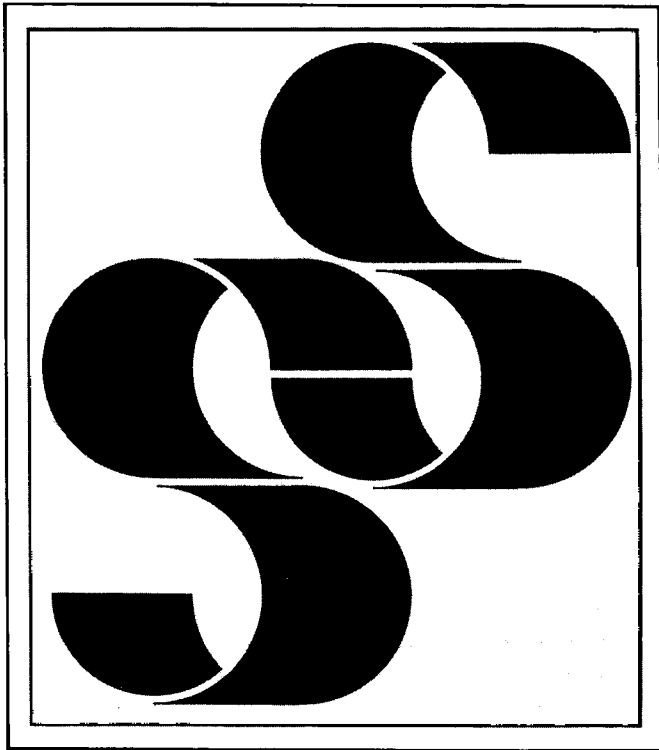


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THE DATE OF NEHEMIAH: A REEXAMINATION

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The date for Nehemiah's two terms of governorship in Judah has in recent years been put into question. Did Nehemiah serve in this capacity in the fifth century B.C., during the reign of Persian King Artaxerxes I (465-424)? Or did he perhaps serve, instead, in the fourth century under Artaxerxes II (404-358)? In the former case he would have first arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C., and in the latter case, this arrival would have been in 384 B.C.—the 20th year of Artaxerxes (Neh 2:1-9), whichever Artaxerxes that may have been. The present article reviews the arguments on both sides of the question and the date upon which those arguments are built.

1. *The Case for the Fifth-Century Date*

The suggestion of a fifth-century date for Nehemiah rests upon a number of historical data which have been subject to varying interpretations. A key source for fixing upon this time frame is the occurrence of the names Johanan, Sanballat, and Sanballat's sons Delaiah and Shelemiah in a papyrus letter from Elephantine dated to 407 B.C.¹ The latter is an appeal by the Elephantine Jewish community for aid in building a temple, and this appeal is addressed to Sanballat, governor of Samaria, who was assisted in this office by his two sons. Johanan's name appears as that of the high priest in Jerusalem to whom the Elephantine community had addressed an earlier appeal, but without response. There is mention also of an individual named Bagoas as Governor of Judah.

In the OT book of Nehemiah, Johanan's grandfather, Eliashib, and Sanballat the Horonite are indicated as contemporaries of Nehemiah (note especially 2:10, 19; 3:1, 20-21; 4:1; 6:1-2, 5, 12, 14; 13:4, 7, 28). Inasmuch as Nehemiah also refers to Artaxerxes, the Persian king (2:1; 13:6), reasonable synchronization has been established

¹"Aramaic Papyri No. 30: Petition to the Governor of Judea. 408 B.C.," in *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, ed. and trans. A. Cowley (Oxford, 1923), pp. 108-119.

which relates the time frame for the persons mentioned in the Elephantine papyrus with Nehemiah and Artaxerxes I.

It is this line of evidence that has, in turn, led to the dating of Nehemiah's first mission between 445 and 443 B.C. (Neh 2:1, 5:14, 13:6), and his second mission somewhat later (Neh 13:6, 7).² Since the name of Nehemiah does not appear in any extrabiblical source, it is clear that the fifth-century dating for Nehemiah must be drawn from inference.

The Fifth-Century Dating and High-Priestly Succession

A central element in this fifth-century dating is the sequence and genealogy of the high-priestly succession recorded in Neh 12:1-26. OT scholarship long ago determined this list to be a secondary addition to the Chronicler's work, an apparent attempt by the compiler to update the priestly chronology of 1 Chr 6:1-15 in order to bring it down to the postexilic period.³ Within this context, the priestly succession in genealogical order is listed as follows (Neh 12:10-11, 22):

Jeshua (the "Joshua" of Zech 4)
 Joiakim
 Eliashib
 Joiada
 Johanan ("Jonathan"⁴)
 Jaddua

²Unsuccessful attempts have been made to argue against a second mission of Nehemiah on the basis of a hypercritical interpretation of Neh 13:6. So, e.g., Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemiah—Quellen Überlieferung und Geschichte*, BZAW, no. 102 (Berlin, 1967), pp. 49-50.

³It is not possible within the scope of this article to deal with the problems relating to Neh 12:1-26, most of which are thoroughly discussed in leading commentaries. Note, e.g., Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, AB (Garden City, NY, 1965), pp. 193-199; Raymond A. Bowman, "The Book of Ezra and the Book of Nehemiah: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB* (Nashville, 1954), 3:784-792; Kellermann, pp. 105-110; Sigmund Mowinckel, *Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemiah*, vol. 1, *Die nachchronische Redaktion des Buches: Die Listen* (Oslo, 1964), 1:60-61; and Loring W. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ICC (New York, 1913), p. 277.

⁴In LXX Neh 12:35, Johanan is called Jonathan. It is also clear that in Neh 12:11, Jonathan is an error for Johanan (see vv. 22-23), as is evident from Josephus (cf. *Ant.*

These six high priests would have officiated from the time of Zerubbabel, between 538 and 522, to ca. 323, or throughout a period of approximately two centuries. More specifically, the genealogy of the high priesthood lists Jeshua, son of Jehozadak, as a contemporary of Zerubbabel during the reign of Cyrus (Ezra 2:2; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 3:1, 3, 6, 9; 6:11). He was succeeded by Joiakim, son of Hilkiyah, of whom nothing more is said. Joiakim was succeeded by Eliashib, who was high priest in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:1, 20-21; 13:4-7; Ezra 10:6). Of Joiada, his successor, nothing is known. Johanan, the successor of Joiada, is the high priest identified from the Elephantine correspondence as being in office ca. 410 B.C. He is listed as the son of Joiada (Neh 12:11), as a successor of Joiada (Neh 12:22), as a son of Eliashib (Neh 12:23), and as the father of Jaddua (Neh 12:11). It has been generally agreed by supporters of the fifth-century dating, that the apparently contradictory assertions naming Johanan both as the son of Joiada and as the son of Eliashib may be plausibly explained by the usage here of *ben* to mean either "grandson" or "descendant," not "son."⁵ Of Jaddua, the successor of Johanan, nothing is known except for information from Josephus (*Ant.* 11.8.4-7).⁶

11.7.1). See also Cowley, "No. 30," lines 18-19, where Johanan, a variant of the Jehohanan, is known from the correspondence of the Jewish military colony at Elephantine to have been high priest ca. 410 B.C. In Neh 12:22-23 he is mentioned as a high priest and is called the son of Eliashib. The Jehohanan of Ezra 10:6 has often been identified with the high priest Johanan. Cf. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Ezra und Nehemia*, Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen, 1949), pp. 190-193.

⁵This practice has been well attested at Elephantine. See, e.g., Emil G. Kraeling, ed., *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, CT, 1953), p. 108. Also see arguments for "grandson" or "descendant" in Carl G. Tuland, "Ezra-Nehemiah or Nehemiah-Ezra? An Investigation into the Validity of the Van Hoonacker Theory," *AUSS* 12 (1974): 58; Bowman, p. 787; and Richard J. Saley, "The Date of Nehemiah Reconsidered," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A. Tuttle (Grand Rapids, MI, 1978), pp. 159-160. On the other hand, the possibility of Johanan's being a son of Eliashib and brother of Joiada has been proposed in G. Hölscher, "Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia," in *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed. (Tübingen, 1923), p. 553; Kellermann, pp. 108-109; and others.

⁶The only reference to Jaddua (Jaddus) comes from Josephus, where he is linked with Alexander the Great (*Ant.* 11.7.2 and 11.8.4, 7). This relationship could be legendary, or it may preserve some valid evidence that by that time Jaddua was an old man. Note also Bowman, p. 787, and Frank Moore Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975): 4-18.

The data from the biblical text and the Elephantine papyrus may be summarized as follows:

HIGH PRIEST	OTHER INFORMATION
Jeshua	Time of Cyrus and Zerubbabel
Joiakim	-----
Eliashib	Time of Nehemiah
Joiada	-----
Johanán	“Son” of Eliashib/“Son” of Joiada (High Priest ca. 410 B.C.)
Jaddua	-----

2. *The Correlations Made by Josephus*

The sequential order of the high priests derived from both the biblical text and the Elephantine papyri, though transparent in both sources, is complicated by contradictory declarations of Josephus (*Ant.* 11.7.1-2). There are problems in correlating Josephus' high-priestly chronology with that of Neh 12 and the Elephantine papyri, and these are especially apparent in the sequential location of the high priests Johanán and Jaddua.

Briefly put, the Josephus account states that as a result of a quarrel in the temple, Joannes (Johanán) the high priest killed his brother Jesus, who had been a part of a Persian conspiracy to replace him. Bagoas, Artaxerxes' general, is said to have reacted to this horrible crime by polluting the temple and imposing a heavy tribute of 50 drachmae for each sacrificial lamb for a period of seven years (*Ant.* 11.7.1). In all likelihood, he also deposed Johanán from the high priesthood.⁷ Upon the death of Johanán, Jaddus (Jaddua) became high priest and died at an advanced age about the same time as Alexander the Great (*Ant.* 11.8.7). On the basis that Johanán was high priest about 410 B.C. (according to the Elephantine letter), Jaddua probably had an unusually long term of office as high priest (though not an impossible one) if he died ca. 323.

⁷See Rudolph, p. 193. Bowman, pp. 789-790, follows Rudolph in proposing that Johanán was deposed by Bagoas during the reign of Darius II (423-404), yet at the same time suggests that Johanán was the high priest in 398 when Ezra arrived (see esp. pp. 562, 654).

Complicating matters further, however, is Josephus' account of the marriage of Manasses, a son of Johanan and brother of Jaddua, to Nikaso, the daughter of Sanballat (*Ant.* 11.7.2). This Sanballat, according to Josephus, had been sent to Samaria by the Darius who was the last king of Persia—i.e., Darius III (336-331). Thus, a marriage between a member of the Jewish high-priestly family and the daughter of the Samaritan governor took place after 336 B.C., a detail that suggests we are here dealing with a Sanballat and with high priests later than those directly mentioned or presupposed by the convergence of the biblical data and the information from the Elephantine papyrus of 407. On this basis, where should the governorship of Nehemiah be located chronologically?

The usual response of those who hold the fifth-century dating for Nehemiah is that Josephus' statement on Manasses' marriage to Nikaso is simply a duplication of the biblical reference to the marriage of Joiada's brother (and son of Eliashib) to the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite mentioned in Neh 13:28. This marriage is thus left within the time frame dictated by the Elephantine letter; and therefore, Josephus has traditionally been accused of having garbled his historical data, of overstating the case, and of writing his history from the standpoint of the extreme particularism of Nehemiah and Ezra that had come to dominate the spirit of Judaism at Josephus' time.

(For a chart detailing the data pertaining to a fifth-century dating for Nehemiah, see **Figure 1** at the end of this article.)

3. Issues in Regard to Josephus' Account and the Redating of Nehemiah

Nevertheless, there currently is also scholarly argumentation that takes more seriously the data as given by Josephus and consequently proposes a fourth-century date for Nehemiah. The current debate surrounding the validity of the Josephus account and this redating of Nehemiah focuses primarily on three points: 1) the identity of Bagoas, 2) the identity of Sanballat, and 3) certain questions regarding possible papyonymy in the records of the postexilic high priesthood.

The Identity of Bagoas

First, we look at the issue of the identity of Bagoas. It is argued that the fourth-century Bagoas of Josephus, the Bagoas who was the

notorious general of the last three Persian kings, is not to be identified with the Bagoas who was Persian governor of Judea and to whom reference is made in the Elephantine letter.⁸ There were thus two Bagoases, whose activities reflect different historical and political circumstances. The later individual by this name not only fits closely into the arena of activity in Palestine during the late fourth century but was also the person involved in the conspiracy with Johanan's brother Jesus in the latter's attempt to obtain the high priesthood.

The Identity of Sanballat

The second issue raised by Josephus' date is the precise identity of the Sanballat or Sanballats referred to in the biblical and extra-biblical sources. The discovery of the Wadi-Daliyeh papyri has indicated the presence of a second Sanballat as governor of Samaria during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358). The existence of this second Sanballat, coupled with the assumed evidence of papponymy for the ruling house of Samaria,⁹ along with the possible existence of a third Sanballat during the reign of Darius III (336-331), has led to the proposal that this third individual was the Sanballat of Josephus' account. The grandfather of this last Sanballat would, in this case, be Sanballat II ("the Horonite"), who was the contemporary of Nehemiah and of Artaxerxes II. As a result, the suggestion has been made for fixing the beginning of Nehemiah's first Judean governorship to 384 B.C.¹⁰

This reconstruction presumes the validity of Josephus' account of a late fourth-century marriage of Manasses to Nikaso, the daughter of a governor of Samaria named Sanballat. If Josephus' account is accepted as accurate, the results would be as follows:

⁸See Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley, CA, 1968), p. 290, n. 24. Note also Ralph W. Klein, "Ezra and Nehemiah in Recent Studies," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller (Garden City, NY, 1976), pp. 364, 370-372. On the other hand, Saley, pp. 157-158, and Cross, "Judean Restoration," p. 5, consider both passages as a reference to the one Bagoas.

⁹Frank M. Cross, "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," *HTR* 59 (1966): 201-211; and idem, "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA* 26 (1963): 110-121.

¹⁰So esp. Kellermann, pp. 49-50; idem, "Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung," *ZAW* 80 (1968): 55-87; and Saley, pp. 151-165.

First, a daughter of Sanballat II, the Horonite of Samaria who was a contemporary of Nehemiah, and also of Artaxerxes II and of the high priests Eliashib and Joiada, married Joiada's brother (Neh 13:28) at some time between 372 and 358 B.C.—that is, during Nehemiah's second term of governorship and before the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes III (358-338). Then again later, between 336 and 331 (during the reign of Darius III) there would have had to be another marriage of a similar kind—this time that of a daughter of Sanballat III marrying the brother of another high priest: namely, in this case Nikaso marrying Manasses, the son of Johanan (which would have to be a Johanan II inasmuch as Johanan I can be placed ca. 410 B.C., according to the Elephantine papyrus).¹¹

Thus, this reconstruction requires two Bagoases, three Sanballats, and two marriages between daughters of Sanballats and brothers of high priests. Even so, it is not a totally unreasonable reconstruction, as far as it goes, for these names and events might well represent occurrences in different, but closely related, periods.¹² A more sticky point, however, is the proposed separation between Josephus' Johanan and the Johanan of the Elephantine letter, a matter which will be explored below, together with the question of papponymy.

Assumption of Papponymy

The third and primary point in the argumentation for a fourth-century dating of Nehemiah relates to the assumed practice of papponymy in the postexilic Jewish high priesthood. This centers on Neh 12:1-26 and involves the correct placement of Eliashib and Joiada, predecessors of Johanan. It is based on the proposal of separate registers available to the compiler of the Chronicler's history.

¹¹This would be conjecture, based on the idea of papponymy. See Frank M. Cross, Jr., "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Daliyeh," in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. David Noel Freedman and J. C. Greenfield (Garden City, NY, 1969), pp. 56-58. Since Cross's proposal of a third Sanballat on the basis of the information from Wadi Daliyeh, other scholars have tended to advocate this possibility. So, e.g., Porten, pp. 116 and 189-190, n. 31; A. F. Rainey, "The Satrapy 'Beyond the River,'" *AJBA* 1 (1969): 64; K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), p. 210; and Saley, pp. 155-156.

¹²On the basis of this chronological restructuring, Sanballat I would be a contemporary of Artaxerxes I (465-424), Nehemiah, and the high priests Eliashib and Joiada; Sanballat II would be contemporaneous with Artaxerxes II (404-358), Johanan, and Jaddua; and Sanballat III would be paired with Darius III (336-331) (and with another Johanan and Jaddua?).

These registers are believed to have been 1) an earlier register that extended until the days of Johanan, son of Eliashib (Neh 12:23; i.e., the Johanan of the Elephantine letter),¹³ and 2) a later register in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, "until the reign of Darius the Persian" (Neh 12:22), who in this case is assumed to have been Darius III.¹⁴ This situation may be outlined as follows:

Earlier Register (Neh 12:23; cf. v. 26)	Later Register (Neh 12:22)
<i>Jeshua</i>	
<i>Joiakim</i>	
<i>Eliashib</i>	
<i>Johanan</i>	
<i>Jaddua (?)</i>	
	<i>Eliashib</i>
	<i>Joiada</i>
	<i>Johanan</i>
	<i>Jaddua</i>

This two-register hypothesis theorizes that the Johanan in the later register and the Johanan of the Bagoas-Jesus incident are one and the same person and that this high priest was functioning during the time of Darius III in the latter part of the fourth century. This position, therefore, advances the theory that Eliashib, Joiada, and Nehemiah must belong to the earlier part of the fourth century, during the reign of Artaxerxes II. As a consequence, the beginning of Nehemiah's first and second governorship would then be dated to

¹³See esp. Saley, pp. 160-161.

¹⁴The difficulty in determining whether "the Persian" should be applied to Darius I, II, or III is evident from the variety of positions which have been taken in recent years. Arguments for Darius I or II are summarized in Myers, pp. lxix, 198-199. Proponents of Darius II include Cross, "Samaritan History," p. 202, n. 4; idem, "Judean Restoration," p. 11; Kellermann, pp. 107-108; and Rudolph, p. 193. Advocates of Darius III are A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (Tübingen, 1902), p. 85; Charles C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 331-332; H. Schneider, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (Bonn, 1959), p. 244; Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), p. 819. Cf. Saley, pp. 159-161.

384 B.C. and to a time after 372 B.C.¹⁵ The fifth-century Johanan, son of Eliashib, of the Elephantine letter would have been an earlier Johanan, and hence this placement of Nehemiah in the fourth century disconnects him from that Johanan.

The Priestly Succession Based on Papponymy

Support for a two-Eliashib and a two-Johanan conjecture is derived, as already observed, on the basis of an assumed practice of papponymy in the postexilic high-priesthood succession, and the prevalence of these names at that time.¹⁶ The actual succession, according to this view, would be as follows:

Jeshua
Joiakim
Eliashib I
Johanan I
Jaddua I(?)
Eliashib II
Joiada
Johanan II
Jaddua II

At the heart of this specific proposal of papponymy is the extraordinary weight given to Neh 12:22, 23, a somewhat obscure passage located in a secondary chapter.¹⁷ The context and order of this passage would indicate that after vv. 12-21, a list of the Levites of the same period is expected; however, that list does not come until vv. 24-25. Verse 22 appears to be a supplement to the preceding list,

¹⁵This is Saley's second option as given on pp. 160-161.

