. Seventh-day Adventist higher educational centers are found throughout the world, including Sahmyook University in Korea (the largest Adventist school with 5,500 students), Avondale College in Australia, the University of Eastern Africa, Baraton in Kenya, Montemorelos University in Mexico, River Plate University in Argentina, and, of course, Andrews University and its predecessor, Battle Creek College.

The Adventist Church would not be what it is if it were not for its doctrinal teachings. A short article on fundamental beliefs traces the history of official statements. Most doctrines are assigned a special entry. Included are conditional immortality, the Great Controversy, the Investigative Judgment, righteousness by faith, the Sabbath, the Sanctuary doctrine, and the Second Advent, among others. These are not apologetic pieces attempting to prove the correctness of the doctrine, but rather historical overviews of their development.

With the Adventist belief in the literal story of creation in Genesis, the denomination has taken an interest in creation science. Included are articles on creationism and the Geoscience Research Institute and several on Adventist scientists, such as George McCready Price, Harold Clark, and Frank Marsh.

Since 1863, Adventists have seen healthful living to be part of their spiritual message. Included are general articles on health care and health reform. Key personalities are featured, especially John Harvey Kellogg, a rigorous advocate of the "Battle Creek Idea," in which good health and fitness is directly related to good diet and posture, exercise and fresh air, and proper rest. Kellogg's efforts raised the Battle Creek Sanitarium to a level of national prominence and served many elite clients, including United States President William Howard Taft, Henry Ford, Harvey Firestone, Thomas Edison, and aviator Amelia

Earhart. The *Dictionary* also outlines Kellogg's eventual separation from the church.

The denominational waters have not always run untroubled. From time to time, critics have arisen from within the church. Space is given (in addition to the Kellogg article), for example, to Dudley Canright, who came to believe, among other things, that the Seventh-day Adventist Church's emphasis on the Second Coming of Christ was misdirected; Albion Fox Ballenger and the much-later Desmond Ford, who disagreed with the church's understanding of the sanctuary and atonement; and Dale Ratzlaff, who currently challenges traditional Seventh-day Adventist doctrine. There are also pieces on the Hartland Institute of Health and Education and on Hope International, as well as the Holy Flesh Movement and the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists.

The reader will find, at the front of the *Dictionary*, two pages listing common acronyms and abbreviations used by the church, ranging from AAF (Association of Adventist Forums) to WWC (Walla Walla College) that are useful in interpreting Adventist bureaucratic jargon. For instance, would the average reader know that SSD stands for the Southern Asia-Pacific Division of the world church or that PARL is the General Conference Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty?

Following the main dictionary, the bibliography is a wonder in itself. Prior to the actual bibliography is a thirteen-page bibliographic essay describing, first, the most significant works in historical literature and, second, beliefs, practice, and polity. The 68-page bibliography is divided into these two areas with about 40 subdivisions under them. The bibliography itself makes the book a valuable reference tool.

In this review, I have tried to present a sampling of the *Dictionary's* contents, but have left scores of items unmentioned. Did Land omit any important items? Probably, but it is hard to say amid such an ocean of material what they were. Are there any errors in the book? Certainly, it would be almost humanly impossible for some not to slip in, given the vastness and variety of the material. I will provide a few examples.

On p. 325, Land writes that James White was president of the General Conference in the years 1865-1867, 1869-1871, and 1874-1890. But he also reports that White died in 1881, making him the only president in Adventist history to serve from the grave. White's last term was actually 1874-1880.

On p. 341, the text reads that, in 1993, George Knight celebrated the upcoming 100th anniversary of the "Great Disappointment" of 1844 by publishing *Millennial Fever*, that should be the 150th anniversary.

Finally, on p. 344, Land discusses an account of the radio evangelism pioneer, H. M. S. *Edwards*. I'm sure he meant *Richards*.

But this is picky and cannot begin to distract from a work of this magnitude. Land must have invested prodigious effort in producing such a product. Will most readers (or any) read this book as I did—from beginning to end? It is not likely. But anyone interested in Adventism, and especially Adventist history, will find it an indispensable reference work. I accord it a place on my bookshelf and turn to it often as a reference source. I believe other readers will do the same.

Andrews University   ROGER DUDLEY

Lawson, Steven J. *Job*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2004. xv + 378 pp. Hardcover, $19.99.

Job is Steven Lawson's third contribution to the Holman OT Commentary series. The field he enters is twice challenging—the book of Job is not easy reading; and there is a formidable amount work already done by *Job* commentators, such as Robert Gordis (*The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job* [University of Chicago Press, 1966] and *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies* [Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978]); Elmer Smick (*Job*, Expositor's Bible Commentary [Zondervan, 1988]); Norman Habel (*Job*, Westminster Old Testament Library [Westminster, 1985]); and David J. A. Clines (*Job 1–20*, Word Bible Commentary [Word, 1989]). Commendably, Lawson's aim is not to compete with Gordis's notable theological insights, Habel's broadly scoped literary wisdom, or the sheer exhaustiveness of Clines's primary and secondary research. Instead,

he writes as a believer who speaks out of the experience of his own suffering. For him, Job was not a "figment of a playwright's imagination," but "a *real* person . . . [,] an actual historical figure, a real-life man" (3). Lawson's own pain leads him to relate to the Job story not only as text for objective study, but intimately, as the text of personal experience.

Lawson's overview of the book of Job includes, *inter alia*, data on the book's historicity, as well as that of its chief protagonist, its authorship, style, content, and structure. Chapters proceed according to a standard Holman Commentary format of opening quotation and an eight-part treatment of each passage. Every chapter identifies a main idea along with one or several supporting ideas, an admirably rigorous undertaking exhibiting a consistently optimistic tone that may inspire some and trouble others. Further, each chapter contains a section on prayer, which has a climactic and concluding tone although the prayer section occurs as the fifth of the chapter's eight-part division.

The sentiment of Lawson's prayers illustrates his helpful, if sometimes facile, counsel born of idealized views of suffering and sovereignty: "All suffering is temporal" (129), "all suffering is useful" (130), "all suffering is Christlike" (130). This sequence is memorable, but its last item is a challenging notion, however consonant with Lawson's view of the book's main idea: tragedy provides "an opportunity to worship God for who he is" (14). The tragedy of Judas's betrayal, then, is to be seen as Christ's opportunity to worship God for who he is. Faith in divine sovereignty should not diminish personal Satanic or human culpability, nor should it purge the Job tragedy of its intolerable horror.

