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SOME NOTES ON TRANSLATING וְאֵת הכוכבים IN GENESIS 1:16

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Gen 1:16 in the Hebrew text and as it is typically translated into English is as follows (vowel pointing of the Hebrew here and throughout this article appears only in connection with גָּאָת, אָמָד and other variations of this crucial expression):

Hebrew	Typical Translation
ויעש אלהים	And God made
אֶת־שׁני המארת הגדלים	the two great lights
אֶת־המאור הגדל לממשלת היום	the greater light to rule the day
ואת־המאור הקטן לממשלת הלילה	the lesser light to rule the night
וְאֵת הכוכבים	and [he made] the stars [also].

The final clause "and [he made] the stars [also]" is of interest because of the presence of אָאָת. Since this is usually thought of as one of the variations of the untranslatable Hebrew object marker, it would appear that either the original author wished to include the stars within the parameters of the creation week or this clause is a redactional appendage.

1. Examination of Genesis 1:16

The Context

The appropriate starting point in a discussion of the final clause of Gen 1:16 is the immediate context. Vss. 14 and 15 ask for, and the three clauses in vs. 16 preceding אָאָר introduce, the creation of "the two great light sources." But, can these light sources be referred to as "great" if no other light sources were available for comparison? Were they "great" because they dominated the writer's, a pre-existent, or an immediately created environment? The following verses, concentrating on the purpose and position of the two great light sources, refer neither to the form nor to the function of "the stars." Furthermore, as no light sources previously existed "to give light upon the earth" and "to divide between light and darkness," and, as the function of the stars is apparently independent of "the two great light sources," the stars' possible pre-existence to the parameters of 1:16 cannot be ignored.

Because of the apparent age of the universe and the difficulty, therefore, in its having come into existence within the parameters of 1:16 when it is argued that שְׁמָת הכוכבים was original and accusative (supported by LXX καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας), the modern exegetes usually then address the inadequacies of ancient-Near-Eastern cosmology. However, if redaction is favored on the basis of contextual anomalies, it should be understood that other sections of Gen 1:1-2:4a could be equally anomalous. For example, when reference is made to the populating of the waters with small aquatic creatures, no mention is made of sea monsters (1:20), but in the completion of the jussive (1:21) the latter are of primary importance among the allegedly newly created.

Specificity

The nomenclature in Gen 1:16 is also interesting. Although "day," "night," and "stars" are specifically referred to, neither of the great light sources—sun and moon—is named. In contrast to the presence of the three *specific* designations, these two great light sources are referred to simply as "the greater light" and "the lesser light."

2. The Hebrew Object Marker

Further examination of 1:16 reveals that apparently three variations for the sign of the direct object are used in this verse: "אָּת", and אָמ". After an exhaustive study of the use of the object marker in Genesis, I have found that אָמ" is used in approximately 70% of the occurrences, אָמ" in 20%, and אַמ (which does not occur in Gen 1:16) and אָמ" (the term in the last clause of Gen 1:16) only in about 5% each. Although these distinctions could be seen as the recording of mere Masoretic oral tradition, if the terms are indeed synonymous, then it would seem that similar statistics should be expected for each form. However, as the forms without j generally introduce the initial accusative, and those with j introduce additional direct objects, statistical similarity or identity could be expected (but does not exist) between those forms of אָמ

Given the assumption that the Masoretes faithfully recorded current pronunciation and that their tradition had been correctly transmitted to them, these differences may not have been coincidental. It may also be possible that Masoretic leveling within the Hebrew text was not applied to variations of the object markers.

Object-Marker Ambiguity

A basic question that we must now raise concerning the Hebrew object markers is whether there is evidence that these markers are used exclusively as signs of the accusative. Or, put another way, can they be confused with other Hebrew words? The following examples of usage in other passages of Genesis will be illuminating:

(1) אָת־חוה. In Gen 4:1, three similar phrases are recorded: אָת־קיק, אָת־קיק, and אָת־קיק. No ambiguity is possible in the first two phrases; but in the final phrase, because אָ is preceded by the indefinite שיא but followed by the definite אָר יהוה is taken as the preposition "with," rather than as the marker for the accusative. Apposition is generally between two substantives in the same state. Therefore, the phrase is usually translated, "I have brought forth a man with the help of the LORD," rather than "I have brought forth the LORD."

(2) הָאָָת־ In Gen 14:2, the list is given of the kings who opposed the rule of the Eastern Federation. Although it is syntactically and grammatically possible to use both אָת־ and הָאָת־ as object markers, when the context is examined they both must be the preposition "with." Also in 37:2, no ambiguity is possible. Again, the first two occurrences of הָאָת־ and the occurrence of הָאָת־ are to be translated as prepositions, otherwise Joseph's brothers are animals.

(3) אָאָת In Gen 9:9-10, God states with whom he will establish his covenant. In the occurrences of אָאָת and אָאָת toward the close of vs. 9 and beginning of vs. 10, because the immediately preceding אָאָ is now used with a suffix (אָתְכָם), both of those following terms are clearly the preposition "with," rather than signs of the accusative. Furthermore, Gen 46:15 (RSV) and 44:2 (NIV) both translate ואָת as the preposition "with."

From the foregoing examples, it would appear that all three variations of the object marker used in Gen 1:16 are capable of ambiguity and of being translated by the preposition "with." (The fourth variation, π , is equally capable of ambiguity and is also translated by "with," but as it is not within the purview of 1:16, I have omitted discussion of it here.)

Object-Marker Etymology

How could such ambiguity with regard to the Hebrew object markers have arisen? It would appear that the Hebrew object marker אַת was directly related to the Akkadian object marker attu, while the Hebrew preposition itti. Akkadian syllable boundaries would express the words as at-tu and it-ti. When the forms were shortened by deleting the endings u and i, the radical t was no longer required to start the second syllable, giving the short forms at and it, respectively. Both these words were taken over into Hebrew as (and אָת and it mambiguously distinguished only with the addition of suffixes to the preposition; the original vowel i and the doubled radical t then return: אָתָכָם אָת etc.

To add further to the confusion, in the consonantal text only context could distinguish between 'אָת', אָמָר', and the preposition אָמָ, and, as we have seen, adding a does not necessarily clarify. However, the presence of the *Maqqeph* may be the indicator that in the spoken language the vowel *Sere* had been shortened to *Segol*. Pronunciation today uses the shortened form *because* of the *Maqqeph*, whereas the *Maqqeph* was most probably used by the Masoretes to express a shortened vowel form in their oral tradition.

3. Similar Use Within Genesis

It may be that in Gen 1:16, אָאָת should not be seen as the third untranslatable object marker, but as the preposition "with." As demonstrated in 9:10 (see above), the presence of the j with אָת (without the Maqqeph) does not automatically rule out the possibility of אָאָת being the preposition.

Because of its relatively small use, the presence of אָאָת should alert the hearer/reader to a possible special situation. Even more than with the other forms, which frequently confuse the object marker and the preposition, the context of each use of אָאָת should be closely examined to determine whether this form of the term is mere stylistic variation, possible copyist error, or truly indicative.

Analysis of 1:16 reveals that אָאָת separates two articular substantives: הכוכבים and הכוכבים. Does this happen anywhere else in Genesis, and could this be a clue to the use of אָאָת in 1:16? Genesis 1:1

In Gen 1:1 we find the following in Hebrew text and typical translation:

בראשית	In the beginning
ברא אלהים	God created
אֶת השמים	the heavens
וְאֵת הארץ	and the earth.

Just as in 1:16, ואָת separates two articular substantives. For some time, it has been seen that אָת השמים וְאָת השמים (אַת) forms a *merismus*. The heavens are not to be thought of as separated from the earth, and God is not creating one without the other; they are an inseparable unit. Rather than an untranslatable object marker, could be seen as the bonding agent, possibly being translated as "together with," or as the NIV does for 44:2, "along with." English does not, of course, demand that both elements of אָאָת "With" would be sufficient; "together" and "along," although they add flavor, are basically redundant.

Rather than God's creating the heavens, השמים, as distinct from the earth, הארץ, a recognition of וארץ as the preposition underscores the author's physical and conceptual horizons. Whether or not his cosmic or even global view corresponds to that of modern science is irrelevant. The important matter is that the expression represents his conceptual parameters, within which everything is contained.

Therefore, 1:1 could be translated as follows:

In the beginning God created the heavens (together) *with* the earth.

Genesis 3:24

Gen 3:24 in Hebrew text and typical English rendition may be set forth as follows:

וישכן	And he placed
אֶת־הכרבים	the cherubim
וְאֵת להט החרב	and the flaming sword
לשמר אֶת־דרך	to guard the way

Again, וְאֵת separates two articular substantives. Even though is followed by the apparently indefinite "flame," להט is part of

a construct chain, the final element of which (החרב) is articular; therefore, both substantives are definite.

English translations obscure the close correspondence between להט החרב and הכרבים. While the function of the sword is obvious, the function of the cherubim is more obscure unless they are in some manner connected to the function of the sword. Were these cherubim mere observers rather than guardians, or were they also guardians of the way?

Ancient-Near-Eastern use of הכרבים would support the guardian concept; and seeing החרב and ההרבים as another inseparable unit, like השמים וְאֵת הארץ of 1:1, illuminates the passage immensely. The cherubim and the flaming sword are not two unconnected entities, but are inseparable. We need not think of a flaming sword suspended in mid-air and cherubim floating aimlessly about, as Renaissance paintings so fancifully depicted.

Gen 3:24 now can be read as follows:

He placed . . . the cherubim *with* the flaming sword . . . to guard the way . . .

The cherubim were placed as guardians in the entranceway to the garden *because* they were equipped with the flaming sword.

Genesis 49:31

The passage in Gen 49:31, wherein Jacob refers to the burial of Abraham and Sarah and of Isaac and Rebekah, furnishes a still further illustration of the usage of אָאָת in a prepositional sense. The Hebrew and a typical English rendering is as follows:

There they buried
Abraham
and Sarah his wife;
There they buried
Isaac
and Rebekah his wife

Although none of the substantives in this passage is articular, they all are definite because they are personal names. Since both Sarah and Rebekah died before their respective husbands, and since both Abraham and Isaac were subsequently buried in the cave of Machpelah, use here of the suggested preposition "with" as a translation of ואָת imbues the passage with excellent historical sense.

Gen 49:31 can thus be translated:

There they buried Abraham *with* Sarah his wife; There they buried Isaac *with* Rebekah his wife . . .

Abraham was not merely buried "there," but he was placed with his beloved Sarah. Likewise, Isaac was not merely buried somewhere in the cave, but was placed with his incomparable Rebekah.

4. The Translation of Genesis 1:16

It would appear from Gen 9:10, 44:2, and 46:15 that אָאָת can, and sometimes must, be translated as the preposition "with," rather than being considered as the object marker. Possible ambiguity demands that each context where אָאָת is used must be examined closely to determine the word's best syntactical function and etymology.

Our examination of similar uses of אָאָן within Genesis has demonstrated a syntactical possibility: Whenever two definite substantives joined by אָאָר are found in a clause already introduced by the object marker, the context should be closely examined to determine whether אָאָר would be better translated by the preposition "with."

Following the example of 1:1, 3:24, and 49:31, we conclude that 1:16 should probably be translated as follows:

And God made the two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, the lesser light to rule the night with the stars

It would appear that אָאָת הכוכבים was original rather than redactional. Just as the greater light would fit into the already existing "light" part of the "day," the lesser would fit into the already existing "night with the stars." Just as the "light" part of the day, having been created at the beginning of the pericope, preexisted the greater light source, so too the stars pre-existed this new, large, dominating figure of the night sky-the lesser light source.

The translation of אָאָת as the preposition "with" removes the anomaly of the stars being created on the fourth day of the creation week. It follows that the issue of the creation of the stars is not necessarily a specific topic within the horizon of the creation pericope of Gen 1:1-2:4a.

SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN REVELATION: SOME FURTHER EVIDENCE

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In a previous article I suggested that the use of ek in the book of Revelation was under significant Semitic influence.¹ This significance extended beyond the simple fact that recourse to Hebrew and Aramaic grammar seemed able to explain the otherwise surprisingly high incidence of this preposition in the book, for in certain cases allowance for Hebrew/Aramaic idiom also had important consequences for the translation of the verse involved.

The present study extends my earlier discussion. Here, however, I survey several different prepositional phrases, rather than focusing upon one particular preposition. Thus, while in the first article I endeavored to show that the extent of Semitic influence upon prepositions in Revelation is more than surface deep, the present study suggests that it is ubiquitous.

1. Poiēsai Polemon Meta

There can be little doubt that the phrases *polemein meta* and *poiein polemon meta* (meaning "to war against") are Semitisms, for although such constructions appear in some eight verses in Revelation (2:16; 11:7; 12:7, 17; 13:4, 7; 17:14; 19:19) and are evident in the LXX (e.g., 1 Kgs 17:33, 4 Kgs 19:9) they are nowhere found in Classical Greek.² The papyri give a few examples of the construction, as R. H. Charles has noted,³ but the fact remains that in Revelation *meta* is used to indicate the enemy "with" whom one is

¹K. G. C. Newport, "The Use of *Ek* in Revelation: Evidence of Semitic Influence," *AUSS* 24 (1986):223-230.

²A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (New York, 1914), p. 610.

³R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John (Edinburgh, 1920), 1:CXXXiii.

fighting, to the exclusion of the normal Classical and Hellenistic usage of epi or simple accusative of direct object. In Rev 11:7b, for example, we read: to therion to anabainon ek tes abussou poiesei met' auton polemon kai nikesei autous kai apoktenei autous ("the beast that ascends out of the pit will make war against them and overcome them and kill them"). Here the clause poiesei met' auton polemon clearly means "to make war against," whereas this construction in Classical Greek would mean "to make war in company with" (i.e., "as an ally to").4 The explanation for the usage in Revelation lies in the Hebrew/Aramaic construction which underlies the Greek. In investigating this construction, Charles has drawn attention to the LXX of Dan 7:21, where the Aramaic phrase $c\bar{a}bd\hat{a} q^{e}r\bar{a}b cim qaddîsîn w^{e}y\bar{a}kl\hat{a} l^{e}h\bar{o}n$ is rendered as poiesei met' auton polemon kai nikesei autous.⁵ Similarly, Theodotion has rendered this verse as epoiei polemon meta ton hagion kai ischusen pros autous.

Other examples of the use of *meta* to translate *cim* or *et* where the prepositions have a hostile meaning can be found in the LXX. In addition to those given above we might note Gen 14:2. Here *epoiesan polemon meta Balla* is the rendering for *casû milhamâ et_bera^c* ("they made war against Bera"). Such a meaning is possible for the Hebrew prepositions,⁶ but for *meta* this usage is foreign.

In the light of these OT examples the construction in Revelation can be understood. The author has in mind a Hebrew or Aramaic construction which he translates into literal Greek. This has not led to misunderstanding in English translations, since the English "with" (which properly translates *meta*) may be used in a hostile sense in conjunction with the verb "to war" or "to make war." The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures is thus justified in its strict rendering of *meta* as "with" in all the verses of Revelation noted above as using this sort of construction. The NIV is likewise correct when it translates "against" (in six of the verses) and "attack them" (in Rev 11:7, for *poiēsei met' autōn polemon*). The RSV makes the meaning clear by translating *meta* as "on" or "against"—translations which, however, are certainly not explained by regular Greek grammar.

⁴As, e.g., in Homer, *Iliad* 13:700 and Thucydides 8:24.

⁵Charles, 1:286.

⁶Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 86, 767 (hereinafter BDB).

2. Skēnōsei Ep' Autous

The construction $sk\bar{e}n\bar{o}sei\ ep'\ autous$ found in Rev 7:15b does not appear to be "good Greek," for how is the phrase to be translated? "Dwell upon" does not make sense. Neither would one expect the translation "dwell at," "by," "over," "before," or "to" all of which are English equivalents for the Greek *epi*. But an explanation is possible.

In Judg 5:17 (LXX) we read: Aser ekathisen paralian thalasson kai epi dieksodois autou skēnosei. The Hebrew for this verse is ²āšēr yāšab l^ehôp yammîm w^{ec}al miprāsāyw yiškôn. It is apparent, therefore, that the translators of the LXX have employed skēnosei epi to render yiškôn ^cal. The NEB translates this verse as "Asher lingered by the sea-shore, and by its creeks he stayed." This translation is justified, since šākan ^cal certainly has the meaning of "to stay by";⁷ but the Hebrew may also mean "to dwell among" or "by," as a substitute for šākan b^e.⁸ In this light, Judg 5:17 may be translated, "Asher lingered by the sea shore, and he dwelt by (= among) its creeks." Likewise, Rev 7:15 could be rendered, "And the one who sits upon the throne will dwell by (= among) them."

Translators of the English Bibles have had difficulties with Rev 7:15. The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures and the NIV have erred on the side of being too literal: "The one seated on the throne will spread his tent over them." The RSV has gone to the other extreme, being too free in translating the verse, "and he who sits upon the throne will shelter them with his presence." The NEB and KJV agree that *skēnoō epi* means "dwell among" ("with," NEB), and are likely to be correct.

3. En = "At the Price of"

According to Charles and F. Blass and A. Debrunner, the preposition *en* as used in Rev 1:5 and 5:9 is a Hebraism translating b^e in the sense of "at the price of" or "in exchange for."⁹ This could well be the case, for b^e certainly has this meaning.¹⁰ In Isa

⁷BDB, p. 1015.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Charles, 1:147; and F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (London, Eng., 1961), p. 117. ¹⁰BDB, p. 90. 7:23, for example, we have 'elep gepen be'elep kasep ("a thousand vines at the price of [or worth] a thousand pieces of silver"; LXX, chiliai ampeloi chilion siklon), and in Lam 1:11 we find $n\bar{a}tn\hat{u}$ mahamawdêhem be'okel ("they gave their desirable things in exchange for food"; LXX, edokan ta epithumēmata autēs en brosei). For further examples, see also Eccl 4:9 and 2 Kgs (= 2 Sam) 24:24.

This sort of usage of *en* has no parallel in classical literature, where the price for which an object is bought is regularly denoted by the genitive case.¹¹ C. F. D. Moule, however, has rejected the view that *en* here reflects the concept "at the price of," arguing that it is simply an extension of the instrumental usage.¹² But Moule's argument is not convincing. He apparently is unable to produce evidence that Hellenistic Greek authors who were not under Semitic influence made such an exension of the instrumental. Therefore, the explanation of Charles and Blass-Debrunner is more probably the correct one.