¹⁶There are serious questions which can be raised against this view. In this reconstruction, every high priest is the son of the preceding one, except Eliashib I, of course, who is listed as the brother of Joiakim. See also G. Widengren, "The Persian Period," in *Israelite and Judean History*, ed. John H. Hayes and James M. Miller (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 508-509; and Cross's reconstruction in "Judean Restoration," pp. 9-11.

¹⁷See n. 3 above, and also Myers, pp. 198-199; Bowman, pp. 789-790; Klein, p. 372; and Saley, pp. 158-159.

an interpolation, the primary concern of which is the priestly families. Verse 23, on the other hand, is concerned with the Levites alone.

However, it should be noted that even if the verses are taken as they stand, "Darius the Persian" could just as well be Darius II (423-404) as Darius III (336-331). It is known from Herodotus, for instance, that the designation, "the Persian," could be written much earlier than the late fourth century.¹⁸ Equally, the statement, "until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib," could also mean to the end of the reign of Darius II, in the late fifth century. If, as would be expected, Johanan's murder of his brother Jesus in the temple resulted in his removal from office by Bagoas, this could have been sometime between 408, when according to the papyrus letter he was still in office, and 405.¹⁹

The Conjectural Nature of the Assumed Papponymy

With its emphasis on Johanan's being "son" as opposed to "descendant" of Eliashib, rather than the son of Joiada as stated in Neh 12:11 (and possibly implied in 12:22, where apparently we have a reference to the same individual), the weight of argument for papponymy during this phase of the high-priestly genealogy is essentially conjectural, resting on a very soft base. The building of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim in the latter third of the fourth century, as a result of the Nikaso/Manasses marriage, has been listed as support for this position, since it traces the roots of the Samaritan schism to thirty years earlier, during the middle third of the fourth century and to the Nehemiah-Sanballat hostility.²⁰ But if this were indeed the case, then just what was the role of Johanan I in the late fifth century?

¹⁸Herodotus, *Persian Wars* 2.110,158; and Robert Dick Wilson, "Titles of the Persian Kings," in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Gotthold Weil (Berlin, 1915), p. 193. See also n. 14 above; and Myers, pp. 198-199.

¹⁹Cowley, "No. 30," line 18. See also Rudolph, p. 193; Bowman, pp. 789-790; Cross, "Judean Restoration," pp. 6-9; and Kellermann, p. 107.

²⁰On the building of the Samaritan temple, see Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.2,4,7, and the archaeological confirmation in G. E. Wright, "The Samaritans at Shechem," *HTR* 55 (1962): 362-365. Note also the discussion of Cross, "Papyri," pp. 54-56, in connection with the marriage of Nikaso, Sanballat's daughter, with Manasseh, brother of the high priest Johanan.

(In any event, the proposal for a fourth-century date for Nehemiah can be set forth in overview as is done in **Figure 2** at the end of this article.)

4. *Papponymy and Fifth-century Dating for Nehemiah*

This position regarding papponymy based on the existence of a Sanballat II (and perhaps a Sanballat III), even if it is accepted in spite of its conjectural nature, need not, however, rule out a fifth-century dating for Nehemiah. In this case, the Johanan of Neh 12:11, 22, is one and the same individual cited by the Jewish community in the Elephantine letter during the reign of Darius II (423-404) ("the Persian")—the person who was high priest ca. 410.²¹ He was, therefore, a late contemporary of Sanballat the Horonite (in this case, "Sanballat I"). Johanan's brother was married to a daughter of this Sanballat, thereby incurring the wrath of Nehemiah (Neh 13:28). Johanan and his brother were the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib. Joiada was a contemporary of Bagoas, Nehemiah's successor in the governorship of Judea; and Jaddua, Joiada's son and successor as high priest, was a contemporary of Darius II (423-404). The circumstances surrounding these events have been fixed to the fifth century.

If papponymy is accepted, even though on a very weak basis, what we find is that the roots of the disagreements and disaffection between the high priesthoods of Samaria and Jerusalem were recorded in two settings: 1) the fifth-century Nehemiah episode of Eliashib's grandson's marriage to Sanballat's daughter, a marriage which resulted in that grandson's expulsion from the temple (Neh 13:28), and 2) the fourth-century marriage between Nikaso, the daughter of Sanballat, and Manasses, the brother of the high priest Jaddua. As we have already seen, this latter episode led, in turn, to the final schism and the building of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim.

Hence, even if there were two diplomatic marriages, two Bagoases, and multiple Sanballats, we are left with the fact that the available extant material still suggests that the fifth century, not the fourth century, is the most plausible dating for Nehemiah.

²¹Cowley, "No. 30," lines 18-19; a point conceded by Saley, pp. 161-162.

(The scenario suggested by this possibility of a fifth-century date for Nehemiah even if there were papponymy is set forth in **Figure 3** at the close of this article.)

5. *Conclusion*

In the foregoing paragraphs we have discussed both evidences and conjectures that have been set forth in attempts by OT scholars to ascertain the correct date for Nehemiah's two missions to Jerusalem. The fifth-century dating proceeds on the basis of straightforward utilization of data from the OT book of Nehemiah and a papyrus letter from Elephantine dated to 407 B.C. Information from Josephus, however, adds complexity and confusion to the matter, and in an effort to do justice to the Josephus account, some OT scholars have proposed papponymy in the postexilic Jewish priesthood, with the accompanying suggestion of a fourth-century dating for Nehemiah's governorships in Judea.

Even if a practice of papponymy for the postexilic high priesthood were to be confirmed, whether on the basis of Neh 12:22-23 or in some other way, the historical arguments which have been proposed in support of a synchronization between the biblical references and the Elephantine letter of 407 B.C. are so strong that they still favor a fifth-century, as opposed to a fourth-century, dating for Nehemiah. Moreover, it must be said, as well, that the proposal of the practice of papponymy among the Sanballats is not clear evidence that papponymy was also in vogue in the postexilic Judean high priesthood. Indeed, the fact is that there is still no hard evidence in any extant material of such a custom.

FIGURE 1
CHART FOR FIFTH-CENTURY DATING OF NEHEMIAH

PERSIAN KINGS	HIGH PRIESTS	GOVERNORS OF SAMARIA
Artaxerxes I (465-424)		
Nehemiah after 445 and 433	Eliashib	Sanballat the Horonite
	Joiada	
Xerxes II (423)		
Darius II (423-404)		
	Johanah	
	Jaddua	
Artaxerxes II (404-358)		
Artaxerxes III (358-338)		
Arses (338-336)		
Darius III (336-331)		
ALEXANDER		

FIGURE 2
CHART FOR FOURTH-CENTURY DATING OF NEHEMIAH
WITH ASSUMED PAPPONYMY

PERSIAN KINGS	HIGH PRIESTS	GOVERNORS OF SAMARIA
Artaxerxes I (465-424)		Sanballat I
	Eliashib I	
Xerxes II (423)		
Darius II (423-404)		
	Johanani I	
	Jaddua I	
Artaxerxes II (404-358)		
Nehemiah after 384 and after 372	Eliashib II	Sanballat II the Horonite
	Joiada	
Artaxerxes III (358-338)		
Arses (338-336)	Johanani II	Sanballat III
Darius III (336-331)	Jaddua II	
ALEXANDER		

FIGURE 3
CHART FOR FIFTH-CENTURY DATING OF NEHEMIAH
WITH ASSUMED PAPPONYMY

PERSIAN KINGS	HIGH PRIESTS	GOVERNORS OF SAMARIA
Artaxerxes I (465-424)		
Nehemiah after 445 and 433	Eliashib	Sanballat I the Horonite
	Joiada	
Xerxes II (423)		
Darius II (423-404)		
	Johanan I	Delaiah
	Jaddua I	
Artaxerxes II (404-358)		
		Sanballat II
Artaxerxes III (358-338)		
	Johanan II	Hananiah
Arses (338-336)		
Darius III (336-331)	Jaddua II	Sanballat III
ALEXANDER		

A LITERARY STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE GOLDEN-CALF EPISODE IN EXODUS 32:1-33:6

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The following is a literary structural analysis of the Golden-Calf episode as found in the MT of Exod 32:1-33:6. This analysis does not purport to deal exhaustively with the manifold exegetical, homiletical, textual, and theological issues encountered therein. Rather, its goal is to reveal the structural framework of the passage within which these issues arise.

1. *Contemporary Views of Exodus 32:1-33:6*

There is quite a variety of source-critical views on the Golden-Calf episode, with no scholarly consensus in sight.¹ Brevard Childs, on the other hand, warns against focusing too closely on such topical "polarities"—a procedure which has "often led literary critics to fragment this chapter into multiple layers and sources which lack all cohesion."²

OT scholars recognize the multiplicity of themes within the episode. The central theme has been identified variously as disobedience, rebellion and atonement, or as the overarching theme of the danger of the departure of YHWH's presence from among his

¹Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 559, assigns it to one basic source, J, with 2 expansions, one of which is deuteronomistic. John I. Durham, *Exodus*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 3 (Waco, TX, 1987), pp. 417, 427-428, 435, presents a spectrum of scholarly views. Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York, 1987), p. 70, sees the episode as being originally E. Immanuel Lewy, "The Story of the Golden Calf Reanalysed," *VT* 9 (1959): 318, sees a Yahwist narrative groundwork and four editors, a Yahwist, a northern prophetic Elohist, a southern priestly Elohist, and a Deuteronomist.

²Childs, p. 563. For a refreshing combination of genre and structure analysis of 32:30-35 and 32:25-29, see G. Herbert Livingston, *The Pentateuch in Its Cultural Environment* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1974), pp. 250, 256.

TABLE 1
LITERARY STRUCTURE OF EXODUS 32:1-33:6

-
- A. 32:1-6** People act, and Aaron (YHWH's High Priest) reacts.
- B. 32:7-10** YHWH's two utterances: *way^cdabbēr*, *wayyōmer*
- C. 32:11-14** Moses intercedes
- D. 32:15-20** Moses goes down the mountain
- E. 32:21-25** Judgment: investigative phase
- F. 32:26a** Opportunity for repentance
- E'. 32:26b-29** Judgment: executive phase
- D'. 32:30** Moses goes up the mountain
- C'. 32:31-32** Moses intercedes
- B'. 32:33-33:3** YHWH's two utterances: *wayyōmer*, *way^cdabbēr*
- A'. 33:4-6** YHWH acts, and People react.
-

people.³ These various identifications, however, do not take into account the literary structure of the passage, a structure which reveals a different central theme. The following discussion will attempt to remedy the situation.

2. *Literary Structural Analysis of Exodus 32:1-33:6*

The central theme of Exod 32:1-33:6 is a two-phased judgment of the people (investigative and executive), divided by an opportunity for repentance. Source-critical division leaves the "original" pericope asymmetrical and splintered.⁴ By contrast, the canonical form of the episode is balanced and coherent, pointing directly to the central theme of the passage, preceded and followed by sections that serve as counterparts in a chiasmic pattern with the **A-B-A'** form. **Table 1** sets forth this pattern in outline form, and the following paragraphs provide brief elucidation of the general content, concepts, and relationships involved.

A // A' — Exodus 32:1-6 // Exodus 33:4-6

In the first section of the pericope, Exod 32:1-6, the people desire cult modalities (v. 1). They lose patience with Moses, and by extension also with YHWH, so they ask Aaron to provide for their desires without YHWH's guidance. This Aaron does in the form of the infamous golden calf (vv. 2-4). The people act; and Aaron, as YHWH's representative, reacts. In the parallel section at the end of the pericope, 33:4-6, YHWH warns Moses and orders the removal of ornaments (v. 5). The Sons of Israel take off their ornaments (v. 6). Here YHWH acts, and the people react. The action/reaction is thus inverted in these paralleling sections.

Moreover, the activity involved in each section is similar: the disposition of jewelry. In the initial episode, the men provide (at Aaron's request) gold earrings belonging to their wives and daughters and sons for the purpose of making the image (32:2-3). In the closing episode, the Sons of Israel remove (at YHWH's request) their own ornaments (33:5-6).

³Childs, p. 558; R. Alan Cole, *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries, vol. 2 (Downer's Grove, IL, 1973), p. 212; Durham, p. 418.

⁴E.g., Childs, p. 559, whose interpretation would leave the "original" pericope with a partial investigative phase, lacking a levitical executive phase, and having no opportunity for repentance (32:26).

Hence, sections **A** and **A'** both concern the question of following YHWH, an activity that is related closely with the issue of self-adornment. Both sections have actors and reactors, but they are inverted as to sequence. As indicated above, in the first section the people act by disregarding YHWH's leadership, with Aaron, as YHWH's representative, reacting. In the corresponding section it is YHWH who acts, and it is the people who react, doing so by showing their submission to YHWH's leadership.

B // B'—*Exodus 32:7-10 // Exodus 32:33-33:3*

In Exod 32:7-10, two words come from YHWH. In v. 7, YHWH "spoke," *way^edabbēr*; and in v. 9, YHWH "said," *wayyōmer*. This phraseology is paralleled, but inverted in Exod 32:33-33:3. Here YHWH again utters two words, and the text makes use of the same form of the same roots: first *wayyōmer* (32:33) and then *way^edabbēr* (33:1).

Additional evidence for the parallelism between these passages lies in the subject matter of YHWH's utterances in the two instances. YHWH's *way^edabbēr* statements both refer to the people "whom you brought from the land of Egypt" (32:7, 33:1; identical phrases are used in the MT). Both of the *wayyōmer* statements concern the destruction/punishment which YHWH will mete out upon the people (Exod 32:10, 34). Together, the terminology and subject matter in the two sections provide strong guidance for understanding the literary structure.

C // C'—*Exodus 32:11-14 // Exodus 32:31-32*

In both Exod 32:11-14 and Exod 32:31-32 we find Moses interceding for the people before YHWH. In the first intercession, Moses argues for salvation of the people of Israel on the basis of YHWH's reputation among the nations and his covenant promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. In the second intercession, Moses requests forgiveness for the people, without excuse for their sin, and adding only that he himself desires to share in their fate. Thus these two textual passages are parallel on the basis of Moses' intercessory activity.

D // D'—*Exodus 32:15-20 // Exodus 32:30*

In the next sections that are in inverse position—Exod 32:15-20 and 32:30—we find a contrast revealed through the particular direc-

tion of movements and actions. Moses' movement in going down the mountain in v. 15 is balanced by his going up the mountain in v. 30. His activity of breaking the tablets in v. 19 is balanced by his desire for restoring the people in v. 30. Still further, Moses' forcing the Israelites to drink the dust-laden water in v. 20 parallels his declaring their guilt in v. 30.

E // E'—Exodus 32:21-25 // Exodus 32:26b-29

Exod 33:21-25 and 32:26b-29 record two successive phases of Moses' judgment process. In the first phase, Moses questioned Aaron (v. 21) and he observed the camp (v. 25) in order to assess the sin of the people. That is to say, he investigated the condition of the people before deciding their fate. In the second phase, Moses related the will of YHWH and commissioned its enforcement. Childs comments: "The word is of judgment directed to the Levites as its agent who immediately proceeded to execute the awesome punishment."⁵ Thus Moses' judgment of the people was comprised of an investigative phase and a successive executive phase.

F—Exodus 32:26a

The structurally central verse of the Golden-Calf episode is Exod 32:26a, which sets forth the question, "Who is for YHWH?"⁶ Implicit in the very raising of this question is the concept that there is opportunity for repentance. Thus, the question has enormous theological significance. This is especially so, inasmuch as it occurs between the reporting of the investigative and executive phases of judgment.

Although investigation of the full theological implications of this phenomenon extends beyond the scope of this brief essay, it is pertinent to this study to notice and appreciate the placement of Moses' plea in this fashion within the literary structure of the pericope. In short, because section F is the central structural feature of the Golden-Calf episode, it directs attention to the central concern of that episode. Moses' plea in Exod 32:26a presents the ultimate question, the apex toward which all the emphases within Exod 32:1-25 are directed and from which all the tensions in Exod 32:26b-33:6 move toward resolution and abatement.

⁵Childs, p. 571; cf. Cole, p. 212.

⁶Cole, p. 219.

3. *Summary and Implications of the Literary Structure*

The Golden-Calf episode in Exod 32:1-33:6 displays an inverted parallelism or chiasmic structure that utilize several specific features: inversion of actions (A // A'), inversion of terminology (B // B'), parallelism (C // C'), contrasts of movements and of actions (D // D'), and succession of events (E // E'). The only structural element that remains without parallel is Moses' offer of repentance to his people (F), this being so because that element is the centerpiece for the chiasm. In this capacity it serves, as well, as the central element for the judgment process that is depicted.

The foregoing analysis of the literary structure of the Golden-Calf episode exemplifies the importance of studying the text in its canonical form. The structure of the text reveals the intention of the writer,⁷ and it cannot be dismissed or discounted if we are to ascertain the meaning of the passage. Indeed, the inverted parallel structure gives emphasis to a basic point in the pericope: namely, that the Golden-Calf episode is one that calls forth, and provides opportunity for, repentance within the context of a two-phased judgment. The two phases of that judgment are investigative and executive in nature.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

I am indebted to William H. Shea for pointing out two further parallelisms within the Golden-Calf passage. These may be summarized as follows:

1. *In B and B' (32:13 and 33:1):*

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| a) "Abraham, Isaac, and
Israel . . ." | c') "land . . ." |
| b) "to whom thou didst
swear . . ." | b') "of which I swore . . ." |
| c) "land" | a') "to Abraham, Isaac, and
Jacob" |

⁷Elmer B. Smick, "Architectonics, Structural Poems, and Rhetorical Devices in the Book of Job," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago, 1986), p. 93; John H. Stek, "The Bee and the Mountain Goat: A Literary Reading of Judges 4," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago, 1986), p. 59.

2. In *E* and *E'* (32:21-25 and 32:26b-29):

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| a) "Aaron . . ." | a') "Sons of Levi . . ." |
| b) his failure | b') their success and loyalty |

It will be noticed that in the first set of these paralleling sections, not only are the sections themselves chiasmic (B and B') but so also are the three items of phraseology (a/b/c and c'/b'/a'). In the second set of paralleling sections, the expressions are not inverted but occur in straight-forward sequence (a/b and a'/b'), with the sections themselves, however, being chiasmic counterparts (E and E'). This additional material shared with me by Shea thus amplifies still further the validity of the chiasmic structure that on other grounds I have elucidated in my discussion above.

NOTATIONS ON FIRST AND SECOND CORINTHIANS IN ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S 1929 NEW TESTAMENT

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That Albert Schweitzer has had a significant role within the history of NT interpretation is indisputable. His works on Jesus and Paul have earned for him an enduring place as one of the most influential interpreters of the NT documents within this century. In particular, his 1906 book *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (English, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*¹) might properly be said to mark formally the end of one stage of NT interpretation, that of the "liberal" approach to "lives of Jesus," while at the same time heralding another stage of NT interpretation, one involving what Richard H. Hiers has descriptively called "the struggle against eschatology."² We are still engaged in this struggle today.