Lawson's idealized characterization on suffering frees him to urge again the ancient paradox: a war is on, the devil is not yet in hell, and Christians cannot afford to behave as though we live in peace time (23-25); at the same time, the carnage of Satan's mayhem and brutalization is carried out "by God's initiative"(15). This review will not resolve the paradox of the enemy who may only act according to his opponent's permission. What is certain is that Lawson's homiletical, if at times glib, counsel in this book grows out of his strong and experienced faith in divine sovereignty, and his commendable desire to nurture such faith in others.

In another example of suspicious submission, Lawson's advice on dealing with despair features castigation for Job because he keeps his deep pain to himself during a week of silence rather than sharing it with his friends (97). What do we make of this? One must wonder. For Lawson has elsewhere remarked that Job "needed friends who would listen to him and process carefully what he was saying. But no such care or consideration was given to him" (75). Lawson's somewhat confusing positions here may help us all sense how much further those right answers and good counsel are from our grasp at the time we need them most.

Given Lawson's faith in and commitment to a sovereign God, it is surprising that he bypasses an opportunity, in discussion of the second divine speech, to develop the theological implications of the behemoth and leviathan imagery (cf. the treatment of this topic in, e.g., John C. L. Gibson, "On Evil in the Book of Job," in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, ed. Lyle Eslinger and Glen Taylor, JSOTSupp 67 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1988], 399-419; Edwin and Margaret Thiele, *Job and the Devil* [Boise: Pacific Press, 1988]; and Smick, *Job*, esp. 4:1045-1055). Nevertheless, readers will attest to the success of Lawson's attempt by the edification they derive from this book. Readers will profit best from Lawson's work by savoring his theological insight and homiletical commentary rather than looking for mastery of the original language. It is the inspiration he brings to readers, enabling them to keep faith while under fire, which should be the measure of this book's success.

Andrews University   LAEL CAESAR

Moloney, Francis J. *Mark: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist.* Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004. xiv + 224 pp. Paper, $19.95.

Francis J. Moloney holds the Katharine Drexel Chair of Religious Studies at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. He has written and edited more than a dozen books, most of them on the Gospel of John. The present volume is his

second book on Mark; the first, a full-scale commentary published in 2002 by Hendrickson, was winner of the 2003 Reference Book of the Year award by the Academy of Parish Clergy. Though *Mark* can be described as the work of a specialist whose qualities as exegete and writer have been widely acknowledged, this new book is expressly designed for nonspecialists (xi), as it offers a nontechnical treatment of issues, such as authorship, literary structure and plot, main themes, and its value for the church as a witness of the "good news" of Jesus Christ.

The book is structured according to the four elements of the title. Part 1 ("Mark") attempts to identify the author, date, and place of composition of the Gospel and the difficult relationship between history and theology one finds therein. Moloney does accept the traditional Markan authorship for two reasons: first, it is not evident that the John Mark of Acts 15:37-40 is the same Mark of the Pauline letters (Phlm 13-24; Col 4:10-11; 2 Tim 4:9-11) and, second, "Mark" was a common name in the Roman world (5). As for the date and place of composition, the Gospel was probably written in southern Syria around 70-75 A.D., since the discourse of chapter 13 presupposes that Jerusalem had already fallen.

Moloney also discusses Mark's contribution as a historian and theologian, giving a brief discussion of the history of interpretation of the Gospel accounts of Jesus from the Renaissance to modern times and highlighting the role played by modern disciplines, such as Redaction Criticism and, more particularly, Narrative Criticism. In so doing, Moloney prepares the reader for the main approach he follows in the remainder of the book.

Part 2 ("Mark the Storyteller") deals only with the text, tracing Mark's skills as a storyteller. In an initial chapter, and particularly on the basis of redactional devices, such as summaries, repetitions, and shifts of the action from one place to another, Moloney investigates the plot of the Gospel as two major narrative sections, with a midpoint at the confession of Jesus as the Christ at Caesarea Philippi (8:29-30).

Part 3 ("Mark the Interpreter") focuses on Mark's interpretation of the received primitive Christian tradition. The first chapter studies the fundamental questions of Mark's interpretation of Jesus: Jesus' preaching of God's kingdom and his identification as the Christ, the Son of God, and the Son of Man. The following chapter investigates Mark's interpretation of the Christian community. Moloney presents Mark as an interpreter who sees the significance of the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus in a way similar to that of Paul.

Part 4 ("Mark the Evangelist") traces the Gospel of Mark's place as one of the church's fundamental texts and assesses the ongoing relevance of its contribution to Christianity. The book concludes with a two-part bibliography, "Commentaries" and "Other Studies," and two helpful indices, "Modern Authors" and "Ancient Sources," which includes Bible references.

Frequently overshadowed by its lengthier neighbors, the Gospel of Mark has definitely found a place under the sun within modern Gospel scholarship, or, to use Moloney's analogy, the "Cinderella of the four Gospels" has become "a princess" (ix, 9). The reasons for this rise in status are not only the more historical concerns that were raised in the mid-nineteenth century concerning Gospel studies, but also the several literary and theological issues of more recent years. Few texts receive as much attention in contemporary NT research as does the Gospel of Mark, and Moloney's book is certainly a significant addition to the discussion. Written with clarity and an inviting style, the book tries to uncover what Moloney calls "the many layers of meaning" of Mark, and though Part 1 deals with more historical and critical issues, the book is essentially a literary and theological introduction to the second Gospel, which readers will find to be an excellent resource. Besides being easy to read, *Mark* is well-organized and substantially complete, covering all the issues typical of an introduction without getting lost in the midst of discussions that are too technical or minute. Greek words are judiciously employed and followed by the proper transliteration, and endnotes appear at the conclusion of each chapter. The number of pages corresponds to the intended purpose of the volume, and the price is reasonable.