4. Instrumental En

Charles has commented at some length upon the instrumental use of *en* in the Apocalypse:

The most noteworthy use of ℓv in our author is its instrumental use. Thus it occurs 33 times, whereas it does not occur at all in J [Gospel of John] (save in quasi-instrumental sense in the phrase $\ell v \tau o \ell \tau \varphi$: see Abbot, Gr. 256), nor yet in the Pauline or Catholic Epp. save once in 2 Pet. It is found 34 times in the Synoptics (according to Moulton and Geden), 3 times in Acts, and 3 in Hebrews. Moulton (Gr., pp. 12, 61, 104) thinks that the publication of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) has "rescued the instrumental ℓv from the class of Hebraisms" in the case of ℓv $\mu \alpha \chi \alpha \lambda \gamma \eta$, Lk 22⁴⁹, and $\ell v \dot{\rho} \alpha \beta \delta \varphi$, 1 Cor 4²¹. To this claim Abbott (Gr. 256n.) rejoins effectively. But even though the instrumental ℓv does occur in the papyri sporadically (where the influence of Jewish traders may have been at work), this fact cannot account in any case for the preponderating use of ℓv in our author. No adequate explanation can be found save in its origination in a

¹¹H. W. Smyth, Greek Grammar (Cambridge, MA, 1984), sec. 1336.

¹²C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), p. 77.

mind steeped in Semitic. Even Moulton (p. 61n.) concedes that this $i\nu$ "came to be used rather excessively... by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic."¹³

Since the instrumental use of *en* in classical Greek and in the papyri is not in dispute, the construction cannot, strictly speaking, be called a Semitism. But the frequency of its use in the NT and especially in Revelation argues for Semitic influence.

We have already noted that Charles describes the instrumental use of en in the papyri as "sporadic."¹⁴ Nor are occurrences of instrumental *en* common in classical literature, a fact attested to by the difficulty with which Moulton and Milligan document their case that instrumental *en* is not a Hebraism.¹⁵ They are, it seems, unable to find early occurrences, but rather put forward examples drawn from literature that are not of significantly great chronological distance from the NT.

On the other hand, examples of this instrumental use of *en* are indeed numerous in the book of Revelation. We may consider, for example, Rev 2:27, 12:5, and 19:15, all of which have the phrase *en rabd* \bar{q} *sid* $\bar{e}ra$. In these verses *en* clearly has instrumental force and cannot be reduced to a more original meaning. Moreover, an exact parallel to the usage in these verses is found in Ps 2:9, which reads, $t^er\bar{o}c\bar{e}m$ b^es\bar{e}bet barzel (translated in the LXX as poimaneis autous *en rabd* \bar{q} *sid* $\bar{e}ra$; see also Exod 21:20 and Mic 5:1, LXX).

Similar to en rabd \bar{q} sid \bar{e} rq is en romphia found in Rev 2:16, and en machair \bar{e} in Rev 13:10. An OT equivalent to this last verse is found in Josh 10:11, which is behare b (LXX, machairq).

Possibly also instrumental is the phrase *en phonę̃ megalę̃* found in Rev 5:2; 14:7, 9, 15; 19:17. These verses are to be compared with the instrumental case without the preposition in seven other places: 5:12; 6:10; 7:2, 10; 8:13; 10:3; 14:18. Both of these Greek expressions are found in the LXX as translating $b^eq\hat{o}l \ gad\hat{o}l$ (see Gen 39:14; 1 Kgs [= 1 Sam] 28:12; 3 Kgs [1 Kgs] 18:27; 2 Chron 20:19). The author of Revelation, aware of both idioms for expressing the instrument, uses them without any obvious distinction in meaning.

¹³Charles, 1:CXXX.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* (London, 1952), p. 210.

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Other examples of instrumental en are found in Rev 2:23, 9:20, 16:8, and 18:8. These, in addition to those examples given above, show that this usage of en is common in Revelation, a fact best explained by the imitation of Hebrew/Aramaic idiom.

5. Apo Expressing Agent

A feature which is uncommon in classical literature, yet present in the book of Revelation, is the use of *apo* to express agent. We find such a use, for example, in Rev 9:18: *apo* ton trion plegon touton apektanthesan to triton ton anthropon ("and a third of mankind was killed by the three plagues"). Here *apo* has replaced the more classical hupo, a phenomenon which, according to Charles, is "rare" in the NT.¹⁶ The idiom is found once again in Rev 12:6: topon hetoimasmenon apo tou theou ("a place prepared by God"). Such usage may be based upon Semitic syntax, for the Hebrew/Aramaic min regularly denotes the agent by which an action is done, and the Semitic preposition is sometimes translated using *apo* in the LXX (see, e.g., Jer 4:26).

6. Apo Stadion Chilion

The Greek of Rev 14:20 may also be under significant Semitic influence. The verse reads, kai eksēlthen haima ek tēs lēnou achri tōn chalinōn tōn hippōn apo stadiōn chiliōn heksakosiōn ("and blood flowed out of the press, rising as high as the horses' bridles for a distance of 1,600 stadia," NIV). Charles notes that this expression occurs also in John 11:18 and 21:8 but nowhere else in the NT.¹⁷ He rejects the thesis that it is a Latinism, as do Moulton,¹⁸ Blass and Debrunner,¹⁹ and A. T. Robertson.²⁰ Robertson, in fact, considers any resemblance of the construction to a milibus passuum duobus (Caesar, De Bello Gallico 2.7.3) as purely coincidental, and he points out that the construction has a good, if late, Greek background, appearing in Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

¹⁶Charles, 1:321.

¹⁷Ibid., l:CXXViii.

¹⁸James Hope Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh, 1908), 1:101-102.

¹⁹Blass and Debrunner, p. 88.

²⁰Robertson, p. 575.

But there is also an Hebraic explanation for the construction, though Charles seems not to have noticed it. Isa 22:3 reads, kolqeşînayik nādedû yahad miqqešet ³ussārû kol-nimşā³ayik ³uss^erû yahdāw mērāhôq bārāhû. The RSV translates this verse, "All of you who were found were captured, though they had fled far away." The last part of this verse might be rendered literally as "they fled 'to a distance of 'afar" (LXX, porrō pepheugasin). Here, then, the preposition min in mērāhōq, means "to a distance of," as does the apo of Rev 14:20.

This Semitic explanation of the otherwise confusing Greek syntax of Rev 14:20 is reinforced when Isa 57:9b is noted, for in this verse we read, watt^ešall^ehî şirayik ^cad mērāhōq ..., which the LXX renders as kai apesteilas presbeis huper ta horia sou. Once again mērāhōq seems to mean "to a distance of" afar.

Similar Semitic influence may explain the phrase apo makrōthen in Rev 18:10, 15, 17. This construction, whilst being acceptable Greek, may also reflect good Hebrew. In Gen 22:4, for example, we have wayyar⁵ ⁵e<u>t</u>-hammāqôm mērāhoq ("and he saw the place 'from a distance'"; LXX, eiden ton topon makrothen). Similar is Neh 12:43, wattiššāma^c šimha<u>t</u> yerûšālaim mērāhôq ("and the joy of Jerusalem was heard unto a great distance'"; LXX, kai ēkousthē... apo makrothen). The parallels with Rev 18:10, 15, 17 are clear.

7. Egeneto Eis

Two examples of the construction egeneto eis are found in Revelation: 8:11 and 16:19. There can be little doubt that in both these cases a Semitism is involved, the Greek phrase being used in imitation of the common $h\bar{a}y\hat{a} l^{e}$ in Hebrew. The replacement of the more usual predicative nominative with eis and the accusative case after the verb egeneto is frequently found in NT Greek where Semitic influence is likely (e.g., Matt 21:42; Luke 13:19; John 16:20; Judg 17:12; 1 Kgs 18:17 LXX).

8. Conclusion

The prepositional phrases surveyed above clearly indicate Semitic influence in the book of Revelation. The list could easily have been expanded: For example, *kopsontai epi* in Rev 1:7 probably reflects $s\bar{a}pad$ ^cal, meaning "to mourn because of," as in Zech 12:10 (see also Aquila 2 Sam 11:26); and *chairō epi* in Rev 11:10 may well correspond to the Hebrew śāmah 'al (see Isa 39:2). Similarly, the phrase lalei met' emou (Rev 1:12; 4:1; 10:8; 17:1; 21:9, 15), which is unusual Greek, doubtless depends upon the common Hebrew expression dibber 'im (see Num 11:17 LXX). And again, basileuein epi (Rev 5:10; cf. Judg 9:8, 10, 12 LXX), echōn eksousian epi (Rev 2:26 et passim; cf. Neh 5:15 [=2 Ezra 15:5 LXX]), and $\bar{o}mosen \ en$ (Rev 10:6; cf. Judg 21:1) all seem dependent upon Semitic syntax.

Thus, the evidence for Semitic influence upon prepositions and prepositional phrases in the book of Revelation is substantial and clear. The exegetes have a duty, therefore, to take seriously the possibility of Semitic influence as they seek to explain the Greek text of this intriguing NT book. Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1987, Vol. 25, No. 3, 257-266. Copyright © 1987 by Andrews University Press.

A POTENTIAL BIBLICAL CONNECTION FOR THE BETH SHEMESH OSTRACON

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An intriguing six-line ostracon was found by Elihu Grant in his excavations at Ain Shems more than half a century ago.¹ Since the site that he excavated has commonly been identified with biblical Beth Shemesh, this text has been identified as the Beth Shemesh Ostracon.

This ostracon has been the subject of a number of studies;² but until very recently its text has resisted complete decipherment. E. Puech's analysis, published in 1986—as a part of his study of the early development of the alphabet—represents a real breakthrough in understanding it.³ Puech's treatment presents a more firmly established text and also a translation with which to work in suggesting further connections with the history of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Beth Shemesh in the late second millennium B.C.

The present study suggests one way in which this text may be related to two persons who are located by a biblical narrative in this place and time. Before my suggestion on this is presented, however, the text of the ostracon should be described.

1. The Text of the Ostracon

According to Puech's new analysis, the Beth Shemesh Ostracon text is a short and straightforward record of the disbursement of

¹Elihu Grant, Ain Shems Excavations, vol. 1 (Haverford, PA, 1931), pl. X.

²H. Grimme, "Die altkanaanäische Buchstabenschrift zwischen 1500 und 1250 v. Chr.," AfO 10 (1935-1936): 270-277; S. Yeivin, "The Palestino-Sinaitic Inscriptions," *PEFQS* (July 1937): 180-193; B. Maisler, "Zur Urgeschichte des phönizischhebräischen Alphabets," *JPOS* 18 (1938): 278, 281, 289; F. M. Cross, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967): 17-19; J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 35-36.

³E. Puech, "Origine de l'alphabet," RB 93 (1986): 161-213.

eight (or eighty)⁴ baths of wine to five individuals. Three of these persons are named on the front side of the sherd, and the other two are named on the back side. Reference to the total of eight (or eighty) baths of wine, *bt yn*, is made in the line at the bottom of the front side of the sherd. (For Puech's drawing of both the front and back sides of the sherd, see Figures 1 and 2 page 260.)

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The Personal Names in the Text

The number of baths involved is indicated by a circle of eight round dots located above this summary line. The next two lines of the text read upwards and from left to right. These lines contain two of the personal names in the text. A round dot was placed above each of these names to indicate that these persons each received one bath (or ten). Another name was written vertically along the edge of the sherd, but this name cannot be read because most of it is broken away. There is, however, another round dot above this name, indicating that the designated person received the same amount of wine.

Two more personal names were written on the reverse side of the sherd. Four dots appear above one of these names, and one dot appears above the other of them, indicating that the two individuals named here received four (or forty) and one (or ten) baths of wine, respectively. The total number of dots written with the personal names equals the number of dots written over the baths of wine in the first line on the front side, and thus the bookkeeper's account balanced.

Some of the personal names in this text had been identified previously, but Puech has made some improvements upon those previous readings. In particular, he has demonstrated that the name on the reverse side which was previously read as $gm^{c}n$ should now be read as $sm^{c}n$ and translated as Simeon. The vertical zigzag line that was previously read as a gimmel can be clearly recognized as a shin when it is rotated 90° to bring it into a horizontal stance.

As for some of the other letters in the text, the *taw*, the *yod*, and the *nun* in the third line of the obverse are all clear, with only the *beth* in this line being in doubt. Once it is realized, however,

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⁴The possible variant here and throughout the ostracon text with regard to the quantity of wine depends on how certain circular markers in the inscription are to be understood. Further explanation is afforded later in this article.

that this particular letter has been rotated 180° , identification of it is quite easy. Thus we have the expression *bt* yn.

All the letters in the second line can be identified without difficulty. The ladder shape of the *heth* reveals that it lies on its side, and the circle of the *cayin* is somewhat irregular, but these letters still present no problem in identification. Here, then, we have $\frac{2}{h}c_z$.

The top line on this side of the sherd begins with a circular but open *lamed*, and the rest of the letters in this line are the same as those in the next line, though with a reversal of the two basic components. This top line (or line 1) reads $l^c z^2 h$.

Along the edge of the sherd, only the topmost parts of the letters written there can be seen above the break, and only an *aleph* in the third position from the top can be identified with probability. Even the traces of these mutilated letters indicate, however, that the name given cannot be a duplicate of either of the other two names written on this obverse side of the sherd.

On the reverse side of the sherd, all the letters in the two names are clear. We have, respectively, $\delta m^c n$ and hnn.

A Reading of the Text

With the letters on the ostracon identified as above, this text can now be read in entirety as set forth below in transliteration and in English translation. For clarity, the third line should be read first, inasmuch as it mentions the commodity being dispersed. Next comes the first line, as is evident because it begins with the preposition "to." Then the personal name in the second line should be read, followed by the illegible name along the margin of the sherd. Finally, the two names on the reverse side of the sherd follow in order. This yields a text which can be transcribed in the following manner:

Line 3:	bt yn	8 (or 80)
Line 1:	lʿz'ḥ	l (or 10)
Line 2:	^{>} ḥ ^c z	1 (or 10)
Margin:		l (or 10)
Line 5:	šm [∼] n	4 (or 40)
Line 6:	ḥnn	l (or 10)

The reason why the amounts—i.e., the baths of wine in each instance—are in question is that a circular sign commonly carried



1. Obverse of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon

2. Reverse of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon

Figures 1 & 2. Line Drawings of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon by E. Puech. From *Revue Biblique* 93 (1986):173. Reprinted by permission.

(Editor's Note: The two drawings have been rotated 90° counterclockwise from their position in the original publication).

the value of "ten," whereas the value of "one" was more commonly represented by a vertical stroke. On this sherd, however, all of the numerical values are represented by circular dots, and no vertical strokes appear. This being the case, it is probable that the circular dots here represent units of one each, rather than representing tens. With this qualification, we can now translate the text as follows:

Line 3:	baths of wine	8
Line 1:	to ^c Uzzah	1
Line 2:	$^{\circ}Ah^{\circ}uz$	1
Margin:	$[]^{2}a[-]$	1
Line 5:	Simeon	4
Line 6:	Hanun	1

2. Comparison of the Ostracon Text with Biblical Data

When Puech came to translate the names in the Beth Shemesh Ostracon, he did so only for the two names on the reverse face of the sherd. The three names on the obverse (even the two unbroken ones) he left untranslated.

The Names "Simeon" and "Hanun"

Of the names which Puech translated, $\delta m^c n$ —or "Simeon"—is the more striking of the two. This transcription of this name is, as Puech has noted, the earliest known extra-biblical occurrence of "Simeon," a name also used for one of the twelve tribes of Israel. Its use in this ostracon as a personal name would suggest that the tribe of Simeon was settled in the land by the time the text was written, and also indicates that this recipient of wine was an Israelite.

West Semitic names built upon the root hnn, "to be gracious," were relatively common, both within and outside Israelite circles. Within Israelite circles it was more commonly compounded with the theophoric element -yah to make up the name of Hananiah, but it was also used without that element, and was even used both with and without it as by-forms for the name of the same individual (cf. Neh 7:2). Hanun, the king of Ammon in the time of David, was a non-Israelite who bore this name (2 Sam 10:1), as was Hanno of Gaza in the time of the Neo-Assyrian kings.⁵ Through Phoenician

mediation this name was transmitted to Carthage, and it eventually ended up being used there by the famous general Hannibal (= hanni-baal). Thus, there is nothing particularly distinctive about this name on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon which would indicate whether the person who bore it was an Israelite or a non-Israelite. He could have been either.

The Two Legible Names on the Obverse of the Ostracon

Interesting as the names Simeon and Hanun are, we are more interested here in the two legible names on the obverse of the sherd—the names that Puech did not translate or discuss.

Thanks, however, to Puech's efforts, these names can now be read quite clearly as ${}^{c}uz^{2}ah$ and ${}^{2}ah^{c}uz$ —probably pronounced as ${}^{c}uz^{2}ahi$ and ${}^{2}ahi^{c}uz$. They mean, respectively, "powerful is my brother," and "my brother is powerful." It is quite evident from even a brief glance at these names that they contain the same two elements. They are simply reversed in order. Given the otherwise unusual nature of these two names, it seems probable that the persons bearing them were brothers—perhaps even twins. Such a relationship would explain why these two names were the direct reverse of each other.

From this consideration of these two names on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon we may turn to examine the similar names of two brothers who are mentioned in 2 Sam 6. This narrative tells of David's bringing the ark of the covenant from Baale-Judah up to Jerusalem. The ark had been kept in the house of Abinadab in Baale-Judah; and quite naturally, therefore, two of his sons assisted directly in its transport to Jerusalem. The names of these sons are given in the biblical text as "Uzzah" and "Ahio."

Linguistically, there are some difficulties with regard to both of these names. The final element in the name of Uzzah is written first with an ²aleph and later with a he. The name of Ahio is also problematical: It has been suggested (see 2 Sam 6:3, RSV, margin) that the final element in this name, the waw, might represent a pronominal suffix, third person masculine singular—which would provide for this word the translation "his brother" rather than a personal name. This suggestion is not really valid, however, in view of the fact that the word for "brother" in the first part of this name already carries a pronominal suffix, the yod, which represents the first person singular. Since this part of this word already translates as "my brother," an additional pronominal suffix attached to the name would be redundant. Thus in the body of its text the RSV, for example, correctly translates hyw as a personal name.

If the first portion of this word is part of a personal name, that part would mean, "My brother (is)" A difficulty remains, however, since one would expect the final element in this name to be spelled out with two or more letters. But that is not the case; instead, it is followed simply by a *waw*. This final *waw* could stand for a consonantal w, a vocalic o, or a vocalic u. The last of these three possibilities is particularly interesting to note, inasmuch as uis the vowel which occurs with the word uz found in the names of the two brothers on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon.

