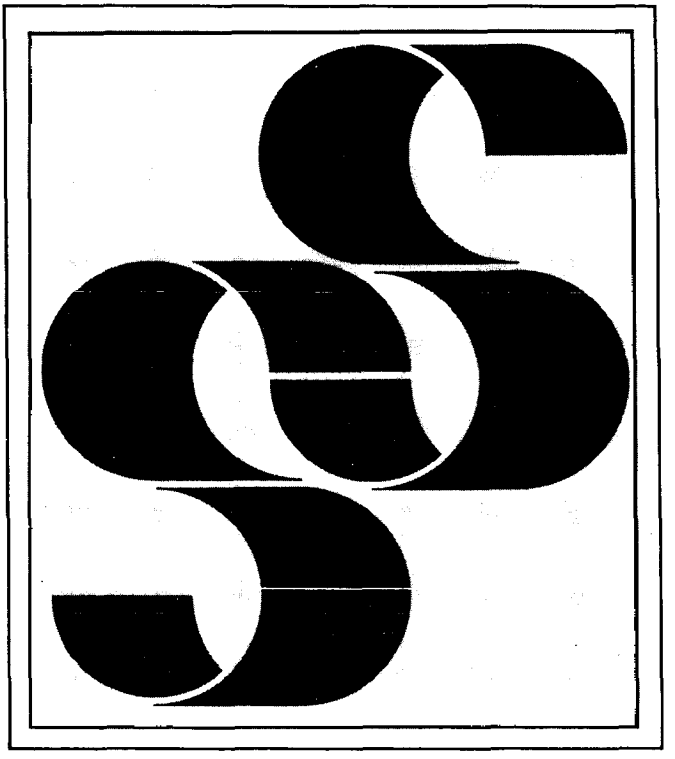
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 22 Number 3 Autumn 1984



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

Editorial and Circulation Offices: *AUSS*, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, U.S.A.

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

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

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1984 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$12.00*	$13.50*
Institutions (including Libraries)	15.00*	16.50*
Students	9.50*	11.00*
Retirees	9.50*	11.00*

(Price for Single Copies of Numbers in the 1984 Volume:
Spring – $9.00; Summer and Autumn – $5.00 each)

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

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

Composition by Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 46590
Printing by Thomson-Shore, Inc., Dexter, MI 48130

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 22 Autumn 1984 Number 3

CONTENTS

* * * * * * * * *

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

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

 ISSN 0003-2980

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1984, Vol. 22, No. 3, 289-316.

MATTHEW 11:28-30: JESUS' REST AND THE SABBATH*

SAMUELE BACCHIOCCHI
Andrews University

"Come to me, all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matt 11:28-30). Familiarity with this logion often leads to the assumption that its meaning is well understood. However, a reading of critical studies of this passage reveals otherwise.[1] Perhaps "the deception lies," as noted by Hans Dieter Betz, "in the character of the passage itself," which is "open to meaning, i.e., it is like a vessel which itself has no content, but which stands ready to be filled."[2] This situation has resulted in considerable discussion regarding the form, the origin, and the significance of this passage.

The attention given to this logion is indicative of the importance attached to it. A. M. Hunter, for example, views the broader passage in which it occurs, Matt 11:25-30, as "perhaps the most important verses in the Synoptic Gospels."[3] In a study published in 1909, Claude Montefiore candidly admitted that, as a Jew, he wished "that Jesus may not have said these words," for if he did so, they would provide notable encouragement to Christianity by the exclusive claims set forth by Christ in this passage.[4]

The primary purpose of the following discussion is not to examine the question of the origin and the authenticity of this

*Adapted from a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, California, December 21, 1981.

[1]For an extensive bibliography, see Quell/Schrenk, "Pater," in *TDNT*, 5: 992, n. 288; Lino Randellini, "L'anno di Giubilo: Mt. 11:25-30; Lc. 10:20-24," *Rivista Biblica* 22 (1974): 183, n. 1.

[2]Hans Dieter Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt. 11:28-30)," *JBL* 86 (1967): 10.

[3]A. M. Hunter, "Crux Criticorum—Matt. 11:25-30—A Re-appraisal," *NTS* 8 (1962): 241.

[4]C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1909), 2: 616; cf. p. 604.

logion, but some attention will be given to these matters in an excursus at the end of this article. Rather, my purpose herein is to ascertain if Matthew's intent is to present Christ's promise of his rest as the fulfillment of the Messianic rest typified by the OT sabbath. Consideration will also be given to some cultic implications of the passage, including attention to the question of observance of the sabbath day in the Matthean community.

1. *The Literary Context*

Our primary objective is to ascertain the meaning of Christ's "rest" (*anapausis*) in Matt 11:28, and in pursuing this objective we must consider carefully the literary context. In the parallel passage in Luke 10, the specific saying about "rest" is omitted, and the "hymn of Thanksgiving" (vs. 21; cf. Matt 11:25-26) is placed in the context of the return of the Seventy (Luke 10:17-20). In Matthew's context, however, the whole passage 11:25-30 is connected with the rejection of Christ by the cities of Galilee.

Indeed, as for this wider context, the theme of opposition precedes and follows the passage and is central to both chaps. 11 and 12. Obviously, there were reasons for inserting the logion about Christ's offer of his rest at this juncture. A clue to the reasons is suggested by the overall structure of chaps. 11 and 12, as the following outline endeavors to show:

I. Rejection of the Messiah: Matt 11:1-24
   a. 11:1-6: Doubting by John the Baptist and his disciples
   b. 11:7-19: Rejection by unbelieving generation
   c. 11:20-24: Rejection by Galilean cities
II. Revelation of the Messiah: Matt 11:25 to 12:13
   a. 11:25-26: Thanksgiving for revelation and its recipients
   b. 11:27: Self-disclosure of Messiahship
   c. 11:28-30: Invitation to Messianic "rest"
   d. 12:1-13: Explanation of Messianic rest
III. Rejection of the Messiah: Matt 12:14-50
   a. 12:14: Plotting of Pharisees
   b. 12:15-21: Withdrawal of Christ and secrecy of his Messiahship
   c. 12:22-37: Rejection of Christ's healings by Pharisees
   d. 12:38-45: Rebuke to unbelieving generation
   e. 12:46-50: Misunderstanding by relatives

The above outline indicates that Matthew has placed the passage containing the Messianic self-disclosure of Jesus between several accounts of rejection or opposition. Presumably the contrast between *rejection* and *revelation* is designed to heighten the significance of the latter. What the Matthean structure of the narrative seems to say is, specifically, that at the very time when Jesus was experiencing unusual opposition and misunderstanding from the "wise and understanding" (11:25—the custodians of Israel's wisdom [cf. Isa 29:14; Deut 4:6]), he disclosed his Messianic identity and mission to the "babes" (11:25—the childlike disciples), promising them his "rest."

To interpret the significance of the "rest" logion, it is also necessary to examine its *immediate context.* The passage in Matt 11:25-30 is generally recognized to be a "Thanksgiving Hymn" consisting of three strophes: (1) thanksgiving for revelation (vss. 25-26), (2) Messianic self-disclosure (vs. 26), and (3) invitation to "rest" (vss. 28-30).[5] Although the suggestion has been made that originally the sayings of this passage may have been spoken in isolation, in Matthew they form a coherent unit.[6]

The First Strophe

The first strophe (vss. 25-26) contains Christ's prayer of thanksgiving to God for concealing "these things [*tauta*] from the wise and learned" and for revealing "them to babes." The term "these things" in the Matthean setting most probably refers to the "mighty works" (vs. 23) mentioned in the previous paragraph. The connection is suggested by the editorial link, "at that time" (*en ekeinō tō kairō*; cf. 12:1), which, as Pierre Bonnard points out, "has more theological than chronological or topographical value."[7] These works were done by Christ in the Galilean cities, centers of rabbinical learning. Such "works" had eschatological significance since they witnessed to the appearance of the Messianic kingdom. The

[5]E.g., Hunter, pp. 242-249, analyzes each of the three strophes independently. Cf. Leopold Sabourin, *Il Vangelo di Matteo* (Rome, 1977), 11: 627-633.

[6]Pierre Bonnard, *L'Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (Paris, 1970), p. 166, remarks that "the Lucan context of the passage (10:23) gives us reason to think that Matthew has brought together here three sayings that Jesus could have uttered on different occasions" (vss. 25-26, 27, 28-30).

[7]Ibid., p. 167.

thanksgiving of Christ would then be motivated by God's gracious willingness (*eudokia*, vs. 26) to disclose the secret of Christ's Messiahship, not to the "wise and learned" as Scribes and Pharisees, but to the "simple" (*nēpiois*) as the circle of his own disciples.[8]

The Second Strophe

The second strophe (vs. 27) is logically connected to the first by explaining the medium through which the revelation occurs, namely, from the Father through the Son: "All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him" (vs. 27). This verse has been a real storm center. Some have argued that Jesus could not have made such an absolute claim to be "the Son" who "knows" and "reveals" "the Father" in a most unique way.[9] Such a consciousness of Christ's unique-sonship relationship to the Father is regarded by them as a later christological development, reflected especially in several sayings in the Gospel of John (cf. 3:35; 10:15). A century ago, such a view led K. von Hase to call Matt 11:27 a "meteor from the Johannine heaven."[10]

However, to condemn as spurious any saying in the Synoptics which has a parallel in John seems to be a rather arbitrary canon of criticism. A. M. Hunter rightly remarks that the "precise opposite might indeed be argued: that if we find in John a logion with parallels in the Synoptics, John either depends on the Synoptics or

[8]Obviously, Jesus is not here making ignorance a qualification for the reception of the gospel. As Alfred Plummer well puts it, "Not all clever people are shut out from the Kingdom, although some shut themselves out; for it is not intelligence, but the pride of intellectual people, that excludes. And not all simple folk are admitted; for it is not stupidity, but the humility of simple-hearted people, that qualifies" (*An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew* [London, 1915], p. 166). On the matter of Jesus disclosing his Messiahship at the juncture I am here suggesting, cf. William Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 108.

[9]Among those who hold this view are Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel. Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 327; W. G. Kümmel, *Verheissung und Erfüllung* (Zürich, 1956), pp. 40-42; and Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (Naperville, Ill., 1967), pp. 37-49.

[10]K. von Hase, *Die Geschichte Jesu* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 422.

else draws upon an independent tradition."[11] Moreover, as Oscar Cullmann points out, Jesus speaks of his sonship not only in John but also in the Synoptics, though in a more reserved fashion. Consequently, he concludes that "at this point the 'Johannine heaven' is really no different from the Synoptic heaven, although it does of course appear from a different point of view."[12]

Messianic Self-Disclosure. More important to our investigation than this discussion of authenticity is the question of what the saying means. Joachim Jeremias notes that "Matthew 11:27 is a key statement by Jesus about his mission."[13]

This saying is viewed by several scholars as a Messianic proclamation. For example, Rudolf Otto writes: "Matthew regarded the words as a Messianic proclamation made in public, corresponding to the later standpoint that Jesus came as the complete Messiah and appeared as such from the start."[14] Similarly, William Manson comments: "Jesus knows himself, as the Chosen One, the Beloved, the 'Son' of the Father. The saying, therefore, is definitely Messianic in form."[15]

In Matthew, this unique self-disclosure of Jesus comes long before Peter's Confession at Caesarea Philippi (16:15-16), apparently as an early prelude to that later Petrine Confession. The Matthean gradual disclosure of Jesus' Messiahship is well recognized. Thus, the saying could represent an initial unveiling of the secrecy of Christ's Messiahship. At this early stage, however, Matthew still relates that Jesus ordered his followers "not to make him known" (12:16).

[11]Hunter, p. 245. In a similar vein M. D. Goulder writes: "In view of the evidential and *a priori* case for supposing that John had read Matthew, it is possible that Matt. 11:27 was seminal for this theology" (*Midrash and Lection in Matthew* [London, 1974], p. 362).

[12]Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 287. See also pp. 288-290, where Cullmann examines the crucial texts on the "Son of God."

[13]Joachim Jeremias, *Abba* (Göttingen, 1966), p. 51. Jeremias, however, interprets the Father-Son generically: "Just as only a father really knows his son, so only a son really knows his father" (p. 50).

[14]Rudolf Otto, *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), p. 235.

[15]William Manson, p. 106.

The Title "Son." Jeremias and others have objected to the Messianic interpretation of the saying because they contend that the title "the Son" is never used in Jewish sources as a designation for the Messiah.[16] But this view is not exactly accurate. R. H. Fuller and other scholars have drawn attention to the evidence of the Florilegium from Cave 4 at Qumran where the text of 2 Sam 7:14 ("I will be his father and he shall be my son") is quoted and applied to the *Mashiah ben David.*[17] A similar usage can be found in 2 Esdras 7:28, where the Most High says: "For my son the Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him."[18] Though these are not explicitly titular uses, it would seem fair to conclude with Fuller that "Son of God was just coming into use as a Messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism. . . . It meant not a metaphysical relationship, but adoption as God's vice-gerent in his kingdom."[19]

Regardless of whether or not the title "Son" was a current Messianic designation, we must reckon with the possibility that Jesus may have used it to express his Messianic identity. As I. H. Marshall observes, "The evidence strongly suggests that the fundamental point in Jesus' self-understanding was his filial relationship to God and that it was from this basic conviction that he undertook the tasks variously assigned to the Messiah, Son of Man and Servant of Yahweh, rather than that the basic datum was consciousness of being the Messiah." Consequently, Marshall concludes, "the argument that 'the Son' was not a current messianic title becomes irrelevant."[20]

[16]Jeremias, p. 40; and idem, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York, 1965), p. 73; cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte* (Marburg, 1965), pp. 215-217.

[17]R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (New York, 1965), pp. 31-33. A detailed discussion is provided by Otto Betz, "Die Frage nach dem messianischen Bewusstsein Jesu," *NT* 6 (1963): 20-48; and additional rabbinic evidence is given by Hahn, pp. 284-287. For a perceptive fairly recent study, see I. H. Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus," *Int* 21 (1967): 87-103.

[18]Similar references are found in 2 Esdr 7:29; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9; cf. also 1 Enoch 105:2; 90:37.

[19]Fuller, p. 33.

[20]Marshall, p. 93. For a discussion of the christological usage of the title "Son" in John, Hebrews, and Paul, see Randellini, pp. 209-214, and also Cullmann, pp. 275-290.

In the Synoptic Gospels it is abundantly clear that the title "Son" or "Son of God" represents the Christian equivalent of the Jewish term "Messiah."[21] This is indicated by the fact that at the moments of supreme revelation of Baptism and Transfiguration, the voice from heaven addresses Jesus not as "Christ" but as "My Son, the Beloved" (Matt 3:17; 17:5 and par.).[22] Similarly, demons (Matt 8:29), the disciples (Matt 14:33), and the centurion at the cross (Matt 27:54) acknowledge Jesus as "the Son of God." Peter's confession of Christ, which in Mark 8:29 reads "You are the Christ," is expanded in Matthew: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (16:16). Messiahship and divine sonship are equated very explicitly also in Matt 26:63, where the High Priest commands Jesus, "Tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God." In the light of these indications, we can safely conclude that for Matthew, Jesus by proclaiming himself to be "the Son" who "knows" and "reveals" "the Father" was indeed, in an exclusive way, asserting his Messianic claims.

The Third Strophe

What is the connection between Jesus' Messianic self-disclosure found in the first two strophes (vss. 25-27) and his offer of "rest" repeated twice in the third strophe (vss. 28-30)? Those who interpret the passage in the light of concepts and terminology of wisdom literature see the theme of "wisdom" or "teaching" as the connecting link of the whole passage. Jesus as the Revealer of the Father's wisdom offers "rest" to those burdened with the Pharisaic interpretation of the law, through the mild and easy yoke of his

[21]Marshall, pp. 91-98, cogently refutes the contention that the title "the Son" must be distinguished from "the Son of God."

[22]Cullmann, pp. 284-285, observes: "It is certainly no accident that the words from heaven at the transfiguration partially repeat those of the heavenly voice at the baptism. Just at the moments of his life when for him the barriers between heaven and earth disappear briefly, Jesus hears the address 'Son of God.'" Richard S. McConnell, *Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel* (Basel, 1969), p. 158, concludes his analysis of the Matthean passages using the titles "the Son" or "the Son of God" by saying: "These various passages indicate that Matthew thinks of Jesus as the Messiah in terms of his unique relationship with God the Father, that is, as the divine Son of God."

teaching.[23] Without denying the insights that wisdom categories may offer into the significance of the whole passage, we may nonetheless question the failure of such an interpretation to recognize the Messianic implications of the saying.

If the first two strophes present Jesus not merely as a wise teacher, *in persona sapientiae*, but as the Messiah, then the third strophe (vss. 28-30) about the "rest" offered by Christ presumably also has Messianic connotations, even though couched in sapiental language. Support for this view is provided by the hope for rest and peace which played a major role in the Jewish Messianic expectations. Joseph Klausner provides numerous examples from the OT and later Jewish literature where the Messianic age is idealized as a time of rest, peace, and prosperity.[24] This notion of Messianic rest and peace seems to have been derived from the concept and experience of the sabbath "rest" (*menuha*), which, as A. J. Heschel explains, "to the biblical mind . . . is the same as happiness and stillness, as peace and harmony."[25]

2. *The Sabbath Rest*

The notion of "rest" was utilized in the OT to express the national aspirations for a peaceful life in a land at rest (Deut 12:9; 25:19; Isa 14:3), where the king would give to the people "rest from all enemies" (2 Sam 7:1; cf. 1 Kgs 8:5) and where God would find his "resting place" among his people and especially in his sanctuary at Zion (2 Chron 6:41; 1 Chron 23:25; Ps 132:8, 13, 14; Isa 66:1).[26] These references to political "rest" (*menuha*) do not, of course, allude specifically to the sabbath rest. The connection between sabbath rest and national rest is clearly established in Heb 4:4, 8,

[23]See, e.g., Tomas Arvedson, *Das Mysterium Christi. Ein Studie zu MT 11.25-30* (Uppsala, 1937), pp. 201-208; also Fohrer Wilkens, "Sophia," *TDNT*, 7: 516-517.

[24]Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (New York, 1955), pp. 63-71, 283, 300, 309, 341, 376-379, 468-469. Among numerous references to Messianic rest and peace are Isa 32:18; 65:19-23; Zech 9:9-10; 1 Enoch, chaps. 5, 10, 11, 48, 70, 71; *Jub.* 23:26-31; *T. Sim.* 6:15; *T. Levi* 18:2-6; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 29:3; 4 Ezra 8:52.

[25]Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York, 1951), p. 23.

[26]On the development of the rest-theme in the OT, see Gerhard von Rad, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (New York, 1966), pp. 94-102.

where appeal is made to a familiar concept. Another indication is provided by the following midrash on Ps 92: "A Psalm, a song. For the Sabbath day . . . for the day when God's people abide in peace as is said: And my people shall abide in a peaceable habitation, and in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places [Isa 32:18]."[27]

The Sabbath Rest as a Symbol of the Messianic Age

The Sabbath rest and peace became a symbol of the Messianic age, often known as the "end of days" or "world to come."[28] Theodore Friedman notes that "two of the three passages in which Isaiah refers to the Sabbath [Isa 56:4-7; 58:13-14; 66:22-24] are linked by the prophet with the end of days," and he goes on to say:

> It is no mere coincidence that Isaiah employs the words "delight" (*oneg*) and "honor" (*kavod*) in his descriptions of both the Sabbath and the end of days (58:13—"And you shall call the Sabbath delight . . . and honor it"; 66:11—"And you shall delight in the glow of its honor"). The implication is clear. The delight and joy that will mark the end of days is made available here and now by the Sabbath.[29]

The *Testament of Levi* (ca. 110-70 B.C.) enumerates the events to occur during the seven weeks (or jubilees) preceding the coming of the Messianic priest, who "shall shine forth as the sun on the earth, and shall remove all darkness from under heaven, and there shall be peace in all the earth."[30] In the apocalyptic work known as

[27]*The Midrash on Psalms*, trans. William G. Braude (New Haven, 1959), 2: 113. The book of Hebrews presents what may be called three different levels of meaning of the Sabbath rest: creation-rest (4:3), national-rest (4:6, 8), redemption-rest (4:3, 7, 9, 10). For my analysis of the passage, see *Divine Rest for Human Restlessness* (Rome, 1980), pp. 135-136, 164-170; and *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome, 1977), pp. 63-69.

[28]W. D. Davies points out that "the distinction between the Age to come and the Messianic Age is a comparatively late development, and it follows that they were often synonymous terms in early apocalyptic" ("Rabbinical Sources," in *Messianism in the Talmudic Era* [New York, 1979], p. 255; cf. p. 261). Generally speaking, the Messianic age is seen as flowing into the world-to-come (cf. Klausner, pp. 23-25, 516-517).

[29]Theodore Friedman, "The Sabbath: Anticipation of Redemption," *Judaism* 16 (1967): 445.

[30]*T. Levi* 18, in *APOT*, 2: 314. The "weeks" are a seven-year period, but the author sometimes confuses them with jubilees. For an analysis of the passage, see Klausner, pp. 313-314.

The Books of Adam and Eve (ca. first century A.D.), the archangel Michael admonishes Seth, saying: "Man of God, mourn not for the dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of resurrection and the rest of the age to come; for on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works."[31] This "age to come" or "world to come" is frequently equated with the Messianic age,[32] which is characterized by material abundance (Amos 9:13-14; Isa 30:23-25; Jer 31:12), social justice (Isa 61:1-9), harmony between persons and animals (Hos 2:20; Isa 65:25; 11:6), refulgent light (Isa 30:26; Zech 14:6-7), and peace and rest (Isa 32:18; 14:3).

These various characteristics of the Messianic age are grouped together in 2 Baruch, another Jewish apocalyptic work from the latter half of the first century A.D., where the author describes "the time of My Messiah," saying: "'And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, that joy shall then be revealed, and *rest* shall appear.'"[33] In 2 Esdras, still another apocalyptic book of approximately the same period, the seer is assured: "It is for you that paradise is opened, the tree of life planted, a city is built, *rest* is appointed" (8:52).[34] In the *Testament of Daniel* 5:11-12 (about 110-70 B.C.) the expected Messiah will "give to them that call upon him eternal peace. And the saints shall rest in Eden."[35]

[31]*Adam and Eve* 51:1-2, in *APOT* 2: 153. Cf. *Apoc. Moses* 43:3. A similar view is found in *Gen. Rab.* 17:5: "There are three antitypes: the antitype of death is sleep, the antitype of prophecy is dream, the antitype of the age to come is the Sabbath." See also *Gen. Rab.* 44:17.

[32]See above, n. 28. Willy Rordorf states, "In the overwhelming majority of passages the sabbath of the end time was thought to be paradise restored," which was associated with the days of the Messiah. Some of the supporting references he gives are: "Isa 2:2-5; 25:6ff.; 60-61 and passim; Assumption of Moses 10:1; Testament of Daniel 5; Enoch 107:1; Syriac Baruch 73ff.; Sibylline Oracles 111:367-380, 652-660; 767-795; v: 281-3." Other references, however, according to Rordorf, indicate that the Messianic age precedes or anticipates the actual establishment of the new age. See his discussion in *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 48-50.

[33]*2 Apoc. Bar.* 72:2 and 73:1, in *APOT*, 2: 518 (emphasis supplied).

[34]From *The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha* (New York, 1965), p. 45 (emphasis supplied).

[35]*T. Dan.* 5:11-12, in *APOT*, 2: 334.