Despite all its qualities, however, Moloney's book raises significant hermeneutical questions. One of the most provocative parts of the book is the detailed examination of Mark's supposed abilities as a storyteller (Part 2), that is, the way in which the evangelist seems to develop the plot of the Gospel. Moloney's option for two main narrative sections and their respective subsections is reasoned, interesting, and in a sense does help one to understand Mark's presentation of Jesus. At the end of the discussion, the reader may agree that this briefest of the Gospels, written in rough Greek, is indeed the final product of a deliberate literary and theological design of a creative writer and storyteller. It is important to remember, however, that though it is correct to treat the Gospel of Mark, or any other Gospel for that matter, as an account that has literary integrity, any attempt to organize its content and ascertain the narrative plot solely on the basis of its literary features is liable to the charge of artificiality, as it may result from our particular reading of the material and not necessarily from the author's own intentions.

Moloney is probably at his best when he discusses Mark as an interpreter, particularly his interpretation of Jesus as the Christ (chap. 6). After establishing that postexilic Judaism as a whole did not expect the Messiah and that those who did held divergent opinions, Moloney presents Mark's interpretation as theologically original and creative. He acknowledges the so-called Markan messianic secret, but his perception of it is that of a technique to make sure that Jesus' messianic status will not be understood in terms of his being a miracle worker. "To understand Jesus as a miracle worker," says Moloney, "is to misunderstand Jesus" (133). As is shown in the climactic episode at Caesarea Philippi and especially in the second half of the Gospel, Jesus is the Messiah, but only in so far as he is the suffering and vindicated Son of Man. That is to say, "it is on the cross that Jesus is the Messiah" (136). Unfortunately, Moloney's discussion of other aspects of Markan Christology, such as Jesus as the Son of God and the Son of Man, are not as captivating as this one. The evidence for a suffering Son of God in the same sense of Mark's Messiah is not persuasive. Another hermeneutical difficulty is that Moloney builds his entire argument on the assumption that, as an ingenious interpreter, Mark fashioned the traditions that came to him in order to tell the story of Jesus from a totally unique perspective (125, 186). There is no question that each Gospel provides a somewhat different portrait of Jesus, but, especially in the case of Mark, if its priority is assumed, it is not always easy to separate the writer's interpretation from the traditions he received; nor is it easy to separate his own understanding of the story from that which we ourselves read into the text. This means that we cannot claim to be able to present Mark's theological positions with absolute certainty, though we should not refrain from pursuing what seems to us to be the most relevant issues in his presentation of the gospel message.

In the last chapter of the book, Moloney takes his literary approach even further by positing a kind of reader-response criterion to affirm the ongoing relevance of Mark for the Christian church. Once again, he points to some narrative devices, such as anonymity, which would have the function of challenging and encouraging the reader to become a disciple of Jesus. He also takes the abrupt ending of the Gospel at 16:8 as a deliberate strategy to stress the generally negative portrait of the disciples in the Gospel, which he terms "the good news of human failure." But, what kind of "good news" is this? According to Moloney, the "good news" resides precisely in the fact that the restoration of the disciples does not take place within the limitations of the text itself, but among the readers of the text (195). The disciples' failure is thus seen as a perennial invitation to future readers. It is possible, however, that besides the enormous text-critical difficulty posed by Mark 16:8, many contemporary Christians would prefer to find the enduring value of the gospel message not in the literary or interpretative skills of the evangelists, but in the life and message of Jesus himself which, though calling for a human response, is not necessarily dependent upon it.

These considerations mean that those who are not entirely satisfied with the results of narrative criticism will probably not feel comfortable with some of Moloney's conclusions. This, however, does not change the fact that his book does offer new perspectives on the background, structure, literary character, and theology of Mark's

Gospel. College or seminary students will find it a helpful resource. The author's trust that professional scholars also discover something of value in it (xi) may be true as well, especially for those who use the same approach.

São Paulo Adventist University College   WILSON PAROSCHI
São Paulo, Brazil

Paul, Shalom, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields, eds. with
       the assistance of Eva Ben-David. *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead
       Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov.* Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, 94, 2 vols.
       Leiden: Brill, 2003. xxxvi + 849 + 89 pp. Hardcover, $186.00.

In the realm of scholarship of the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, and the DSS, Emanuel Tov needs no introduction. He has contributed immensely to all three of these areas, and this impressive volume honors him for his lifelong commitment to academic excellency and leadership. A five-page biography prepared by W. W. Fields introduces us to the honoree, and an extensive eighteen-page bibliography of Tov will leave the reader amazed at his scholarly productiveness (xix-xxxvi).

       This *Festschrift* of about 850 pages reads like a Who's Who of textual studies. The contributors are internationally distinguished, highly esteemed scholars. *Emanuel* is organized into three parts, appropriate to the major interests of Emanuel Tov. Part 1 deals with Qumran (31 essays), part 2 with the LXX (12 essays), and part 3 with the Hebrew Bible (13 essays, of which nine were written by Jewish scholars).

       A novelty in the publication of *Festschriften*, as far as I know, is the separate *Index Volume*. Its size of 89 pages may justify such a decision, although one wonders why a single volume of about 940 pages would not have been technically possible. It contains an index of ancient sources (74 pages), with major parts on the Hebrew Bible/OT (32 pages) and the DSS (30 pages). An index of names, in which Tov alone has fifty-five references as the most extensive entry, shows that his views, as befits the occasion, are frequently referred to or discussed in his *Festschrift.* All in all, the editorial team has to be thanked for a carefully edited volume.

       In reviewing this *Festschrift*, it would be impossible to do justice to every single essay, for each merits careful study. Rather, I will select one essay from each of the three parts to whet the reader's appetite. In his essay on Gen 15:6 (257-268), J. A. Fitzmyer discusses the two interpretations of the second half of this verse—whether YHWH reckoned it to Abram as righteousness or Abram reckoned it to YHWH as righteousness—and lists supporting texts for each interpretation (see Neh 9:7-8; Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52; *Jubilees* 14:6; Gal 3:6; Rom 4:3, 9). Fitzmyer points out that the parabiblical text of 4Q225, which rewrites parts of Gen 15 and dates to 30 B.C.–20 A.D., uses in line 8 the Nip‛al form בשחנ "was reckoned" (according to the *editio princeps*). The passive meaning corresponds to the LXX version of Gen 15:6 (ἐλογίσθη, "was reckoned"). Fitzmyer suggests that 4Q225 may reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage* varying from the MT, or, at least, that the passive verb form in Gen 15:6 was known in pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism, which would explain why the LXX, Paul (in Gal 3:6 and Rom 4:3, 9), and others could have used such a tradition.