The name of Uzzah also seems foreshortened in the biblical text, for it is written to end with only an ²aleph or a he as the final element in the name, when one might expect an additional letter or two to accompany that letter. As they stand, the *aleph* or *he* could represent a consonant or an *a*-vowel. These were also the consonant and vowel with which the word ² $\bar{a}h$ or "brother" was written in the names in two of the lines on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon. No doubling of the *zayin*, incidentally, need be expected in the type of writing on the ostracon.

Comparison of the Biblical and Extra-biblical Data

In order to provide a more direct comparison of the names "Uzzah" and "Ahio" in the OT source and on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon, we may line up the biblical and extra-biblical names for these two persons as follows:

2 Sam 6:3-8		Beth Shemesh Ostracon
⊆uz- ² a	=	^c uz- ³ aḥi
²aḥî-û	=	°aḥi-°uz

The initial elements in both sets of names are the same, but these similar names appear to have been foreshortened in their final element in the biblical text. One way in which this relationship could be viewed is to see these paired extra-biblical names as supplying the final element that appears to be missing from their related biblical names. If that procedure is followed, then one could see their relationship as follows:

2 Sam 6:3-8		Beth Shemesh Ostracon
^c uz- ⁻ a(ḥi)	=	^c uz- ² aķi
^{>} aḥî- ^(<) û(z)	=	°aḥi-ʿuz

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The equation proposed here is not a perfect fit. Nevertheless, there appear to be enough similarities in terms of shared common elements, vocalization, and a filial relationship that it may be proposed that these two texts—2 Sam 6 and the Beth Shemesh Ostracon—may well be referring to the same two individuals, both of whom were sons of Abinadab.

3. Palaeographical and Geographical Considerations

Two final comments should be made about the foregoing suggestion—one being a notation concerning palaeography, and the other consisting of some observations relating to historical geography.

Palaeography and Dating of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon

If the two persons whose names can be read on the obverse of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon—namely, ^cuz-³ahi and ³ahi-^cuz—are indeed, as suggested above, two sons of Abinadab who assisted David in moving the ark, then, according to standard chronologies, they should have lived late in the eleventh century B.C. But palaeographers have estimated that the date of the Beth Shemesh Ostracon is considerably earlier. Puech, for example, dates this text to the late thirteenth century B.C. or ca. 1200. Such a date would fall a century or two before the time proposed above for the potential connection of this text with the individuals in the biblical narrative of 2 Sam 6:3-8.

It is open to question, however, as to whether the general typology of the alphabet's development can be applied so rigidly in this case. The broad splashes of ink used to write the letters of this text indicate that this was not the work of a skilled scribe. Several of the letters are very irregular by any standard. All three of the ^cayins are quite different, the first being a small circle with a dot, the second a large irregular circle with a dot, and the third a medium-sized circle without a dot. The dotted ^cayin is supposed to be early and the undotted ^cayin is supposed to be late, but here they are together in the same text. The beth is upside down, and the shin is vertical instead of horizontal. Thus it is obvious that the person who wrote this text was not a practiced scribe. Rather, he appears to have been a rural merchant who simply wanted to keep his accounts in the best way he could. This text was apparently the

best that he could do, and certainly was not written in the finest, most up-to-date script. Consequently, palaeographical considerations do not appear to provide the date for this text, except within the most broad and general ranges.

The Data and Implications Pertaining to Historical Geography

With respect to historical geography, the fairly direct connection between the town where the two brothers lived according to the biblical text and the place where the Beth Shemesh Ostracon was found should be noted. The sherd comes from Ains Shems, the site which, as we have noticed at the outset of this essay, has been identified as Beth Shemesh. According to the biblical text, the two brothers came from Baale-Judah. The ark of the covenant is that which makes a connection between these two sites.

When the Philistines returned the ark of the covenant, it came first to Beth Shemesh (1 Sam 6:12-18). Experiencing an adverse effect from the presence of the ark, however, the people of Beth Shemesh desired to send the ark along to Kiriath-jearim (1 Sam 6:19-7:1a). This was done, and the ark was taken to the house of Abinadab in Kiriath-jearim, where it lodged for twenty years (1 Sam 7:1b-2). This Abinadab was the same person from whose house the ark was subsequently taken when it was transported up to Jerusalem, and it was his two sons who assisted in that project (2 Sam 6:3-6). The difference in the name for the location where the ark lodged may presumably be attributed to the difference between the name of the town—Kiriath-jearim—and the name for the general location of the town—Baale-Judah, "the heights of Judah."

The geographical points followed in the course of transporting the ark indicate that in following the road up through the foothills from Beth Shemesh, one came to Kiriath-jearim/Baale-Judah. This road could, of course, be traversed in the opposite direction, with travel down from Kiriath-jearim to Beth-Shemesh—the direction that ^cUzzah/^cUzz⁵ahi and ⁵Ahiu/⁵Ahi^cuz appear to have taken, if my proposal concerning the connection between 2 Sam 6 and the Beth Shemesh Ostracon is correct. In the episode reflected by the Beth Shemesh Ostracon, they appear to have traveled from their home down to Beth Shemesh for the purpose of purchasing some wine.

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Furthermore, the transaction recorded on the Beth Shemesh Ostracon, presupposing travel of Uzzah and Ahio from Kiriathjearim down to Beth Shemesh to purchase some wine, would have occurred earlier than the trip of the two brothers in the opposite direction with the ark of the covenant. This is obvious in view of the fact that during the latter trip Uzzah lost his life (2 Sam 6:6-7). Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1987, Vol. 25, No. 3, 267-288. Copyright © 1987 by Andrews University Press.

THE "VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION" SCENES IN THE VISIONS IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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This article is a follow-up to my earlier essay on the basic literary structure of the eight major visions of the book of Revelation.¹ For the sake of convenient reference, Diagram 3 of my previous article is here reproduced (on the following page) as Diagram 1 for the present article.

The blocs of text upon which our attention focuses in this study are those designated "A" in this Diagram; namely, those carrying the caption "Victorious-Introduction Scene with Temple Setting." We first take an overview of the content of these scenes for visions I through VIII, and then consider some of the specific phenomena and theological implications.

1. Summary of the "Victorious-Introduction Scenes"

In providing the following overview of the content of the eight victorious-introduction scenes, I furnish here both a summary of the textual material itself and a few preliminary comments concerning this material. It should be noted in these summaries that not all details of the scenes are included;² however, preceding the summaries themselves, the appropriate Scripture references are presented (as also set forth in Diagram 1), and the reader can go to the biblical text itself for a more complete picture.

¹Kenneth A. Strand, "The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of Revelation," AUSS 25 (1987):107-121.

²Herein the summaries are, nevertheless, in various instances more extensive than the paralleling, but generally very brief, summaries provided in ibid., pp. 112-117 (which see also for summaries of the contents of blocs B, C, and D in the various visions).

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Α

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1	HISTORICAL-ERA VISIONS				ESCHATOLOGICAL-JUDGMENT-ERA VISIONS				
	I	11	111	IV		V	VI	<u></u>	VIII
A	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (1:106-20)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (Chaps. 4 & 5)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (6:2-6)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TENPLE SETTING (11:19)		VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (15:1-16:1)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (16:18-17:34)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (19:1-10)	VICTORIOUS- INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (21:5-11a)
В	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Chaps. 2 & 3)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Chap. 6)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (8:7-9:21)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Cheps. 12 & 13)		BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDCHENT (16:2-14,16)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDCHENT (17:36-18:3)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDCHENT (19:11-20:5)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDGHENT (21:11b-22:5)
	c	INTERLUDE: SPOTLICHT ON LAST EVENTS (Chap. 7)	INTERLUDE: SPOTLICHT ON LAST EVENTS (10:1-11:13)	INTERLUDE: SPOTLICHT ON LAST EVENTS (14:1-13)		INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (16:15)	INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (18:4-8.20)	INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (20:6)	с
	D	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: CLIMAX TO HISTORY (8:1)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: CLIMX TO HISTORY (11:14-18)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULHINATION: CLIKAX TO HISTORY (14:14-20)		ESCHATOLOGICAL CULHINATION: THE JUDCHENTAL FINALE (16:17)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULHINATION: THE JUDCHENTAL FINALE (18:9-19,21-24)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: THE JUDCMENTAL FINALE (20:7-21:4)	D

Introduction to Vision I

Text: Rev 1:10b-20

- Summary: On the island of Patmos (1:9), the resurrected, heavenly Christ appears in glorious vision to John, revealing himself as the one who was dead, now lives, is alive forever, and has the keys of *hades* and death. John sees Christ holding seven stars in his right hand and walking among seven golden lampstands. The seven stars are defined as "the angels of the seven churches" (vs. 20), and the seven lampstands are defined as "the seven churches" (ibid.)—namely, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (vs. 11).
- **Comment:** The fact that the lampstands are temple imagery is generally recognized by the exegetes, though there has been difference of opinion as to the precise background. The question usually raised is whether that background is the *one* lampstand in the "Holy Place" (outer or first apartment) of the ancient wilderness tabernacle (Exod 26:35; in Herod's temple there was also one lampstand) or the *ten* lampstands in that first apartment of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:49). A third alternative, generally missed by the commentators, is the lampstand symbolism of Zech 4, which plays a very obvious role as background for a later vision in the Apocalypse—Rev 11, "the temple and two witnesses."³ Or there may be intentional multiple backgrounds.⁴ The

³There are theological overtones which favor looking upon the Zechariah "lampstand" as at least one probable source for the imagery. See Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," AUSS 19 (1981):127-135, especially pp. 131-134; and cf. idem, "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11," AUSS 20 (1982):257-261. Not only should certain theological affinities be noted, but also consideration should be given to the further backgrounds (beyond Zech 4) for the olive trees/lampstands imagery of Rev 11:4-namely, the Jachin-and-Boaz temple pillars (cf. 1 Kgs 7:21; also 2 Kgs 11:12-14 and 23:1-3), and beyond them the "pillar of cloud" in which the Lord appeared to Moses and Joshua at the "entrance" to the wilderness tabernacle (Deut 31:14-15). If the background for the seven lampstands in vision I of Revelation lies in this direction, it is the court, rather than either of the two rooms of the tabernacle/temple proper, that would be in focus here (a possibility which is enhanced by a consideration of the theological implications of Rev 11:2 regarding the "outer court" of the temple). However, we must not overlook the possibility that there are *multiple* backgrounds for this seven-lampstand symbolism, as well as for other imagery in the book of Revelation; cf. n. 4, below.

⁴Paul S. Minear, "Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse," NTS 13 (1965/66):96, has called attention to this multiple-background type of phenomenon in what he refers to as a "trans-historical model" and "a comprehensive rather than a disjunctive mode of seeing and thinking." Both in that article and in his *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, DC, 1968), p. 102, he makes reference to Rev 11:8, where there is a coalescing of several entities—Sodom, Egypt, and Jerusalem—into one

main point for us here, in any case, is that the setting of this vision and its temple imagery is *on earth*, not in heaven. This fact is clear from two main considerations: that the heavenly Christ meets John on earth (at Patmos), and that the "lampstands" among which Christ manifests his presence are churches on earth. The fact that the next vision indicates a transition to heaven, as we shall see in our attention to that vision, may be considered a third evidence pointing in the direction of the earthly venue of this first introductory scene.

A further noteworthy point is that this victorious-introduction scene functions to provide comfort and assurance to Christ's faithful followers: His presence is among them as they face the mighty forces of deception and persecution.⁵ A *positive* aspect of this sort is indeed characteristic of all eight of the introductory scenes for the major visions of the Apocalypse.

Introduction to Vision II

Text: 4:1-5:14

Summary: John sees an open door "in heaven" and hears a voice beckoning him to "come up hither." He then is immediately "in the Spirit" and sees "a throne" "in heaven," with one seated upon the throne (namely, God, as the context itself and also further visions of Revelation make clear [cf. 4:9-11; 7:10; 19:1-5]). Surrounding the throne were twenty-four elders seated on thrones; before the throne were "seven lamps of fire" and a crystal-like "sea of glass"; and "in the midst of" and "around" the throne were four living creatures. After

⁵Deception and persecution are the two basic weapons manifested by the adversarial forces throughout the book of Revelation, just as in the Gospel of John these same two evil characteristics summarize the attitude of the devil and his followers (e.g., in John 8:44 the devil is called "a murderer from the beginning" and "the father of lies"). We find prominent illustration in the Apocalypse in the messages to the seven churches, where there is warning against *deception* (whether external or self-imposed) in the letters to Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea; and where the danger of *persecution* is particularly highlighted in the letters to Smyrna and Philadelphia. The activities of the antidivine trinity in Rev 12-13 further forcefully exemplify these demonic weapons (notice, for instance, the *deceptive* "signs" and the *death and embargo* activities mentioned in 13:13-17).

image, the "great city." Minear suggests that this "one city had become in prophetic terms all cities—Sodom, Tyre, Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Rome . . ." (I Saw a New Earth, p. 102).

In various papers and essays I have further elaborated the phenomenon, referring to it as the "blending" or "merging" of images. See, e.g., my "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," AUSS 22 (1984):318-319, where I not only refer to Minear's perceptive remarks (especially n. 6 on p. 319) but also furnish some added examples. Cf., as well, the discussion in Strand, "Two Witnesses," pp. 130-131, where still another illustration has been provided.

an anthem of praise to God for his Creatorship, the scene turns to a seven-sealed scroll in his hand—a scroll which "no one" in heaven, on earth, or under the earth was able to open. However, in the progression of the drama, one being was found worthy to open that scroll—namely, the Lamb "as though it had been slain." As the Lamb took the scroll from the right hand of the one sitting on the throne, a series of anthems of praise ensued.

Comment: The first striking feature that confronts us in this scene is the double reference to a new venue-heaven, as contrasted to the earthly setting of the introductory scene to vision I. This heavenly setting is, in fact, emphasized by the double reference to "heaven"—the open door "in heaven" and the throne "in heaven." The "seven lamps of fire" would locate the setting more specifically as the "Holy Place" or outer apartment of the temple in heaven (the term "temple in heaven" is used specifically in 11:19 and certain other texts).6 If the "sea of glass" is imagery based on the "laver" of the wilderness tabernacle (Exod 30:18; 38:8) or the "molten sea" and/or ten lavers of the Solomonic temple (1 Kgs 7:23-39), as various commentators suggest, we appear to have "outer-court" imagery rather than "first-apartment" imagery. This in itself would not pose a problem with respect to the sea's being designated as "before the throne," for all facets of the temple construct could be considered from that perspective. More likely, however, the symbolic background for this "sea of glass" is the "firmament" over the heads of the living creatures and under God's throne in Ezek 1:22-28 and 10:1.7

⁶The temple-furniture imagery furnishes clues to locale and to movement that were touched upon in the summaries in my previous article ("Eight Basic Visions," pp. 112-117), but which will become more apparent as we continue here to proceed through the victorious-introduction scenes. Although two apartments are not specifically mentioned in conjunction with this "temple-in-heaven" archetype of the ancient Israelite tabernacle and temple, the "furniture" that is mentioned does relate to two such "rooms"-as known not only from the OT and traditional Jewish sources but also from the description in the NT book of Hebrews (see Heb 9:1-5; cf. Exod 25:8 and 26:30-35). It may appear that the presence of the throne in the context of "outer-apartment" imagery in Rev 4 reduces the heavenly temple to but one room "architecturally" (even though not functionally), but such is not necessarily the case (or in any event, is not of prime importance). See further in n. 11, below. For a very helpful discussion of "heavenly temple" imagery in the book of Hebrews (a discussion which has a considerable degree of relevance also for the Apocalypse), see Richard M. Davidson, Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical $TY\Pi O\Sigma$ Structures, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 2 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1981), pp. 336-367.

⁷Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT, vol. 17 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), pp. 136-137, has aptly noted this, and has also called attention to 2 Enoch 3:3 and Ps 104:3 (p. 136), though it is not clear whether Mounce himself actually considers the imagery of these passages as background for the "sea of glass" in

This heavenly scene in Rev 4-5 obviously has a positive thrust. The twin themes of creation (4:11) and redemption (chap. 5) give hope and assurance to Christ's followers, especially as they recognize that the Lamb is adjudged worthy to break the seals and open the scroll—a scroll which has appropriately been called a "scroll of destiny."⁸

Introduction to Vision III

Text: 8:2-6

Summary: Seven angels with seven trumpets are seen by John; but before they proceed from the temple (in heaven) to sound their trumpets, another angel appears with a censer before the golden altar of incense. Mingled with the prayers of saints is incense ascending before God on the throne. Then the censer is thrown onto the earth, followed by typical symbols of divine presence and judgment: "peals of thunder, voices, flashes of lightning, and an earthquake."⁹

Revelation. For a recent detailed and comprehensive analysis of the imagery of Rev 4-5, see R. Dean Davis, "The Heavenly Court Scene of Revelation 4-5" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1986).

⁸"Scroll of destiny" and "book of destiny" are terms applied by various exegetes and commentators to this seven-sealed document. Many who do not use this exact terminology indicate the same concept in their discussion of the scroll. Edwin R. Thiele, *Outline Studies in Revelation*, rev. ed. (Berrien Springs, MI, 1959), p. 97 (pagination may vary in other editions), specifically utilizes the term "book of destiny." Charles M. Laymon, *The Book of Revelation: Its Messages and Meaning* (New York, 1960), p. 77, refers to the scene in Rev 5 as the "preparation for destiny"; and Mounce, p. 142, speaks of the scroll as containing "the full account of what God in his sovereign will has determined as the destiny of the world."

However, a fundamental question remains: What is meant by the term "destiny"? Is it earth's future history from John's perspective? On the other hand, is it the eschatological rewards that are meted out at the termination of earth's history? Or is it possibly a combination of both? William Hendriksen, More Than Conquerors: An Interpretation of the Book of Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI, 1940), p. 109, seems to have opted for the third possibility: The scroll, if left unopened, would suggest to him "no protection for God's children in the hours of bitter trial; no judgments upon a persecuting world; no ultimate triumph for believers; no new heaven and earth; no future inheritance!" Mounce, p. 142, has opted for the first alternative. Along with Thiele, pp. 97-98, I adopt the middle alternative. My basis for this is the distinct probability (in my view) that the background for the sevensealed scroll is to be found in one of the forms of an ancient Roman will or testament and also in Jeremiah's title-deed (Jer 32). Thiele, pp. 95-96, has called attention to documentation for the concept of the Roman-will background; and in addition, we may add here a specific reference to one such will that has been put into English translation by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, Roman Civilization, vol. 2, The Empire (New York, 1955), pp. 279-280.

