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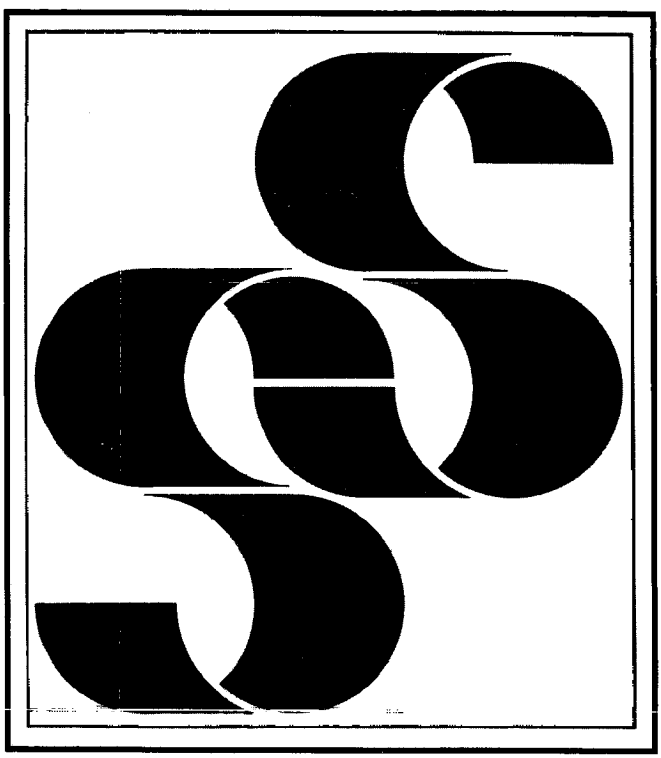

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The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Old Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung;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

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CHANGE—THE UNCHANGING REALITY

Heraclitus observed that "there is nothing permanent except change." If Cardinal Newman is to be believed—"Here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often"—we at *AUSS* should be approaching perfection! Unfortunately, "Change is not made without inconvenience, even from worse to better" (Richard Hooker). In our estimation, some changes are downright painful.

Kenneth Strand, editor-in-chief of *AUSS* from 1974 to 1987, and co-editor from then on, retired on July 1, 1994. Strand entered the Seventh-day Adventist ministry in Michigan in 1952. His teaching career began in 1959 at his alma mater, Emmanuel Missionary College—today Andrews University. At the time of his retirement he was Professor of Church History, chair of his department, and secretary of the Ph.D.-Th.D. Committee of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. A true Renaissance man, Strand is interested in and well versed in many fields; for his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan (1958) he majored in church history and minored in Old Testament. The subjects on which he has written for *AUSS*—Revelation, Roman history, Early Church, Reformation, German Bibles, among others—show the breadth of his well-cultivated intellect and insatiable curiosity. The *AUSS* index shows 36 articles and 69 book reviews written by Strand. An inveterate worker, he has been known to sit up all night to get an article or dissertation edited. As an ordained minister, Strand has been actively involved in the ministerial formation of seminary students. His belief in the potential of his students has empowered them for learning and service. To me, as well as to many others, he has been a mentor and friend. Although he has retired, Strand still is actively involved in the Ph.D.-Th.D. program and still serves as *AUSS* Editor Emeritus. We wish Dr. Strand a long, active, and happy retirement!

Jerry Moon has joined the *AUSS* staff as associate editor and book review editor. Moon served as a Seventh-day Adventist minister for 10 years before coming to Andrews University for doctoral studies. While studying here, he endeared himself to the church history department by his excellent teaching. Thus, when he completed his Ph.D. in Adventist Studies in 1993, he was invited to join the faculty of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. Since then he has been working on an additional master's degree in history at Western Michigan University. As editor of student publications in college, Moon wondered whether he

should be a pastor, teacher, or editor. Now he is all three! Jerry brings to *AUSS* young blood and new ideas. We welcome our new Moon and hope he will wax and not wane!

A very unwelcome and tragic change in the *AUSS* staff comes from the death of Gerhard F. Hasel in a traffic accident in Utah on August 11. At the time of his death, Hasel was associate editor of *AUSS*. His association with *AUSS* had been long and fruitful. From 1973 to 1980 he was circulation manager; from 1973 onwards his name appeared on the masthead as associate editor. Fifteen articles and 34 reviews by Hasel have been published in *AUSS*. Shortly before his death, he completed a series of three articles, the first of which appears in this issue of *AUSS*. We also present a life sketch and a select bibliography of Hasel's works. To his wife and children, we at *AUSS* extend our deepest sympathy. With them we look forward to the day of that greatest of changes, when the "dead will be raised imperishable" and death will be "swallowed up in victory" (1Cor 15:51-55).

A much less traumatic change is the transition of *AUSS* from three to two issues a year beginning with volume 33 in 1995. This year's experiment with a Spring-Summer issue of 160 pages convinced us of the financial wisdom of publishing only twice a year. By so doing we will be able to give our readers 320 pages of articles, notes, dissertation abstracts, and reviews each year, instead of the usual 264 pages, at no additional cost—at least through 1995, and beyond, if at all possible. Publication dates are set for October/November and April/May. We are confident that the benefits of two larger issues will far outweigh the drawbacks.

Another change is found in the last 16 pages of this issue of *AUSS*. After 17 years we are republishing our guidelines for authors. The modifications made are an attempt to keep up with the times and technology. Additional copies of the guidelines in a separata may be requested from the *AUSS* office.

Finally, a word concerning the bibliographical essay by Gary Land in this issue. In 1844 William Miller and his followers expected the return of Christ to this earth. Theirs was a Great Disappointment. The Seventh-day Adventist Church, born out of the Millerite movement, has changed from a handful of disappointed believers in 1844 to a world-wide fellowship of some 8 million believers in 1994. We publish Land's essay, as well as three book reviews on Millerite themes, in recognition of the sesquicentennial of the Great Disappointment.

Nancy J. Vyhmeister

GERHARD FRANZ HASEL

1935-1994

Born in Vienna, Austria, Hasel grew up in Germany. At the end of his secondary school he entered a trade school in electrical engineering. In 1952 he was distinguished as the best apprentice in the state of Hessen and subsequently received a full scholarship at the Technical University in Darmstadt. Turning it down, Hasel enrolled instead at the Seventh-day Adventist Marienhöhe Seminary and completed a licentiate in theology in 1958. He traveled to the United States and completed a B.A. in Theology at Atlantic Union College in 1959.

Hasel continued his education at Andrews University, receiving an M.A. in systematic theology in 1960 and a B.D. in New Testament in 1962. In 1961 he married Hilde Schäfer in Chicago. Hasel served as a

pastor in Boston for a year before receiving an invitation to be assistant professor of religion at Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists in Tennessee. In 1966 he was ordained to the gospel ministry.

In 1967 Hasel began a 27-year teaching career at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University. He finished his Ph.D. in Biblical Studies at Vanderbilt University in 1970. His dissertation title was "The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel." From 1976 to 1982, Hasel chaired the Old Testament department. In 1976 he also became the director of the new doctoral programs at the Seminary, a position he maintained until his death. From 1981 to 1988 he was dean of the Seminary.

The church to which he had gladly committed himself often asked Hasel to participate in different meetings, including Bible conferences and pastoral workshops around the world. Especially fruitful was his work with the Biblical Research Institute, for which he wrote several papers on Daniel and on hermeneutics. In addition, Hasel worked very closely with the Geoscience Research Institute, presenting papers and serving as editorial consultant for the journal *Origins*. At the time of his death he had completed a major article on the judgment for a forthcoming Biblical Research Institute volume on Adventist theology.

Hasel read papers at learned societies and gave lectures at seminaries and universities around the world. He was a regular participant of several societies, among them the American Academy of Religion, the Society of Biblical Literature, the International Society for the Study of the Old Testament, and the Adventist Theological Society, of which he had been the president since 1990.

Hasel's writings, especially in the fields of Old Testament and biblical theology, are numerous. His books on biblical theology are well-known. His articles and book reviews have been published in journals such as *AUSS*, *JSOT*, *ZAW*, and *Biblica*, as well as in church periodicals. He contributed extensive chapters to several books. His dictionary articles have appeared in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, and *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. A full bibliography, prepared by Hasel's son Michael, currently a doctoral study in archaeology at the University of Arizona, will be published in a future issue of *AUSS*.

An automobile accident in Ogden, Utah, took Hasel's life on August 11, 1994. At the time he was John Nevins Andrews Professor of Old Testament and Biblical Theology, and director of the Ph.D. and Th.D. programs at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

Death truncated several writing projects. Hasel was working on two commentaries for Eerdmans' New International Commentary on the Old Testament series: Amos and Hosea. Another task left unfinished was his contribution to Zondervan's forthcoming *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology*, of which he was associate editor.

Hasel's demise is felt, not only by his wife and children, but also by his colleagues and the world-wide community of which he was a productive and respected member. To honor the memory of Gerhard F. Hasel, *AUSS* is planning a special issue for 1996. Contributions by colleagues, friends, and former students—especially in the areas in which he wrote and lectured—are invited for that number.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1994, Vol. 32, No. 3, 169-195

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION: THE LIBERAL MODEL

FERNANDO L. CANALE
Andrews University

The purpose of this article is to describe the broad characteristics of the liberal model of revelation-inspiration as it relates to the epistemological origin of Holy Scripture and evaluate it along with the classical model described in my earlier article.[1] The question before us still is the same that prompted the analysis of the classical model: Is a new theoretical interpretation of the epistemological origin of Scripture necessary? Would it not be more practical and effective to choose one of the many available interpretations?

Philosophical and cultural developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to the formulation of a new approach to biblical interpretation, namely the historical-critical method. According to Gerhard Ebeling, this method, along with its corresponding model of revelation-inspiration, attained "well-nigh undisputed dominance" already during the second half of the nineteenth century.[2] This I referred to earlier as the "liberal (encounter-existential)" model. We must

[1]Fernando L. Canale, "Revelation and Inspiration: The Classical Model," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 7-28.

[2]Gerhard Ebeling, *Word and Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 18. Even though the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation was a product of the Enlightenment (see Gerhard Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*, rev. ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 18-23), its development did not require a new model of revelation-inspiration (cf. Klug, 14-15). Critical evaluation of the historical-critical method must be developed on the level of philosophical presuppositions. To note, as did Eta Linneman, that the method works "as if there were not God," bringing the Bible to the same level as other human literary productions, or that it lets everyday experience determine what is reality and what is not, cannot suffice (*Historical Criticism of the Bible: Methodology or Ideology?* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990], 84, 88). These characteristics, true though they may be, stand on the basis of (1) carefully developed philosophical principles and (2) a new way of understanding revelation-inspiration. If the historical-critical method is to be challenged, more than a mere return to the classic interpretation of the presuppositional structure and a moderate view of verbal inspiration (ibid., 144) is required.

now turn our attention to its presuppositional structures and the specific elements that characterize it.[3]

1. *Presuppositional Structure of the Liberal Model*

During the Enlightenment period, new philosophical trends began to criticize, challenge, modify, and replace some of the basic principles on which the classical interpretation of the presuppositional structure were grounded. Following René Descartes' turn to the subject, classical realism was rejected and replaced by different forms of idealism. More significant, however, was the epistemology's radical departure from intellectualism. Reason was reinterpreted by limiting its reach to the space-time continuum.

Immanuel Kant, reinterpreting reason, argued that the intellect did not have the capability of reaching into the timeless nature of ultimate reality (essence or second *ousia*).[4] Since for classical theology, ultimate reality in nature and supernature was timeless, Kant's limitation of reason's power to the realm of spatio-temporal reality deprived the Classical Model of revelation-inspiration of its basic ground. As stated by Hendrikus Berkhof, Kant's foundational work also constituted "a radical new beginning for evangelical theology. As a result of its appearance, orthodox scholasticism, rationalism, and supernaturalism found that at a single stroke, the road forward had been blocked." Furthermore, Kant's philosophical structure required "the modern way of posing questions, and modern methodology, in theology."[5] His

[3]Norman L. Geisler identifies and discusses Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Benedict Spinoza, David Hume, and Immanuel Kant as contributors in the development of the new philosophical ideas that lie at the basis of the liberal conception of revelation-inspiration ("Philosophical Presuppositions of Biblical Errancy," in *Inerrancy*, ed. Norman L. Geisler [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979], 312-327). William Nix, working with trends rather than philosophers, identifies pietism, deism, materialism, naturalism, skepticism, agnosticism, romanticism, idealism, and existentialism as ideological trends that lead to liberal theology ("The Doctrine of Inspiration since the Reformation, Part II: Changing Climates of Opinion," *JETS* 27 [1984]: 441-456). He concludes that "between the early seventeenth and early twentieth centuries a series of changes in the climates of opinion gradually prepared the ground for a direct and open confrontation between religion and science over the issues of revelation, inspiration and the authority of Scripture" (457).

[4]Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1939), 54.

[5]Hendrikus Berkhof, *Two Hundred Years of Theology: Report of a Personal Journey*, tr. by John Vriend (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1989), 1-2. For an introduction to Kant's thought specifically written for theologians see Royce Gordon Gruenler, *Meaning and Understanding: The Philosophical Framework for Biblical Interpretation*, Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation Series, 2 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 35-45; Stanley Grenz and Roger E. Olson, *20th Century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992], 26-31; and Berkhof, 1-18.

philosophy includes, on one hand, the timeless nature of God and his truth, which is still uncritically accepted, and on the other hand, the limitation of man's reason to the spatio-temporal realm that does not allow for cognitive contact between man's reason and a timeless or supernatural object. The result of Kant's epistemological revolution was the conclusion that cognitive revelation of supernatural truths is impossible. Moreover, neither natural theology nor metaphysics, with their proofs of God's existence, could be fitted into this new philosophical interpretation of the presuppositional structure. Briefly put, the "Copernican revolution" produced by Kant occurred within the epistemological rather than the ontological realm. The existence of God and of the human soul are maintained, as is the classical timeless interpretation of their natures; what is disavowed in Kant's epistemological revolution is the possibility for a cognitive communication between God and man.[6]

2. *Revelation in the Liberal Model*

Kantian epistemology, when accepted, seems to render impossible any attempt to explain revelation. Since Christian theology has rather uncritically assumed that the role of extra-biblical philosophy in theology is to provide the interpretation of the presuppositional structure required for its development, Kant's revolution became a challenge that Christian theology, sooner or later, had to evaluate. The problem consisted, basically, in the fact that philosophy was criticizing and reinterpreting its classical views. Christian theology is still faced with the same question: Which interpretation of the presuppositional structure should be chosen? The choice cannot be made on rational absolute grounds, but rather in terms of preferences or traditions. Those who still believe that the classical interpretation of the presuppositional structure is to be chosen become "conservatives"; those who believe that the Kantian interpretation should be chosen became "liberals."

The first questions that a liberal theologian must answer regard whether revelation-inspiration is possible and what is its nature. Moreover, the place of Scripture as source of theology also needs clarification. Is it possible, then, to accept the new Kantian definition of the presuppositional structure and at the same time to claim the possibility and existence of divine revelation?

[6]Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 46. "Kant, the greatest philosopher of the movement, denied the very possibility of factual knowledge concerning a super-sensible order, and this appeared to seal the fate of the historic doctrine of revelation" (James I. Packer, "Contemporary Views of Revelation," 92). See also Carl F. Henry, "Divine Revelation," 261, 267.

Friedrich Schleiermacher, "the father of Modern Theology," undertook the difficult task of creating a new conception of revelation on the basis of Kant's rejection of classical intellectualism.[7] Schleiermacher not only provided the new model, but also developed it in a technical fashion that is still at the foundation of the many ways in which revelation has been interpreted within the tradition of liberal theology.[8] On the foundation laid by Schleiermacher, other theologians contributed both to the formulation and increasing popularity of the liberal model of revelation and inspiration, among then notably Rudolf Otto, Martin Buber, Emil Brunner, and Karl Barth.[9] We must now query what are the main features of the liberal model of the epistemological origin of Scripture as expressed by Schleiermacher, Otto, Buber, Brunner, and Barth. No attempt to develop in depth the doctrine of these representatives of the liberal model is attempted. Our search is rather for the basic structure of the model they all represent.[10]

Divine Activity

The liberal model of revelation-inspiration does not challenge or change the classical understanding of God.[11] God is still conceived to be

[7]For an introduction to Schleiermacher's thought, see Richard R. Niebuhr, "Friedrich Schleiermacher," in *A Handbook of Christian Theologians*, enlarged edition, ed. Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), 17-35; *Schleiermacher on Christ and Religion* (New York: Scribner's, 1964); and Keith Clements, *Friedrich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987).

[8]The central role played by Schleiermacher as the founder of the liberal model of theology is underlined, for instance, by Gnuse, 9; Abraham, "Inspiration, Revelation and Divine Action: A Study in Modern Methodist Theology," 47; and Packer, "Contemporary Views of Revelation," 92.

[9]I am aware that in his *Church Dogmatics* (*CD*), Barth consciously attempted to depart from liberal theology as conceived by Schleiermacher. For instance, Barth explicitly rejected the specific way in which Schleiermacher explained some aspects of the human contribution in the epistemological origin of Scripture (*CD*, I/1, 126). His theological approach departs from Schleiermacherian liberal theology in substantial aspects and properly deserves the designation Neo-Orthodox. However different Barth's and Brunner's general approaches to theology may be from those of 18th- and 19th-century liberal theologies on the issue of the epistemological origin of Scripture, the differences do not seem to reveal a different model but rather a more complete and explicit formulation of the liberal model originated by Schleiermacher.

[10]Regarding the way in which the idea of "theological model" is utilized in this article see Canale, 8-10.

[11]Plato's two-world theory can be detected at the base of the liberal model of theology. Regarding Plato's influence on Schleiermacher's thought, see, e.g., Terrence N. Tice, "Introduction," in *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, by Friedrich Schleiermacher, tr. Richard Crouter (Cambridge, Engl.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25.

"absolutely timeless."[12] Divine activity, consequently, is understood to operate within the timeless level of reality. "By the Eternity of God," Schleiermacher states, "we understand the absolutely timeless causality of God, which conditions not only all that is temporal but time itself as well."[13] The way in which the Bible presents God's causality within history cannot be integrated by the presuppositonal structure of the liberal model. This is why Schleiermacher remarks that "divine causality is only equal in compass to the finite in so far as it is opposite to it in kind, since if it were like it in kind, as it is often represented as being in anthropomorphic ideas of God, it too would belong to the sphere of interaction and thus be a part of the totality of the natural order."[14] Yet, divine activity "extends as widely as the order of nature and the finite causality contained in it." Applying this concept of divine activity rigorously, Schleiermacher concludes that God's creation "must be represented as the event in time which conditions all change," yet, must do so without making "the divine activity itself a temporal activity."[15] Consequently, any idea that may suggest a temporal sequence in God's activity must be consistently eliminated.[16] This is the kind of divine activity that generates revelation.

Rudolf Otto strengthened Schleiermacher's view by emphasizing the otherness of the reality causing revelation in man. This objective reality, which tradition calls God, Otto designates as the "numinous."[17] This "numinous" objective reality "outside the self" is qualified as "*Mysterium Tremendum.*"[18] "*Mysterium*" means in a pure negative sense "that which is beyond conception or understanding, extraordinary and unfamiliar."[19] "*Tremendum*" means "absolute unapproachability" and "absolute overpoweringness."[20] Moreover, the "numinous" is character-

[12]There is no doubt that Schleiermacher subscribed to the absolute timelessness of God. In this regard, see his brief but clear and well-articulated presentation (*The Christian Faith*, tr. from the 2d German ed. (1830) by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark. 1928), § 52, 1-2 and postscript.

[13]Ibid., § 52.

[14]Ibid., § 51.1.

[15]Ibid., § 41.

[16]See, e.g., ibid., § 42.1-2.

[17]Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, tr. John W. Harvey (London: Oxford, 1923), 11.

[18]Ibid., 11-13.7

[19]Ibid., 13.

[20]Ibid., 20.

ized as the "'wholly other', whose kind and character are incommensurable with our own."[21] Otto and Barth understand the divine as that reality which absolutely differs from nature and humanity. In so doing they not only assume the traditional conception of the timelessness of God but bring it to its most extreme expression. As in the case of Schleiermacher, Otto's "numinous wholly other" cannot act historically in history but only as the transcendent cause of human religious experiences.

Buber interprets the whole of reality in relational terms. I-it refers to the nonrelational world of things in nature and history.[22] I-thou refers to the world of relations.[23] "The world of *It* is set in the context of space and time. The world of *Thou* is not set in the context of either of these."[24] Knowledge and words belong to the world of *It*.[25] What man in the world of *It* (knowledge) calls God, Otto identifies in the world of reality (ontology) as the Eternal Thou.[26] Buber not only affirms the timeless nature of the Eternal Thou but, agreeing with Otto and Barth, understands Him as the absolutely transcendent wholly other.[27] This God does not act historically in history. To act historically in history corresponds to Buber's nonpersonal world of *It*. God's action is directly consummated in our own *I* through the mediation of the *Thou* of all beings.[28] In other words God acts "personally" in the

[21]Ibid, 28.

[22]"As experience, the world belongs to the primary word I-it" (Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, tr. Ronald Gregor Smith [New York: Scribner's, 1937], 6). "The history of the individual and that of the human race, in whatever they may continually part company, agree at least in this one respect, that they indicate a progressive augmentation of the world of It" (ibid., 37).

[23]"The primary word I-Thou establishes the world of relation" (ibid., 6). According to Buber the I-Thou world of relations includes three spheres: nature, humankind, and intelligible forms (ibid). God, being the Eternal Thou, does not belong to the world of relation but as the Wholly Other is the transcendent cause of all relations and the world of "It" as well.

[24]Ibid., 33 and 100.

[25]Ibid., 40-41.

[26]Ibid., 75-76.

[27]Ibid., 79. This absolute transcendence of God's being includes the closeness of real immanence to the point that panentheistic overtones seem to be at least implied in Buber's concept of God as Eternal Thou. Consider for instance the following statement: "Of course God is the 'wholly Other'; but He is also the wholly Same, the wholly Present. Of course He is the *Mysterium Tremendum* that appears and overthrows; but He is also the mystery of the self-evident, nearer to me than my I" (ibid.).

timeless dimension of the *Thou*. As will be seen below under the essence of revelation, "personal" refers to something that occurs logically on an existential (ontic) noncognitive level prior to its presence on the cognitive level of which it is the objective cause.

Emil Brunner, following Buber's analysis, also understands God as "pure 'Thou,'"[29] as "absolute Subject."[30] Even though rejecting a timeless interpretation of God in a Platonic sense, Brunner is still unable to overcome the traditional timeless interpretation of God's eternity.[31] For God, says Brunner, "the temporal—the separation into past, present, and future—do[es] not exist."[32] In this context God's revelatory activity is conceived to have "always and everywhere the character of a sudden event. It stands out from all ordinary happenings, from the 'normal' course of development, and is a kind of 'incursion from another dimension.'"[33]

Barth understands God's being as act rather than essence.[34] But act is not to be understood as something analogous to our human actions.[35] God conceived as act or event expresses the conception that God is an ontic reality grounded not in an eternal essence but rather in his eternal

[28]"Every particular *Thou* is a glimpse through to the eternal *Thou*; by means of every particular *Thou* the primary word addresses the eternal *Thou*. Through this mediation of the *Thou* of all beings fulfilment, and non-fulfilment, of relations comes to them: the inborn *Thou* is realised in each relation and consummated in none. It is consummated only in the direct relation with the *Thou* that by its nature cannot become *It*" (ibid., 75).

[29]Emil Brunner, *The Divine-Human Encounter*, tr. Amandus W. Loos (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1943), 87.

[30]"But God is not *a* Person, but Person, absolutely; not *a* Subject but absolute subject" (Emil Brunner, *Revelation and Reason: The Christian Doctrine of Faith and Knowledge*, tr. Olive Wyon [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1946], 24).

[31]Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of God*, tr. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1949), 266-270.

[32]Ibid., 270. It should be noticed to his credit, however, that Brunner's concept of God's eternity comes very close to the biblical historical temporal concept. However, the specific rejection of temporal succession of past, present, and future in the divine life contradicts Scripture and flows from the Platonic tradition he is trying to overcome. Systematically, however, Brunner seems only to modify rather than overcome the timelessness of the classical conception of God's being and eternity.

[33]Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 30.

[34]*CD* II/1, 257-272.

[35]Ibid., 264.

decision to be what he is.[36] This act or event includes at the same time God's being and his works.[37] The concept of revelation in Barth is necessarily tied to the concept of God as act. "God is who He is in the act of His revelation."[38] Because he is an act, God is a person who realizes and unites in himself "the fullness of all being."[39] In a very real sense, then, God's act includes and causes not only himself but also the entire universe of nature and history.[40] In short, "God exists in His act. God is His own decision. God lives from and by Himself."[41] In a true systematic fashion Barth immediately adds that "whatever else we may have to say must always correspond to this first definition."[42]

Furthermore, according to Barth this act or event who is God in his revelation has been "executed once for all in eternity."[43] Barth has wrestled extensively with the issue of God's eternity. He has attempted, as has Brunner in a less technical and detailed way, to bring time into the eternal act that is God. Barth is aware that an explanation of the historicity of the cross is to be provided while at the same time leaving undisturbed the traditional idea of God's timeless eternity. He discusses the issue extensively.[44] Barth's position is only a minor modification of the traditional timeless conception of God embraced notably by Boethius and Thomas Aquinas.[45] He declares that eternity is not simplicity that excludes the complexities and manifoldness of time (past, present, and future) and space, but on the contrary it includes in itself the complexity of time but in a simultaneous way.[46] The succession of

[36]"The fact that God's being is event, the event of God's act, necessarily (if when we speak of it, we turn our eyes solely on His revelation) means that it is His own conscious, willed and executed decision" (ibid., 271).