       One of the essays of a more general nature is by R. Sollamo, who puts forward four reasons—in my view the main reasons—why LXX studies are significant (497-512). First, the LXX provided the basic *Vorlage* for many ancient Bible translations and thus plays an important role in the transmission history of the Bible. At the same time, it functioned as a vehicle for transmitting the Hebrew-Jewish religious culture into the European culture. Second, the LXX formed a bridge between the Hebrew Bible and the NT for it became the source of much of the NT writer's language and theology. Hence, Sollamo claims that the study of the LXX is a *conditio sine qua non* for the studies of the NT language, textual history, and theology. With regard to theology, Sollamo does not believe that the LXX translators created a special septuagintal theology, but their theological understanding surfaces when the literal translation of their Hebrew *Vorlage* runs counter to their theological thought (e.g., with anthropomorphic imagery for God). With regard to vocabulary, he points to two septuagintal terms that were influential for the NT writers: κύριος for the tetragram and

ψυχή for נפש. The latter term, so Sollamo, introduced the Greek dualistic conception of the soul and the body into the Bible. One could also point to other influential terms such as διαθήκη or δόξα. Third, the LXX is invaluable for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Sollamo argues that the Greek texts help "to recover the earlier stages of the Hebrew scriptures" (509), but, for this, one must be acquainted with the translation technique and assume a general literalness of translation. Finally, the study of the LXX is valuable in its own right. The recent flood of publications on the LXX, both introductions and specialized studies, prove Sollamo right and put even more weight on the necessity and irreplaceability of thoroughgoing basic research (512).

In his essay "The Signification of אחרית and אחרית הימים in the Hebrew Bible" (795-810), S. Talmon approaches the question of meaning, in my view correctly, by collecting contextual data, including synonymous and parallel terms, and intertextual data on אחרית הימים. First, he reviews the meaning of אחרית in several biblical occurrences and concludes that the noun connotes "progeny," both in contexts of future judgment (Ps 109:13; Prov 24:20; Amos 4:2; 9:1-2; Ezek 23:25) and in pronouncements of well-being (Jer 29:11; 31:16-17; Prov 23:18; Job 42:12-13, 16) in regard to historical time and not to the last time or the end. Then, he examines the expression אחרית הימים in several, but not all, of its thirteen occurrences, including Gen 49:1; Num 24:14 (cf. 4Q252 i v 1-3); Deut 4:30; 31:29; and Isa 2:2 = Mic 4:1. For Talmon, the phrase denotes "in the days of (our) progeny" relating to historical time. He concludes that אחרית הימים, not being satisfied with the present time, refers to a historic "tomorrow," to the next or a future God-fearing generation in which the hope for *shalom* will be realized, and thus the expression must receive a real-historical, noneschatological interpretation. However, even though it is true that אחרית הימים is not an eschatological *terminus technicus*, it apparently acquires eschatological connotations in Dan 10:14, as does its Aramaic equivalent in Dan 2:28. The Danielic texts are not discussed in Talmon's essay, but they deserve a closer look when considering the range of meaning or shift in meaning of אחרית הימים. Furthermore, the relevant literature on the topic gathered by Talmon should be completed by G. Pfandl's dissertation *The Time of the End in the Book of Daniel* (Andrews University, 1992), which discusses אחרית הימים in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near Eastern literature.

Such a brief selection can only give an inadequate impression of the rich content of the essays. This *Festschrift* holds a wealth of information and one can safely assert that the immense breadth of topic guarantees that every reader interested in the study of the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, or the Qumran literature will find numerous essays that engage attention, draw into discussion, and broaden one's horizon.

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen   MARTIN PRÖBSTLE
St. Peter am Hart, Austria

Renn, Stephen D, ed. *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words: Word Studies for Key English Bible Words Based on the Hebrew and Greek Texts*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005. ix + 1171 pp. + CD. Hardcover, $29.95.

Stephen D. Renn was once the Head of Biblical Studies at the Sydney Missionary College, lecturing in Old Testament and Biblical Hebrew. He is currently Coordinator of Language Teaching at Inaburra School in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

In a nontechnical reference for pastors, teachers, and lay students of Scripture, Renn offers comprehensive analysis and discussion of both Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic and NT Greek terms (though the volume is certainly not as exhaustive as the *Theological Dictionary of Old Testament* [G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., trans. J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green, 8 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-); or the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* [G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., trans. G. W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976)]). The *Expository Dictionary* is organized alphabetically by the English word, with sections on OT then NT occurrences and uses of various terms. In contrast to the *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words* by L. O. Richards, the English words have not been keyed to the NIV and NASB

Bible translations. The Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek terms have been transliterated, using a simplified phonetic transliteration scheme. The "Additional Notes" section explains how the theme, concept, or doctrine shaped by the Hebrew terminology is fulfilled in the Greek vocabulary of the NT, especially in relation to the history of salvation. While dictionaries are usually quite objective tools in the hands of a Bible student, the "Additional Notes," following the Hebrew/Aramaic or Greek word, allows the subjectivity of the editor's interpretation of a certain term shine through (cf. the single biased eschatological interpretation of "Rest," in the new-covenant era, cf. p. 817). Scholars may have reservations about some of the semantic principles that are employed here.