⁹RSV. Hereinafter Scripture quotations in English are from the RSV, except for occasional short phrases.
Comment: The setting in this vision is once again that of the temple in heaven, and is still also within the outer apartment or "Holy Place." But the activity has now moved closer toward the inner shrine, for the golden altar of incense is where the action occurs.¹⁰ This scene, like the ones for visions I and II, contains the typical element of assurance—in this case, the portrayal of the saints' prayers mingled with incense ascending before God. However, now in addition to this *positive* aspect, there is for the first time also a *negative* one: the use of the judgmental symbols of voices, thunderings, lightnings, and earthquake, as the censer with burning coals is thrown onto the earth.

Introduction to Vision IV

Text: 11:19

- Summary: John sees "God's temple in heaven" opened, with the ark of God's testament or covenant in view. Then there are "flashes of lightning, voices, peals of thunder, an earthquake, and heavy hail."
- **Comment:** This victorious introduction scene takes us to a new setting within the "temple in heaven": namely, into the inner shrine or "Most Holy Place."¹¹ There John's focus is on the ark of God's testament or

¹⁰For a study of the NT perspective of the relationship of this golden altar to the innermost apartment ("Most Holy Place"), see, e.g., the discussion by Harold S. Camacho, "The Altar of Incense in Hebrews 9:3-4," *AUSS* 24 (1986):5-12.

"Regarding the possible "architecture" of the "temple in heaven," the following observations may be made (cf. also n. 6, above): (1) It is a typical notion among exegetes that God's throne is confined to the temple's Most Holy Place, so that the outer-apartment imagery in Rev 4 would signal that in the heavenly archetype of the ancient Israelite tabernacle/temple the latter's two-room structure is coalesced into one room. An example of this general line of thought is the excellent study by Mario Veloso, "The Doctrine of the Sanctuary and the Atonement as Reflected in the Book of Revelation," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 394-419. (2) On the basis of a possible analogy with the thought expressed concerning the "veil" or "curtain" in Heb 10:20 (with its too-frequently overlooked historical backdrop of the rent-asunder veil in Matt 27:51) there could be in Revelation an underlying concept of one room in the heavenly temple, but the functional significance of the two-room model is nevertheless present in Revelation in the dynamic that is evident from scene to scene. (3) An alternative suggested by C. Mervyn Maxwell, God Cares, vol. 2, The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family (Boise, ID, 1985), p. 171, deserves notice: "The assumption that God's celestial throne is located only in the heavenly most holy place overlooks the fact that in Old Testament times God's presence was not always confined to the most holy place but was sometimes represented in the holy place."

covenant. On the basis of analogy from the tabernacle on earth, the two most significant aspects relating to this ark would be the tencommandment law and the mercy seat (cf. Exod 40:20). It is therefore interesting to note that in the following "prophetic description" the significant struggle that the "remnant" has with the Dragon is over what is represented by these two features of the ark: the "commandments of God" and the "testimony of Jesus" (Rev 12:17).

Introduction to Vision V

Text: 15:1-16:1

- Summary: John sees seven angels having the seven last plagues of "the wrath of God." In a first section of this scene he observes on a "sea of glass mingled with fire" those who had gained the victory over the beast, over his image, and over the number of his name. This group sing "the song of Moses... and the song of the Lamb." In the second section of this scene, John observes "the temple of the tent of witness in heaven" opened, and seven angels with the bowls of wrath exiting therefrom. The temple became "filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power," so that "no one could enter the temple" till the seven plagues were over. Then a voice from the temple commanded the seven angels to go and pour out on earth the bowls of the wrath of God.
- **Comment:** Once again the setting for the vision is that of heaven—or more specifically, the temple in heaven. From that temple the seven angels with the bowls of wrath emerge. It is in conjunction with that temple that a "sea of glass" had earlier been seen (Rev 4). And it is that temple which is now filled with smoke. There is a positive emphasis in the fact that the saints on the glassy sea sing the song of Moses and of the Lamb, just as ancient Israel had sung the song of Moses after deliverance from ancient Egyptian bondage (Exod 14 and 15). And there is a twofold negative aspect in the scene: first, in that the angels

Maxwell cites Exod 33:9 and Ezek 9:3, and also refers to the bread of the Presence in the outer room. (Elsewhere in the present essay I call attention to Exod 40:34 and Deut 31:14-15, which broaden the location of God's presence even further.) (4) It must be recognized that localizing the "throne" symbol in the Apocalypse flies in the face of that book's own use of the symbol as a *pervasive* sort of symbol (e.g., the usage represented in Rev 6:16 and 22:3 as compared and/or contrasted with that which is set forth in Rev 4-5). (5) The point of prime importance is that the "throne-of-God" motif in Revelation signifies the divine presence and authority, and is not basically an indicator of a specific locale (and certainly not of "geographical" *confinement*]. The concept is not that the "throne" fixes God's location, but rather the reverse: *Where God is, there is the throne*! (6) Finally, the background from chaps. 1 and 10 in Ezekiel, with a *moving* throne of God, should not be overlooked when interpreting the scene of Rev 4-5.

carry forth bowls of wrath from the temple in order to throw them upon the earth; and second, in that the temple is filled with smoke during the time of the plagues, so that "no one could enter the temple"—a suggestion, undoubtedly, that no ministration of mercy would proceed from the temple at that time.¹²

Introduction to Vision VI

Text: 16:18-17:3a (with 16:17 as background)

- Summary: After the seventh angel has poured his bowl of wrath into the air, a loud voice "out of the temple, from the throne," declares, "It is done" (16:17). (This can be considered as a sort of transitional or "swing" element which concludes the seventh plague and introduces this new victorious-introduction scene.¹³) Then immediately the signs of divine judgment follow: "And there were flashes of lightning, voices, peals of thunder, and a great earthquake such as had never been since men were on the earth, so great was that earthquake." The city of Babylon is split apart, the cities of the nations collapse, and great hail falls from heaven, with every hailstone as "heavy as a hundredweight" (or "about the weight of a talent" [KJV]). Thereafter one of the seven angels having the seven bowls of wrath talked with John, taking him to see the judgment of the great harlot (Babylon, as the ensuing prophetic description makes clear).
- **Comment:** At first sight, it would appear that solely a *negative* aspect is emphasized in this victorious-introduction scene, for it utilizes immediately the judgmental symbolisms—in this instance heightened again, with an emphasis on the exceedingly fierce nature of both the earthquake and the hail. Although there is only negative judgment in the devastation to come upon Babylon because of the "cup of the fury of his [God's] wrath" (16:19; see also 17:1-2), nevertheless, there is implicitly a positive assurance for God's saints in this scene—in that

¹²This conclusion is fortified also by the facts (1) that the seven plagues themselves are described in 15:1 as the "last" and as completing the "wrath of God," (2) that the description in chap. 16 of the outpouring of this divine wrath in the bowls themselves reveals no salvific effect, but rather the very opposite (cf., e.g., 16:6, 9, 10, 14), and (3) that Babylon's judgment is described in 16:19 as being a "remembrance" by God that makes her "drain the cup of the fury of his wrath."

¹³The more clearcut division between sequences in the first major part of Revelation (visions I-IV) gives way in the second major part of the book (visions V-VIII) to the presence of "swing" elements. This, interestingly enough, seems to parallel the fact that the recapitulationary nature of the sequences themselves in both major parts also differ somewhat in that the "chronological" or "succession" frames are less distinct in the second main part. Notice, e.g., the implications that flow from the brief overviews given in Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation: Hermeneutical Guidelines, with Brief Introduction to Literary Analysis,* 2d ed. (Naples, FL, 1979), pp. 48-49.

Babylon's nefarious activity has now been terminated, with her herself undergoing the divine judgment for her misdeeds. (Cf. 18:20 for a call to "rejoice.")

Introduction to Vision VII

Text: 19:1-10

- Summary: In the setting of the throne, the twenty-four elders, and the four living creatures (cf. chap. 4), John hears the voice of "a great multitude in heaven" praising God for having judged the great harlot and having avenged the blood of his servants upon her. Further anthems of praise are sung, and announcement is made that the marriage of the Lamb has come and that "his Bride has made herself ready." A blessing is pronounced upon those invited to "the marriage supper of the Lamb."
- **Comment:** The scene here is one that is obviously parallel to that of Rev 4-5—with the throne, four living creatures, twenty-four elders, and anthems of praise being basic to both.¹⁴ However, whereas in Rev 4-5, there was a "scroll of destiny" still to be opened, and whereas also during the actual breaking of the seals of that scroll in chap. 6 there was a cry of "How long" until the vindication for God's martyrs would come (see 6:9-11), there is in chap. 19 a striking reversal: there is here praise and acclamation to God for his having now brought about that vindication.

In the introduction to vision VII, there is, moreover, an emphasis on the "marriage supper of the Lamb" (vs. 9) and reference to the Lamb's "Bride" (vs. 7). The white clothing (vs. 8) is reminiscent, of course, of the similar imagery in vision II with regard to the martyrs of the fifth seal and the great multitude of the "Spotlight" section (6:9-11 and 7:9-17, respectively). It should also be noted that the sequence in vision VII concludes, interestingly enough, with a further reference to the "bride"—namely, John's view of the Holy City, New Jerusalem, descending from God out of heaven "as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev 21:2).

Introduction to Vision VIII

Text: 21:5-11a (and reference to vss. 1-4 as background)

Summary: In the context of the "new heaven" and "new earth," with "the holy city, new Jerusalem," having come down from God out of heaven, John now beholds the one sitting upon the throne. This divine being—God himself in

¹⁴For a valuable study on the anthems in both passages, see William H. Shea, "Revelation 5 and 19 as Literary Reciprocals," *AUSS* 22 (1984):249-257. previous visions—declares, "Behold, I make all things new." Then he speaks to John, saying, "Write this, for these words are trustworthy and true," and further declares to John, "It is done! I am the Alpha and the Omega...." A twofold judgment is declared: inheritance of all things for the conqueror; but destruction in the lake of fire, "which is the second death," for those who are not conquerors. Then one of the angels with the seven bowls of wrath takes John to a high mountain, showing him the great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God and having the glory of God.

Comment: In contrast to the introductory scenes for visions II-VII, where the setting was in each instance clearly still in heaven, now there is a backdrop that has an earthly setting-a parallel to the situation with respect to vision I. In vision VIII, this introductory scene deals indeed with a tabernacle or temple setting, but whether the scene itself as given in 21:5-11a is intended to be basically from the earthly perspective or to be a *transitional* one from heaven to earth is not absolutely clear (nor is it of material importance to our study). In 21:3, the declaration is made, of course, that God's tabernacle is on earth after the descent of the Holy City (vs. 2), and this final portion of vision VII would seem to provide the setting for our opening scene in vision VIII (which itself, however, also replicates a description of the descent of the New Jerusalem [21:10]). In any case, the main point is that the focus of this introductory scene has shifted from the temple in heaven in such a way as to place emphasis once again on an earthly venue. The actual temple imagery utilized will be treated more fully later in this article.

2. Some Implications of the Structure

The summaries provided in the preceding section of this article have brought to attention several elements concerning the introductory scenes to the eight main visions of the Apocalypse. Prominent among these features are the following: (1) the pervasiveness of temple imagery in the settings of these scenes; (2) positive and negative thrusts within the scenes; (3) a certain dynamic or movement both in the temple imagery throughout and in the negative judgment symbolism that appears in visions III-VI; and (4) a special similarity structurally and contentwise between the first and eighth visions. We will now give somewhat further attention to these elements, but as a preliminary step will first take brief notice of the kind of relationship that the introductory scenes hold to their own prophetic sequences.

The Introductory Scenes and Their Respective Prophetic Sequences

In any analysis of the introductory scenes for the eight major visions of the book of Revelation, the logical and basic first consideration is the fact that there is a close relationship between these scenes and the remainder of the prophetic sequences which they introduce. Thus, for vision I the portrayal of Christ as walking among the seven lampstands/churches fittingly precedes his counsels to those churches, and for vision II the scene with the Lamb proclaimed worthy to open the seven-sealed scroll and then actually taking that scroll from the hand of the one seated on the throne provides an appropriate backdrop for the Lamb's actual breaking of the seals.

These introductory scenes provide in this way a positively oriented setting—a message of assurance, as it were—that relates to the sequence that ensues. In the first instance, Christ assures his people of his presence with them in their struggles against deception and persecution—struggles which require from him words of counsel and encouragement, and frequently rebuke (chaps. 2 and 3).

Likewise, in the second vision there is assurance that the forces released by the breaking of the seals are within the redemptive framework of the slain Lamb's work in heaven that will eventually result in opening the book of eternal destiny for the Lamb's faithful ones.¹⁵ The seals are successively opened in chaps. 6 and 8:1, intensifying at each step the progression, until a dramatic silence occurs as the scroll itself is finally to be opened. The "interlude" in chap. 7 is very visibly an appropriate "Spotlight on Last Events" for this particular sequence. By its highlighting of the *sealing* of God's servants, there is in this "Interlude" a sort of play on the "seal" terminology. But the whole concept of ownership and preservation inherent in the symbolism of "seal" also very directly connects this scene in chap. 7 with the breaking of the seals:¹⁶

¹⁶The lexica and theological dictionaries (such as *TDNT*) and similar reference works (s.v. $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ ic or *sphragis*) have amply elucidated the significance of the "seal" and of the "sealing" process or practice in the ancient world. For a succinct reference to six possible significations, see J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 (Garden City, NY, 1975), pp. 116-117. Cf. also the somewhat detailed treatment of "Seals and Scarabs" in *IDB* 4:254-259.

¹⁵Cf. n. 8, above.

God's 144,000 sealed ones are protected from the ravages of the horsemen of the first four seals,¹⁷ and even in the sort of martyrdom portrayed in the fifth seal they can rest in full assurance of God's care.¹⁸ This emphasis on God's care is highlighted further in the depiction in sections b and c of chap. 7 (vss. 9-17) of the great multitude coming out of great tribulation (these, like the martyrs in the fifth seal, have white robes!).

The foregoing illustrates the manner in which there is close correlation between the victorious-introduction scenes and the remainder of the respective visions which these scenes introduce, and it will not be necessary to elaborate here beyond these two samples. In fact, a quick review of the main content of each vision may be obtained by consulting section 2 of my previous article in this series. The one additional observation that should be made here is that although all the victorious-introduction scenes have a positive note of assurance for Christ's loyal ones, some—especially those for visions III-VI (the twofold series with the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif)—also portray negative aspects. This matter will receive further attention below.

The Temple Imagery and Its Significance

As we have observed, temple imagery is pervasive in the introductory scenes to the eight main prophetic sequences in Revelation. For visions II-VII, the settings are in "the temple in heaven," and "furniture" in that temple comes to view. In vision I, however, the temple imagery is that of lampstands that represent "the seven

¹⁷Commentators generally miss this link because of a failure to take careful enough note of the OT background in Zech 6, where horses of various colors go out to "patrol the earth" (vs. 7) and where, in response to the prophetic inquiry as to the identity of the four groups of horses, an angel defines them as the four *ruhôt* ("winds") of heaven that go out from the presence of the Lord of the whole earth (vss. 4-5). Commentators who have made the connection include G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, New Century Bible (London, 1974), p. 142; and Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, Tyndale NT Commentaries (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), p. 113. Unfortunately, the RSV in this instance completely distorts the meaning of the Hebrew by its wording, "These [the groups of horses] are going forth to the four winds of heaven," when it is in reality the winds (=horses) that do the going forth.

¹⁸For a comprehensive study of the fifth seal, see now Joel Nobel Musvosvi, "The Concept of Vengeance in the Book of Revelation in the Old Testament and Near Eastern Context" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1986). churches" on earth. And in vision VIII, there is again an earthly venue—but this time in the context of the holy city New Jerusalem and the "new earth," with God himself "tabernacling" directly with his people (21:3-4) and with "God and the Lamb" described as the "temple" of the new Jerusalem (21:22).

It is immediately apparent that all three of the main NT applications of temple imagery come into play in these introductory scenes. In the first vision, we have the NT concept of the Christian church as the "new temple." The classical *loci* for this concept are undoubtedly 1 Cor 3:16-17 and 2 Cor 6:16-17, but certainly there is reflection of it in 1 Pet 2:5, as well, and also in the proclamation of James to the Jerusalem council referred to in Acts 15:13-18. In the last-mentioned reference, James makes application of the prophecy of Amos 9:11-12 referring to God's returning to build again the "tabernacle of David," which had fallen down, as being directly applicable to the influx of Gentiles into the apostolic church.

The NT parallel closest to the usage reflected in the introductory scenes for visions II-VII in the book of Revelation is that which is found in the book of Hebrews. There Christ is spoken of as "a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven"—a "minister in the sanctuary and the true tent which is set up not by man but by the Lord" (Heb 8:1-2; see also vs. 5).¹⁹

Finally, what is undoubtedly the most basic and central application of NT temple imagery is that which is illustrated in the introductory scene and in the prophetic description in vision VIII of the Apocalypse: namely, a reference to the direct divine presence. In the prologue to the Gospel of John, it is stated that Christ "tabernacled among us" (John 1:14; cf. the situation in the "new earth" after the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, in which it is stated that God now tabernacles with humanity [21:3]). Perhaps an even more forceful reference is that in which Jesus declared, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews understood this as referring to Herod's temple, but the Evangelist made the explanation that "he [Christ] spoke of the temple

¹⁹See again the excellent discussion in Davidson, pp. 336-367; also Davidson's "Excursus" on *tupos* structures in Exod 25:40, on pp. 367-388.

of his body" and that when therefore Jesus had risen from the dead, his disciples "remembered that he had said this" (John 2:19-22).

The divine presence was the central focus of the ancient tabernacle/temple economy in Israel.²⁰ Moses was given instruction to build "a sanctuary, that I [God] may dwell in their [Israel's] midst" (Exod 25:8). And when the construction of the tabernacle was complete, "the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle" (Exod 40:34). It is this fundamental thought-that of the divine presence-that likewise pervades the introductory scenes to all eight visions of the Apocalypse. The divine, ever-living Christ is, in the first instance, depicted as present with his people on earth, sustaining them and providing messages to them through his Holy Spirit (vision I);²¹ then the scene changes to the heavenly sanctuary, where Christ is actively ministering in behalf of his people (visions II-VII); and finally, when God and the Lamb dwell with redeemed human beings in the "new earth" and "New Jerusalem," there is brought to earth the very ultimate in closeness and tangibility of the divine presence (vision VIII).

Positive and Negative Elements in the Introductory Scenes

As noticed earlier, the victorious-introduction scenes for visions I and II contain only a positive thrust, but the third introductory scene adds also a negative element. In this third scene, the positive emphasis is found in the mingled incense-smoke and prayers of the saints ascending to God, and the negative aspect is described in terms of the angel's throwing a censer of live coals to earth, with the resulting judgment signs of voices, thunder, lightning, and an earthquake.