[37]Ibid., 260.

[38]Ibid., 257.

[39]Ibid., 268.

[40]Ibid., 260.

[41]Ibid., 272.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., 271.

[44]See for instance *CD*, II/1, 608-677.

[45]Ibid., 610-611.

[46]"The being is eternal in whose duration beginning, succession and end are not three but one, not separate as a first, a second and a third occasion, but one simultaneous occasion as beginning, middle and end. Eternity is the simultaneity of beginning, middle and end, and to that extent it is pure duration. Eternity is God in the sense in which in himself and in all things God is simultaneous, i.e., beginning and middle as well as end, without separation, distance or contradiction. Eternity is not, therefore, time, although

time (past, present, and future), therefore, is still denied to the being and act of God and his revelation. Thus, the basic ontological feature that characterizes the very essence of a timeless interpretation of God's being is still maintained by Barth. God's act of revelation, therefore, will not occur in the order of succession of our time but rather in the order of the simultaneity of his eternity. As we will see later under content of revelation, even the central event of Jesus Christ actually occurs in God's (simultaneous time) rather than in our time.

At this point variations between these main representatives of the liberal model seem minimal. They do, however, set the stage for more significant variations at the level of human activity and the content of revelation.

Human Activity

The main reason for the existence of a liberal model of revelation-inspiration is epistemological (interpretation of reason), rather than ontological (interpretation of the being of God or man). The liberal model of revelation replaces the classical interpretation of reason as being the active intellect capable, with supernatural help, of reaching into the timeless level of eternal divine truth, for with Kant's interpretation, reason is limited to the temporal-spatial realm. Truth about God, says Schleiermacher, "could not proceed outwardly from any fact, and even if it did in some incomprehensible way come to a human soul, it could not be apprehended by that soul, and retained as a thought; and if it could not be in any way perceived and retained, it could not become operative."[47] It must also be remembered that Kant's interpretation of human reason did not allow for the natural use of the active intellect. Thus, it follows that if Kant's transcendentalism is accepted, no room is allowed for the human intellect to be elevated in order to reach the timeless divine truth at a supernatural level. On the basis of this epistemological switch, revelation cannot be said to occur in the cognitive realm. Yet both Kant and Schleiermacher claim that, besides being capable of reason and action, the human soul has the capability of self-consciousness, that is, of a conscious awareness of itself.[48]

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time is certainly God's creation or more correctly, a form of His creation. Time is distinguished from eternity by the fact that in it beginning, middle and end are distinct and even opposed as past, present and future" (ibid., 608).

[47]Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, § 10 postscript.

[48]"Self-consciousness" is the technical term Schleiermacher uses to refer to feeling and piety (*The Christian Faith*, § 3, 2), yet it is not synonymous with them. Specifically, Schleiermacher uses the term "self-consciousness" to avoid any use of "the word 'feeling' in a sense so wide as to include unconscious states" (ibid.). See Grenz, 44.

Kant, speaking about aesthetics and art, defines feeling regarding sensory experiences as an inner modification in consciousness of the cognitive subject (self) about itself. The feeling experience gives rise to contents of pleasure and displeasure, and these form the basis for "a quite separate faculty of discriminating and estimating, that contributes nothing to knowledge."[49]

Schleiermacher and the liberal model of theology take Kant's concept of feeling and consider it as the technical, formal expression of the religious idea of piety. Specifically, religious feelings are said to occur in the area of human self-consciousness, which differs from knowledge in that it is totally passive.[50] This is the area of the self in which religion and revelation occur, taking place when God, the Eternal, enters into an immediate relationship with the human being, thereby originating piety or the feeling of absolute dependence within human self-consciousness.[51]

Otto, basically agreeing with Schleiermacher, points out that there must be a mental predisposition for revelation in man himself, "potentially present in the spirit as a dim or obscure *a priori* cognition."[52] However, this priori required to contact the numinous wholly other is not reason but feeling, which Otto designates as "'creature-consciousness' or creature-feeling."[53] The latter is basically defined as "the emotion of a creature, abased and overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures."[54]

Martin Buber analyzes the receptivity of man from the ontic rather than the epistemological perspective considered by Schleiermacher and Otto. Perception, knowledge, feeling, and imagination—according to Buber—belong to the realm of *It*, that is, to the realm of things in space

[49]Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, tr. James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 42.

[50]Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, § 3, 3.

[51]This happens directly in one's self-consciousness without the intervention of sensory perception or cognitive reason, and moreover the "self-identical essence of piety is this: the consciousness of being absolutely dependent, or, which is the same thing, of being in relation to God" (see ibid., § 4, 3).

[52]Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 164.

[53]"We said above that the nature of the numinous can only be suggested by means of the special way in which it is reflected in the mind in terms of feeling. 'Its nature is such that it grips or stirs the human mind with this and that determinate affective state'" (ibid., 12).

[54]Ibid., 10.

and time.[55]. The I-Thou world of timeless relation involves nature, men, and intelligible forms.[56] Consequently, human beings possess the ontic capability for the existential encounter at the timeless level of the Eternal Thou.[57] Feelings play the same epistemological role but only as a "mere accompaniment to the metaphysical and metapsychical fact of the relation, which is fulfilled not in the soul but between *I* and *Thou*."[58] The ontic receptivity of human existence emphasized by Buber harmonizes with the epistemological receptivity of feelings suggested by Schleiermacher and Otto.

Emil Brunner identifies "faith" as the human reception of revelation. Faith is "first of all an act of knowledge."[59] However, we are far from Aquinas's conception of faith residing in the intellect.[60] According to Brunner, reason functions within the "I-it," nonpersonal dimension while faith works "in the 'I-Thou' dimension, as a perception of the way in which love is recognized in love, and not in any other way."[61] So faith that receives revelation is an act of knowledge, not in the intellectual rational sense, but rather in the timeless existential personal sense. Brunner, then, understands faith as the human side of the divine-human existential personal encounter. "In faith I do not think, but God leads me to think; He does not communicate 'something' to me, but 'Himself.'"[62] So faith is knowledge but of a different kind (personal-existential) which works within its own timeless level, whereas reason works within the space-temporal dimension and the subject-object structure of things ("I-It").[63] Brunner disagrees with Schleiermacher, Otto, and Buber in seeing human reason, rather than feeling, as the cognitive capability that translates the personal existential

[55]"I perceive something. I am sensible to something. I imagine something. I will something. I feel something. I think something. The life of human beings does not consist of all this and the like alone. This and the like together establish the realm of *It*" (ibid., 4).

[56]Ibid., 6.

[57]"The *Thou* meets me through grace—it is not found by seeking. But my speaking of the primary word to it is an act of my being, is indeed *the* act of my being. The *Thou* meets me. but I step into direct relation with it" (ibid., 11).

[58]Ibid., 81.

[59]Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 34.

[60]Aquinas, *Summa theologica* 2a-2ae, 4.2.

[61]Ibid., 36.

[62]Brunner, *The Divine-Human Encounter*, 85.

[63]"Revealed knowledge is poles apart from rational knowledge. These two forms of knowledge are as far from each other as heaven is from earth" (Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 16).

content of revelation into knowledge and speech.[64] It should be noticed here that Brunner seems to understand reason within the limits of Kant's epistemology rather than according to the interpretation of the Aristotelic-Thomistic tradition.

Barth's position develops at great length and with detailed technical analysis a view in general similar to that of Brunner. However, he goes beyond Brunner in clearly rejecting the existence of an a priori natural capability of man for the reception of revelation.[65]. Barth affirms that God's act of revelation requires logically and necessarily a corresponding capability for such an act in man.[66] However, in Barth's view God's act of revelation by itself simultaneously and miraculously creates in man the receptivity for revelation, namely faith.[67] This existential and timeless encounter affects the whole being of men including his "will and conscience and feeling and all other anthropological centers."[68]

It seems clear that according to the liberal model, the human reception of God's timeless revelatory activity is displaced from reason to a supposed timeless depth of man's being. This existential (ontic) encounter indirectly also affects man's consciousness (epistemological level) either in the area of feeling and imagination or even in the realm of reason understood within the temporal limits expressed in Kant's epistemology.

The Essence or Nature of Revelation

Revelation, according to Schleiermacher, is a "divine and therefore eternal act."[69] Within a Kantian interpretation of the presuppositional structure, it is impossible to accept that God's revelatory activity operating "upon man as a cognitive being"[70] can become an important

[64]Ibid., 15-17.

[65]There is no human awareness corresponding to the divine utterance (*CD* I/1, 149). "Where God speaks, it is meaningless to cast about for the corresponding act" (ibid., 162, 224).

[66]Ibid., 220.

[67]Barth explains "that the possibility of knowing corresponding to the real Word of God has simply come to him, man, that it sets forth a quite inconceivable *novum* in direct contrast to all his ability and capacity, and is only to be regarded as a pure fact, like the Word of God itself" (ibid., 222).

[68]Ibid., 231.

[69]Ibid., § 13.1.

[70]Ibid., § 10 postscript. Here Schleiermacher's acceptance of Kant's epistemological theory can be detected. Religion does not belong either to the scientific or ethical realms (*On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, tr. Richard Crouter [Cambridge, Engl.: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 77). Nash is correct in labeling this position

central feature of the liberal model of revelation-inspiration. If revelation cannot occur on the cognitive level, the only possible way to argue in favor of both the possibility and reality of divine revelation is to find in man a realm other than reason in which revelation would be possible. This is precisely the key to the liberal model suggested by Schleiermacher. Divine revelation operates within the realm of man's feelings (piety) conceived as a faculty besides reason (science) and action (morals).[71] It can be clearly perceived that if God's eternal revelatory activity reaches human feelings, rather than human reason, it cannot communicate divine truths or propositions. According to the liberal model, divine revelation is possible and real. Yet, it produces no knowledge, information, meaning, or propositions, but rather a feeling of absolute dependence. God's action, then, appears only as the "whence" and the "co-determinant" of such a feeling.[72] Schleiermacher has clearly summarized the liberal position regarding the essence of revelation and inspiration by remarking that "revelation is only to be assumed when not a single moment but a whole existence is determined by such a divine communication, and that what is then proclaimed by such an existence is to be regarded as revealed."[73]

Otto follows Schleiermacher's epistemological approach rather than exploring the ontic existential foundation of such an epistemology of self-consciousness as the feeling of absolute dependence. According to Otto the essence of revelation consists in the human experience of the "numinous."

As was already pointed out, the "numinous" is "mysterious." That the "numinous" we experience is "mysterious" means that it "is beyond our apprehension and comprehension, not only because our knowledge has certain irremovable limits, but because in it we come upon something inherently 'wholly other' whose kind and character are incommensurable with our own, and before which we therefore recoil in a wonder that strikes us chill and numb."[74] This experience, as in

"theological agnosticism" (374), which is certainly a result of Kant's agnosticism. However, considering that agnosticism is the limitation of knowledge to a certain area rather than the total absence of knowledge, one could argue that the liberal model embraces an absolute form of theological agnosticism which amounts to systematic theological skepticism.

[71]Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 89-90.

[72]Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, § 4, 4. The consensus of liberal theologians during the last two centuries, that "God has not spoken, and indeed, cannot speak" (Nash, 373), seems to be a consequence of Schleiermacher's interpretation of revelation.

[73]Ibid., § 10, postscript.

[74]Ibid., 28.

Schleiermacher, cannot produce knowledge but only "creature-feeling."[75] In a clear sense, then, Otto's view also proposes a noncognitive origin of revelation.

According to Buber, revelation occurs as an existential encounter in the mutuality of the "I-Thou" relation. The essence of this encounter is that it connects the existence of God with the existence of man. That encounter occurs in the timelessness of the "I-Thou" relation. Consequently, in the encounter of revelation "man receives, and he receives no specific 'content' but a Presence, a Presence as power."[76] However, in the personal encounter "there is the inexpressible confirmation of meaning. Meaning is assured. Nothing can any longer be meaningless."[77] Yet this meaning received in the encounter cannot "be transmitted and made into knowledge generally current and admissible."[78] Buber's conception of the essence of revelation as noncognitive existential encounter is clearly visible in the following passage.

> That before which, in which, out of which, and into which we live, even the mystery, has remained what it was. It has become present to us and in its presentness has proclaimed itself to us as salvation; we have "known" it, but we acquire no knowledge from it which might lessen or moderate its mysteriousness.[79]

In no uncertain terms Brunner agrees that in essence revelation is a noncognitive, non-historical, existential event that takes place at the the "I-Thou" level.[80]

Karl Barth is also convinced that divine revelation is essentially a divine, personal, nnoncognitive nonhistorical event in the order of everyday temporal succession.[81] However, Barth goes a step further in

[75] For "creature-feeling" to arise "there must be something 'numinous', something bearing the character of a 'numen', to which the mind turns spontaneously" (Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 11).

[76]Buber, *I and Thou*, 110.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid., 111.

[79]Ibid.

[80]For instance, Brunner explains that "in dealing with genuine, primary faith, i.e., when God reveals Himself to me in His Word, we are not then concerned with a 'something.' In His Word, God does not deliver to me a course of lectures in dogmatic theology, He does not submit to me or interpret for me the content of a confession of faith, but He makes Himself accessible to me" (*The Divine-Human Encounter*, 84, c.f. 87, 89). See also idem, *Revelation and Reason*, 8, 27, 2830-31; and *Theology of Crisis*, 32-35.

[81]In its ultimate sense, "God's Word is not a thing to be described, nor is it a concept to be defined. It is neither a content nor an idea. It is not 'a truth,' not even the very highest truth. It is the truth because it is God's person speaking, *Dei loquentis*

claiming that the "Eternal Act of His Word" as it is spoken also includes and generates a historical "corespondent" in the created realm that always is co-given or accompanies the inner grounding revelatory spiritual act.[82] This historical correspondent to the "Eternal Act of the Word of God," however, is not to be identified with the essence of Revelation.[83] Barth seems to introduce this variation in order to make room, within the liberal model of revelation, for the biblical claim that Jesus Christ is "the objective reality of revelation," in other words, that "according to Holy Scripture God's revelation takes place in the fact that God's Word became a man and that this man has become God's Word. The incarnation of the eternal Word, Jesus Christ, is God's revelation."[84] This historical correspondent plays a significant role in Barth's position on the content of revelation which is discussed in our next section.

By now the fact that the essence of the liberal model of revelation and inspiration does not belong to the realm of knowledge but rather to the inner realm of personal noncognitive encounter with God has become clear. Thus, the divine-human encounter which constitutes the essence of revelation takes place within the realm of man's self-consciousness and feeling, and in that realm it originates in the environment of noncognitive, timeless, existential personal encounter.[85]

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persona. It is not something objective. It is the objective, because it is the subjective, namely, God's subjective. God's word means God speaking" (*CD*, I/1, 155). God's speech is equal to his eternal act, that is equal to who he is. In other words Barth is not contradicting himself when he talks about *Dei loquentis persona* because the *loquentis* is equal to his eternal act and does not belong to the level of history and therefore of reason, imagination, feeling, and action.

[82]Ibid., 151.

[83]Barth himself explains that since "the Word of God is itself God's act," "it has nothing to do with the general problem of historical understanding. Of course the question of some sort of historical understanding always arises when the Word of God is manifest to us in its contemporaneousness. But it is not that sort of historical understanding as such which signifies the hearing, and is the basis of the proclamation, of the Word of God. Where the Word of God is heard and proclaimed, something happens which in spite of all interpretative skill cannot be brought about by interpretative skill" (*CD* I/1, 168).

[84]*CD* I/2, 1; see 1-44.

[85]In his *On Religion*, Schleiermacher had already stated that the divine encounter "is not really a separate moment at all. The penetration of existence within this immediate union ceases as soon as it reaches consciousness. Then a vivid and clear perspective arises before you, like the image of an absent mistress in the eyes of her young lover; or feeling works its way out from deep within you and spreads over your whole being, like the blush of modesty and love over a young girl's face." He concludes "that what we have to do with here is beyond time and yet, precisely because of this, is rightly placed at the apex of all things temporal"(87-88).

In the preceding section it has been shown that man has a passive capability to be acted upon by the timeless divine activity which grounds the personal encounter structure.

The Content of Revelation

Because in the liberal model the content of revelation is the noncognitive, divine-human encounter, it follows that no idea, information, or words are originated by the divine activity. The event of revelation communicates neither timeless nor temporal historical truths. The way in which this content is "translated" into historically conditioned ideas and words will be dealt with later on under the section on inspiration. But before we move on to consider the way in which the liberal model conceives the way in which Scripture was written down, it is necessary to consider whether the historical temporal existence of Jesus of Nazareth plays any role as source of biblical content or whether it is only the product of the religious imagination of the community.

Otto criticizes Schleiermacher's position because he conceives Christ only "as the supreme divining *subject*, not as the *object* of divination *par excellence*."[86] Otto asks whether it would be possible to conceive Christ in harmony with Christianity's claim that in his own person he is "'holiness made manifest', that is, a person in whose being, life, and mode of living we realize of ourselves by 'intuition and feeling' the self-revealing power and presence of the Godhead."[87] Otto's proposal is worked out in Kantian terms. Against Schleiermacher Otto suggests that divination is not a universal faculty shared by every human being. Only some holy men and prophets have the capability to experience the numinous and express it in their own lives, acts, and words. In this way these men become objective revelations of holiness made manifest. We are able to recognize these men, notably Christ, as objective impressions of the numen on us because a priori, in our own inner consciousness, we possess an "element of cognition, comprehension, and valuation," namely, the category of the holy. Thus, the numinous "impression" made by Christ in us is not the result of every-day historical occurrences but rather of the a priori category of the holy which allows us to discover in the man Jesus' divination his objective experience of

[86]Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 159. Otto defines divination as the faculty "of *genuinely* cognizing and recognizing the holy in its appearances" (ibid., 148).

[87]Ibid., 159.

the numinous.[88] In this indirect sense, then, it could be said that Jesus is also the content of revelation.

Brunner seems to go further than Otto. He boldly states that a person "in space and time, is himself the Word. The Word of God, because it is a personal word, is present as a person. This is what the Christian calls revelation; 'the Word was made flesh and we have seen his glory.'"[89] Yet, Brunner hastens to qualify this statement by warning us that the revelation of the Word in space and time is not direct and consequently should not be confused with "miraculous theophanies."[90] The revelation of the Word in space and time, explains Brunner, is indirect. "Thus the historical appearance of the human personality of Jesus is not, as such, revelation; it is revelation only in so far as in this historical, human personality the eternal Son of God is recognized. The *incognito* of his historical appearance can be pierced only by the eye of faith."[91] It is difficult to see how either Otto's or Brunner's position could take the historical Jesus as a direct source of revelation. It seems that only the timeless, noncognitive existential divine-human encounter and its salvific experience is the content of revelation.

Barth's articulation of the content of revelation is more elaborate. He certainly agrees that the existential encounter produced by the "Eternal Act of the Word" in man is the content of revelation to which the Bible writers are witnesses. As does Brunner, Barth also attempts to go beyond the existential encounter to include Christ as the content of revelation. Consequently, it is not infrequent to read statements to the effect that revelation is equal with Jesus Christ. For instance, early in his *Church Dogmatics* Barth affirms that "revelation in fact does not differ from the Person of Jesus Christ, and again does not differ from the reconciliation that took place in Him. To say revelation is to say, 'The Word became flesh.'"[92]

However, Barth also identifies Jesus Christ with the eternal nonhistorical act of God's Word which is the core of revelation as existential encounter.[93] Here Barth works on the basis of the idea that

[88]Ibid., 160-165.

[89]Brunner, *The Theology of Crisis*, 34.

[90]Ibid., 34.

[91]Ibid., 35.

[92]Barth, *CD* I/1, 134.

[93]Barth's scheme requires three levels of "time" or "history" to explain the phenomenon of the revelation of the Word of God in the man Jesus of Nazareth. First he speaks of God's own being as not timeless but rather "historical even in its eternity" (*CD*, III/1, 66). This "historicity" of God is conceived to be the very source of time (ibid., 67).

in its essence the act of revelation creates its external correspondent in the world of space and time. These external correspondents are called "signs." He points out that "among the signs of the objective reality of revelation we have to understand certain definite events and relations and orders within the world in which revelation is an objective reality, and therefore within the world which is also our world, the world of nature and history."[94] In this way Barth explains the historical facts (fallen, historicist history) in Scripture including Israel's history, Jesus of Nazareth, and the Christian church.[95]

Ontologically natural and historical phenomena become signs because they are chosen by the eternal act of God to play that role.[96] The historicist meaning of nature or history has nothing to do in the choosing. As a matter of fact, Barth clearly states that the whole of signs contained in biblical history "might equally well have been quite different."[97] Moreover, epistemologically, between the external sign (historicist time) and the internal reality of the Word of God (eternal time of God and grace) there can be only a correspondence of contradic-

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This historical eternity however is conceived by Barth as simultaneity, where the proper succession that belongs to the essence of time does not exist (ibid.; see the detailed discussion on God's eternity in *CD*, II/1, 608-677). On the contrary, simultaneity logically and traditionally describes the very essence of timelessness. Second, Barth speaks of the mutually corresponding times of creation and redemption (*CD*, III/1, 75). This time is grounded in grace and "is constituted by God's own presence in Jesus Christ in the world created by Him" (ibid., 73). The description of this time of grace, the time of the incarnation, is made by Barth in temporal terms that clearly assume the absence of temporal succession, that is, the time of the incarnation is still not time but eternity (ibid., 73-74). Finally, Barth speaks of "fallen time" that is our time. "It is the time whose flux has become a flight." Barth recognizes that this "is our only time" (ibid., 7). When Barth turns to the issue of historicity he affirms that the historicity of creation and grace is nonhistorical in the historicist sense. Historicist history is our real history in the order of succession. Creation, redemption, and therefore revelation occur in the nonhistorical part of what Barth also calls "prehistory." It seems clear, then, that the encounter of revelation and the act of the revelation in the incarnation of Jesus Christ belong to the nonhistorical side, closer to the eternal act of God.

[94]*CD* I/2, 223. "The fact that God's revelation is also a sign-giving is one side, the objective side, as it were, of its subjective reality" (ibid., 224).

[95]Ibid., 224-227.

[96]The eternal "choosing" is explained by Barth in the case of the historicist humanity of Jesus Christ as an eternal *assumptio* which amounts to an eternal adoptionism in which the historicist human nature of Jesus of Nazareth is assumed in the eternal act that God is (ibid., 155). In short, for Barth the Johannine *egeneto* amounts to the eternal adoption of the man Jesus of Nazareth (ibid., 159-171). By virtue of that adoption the historical Jesus can be the external form of the Word of God that remains always the same.

[97]Ibid., 225.

tion. Barth specifically clarifies that "the place where God's Word is manifest is, objectively and subjectively, the cosmos in which sin rules. The form of the Word of God is therefore really that of the cosmos which stands in contradiction to God. It as little has in it the capacity of revealing God to us as we on our part have the capacity for knowing God in it."[98]

Here we face a clearly ontological and epistemological duality in the Platonic and Kantian traditions. In their being chosen by God the signs have a reality and meaning (eternal time, time of grace) different and contradictory to the reality and meaning that correspond to them in the real world of space and time.[99] The duality between timelessness and temporality stems from Platonic tradition; the rejection of analogy between the two orders stems from the Kantian tradition. Truly, signs, including Scripture which is obviously a sign also, are sacraments whose meaning, always given, not by the external form, but by the internal, spiritual act of the Word of God, is always one and the same "*iustificatio* or *sanctificatio hominis*."[100]

By way of conclusion on the content of revelation we can suggest that Barth clearly teaches that the ultimate content of Scripture is always the existential encounter produced, via sacrament, by the "Eternal Act of the Word of God." In that he agrees with the liberal model. On the ontological side, however, his conception of the omnipotence and sovereignty of the eternal act of God seems to suggest that biblical writers were also given by God some "signs" or "forms" in historicist history. These could be considered as "content" of revelation, though of a different and lower kind that the real revelation in the Word. These signs basically would include the history of Israel and the life of Jesus of Nazareth. From the epistemological point of view, however, the one in which this article is interested, Barth's explanation that God assumed the historicist history of the sign, which is worked out not by him directly, but by the human agent, seems to suggest that biblical authors were able to identify God's signs, the external form of his Word, only on the basis of their personal noncognitive encounter with God. Either way it seems that Barth has made an effort to suggest that the content of revelation attested by the biblical writers also includes natural and historical phenomena chosen by God, mainly the history of Israel and the life of Jesus Christ. Yet because of his clear emphasis that the real content of revelation consists not in its external

[98]*CD* I/1, 189-190.

[99]*CD* I/2, 223.

[100]Ibid., 230; see also 228-232.

form (sign) but rather in the noncognitive, nonhistorical existential encounter in which God meets human beings, Barth evidently works within the liberal model of revelation-inspiration.