Rabbinical literature provides explicit examples where the sabbath rest and the septenary structure of time are used to signify the world-to-come and the coming of the Messiah. For example, in Sanhedrin 97a in the Babylonian Talmud we read: "Our Rabbis taught: at the conclusion of the septennate the son of David will come. R. Joseph demurred: But so many septennates have passed, yet has he not come!" The seventh age of the world, associated with the coming of the Messiah, is often described as a time of sabbatical rest. Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer 18 states: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven aeons, and of them all He chose the seventh aeon only, the six aeons are for the going in and coming out (of God's creatures) for war and peace. The seventh aeon is entirely Sabbath and *rest* in the life everlasting."[36] In the Mishnah *Tamid* 7:4 we read: "On the Sabbath they sang *A Psalm: A Song for the Sabbath Day*; a Psalm, a song for the time that is to come, for the day that shall be all Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting."[37]

Jesus' "Rest" and the Sabbath Rest

The foregoing examples suffice to show the existence of a Messianic interpretation of the rest of the sabbath. The weekly rest-experience of the sabbath served to epitomize the future peace and rest to be established by the Messiah. The time of Messianic redemption came to be viewed as "all sabbath and rest."[38]

[36]*Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (New York, 1971), p. 141. A similar view is expressed on p. 136: "'And on the seventh day God finished his work' (Gen. 2:2). The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven dedications, six of them He dedicated, and one is reserved for the (future) generations."

[37]*The Mishnah*, trans. Robert Danby (London, 1933), p. 589. (Cf. *Roš. Haš.* 31a; *Ber.* 57a.) I too consider the saying as being genuine; but it should be pointed out that even if the logion were spurious, the fact remains that the Evangelist thought it worthy and the Church accepted it as worthy. Thus, irrespective of the question of origin and authenticity, this saying has something to tell us about how Matthew and his community understood Christ's person and mission.

[38]Ibid. The viewing of the sabbath as the symbol and anticipation of the Messianic age gave to the celebration of the weekly sabbath a note of gladness and hope for the future. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 17. Friedman, pp. 447-452, shows how certain sabbath regulations established by the school of Shammai were designed to offer a foretaste of the Messianic age.

The existence of this Messianic understanding of the sabbath rest strengthens the concept that Matthew's reference to the "rest" promised by Jesus was considered as the fulfillment of this expected Messianic rest. Such an interpretation fits not only the immediate context, as we shall soon see, but also the overall fulfillment scheme of the Gospel, where significant teachings and events of Jesus' life from his birth to his death are presented as the fulfillment of the OT Messianic prophecies.

In terms of the immediate context, Matthew's placing the logion of the "rest" offered by Jesus right after Jesus' Messianic disclosure was presumably intended to substantiate the latter through the former. In other words, through the structural arrangement of the narrative, Matthew seems to be saying that Jesus not only *revealed* (vss. 25-26) and *proclaimed* (vs. 27) his Messiahship, but *also demonstrated* it by offering the Messianic rest typified by the sabbath.[39]

Luke provides a somewhat similar parallel in the account of the Nazareth address (Luke 4:16-21). Here Jesus announces his Messianic program by quoting a passage from Isa 61:1-3 (and 58:6) which describes, by means of the imagery of the sabbatical year, the liberation which the Servant of the Lord would bring to his people. It would seem that as in Luke 4:16-21 Jesus inaugurates his public ministry by proclaiming himself to be the fulfillment of the Messianic liberation nourished by the vision of the sabbath years (vs. 21), so in Matt 11:25-30 he discloses for the first time his Messiahship by offering the "rest" typified by the weekly sabbath day.[40]

Jesus' "Rest" and Sabbath Pericopes

That Matthew intends to connect the rest offered by Christ with the sabbath rest is suggested by his placing the former (11:28-30) in the immediate context of two sabbath pericopes (12:1-14). The two are connected not only *structurally* but also *temporally* or

[39]Quell/Schrenk, p. 993, points out that Matt 11:28-30 "is not an unimportant appendix" to the preceding two strophes. "It develops further the contents of I and II (vs. 25-27) . . . As *anaw* Jesus promises the *aniyyim* Messianic *menucha*."

[40]For my analysis of Luke 4:16-21, see *Divine Rest*, pp. 145-149, and *From Sabbath to Sunday*, pp. 19-23; and concerning Matt 11:25-30, cf. Plummer, p. 167, and Sabourin, p. 629.

theologically by the Matthean phrase "at that time" (*en ekeinō tō kairō*, 12:1). This connection has been noticed by several scholars.[41] Donald A. Carson has noted the significance of the juxtaposition of Jesus' invitation and the two sabbath pericopes as follows: "As if such a juxtaposition were not enough, Matthew then carefully points out that the Sabbath conflicts occurred 'at that time' (ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ)—presumably at or near the time when Jesus had spoken of His rest."[42]

"Rest" and the "Easy Yoke"

The connection which Matthew establishes between Jesus' offer of his rest and the two sabbath pericopes suggests the possibility that the meaning of the former may be illuminated by the latter. This possibility will be explored shortly. First, let us consider the nature of the "rest" (*anapausis*) that Jesus offers to "all who labor [*kopiōntes*] and are heavy laden [*pephortismenoi*]."

The formula for "rest" is expressed in a conscious paradox: "Take my yoke [*zugon*] upon you and learn from me . . . and you will find rest [*anapausin*] for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (11:29-30). How can a "yoke" be easy and give rest? The paradox evaporates when we remember that the saying is part of Jesus' Messianic self-disclosure. Jesus is speaking to those who already bear a "yoke," that is, to those who "labor" to find truth and assurance of salvation, and who feel "heavy laden" by religious observances (Matt 23:4) or perhaps by the sorrows of life which make them restless. To these Jesus offers his Messianic "yoke," that is, the restful assurance of redemption through attachment to him.

The metaphor of the "yoke" was commonly used to express subordination and loyalty to God, especially through obedience to his law. Thus Jeremiah speaks of the leaders of the people who knew "the law of their God, but they all alike had broken the yoke, they had burst the bonds" (5:5; cf. 2:20). In the following chapter,

[41]See, e.g., J. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy* (South Bend, Ind., 1956), p. 226; David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew* (London, 1972), pp. 209-210; Rordorf, p. 109; Sabourin, p. 629.

[42]D. A. Carson, "Jesus and the Sabbath in the Four Gospels," in D. A. Carson, ed., *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), p. 98.

the same prophet says to the people: "Find rest for your souls" by learning anew obedience to God's law (6:6; cf. Num 25:3). Rabbis often spoke of "the yoke of the Torah," "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven," "the yoke of the commandments," "the yoke of God."[43] Rabbi Nehunya b. Kanah (ca. 70) is reported to have said: "He that takes upon himself the yoke of the Law, from him shall be taken away the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly care" (*Pirke Aboth* 3:5). What this means is that devotion to the law and its interpretation is supposed to free a person from the troubles and cares of this world.

The imagery of the law as a yoke could deceive us into thinking that the law was generally viewed as a burdensome straitjacket. In reality, however, to the devout believer the law expressed not slavery, but, as M. Maher aptly puts it, "the desire to place oneself under the direct rule of God and devote oneself entirely to performing his revealed will."[44] Thus, the Psalmist declares "blessed" the person whose "delight is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he meditates day and night" (Ps 1:1, 2; cf. 112:1). "Great peace have those who love thy law" (Ps 119:165; cf. 119:18, 105). The conflict between Judaism and early Christianity has unfortunately obscured the fact that there were indeed noble Jews to whom, as C. G. Montefiore affirms, "the Law was a delight and no burden."[45]

Yoke: Principle or Person?

The contrast between Jesus' teaching and the Pharisaic concept of religion has undoubtedly been exaggerated by the apologetic interests of the early Church in frequent conflict with Judaism. The fact remains, however, that Jesus did preach a new

[43]"The yoke of the Torah": *Pirke Aboth* 3:5; *Sanhedrin* 94b; *Gen. Rab.* 67:7. "The yoke of the kingdom of heaven": *Sota* 47b; *Sanhedrin* 111b. "The yoke of the commandments": *M. Ber.* 2:2. "The yoke of God": *Pss. Sol.* 7:8. For additional references to the "yoke," see H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash* (Munich, 1933), 1: 608-610; I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 4-14. Cf. also Ecclesiasticus 51:26; Acts 15:10; Gal 5:1; *1 Clem.* 16:17; *Did.* 6:1.

[44]M. Maher, "Take my Yoke upon You (Matt. 11:29)," *NTS* 22 (1976): 99.

[45]C. G. Montefiore, *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings* (London, 1930), p. 239.

religion and offered a new "yoke" of discipleship, which is characterized in Matthew as "easy" (*chrēstos*) and "light" (*elaphron*). This newness must be seen in Jesus' claim to be the Messiah—the One who fulfilled the Messianic prophecies of the OT (cf. Matt 1:22; 2:5, 6, 15, 16; 4:13, 16; etc.); the One who brought the expected salvation and inaugurated the kingdom of God (Matt 4:17; 12:28); the One who possesses "all authority" (*exousia*) and promised to be present with his disciples "to the close of the age" (Matt 28:18-20).

Matthew sets forth the "yoke" of Christ, not as commitment to a new Torah, but as dedication to a *Person* who is the true Interpreter and Fulfiller of the Law and the Prophets. The emphasis on the Person is self-evident in our logion: "Come to *me* . . . take *my* yoke . . . learn from *me* . . . *I* will give you rest."[46] Moreover, the parallel structure of vss. 28 and 29 indicates that taking the "yoke" of Jesus is equivalent to "come to" and "learn from" him. That is to say, it is to personally accept Jesus as Messiah. Such an acceptance is an "easy" and "light" yoke, not because Jesus weakens the demands of the law (cf. Matt 5:20), but because, as T. W. Manson puts it, "Jesus claims to do for men what the Law claimed to do; but in a different way."[47] The difference lies in Christ's claim to offer to his disciples (note the emphatic *kagō*) the rest of Messianic redemption to which the law, and more specifically, the sabbath, had always pointed.

3. *Two Sabbath Pericopes: Matthew 12:1-14*

The two sabbath pericopes which Matthew links structurally and temporally to the logion of the "easy yoke" and "rest" seem to provide what may be called "an halakic interpretation" of how the Messianic rest offered by Jesus is related to the sabbath.

The Disciples' Plucking Ears of Corn: Matthew 12:1-8

In the first pericope about the disciples' plucking ears of corn on a sabbath (Matt 12:1-8), Jesus employs two arguments to defend

[46]The emphasis on the "rest" to be found in the *Person* of Christ, is made even more emphatic, as noted by William Hendriksen, in the Syriac (Peshitta) translation: "Come to me . . . and I will rest you . . . for *I am restful* . . . and you shall find rest for yourselves" (*The Gospel of Matthew* [Edinburgh, 1973], pp. 504-505).

[47]T. W. Manson, *The Mission and Message of Jesus* (New York, 1938), p. 478.

the conduct of his disciples: the first from the prophetic section of the OT, namely, the example of David (1 Sam 21:1-7); the second, from the Torah proper, namely, the example of the priests, who "in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless" (12:5; cf. Num 28:9, 10; Lev 24:8, 9).

Some exegetes rightly note that the analogy between David and Christ may indicate not only a correspondence of a situation of need but also of persons—on the one hand, David, the king of Israel and the type of the Messiah-king; and on the other hand, Jesus, the Messiah, the antitype of David.[48] However, the second argument about the priests is more directly related to our inquiry into the possible relationship between Jesus' offer of rest and the sabbath. A host of activities, illegal for ordinary persons, were performed by the priests on the sabbath. On that day, Temple services and sacrifices were intensified (four lambs were sacrificed instead of the daily two, Num 28:8, 9). Even though working more intensively, the priests were "guiltless" (Matt 12:5).

Why were the priests "guiltless"? The answer seems to be found in the redemptive nature of their sabbath work. An important function of the sabbath was to provide physical and spiritual "release" (*aphesis*).[49] The intensification of the Temple services and sacrifices on the sabbath pointed to the special release from sin and guilt that God offered to the people on that day. The Book of Jubilees explains that "burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord . . . shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice . . . " (50:10-11). According to Matthew, Christ finds in the redemptive work performed by the priests on the sabbath a valid basis to justify his own sabbath

[48]See P. Benoît, "Les épis arrachés (Mt. 12:1-8 et par.)," *Exégèse et Théologie* 3 (1968): 238; A. J. B. Higgins, *Jesus and the Son of Man* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 30; and Sabourin, p. 636.

[49]The term "release" (*aphesis*) is commonly used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew designations for the sabbatical and jubilee years. The same term is used in the NT almost always with the meaning of "forgiveness." This suggests that the vision of the sabbatical release from social injustices functioned as the prefiguration of the Messianic release from the bondage of sin. For an informative treatment of this question, see Robert B. Sloan, *The Favorable Year of the Lord: A Study of Jubilary Theology in the Gospel of Luke* (Austin, Texas, 1977), p. 27.

ministry, because he views it as "something greater than the temple" (12:6). This apparently means that the redemption offered *typologically* through the Temple's services and the sacrifices offered by the priests, is now being provided *antitypically* through the saving mission of the Son of Man, the Messiah.[50] Therefore, just as the priests were "guiltless" in performing their sabbath services in the Temple, so were Jesus' disciples in serving the One who is greater than the Temple.

A similar argument is found in John 7:22-23, where Jesus argues that if the priests could circumcise on the sabbath a newborn child in order to extend to him the salvation of the covenant, there is no reason to be "angry" with him for restoring on that day "a man's whole body."[51] It appears that Matthew alludes to this redemptive function of the sabbath also in the following verse, where Jesus quotes Hos 6:6, saying, "If you had known what this means, 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice,' you would not have condemned the guiltless" (Matt 12:7). The implication seems to be that the disciples are "guiltless" though they had contravened the sabbath law of complete rest, because the meaning of the commandment is not merely "sacrifice" (that is, a Godward-directed and outward religious duty), but also "mercy" (that is, a manward-directed attitude and activity of compassion and concern motivated by love for God).[52]

The sabbath is linked both to creation (Gen 2:2, 3; Exod 20:8-11) and to redemption (Deut 5:15). By interrupting all secular activities, the Jew was remembering the Creator-God; by acting mercifully toward fellow beings, he was imitating the Redeemer-God (Exod 23:9, 12; Lev 25:41, 42, 54, 55). This was true, not only in the life of the people who on the sabbath day were to be compassionate toward the lower orders of society,[53] but also in the Temple,

[50]This view is held by various scholars. Gerhard Barth, e.g., comments that by the phrase "something greater than the temple is here . . . undoubtedly Jesus is meant, for in him the Messianic fulfillment and consummation has come and he is therefore more than the Temple" (*Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* [Philadelphia, 1963], p. 82).

[51]The text of John 7:22-23 is examined in my *Divine Rest*, pp. 155-156.

[52]For a valuable study on Matt 12:7, see David Hill, "On the Use and Meaning of Hosea 6:6 in Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 24 (1978): 107-119.

[53]The humanitarian concern of the sabbath is expressed in Exod 23:12—"Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh you shall rest; that your ox and

where the priests engaged in a host of activities designed to extend salvation to the people.

Thus, what Matthew appears to be saying is that the observance of the sabbath must be viewed from the perspective of God's redeeming mercy. On that basis, the conduct of the disciples can be defended.[54]

In the context of this interpretation of the sabbath, Matthew inserts a Messianic proclamation of lordship over the sabbath: "For the Son of man is lord of the Sabbath" (12:8). While Mark links this saying to the previous affirmation, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath" (2:27),[55] Matthew connects ("for"—*gar*) the lordship of Christ over the sabbath to his being "greater than the temple" and to divine mercy contemplated by the sabbath. This suggests that for Matthew, Jesus' lordship over the sabbath is determined by Jesus' Messianic fulfillment of the redemption and mercy typified by the Temple and its sabbath services. If this interpretation is correct, then the logia about Messianic rest (11:28-29) and about Messianic lordship over the sabbath (12:8) are theologically connected by the same fulfillment-motif of the Messianic redemption prefigured by the sabbath.

The Man with the Withered Hand: Matthew 12:9-14

The Messianic claims of lordship over the sabbath is followed immediately in all three Synoptic Gospels by the sabbath-day healing of the man with the withered hand. The collocation of this story at this juncture seems to serve as the climactic demonstration of how Jesus exerted his lordship over the sabbath, namely, by offering on that day Messianic healing and restoration.

---

your ass may have rest and the son of your bondmaid and the alien may be refreshed." Cf. also Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14, 15. Niels-Erik Andreasen aptly comments: "The landlord must be concerned with the human value of his subjects, just as Yahweh was when he secured freedom for his people" ("Festival and Freedom," *Int* 28 [1974]: 289). Cf. Hans Walter Wolff, "The Day of Rest in the Old Testament," *CTM* 43 (1972): 504.

[54]Barth, p. 83, comments: "The saying 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' thus means here in the first place that God himself is the merciful one, the gracious one, and the Sabbath commandment should therefore be looked upon from the point of view of his kindness."

[55]The logion is examined at length in my *From Sabbath to Sunday*, pp. 55-61.

Matthew omits the scenic details given by Mark, such as the watching of the people and the "anger" of Jesus, in order to focus more sharply on the significance of the healing. In Matthew, the Pharisees voice the question: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath?" (12:10). Jesus replies by two piercing questions, followed by a conclusion. The questions are: "What man of you, if he has one sheep and it falls into a pit on the sabbath, will not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a man than a sheep?" (12:11-12a). The conclusion is: "So it is lawful to do good on the sabbath" (12:12b). The form of the question ("What man . . . ?") suggests that Jesus is appealing, not to a rabbinical rule, but to a natural human response and practice.[56]

The type of argument employed by Jesus was commonly used by Rabbis and known as "light and heavy" (*qal we-ḥōmer*), the equivalent of our *a fortiori*.[57] If a sheep can be rescued on the sabbath, then surely a man! But this argument does not speak *directly* to the question raised over the legitimacy of healing in general on the sabbath, particularly of a chronically ill person, like the case in question. Rescuing an animal in urgent need hardly seems to provide the basis to infer a principle about healing sick persons in general on the sabbath. And thus, this answer was not designed to provide the basis for such a broad principle, which, if it were to be implemented literally, would reduce sabbathkeeping primarily to ministry to the sick, thus making impossible any organized form of church or synagogue life. Indeed, Christ's answer avoids such a restrictive view of the sabbath by substituting for the verb "to heal" (*therapeuein*) the expression "to do good" (*kalōs poiein*).

This change in terminology suggests that the example of rescuing an animal serves, not to answer specifically the question about the legitimacy of healing on the sabbath, but to illustrate the general principle of doing good on such a day. The human concern exemplified by the rescuing of a sheep even on the sabbath points to the greater "value" God attaches to a human being. Such a value (cf. the primacy of mercy in vs. 7) is shown by Jesus' act of restoring the man to wholeness. The healing done by Jesus on the

[56]Cf. T. W. Manson, p. 481: "The question is addressed to men as men; and ordinary humanity is expected to supply the answer."

[57]On the *qal we-ḥōmer* argument, see J. W. Doewe, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen, 1954), pp. 106-110.

sabbath was intended, not to legitimize medical service as a preferable form of sabbathkeeping, but to reveal his Messianic redemptive mission.[58] The rescuing of a sheep and the restoring of a human being seem to function in the account as Messianic indicators.

In this passage in Matthew, Jesus is not acting on the sabbath as a professional physician, diagnosing diseases and prescribing cures. Nor do the other Gospels present Jesus as healing on the sabbath critically sick patients, emergency cases. In the case of the man with the withered hand, as well as in each and all of the seven sabbath healings reported in the Gospels, it is never a question of help given to a sick person in an emergency, but always to chronically ill persons. These miraculous sabbath healings on behalf of persons with incurable diseases seem to serve as demonstration of the Messianic fulfillment of Jesus' ministry. The pericope of the healing of the man with the withered hand, writes Carson, "pictures Jesus performing a messianic healing on that day. This, then, agrees with Matthew's fulfillment motifs. The gospel rest to which the Sabbath had always pointed was now dawning."[59]

The Messianic nature of Jesus' sabbath healings is reflected in other pericopes, such as the one about the healing of the crippled woman, given in Luke 13:10-17. As in Matthew, Jesus in Luke argues *a minori ad maius*, i.e., from a minor to a greater case. Building upon the practice of untying an animal on the sabbath, he draws the conclusion, "And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan has bound for eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?" (vs. 16). The imagery of loosing a victim bound by Satan's bonds recalls Christ's announcement of his mission "to proclaim release to the captives" (Luke 4:18)—a delightful imagery of the sabbatical year found in Isa 61:1-3 (and 58:6).

4. *Conclusion*

The conclusion that emerges from this study is that in the Matthean setting the "rest" offered by Jesus (11:28-30) represents

[58]Cf. Sabourin, p. 640, n. 51.

[59]Carson, p. 75.

the fulfillment of the Messianic rest typified by the sabbath. We have found that the two sabbath pericopes which Matthew links structurally and temporally to the logion about the "rest" seem to provide the theological interpretation of the nature of such "rest." The first episode (plucking off ears of corn) seems to qualify the promised "rest" as Messianic *redemption* through its references to mercy and to sabbath services performed by priests in the Temple. The second pericope (man with a withered hand) seems to interpret the "rest" as Messianic *restoration* through the examples of rescuing a sheep and restoring the sick man to health.

Was the Sabbath Still Observed?

In the light of this conclusion we may ask, Did Matthew and his community view the sabbath day itself as no longer to be observed because Jesus had fulfilled its Messianic typology; or was it still to be observed, but in the light of its Messianic fulfillment?

The fact of its *continued observance* is presupposed in several additions in the text of Matthew as compared with Mark. For example, in 12:1 Matthew adds the phrase "his disciples were hungry" (*epeinasan*). The Evangelist's concern to explain by means of this insertion that the disciples did not carelessly break the sabbath suggests that, as Gerhard Barth writes, "in Matthew's congregation the Sabbath was still kept, but not in the same strict sense as in the Rabbinate."[60]

Similarly, Matthew's insertion of the saying about the rescuing of a sheep (12:11), which functions as a basis for the positive principle of sabbath behavior ("so it is lawful to do good on the sabbath," 12:12), presupposes that the congregation observed the sabbath—though with a new perspective, namely, as a time to show "mercy" (12:7) and "to do good" (12:12). The latter, as Montefiore acknowledges, "would have been much too wide an extension or application of the Rabbinic principle for the Rabbis to have accepted."[61]

Another indication of sabbathkeeping is found in Matt 24:20, where the sabbath is mentioned, not polemically, but incidentally

[60]Barth, p. 81; cf. also pp. 79, 83, 163, 244.

[61]Montefiore, *Rabbinic Literature*, p. 243.

as an element unfavorable to a flight of Christians from Jerusalem.[62] The fact that Matthew includes the phrase "neither on a Sabbath" (*mēde sabbatō*), which is omitted in Mark 13:18, "is sufficient proof of the high regard in which they [the Matthean community] held the Sabbath."[63]

How Was the Sabbath Observed?

How was the sabbath observed by the Matthean community? The expression used by Matthew, "he entered *their* synagogue" (*tēn sunagōgēn autōn*, 12:9; Mark and Luke have "the synagogue"), suggests that his Christian community no longer shared in the sabbath service at the Jewish synagogue. Presumably they had by then organized their own meeting places of worship. The distinction in sabbathkeeping between the Matthean and Jewish communities appears to have been not only topological but also theological. The two sabbath pericopes of Matt 12:1-14 which we have examined seem to reflect the existence of an ongoing controversy between the Christian congregation and the nearby Jewish synagogue. Basically, the controversy centered on the nature of sabbathkeeping. Was the day to be observed primarily as "sacrifice," that is, as an outward fulfillment of the sabbath law? Or was the sabbath to be observed as "mercy," that is, as an occasion to show compassion and "to do good" to those in need?