In his autobiography Schweitzer recounts how it was that he first came to wrestle with the NT documents and began to formulate his eschatological interpretation of the person and ministry of Jesus, an interpretation now virtually taken for granted and accepted as a precondition for any proper appreciation of Jesus' worldview and teaching. Schweitzer tells us that in the autumn of 1894, as a young nineteen-year-old student, he began a period of military service. He

¹Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, trans. W. Montgomery (London, 1910).

²Richard H. Hiers, "Eschatology and Methodology," *JBL* 85 (1966): 171. In this regard Schweitzer must be seen alongside his contemporary Johannes Weiss. On this point, see the introduction by Richard Hiers and D. Larrimore Holland, to Johannes Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, trans. and ed. Richard Hyde Hiers and David Larrimore Holland, Lives of Jesus Series (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 29-37. Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1986*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1988), p. 215, comment on Schweitzer's contribution to NT studies thus: "Schweitzer's chosen solution is inadequate and at certain points as weak as could be imagined. Yet his work has proved to be a turning point. We can never go back behind the recognition of apocalyptic as the context, and at least part of the content, of the Gospel proclamation."

was required to go on maneuvers as part of this military training, a commitment which presented some difficulties to his studies in that he was facing an important examination in the coming winter term. This examination was to be in the synoptic Gospels (his choice), and Schweitzer was keen not to fall behind in his studies as a result of his military duties. So he decided to study while discharging his military commitments. He tells us:

I took my Greek Testament with me to the maneuvers, and being then so robust that I did not know what fatigue was, I was able to get through some real work in the evenings and on the rest days. . . . I felt, to my astonishment, sorely puzzled when on a certain rest day which we spent in the village of Guggenheim, I concentrated on the tenth and eleventh chapters of Matthew, and became conscious of the significance of what is narrated in these two chapters by him alone, and not by Mark as well.³

The central place that the Gospel of Matthew took within Schweitzer's interpretation of Jesus has been long noted and been the subject of much scholarly criticism. It could be even said to be the "Achilles heel" of Schweitzer's interpretation of Jesus that his understanding of the nature of the Matthew material, particularly chapters 10-11, is faulty and misdirected. The details of this particular point need not concern us here; they have been amply discussed elsewhere.⁴

What is important for us here is the fact that Schweitzer seems to have been in the habit of carrying around with him a copy of the NT. In fact, this very Greek NT has survived and shows clearly that he underlined sections of it, made marginal notations, and wrote in it comments about the text.⁵ This practice itself is not particularly noteworthy in and of itself, but the significant point is that such

³Albert Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought: An Autobiography*, trans. C. T. Campion (New York, 1949), p. 6.

⁴On this, see T. Francis Glasson, "Schweitzer's Influence—Blessing or Bane?" *JTS* 28 (1977): 289-302; Lou H. Silberman, "Apocalyptic Revisited: Reflections on the Thought of Albert Schweitzer," *JAR* 44 (1976): 489-501. Silberman attempts to correct Schweitzer's misunderstanding about the historical dimension of Jewish apocalyptic thought which arises, in part, from Schweitzer's interpretation of these central passages from Matthew.

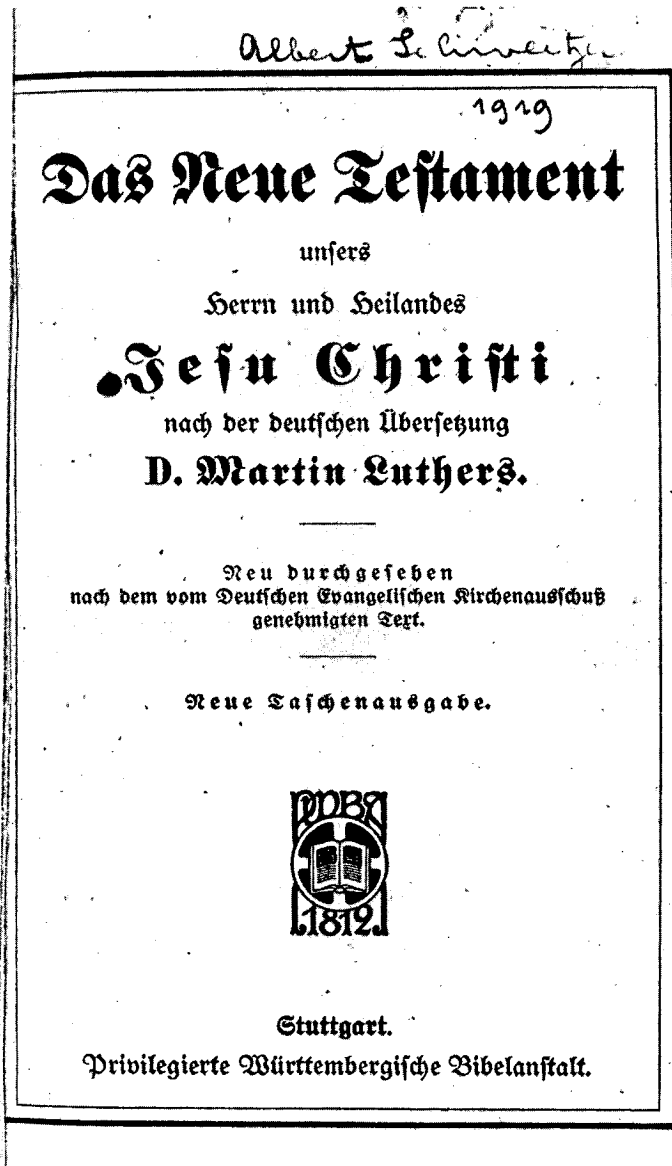
⁵Don Cupitt, *The Sea of Faith* (London, 1984), pp. 102-112, discusses this. Cupitt provides a photograph of the very Greek Testament that Schweitzer took with him on maneuvers. The Testament is open to Matthew 10 and one can clearly see Schweitzer's annotations to this chapter.

annotations and markings might well provide us with additional insights into the thinking that underlies Schweitzer's published writings. These markings would thus function in much the same way in which diaries do in revealing thoughts and impressions that would not otherwise be known or at least would not be so obvious. Fortunately, in Schweitzer's case there exists another such an annotated NT, one which dates from another of the formative periods of Schweitzer's writing.

In June of 1985 I was invited to participate in an international conference held at Schweitzer's home in Gunsbach, France. It was the 13th annual "Johannestreffen" and the theme of the meeting was an exploration of Schweitzer's abiding influence. The participants came from around the world, some from Poland, Switzerland, East and West Germany, and as far away as Japan, to share the way in which Schweitzer's thought was still determinative in their various fields of expertise and interest. At that conference I read a brief paper about Schweitzer's importance as an interpreter of the NT. After the close of the conference, one of the hostesses, Mlle. Ali-Silver, approached me and engaged me in conversation about Schweitzer's theological writings. She took me to his office on the ground floor of the house, a simple room which contained his desk as well as his small bed. I recognized hanging on a coat hook behind the door the worn and tatty hat Schweitzer wore to collect his Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1953; I had often seen photographs of it. On the floor under a table in the far corner was a small suitcase bearing his name and his Lambaréné address on a tag.

Mlle. Ali-Silver went to a pile of papers on the desk and, picking up a small volume in black binding, handed me a recently-bound copy of a NT. This, she explained, was a NT that had belonged to Schweitzer. Then she asked me if I would be interested in examining it inasmuch as it was filled with notes and comments in Schweitzer's own hand. I responded that I would be very interested and after some further conversation she requested that I consider editing and publishing the comments, a proposal to which I agreed.

The following article is thus offered in fulfillment of a promise made to Mlle. Ali-Silver that I make these notations of Schweitzer known to my interested colleagues in the theological world, particularly those who are NT specialists. My only regret is that I have not been able to do so before Mlle. Ali-Silver passed away (she died in 1988). Nevertheless, I dedicate this article to this brave and courageous woman, who served with Schweitzer in Lambaréné for many



PHOTOGRAPH OF TITLE PAGE OF SCHWEITZER'S
1929 NEW TESTAMENT (ENLARGED)
(By Larry Kreitzer)

years as a nurse before moving to Gunsbach to manage the Maison Albert Schweitzer upon his death in 1965.

This NT itself is a small pocket-edition (9 cm. × 5 cm.) of Martin Luther's German translation of the text, published in Stuttgart by the Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt (founded in 1812). It has no publication date, although it is issued as a "New Pocket Edition" (*Neue Taschenausgabe*). The translation is given in Fraktur script with some select verses in bold type. The text contains 309 pages, but is followed by an edition of the Psalms which adds an additional 72 pages. The title page of this NT bears the signature and date (in black ink in two lines): "Albert Schweitzer 1929." The page containing the table of contents also bears his signature, along with the word "Strassburg," this time in a heavier blue ink.

The German text itself is replete with a host of underlinings and highlightings (such as exclamation marks in the margins). These occur in pencil and ink, with both in a wide variety of colors. There are at least nine different colors represented. Unfortunately, some of the inks have run and the pencil markings have smudged over the course of the years.

Schweitzer's underlinings and notations are scattered throughout most of the NT, with Matthew and Mark, as one might expect, receiving most attention among the Gospels. Luke and John contain very few underlining marks and no annotations. The epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, along with the Pastoral epistles and the Johannine epistles, have numerous underlinings and highlight-markings, but no annotations. The Acts of the Apostles, along with Hebrews, James, and Petrine epistles, Jude, and Revelation, all contain a few scattered annotations among the frequent underlining and highlighting marks. Surprisingly, the appended edition of the Psalms is completely free of any markings at all.

The most extensively marked section of this NT is clearly the major Pauline epistles. In several sections of Romans and 1 Corinthians, for instance, the tiny margins of the pages are completely filled with Schweitzer's annotations. This fits in with what we might expect when we consider that the inscribed date is 1929 and that Schweitzer was at that time working on part of his second major study of Paul. He tells us in the Preface to his *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (first published in 1931), a Preface written in December of 1929 while he was on board a steamer taking him back to Lambaréné, that "it was not till the end of 1927, during my second return

Paradoxe! Selig für den Menschen!

Vermahnung zur Buße 2. Korinther 12, 13, und zum Glauben. 223

13. Was ist's, darin ihr geringer seid denn die andern Gemeinden, außer daß ich selbst euch nicht habe beschwert? Vergebt mir diese Sünde!

14. Siehe, ich bin bereit, zum drittenmal zu euch zu kommen, und will euch nicht beschweren; denn ich suche nicht das eure, sondern euch. Denn es sollen nicht die Kinder den Eltern Schätze sammeln, sondern die Eltern den Kindern.

15. Ich aber will sehr gerne hingehen und hingegeben werden für eure Seelen; wievort ich euch gar sehr liebe, und doch weniger geliebt werde.

16. Aber laß es also sein, daß ich euch nicht habe beschwert; sondern, dieweil ich thöricht bin, habe ich euch mit Hinterlist gefangen.

17. Habet ihr aber etwa jemand über-vorteilt durch derer einen, die ich zu euch gesandt habe?

18. Ich habe Titus ermahnt und mit ihm gesandt einen Bruder. Hat euch etwa Titus übervorteilt? Haben wir nicht in einem Geiste gewandelt? Sind wir nicht in einerlei Fußstapfen gegangen?

19. Lasset ihr euch abermals dünken, wir verantworten uns vor euch? Wir reden in Christo vor Gott; aber das alles geschieht, meine Liebsten, euch zur Beförderung.

20. Denn ich fürchte, wenn ich komme, daß ich euch nicht finde, wie ich will, und ihr mich auch nicht findet, wie ihr wollt; daß Haber, Reid, Zorn, Jank, Afterreden, Öhrenblasen, Aufblähen, Aufreubr da sei.

21. daß mich, wenn ich abermals komme, mein Gott demütige bei euch und ich müsse Leid tragen über viele, die zuvor gesündigt und nicht Buße getan haben für die unreinigkeit und Hurerei und Unzucht, die sie getrieben haben.

Das 13. Kapitel.

Vermahnung zur Buße. Schluß.

1. Komme ich zum drittenmal zu euch, so soll ich in zweier oder dreier Zeugen Mund bestehen über euer Sache.

2. Ich habe es euch zuvor gesagt und sage es euch zuvor, als gegenwärtig, zum andernmal, und schreibe es nun abweisend denen, die zuvor gesündigt haben, und den andern allen: Wenn ich abermals komme, so will ich nicht schonen;

3. sintemal ihr suchet, daß ihr einmal gewahr werdet des, der in mir redet, nämlich Christi, welcher unter euch nicht schwach ist, sondern ist mächtig unter euch.

4. Und ob er wohl getrennt ist in der Schwachheit, so lebt er doch in der Kraft Gottes. Und ob wir auch schwach sind in ihm, so leben wir doch mit ihm in der Kraft Gottes unter euch.

5. Verstimmet euch selbst, ob ihr im Glauben seid; prüfet euch selbst! Oder erkennet ihr euch selbst nicht, daß Jesus Christus in euch ist? Es sei denn, daß ihr untüchtig seid.

6. Ich hoffe aber, ihr erkennet, daß wir nicht untüchtig sind.

7. Ich hätte aber Gott, daß ihr nichts Ables tut; nicht, auf daß wir als thöchtig angehen werden, sondern auf daß ihr das Gute tut und wir wie die Untüchtigen seien.

8. Denn wir können nichts wider die Wahrheit, sondern für die Wahrheit.

9. Wir freuen uns aber, wenn wir schwach sind, und ihr mächtig seid. Und dasselbe wünschen wir auch, nämlich eure Vollkommenheit.

10. Derhalben schreibe ich auch solches abweisend, auf daß ich nicht, wenn ich gegenwärtig bin, Schwärze brauchen müsse nach der Nacht, welche mir der Herr, all wehren und nicht zu verderben, gegeben hat.

11. Zuletzt, liebe Brüder, ~~trauet~~ euch, seid vollkommen, tröstet euch, habet einerlei Sinn, seid friedsam! Es wird der Gott der Liebe und des Friedens mit euch sein.

12. Grüßet euch untereinander mit dem heiligen Kuß. Es grüßen euch alle Heiligen.

13. Die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi und die Liebe Gottes und die Gemeinschaft des heiligen Geistes sei mit euch allen! Amen.

Der Sinn des "Farnet" ...

Wie ein gewaltige C. Das Accord in der Summe ...

PHOTOGRAPH OF A PAGE FROM 2 CORINTHIANS IN SCHWEITZER'S 1929 NEW TESTAMENT (ENLARGED) (By Larry Kreitzer)

to Europe, that I was able again to take in hand 'The Mysticism of Paul,' and give the MS its final form during that two-years' visit."⁶

Schweitzer's annotations and markings are not always easy to decipher. His handwriting is quite small and spindly, and his script has a cursive, looping form to it. At times he abbreviates words or phrases to suit his own tastes and one has to deduce the meaning by comparing several annotations. For example, "Paulus" is sometimes abbreviated "Pls" or "Ps"; "Jesus" as either "Js" or simply "J"; and "Auferstehung" sometimes as "Afsthg."

To add to the difficulty involved, the pencil annotations are at times so faint or smudged that they are extremely hard to read. The same is often true of the ink annotations, with the ink bleeding through the page in some instances to the degree that it becomes impossible to read what was originally written. Occasionally the annotations on the inner margins are either inaccessible or unreadable because of the tight rebinding.

However, in spite of such difficulties, I list below all of the annotations on 1 and 2 Corinthians contained within this NT. I have managed to decipher all but a few of Schweitzer's comments

⁶Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. William Montgomery, 2d ed. (New York, 1958), p. vii. Some mention should be made of the fact that there was a gap of nearly twenty years between the publication in 1911 of *Geschichte der paulinische Forschung* (Eng. trans., *Paul and His Interpreters: A Critical History*, trans. W. Montgomery [London, 1912]) and the appearance in 1931 of *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (Eng. ed. published in London that same year). This time lag is potentially misleading, and we might be tempted to think that the latter book was written much later. This was not the case. *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* belongs to the same period as Schweitzer's earlier NT works and was very nearly ready for publication in 1911. Thus, all of Schweitzer's theological books on Jesus and on Paul are essentially products of a single fertile period in Schweitzer's life, and all are to be dated prior to World War I. This fact means that the annotations to the Pauline letters made in the 1929 NT become all the more valuable in studying Schweitzer's understanding of Paul, since they come from a period later than that during which the major book on Paul was written.

On the question of Schweitzer's interpretation of Paul, note should be made of Olof Linton, "Albert Schweitzer's Interpretation of St. Paul's Theology," in *The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book*, ed. A. A. Roback (Cambridge, Eng., 1954), pp. 443-456; C. K. Barrett, "Albert Schweitzer and the New Testament: A Lecture Given in Atlanta on 10th April 1975 as Part of the Albert Schweitzer Centenary Celebration," *ExpTim* 87 (1975-76): 4-10; and Anthony C. Thistleton, "Biblical Classics: VI. Schweitzer's Interpretation of Paul," *ExpTim* 90 (1978-79): 132-137. Neill and Wright, pp. 403-430, present Schweitzer as a seminal interpreter of Paul whose work sets the stage for subsequent scholarly work on Paul during this century.

(alas, a dozen or so have defied my best efforts!). For ease of reference I have numbered each item and, wherever appropriate, have also tried to explain how the annotation or comment is connected with the text. Schweitzer himself has usually done this by using arrows or by underlining relevant words or phrases within verses and then making his annotation in the margin next to the verse.

In the entries given herein, I preface the RSV translation whenever necessary in order to make the point of Schweitzer's comment more comprehensible. Unless an underlining occurs in conjunction with an annotation or comment, I have not included it in this listing. Some of the unusual features of spelling and phrasing in the German are Schweitzer's own and have been retained in this transcription.

During the present year, 1990, we have come to the 25th anniversary of Schweitzer's death. Perhaps at this time it is worth considering once again the value of his contribution to NT studies, particularly with regard to the Pauline epistles. Hopefully, the annotations below from Schweitzer's own hand will serve to challenge us to examine the strengths and weaknesses of his masterful study on *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, to which they are closely related. They are offered to that end.

SCHWEITZER'S COMMENTS
(ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND GERMAN ORIGINAL)

1 Corinthians (Pages 197-213 of the New Testament)

- 1) 1:14 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comments: "Baptism" and "Paul [was] no apostolic successionist"

Taufe and Paulus keine apostolische Successionist

- 2) 1:17 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Cross!"

Kreuz!

- 3) 1:21 - Underlining of "through the folly of what we preach to save those who believe" with the comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 4) 1:25 - Comment: "Paradox!"

Paradoxie!