It seems clear that according to the liberal model. the ideas, information, concepts, and data we find in Scripture have been epistemologically originated by human cognitive activity without any contribution from God. The entire contents of Scripture, then, are human and historically conditioned. Thus, the liberal model of revelation juxtaposes the divine and the human in such a way that the contact between them does not involve any direct communication of truth or information, but rather provides an indirect stimulus to write (within historical limitations) about that which properly belongs to the timeless level of reality, namely, God and the religious experience.

The liberal model includes a variety of submodels which identify revelation with a specific kind of divine activity;[101] yet, these submodels always work within the parameters drawn by the liberal model of revelation. Thus, Avery Dulles' classification of models of revelation—"Revelation as History," "Revelation as Inner Experience," "Revelation as Dialectical Presence," and "Revelation as New Awareness"—appears to set forth variations or submodels of the liberal model.[102]

3. *Inspiration in the Liberal Model*

The liberal model maintains that the process of writing down Scriptures is essentially "an exclusively human activity."[103] The human writer of Scripture worked only with historically conditioned contents. No special divine charism is claimed to have assisted biblical writers. However, there is a way in which this model traces religious discourse back to God: The inner timeless encounter of absolute dependence is considered to be the ultimate cause that motivates the origination of all religious discourse, including, of course, the Bible.

Schleiermacher connects the feeling of absolute dependence with the origin of biblical and dogmatic writings by claiming that human self -consciousness includes two inseparable, interconnected levels, one sensible and the other absolute. Consequently, he speaks of an absolute

[101]For the existence of different levels of models and paradigms, see, e.g., Küng, 134-135.

[102]Dulles, *Models*, 53-114; see also 27.

[103]Nix, 456; see also Nash, 375, and Gordon Lewis, "The Human Authorship of Inspired Scripture," in *Inerrancy*, ed. Norman L. Geisler [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980], 231-233.

and a sensible self-consciousness or feeling.[104]. Absolute self-consciousness is able "to manifest itself in time, by entering into relation with the sensible self-consciousness so as to constitute a moment."[105] Thus, since within human self-consciousness the feeling of absolute dependence (originated by a timeless God) always co-occurs with feelings of pleasure and pain (originated by sensory temporal experiences), the feeling of absolute dependence is always linked to the content of the sensible self-consciousness through which it expresses itself. In the very instant of its origination, this content becomes the content of its external historical manifestation, and when the feeling of absolute dependence is linked to it, the result is emotion.[106] Even when emotions express the feeling of absolute dependence, they are not knowledge, however, for they belong to the precognitive level of inner self-consciousness. Consequently, the writing down of religious literature becomes "the attempt to translate the inward emotions into thoughts."[107] Biblical teachings, and Christian doctrines as well, are "nothing but the expressions given to the Christian self-consciousness and its connexions."[108]

As we have already pointed out, Otto, following Schleiermacher's lead, speaks of a human faculty of divination that allows some to *genuinely* cognize and recognize "the holy in its appearances."[109] These cognitions, however, are not identified with rational knowledge but rather with intuitions of the eternal beyond the temporal, which "in turn, assume shape in definite statements and propositions, capable of a certain groping formulation, which are not without analogy with theoretic propositions, but are to be clearly distinguished from them by their free and merely felt, not reasoned, character."[110]

The process of writing down the existential content of revelation is for Buber a process of translation or transmutation between two incompatible orders, the "I-Thou" order of the eternal encounter and the "I-It" order of spatio-temporal objectivity and knowledge.[111]

[104]Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, § 5, 4-5.

[105]Ibid., § 5, 4.

[106]Ibid., § 5, 5.

[107]Ibid., § 13, postscript.

[108]Ibid. See also § 16, postscript.

[109]Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 148.

[110]Ibid., 150-151.

[111]The writer needs "to grasp as an object that which he has seen with the force of presence, he will have to compare it with objects, establish it in its order among classes of objects, describe and analyze it objectively. Only as *It* can it enter the structure of knowledge" (Buber, *I and Thou*, 40).

Brunner explicitly rejects the classical theory of verbal inspiration.[112] However, he explicitly affirms the guidance of the Holy Spirit on the Bible writers (inspiration) but in a way that does not rule out "human search, human weakness, and the possibility of mistakes in action and in behavior."[113] The real problem, however, in Brunner's doctrine of inspiration is determined by his previously formulated concept of revelation as a timeless, nonhistorical, noncognitive existential encounter within the "I-Thou" order. After such an encounter the Bible writer "speaks *about* God, about his Lord, Christ; God is now the *Object* of his proclamation."[114] Clearly following the same general pattern established by Buber, Brunner claims that the written "word of the Apostle through preaching stands, as mediator, between the 'Thou-word' through which he became an Apostle, and the 'Thou-word' through which the 'other' becomes a believer, through which the Christian community, the Church, comes into being."[115] Obviously this same structure applies to the written word in Scripture. The written word is the *It* that as a sacrament mediates between the two divine actions in the apostle and the believer. The content, of course, comes from the Eternal *Thou* of God and not from the written form or content of the *It* order of human language.

Barth also clearly rejects the seventeenth-century doctrine of inspiration "as false doctrine."[116] The process by which Scripture was written is conceived to be a purely human process of "witnessing to revelation."[117] As witnesses to revelation, human authors created by their own agency the formal, temporal, external, cognitive "correspondent" or "written sign" to the eternal spiritual existential noncognitive Act of the Word of God.[118] The human element does not cease to be

[112]Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 127-130.

[113]Ibid., 128.

[114]Ibid., 120.

[115]Ibid., 121.

[116]*CD* I/2, 525.

[117]*CD* I/1, 125-126.

[118]"It is quite impossible that there should be a direct identity between the human word of Holy Scripture and the Word of God, and therefore between the creaturely reality in itself and as such and the reality of God the Creator. It is impossible that there should have been a transmutation of the one into the other or an admixture of the one with the other. This is not the case even in the person of Christ where the identity between God and man, in all the originality and indissolubility in which it confronts us, is an assumed identity" (*CD* I/2, 499). Barth goes on to draw an analogy between the incarnation of the Word in the humanity of Christ and the humanity of Scripture (ibid., 500-501). As discussed earlier in this article, in both cases the human part is eternally

human, as well as fully and totally historically conditioned.[119] It necessarily follows that errors are contained in Scripture.[120]

As we already pointed out, the content of revelation according to Barth consists in the internal, timeless, nonhistorical, "Eternal Act of His Word" and the external correspondent of historical and natural signs, including the history of Israel and the life of Jesus of Nazareth, willed and assumed in the very self-same act. It is easy to see how biblical writers acting within their natural and therefore fallible cognitive capacities may have gathered historical information from their own witnessing of facts or through a process of oral or written tradition. Yet, were they also able to talk about the real content of revelation, the nonhistorical, noncognitive encounter with the Word of God? Barth answers in the affirmative. The activity of speaking about the Word of God is characterized, in good liberal terms, as divination, while the language produced by divination is characterized as saga. Thus, divination is the cognitive process by which the unaided human intuition attempts to translate the timeless existential content of the encounter into the contradictory realm of time and space thus producing a written account under the category of saga (poetry).[121] It

chosen, assumed, or adopted by God's eternal decision. Ontologically, then, it can be said that God is the ultimate cause of the external form or sign. Epistemologically, though, that is regarding its actual content and meaning, it is entirely caused by the temporal, historical, historicist nature of the human being and reason. For a discussion of Barth's analogy between Christ and Scripture, see Frank Hasel, "The Christological Analogy of Scripture in Karl Barth," *TZ* 50 (1994): 41-49.

[119]Talking about the human authors of Scripture, Barth remarks that "their action was their own, and like every human action, an act conditioned by and itself conditioning its temporal and spatial environment" (*CD* I/2, 505). "Not only part but all that they say is historically related and conditioned" (ibid., 509).

[120]Prophets and apostles "even in their office, even in their function as witnesses, even in the act of writing down their witness, were real, historical men as we are, and therefore sinful in their action, and capable and actually guilty of error in their spoken and written word" (ibid., 529).

[121]Regarding the nature of human language about the objective revelation produced by the Word of God, Barth argues the "in addition to the 'historical' there has always been a legitimate 'non-historical' and pre-historical view of history, and its 'non-historical' and pre-historical depiction in the form of saga" (*CD*, III/1, 81). Saga is clearly defined as "an intuitive and poetic picture of a pre-historical reality of history which is enacted once and for all within the confines of time and space" (ibid.). The cognitive process by which the intuitive translation of the nonhistorical to the historical is understood by Barth as divination, which "means the vision of the historical emergence which precedes 'historical' events and which can be guessed from that which has emerged and in which 'historical' history takes place" (ibid., 83). In short, divination "looks to the basic and impelling occurrence behind the everyday aspect of history, where the latter is not only no less history than on this everyday aspect but has indeed its source and is to that extent history in a higher sense" (ibid.).

should be remembered (1) that such a translation is made between incompatible nonanalogical levels, and (2) that in the first level we not only have no space and time but also no knowledge as we know it, and (3) that the intuition and linguistic expression is made by fallen men without any supernatural aid.[122] According to Barth, then, Scripture is a humanly conceived and produced document which generally is a mixture of history and saga, with some exceptional occurrence of either pure saga (as in the creation accounts) or pure history.[123] No divinely originated cognitive contents are to be found in the whole of Scripture. Scripture itself is one of the many external historical signs that God uses sacramentally, in connection with which God may choose to produce the existential encounter in the believer.[124]

Finally, if inspiration may still refer to a divine influence on the writing of Scripture, the liberal model, following Schleiermacher's lead, seems to favor a switch regarding the locus where such activity might be recognized from the individual to the social level.[125] Accordingly, inspiration would work, not on the writers, but rather on the entire community that historically conditions the contents of emotions, knowledge, and words utilized by these writers. This "social" view of inspiration, however, does not change the fact that the epistemological origin of Scripture is human.

It is possible to say, then, that the liberal model of inspiration has no place for direct divine activity in the cognitive-linguistic process of writing Scripture. The writing of Scripture was achieved by the power of human imagination, which replaces reason. In essence, moreover, the process of writing Scripture was historical and therefore fallible and limited.[126] Borrowing the terms utilized by the classical model, it is possible to suggest that according to the liberal model the reach of human activity in the writing of Scripture is full and plenary. By the same token the divine activity seems to be eliminated fully and completely.

[122]That is why Barth comments that divination "looks to the point where from the standpoint of 'history' everything is dark, although in fact it is only from this point that 'history' can emerge and be clear" (ibid., 83).

[123]Ibid., 82.

[124]*CD* I/2, 532-533.

[125]See *The Christian Faith*, § 130.

[126]Consequently, the liberal model of revelation-inspiration allows for errors to be found not only in biblical expressions but also in biblical teachings. Moreover, the task of theology includes the discovering and elimination of such errors.

4. *Implications for Theology*

A study of the far-reaching implications of the acceptance of the liberal model of revelation-inspiration for the constitution of Christian theology cannot be probed in this article. But the importance of such a study cannot be understated, since the liberal model seems to have been accepted in the theological circles of a vast majority of Christian denominations.[127] Therefore, it is appropriate to outline some of the results of applying the liberal model of revelation-inspiration to Scripture as the source of theological data in order to have a better understanding of the full theological significance of this model. First of all, it should be noticed that since according to the liberal model the contents and words of Scripture are not produced by human reason but by human imagination,[128] Christian theology is left without objective cognitive foundations. Theological pluralism becomes an unavoidable result of the liberal model of revelation-inspiration.[129] Second, since biblical words and meanings are wholly human, biblical exegesis is to be undertaken with the same tools and procedures utilized by the historical and literary sciences.[130] Third, liberal theology has felt free to play, so to speak, with the biblical contents in their possible role as sources of theology, which are processed mainly under two basic categories: history and literature. Because the content of theology in the liberal model is not historical but rather transcendent and timeless, such play has no direct bearing on the constitution and determination of the contents of Christian theology. And fourth, philosophy, science, tradition, and experience are called by the liberal model to play a grounding role as sources of theology, a role that properly belongs to Scripture.

5. *Conclusion*

In my previous article the classical model was explored. In this one, with the description of the most common general features of the liberal

[127]Its outreach is said to include, among others, Roman Catholicism (Schökel, 218) and most Southern Baptist seminaries and colleges (Nash, 34). Gordon Lewis has studied the case of Berkouwer, who began with the classical model of revelation-inspiration, but later switched to the liberal model (236). This case should not be considered an isolated one, however.

[128]The role of imagination in the constitution of theology has been given extensive analytical and technical consideration in David Tracy, *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* (New York: Crossroad, 1981).

[129]See Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, § 10, postscript.

[130]See ibid., § 27, 3, and § 130, 2.

model, we have completed our historical journey in search of the general characteristics of the models by which the explanation of the epistemological origin of Scripture has been formulated throughout the history of Christian theology. As the reader may have noticed, my purpose was not and is not to criticize either model. It is my personal opinion that one has to recognize that both models have been developed with a high degree of inner coherence and that both are theoretically possible. The purpose for describing both the classical and liberal models was to provide the necessary context to help us to see whether a proper explanation of the epistemological origin of Scripture may require a new model or whether Christian theology can still attempt its proper task by utilizing various versions of the existing models.

From the brief analytical description of the classical and liberal models of revelation and inspiration, it seems possible to draw at least the following general conclusions:

First, as the consequences of both models are briefly considered it becomes apparent that great portions of Scripture (classical model) or the whole content of Scripture (liberal model) are rendered practically irrelevant as sources of theology. Thus, Christian theology is driven to draw the contents for its doctrines more from science, philosophy, experience, and tradition than from Scripture. Only when inspiration is understood as revelation in the classical model or, to put it in another way, when in the classical model inspiration is disconnected from the doctrine of revelation, the whole of Scripture becomes theoretically authoritative as a source of theology in its entirety.

Second, the formulation of the liberal model of inspiration and revelation was required by epistemological changes produced within the presuppositional framework that contradicted the presuppositions utilized by the classical model. Accordingly, human consciousness came to be conceived as limited to the historical realm, and therefore, unable to have cognitive contact with a nonhistorical, nontemporal reality, namely God.

Third, both models seem to have difficulties integrating the two main types of data that should be accounted for in any doctrine of revelation-inspiration. These main types of data are (1) what Scripture says about itself (biblical doctrine about itself) and (2) what Scripture is (phenomena of Scripture). The classical model seems to have difficulties in properly accounting for the phenomena of Scripture, while the liberal model appears to find greater difficulty in following what Scripture says about itself.

Fourth, both models seem to be incapable of providing an explanation of the epistemological origin of Scripture in which both the divine and the human agencies are properly recognized in their specific contributions to the constitution of biblical contents and words. Again, the classical model has

difficulties accounting for the contributions of the human agency while the liberal model is unable to properly include the divine as depicted in Scripture.

Fifth, it seems clear that the difficulties presented so far are the result of the presuppositional structure on which these models are built. The common denominator shared by these two models comes into view when their conviction that God's nature and activities are to be interpreted as timeless is uncovered. The analysis of these two models, then, seems to indicate that a timeless interpretation of the divine being and its activity is the structural cause of the shortcomings each model appears unable to overcome.

Sixth, the reason why both models follow a timeless interpretation of God lies in the fact that neither of them follow the methodological principle of *sola Scriptura* but rather build their views utilizing extrabiblical philosophical principles and methodologies.

Finally, in their departure from the *sola Scriptura* principle, both models follow a procedure that is essentially unscientific. A methodology that interprets an object according to categories that are alien to it seems to ignore the basic scientific principle according to which any object of scientific inquiry should be allowed to express itself freely and fully. A scientific approach to the study of the epistemological origin of Scripture, then, can neither follow the classical nor liberal models of revelation-inspiration because they apply to the object of study presuppositions that are alien to it. A scientific approach to the investigation of the epistemological origin of Scripture should be built on the basis of a total commitment to the *sola Scriptura* principle from which both the presuppositional structure and the data for a new model of revelation and inspiration must flow.

These brief suggestions regarding the common characteristics shared by the classical and liberal models of revelation-inspiration seem to indicate the necessity not only for the formulation of a new model, but also, once it is built, that its theological consequences be followed. Such a new model should be built on the basis of the biblical ground uncovered in my first article and following the methodology discussed in the second. Once the possibility, methodology, and need for the development of a new model of revelation and inspiration have been explored, we may dedicate attention to the actual formulation of the basic structure of the new model. Later will come the actual development of a fullfledged theory of revelation and inspiration that may discuss in a detailed way all the issues that are, in one way or another, related to the epistemological origin of Scripture.

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THE HEBREW SINGULAR FOR "WEEK" IN THE EXPRESSION "ONE WEEK" IN DANIEL 9:27

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Introduction

In a recent paper,[1] using a grammatical argument, Gerhard Hasel has shown that the seventy weeks of Dan 9:24-27 must be viewed as a whole and that it is inappropriate to apply the 70th week to an era different from that of the other 69. He also asserts that the Hebrew word *šābuʿîm* in vv. 24-26 properly means "weeks" rather than "sevens"—a point on which there is much difference of opinion.[2] My

[1]Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for Weeks in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24," *AUSS* 31 (Summer 1993): 105-118.

[2]The broader meaning of Dan 9:24-27 has been and will continue to be disputed by scholars of all persuasions (see James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, *ICC* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927], 390-401). Here we deal only with *šābuʿîm*. The following papers all address the question of what *šābuʿîm* means and lend more or less support to the traditional rendering "weeks": R. J. M. Gurney, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27," *EVQ* 53 (1981): 29-36; Antti Laato, "The Seventy Yearweeks in the Book of Daniel," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 212-225; Robert C. Newman, "Daniel's Seventy Weeks and the Old Testament Sabbath-Year Cycle," *JETS* 16 (1973): 229-234; J. Barton Payne, The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks, *JETS* 21 (1978): 97-115; idem, "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks: Interpretation in Context," *Presbyterian: Covenant Seminary Review* 4 (1978): 33-38; Ronald E. Showers, "New Testament Chronology and the Decree of Daniel 9," *Grace Journal* 11 (1970): 30-40; Jeffry P. Tuttle, "The Coming Mashiah/Messiah," *Calvary Baptist Theological Journal* 2 (1986): 23-28. Applying Daniel's "weeks" as years is not synonymous with applying the prophecy to Christ. For Laato the culminating figure is Onias III, but the *šābuʿîm* in vv. 24 and 25 are still "yearweeks." Norman W. Porteous takes a similar position (*Daniel: A Commentary* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965], 141-144). John C. Whitcomb applies the prophecy of Dan 9 to Christ and accepts the gloss "weeks" as a starting point but tries to avoid the symbolism implied by doing so ("Daniel's Great Seventy-Weeks Prophecy: An Exegetical Insight," *Grace Theological Journal* 2 [1981]: 259-263). To reach the time of Christ the period must consist of years rather than days. Evangelical literalism is not drawn to the idea that days might stand symbolically for years in a prophecy such as Dan 9. But this is precisely the key to understanding the passage. If we wish to retain

purpose here is to support Hasel's position on the lexical meaning of the word by drawing v. 27 into the discussion.

Reasoning from the Singular to the Plural

Hasel concludes that the 70 weeks constitute a single uninterrupted period of time by arguing that a masculine plural ending on a noun where either masculine or feminine endings can occur emphasizes the unity of the group of elements being pluralized. Here the whole has three parts, such that 70 = 7 + 62 + 1. What makes this fact important in this context is that, while the numbers 70, 7, and 62 all require a plural argument, the number 1 in this series lets us examine the corresponding singular.

While the word for "week" can be spelled *šbwʿ* (*šābûaʿ*) with waw or *šbʿ* (*šābuaʿ*) without, the word for "seven" can only be spelled *šbʿ* (*šebaʿ*) without waw. This is an important difference because it involves the presence or absence of a vowel letter (a *mater lectionis*, an element visible in unpointed text). And in fact the spelling in v. 27—twice over—is plene (*šbwʿ*), which means that the only possible interpretation there is "week."[3]

The footnote NIV offers at v. 27 (text: "seven"; note: "Or 'week'") is indefensible. Having once rendered *šābuʿîm* as "sevens" in v. 24, however, consistency does require some such note.

If consistency is so overwhelming a force within Dan 9:24-27 that it can lead competent scholars to accept that *šbwʿ* means "seven," then having established that it means something else, we should be able to follow (we should be unable not to follow) the same line of reasoning

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both Daniel's wording and the church's time-honored application to Christ, the "weeks" of Dan 9 must be applied symbolically. Such symbolism remains part of the fabric of the Hebrew text until we revocalize or otherwise alter it. Ben Zion Wacholder shows that Dan 9—applied symbolically in the above manner—was the basis for some of the messianic expectations surrounding John the Baptist ("Chronomessianism: The Timing of Messianic Movements and the Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles," *HUCA* 46 [1975]: 201-218).

[3]KB defines *šābûaʿ* with Dan 9 in view. The gloss in question is "Einheit von Sieben, Siebent *unit (period) of seven.*" ("Siebent" means "seventh.") Thus, "week" is not the meaning of *šābûaʿ* but a special case of its meaning which refers to a unit or period of seven days. An implication of saying this is that, given the right context, it could refer to seven of something else. What other units of seven does it refer to? The word appears 20 times in the OT. Nine times *šābûaʿ* describes a literal period of seven days (see Gen 29:27, 28; Lev 12:5; Deut 16:9, 9; Jer 5:24; Ezek 45:21; Dan 10:2, 3). Five times it refers to the Feast of Weeks—a celebration held seven literal weeks after the beginning of harvest (Exod 34:22; Num 28:26; Deut 16:10, 16; 2 Chron 8:13). The remaining six examples are all in Dan 9 (vv. 24, 25, 25, 26, 27, 27), whose meaning we are trying to establish. Given the data cited, the gloss *Einheit von Sieben* is not justified; based on actual usage, it should be *Woche*.

in reverse. On the one hand, if *šābuʿîm* means many "sevens," *šābûaʿ* must mean one "seven." This does not work. On the other hand, since *šbwʿ* very obviously means "week," it would be reasonable to claim that the *šbʿym* in v. 24, which does not mean "seventy," means "weeks." Thus, *šābuʿîm šibʿîm*, "seventy weeks."

No lexical or grammatical argument would prevent accepting this second line of reasoning—from a known singular to a debated plural. The argument from gender has been addressed in Hasel's paper. And so, with a broader understanding of those nouns that allow either masculine or feminine endings, the text of Dan 9:24-26 is perfectly clear just as it reads. I know of no other considerations that would keep us from accepting the face value meaning of *šābuʿîm* as "weeks."[4]

The Alternatives

The fact that there is another *šbʿym* in v. 24 (*šibʿîm*, "seventy") raises an interesting point. If the first *šbʿym* (vocalized *šābuʿîm*) consists of *šbʿ* ("seven") + *ym*, what about the second one? It also has the root *šbʿ* and the plural ending *-ym*. How is this second word different from the first? One would have to translate "sevens sevens." Actually neither word can possibly mean "sevens."[5] If *šlš* (3) + *ym* = 30; *ʾrbʿ* (4) + *ym* = 40; *ḥmš* (5) + *ym* = 50; and *šš* (6) + *ym* = 60; then *šbʿ* (7) + *ym* = 70, as any standard lexicon will confirm. This merely shifts the problem to another venue, because now we must translate "seventy seventy" (="seventy seventies"?). Neither reading makes sense. It is not possible to say that the one word means "seventy" and the other "sevens" when both are derived by identical processes from the same root. Nor can it be said that either word means "sevens" when the plural of every other Hebrew numeral from 3 to 9 is the original amount times ten.

[4]In John Walvoord's view, "The English word 'weeks' is misleading as the Hebrew is actually the plural of the word for seven, without specifying whether it is days, months, or years" (John Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation* [Chicago: Moody, 1971], 219). But, as Hasel correctly points out, "The plural for 'seven' (*šebaʿ*) is *šibʿîm*, not *šābuʿîm*" (109). Thus, under Walvoord's analysis the words in question would have to be vocalized *šibʿîm šibʿîm*. And vocalized in this manner, they would have to be translated "seventy seventy," which means nothing.

[5]Consider Dan 8:14, where the words *ʿereb bōqer* ("evening morning"), both singular, are followed by the number 2300 (*ʾalpayim ûšᵉlōš mēʿôt*). In this example a singular argument is followed by a number greater than one and conveys a plural sense, i.e., "2300 evening-mornings." The entity being counted is an "evening-morning," of which there are 2300, i.e., "2300 days." (A "day" in the Old Testament is that unit of time whose constituent elements are an "evening" and a "morning," as seen in Gen 1:5, "and there was evening, and there morning, one day.") It might be possible to convey the idea "seventy sevens" in unit are in view—*šebaʿ šibʿîm*. But the text does not say this.

Perhaps we are dealing with something more grammatically sophisticated than the pluralization of a numeral. Leon Wood suggests that *šābuʿîm* is a participle meaning "besevened."[6] In this case *šābûaʿ* would be the *pāʿûl* form of a hypothetical root **šbʿ*.[7] Supposing this were so, there is a question whether Daniel was thinking in such strongly etymological terms in this passage. If he was, he might have been etymologizing the word for "week." Wood's suggestion is best refuted by accepting it. What he has done is to explain the origin of the word he wishes to avoid. Not only the four examples of *šābuʿîm* in Dan 9:24-26, but all examples of the singular *šābûaʿ* in the Old Testament and all examples of the feminine plural *šābuʿôt* mean "besevened" now. If Wood's suggestion has merit, its success is his undoing for we must apply his insight to every form which has a common origin with the one he discusses. All of which leaves us where we started.