Matthew's positive humanitarian interpretation of sabbathkeeping is, it appears, in an understanding of how Christ fulfilled the Messianic typology of the sabbath rest. Viewing the "rest" offered by Christ's redemptive mission as the fulfillment of the Messianic rest typified by the OT sabbath, Matthew does not do away with the literal observance of the day, but rather heightens and broadens its meaning by interpreting sabbathkeeping as utilizing the sabbath day to celebrate and experience the Messianic redemption-rest by showing "mercy" and doing "good" to those in need.

[62]See my analysis of the text in *From Sabbath to Sunday*, pp. 69-71.

[63]Rordorf, p. 120. Cf. E. Lohse, "Sabbaton," *TDNT*, 7:29—"Matt. 24:20 offers an example of the keeping of the Sabbath by Jewish Christians."

EXCURSUS: ORIGIN AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE LOGION

The question of the authenticity of the logion of Matt 11:28-30 is to some extent interrelated to that of its origin. A popular view traces its origin to the wisdom literature, especially the book of Sirach (written ca. 200 B.C.), which offers the closest parallel to our passage:[64]

> Turn in unto me, ye unlearned,
> And lodge in my house of instruction . . .
> Acquire Wisdom for yourselves without money.
> Bring your necks under her yoke,
> And her burden let your soul bear; She is nigh unto them that seek her,
> And he that is intent (upon her) findeth her.
> Behold with your eyes that I labored but (little) therein,
> And abundance of peace have found (51:23, 25-27).[65]

The striking similarity between this passage and Matt 11:28-30 has caused some to conclude that Matthew has created the logion by drawing from Sirach or from a lost wisdom writing which both Sirach and Matthew presumably utilized as their source.[66] The most influential comparative analysis of the literary composition of both texts was done by Eduard Norden in the concluding section of his famous book *Agnostos Theos*, first published in 1913. Norden shows that Sir 51:1-11 begins with a prayer of thanksgiving like Matt 11:25-26.[67] It continues by describing how God gave wisdom to Ben Sirach (51:13-22), comparable to Matt 11:27, where Jesus says "All things have been delivered to me by my Father." Then it closes with an appeal to the ignorant of Wisdom (51:23-27), somewhat similar to the appeal found in Matt 11:28-30.

[64]For a good defense of this view, see M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 99-108; cf. H. D. Betz, pp. 10-24.

[65]*APOT*, 1: 516-517.

[66]Rudolf Bultmann holds that "Matt. 11:28-30 is a quotation from Jewish Wisdom Literature put into the mouth of Jesus," yet he sees "no compelling reason for denying it to him [i.e., Christ]" (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [New York, 1963], p. 160).

[67]Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1913; with further printings). For the following discussion of Norden's views, see pp. 277-308.

The presence of these similarities, as well as of certain divergencies, led Norden to conclude that both Matthew and Sirach are dependent upon an existing tripartite literary schema which he calls *Redetypen*, consisting of (1) thanksgiving for revelation; (2) transmission of wisdom (*gnōsis*); (3) invitation and appeal. To support this literary historical model, Norden adduces examples where variants of this basic pattern are found, namely, Sir 24; Odes of Solomon 12 and 33; Poimandres, *Corpus Hermeticum* 1:31 and 10:15; and in the NT, Rom 11. He believes this type of discourse derives from the "mystical-theosophical literature of the Orient," which after a long historical evolution would have reached and influenced primitive Christian literature. Thus, in Norden's view, Matt 11:25-30, often called "The Hymn of Thanksgiving," derives from a mystical treatise which the author of Q (the source used by Matthew) would have placed in the mouth of the historical Jesus at a time when the exaltation of his person had been accomplished. The logical conclusion of Norden, then, is that Matt 11:25-30 constitutes a literary unit which was already found in Q, but which is not genuine because Jesus could not have utilized "forms and ideas of theosophical mysticism."

Norden's methodology and conclusions are open to serious questions which I can touch upon only briefly here. For example, is it not arbitrary to argue for the original unity of our passage and against its genuineness on the basis of its alleged dependence on an existing literary model and ideology? First of all, the existence of a *Redetype* is not self-evident even in Sir 51. David Hill, for example, maintains that "Sir. 51 did not originally form a unity; it is a thanksgiving-hymn to which an alphabetical acrostic was attached."[68] Second, if the entire passage (Matt 11:25-30) constituted a literary unit in the Q source used by Matthew, why then did Luke (10:21-22) omit the latter part (vss. 28-30), which deals with the easy yoke and rest? The immediate context in Luke (the return of the Seventy, Luke 10:17-20) hardly seems to justify such an omission. Third, can genuineness be legitimately questioned or denied on account of literary similarity? Alexander B. Bruce perceptively queries that if Ben Sirach ended his prayer by inviting fellowmen "to share the benefits which σοφία has conferred on himself," why could not "Jesus of Nazareth close *His* prayer with a similar address?"[69] Fourth, the contrast between Sir 51:23-27 and Matt 11:28-29 is perhaps more important than their similarity. Ben Sirach invites the unlearned to himself, saying: "Bring your necks under her yoke . . . Behold . . . I have labored but (little) therein and abundance

[68]Hill, *Gospel of Matthew*, p. 204.

[69]A. B. Bruce, *The Synoptic Gospels*, The Expositor's Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1942), p. 1979. Similarly T. W. Manson, p. 478, notes, "If the author of *Ecclesiasticus* could think of such words, so might Jesus."

of peace have I found" (vss. 26-27). Here the *sophos*, the scholar of the law, counsels men to accept the yoke of law, as indicated by his reference to the "house of instruction" in vs. 23 (an obvious reference to the *Beth ha-Midrash*, the school of the Law). Unlike Ben Sirach, however, Christ in Matt 11:28-29 has not learned the secret of rest at the school of the Law, but claims to possess it in himself ("I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you"). It appears, as noted by T. W. Manson, that "Jesus claims to do for men what the Law claimed to do; but in a different way."[70] These conceptual differences discredit the view that Matt 11:28-30 derives directly from wisdom literature, such as the book of Sirach.

Other theories have been adduced to explain the origin of our pericope. Eduard Meyer believes that Matt 11:25-30 is a unified "hymn" created by the primitive church to express the yearning for salvation and peace, for direct communion with the supernatural world of the divine.[71] A somewhat similar view is expressed by Tomas Arvedson in his *Das Mysterium Christi*. He regards the whole passage as a liturgical hymn produced by certain mystical elements within Christianity in order to invite believers to the celebration of the mysteries.[72] The hymn consists of two parts: (1) the "hymn of thanksgiving" (vss. 25-27), presumably composed in Hellenistic religious language; and (2) an "invitation to take part in the mystery" (vss. 28-30), written in typical wisdom speech.[73]

Martin Dibelius sees the saying as being derived from the kind of Hellenistic piety which emphasizes revelation through the sons of the gods. He finds support for his view in the emphasis which the passage places upon "gnosis," upon the person of Christ as revealer, and upon salvation as "rest."[74] Dibelius argues that the "combination of self-recommendation and of the preaching of conversion is the typical mark of the divine or semi-divine herald of revelation in Hellenistic religiousness, i.e., of a mythological person."[75] Therefore, the *Sitz im Leben* of the pericope is to be sought, he concludes, not in the historical teaching of Jesus, but rather in certain Christian circles which transformed Christ's message of repentance and judgment into a kind of redemption-mystery revelation.[76]

[70]T. W. Manson, p. 478.

[71]Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921), pp. 289-290.

[72]Arvedson, p. 108.

[73]Ibid., p. 79.

[74]Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York, 1965), pp. 279-282.

[75]Ibid., p. 281.

[76]Ibid., p. 282.

The presence of conceptual and terminological similarity between Matt 11:25-30 and some Qumran texts has led other scholars, such as H. Braun and W. D. Davies, to argue for a purely Jewish background of the pericope.[77] Referring to Matt 11:25-30, Davies writes: "They probably emerge from a milieu in which Judaism had been invaded by Hellenistic terminology which had not, however, modified its essential nature."[78] Hans Dieter Betz objects to the attempt to trace the origin of the saying exclusively to either Jewish or Hellenistic religious thought, maintaining instead that "the pericope belongs within hellenistic-Jewish syncretism."[79] The existence of an almost literal parallel to Matt 11:28-30 in gnostic texts, such as logion 90 of the *Gospel of Thomas* and chap. 95 of *Pistis Sophia*, leads Betz to conclude that the saying derives from an independent wisdom tradition from which both Matthew and the gnostic texts have borrowed.[80]

No attempts can be made in this short excursus to evaluate each of the above-mentioned theories, but a few general observations are in order. First of all, one notices that although the explanations given for the genesis of the form and/or content of the saying under consideration differ considerably, there is substantial agreement in viewing the logion as being, not a genuine pronouncement of Christ, but rather a creation of the community or of Matthew. Methodologically, it seems rather arbitrary, however, to hold that the historical Christ in principle could not have uttered this logion and could not have utilized some concepts of the wisdom literature to clarify the nature of his mission. "If the primitive community," Lino Randellini points out, "allegedly made use of wisdom and apocalyptic literature to express her faith in the work of Christ, why could not Christ have done something similar?"[81]

Moreover, we may ask, Is it conceivable that Matthew or the primitive community invented this saying with the help of Jewish wisdom literature or Hellenistic religious thought? It is important to recognize, as noted by F. Burkitt, that "it is not so easy to make new sayings and new parables like those in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; at least that kind of speech does not make itself heard in the extant remains of what the first four

[77]See H. Braun, "Qumran und das Neue Testament," *TRev* 28 (1962): 119-121; and W. D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30," *HTR* 46 (1953): 113-139.

[78]W. D. Davies, *Christian Origins and Judaism* (London, 1962), p. 144.

[79]H. D. Betz, p. 19.

[80]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[81]Randellini, p. 215.

generations of Christians wrote."[82] This recognition is not in conflict with William Manson's observation that "form may be bestowed or imposed on words or traditions which have originated in some quite other milieu than that which finally stamps them."[83] At the same time, as Manson also remarks, it is possible "to hold with Harnack that these logia originated on the lips of Jesus and reveal his authentic claim to offer men in his teaching a saving knowledge of God."[84]

A common argument against the genuineness of Matt 11:28-30 is its supposed absence in Q, since Luke omits it. This argument was especially popular thirty or forty years ago, when any Synoptic text which could not be traced to the Two-Document theory was inevitably regarded as suspicious. "That this was a dangerous assumption we now realize," writes A. M. Hunter. "For, on this reasoning, about half of Christ's parables, including many of his greatest, would at once be branded with a reputation of dubious historicity; which is plainly absurd."[85]

Whether or not Matt 11:28-30 stood in Q should not be the factor determining the genuineness of the logion. We have no criteria for establishing whether Q was any more or less authentic than other existing sources Matthew may have used. In fact, there are still unanswered questions regarding the origin, development and Greek translation of Q. If one wishes to express a judgment on the authenticity of the logion in question, it is perhaps preferable to give greater attention to its linguistic and conceptual characteristics. Several scholars argue in favor of the authenticity of the passage on the basis of Semitic originals glimmering through the Greek text. T. W. Manson, for example, notes that "the passage is full of Semitic turns of phrase" and is "certainly Palestinian in origin."[86] Arnold Meyer discerns a Semitic word-play in the text which speaks for authenticity.[87] R. H. Gundry sees in the logion allusions to Jer 31:25 and 6:16, and to Exod 33:14, which lead him to conclude: "Although this pericope may reflect a stereotyped form of speech used by Oriental teachers, the saturation in OT language and thought and the paronomasia in the

[82]F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 199; cf. Plummer, p. 169.

[83]William Manson, p. 75. As a case in point, cf. Matt 11:25-30 with Luke 10:21-23.

[84]William Manson, p. 75.

[85]Hunter, p. 247.

[86]T. W. Manson, p. 371.

[87]Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Freiburg, 1896), p. 84; cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1946), p. 140.

Aramaic speak for authenticity."[88] Wilfred L. Knox also concludes that "the whole structure of the sentences is Semitic"; thus, he says that if we reject the saying as an authentic utterance of Jesus, "it must be on the grounds of our general attitude to the person of Jesus, not on the ground that its form or language is 'hellenistic' in any intelligible sense."[89]

The content of the saying also has a ring of authenticity, since it harmonizes with OT thought and with the tradition of Jesus' teachings and person. For example, the promise of "rest" (*anapausis*) to those "who labor and are heavy laden" is consonant, as we have seen in our earlier discussion, both with the expectation of Messianic "rest" and with the attitude of One who rebukes Scribes and Pharisees for loading people with "heavy burdens, hard to bear" (Matt 23:4; Luke 11:46). Similarly, as Hunter points out, "the self-description, 'I am gentle and lowly in heart' echoes the description of the Servant in Isaiah 42:2f. and 53:1f. and is apparently confirmed in 2 Corinthians 10:1 where Paul appeals to 'the meekness and gentleness of Christ' as to something familiar and well known."[90]

Indications such as the foregoing have led a number of scholars recently to view this logion as being substantially a genuine utterance of Christ.[91] This is also my own position.

[88]Robert Horton Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* (Leiden, 1967), p. 136.

[89]Wilfred L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (London, 1944), p. 7. The same view is expressed by Quell/Schrenk, p. 993, n. 289.

[90]Hunter, p. 248.

[91]Among those who regard the logion as being essentially an authentic saying of Jesus are Hill, *Gospel of Matthew*, p. 207 ("By reason of its form and content, this logion is usually, and rightly, regarded as substantially genuine"); M. V. Lagrange, *Évangile selon S. Matthieu* (Paris, 1948), pp. 226-231; J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de saint Paul* (Paris, 1949), pp. 58-61; L. Cerfaux, "Les sources scrituraires de Mt. 11:25-30," in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux* (Gembloux, 1962), pp. 139-159; Jeremias, *Abba*; and Cullmann, pp. 286-287. Fohrer Wilckens, "Sophia," *TDNT*, 7: 516, n. 356, lists the following among supporters of the authenticity of the saying: W. Grundmann, J. Bieneck, E. Stauffer, and C. H. Dodd. See also nn. 85-90, above.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1984, Vol. 22, No. 3, 317-325.

AN OVERLOOKED OLD-TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO REVELATION 11:1

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

Rev 11:1 introduces a vision in which the prophet himself is given "a reed like a rod" and told to "measure the temple of God, and the altar, and those who worship in it." The next verse continues the instruction, stating that the prophet is to "throw out and not measure" (ἔκβαλε ἔζωθεν καὶ μὴ . . . μετρήσῃς) the court outside the temple, "because it was given to the Gentiles/nations [τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]." The passage continues in vs. 2b with what is evidently in apposition to the outer court's being given to the Gentiles: namely, that the Holy City would be trodden by them for forty-two months. In short, then, the temple, altar, and worshippers are to be measured; the outer court/Holy City is not to be measured.

Exegetes of the book of Revelation have naturally sought for the background to this "measuring" imagery. The two passages generally called to attention as furnishing such background are Zech 2:1-5 and Ezek 40-48. The fact that these two passages refer to a "measuring line" (Zech 2:1) or "measuring reed" (Ezek 40:3) provides a common element with Rev 11:1, and *in this particular respect* these OT passages do indeed serve as background to the vision in the Apocalypse. But the commonality goes relatively little beyond this, and there are also some striking contrasts, as we shall notice below.

1. *Two Fundamental Considerations*

Before we proceed to inquire further into the OT backgrounds to Rev 11:1, two fundamental considerations with regard to the Apocalypse's own use of symbolism should be noticed. The first, which may be called (for lack of a better term) the "universalized spiritual dimension," is an approach that is common to the NT. The second, a "blending" or "merging" of images, is a phenomenon that is more restricted to the book of Revelation itself,

though closely akin in nature and purpose to the "universalized spiritual dimension," as we shall see.

The "Universalized Spiritual Dimension"

In harmony with the NT perspective in general, Revelation universalizes in such a way that OT events of local or limited character become symbols of spiritual realities and developments on a cosmic scale. For instance, just as the NT "Israel" refers to the Christian church (in a universal sense, not localized to any specific geographical region),[1] so too the "Babylon" symbol of Revelation is used in a broader-than-local way to depict forces opposed to God and to his people. The principle involved in this sort of usage is, moreover, one that is of quite general application to other symbols used throughout the Apocalypse.

It must be added, however, that the drama portrayed in the book of Revelation is nonetheless played out in more than *simply* spiritual terms, for the spiritual panorama relates directly to, and embraces concretely, specific realities in the historical arena. That is to say, *real* people are very much involved in *real* struggles as they choose either loyalty to God and the Lamb or to the anti-divine forces.

The "Blending" or "Merging" of Images

Closely related in function to this "universalizing spiritual dimension" of the symbolisms used in Revelation is the second basic phenomenon, the "blending" or "merging" of images.[2] Frequently, if not generally, the symbols used in the book of Revelation are drawn from *multiple sources*, most of which are different OT passages. For instance, the trumpets septet and the vials septet both draw upon the plagues on ancient Egypt and the fall of Babylon for their background imagery, the first five items in each

[1]See the excellent discussion in Hans K. LaRondelle, *The Israel of God in Prophecy: Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1983), pp. 98-146.

[2]The term "rebirth of images" is also a somewhat useful one, but not really adequate to describe the dynamic involved in the symbols occurring in the book of Revelation. The term is one used by Austin Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse* (Gloucester, Mass., 1970); but despite its value as a concept, Farrer's own manner of utilizing the principle seems at times questionable.

series being patterned after the Egyptian plagues and the sixth item suddenly transferring the scene to the Euphrates (9:14 and 16:12), the river on which ancient Babylon was situated.[3] Likewise, the "Battle-of-Armageddon" imagery of Rev 16:12-14 utilizes as background both Elijah's victory on Mt. Carmel and the "drying up of the Euphrates" connected with the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.[4] One further, and particularly intriguing, example of this sort of multiple background images may be mentioned here—Rev 11:8, wherein "the great city" (elsewhere in Revelation designated as "Babylon") is identified with three entities—Sodom, Egypt, and the Jerusalem that crucified Christ.[5]

This sort of "blending" or "merging" of images illustrates an ontological perspective that brings together elements that are "of a kind."[6] This "blending" or "merging" provides a heightened "composite" image of the transcendental and universalized realities being depicted, thus functioning to bring to view in an augmented way the "universalized spiritual dimension" mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Indeed, the very *multiplicity* of the background images suggests, too, that the new image *transcends* the background entities or events, both individually and collectively (though, of course, the new image is also of a character with those background images).

[3]For a diagram detailing more fully this "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif, see Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 129.

[4]This fact has been set forth convincingly by William H. Shea, "The Location and Significance of Armageddon in Rev 16:16," *AUSS* 18 (1980): 157-162.

[5]Cf. the useful discussion in Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pp. 102-103. Minear suggests the possible addition also of Rome; but the text does not, of course, explicitly mention Rome.

[6]This has been referred to as a "trans-historical model" by Paul S. Minear, who further points out that it "is a comprehensive rather than a disjunctive mode of seeing and thinking. It apprehends events in terms of their inner structure as responses to God's action. . . . Behind this mode of viewing was a distinctive ontological stance, to which we should give more attention than we usually do." Minear, "Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse," *NTS* 12 (1965/66): 96. The immediate context of Minear's statements here is another, earlier discussion of Rev 11:8 (cf. the citation in n. 5, above); and notice should be taken of his full treatment of this text in this article, beginning on p. 94.

2. *Analysis of the Passages in Zechariah and Ezekiel*

We now turn our attention briefly to the traditionally suggested OT backgrounds to Rev 11:1—namely, Zech 2:1-5 and Ezek 40-48. In our analysis, it will be important to keep in mind that in Revelation the items which John is instructed to measure are the *temple*, the *altar*, and the *worshippers*, and that he is further instructed *not to measure* the outer court (equated with the "Holy City").

Zechariah 2:1-5

The passage in Zech 2:1-5 makes no mention whatever of the temple, altar, and worshippers. Instead, the vision refers to a man going forth with a measuring line to measure "Jerusalem" (vss. 1-2). This is, of course, in striking contrast to the instructions given in Rev 11:1-2.

But the contrast goes even further. In the vision of Zechariah, an angel is sent forth to tell the man with the measuring line that "Jerusalem will be a city without walls" and that God himself will be "a wall of fire surrounding her" and "her glory within" (vss. 3-5). Thus, there was to be *no measuring* after all (if there were no physical walls, how could measurement be taken to determine the width and length [vs. 2]?). Rather, the entire scene constitutes a dramatic way of portraying God's care and protection.

Ezekiel 40-48

The passage embracing Ezek 40-48 furnishes a very detailed account of measuring and of measurements. It begins with measurement of the wall "around the outside of the temple area" (Ezek 40:5), and proceeds to the outer court, its gateway facing east, thirty chambers encircling the court, and then the north and south gates belonging to the outer court (40:6-27). Next come the south, east, and north gates of the inner court, with other appurtenances, including two chambers for the priests (40:28-49). Then the temple itself is measured (chaps. 41-42).

After an interruption in the narrative about the measuring process (in order to portray God's glory entering the temple and to give a message from Yahweh, 43:1-12), that narrative continues with the giving of the dimensions of the altar of burnt offering

(43:13-17). And finally, in later chapters, there are other items measured; e.g., the river flowing eastward from the south side of the temple (different depths being noted at 1000-cubit intervals) and the environs and city outside the sacred precincts (47:1-5; 48:15-35).

Although the measuring in Ezekiel is *somewhat* parallel to the instruction in Rev 11:1 in that the temple and altar are mentioned in both passages, the Ezekiel vision gives dimensions for the outer court and for the city—this in striking contrast to Rev 11:1-2. Also, the very detail furnished in the Ezekiel account relative to these items and to various appurtenances stands in marked contrast to John's vision, as does the fact that elements untouched in the Revelation reference are noted in Ezekiel (e.g., the river). Finally, the Ezekiel passage says nothing about the measuring of worshippers—one of the three basic items to be measured in Rev 11:1.

In addition to these contrasts with respect to the *subject matter* of the two measuring processes, it should be noted that there is evidence of difference in *purpose*, as well. Ezekiel's vision provides a plan for *construction* of a temple complex and for the *physical laying out* of the city and of tribal territories. John's vision, on the other hand, entails some sort of measurement that embraces already-existing entities—and certainly not in a physical sense (as is evidenced, e.g., by the inclusion of worshippers and by the very nature of the entire interlude within which the verse occurs [10:1-11:13]).[7] And thus, in sum total, Ezek 40-48 stands more in contrast to, than in parallel with, Rev 11:1.

Summary

The one and only common element to all three passages that we have been considering—in Zechariah, Ezekiel, and Revelation—is the "measuring line" or "measuring reed." With the exception of this specific symbol, Zech 2:1-5 manifests an absolute contrast to Rev 11:1; and Ezek 40-48 is so overwhelmingly divergent from the latter text that it, too, can hardly be considered as a basic background to John's vision.

[7]The vision of Ezekiel has closer affinity to the giving of measurements and other details for building the sanctuary in the wilderness, as presented in Exod 25-40. Rev 11:1 would seem more akin, in basic thrust at least, to the "plumb-line" vision of Amos 7:7-8, wherein there is evaluation of people—in this case, on the analogy of "a wall that is out of line."

3. *An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1*

Is there any other OT background to the symbolism of Rev 11:1—a passage which embraces some sort of "measuring" of, specifically, the *temple, altar,* and *worshippers*? Indeed there is such: *Leviticus 16,* which describes the ancient Israelite "Day of Atonement" that closed the cultic year.

In that chapter, there are four basic entities noted as having atonement made for them—the priests themselves, the sanctuary, the altar, and the congregation (see vss. 6, 11, 16-18). The priesthood would obviously be omitted in any NT parallel, for Christ as High Priest—"holy, blameless, unstained, set apart from sinners" (Heb 7:26)—would need no atonement for himself. It is striking, then, that the three other exact entities to be atoned for in Leviticus 16 are *precisely those three elements* to be "measured" in Rev 11:1.