- 5) 1:27-29 - Comment: "The source of paradox [is] in eschatology, now and then"
Quell der Paradoxie in Eschatologie, Jetzt & dann
- 6) 2:2 - Underlining of "except Jesus Christ and him crucified" with the comment: "Some believed that the end of time has arrived" and "The significance of the Resurrection"
Einzig wissen das Ende der Zeit ist and Die Bedeutsamkeit der Auferstehung
- 7) 2:15-16 - Underlining of the whole two verses with the comment: "The high idea of the 'judged men' (Gnosis)"
Die hohe Begriff des 'gerichteten Menschen' (Gnosis)
- 8) 3:1 - Comment: "Gnosis"
Gnosis
- 9) 3:10 - Underlining of "like a skilled master builder" with the comment: "In Paul all human constructions are transitory in nature"
Bei Paulus alle menschliche Bescheidenheit der Vergangenheit angehört
- 10) 3:18 - Underlining of "let him become a fool" with the comment: "Paradox"
Paradoxie
- 11) 3:19 - Comment: "In Jesus poor = rich"
Bei Jesus arm = reich
- 12) 3:20 - Undecipherable comment
- 13) 4:5 - Underlining of "before the Lord comes" with the comment: "Here almost a citation of Jesu: 'Judge not!'"
Heir nahe lagte citat Jesu: Richtet nicht!
- 14) 4:6 - Comment: "Paradox"
Paradoxie
- 15) 4:9 - Underlining of "us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death" with the comment "Death"
 Tode
- 16) 4:10-11 - Comments: "Paradox" and "Despised!"
Paradoxie and Verachtet!
- 17) 4:13 - Underlining of "as the refuse of the world" with the comments: "Like Jesus!" and "The sacrifice idea"
Wie Jesus and Die Opferidee

- 18) 5:1-5 - Comment: "Note: Judgment only within Body of Christ"
Also: Richten nur innerhalb Corpus Christi!
- 19) 5:4 - Comments: "Paul here thus acts as a judge of the Twelve" and "He is himself baptized!"
Paulus hier also der Richteramt der Zwölf and Er is ja getauft!
- 20) Heading of page 201 containing 5:7b-6:18 (precise reference point of the comment is unclear) - Comment: "The Twelve mean nothing for Paul, but only the promised Spirit of Jesus" and "The consternation!"
Die Zwölf gelten nicht für Paulus, sondern nur der Geist Jesu vorgewählt and Die Bestürzen!
- 21) 5:7-11 - Two undecipherable comments: Only clear words are "only Christ" . . .
nur Christi. . .
- 22) 6:4 - Comment: "Body of Christ to judge"
Christi Leib richten!
- 23) 6:17 - Underlining of the whole verse with an undecipherable comment
- 24) 6:18 - Comments: "As Jesus!" and "Body and Life a Unity"
Als Jesus! and Leib und Leben die Verbund!
- 25) 7:17 - Unreadable comment of one or two words
- 26) 7:22 - Underlining of "in the Lord as a slave is a freedman of the Lord. "Likewise he who was free when called" with the comment: "Paradox"
Paradoxie
- 27) 8:5-10 - Comment: "These thoughts reflect Gnosis, but not explicitly: "No opportunity!"
Diese Gedanken den Gnosis an, aber nicht ausgesprochliche: Keine Gelegenheit!
- 28) 8:6 - Underlining of "from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist" with the comment: "Gnosis!"
Gnosis!
- 29) 9:11 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Paradox"
Paradoxie
- 30) 10:2 - Undecipherable comment
- 31) 10:9 - Underlining of "The Lord" with the comment: "The Cross"
Das Kreuz

- 32) 10:10-16 - Comment: "This whole question of pre-existence remains in darkness!"
Diese ganzen Prae-existenzfragen in Dunkelheit blieben!
- 33) 10:17 - Comment: "A new symbol!"
Neue Symbolik!
- 34) 10:23 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comments: "As one who is resurrected!" and "In all things!"
Als Auferständige! and Über alles!
- 35) 10:25-28 - Comment: "Therefore the fellowship with others must not be broken . . ."
Also nicht Gemeinschaft mit anders platzen . . .
- 36) 10:29 - Underlining of "For why should my liberty be determined by another man's scruples?" with the comment: "As one who is raised from the dead!"
Als Auferständener!
- 37) 11:1 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Gnostic idea"
Gnosis idee
- 38) 11:18 - Comment: "Oho! the [party of the] Resurrection!"
Oho! Der Auferstehung!
- 39) 11:21 - Underlining of "is drunk" and the comments: "Wine!" and "Jude 12"
Wein! and Jude 12
- 40) 11:23-25 - Underlining of "Do this as often as you drink it" (v. 25) with two virtually undecipherable comments (alongside vv. 23-25): "Here is proof that Jesus is Jewish . . . (uncertain word) the report of the free man"
Hier Beweis dass Jüdische is Jesus . . . (uncertain word) Der Bericht der Freier
- 41) 12:3 - Underlining of "and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the "'Holy Spirit' and the comment "Theory!"
Theorie!
- 42) 12:13 - Underlining of "all baptized into one body" and the comment: "Thus in Baptism and in Lord's Supper the body of the Lord is built up"
Also in Taufe & in Abendmahl der Leib des Herrn zu Stand baut
- 43) 14:1 - Undecipherable comment
- 44) 14:5 - Undecipherable comment
- 45) 14:16 - Undecipherable comment

- 46) 14:20 - Underlining of "be babes in evil, but in thinking be mature" with the comment: "Paradox!"

Paradoxie!

- 47) 14:25 - Underlining of "that God is really among you" with the comments: "We live in God!" and "Mysticism of God in us!"

Leibte wir in Gott! and Mystik Gott in uns!

- 48) 15:3 - Underlining of "that Christ died for our sins in accordance with "the scriptures" with the comment: "For many"

Für viele

- 49) 15:13 - Comments: "Essentially the same question as in 1 Thessalonians, "not a simple resurrection teaching, that is, that only the survivors go in order" and "Therefore, belief in the Parousia without the resurrection"

Die selbe Frage eigentliche wie I Thess, nicht einfach Auferstehungslegung, nämlich die Überlebenden zum Reihe eingehen and Also Parousie Glaube ohne Auferstehung

- 50) 15:18-19 - Underlining of the whole of the two verses with the comment: "But only those who are asleep in Christ are dealt with!"

Nur die die in Christo entschlafen sind handelt er!

- 51) 15:18 - Undecipherable comment

- 52) 15:20 - Comment: "But only those who are asleep in Christ!"

Aber nur unter den Schlafendend in Christo!

- 53) 15:31 - Underlining of "I die every day" with the comment: "Paradox!" and "Although he lives, he is dead. A mixing of death and life"

Paradoxie! and Obgleich er lebt ist er tod. Vermischung von Tod und Leben

- 54) On 15:41-42 - Comment: "Analogies to the Resurrection"

Sahen der Auferstehung (first term unclear)

- 55) Heading of page 213 containing 1 Corinthians 16:15b-2 Corinthians 1:13a (precise reference point of the comments is unclear) - Comments: "The fearful events of the life of Paul thus come out of Paradox" and "What is Paradox?"

Die fürstbaren Ereignisse des Lebens Paulus also aus Paradoxie stammen and Was ist Paradoxie?

- 56) 16:22 - Comment: "The unexpected invocation for a second visitation" (reading unclear!)

Die unerwartete . . . (Beschwörung . . . zweite Parousia des Gottesohnes)?

2 Corinthians (Pages 213-223 of the New Testament)

- 1) *Heading of Chapter one* - Comment: "The problem of transmission from something earlier—from one personality to another"

Das Problem der 'Übertragung' von etwas vor—einen Persönlichkeit auch eine andere

- 2) *1:5-6* - Underlining of "For as we share abundantly in Christ's sufferings" (v. 5) with the comment (alongside both verses): "Paralogical and logically paradoxical"

Paralogische und logische Paradoxie

- 3) *1:9* - Underlining of "we felt that we had received the sentence of death" with the comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 4) *1:10* - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Therefore daily resurrection"

Also Tägliche Auferstehung

- 5) *Bottom of page 213 containing 1 Corinthians 16:15b-2 Corinthians 1:13a (precise reference point of the comment is probably 2 Corinthians 1:10)* - Comment: "Paradox" with an indecipherable comment following

Paradoxie

- 6) *1:14* - Underlining of "on the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ" with the comment: "Parousia"

Parousie

- 7) *1:17* - Underlining of "ready to say Yes and No at once?" (German is "sondern bei mir ist Ja Ja, und Nein ist Nein") with the comment: "Citation of Jesus"

Jesus citat

- 8) *1:22* - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Sealed"

Versiegelt

- 9) *2:6-7* - Comment: "Paradox!"

Paradoxie!

- 10) *2:10* - Underlining of "I also forgive. What I have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, has been for your sake in the presence of Christ" with the comment: "Solidarity!"

Solidarität!

- 11) *Heading of page 215 containing 2 Corinthians 2:16b-4:4a (precise reference point of the comment is unclear - Comment: "Pictures of the new Spirit age in the old: seal, proleptic resurrection, pledge, Jerusalem, bride"*
Die Bilder des neuen Zustandes im alten: Siegel, Proleptische Auferstehung, Pfand, Jerusalem, Braut
- 12) 3:3 - Underlining of "you are a letter from Christ" with the comment: "A quite openly declared Paradox?"
Sehr öffentliche Paradoxie?
- 13) 3:4-7 - Long undecipherable comment which includes the words "... Paradox: so goes the general tradition ..."
 ... *Paradoxie: So gibt die eine gewöhnlich Überlegen ...*
- 14) 3:13 - Comment: "Paradox!"
Paradoxie!
- 15) 3:18 - Comment: "The actual way that the covering comes to an end"
Die Art die Tatsache der Reche auszumachen
- 16) 4:4a - Comment: "Logic as the (inner connection) of the contradiction"
So gibt der (innerische-zusammen) Logik der Widersprache
- 17) 4:5 - Underlining of "but Jesus Christ as Lord, with ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake" with the comments: "Paradox!!" and "Exchange" and "Our servitude in place of His servitude"
Paradoxie!!, Vertauschung, and Eure Knechte statt seine Knechte
- 18) 4:14 - Underlining of "raise" with the comments: "Resurrection" and "does he therefore expect death?"
Auferstehung and Also erwartet er Tod?
- 19) 4:17 - Comment: "From the mysticism in a simple eschatology, if indeed it comes from mysticism at all"
Von der Mystik in einfache Eschatologie ob geht Mystik
- 20) 4:18 - Comment: "Cosmic!"
Kosmische!
- 21) 5:5 - Underlining of "God, who has given us the Spirit as a guarantee" with the comment: "The Spirit is the pledge to those remaining"
Geist is Pfand der Überlebenden
- 22) 5:6 - Comment: "Chapter 12!"
Cap. 12!

- 23) 5:8 - Underlining of "we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord" with the comments: "Eschatology" and "Death!"

Eschatologie and Tod!

- 24) *Heading of page 217 containing 2 Corinthians 5:11-6:14a (precise reference point of the comments is unclear)* - Comments: "Every personality has a logic which is dependent on its experiences" and "Paradox"

Jede Persönlichkeit hat eine Logik die durch Erlebnisse ist and Paradoxie

- 25) 5:12 - Underlining of "to you again but giving you cause to be proud of us" with the comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 26) 5:14 - Underlining of "that one has died for all; therefore all have died" with the comment: "Logic"

Logik

- 27) 5:18-19 - Comments: "Paradox" and "instead of (the) Reconciliation"

Paradoxie and statt sich der Versöhnung

- 28) *Heading of chapter 6 (precise reference point of the comment is unclear)* Comment: "Logic is the expression of character"

Logik ist Ausdruck der Wesen

- 29) 6:1-6 - Comment: "These ideas pivot around the importance of grace"

Angeln finden auf denen Idee sich drehen, mit gewichtisten Gnade

- 30) 6:5 - Underlining of "the Holy Spirit, genuine love" with the comment: "Newly blessed"

Seligt neu

- 31) 6:7-9 - Comments: "Paradox" and "Thus again presented in a paradoxical fashion"

Paradoxie and Also in Paradoxie wieder ausliegt

- 32) 6:12 - Comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 33) 6:13 - Comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 34) 6:16 - Underlining of "we are the temple of the living God" with the comment: "Temple!"

Tempel!

- 35) 6:17-18 - Comment: "But a picture not related to the idea"

aber ein Bild nicht hängt zum der Sache

- 36) 7:3 - Underlining of “our hearts, to die together and to live together” with the comment: “Death = Life”

Tod = Leben

- 37) 7:10 - Underlining of “godly grief” with the comment: “A whole world lies in the words ‘godly grief’” and “Paradox!” with a third comment undecipherable

Eine ganze Welt liegt in den Wort ‘Göttliche Traurigkeit’ and Paradoxie

- 38) 10:1-5 - Underlining of “and take every thought captive to obey Christ (v. 5)” with the comments (alongside vv. 1-5): “Apostolic” and “Eschatological”

Apostolische and Eschatologische

- 39) 10:10 - Comment: “Paradox”

Paradoxie

- 40) *Heading of chapter 6 (precise reference point of the comment is unclear) -*
Comment: “Paradoxes!”

Paradoxien!

- 41) 11:2 - Underlining of “to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband” with the comment: “Value”

Geld

- 42) 11:6 - Comment: “Paradox”

Paradoxie

- 43) 11:7 - Underlining of “abasing myself so that you might be exalted” with the comment: “Exchange!”

Vertauschung!

- 44) 11:14 - Underlining of “Satan disguises himself as an angel of light” with the comment: “Powerful, pointed way of speaking”

Gewalts pointierte Art zu reden

- 45) 11:17 - Comment: “Paradox”

Paradoxie

- 46) *Heading of page 222 containing 2 Corinthians 11:21b-12:12 (precise reference point of the comment is unclear) -* Comment: “All of these paradoxes for analogy: Humiliation means glory”

Alle diese Paradoxien für analogische: Schwachheit bedeutet Herrlichkeit

- 47) 11:25 - Underlining of “a day and a night I have been adrift at sea” with the comment: “Paradox”

Paradoxie

- 48) 11:30 - Underlining of the whole verse with the comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 49) 11:32 - Underlining of "guarded the city of Damascus" with the comment: "Aretas"

Aretas

- 50) 12:5 - Comment: "Another [man]?"

Zweitere?

- 51) 12:9-11 - Comment: "Paradox"

Paradoxie

- 52) 12:13 - Underlining of "Forgive me this wrong!" with the comment: "Insulting Man!!"

Schimpfenster Mensch!!

- 53) 13:11 - Underlining of "farewell" (Gk. *chairete*: "rejoice," "be glad" or "be happy") with the comment: "The Meaning of 'be happy!!'—Like a powerful C-Major chord introducing a symphony!"

Der Sinne des 'Freuet euch!!'—Wie ein gewaltigsten C Dur Accord in der Symphonie auftritt!



PHOTOGRAPH OF ALBERT SCHWEITZER IN 1932
(Courtesy of Larry Kreitzer and of the Albert Schweitzer Maison)

“OVERCOMER”: A STUDY IN THE MACRODYNAMIC OF THEME DEVELOPMENT IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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Modalities by which and in which the book of Revelation develops its symbolizations, conceptualizations, and thematic portrayals have been illustrated by a variety of studies appearing in *AUSS* and elsewhere in recent years.¹ Such studies embrace a broadened perspective concerning the nature and usage of Revelation's apocalyptic symbolism, the book's remarkable literary patterns, and the like. For the most part, however, studies of this sort, as well as other types of studies, tend to focus on specific passages and limited materials in Revelation, rather than treating what might be called “macrodynamic”—that is, the book's development of themes in a progressive and integrated fashion throughout its entire scope.²

¹Among such are, e.g., the series of nine studies by Paul S. Minear included in his *I Saw a New Earth: An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse* (Washington, DC, 1968), pp. 201-298 (in Part II, entitled “Issues in Interpretation”); some of the chapter topics in D. T. Niles, *As Seeing the Invisible: A Study of the Book of Revelation* (New York, 1961); and the general thrust of John Wick Bowman's commentary-outline overview as expressed in his *The Drama of the Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia, 1955) and repeated in *IDB* (1962) 4:64-65.

In *AUSS* the following articles by William H. Shea may be noted: “Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18,” 20 (1982): 249-256; “The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches,” 21 (1983): 71-84; “Revelation 5 and 19 as Literary Reciprocals,” 22 (1984): 249-257; and “The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20,” 23 (1985): 37-54.

Further *AUSS* articles that may be noted in this connection are the following by Kenneth A. Strand: “The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12,” 19 (1981): 127-135; “Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18,” 20 (1982): 53-60; “The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11,” 20 (1982): 257-261; “An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1,” 22 (1984): 317-325; “The ‘Victorious-Introduction’ Scenes in the Visions in the Book of Revelation,” 25 (1987): 267-288; “The ‘Spotlight-on-Last-Events’ Sections in the Book of Revelation,” 27 (1989): 201-221; and the studies cited in nn. 2 and 22, below.

²Exceptions in that they treat to at least some extent a dynamic throughout the book of Revelation are the titles by Bowman and Niles mentioned in n. 1, and by Kenneth A. Strand, “A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation,” *AUSS* 21 (1983): 251-264; and idem, “The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of

A topic which lends itself well to this kind of study of macrodynamic in thematic development in Revelation is that of “overcomer” or “conqueror” (*ho nikōn*; lit., “the overcoming one” or “the conquering one”).³ The purpose of the present brief study is to provide an overview of the dynamic that is involved in the book of Revelation’s development of this theme.

1. “Overcomer” in Relationship to Revelation’s Major Literary Chiasm

Elsewhere I have called attention to Revelation’s major chiastic literary structure, as well as to other of its significant literary patterns.⁴ This structure is illustrated on the next page in diagrammatic fashion in **Figure 1**.

Revelation,” *AUSS* 25 (1987): 107-121. Minear’s commentary mentioned in n. 1 gives an excellent framework in its chapter titles for a study of Revelation’s macrodynamic theme development, but Minear has not followed through to deal with the implications of these titles nor to analyze the relationships and theme development that are involved. The titles for his six main chapters (aside from the prologue and the epilogue) are sufficiently noteworthy to mention here: “The Promise of Victory (1:9-3:22)” (p. 27), “The Lamb as Victor (4:1-8:1)” (p. 63), “The Prophets as Victors (8:2-11:18)” (p. 85), “The Faithful as Victors (11:19-15:4)” (p. 105), “Victory over Babylon (15:5-19:10)” (p. 130), and “Victory over the Devil (19:11-22:7)” (p. 158). These titles triggered my own thinking as to the thrust of the messages of Revelation and to relationships which Minear himself has not elucidated. I see in some cases, however, a slightly different emphasis from what his chapter titles project, and also I treat the material as falling into eight main visions, not six. These are matters that will become clear as we proceed.

³“He that overcometh” and “he who conquers” are the standard renditions of the KJV and RSV, respectively, for the Greek nominative singular masculine present participle *ho nikōn* that appears in Rev 2:11, 26; 3:5, 12, 21 within the letters to the seven churches. In 2:7, 17 the dative *tō nikōnti* occurs instead. In this essay I have chosen to use (interchangeably so) the singular terms “overcomer” and “conqueror.” The terminology for overcoming or being an overcomer is especially characteristic of the Johannine literature; cf., in addition to the foregoing references, John 16:33; 1 John 2:13, 14; 4:4; 5:4, 5; Rev 5:5; 12:11; 15:2; 17:14; 21:7. With regard to Revelation, H. B. Swete aptly states, “The book is a record and a prophecy of victories won by Christ and the Church” (*The Apocalypse of St. John: The Greek Text with Introduction Notes and Indices*, 3d ed. [New York, 1908], p. 29, col. 1).

⁴See esp. my treatments as given in *Interpreting the Book of Revelation: Hermeneutical Guidelines, with Brief Introduction to Literary Analysis*, 2d ed. (Naples, FL, 1979), pp. 43-52; and in my article “The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of Revelation” (see n. 2, above).