In appealing to the Greek for help, we must avoid the temptation to use *hebdomades* ("weeks, sevens") as a substitute for *šābuʿîm* ("weeks").[8] The relationship between the two words is one that must be explained. If the sense of the Greek is different from that of the Hebrew, the difference may come from a different underlying text, which would then need to be reconstructed. If the difference was introduced gratuitously by the translators, what they propose is wrong as a reflection of the author's intent. In any event, we cannot merely set the Hebrew aside, even when discussing the Greek, or especially when discussing the Greek.

There is a question whether the two words really mean different things in the sense of lacking a shared semantic element. What, after all, is a "hebdomad" (Gk *hebdomas*)? According to Friedrich Preisigke, a

[6] *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973), 105.

[7] "*Paʿûl* is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew. . . . But instances of the form *quṭṭāl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52s), so that *pāʿûl* must be considered as an original verbal noun . . . " (Gesenius· Kautzsch, *Grammar*, 136, §50a).

[8] We must be even more careful to avoid using "heptads" as a substitute for *šābuʿîm*. H. C. Leupold strongly asserts that Daniel's "seventy weeks" are really "seventy *heptads*" (*Exposition of Daniel* [reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969], 407), by which he means an abstract group of seven. Thus, the meaning of *šābuʿîm* would be an abstract group of seven. But the Greek does not say **heptades*; it says *hebdomades*—in both Theodotion and LXX. This fact is not accidental. I have been unable to find an entry in any Greek lexicon from any period of the language that brings together the letters **heptad*, either as a separate entry or as the first part of any longer word; there is no Greek word **heptad*. It is an English word, based on the Greek **hepta*, "seven."

"hebdomad" (Gk *hebdomas*) is a *siebentägige Woche*—a "seven-day week."[9] This is not a comprehensive definition of course. Liddell and Scott expand this definition to include such meanings as "the number seven; a number of seven; period of seven days, week; period of seven years."[10] While the Heb *šābuaʿ* only means "week," the Gk *hebdomas* means a number of things having to do with seven, only one of which is "week." The semantic range of the Greek word is broader than that of its Hebrew counterpart, but our starting point is the Heb *šābuaʿ*, and the question is how to carry the sense of that term over into Greek. *Hebdomas* is a natural way to say "week" in Greek.[11] Finding the Greek word for "weeks" in v. 24 is not evidence that the Hebrew word for "weeks" there is incorrect.

A number of scholars hold that Daniel was translated from an Aramaic original. A notable spokesperson for the translation hypothesis is Frank Zimmermann.[12] Behind the Heb *šābuʿîm* he sees the Aramaic *šābuʿîn*,[13] which also means "weeks." But his point has to do with the masculine gender of *šābuʿîm*, which, he says, can be explained on the assumption that the translator took an Aramaic word (with the ending *-în*) into the Hebrew without giving the matter any great amount of thought (hence the unusual ending *-îm*). A translator would be able to do this precisely because the two words are so similar. Zimmermann says nothing about meaning. Semantically, as well as morphologically, the Hebrew and Aramaic words are equivalent.

Beyond a certain point it no longer matters whether the word *šābuʿîm* is the object of translation activity (Aramaic > Hebrew) or the source of such activity (Hebrew > Greek). Sooner or later we must deal with the Hebrew text in its present form.

[9] *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Erben, 1925), s.v. *hebdomas*.

[10] *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), s.v. *hebdomas*.

[11] Another way would be to use some form of the word *sabbaton*, "Sabbath." In the New Testament this is the only form used.

[12] For a brief history of the hypothesis that Dan 1-2:4a; 8-12 were translated into Hebrew from Aramaic, see Zimmermann, "Hebrew Translation in Daniel," *JQR* 51 (1960/61): 198-199.

[13] Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella give the word as *šabbûʿîn* (*The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 [Garden City: Doubleday, 1978], 244). For a discussion of the expected form *šābûʿîn*, see Frank Zimmermann, "Some Verses in Daniel in the Light of a Translation Hypothesis," *JBL* 58 (1939): 350.

Conclusion

In the passage before us we have a complete set of alternatives with both the singular and the plural of both "seven" and "week": *šib'â*, "seven," in v. 25; *šib'îm*, "seventy" (the plural of "seven") in v. 24; *šābua'*, "week," in v. 27 (twice); and *šābu'îm* "weeks" in vv. 24, 25 (twice), and 26. A comparison of the plurals ("seventy" and "weeks") shows different vocalizations; a comparison of the singulars ("seven" and "week"), shows difference both in spelling and vocalization.[14] There is no ambiguity here.

It is harder to avoid the face-value meaning of "weeks" in the masculine plural *šābu'îm* than to accept it. When the Hebrew text of Dan 9:24-27 is taken as it reads (*šābu'îm šib'îm* "seventy weeks" [v. 24]), we come to an interpretation that is grammatically, lexically, and exegetically straightforward.[15] Working from the viewpoint of a Hebrew original, Hasel has removed a major obstacle between the text and the exegete of Dan 9. But even if he had not, we would still have to say that in vv. 24-26 *šābu'îm* means "weeks," because in v. 27 *šābûa'* can only mean "week."

[14]I would like to thank William H. Shea for calling my attention to this symmetry of usage.

[15]The exegetical appropriateness of the Masoretic vocalization *šābu'îm* receives added support by comparing the prophecy of chap. 9 with that of chap. 8. In the one case we have "weeks" (9:24, 25); in the other, "evening-mornings" (i.e., "days," 8:14). In both cases the emphasis is on units of time. More than this, the units are readily comparable, since weeks are made up of days, and both are applied in the same symbolic manner. The two chapters should be studied together.

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THE NATURE OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY: RECENT TRENDS AND ISSUES[1]

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1. Introduction

There is today unprecedented interest in biblical theology as a discipline separate from OT and NT theology. Biblical scholars and systematic theologians are engaged in biblical theology as theological reflection on the entire Bible.[2] Negative assessments regarding the future of biblical theology made in fairly recent times appear to stand in need of revision. Contrary to what is happening today, John J. Collins wrote in 1990, "Biblical theology is a subject in decline."[3] About a decade ago Paul Hanson stated, "Most assessments [of the future of biblical theology] these days are marked by deep pessimism."[4] Henning Graf Reventlow noted at about the same time that "a 'biblical

[1]The material in this article, as well as the two succeeding ones, was first presented in the Adolf Olson Memorial Lectures, Bethel Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, MN, April 27-29, 1993.

[2]The designation "biblical theology" has been open to various interpretations: (1) At times it designates a Christian theology (systematics) based on Scripture; (2) biblical theology may also refer to a discipline of biblical studies in which the inner biblical connections between the testaments are investigated and elaborated; (3) this designation is also used in the sense of building theological bridges from historical-philological exegesis to theological and ethical issues in church and society (see Klaus Haacker, *Biblische Theologie als engagierte Exegese: Theologische Grundfragen und thematische Studien* [Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993]).

[3]John J. Collins, "Is a Critical Biblical Theology Possible?" in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, ed. W. H. Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 1.

[4]Paul D. Hanson, "The Future of Biblical Theology," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 6 (1984): 13.

theology' has yet to be written. The way towards it is not only one of high hopes; it is also beset by a good deal of skepticism."[5]

Whatever skepticism may exist among some scholars, the "high hopes" toward biblical theology are being realized, at least in part, by an unprecedented number of new publications. Today we find reflections on the discipline and presentations never encountered before in the two hundred years since Johann P. Gabler (1787), the so-called "'father' of biblical theology,"[6] or more precisely, the "father" of historical biblical theology, defined the discipline as purely historical and descriptive.[7] His seminal essay set a new direction for the nature, role, and function of biblical theology in distinction from systematic theology,[8] designated by Gabler as "dogmatic theology."[9]

Gabler's definition of biblical theology as a historical discipline is now being redirected. The history of biblical theology after Gabler, and as a result of his influence, "was to be governed essentially by the juxtapostion and contrast of the two principles of a historical [biblical theology] and a systematic [dogmatic theology] discipline."[10] The current direction of biblical theology allows it to be precisely what its name designates. It is not simply and singularly a historical discipline but a fully theological one, firmly rooted in biblical and theological studies, based on sound exegetical work and careful systematic reflection.

In this three-part article it is impossible to focus on every angle of rethinking and the redirection suggested in recent years. We will,

[5]Henning Graf Reventlow, *Problems of Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century* (Atlanta: Fortress, 1986), vii. This book is an English translation and expansion of the German *Hauptprobleme der Biblischen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).

[6]Ben C. Ollenburger, "Theological Synopsis [Johann Philipp Gabler]," in *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology*, ed. Ben C. Ollenburger, Elmer A. Martens, Gerhard F. Hasel (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 490.

[7]Johann Philipp Gabler, "An Oration on the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each (March 30, 1787)," in *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology*, 492-502, excerpted from John Sandy-Wunsch and Lawrence Eldredge, "J. P. Gabler and the Distinction Between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology: Translation, Commentary, and Discussion of His Originality," *SJTH* 33 (1980): 133-144. A complete German translation is provided in Otto Merk, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Anfangszeit* (Marburg: Elwert, 1972), 273-284.

[8]John H. Hayes and Frederick C. Prussner, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* (Philadelphia: John Knox, 1985), 2: ". . . Gabler argued for drawing a clear distinction between biblical theology and dogmatic theology."

[9]See Magne Saebø, "Johann Philipp Gablers Bedeutung für die biblische Theologie," *ZAW* 99 (1987): 1-16; Robert Morgan, "Gabler's Bicentenary," *ExpTim* 98 (1987): 164-168.

[10]Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 4.

therefore, concentrate on some of the most vexing issues confronted in recent biblical theology. Our investigations attempt (1) to present briefly major studies in biblical theology, mostly published since 1990; (2) to outline the changes in the nature and function of biblical theology in its historical and theological conceptions in relation to the "Biblical Theology Movement"; (3) to depict several major types of biblical theology, two from American OT scholars (John J. Collins, Brevard S. Childs) and one from a German NT scholar (Hans Hübner), with a focus on methodology, especially on the relationship between the testaments; and (4) to present reflections regarding a new model of canonical biblical theology.

2. *Major Recent Publications on Biblical Theology*

The 1990s have seen an unprecedented surge of publications on biblical theology. However, the discussion of a "paradigm shift" to free biblical theology from its bondage to historiography is not new. Ulrich Mauser states that there has been a "resurgence of concern for biblical theology, especially in Germany but also in this country [U.S.A.]."[11] The survey offered here contains reference to earlier documents as well as more recent publications.

In 1970 Brevard S. Childs wrote *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, a book considered by many to contain the obituary of the Biblical Theology Movement of the generation of the 1940s to the late 1960s. In it he made a number of innovative and controversial proposals.[12] In this volume Childs stated one of his key themes: ". . . the canon of the Christian church is the most appropriate context from which to do

[11]Ulrich Mauser, "Historical Criticism: Liberator or Foe of Biblical Theology?" in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, ed. John Reumann (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 99-100.

[12]Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970). See the now dated reactions by Manfred Oeming, *Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart: Die Verhältnis von AT und NT in der hermeneutischen Diskussion seit Gerhard von Rad* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1985), 186-209; John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 77-88; James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 75-104, 130-171, and others. On the important distinction between the "canonical criticism" of James Sanders (see his recent essay, "Canon as Shape and Function," in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, 87-97) and the "canonical approach" of Brevard Childs (which Sanders says James Barr has failed to grasp [Sanders, 88]), see F. A. Spina, "Canonical Criticism: Childs versus Sanders," in *Interpreting God's Word for Today: An Inquiry into Hermeneutics from a Biblical Theology Perspective*, ed. J. E. Hartley and R. Larry Shelton, Wesleyan Theological Perspectives, 2 (Anderson, IN: Warner, 1982), 165-194.

biblical theology."[13] James D. Smart responded to the alleged demise of biblical theology with a well-argued defense of the movement in general and of biblical theology as he perceived it in particular.[14]

Later in the 1970s other voices were added. In a sense *Biblische Theologie heute* was a forerunner of later developments.[15] In 1979 Ulrich Mauser started the biannual journal, *Horizons in Biblical Theology*, of which he is the main editor. It is the flagship of innovative explorations in biblical theology. In Germany a new series began in 1986: Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie. The first title was *Einheit und Vielfalt Biblischer Theologie.*[16] Subsequent issues have taken up basic concerns related to new directions in biblical theology.

Manfred Oeming published his dissertation, *Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart* in 1986.[17] The subtitle, "The Relationship of the Old and New Testaments in the Hermeneutical Discussions Since Gerhard von Rad," reveals the focus of this work and indicates in a special way a major problem in current biblical theology.

In 1986 Reventlow's enlarged English version of his previous German work saw publication. In a highly useful bibliographical essay he describes in a a few pages the Anglo-Saxon "Biblical Theology Movement," unfortunately without showing the movement's continental proponents and their configurations.[18] A 120-page second chapter, which is the body of his book, treats the core issue, "The Relationship of the Old Testament and the New."

Both Reventlow and Oeming, each with his own emphasis, reveal what may be considered by most scholars the central issue in biblical theology today, namely, how the OT and NT relate to each other.

Hans Hübner has published two volumes on the topic, with a third announced to appear shortly.[19] Peter Stuhlmacher has written on

[13]Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 99.

[14]James D. Smart, *The Past, Present, and Future of Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979).

[15]Klaus Haacker et al, eds., *Biblische Theologie heute* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977).

[16]Ingo Baldermann et al., eds., *Einheit und Vielfalt Biblischer Theologie*, Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie, 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986).

[17]Manfred Oeming, *Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart: Das Verhältnis von AT und NT in der hermeneutischen Diskussion seit Gerhard von Rad* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985).

[18]Reventlow, *Problems of Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 1-9.

[19]Hans Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Band 1, *Prolegomena* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990); idem, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Band 2, *Die Theologie des Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1993).

the biblical theology of the NT. His first volume, dealing with the foundations, was published in 1992. A second volume is expected soon.[20] In a 1991 volume, Hans Klein has sketched a biblical theology.[21] The two volumes by NT scholar Gisela Kittel, dealing with NT and OT respectively, are masterful presentations of biblical theology for informed lay readers and scholars.[22] Christoph Dohmen and Franz Mussner, OT and NT scholars respectively, present their reflections for a theology of the entire Bible in a 1993 volume.[23] Contrary to former practice, all but the last work use the phrase "biblical theology" in their titles.

In the United States, a tome of essays on OT biblical theology, prepared by faculty members of Dallas Theological Seminary, was published in 1991.[24] Programmatic essays by major experts are presented in another 1991 volume edited by John Reumann; in it most of the writers call for new directions for biblical theology.[25]

Yale Divinity School professor Brevard S. Childs presented his *magnum opus* on biblical theology in 1993. In this seminal work he proposed a paradigm shift for biblical theology.[26] Childs had already written on the topic. In 1985 he published his *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context,*[27] a somewhat modest presentation compared to his earlier introductions to the OT[28] and the NT[29] and his already-

[20]Peter Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Band 1, *Grundlegung: Von Jesus zu Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992).

[21]Hans Klein, *Leben neu entdecken: Entwurf einer Biblischen Theologie* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1991).

[22]Gisela Kittel, *Der Name über alle Namen I: Biblische Theologie/AT* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989); idem, *Der Name über alle Namen II: Biblische Theologie/NT* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990).

[23]Christoph Dohmen and Franz Mussner, *Nur die halbe Wahrheit? Für die Einheit der ganzen Bibel* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993).

[24]Roy B. Zuck, ed., *A Biblical Theology of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1991).

[25]John Reumann, ed., *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991). Among the authors are Georg Strecker, Phyllis Trible, Daniel Harrington, James A. Sanders, Ulrich Mauser, Robert Bornemann, and Robert Kysar.

[26]Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

[27]Brevard S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

[28]Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[29]Brevard S. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

mentioned *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (1970). His emphasis on the "final form" of the text, that is, on the primary authority of the canonical form of the text, remains the foundation for his latest work.

These publications grant a glimpse into current major written materials on biblical theology.[30] Written by scholars from both Europe and North America, these volumes reveal much activity in biblical theology.

It is particularly noteworthy that certain systematicians have based their dogmatic/systematic theologies on what they consider to be biblical theology. The German systematic theologian Friedrich Mildenberger published such a volume in 1991.[31] In it he maintains that biblical theology is more than a historical discipline; it is a theological undertaking. Mildenberger argues forcefully against the sharp distinction between biblical theology and dogmatic/systematic theology introduced by Gabler over 200 years ago.[32]

Hans-Joachim Kraus, a Reformed scholar of international reputation and fully at home in biblical studies while teaching dogmatic/systematic theology, produced a magisterial tome on the history and development of biblical theology some years ago.[33] More recently he published a systematic theology "within the context of biblical history and eschatology."[34] The assessment of Kraus's work by Childs seems somewhat harsh: "Kraus' art of biblical theology often appears dominated by a form of Liberation Theology which seems to flatten everything in its path and to level the whole of the Bible to one

[30]See also Jutta Hausmann und Hans-Jürgen Zobel, eds., *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuss zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1992). *Altes Testament und christliche Verkündigung: Festschrift für Antonius H. J. Gunneweg zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Oeming and Axel Graupner (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1987), contains essays under the heading "Biblical Theology" by Peter Höffken, Otto Kaiser, Horst Dietrich Preuss, Georg Sauer, Werner H. Schmidt, and Henning Schröer.

[31]Friedrich Mildenberger, *Biblische Dogmatik: Eine Biblische Theologie in dogmatischer Perspektive*, vol. 1, *Prolegomena: Verstehen und Geltung der Bibel* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991).

[32]See above notes 8-10.

[33]Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Die Biblische Theologie: Ihre Geschichte und Problematik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970).

[34]Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Sistematische Theologie im Kontext biblischer Geschichte und Eschatologie* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983). This work was developed from his 1975 book, *Reich Gottes: Reich der Freiheit*, also published by Neukirchener Verlag.

refrain."[35] Regardless of this unique interest, Kraus's volume is a systematic theology within the context of a major theme of Scripture.

Both Mildenberger's and Kraus's works indicate, each in its own way, a return to some type of a biblical model for doing systematic theology. In this context, we do well to remember that in its beginnings, biblical theology was formulated and derived its own existence in separation from dogmatic/systematic theology.[36]

The "paradigm shift" advocated presently would free the discipline of biblical theology from its incarceration within the paradigm of historiography which has separated it from the theological enterprise at large.

It would go beyond the parameters of this essay to refer to the large numbers of articles published in recent years regarding the directions biblical theology is to take. At the risk of being too selective, I refer to some major authors, among whom are John J. Collins,[37] Christoph Dohmen,[38] Peter Höffken,[39] Klaus Koch,[40] Rolf Rendtorff,[41] John Reumann,[42] Ulrich Mauser,[43] Paul D. Hanson,[44]

[35]Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 25.

[36]Rolf Rendtorff states correctly, "Die 'Theologie des Alten Testaments' ist aus der christlichen Dogmatik hervorgegangen." This applies more directly to biblical theology (*Kanon und Theologie: Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 12.

[37]Collins, 1-18.

[38]Christoph Dohmen, "Gesamtbiblische Theologie: Wissenschaftliche Diskussion und pastorale Notwendigkeit einer christlichen Grundfrage," *Pastoralblatt* 41 (1989): 354-361.

[39]Peter Höffken, "Anmerkungen zum Thema biblische Theologie," in *Altes Testament und christliche Verkündigung: Festschrift für Antonius H. J. Gunneweg*, 13-29.

[40]Klaus Koch, "Rezeptionsgeschichte als notwendige Voraussetzung einer biblischen Theologie—oder: Protestantische Verlegenheit angesichts der Geschichtlichkeit des Kanons," in *Sola Scriptura: Das reformatorische Schriftprinzip in der säkularen Welt*, ed. H. H. Schmidt and J. Mehlhausen (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1991), 143-155.

[41]Rolf Rendtorff, "Theologie des Alten Testaments: Überlegungen zu einem Neuansatz," in his *Kanon und Theologie*, 1-14; idem, "Must 'Biblical Theology' Be Christian Theology?" *Bible Review* 4 (1988): 40-43.

[42]John Reumann, "Whither Biblical Theology?" in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, 1-31.

[43]Ulrich Mauser, "Historical Criticism: Liberator or Foe of Biblical Theology?" in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, 99-113.

[44]Paul D. Hanson, "Theology, Old Testament," *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), 1057-1062.

Robert Bornemann,[45] and Phyllis Trible,[46] among many others.[47] Among the multitude of methodological, theological, and procedural issues, the following should be mentioned: (1) the role and function of the historical-critical method in biblical theology with a forceful defense for its use (Collins) and reservations about its value (Reumann, Mauser, Bornemann); (2) the use of the canon and its extent for doing biblical theology (Childs, Rendtorff, Hanson); (3) the use of philosophy in explicating the message of Scripture in biblical theology (Hanson, Müller[48]); (4) the nature of the starting points for biblical theology (Collins, Rendtorff, Reumann, Hanson, Bornemann); (5) overtures for a "feminist biblical theology" (Trible) within the tradition of the larger rubric of liberation theologies; (6) biblical theology as a Christian enterprise as compared with Tanakh theology within its own canonical context (Rendtorff,[49] Goshen-Gottstein,[50] Levenson[51]; (7) the nature of biblical theology as descriptive and/or normative, or a dialectical move between the descriptive and the normative (Childs, Hanson, Collins).

This list of issues is but an indication of the varieties of matters covered by current discussions. They reveal time and again reflections on biblical theology that are far from static.[52] It is evident that new

[45]Robert Bornemann, "Toward a Biblical Theology," in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, 117-128.

[46]Phyllis Trible, "Five Loaves and Two Fishes: Feminist Hermeneutics and Biblical Theology," in *The Promise and Practice of Biblical Theology*, 51-70.

[47]See the survey by Otto Merk, "Gesamtbiblische Theologie: Zum Fortgang der Diskussion in den 80er Jahren," *Verkündigung und Forschung* 33 (1988): 19-40.

[48]Hanson, "Theology, Old Testament," 1062; Hans-Peter Müller, "Bedarf die Alttestamentliche Theologie einer philosophischen Grundlage?" in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuss*, 342-351.

[49]Rendtorff, *Kanon und Theologie*, 40-63.

[50]M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Tanakh Theology: The Religion of the Old Testament and the Place of Jewish Biblical Theology," in *Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr., et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 617-644; idem, "Modern Jewish Bible Exegesis and Biblical Theology," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, August 16-24, 1989* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990), 39-50.

[51]J. D. Levenson, "Warum sich Juden nicht für biblische Theologie interessieren," *EvTh* 51 (1991): 402-430; idem, "Why Jews Are Not Interested in Biblical Theology," in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel*, ed. J. Neusner, B. A. Levine, and E. S. Frerichs (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 281-307; idem, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 33-61.

[52]See here the reflections on the issue in the 1970s and 1980s as surveyed by Reventlow, who describes "New Approaches to a Biblical Theology," especially from a continental perspective (*Problems in Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 145-178).

horizons have opened and much creative thinking is taking place. While we can recognize trends and new directions, it would be too precarious to conclude that a consensus has developed on any of the major areas of discussion.

3. The Rise and Wane of the Biblical Theology Movement and Recent Biblical Theology

Present developments in biblical theology cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding and appreciation of the Biblical Theology Movement which flourished between the 1940s and 1960s. For a time it was believed that the demise of the movement had arrived. The event was described by Childs in 1970, but it was still not entirely clear whether the obituary could, in fact, be written.[53]

The Biblical Theology Movement, as it functioned mainly in North America, contained a number of key elements.[54] These are summarized below.[55]

1. It shared with general biblical study the hermeneutical basis of the historical-critical method, although attempting to avoid the extremes of that method and moving thereby beyond the older liberal position while still staying solidly within the liberal framework of the study of the Bible.

2. It was fostered and inspired by the neoorthodox movement, largely adopting that movement's view of revelation in which Christ is the supreme revelation of God. It accepted Scripture as a "witness" to the revelation of the Word of God in Jesus Christ. On that basis the members of the Biblical Theology Movement believed they could fight both extreme liberalism and fundamentalism.

3. It emphasized biblical "categories" (J. Muilenburg), "the world of the Bible" (B. W. Anderson), Hebrew thought and mentality (T. Boman), the OT "against its ancient Near Eastern environment" (G. E. Wright), over against the domineering effect of modern philosophy and other Western-dominated influences. It shared to a large degree the suspicion regarding the function of philosophy in doing theology.

[53]Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*. See also Reventlow, "The Anglo-Saxon 'Biblical Theology Movement,'" in *Problems in Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 1-9.

[54]See also James Barr, "Biblical Theology," *IDBSup* (1976):104-106; he correctly notes the international scope of the movement.

[55]The six points are dependent on Gerhard F. Hasel, "Biblical Theology Movement," *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. W. Elwell (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1984), 149-152.

4. It suggested that there is a "unity of Divine revelation given in the context of history" (H. H. Rowley), or simply a "higher unity" (R. C. Dentan) or a "kerygmatic unity" (J. S. Glenn). It revealed that the issue of the unity of the Bible had been heightened by historical criticism, which drove an ever-increasing and irremovable wedge between the theology of the various biblical texts, layers of texts, or books of the Bible, and the Bible itself.

5. It emphasized that the history of Israel became the church's history and subsequently our modern history. Revelation took place in history without propositional content.