A commonality in the *order* or *sequence* of the three items is also noteworthy. In both cases, the movement is from sanctuary/temple *to* altar *to* worshippers.[8]

The ancient Day of Atonement was a sort of final day of "measuring" within the Israelite cultic year. It had an aura of final judgment about it, for on that day separation was to take place: The people were to "afflict" themselves, and "whoever is not afflicted on this same day shall be cut off from his people" (Lev 23:27-28, RSV).

The parallel in Rev 11:1 certainly embraces, too, a "measuring" in the spiritual, rather than physical, sense. This is obvious from the context, wherein the "temple" and "altar" refer to heavenly entities, not a physical temple in the city of Jerusalem (cf. the general use of temple imagery in Revelation, as e.g., in 4-5,

[8]The atonement process moved from the inner recesses of the sanctuary to the altar, with the effect ultimately for the congregation—and also with the final act itself (the "live-goat" or "scapegoat" ceremony) being performed for the congregation (Lev 16:17-22).

8:3-5, 11:19, etc.).[9] And the "measuring" of worshippers is itself terminology that has spiritual, not physical, implications.[10]

4. *Conclusion*

In summary, the exegetes and commentators tend to look upon Zech 2:1-5 and Ezek 40-48 as *the* basic OT background sources for Rev 11:1. Indeed, there is a commonality in the "measuring-line" or "measuring-reed" symbolism used in the three passages. But aside from this, the text in the book of Revelation is more distanced

[9]At this juncture, it may be pertinent to point out that the question of which altar—altar of burnt offering or altar of incense—is intended in Rev 11:1 is not really important for us. The text itself does not make the distinction; but in the OT backgrounds, both altars were involved in the procedures on the Day of Atonement (compare Exod 30:10 with Leviticus 16). So also in the introductory setting for the Trumpets septet in the Apocalypse (within which Rev 11:1 falls as part of an "interlude"), both altars (in a heavenly setting) come to view (8:3-5). What is important to notice is that in literary dependence and conceptualization, the parallel between Rev 11:1 and Leviticus 16 is exact (given, of course, the logical omission of the priesthood in the Apocalypse reference). Whichever altar is intended in Rev 11:1, the parallel exists as to *terminology*.

So also, it is not necessary for our purposes to speculate concerning the precise meaning of "outer court" in Rev 11:1—whether the symbolism is based on the "Court of the Gentiles" of Herod's Temple (a somewhat illogical deduction in view of the statement in the following verse), the "outer court" in Ezekiel's Temple Vision, or simply the "outer court" of the ancient sanctuary in the wilderness. In fact, it could well be that this symbol as used in Rev 11:1 represents a "blending" or "merging" of images—akin to what I have pointed out in the first section of this article as a common practice in the Apocalypse. The same is possibly true too, of course, with respect to the symbol of "altar."

[10]It may be of interest to note that the same basic Greek word used for the measuring process in Rev 11:1 (here the imperative form, in the command μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, "measure the temple of God") occurs also in 2 Cor 10:12, in a statement about certain Corinthian church members who were "measuring [or, evaluating] themselves by themselves" (ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες). In fact, there is somewhat of a play on the "measuring" concept in the following verses (cf. μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος and ὁ θεὸς μέτρου in vs. 13, and τὰ ἄμετρα in vss. 13 and 15).

A possible OT parallel for this general type of usage may be found in 2 Sam 8:2, where the Moabites who had been defeated by King David were "measured" into two groups—those to be put to death and those whose lives were to be spared. (The LXX reads that David διεμέτρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν σχοινίοις κοιμίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ δύο σχοινίσματα τοῦ θανατῶσαι, καὶ τὰ δύο σχοινίσματα ἐζώγρησεν.)

from, than near to, those suggested OT root sources. There is, however, another OT passage that stands in striking parallel with Rev 11:1—namely, *Leviticus 16*, the description of the ancient Israelite Day of Atonement. With the exception of the omission of the priesthood in Rev 11:1, the same three elements under review are common to both passages: temple, altar, and worshippers. The fact that that one particular omission is made is perfectly logical, for Christ as NT High Priest would need no atonement (or "measuring") made for himself.

It has been frequently suggested that the "measuring" instruction given to John indicates "protection," "preservation," "making secure."[11] The basis for the deduction is at fault, however, for the conclusion rests on the statement of Zech 2:5 that God will be to Jerusalem "a wall of fire surrounding her." As we have noted above, the Zechariah passage is strikingly in contrast to Rev 11:1 with respect to that which was to be measured by the man with the measuring line, and also in that that man was *not* to do the measuring after all, inasmuch as God himself would be the "wall of fire." The implication of this entire passage in Zech 2:1-5 is therefore, as R. H. Mounce has aptly pointed out, that Jerusalem "need not be measured in order to erect walls because of the adequate protection provided by God's presence."[12]

That the reference in Rev 11:1 entails, in some sense, "protection" is not, however, a totally irrelevant concept, for certainly

[11]Commentators sometimes refer to "destruction" as another meaning of the "measuring-line" symbol, though usually recognizing the inapplicability of that concept to Rev 11:1. Such texts as 2 Kgs 21:13 and Lam 2:8 are cited in support of this meaning, but a careful analysis of those references suggests that it is not the destruction *per se* that is intended by the symbol, but rather a judgment that is to *result* in the destruction (and/or to delineate the dimensions or extent of the destruction). A pertinent OT reference that quite clearly embodies this same sort of concept is 2 Sam 8:2, wherein is depicted a "measuring" of King David's Moabite captives—with a view to putting some to death and to sparing the lives of others (see the second paragraph of n. 10, above).

J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), p. 176, has noted several possible explanations of the "measuring" in Rev 11:1, mentioning "destruction" as one of these. She also includes "rebuilding or restoring," and divides "preservation" into two kinds—from physical harm and from spiritual harm. She herself prefers the idea of "protection."

[12]Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), p. 219, n. 3.

there is security for the true worshippers of God and the Lamb, as related passages in the book of Revelation itself make clear.[13] But the implications of the imagery in Rev 11:1 do not stop there. It is necessary to look further—to the most explicitly related of the OT background passages, *Leviticus 16*, and to the significance of that passage—in order to obtain a more focused and comprehensive understanding of what is entailed in the "measuring" process specified in Rev 11:1.[14]

[13]There is a paralleling literary pattern that links together in certain important respects the so-called "interludes" in Rev 7, 10-11, and 14. This literary pattern has been outlined in Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979), p. 48. The element of "securing" is, of course, in view in the "sealing" in Rev 7; but other motifs come also to view in Rev 14. I plan to give attention to these "interludes" in a future study.

[14]The vision in Rev 11 is within what may be called the *"historical series"* section of the book (cf. Strand, *Interpreting*, pp. 51, 52), but another "measuring" portrayal occurs in Rev 21:15-17, in relationship to the eschatological eternal New Jerusalem. It is of interest that in the former passage the measuring rod is like a reed and the prophet is instructed to do the measuring, whereas in the latter passage the measuring rod is of gold and the angel does the measuring. Also, it is the temple, altar, and worshippers that are to be measured in Rev 11:1, with no dimensions indicated; but it is the city and its walls that are measured in Rev 21:15-17, with the dimensions stated. The scope of the present article precludes a discussion here of the relationship between these two "measuring-rod" visions, but I hope in a later study to treat this matter, as well as to elaborate on the connections among the "interludes" mentioned in n. 13, above.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1984, Vol. 22, No. 3, 327-340.

THE HORN-MOTIFS OF THE BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

MARGIT L. SÜRING
Toivonlinna
SF-21500 Piikkiö, Finland

Undoubtedly, horn-motifs in the Hebrew Bible have frequently been too narrowly interpreted, and some of them have been completely misunderstood. Exegetical conclusions have often been based on the presupposition that the words "horn" and "horns," whenever they occur in the biblical text, must in some way be connected with bulls or other animals. Inasmuch as bull-motifs are prominent in the ancient Near East, there has been analogous interpretation of many well-known biblical passages, resulting in an attempt to level off any dissimilarities.

Investigation of the OT literature reveals that the word "horn" does occur occasionally in a biological context and in such instances has to be understood literally, but also that there are many instances where the word "horn" occurs without any reference to a ram, a goat, a bull, or some other animal provided with horns. How are references of the latter kind to be considered? What is the meaning of "horn" in such cases?

References of this sort may actually be placed in several somewhat different categories. I would suggest the following groupings of the material pertaining to "horns" in the biblical literature: (1) Depiction of literal horns (such as on altars), without any sort of explicit reference to their meaning; (2) depiction of horns, with functional aspects or dimensions indicated in the context; and (3) the use of the terms "horn" and "horns" in a purely metaphorical sense.

1. *Horns Depicted Without Explicit Reference to Their Meaning*

Horns on Altars

In the books of Exodus and Leviticus, there are several references to the horns of the altar. Were these horns simply projections or prolongations of the altar, or were they to be interpreted (as some theologians have supposed) as originating from an animistic concept?[1]

Archaeological discoveries give support, not only to stone-horned altars, but also to altars presenting a bull's head with noticeable horns as part of the decor in relief (see figure 1, on p. 329). As far as Syria is concerned (where the majority of such stone altars have been found), the bull heads have been interpreted as representing local gods.[2] North Syrian seals with their bull-motifs may give evidence of a probable Moloch-cult.[3] Recently scholars have, however, clearly refuted the earlier concept that the horns of the altars originally were *maṣṣēbôt*.[4] Unfortunately, many standard works still present the previous, incorrect view.[5] As far as the OT is concerned, my research has led me to conclude that the horns of the altar there mentioned have no common ground with the "bull-decorated" altars found in the neighborhood of Palestine. Indeed, two independent strands seem to be here represented, though with a possible original source in remote antiquity.

Beings Depicted with Horns

Another well-known motif in the ancient Near Eastern context is that of beings (probably anthropomorphic gods) depicted with

[1]William E. Addis, "Altar," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (London, 1899), 1:124.

[2]Kurt Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 59-68.

[3]Margit L. Süring, *Horn-Motifs in the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, no. 4 (Berrien Springs, 1982), p. 284.

[4]Herman T. Obbink, "The Horns of the Altar . . . ," *JBL* 56 (1937): 45; Paul W. Lapp, "The 1963 Excavation at Taʿannek," *BASOR*, no. 173 (1964), pp. 35-37; Carl F. Graesser, *Studies in Maṣṣēbôt* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969), p. 298.

[5]So, for instance, Kurt Galling, "Altar II. In Israel," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3d ed. (Tübingen, 1957), pp. 253-255.

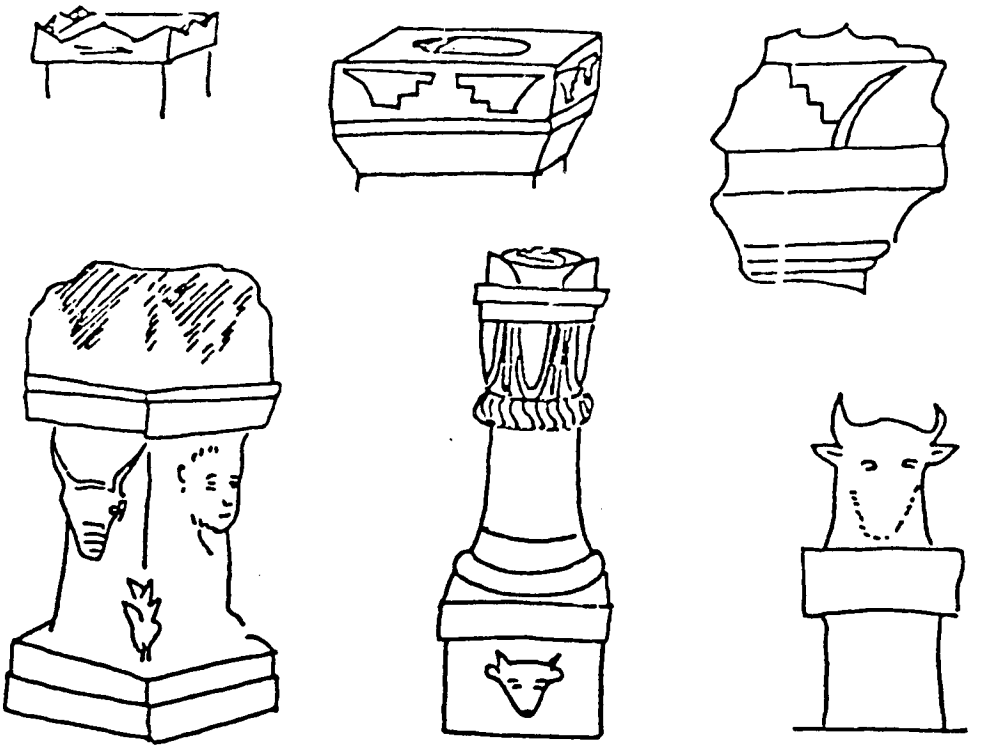


Figure 1. A variety of horned altars from Syria and Palestine. (Author's sketch, after depictions given in the larger selection in Kurt Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* [Berlin, 1925], plates 17-36.)

horns. Such depictions were already in evidence in prehistoric times. According to several authorities in the field of ancient glyptic, the headdresses with horns symbolize divinity.

To take a well-known example, the Akkadian ruler Narâm-Sin (ca. 2254-2218 B.C.) was depicted with horns to show his superiority as ruler. The king assumed deification during his lifetime, an act which was later regarded as presumptuously blasphemous. Several kings of a later dynasty were also deified, but probably posthumously.[6]

The kings of Akkad created a universal empire, comprising what came to be called *kiššat matati*, "the totality of the countries."[7] It is important to note in this connection that the concept of universality had its prototype and origin with the moon-cult. The moon was visible everywhere and was thus a fitting symbol for universality. (By way of contrast, national deities or city-gods were restricted in several ways and were therefore easily superseded.) All the astral gods in antiquity were important, but the moon-god was considered to be the personified "father" of the astral family and also the procreator of the universe.

Moreover, the moon-cult and the bull-cult were analogous in many countries. The emblems of the moon-god, Sin, were the *crescent of the moon* and the *horns of the bull*, which emblems thus were synonymous in representing the same deity (see figure 2, on p. 331).

The influence of idol-worshipping countries on Israel is clearly revealed in the second half of the second millennium and in the first millennium B.C. Some researchers have gone so far as to propose Moses as a representative for a repressed Sin-cult, though such a depiction of Moses with horns originates as late as with Michelangelo and other medieval artists. One of the prominent views is that Moses was putting a cult-mask on his awe-inspiring face and that this mask was provided with horns. In this view, the

[6]Jacob Klein, however, in his dissertation, *Šulgi D: A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), passim, proposes a theory that even such kings as Hammurabi were deified during their lifetime. But as far as the present writer knows, there are no iconographical evidences which would support such a theory.

[7]Hildegard Lewy, "Assyria, c. 2600-1816 B.C.," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3d ed. (1971), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 735-738.

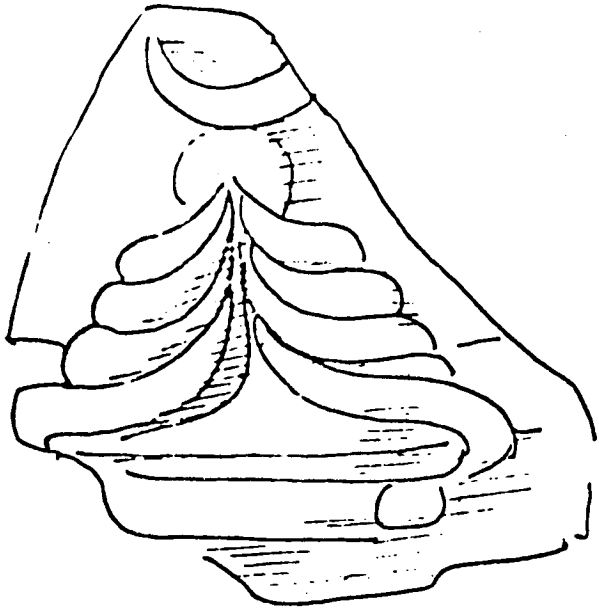


Figure 2. Tiara of Nannar, with the "moon-crescent" emblem balanced on the knob of the tiara. From the epoch of Ur-Nammu, ca. 2113-2096 B.C. (Author's sketch, after depiction given by L.-Hughes Vincent, "La représentation divine orientale archaïque," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud. . . ,* 1 [Paris, 1939]: 378, fig. 3.)

"horned" Moses is thus considered a vestige of a suppressed pagan cult, which, however, had to yield in favor of the Yahweh cult that from the time of the Sinai theophany asserted its dominance.[8] At Sinai, the Bull-cult and the Yahweh-cult were supposed to have clashed.

Other scholars, in defending the "shining face of Moses," have gone to another extreme by trying to draw analogies from mythology.[9] There are, of course, later examples that show how idol-worshipping countries influenced the Yahweh concept. For instance, the rude sketches on the *pithoi* (storage-jars) excavated at Kuntillet Ajrud, not far from Sinai, present Yahweh with a bull-face and horns on his head and in the act of dancing with his consort, the cow-goddess Hathor. The Egyptian cow-goddess was the patron deity at Sinai (see figure 3, on p. 333).[10] The picture of the dancing gods from Kuntillet Ajrud and the more familiar examples from the biblical literature (such as at Sinai, Baal-peor, Bethel, and Dan) represent a perverted "God-pattern"; they fly in the face of the normative pattern for worship in the OT.

It must be emphasized that the traditions of the Hebrew Bible represent a completely different pattern from the cultural patterns of the countries of the ancient Near East that surrounded little Palestine. For instance, in the OT, Yahweh is never described as wearing horns. Nor is Moses or any other of the biblical personalities described in this way.[11] Furthermore, the masks of the oracle priests are unknown cult items in Israel. As for the horns of the altar, it may safely be concluded that there was no animate concept attached to them. And finally, the crescent of the moon and the horns of the bull are emblems unknown in cultic and religious contexts in Israel; they had no connection as such with Yahweh worship.

[8]Süring, p. 29.

[9]Elmer G. Suhr, "The Horned Moses," *Folklore* 74 (1963): 387-395.

[10]William H. Shea, "The Date and Significance of the Israelite Settlement at Kuntillet Ajrud," a forthcoming article. For a reproduction of the crude drawing of the "dancing gods," see Ze'ev Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort?" *BARev*, vol. 2, no. 2 (March/April, 1979), plate on p. 35.

[11]For an explanation of the misconception of Moses wearing horns, see Süring, pp. 24-30, 422-433.

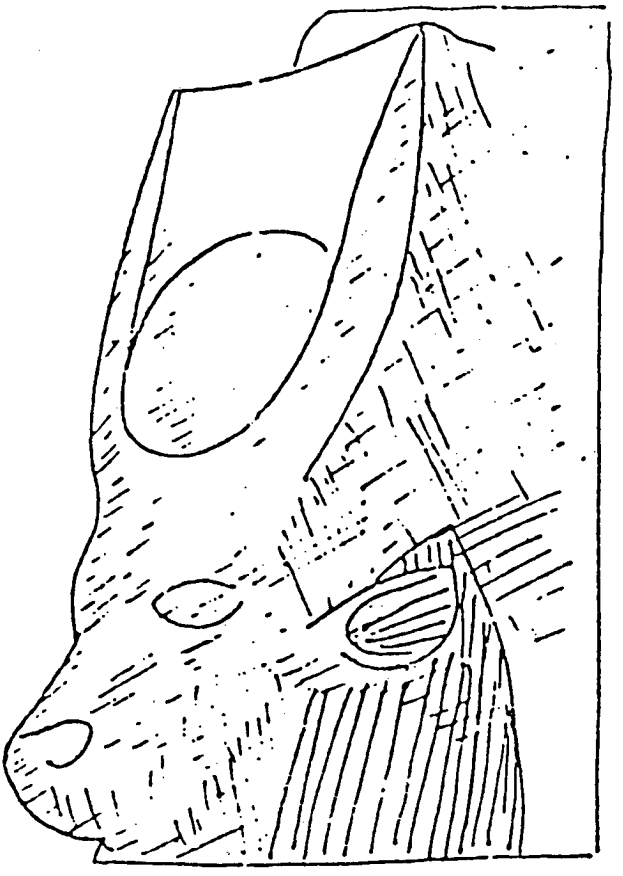


Figure 3. Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of love, depicted under the symbol of a cow and with the sun-disk enclosed between the horns. From the XVIIIth Dynasty, ca. 1490 B.C. (Author's sketch, after photograph in G. Hoyningen-Huene and George Steindorff [responsible for photographs and text, respectively], *Egypt* [New York, 1943], p. 94. The same photograph, in smaller size, appears in the 2d rev. ed. [New York, 1945], p. 107.)

2. *Horns Depicted, with Functional Aspects Indicated in the Context*

There are several OT passages which are not merely descriptive of horns in the ways noted above, but which add reference to a functional aspect or dimension. These references are mainly found in cultic contexts. So, for instance, is the case in Exod 30:10, where there is mention of "atonement" being made on the horns of the altar of incense in the sanctuary. There are also references of similar nature that have a political context; e.g., 1 Kgs 22:11, "And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made for himself horns of iron, and said, 'Thus says the Lord, "With these you shall push the Syrians until they are destroyed"'" (RSV). According to Othmar Keel, the *lô* in the context is not reflexive but should be interpreted with the meaning "for him." In other words, Zedekiah made a cap with iron horns, not for himself, but *for the king*. The horns transformed the king, as *ngh* ("to gore") implies, into an invincible, triumphant bull.[12]

The verb *ngh* is used in ancient Near Eastern contexts, not only literally of horned animals, but also metaphorically of kings. In the ancient Near East, gods wearing "horned" helmets, crowns, or caps are likewise occasionally referred to as bulls (wild oxen). Since the time of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.), depictions of kings fighting with the wild ox (not with the domestic ox) appear also in Assyrian inscriptions. Just as the wild ox was the symbol for fierce, aggressive strength and power in attack, the domestic bull became the symbol of fertility. At times, these two different traditions merged, and the source of the original tradition was forgotten.

Mention may be made here of some ancient literary references to kings or even to a whole people, wherein the epithet "bull" is applied. For instance, Egyptian Pharaohs Thutmose III and Seti II are described as "invincible" and "a young bullock with horns," respectively.[13] And in the OT, Deut 33:17 provides a poetic passage in which "firstling bull" with "horns of a wild ox" is a term descriptive of "the ten thousands of Ephraim" and "the thousands

[12]Othmar Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1974), pp. 131-132.

[13]Süring, p. 321.

of Manasseh." The identification here is not simply of a king or other leader, but rather of the Joseph tribes. Incidentally, in the monarchy period, after the secession of the ten tribes from the United Kingdom, "Ephraim" and "Israel" were terms used synonymously to describe the northern nation constituted by these ten tribes.

A further example of this sort of "contextually explained" reference to horns is in evidence in 1 Kgs 1:50-51 and 2:28, where the importance of the horns of the altar may be seen in a social context. When Adonijah feared death at the hand of Solomon, he grasped "the horns of the altar"; and so too was the case with the less-fortunate Joab.

3. *"Horn" or "Horns" Used in a Purely Metaphorical Sense*

The category of OT texts wherein the term "horn" or "horns" is used in a purely metaphorical way is also the category that requires the most intensive study and careful application. This sort of metaphorical use occurs in several kinds of literary portrayal, such as hymnic texts, prophetic oracles, and apocalyptic vision.

Hymnic Texts

The hymnic texts, with their grand and lofty expressions, make use of metaphors more often than any other genre of literature. It is in the context of such texts that we are especially confronted with the horn-motif on a *vertical* level. Such is the case, for instance, in the parallel texts 2 Sam 22:3 and Ps 18:2, wherein God is referred to as "my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock, in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold" (RSV). It is apparent that the term *qrn* ("horn") is explicitly combined with "salvation" in the locution *qeren yiš^{c}î*, "the horn of my salvation."