In the previous article in this series I pointed out that the visions from III through VI consist of a twice-repeated motif that may aptly be designated as the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-

²⁰For a good overview of this fundamental theme, see Angel Manuel Rodríguez, "Sanctuary Theology in the Book of Exodus," *AUSS* 24 (1986):127-145.

²¹It is interesting to observe that each of the seven messages is introduced by Christ and then is summed up in each instance as "what the Spirit says to the Churches"—paralleling the statements in the Fourth Gospel to the effect that the Paraclete will set forth Christ's words (see, e.g., John 14:25-26; 15:26; 16:12-15).

Babylon" motif. (See Diagram 2 on the next page for illustration of the motif.) It is interesting that it is precisely in conjunction with these four visions that the strongest references to negative judgment occur. There is also a progression of intensity in the judgment symbolism, as we will observe shortly.

The introductory scenes for visions VII and VIII revert partly to the positive thrust of the comparable sections of visions I and II. However, there is at least an oblique (but nonetheless forceful) reference to negative judgment in each of these final two visions, even though their primary thrust is positive. For vision VII, there is acclamation to God for having judged the harlot and having vindicated the saints. Even so, the blessedness of salvation is the keynote of the anthems of praise; and especially in the references to the Lamb's bride and to the wedding supper of the Lamb is there joy at its highest! For vision VIII, there is inserted within a generally felicitous picture (21:5-11a), one verse that describes those who will meet doom in the "lake of fire" (vs. 8)—a statement obviously presented so as to contrast with the reward of the conquerors or overcomers mentioned just previously (vs. 7).²²

Concerning this positive and negative thrust of the opening and closing victorious-introduction scenes, it appears that the totally positive thrusts of the scenes in visions I and II are not kept fully parallel or balanced in their chiastic counterparts in visions VII and VIII, and this is for good reason: The former refer specifically to ongoing salvific processes, a major theological concern during the historical era; but the latter, by way of contrast, pertain to a time in the eschatological-judgment era when ultimate salvation and glorification await Christ's saints, but where also there are "unsaved" whose doom has now been fully sealed. These "unsaved" cannot be ignored in presenting a complete picture, for as G. E. Mendenhall has pointed out in a different context, the vindication of God's saints has two sides "to the coin": The obverse

²²It should not be overlooked that just as 21:7 states broadly the ultimate reward for the overcomers in the seven churches of chaps. 2 and 3, 21:8 reflects comprehensively the doom of the "non-overcomers" in those seven churches. The terms "cowardly," "faithless," "polluted," "sorcerers," "liars," etc., in 21:8 are reminiscent of the descriptions and counsels in the seven messages regarding faithfulness unto death (Smyrna), the danger of the wiles of Balaam and Jezebel (Pergamum and Thyatira), and the perjury against Christ's faithful disciples (Philadelphia), etc.



DIAGRAM 2. THE "EXODUS-FROM-EGYPT"/ "FALL-OF-BABYLON" MOTIF IN REVELATION

(This diagram is an enlargement of the one in Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," AUSS 19 (1981):129. The discussion of this motif on p. 128 of that article should also be noted.) that represents salvation for the saints has a reverse side that spells doom for those who have been the saints' oppressors.²³

"Movement" in Portrayal of the Imagery

In addition to a striking vertical dimension manifest in the visions of the Apocalypse, there is a certain type of horizontal movement evident in the symbolic usage within the sequence of the eight "victorious-introduction" scenes. We have already observed, from another perspective, the movement in temple setting from an earthly venue to a heavenly venue and back again to a new earthly (i.e., "new-earth") venue. But the heavenly temple scenes themselves (in visions II-VII) show an interesting progression in the symbolism which occurs. This we shall briefly look at, followed by succinct notice also of a progression that occurs in the negative-judgment imagery utilized in visions III-VI.

Temple-in-Heaven Imagery. In vision II, the seven lamps or torches of fire suggest a first-apartment or Holy-Place setting. Next, vision III takes us to the golden altar of incense before the throne, and then vision IV opens to view the ark of God's covenant in the inner shrine or Most Holy Place.²⁴ Thus, for the visions pertaining to the historical era, we have movement *inward* in the temple. This appears to correlate with an increasing emphasis on the end-time in the respective "Basic Prophetic Descriptions" and "Interludes," even though all of these sequences span the era from the prophet's time onward to the end. (This phenomenon has been treated sufficiently in the previous article, and therefore need not be elaborated further here.)

After the chiastic dividing line, the temple imagery no longer embraces temple furniture, for the functions represented by such furniture—or the salvific activities indicated thereby—no longer exist. Rather, smoke fills the temple so that no ministry of mercy continues (15:8); proclamations and/or judgmental signs occur, with only general reference to their source in the temple, from the throne, and/or in heaven (cf. 16:17ff.; 19:1-5; 21:5).

²³George E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore, MD, 1973), p. 83. This is in the context of an excellent study of NQM (the "vengeance"/"vindication" motif) in biblical and other ancient Near-Eastern literature.

²⁴Cf. again n. 11, above.

Negative-Judgment Imagery. The central four visions of the Apocalypse-namely, III through VI-have introductions that set forth strong negative-judgment symbolism. An interesting feature is the intensification of the negative thrust. The signs in vision III are thunder, voices, lightning, and an earthquake (8:5); to these, vision IV adds "heavy hail" (11:19); and finally, vision VI sets forth these same judgment harbingers but intensifies considerably both the earthquake ("such as had never been since men were on the earth," 16:18) and the hail (each hailstone "heavy as a hundredweight," 16:21). Vision V omits this particular series of judgment symbols, possibly because in inaugurating its depiction of the eschatological judgment, its chief emphases already carry a heavy burden of doom: the fullness of God's wrath being carried forth from the temple in the seven bowls and the temple itself as smoke-filled and unoccupied (15:5-8).

In any event, the first doublet of visions with the "Exodusfrom-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif (visions III and IV) begins with introductory scenes that already show a progression of intensity of judgment. This intensity is then further enhanced by the symbolic portrayals in the second doublet (visions V and VI). The theological significance here appears to be the concept that increasing woe is commensurate with a pattern of continuing and more flagrant rejection of Christ's offer of salvation. As such, it would be a sort of extended commentary on the principle that Jesus enunciated in declaring that the judgmental doom upon Bethsaida, Chorazin, Capernaum, and other rejecters of his mercy would exceed that of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf., e.g., Matt 10:14-15 and 11:20-24).

Relationship of the Introductions for Visions I and VIII

We have already analyzed the theological significance of the temple imagery in the eight introductory scenes in Revelation. It remains here to call more specific attention to one particular feature—namely, the envelope structure in which the introduction to vision I and that to vision VIII enclose, as it were, the six intervening introductions. The primary feature of the enclosure schema is that of venue—earthly for visions I and VIII, and heavenly for visions II-VII. Thus, the emphasis at both the beginning and the end of the book is on an *immanence* of the divine presence.

Is there here a suggestion, perhaps, of the two advents of Christ and of their ultimate results? In the first introductory scene, John sees the Christ who had come as God incarnate in his first advent-who was killed and then resurrected, and who ascended to heaven after forty days. Now this same divine person appears to John as the one who was dead but lives forever (Rev 1:17-18) and is present, walking among his churches/lampstands. This first victorious-introduction scene thus evidences the continuing and close presence of this very Jesus with his church on earth. His own victory during his incarnation has assured the existence of this covenant community itself, and his own divine presence remains verily with his people throughout the historical era (by means of his Holy Spirit).²⁵ In the Fourth Gospel, the prologue refers to Christ's "tabernacling among us" (John 1:14), but the Discourse on the Paraclete indicates that even after Jesus' departure into heaven, both he and the Father would come to make their "home" with Jesus' faithful disciples (see John 14:15-21, 23).

The counterpart to this divine presence in the "here-and-now" is the fullness of experience of the divine presence contingent upon Jesus' second advent to bring rewards to all persons according to their deeds (Rev 22:12). In the final stages of those rewards—i.e., in the "new-heaven"/"new- earth"/New-Jerusalem experience—God and the Lamb again "tabernacle" with their people, but now this tabernacling is in an immediate and direct presence (see 21:3, 22; and 22:1-4).

Thus, in the beginning and closing victorious-introduction scenes we find, in a sense, an elaboration of the Apocalypse's twofold theme (called to attention in my earlier article): Christ's presence with his people in this present age as the "Alpha and Omega," and his return at the end of the historical era to usher in those events that will culminate in his presence with his people throughout eternity (cf. Rev 1:7-8 and 22:12-13).

But what function, then, do the introductory scenes for the intervening visions serve? Whereas *immanence* is the emphasis of visions I and VIII, including their victorious-introduction scenes, *transcendence* is the emphasis of the other visions. These six visions highlight activity in heaven, while God's people are on earth. But this transcendence is not by any means aloofness, nor is it any

²⁵Cf. again n. 21, above.

lack of concern and contact between heaven and earth. Rather, all of these visions (through their victorious-introduction scenes, and also their subsequent descriptive sequences) reveal a very decided *vertical continuity*. What is done in the temple in heaven is done for the benefit of God's people on earth, and therefore the heavenly activity portrayed in the victorious-introduction scenes finds an immediate counterpart in forces released on earth in order to accomplish God's purpose for his people.

Broad "Envelope Structures"

Brief mention should be made of the fact that in the foregoing analysis and discussion we have come upon two broad "envelope structures."²⁶ One of these we have already discussed in dealing with the venue of the temple imagery: for visions I and VIII, an earthly venue (present-historical and new-earthly, respectively); and for visions II-VII, a setting in the "temple in heaven." The other envelope structure relates to the "Negative-Judgment Imagery" and encloses the harsh negative-judgment thrusts of the introductory scenes for visions III through VI within the solely positive thrust of the paralleling scenes for visions I and II, on the one hand, and the predominantly positive thrust of the scenes for visions VII and VIII, on the other hand.²⁷ (These two broad envelope structures are set forth in sketch form in Diagram 3 on the next page.)

The two examples of inclusio are of interest from the standpoint of literary artistry, of course. But we must ever bear in mind that this artistry was not utilized as an end in itself; rather, it was incorporated because of, and in relationship to, its functionality for conveying forcefully the theological perspective and motifs that are foundational in the Apocalypse and that constitute the book's primary concern.

²⁶"Envelope structures" or "inclusios" are common in the literary patterns of the Apocalypse. See, e.g., William H. Shea, "The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20," *AUSS* 23 (1985):37-54 (especially pp. 44-45), for two striking illustrations of this phenomenon.

²⁷With respect to the matter of positive and negative aspects, our reference is, of course, to only the victorious-introduction scenes—the blocs designated "A" in Diagram 1. In other blocs of material in visions I, II, and VII, there are indeed many negative elements, but this fact does not affect the distinctive pattern we have noticed in the introductory scenes.

KENNETH A. STRAND

3. Summary and Conclusion

The previous article and the present one have outlined certain literary structures in the Apocalypse and given attention in particular to the victorious-introduction scenes for the eight main visions in the book of Revelation. It is obvious, in the first place, that Revelation is a very neatly organized literary piece. However, the literary patterns represent more than simply aesthetic taste and mnemonic concern; they highlight in a very real way certain major theological themes and motifs. These are themes and motifs that parallel and elaborate aspects of general NT theology, and that are especially valuable in speaking hope and assurance to Christ's loyal followers in their struggle against forces of deception and persecution.

DIAGRAM 3. TWO "ENVELOPE STRUCTURES" IN THE INTRODUCTORY SCENES OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION



1. EARTHLY AND HEAVENLY VENUES



2. POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE JUDGMENT EMPHASES

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JEREMIAH'S SEVENTY YEARS FOR BABYLON: A RE-ASSESSMENT PART II: THE HISTORICAL DATA

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In my previous article on Jeremiah's seventy-year prophecy (AUSS 25 [1987]: 201-214) I sought to demonstrate that an analysis of Jer 25:11-12, Jer 29:10, 2 Chr 36:20b-21, and Dan 9:2 produces three items of significance for the interpretation of the seventy years. First, the seventy years dealt primarily with Babylon (especially in the MT of Jeremiah), and the return from exile was understood to be contingent on their fulfillment. Second, the seventy years in Jeremiah seem best interpreted as a literal period of time. And third, 2 Chr 36:20b-21 and Dan 9:2 do not require that there be a symbolic understanding of the seventy years.

In the present article, I follow up that earlier discussion by investigating whether my analysis given therein is verified and validated by historical data (or is at least fully compatible with such data). Since I have suggested on the basis of the biblical evidence that the period of domination of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is central to the question of the beginning and closing termini for Jeremiah's seventy-year prophecy, an appropriate starting point for the present essay is the question of just when Neo-Babylonia replaced the Assyrian Empire as the dominating force oppressing the people of Yahweh. Or put another way: When did the Assyrian Empire come to its end and thereby enhance the status of Neo-Babylonia to the extent that the latter came to be the dominating political power in Syro-Palestine?

1. The End of the Assyrian Empire

Scholars often point to the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. as signifying the end of the Assyrian Empire. It is true that Assyria had been devastated by this time. But, as G. Roux remarks, "The ghost of an Assyrian kingdom survived for three years."¹ One of Sin-shar-ishkun's officers took the name of Assur-uballit II and ruled what was left of Assyria (or rather, led the Assyrian resistance), causing problems for the Babylonians until 609 B.C. In the month of Duzu (June 25-July 23), Assur-uballit advanced on the city of Haran in order to recapture it. The Babylonian Chronicles imply that a large Egyptian army accompanied him²—undoubtedly the army of Necho II,³ who had just killed Josiah in Josiah's attempt to stop the Egyptians from further advance (described in 2 Kgs 23:29-30 and 2 Chr 35:20-25).

The Assyrian king maintained the siege of Haran until the month of Ululu (August 23-September 20), when Nabopolassar arrived on the scene. The Babylonian text here contains several lacunae.⁴ A battle may never have taken place, for Nabopolassar immediately turned northeast towards the area of Izalla. In any case, after this event Assur-uballit disappeared from history. Roux concludes that "thus ended miserably within the short space of three years the giant who, for three centuries, had caused the world to tremble with fear."⁵ John Bright is even more succinct: "Assyria was finished."⁶

Although Assyrian resistance had thus ended, the Babylonians did not yet, however, have a free hand in Syria-Palestine, for Necho II effectively controlled this area until the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar, the crown prince, triumphantly defeated the Egyptian forces at Carchemish in May-June of 605 B.C.⁷ Nevertheless, the final defeat of Assyria in 609 B.C. certainly marked a significant turning point for Babylon.

¹Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq (London, 1964), p. 313.

²B.M. 21901, lines 66-67. See D. J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum (London, 1956), p. 63.

³Wiseman, p. 24.

⁴B.M. 21901, line 70; Wiseman, p. 70.

⁵Roux, p. 314.

⁶John Bright, A History of Israel, 3d ed. (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 316. See also Siegfried Hermann, A History of Israel in Old Testament Times (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 264-265, 271-272, and 274; and J. A. Thompson, The Book of Jeremiah, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI, 1980), p. 533.

7Roux, p. 315; Wiseman, p. 25.

2. Jeremiah's Temple Sermon

The Date of Jeremiah's Temple Sermon

Jeremiah's Temple Sermon (Jer 7:1-15; 26) clarifies the religious-political scene in Judah in 609 B.C.

Contrary to the arguments of C. F. Whitley, who dates Jeremiah's Temple Sermon to 605 B.c.,⁸ recent scholarship maintains that its dating is 609 B.c.⁹ Jer 26:1 states that this sermon began "in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim..." There is general agreement that the phrase $r\bar{e}^{-3}\tilde{s}i\underline{t} \ maml^e\underline{k}\hat{u}\underline{t}$ ("beginning of the reign") corresponds to the Babylonian $r\bar{e}s \ \tilde{s}arr\hat{u}ti$, a term which designates the accession year of a king.¹⁰ There is sharp difference of opinion, however, concerning the questions of whether Jehoiakim's accession year began before or after Tishri 1 (September 21)¹¹ and of whether Judah employed a Nisan-to-Nisan or Tishrito-Tishri regnal year.¹² These problems are incredibly complex,

⁸C. F. Whitley, "Carchemish and Jeremiah," ZAW 80 (1968):38-49; reprinted in A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs (Winona Lake, IN, 1984), pp. 163-173.

⁹J. Philip Hyatt, "The Beginning of Jeremiah's Prophecy," ZAW 78 (1966):204-214; reprinted in Perdue and Kovacs, pp. 63-72 (see esp. pp. 65-67); William L. Holladay, "The Years of Jeremiah's Preaching," Int 37 (1983): 148-149; Francis Kenro Kumaki, "The Temple Sermon: Jeremiah's Polemic Against the Deuteronomists (Dtr (1))" (Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary in New York, 1980), pp. 38-39; and Thompson, pp. 274, 523.

¹⁰Cf. Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, NJ, 1964), p. 95; and Hyatt, pp. 64-65.

¹¹For those who maintain a pre-Tishri-1 accession, see Finegan, pp. 202-203, and Hyatt, p. 66. For those who maintain a post-Tishri-1 accession, see Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1965), p. 165; A. Malamat, "The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem: A Historical-Chronological Study," *IEQ* 18 (1968):141; William L. Holladay, "A Coherent Chronology of Jeremiah's Early Career," in P.-M. Bogaert, ed., *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (Leuven, 1981), p. 68; and William H. Shea, "Wrestling with the Prince of Persia: A Study in Daniel 10," *AUSS* 21 (1983):225-228.

¹²Those favoring Nisan include Thiele, p. 161 (for Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah); Holladay, "Coherent Chronology," p. 58; D. J. A. Clines, "Regnal Year Reckoning in the Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1972):9-34; and idem, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-exilic Israel Reconsidered," *JBL* 93 (1974):22-40. For those who favor a Tishri-to-Tishri year, see Siegfried H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the

and their solutions—if possible—are outside the scope of this article. Nevertheless, no matter how these problems are resolved, Jehoiakim's accession year would probably have fallen between the months of Elul (August 23-September 20) of 609 and Adar (February 15-March 16) of 608 (although with a post-Tishri-1 accession and a Tishri-to-Tishri regnal year, it could have extended up to September 10, 608).

Maintaining an early date for Jeremiah's Temple Sermon, J. P. Hyatt has conjectured that the phrase "We are delivered" in Jer 7:10 possibly refers to a view of the people that Jehoiakim's accession represented deliverance from the anti-Egyptian policies of Jehoahaz and his father Josiah.¹³ Jehoiakim's younger brother Jehoahaz and his father Josiah certainly maintained an anti-Egyptian stance. One can demonstrate this from the fact that the "people of the land" made both Josiah (2 Kgs 21:24) and Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:30) kings, but when Necho II deported Jehoahaz and installed Jehoiakim as king, Jehoiakim exacted a heavy tax from "the people of the land" (2 Kgs 23:35). Thus, the accession of Jehoiakim represented a reversal of the anti-Egyptian policies of Jehoahaz and Josiah.