6. It worked hand-in-glove with biblical archaeology, using archaeology for historical confirmation of biblical persons and events.[56] Such confirmation proved to be increasingly illusive as archaeologists interpreted the Bible more and more in terms of ancient Near Eastern culture and religion with the aid of anthropological and sociological methods without calling on the biblical picture as a normative guide.[57]

Among the major factors that contributed to the alleged demise of the Biblical Theology Movement were perennial problems in hermeneutics.[58] The use of the historical-critical method, with its foundation in a naturalistic-evolutionary world view, was another focus. It called for the meshing of what Adolf Schlatter called an "atheistic" method,[59] with the picture of a God who gives meaning and coherence to this world by means of his personal acts in history and his ultimate guidance of history. Langdon Gilkey called this intertwining "at best only an uneasy dualism."[60]

A second major factor that has remained unresolved relates to the issue of whether the element of revelation claimed for the Bible lay *in*

[56]See William G. Dever, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 21, 22.

[57]David Noel Freedman summarizes the situation effectively: "Albright's great plan and expectation to set the Bible firmly on the foundation of archaeology buttressed by verifiable data seems to have foundered or at least floundered. . . . Archaeology has not proved decisive or even greatly helpful in answering the questions most often asked and has failed to prove the historicity of biblical persons and events, especially in the early period" ("The Relationship of Archaeology to the Bible," *BAR* 11 [Jan.-Feb. 1985]: 6).

[58]See here the insightful comments by Peter Stuhlmacher, *Schriftauslegung auf dem Wege zur biblischen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), 59-127.

[59]In 1905 A. Schlatter wrote the article, "Atheistische Methoden in der Theologie," in *Zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments und zur Dogmatik, Kleine Schriften*, ed. Ulrich Luck, Theologische Bücherei, 41 (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1969), 134-150.

[60]Langdon Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind: The Renewal of God-Language* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), 91; idem, "Cosmology, Ontology and the Travail of Biblical Language," *JR* 41 (1961): 194-205.

the text, *behind* the text, *above* the text, in text *and* event, or in some other mode of expression and understanding. The locus of divine revelation remained elusive.

A third major issue which led to the decline and the so-called demise of the Biblical Theology Movement as previously known relates to the modes of unity within the testaments and specifically between the testaments as expounded by major leaders of the Biblical Theology Movement (H. H. Rowley, G. E. Wright, R. C. Dentan, O. Cullmann, F. V. Filson and others[61]). A consensus regarding the suggested modes of unity has never been reached.

Finally, the entire concept of revelation in history as an alternative to content revelation in orthodoxy and the general revelation of natural theology in Enlightenment liberal theology did not prove successful.

These major factors presented themselves from within the movement or were forced on the members of the movement from without. They threatened the very essence of the Biblical Theology Movement in such a way that it could not survive as it had been known. Whether the Biblical Theology Movement has experienced a full demise, or whether it has had its zenith in the generation of the 1940s through the 1960s, or to what degree it has a present or future life, is not fully settled.

With this as a background, James Barr, who has significantly contributed to the so-called demise of the Biblical Theology Movement,[62] wrote in 1988 a challenging article, "The Theological Case against Biblical Theology," in a *Festschrift* for Childs, who is himself one of the foremost supporters of a new biblical theology.[63] While Barr avoids such strong language as that of Dietrick Ritschl ("fiction of . . . biblical theology"[64]) or Robert A. Oden, Jr. ("Bible without theology"[65]), he sees some "future progress in biblical theology" only if it does not "retreat from the modern world into a biblical myth" and if it keeps "its own solidarity with the entire range of biblical scholarship and

[61]For a concise survey of these authors, see Gerhard F. Hasel, *New Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 140-203.

[62]See Reventlow, *Problems in Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 9.

[63]James Barr, "The Theological Case against Biblical Theology," in *Canon, Theology, and the Old Testament Interpretations: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, ed. Gene M. Tucker, David L. Petersen, and Robert R. Wilson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 3-19. See Gerhard F. Hasel, "Biblical Theology: Then, Now, and Tomorrow," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4 (1982): 69-73.

[64]Dietrich Ritschl, *The Logic of Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 68, 69.

[65]Robert A. Oden, Jr., *The Bible without Theology*, New Voices in Biblical Studies (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).

associated disciplines and its assurance that no useful work in biblical theology is attainable without that solidarity."[66]

Barr seems worried that biblical theology after the Biblical Theology Movement may turn out to function in some form or another as normative or prescriptive.[67] And this is exactly what a fair number of scholars are now calling for because they believe that the community of faith needs to recover the meaning of biblical theology. Barr acknowledges that biblical theology is theological in nature, but he wants to keep it as close to the descriptive approach and the historical mode as possible.[68]

This issue of the definition and nature of biblical theology as descriptive or prescriptive, as historical or theological, as nonnormative or normative, remains one of the key issues under discussion at present. In other words, the issue of the dichotomy of "what it meant" and "what it means" is very much alive[69] for those who argue that the theology of each of the testaments is to be written from a purely historical perspective, at least in the mind of one group of scholars. Others are convinced that the "meant/means" distinction is artificial and cannot be maintained because each scholar reads the text on the basis of his or her own presuppositions. The entire enterprise, which maintains the dichotomies of the descriptive/normative, "meant/means," historical/theological, is under criticism from a variety of scholarly points of view and perspectives (cf. A. Dulles, Ben C. Ollenburger, M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, Jon D. Levenson).[70]

[66]Barr, "The Theological Case against Biblical Theology," 17.

[67]Ibid., 11.

[68]Ibid., 3-5.

[69]Krister Stendahl is to be credited with popularizing this distinction ("Biblical Theology, Contemporary," *IDB* [1962], 1:418-432). He has remained a firm defender of this distinction, in which the descriptive task is historical in nature. He was preceded by William Wrede (*Über Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1897], 8) and has been succeeded by the Finnish scholar Heiki Räisänen (*Beyond New Testament Theology* [London: SCM Press, 1990], 106-109).

[70]Avery Dulles, "Response to Krister Stendahl's 'Method in Biblical Theology,'" in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. P. Hyatt (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965), 210-219; Ben C. Ollenburger, "What Krister Stendahl 'Meant'—A Normative Critique of 'Descriptive Biblical Theology,'" *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 8 (1986): 61-98; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Tanakh Theology: The Religion of the Old Testament and the Place of Jewish Biblical Theology," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson and S. D. McBride (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 617-644; Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism* (Philadelphia: John Knox/Westminster, 1993), 81.

One of the other major issues, if not indeed the key area of biblical theology today, as was true of the Biblical Theology Movement's earlier experience, is the attempt to understand the Bible from the perspective of a unifying principle, regardless of how it is defined. Biblical theology as practiced in the 1990s remains concerned with the issue of a center, a unifying principle, an overarching category. This issue will be part of the discussion of major models and proposals for biblical theology to be presented in the second and third sections of this article.

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AZAZEL IN EARLY JEWISH TRADITION

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The term "Azazel," which appears four times in the prescriptions for the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8, 10, 26), has elicited much debate. Although many scholars have identified Azazel with a demonic figure to whom the sin-laden scapegoat was dispatched,[1] the term remains undefined in the biblical text. This article will attempt to demonstrate that two noncanonical Jewish works, *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, reveal a tradition in which Azazel was regarded as a demon, and in which the scapegoat rite was utilized as a symbol of demonic expulsion. Hence it will be argued that a segment of ancient Jewish apocalypticists found a symbol of eschatological victory over demonic forces in the rite involving Azazel and the scapegoat.

Azazel in 1 Enoch

Although *1 Enoch* is attributed to the antediluvian prophet by that name, its pseudonymous nature is readily apparent. In reality, it is a composite work, produced by several authors who probably wrote during the three centuries preceding the Christian era.[2] In its current form, *1 Enoch* is a collection of five smaller documents: "The Book of Watchers" (chaps. 1-36), "The Book of Parables" (chaps. 37-71), "The Astronomical Book" (chaps. 72-82), "The Book of Dreams" (chaps. 83-90), and "The Epistle of Enoch" (chaps. 91-108).[3] It is not known

[1]The following works are examples of literature to this effect: Bernard J. Bamberger, *The Torah: Leviticus, A Modern Commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1979), 160; M. M. Kalisch, *A Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1872), 2:328; Nathaniel Micklem, "The Book of Leviticus," *IB* (1953), 2:77-78; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB (1991), 1021; Martin Noth, *Leviticus*, trans. J. E. Anderson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 125.

[2]*The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 173-177. However, some scholars assign "The Book of Parables" to the first century of the Christian Era, or possibly even later.

[3]Ibid.

when these five "books" were combined, nor is it entirely clear in what language or languages they were originally composed.[4] The complete text of *1 Enoch* is known only in Ethiopic, although Greek, Latin, and Aramaic fragments survive as well.[5]

In common with the general tenor of apocalyptic literature, the view of reality presented in *1 Enoch* consists of a sharp contrast between the present evil age, which will end in judgment, and the new age of bliss that is to follow.[6] The book also stresses the relationship between the locus of human activity and the cosmic or heavenly realm.[7] Thus it contains both temporal and spatial dimensions.[8] The spatial dimension becomes evident in the narrative of Semyaza (chaps. 6 and 7), in which Semyaza leads his angel cohorts into rebellion by cohabiting with the daughters of men, thus giving birth to giants and defiling the earth. The background for this story is obviously Gen 6:1-4.

The figure of Azazel is abruptly introduced in *1 Enoch* 8:

> And Azazel taught men to make swords, and daggers, and shields and breastplates. And he showed them the things after these, and the art of making them: bracelets, and ornaments, and the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids, and the most precious and choice stones, and all kinds of colored dyes. And the world was changed. And there was great impiety and much fornication, and they went astray, and all their ways became corrupt. (*1 Enoch* 8:1-3)[9]

This sudden interruption of the Semyaza narrative is usually attributed to the editorial fusion of two independent traditions.[10] However, Hanson offers an alternative hypothesis. He takes it to be a case of

[4]It is generally believed that *1 Enoch* was composed in Aramaic. See D. S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 26. However, Charles argues that "The Astronomical Book" was originally written in Hebrew; see *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 176.

[5]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 170-173. Also see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 33.

[6]George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*," *Mysteries and Revelations*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 9, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 58.

[7]Ibid., 54.

[8]Ibid., 53.

[9]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 190-191.

[10]Leonhard Rost, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen einschliesslich der grossen Qumran-Handschriften* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1971), 103. See also Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6-11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 220.

paronomasia, in which the name of one of Semyaza's subordinates, Asael, invited a comparison with the Azazel of Lev 16.[11] Regardless of which of these positions is favored, it is apparent that the appearance of the name "Azazel" in the Enoch passage functions as a significant link with the Day of Atonement ritual described in Lev 16.

It must be admitted that the demonic nature of Azazel is only implicit in Lev 16. However, *1 Enoch* 8:1-3 depicts him in terms that are explicitly demonic. In fact, his characteristics approach the satanic in this passage, although he is never identified as Satan.[12] Nevertheless, he is portrayed as a corrupter and tempter of humanity, and the main source of antediluvian impiety.

First Enoch 10:4-6 describes the eschatological punishment of Azazel:

> And further the Lord said to Raphael, Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there forever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire.[13]

This quotation is worthy of careful consideration, as Hanson finds a direct link between the binding of Azazel in *1 Enoch* 10 and the rite of purgation associated with the scapegoat in Lev 16.[14] These two passages do indeed exhibit a number of striking parallels.

First, it should be noticed that just as a man was appointed to lead the scapegoat away to the desert (Lev 16:21), so the angel Raphael was directed to bind Azazel and banish him to the desert which is in Dudael (*1 Enoch* 10:4). Second, both passages are concerned with purification from sin. Hanson rightly recognizes the close relationship between Lev 16:21 and *1 Enoch* 10:8.[15] According to Lev 16:21, the sins of Israel

[11]Hanson, 221.

[12]The terms "demon" and "demonic" are to be distinguished from "Satan" and "satanic." A "demon" is any malevolent spirit being. However, in Judeo-Christian tradition, Satan is regarded as the demonic leader of the angels who fell from heaven, God's primary adversary, and the chief tempter of humanity, including Adam and Eve. *First Enoch* 8:1-3 contains a description of Azazel's masterful temptation of the entire world; in this, his characteristics approach the satanic. Also *1 Enoch* 69:1-2 lists him among the fallen archangels. See *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 190-191, 251.

[13]Ibid., 194-195.

[14]Hanson, 221-222.

[15]Ibid., 224.

were transferred to the scapegoat through the laying on of hands.[16] Thus the removal of the goat resulted in cleansing and renewal for the entire camp. Likewise in *1 Enoch* all sin was to be "written down" against Azazel; his expulsion would usher in the restoration of the earth, which had been ruined by the angel rebellion.

Notice God's command to Raphael:

> And restore the earth which the angels have ruined, and announce the restoration of the earth, for I shall restore the earth, so that not all the sons of men shall be destroyed through the mystery of everything which the Watchers made known and taught to their sons. And the whole earth has been ruined by the teaching of the works of Azazel, and against him write down all sin. (*1 Enoch* 10:7-8)[17]

Hanson argues for the existence of a further parallel between *1 Enoch* 10 and the rendition of Lev 16 in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (also known as Jonathan Ben Uzziel or *Targum of Palestine*).[18] He believes that the formulation, ". . . split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there" (*1 Enoch* 10:4), is related to *Pseudo-Jonathan*'s use of פְּטַר (send or cleave) instead of שְׁלַח (send), in reference to the expulsion of the scapegoat from the camp of Israel (Lev 16:22).[19] Inasmuch as פְּטַר can denote "to cleave" or "break open," as well as "to send,"[20] Hanson suggests that the author of the Enoch text employed a subtle paronomasia by playing alternate word meanings over against each other, thus attaining the notion of the desert being opened to receive Azazel.[21] It is of interest that in certain Akkadian texts, demons are said to inhabit desolate wastelands after leaving the netherworld through a crack or hole in the ground.[22] Hence this Akkadian literature

[16]M. C. Sansom, "Laying on of Hands in the Old Testament," *ExpTim* 94 (1982-1983): 324.

[17]*Aprocryphal Old Testament*, 195.

[18]According to Hanson, this particular Targum "bears close affinities with *1 Enoch*" (223). Although the date of Pseudo-Jonathan has been debated, its foundations apparently go back to pre-Christian times. See Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 78. Thus it is likely that both *1 Enoch* and the original form of Pseudo-Jonathan were approximately contemporaneous in development.

[19]Hanson, 223.

[20]Ibid. Also see "פְּטַר" in *BDB*.

[21]Hanson, 223.

[22]Hayim Tawil, "Azazel the Prince of the Steppe: A Comparative Study," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 48-50.

may represent an ancient source parallel to the thought expressed in both Lev 16 and *1 Enoch* 10.

These foregoing comparisons suggest that the imagery associated with Azazel's punishment in *1 Enoch* 10 is adapted from the description of the scapegoat's expulsion in Lev 16. But why does the author of the Enoch text link the goat designated "for Azazel" with Azazel himself? That the scapegoat was regarded as the focus of evil, a visible representative of the demonic, is a probable solution to this problem. It should be recognized that the Hebrew שָׂעִיר can denote either a male goat or a demon.[23] Perhaps this fact influenced the author of the Enoch text in his perception of the scapegoat as a demonic figure. Also, the possibility that לַעֲזָאזֵל can be understood as "in behalf of Azazel" is worthy of consideration.[24] If this rendition of the Hebrew noun and its inseparable preposition is accepted, the scapegoat may be regarded as representing Azazel himself. Thus the expulsion of the goat from the camp would serve as a model for the banishment of sin and its demonic source.

Several additional references to Azazel also appear in *1 Enoch*.[25] However, they all describe him as fulfilling the role of a fallen archangel, intent on deceiving the human race. Thus *1 Enoch* confirms the fact that "Azazel" was understood in demonic terms by a segment of Jewish apocalypticists. Furthermore, it appears that they regarded the scapegoat rite of Lev 16 as a representation of Azazel's eschatological punishment.

It is possible that the authors of *1 Enoch* developed the Azazel tradition directly from data contained in Lev 16. Alternatively, it may be that a larger, unpreserved tradition served as a source for certain elements appearing in both Lev 16 and *1 Enoch*. That the figure of Azazel is introduced without explanation in Lev 16 suggests the existence of some type of background source.

Gen 6:1-4 is another source which may underlie the references to Azazel in *1 Enoch*. The "sons of God," described in the Genesis pericope as cohabiting with the "daughters of men," are interpreted in the Enoch material as fallen archangels, including Semyaza and Azazel (cf. *1 Enoch* 6; 69:1-2).[26] Also, the fact that Azazel is portrayed in

[23]See *BDB*.

[24]Gerhard Hasel, "Studies in Biblical Atonement II: The Day of Atonement," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 122-123.

[25]See *1 Enoch* 13:1-2; 54:1-6; 55:4; 69:2 in *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 199, 233-234, 235, 251.

[26]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 188-189, 251.

1 Enoch 8:1-3 as corrupting humanity by teaching certain arts of civilization probably reflects the influence of the culture-hero myth, which was widespread in ancient society.[27] The culture-hero myth posits the appearance of supernatural beings in early history, who taught the arts of civilization to humanity. In most versions of the myth, the culture-heroes act as the beneficiaries of human beings. However, negative versions also exist, which describe the teaching of destructive arts, as in *1 Enoch*.[28] It seems likely that a combination of elements derived from these diverse sources explains the enlarged role played by Azazel in the Enoch material.

Azazel in the Apocalypse of Abraham

The origin of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is even more obscure than that of *1 Enoch*. Currently, it is only represented in the Codex Sylvester and in certain manuscripts of the *Palaea interpretata*, all of which are in the Slavonic language.[29] Some scholars believe that the Apocalypse was first composed in Hebrew and later translated into Slavonic, in the 11th or 12th century A.D. However, this has been disputed.[30] Charlesworth proposes A.D. 80-100 for the period of its composition,[31] but these dates are likewise uncertain. The fact that the burning of the temple is mentioned in chapter 27 probably indicates that at least a portion of the book is to be dated after A.D. 70.[32] In any case, it seems apparent that the book existed in its present form by the fourth century A.D., as it is mentioned in the Clementine Recognitions.[33]

Uncertainty also exists in regard to the authorship of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, although it is usually considered a composite work. Most of the material in the Apocalypse derives from Jewish

[27]For the relationship between the culture-hero myth and the development of the Azazel tradition in *1 Enoch*, see Hanson, 226-231.

[28]Ibid., 229.

[29]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 364.

[30]R. Rubinkiewicz, "The Apocalypse of Abraham," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James Hamilton Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:682-683.

[31]James Hamilton Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research with a Supplement*, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Series 7S, ed. George W. E. Nickelsburg and Harry M. Orlinsky (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1981), 68.

[32]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 366.

[33]Ibid.

sources.[34] However, Charlesworth and others posit chapter 29 as a Christian interpolation.[35]

A number of references to Azazel appear in the *Apocalypse*.[36] The first of these is introduced in chapters 13 and 14, where Azazel is described as an unclean bird which flies down on the carcasses of the animals that Abraham has sacrificed (cf. Gen 15:9-11).[37] But he is no ordinary bird, for he enters into a verbal dispute with Abraham. His demonic character soon becomes evident, as an angel refers to him as "wickedness" (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 13:7).[38] The angel goes on to utter an interesting rebuke against him:

> Listen fellow, be ashamed of yourself and go. For you were not appointed to tempt all the righteous. Leave this man alone: you cannot beguile him for he is your enemy, and the enemy of those who follow you and dote on what you want. The garment that of old was set apart in the heavens for you, is now set apart for him; and the corruption that was his has been transferred to you. (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 13:12-15)[39]

These verses depict Azazel as an evil spirit who tempts the righteous. Furthermore, they imply that he has fallen from heaven, and that his celestial office is subsequently to be given to Abraham. Particular attention should be devoted to the last part of v. 15, as the transference of Abraham's corruption to Azazel may be a veiled reference to the scapegoat rite (cf. Lev 16:21).

Azazel also figures prominently in Abraham's vision of the temptation of Adam and Eve:

> And I looked into the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man, immensely tall, alarmingly solid, such as I had never seen before, who was embracing a woman that was the man's equal both in her appearance and her size. And they were standing under one of the trees in Eden; and the fruit on that tree looked like a bunch of dates. And behind the tree there

[34]Ibid., 365-366. However, this does not prove indisputably that the author or authors of the Apocalypse were Jewish. See p. 366. Nevertheless, it is convenient to classify the work as a part of early Jewish tradition.

[35]Charlesworth, 69. Some, however, would argue that this chapter suggests Christian authorship for the entire Apocalypse.

[36]*Apocryphal Old Testament* makes use of the variant spellings, "Azazil" and "Azazail," in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

[37]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 378-379.

[38]Ibid., 378.

[39]Ibid.

> stood what looked like a snake, with hands and feet like a man's, and wings on its shoulders, three on its right and three on its left. And they held in their hands a bunch from the tree; and they were eating—the two I had seen embracing. And I said, Who are these who are embracing each other? Who is it who is between them? And what is the fruit they are eating, Mighty Eternal One? And he said, This is the human world: this is Adam, and this is their desire upon the earth: this is Eve. And what is between them is the wicked path they started on towards perdition, namely Azazil. (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:3-9)[40]

Once again, Azazel assumes the role of tempter, appearing in the form of a winged snake, and beguiling the couple into eating the forbidden fruit. Thus his demonic nature is apparent in this passage as well. Additional minor references to Azazel are found in chapters 20, 22, and 29;[41] however they are quite incidental and have no real bearing on the issues addressed in this article.

That Azazel is portrayed as a demon in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* cannot be denied. In fact, the *Apocalypse* associates him with two themes which Judeo-Christian tradition applies to Satan, namely, his expulsion from heaven and his temptation of Adam and Eve under the guise of a snake. These constitute further significant developments as the figure of Azazel progressively merges with what might be termed the satanic.

The Influence of the Mishnah and the Targums

Only three direct references to "Azazel" appear in the Mishnah, none of which sheds any light on the meaning of the term.[42] However, Tractate *Yoma* is helpful in elucidating the practice of the scapegoat rite in early Judaism, as it treats this topic fairly extensively.

Yoma 6:8 has special pertinence to the present discussion, as it identifies בֵּית חַדוּדוּ (house of sharpness), the desert location outside Jerusalem to which the scapegoat was driven.[43] Hanson and Driver both link בֵּית חַדוּדוּ (house of sharpness) with "Dudael," mentioned in *1 Enoch* 10:4 as the place of Azazel's banishment.[44] Although the

[40]Ibid., 385.

[41]*Apocryphal Old Testament*, 383, 384, 389.

[42]These references merely refer to the casting of the lot which was designated "for Azazel." Cf. *Yoma* 4:1; 6:1, *The Mishnah*, trans. Herbert Danby (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 166, 169.

[43]*Yoma* 6:8; see the variant readings contained in footnote 6. (cf:n. 47)

[44]See Hanson, 223-224. Also see Godfrey R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch," *JSS* 1 (April 1956): 97.

Mishnaic traditions did not exist in written form when *1 Enoch* was composed, they probably had an oral history reaching back to that time. Hence it seems likely that a common element exists in both of these passages, in which case yet another connection between the expulsion of the scapegoat and the banishment of Azazel is established.

Targum Onkelos offers minimal relevant data to this study. However, its rendition of Lev 16:8 deserves consideration: "Then Aaron should place lots upon the two goats, one lot for the Name of the Lord, the other for Azazel."[45] The use of the Aramaic phrase, "for the Name of the Lord" (or "Yahweh") (לִשְׁמָא דַיְיָ),[46] is interesting and calls for explanation. It is possible that "Name" was inserted into the text to act as a kind of buffer between Yahweh and humanity, as is often done in the targams to minimize anthropomorphism.[47] This sentence structure no longer contains a direct parallelism between Yahweh and Azazel. This could indicate that the compilers of the Targum regarded the term "Azazel" as denoting something other than a personal being. However, the evidence for this deduction is so scanty that it can hardly be held with any certainty.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan's use of פְּטַר (send or cleave) in connection with the scapegoat's expulsion has already been considered in the section devoted to the Enoch material.

A quotation from this Targum's version of Lev 16 contains additional data pertinent to the discussion:

> And Aharon shall put upon the goats equal lots; one lot for the Name of the Lord, and one lot for Azazel: and he shall throw them into the vase, and draw them out, and put them upon the goats. And Aharon shall bring the goat upon which came up the lot for the Name of the Lord, and make him a sin offering. And the goat on which came up the lot for Azazel he shall make to stand alive before the Lord, to expiate for the sins of the people of the house of Israel, by sending him to die in a place rough and hard in the rocky desert which is Beth-hadurey.[48]

It is clear that *Pseudo-Jonathan*'s description of the choosing of the goats is far more innovative than that of *Targum Onkelos*. The insertion of

[45]"The Targum Onqelos to Leviticus," *The Aramaic Bible*, trans. Bernard Grossfeld, ed. Kevin Cathcart, Michael Maher, and Martin McNamara (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 8:33.

[46]*Targum Onkelos*, ed. A. Berliner (Berlin: Gorzelanczyck and Co., 1884), 128.

[47]See footnote 4 in *The Aramaic Bible*, 33.