There are compelling reasons why the word *qrn* in these passages should not be given the negative aggressive connotation originating in the bull metaphor. Each epithet in the immediate context paints a positive portrait of Yahweh. If we were to maintain the traditional (and incorrect) analogy here, that "horn" is a figure of speech pertaining to the animal kingdom, such a "horn"

would imply attack, aggressiveness, and eventually "killing" (see figure 4, on p. 337). The context makes clear that the situation is quite different—not one that is negatively forceful, with destructiveness, but one that resounds with peaceful repose in God as the source of safety, security, salvation. One wonders if it is not simply "eisegesis" to make the former application, apparently based on an *a priori* assumption of uniformity of the horn-motif in the various ancient Near Eastern cultures.

Some of the hymnic texts appear to be strongly Messianic. So, for instance, Ps 132:17, "I will make a horn to sprout for David"—where the *qrn* has been rightly translated and interpreted to mean "an invisible kingdom" that will have its "full accomplishment in the Messiah."[14] Many such texts that refer to the dynasty of David seem to imply a Messianic prophecy, even though eschatological fulfillment is not explicitly stated.

Prophetic Texts

From among the prophetic texts, Jer 48:25 may serve as a typical one: "The horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, says the Lord." The impending doom of the kingdom of Moab was at hand, and the "*qrn* Moab" ("horn of Moab") appears to be used as a technical term here, referring to the domination of Moab in a political or national sense. The "horn" seems to refer indirectly, as well, to the many cities of the tableland of Moab (see vss. 21-24).

Another text that may be noted is Ezek 34:21, which proclaims an indictment: "You butt with side and shoulder, thrust at all the weak with your horns, . . ." The act of goring (as by an ox) is in view in the term *t^{e}nagg^{e}hû* (a Piel). This term derives from *ngh*, which we have already seen means "to gore." The metaphor here is clear, and the aggressive act is self-evident.

Apocalyptic Texts

Horns appear in apocalyptic visions, such as those of Daniel in the OT and the book of Revelation in the NT. In such contexts, what is the correct interpretation of "horns"?

[14]Cf. James G. Murphy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (Andover, Eng., 1875), p. 152; and Derek Kidner, *Psalms 73-150: A Commentary on Books 3-5 of the Psalms* (London, Eng., 1975), p. 451.

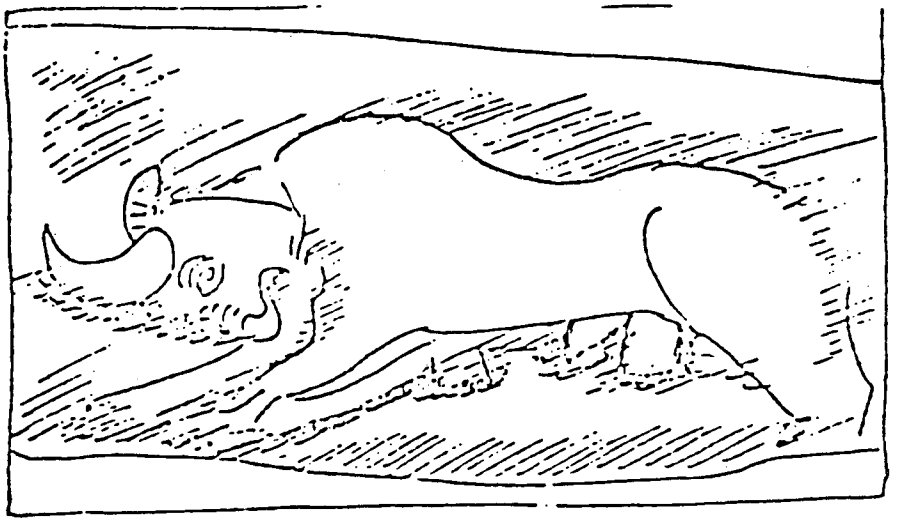


Figure 4. An attacking bull depicted in bold relief from Hüyük. (Author's sketch, after depiction in Kurt Bittel, Rudolf Naumann, and Otto Heinz, eds., *Yazilikaya: Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften und Kleinfunde* [Leipzig, 1941], p. 160, fig. 65.)

A close investigation of the "horn-passages" in the book of Daniel shows that the ordinary morphological interpretation of the word "horn" in its singular construction breaks down in apocalyptic context. The singular *qeren* in Daniel is used to indicate powers which are active on the *horizontal* or *earthly* level, whereas the singular "horn" in the hymnic and prophetic texts seems to refer, as we have seen, either to a power operating on the vertical (heavenly) level, or to a "kingdom" or people as a sort of cryptic device. A further usage of *qeren* in non-Danielic OT texts reveals that the singular word "horn" occurs in idiomatic expressions.

By way of contrast, the dual and plural forms, "horns," in the book of Daniel seem to conform more regularly to the normal patterns found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible indicating that "horns" mainly represent earthly powers operating on the horizontal level.

In Dan 7:8, the *qrn* refers to a horn which Daniel describes as *qeren ʾaḥari ṣᶜèrâh*, "another horn, a small/little one" (in contrast to the ten horns). In Dan 8:9, in a parallel prophetic sequence, again a "little horn" is brought to view—in the Hebrew, *qeren-ʾahat miṣṣᵉᶜîrāh*, which together with the verb *yaṣaʾ*, means literally, "one horn came from smallness/littleness." It seems reasonable that an identification of these horns can be made on at least three grounds called to attention recently by William H. Shea: (1) the same symbolism used; (2) the same general pattern pertaining to each (namely, [a] arising "at a somewhat similar time in history," [b] beginning small and becoming great [7:8 and 8:9], [c] being blasphemous [7:8, 25 and 8:11, 25], [d] persecuting God's faithful ones [7:21, 25 and 8:11, 25], [e] appearing "to endure for protracted periods of prophetic time" [7:25 and 8:14], and [f] eventually suffering similar fates [7:26 and 8:25]); and (3) the fact that the structuring of Daniel's prophetic sequences in a parallel fashion indicates the later prophecies of the book as explanations of its earlier ones (an intent specifically stated in at least two instances, as well: 9:22-23 and 10:1, 14).[15] Shea has also pointed out that the correspondence between these "little horns" of Dan 7 and 8 "is greater than those aspects of their work not mentioned in both

[15]William H. Shea, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 30-31.

passages," and that none of the "individual characteristics are mutually exclusive so as to rule out that they [the horns] could refer to the same power."[16]

Both of these horns are described as operating on a horizontal level, though the latter one (8:9) is described as reaching out into a new direction, namely the vertical, and having partial success. It is quite generally held that the two "little horns" are each a symbol for the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but there are various reasons which make such a view untenable in the context.

First, a close study of Dan 7:7, 24 and 8:3, 5, 21-22 reveals that the word *qrn* is used with the interchangeable meaning of "king(s)"/"kingdoms," and it appears that the term "king(s)" is used in the sense of a ruling house or dynasty, rather than as designating an individual. Second, the attempt to make the ten horns of Dan 7 represent a *succession* of ten individual rulers (as held in the common view) hardly does justice to the context, for the *contemporaneity* of the ten is surely suggested by the fact that the "little horn" puts down three of those ten (7:24): If the ten were successive Seleucid rulers, only the last of these—not a total of three—should have been put down. (Also, the very diversity of lists given by the commentators as to the identity of these suggested kings only tends to confirm the tenuousness of the view.)

It is beyond the scope of this article to pursue this matter further, but it may be mentioned that other cogent arguments against the identification of the "little horn" of Dan 7 and the "little horn" of Dan 8 with Antiochus Epiphanes have appeared in recent literature,[17] and that serious questions have also recently been raised concerning the paralleling identification so generally

[16]Ibid., p. 31.

[17]See, e.g., Shea, *Selected Studies,* pp. 25-44. Also, now see a fascinating new book that appeared in November of last year, as part of the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth on November 10, 1483: Ricardo Abos-Padilla, *Plädoyer für Antiochos IV. Epiphanes, 47 ½ Thesen über das Buch Daniel—Martin Luther zum 500. Jahrestag seiner Geburt dargebracht* (Bad Homburg, Germany, 1983). This volume is one of a two-part series, and deals with Dan 7 and 8, the other volume to follow up with another "47 ½ theses" on Dan 9, 11, 12. (There is an obvious and intended play on the 95 Theses of Martin Luther.) This present volume dealing with Dan 7 and 8 raises some crucial and ponderous questions concerning the common attempt to identify the "little horn" of those two chapters with Antiochus Epiphanes.

made in attributing the activities of the "northern tyrant" of Dan 11 to Antiochus and in drawing supposed allusions to the Maccabean crisis from that chapter.[18]

4. *Summary*

We have endeavored in the foregoing sections to look broadly at the horn-motifs as used in the biblical literature, particularly the OT, and I have discussed these under three basic types of usage. As a brief summary, it may be stated that in general the biblical motifs of "horn(s)" move on a vertical level, whereas the motif of "horns" in the broader ancient-Near-Eastern context move on a horizontal level.

That there may be overlapping in the OT horn-motifs as to dimension and/or direction is, however, possible, as the portrayal given in Dan 7 and 8 indicates. Here the horizontal (or horizontal expanded to include vertical) is in view.

In any event, careful analysis of each context is always necessary in order to be able to present as dependable an exegesis as possible.

[18]See, e.g., Arthur J. Ferch, "The Book of Daniel and the 'Maccabean Thesis,'" *AUSS* 21 (1983): 129-141, esp. 134-136. Ferch makes an analysis—a significant one, in my opinion—which compares the historical setting of the Maccabean period with the so-called, supposed allusions of Dan 11 to the crisis for the Jews that occurred under Antiochus Epiphanes. The *incongruity*, not the similarity, is what stands out when this sort of comparison is made.

Some other studies have been appearing which undercut the "Maccabean Thesis" from the other end of the chronological tunnel—studies that relate to the increasing evidence which points to a sixth-century (rather than second-century) date for the book of Daniel. See, e.g., Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology" and "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 37-49, 211-225, plus a series of five articles by William H. Shea on the historical chapters of the book of Daniel, in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn issues of 1982 and the Summer and Autumn issues of 1983 of *AUSS*.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1984, Vol. 22, No. 3, 341-348.

ON PASTORS AS COUNSELORS

GARTH D. THOMPSON
Andrews University

Counseling is more and more coming to be recognized as an essential element of pastoral care.[1] Nevertheless, the very notion of pastors doing counseling seems to remain anathema to many. At any rate, I have frequently been accosted by those who vigorously oppose either training pastors for, or encouraging them to function in, counseling capacities.

Thus, there remains a group of clinicians and other professionals who contend that the typical pastor—whose preparation has largely been theological and only minimally psychological—has no business presuming to dabble in the highly potent processes of trained psychotherapists. (This is not to imply that all clinicians decry some counseling activity by pastors. Many seem to welcome it—if there has been some preparation for it.)

There is a second group who resist pastoral involvement in the doing of counseling. These acknowledge that pastors must, of course, deeply value ministry to individuals. Nevertheless, they maintain that a pastor's obligations to a whole congregation of believers must preclude his/her involvement in such time-consuming and exclusive relationships with individuals as are entailed in effective therapeutic counseling.

Thus, both groups tend to deplore any tendency among practicing pastors to become involved in the doing of counseling. The first group are particularly concerned with what they perceive to be the potential in damage that may be done to persons by uninformed, untrained attempts at "playing psychiatrist." The second group, on the other hand, are troubled by their fears that preoccupation with personal counseling will inevitably impoverish the pastor's more traditional ministry of proclamation and congregational nurturance.

[1]See William E. Hulme, *Pastoral Care & Counseling* (Minneapolis, 1981), pp. 7-9.

This article focuses primarily on the concerns of the former group. At the same time, I would urge that if in fact the pastor is going to engage in personal counseling at all, then certainly the more informed and skilled he/she can be, the better.

1. *The Need for Competent Counseling*

It seems undeniable that counseling as therapy either has potential to affect persons and their behavior for good or for ill, or else is sheer quackery! If it does have even a modicum of such power to affect for ill—as well as for good—then the possibility of a practitioner's actually doing harm, is very real. In that light, the prospect of having a horde of pastors running around "playing psychiatrist" could indeed be truly frightening!

Of course, there has been no lack of researchers who challenge psychotherapists to show that even professional clinicians can really be depended on to make a positive difference. Among the foremost of these challengers has been H. J. Eysenck.[2] Especially in the 1960s, he and colleagues authored a considerable body of literature contending that while over any two-year period two-thirds of those who are mentally or emotionally disturbed recover with no treatment, the best average that therapy could establish was a similar two-thirds recovery rate!

Subsequent research and literature, however, has shown that the *average* was established by combining the results from a distinguishable group of therapists and approaches achieving much better than the two-thirds recovery rate, with the results of other therapists who were actually doing so much damage as to reduce the statistic to the final average.[3] If, then, practitioners with sophisticated training can do significant damage, what must be feared from pastors, many of whom at best have only a brief course or two in "Pastoral Counseling" while in seminary! It is important to make a clear distinction here between (a) those professional "pastoral counselors" whose preparation enables them to hold such

[2]H. J. Eysenck, "The Effects of Psychotherapy: An Evaluation," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 16 (1952): 319-323.

[3]Robert R. Carkhuff and Charles B. Truax, "Toward Explaining Success and Failure in Interpersonal Learning Experiences," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 44 (1966): 723-728.

credentials as, for instance, are issued by the American Association of Pastoral Counselors (AAPC) and the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education (ACPE), and (b) practicing parish pastors, very few of whom have such preparation and credentials.

A vigorous protest, however, must herewith be registered against any across-the-board opposition to giving pastors and pastors-to-be an increasingly sophisticated introduction to counseling theory and practice. It seems that professional counselors and psychotherapists who suggest that the givers of pastoral care cannot be greatly benefited when informed by their expertise are selling themselves terribly short!

Pastors regularly encounter individuals who are temporarily handicapped or disabled to one degree or another by their emotional response to crisis-precipitating events or situations. In fact, an active pastor may well encounter a larger number of these in a single month than will a professional therapist in many months of ongoing treatments. Has the counseling/clinical profession nothing whereby it can inform the pastor for the enriching and effectualizing of the pastoral care he/she must render to these individuals? It seems inescapable that even if his/her counseling care for an individual is limited to a single occasion, and is free from all diagnosis or prescription, there is promise that the effectiveness of that care can be greatly enhanced if it is in fact informed by the research, understanding, and processes of psychotherapy.

2. *"Relationship" as Method*

There are numerous findings of counseling research and practice that could afford enrichment to the giving of pastoral care. Counseling and other clinical professionals are familiar, for instance, with the findings that point to the significance of the relationship between therapist and counselee/patient. For pastors schooled in the tradition of proclamation, exhortation, and instruction in righteousness, informing their ministry by such findings might tend to revolutionize their pastoral-care giving.

Addressing themselves to the statistics which suggest that professional treatment does no more for recovery rates than does time combined with spontaneous social interaction, both Charles Truax and Robert Carkhuff describe these findings regarding relationship

and therapy effectiveness.[4] The data indicate that whatever other techniques and approaches be used, and whatever the theoretical orientation of the clinician or his methods, there is a highly significant difference in recovery rates when a designatable quality of relationship is afforded, as against when it is not afforded. It will be shown below that in fact the relationship which Carkhuff and Bernard Berenson have distinguished is very similar to what is delineated as vital by a wide variety of clinical approaches and methods.[5]

It is now commonly recognized that essential elements of the effective relationship distinguished by Carkhuff and Berenson include (1) genuineness, (2) empathy, (3) positive regard, and (4) concreteness. James Hansen, et al., have shown that with the addition of a single further element—namely, unconditionality or nonpossessive positive regard—it is possible to cover the relationship elements specified as essential by a comprehensive range of orientations and clinicians.[6] These range all the way from psychoanalytic theory (e.g., Alfred Adler, Karen Horney, Harry S. Sullivan) through learning theory (e.g., John Dollard and Neal Miller, John Wolpe, Edward Shoben) and client-centered theory (Carl Rogers), to existential theory (Edward Dreyfus, Rollo May).

The significant point indicated here is, of course, that *without* provision of such a relationship, little by way of therapeutic intervention or change toward health can be expected to occur, whereas *with* the relationship, healthy change tends consistently to occur, whatever else may be used by way of techniques. The implication is that counseling and its techniques could very possibly be reduced to possession of these qualities and especially to the process of conveying them to the counselee. If in fact it is largely by the affording of such relationship that readiness for and capacity to change are

[4]Charles B. Truax, "Effective Ingredients in Psychotherapy: An Approach to Unraveling the Patient-Therapist Interaction," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 10 (1963): 256-263; and Robert R. Carkhuff, "Toward a Comprehensive Model of Facilitative Interpersonal Processes," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 14 (1967): 67-72.

[5]See Robert R. Carkhuff and Bernard Berenson, *Beyond Counseling and Therapy* (New York, 1967).

[6]James C. Hansen, Richard R. Stevic, and Richard W. Warner, Jr., *Counseling: Theory and Process* (Boston, 1972).

enhanced, then it would seem that schooling pastors in attitudes and skills contributing to such relationship could only enrich their giving of pastoral care—however much or little they actually engage in doing formal counseling.

3. *"Listening" as Pastoral Care*

It is widely recognized that the process of listening to and responding to feeling is fundamental to formation of such relationship as is change-enabling.[7] Along with numerous others, Thomas R. Gordon has defined and described "active listening" and shown its value for conveying the essential relational qualities.[8] I would propose that a further helpful consideration derives from making a distinction between "topic hearing" and "people (person) hearing." When the relationship builder focuses on, and responds to, what another person may be conveying about his or her internal self—whatever that person's topic—the result is "people hearing." Thus, for instance, a boarding school student complaining about cafeteria food just may be indicating homesickness—though ostensibly talking about the cafeteria. "People hearing" would focus on such messages about the person, rather than on talk about the topic.

As William E. Hulme has recognized, "The basic approach of listening to feelings, although new to pastoral education a few decades ago, is now common knowledge even if not common practice."[9] It seems beyond debate that for introduction to this listening approach, the givers of pastoral care are greatly indebted to the research and practice of psychotherapists. Understanding of the approach and consistent practice of that approach can be (and unquestionably *are*) two separate things, however. I would vigorously maintain that the giving of pastoral care greatly needs, not only constant reminders, but also continuing instruction, training, and practice in this listening approach of ministry.

The givers of pastoral care may well find occasion for exhortation, advice-giving, and duty-prescription in their ministry. Nevertheless, the evidence from research reveals that pastoral care is

[7]See Carl R. Rogers, *On Becoming a Person* (Boston, 1961).

[8]Thomas R. Gordon, *Parent Effectiveness Training* (New York, 1970).

[9]Hulme, p. 7.

much more helpful when it places a major emphasis on that kind of listening which conveys empathic understanding, gives release from anxious defensiveness, and fosters formation of change-enabling relationship.

4. *Release from Defensiveness*

It is here suggested that a primary contribution of the therapeutic relationship, including the active listening so widely seen as fundamental to it, is the tendency to afford the counselee/patient/parishioner release from defensiveness. It will be remembered that the biblical narrative of Jesus' encounter with the woman about to be stoned for adultery (see John 8:3-11) has him assuring her that however disgraced and degraded she might feel, he holds no condemnation whatever for her. One can almost feel her taut nerves uncoiling as it dawns on her that she is released from any need to defend herself from attack. Then Jesus invites her to that change in her life which must forever escape her so long as the rigidities born of defensiveness bind her. Jesus' words "Go and sin no more" have traditionally been viewed as an injunction. In the light of his non-condemning acceptance (though not approval), that expression "Go and sin no more" would seem to emerge more accurately as an invitation—an invitation to live the life she no doubt had all along yearned to live. When pastors, schooled in theological imperatives and identified so generally as the traditional defenders of moral values, have had their theological sensitivities to divine reconciliation informed and reinforced by research-based counseling concepts, they can afford "openings-to-change" that are uniquely potent because of that very theological orientation.

I would here further suggest that clinicians just might find pastors more ready to make referrals to them if the pastors were not themselves prompted into a defensive position by their clinician friends. In other words, if "pastoral counseling" attempts are scorned, pastors may fear that the Christian thrust of their values is being challenged, as well. They wonder if clinicians who belittle their attempts to confront a parishioner with Christian values can be sufficiently trusted for purposes of making a referral.

In contrast to this, I may point out the effect and value of cooperative effort as evidenced by a personal experience in which

the clinician initiated the cooperative effort. Some years ago, a psychiatrist in a community where I was pastoring referred one of his patients to me in connection with what appeared to be the patient's conflicts regarding Christian values and teachings. This, in turn, led me as a pastor to make a significantly increased number of referrals to that psychiatrist, because of my perception that the clinician recognized the value of some mutuality in caring for his patient. (A significant factor in the psychiatrist's referral was, no doubt, his awareness that the pastor had had a meaningful degree of exposure to the basics of behavioral and counseling science.)

5. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, I would here propose, in contrast to both groups who have tended to resist the training of pastors in the disciplines of counseling, that what is needed is more rather than less of such training. Although in this essay I have in no way sought to propose that pastors dabble in depth therapy, it must nevertheless be recognized that pastors are going to give—indeed, they must give—pastoral care. Surely, along with being alerted to the very real dangers inherent in their "dabbling in psychiatry," their giving of pastoral care can yet be greatly enhanced, if they be carefully schooled in the contributions the counseling discipline can make to their work.

I would want to acknowledge, of course, that in fact the prospect of a horde of minimally qualified pastors running around "playing psychiatrist" is for me truly frightening. Far more frightening, however, is the prospect of a horde of pastors *and* psychologists, psychiatrists, and other professionally trained clinicians running around "playing GOD"—unwittingly or otherwise!

Sometimes, and unfortunately, the more expertise one has, the more likely is he/she to presume to absolute judgments, diagnoses, prescriptions, etc. To forget that the best that psychological or personality tests and inventories have to offer is probability data, and to forget that clinically derived data about a person can never be complete—to forget such things and then to presume certainty in projection, in label of condition, in prescription of duty or of remedy, is little less than presuming to "play God." Not all practitioners subscribe, of course, to all the notions of non-directive counseling. But maybe that approach can warn all finite human

beings from dabbling in the certainties that belong solely to the infinite!

It is here submitted that one very likely way to avoid such God-playing, at least for pastors, is to provide them (and pastors-to-be) with more—not less—exposure to the best that counseling research and practice can offer. In so doing, there will also undoubtedly be an enrichment of the pastoral care these pastors afford individuals and congregations.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Andrews University doctoral dissertations are microfilmed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Some dissertations will also have been published in dissertation series (e.g., the Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series), and in such cases, the pertinent information will be noted in connection with the abstract printed herein.

CHRISTIAN-BUDDHIST DIALOGUE IN THE WRITINGS OF LYNN A. DE SILVA

Author: **Tissa Brian de Alwis.** Th.D., 1983.

Adviser: Robert M. Johnston.

*(**Tissa Brian de Alwis** is a member of the History and Religious Philosophy faculties of Spicer Memorial College, Aundh Road, Ganeshkhind Post, Poona 411007, India.)*

By an analysis and evaluation of Lynn A. de Silva's dialogue with Sri Lankan Buddhism, this dissertation studies the theological implications of inter-religious dialogue that call for resolution from the Christian standpoint, the Christian self-understanding in religiously plural context, and the essentials of authentic inter-religious dialogue.

Chap. 1 surveys the historical factors which heightened the encounter between the two religions and describes the background from which De Silva's theology emerged. Developments in the debate on inter-religious dialogue in missionary conferences in Asia and in the World Council of Churches reveal the confrontation between Asian and European theologies. It is shown that De Silva's dialogical concerns arose out of existential contact with Sri Lankan Buddhism, and that the resurgence of Buddhism and the transition in Christian missionary attitudes led to a Sri Lankan expression of Christianity.