Although C. F. Whitley has denied the plausibility of Hyatt's conjecture,¹⁴ this suggestion does have merit, including considerations that Hyatt himself did not explore.

First, the word $n\bar{a}sal$ ("to deliver") elsewhere in Jeremiah always refers to deliverances from evildoers, enemies, or oppressors (Jer 1:8, 19; 15:20, 21; 20:13; 21:12; 22:3; 39:17; 42:11). It never refers to deliverance from sins (as Whitley has argued).

Second, three major motifs in the Temple Sermon—the reference to Shiloh (7:12, 14; 26:6), the worship of foreign gods (7:6, 9), and the cry of deliverance (from $n\bar{a}sal$, 7:10)—all find parallels in the story of the Philistine capture of the ark of God during the early part of Samuel's judgeship of Israel (1 Sam 4-7). The capture of the ark brought an end to Shiloh as the locale of the sanctuary (1 Sam 4:3-4, 10-11, 22; 7:1-2). The main impediment to deliverance

Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," AUSS 5 (1967):12-27; Malamat, pp. 145-150; and Alberto R. Green, "The Chronology of the Last Days of Judah: Two Apparent Discrepancies," JBL 101 (1982):57-73.

¹³Hyatt, pp. 65-66.

¹⁴Whitley, pp. 165-166.

from the Philistines was the worship by the Israelites of foreign gods and the Ashtaroth (1 Sam 7:3).

Finally, cries for, concern about, and promises of "deliverance" (from $n\bar{a}sal$ and $y\bar{a}sa^c$, terms apparently used synonymously) occur five times in this particular narrative about the ark, all of them referring to political/military deliverance (as opposed to a cultic sense of salvation from sin): (1) the Israelites take the ark to insure deliverance ($y\bar{a}sa^c$) in battle (4:3); (2) the Philistines wonder who will deliver ($n\bar{a}sal$) them from the Israelite "gods" (4:8); (3) Samuel promises deliverance ($n\bar{a}sal$) on condition of fidelity to God (7:3); (4) the Israelites plead for Samuel to continue to pray so they will be saved ($y\bar{a}sa^c$) from the Philistines (7:8); and (5) Israelite territory is finally delivered ($n\bar{a}sal$) from Philistine rule (7:14).

These two observations—that Jeremiah (aside from 7:10) never uses $n\bar{a}sal$ in the cultic sense of salvation from sin but in terms of deliverance from enemies, and that the Temple Sermon in Jer 7 contains parallel motifs with the ark narrative in 1 Sam 4-7 (with its strong military/political overtones)—indicate that the cry of deliverance by the Judeans to which Jeremiah referred also carried military/political overtones, as opposed to purely cultic connotations. With this probability, the Temple Sermon certainly fits well within events surrounding Jehoiakim's installation as king by Necho, thus supporting a 609-B.c. date for the Temple Sermon.

Not only have a number of OT scholars advocated a 609-B.C. date for Jeremiah's Temple Sermon, but W. L. Holladay has recently further argued that this sermon is the earliest utterance of Jeremiah's prophetic career.¹⁵ This he maintains in spite of the fact that Jeremiah's call to ministry has been usually dated in the reign of Josiah (cf. Jer 1:1-3)¹⁶ and that there are events mentioned in the book of Jeremiah which occurred prior to Jehoiakim's reign (cf. Jer 3:6-10; 22:10-12). If this argument could be maintained, it would lend considerable additional support to the significance of the sermon for Jeremiah.

The Desolator in the Sermon

The heart of Jeremiah's Temple Sermon was the threat that the temple would become like Shiloh (i.e., abandoned; cf. Ps 78:60)

¹⁵Holladay, "Years," p. 149; cf. also idem, "Coherent Chronology," p. 68.¹⁶See the discussion in Thompson, pp. 50-56.

and that Jerusalem would become a curse to all the nations unless the Judeans listened to God's prophets and obeyed him (Jer 7:12-14; 26:4-6). Because of this sharp message, the priests, prophets, and people who heard Jeremiah speak these words in the temple complex demanded the death sentence for him (26:7-9). Upon Jeremiah's defense of his prophesying (26:12-15), however, and with the help of the elders of Judah, who cautioned against the death decree (26:17-19), and also with the help of Ahikam the son of Shaphan (26:24), the charge was dropped and Jeremiah's life was spared.

Although Jeremiah prophesied the abandonment of the temple and the (apparent) destruction of Jerusalem, he gave no evidence as to what force/nation/enemy would be the catalyst for this devastation. There are, nevertheless, several implicit pieces of evidence that I believe point in the direction of Babylon, rather than Egypt, as the understood cause of this prophesied devastation.

First, at this time Judah was a vassal to Egypt, clearly indicated by Necho II's installation of Jehoiakim as king (2 Kgs 23:34; 2 Chr 36:4). Thus, the pro-Egyptian party was in dominance in the Judean ruling circles at the time. To prophesy about imminent danger to Jerusalem from Egyptian quarters would have only played into the hands of Pharaoh, who desired to keep Judah in subjection.¹⁷ On the other hand, imminent danger from Babylon would certainly have upset the political status quo in the capital and angered the pro-Egyptian party. Thus, Babylon appears to be the likeliest source of trouble.

Second, a certain Uriah, the son of Shemaiah from Kiriathjearim, prophesied a message similar to that of Jeremiah (Jer 26:20-23); but this time, King Jehoiakim tried to put him to death. Although Uriah fled to Egypt, Jehoiakim's officers brought him back and Jehoiakim summarily executed him. If Uriah had prophesied about Egypt as bringing calamity upon Jerusalem, it seems odd that Pharaoh allowed him to be extradited.¹⁸ A prophecy referring to Babylon as the source of trouble, on the other hand, would have almost assuredly caused Pharaoh to allow Jehoiakim to "take care" of this troublemaker.

Third, Ahikam the son of Shaphan was instrumental in protecting Jeremiah from the angry priests and prophets (26:24). It is

¹⁷See Whitley, p. 166. ¹⁸Ibid. important to note that Ahikam came from a pro-Babylonian family.¹⁹ What we know of his father Shaphan (2 Kgs 22:8-14) only indicates that he was a key figure at the beginning of Josiah's reform. But his son Gemariah was one of three officials who opposed Jehoiakim when he burned Jeremiah's scroll-a scroll which specifically mentioned that the king of Babylon would destroy Judah (Jer 36:10-12, 25, 29). Years later King Zedekiah, a vassal of Nebuchadnezzar, entrusted Elasah, another son of Shaphan, with carrying Jeremiah's basically pro-Babylonian letter to the exiles in Babylon (Jer 29:3). Finally, Ahikam's own son Gedaliah was entrusted by Nebuchadnezzar with guarding Jeremiah after the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (Jer 39:11-14); and eventually, Nebuchadnezzar appointed him governor of Judah (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:5). Jeremiah's close relations with this family are evident in the fact that he stayed for some time with Gedaliah in Mizpah (Jer 40:6). Thus, two sons and a grandson of Shaphan were certainly favorable to Babylon. One can assume that the third son, Ahikam, had similar political leanings or sympathies. And Ahikam's assistance to Jeremiah, while certainly not conclusive evidence that Babylon lay behind the threat of calamity to Judah in Jer 26, seems to point in that direction.

Fourth, the prophecy by Micah of Moresheth about the ruination of Jerusalem (Jer 26:18), spoken by the elders of the land in defense of Jeremiah, most probably implies that the enemy would come from the North. During the reign of King Hezekiah, the time in which Micah spoke this prophecy, Assyria was a real threat, whereas Egypt was not.²⁰ Although Babylon was no threat to Judah either at this time, Isaiah prophesied (2 Kgs 20:17-18; Isa 39:5-7) that it would be. Thus, the most probably nemesis underlying Micah's prophecy was from the North (cf. Mic 3; 2 Kgs 18-19; 20:12-19).²¹

¹⁹For an analysis of Shaphan's family's political sympathies, see Thomas W. Overholt, *The Threat of Falsehood: A Study in the Theology of the Book of Jeremiah*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 2d ser., 16 (Naperville, IL, 1970), pp. 31-32. For an excellent discussion of politics during this time and the influence of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah's mother on their policies, see A. Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," *Supp to VT* 28 (1975):125-127.

²⁰Bright, pp. 278-288.

²¹For the historical context of Micah's prophecy and its relation to Hezekiah's reign, see Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 5-6, 9, and 48. Cf. also Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*,

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3. Babylon as the New Threat

The end of Assvria under Assur-uballit II at the hands of the Babylonians and Jeremiah's Temple Sermon (with its implicit understanding of the Babylonians as the real threat to Ierusalem) justify our considering 609 B.C. as a fitting *terminus a quo* for the seventy years. Of these two events, the defeat of Assyria is the obvious choice for the actual beginning of the seventy years. This is because of the fact that with Assyria out of the way, Babylon was truly the dominant power in the North. On the other hand, Jeremiah's Temple Sermon, while clarifying the religious and political situation in 609 B.C., does not mention Babylon by name or even allude specifically to forces from the North. The corroborative nature of Jeremiah's evidence is, nonetheless, more than merely an "argument from silence"; the reflection it gives of the situation is implicit. Indeed, the two events-the fall of Assyria and Ieremiah's sermon-seem to have been closely related, and thus it is easy to understand the force of M. B. Rowton's observation:

News of the Assyrian king's downfall would have reached a people still bowed in grief over the death of their own beloved king. To Jeremiah it would have brought, not consolation, but the dawn of an appalling thought: Assyria was indeed no more, but Yahwe had chosen an avenger elsewhere.²²

4. Further Basic Questions Concerning the Seventy Years

Two questions remain to be answered concerning the seventy years: First, how precisely can one determine the *terminus a quo* of the seventy years? And second, how is it possible for the seventyyear prophecy to be first given in 605 B.c. (Jer 25:1) when it supposedly went into effect in 609 B.c.—four years earlier?

Precision Regarding the Beginning Date

As for the first question, one must understand that neither biblical nor historical records give the precise dates for Josiah's death, Jehoahaz's accession, the Assyrian-Egyptian campaign

NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI, 1976), p. 321. Allen asserts that this prophecy spurred on Hezekiah's reform.

²²M. B. Rowton, "Jeremiah and the Death of Josiah," JNES 10 (1951):130.

against Haran and that city's subsequent defeat, the accession of Jehoiakim, or the Temple Sermon of Jeremiah; the dates are approximate at best. The sharp differences of opinion concerning calendrical dating also complicate the issue.

Simple calculations would indicate, however, that the *terminus* a quo must be dated no earlier than October of 609 B.C., since Babylon fell on October 12, 539 B.C. This general date in 609 falls after Tishri 1 (September 21), thus automatically and absolutely excluding every event previously mentioned except the accession of Jehoiakim and Jeremiah's Temple Sermon. And the combination of an acceptance of a Tishri-to-Tishri regnal year and a pre-Tishri-1 accession for Jehoiakim²³ would exclude *all* of these events. Thus, by pushing these events back into the preceding year, the use of any of these events as a *terminus a quo* would indicate a term of seventy-one years instead of seventy years.

Such need not be the case, however, for there are at least two possible solutions to this problem. First, none of the events occurred earlier than Iyyar 1 (April 27) of 609 B.C.,²⁴ a date *less* than six months earlier than October of the same "year." It may be the case that rounding seventy years plus a time period of up to six months to an even seventy years was an acceptable practice.²⁵ For example, in 2 Chr 36:9 one reads that Jehoiachin ruled three months and ten days, whereas in 2 Kgs 24:8 the same time period is expressed as three months. If this were the case also with the seventy years, the problem of pre-October events would be solved. However, since recent scholarship has questioned the accuracy of 2 Chr 36:9,²⁶ it would seem desirable to look for a less problematic solution.

One finds, in fact, a better solution to this problem within the book of Jeremiah itself. In the fifth month of the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign (Jer 28:1), Jeremiah prophesied that the false prophet Hananiah would die in that very year (28:16). Hananiah promptly died in the seventh month of the *same* year (28:17). Jeremiah apparently considered some events preceding and following Tishri 1 to be within the same year. Thus, any of the events

²³Finegan, pp. 202-203.

²⁴See Malamat, "Last Kings," p. 139, and idem, "Twilight of Judah," p. 125.

²⁵See the discussion in Clines, "Regnal Year Reckoning," pp. 9-34.

²⁶Alberto R. Green, "The Fate of Jehoiakim," AUSS 20 (1982):103-109, especially p. 105.

(from Josiah's death on) could be considered as occurring within the same year as post-Tishri-1 events. Applied to the *terminus a* quo of the seventy-year prophecy, this would solve the problem that we have noted.²⁷

"Retrospective" Prophecies

As for the second question raised above (i.e., how a futuresounding time prophecy spoken in 605 B.C. could have had its *terminus a quo* four years earlier in 609 B.C.), once again material within Jeremiah helps to clarify the issue. First of all, it must be recognized that Jeremiah referred to the seventy years for Babylon more than five years after he originally prophesied about it (cf. Jer 29:1-2, 10). It is important to note that Jeremiah did not refer to "*the*" seventy years but simply to "seventy years," thus indicating that this time period began, not when Jeremiah uttered the prophecy, but rather when some event (disassociated from the actual utterance) took place.²⁸

A second consideration is that at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign (Jer 27:1) Jeremiah prophesied to the ambassadors of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon that all nations would serve Nebuchadnezzar and Nebuchadnezzar's son and grandson until the time of his own land would come (27:7). Jeremiah also spoke virtually the same thing to Zedekiah himself (27:12). The fact that these ambassadors were at Zedekiah's court to discuss plans for a revolt²⁹ shows that they were already vassals of Nebuchadnezzar.

²⁷It is possible that when God spoke to Jeremiah (28:12), it was *already* the seventh month, i.e., the next year. Thus, this would disprove the argument. But this seems improbable. First, why would God wait almost two months to give Jeremiah this message? Second, why would God refer to "this very year" (vs. 16) when it would be, in actuality, more precise to refer to the *month* (if Jeremiah spoke in the seventh month)? Third, moving Jeremiah's response up to the seventh month destroys the two-year/two-month analogy. Fourth, the phrasing of 28:17 ("In that same year, in the seventh month, the prophet Hananiah died") indicates that Hananiah's death did not happen within the same month as Jeremiah's prophecy. And fifth, with the chronology so carefully laid out in this chapter (28:1, 16, 17), it is strange that vs. 12 does not clearly indicate that God spoke to Jeremiah in the seventh month if indeed such were the case.

²⁸For agreement (but with a different time-frame in mind), see "Chronology of Exile and Restoration," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, rev. ed. (1976), 3:90.

²⁹Cf. Bright, p. 329.

Judah itself had become a vassal at least as early as ca. 605 B.C.³⁰

Here, then, we have what one might call a "retrospective prophecy"—one which, though future-oriented, related to events in the past and up to the present. An objection may be raised, of course, that Jer 27:7, which is of key importance to the designation of this prophecy as a "retrospective" one, is missing from the LXX. This objection is not unassailable, however, for there is reason to believe that the literalistic translators of the LXX dropped the verse because Nebuchadnezzar's son Amel-Marduk was not succeeded by his son but by his brother-in-law Nergal-shar-usur.³¹ In short, then, the retrospective nature of Jeremiah's prophecy in chap. 27 can be considered as clarifying the date of the prophecy about the seventy years in chap. 25.

It is thus both logical and consistent with the historical evidence to fix the *terminus a quo* in 609 B.C. The *terminus ad quem* would then be the well-attested date of the fall of Babylon seventy years later, on October 12, 539 B.C.

5. Conclusion

This article and its predecessor have entailed a search for a better understanding of the seventy-year prophecy in Jeremiah. The evidence, I believe, demonstrates first of all that literal interpretation of the seventy years is not incompatible with an understanding of either the relevant biblical texts (Jer 25:11-12, Jer 29:10, 2 Chr 36:20b-21, and Dan 9:2) or the historical data. In the first article I showed that these biblical texts do not necessitate a symbolic application of the seventy years and that at the same time they allow for a primary reference to Babylon. In the present article I have set forth evidence suggesting that the defeat (or, withdrawal) of Assur-uballit II of Assyria and the Assyrian-Egyptian forces at Haran at the hands of the Babylonians constitutes a viable event for the *terminus a quo* of the seventy years in the summer of 609 B.c. This correlates well with a *terminus ad quem* for those seventy years in 539 B.c.

³⁰Wiseman, p. 25. B.M. 21946 line 8 states that Nebuchadnezzar conquered all of what is known as Syria and Palestine soon after the Battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C.

³¹Thompson, p. 533, n. 19.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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THE HEAVENLY COURT SCENE OF REVELATION 4-5

Author and Degree: **R. Dean Davis, Ph.D.** Date When Dissertation Completed: December 1986. Adviser: Kenneth A. Strand.

(**R. Dean Davis** is currently chairman of the Religion Department at Atlantic Union College, South Lancaster, Massachusetts.)

The purpose of this study is to interpret the heavenly court scene of Rev 4-5 through a thematic analysis of the passage. Little detailed study has hitherto been done to demonstrate the significance of the passage in its totality or its significance for the early chapters of Revelation. Scholars have noted parallels between Revelation and the OT, but only recently have they begun to recognize the major impact of the OT concept of covenant on Revelation.

The research approach for this study is thematic in nature, with exegesis as a necessary tool. Chap. 1 establishes Rev 4-5 as a literary and thematic unit, justifies its contextual limits, and provides an overview of the passage to isolate the following five themes: temple theology, ontological cosmic unity; judgment; covenant and royal theology; and involvement of the Trinity in salvation. Chap. 2 provides a biblical overview of these themes to establish their biblical meanings. Chap. 3 examines the themes and motifs of Rev 1-3 which have particular contextual significance for the interpretation of Rev 4-5. Chap. 4 gives an analytical overview of the principal heavenly court scenes in the OT which have parallels in the heavenly court scene of Rev 4-5. Chap. 5 provides an interpretation of Rev 4-5 within the framework of the five themes. Chap. 6 provides a summary, principal conclusions, and the implications for the remainder of Revelation.

It is concluded that the heavenly court scene of Rev 4-5 is portrayed in terms of a cosmic temple that is based upon the temple of the OT covenant. As a heavenly court scene, it describes a divine council in session that, through an investigative-type judgment, decides the worthiness of the

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Lamb to receive the covenant inheritance depicted through the imagery of the seven-sealed scroll. The cultic Lamb is portrayed in terms of king and priest who elevates the righteous to the same status. With the Lamb, the Father and the Holy Spirit are united in the restoration of Creation through the redemptive process of the covenant.