[48]"The Targum of Palestine Commonly Entitled the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Book of Leviticus," in *The Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch*, trans. J. W. Etheridge (London: Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), 196.

the phrase, "for the Name of the Lord," appears here as well; however, there are also more significant additions which resemble the Mishnaic and Enoch texts. In particular, *Pseudo-Jonathan* parallels the Mishnah, in that the scapegoat is destined to die.[49]

The reference to the scapegoat's death in "a place rough and hard in the rocky desert which is Beth-hadurey" merits careful scrutiny, as it closely parallels the description of Azazel's punishment in *1 Enoch* 10:4-5. Hanson equates "Beth-hadurey" with the "Dudael" of the Enoch passage.[50] Moreover, *Pseudo-Jonathan*'s "rocky desert" has its counterpart in the "desert which is in Dudael" and "jagged and sharp stones" of Enoch. Thus it is clear that the author of the Enoch passage, in his account of Azazel's banishment, was dependent on certain traditions involving the removal of the scapegoat, which were recorded in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*.[51]

Conclusion

From the preceding analysis, it is evident that the authors of the apocalyptic texts known as *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* regarded Azazel as a demon. In fact, a number of attributes commonly associated with Satan appear in the depictions of Azazel contained in these works. Furthermore, the author of *1 Enoch* 10 apparently conceived of the scapegoat rite (especially as it is formulated in the Mishnah and in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*) as a paradigm of Azazel's banishment. Thus ancient Jewish traditions appear to be in agreement with the interpretation which finds in the expulsion of the scapegoat a type or model of the eschatological defeat of demonic power.

[49]Compare *Yoma* 6:6, *The Mishnah*, 170, with *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch*, 196, 198. However, *Yoma* 6:6 describes how the scapegoat was pushed over a cliff to its death, while Pseudo-Jonathan specifies that it would be carried to its death by a tempestuous wind.

[50]Hanson, 223-224.

[51]Hanson also draws attention to *Pseudo-Jonathan's* "close affinities with *1 Enoch*" (223).

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THE HISTORIANS AND THE MILLERITES: AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY[1]

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Although William Miller and his followers captured the attention of much of the United States in the 1840s with their prediction that Christ would come in 1843-44, it has taken considerable time for scholars to appreciate their historical significance. Appearing to many of their contemporaries as fanatics and dupes for fraudulent leaders, the Millerites seemed to stand outside mainstream American culture. This image of Millerism as an American oddity shaped virtually all subsequent writing on the movement.

Millerite historiography has passed basically through three periods. The first of these, which consisted largely of memoirs by the movement's participants, who sought to defend their beliefs and actions, began in the mid-nineteenth century and extended to the early twentieth. Then, during the first half of the new century, major secondary works appeared, based on research but framed primarily as a debate between detractors and apologists for the movement. While a few historians had given the Millerites attention previously, after 1950 an academic interest in the movement grew slowly, reaching a high point in the 1980s. This academic phase built upon the previous writing, but rather than attacking or defending the Millerites it analyzed their relationship to American society. By the mid-1990s scholars were no longer viewing Miller and his followers as fanatics. Instead, they were more precisely defining the similarities and differences between the Millerites and the nineteenth-century American culture of which they were a part.

[1]This article appears as an introduction to Everett N. Dick, *William Miller and the Advent Crises 1831-1844*, with a Foreword and Historiographical Essay by Gary Land (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, Oct. 1994, xxviii + 221 pp.). Land's essay treats all major published and unpublished works on the Millerite Movement. Dick's work is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of *AUSS*, as is another recent publication on the Millerites, G. R. Knight's *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*.

The participants' memoirs have provided the foundation for virtually all the historical literature on the Millerites. It seems fitting that the first of these memoirs to appear focused on William Miller himself. In the course of his preaching, Miller had faced the charge of fanaticism. His followers, desiring to correct what they believed to be a distorted public image, produced in 1853 a volume titled *Memoirs of William Miller*. Apollos Hale, a Millerite preacher, wrote the first three chapters and an associate, Sylvester Bliss, who completed the bulk of the work, appears as the author.

The publisher of the *Memoirs*, Joshua V. Himes, wrote the introduction, leaving no doubt as to the book's purpose. He wanted the impartial reader "to be able to form a just estimate of one who has occupied so conspicuous a position before the public. . . ." Further,

> As the public learns to discriminate between the actual position of Mr. Miller and that which prejudice has conceived that he occupied, his conservativeness and disapprobation of every fanatical practice will be admitted, and a more just estimate will be had of him.[2]

The authors drew upon interviews and their own memories, but for the most part they let Miller speak for himself through large extracts from his correspondence, sermons and other papers. And throughout the work, they built a positive image, presenting Miller as a man of piety, patriotism, and considerable mental ability. Bliss argued that Miller's preaching brought genuine revivals and that his theology held much in common with the beliefs of his critics. Miller also appeared as a strong opponent of fanaticism, combatting such developments as the Starkweather sanctification teachings prior to 1844 and the "Shut Door" theory after the "Great Disappointment." In all of these points, Hale and Bliss established the main lines of argument to be followed by later Adventist apologists. Their volume also preserved much primary source material upon which later historians would rely. Their book maintained some popularity, providing nearly all of James White's life of Miller,[3] and appearing in an abridged edition with some added material in 1895.[4]

Where Hale and Bliss concentrated on Miller, Isaac C. Wellcome, an Advent Christian preacher, surveyed the entire movement, as well

[2]Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies, and the Second Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), iv.

[3]James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller, Gathered From His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss and From Other Sources by James White* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875).

[4]*A Brief History of William Miller the Great Pioneer in Adventual Faith* (Boston: Advent Christian Publishing society, 1895).

as early Advent Christian history, in his *History of the Second Advent Message*, published in 1874.[5] The apologetic motive again appeared. "Every religious, political, or moral movement . . .," wrote Wellcome, "is worthy of being set fairly before the inquiring multitudes in truthful history, that the uninformed may learn the merits or demerits of the principles which produce such revolution."[6] As he explained his purpose further, Wellcome stated that he intended to show the positive religious effects of Adventism, the theological and practical problems of those who opposed the movement, and the reproach brought on the cause by various bigots and fanatics.[7] "It must be acknowledged that this message is a '*Dispensational Truth*,'" he concluded, "which the Lord intended should be published at this time, and which he has accompanied with his special blessing that it may prepare a people for his coming and kingdom."[8]

To accomplish his purpose, Wellcome followed essentially the same method as Hale and Bliss. In addition to relying upon memories, both his own and those of others, he presented many quotations and long extracts from contemporary materials, largely newspapers and tracts. Like Bliss, he drew attention to the religious revivals that followed in the wake of Miller's preaching. In dealing with Miller's critics, Wellcome showed how they either misrepresented Miller or revealed a growing skepticism regarding the doctrine of the Second Advent.[9] Of the various individuals and movements that he regarded as fanatical, Wellcome spent the most time on Ellen and James White and the emergence of Seventh-day Adventists. He regarded Ellen's visions "as the product of the over-excited imagination of her mind, and not as fact," believing that they simply reflected the preaching of Joseph Turner and others on the "Shut Door."[10] He further distinguished Seventh-day Adventism from the Advent movement and described it as "a system of dictatorial ecclesiastical government."[11]

These apologetic elements, however, played a relatively minor part in Wellcome's history. Its major contribution was twofold. By bringing together a vast amount of information and primary sources, Wellcome

[5]Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (Yarmouth, Maine: I. C. Wellcome, 1874).

[6]Ibid., 9.

[7]Ibid., 10-11.

[8]Ibid., 198-210.

[9]Ibid., 402.

[10]Ibid., 406.

[11]Ibid.

produced a balanced and substantive description of the Millerite movement and the Advent Christian Church that arose from it. The volume is still generally regarded as one of the best accounts of the Millerites available. But beyond this, Wellcome gave Adventists an historical identity. He placed the Millerite movement not only within the context of increasing premillennial interest in America, but also regarded it as part of a world-wide phenomenon by pointing to the ministries of Joseph Wolff, Charlotte Elizabeth, Edward Irving, and Manuel Lacunza.[12] This identity would achieve increasing importance in the Adventist mind, as when Albert C. Johnson's history of the Advent Christian Church described the Millerite movement as both part of an international movement and "a very notable revival of the Ancient Hope."[13]

Despite Wellcome's criticism of Seventh-day Adventists, they saw themselves as true spiritual descendants of William Miller and therefore maintained an interest in Millerite history. Their first venture into historical writing took the form of autobiography. Ellen White's *My Christian Experience, Views and Labors*, which James White published in 1860, was the first Adventist autobiography to appear in book form. Later extensively revised and published under the title *Life Sketches of James White and Ellen G. White*, this volume devoted its early chapters to the Millerite movement as experienced by a teen-age Ellen White in Portland, Maine.[14]

Meanwhile, the autobiography of another Seventh-day Adventist had appeared. Asked to tell his story for the inspiration of young people, Joseph Bates began publishing a series of articles about his life in the *Youth's Instructor* in 1858. Several years later, James White compiled these pieces into *The Early Life and Later Experiences and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates*.[15] Approximately two-thirds of this volume described Bates's pre-Adventist years, emphasizing that because of his experience with seamen he became a Christian and moral reformer. The

[12]Ibid., 146-160, 524-564.

[13]Albert C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History* (Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1918), 11-117.

[14]Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2: *My Christian Experience, Views and Labors in Connection With the Rise and Progress of the Third Angel's Message* (Battle Creek: James White, 1860), 12-30; Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches, Ancestry, Early Life, Christian Experiences, and Extensive Labors of Elder James White and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1886), 26-63.

[15]James White, ed., *The Early Life and Later Experiences and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1878).

remainder of the story discussed Bates's role in the Millerite movement and his adoption of the Sanctuary and Sabbath doctrines after the "Great Disappointment." Unlike the other Adventist historical writings to date, this book carried no apologetic argument.

When Seventh-day Adventists began writing general histories of their church, they followed themes established by earlier writers. John N. Loughborough organized his books around the theme of "Tokens of God's hand in the Movement." The first of these "tokens" was the fact that the Advent proclamation arose in many places at about the same time.[16] In the 1920s, M. Ellsworth Olsen placed Adventism within the context of reform, an effort begun by Martin Luther in the sixteenth century. The recovery of the doctrine of the Advent in the nineteenth century, which Olsen examined in considerable detail, was one more step in the work of sloughing off the inroads of paganism.[17] In contrast to Wellcome, both Loughborough and Olsen regarded Seventh-day Adventists as the true spiritual progeny of the Millerites.

A new era in Millerite history began in 1924 with the publication of Clara Endicott Sears's *Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History.* This volume, based on contemporary documents and the first- and second-hand memories of people whom the author contacted, described Millerism as a "strange religious agitation [that] swept thousands away from the path of right reasoning."[18] Much of the book concentrated on various exhibitions of fanaticism, such as the giving away of property, the wearing of ascension robes, and meeting on October 22, 1844 in graveyards. Sears concluded that much of the fanaticism had resulted from poorly educated people preaching the Millerite message.[19] This popularly written history seemed to confirm the legends of Millerism and her description became standard fare for American history

[16]J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists with Tokens of God's Hand in the Movement and a Brief Sketch of the Advent Cause from 1831-1844* (Battle Creek: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892), 29-60; J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1905), 108-170.

[17]M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1925), 107-165.

[18]Clara Endicott Sears, *Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), xxv.

[19]Ibid., 67-78, 160-236. See also Grover C. Loud, *Evangelized America* (New York: The Dial Press, 1928), 162-180, which also retells the alleged Millerite excesses but does not cite Sears in its bibliography.

textbooks and other books.[20] That the Millerite mythology is still growing is evident when a 1994 publication states, "some purchased their robes on credit, rationalizing that Judgment Day would cancel the debt,"[21] a particularly interesting statement because in most of the traditional stories it was Himes who was selling the ascension robes.

Obviously, Adventists did not like the idea that their denominations were rooted in a fanatical movement. In the centennial year of the "Great Disappointment," Francis D. Nichol, editor of the official Seventh-day Adventist church paper, *Review and Herald*, challenged this interpretation on all points. Although his bibliography indicated extensive research in primary sources, Nichol consciously avoided writing a history of the Millerite movement because of his "spiritual kinship with the Millerites," the difficulty of writing impartial history, and because the times called for an apologetic work.[22] Nichol also believed that the spiritual children of a religious leader "can understand his motives, sympathize with his hopes, and follow his reasoning in theological areas in a way that a stranger never can."[23] Hence, Nichol

[20] See Francis D. Nichol, "The Growth of the Millerite Legend," *Church History*, 21 (September, 1952), 296-313. A sampling of textbooks that retell these stories includes Dumas Malone & Basil Rauch, *Empire for Liberty: The Genesis and Growth of the United States of America*, vol. 1 (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), 513; Harry J. Carman, et al., *A History of the American People*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 506-507; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 517; Samuel Eliot Morison, et al., *The Growth of the American Republic*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 488; Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 2nd. ed. (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1972), 393; Henry F. Bedford & Trevor Colbourn, *The Americans: A Brief History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 173; Joseph R. Conlin, *The American Past: A Survey of American History*, 4th ed. (New York: The Harcourt Press, 1994), 268; Gary B. Nash, et al., *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1994), 409. Carl Carmer's collection of upstate New York folklore, *Listen for a Lonesome Drum* (New York: David McKay Co., 1936), 167-171, is an example of a popular work influenced by Sears. For examinations of fictional treatments of the Millerites see James Ehrlich, "Ascension Robes and Other Millerite Fables," *Adventist Heritage* 2 (Summer 1975): 8-13 and Gary Scharnhorst, "Images of the Millerites in American Literature," *American Quarterly* 32 (Spring 1980): 19-36.

[21] W. J. Rorabaugh and Donald T. Critchlow, *America! A Concise History* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1994), 166-167.

[22] Francis D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed that the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year 1844* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944), 10-13.

[23] Ibid., 16.

cast himself in the role of a defense lawyer presenting his case before the judgment bar.

The first two-thirds of *The Midnight Cry* contained a narrative of William Miller and Millerism that, while noting the various charges lodged against the subject, did not pursue them in detail. The latter portion, however, took up the charges one by one. The assertion that Millerism resulted in cases of insanity and fanatical practices such as the wearing of ascension robes, Nichol found based on hearsay and rumor, arguing that contemporary records gave no support to the charges. While admitting that some fanaticism existed within the movement, he pleaded that Millerism's religious expression was little different from other revival movements of the day and that Millerite leaders had consistently opposed fanaticism. On the issue of theology, he concluded that Millerism was part of an increasing interest in Biblical prophecy that had developed for a century or more and differed mainly in its interpretation of the sanctuary cleansing spoken of in Daniel 8:13-14.[24] Nichol concluded,

> With the fogs of rumor and religious prejudice thus removed, Millerism stands out, not as a flawless movement, either on doctrine or deportment—there never has been such—but as a movement that does not suffer by comparison with other religious awakenings that have taken place through the centuries.[25]

The Midnight Cry obtained the results that Nichol and his denomination wanted. Although most reviewers criticized the strong apologetic tone, wishing Nichol had written a history instead, they found his arguments convincing.[26] And most importantly, Whitney Cross's *The Burned-Over District*, a major work on religious revival in western New York published in 1950, accepted Nichol's conclusions and gradually influenced historical writing.[27] A recent student of

[24]Ibid., 493-496.

[25]Ibid., 496.

[26]See reviews in *The Christian Century* 62 (7 March 1945): 304; *The American Historical Review* 51 (January 1946): 331-32; and *Church History* 14 (September 1945): 223-226.

[27]Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 287-321. See also D. S. Porter, "The Influence of F. D. Nichol's The Midnight Cry (1944) on recent historians' treatment of Millerism" (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), Heritage Room, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI. Nichol's impact is most clearly illustrated by the differences between William Warren Sweet's *The Story of Religion in America*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 401-403 and his *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840* (New York: Scribner's, 1952), 307-311. Whereas the earlier volume retells the traditional Millerite stories, the

Millerism, however, has concluded not only that Nichol sometimes intentionally misinterpreted evidence but, more importantly, that his arguments are ultimately unprovable.[28]

Whereas Nichol was primarily concerned with challenging the historical image of the Millerites, another Seventh-day Adventist writer, LeRoy Edwin Froom, sought to rescue his denomination from its status as a non-Christian cult in the eyes of many fundamentalists and evangelicals. He demonstrated that the historicist approach to prophetic interpretation developed by Miller and continued by Seventh-day Adventists had deep roots within Christian history rather than being a deviant system of recent origin, as critics frequently charged.

In four massive volumes titled *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, Froom argued that "The Great Second Advent Movement cannot be explained on any merely social, psychological, economic or organizational grounds. It partook of the nature and spirit of a great Christian crusade, with its rootage deep in the long past."[29] Only about half of the fourth volume addressed Millerism and modern Adventism, expressing Froom's belief that they had completed "the Contribution of the Centuries by Retention, Restoration, and Advance."[30] Strongly apologetic, Froom's series was widely praised for its exhaustive research but, in the words of Ernest R. Sandeen, it is "astonishingly accurate in its references to particular men and events, but virtually without historical merit when Froom lifts his eyes above the level of the catalog of the British museum."[31]

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author states in his later work that "[Nichol] has convincingly shown that many of the stories of the excesses committed by the Millerites had little basis in fact," 307. The psychological discussion of Millerism in terms of "cognitive dissonance" that appeared in Leon Festinger, et al., *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 12-23, appears to have relied entirely on Nichol.

[28]David Leslie Rowe, "Thunder and Trumpets: The Millerite Movement and Apocalyptic Thought in Upstate New York, 1800-1845." (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1974), 54, 205-206.

[29]LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1954), 10.

[30] Ibid, vol. 4, 853. Pages 429 to 851 discuss the Millerite movement. See also LeRoy Edwin Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971), 25-71. Arthur W. Spalding largely depended upon Froom for his brief account of the Millerites in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961), 11-23.

[31]Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 288.

A few Seventh-day Adventist writers continued this apologetic approach to Millerism. Jerome Clark, a college history professor, attempted in *1844* to place the Millerite movement within the context of contemporary American social and cultural developments. Basing his work almost entirely on secondary sources and providing no general interpretive framework, Clark offered primarily a series of descriptive chapters on such topics as Millerism, antislavery, and the temperance movement. What little interpretation he did venture was theological, as when he asserted that the Millerite movement was "ordained of God"[32] and that evolution arose in the mid-nineteenth century "because Satan feared the Advent Movement and did not want its truths to be taught."[33]

Within a similar apologetic framework, Robert Gale's *The Urgent Voice* presented a popular account of Millerism for a Seventh-day Adventist audience. Gale stated that "God was guiding the movement all along" and concluded that "the movement was really not of Miller, it was of God," who used it to bring forth Seventh-day Adventism.[34] Apart from a few such statements, however, *The Urgent Voice* offered largely a narrative of the Millerite movement based upon secondary sources.

C. Mervyn Maxwell, a professor of church history at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, responded to an emerging controversy within Seventh-day Adventism in the 1970s over righteousness by faith and the doctrines of the investigative judgment and Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. He therefore took a more explicitly theological approach in his general history of Seventh-day Adventism, *Tell It To The World*, published in 1976. Arguing that there were a number of Biblical texts that could have prevented Miller from misunderstanding the phrase "cleansing of the sanctuary" and applying it to Christ's Second Coming, Maxwell stated that God had allowed Miller to preach because the world needed to know that "Jesus was about to enter upon a great process of atonement."[35]

Although the apologetic approach to Millerism dominated writing about the subject, scholars slowly developed an interest in it. In 1920 John Bach McMaster recounted the Millerite story in his multivolume

[32]Jerome Clark, *1844*, vol. 1 (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1968), 60.

[33]Ibid., vol. 3, 173.

[34]Robert Gale, *The Urgent Voice: The Story of William Miller* (Washington, D.C.: The Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1975), 124, 154, 132.

[35]C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell It To the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1976), 44-45.

A History of the People of the United States, but he uncritically cited newspaper accounts of suicides, ascension robes, and insanity.[36] Reuben Harkness, whose 1927 doctoral dissertation appears to have been the first extensive academic study of the Millerites, argued that they constituted the "poor and oppressed" responding to the panic of 1837. Unfortunately, Harkness was primarily interested in applying a theory of millenarianism to the Millerites rather than extensively reading the original sources.[37]

About the time that Harkness completed his dissertation, Everett Dick, a Seventh-day Adventist Ph.D candidate in history at the University of Wisconsin, began writing a dissertation on the Millerite movement, extensively researching Millerism's primary sources, particularly its papers. Describing the development of its organizational and publishing activities, he demonstrated that the Millerite movement borrowed many of its techniques from the reform and revival movements of the first half of the nineteenth century. He also examined the social nature of Millerism, arguing that it coincided with the high point of the revival sweeping America during the first half of the nineteenth century and pointing out that it was a democratic movement, made up largely of lay people.[38]

After Dick completed his dissertation in 1930, academic interest in Millerism developed sporadically, although from the beginning it sought to understand the movement within the context of nineteenth-century American culture. Although David Ludlum's study of *Social Ferment in Vermont* used Sears's account for stories of ascension robes, he regarded Millerism as rooted in the Second Great Awakening and suggested that

[36]John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States, From the Revolution to the Civil War*, vol. 7 (D. Appleton and Company, 1920), 134-141.

[37]Reuben E. Harkness, "Social Origins of the Millerite Movement," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1927). I have discussed briefly the Harkness and Dick dissertations because they were the first scholarly studies of Millerism, although neither had much influence on subsequent research. Similarly, more recent dissertations that remained unpublished either as articles or books have played little role in the published discussion of Millerism. I have, therefore, cited these later studies in the endnotes but not examined them in the text.

[38]Everett N. Dick, "The Advent Crisis of 1843-1844," (Ph.D diss., University of Wisconsin, 1930). See also Everett N. Dick, "The Millerite Movement, 1830-1845" in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986), 1-35, which summarizes and updates the 1930 study.

it "represented the summation of all the reforms of the age," namely overnight perfection.[39]

In 1943 the *New England Quarterly* published an essay by Ira V. Brown on "The Millerites and the Boston Press." Anticipating Nichol's argument, Brown argued that in purveying such stories as the ascension robes and charging the Millerites with financial fraud, the newspapers of the day had low reporting and editorial standards. All involved—newspapers, reading public, and the Millerites themselves, Brown concluded, were credulous.[40] The following year, Alice Felt Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment* appeared, which saw the religious and social reform movements between the Revolution and the Civil War as expressions of the desire to perfect human institutions. Her treatment of Millerism, which appeared in a chapter titled "Millennialism and Spiritualism," drew primarily from the works of Bliss and Sears, repeating the stories of ascension robes and suicides on October 22, 1844, calling Miller a "prophet," and describing the whole enterprise as a "delusion."[41] Despite these characterizations, Tyler's effort to place Millerism within the cultural context of nineteenth-century America anticipated the direction of future scholarship.

Six years later, as noted above, Whitney R. Cross published a work similar to Tyler's in its coverage of the social and religious movements of the first half of the nineteenth century but restricted to the geographical area of western New York state. Regarding the "Burned-Over District" as an economy reaching agricultural maturity, Cross placed the phenomena of this period within an economic context.[42]

Cross's treatment of Millerism moved beyond Tyler's in two major respects. Firstly, influenced by Nichol's apologetic, he saw little basis for the ascension-robe stories or charges of increased insanity.[43]

[39]David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850*, Columbia Studies in American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 250-260. Possibly the first academic study of the Millerites to appear in print was Simon Stone, "The Miller Delusion: A Comparative Study of Mass Psychology," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 91 (1934), 593-623.

[40]Ira V. Brown, "The Millerites and the Boston Press," *New England Quarterly* 16 (1943):592-614. For a later study of the press response to the Millerites see Madeline Warner, "The Changing Image of the Millerites in the Western Massachusetts Press," *Adventist Heritage* 2 (Summer 1975):5-7.

[41]Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), 70-78.

[42]Cross, 75-76.

[43]Ibid., 306.

Secondly, he delved into the primary sources, which led him to emphasize the similarity of the Millerites with their surrounding culture. "Adventism became an integral portion of Burned-over District history," he argued, "thoroughly interrelated with the other rural manifestations of religious enthusiasm."[44] The Millerites, Cross concluded, simply developed more consistently and literally the basic assumptions of conservative protestant orthodoxy.[45] Cross thereby moved a fundamental implication of Nichol's argument to the status of a well-argued historical interpretation, and established the framework within which future scholarship would take place. About the same time, Ira Brown made a similar argument, suggesting that rather than being an aberration, the Millerite belief was simply an extreme example of a "wholly orthodox" millenarian tradition.[46]

Twenty years would pass before another scholar would publish a significant account of Millerism. Whereas previously historians had written relatively little about the role of religion in American history, the 1970s witnessed the start of an outpouring of research on the subject. Among the reasons for the change was the emergence of social history, which frequently revealed the religious dimension of American society, and the entry into the profession of a number of scholars of evangelical background, who had an almost "natural" interest in the historical role of conservative protestantism. As one aspect of this interest in American religion, millennialism attracted the attention of several scholars.[47]

Ernest R. Sandeen, a graduate of evangelical Wheaton College, searched for *The Roots of Fundamentalism* in nineteenth-century millennialism. Although he devoted most of his book to dispensationalist premillennialism, Sandeen examined Millerism within the millennial context that preceded dispensationalism. Strongly influenced by Nichol, Sandeen emphasized the similarities between Millerism and other millennial groups, including British millennialism. Indeed, he found only two major differences from the British version—Miller's

[44]Ibid., 288.