Chap. 2 describes De Silva's holistic dialogical approach in contrast to theoretical Western approaches. The basic ingredients essential to authentic dialogue and its objectives, as spelled out by De Silva, are noted. In his appraisal of the Buddhist approach to dialogue, dialogical exchanges with Buddhist thought leaders, and use of Buddhist terms, a practised theology of dialogue emerges.

Chap. 3 describes the translational nature of De Silva's dialogical theology. The process of conveying concepts from one religious context to another is traced in his use of *Tilakkhana* (the three signata of Buddhism)

as a conceptual framework in the development of: (1) a Christian-Buddhist estimate of man—the relation between *anattā* (non-self) and the Christian teaching about the spirit; (2) an inclusivist Christology—Christ as *Dharma-Logos*, and his salvific role in the religions; and (3) *anattā* and the indispensability of God.

Chap. 4 evaluates De Silva's treatment of Christianity and Buddhism as complementary systems and sifts out that which is theologically decisive for authentic inter-faith dialogue. It deals with the Buddhist response to De Silva and assesses his dialectical approach. It is shown that the salvific status accorded to other religions is crucial to Asian Christian self-understanding on the questions of church and mission.

THE MEANING OF ΤΈΛΟΣ IN ROMANS 10:4

Author: **Roberto David Badenas.** Ph.D., 1983.

Adviser: Abraham Terïan.

*(**Roberto David Badenas** is a member of the Religion faculty and of the Departments of French and Spanish Language and Culture of Colegio Adventista de Sagunto, Carretera de Petres, Sagunto [Valencia], Spain.)*

This study attempts to resolve the ambiguity surrounding the meaning of τέλος in Rom 10:4 and to provide philological criteria for the understanding of this term.

Chap. 1 indicates clearly that a considerable shift has occurred in the history of the interpretation of τέλος in Rom 10:4. The early church and the Reformers understood this verse in a teleological/completive sense: as a statement of the fulfillment of the law in Christ in a prophetic as well as purposive signification. However, since the post-Reformation era and particularly since the nineteenth century, the terminal/temporal/antinomian interpretations have prevailed. Rom 10:4 has been generally approached from the perspective of the law-gospel debate. The thrust of the passage and the meaning of τέλος have not received due attention. Τέλος has been translated by "termination," "fulfillment," or "goal," without semantic substantiation.

Chap. 2 provides the needed philological study on the word τέλος and the phrase τέλος νόμου in biblical and cognate literature. This study shows that the semantic import of τέλος is primarily teleological, not temporal. Τέλος with a genitive is generally used to indicate purpose or outcome, not termination. The phrase τέλος νόμου designates the object or fulfillment of law, never its abrogation. Therefore, on philological grounds, the interpretation of Rom 10:4 as "Christ has superseded or abrogated the law" would be awkward, if not incorrect or unintelligible to the audience of Romans, even if it were so intended by Paul.

Chap. 3 consists of an exegesis of Rom 10:4 and its immediate context (9:30-10:21) within the larger context of Rom 9-11. It shows that νόμος is consistently used in this section in the broad sense of Torah, while τέλος is used probably as the culminating point in a series of athletic terms. It appears, therefore, that the relationship between Christ and the law is explained by Paul in teleological categories. One main concern of Paul in this passage is to prove that the Torah leads to the gospel (10:5-21) and that the Christ-event is the climactic manifestation of the righteousness of God promised in Scripture (10:4-8). The way Paul deals with the OT in this passage reveals one of the lesser-known features of his thought, namely, his teleological view of Scripture.

TOWARD A CRITICISM OF THEOLOGICAL REASON: TIME AND TIMELESSNESS AS PRIMORDIAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Author: **Fernando Luis Canale.** Ph.D., 1983.

Adviser: Raoul Dederen.

*(**Fernando Luis Canale** is a member of the Biblical Languages and Old Testament faculties of Colegio Adventista del Plata, 3103 Villa Libertador San Martin, Entre Ríos, Argentina.)*

This investigation studies the possibility of developing a theological criticism of Christian theological reason. The investigation proceeds by developing a phenomenological analysis of three major contexts within which reason has been interpreted and utilized by Christian theology for the constitution of its exegetical and systematic formulations: the philosophical, theological, and biblical contexts.

The philosophical context shows that the structure of reason requires the interpretation of Being's dimensionality which determines its basic meaning and functioning. Moreover, it shows that Being's dimensionality has been interpreted in two ways: as timeless and as temporal.

The theological context, through the analysis of reason's procedures as a tool for the constitution of meaning in Thomas Aquinas's and Rudolf Bultmann's systems, shows that theology has depended on philosophical criticism of reason and its classical timeless interpretation of Being's dimensionality. Thomas's system, and with him conservative theology, follows the Aristotelian interpretation of reason, while Bultmann's system, and with him liberal theology, follows the Kantian interpretation.

The biblical context, through the analysis of Exod 3:14, the *locus classicus* for the discussion about Being in Scripture, shows that theological criticism of theological reason is possible and that biblical reflection on Being interprets its dimensionality as temporal. Moreover, in consideration of the facts that the philosophical context uncovers the hypothetical nature of reason, and that Christian theology is rooted in the conceptuality of the biblical reflection in which it is grounded, it is suggested that criticism of theological reason should be developed following the temporal interpretation of Being as rooted and developed in the Scriptures.

On this basis, it is further suggested that such a criticism should be able to provide theology with the necessary starting point for advancing beyond the alternatives provided by the Aristotelian and Kantian interpretations of reason that so far have conditioned the interpretation and actual functioning of reason as a tool for the constitution of Christian theological meanings.

A STUDY OF SELF-ESTEEM OF DELINQUENT MALE ADOLESCENTS AND THE PERCEIVED DEGREE OF THEIR PARENTS' CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

Author: **Dayton Chin Keong Chong.** Ed.D., 1981.

Adviser: Mercedes Dyer.

*(**Dayton Chin Keong Chong** is Therapist at the New Day Center [a Center for Substance Abuse Services of the Battle Creek Adventist Hospital], 565 General Avenue, Battle Creek, Michigan 49015.)*

Problem. Many developmental psychologists are concerned about how parents' child-rearing practices influence adolescents' self-esteem, for self-esteem provides one of the foundations for the development of personality. Is it possible that parents' child-rearing practices contribute to the development of a low self-esteem, which in turn influences behavior? This study was conducted to determine the relationship of self-esteem of delinquent male adolescents to the perceived degree of their parents' child-rearing practices.

Procedure. The study involved 132 delinquent male adolescents who matriculated during the fall semester of 1979 at Starr Commonwealth, Albion, Michigan. The males ranged from 12 to 18 years of age, with 82 whites, 34 blacks, 4 American Indians, 3 Spanish Americans, and 4 others. Of this total, 106 came from two-parent homes.

Two instruments were used to collect data on the self-esteem of delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of their parents' child-rearing practices. The Coopersmith *Self-Esteem Inventory* (*SEI*) was employed to assess the self-esteem of delinquent male adolescents. The *Parent-Child Relations Questionnaire* (*PCR*) was used to investigate the perceived degree of their parents' child-rearing practices.

It was hypothesized that a significant correlation exists between self-esteem of delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of their parents' child-rearing practices. It was also hypothesized that significant multiple correlations exist between ten variables pertaining to parent-child relations and each of four self-esteem variables.

Zero-order correlations and multiple regression analysis were used to analyze the data.

Results. Among the 132 delinquent male adolescents, 95 percent of their fathers were employed, while 75 percent of their mothers were homemakers. Low self-esteem was found among these delinquent male adolescents. They perceived their fathers' child-rearing practices as demanding, casual, loving, and tending to give symbolic-love rewards. They

perceived their mothers' child-rearing practices to be demanding, loving, and giving of symbolic-love rewards.

Significant correlations were found to exist between the following: (a) the social self-esteem of these delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of their fathers' demanding child-rearing practices; (b) the general self-esteem of these delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of symbolic-love rewards given by their mothers; (c) the school self-esteem of these delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of symbolic-love punishment given by their mothers; and (d) the social self-esteem of these delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of their mothers' casual child-rearing practices.

A significant multiple correlation was found to exist between ten parent-child-relations (mothers') variables and school self-esteem. Greater self-esteem tended to be related to the delinquent male adolescents' perceptions of less-demanding, greater symbolic-love reward and symbolic-love punishment child-rearing practices on the part of their mothers.

No significant correlations were found to exist between general self-esteem, school self-esteem, social self-esteem, and home self-esteem of these delinquent male adolescents and the perceived degree of their parents' protective, rejecting, neglecting, loving, direct-object reward, and direct-object punishment child-rearing practices. No significant multiple correlations were found to exist between the ten parent-child-relations variables and general, social, and home self-esteem.

Conclusion. The delinquent male adolescents in this study manifested a lower self-esteem in relation to the perceived degree of their parents' child-rearing practices. This low self-esteem was related to a pattern of varied child-rearing practices by their fathers and mothers, as perceived by these youth: demanding fathers and casual mothers; and fathers whose child-rearing practices were both demanding and casual, and casual and loving.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF HOME SCHOOLS AND PARENTS WHO OPERATE THEM

Author: **Gunnar A. Gustavsen.** Ed.D., 1981.

Adviser: George H. Akers.

(***Gunnar A. Gustavsen*** *is President of the North Norway Conference [Seventh-day Adventist Church], Parkgaten 35, 9000 Tromsø, Norway.)*

Problem. The home-school movement in America presents a rapidly emerging alternative to conventional educational systems. The purpose of this study was to identify selected characteristics of home schools and of the parents who operate them.

Procedure. The population used in this descriptive research was drawn from the files of the Hewitt Research Foundation, Berrien Springs, Michigan. Potential respondents were parents indicating recent experience or interest in home-school operations.

The study was designed to develop a profile of home schools and home-school operators by identifying central tendencies in the respondent data. A mailed questionnaire asked the parents questions in five areas: (1) reasons for operating home school; (2) the general nature of home schools; (3) essential elements for home-school success; (4) psychographic characteristics of home-school operators; and (5) demographic characteristics of home-school operators.

Findings. Data analysis produced the following findings:

1. The major reasons expressed by parents for operating home schools (in order of importance) were as follows: (a) interest in the moral health and character development of their children; (b) concern over the detrimental effect of rivalry and ridicule in conventional schools; (c) parent-perceived poor quality of public-school education; and (d) the desire to extend parent-child contact.

2. The general nature of home schools, as revealed by the responses, embraces the following typical home-school characteristics: (a) a small, family enterprise, averaging two children and sponsored by both parents; and (b) an informal, child-centered, relatively flexible program.

3. Parent-perceived success factors (in order of importance) were as follows: (a) love of children; (b) strong parental determination; (c) family unity in the enterprise; (d) support from friends and others; and (e) economic ability to afford the additional expenses.

4. The psychographic profile indicated that parents were, for the most part, conservatives politically and regular in church attendance. Home-school operators expressed concern over violence in public schools, and

over excess government control. They reported themselves as occasional travelers and as moderately active in community affairs.

5. The demographic profile indicated the following: For the most part, home-school operators (a) lived in small or rural areas; (b) came from religious backgrounds that were diverse and non-traditional; and (c) tended to have small families. Generally, operators were homemaking mothers whose spouses were professionals or skilled workers, with a household income ranging between $15,000 and $20,000 per year. The parents typically had attended between one and three years of college.

Conclusions. These parent profiles identify a segment of the American population that is likely to initiate and operate home schools. They tend to be individualistic, law-abiding, concerned about their parent role, dissatisfied with available options in contemporary education, and actively engaged in implementing their own solution. They desire to reestablish the home as the basic unit in a free-enterprise society and are willing to confront social opposition in order to meet their personal goals. Boards of Education could well restudy the home school as a valid option in education.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ball, Bryan W. *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief.* Cambridge, Eng.: James Clarke/Greenwood, S.C.: Attic Press. 1981. 252 pp. $15.95 (in England, £7.50).

The English Connection is an excellent analysis of "Puritan religious thought, in its broadest sense," which Ball believes "gave to the English-speaking world all the essentials of contemporary Adventist belief" (p. 3). Although treating a complex subject in an encyclopedic fashion, it is a very well-organized and lucid work that not only allows the Puritans of the late sixteenth through early eighteenth century to speak for themselves by drawing upon numerous quotations from Puritan divines, preachers, and polemicists, but also synthesizes and interprets for the general reader the more difficult aspects of Puritan theology.

After a brief survey of the history of Puritanism, the study concentrates on specific key doctrines, each discussed thematically rather than chronologically, in the light of specific Puritan writings and in association with related beliefs. These key beliefs are encapsulated in the book's chapter titles: "The Sufficiency of Scripture," "This Incomparable Jesus," "The Lord Our Righteousness," "The New Man," "Believer's Baptism," "A High Priest in Heaven," "Gospel Obedience," "The Seventh-Day Sabbath," "The Whole Man," "The Return of Christ," "The Great Almanack of Prophecy," and "The World to Come."

In his introduction, Ball states that his purpose is "to examine specific doctrines" that show how "in its essentials, Seventh-day Adventist belief had been preached and practised in England during the Puritan era" (p. 2). A related purpose is to disprove those who see Adventism as "deviant" and to "demonstrate Adventism's essential affinity with historic, biblical Protestantism as opposed to any superficial relationship to nineteenth-century pseudo-Christian sectarianism" (p. 3). These worthy goals, unfortunately, raise certain difficulties.

It is clear from his choice of doctrines that, in this study at least, Ball interprets Puritanism in light of its later contribution to Adventism. Is it fair, however, to perceive Adventist belief in the past rather than to trace the means and extent of Adventist borrowing from the past? Can looking at the seventeenth century from the point of view of the nineteenth century

lead to certain distortions of emphasis? Such questions must have troubled the author, for he acknowledges that "many Puritans did not hold any of the doctrines which would later become distinctive tenets of Adventism, with the exception perhaps of belief in the literal second coming of Christ at the end of the age" (p. 3). If such is the case, then to what extent can one really argue that Seventh-day Adventists are the heirs of Puritanism? The problem is evident, for example, in the recognition that although some Puritans taught both the doctrine of scriptural primacy and the seventh-day sabbath, both doctrines did not gain equal acceptance. In fact, it is difficult to accept the key doctrine of the sabbath as "Puritan," since some of the most prominent Puritan divines—including Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, and John Owen, as Ball notes—opposed Christian observance of the seventh-day sabbath.

Other problems are the result not so much of the book's purpose as the author's methodology. For example, Ball does not delineate the "essentials" of Seventh-day Adventism, yet assumes that the reader will recognize the Puritan doctrines as the basis of later belief. He does not compare specific Puritan doctrines with official Adventist belief and practice, but at the beginning of each chapter only juxtaposes quotations "from representative Adventist authors" and "typical statements from Puritan spokesmen" to suggest their relationship (p. 4). Ball defends this approach by arguing that presenting official Adventist doctrine "would have necessitated a reduced and inevitably superficial treatment of the original source material" and by suggesting that interested readers may learn of contemporary Adventist belief by consulting denomination publications (see ibid.). Thus, many readers will be forced either to accept the author's analysis of Puritanism as representing "the Adventist position" on the doctrines he examines, or will need to read in other sources, intermixing various works in order to draw conclusions. This is unfortunate, given the polemical nature of some studies on Adventism and the fact that Adventist doctrine is neither static nor consistently presented even in official publications. The author's argument would have been greatly strengthened by even a short conclusion relating Puritanism to specific Adventist doctrine and suggesting how Adventism developed or modified particular beliefs.

The book, therefore, is not so much a study of the relationship between Puritanism and Seventh-day Adventism as it is a well-researched, careful, and sympathetic examination of select Puritan doctrines. Moreover, Ball speaks against the caricatured view that has given Puritan religious experience a negative image, and attempts to place the vivid and often overstated language of Puritan polemics within its historical context.

This study is packed with fascinating and thought-provoking information that is not simply of historical interest but touches on contemporary issues. Ball notes, for example, that Puritans did not believe in "verbal inspiration" and were greatly concerned about exegetical method. He also

discusses the Puritan concept of righteousness and justification, the "critical" relationship between justification and sanctification, and the Puritan opposition to perfectionism. Commenting on the understanding of Christ's role as high priest and the heavenly sanctuary, Ball makes clear that while the reality of that sanctuary is not to be doubted, "many seventeenth-century interpreters, if not most, stopped short of requiring a sanctuary in heaven which corresponded in exact substance to the sanctuary that had existed on earth" (p. 110).

Particularly interesting is Ball's analysis of the Puritan understanding of biblical prophecy. Puritans were convinced that Christ would return soon, but they avoided "capricious date-setting or the subjective and irresponsible interpretation of prophecy" (p. 182). Puritan expositors in general were neither fanatics nor extremists. They saw prophecy, not "as a basis for speculation concerning the course of future events," but as "given to substantiate faith by the verification of its fulfilment in events which can be demonstrated to have taken place" (p. 195). Noting that Richard Bernard believed that prophecy should be interpreted only in the context of its fulfillment in history, Ball rightly concludes, "Had all would-be interpreters of prophecy in the seventeenth century, and later, heeded this principle, Christ's Church might have been spared much embarrassment in the realm of prophetic interpretation, and, what is fundamentally more important, might not in later times have turned away so consistently from the legitimate and necessary study of biblical prophecy" (pp. 195-196).

I must take issue, however, with a few minor statements concerning prophetic interpretation. Ball describes the historicist approach to prophecy as "the norm of prophetic interpretation through Christian history" (p. 204). Such an understanding—based upon Froom's *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*—is not accurate for the vast majority of Christian interpreters. The historicist position, although having its roots in twelfth-century commentaries, did not fully develop until the seventeenth century, and then only among Protestant writers. It cannot be fairly called "the norm." This misunderstanding, furthermore, results in a second error. In his description of the "futurist" interpretation of prophecy associated with the two Jesuits, Ribera and Bellarmine, Ball accurately describes their position as "the projection of the Antichrist to the future, as a Jew who would arise at the end of time, and in whom would dwell all the powers of the Devil" (p. 205). He is mistaken, however, in his conclusion: "It was under these circumstances that this futurist concept of the Antichrist first appeared in Christian thought" (ibid.). The concept of Antichrist he describes, in fact, represents the norm for the majority of Christian thinkers until the Reformation, a point I establish in my *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, Washington, 1981). The Jesuit writers of the Catholic Reformation were not developing a new interpretation, but restating the traditional medieval

understanding of Antichrist and the last days. Finally, one should note that although Augustine did understand the Millennium to represent the period between Christ's first and second comings, he did not expect, as Ball states, that "the Last Judgement would take place in the year A.D. 1000 or thereabouts" (pp. 214-215). In fact, Augustine repeatedly argued against interpretations attempting to date the last days.

These blemishes, related as they are to the discussion of non-Puritan theology, do not depreciate several major contributions of *The English Connection*. First, the book brings together in manageable form a vast amount of information concerning the Puritan tradition, including the thought of learned theologians, more radical spokesmen, and even literary figures such as Milton and Bunyan. In the past, studies have concentrated on the more radical political and millenarian aspects of Puritanism in the early seventeenth century and have generally concluded after the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. However, Ball also examines the work of later Puritan writers not often studied, and he synthesizes a vast amount of original source material, drawing out the significant points and showing relationships.

The book makes two other significant contributions, particularly in light of contemporary Adventism. Even while wishing for more detailed comparison of specific Puritan and Adventist doctrines, one applauds Ball's choice of doctrines to examine, for these include the very basics of Christian belief (e.g., the authority of Scripture and the nature of man and of Christ). Similarly helpful is the book's reminder that Adventism derives from an essentially radical—rather than Lutheran—branch of the Protestant Reformation. The roots of Adventism go back to those who believed that early Protestantism had not completed the necessary re-formation of Christian doctrine. Thus, in its analysis of Puritanism, *The English Connection* directs our attention further back into history, to the ideals of the apostolic church.

Walla Walla College RICHARD KENNETH EMMERSON
College Place, Washington 99324

Edwards, Mark U., Jr. *Luther's Last Battles: Polemics and Politics, 1531-46*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, Eng.: Cornell University Press, 1983. 250 pp. $27.75.

In recent years, Luther scholars have begun to focus at last on the less dramatic years of the Reformer's life and work. Gerald Strauss, for example, has investigated the attempt to educate the masses into the Reformation and shown the disappointment that Luther and his followers

felt at the progress of the Word, while Susan Karant-Nunn has demonstrated the decisive rôle played by the electors of Saxony in organizing the new church, sometimes overriding the wishes of the Wittenberg theologians. Mark U. Edward's well-documented study of Luther's polemical works after 1530 confirms and illuminates both these findings, as it seeks to discover why Luther wrote in such a violent and abusive way in the last years of his life.

Old age and painful illness may have had something to do with Luther's vehemence in his later years, but Edwards shows that there is no direct correlation between bouts of pain and choleric outbursts in print. If pain was involved, it may have been of a different order. The 1530s did not live up to Luther's expectations. Neither the Word nor anything else seemed capable of doing all that he had expected. And the more that men failed to respond, the more Luther convinced himself that they had hardened their hearts. The need to woo was thus past. All that was left was the prophetic duty of rallying the faithful against the forces of antichrist for the last great battle.

This is a convincing explanation, based on Luther's works themselves, on an analysis of the narrowing circle of places of publications, and on Luther's correspondence. Edwards does not investigate the possibility that the language of hyperbole might on occasion have been used as a last desperate attempt to win over the uncommitted, but even this modification would leave his central thesis intact. In the main, the harshness of Luther's language is that of the general seeking to muster his forces in defence of the innocent and unwary against a dreadful foe.

The foe took many guises. The Jews, of whom Luther had been so hopeful in the early 1520s, were leading men astray by their cunning exegesis, he felt. So too were the Anabaptists (who receive scant attention in this work) and the papacy, the latter of which he variously identified as the antichrist and the false prophet of the book of Revelation. Together with the Turks (the "little horn" of Daniel and the Gog of Ezekiel and Revelation, according to Luther), these groups represented the forces of the Devil gathering for the last great conflict. But the Turks were also seen by him as the scourge of God upon a careless and ungrateful Empire, which, for the most part, had either rejected the gospel or neglected its deeper claims. And the rejection, Luther sensed pessimistically, was final. So the Jew, the papist, the radical reformer, and the Turk were to be fought tenaciously with whatever weapons were at hand.

Thus, if Luther was the victim of anything in his latter years, it was not his physical illnesses, but rather his frustration and disappointment, and his belief in his own prophetic rôle. "Victim" is too strong a word, however, for he was able to modulate the volume of his abuse as the occasion demanded.

What the occasion demanded was often what the Elector of Saxony required. At times, as in the Schönitz affair, Luther was restrained until John Frederick became convinced that there were no political gains to be made by moderation. At other times, as in the cases of resistance to the Emperor and attendance at a General Council, Luther's advice was sought and rejected, and the Reformer was asked to think again. The result was that in respect to the General Council, Luther found himself defending a position in which he did not fully believe—namely, that Protestants should not attend—and in respect to resistance to the Emperor, reaching a theory that might never have occurred to him—namely, that when the Emperor acted as the sword-arm of a blasphemous papacy, he forfeited all claims to obedience.

Again, in 1541, Luther was persuaded to ordain a bishop he did not want, as the result of a takeover of which he did not approve, and then to defend the actions with his pen. Luther was not quite his own man. It was disingenuous of the Elector to excuse himself by talking of Luther's independent spirit, when the latter reached the height of his abusive vulgarity in *Against the Papacy* in 1545: The tract was written with conviction, but it was written at John Frederick's request. The Prince knew what to expect, the Professor knew what was expected. Edwards does not ask us to believe the crude picture of Luther as the Elector's lackey, but he does show us clearly the political constraints within which Luther worked.