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JAMES WHITE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST ORGANIZATION, 1844-1881

Author and Degree: Andrew Mustard, Ph.D. Date When Dissertation Completed: June 1987. Adviser: Raoul Dederen.

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The Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church emerged from the Millerite movement of the 1840s. After the "Disappointment" of 1844 the unique features of Sabbatarian Adventism emerged—in particular, the seventh-day Sabbath and the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary—and were consolidated among scattered groups of believers by the end of 1848. This dissertation describes the development of SDA organization between 1844 and 1881, examines its theological and biblical foundations, and evaluates the influence of James White, the leading figure in promoting church order.

Chap. 1 presents the aims and purposes of the work, the methodology followed, the sources considered, and a biographical sketch of White. Chap. 2 examines the socio-political and religious milieu of North America in which Sabbatarian Adventism developed, especially the influence Millerite separatism might have had on SDA attitudes. Chap. 3 covers the post-Disappointment splintering of the Millerites into several bodies. Sabbatarian Adventist concerns in the years 1844 through 1849 centered on the consolidation of doctrine and the emergence of a sense of mission, both of which were prerequisites for organizational development.

Chap. 4 describes the emergence of SDA centralized church government during the years 1849-1863, culminating in the establishment of the SDA General Conference in the latter year. Concern for proper discipline, coping with false teachers, the matter of owning church property, and efficient execution of the church's mission gave rise to considerable debate before agreement was reached. After 1863, interest centered on the role and authority of church leaders.

Chap. 5 discusses the theological foundations of SDA polity; namely, the sense of unique mission and concern for doctrinal unity. Other factors in the church's organizational development included the use of biblical precedent by SDA pioneers in laying the foundations of church order, the influence of the organizational systems of other Protestant churches on the framers of SDA polity, and the impact of White's experience and personality on church government.

In conclusion, an examination is made of the implications of the decisions taken between 1844 and 1881 for contemporary organizational

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issues in the SDA church. Centralized government remains essential for coordinating the mission of a world-wide church, maintaining unity, and lending weight to the church's sense of identity. Flexibility is also needed within these underlying considerations in order to meet changing social and cultural circumstances.

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THE VISION OF DANIEL 8: INTERPRETATIONS FROM 1700 TO 1900

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This study attempts to trace the history from about 1700 to 1900 of the interpretation of the vision of Dan 8, particularly its five animal symbols, the temporal phrase of the 2300 "evening-mornings," and three cultic expressions. The main objective specified in chap. 1 is to discover the different interpretations that were given to these symbols and expressions, the exegetical and/or historical arguments that were offered, and the approaches that were used.

Chap. 2 covers the period from about 1700 to 1800. In this century interpreters of the preterist and historicist schools were more involved in the interpretation of Dan 8 than were representatives of any other school of interpretation. It was in this century that the traditional historicist view of the little horn was challenged.

Chap. 3 covers the period from about 1800 to 1850. In this period interpreters of the historical-critical school and futurist school proposed new methods and applied them to the interpretation of Dan 8. Nevertheless, the historicist school still remained dominant, at least in England and in the United States of America. It was in this period that historical-critical scholars began to revive a less-known view of the four world empires of Daniel, and when historicists became more concerned with the temporal expression "2300 evening-mornings."

Chap. 4 covers the period from 1850 to 1900. Interpreters of the same four schools of interpretation continued to deal with the vision of Dan 8. At the beginning of this period the historical-critical method reached new frontiers. English expositors also began to apply it in the interpretation of Daniel. About the end of the century it had many followers in Great Britain and it began to be used in the United States. The futurist school also grew in this period, partly because of the failure of historical fulfillment of certain prophetic interpretations that had been set forth by the historicists, and due also to the growing inroads of modernism. At the same time the traditional view of the little horn recovered lost ground, and the traditional view of the four world empires (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome) continued to be the most popular one concerning these empires.

Finally, the last chapter of this dissertation presents certain conclusions and implications regarding the interpretations of the vision of Dan 8, the schools of interpretation, and some issues in interpretation.

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ALLUSIONS, EXEGETICAL METHOD, AND THE INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION 8:7-12

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(Jon Paulien is currently a professor in the New Testament Department of the S.D.A. Theological Seminary of Andrews University.)

This dissertation attempts to overcome some of the major obstacles to the development of a comprehensive exegetical method that can enable an interpreter to unlock the meaning of such difficult apocalyptic passages as Rev 8:7-12.

The first chapter utilizes a survey of previous research to explore four issues whose resolution is vital to the interpretation of the book of Revelation: (1) the sources of the Apocalypse, (2) how the Revelator used them, (3) the language and text tradition of the OT that he used, and (4) the nature and location of his allusions to earlier literature. The literature survey indicates that the major obstacle to the accurate interpretation of Revelation is the lack of an objective method for evaluating the allusions to prior literature that characterize the book.

Chap. 2 opens with a brief outline of a comprehensive exegetical method for the study of the Apocalypse. The bulk of the chapter focuses on a proposed method that can enable interpreters to evaluate more objectively the allusions in Revelation. Through a painstaking analysis of the verbal, thematic, and structural parallels to the OT in Rev 8:7-12, the process of evaluating proposed allusions to the OT is clearly demonstrated. The results of that analysis proved to have implications for many of the issues raised by the literature survey of chap. 1.

Chap. 3 offers an interpretation of Rev 8:7-12 in the light of the comprehensive method outlined at the beginning of chap. 2. The imagery of the passage is compared to its context, to the author's sources, and to the overall structure of the Apocalypse. Relevant insights from the first two chapters are incorporated. The resulting interpretations illuminate to an unprecedented degree the basic meaning structures of the first four trumpets.

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ISSUES IN BIBLICAL INSPIRATION: SANDAY AND WARFIELD

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This study attempts to clarify the issues involved in formulating a doctrine of biblical inspiration. It does so through a careful analysis and comparative evaluation of two contrasting concepts or models of inspiration. William Sanday and Benjamin Warfield were selected as prominent representatives of a liberal and a conservative approach to the problem.

A brief introductory chapter, delineating the aims, method, and limitations of the study, is followed by a survey of the history of the doctrine of biblical inspiration from the sixteenth century onwards. This survey focuses chiefly on the English-speaking world and especially the Anglican and Presbyterian traditions to which Sanday and Warfield belonged. It is seen that the institutions where they taught, Oxford University and Princeton Theological Seminary, respectively, were centers of two opposing trends at the culmination of the debate about biblical inspiration in the late nineteenth century.

The analysis of the two models, given in the third and fourth chapters, deals in each case with the starting-point adopted, the methodology used, and the criteria applied in formulating the respective concepts, as well as the conclusions reached concerning the mode, the extent, and the effects of biblical inspiration.

Sanday, concentrating on the biblical phenomena, concludes that there are distinct divine and human elements in the Bible and that inspiration is a matter of degrees. Warfield, focusing on biblical affirmations and especially on the teachings of Christ, infers that Scripture is the product of a *concursus* of the divine and the human and that biblical inspiration is best qualified as plenary and verbal. To him the evidence suggests that Scripture is infallible in every aspect, whereas for Sanday infallibility can only be attributed to its spiritual purpose.

The comparative evaluation, set forth in the final chapter, shows that despite apparent similarities—both scholars intend to let Scripture speak for itself and both claim to use the inductive method—the two approaches diverge from the outset. In the conclusion, a number of suggestions are presented that stress the need for a biblical conceptual framework and a clearly defined methodology in order to formulate an adequate doctrine of biblical inspiration.

IMPECCABILITY IN 1 JOHN: AN EVALUATION

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The First Epistle of John confronts us with a dilemma which, since its inception, has challenged many students of the Bible. On one hand, the Christian must not deny his sinfulness—for which, however, there is a ready solution in the expiation wrought by Jesus Christ. On the other hand, the one who abides in God and is born of him does not sin and, indeed, cannot sin.

Many solutions, discussed and evaluated in chap. 1, have been set forth in an attempt to harmonize this apparent contradiction. Though some are more satisfying than others, a common weakness exhibited among them all is a lack of comprehensiveness which does not do justice to the categorical language of the epistle.

The background study of the document, examined in chap. 2, aims to discover the nature and character of the opponents reflected in the epistle, and their possible relationship to the statements of impeccability. A negative answer is found in that the problem of the epistle is not directly related to the opponents of the community. An examination of the structure of the document, given in chap. 3, confirms the finding that such statements are rather paraenetic in nature and addressed to the members of the writer's own community.

A more fruitful enterprise, undertaken in chap. 4, is found in the examination of the Johannine terminology for sin, wherein the concept of *anomia* provides a useful clarification for the categorical statement of impeccability in 1 John 3. *Anomia*—as a sin concept referring to opposition to God with eschatological overtones—becomes relevant.

The last and major section of this study, chap. 5, is devoted to exegeting the three blocks of material related to the problematic statements of the document. As a result, it becomes apparent that four concepts should qualify the statements of impeccability: (1) The concept of anomia, which epitomizes rejection of, and apostasy from, Christ. (2) The concept of "abiding." (3) The idea of "being born of God." (4) The "sin-unto-death" terminology. A multiple approach which combines these concepts is a reasonable solution to the problem of why, at the same time, a Christian can and cannot sin.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Ahlstrom, Sydney E., and Carey, Jonathan S., eds. An American Reformation: A Documentary History of Unitarian Christianity. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985. xvii + 493 pp. \$39.50.

The central role of Unitarianism in mid-nineteenth-century American intellectual history and the development of Christian liberalism is undoubted. It was most vibrant during the half century preceding the Civil War as its spokesmen preached their doctrines of the intrinsic goodness of man and the immanence and loving-kindness of God. William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, James Freeman Clarke, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Oliver Wendell Holmes are a few of the important individuals who developed in the matrix of Unitarianism and who transformed the intellectual life of America in a score of fields.

Despite the prominence of Unitarianism, its history has not received the treatment it deserves by historians of American religion, probably because the denomination tended to slip off the left edge of Christian liberalism in the post-Civil-War period as it came to focus more on strictly ethical and cultural concerns. For many Christians such a move verified the often-repeated "prophecy that Unitarianism was merely a halfway house on the road to infidelity" (p. 27).

A major contribution toward filling the Unitarian void in American history has been provided by the late Sydney Ahlstrom and Jonathan Carey in their An American Reformation. The idea for the volume was conceived by Ahlstrom in the 1950s as a parallel treatment to match Perry Miller's anthology, The Transcendentalists (1950). Ahlstrom desired to fill the gap between transcendentalism and Miller's earlier documentary history on The Puritans (1938) with his An American Reformation. That desire, however, was sidetracked as Ahlstrom put his full energies into his monumental Religious History of the American People (1972). As a result, his work on Unitarianism was eventually published posthumously.

The purpose of An American Reformation is to foster understanding regarding the religious viewpoint that undergirded the "New England renaissance." The volume's thesis is that the Unitarian renaissance was truly an "American Reformation—the distinctive transformation of Christianity and Calvinism in the eighteenth century through Arminianism and other Enlightenment influences into nineteenth-century liberal Christianity" (p. xii). Boston became the movement's Wittenberg, and William Ellery Channing its Luther.

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The anthology is divided into five sections: Origins and Founding, Doctrines and Theology, Ethics and Moral Theology, Uncertainties and Conflict, and The Challenge of Emerson and Transcendentalism. Within each section the selections are arranged for good reading sense rather than chronologically. Each selection is prefaced by a concise introduction that places it in its historical context. The editors opted to limit the number of selections, rather than to abbreviate them unduly. As a result, these documents have generally been only slightly abridged.

Included in the anthology are selections from such notable Unitarians as Charles Chauncey, Andrews Norton, William Ellery Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Jonathan Mayhew, and others. Some of the selections are well known, while others are less known. Also included is a short section on Unitarian hymns. All selections represent distinctly religious Unitarian thought rather than the movement's thought in general.

One of the most useful contributions of An American Reformation is Ahlstrom's forty-page introduction that defines Christian Unitarianism, discourses upon its intellectual background, places the movement in its American context, and expounds upon its historical development and doctrinal positions. The introduction is, in its own right, a well-informed and sophisticated contribution to the history of American Unitarianism and American intellectual history.

The editors have put all students of American religious development into their debt by providing in *An American Reformation* easy access to a body of seminal documents that generally have been rare and difficult to locate. Their anthology is an indispensable contribution to students of nineteenth-century American religious thought.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Miller, Robert M. Harry Emerson Fosdick: Preacher, Pastor, Prophet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. xvi + 608 pp. \$34.50.

Harry Emerson Fosdick is a massive biography of a massive man. Living from 1874 to 1969, Fosdick was the most well-known interpreter of religion to the general American public for several generations. Through his many best-selling books, his national radio broadcasts, his pastoring and public speaking, his advocacy of a vast number of social causes, and his pioneering of pastoral counseling, he directly influenced the lives of millions. Beyond this, he indirectly influenced still others through his teaching of homiletics at Union Theological Seminary from 1908 through 1946. To many he is best known for his part in the fundamentalistmodernist controversy of the 1920s. His 1922 sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?," brought him to the very forefront of the battle in the two denominations most affected—the American Baptists and the Presbyterians.

Despite his stature (or perhaps because of it), there has been no major biography of Fosdick. Fosdick, however, did publish his autobiography, *The Living of These Days*, in 1956. Miller's book is the result of twelve years of extensive research. He seems to have left few stones unturned in his search for the real Fosdick. One can only regret the author's "dubious decision not to barnacle the narrative with citation footnotes" (p. x). That is probably the most disappointing aspect of the work, even if it is understandable due to its already corpulent stature. Despite that drawback, there is good internal evidence that Miller was meticulous in his use of a multitude of sources. He has provided a helpful "Essay on Sources" for those readers whose curiosity calls for further investigation.

The author has succeeded in maintaining critical historical standards, while at the same time providing a readable book that should appeal to a broad readership outside the pale of professional historians. Writing from the perspective of a general historian of twentieth-century America rather than a historian of religion, Miller has provided his readers with a significant cross-section of twentieth-century religious and social history. After all, Fosdick was not merely a churchman; he was a major figure in America in general. As Albert C. Outler has suggested: "The story of Fosdick's life [is] the biopsy of an epoch" (p. ix). As a result, *Harry Emerson Fosdick* should exert a fairly wide influence, in spite of its significant price tag.

Miller presents Fosdick in both his public and his private life. His admiration for his subject is obvious, but this has not hindered him from presenting Fosdick's faults and virtues in a fairly balanced manner. Miller paints Fosdick as a man of his times, and as a man who faced the frustration of his times as America was translated from Victorianism into modernity. Presenting Fosdick as a temperamental conservative who was a theological liberal, Miller seeks to unlock the frustrations that plagued Fosdick's generation. Thus he seeks to capture both the complexity of the man and his times. From this point of view, Miller's study is personally helpful to his readers, who are also in the midst of a transitional period.

Miller also presents Fosdick as a master of the art of public relations, a showman who knew how to manipulate the rapidly developing media. Fosdick's success, however, was not based upon such manipulation. The exploitative use of the media was a necessary element in his fame, but it was not sufficient to account for it. At the root of the man's popular appeal, suggests Miller, was Fosdick's almost uncanny ability to sense and speak to "what was troubling the minds and burdening the hearts of the citizens of the twentieth century" (p. 374). In other words, Fosdick was relevant to a nation in transition. His communicative success was effective because he was deeply aware of his own frustrations and needs in this transitory period; and he was able to communicate to an audience who recognized in him a kindred spirit in a time of trouble.

One does not have to agree with Fosdick's theology in order to benefit from a study of his life. Miller's tome will undoubtedly be the standard work on Fosdick for years to come. It is well worth reading, not only for its intellectual content, but for a personal encounter with a struggling man and his transitional age. Fosdick's process of adjustment in both its positive and its negative aspects is still relevant in the 1980s.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Rice, Richard. The Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985. xx + 404 pp. \$25.95.

The *Reign of God*, by Richard Rice of Loma Linda University, is an introduction to Christian theology from a Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) perspective. It contains sixteen chapters, each with study helps and suggestions for further reading. Space limitations do not permit a thoroughgoing evaluation, so this review will limit itself to two items: a general overview, and some observations on one specific topic.

In the prolegomena, Rice discusses the task of Christian theology, and then he proceeds with his treatment of theology as a system. He begins with the doctrine of revelation (chap. 2), moves into the doctrine of God (chaps. 3 and 4), the doctrine of man (chaps. 5 and 6), the doctrine of Christ (chaps. 7 and 8), the doctrine of the church (chaps. 9-13), the doctrine of last things (chaps. 14 and 15), and climaxes with the doctrine of the sabbath (chap. 16).

Rice places soteriology within ecclesiology to guard against individualism. Personal salvation, therefore, is considered within the corporate context. His eschatology also focuses on social rather than individual rewards. His system ends with the sabbath because he believes it to be the "capstone" of Adventist theology, and potentially "its most valuable contribution to the larger Christian world" (p. 356). He finds a link between the sabbath and each major doctrine.

Rice has chosen "the reign of God," rather than the sabbath, as his central theme, however. For him, this theme holds together, opens up, and reveals the interrelatedness of each doctrine. Moreover, he traces this theme throughout in a way that enables the reader to see the wholeness in SDA fundamental beliefs, rather than merely viewing them as a list of unrelated entities (27 articles of faith, as set forth in current SDA official publications). This is Rice's greatest contribution. To my knowledge, he is the first person to publish an Adventist system of theology.

An important area for specific observation in *The Reign of God* is its treatment of eschatology. Eschatology, in my opinion, could serve as the logical capstone to Rice's theme, because SDA eschatology provides insight into God's foreknowledge of events, and God's continuing reign through them to triumph. Eschatology, like the sabbath, is an area where Adventists can make an important contribution to Christian thought. This is especially so when Adventist eschatology is contrasted, on the one hand, with C. H. Dodd's realized eschatology, R. Bultmann's timeless or existential eschatology, and Jürgen Moltmann's proleptic eschatology, and on the other hand, with dispensational, secret-rapture, Israel-centered eschatology, focusing on the "meaning" rather than on the "sequence" of end-events (p. 312). In spite of this, he writes that "the sequence of future events which Adventists anticipate has some unique features... and displays several distinctive theological concerns" (p. 330).

Rice promises to "examine the sequence of events that Seventh-day Adventists anticipate" (p. 312). One therefore looks to the heading entitled "An Adventist Outline of Final Events" (p. 330) to find this examination. What a reader finds is that the difference between those who accept and those who reject God's reign becomes clearer, and then the time of human probation closes. This discussion is granted a mere half page, and is followed by a one-page treatment of the close of probation and the "time of trouble." There is no hint of a pre-probation sequence of events. A non-Adventist who wishes to discover an outline of pre-probation Adventist final events in this section will go away uninformed.