[45]Ibid., 320.

[46] Ira V. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (December 1952): 441-458. See also Harold A. Larrabee, "The Trumpeter of Doomsday," *American Heritage* 15 (April 1964): 35-37, 95-100.

[47]Jonathan M. Butler and Ronald L. Numbers discuss the relationship of the literature on millennialism to an understanding of the Millerites in "Introduction," in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*, Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1987), xv-xxiv.

unwillingness to accept that the Jews would return to Palestine and his conviction that only believers would survive the Second Advent. Indeed, he observed, "the expectation that the year 1843 would bring the next great cataclysm was quite common among historicist premillenarians in both Britain and the United States."[48]

Sandeen argued that Millerism's debacle prejudiced Americans against millenarianism in general and the historicist interpretation in particular, the latter attitude preparing the way for dispensationalism with its futurist approach to the prophecies.[49] He also put forward an interpretive problem, stating that an understanding must be developed that accounts for the emergence of millenarianism at about the same time in both Britain and America. Explanations limited to each country's individual experience were inadequate, he concluded.[50]

Shortly after the publication of Sandeen's book, Vern Carner and Ronald L. Numbers of Loma Linda University, a Seventh-day Adventist institution in southern California, organized a series of lectures, published in 1974 as *The Rise of Adventism*.[51] Bringing together essays by leading scholars on aspects of nineteenth-century society that were closely tied to the Millerite movement, the volume led a reinvigoration of historical interest in the Millerite movement and the subsequent history of Adventism.

Most of the essays did not address Millerism directly, although some writers such as Sandeen, who argued that Millerism represented a general American revival,[52] briefly touched on the subject. In the only essay dealing entirely with Millerism, David T. Arthur, of the Advent Christian Aurora College in Illinois, who had written an M.A. thesis and a doctoral dissertation on the Millerite movement, focused on the developing process of sectarianism.[53] The Millerite conviction of having

[48]Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 52.

[49]Ibid., 54-55, 59-60.

[50]Ibid., 57-58. For an examination of the British Millerites see Louis Billington, "The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain, 1840-1850," *The Journal of American Studies* 1 (October 1967): 191-212; and Hugh I. B. Dunton, "The Millerite Adventists and Other Millenarian Groups in Great Britain, 1830-1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1984).

[51]Edwin Scott Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974).

[52]Ernest R. Sandeen, "Millennialism," in ibid, 110.

[53]David Talmage Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1961); David Talmage Arthur, "Come Out of Babylon: A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism" (Ph.D. diss.,

the truth, the development of its own papers and an organization for raising money and evangelizing, and Himes's largely centralized leadership of the movement unintentionally created an alternative to the established churches, Arthur said. The call in 1843 to "come out of Babylon," he concluded, simply brought to completion the internal logic of the movement.[54] In addition to these essays, *The Rise of Adventism* contributed significantly to later scholarship with its publication of an extensive bibliography of Millerite and other Adventist sources.[55]

The effort to look at the Millerites within a larger cultural context appeared in several other works of the 1970s. Richard Carwardine regarded Millerism as a reaction to the social and economic distresses experienced by Americans after 1837 and found the peak of the Second Great Awakening coming in the Adventist phase of 1843-44.[56] Also seeing Millerism as part of a millenarian subculture, J. F. C. Harrison said that it "elaborated . . . certain aspects to a high degree" and "appeared as a form of religious or theological self-help, which encouraged a do-it-yourself interpretation of scripture."[57]

In contrast to these studies which looked at Millerism as a social movement, three Seventh-day Adventist European scholars emphasized Millerite theology. A Swedish church historian, Ingemar Lindén, argued in *The Last Trump* that Miller's teachings reflected several aspects of American culture, particularly the tension between an emotional

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University of Rochester, 1970). Richard Schwarz's denominationally sponsored Seventh-day Adventist history textbook, *Lightbearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), 24-71, depended heavily upon Arthur's work, as well as that of Dick and Froom. See also Raymond J. Bean, "The Influence of William Miller in the History of American Christianity" (Th.D. diss., Boston University, 1949); David Arnold Dean, "Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860-1960" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1976).

[54]David T. Arthur, "Millerism," in *Rise of Adventism*, Gausted, ed., 154-172. Arthur also published "After the Great Disappointment: To Albany and Beyond," *Adventist Heritage* 1 (January 1974): 5-10, 78.

[55]Vern Carner, Sakae Kubo, and Curt Rice, "Bibliographical Essay," in Gaustad, 207-319. Carner also later edited for Xerox University Microfilms a selection of these sources titled "William Miller, the Millerites, and Early Adventists" (1977).

[56]Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 52.

[57]J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 192-203.

biblicism and a deistic rationalism. Lindén concluded that Millerism was "a variant form of American protestantism and not a 'bizarre cult.'"[58]

P. Gerard Damsteegt, a Dutch scholar, described the internal theological development of Millerism, noting that Miller's interpretive "principles were a part of the Protestant hermeneutical tradition which can be traced back to the primitive church."[59] Damsteegt also described Millerism as an "interconfessional movement" until hostility to it made separatism "inevitable."[60]

Pursuing further this interest in Millerite theology, a Finnish academic, Kai Arasola, more than ten years later regarded Millerism as the "logical outcome" of the historicist method of prophetic interpretation that had dominated protestantism for three hundred years.[61] Miller, however, "exhausted" this approach while the seventh-month movement, which promoted October 22, 1844 as the day of Christ's coming, "marked the end of historicism and made futurism or preterism attractive."[62]

Although these European theological studies were largely outside the mainstream of Millerite scholarship, they generally supported the socially-oriented studies that saw the Millerites as an expression of American evangelical culture. This relationship between Millerism and America increasingly provided the focus for Millerite historiography.

The 1980s saw this emerging interest in Millerism come to fruition, as a number of scholars, both within and without Adventism, began to study the movement. Whereas previous scholarly books had only included the Millerites as one element within a larger subject, the new decade witnessed book-length treatments of Millerism. An Advent Christian historian, Clyde E. Hewitt, published in 1983 *Midnight and Morning*, the first volume in a multivolume history of his denomination. Although popularly written and not based on original research, *Midnight and Morning* presented a thoughtful and quite objective

[58]Ingemar Lindén, *The Last Trump: An Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1978), 40, 64.

[59]P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977), 17.

[60]Ibid., 46.

[61]Kai Arasola, *The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament*, rev. ed. (Uppsala: privately printed, 1990), 146.

[62]Ibid., 19.

account of the Millerite movement.[63] Rather than contrasting alleged Millerite pessimism with the optimism of nineteenth-century reformers, Hewitt suggested—as had Ludlum more than forty years previously—that Millerism appealed to the spirit of the reformers because it offered the ultimate reform, the second coming of Christ. He also noted that Millerism was very much a part of its times; at least fifty other Biblical expositors on both sides of the Atlantic were looking for the Second Advent to occur between 1843 and 1847.[64] Although Hewitt primarily synthesized previous scholarship on Millerism, he gave the first balanced published account of the emergence of the various Adventist denominations in the wake of the "Disappointment."[65]

A conference held in Killington, Vermont, May 31 to June 3, 1984, organized by Wayne R. Judd and Ronald L. Numbers, brought together for the first time "both Adventist and non-Adventist scholars interested in critically evaluating the Millerite experience and its place in American history."[66] Although the conference papers addressed a number of issues, many of them suggested that the Millerites shared much with their culture, including demographics, millenarianism, commitment to reform, biblicism, and pietism. As David L. Rowe stated, "Millerites are not fascinating because they were so different from everyone else but because they were so like their neighbors."[67]

Such statements presented a problem, however. If they were so similar to their culture, why did the Millerites stir so much controversy? A possible answer lay in Ruth Alden Doan's suggestion that Millerite images of imminent supernatural intervention into the world conflicted with a growing evangelical belief in gradual change brought about by transformation of the hearts of believers.[68] Most of the conference's participants, though, reinforced the interpretation that the Millerites held much in common with their culture. Ronald and Janet Numbers, for instance, argued that not only were the Millerites "no more prone to mental illness than their neighbors" but they also "adopted the

[63]Clyde E. Hewitt, *Midnight and Morning: An Account of the Adventist Awakening and the Founding of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1831-1860* (Charlotte, N.C.: Venture Books, 1983).

[64]Ibid., 46, 52.

[65] Ibid., 180-284.

[66]Butler and Numbers, "Introduction," in Numbers and Butler, eds., *The Disappointed,* xvii.

[67]David L. Rowe, "Millerites: A Shadow Portrait," in Numbers and Butler, eds., *The Disappointed,* 15.

[68]Ruth Alden Doan, "Millerism and Evangelical Culture," in Numbers and Butler, eds., *The Disappointed, 129-130.*

prevailing view that undue religious excitement might be harmful to a person's mental health."[69] Such interpretations extended to the radical wing of postdisappointment Millerism. As Seventh-day Adventism emerged out of "the disappointed," Jonathan M. Butler—drawing concepts from the work of historian John Higham—found it reflecting larger cultural patterns, namely a move from "boundlessness to consolidation."[70]

During the next few years, several books appeared more fully exploring the Americanness of the Millerites. David L. Rowe's *Thunder and Trumpets*, based on his 1974 dissertation, saw pre-1843 Millerism reflecting American culture in its revivalism, millennialism, and pietism. After 1843, however, Millerism began developing its own personality, particularly by emphasizing time-setting, but even this reflected a long tradition of historicist exegesis.[71] Rowe also noted the variety within Millerism involving such issues as the time of Christ's coming, the conversion of the Jews, the role of women, and annihilationism.[72] Similar to Butler, he observed that the movement "was an antiformalist rebellion against the formalization of the evangelical pietistic denominations." But in the wake of the "Disappointment," Rowe

[69]Ronald L. Numbers and Janet S. Numbers, "Millerism and Madness: A Study of 'Religious Insanity' in Nineteenth-Century America" in Numbers and Butler, eds., *The Disappointed*, 105, 110.

[70]Jonathan M. Butler, "The Making of a New Order: Millerism and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventism," in Numbers and Butler, eds., *The Disappointed*, 190. See also "From Millerism to Seventh-day Adventism: 'Boundlessness to Consolidation,'" *Church History*, 55 (1986): 50-64.

[71]David L. Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850,* American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion, no. 38 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 48-49, 67-68. Rowe also published "Elon Galusha and the Millerite Movement," *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* 8 (July-Sept. 1975): 252-260; "Comets and Eclipses: The Millerites, Nature, and the Apocalypse," *Adventist Heritage*, 3 (Winter 1976): 10-19; and "A New Perspective on the Burned-Over District: The Millerites in Upstate New York," *Church History* 47 (December 1978): 408-420. For other regional studies of Millerism, see N. Gordon Thomas, "The Millerite Movement in the State of Ohio" (M.A. thesis, Ohio University, 1957); N. Gordon Thomas, "The Second Coming in the Third New England: The Millerite Impulse in Michigan, 1830-60" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1967), 109-142; N. Gordon Thomas, "The Millerite Movement in Ohio," *Ohio History* 81 (1972): 95-101; N. Gordon Thomas, *The Millennial Impulse in Michigan, 1830-1860: The Second Coming in the Third New England* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edward Mellen Press, 1989), 70-91; David L. Rowe, "Northern Millerites and Viriginia Millennialists, 1828-1847" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1972); Robert W. Olson, "Southern Baptists' Reactions to Millerism" (Th.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1972).

[72]Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, 118-131.

concluded, Millerism itself became formalist as the moderates separated themselves from the radicals and organized sects began emerging.[73]

R. Laurence Moore also found Miller's apocalypticism "in less precise versions constantly reiterated in popular literature" and saw no necessary divorce between millenarianism and reform.[74] Although Michael Barkun drew a sharper line between Millerism and reform, he regarded the Millerites as working within a respectable tradition of New England protestantism.[75] Like Rowe, Barkun found the Millerites largely reflecting their surrounding population, associated with urbanized and economically developed areas, and sociologically and economically middle-class.[76]

Especially interested in why millennialism became so popular at this time, Barkun pointed to a series of natural calamities between 1810 and 1832, including floods in 1811, "spotted-fever" and cerebro-meningitis outbreaks in 1813, the "year without a summer" in 1816, more floods in 1826 and 1830, and a cholera epidemic in 1832. Added to these were such socioeconomic developments as the depressions of 1837 and 1839, the commercialization of agriculture, and the resulting separation of male and female roles. These occurrences, he argued, meant that hill farms were no longer tenable, the rural population was pushed westward, and a concern for the spiritual state of the people developed, all of which created the conditions for such a movement as Millerism.[77] Barkun concluded that "Second Adventism and utopian community building may be conceived as the end stage of a process through which human groups seek to accommodate collective stress."[78]

Barkun also noted that the Millerite approach to understanding reality, which saw "progress [as] a mirage, calamity and conflict the norm, and stability an illusion," contrasted with American confidence in the power of the individual will and belief in gradual improvement.[79] This argument, which pointed toward the answer to the dilemma that historians of the Millerites were increasingly facing—if they were so

[73]Ibid, 72, 158. See also Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 56, 101.

[74]R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 132.

[75]Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 21-23, 126-128.

[76]Ibid., 33, 42-43.

[77]Ibid., 103-123.

[78]Ibid., 142.

[79]Ibid., 48.

much like their culture why were the Millerites so vilified—was further developed by Ruth Alden Doan.

Although noting the similarities between the Millerites and American culture, particularly moralism and literalism, Doan extended her argument presented at the 1984 conference, stating that Americans regarded the Millerites as heretical because their hope was immediate rather than progressive and based on supernatural rather than mediating factors.[80] "The movement became a heresy," she stated, "because it emphasized one side of evangelicalism when the dominant center of American religious culture was shifting to another set of emphases," namely a move from radical supernaturalism to immanence.[81]

Again, similar to the "boundless" or "antiformalist" interpretations of Butler and Rowe, Doan noted the tensions between the Millerites and the "tightening up" of acceptable implications of the possibilities of American independence, religious liberty, Jacksonian democracy, and the Second Great Awakening.[82] The radical character of the Millerites, which historians had "tamed" over some five decades of scholarship since Francis Nichol's *The Midnight Cry,* was now reasserting itself, although in a more critical and precise manner than the tales that had culminated in Clara E. Sears's *Days of Delusion.*

George R. Knight titled his study of the Millerite movement *Millennial Fever,* thereby capturing its now increasingly recognized radical nature.[83] Reflecting the scholarship of the past several decades, Knight viewed the Millerites as an extension of the Second Great Awakening and William Miller "as perhaps the most successful revivalist of the last phase" of the Awakening.[84] Believing that socioeconomic factors cannot fully explain the Millerite phenomenon, Knight argued that the certainty that Christ was coming soon, buttressed by mathematical calculation, "catapulted" them into a "'preaching frenzy.'"[85]

Knight's narrative described the growing radicalism of the movement. As the predicted time of Christ's coming became increasingly

[80]Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 82, 201, 215-216.

[81]Ibid., 227.

[82]Ibid., 227-228.

[83]George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Survey of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993).

[84]Ibid., 22-23, 65.

[85]Ibid., 24. Grant Underwood argues that there was considerable similarity between Millerite premillennialism and that of an even more radical group, the Mormons. See Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 112-126.

important in 1843-44, a new group led by George Storrs and Charles Fitch began to replace Miller, Joshua V. Himes, and Josiah Litch.[86] With the failure of Christ to come in the spring of 1844, the "Seventh-Month" movement arose, led by Samuel Snow and Storrs, predicting that Christ would come on October 22, 1844, accompanied by an increase in extremism among certain Millerite elements. Finally, after the "Great Disappointment" a new wave of radicalism emerged, in the hands of which "Adventism lost its traditional rational identity."[87] Reacting against this fanaticism, the moderate Adventists gradually organized their churches and the sabbatarian Adventists "disentangled" themselves from "*the midst of the fanatical element.*"[88]

In a very real sense Knight's book marks the converging of a century and a half of discussion. After thousands of pages of Adventist apologetics had sought to deny the radical character of the Millerites and had largely won their case with the historians, a Seventh-day Adventist scholar and a Seventh-day Adventist publishing house now were arguing that the Millerites were indeed radical. At the same time, however, this very radicalism was regarded as rooted in both Protestant tradition and the American culture of the first half of the nineteenth century, as scholars of a variety of persuasions had demonstrated. The ascension robes and other Millerite tales may not have had an evidential basis, but ultimately the Millerites could not be tamed. The stage is set for a new generation of scholars to forge new questions and provide new perspectives on this movement that is both within and without the American tradition.

[86]Ibid., 125-258.

[87]Ibid., 125-266.

[88]Ibid., 297.

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SARGON'S AZEKAH INSCRIPTION: THE EARLIEST EXTRABIBLICAL REFERENCE TO THE SABBATH?

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The Azekah Text

The "Azekah Text," so called because of the Judahite site attacked in its record, is an Assyrian text of considerable historical significance because of its mention of a military campaign to Philistia and Judah.[1] In this article I review the question of the date of the tablet and examine a line which may be the earliest extrabiblical reference to the Sabbath.

In this tablet the king reports his campaign to his god. An unusual feature of this text is the name of the god upon whom the Assyrian king calls: Anshar, the old Babylonian god who was syncretized with the Assyrian god Assur. This name was rarely used by Assyrian kings, and then only at special times and in specific types of texts, by Sargon and Sennacherib.

The text is badly broken. In fact, until 1974 its two fragments were attributed to two different kings, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon. In that year, Navad Na'aman joined the two pieces, showing that they once belonged to the same tablet.[2]

When Na'aman made the join between the two fragments, he attributed the combined text to Sennacherib, largely on the basis of linguistic comparisons.[3] Because the vocabulary of the text was similar to the language used in Sennacherib's inscriptions, Na'aman argued that Sennacherib was the author. However, since Sennacherib immediately followed Sargon on the throne, it would be natural to expect that the

[1]A detailed study of the text is given by Navad Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR* (1974): 25-38.

[2]Ibid., 26-28.

[3]Ibid., 30-31.

mode of expression would be similar. In all likelihood some of Sargon's scribes continued to work under Sennacherib, using the same language.

Since Na'aman attributed the text to Sennacharib, and knew of only one western campaign of that king, he identified the text as a description of the western campaign of 701 B.C. While that identification was feasible, the reference to two cities taken in that campaign was hardly specific enough to firmly establish the connection.

Given that indistinct connection, I proposed, mainly on the basis of the divine name of Anshar in the text, that this record came from a second western campaign, conducted some time after Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon in 689 B.C. and before Hezekiah's death in 686 B.C.[4] Since Sennacherib used the divine name of Anshar only in texts written after the fall of Babylon in 689 B.C., it appeared that the Azekah text provided strong evidence for a second western campaign. Although he criticized my specific date for this text, Frank J. Yurco still followed Na'aman in his attribution of the text to Sennacherib.[5]

The discussion regarding the specific date of this text within the reign of Sennacherib is now irrelevant, for G. Galil has demonstrated quite convincingly that the text does not belong to Sennacherib at all, but to his predecessor Sargon.[6] All future discussions of this text should start from this beginning point. With Sargon as author, the date of the tablet cannot be so late as 701 B.C. , during the reign of Sennacherib, much less as late as the date I had proposed, 689-686 B.C

The Historical Context

The evidence for redating this text to the time of Sargon comes from the phrase which located Azekah *ina birit mişriya u mat Jaudi*, "between my border and the land of Judah."[7] Here we have the border of an Assyrian province, not the border of a vassal city-state. The political arrangement here reflected was instituted on the western border

[4]William H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-418. The idea of the second campaign is based on tensions between different parts of the biblical narrative that deal with these matters and tensions between the biblical text and the entry in Sennacherib's annals. For earlier literature on this subject, see H. H. Rowley, *Men of God* (London: Nelson, 1963), 107-108.

[5]Frank J. Yurco, "The Shabaka-Shebitku Coregency and the Supposed Second Campaign of Sennacherib against Judah: A Critical Assessment," *JBL* (110) 1991: 35-45.

[6]G. Galil, "Judah and Assyria in the Sargonid Period," *Zion* 57 (1992): 111-133 (Hebrew); his work is known to me only through the author's English abstract published in *Old Testament Abstracts* 15 (Feb. 1993): 41.

[7]Na'aman, 26-27.

of Judah for the first time when Sargon conquered Ashdod in 712, but this lasted only until the end of Sargon's reign in 705.

When Sennacherib arrived in Phoenicia in 701, and before he campaigned in Philistia and Judah, Ashdod's vassal king Mitinti came to Phoenicia to offer him tribute.[8] Ashdod was evidently already a vassal state, rather than still part of an Assyrian province, or Mitinti would not have been summoned to carry out such an act of obeisance. If Ashdod had still belonged to the Assyrian province, the Assyrian governor and not the local king would have reported to Sennacherib. For these reasons, Galil correctly noted, "It is therefore clearly impossible to see the 'Azekah Inscription' as describing Sennacherib's campaign to the west in 701."[9] However, Galil stopped short of determining the date of the campaign reported in the text.

The main target of Sargon's attack in 712 was Ashdod. In recording his victory over Azuri of Ashdod, Sargon stated: "I besieged (and) conquered the cities of Ashdod, Gath, and Asdudimmu."[10] Asdudimmu was the port city of Ashdod-Yam and was a natural target for conquest, along with Ashdod, a short distance inland. After conquering these two coastal cities, Sargon turned inland and attacked another Philistine site, Gath. This city provides the correlation needed to interpret the Azekah text, now redated to Sargon.

The second section of the surviving portion of the tablet tells of the king's attack upon ". . . a royal city of Philistia which Hezekiah had captured and strengthened for himself."[11] Since Na'aman republished the text, Gath has been suggested as the name of the Philistine city lost from the tablet.[12] Undoubtedly, Gath fits well into the history of the campaign of 712 B.C.

Thus far we have pieced together the conquest of Ashdod, mentioned in Sargon's annals and his Display Inscription, and that of Gath, mentioned in the Display Inscription and the Azekah text. These correlations fit well, but what about Azekah? This was a site in Judah, and there is no evidence that Sargon's troops penetrated Judah at all at this time.

[8]*ANET*, 257.

[9]Galil, 41.

[10]*ANET*, 236.

[11]Na'aman, 27.

[12]Na'aman, 35. At one time I suggested Lachish as that site, as it had been given to Philistia by Sennacherib in 701; such an identification is not now possible. See William H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Description of Lachish and of Its Conquest," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 171-180.

Sargon's goal seems to have been to incorporate the city of Gath into the newly established province of Philistia. But by attacking Gath, Sargon would have risked the intervention of Hezekiah, who had extended himself outside his borders and had fortified Gath. Sargon solved his problem by attacking the nearest Judahite fort that could have provided aid to the besieged city of Gath. That border site was Azekah, right up the Sorek Valley from Gath. The text tells first of the attack on Azekah, then of the attack on the Philistine city. That Sargon did not intend to invade Judah is clear from the fact that he made no further move against Judah after attacking Azekah.

The course of Sargon's campaign of 712 has now been clarified by piecing together references to the campaign from the annals, the Display Inscription, and the Azekah text. The main target of the attack was the rebellious Ashdod. After conquering that city, Sargon mopped up the adjacent port city of Ashdod-Yam. Then he turned inland to Gath, to flesh out his new Assyrian province. Since Gath was occupied by troops from Judah, he first insured that no assistance would be forthcoming from Judah by attacking the border fort of Azekah. With Gath isolated from support or assistance from Judah, especially from the nearby fort of Azekah, Sargon was able to take the city. After accomplishing his purpose, he returned to his capital in Assyria, where the record of his feats was put on display.

"His Seventh"

With the help of the Azekah text the conquest of Gath can be securely dated to 712 B.C. Thus we can turn to specific details of that text. Of special importance is the record of the final assault on Gath. That this was a formidable task is evident from the fact that the Assyrians had to build a siege ramp to enter the city and take it from its stubborn Judahite defenders. That final breakthrough from the siege ramp took place "in his seventh (time)" or *ina 7-šú*. After this reference in line 19, the text describes the destruction of the city and the carrying off of its booty.

The question then is, What is this reference to *ina 7-šú,* or "his seventh (time)"? Na'aman did not discuss this part of the text; he only translated it. His linguistic and interpretive comments skip from line 18 to 20, omitting any reference to this line.[13] First of all, whatever it was, this "seven" belonged to Hezekiah, not to Sargon. This is shown by the possessive pronominal suffix *šú,* "his," attached to the proper name. What "seven" did Hezekiah possess, on which Sargon's troops

[13]Ibid., 29.

could conquer one of his cities? The Sabbath immediately comes to mind. In the Azekah text, Sargon is bragging that he had conquered the city of Gath from Hezekiah's troops on Hezekiah's seventh-day Sabbath.

One might ask whether the "seven" might be a sabbatical year, not the weekly Sabbath. With the text firmly anchored to Sargon and the year 712 B.C., the possibility is basically ruled out. Working back from Roman and postexilic inscriptions and literary references, Ben Zion Wacholder has compiled a complete table of sabbatical years as far back as 513 B.C.[14] Reckoning from that time backwards requires only simple computations which reveal that the sabbatical years of the late eighth century fell in 716 and 709 B.C. Assuming that the calculations are correct, 712 would not have been a sabbatical year and Sargon's reference to Hezekiah's "seven" should be taken as a reference to the Sabbath day.