Another major point to emerge from this study is that even in his polemical works, Luther finds space—often considerable space—for carefully argued theology and church history. Indeed, Edwards argues that Luther's increasing knowledge and use of church history is one of the features of the 1530s. He is, perhaps, a little too trusting of Luther's contention that he was now able to demonstrate *a posteriori* what he had previously held *a priori*. Like so much that the great man wrote, this is an exaggeration. Luther's early conviction that the papacy was the antichrist came not *a priori*, but from his study of the decretals whilê preparing for the Leipzig disputation of 1519.

The book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to Luther literature and increases our understanding of the still somewhat dimly lit later period of the Reformer's career. The less wary, however, will need to remind themselves that the work does not intend to give a well-rounded portrait of the Reformer; Luther the lecturer, pastor, and devotional writer is not represented here.

The Cornell University Press is to be congratulated on printing some of the woodcuts from *Against the Papacy*. They are, to our more delicate and irenic age, a grim reminder of the spirit in which the battles of the Reformation were fought. The reproduction is excellent. Unfortunately, the same adjective cannot be applied to the proof-reading. The author's

reasoning is completely obscured on p. 17 by two sentences on lines 24-26 which occur again, this time rightly, on lines 32-34. And one wonders whether the computer upon which, the author tells us, the book was composed, edited, and typeset is responsible for the use of "who" instead of "whom" (p. 17) and for such words as "imminentness" (p. 17), "thusly" (p. 50) and "signators" (p. 74), as well as for such phrases as "Zapolya . . . had a falling out with Suleiman" (p. 102). Again, while repetition across chapters is understandable in a topical analysis, repetition within them is more difficult to excuse.

However, one cannot but admire an author who has given us so much to think about and whose generous spirit prompts him to offer his computer printouts (the fruit of the tedious task of listing and classifying Luther's works) to any scholar who cares to ask for them. It is the spirit that informed Luther himself in his better moments.

Newbold College
Bracknell, Berkshire RG12 5AN
England

HARRY LEONARD

Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981. 366 pp. $19.50.

Almost a century ago Wilhelm Bousset, in an entry for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, observed that "to write the history of the idea of Antichrist in the last centuries of the Middle Ages would be almost to write that of the Middle Ages themselves." Richard Emmerson's study of medieval apocalypticism, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, is the latest major contribution in a long line of works—beginning with J. Ernest Renan's *L'Antéchrist* (1873) and Bousset's own *The Antichrist Legend* (1896) and extending to Marjorie Reeves's *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (1976)—which attempt to clarify our understanding of this immense and complicated theme. Emmerson's study is comprehensive, informative, and often fascinating; but it would be presumptuous to conclude, in the light of Bousset's judgment, that the final word had yet been written on the medieval obsession with Antichrist.

Emmerson's book is largely what it purports to be, an interdisciplinary study of medieval eschatological thought concentrating on the Antichrist tradition. It draws upon a variety of sources, including commentaries, manuscripts, sermons, drama, and poetry. The disciplines that will benefit most from Emmerson's work are clearly those of medieval history, art, literature, and theology, with a heavy, and perhaps inevitable, bias to the theological.

Students of historical theology in particular will be interested in the first three chapters, which seek to identify and elucidate the person and purpose of Antichrist in medieval thought, and in the conclusion which, despite its title, ("Antichrist in the Renaissance"), focuses essentially on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation concepts of the Antichrist. Those interested in these disciplines within the periods designated will be indebted to Emmerson on a number of counts.

The thesis of this study is that in the medieval period, Antichrist was never wholly nor even principally identified with Rome and the Papacy. Although the medieval Antichrist tradition turns out to be very complex, it did not in general "equate Antichrist with the pope" (p. 7). In reaching this conclusion, Emmerson demonstrates that the medieval Antichrist concept developed largely on the strength of association and assumption, rather than on what today would be regarded as hermeneutically acceptable exegesis. This is already to acknowledge that medieval exegetes would claim to base their views on the biblical text. Consequently, to the assertion that for "the Christian of the Middle Ages" the medieval view of Antichrist was "rooted firmly in scriptural authority" (p. 34) must be added the crucial provisos that the Antichrist tradition developed largely because exegetes associated many biblical passages without sufficient reason for so doing, and that to such unwarranted associations were added the accretions derived from apocryphal sources, sibylline oracles, and oral legend (pp. 34-35). As Emmerson ultimately shows, it is to this amalgam of assumption and exegesis, revelation and speculation, that Counter-Reformation eschatology eventually returns in its attempt to find an Antichrist different from that of Reformation theology.

In working out his thesis, Emmerson reminds us that from the earliest times in the history of the Christian Church there have been two Antichrist traditions. One has expected Antichrist to appear shortly before the *parousia*, as a single individual openly opposed to Christ and the Church, a usurper claiming the prerogatives of Christ, a pseudo-Christ. The other tradition has seen Antichrist in a continuing succession of groups and traditions opposed to Christ and the gospel, in heretics, apostates, and all enemies of the Church, including Jews and Mohammedans. Although there was clearly an element in medieval apocalypticism which identified Antichrist with the Papacy, even with an individual pope (cf. Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* [London, Eng., 1976], pp. 39-40), and which can in retrospect be seen as a precursor of the view that came to full flower in the Reformation, there remained a broader understanding, which, rooted in the seminal Antichrist texts of 1 John 2:18, 22 and 4:3, understood the Antichrist to designate any individual or body of individuals essentially opposed to Christ and the gospel.

It follows from this that belief in Antichrist may have a personal relevance as well as, or even more significant than, any ultimate eschatological meaning. As Emmerson discerningly emphasizes, the Old French poem *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* is "more concerned with the conversion of Huon than with the end of the world," and is "not primarily eschatological" (p. 191). If Emmerson's interpretation of *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* is correct, then ultimately the battle between good and evil in the individual soul may be of equal importance to the eschatological drama played out on a cosmic stage.

It is only fair to add that this view of Antichrist is balanced by William Langland's Antichrist in *Piers Plowman*, the fourteenth-century English poem which, as Emmerson points out, ends with its chief character "near death in a corrupt church, Unity, hopelessly besieged from without and undermined from within by the hosts of Antichrist" (p. 193).

Indeed, Emmerson's analysis of *Piers Plowman* is one of the most enlightening features of the entire study, and it deserves notice for its determination to interpret the poem in a manner quite different from that of most contemporary critics. Emmerson is particularly interested in the poem's eschatological conclusion; he sees it as "typical of the Antichrist tradition, which is both pessimistic and optimistic" (p. 200), and he thereby suggests implicitly that at the level of individual appropriation a synthesis of the two traditionally opposing interpretations of Antichrist is both possible and desirable. Rather than the "radical Joachimist expectation of a *renovatio mundi* after Antichrist's defeat," with all that that implies, "*Piers Plowman* emphasizes the need for an individual search for salvation" (pp. 200, 201). The individual is to be more concerned with a present and personal victory over Antichrist than with the eschatological drama; and indeed, such a victory is itself a preparation for the eschatological drama which yet will inevitably ensue. Emmerson argues his case here with insight and conviction, striving at the same time to dispel the notion that *Piers Plowman* defends any concept of ultimate social transformation.

Two additional consequences of Emmerson's work also deserve comment here. First, his survey of medieval apocalypticism provides further evidence that postmillennialism, as such, did not originate with Daniel Whitby in the eighteenth century, a view set forth in L. E. Froom's four-volume *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (see 2:651). Whitby may well have brought various elements of postmillennialism together, and promulgated them with greater effectiveness, but many of the essential elements of Whitby's millennial expectations were clearly anticipated by various millenarian movements of the later Middle Ages. (Notice also the British

antecedents of Whitbyism mentioned in the present writer's *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* [Leiden, 1975], p. 170). Emmerson's study confirms that a common feature of much millenarian expectation was that of a reign of the saints on earth prior to Christ's Second Advent, even if that reign was not always of a thousand-years' duration. In the light of the evidence, Whitby cannot rightly be regarded as "the avowed originator" of postmillennialism.

The second point of note relating to Emmerson's study is of quite a different nature from that which has been treated in my foregoing comments. It deals with the matter of the source material Emmerson calls upon, much of which is not theological in a strictly technical sense. While his discussion is clearly theological in content, his net is cast much wider than sermons, commentaries, homilies, and the like. We are thus reminded of the fact that literature, in the classical sense, can be the handmaid of theology, and an effective instrument for the dissemination of spiritual truth. One feels instinctively that C. S. Lewis, for example, would have understood and approved the appearance of Antichrist and of other protagonists in the spiritual warfare of man in medieval drama and poetry. Emmerson's examination of the relevant poems and plays is therefore rather a timely reminder that the popular mind can be influenced by religious concepts and impregnated by spiritual realities through media that are other than overtly religious. At least, this seems to have been the case in the Middle Ages; and if then, why not in other ages? If Emmerson's study does nothing more than point us to the fact that literature in all its forms is a perfectly legitimate vehicle for conveying religious truth, it will have done much.

The foregoing merits notwithstanding, this publication is not without flaws, two of which in particular are related and cannot be passed over. First, Emmerson is too imprecise in regard to the historical periods with which his study is concerned. One becomes slightly uneasy when Augustine and Orosius, for example, are called to the defence of the medieval church; and one becomes decidedly uncomfortable when Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Jerome, *inter alia*, join their ranks. If, as would generally be accepted, the medieval period began in ca. A.D. 600, why is this study so heavily weighted with names which evidently belong to the patristic period? This question is not sufficiently answered by the author's own statement of intent to call upon early church sources.

Similarly, in Emmerson's "Conclusion: Antichrist in the Renaissance" (pp. 204-237), the Renaissance appears to be confused with the Reformation from a chronological standpoint. Bale, Tyndale, and Foxe, although they may have been influenced by Renaissance thought, are essentially

Reformation figures, and the authors whom Emmerson cites as evidence of the vitality of the medieval tradition would, almost without exception, be more correctly categorized as writers of the Counter-Reformation rather than of the Renaissance. All in all, one feels that a more accurate title for Emmerson's conclusion would be "Antichrist in the Reformation." Important as this final chapter unquestionably is to the study as a whole, it has very little to do with a Renaissance Antichrist.

The second, and related, weakness—one upon which a more severe critic might conclude that the author's thesis almost founders—concerns the *use of sources*. Emmerson cites patristic sources much too frequently as evidence of views considered to have been held during the Middle Ages. The distinction between early and medieval thought is, in fact, repeatedly blurred. It is difficult to see, for example, how Lactantius (ca. A.D. 240-320) could have condemned a medieval legend (p. 29). And surely, it is not permissible to cite Origen, or Victorinus, or Chrysostom as representative medieval commentators, particularly *in tandem* with Rupert of Deutz, or Peter Lombard, or Rabanus Maurus (see especially chap. 1 and also p. 97 in chap. 3). Admittedly, Emmerson usually quotes medieval writers alongside the patristic sources, and this must be conceded to validate the study as a whole, even though most references to medieval writers are to reprints or standard collections such as Migne's *Patrologiae* or the various series of the Early English Text Society. It remains true, however, that the study would have been stronger for less dependence on the Greek and Latin early-church fathers and for greater dependence on medieval source material in primary form.

Only at one point does Emmerson's delineation of the Antichrist tradition falter, and that is in the conclusion, where there appears to be some uncertainty over the Protestant identification of Antichrist. Thus, in answer to the seminal question as to who is Antichrist, Emmerson replies that in Reformation thought it is both the Papacy ("the Protestant identification," p. 206) and "all, including Mohammedans, who persecute the true church" (p. 211). Emmerson is accurate in pointing to the general Protestant view that the Papacy as an institution, rather than any individual pope, constituted Antichrist; but he is less than accurate to gloss over the fact that Luther and many who followed him conceived of Antichrist as a dualistic eschatological power composed of an eastern Antichrist and a western Antichrist—Turk and Papacy, respectively. Both are necessary to a full understanding of Antichrist in the thinking of most Reformation writers, a point which Emmerson seems to have missed.

Moreover, to plead that in making comparison between Reformation and medieval interpretation on five major questions, there is heavy dependence on English Protestant writings "for the sake of brevity" (p. 211) is

really rather weak, particularly in view of the fact that the Protestant tradition was much wider than that which flourished in England, and, moreover, was elsewhere equally as concerned with the identification of Antichrist as were the English interpreters. Once again, the question of relevant sources raises its head.

Despite these reservations, Emmerson has provided an important addition to our understanding of the Antichrist tradition, and has given a fresh warning to the unwary who might be tempted to jump to unwarranted conclusions concerning the enigmatic figure of Antichrist. The book is copiously and accurately documented with no less than seventy pages of tightly-packed footnotes, and it carries an impressive bibliography. It has an Index of Biblical Texts and also a General Index which, although lengthy, is weakened by excessive omissions.

The book is pleasant to the eye and is well-produced, although containing some interesting typographical errors. Thus, "Elias the Thisbite" (p. 99) should probably be "Elias the Tishbite"; "worhiped" (p. 152) should be "worshipped" (or in the American spelling "worshiped"); and Elizabeth's "ascension" (p. 227) should probably be her "accession," which would presumably have been more to the liking of her bishops. And we should not conclude that Simon Magus (p. 27) is a magician with musical abilities since he performs wonders and "sings"!

Such minor blemishes do not, of course, affect the medieval theology of Antichrist, a theology which has been amply and adequately investigated in this study. Initial apprehensions about a professor of English (Emmerson's position at Walla Walla College) venturing into the arena of medieval theology are sufficiently dispelled by the work itself, and the book as a whole confirms its author as a mature, informed, and fluent scholar.

Avondale College
Cooranbong, N.S.W. 2265
Australia

BRYAN W. BALL

Forell, George Wolfgang. *The Luther Legacy.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 79 pages. Paperback, $3.95.

For anyone, young person or adult, who does not wish to plow through any of the definitive works on Luther's life and thought, Forell's little book is a good introduction. Written in an uncomplicated, yet precise, readable style, it captivates the reader's attention with all of the salient facts of the great Reformer's life. It is obvious that the author is well informed and is able vividly to portray Luther in his historical setting

by bringing to the subject his own vast knowledge of Reformation history and European history of that time.

There is something for the more astute and mature reader, too, as the author's stated intention is to share what, in his opinion, is Luther's legacy. One reads on with intense interest to discover just what it might be, and is not disappointed.

Luther's legacy, as pointed out by Forell, falls into several categories: (1) Luther has taught us that reformation "must be a permanent element in the life of the Christian church. . . . Only a church that is willing to be reformed today can honestly claim Luther as its reformer" (p. 76). (2) Luther took theology into the home, the street, and the places of business and government. "When the church makes theology a secret science understandable only to an intellectual elite, it has betrayed the heritage of Luther" (ibid.). (3) Reformation comes not by way of a person, but by way of The Person, the Word of God incarnate—Jesus Christ the Lord. "We could not celebrate Luther's birthday better than by beginning a serious study of the Bible in all our churches" (p. 78). (4) Luther taught us that salvation is by grace through faith in Jesus Christ alone. Therefore, "a church that is socially, radically, intellectually, or even morally exclusive does not take Luther very seriously" (ibid.). Indeed, the "legacy of Luther lives most faithfully wherever God's Word is proclaimed regardless of race or social class, nationality or sex" (p. 79).

As far as this reviewer is concerned, the heart of the book is to be found in Forell's comment concerning Luther's performance at the Diet of Worms (April 17-18, 1521): "The strength of Luther's position resided in his unwillingness to play politics. In a very political meeting, he caught everybody off guard by talking about loyalty to the Word of God" (pp. 53, 55). Luther's example in this regard needs to be emulated today if the Church is to experience continual reformation and renewal, and if the world is to be impressed and attracted by the Church's witness.

As I read, my mind conjured up images of a more youthful Forell, who back in the late 1950s and early 1960s lectured to us students in Systematic Theology I, II, and III, at the old Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary in Maywood, Illinois. The passion for his subject still burns.

Andrews University C. RAYMOND HOLMES

Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. *Toward Old Testament Ethics.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. xiv + 345 pp. $14.95.

The author is Academic Dean and Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois. This treatment of OT ethics stands side by side with his "toward"

volumes on OT theology (first published in 1978) and OT interpretation (first published in 1981 by Baker).

Kaiser tackles in this present tome a sensitive and difficult topic. Fewer than a half dozen scholars in the past 100 years have published volumes on the subject before us (W. A. Yarrel in 1883, W. S. Bruce in 1895 [2d ed. 1912], J. M. Powis Smith in 1923, Johannes Hempel in 1938 [rev. ed. in 1964], and H. van Oyen in 1967). The author in no way hides the fact that he is most profoundly influenced by the approach of W. S. Bruce.

Kaiser opens his volume with an extensive review of issues on the method and design of OT ethics (pp. 1-78). After he describes the development of this discipline and sketches concisely such major systems to OT ethics as those designated the sociological approach (cf. J. Hempel), the moral-theology approach (L. Hodgson), the synchronic approach (Th. C. Vriezen), the diachronic approach (H. Mitchell, W. Eichrodt), and the central-theme approach (J. Muilenburg, W. Kornfeld), he proposes and follows the "combination approach that includes elements of the synchronic, diachronic, central theme approach [sic] along with the exegetical studies of summarizing texts and apologetic analysis of key moral difficulties in the canon" (p. 21). This "combination approach" Kaiser labels the "comprehensive approach" (p. 22), which actually follows, by and large, the methodology propounded by W. S. Bruce in 1895. One wonders whether the combination/comprehensive approach can indeed include the methodological diversity and the resulting conclusions of the synchronic, diachronic, and central-theme approaches (with their respective uniquenesses) without a radical reinterpretation and readjustment of the respective methodological and presuppositional undergirdings.

It is best to allow Kaiser to define his own methodology. His "comprehensive approach" is diachronically organized along the biblical progress of revelation and also centrically unified by means of the theme of "holiness," which is essential to God. Those who recall that Kaiser treats his volume on OT theology by means of the theme of "promise/rest" may wonder why this central theme of the OT cannot function for OT ethics. Could it be that its centrality is challenged by the "holiness" theme? Or could it mean that it really is not as central as it was claimed to be? Or is there such a hiatus between theology and ethics that both need a respective unifying theme?

The OT has a foundational basis, claims Kaiser, "for formulating New Testament ethics or any kind of Christian ethics" (p. 33). Those writers who argue that the NT alone provides an adequate basis for moral theory and action are declared to be "certainly mistaken." OT ethics is not "an optional luxury" to be discussed but the proper foundation for all biblical, theological, or Christian ethical theory. This does not mean that the OT is the final voice. Four limitations are placed on OT ethics:

(a) "National limitations" pertain to certain laws that involve the nation of Israel; (b) "historical limitations" pertain to permitted things such as slavery, polygamy, and a low view of women; (c) "legalistic limitations" pertain to Israel's own failure of recognizing the spiritual value of the law, and (d) "materialistic limitations" relate to the sense of material prosperity.

The question of the validity of the law in its various forms and applications comes into the discussion. Kaiser speaks of the "threefold division of the law" as the distinction between "the civil, ceremonial, and moral law of God" in the OT (p. 44). He sees this division in relation to the "heavy" and "lighter" or "lesser laws" of the NT, the latter being the "civil and ceremonial" laws from which the Lawgiver himself releases us.

Against the various positions of contemporary ethicists who propose limited and non-normative usages of the Bible for today's ethical issues, Kaiser proposes that "ethics and the Bible go together" (p. 57) and points to "the organic perfection and truthfulness of God in each and every revelatory event and disclosure of his Word" (p. 63), despite the Bible's time-relatedness being foundational for today's ethical systems. Thus, the dichotomy between law and grace is abolished. Even in the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants, requirements were laid down and were not unconditional as far as the human partners are concerned. OT ethics is deontological because the appeal to obedience is not placed on the human subject, but upon the will of a holy God who issued commands. In this sense, the rightness or wrongness of a rule or an action is not contingent upon its results, but on the will of a God who is holy. The central organizing tenet of OT ethics is based in the holiness of the character of God.

The second major part of this publication is entitled, "Summarizing Moral Texts in Old Testament Ethics" (pp. 79-137). The Decalogue receives attention first (pp. 80-95). But this reviewer is quite disappointed with the author's treatment of the Ten Commandments. Kaiser is not in touch with the great expositions of the last 100 years on the meaning and applicability of the Ten Commandments for today, while he affirms that the Decalogue is still valid for today.

For Kaiser, the Sabbath commandment is of a mixed order, having a ceremonial aspect in that it is fixed to the seventh day (one could suppose from his argumentation that any day of the week is acceptable for today's believer) and a moral aspect that refers to restoration, creation, and rest. One wonders on what internal basis the ceremonial aspect can be found, when Creation—which is assigned to the moral aspect—is the rationale for rest on the seventh day because God at first rested on that day himself!

The second passage treated in this part of the volume is the "Book of the Covenant" (Exod 20:22-23:33). The others that follow are "the Law of Holiness" (Lev 18-20) and the laws of Deuteronomy (Deut 12-25). The

latter are parallel to the laws of the Decalogue, as W. Schultz, Hermann Schulz, and recently Stephen Kaufman have argued.

Part III deals with the "Content of Old Testament Ethics" (pp. 139-244) and is divided into sections such as "holiness as a way of life" (in which it is affirmed that "holiness" is the central organizing feature of OT ethics), "holiness in the family and society," "holiness in regard for life," "holiness in marriage and sex," "holiness in wealth and possessions," "holiness in obtaining and using truth," and "holiness in motive and heart."

Part IV treats "Moral Difficulties in the Old Testament" (pp. 247-304). The key moral difficulties discussed here involve the divine repentance, jealousy, and hate; the hardening of man's heart; the wrath of God; charges against acts required by God, such as Abraham's sacrificing of Isaac; and the extermination of the men, women, and children inhabiting Canaan. Kaiser concludes, "God's character and the acts he requires are fully consistent with everything that both testaments would lead us to expect in our God. The problem usually centers in a deficiency in our view of things and our inability to properly define terms or grasp the whole of the subject" (p. 269).

The OT also holds up men and women whose lives were not in every respect exemplary. Kaiser notes incisively that divine approval of an individual in one aspect or area of life does not mean that God approved all aspects of that person's life and conduct.

The concluding section of this fourth part of the volume treats the allegedly deficient OT view of women and of slaves, and of favoritism for the nation of Israel, as well as the severity of such sanctions as Psalms of cursing (the so-called imprecatory psalms), the death penalty, and the law of "an eye-for-an-eye and a tooth-for-a-tooth" (*lex talionis*).

Part V explores the relationship of OT ethics and NT applications (pp. 307-314). It takes the form of a conclusion. The question of the validity of the law is raised and answered by reference to Paul's view of the law, wherein the law is affirmed *but* legalism is denied. "There is no contrast between what the Old Testament law required and what the New Testament enjoined" (p. 311). For Kaiser, the "moral law" continues to function and to provide the standard of human conduct and is a coercive force helping the redeemed. "The Ten Commandments are not what has been done away with (2 Cor 3:11)" (p. 313). Only Christ can release the church from the laws no longer in force, namely the "civil and ceremonial" laws, which are the lesser commandments (p. 312). Kaiser concludes his stimulating book as follows: "Only the 'obedience of faith' can show the real purposes of the law in the life of the believers and thus allow them to appreciate the gift of Old Testament ethics" (p. 314).

This review is perhaps somewhat longer than usual, but this is on account of the rarity of publications on the topic of OT ethics. Also, I would state that although in the foregoing paragraphs I have raised some basic issues relating to Kaiser's volume, his work is a serious attempt to come to grips with OT ethics in a refreshing way. The cheap law/gospel and simplistic OT/NT or old-covenant/new-covenant dichotomies are avoided, and the Bible is set forth so as to be seen as a whole, without denying the varieties of emphasis it contains.