Another shortcoming is that in Rice's presentation the "investigative judgment" has no apparent reference to the anti-Christic "little horn" of Dan 7 and 8 (see p. 323). Furthermore, the pre-Advent, millennial, and post-millennial judgments are apparently not thought through together from their great-controversy context, and hence from the perspective of the reign of God.

The rich Adventist contribution to the study of the books of Daniel and Revelation is also missing in Rice's eschatology (cf. p. 280), as is the unfolding of Armageddon, which is the very final outworking of the reign of God in human history (cf. pp. 312, 330). Rice admits that his "brief review of Adventist eschatology" will be "much too sketchy" for some (p. 335). I see it as the weakest part of his system, when it could be the resounding climax of his theme.

Rice's presupposition for his eschatology is seemingly found in his doctrine of God (pp. 67-95), which he calls "a constructive proposal." He apparently sides with the view that God does not know all the details of the future, as he is in dynamic relationship with man (pp. 84-88). Hence

"many prophetic predictions do not provide an ironclad forecast of coming events. Instead, they describe what God will do in the event that certain things happen" (p. 81). So God "does not foresee their occurrence as inevitable; he intends to cause them to happen, but he may change his plans according to human actions" (p. 82). This seems to be a qualified "process-theology" perspective.

Moltmann's proleptic eschatology, such as in his *Theology of Hope* (1967), pictures God as one not bound by biblical predictions because he is sovereign. Rice seems to question God's absolute foreknowledge (and thus the certainty of biblical predictions) because man is free. Is not the solution somewhere between these two positions? Is it not where an all-knowing God, who knows how man will freely choose, is able to reveal that future in biblical eschatology, which includes an appropriate accounting of events and their sequence?

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NORMAN R. GULLEY

Richards, Lawrence O. Youth Ministry, revised edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. xii + 311 pp. \$16.95.

Richards' revision of his 1972 work, Youth Ministry, brings the necessary updating to restore this volume as the principal work in youth ministry for evangelicals. While most youth-ministry works focus on program ideas to meet the felt needs of youth workers, Richards presents a theology of youth ministry. At the end of each chapter is a "PROBE" section that provides some practics on at least one aspect of that chapter.

The "theology" consists of an alliteration model that presents *Persons* (youth and adults) involved together in *Processes* (Bible, life, body) supported by *Programs* (maturity in Christ [Eph 4:13]). Richards' model is his answer to transmitting faith to youth through Christian culture rather than simply providing Christian information. Modeling provides the primary vehicle for communicating Christian culture. Adults are called to live their Christianity through servant leadership.

The most helpful element of the book is the repeated call for purpose in youth ministry. The model gives direction to programming and provides a standard of evaluation. Calling the model a theology or a biblical study stretches the point. Aside from the goal of maturity in Christ (Eph 4:13), little Scripture background or support is given. The behavioral sciences buttress the model, as they should to some degree in this context. Little space is wasted in defending the model. It is simply presented, explained, and applied to youth ministry in the local church.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this revised edition the model, as a timeless standard, remains intact from the 1972 edition. Footnotes are updated, and the section on the youth culture of the late 1960s is replaced with four continuums along with the youth-culture shifts. These four are orientation (present \leftarrow future), focus (questions \leftarrow answers), style (self-revealing \leftarrow non-revealing), and shape (open groupings \leftarrow closed groupings).

Richards replaces some hackneyed approaches to youth ministry with suggestions from his own insights and experiences, and from input from fellow youth leaders. For example, the conflict between youth and adults on the tension of dependence versus independence is replaced with the practice of interdependence. Short-term mission projects or service activities, because of their lack of personal involvement as a lifestyle, are replaced with long-term, less spectacular, lifestyle modes of service.

Several of the chapters are surprisingly short. Other chapters are extended by a lengthy "PROBE" section providing a potpourri of ideas. Some of the ideas are, however, quite tangential to the thrust of the given chapter.

The first edition of Youth Ministry provided a landmark volume that has not yet been matched in its field. With the second revision, the duration of this work's prominence is sure to be extended. It will continue to be the basic treatment with which other treatises on youth ministry are compared.

Andrews University

STEPHEN W. CASE

BOOK NOTICES KENNETH A. STRAND

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

Aune, David E. The New Testament in Its Literary Environment. Library of Early Christianity, vol. 8. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987. 272 pp. \$21.95.

This publication provides a fairly comprehensive introduction to the main literary forms and genres found in the NT and in other early Christian literature. Also, comparisons are made with the forms and genres in both Judaism and Hellenism.

Bontrager, G. Edwin, and Showalter, Nathan D. It Can Happen Today. Scottdale, PA, and Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1986. 96 pp. Paperback, \$5.95 (U.S.A.) and \$8.35 (Canada).

This publication treats succinctly thirteen church-growth dynamics derived from the NT book of Acts and suggests ways in which these dynamics may be applied today. A teacher's manual is also available, if the book is to be used in a group context (the manual, 336 pages, is paperback spiral-bound in 8 $1/2'' \times 11''$ format; it is priced at \$14.95 [U.S.A] and \$20.95 [Canada]).

Burns, Rita J. Has the Lord Indeed Spoken Only Through Moses?: A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam. SBL Dissertation Series. Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1987. \$16.95/\$12.95.

A careful examination of the seven biblical passages which make mention of Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron. The volume includes a bibliography. Carson, D. A., and Woodbridge, John D., eds. Hermeneutics, Authority, and Canon. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 480 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Nine authors consider such topics as "Recent Developments in the Doctrine of Scripture," "The Semantics of Biblical Literature," "The Problem of Sensus Plenior," "The Authority of Scripture in Karl Barth," "The Biblical Canon," and several other areas pertinent to the general scope of the volume as set forth in its title.

Chadwick, Henry. Augustine. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. 128 pp. \$14.95/\$4.95.

As an analysis of Augustine of Hippo (d. A.D. 430), whose influence on ten centuries or more of Christian history was paramount, this particular treatment seeks not only to place Augustine within his own context philosophically and religiously, but also to trace broadly his influence on Western thought both within and outside of Christian circles.

Cohen, Shaye J. D. From the Maccabees to the Mishnah. Library of Early Christianity, vol. 7. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987. 252 pp. \$20.95.

Shaye J. D. Cohen, a professor of Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City, has in this volume provided a basic overview of some three and one-half centuries of Jewish history that furnish crucial background and context for the rise of both rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. Conrad, Edgar W., and Newing, Edward G., eds. Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987. xxviii + 443 pp. \$32.50.

Essays on Semitics, Statistics and Linguistics, the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Bible, and Religion by an international group of scholars, mainly American and Australian (but also representing several other countries), plus some of Andersen's hitherto unpublished poems and poems by several of the contributors. All told, some thirty-five persons have provided their expertise in producing this hefty volume covering a wide array of materials and perspectives. Andersen's curriculum vitae, with which the volume closes, includes a bibliography of some fifty-eight of his major writings (mainly books and articles).

Fee, Gordon D. The First Epistle to the Corinthians. NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 736 pp. \$27.95.

A "replacement volume" in the NICNT series. The general format of the series is followed, with the verse-by-verse commentary giving particular attention to historical and literary contexts, as well as making appropriate utilization of the Greek text. Fee endeavors to exegete the entire epistle from a single and consistent perspective or point of view.

Geraty, Lawrence T., and Herr, Larry G. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegfried H. Horn.* Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. xv + 716 pp. \$49.95.

As stated in the preface by Lawrence T. Geraty, "This *Festschrift* honors Siegfried Herbert Horn—archaeologist, professor, author, churchman, and friend. Because the culmination of his professional career has focused on Jordan, a representative group of his students, colleagues, and friends" have contributed essays "which in most cases relate to the love of Siegfried's life, the archaeology of Jordan" (p. xi). Thirtyone distinguished scholars have provided twenty-eight essays (several essays are co-authored) distributed among the following main categories: "The Archaeology of Jordan" (a chapter on the history of archaeological research in the region), "Biblical Archaeology and Method" (five chapters), "Cities and Structures" (three chapters), "Cemeteries and Ceramics" (six chapters), "Inscriptions and Philology" (six chapters), and "History and the Old Testament" (seven chapters). The volume contains a fairly comprehensive Index; and a "Selected Bibliography of Siegfried H. Horn to 1985," compiled by Leona Glidden Running and Beverley U. Currie, lists 673 titles produced by Horn.

- Guthrie, Donald. Exploring God's Word: A Guide to John's Gospel. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 232 pp. Paperback, \$7.95. In this publication, Guthrie has set forth the Gospel of John through a series of outlines with exposition of the respective sections of text. The author's intent is to stimulate expositional study of Scripture—particularly among laypersons—and also to provide insights on how the various sections of the biblical text may be made meaningful for everyday life today.
- Hiebert, Paul G., and Hiebert, Frances F. Case Studies in Missions. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 208 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Sixty case studies, based on real experiences in the lives of missionaries around the world, are set forth in an instructional modality. Covered are such categories as idols and ancestors, traditional customs, sickness and death, "walls that divide people," church-state relations, and others. The authors are a husbandwife team who have had mission experience and both of whom are also trained missiologists.

Holmes, C. Raymond. The Last Word. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987. xi + 111 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

This title is a revised edition of Holmes's earlier work, It's a Two-Way Street; and like that earlier publication, it details the preaching process, including significant material on the calling of the preacher and on both the communicative and listening aspects involved in preaching. The present edition has chapters somewhat rearranged, certain material deleted, and other material added so as to bring the presentation up to date. Also, the concluding chapter in this edition (chap. 12) is new: "The Preacher of the Advent: A Man Who Cares." The volume provides a simplified, but nonetheless rather comprehensive, treatment of the dynamics of preaching, produced by a seminary professor of preaching and worship.

Kelly, J. N. D. The Oxford Dictionary of Popes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. 450 pp. \$24.95.

A reference tool that includes in chronological arrangement all the popes as officially recognized by the Roman Catholic Church, plus the so-called "antipopes" or "rival" popes.

Land, Gary, ed. Adventism in America: A History. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986. ix + 301 pp. Paperback, \$14.95. A carefully documented and fairly comprehensive overview of major developments and trends in Seventh-day Adventist history and background, this volume treats its subject in a periodby-period chronological arrangement for the century and a half from 1830 to 1980. The six authors were well chosen as all being experts in Adventist history.

LaRondelle, Hans K. Chariots of Salvation: The Biblical Drama of Armageddon. Washington, DC, and Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987. 192 pp. \$12.95.

This volume provides a genuinely thorough-going treatment of the muchdiscussed topic of "Armageddon." Unlike most books on the subject, this publication investigates the theological backgrounds and underpinnings that are basic to a proper understanding of Armageddon. Tracing the "Holy War" concept broadly throughout Scripture, LaRondelle places the "final battle in earth's history" squarely within its OT and NT contexts. He also takes note of themes, motifs, and events closely connected with Armageddon, including "The End-time Crisis for God's People" (chap. 9), "The Final Seal of Divine Protection" (chap. 10), and "The Presence of Elijah" (chap. 11).

Lundin, Roger, and Noll, Mark A., eds. Voices from the Heart: Four Centuries of American Piety. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 416 pp. \$19.95.

An anthology which illustrates Christian experience from materials of some seventeen Americans. Among the more well-known personages from whom selections are included are Jonathan Edwards; Charles Finney; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Abraham Lincoln; Walter Rauschenbusch; and Woodrow Wilson. The editors have included brief biographical sketches of the authors represented.

Nash, Ronald H., ed. *Process Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1986. 402 pp. \$17.95.

In essence, this volume represents an evangelical-oriented evaluation of "Process Theology." Twelve Protestant evangelical leaders (among them, Donald Bloesch, Carl Henry, and Clark Pinnock) and one prominent Roman Catholic philosopher (W. Norris Clarke, S.J.) are the contributors.

Tyson, John R. Charles Wesley: A Reader. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 512 pp. \$34.50.

A monumental volume about the "cofounder" of Methodism, presenting a collection of Charles Wesley's hymns, sermons, letters, and journal entries, including some that have been hitherto unknown. The publication also includes an extensive biographical and theological introduction by Tyson.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א ג ב ב ד	$ \begin{array}{c} = & \mathbf{r} \\ = & \mathbf{b} \\ = & \mathbf{b} \\ = & \mathbf{g} \\ = & \mathbf{g} \\ = & \mathbf{d} \end{array} $	$= \frac{d}{h}$ $= \frac{b}{h}$	$= y 0$ $= k \mathbf{y}$ $= k \mathbf{p}$ $= l \mathbf{p}$ $= m \mathbf{y}$ $= n \mathbf{p}$ OWEL POINTIN	$ \begin{array}{c} = s \\ = s \\ = p \\ = p \\ = p \\ = s \\ = s \\ = q \end{array} $ NGS
	$ = a = \bar{a} = a = e = \bar{e} (D = U D $	·	$\begin{array}{l} \text{l shewa} \end{pmatrix} = c \\ \vdots & \vdots &$	$ \begin{array}{c} \cdot & = \delta \\ \cdot & = 0 \\ \cdot & = u \\ \cdot & = u \\ \cdot & = u \end{array} $

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbrevia	tions (cont.)		
JAAR	journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.	RenQ	Renaissance
JAC	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum	RevExp	Review and
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	RevQ RevScRel	Revue de Qu Revue des si
JAS JB	Journal of Asian Studies Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.	RevSém	Revue sémit
JBL	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed. Journal of Biblical Literature	RHE	Revue d'hist
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion	RHPR	Revue d'his
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	RHR	Revue de l'h Religion in l
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	RL	Reallexikon
JEH JEOL	Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist. Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux	RLA RPTK	Realencykl.
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies	RR	Review of R
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies	RRR	Review of R Review of R
jjs –	Journal of Jewish Studies	RS	Religious St
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History	RSPT	Revue des so
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies Journal of Modern History Journal of Near Eastern Studies	RSV <i>RTP</i>	Revised Stan Revue de th
JMH JNES	Journal of Near Fastern Studies	SB	Sources bibl
JPOS	Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.	SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review	SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl.
JŘ	Journal of Religion	SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl.
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society	SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl.
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics	SBT	Studies in B
]RelS]RH	Journal of Religious Studies Journal of Religious History	SCJ	Sixteenth Co
IRS	Journal of Roman Studies	SCR	Studies in C
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought	Sem SJT	Semitica Scottish Jou
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism	SMRT	Studies in M
JSOT	Journal for the Study of OT	SOr	Studia Orier
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies	SPB	Studia Posth
JSSR JTC	Journ., Scient. Study of Religion Journal for Theol. and Church	SSS	Semitic Stuc
ITS	Journal of Theol. Studies	ST	Studia Theo
ĸjv	King James Version	TAPS	Transaction
LCC	Library of Christian Classics	TD TDNT	Theology D Theol, Dict
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	1001	Friedrich, ed
LO	Lutheran Quarterly Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche	TDOT	Theol. Dict.
LTK	Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche		Ringgren, e
LW	Lutheran World	TEH	Theologisch
McCQ	McCormick Quarterly	TGI THAT	Theologie u Theol. Han
MLB	Modern Language Bible	111/1	Westermann
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review	TLZ	Theologisch
NAB	New American Bible New American Standard Bible	TP	Theologie u
NASB NCB	New Century Bible	TQ.	Theologisch
NEB	New English Bible	Trad	Traditio
Neot	Neutestamentica	T Rev T Ru	Theologisch Theologisch
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies	TS	Theological
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT	ŤŤ	Teologisk T
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT New International Version	TToday	Theology T
NIV NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift	TU	Texte und
NovT	Novum Testamentum	TZ	Theologisch
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers	UBSGNI	United Bibl
NRT	Nouvelle revue théologique	USQR	Ugarit-Fors Union Semi
NTA	New Testament Abstracts	VC	Vigiliae Chr
NTS NTTS	New Testament Studies NT Tools and Studies	VT	Vetus Testa
ODCC		VTSup	VT, Suppler
OIP	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church Oriental Institute Publications	WA .	Luther's Wo
ÖLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	WO	Die Welt de
0r	Orientalia	WTJ	Westminster
Or Chr	Oriens Christianus	WZKM	Wiener Zeit
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën	ZA	Zeitschrift f
PEFQS	Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.	ZĂS	Zeitsch. für
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	ZAW ZDMG	Zeitsch. für
PG PJ	Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed. Palästina-Jahrbuch	LDMG	Zeitsch. der Gesellschaft
PL.	Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.	ZDPV	Zeitsch. des
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.	ZEE	Zeitschrift f
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	ZHT	Zeitsch. für
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.	ZKG	Zeitschrift fi
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.	ZKT	Zeitsch. für
RArch	Revue archéologique	ZMR	Zeitschrift f Religionswi
RB	Revue biblique	ZN W	Zeitsch. für
	Recherches bibliques	ZRGG	Zeitsch. für
RechSR	Recherches de science religiéuse	ZST	Zeitschrift f
REg RelS	Revue d'égyptologie Religious Studies	ZTK	Zeitsch. für
RelSoc	Religion and Society	ZWT	Zeitschrift f
	Religious Studies Review	-	Theologie
	-		-

Renaissance Quarterly Expositor umrAn sciences religieuses itique stoire ecclésiastique st. et de philos. rel. histoire des religions Life n der Assyriologie ... für prot. Th. u. Kirche Religion Religious Research Studies sc. phil. et théol. undard Version héol. et de phil. oliques 1. Lit. Dissert. Ser. Lit. Monograph Ser. I. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study I. Lit. Texts and Trans. Biblical Theology Century Journal Comparative Religion urnal of Theology Med. and Ref. Thought entalia biblica dies Series ologica ns of Am. Philos. Society Digest t. of NT, Kittel and eds. t. of OT, Botterweck and eds. he Existenz Heute und Glaube ndwört. z. AT, Jenni and n, eds. he Literaturzeitung und Philosophie he Quartalschrift he Revue he Rundschau l Studies Tidsskrift oday Untersuchungen he Zeitschrift le Societies Greek NT schungen inary Quarterly Review ristianae amentum ments /orks, Weimar Ausgabe es Orients er Theol. Journal isch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor. für Assyriologie ägyptische Sprache die alttes. Wiss. r deutsch. morgenl. ź deutsch. Pal.-Ver. für evangelische Ethik r hist. Theologie für Kirchengeschichte kath. Theologie für Missionskunde und issenschaft die neutes. Wiss. Rel. u. Geistesgesch. für syst. Theologie Theol. und Kirche für wissenschaftliche