All entries are coded to *Strong's Concordance* to simplify finding the word. The Hebrew and Greek words are indexed with Strong's number first, then transliteration, and the Hebrew, Greek, and English entries. There is some cross-referencing to related entries. The text font is easy to read and the word being studied is in boldface type. A bonus CD is added at the back of the book, which includes four Bible translations (ASV, KJV, Young's Literal, and The Modern Language Bible), two commentaries (Matthew Henry's *Concise Commentary* and Gray's *Concise Commentary*), two dictionaries (Smith's *Bible Dictionary* and the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*), two basic Scripture tools (Nave's *Topical Bible* and Torrey's *New Topical Textbook*), three quite outdated books on biblical background (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*; and *The Temple: Its Ministry and Service*), and maps, which are useful since they can be customized to meet the user's individual needs. Texts can easily be copied to a word-processing document and the Hebrew and Greek fonts are included on the CD. However, it can not be overlooked that the list of reference works included on the CD has some inaccuracies: there are four Bible translations on the CD, rather than three, and four books are mentioned on the printed list but only three are available on the CD (Alfred Edersheim's *The Bible History: Old Testament* [Eerdmans, 1969] is missing). With the exception of "Jesus," other proper names, such as "Abraham," "Gideon," "Luke," "Moses," "Paul," and "Titus" are not treated; similarly "Gomorrah," "Sodom," "Corinth," "Ephesus," and other significant biblical sites are also omitted.

The *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words* has multiple advantages: it can be read by Bible students who are not proficient in biblical languages, the relationship between the OT and NT can be studied easily, and the multitude of synonyms used for a single English definition becomes obvious (cf. "God" 439-442). Finally, the *Expository Dictionary* enables the student to get a better understanding of canonical thinking.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   ERHARD GALLOS

Scholar's Library Silver Edition (QB) CD/DVD-ROM B: Logos Bible Software Series X. Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software. $999.95.

Personal Book Builder: Standard Edition. Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software. $249.95.
Several years ago, I tried the Logos Bible Software and found it difficult to use. However, the current software program, which operates on Libronix, a search engine designed to accommodate a digital library system, is so user-friendly that I have stopped using other Bible software and continue to add titles to Libronix instead. Logos has not only produced many titles for their software program, but has also contracted with other publishers to offer one of the widest selections of titles currently available in PC software marketing; unfortunately, the Macintosh version is yet to be released.

One of the unique things about Libronix and the Logos titles is that Libronix treats each title as an independent book. The advantage is that the software displays the page numbers of the printed editions of the books. All books are fully searchable and linked to other titles within the program. For example, if a commentary refers to a biblical passage, users may locate the biblical passage by placing the cursor over the biblical reference and the passage is displayed as a pop-up. The same is also true for Bible dictionaries: related articles within a book are linked together.

The starting point for searching and studying the Bible is the home page, which

works similarly to the home page of a website. Libronix has three main types of searches, based upon a particular need: "Passage Guide," "Exegetical Guide," and "Bible Word Study." The user is able to customize the displays and organize digital books into collections. A function called "key linking" allows the user to indicate the name and prioritized order of the lexicons and original language resources to be used, as well as determine which Bible versions and commentaries are to be displayed.

One aspect that makes Logos's products cutting-edge is the sheer number and level of scholarly works available (to view the more than five hundred available titles, see www.logos.com/products). New titles are added weekly.

The largest package now offered is the *Scholars' Library Gold Edition*. This package includes specialist titles, such as Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, and *Keil and Delitzsch Commentary on the Old Testament*. The *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* is included, as well as several different editions of the Greek NT. The critical apparatuses for the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland and the *Biblia Hebraica* are also available.

A syntactical search engine for the Hebrew Bible is included in the Silver Edition, while an engine for both Hebrew and Greek should be available in the next version. There are several lexicons, such as the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (BDAG) and *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (*HALOT*). This is particularly useful for students since many seminary libraries have only a limited number of copies available. There are English versions of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* and *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Series 1 and 2), resources for church history, and many different commentaries. Logos is currently working on a Greek edition of the Apostolic Fathers.

The initial purchase of a large package is not mandatory. Logos has many individual titles that can be added to a user's digital library. Among the titles I find particularly useful for students are the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, the *Contexts of Scripture*, and *The Essential IVP Reference Collection*. The electronic versions of the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* and the *Complete Published Writings of Ellen G. White* are digitally compatible with Libronix. Further, Logos provides an academic program that allows students, teachers, and faculty members of participating schools to receive substantial discounts on most titles.

Of course, there are several functions that could be improved upon, some of which may already be addressed in the new version now being beta tested. First, the "Exegetical Guide," one of the most useful functions, takes too long to search the whole library for all the references if a lengthy biblical passage is designated. Further, such searches cannot be saved. A second concern is the inability to print highlights that the user has made during the course of his or her reading. A third issue involves the Logos Hebrew fonts. Overall, Logos fonts for the original languages work well. Selecting the entire document and changing the fonts does not affect the original language fonts. However, when attempting to put English annotations within a Hebrew quote that has been copied and pasted to a word processor, the English characters are presented in the right-to-left orientation of Hebrew characters. Since it is quite common to copy Hebrew text for papers or personal study, a Hebrew font that allows integration of English text would be helpful. Compatibility with the major word-processing programs is essential. A missing feature that merits attention is the creation of language-vocabulary drills. This feature is reportedly in the new 3.0 version, but it may only allow the vocabulary list to be created, based upon a specific passage, not by the word frequency. The aforementioned problems are, however, only minor irritations that in no way diminish the overall value of the program. Logos is a competitive company and frequently works on improving its product.

The *Personal Book Builder*, available in standard and private-use editions, is an excellent resource for teachers, pastors, and students. This add-in to the standard Logos library allows the user to create his or her own personal digital books and share them with other Logos users. In addition, the *Personal Book Builder* can be used, for example, to create a personal commentary, to share work on Bible translations, sermons, or Bible studies that have been created within the program. Once created, these documents can easily be revised by using word-processing software and saving the work as an HTML document. Any changes may be saved and recompiled by the *Personal Book Builder*.

In conclusion, the *Scholar's Library Silver Edition* and the *Personal Book Builder* will benefit Bible students, teachers, pastors, and scholars. As the Logos website asserts: "Easy enough for a novice, powerful enough for a scholar." I would not hesitate to recommend these Logos products to anyone who wants to expand their personal library and facilitate in-depth Bible study.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   PHILANA CROUCH

Schwarz, Richard W. *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.: Pioneering Health Reformer*, Adventist Pioneer
       Series. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2006. 240 pp. Hardcover, $17.99.

John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.: Pioneering Health Reformer is the latest installment in the Adventist Pioneer Series; the subtitle succinctly states Kellogg's impact on the medical work of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. When Kellogg took the helm of the fledging water-cure treatment facility, known simply as the Health Reform Institute, he was able to transform it into the world-famous Battle Creek Sanitarium.