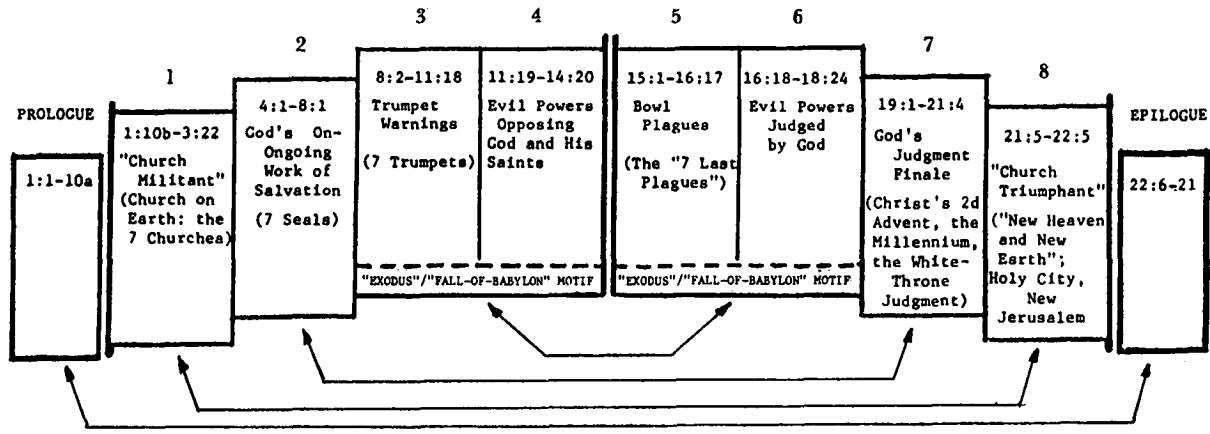
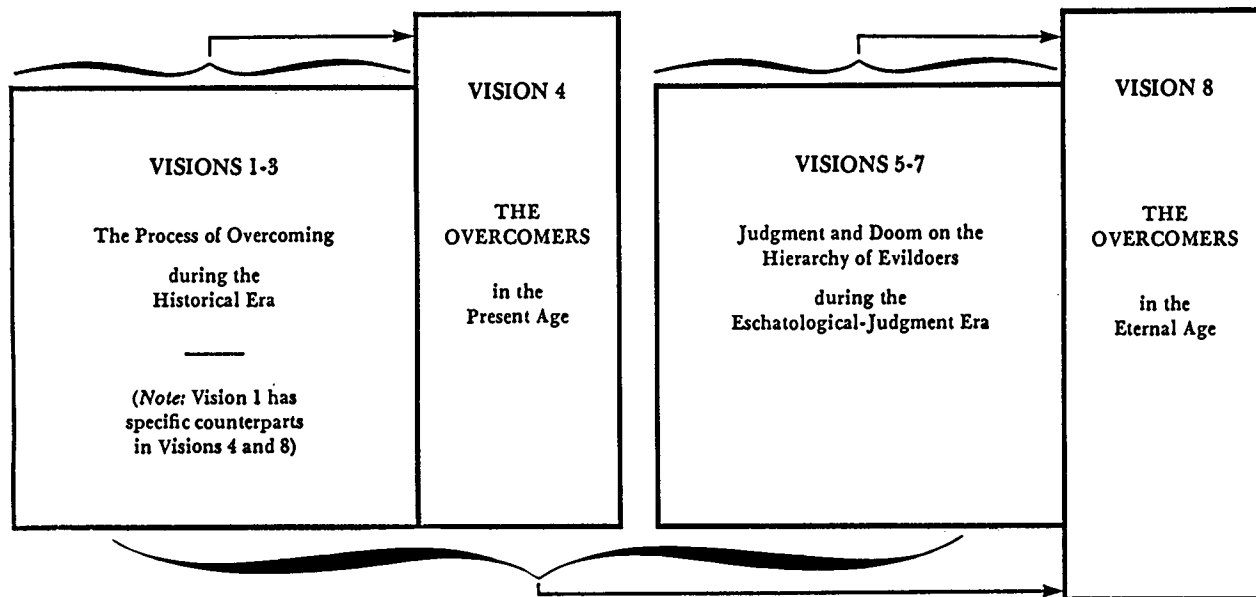


FIGURE 1. THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION (From AUSS 25/1 [Spring 1987]: 108)



**FIGURE 2. DIAGRAM SHOWING REVELATION'S DEVELOPMENT
OF THE "OVERCOMER" THEME**

Briefly, the book of Revelation is divided into two major parts, each containing four visions. These visions are here numbered consecutively **1** through **8** for convenience. The chiastic counterparts are not of prime interest to us in the present study, but what is important is the fact that the two major parts of Revelation exist and have distinctive emphases. The first of them depicts “historical-era visions,” and the second depicts “eschatological-judgment-era visions.”

The question we raise here is this: How is the theme of “overcomer” developed both within each of these two major divisions of Revelation and also in totality within the book? As we shall notice below, the introductory vision (vision 1) sets the stage for the theme by pointing out the requisites for becoming an “overcomer.” Vision 8, the chiastic counterpart to vision 1, indicates the final result of overcoming. However, the last vision in Revelation’s Part I (namely, vision 4) also indicates results of overcoming, albeit in a different way and context.

At the outset, it should be noted that these two portrayals of the results of overcoming match the thematic portrayal developed within each of the book’s two major parts, respectively. And the fact that vision 8 is also a counterpart to vision 1, as noted above, gives that final vision a special relationship to Revelation’s Part I as well as serving as the conclusion to the book’s Part II. In short, we may state that just as vision 1 is an introduction to the entire book of Revelation, not only to the “historical-era visions,” so vision 8 is a conclusion to all that goes before, not simply to the “eschatological-judgment-era visions.” These phenomena are illustrated diagrammatically in **Figure 2**, and their broad features are discussed below.

2. “Overcomer” in the Historical-Era Visions

As indicated above and in **Figure 2**, vision 4 is a sort of conclusion to what is introduced in vision 1. It is this particular facet of thematic development that will demand our attention in this section of the present essay.

“Overcomer” in Vision 1

The theme of “overcomer” appears early in vision 1, as the risen and glorified Christ appears to John in vision as the one who was dead, is alive forever, and holds the keys of the grave and of death (Rev 1:17-18; RSV wording, “keys of Death and Hades”). The implicit suggestion here—made more explicit as the book of Revelation

progresses in its thematic development—is that this victory is a victory also for Jesus' followers.

In the seven letters themselves, the divine Lord points out strengths and weaknesses, indicates needs and counsels, etc. In each letter there is reference to the "overcomer," with a promise in each instance (Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21).

It should be kept in mind that the divine Christ here addresses his "churches"—that is, people already in covenant relationship with him.⁵ They are living in an era during which there is fierce attack on them by powers of evil. As we look at the message to each of the seven churches, we find a variety of ways in which Satan's two major attributes mentioned in John 8:44—lying and murdering—are used as attack principles against God's saints. There are 1) efforts at deception from without⁶ and from within,⁷ and also self-deception;⁸ and 2) persecution that often leads to imprisonment and even to death in martyrdom.⁹ In circumstances of this sort, what does it mean to be an "overcomer"?

Vision 4 and the Nature of Overcoming

As in Rev 12 and 13 the great antidivine trinity launches fierce attacks against Christ and his saints, we find use of the same principles of deception and coercion noted in the messages to the seven churches. The earth-beast with lamblike horns does the ultimate in an effort to deceive (13:11-13), and both he and the sea-beast use coercive methods, even to the death penalty for God's faithful people (vv. 7, 10, 15). The theme of conquering occurs repeatedly throughout vision 4, but the term is used explicitly just once in connection with the saints, in this key statement: "And they have conquered

⁵Shea, "Covenantal Form," and Strand, "A Further Note on the Covenantal Form" (see nn. 1 and 2 above), have demonstrated this by means of an analysis of the conjunction of structural and thematic elements in Revelation. The purpose statement given in the book's own introduction in 1:1-3 is, of course, explicit on the matter right at the outset.

⁶By Nicolaitans (2:6, 15) and Balaam (2:14). The church affected was Pergamum. (Nicolaitans were repelled by the Ephesus church.)

⁷By Jezebel (2:20-23). The church affected was Thyatira.

⁸Particularly true of Sardis (3:1-6) and Laodicea (3:14-22), but was also somewhat the case with Ephesus having left its "first love" (2:4, KJV; cf. v. 5).

⁹Particularly the case for Smyrna (2:8-11), Pergamum (2:12-13), and Philadelphia (3:8-10). John himself was, of course, an exile on the island of Patmos (1:9).

him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death” (Rev 12:11).¹⁰ According to this statement, martyrdom of the saints is victory.

The saints also have overcome through their refusal to be deceived. They are not included with “the whole earth” that “followed the beast with wonder” (13:3); and, moreover, when it is said that “all who dwell on earth will worship it [the sea-beast],” there is exclusion of those whose names are written in the Lamb’s “book of life” (v. 8).

As we near the end of vision 4, just before the description of Christ’s second advent in 14:14-20, the character of the saints and the meaning of their being “overcomers” are set forth again in the statement, “Here is a call for the endurance of the saints, those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. And I heard a voice from heaven saying, ‘Write this: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord henceforth.’ ‘Blessed indeed,’ says the Spirit, ‘that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them!’ ” (Rev 14:12-13).

Visions 2 and 3 in Relationship to the Theme of “Overcomer”

We must now take a look at visions 2 and 3, the seals and trumpets septets. A review of the contents of these visions is not necessary for our purposes, but what we need to do is to take note of the central thrust and function of each.

The central element for the seals vision is obviously the Lamb’s worthiness and ability to break the seven seals so that the great scroll of destiny can be opened. A seven-sealed document of this sort was in ancient Roman law one form of a will or testament, whether the document was a scroll or a codex.¹¹ Thus, the eternal inheritance of the saints is what is at stake in the opening of this seven-sealed scroll.

¹⁰English translation of Bible passages herein are from the RSV, unless otherwise indicated.

¹¹The *biblion* to which reference is made in Rev 5 was probably a scroll (so is the opinion, at least, of most commentators). Contrary to what is sometimes said, this seven-sealed document in ancient Rome could be in a codex format. An example of this sort of ancient Roman will, sealed with the seven seals of the witnesses, has been given in English translation in Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, *The Empire* (New York, 1955), pp. 279-280. This particular will is that of a Roman cavalryman who executed the document in Egypt in A.D. 142. It was in the form of a “book” of five waxed tablets (see *ibid.*, p. 280, n. 138).

In a dramatic scene John weeps bitterly when he discovers that no one can break the seals and open the scroll that is held by the one who is seated on the throne (i.e., God). But his grief is assuaged as he learns that there is, after all, someone who “has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals”—namely, “the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David” (Rev 5:1-5). But when he looks, he sees, not a Lion, but “a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain,” and this Lamb takes the scroll from the right hand of the one seated on the throne (vv. 6-8). At that point an anthem of praise breaks out. It is a song that signals and emphasizes this victory of the Lamb: “Worthy art thou [the Lamb] to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God, and they shall reign on earth” (vv. 9-10).

Thus, the basis for breaking the seals and opening the scroll lies in the victory of Christ the Lamb through his death and his ransoming of human beings by virtue of that death. In turn, the breaking of the seals represents, as stated by David Brown, “the successive steps by which God in Christ clears the way for the final reading of the book [this scroll of destiny] at the visible setting up of Christ’s kingdom.”¹²

As we move to the trumpets vision, we find that the central theme is prophetic warning. In ancient Israel the trumpet was used, among other things, to sound a warning of approaching danger. It required the word declared by prophets, however, to elucidate the nature of the danger in relationship to the purposes of God. This was true, for instance, of Jeremiah when he announced, “Flee for safety, O people of Benjamin, from the midst of Jerusalem! Blow the trumpet in Tekoa . . . for evil looms out of the north, and great destruction” (6:1; compare 4:5-6). In Amos 3, shortly after the query, “Is a trumpet blown in a city, and the people are not afraid?” (v. 6), the conclusion to this question (and to a whole series of related questions) is given thus: “Surely the Lord God does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets” (v. 7).

As I have indicated elsewhere, the trumpet series itself in the book of Revelation, as well as the interlude in chapters 10 and 11,

¹²Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, *A Commentary, Critical, Experimental and Practical on the Old and New Testaments*, reprint ed. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1948), 6:674, col. 2.

places a focus on the victory of the prophetic word.¹³ (The reader must be referred to that discussion for the details, which are too lengthy to repeat here.)

Synthesis

We have found that the seals septet emphasizes victory through the blood of the Lamb and that the trumpets septet places its emphasis upon victory through the prophetic word. These are not unrelated emphases, for the word is attributed divine power in a number of Scriptures (see, e.g., John 17:17, Heb 4:12, and 1 Pet 1:23-25), and is the very instrument by which Christ as Savior is brought to his followers through the Holy Spirit (see, e.g., John 14:26 and 16:12-15; cf. also 17:20). Indeed, the Fourth Gospel quotes Jesus as saying that "the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (6:63).

The significant point for us to notice here, however, is the relationship that these two basic elements in visions 2 and 3—namely, the blood of the Lamb and the word of God—have to the twofold means by which God's saints overcome the dragon in vision 4. To ascertain this, we once again look at the key text mentioned earlier, Rev 12:11: "And they have conquered him [the dragon] by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death." The "blood of the Lamb" and the "word of their testimony" are the two elements set forth here in vision 4 as basic to the process of overcoming, and thus a connection is made with the central elements in visions 2 and 3, respectively.

The terminology here indicates, of course, that it is the word of "their" (the saints') testimony that is one of the two elements leading to their conquering of the dragon. However, by a comparison with other references in Revelation where the theme of "the word" occurs, we can conclude that what is really involved is the saints' absolute faithfulness in testimony to the divine word in its twofold aspect of "word of God and testimony of Jesus." John himself, for instance, was in exile on Patmos for his faithfulness in this regard (Rev 1:9); and martyrs had been beheaded because of "the testimony of Jesus"

¹³Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," pp. 127-135. My emphasis on the prophetic word parallels somewhat Minear's emphasis on the prophets (see n. 2, above), but the difference is nonetheless significant enough to warrant making a contrast. The distinction is important in relationship to the conclusion reached in my aforementioned article (pp. 134-135), but is also important to the discussion that follows next in the present essay.

and “the word of God” (20:4, literal rendering). Moreover, it is interesting to observe that in Christ’s great “prayer for unity” in John 17, there is a stress on the importance of the word of God in *the lives* of the disciples: “They have kept thy [God’s] word” (v. 6; cf. v. 17 and also 6:58-63).

In short, the first major part of the book of Revelation sets forth not only the conditions and requisites for overcoming in vision 1, but in its second and third visions identifies the two central elements that are involved in reaching this kind of experience, and then in vision 4 comes to a conclusion by describing the outcome. That outcome is that Christ’s followers reach the status of “overcomers” by having withstood to the end the forces of evil. They have been completely victorious over every deception and over the severest persecution.

3. “Overcomer” in the Context of the Eschatological-Judgment-Era Visions

The second major part of the book of Revelation deals, as we have noted, with “eschatological-judgment-era visions.” We find that in the first major division of the book, God’s saints have proven that they are overcomers by being willing to be faithful unto death, even as their Lord was faithful unto death. In the introductory scene of vision 1, where Christ appears to John, the description which Christ gives of himself is not, however, simply of his being the one who died, but also as being the one who is now alive again and forevermore. The thrust of the second major part of Revelation leads in the direction of a similar ultimate everlasting-life victory for God’s saints.

On the way to that final victory, however, the eschatological-judgment era must accomplish certain things. The saints have been cruelly maligned, falsely convicted, and unjustly imprisoned and martyred. In this process they are, as we have seen, fully victorious. They have not succumbed to the deceptions and the coercions of the forces of evil. They have even willingly given up their lives. But is this the end? What about their own further destiny? And what about those forces of evil that have so unjustly abused and killed them?

Visions 5-7 and the “Overcomer” Theme

In the justice of God, there must be vindication of his faithful followers from the wrongful verdicts and punishments they have

suffered.¹⁴ This concept is central to the book of Revelation and is directly related to its “overcoming” theme.¹⁵ As part of the vindication theme, however, there is a reverse side to the saints being declared innocent: namely, the perpetrators and executors of the injustices must themselves be brought to justice.¹⁶

These guilty oppressors of God’s people are described in Revelation under several metaphors—earth-dwellers (6:10; 11:10 [twice]; 13:8, 12; et al.);¹⁷ “Babylon” (chaps. 17 and 18; see also 14:8 and 16:19); and the great antidivine trinity of dragon, sea-beast, and earth-beast (introduced in chaps. 12-13 but with later appearances or references, as well, and with the earth-beast called the “false prophet”).¹⁸ In visions 5, 6, and 7, we find in sequence the judgment on these various entities.

¹⁴Many commentators have failed to notice sufficiently what is entailed. G. B. Caird has been particularly perceptive in this regard. He points out that the cry of the souls under the altar in Rev 6:10 is not one representing “personal vindictiveness,” but involves “public justice” based on Hebrew-lawcourt procedure. The “martyrs have been condemned in a human court of law, and that decision stands against them unless it is reversed in a higher court” (*A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Harper’s New Testament Commentaries [New York, 1966], p. 85).

¹⁵For a careful analysis of the theme, see Joel Nobel Musvosvi, “The Concept of Vengeance in the Book of Revelation in Its Old Testament and Near Eastern Context” (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1986).

¹⁶This feature has been noted by George E. Mendenhall in a careful and thoroughgoing discussion of the concept of *nqm* in the OT and other ancient Near Eastern materials (*The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* [Baltimore, MD, 1973], pp. 69-104; notice esp. p. 83 regarding Yahweh’s “defensive” and “punitive” actions being “merely two sides of the same coin”).

¹⁷The term earth-dwellers, *hoi katoikountes epi tēs gēs*, is in the RSV translated “those who dwell upon the earth” or “those who dwell on the earth” (Rev 3:10, 6:10, 8:13, 11:10 [twice], 13:8 [with the word “those” understood], and 13:14; in 17:8 it is translated “the dwellers on earth,” and in 17:2 the same English rendition is given in the RSV but is based on somewhat different Greek phraseology). They are a group in utter opposition to God and his people. Minear, p. 261, points out that “these dwellers are to be known by their dependence on the beast [the sea-beast]: earth-dwellers is synonymous with beast-worshippers (13:8, 12, 14; 17:2, 8).” It should be noted that the phrase “those who dwell on earth” in 14:6 derives from different Greek terminology: *tous kathēmenous epi tēs gēs*. The gospel is preached to, and presumably can be effective for, this group who “sit” on the earth, in contrast to being settled in it (“cemented down,” as it were).

¹⁸The “false prophet” in this trio (mentioned by this designation in Rev 16:13, 19:20, and 20:10) is the same as the “false prophetic spirit” in contrast to the Holy Spirit, who is the “Spirit of truth” (John 14:26). In the antidivine trinity of Rev 12-13, the dragon is the evil counterpart to God the Father, the sea-beast is the evil counterpart to Jesus Christ, and the earth-beast is the evil counterpart to the Holy Spirit. Just

The first plague in Rev 16 strikes the earth-dwellers, those who have the “mark of the beast” (see 16:2 in comparison with 13:8, 11-18, and also see 14:9-11).¹⁹ These persons are evidently still in view in connection with the fifth plague, where they are pictured as cursing “the God of heaven for their pain and sores” (v. 10). The justice of what they encounter is announced in conjunction with the third plague, the plague wherein drinking water is turned to blood: “Just art thou [God] in these thy judgments, thou who art and wast, O Holy One. For men have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink. It is their due!” (vv. 5-6; cf. also v. 7).