The indexes of texts, names, subjects, and Hebrew words enhance the usefulness of this tome. I would urge that in any future printing all Hebrew terms be transliterated, so that the person without a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet can use this volume with maximum benefit. It indeed deserves that broad a readership.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

LaRondelle, Hans K. *The Israel of God in Prophecy.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. 226 pp. $14.95/$9.95.

Hans K. LaRondelle studied under G. C. Berkouwer at the Free University of Amsterdam. He seems to have inherited the latter's ability to combine rigorous exegesis with a worshipful faith in the God of Scripture.

Known among his students as a dynamic and seminal lecturer, LaRondelle, in *The Israel of God in Prophecy,* attempts to lay the groundwork for a biblical hermeneutic with respect to the interpretation of prophecy. This attempt is carried forward in continual dialogue with Dispensationalism.

LaRondelle's basic presupposition is that Scripture is the Word of God and, as a result, is to be understood as a spiritual unity (pp. 3, 8). This presupposition leads him to the following basic approach: (1) Texts are to be interpreted in the form in which we find them in the canonical text (p. 3). (2) The "analogy-of-Scripture" principle, whereby related passages unlock each other's meanings, is valid (p. 3). (3) Unfulfilled prophecies must be studied in the light of NT fulfillments. Thus the NT becomes the ultimate norm for the interpretation of the unfulfilled prophecies of the OT pertaining to Israel (p. 8). (4) All prophetic interpretation must be related to the nature and work of Christ (pp. 4-8).

The third point is elaborated in the second chapter as *the* crucial issue in prophetic interpretation (pp. 10-20). LaRondelle accuses Dispensationalism of treating the OT essentially as a closed canon with respect to prophecy. However, the OT, by itself, cries out for completion; it looks

forward to a consummation. The NT claims to explicate that consummation, to be *the* authoritative interpreter of the OT. As a result, LaRondelle feels that the basic principles for the interpretation of unfulfilled OT prophecies must be grounded in the way the NT interprets those prophecies that are already fulfilled.

After discussing what he considers the extremes of literal (Dispensational) and allegorical exegesis (pp. 23-32), LaRondelle sets forth his understanding of the hermeneutical method NT writers were using when they proclaimed that OT prophecies had been fulfilled. He calls this method "typological exegesis" (pp. 35-55). Typological exegesis is not allegorism; it sees, behind the words of the human author, God's intended meaning in Scripture—a meaning made clear by the subsequent revelation of the Holy Spirit (p. 46; cf. p. 75).

As an example of NT typological exegesis, LaRondelle offers the interpretation of Ps 110:1-4 given in Heb 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12, 13; 12:1; and in Acts 2:36. He states: "The context of these Psalm verses indicates that this divine promise applied first of all to the reign of the Davidic King on his earthly throne in Jerusalem (vss. 2, 3). However, both the author of Hebrews and the apostle Peter transfer . . . the throne of David from its earthly location in Jerusalem to God's throne in heaven" (p. 42). This is only possible if Christ, in his sitting down at the right hand of God, is seen as the fulfillment of the promises to David. Thus, the NT writers studied the OT in the light of the life of Christ; and, guided by the Holy Spirit, they drew conclusions as to its moral and theological implications. LaRondelle then gives numerous examples of such "Christological interpretation" in the NT (pp. 60-78).

After a chapter on the theological significance and mission of Israel in the OT (pp. 81-96), LaRondelle comes to the nexus of his debate with Dispensationalism, the role of Israel in the NT era (pp. 98-121). In opposition to Dispensationalism, he argues that the NT sees the Church as the true, messianic remnant of Israel. By ordaining the twelve disciples, Christ constituted a new Israel to replace the literal twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 23:32; 21:43). This new Israel is made up of Christ-believing people from all nations (Matt 8:11-12). The NT does not postpone God's kingdom, but sees it as having its fulfillment in the life and work of Christ (Acts 2:23; 4:28; cf. Ps 2:1-2). The church is *not* an unforeseen entity in the OT (Acts 2:16-21; cf. Joel 2:28-32); it is part of God's predetermined plan (Eph 2:11-16; cf. Eph 1:4-14). The promises God made to Israel are fulfilled in and by the church (1 Pet 2:9; cf. Exod 19:5, 6; 1 Pet 2:10; also cf. Hos 1:10; 2:23). This is especially true of Hosea's predicted future restoration of Israel (Acts 13:47; cf. Isa 49:6; Acts 26:22-23).

Having said this, LaRondelle undergirds his position by a careful examination of a number of "problem texts" which have long been in

dispute between Dispensationalists and other Christians: Gal 6:16 (pp. 108-111); Jer 31:31-34 as applied in Hebrews (pp. 114-121); Rom 9-11 (pp. 124-133); Amos 9:11-12 as applied in Acts 15:16-18 (pp. 147-150); Isa 11:10-12 (pp. 150-160); Matt 23:39 (pp. 160-164); Luke 21:24 (pp. 164-167); and Dan 9:24-27 (pp. 170-182). Along the way he adds a study of the territorial promises made to Israel in the OT as seen from the NT perspective (pp. 135-145).

In the final chapter (pp. 186-204), LaRondelle deals with the relationship of the Tribulation to Christ's Second Advent. Based on the exegesis of passages where such terms as παρουσία, ἀποκάλυψις, and ἐπιφάνεια are used, LaRondelle concludes that the Tribulation precedes the *parousia* and is related to the church, the eschatological Israel. LaRondelle feels that Pretribulationism fails to prepare the church for what is coming and thus offers a false hope.

In the conclusion (pp. 207-210), LaRondelle suggests that it is not accurate to say that the church has replaced Israel, rather that it *continues* Israel: It has replaced the Jewish nation as Israel. The NT has only one olive tree (Rom 11), one spiritual temple (Eph 2), one apocalyptic woman (Rev 12), and one New Jerusalem (Rev 21) for God's people in all eras.

Although LaRondelle does not summarize the NT "methodology for the interpretation of OT texts," the following principles seem to stand out at various places in the book:

1. Since Christ is the God of both the OT and NT, the Bible is a spiritual unity in him. Thus, all prophetic interpretation must find its center in Christ.

2. The Christian Church is the fulfillment of God's OT promises of a new covenant and the restoration of Israel.

3. As a result, the NT universalizes these covenant promises. Israel is no longer limited ethnically or geographically, but finds its fulfillment in a world-wide spiritual nation—the church.

Not all will be happy with LaRondelle's conclusions. Dispensationalists, obviously, would be uncomfortable on a number of points. For one thing, Dispensationalism today includes a variety of viewpoints. LaRondelle in his book confronts a more "popular Dispensationalism" with which many Dispensational scholars also find fault. Most Dispensational scholars do not stake everything on the kind of literalism that LaRondelle is attacking. They would probably agree with LaRondelle's fundamental assumption that there is only one way of salvation for both OT Israel and the Christian Church. Another arguable point is whether the NT use of the OT *necessarily* excludes literal application of every single OT prophecy in relation to the second coming of Christ. (I am indebted to my good friend and colleague Dale DeWitt, Associate Professor of Bible at Grace Bible College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, who has helped me to

understand better the Dispensational perspective.) Nevertheless, LaRondelle's critique provides a fresh approach to prophetic study which Dispensationalism cannot afford to ignore.

The more critical scholar will be uncomfortable with LaRondelle's high view of inspiration. Nevertheless, the book sheds much light on the problem of how the NT writers used the OT and the things of Israel in their existential situation. While critical scholarship by and large rejects the NT world-view, it is interested in understanding that world-view, and LaRondelle's book makes a powerful contribution to that understanding.

In conclusion, LaRondelle writes in a moving style that leaves the reader with a sense of windows opening on Scripture, letting in fresh light and air. The book is a rich source of parallels between the OT and the NT, resulting in what is virtually a mini-theology of biblical prophecy. (A random sampling indicates that LaRondelle cites nearly 2000 biblical passages in the volume.)

It is this reviewer's judgment that, regardless of one's perspective, the reader interested in biblical prophecy will consider the perusal of LaRondelle's book to be time well spent.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Larson, Bruce. *Luke*. Vol. 3 in *The Communicator's Commentary*, ed. Lloyd J. Ogilvie. Waco, Texas: World Books, 1983. 347 pp. $14.95.

The purpose of *The Communicator's Commentary* series is to place into the hands of "pastors, teachers, Bible study leaders, church school teachers, small group enablers, and individual Christians" a commentary that will give a penetrating view of New Testament Scripture, and will facilitate practical communication of "the abundant life" (p. 7).

Considering each believer in Jesus Christ as one who is called to communicate the Gospel, *The Communicator's Commentary* attempts to make the message of the New Testament books readily understandable for busy preachers and laymen, hoping, in turn, they will be adequately prepared for the communication of the Word to congregations and classes. This commentary series does not pretend to be a scholarly study. Its approach is unsophisticated, and is designed to appeal to and inform those who have had little or no training in biblical studies. The titles used in outlining the Gospel of Luke illustrate the attempt to make this Gospel as practical as possible; e.g., "Holy Horticulture: Roots or Fruits: 3:1-20"; "Worship: Duty, Diversion or Dynamite: 6:1-19"; "Jesus and the New Psychiatry: 8:22-39"; "How to Make Your Money Work for You: 16:1-31"; etc.

It is difficult, at first, to take a commentary seriously in which there are no word studies, no examination of grammar and syntax, and no informative articles on the politics, economy, and religious and social customs of the day. However, if one keeps in mind that the aim of *The Communicator's Commentary* is to make better "communicators" out of those who are not trained in biblical studies, what is lacking in the technical handling of NT books is more than compensated for by the practical application of Scripture.

The commentary on Luke has an "Editor's Preface" in which the goals for the series are laid out. A short introduction deals with authorship, date of composition, and a preview of several themes found in Luke. *The New King James Bible* provides the text for the commentary. At the end there is a brief bibliography with 34 entries. A number of the standard commentaries on Luke are listed, together with several general works on the Synoptic Gospels. This bibliography would be strengthened, however, if some of the older works from the beginning of this century were omitted and newer studies were listed, e.g., the works of I. Howard Marshall.

Larson is to be commended for his readable, and often entertaining, comments on Luke's Gospel. Several times I found myself chuckling over his illustrations and anecdotes. Any preacher, professional or lay, will find this commentary to be a gold mine of useful stories for sermon illustrations. The practical applications of passages from Luke are virtual seed beds of sermon ideas.

Although the reader of this commentary who is trained in biblical studies will probably find it to be superficial, a lay preacher will find it to be a valuable source of ideas and illustrations. Without a question, *The Communicator's Commentary* series will fill a great need.

Andrews University GEORGE E. RICE

Singer, Karl Helmut. *Die Metalle Gold, Silber, Bronze, Kupfer und Eisen im Alten Testament und ihre Symbolik.* Forschung zur Bibel, vol. 43. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1980. 195 pp. DM 39.00 (paper).

This volume is the published form of a University of Mainz dissertation, investigating the terms for the metals of gold, silver, bronze, copper and iron in the OT and their symbolic meaning. The author has divided his study into three major parts: Part A consists of an exploration of the terminology of the five metals, Part B compares the metals with each other, and Part C investigates the symbolism of these metals. The focus of this monograph is not so much on the archaeological aspects of these

metals, a subject treated extensively by other scholars, but rather on the interrelationship of these five metals and their symbolical connections.

The usual term for "gold" in the OT is *zāhāḇ*, but such terms as *ḥārûṣ*, *pāz*, *keṯem*, and *dᵉhaḇ* also designate gold and may serve to distinguish its quality or purity. The comparison with gold reveals value, purity, and preciousness. Gold is the "royal metal." Only in Dan 2:38 is the king identified with gold. Generally, gold reveals the wealth, splendor, and power of the king or deity. The purer the gold, the higher the dignity and splendor of what is symbolized by gold.

The Hebrew term for "silver" is *keseṗ*, while in Aramaic it is *kᵉsaṗ*. This metal is employed in various connections, and in particular as a monetary measure or means. Silver does not symbolize permanence and durability, but communicates something that is threatened in its value and insecure in a crisis. It is of "second rank" as a metal and symbolizes that which is of inferior value as compared to the royal metal gold. As far as Dan 2:32 is concerned, the silver kingdom is inferior to that of gold and reveals a lesser status. The inferior nature of the symbolism is carried on throughout the OT, including the usage of silver in cultic or political spheres.

The Hebrew term for "bronze" or "copper" is *nᵉḥošeṯ*, and in Aramaic the term is *nᵉḥāš*. It is not clear in every case of usage of these terms whether it is bronze or copper that is in view. These metals were commonly used for making utensils and tools before iron became widely utilized and even during the time when iron was in common use for such purposes. On the basis of the strength inherent in bronze, this metal became a symbol of strength, hardness, and insurmountability. At the same time, bronze/copper is of lesser value than the precious metals of gold and silver; and as such, it symbolizes a worsening of the situation as compared with what is signified by gold and silver. Indeed, an additional and increasing inferiority is communicated (cf. Dan 2:39).

The term for "iron" is *barzel* in Hebrew and *parzel* in Aramaic. The etymology is still uncertain. It derives either from the Hittite (a Caucasian origin?) or from Sumerian (cf. G. F. Hasel, "Iron," *ISBE* 2 [1982]: 880-882). Iron was known for its strength and durability. In terms of value, in comparison to gold, silver, and bronze, iron was a less valuable commodity.

The sequence of the four metals of gold, silver, bronze, and iron in Dan 2 does not mean from "the strongest to the less strong" (*pace* O. Plöger, J. Goettsberger), but rather an increasing strength (p. 131). I feel that Singer has not captured the symbolic aspect of the four-empire schema adequately. It is *twofold* in its symbolic nature, the sequence of gold-silver-bronze-iron in Dan 2 indicating (a) a decreasing value, and (b) an increasing strength. Singer makes a contribution, however, by

noting that iron also communicates symbolically that the times are getting worse for God's people, so that the iron period of time is one of hardship and difficulty for the pious ones. I disagree with Singer once more, however, in his attempt to link Persian influence to the metal sequence in Dan 2. New archaeological information indicates that there is a common Near-Eastern pattern of metal sequence which goes back to Neo-Babylonian sources predating those of Persian (or Greek) provenance (see G. F. Hasel, "The Four World Empires in Daniel 2 Against Its Near Eastern Environment," *JSOT* 12 [1979]:17-30).

This monograph is broad in its scope as regards the metals under discussion. The author treats the OT and some deuterocanonical texts. Unfortunately, no comparison is made with the symbolism of these metals in the larger ancient Near-Eastern environment. It would have been instructive to observe the meaning of these metals in Babylonian, Assyrian, Ugaritic, Hittite, and Egyptian texts and to have compared these results with those pertaining to the OT.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES and KENNETH A. STRAND

Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

Carmignac, Jean. *La naissance des Évangiles Synoptiques.* Paris: O.E.I.L., 1984. 102 pp. Paperback, French Francs 80.00.

Suggests that the synoptic gospels have been edited in a Semitic (Hebrew) language prior to their translation into Greek. – E.S.E.

Gage, Warren Austin. *The Gospel of Genesis: Studies in Protology and Eschatology.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Carpenter Books, 1984. xiii + 142 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Stresses that each of the major themes in Gen 1–7 (the doctrines of God, man, sin, redemption, and judgment) can be traced through the rest of Scripture, and that these first chapters of the Bible are integrated "with the rest of Genesis and Genesis with the rest of the Old Testament and the Old with the New." – E.S.E.

Gleysteen, Jan. *Mennonite Tourguide to Western Europe.* Scottdale, Pa., and Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1984. 340 pp. Paperback, $12.95 in U.S.A., $16.85 in Canada.

A helpful resource tool for both general and Reformation-minded tourists to the nine Western-European countries that are treated: Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Italy. This volume contains a wealth of practical information on such matters as climate, currency, holidays, store hours, etc., in addition to providing introductions to culture, geography, and history. Also furnishes details for regional itineraries and walking tours, and includes seventeen original maps, numerous pen-and-ink illustrations, and some 115 photos. Special emphasis is placed on points of interest in Anabaptist and Mennonite history. – K.A.S.

Gritsch, Eric. W. *Martin – God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. xiv + 289 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

In addition to a full-scale biography of Luther (though a brief and fast-moving one), this volume contains two further major sections. The first of these, entitled "Neurologic Heritage," treats such topics as "Scripture and Tradition," "Christ and Caesar," etc.; and the second includes chapters on "A Christocentric Theology," "A Cruciform Church," and others related to Christian life and practice. Written in an eminently readable style, the book is also extensively documented with endnotes, and includes a bibliography and indexes. – K.A.S.

Haglund, Erik. *Historic Motifs in the Psalms.* Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series, 23. Malmö, Sweden: Gleerup/Liber, 1984. 144 pp. Paperback, Swedish Crowns 80.00.

This Th.D. dissertation investigates "the cultic function of the 'historical psalms' and their importance in the OT history of ideas," and "the differences between

deuteronomic-deuteronomistic texts and other material." Methodologically, Gunkel's criteria for "Gattungsbestimmung" are used. – E.S.E.

Holmes, Arthur F. *Contours of a World View*. Studies in a Christian World View, vol. 1. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983. ix + 240 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

This is the initial volume in a projected ten-volume series (series title noted above), sponsored by the Institute of Advanced Christian Studies and under the general editorship of Carl F. H. Henry. Holmes's *Contours of a World View* provides an introductory philosophical framework for the endeavor, which proposes to elucidate Christianity's relationship to modern culture, both secular and religious. – K.A.S.

Holmes, C. Raymond. *Sing a New Song: Worship Renewal for Adventists Today*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1984. xii + 190 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Discusses the significance of, and means for, relating liturgy to basic Seventh-day Adventist theological positions. The indicated purpose is enhancement of the corporate worship experience. Included, in an Appendix, are some creative suggestions for order of service (these extend beyond the weekly worship service to include communion, baptism, and baby dedication). The volume contains a glossary and a bibliography. – K.A.S.

Huffmon, H. B.; Spina, F. A.; and Green, A. R. W. *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. viii + 316 pp. $20.00.

As a *Festschrift* honoring a distinguished OT scholar of the University of Michigan, this volume contains an array of articles by other well-known specialists in the field and touches upon several major areas in which Mendenhall himself has shown considerable interest and in which, in some cases, he has done pioneering work. Socio-political conditions, the covenant, and prophecy in ancient Israel are among such areas treated; and a number of chapters are devoted to archaeological concerns and discoveries pertaining to the ancient Near East. A bibliography of Mendenhall's productions is included. – K.A.S.

Kubo, Sakae, and Specht, Walter F. *So Many Versions?: 20th Century English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and enlarged edition. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. 401 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

A considerably expanded update of the original edition of 1975. Three added chapters treat the New King James Version, the *Reader's Digest Bible*, and a number of the recent colorful "free" versions (Jordan's "Cotton Patch Version," Edington's "The Word Made Fresh," and several others). Also, various chapters in the earlier edition have now been enlarged to give further information on versions already treated in 1975, especially in cases where publication of the OT portion of such versions has taken place since 1975. A glossary of some thirty-three technical terms is another new inclusion in the present edition. – K.A.S.

LaRondelle, Hans K. *Deliverance in the Psalms: Messages of Hope for Today*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: First Impressions Publishers, 1984. vii + 210 pp. $12.50/$8.50.

A fairly comprehensive introduction to the religious significance, poetic style, and theology of the Psalter, plus an

analysis of a selection of eighteen psalms. The eighteen psalms are explained first in their own historical context and then from a NT christological perspective. The subtitle "Messages of Hope for Today" is *apropos*, for the volume seeks to provide fresh, helpful, and stimulating insights that are useful and practical for our own day. – K.A.S.

LaSor, William Sanford. *The Truth about Armageddon: What the Bible Says about the End Times.* New York and San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982. xii + 226 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Contains a sequential series of studies emerging from presentations given by LaSor in Presbyterian churches in Pasadena and Hollywood, California. In large part, the topics treated do relate to "the end times" (only one chapter specifically on "Armageddon," however); but the scope is broader, as indicated by the inclusion of chapters on "The Present Age," "The People of God," "The Servant of the Lord," "The Satanic Character of This Age," and "The Messianic Idea." The author brings to bear his extensive experience as a seminary teacher (he is Professor Emeritus of Old Testament Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary), utilizing freely the biblical literature, and at times treating even the historical development of concepts. – K.A.S.

MacPherson, Dave. *The Great Rapture Hoax.* Fletcher, N.C.: New Puritan Library, Inc., 1983. viii + 210 pp. Paperback, $5.00.

Provides in popular style a cogent discussion of weaknesses in Pretribulationism, emphasizing its late origin (not earlier than 1830), and also documenting a transition from belief in a very short tribulation period to the concept of a 3½-year tribulation. The author reiterates and enlarges upon his position in earlier books that the idea of a "secret rapture" of the church originated with Mary Macdonald in Scotland in 1830. One of several appendixes provides an interesting discussion of Lacunza, who sometimes has been considered (incorrectly so) as holding a pretribulation-rapture view akin to that of present-day Dispensationalism. – K.A.S.

Meyers, Eric M., and Strange, James F. *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity: The Social and Historical Setting of Palestinian Judaism and Christianity.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 207 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Attempts to reconstruct an accurate picture of rabbinic Judaism and Christian origins in Roman Palestine, integrating historical literature with current archaeological findings. Suggests greater diversity in early Palestinian Christianity, and a more extensive and more irenic contact between the Jewish and Christian communities than is usually assumed. – E.S.E.

Oberman, Heiko A. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation.* Trans. from the German by James I. Porter. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. xii + 163 pp. $13.95.

A standard work on the topic, now available in English (originally in German: *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus: Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation* [Berlin, 1981]). This book surveys the attitude toward Jews in western Europe just prior to and during the Reformation era, giving particularly detailed attention to Martin Luther. Extensively documented. – K.A.S.

Saarnivaara, Uuras. *Can the Bible Be Trusted? Old and New Testament*

Introduction and Interpretation. Minneapolis: Osterhus Publishing House, 1983. 808 pp. Paperback, $20.00.

Written from the conservative point of view, the book deals with inspiration, reliability, and authority of the OT and NT. Discusses liberal-critical views and methods. Contains short introductions to all canonical books in the Bible, and also gives scientific and archaeological information. — E.S.E.

Wiklander, Bertil. *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4.* Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series, 22. Malmö, Sweden: Gleerup/Liber, 1984. xiii + 278 pp. Paperback, Swedish Crowns 150.00.

This revised edition of a Th.D. dissertation "seeks to make a contribution within the field of interpretation of O.T. prophetic discourse," the conclusion being that "Isa. 2–4, contrary to the opinion of most contemporary scholars, be considered as a coherent, unified and functional unit of language." — E.S.E.

Willis, Lloyd A. *Archaeology in Adventist Literature 1937–1980.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 7. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1984. ix + 669 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Since the nineteenth century, but especially during the present century, the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church has shown a consistent interest in biblical archaeology; but only from the 1930s onward have a number of SDA scholars received formal advanced training in OT studies and biblical archaeology. The focus of this volume is on this more recent period. Willis surveys the general scholarly literature on biblical archaeology, and then examines and analyzes certain trends noticeable in SDA discussions of archaeology, as these trends are represented in various denominational books and periodicals and also in general scholarly journals dealing with the field. (Willis's dissertation, of which the present publication represents a slightly revised form, was completed in 1982; and the dissertation abstract was published in *AUSS* 21 [1983]: 87–88). — E.S.E.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME 22 (1984)

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ISSN 0003-2980

INDEX TO VOLUME 22 (1984)

ARTICLES

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

REPORTS ON LUTHER-YEAR CONFERENCES

BOOK REVIEWS

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= a	ְ (vocal shewa)	= e	ֹ	= ō
ָ	= ā	ֶ, ֵ	= ê	וֹ	= o
ָה	= ā	ִ	= i	ִי	= ô
ֵ	= e	ִי	= î	ֻ	= u
ֶ	= ē	ֹ	= o	ֻו	= û

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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