There are several issues that I would like to address in this review. First, *John Harvey Kellogg* is the third printing of Schwarz's biography (previous printings date from 1970 and 1981). While this is not necessarily problematic, as I will outline below, opportunities to improve the volume were missed.

Second, the three earlier volumes in the Adventist Pioneer Series (Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* [Review and Herald, 2003]; George R. Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism* [Review and Herald, 2004]; and Gilbert M. Valentine, *W. W. Prescott: Forgotten Giant of Adventism's Second Generation* [Review and Herald, 2005]) all contain copious footnotes. However, this volume is a certain "departure" (as noted by series editor George Knight) from the other volumes in the series in that it does not contain either footnotes or bibliography.

Third, while Knight, in the current edition, and Schwarz, in his original introduction, both refer readers to Schwarz's dissertation at the University of Michigan (1964), this new edition does not utilize any of the Kellogg research conducted during the intervening forty years (see, e.g., Ronald L. Numbers's research on Kellogg's views about sexuality ["Sex, Science, and Salvation: The Sexual Advice of Ellen G. White and John Harvey Kellogg," in *Right Living: An Anglo-American Tradition of Self-Help Medicine and Hygiene*, ed. Charles E. Rosenberg (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 206-226]), which Schwarz does not address at all. In contrast, the other three volumes in the Adventist Pioneer Series represent current research on their subjects. Even Gilbert M. Valentine's biography on Prescott is updated and expanded (his original biography was published by Andrews University Press in 1992, and reprinted by Review and Herald in 2005). One hopes that the decision to include Schwarz's work in this series is based on the strength of the original document, which Knight considers "one of the very best biographies ever published by an Adventist press" (10).

In spite of the criticisms above, this is still the standard biography on Kellogg. Yet the publication of this volume could have been a real opportunity to synthesize research from the past four decades, as well as spur on new research on the life and contributions of such a complex individual. One can only hope that a new biography that examines these nuances will be forthcoming in the near future.

Loma Linda University   MICHAEL W. CAMPBELL
Loma Linda, California

Woodard, Roger D., ed. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages.*
       Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xx + 1162 pp. Hardcover, $160.00.

Today it is nearly impossible for specialists of Akkadian or Classical Hebrew to be expertly grounded in other ancient Near Eastern languages, such as Elamite or Hittite. If such is the case for the languages of the ancient Near East (and I could have restricted it, in fact, to the Semitic language family), how much more so when one considers the various ancient

languages throughout the world. Since for various reasons it is important from time to time to look beyond one's own box, a reliable guide into the world of ancient languages is required for students and scholars alike. Historical and comparative linguists, students and experts in a specific area of ancient languages, all who are in need of such an introduction to related disciplines in the complex field of language research can now resort to *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*.

The *Encyclopedia* is an impressive volume, regarding both quantity (approximately 1,100 pages of text) and quality. It contains forty-five chapters on individual languages or sets of closely related languages, including introductory and concluding chapters. The authors are among the best in their respective fields, representing universities from Canada, England, France, Germany, Norway, Switzerland, and the USA. The chapters and their authors are as follows: Introduction (R. D. Woodward), Sumerian (P. Michalowski), Elamite (M. W. Stolper), Hurrian (G. Wilhemn), Urartian (G. Wilhelm), Afro-Asiatic (J. Huehnergard), Egyptian and Coptic (A. Loprieno), Akkadian and Eblaite (J. Huehnergard and C. Woods), Ugaritic (D. Pardee), Hebrew (P. K. McCarter Jr.), Phoenician and Punic (J. A. Hackett), Canaanite Dialects (D. Pardee), Aramaic (S. Creason), Ge²ez (G. Gragg), Old South Arabian (N. Nebes and P. Stein), Ancient North Arabian (M. C. A. Macdonald), Indo-European (H. M Hoenigswald, R. D. Woodard, J. P. T. Clackson), Hittite (C. Watkins), Luvian (H. C. Melchert), Palaic (H. C. Melchert), Lycian (H. C. Melchert), Lydian (H. C. Melchert), Carian (H. C. Melchert), Attic Greek (R. D. Woodward), Greek dialects (R. D. Woodard), Sanskrit (S. W. Jamison), Middle Indic (S. W. Jamison), Old Persian (R. Schmitt), Avestan (M. Hale), Pahlavi (M. Hale), Phrygian (C. Brixhe), Latin (J. P. T. Clackson), Sabellian languages (R. E. Wallace), Venetic (R. E. Wallace), Continental Celtic (J. F. Eska), Gothic (J. H. Jasanoff), Early Northwest Germanic (J. T. Faarlund), Classical Armenian (J. P. T. Clackson)< Etruscan (H. Rix), Early Georgian (K. Tuite), Ancient Chinese (A. Peyraube), Old Tamil (S. B. Steever), Mayan (V. R. Bricker), Epi-Olmec (T. Kaufman and J. Justeson), and Reconstructed Ancient Languages (D. Ringe). The longest chapters, covering more than 40 pages each, are on Akkadian and Eblaite (62 pp.) ,Hebrew (46 pp.), Ancient North Arabian (46 pp.), and Sumerian (41 pp.). Ten or less pages are devoted to the Canaanite dialects and to most of the ancient languages of Anatolia (Lycian, Luvian, Lydian,, Palaic, Carian). While the chapters on individual languages address those languages, the chapter on "Afro-Asiatic" deals mainly with Proto-Semitic, the chapter on "Canaanite dialects" addresses Canaanite features in Akkadian texts and Proto-Canaanite, and the chapter on "Indo-European" discusses mainly Proto-Indo-European. The final chapter, which would be better titled "Reconstructing Ancient Languages," explores how to reconstruct prehistoric languages, that is, languages of which no direct record survives. It specifically illustrates how historical linguists use the comparative method of reconstruction to sketch the protolanguages of the Indo-European family.

There are three appendixes, none of which are listed in the table of contents: the Middle Egyptian sign list taken from J. P. Allen's introduction to *Middle Egyptian*, leaving out the section on "signs arranged by shape" (192-217), the cuneiform script tables (281-287), and a three-page grammatical sketch of the Zapotec language, with no author mentioned (1109-1111). Four indices conclude the volume: general subjects, grammar and linguistics, named linguistic laws and principles, and languages.