Next in the sequence comes the judgment on Babylon. This begins with the drying up of the Euphrates under the sixth plague in 16:12-16 and continues in the seventh plague and throughout the next two chapters of Revelation.²⁰ In the declaration against Babylon, an entity described as drunk with the blood of saints (Rev 17:6; 18:24), there is a decree to reward her according to her deeds—and even doubly so (Rev 18:6-7). We also find an acclamation of praise to God for having declared against Babylon the judgment she had brought against the saints (v. 20). What is involved is an outworking of the law of “malicious witness” as stated in Deut 19:18-19: The judges “shall inquire diligently, and if the witness is a false witness and has accused his brother falsely, then you shall do to him as he had meant to do to his brother.”

Finally, in vision 7, we find the antidivine trinity thrown into the lake of fire—first the beast and false prophet (Rev 19:20) and then

as that “Spirit of truth” bears witness to Jesus (John 14:26; 16:12-15), so this “false-prophet” earth-beast bears witness to, and calls upon human beings to worship, the sea-beast (Rev 13:11-12). For reference to the earth-beast’s parody of Pentecost and possible other parodies of the true Holy Spirit, see, e.g., Minear, pp. 124-126, and the article to which he attributes indebtedness: E. Watson and B. Hamilton, “Lumen Christi—Lumen Antichristi: The Exegesis of Apoc. 11:5 and 13:13 in the Mediaeval Latin Fathers,” *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 2 (1966): 84-92.

¹⁹See n. 17, above.

²⁰Both the trumpets septet and plagues septet begin their series with imagery pointing back to the plagues on ancient Egypt at the time of the Israelite Exodus. With the sixth item in each series, however, the background shifts to Babylon through mention of the “Euphrates,” the river of Babylon (9:14 and 16:12). Thus these two septets carry what I have elsewhere referred to as the “Exodus-from-Egypt”/“Fall-of-Babylon” motif (see, e.g., my “The Two Witnesses,” pp. 128-129, including the diagram on p. 129). In both instances, the theme actually carries into the next vision beyond the septet itself. Cf. Figure 1 in the present essay.

the great dragon (20:10). A picture is given, as well, of the great “white-throne” judgment, after which all vestiges of evil will be gone forever (20:11-15). The outcome is that there will be “a new heaven and a new earth” (21:1), with the “former things” passed away (v. 4).

Vision 8 and the “Overcomer” Theme

Vision 8 is devoted to describing the eternal inheritance of the saints—the glorious holy city and the new earth. During the historical era, the true followers of God and of the Lamb were faithful unto death and thus were “overcomers.” In the eschatological-judgment-era visions, the malicious oppressors of the saints have received their due sentence and doom. No longer are they to plague God’s saints. And thus in vision 8, Revelation’s “overcomer” theme reaches its ultimate climax and conclusion in the granting to the overcomers all the things promised to them in the letters to the churches in the introductory vision of the book.²¹

4. *Conclusions and Implications*

General Summary

In the preceding discussion we have noticed how the entire book of Revelation develops the theme of “overcomer.” The requisites for becoming an overcomer are first indicated in vision 1. Next, in the succeeding visions of the first major part of the book there is development of this theme. As the saints appropriate what is described as their needs in vision 1, they are able to do so by means of the blood of the Lamb and the divine word. Visions 2 and 3 treat these elements, respectively. Vision 4 then describes the results: As the antidivine trinity attacks God’s saints through the utmost of deception and coercion, these saints are victorious; they do not

²¹Almost without exception, the items promised in chaps. 2 and 3 are reiterated quite explicitly in chaps. 21 and 22. Thus, e.g., “eat of the tree of life” (2:7 and 22:2), “not be hurt by the second death” (2:11 and 21:7-8), “power over the nations” or “reign for ever and ever” (2:26 and 22:5; cf. ref. to “the nations” in 21:24), names not blotted out of the “book of life” (3:5 and 21:27), God’s name written on the saints (3:12 and 22:4), etc. The glories set forth in chaps. 21 and 22, moreover, go even beyond the promises noted in the letters to the seven churches, both in vastness and grandeur. Vision 8 in Revelation makes it crystal clear that every need of the redeemed saints will be abundantly met, including food, water, light, a safe and comfortable dwelling place, direct fellowship with God, and the privilege of rulership.

succumb to the antidivine trinity, but steadfastly refuse to worship the dragon, the beast, and the image to the beast. In this process, they may yield their lives, but death for Christ is victory. And thus they are indeed conquerors.

In the second major part of Revelation, the reverse side of the coin is first described. This entails a succession of steps in the condemnation and punishment of the various opponents of God's people—those who have unjustly condemned, imprisoned, and killed them. These now meet their own fate in a reversal of doom as the just reward for their nefarious work. Then finally, in vision 8, comes the climactic conclusion to the book of Revelation and to its "overcomer" theme—the description of the saints of God, now forever free from deceivers and persecutors, in possession of their eternal inheritance.

*Some Significant Aspects of the "Overcomer"
Motif in Revelation*

In conclusion, several significant elements in Revelation's development of the "overcomer" theme deserve special notice:

1. The theme is integral to the entire book. Vision 1 reveals the need for, and importance of, overcoming, as well as pointing out the remedies. The final vision depicts the final reward for overcoming. And the second to seventh visions indicate the *means* for overcoming and the *steps* on the way to the final victorious outcome.

2. During the historical era, the saints overcome both deception and coercion. As they do this by "the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony," they prove their fitness for a home in God's New Jerusalem and new earth, wherein enters nothing that defiles and where there is no one who practices falsehood (see Rev 21:27). But this is only part of the picture—the positive part. Those who in any way defile and destroy (referred to in Rev 11:18 as "destroyers of the earth") must themselves be destroyed, and the eschatological-judgment-era visions describe this procedure—the negative part of the process. Obviously, such persons and entities cannot be allowed entrance to the New Jerusalem and the new earth to perpetuate there throughout eternity the evils so characteristic of their existence during this "historical era" of earth's history.

Thus, there is a twofold aspect to the saints' eternal reward as "overcomers": 1) It is their deserved outcome for having demonstrated what it means to be a true "overcomer" in the present life,

and 2) it entails for them a well-deserved release from being any longer the prey of deceptive and persecuting forces.

3. The statement in Rev 21:7 that the conqueror “shall have this heritage” (KJV, “shall inherit all things”), is followed immediately in verse 8 by a categorization of those who, by way of contrast, find “their lot” to be “in the lake that burns with fire and sulphur, which is the second death.” When we compare the characteristics listed for these sufferers of “the second death” with the problems enumerated in the messages to the seven churches in Rev 2 and 3, it is apparent that these categories of non-inheritors in Rev 21 reflect the very same characteristics as the non-overcomers in the churches. Since it is clear that finally only the two classes, overcomers and non-overcomers, exist (i.e., only those who do not worship the beast and those who do so, those who are not in Babylon and those who are in her), it is also clear that all members of the seven churches have eventually and with finality decided whether or not to meet the requirements for overcoming.

4. The “overcomer” theme as applied to God’s saints is not to be separated from that same theme in relationship to Christ as the Overcomer *par excellence*. This basic fact is highlighted as the very keynote with which the first vision begins—the Lord Jesus victorious in death, in resurrection, and in eternal life (1:18). Revelation makes clear that the same series of victories (or “conquerings”) are what lie before Christ’s faithful followers.

Moreover, the Lamb’s victories are made manifest throughout the entire book of Revelation: in Christ’s breaking the seals to open the seven-sealed scroll, in the efficacy of the prophetic word, in Christ’s sustaining power for the saints in their trials, in his defeating all the forces of evil and bringing them to their eventual doom, and in his providing for his saints a new heaven and new earth wherein dwells only righteousness. All this series of Christ’s victories becomes, of course, the saints’ victories too.

5. Christ’s victories summarized above may be classified into two basic kinds in relationship to the statement in Rev 22:12-13 (cf. 1:7-8) that Christ is the “Alpha and Omega” (i.e., ever-present with and for his followers in the “here-and-now”) and that he is coming to reward all according to their deeds (i.e., his second advent, which relates to the disenfranchisement, dethronement, and destruction of the evil forces and to the saints’ own eternal reward).²² The

²²See Kenneth A. Strand, “Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation,” *AUSS* 16 (1978): 407-408; also cf. *Interpreting*, pp. 43-44.

first is the victory in and through suffering, and the second is the vindication process that will bring an end to suffering.

6. A further word is in order regarding the nature of the saints' overcoming experience. In the setting of the book of Revelation, the term "the blood of the Lamb" signifies far more than accepting Christ's sacrifice *per se* (though from a theological perspective this feature must be included as foundational). The saints' absolute willingness to *have their own blood shed* is at stake; they are willing to follow their Master in being, as it were, "sheep to be slaughtered" (see Rom 8:36 and the OT reference there cited, Ps 44:22; also cf. 2 Cor 4:1-10).

The term "word of their testimony," moreover, means utmost faithfulness to God's word in all circumstances. Like their Lord's giving before Pontius Pilate the "good confession" (1 Tim 6:13), so too must his faithful followers be ready to give the "good confession" before Roman or other judges, even though this might mean their death. In short, their lives must be fully imbued with Christ's character. His overcoming is not to be theirs merely by way of example; it is to be theirs experientially in every fiber of their being.

7. One further element in Revelation's "overcomer" theme deserves notice here: There is throughout Revelation a complete "lock-step" vision-by-vision *progression* in thematic development, much as is the case also regarding the "Victorious-Introduction" scenes to the eight visions.²³ Briefly, the statement of need comes first (vision 1); then follows the account of the work of the once-dead, but now living and powerful, Lamb—a work which is foundational for the salvation of humankind (vision 2); and next we meet the proclamation of the prophetic word that confronts human beings with the choice of accepting or rejecting the salvific work of Christ (vision 3). As we move to the next thematic section (vision 4), we discover a climax to the thematic development of the foregoing visions.

But precisely here, in vision 4, we find also another interesting motif introduced—that of the antagonistic forces comprising the anti-divine trinity, Babylon, and beast-worshippers. These enemies of God and his people are introduced in a ranking from the top of the hierarchy downward: the dragon (chap. 12), the sea-beast and earth-beast/"false prophet" duo (chap. 13), Babylon (14:8), and potential beast-worshippers (14:9-11; cf. also 13:8, 12, 14). Then, as we have noticed earlier, the subsequent three visions (5, 6, and 7)

²³Strand, "The 'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes."

reveal in *reverse sequence* the judgments and doom against these same evil entities: first the recipients of the mark of the beast in 16:2, then Babylon in 16:19 and chapters 17 and 18, and next the “beast” (sea-beast) and “false prophet” (earth-beast) in 19:20, followed by the dragon himself in 20:10.²⁴ This brings the sequential developments finally to vision 8, which, as we have seen, describes the grand eternal culmination to which all the previous visions of this Apocalypse have pointed forward.

Thus, vision 4 serves a multiple role. For one thing, not only does it climax the previous three historical-era visions, but it introduces entities that are treated further in the ensuing three eschatological-judgment-era visions. In this particular sense it may be called a “swing” or “hinge” vision, even though it is itself set fully within the historical-era portion of Revelation (i.e., before the book’s major chiastic dividing line between chaps. 14 and 15). In addition to this feature of its double role within Revelation’s basic structure and conceptualization, vision 4 directly for the first time brings to light *specifically* the various antivine parties (under the symbolic designations already mentioned above). In fact, this vision and the three following ones form a chiasm of their own—a chiasm which illuminates the rise and demise of these aggressor forces (as also indicated above in the immediately preceding paragraphs).²⁵ This chiasm may be illustrated diagrammatically, as is done in **Figure 3**.

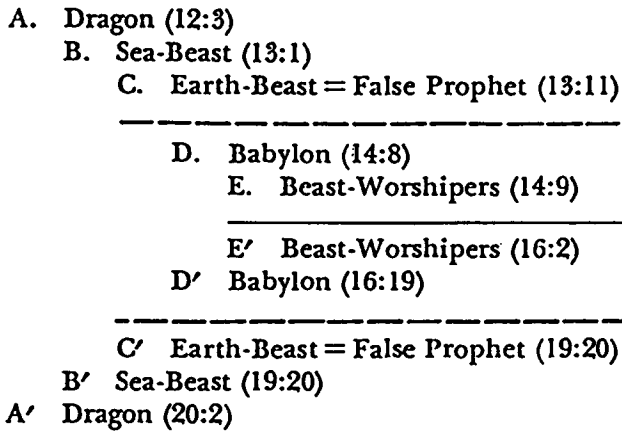
In Conclusion

The book of Revelation is indeed a beautifully crafted literary piece, one whose literary patterns and literary progressions highlight and illuminate various significant motifs in NT theology. In this essay one such vital motif has served to illustrate a macrodynamic in Revelation’s theme development—namely, that of “overcomer,” which is set forth most strikingly in its double aspect of prevailing against deception and coercion, even unto death itself (in the historical era), and of inheriting everlasting life and joy in the new earth and new Jerusalem (in the eschatological-judgment era).

²⁴A diagram of this phenomenon is presented in Strand, “Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs,” p. 403. See also **Figure 3** in the present essay for a reprint of this diagram.

²⁵Shea, “The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20,” pp. 44-51, provides a fascinating and instructive analysis of various structural parallels and thematic correspondences between the chapters at each end of the chiasm.

**FIGURE 3. DIAGRAM OF THE RISE AND DEMISE OF THE
EVIL HIERARCHY (From *AUSS* 16/2 [Autumn 1978]: 403)**
(only the first verse of multi-verse references is given)



BOOK REVIEWS

Bull, Malcolm, and Lockhart, Keith. *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989. xi + 319 pages. \$25.95.

“Seventh-day Adventism is one of the most subtly differentiated, systematically developed, and institutionally successful of all alternatives to the American way of life” (ix); yet its ambiguous identity—not a Jehovah’s Witness sect, yet not a mainstream Protestant church—explains why Americans have “unjustly ignored” Adventism.

Malcolm Bull, junior research fellow at Oxford University, and Keith Lockhart, a London journalist, demonstrate how Adventism, rejecting the “American dream” of democratic materialism and progress, established a parallel “sanctuary from America,” replicating in its theology and intellectual life and in its social codes and administrative hierarchy an Adventist subculture.

The authors adroitly highlight this theme of ambiguity through Adventism’s substitutes for America’s “civil religion” and mainstream Protestantism (part 1); social structures, politics, health programs, art, and music (part 2); and conflicts in its relations with women, Blacks, ministers, doctors, and educators (part 3).

Bull and Lockhart’s interdisciplinary approach, scholarly methodology, and engaging style will appeal to a wide audience, both lay and academic. Their exhaustive research at several Adventist college and university libraries and archives and the dozens of interviews with Adventist leaders, hospital administrators, and lay persons have produced a significant monograph with impressive endnotes (35 pages) and a short but respectable bibliographic essay (pp. 307-311). Their unique interpretive framework and scholarly style cause one to overlook occasional Anglicisms, stylistic errors, and uncommon word combinations that slipped past the proofreaders.

Seeking a Sanctuary offers many insightful gems, even for the seasoned Adventist scholar: Gallup polls, newspaper, and popular novels’ revelations about Adventism’s confused public image; why James White opposed establishing Adventist churches in Seventh Day Baptist territory; why British Adventists defend Sunday blue laws today; how spiritualism, pantheism, and the Holy Flesh movement are interrelated; and one of the finest analyses of the General Conference structure and its functions. Bull and Lockhart also present illuminating new evidence as to why Adventists proselytize successfully among some groups and fail among others, how early health views were based on natural laws and not the Bible, and how Adventism (rooted in time) differs from Mormonism (rooted in space). Some readers,

however, will be shocked to learn of the denomination's past Jim Crow codes at schools, hospitals, and churches.

While *Seeking a Sanctuary* offers valuable insights into Black-White conflicts, it fails to give equal attention to Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans, many of whom have experienced real tensions within Adventism. Also, despite its excellent coverage of orthodox Adventism, the book ignores any lessons to be learned from the denomination's various dissident groups and individuals. Moreover, the book overlooks many significant ways in which Adventism replicates American programs: Sabbath schools, vacation Bible schools, stop-smoking programs, cooking schools, and Pathfinders, to mention a few.

Conservative Adventist readers will raise eyebrows at some of the terminology (Ellen White a "mystic," General Conference leaders as "bureaucrats," Adventist ads "using women" as "bait," and Ellen White merely parroting Canright's racial attitudes), but those of a more open bent will welcome the insightful explication of early Adventist practices (the holy kiss, hugging, footwashing), doctrines (such as the "shut door" from 1844 to 1854), and especially the authors' sociological model in chapter 20, "The Revolving Door." While some will quibble over whether Froom is Adventism's "greatest apologetic historian," whether Ellen White's influence became "diluted" as her publications grew, and whether Hiram Edson really had "a vision" or just an insight, scholars will find very few factual errors in this book. Two worth mentioning are that Will K. Kellogg, never a baptized Adventist (p. 131), could not "remove" his cereal business from the church; and that Sarah A. H. Lindsey in 1872, not Ellen Lane in 1878, may have been Adventism's first woman preacher with a ministerial license (p. 182).

Bull and Lockhart's *Seeking a Sanctuary*, following in the tradition of critical, unapologetic scholarship pioneered by Ron Numbers in *Prophets of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (1976), is a significant book that will help Adventists see themselves as others see them. As such, it deserves a broad audience.

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BRIAN E. STRAYER

Cully, Iris V., and Cully, Kendig Brubaker, eds., *Harper's Encyclopedia of Religious Education*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. xxiii + 717 pp. \$34.95.

Harper's Encyclopedia of Religious Education is a one-volume resource prepared with the needs of religious educators (both lay and clerical) in mind. It has nearly 600 articles written by 270 authorities.

Like all reference works on religious education, this volume has had to take into account the staggering array of topics that should be treated. Thus the user will find contributions in the fields of education, biblical studies,

theology, history, and psychology. In addition to that spectrum of fields, such a reference work must grapple with the large variation in the way different religious traditions have approached their responsibilities in religious education. Thus a reader will find essays on religious education among Buddhists, Catholics, Baptists, Adventists, and many other groups.

The scope of the volume was not lessened by the fact that the field of religious education makes large use of theories and practices from education in general. Nor did the fact that religious education takes place in worship, in the family, and in many other forms outside the classroom help the editors in their task of trying to delimit the scope of the volume.

As in many interdisciplinary fields, it is virtually impossible to establish firm and distinct boundaries for the field of religious education. That problem makes such a volume as *Harper's Encyclopedia* very broad. While breadth is helpful, the price for that advantage—if practical spacial limits are to be maintained—is often a lack of depth. As a result, one disadvantage of such a volume is that more detailed articles often can be found in specialized reference works. The advantage of the book is that a person without immediate access to a large number of reference works has a wide spectrum of information at hand in one volume. Thus, this type of work provides an important tool for religious education practitioners who may not have ready access to specialized reference works. For the scholar, however, *Harper's Encyclopedia* is handy as a starting place for many topics.

Nearly 30 years ago, Kendig Cully edited *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Education* (1963). While the titles of that work and the present one differ, both volumes deal with "religious education" as opposed to strictly "Christian education." For example, many of the topics covered are the same, including articles on Buddhism, Hinduism, and other non-Christian religions.

One reads the introduction to the *Encyclopedia* in vain to see how its contents relate to the *Dictionary*. An examination of the two volumes indicates several changes, including shorter biographical sketches and the absence of many denominational overviews in the *Encyclopedia*. On the other hand, the *Encyclopedia* has more sophisticated treatments of several complex topics related to the interface between education and religion. The second volume seems to be both more sophisticated and better integrated than the first. It should be noted, however, that all articles appear to have been totally rewritten by new authors. Thus, given the significant diversity between the two works, in many ways the *Encyclopedia* might best supplement and update the *Dictionary* rather than replace it. Both are still useful.

While some of the articles in the *Encyclopedia* provide bibliographies, most do not. Despite that unfortunate shortcoming, *Harper's Encyclopedia of Religious Education* will find a useful place in theological libraries and in the daily work of religious education practitioners and theorists.

Ferch, Arthur J. *Daniel on Solid Ground*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1988. 95 pp. \$9.95.

Certainly, this little book was needed. The book of Daniel is foundational to Seventh-day Adventism. So far, however, Adventist literature dealing with the book consists almost entirely of commentaries and homilies. Arthur Ferch's book is "neither a commentary nor a homily" (p. 6). Having the general Adventist audience in mind, the author intends to write an introduction in which he addresses, in six chapters, issues pertaining to the text as literature and to its interpretation.

The reader is not only informed about the nature of those issues, but is also provided with arguments supporting the traditional interpretation against the modern-critical interpretation, which tends "to judge Daniel in terms of occidental thought forms" (p. 22).

The fact that Daniel belongs to the Writings (the third section of the Hebrew scriptures), suggests Ferch, and not to the prophetic section, does not mean that it is a late addition. This position of the book can also be explained in view of its affinities with Ezra, which comes next—both books are bilingual.

The unity of the book, Ferch argues, is supported by its structure. Not only do the Aramaic chapters display a concentric symmetry (or chiasm), but also chap. 7, which functions as a hinge that connects the two sections of the book and contains elements of both sections (see Ferch's published dissertation: *Son of Man in Daniel 7*, Berrien Springs, MI, 1979).

Ferch also challenges the critical arguments for a second century B.C. dating for the book of Daniel ("Maccabean thesis"). New information, found especially at Qumran, tends to confirm the traditional sixth-century dating ("Exilic thesis").

Daniel on Solid Ground also argues that the critical view that the book implicitly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes cannot be established. On the one hand, the historical testimonies of this event are very few and often contradictory; and, on the other hand, the book of Daniel itself refers explicitly to a sixth-century author and implicitly to a sixth-century period through the background it reflects.

While Ferch agrees with critical scholars that the book of Daniel is an Apocalypse, he refuses the "narrow definition" of this word; for not only is Daniel different from the so-called Apocalyptic literature generated between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D., but it also contains other literary genres which do not fit that definition.

Lastly, the book presents itself as a prophecy covering history from the time of Daniel to the establishment of the kingdom of God at the end of history. This last observation, on top of the preceding arguments, leads the author to the conclusion that historicism is "the only method of prophetic interpretation" (p. 95) that respects both the implicit and explicit intention of the text.

Ferch's defense was not developed to convince critical scholars. Many historical problems still remain unsolved, as Ferch honestly recognizes (pp. 40-41). Beyond that, the literary structure, which Ferch points to as an evidence of the unity of the book, concerns only the Aramaic chapters and seems to exclude the rest of the book. Only a structure that encompasses all chapters of the book could be used as an argument for unity (on this matter see Jacques Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End* [Berrien Springs, MI, 1987], pp. 2-7).

Ferch does not claim originality for this book, nor does he set forth his work as a comprehensive treatment of the debated problems. Nevertheless, *Daniel on Solid Ground* is a handy and practical reference for Adventist scholars, who largely stand apart from the rest of the scholarly world in their interpretation of Daniel. Hopefully, Ferch's work will inspire other Adventist scholars to develop creative works on this important prophetic book. *Daniel on Solid Ground* is a reminder that the traditional approach to Daniel remains both reasonable and respectable.

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JACQUES DOUKHAN

Gileadi, Avraham, ed. *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988. xiii + 325 pp. \$24.95.

The editor of this Festschrift dedicated to Roland K. Harrison has sought to focus contributions on the theme of Israel's apostasy and restoration in the light of prophetic thought. As the extensive table of contents demonstrates, there is a wide range of specific topics, but the articles succeed for the most part in addressing the volume's central theme. Titles and authors follow: "From Egypt to Canaan: A Heroic Narrative" (F. E. Greenspahn), "Golden Calves and the 'Bull of Jacob'" (J. N. Oswalt), "YHWH's Refutation of the Baal Myth through the Actions of Elijah and Elisha" (J. R. Battenfield), "The Period of the Judges: Religious Disintegration under Tribal Rule" (D. I. Block), "The Prophets during the Monarchy: Turning Points in Israel's Decline" (W. S. LaSor), "The Priestly Era in the Light of Prophetic Thought" (C. H. Bullock), "Egypt as an Arm of Flesh: A Prophetic Response" (J. K. Hoffmeier), "Israel's Apostasy: Catalyst of Assyrian World Conquest" (P. R. Gilchrist), "Babylonian Idolatry in the Prophets as a False Socio-Economic System" (J. D. W. Watts), "The Phenomenon of Conditionality within Unconditional Covenants" (B. K. Waltke), "The Prospect of Unconditionality in the Sinaitic Covenant" (W. J. Dumbrell), "The Davidic Covenant: A Theological Basis for Corporate Protection" (A. Gileadi), "Alienation and Restoration: A Jacob-Esau Typology" (G. V. Smith), "Historical Selectivity: Prophetic Prerogative or Typological Imperative?" (A. E. Krause), "A Holistic Typology of Prophecy

and Apocalyptic" (R. Youngblood), "The 'Day of Small Things' vs. the Latter Days: Historical Fulfillment or Eschatological Hope?" (W. O. McCready), "Israel's Life Cycle from Birth to Resurrection" (J. E. Coleson), "A New Israel: The Righteous from among All Nations" (D. L. Christensen), "Pilgrimage and Procession: Motifs of Israel's Return" (E. H. Merrill), "The Prophetic Literality of Tribal Reconstruction" (S. D. Ricks), "The Prophetic Ideal of Government in the Restoration Era" (D. K. Stuart), "Temple, Covenant, and Law in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament" (J. M. Lundquist), "Theophanies Cultic and Cosmic: 'Prepare to Meet Thy God!'" (V. H. Matthews), and "The Transcendent Nature of Covenant Curse Reversals" (H. M. Wolf).

A number of evangelical scholars contributed to the volume. As with any collection of essays, this one is somewhat uneven in quality. Some chapters are well written and convincingly argued, while others do not reflect the same level of scholarship or expression. Most maintain a clearly conservative perspective, some taking an apologetic stance and even conveying devotional concerns. A few are more progressive, utilizing critical approaches with greater acceptance. The reader will find certain articles quite insightful and challenging, while others are fairly simplistic.

One of the more creative pieces is the article by Greenspahn, who recommends treating the Exodus account as a heroic narrative. Drawing on Joseph Campbell's notion of a prototypical monomyth about a hero's ventures from and return to his or her place of origin, a journey characterized by distracting trials and memorable rewards, Greenspahn reexamines Israel's descent into Egypt and return to Canaan. He proposes that the configuration lying behind the larger account as a unity is responsible for the story's powerful impact. He points to a universal pattern within the story that gives it its shape, as well as indicating that some details in the pattern and divergencies from it belong to and derive from Israelite consciousness and self-perception.

Block's article on religious disintegration in the time of the judges provides a balanced and quite well-argued investigation. Recognizing our limited access to information about this period, he focuses on the nature of the judge's office, the nature of the tribal league, and the religious conditions depicted in the book of Judges. He builds a case, fairly convincingly, for a national consciousness expressed in the book, even if tribal interests continued to prevail. His claim that the judges were of little help in bringing about religious reform, but actually contributed to the problem, succeeds in stressing the gracious determination of YHWH to preserve his people through deliverance from enemy oppressors. One might want to press Block here, however, by exploring the degree to which this assessment is based on modern criteria for religious reform as opposed to ancient concerns.

In his article on motifs of Israel's return from Babylonian captivity, Merrill makes an important contribution. He skips quickly past concerns

about whether the failed, extravagant claims of restoration prophecies should apply to the church or to a religiously-revived modern Israel (the prophetic literature itself, in my opinion, allows for other alternatives) and moves to questions of greater significance. These have to do with the language of restoration itself and with form-critical categories involving cultic pilgrimage songs. He argues in favor of a creative transmutation from motifs of exodus and redemption from Egypt to those of pilgrimage and procession toward Zion. Although based on a fairly quick and cursory treatment of available sources, the point is worth further investigation.

Returning to the book as a whole, two notes on problematical details deserve mention. The volume has no indexes, an omission which is always unfortunate and that typically diminishes the practical usefulness of a work like this. Scripture and subject indexes would have proven helpful. Typographical errors, although rare, did appear in a few places.

Overall, the book merits our attention and represents well the tradition of evangelical, biblical scholarship influenced to a large degree by the mentor of many of these students of scripture, Roland K. Harrison. It provides a fitting tribute to him and his work.

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DOUGLAS R. CLARK

Guelich, Robert A. *Mark 1-8:26*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 34A. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989. xliii + 454 pp. \$24.99.

The first volume of Robert Guelich's commentary on Mark continues the tradition of producing multi-volume works on relatively short biblical texts. The decision to divide the two volumes at 8:26 is, of course, determined by the location of the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi (8:27-30), which introduces the Marcan passion narrative. Furthermore, it approximates the center of the Gospel (1:1-8:26 contains 311 verses, while 8:27-16:8 has 355). Guelich assumes Marcan canonical priority and the existence of the Saying's Gospel (Q). Both premises affect the types of observations and arguments that follow. Guelich's regular observations of source and redaction critical issues, combined with a proposed historical setting for the Gospel (a Christian community under duress and struggling with questions of faith), gently but firmly coax hesitant readers to observe Mark's adaptation of traditional Jesus materials in order to address the new and different needs of a Christian community that already finds itself removed from the world of Jesus in significant ways.

Bibliographic materials apparently extend from 1907 to 1987. Unfortunately, Burton L. Mack's *A Myth of Innocence* did not appear until 1988 and is not engaged in the dialogue. Guelich is conversant with the literature

on the Gospel of Mark. His helpful orientations to the basic positions scholarship has taken historically will be appreciated by those who have not followed carefully the rise and development of these positions.

Contrary to some recent works on Mark, this commentary has followed traditional format by handling the text sequentially. While this format has the advantage of affording ease in locating discussion of a given verse, it has the twofold disadvantage of complicating the presentation of *topoi* more effectively presented thematically and of obscuring for the casual reader the necessity and forcefulness of critical observation.

I characterize Guelich's commentary as conservative, conversant, and coquettish—conservative, since his approach is affirmative of the foundational essence of the gospel story for Christians; conversant, because his bibliographic materials and discussions interact with scholarly work on the Gospel of Mark at all levels; coquettish, because he repeatedly flirts with provocative ideas but regularly returns to secure conventions that do not compromise the “historical roots” (see, for example, discussions of the possibility and concomitant denial of Marcan- or community-created pericopae for Mark 1 on pp. 18 [“wilderness”], 23-24 [“the Greater One”], 30-31 [revelatory scene at baptism, cf. 35], 37 [temptation story], 44 [content of Jesus' preaching], 49 [content of Mark 1:19-20], 68 [content of Mark 1:35-39] etc.).

However, since Guelich frequently admits to theological and redactional editing of the texts by their authors/editors, it seems relevant to ask (whether one's perspective be fundamentalist, evangelical, or liberal) whether this manipulation has not already compromised whatever “historicity” was supposed to be protected. This appears to challenge, if not render meaningless, those frequent assurances that “traditional” material goes back to Jesus' own ministry. Thus Guelich's confidence in the accessibility of the historical Jesus is at times surprising. He is well aware of the likelihood of these criticisms and mentions that he expects to satisfy neither the liberals (because he did not go far enough) nor the conservatives (because he went too far).

Guelich is to be praised for his efforts at engaging dialogue between conservative believers as readers of the Gospel of Mark and Marcan scholarship, and for attempting to integrate the issues of Marcan scholarship within the conservative tradition. The difficulty of this undertaking is evident in the pages of this volume.

This commentary should provide a gentle introduction to the range of textual, cultural, historical, and theological issues that are encountered when one attempts to hear the text of Mark within its context rather than assuming the composite interweaving of all four Gospel accounts that has been so much a part of typical popular treatment of the second Gospel.

Guelich's work continues the series' tradition of producing conservatively-oriented, high-quality biblical scholarship that is conversant with the

history of scholarship, candid with the serious questions, yet committed to the significance and relevance of the text for modern readers.

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RONALD L. JOLLIFFE

Hartley, John E. *The Book of Job*. The New International Critical Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988. xiv + 591 pp. \$27.95.

One opens each new volume of a major commentary series with anticipation. Does the author have enough new material to warrant another commentary? John Hartley's volume is a welcome answer in the affirmative. It is good enough to make the standard works on Job appear ancient.

The commentary, in good evangelical tradition, proposes to meet the needs of pastors, scholars, and students. It succeeds by balancing technical information with devotional and homiletical suggestions.

The commentary's fairly extensive introduction has the usual comments on date and authorship, etc., but it also includes an interesting section citing parallels with other ancient literatures of the East. Another useful section charts the affinities of the book of Job with other OT books—especially Isaiah. The introduction concludes with a helpful seven-page bibliography of the most important works. This is the only bibliography in the volume, though the text has references that are not in the bibliography.

The subject index is followed by an index of authors quoted and a scripture index. Intertestamental works and nonbiblical texts are indexed as well. Concluding the indexes are one listing Hebrew verbs and another composed of extrabiblical words (Akkadian and Ugaritic). These are features of thorough work and enhance the volume's usefulness.

The main commentary consists of an introduction to the section of Job under discussion, the text, and exegesis. The comments are fairly brief but insightful. Most of the technical data are relegated to the somewhat extensive footnotes.

Hartley says that the author of Job "has no sacred cows to protect" (p. vii). A similar type of openness can be credited to Hartley, who often refrains from taking a position.

In discussing authorship, Hartley enumerates the characteristics of the author, but fails to name a possibility. He concludes that the author has a large vocabulary, is acquainted with nature, is knowledgeable of Egypt, etc.; but he does not even mention the tradition of the Jews and the early church that sets forth Moses as the author. In addition, the chart of parallels between the phraseology of Job and other OT books does not list parallels with the Pentateuch.

Hartley is also fairly noncommittal regarding the date of the book's composition, believing that the evidence for any position is inconclusive. However, he does not mention any date earlier than the seventh century B.C., the earliest date considered possible by most modern scholars. Hartley favors this date to account for the similarity between Isaiah's (suffering) Servant Songs and the book of Job.

Unlike many other modern commentators, Hartley cautions against major apportioning of verses in chaps. 24-31 to achieve a full third cycle. This adherence to the text as it stands is commendable.

Hartley's openness extends even to the book's theology. In his comments on chap. 19, for example, he lists four possible views regarding Job's belief in the resurrection.

An interesting feature of the commentary is a section at the end of each speech titled "Aim" that attempts to "interpret each pericope as it relates to that message." The "Aim" sections also seek to relate the contribution of each message to that of the whole book.

The major contribution of Hartley's work is the bringing together of much recent scholarship on the book of Job. This has been needed for some time. Because of limitations in size, one cannot expect any one volume to be exhaustive, but Hartley must be commended on his selection of what to include, for his personal insights, and for his general openness to various views.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103

GORDON CHRISTO

Mangum, John M., ed. *The New Faith-Science Debate: Probing Cosmology, Technology, and Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989. x + 165 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

This collection of essays is the fruit of a 1987 global consultation in Larnaca, Cyprus, sponsored by the Lutheran Church in America (now the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) and the Lutheran World Federation. The themes pursued were the impact which science and technology have made on the world and the recognition that pastors, congregations, seminaries, and denominations generally seem to be oblivious to the implications of that impact for the work of the churches.

There are ten essays, which bear the following titles: "The Current Scientific World View," "The Challenge of Science to Theology and the Church," "The Challenge of Theology to Science and the Church," "The Challenge of the Church to Science and Theology," "The Task of the Church in the New Scientific Age," "How High-Tech Is Changing American Society," "Genetic Engineering: Our Role in Creation," "Asian World Religions and Post-modern Science," "Scientific Research Is My Christian Vocation," and

“Agenda for the Twenty-first Century.” These chapters are followed by six Bible studies that integrate scientific and religious issues. The six appendices at the end of the book are group reports from participants representing the various continents.

This book addresses issues similar to those treated in Ian Barbour’s *Religion in an Age of Science* (San Francisco, 1990), but the essays are written for less-sophisticated readers. Nevertheless, they raise pertinent questions and provide innovative directives. For instance, what is the nature of humanity; is biological death the “wages of sin?” Certainly not, argues Arthur Peacocke; “biological death was present on the earth long before human beings arrived.” Death is the way God brings new life forms into existence, thus it is part of the creative process. Peacocke understands Paul to be speaking of death in a figurative sense. Compare the ancient argument between Pelagius and St. Augustine; Pelagius also thought of death as being perfectly natural, not something humans brought on themselves through the will.

Ronald Cole-Turner argues that advances in genetic engineering necessitate a change in theological attitudes to accommodate these developments. While caution is called for, humanity is to be perceived as a co-creator with God in directing the natural processes through science and technology toward ends that are compatible with the Christian theology of creation, or discernible within God’s purpose for creation.

Throughout the essays there is a sense that Christian churches are fast reaching a point of irrelevance; they are losing credibility because their theology is not being informed by the rapid developments in science and technology. Robert John Russell muses that where there is no credibility, prophetic vision fails. The writers do not propose to have all the answers, but they have grasped the significance of the situation facing Christian churches due to scientific and technological advances and are moving to meet the challenge. The sincerity of their effort is evident in each essay. Conservative Christians may find it difficult to come to grips with the issues raised in this book; the question is whether they can afford to ignore them.

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A. JOSEF GREIG

McKnight, Edgar V. *Post-Modern Use of the Bible: The Emergence of Reader-Oriented Criticism*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988. 304 pp. \$15.95.

McKnight’s book should prove to be a landmark in NT scholarship. It is not a landmark because it is the last word on the subject of method, because it will meet with universal acceptance, because it makes simple and entertaining reading, or because it breaks entirely new ground. What makes

McKnight's book a landmark is the way in which it exceeds the sum of its parts to provoke in readers a whole new way of thinking about the past, present, and future of biblical interpretation.

McKnight's title plays on that of Harry Emerson Fosdick's epic work, *The Modern Use of the Bible*, a work that popularized historical-critical assumptions in the first part of this century. McKnight himself, therefore, undoubtedly hopes that his new book will attain a similar landmark status within NT scholarship as it moves into the "post-critical" age.