Numerous tables and figures and five maps that indicate the geographical regions of languages are found throughout the work. There are only a few family trees of languages: the family tree of the Ethio-Semitic subfamily (428), and the Semitic (429), Germanic (881), Mayan (1042), and Mije-Sokean languages (1072).

The back cover and front flap claim that the *Encyclopedia* treats "all of the languages of antiquity." Although the scope of this reference work is extraordinary, such advertisement is overstating the case. In the introductory chapter, Woodard defines what should be regarded as an ancient language. He specifies, somewhat arbitrarily, that "ancient" means that a language existed before or at the time of the fifth century A.D., setting the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. as benchmark. Having set a *terminus ante quem* of the fifth century A.D., the *terminus post quem* is not that difficult to determine since it must coincide with the earliest attested systems of writings, that is,

Sumerian, Proto-Elamite, and Egyptian. Hence all writing systems from the late fourth millennium B.C to the fifth century A.D. should be considered as the languages of antiquity. Woodard then describes briefly those languages of antiquity that are not treated in the *Encyclopedia*, which fall in two categories: those that have not yet been deciphered (undeciphered Elamite, Indus Valley script, Cretan and Cypriot languages, Byblian, Meroitic, Iberian, North Picene, Ogham Irish, Pictish) or those for which too little evidence remains to allow a somewhat comprehensive grammatical description of the language (Sicel, Raetic, Lemnian, Ligurian, Illyrian, Thracien, Macedonian, Messapic, Zapotec). In both areas, Woodard relies on the general assessment in the scholarly world and refrains from taking minority positions, an approach quite justifiable for editing a representative encyclopedic work, even though one might challenge a few editorial decisions.

What is unfortunate, however, is that several of the ancient languages are indeed missing. For example, Old Korean (from the first century A.D.) and Javanese, the earliest language of Indonesia (from the fourth century A.D.), are not mentioned. Hattic, the language of the autochthonous Anatolian, known from inscriptions found in the Hittite cuneiform archives of Hattusas (Boğazköy), is referred to only in passing in the Pre-Hittite history. Further, from the list of languages included in the *Encyclopedia*, as well as from the list of undeciphered and insufficiently attested languages, it is obvious that the languages of Europe and the ancient Near East receive the most attentioin. Other areas of the world's language map, especially Asia, are underrated. Such deficiencies call into question the title of the *Encyclopedia*.

The chapters on individual languages, with few exceptions, follow a common format and are clearly arranged in several paragraphs. (§1) The first contains an overview of the historical and cultural contexts of the language and the people(s) who spoke it. (§2) The next section traces the development and utilization of the writing system(s) or script(s) of the language. This section usually contains figures or tables showing the actual script characters or signs used in the language, a typographic challenge that has been accomplished well. Elsewhere, transliterations are used. (§3) Then follows a discussion on phonology, which deals with the phonemic inventory of consonants and vowels, phonemic variation, syllabic patterns and phonotactics, stress or accent, and diachronic developments of consonantal and vocalic changes. (§4) The discussion on morphology comprises word formation and word classes, nominal and verbal morphology, numerals, particles, and diachronic morphology. (§5) The section on syntax deals with sentence-types and word order, coordination and subordination, and features such as agreement, apposition, topicalization, cliticism, and syntactic evolution. (§6) The lexicon discusses selective vocabulary, including loanwords. Unfortunately, there is no lexicon part for "Geʿez," "Pahlavi," and "Gothic." A bibliography of selected references concludes each chapter, some of them using a classified bibliographical style. (§7) In addition, about half of the chapters contain a reading list with valuable information about the available (introductory) literature of the language. Such a feature is especially helpful for those who dare to enter the realm of a new language and do not know how to find their way through the literature. One wishes that a reading list would have been added to those ancient languages where there exists a plethora of both introductory books and advanced studies. Besides other languages, a reading list is sorely missing from Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Hittite, Gothic, and Ancient Chinese.

It is particularly in the sections on morphology and syntax that some inconsistencies of format occur, which apparently reflect differences in linguistic framework. A selective comparison of the five chapters on "Ancient Egyptian and Coptic," "Akkadian and Eblaite," "Ugaritic," "Hebrew," and "Aramaic" illustrates this point. First, in "Akkadian and Eblaite" pronouns are treated under the heading of nominal morphology, whereas in the other four chapters pronouns are treated in their own category separate from nominal morphology. Second, while in "Ugaritic" numerals are found under nominal morphology, in the other four chapters numerals are treated in their own category separate from nominal morphology. Third, in "Ugaritic" and "Akkadian and Eblaite" prepositions are a subcategory of particles in the section on morphology, in "Aramaic" prepositions are in

their own category in the section on morphology, and in "Ancient Egyptian and Coptic" prepositions are briefly mentioned in "prepositional phrases" in the section on syntax. Surprisingly, the chapter on "Hebrew" does not mention prepositions at all. Fourth, in "Hebrew" the article is a separate category under morphology, in "Aramaic" it falls under nominal morphology, and in "Ancient Egyptian and Coptic," articles are treated under morphological evolution (since later Egyptian developed two sets of articles, deriving from different grammatical forms). Of course, there is no marker of (in)definiteness in Akkadian, Eblaite, and Ugaritic, a fact mentioned in both chapters under nominal morphology.

Naturally, the editor's task of harmonizing the different entries as much as possible must have been extremely difficult to undertake. It is easily understandable that not all unevennesses could be smoothed out, especially when it comes to differences in the finer linguistic arrangement of each chapter. Nevertheless, even more rigorous formatting would have certainly enhanced comparison between the languages.

As can be seen from the format, the *Encyclopedia* limits the levels of linguistic description to phonology, morphology, and syntax. It is therefore traditional in the sense that the highest descriptive level is syntax. However, it is clear by now that there are higher levels of description; for example, the pragmatic and the textual level. To be sure, the decision to describe ancient languages on such levels in a systematic way, including semantic and pragmatic considerations, is not an easy one. It is precisely the analysis beyond the syntactic level that is still very much in a state of flux, since not in a few ancient languages a constant stream of research is currently put forth dealing with macro levels of linguistic analysis. For many ancient languages such an analysis is made extremely difficult, if not impossible, because the material of text corpus is not extensive enough. Still, for some languages, it seems possible to delineate at least a few of the main features (e.g., the chapter on Old Tamil contains a section on discourse that discusses poetic compositions). It is laudable that the recent study of word order in different languages has found an echo in the *Encyclopedia*, as several chapters attempt to describe the features of word order. This could have been done in a more consistent way for all languages in which word order exhibits a semantic-pragmatic function.

For an encyclopedia of such scope, it is important to reflect the present state of our knowledge of the languages and document up-to-date biographical resources. The *Encyclopedia* strives well in this regard; however, it is subject to the typical and lamentable delay in the publication process. The publication date of 2004 does not alter the fact that most of the chapters were completed before 2000. Take, for example, four chapters in which the following books could not be included in the bibliography: for Sumerian: O. Edzard's *Sumerian Grammar* (2003); for Akkadian and Eblaite: J. Hámeen-Anttilla's *Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar* (2000), M. P. Streck's *Die ta-Stämme des akkadischen Verbums* (2003); for Ugaritic: D. Sivan's *Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (1997), J. Tropper's *Ugaritisch* (2002), W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt's *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (1999), G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín's *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language* (2003; in Spanish: 1996, 2000), although Tropper's *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) has been added via *nota bene*; and for Hittite: V. Souček and J. Siegelová's *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie* (1996), S. E. Kimball's *Hittite Historical Phonology* (1999), E. Rieken's *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen* (1999), and J. Boley's *The Dynamics of Transformation in Hittite* (2000).

There is no scholar in the world who is able to assess all the chapters of this volume in a review. Therefore, I will choose one chapter for a closer look. P. K. McCarter Jr. discusses the classical phase of Hebrew, which he defines as pre-exilic Biblical Hebrew (319-364). Overall, his essay is excellently written and represents the general consensus on the description of phonology, morphology, and syntax. The section on phonology is superb, describing concisely consonants and vowels, allophonic and morphophonemic variation, syllable structure and phonotactic rules, stress, and the diachronic developments (324-335).

In the morphology section, McCarter includes a long exposition on noun formation (339-341). In the verbal morphology, the semantics of the derived conjugations are sometimes incomplete (352-355). For example, verbs that do not occur in the Qal can express active meaning in the Nip^cal; or with active-transitive verbs in the Qal, the Pi^cel is

resultative and the intensive or iterative meaning mentioned by McCarter could be regarded as specialized cases of the resultative (E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piᶜel*, 1968). In the section on other conjugations, it should be mentioned the verb השתחוה (occurring 170 times in Biblical Hebrew) is possibly a Hištapᶜal from חוה, although some still adhere to the traditional view that it is a Hitpaᶜel from שחה. Also completely lacking are a description of the morphology and syntax of prepositions and the semantic relationship they express (see E. Jenni, *Die hebräischen Präpositionen*, 1992, 1994, 2000) and any mention of discourse markers (in grammars, discourse markers are often found under particles). Instead of the modern and more accurate terminology, McCarter uses traditional terminology, clinging to the terms "converted perfect" and "converted imperfect" (347-348, 358), instead of employing "waw consecutive" or the more precise "*wayyiqtol*" or "*weqatal.*" In light of the ongoing discussion on the tense, aspect, and modality of the Biblical Hebrew verb, it is somewhat too simplistic to present the verbal system solely (and not at least primarily) in terms of aspectual character (347-348).

In syntax, the section on word order (356-357) could be improved by a differentiation between the preverbal field and main field, between unmarked and marked order in the main field, and a much more nuanced view of the semantic-pragmatic functions of word order since not every fronting should be regarded as marked for "emphasis" (see, e.g., W. Groß, *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa* [1996]; A. Diße, *Informationsstruktur im Biblischen Hebräisch* [1998]; T. Goldfajn, *Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative* [1998]; and J.-M. Heimerdinger, *Topic, Focus and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives* [1999]).

The bibliography contains forty-two entries, the most recent one from 2000 (362-364). It lists the standard reference grammars, including E. König's often underestimated *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude*, but no dictionaries at all (e.g., *HALOT* or *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*). One should also take note of J. Renz and W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik* (1995, 2000) and S. Landis Gogel, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew* (1998). Also missing are works on linguistics, discourse analysis, word order, information structure, and poetry.

A word needs to be said about the price of the *Encyclopedia*. At $160.00, the volume ranges beyond what the individual reader would likely invest. It will certainly be found primarily on library shelves.

Despite the minor shortcomings mentioned, the *Encyclopedia* is a concerted *tour de force*. The individual chapters are of high quality, but not written for a linguistically uninitiated reader who is looking for a first encounter with an ancient language. For such a reader, the grammatical descriptions are far too technical. The *Encyclopedia* will thus serve well as a first reference tool for those interested in linguistics, providing an almost comprehensive overview of the attested ancient languages. Of course, one should not expect exhaustive comprehensiveness in the description of individual languages, which obviously is not the purpose of an encyclopedia covering so many languages of antiquity. The *Encyclopedia* cannot substitute for a textbook or an introduction to a specific language, but I could easily imagine its practical use in a graduate linguistics course, such as "Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Languages," in which participants become acquainted with various ancient languages, even beyond their immediate specialty.

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen   MARTIN PRÖBSTLE
St. Peter am Hart, Austria

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

"Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" and frequently used abbreviations may be found on our website at www.auss.info, or in *AUSS* 40 (Autumn 2002): 303-306 and back covers, or copies may be requested from the *AUSS* office.

For general English style, see Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed., rev. John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

For exhaustive abbreviation lists, see Patrick H. Alexander and others, eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 68-152, 176-233. For capitalization and spelling examples, see ibid., 153-164.

Articles may be submitted by email, attached document. Queries to the editors in advance of writing are encouraged. See "Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" for further details.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

= a	= e	= ê	= ō	= ô
= ā	= ē	= i	= o	= û
= ă (vocal shewa)	= ᵉ	= î	= o	= u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters;
dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

Andrews University
SEMINARY STUDIES

N136 Seminary Hall
Andrews University
Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500
USA

Address Service Requested
Return Postage Guaranteed