McKnight offers a fresh and penetrating analysis of the history and development of biblical interpretation in the light of major literary, social, and historical trends from the dawn of recorded consciousness until the present. He surveys the past with a vision energized by recent developments in the understanding of perception and of the interaction between reader and text. While few will agree with everything he says, McKnight's analyses cannot safely be ignored.

McKnight does not argue for the abandonment of the critical approach to the text, but he does decry the way such an approach creates distance between the text and modern readers. Building on antifoundationalist philosophy, he argues for the right of each reader to make sense of the text for himself or herself while remaining in dialogue with critical assumptions and approaches. The hermeneutical circle should expand from original intent to the literary relationship of the parts to the whole of the text and to its progressive contexts in the consciousness of individual readers and in communities of readers over the centuries.

McKnight has organized the book into an hourglass. The first two chapters survey the history and development of interpretive strategies from the precritical stage to the present, including insightful commentaries on such recent developments as redaction criticism, sociological interpretation, and canonical criticism. The central (third) chapter outlines some of the new literary approaches, with particular emphasis on structuralism/formalism. The fourth and fifth chapters give a philosophical and practical outline of how reader-oriented interpretation could function to help readers make sense of the Bible while remaining faithful to both contemporary methods and each reader's needs and perspectives.

With striking clarity McKnight highlights the fact that both the dogmatic and critical approaches to the text were satisfying in their time because they offered interpretations that were consistent with the prevailing world views that first brought them into existence. Just as allegorical interpretation fit comfortably into a platonic world, so critical interpretation fit comfortably into a world that had limited truth to sense experience, thus defining God out of existence. Neither view of the world was objective; both were comfortable and popular assumptions. McKnight suggests that we have now moved into a "post-modern age," in which language again is capable of conceptualizing God, but in a different sense from the dogmatic

age. McKnight hopes that in this age biblical texts can be read without a detour through any philosophical system.

He builds on the above to argue that meaning is dynamic. Individuals and groups make sense of their world by means of a particular view of the universe. But since no humans are in direct touch with ultimate reality, a plurality of meanings and world views inevitably results. Such pluralism may be a "nightmare" to many, but McKnight sees it as the key to the future of biblical interpretation. Instead of combining into exclusive groups struggling to define *the* correct approach to the biblical text, scholars of the Bible can gain from the richness of diversity. By sharing a variety of readings, each scholar's own reading is enriched.

There are aspects of the book that this reviewer finds problematic. For one thing, the book has a certain "unfinished" quality that makes it difficult to follow at many points. Perhaps this is inevitable where one is attempting to break fresh hermeneutical ground. One wonders also whether MacQuarrie's assertion that "the language of the Bible is not reducible to propositions" (quoted approvingly on p. 206) is really supportable in the biblical text.

A related problem is McKnight's seemingly uncritical acceptance of antifoundationalism. It is true that considerable pluralism is inevitable and even helpful; it is also true that even biblical assertions are but faint reflections of the divine; but is not McKnight also a prisoner of his world view when he limits truth to the feeble and diverse perceptions of mere mortals? Is it fair to "Ultimate Reality" to deny "It" the possibility of meaningfully communicating that reality to those most open to that perception? Should we not remain open to the possibility that some such "channels" have already been opened to us in the Bible's own world view?

Such quibbles, however, really move beyond McKnight's intention. His intent is to plunge us in at the cutting edge of a new approach, and it may be difficult at this early stage to sort out the strengths and weaknesses of his suggestions. For his contribution he is to be commended, and his book deserves to be widely read.

Andrews University

JON PAULIEN

Nelson, C. Ellis. *How Faith Matures*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989. 252 pp. Paperback, \$13.95.

C. Ellis Nelson contends that faith matures when a person experiences an encounter with Jesus; not necessarily as dramatic as the encounters of Moses, Elijah, and Peter (which he examines in detail), but with the same elements. These encounters he calls "theophanies" and classifies as "authentic religious experience." The three elements in theophanies are: 1) a

situation in which the divine will needs to be known (chap. 5), 2) a person or group that has become engaged with the Spirit of God (chap. 6), and 3) a charge, mission, or work assignment concerning what must be done for the welfare of the community of believers (chap. 7).

How Faith Matures was published eight years after Fowler's *Stages of Faith*, a book that took the developmental models of Piaget, Erickson, and Kohlberg and created a spiritual developmental model. We would expect some references to the earlier pioneering work, but Nelson refers to Fowler's construct only once, and then without mentioning the originator by name.

While Fowler proposed a "developmental" model, Nelson suggests an "experiential" model. In comparing the two, they do not appear to be antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Nelson's discussion focuses on the necessity of an individual rather than a congregational experience with the Lord, and Fowler describes the changing ways we view the divine relationship during the process of personal maturation. Both are equally valid.

Nelson clearly identifies the audience for which he wrote and from which he himself comes as mainstream Protestantism, whose congregations need "to distinguish themselves in the world on the basis of their belief in God" (p. 180). Interestingly, he then invites anyone who wants to observe "the educational power of life together" to spend some time "in a fundamentalist congregation or a sect group." He is confident that anyone who follows such advice will see a community governed by vision, a clear-cut value system, and a certain lifestyle. "All these things are communicated (and learned) so consistently and constantly that there is hardly any need for separate classes for the young. There will probably be such classes, taught by one of the more zealous members, but what happens in class will be only a formal explanation of what the children have already accepted in the depth of their being" (p. 181).

Nelson has been associated with Christian education for 40 years, and in *How Faith Matures* he shows his familiarity with the writings of religious educators such as Bushnell, Westerhoff, Edwards, and Sherrill. The work is written in highly readable prose. With its numerous headings and sub-headings, introductions and summaries, at no time is the reader in any doubt about the issue under discussion or where each issue precisely fits in the overall thesis.

Part 1 of the book examines the secular individualism of America, a view Nelson bases to some extent on Bellah's popular *Habits of the Heart*. Part 3 is an overview of religious education from its Sooty Lane birthplace in the work of Robert Raikes in the late eighteenth century to the present. For many readers, however, part 2, with its development of "authentic religious experience" through theophanies and its outstanding view of "how faith matures," will be of the greatest value.

Paulien, Jon. *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretations of Revelation 8:7-12*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 11. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988. xii + 497 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

The increasing scholarly attention directed toward Revelation during the eighties has sparked a welcome reopening of debates which earlier appeared to be either settled or incapable of being settled.

One of these concerned the literary sources and genre of the NT book of Revelation. Did it share greater affinity with the OT, or with later Jewish apocalyptic? In common with most other studies published on some aspect of this topic during the last decade, Jon Paulien comes down clearly in support of the former.

In his wide-ranging work, Paulien sets out to advance our understanding of Revelation in two areas: the seer's use of the OT and an exegetical method for Revelation that incorporates findings regarding its complex and unique literary relationship to the OT.

Anyone attempting to map the seer's dependence on and use of the OT is tempted to abandon the exercise in frustration when faced with the complex intermingling of allusions from different parts of the OT. To the credit of Paulien, he did not abandon the exercise but with help from literary criticism forged a set of useful guidelines. His chief contribution is the distinction between direct allusions, made deliberately by the seer, and echoes, which were stock concepts of the time taken up by the seer without a link to a specific OT passage.

The key to exegesis of Revelation for Paulien lies in identifying direct allusions to the OT, then interpreting their essential messages or symbols into the seer's passage. Is he successful? It is evident that his method shows greater refinement than that of Frederick Mazzaferri's *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective* (Berlin/New York, 1989). While the latter's treatment is content with the work of W. K. Hedrick in distinguishing the seer's OT allusions from echoes, Paulien clearly prefers the work of G. K. Beale, particularly his published dissertation (not even listed in Mazzaferri's bibliography), which calls for a judgment on the exegete's part concerning the seer's degree of intention when he alludes to the OT. Paulien's method will yield superior results, but the subjective element of the exegete's judgment and the subtlety of the seer's allusions will continue to prevent scholars from reaching full agreement on the OT sources and the degree of importance of certain allusions.

In the second part of his dissertation, Paulien attempts to construct a method of exegesis for Revelation that builds on the gains achieved in the first part. Here his goal is to develop a comprehensive exegetical method that will enable one to understand the author's intention behind the sometimes bizarre language. In fact, on p. 156 Paulien claims that this is "the

main purpose for this dissertation," a claim he later contradicts in his conclusion (p. 431), where "the main strength" of the work is its proposed method for evaluating OT allusions.

What are Paulien's basic premises? First, that "the Apocalypse is a Christian reinterpretation of the Old Testament in the light of the events surrounding the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ" (pp. 49-50) and, second, that "the task of determining where the author alluded to the Old Testament is crucial to the exegesis of the Apocalypse" (pp. 168-169). Paulien has taken over the former premise from the hermeneutic of Hans K. LaRondelle, particularly as presented in *The Israel of God in Prophecy* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1983).

Paulien combines his premises to produce an approach to exegesis that brings striking results that are rich in reinterpreted OT atmosphere. Themes and events such as theophany, the creation, the fall, the plagues in Egypt, the exodus, the exile, enthronement, divine judgment, holy war, and the destruction of cities and nations are summoned to appear before the reader by the seer's OT allusions, and to yield new meaning when applied to Christ and his church. Theophany becomes christophany; plagues become opposition to earliest Christians; the Day of Yahweh becomes the parousia.

Is Paulien's treatment convincing? Initial application of the method contributes richly to atmosphere and environment, but when pressed on specific features of Revelation, the OT as a record of salvation history becomes reduced nearly to an allegory from which the seer draws spiritual lessons about God's attitude toward the church and the unbelieving world. "The author of Revelation is able to contemporize experiences in the entire Old Testament in order to make them relevant for situations faced by his audience" (p. 349).

Paulien seeks to counter this weakness by suggesting that the messages of the seven trumpets of Revelation cover a time span from the seer's own day to the parousia and, further, that this time span can be divided into time periods based on OT historical realities and time periods. In order to do this, Paulien allows for "genuine prophecy of future events" (p. 361). This second part of Paulien's dissertation remains problematic and unconvincing in places, partly because it attempts too much in the space allowed. But even here there is good, sound work which further argument and documentation could salvage.

The most obvious weakness of this work is its over-ambitious attack on two large scholarly fields—the OT sources of Revelation and the method of exegesis for Revelation. Both attacks are strong, but the latter could have been stronger had it received more time and space. These could have been provided by eliminating most or all of the customary "Survey of Issues" introductory chapter that is so necessary for a dissertation but so unsatisfactory for a published monograph. Here Paulien was most vulnerable, especially when discussing the text tradition used by John. This is revealed

in part by the primary authorities he has cited or failed to cite. These ninety pages could have been put to better service in the exegesis section.

The work is largely free of mechanical and technical shortcomings. The author is to be admired for his bold attempted solutions to two of the complex issues confronting students of the book of Revelation.

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Vardaman, Jerry, and Yamauchi, Edwin M., eds. *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. xxiv + 240 pp. \$25.00.

Jack Finegan is known for his many works which attempt to place the biblical events of both the OT and NT in their historical contexts. *Chronos, Kairos, Christos* is a Festschrift presented to Finegan in honor of his eightieth birthday in 1988. Most of the studies in this volume were originally presented at a conference on the nativity in 1985 over which Finegan presided.

As mentioned, most of the volume is taken up with studies on the nativity. B. van Elderen analyzes the structure of Matthew 1; E. Yamauchi discusses the nature of the Magi in Matthew; and the articles by K. Ferrari-D'Occhieppo, J. Vardaman, E. L. Martin, D. Johnson, H. W. Hoehner, and P. L. Maier take up astronomical and historical data often used to date the nativity as well as other events in the life of Jesus. N. Kokkinos, C. J. Humphreys, and W. G. Waddington concentrate on the date of the crucifixion; while R. Beckwith wraps up this section with a critique of some of the methods used in these discussions on chronology. Finally, S. Dockx and D. Moody conclude the volume with discussions on the chronology of Paul's ministry.

Evidently the nativity conference produced little harmony of opinion, for the chronological studies are strewn to the four winds. At one extreme, Vardaman places Jesus' birth in 15 B.C. and his death in A.D. 21. In a variation on the early birth date, Kokkinos places his death in A.D. 36, claiming that Jesus must have been 46 years old in A.D. 34—his date for John 2. For Kokkinos John 2:20 and Irenaeus are more important than Luke 3:23 as chronological indicators. Vardaman and Kokkinos depend on micro-letters on coins, an area of numismatics which is still rather problematic. Martin attempts to place Herod's death in 1 B.C. rather than 4 B.C., a position roundly criticized by Johnson.

In astronomy the difficulties continue. Ferrari-D'Occhieppo dates the nativity to September of 7 B.C., based on the conjunction of Jupiter and

Saturn in Pisces; but Hoehner points out that it is possible for the conjunction to precede the actual birth by as much as a year. Neither writer considers the possibility of the nativity star being a supernatural sign, since supernatural events are not subject to astronomical calculation. Humphreys and Waddington work out possible dates for the crucifixion based on a presumed lunar eclipse that night. Their text is Acts 2:20, in which the prophecy calls for a blood-red moon following the darkened sun described in the synoptic crucifixion accounts. Not only is this text weak evidence for a blood-red moon, but the dust storm which they hypothesize for the darkening of the sun easily may account for the reddening of the moon.

In the two articles on Paul, Dockx concludes in the first that Paul's first missionary journey in Acts 13:4-14:27 is a fiction of Luke, as both chronology and Gal 2 are against it. Moody sets forth a complete chronology of Paul's ministry, including a trip to Spain in A.D. 60-64 based on 1 Clem. 5. Needless to say, all of the chronological reconstructions in this collection raise problems as serious as those they attempt to solve, and few may be recommended with confidence. Beckwith's cautionary article and the critical article of Johnson provide the most solid material available in this book on chronology and astronomy.

In contrast, Yamauchi's article on the Magi and van Elderen's article on the structure of Matt 1 provide solid positive contributions. Van Elderen provides a careful analysis of the first half of the birth narrative in Matthew in terms of both its internal structure and how it prepares the reader for the developments of the book as a whole. Yamauchi analyzes the identity of the Magi, their roles in Babylonian religion, and attitudes toward the Magi in both the Roman world and the Jewish community. He provides both depth and breadth in his discussion and provides the reader with an introduction to the historical figures, as well as an idea of their role in Matthew's narrative.

As with many other Festschriften, *Chronos, Kairos, Christos* is a diverse collection of speculations and problematic papers with an occasional helpful article.

Madison, WI 53713

JAMES E. MILLER

BOOK NOTICES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

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.

Noll, Mark A., ed. *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. xiii + 401 pp. \$34.50/14.95.

Seventeen of America's leading historians and social scientists provide a broad-ranging treatment of the historical interaction between politics and religion in America from the colonial and revolutionary periods up through the evangelical Protestant ascendancy of the nineteenth century and into the growing pluralism and heightened antagonism between liberal and conservative factions that typify the present era.

Rasmussen, Carl G. *Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 256 pp. \$39.95.

This atlas is divided into two sections. The geographical section presents the physical geography of the lands of the biblical world, from Egypt to Mesopotamia. The historical section presents the flow of biblical history in its geographical context and shows how geography influenced the course of biblical history.

Schipani, Daniel S., ed. *Freedom and Discipleship: Liberation Theology in*

an Anabaptist Perspective. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989. ix + 188 pp. \$19.95.

Freedom and Discipleship offers a unique assessment of liberation theology from the perspective of the Radical Reformation—that stream of Protestantism which has understood the discipleship of Jesus to imply commitments to peace and justice. The contributors address several dimensions of liberation theology—including hermeneutical, ecclesiological, Christological, ethical, and eschatological concerns.

Stackhouse, Max L. *Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988. xvi + 237 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Apologia is a work on present and future theological education that holds that current trends in seminaries and departments of theology bring important new insights to the study of religion. On the other hand, Stackhouse asserts, these new trends also erode—sometimes unwittingly—the capacity to speak of God, truth, and justice with warranted confidence. The book not only exposes the frailties of several current ideologies, but puts forth fresh proposals for the reconstructing of

theological education on foundations that are contextually alert, globally concerned, and mission oriented.

Trench, Richard Chenevix. *Synonyms of the New Testament*. Edited by Robert G. Hoerber. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 425 pp. \$24.95.

This revised edition of Trench includes the following improvements: 1) Greek and Hebrew words that appear in the Bible have been coded according to *The New Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*; 2) all quotations from foreign languages have been translated into English; 3) foreign language titles to works by classical and ecclesiastical authors have been spelled out; and 4) the entire book has been completely rewritten to modernize and simplify the English style, spelling, punctuation, and sentence structure.

Tucker, Ruth A. *Another Gospel: Alternative Religions and the New Age Movement*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 462 pp. \$19.95.

Tucker provides extensive coverage of both the traditional Christian "cults" and modern cultic movements. Her definition of a cult is based upon the fundamentalist presupposition that cults have "prophet"-founders. The first two chapters deal with the history of heresy and the differences between cults, sects, denominations, and world religions.

Wells, David F. *Turning to God: Biblical Conversion in the Modern World*. Exeter, UK: Paternoster Press and Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 160 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

This book explores the biblical teaching on conversion in relation to major

contemporary issues, ideologies, and religious challenges. The author not only answers objections raised against biblical conversion by those outside Christianity, but also challenges evangelicals to sharpen their own understanding of the doctrine.

Wennberg, Robert N. *Terminal Choices: Euthanasia, Suicide, and the Right to Die*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. and Exeter, UK: Paternoster Press, 1989. x + 246 pp. Paperback, \$13.95.

Wennberg examines those "terminal choices" that reflect on how we should die. The distinctions between treatment refusal, treatment withdrawal, active euthanasia, and suicide are carefully spelled out, based on opinions of medical, religious, and legal experts. The author reaches back to the Greek and Roman philosophers in tracing his study of social approbation and disapproval and applies such historic thinking to the quandaries created by modern medicine.

Whitmore, Todd, ed. *Ethics in the Nuclear Age: Strategy, Religious Studies, and the Churches*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1989. x + 240 pp. \$24.95/\$12.95.

Ethics in the Nuclear Age is the outgrowth of a two-year workshop seminar held at the University of Chicago Divinity School. This study draws together the most recent thought on nuclear ethics by persons trained in religious studies. As such, this collection provides a valuable resource for those who speak for and participate in the church and for strategists who seek to integrate the moral dimension into their thinking on the nuclear issue.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

כ = k	ך = c	ק = q	ך = c	ש = s	שׁ = s
ב = b	בּ = b	מ = m	בב = p	שׁ = s	שׂ = s
בּ = b	ו = w	נ = n	בב = p	שׁ = s	שׂ = s
ג = g	ז = z	נ = n	בב = p	שׁ = s	שׂ = s
גּ = g	ח = h	נ = n	בב = p	שׁ = s	שׂ = s
ד = d	ט = t	נ = n	בב = p	שׁ = s	שׂ = s

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ְ = a	וְ, וֹ (vocal shewa) = e	ֹ = o
ֶ = ā	ֶ, ֵ = e	וֹ = o
ִ = a	ִ = i	וֹ = o
ֵ = e	ֵ = i	וֹ = o
ֶ = ē	ֶ = o	וֹ = o

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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