Sargon's attack against the Jews on their Sabbath makes very good military sense. In fact, the tactic of attacking the Jews on the Sabbath day is well documented in later times.[15] The occurrence recorded by Sargon is the earliest known mention of such a ploy. This inscription also gives us what appears to be the earliest extrabiblical mention of the Sabbath.

[14]Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period," *HUCA* 44 (1993): 155.

[15]Alger F. Johns, "The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews," *VT* 13 (1963): 482-486.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bailey, Raymond, ed. *Hermeneutics for Preaching: Approaches to Contemporary Interpretation of Scripture.* Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 223 pp. $16.99.

Recent years have seen radical changes in the way preaching is conceptualized. The emphasis on a "new homiletic" has brought about renewed interest in biblical preaching. *Hermeneutics for Preaching: Approaches to Contemporary Interpretation of Scripture* may be the only volume of its kind to deal directly with the link between hermeneutics and preaching.

The volume describes seven contemporary models for interpreting and preaching the biblical text. Editor Raymond Bailey, Professor of Christian Preaching at Southern Seminary, directed the project. Each chapter introduces and summarizes one hermeneutical model, uses it to analyze a passage of Scripture, and then illustrates by a sample sermon how the hermeneutical model facilitates sermon preparation. Bibliographies for each chapter encourage further study. The seven models presented are: historical, canonical, literary, rhetorical, African-American, philosophical, and theological.

The historical model, represented by the expository methods of Haddon Robinson, John Stott, and Joel C. Gregory, emphasizes "faithful exegesis of the grammar, history, genre, and the cultural and literary setting of the text," in order to show the contemporary significance of the normative, historical meaning of Scripture.

The canonical model focuses major attention on the interpretation of the text of Scripture within the literary and canonical context of the Bible. "The authoritative use of the whole Bible is the substance of canonical interpretation."

The literary model grows out of narrative-critical concerns that view structure as the key issue for interpreting the text. Because the distinctive feature of the model is the primacy of biblical narrative, storytelling becomes central to the sermon.

The twentieth-century rhetorician, Kenneth Burke, sets forth the rhetorical model. Burke believes that in most cases writers create literary works to challenge existing problems or move humans to action. Thus, he seeks to discover a rhetorical motive behind each biblical text.

A fifth model includes much that is common to all biblical preaching. It is distinctive in its presenting hermeneutical perspectives from within the African-American community, namely, a "socio-cultural environment within which a shared set of experiences has occasioned some distinctive social understandings, assumptions about the world, expectations from religious faith, and unique leadership demands." The African-American model emphasizes themes of liberation and community.

The philosophical model posed in this essay suggests that hermeneutics is concerned not only with "the world in back of the text," but necessitates a ven-

ture into "the world in front of the text." This suggests that one should take seriously a first "naive" reading of the text, testing this with the help of critical methodologies. Interpretation is not completed, however, until one ventures into a postcritical understanding of the text with a similar naive appropriation of its meaning. Although this is not as objective as traditional paradigms, the author suggests that it "can in principle be regarded as solidly rational."

The final model presented is a theological approach written by Bailey himself. He suggests that "theological hermeneutics look not behind the text, in the text, or in front of the text, but above the text," stressing the vertical rather than horizontal authority.

This is not a book easily read at one sitting. The various models demand time for reflection. While every chapter offers useful ideas, the crucial question of the "locus of meaning" needs further examination. The reader and expositor must decide whether the meaning of a passage lies "behind the text, in the text, in a world universal consciousness, in the listener, or somewhere in the interaction of these points. Is truth behind, within, or in front of the text?" Admittedly, the task is not simple, because the questions may impose an artificial structure on the way one seeks the answers.

Even though each chapter contains an actual sermon developed through the method it presents, not all chapters are equally clear and thorough. The chapters on canonical and philosophical models showed a particular lack of clarity.

The volume could also be strengthened by giving biographical information about the writers of each chapter. The introduction in the flyleaf claims that "each model is based on the most recent research by international scholars in a wide variety of fields: biblical studies, philosophy, theology, history, sociology, literature, homiletics, communication theory, and others." Some of the authors are better known than others. Knowing something about the authors could increase understanding of their material.

The basic issue that the book raises needs some further examination. The question of the "locus of meaning" seems apparent in all the chapters. Despite its limitations, the book is helpful in raising the concerns of the exegete. The text may be used as supplementary reading for homiletics classes.

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Baloian, Bruce Edward. *Anger in the Old Testament.* American University Studies, series 7, Theology and Religion, vol. 99. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. 225 pp. $45.

The topic of the wrath of God is an important, albeit somewhat neglected, subject of Biblical theology, and therefore this recent study should be welcomed as a needed investigation. *Anger in the Old Testament* is an apparently unrevised

version of a dissertation written under noted Old Testament scholar Rolf Knierim at the University of Claremont in 1988. Baloian examines both human and divine anger, from both psychological and theological viewpoints, based on biblical passages that explicitly mention anger. He gives special attention to the motivation, purpose, and results of human and divine anger in the OT. Thus, this work is a thematic study and not a philological one (15, n. 19-20).

The book is well organized. After a short introduction, which offers an unfortunately incomplete review of previous research (2-4), Baloian begins his investigation with an assessment of human anger (chap. 2). Chapter 3 deals with divine anger in the OT. Chapter 4 correlates human and divine anger, discussing the theology of anger and its rationality. Chapter 5 reflects briefly on implications drawn from tradition-history and concludes by giving a theological summary of the whole study. An addendum on divine and human jealousy is followed by two helpful charts. The first chart lists all the words for wrath in the OT, including their distribution (verbs/nouns) and reference to God or man. The second chart lists all the occurrences of *divine* wrath in the OT, and categorizes them as to the motivation for wrath, the object of that wrath, the grammatical usage of the Hebrew root, the roots of the Hebrew terms used, and finally the results of divine wrath in the world.

Baloian's analysis of the motives of human and especially of divine anger is particularly helpful. He convincingly shows that Yahweh's wrath is not capricious and irrational (103-104, 106) but rather is motivated by God's desire to reestablish relationships as well as to dispense justice (122). His analysis of the imprecatory Psalms shows that imprecation was done with rational and legal justification, in the context of prayer, which made it subject to God's veto, and that the profession of trust portrays it as an act carried out in the context of faith in the person of Yahweh (77-79). Baloian also succeeds in refuting the view, propagated by A. T. Hanson and C. H. Dodd among others, that anger is just an impersonal force, the automatic, inevitable process of sin working itself out in history. Instead, the biblical material depicts (divine) anger as controlled by a will. It is not the reflex of an irresistible fate or universal principle, but the guarantee that a personal God is involved with His people (98, 97, 104, 79, 81-92).

Although there is much to be learned from Baloian's research, it has some significant omissions. One wonders why the word studies in the *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, and especially the detailed discussions in the *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, to name but two major works, have apparently not been consulted at all. Furthermore, a number of important articles, books, and even dissertations that deal with anger in the OT do not appear even in the bibliography. Baloian's failure to indicate his awareness of these materials gives the impression that his research is not comprehensive.

Baloian accurately states that wrath is primarily spoken of in the context of covenant (82). Given the statistical dominance of the relationship between wrath and covenant, and his recognition that other scholars have also noted this, it is surprising that Baloian devotes only about one page to this crucial

aspect (72-73). Further analysis of this significant relationship should prove to be a worthwhile investigation.

Questions may also be raised about Baloian's methodology. He begins with human anger and proceeds from there to the anger of God. In light of Baloian's claim that verbs or nouns for wrath are used some 518 times with God and only some 196 times with man (189), one wonders whether it might not have been more appropriate to first investigate divine wrath and then move to human anger to explore the implications of the divine example.

Lastly, the whole book testifies to careless editing. Numerous inconsistencies occur in punctuation, word spacing, line spacing, and font sizes. There are also a number of misspellings, cryptic or missing Hebrew transliterations, and incomplete bibliographic entries. A cursory comparison with the original dissertation shows that not all these shortcomings can be attributed to the author himself. It surely deserved more careful editorial workmanship. Scripture and subject indexes would have enhanced the usability of the book.

Despite the above-mentioned deficiencies, Baloian should be applauded for having taken up this marginalized aspect of biblical theology, which nevertheless has many crucial ramifications.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 FRANK M. HASEL

Beetham, Frank. *An Introduction to New Testament Greek*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Distributed in the United States by Focus, Newburyport, MA 01950. x + 374 pp. $23.95.

Black, David Alan. *Learn to Read New Testament Greek*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. xii + 210 pp. $19.99.

Mounce, William D. *Basics of Biblical Greek*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1993. *Grammar*: xiii + 446 pp. $24.99. *Workbook*: vi + 186 pp. $10.99.

Three beginning-level Greek grammars have been added to an already bewildering variety. These three, however, deserve mention if not adoption. Frank Beetham has given his textbook the subtitle: "A Quick Course in the Reading of Koine Greek." His stated aim is "to enable many more people to read the gospels in the original Greek with the aid of notes such as are provided by Zerwick & Grosvenor" (i). The book is designed to be covered in one year. Beetham divides his text into three "phases" with 10 "sections" each. Each section is subdivided into two or three parts, each with its own vocabulary and exercises using the grammar and vocabulary learned. Through section 21, English-to-Greek exercises are included, some with NT texts by which to check them. The Greek-to-English exercises begin to incorporate NT translation from section 14; notes accompany unfamiliar forms.

After the usual introduction to the alphabet, Beetham adds nouns (section 3) and the present active conjugation (section 4). Phase 1 closes with a "conspectus of grammar," including the paradigms already studied. In phase 2, all verbs are present active indicative. Contract verbs come in section 11 and third-declension nouns in section 12. *Mi*-verbs appear in section 15, participles in section 16, the subjunctive mood in section 18, and the optative in section 20. In phase 3 the student applies the verb structure already mastered to the other tenses and moods. With each new tense/voice/mood combination, the frequency in the Gospel of John is given. The genitive absolute and contrary-to-fact conditions are explained in section 22. Comparatives appear in section 27 and superlatives in 29. The Supplement contains a reader, with annotated passages from the Gospels, Bel and the Dragon, and Susanna. A second conspectus of grammar gives the paradigms presented in sections 11 to 30. The "Word List" gives the English translation of words included in sections 1-30, together with the number of the section in which they appear. An English index and an "Index of harder Greek words" close the book.

Several features of Beetham's book are excellent: the many exercises incorporating the new words, the readings from the NT, notes on difficult words and forms. On the other hand, it also presents some difficulties: for American students the presentation is perhaps too academic, and the type is less than pleasing to the eye.

David Black has taught NT Greek for nearly two decades. His book grows out of that experience, which has led him to believe that students need to learn the basics in preparation for practical courses in exegesis. Rote memorization is downplayed, and rational explanations are emphasized. The objective of the book is to prepare students "for the crowning experience of their studies—reading and understanding the original text of the New Testament" (ix). Thus, Black has limited himself to what is indispensable, not merely "interesting" (ix).

Learn to Read New Testament Greek contains 26 lessons, most of which follow a pattern: the grammatical concepts and forms to be learned, a vocabulary list, and exercises. After a lesson on the alphabet, Black goes to a "bird's eye view" of the verbal system (including voice, mood, and tense or aspect) and then to the present and future active. Nouns and adjectives of 1st and 2nd declension follow (3 lessons), just before a lesson on the imperfect and aorist active indicative. Pronouns are added in lessons 9 and 11. The middle and passive voices are presented along with deponent verbs in chapter 12. Third-declension nouns come in lesson 17. Contract and liquid verbs appear in lesson 19. One lesson each is dedicated to participles, infinitives, subjunctive, and imperative and optative moods (20-21, 23-24). *Mi*-verbs occupy lesson 25.

Lesson 26 is a bridge to exegesis; it presents six areas of application. Black suggests that students observe the aspect, the voice, the article, the word order, the syntactical structure, and discourse structure. In 13 pages he attempts to present basic instructions for reading and interpreting the NT. The epilogue gives a list of reference works to aid a Greek student in keeping alive the skills

learned. Because of the emphasis on reading, information on accents and proclitics is relegated to the appendix.

The grammar sections begin with a brief statement on the purpose and content of the lesson. The explanations are rather traditional, but clear and well illustrated by examples, from the NT in the later lessons. Paradigms are neatly presented in easy-to-read boxes. Some lessons, as the one on participles, are indeed "formidable," as Black himself admits (129), covering well both form and meaning of the whole variety of participles.

The vocabulary lists vary from 10 to 40 words, all of great enough frequency to "justify recommending that these words be learned permanently as soon as encountered" (ix). Words of the same type are grouped together. The Greek root of English words is pointed out whenever possible, to create a bridge of understanding. Each exercise section begins with helpful instructions for studying the lesson. There is no English-to-Greek translation. With lesson 18 the exercises begin to be taken from the NT, with the translation of words not yet learned and the reference given in parentheses. For lessons 23-25, the student must translate 1 Jn 1 and 2. In many ways this volume could be a respectable successor to Broadman's well-established text by Ray Summers. It is simple and manageable; its organization and appearance enhance the content.

William Mounce, who developed his method while teaching Greek at Azusa Pacific University, has authored an intriguing total package for introducing students into the intricacies of biblical Greek. In addition to the *Grammar*, Mounce has prepared a student workbook, quizzes, and tests with their answer sheets, overhead transparencies, vocabulary cards, and two computer programs: *FlashWorks*, a flash-card program that can be used as is or personalized, and *ParseWorks*, an interactive parsing program. Mounce's rationale for yet another Greek grammar is that his system approaches Greek as a tool for ministry, provides constant encouragement, teaches only what is absolutely necessary at the moment, and utilizes current advances in linguistics—and thus makes Greek easier (xiii).

The *Grammar* and the *Workbook* must be used together; both contain 35 chapters. Whereas the *Grammar* is 6.5 by 9.5 inches, the *Workbook* is 8.5 by 11 inches, providing plenty of space for writing. It is also punched for placing in a looseleaf binder. The first five lessons introduce students to the Greek language, the way the book works, the Greek alphabet and pronunciation, Greek punctuation and syllabication, and English nouns—an understanding of which must precede an understanding of Greek nouns. Chapters 6 through 14 concentrate on nouns, articles, pronouns, and prepositions. With chapter 15, the verbs take over. After a general overview, the present active (chap. 16) is followed by contract verbs, middle/passive present, future active/middle (chap. 19), and a chapter on verbal roots. A presentation of the second aorist follows that of the imperfect and precedes the discussion of the first aorist (chap. 23). Participles take up chapters 26 through 30. The last lessons cover the subjunctive (31), infinitive (32), imperative (33) and *mi* verbs (34-35). The appendix (distinguished from the rest of the book by a grey edge, 327-446)

contains charts, paradigms, reference lists, a Greek-English lexicon, and a list of words occurring more than 50 times in the NT, classified by frequency.

Each chapter begins with an "exegetical insight" on some aspect of the lesson. An overview of the lesson serves to set the objectives. The grammar is then explained in detail before the "summary" of the points covered. The vocabulary is given, together with the frequency of each word in the NT and a progress note on the percentage of the total word count of the NT; for example, at the end of lesson 18, the student knows 200 words which account for 71.12 percent of the words in the NT (151). The chapter ends with "Advanced Information" for eager-beaver students.

The *Workbook* contains some 20 translation exercises for each chapter. From exercise 6 onward, all are taken directly from the Greek NT. Naturally, the first are short and simple, while the last are complex and long. Translations of words the student is not expected to know are given in parentheses; notes on special problems appear in footnotes. Seven review lessons are provided.

Commendations are due on several counts. The appearance of both *Grammar* and *Workbook* is excellent. The layout of the *Grammar* is attractive and easy to follow. The Greek font is elegant; Mounce and his Macintosh are to be congratulated. The amount of information presented is massive, yet manageable. Overviews and summaries help learning. The gradation—in spite of the use of the NT text—is reasonably achieved. By taking beginning students directly to the Greek NT text, Mounce early sets the stage for exegesis. The drawbacks of Mounce's work are few. Those of us who are not used to applying "modern linguistics" (xiv) to our teaching will find some of the nomenclature and explanations less than friendly. Also, those who wish to provide for their students a low-cost textbook should look elsewhere.

After reviewing the three, I have asked myself: Which would I adopt as a textbook? The choice is difficult. Beetham's work would appeal to me if my students were guaranteed to be in the A or B range. I like the simplicity of Black's book. On the other hand, Mounce's creativity and use of NT are fascinating.

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Black, David A., Katharine Barnwell, and Stephen Levinsohn, eds. *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Discourse Analysis.* Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1992. 319 pp. Paperback, $15.99.

Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation consists of fourteen articles contributed by thirteen different authors such as D. A. Black, J. C. Callow, K. Callow, S. H. Levinsohn, J. P. Louw, R. Longacre, and E. R. Wendland—to name but a few. Six of them are either international translation or international linguistic consultants with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators; two are translation consultants with the United Bible societies; the others are professors of New Testament, Linguistics, or Greek.

The articles, although somewhat diverse in content and methodology, are nevertheless all dealing with one major linguistic methodology, namely, discourse analysis.

Primarily, discourse analysis is not interested in word meanings or sentence meanings. It rather attempts to study large units such as an entire written text. It tries to understand the flow of thought, the coherence of the smaller units, and the relationships among the sentences that constitute the whole. The unifying principle underlying all fourteen articles is that discourse analysis takes the biblical text as it is and starts from there. According to D. A. Black, it "involves a wholistic study of the text" (12).

The articles of the book come in two parts. The first section discusses new methodological approaches. The second one is called "Applications to Specific Texts." However, this division is somewhat fluid. Already in the first and important article, "Reading a Text as Discourse," written by J. P. Louw, the method is applied to three biblical texts as test cases. On the other hand, some of the articles of the second section also contain methodological sections and not just applications (see, for example, H. van Dyke Parunak's article on discourse structure in the Epistle to the Galatians).

The above-mentioned first article is foundational. Louw defines discourse analysis and proposes "to take the linguistic syntax, which is perhaps the most objective feature of a text, as the point of departure that will constrain the overall process of discourse analysis" (19-20). Consequently, he presents a syntactical display of three texts which may point to relationships between different units. Although the article is very helpful, no precise explanation is given on how to do discourse analysis oneself.

S. H. Levinsohn's article distinguishes between major and minor participants in narratives. Furthermore, there is a central character. He establishes several rules for default encoding with major participants. Besides default encoding, there is also marked encoding. Its presence or absence points to the relationship among the various units and helps delimit passages.

The third article, by J. C. Tuggy, provides a matrix of primary semantic genres (hortatory, procedural, expository, narrative, emotional, and descriptive). It also includes a discussion of semantic paragraph patterns and their organizations in monologue discourse, arranged in a table for easy reference. These patterns reflect the author's intended effects on the audience (solutionality, causality, or volitionality). Tuggy demonstrates his method using helpful examples and applies it to the translation process.

In the next article, J. C. Callow studies the order of subject (S), verb (V), and complement (C) in copula clauses, i.e. clauses which use a form of εἶναι, γίνεσθαι, or ὑπάρχειν and have at least one of the two elements S and C. In 1 Corinthians the SCV pattern prevails and is used for contrast, emphasis, and focus. Other patterns are SVC, CVS, CSV, VSC, and VCS. Callow leaves several questions unresolved.

The last article in the first section of the monograph is written by D. A. Black. He approaches the issue of Markan grammar from the perspective of discourse analysis and holds that it is an oversimplification to postulate that

Matthew and Luke have corrected the Markan grammar. Rather, one should study style as choice. This concept helps one to perceive the cohesion of the text and its uniqueness. "The notion of 'correct' Greek has no basis in the language itself," he argues (97).

In the second section of *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation*, the articles wrestle with the following issues: interaction of text, cotext, and context in the parable of the two debtors; οὖν, δέ, καί, and asyndeton in the Gospel of John; imperativals (participles, adjectives, infinitives, and imperatives) in Rom 12; the disappearing δέ in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians; thematic development in 1 Cor 5; dimensions of discourse structure (symmetric structure, semantic structure, and syntactic structure) in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; the function of καί in the NT and in 2 Peter; exegesis of 1 John based on discourse analysis; and discourse analysis and Jewish apocalyptic in Jude.

The articles differ somewhat in style: Some use footnotes; others have references within the text. Some add an extensive bibliography, while others have only a few or not even one bibliographical entry. The complicated plots and charts require computer technology for research. Some might ask whether the results justify the effort to do such meticulous study—although the present reviewer would answer this question affirmatively. Furthermore, how do some of the methods work with longer documents? In some cases, one would expect to get a more elaborate definition of unfamiliar key terms and a precise explanation of how to employ one or the other technique of discourse analysis. What bothers one most, however, is that commonly used linguistic terms are frequently redefined. One could wish that linguistics could settle on a standard vocabulary that would not differ with each scholar (see on p. 214 the term "semantic structure" as used by Rogers, Beekman, and Parunak).

Although this monograph is not easy reading, it rewards the one who takes the effort to digest it. It provides new vistas, opening the eyes to new methodologies for investigating the NT text and—at the same time—remaining faithful to it. *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation* is recommended for scholars interested in fresh approaches to the biblical text. It provides a helpful summary of discourse analysis, not only for the beginning student, but also for the one who has already some expertise in this field of study.

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Davies, Philip R. *In Search of 'Ancient Israel.'* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series, no. 148. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992. 172 pp. $22.50.

In a provocative book written for students rather than fellow biblical scholars, Philip R. Davies, Reader in Biblical Studies at the University of Sheffield, engages in a quest for the identity of "ancient Israel."

The first chapter describes three different types of Israel, including "biblical Israel," which is the Israel portrayed in the Biblical narratives;

"historical Israel," the Israel that is known through archaeology and extrabiblical research; and "ancient Israel" as a modern scholarly construct which emerges when both reconstructed biblical and archaeological data are combined. It is this "ancient Israel" that Davies claims is ever elusive. Relying heavily on the work of Thomas L. Thompson, *The Early History of the Israelite People: The Literary and Archaeological Evidence* (1992), Davies claims in chapter 2 that the "historical Israel" is not well represented in the archaeological record. Furthermore, "ancient Israel" is a scholarly invention based on combining biblical and literary reconstructions which are then presented as "historical." Davies criticizes biblical scholars for their use of the historical-critical method, which he argues is based on circular reasoning, citing several examples.

In chapter 3 the author investigates "biblical Israel," which he maintains is "a diverse, confusing and even contradictory notion" (49) that can be dismissed as a starting point for historical investigation.

Chapter 4 returns to the "historical Israel" in much more detail. Davies begins with an overview of the evidence for the name "Israel" by referring to the Merneptah Stela (ca. 1207 BC). He concedes that this "Israel" is located somewhere in Palestine and points to the dispute over whether the designation "Israel" refers to a people or a territory. He recognizes that there was probably an Israelite state beginning in the mid-11th century B.C., but regards as highly implausible that this "Israel" ever broke away from Judah. Claiming prematurely that King David is not present in archaeological or literary sources, Davies actually concludes that the conquest narratives of Joshua and Judges, the David and Saul narratives, and the accounts of the two kingdoms are all fictional (70).

Davies suggests in chapter 5 that the composition of all OT literature took place during the postexilic Persian and Hellenistic periods. The archaeological material from this period is, he claims, even more meager than for the Iron Age.

Chapter 6 discusses the origin of the Hebrew language as a *Bildungssprache* (following E. A. Knauf) that did not emerge until the disappearance of the Judean state. Ignoring much evidence to the contrary, Davies maintains that there are no linguistic arguments to date the biblical literature to the ninth or eighth centuries B.C. rather than to the fifth. He sees all biblical literature to have been composed "between the sixth and third centuries B.C." (105).

Chapter 7 claims that biblical literature was composed by upper-class scribes of the palace and temple who thereby sought to legitimize Israel by creating a national identity. It was not until the second century B.C. under the Hasmonaeans that the Judaean state "flowered momentarily" (155). Thus emerged what he calls "biblical Israel."

While Davies' writing is clear, his hypothesis has major problems. He does not adequately cite literature from the angle of biblical studies and philology or from archaeology. In suggesting that the biblical tradition was primarily a product of postexilic scribal activity Davies virtually ignores the recent commentaries on the book of Amos by Freedman and Andersen and Shalom Paul, which seem to demonstrate an eighth-century date for this book (see also John H. Hayes on Amos). Furthermore, archaeological evidence for the

earthquake mentioned in Amos 1:1 has been uncovered as recently as 1990 by William G. Dever (see *Eretz-Israel* [1992]). Others, including Philip King, have pointed to earthquake correlations on the basis of destruction levels in Hazor, which in turn suggest correlations between the biblical text and archaeological finds. Numerous other examples could be cited which support the biblical record and cast doubt on the supposed disparity between scripture and history. Davies makes no mention of any of these recent directions in modern scholarship.

In fact, Davies views with pessimism all the archaeological evidence. Yet field archaeology and extrabiblical texts have produced an abundance of information that cannot be ignored. Perhaps the final blow to Davies' polemic rests here. The recent discovery of the Tel Dan inscription mentions for the first time in an extrabiblical text (dated to the mid-ninth century B.C.) both the "House of David" and the "King of Israel" (A. Biran and J. Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 [1993] 81-98). This text shows that both the "House of David" and the "King of Israel" were in existence during the mid-ninth century B.C.

Although *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'* was written before the discovery of the Tel Dan inscription find, the inscription may serve as a caution against the kind of rash and one-sided scholarship represented in this volume. It is only through correlation of both textual (biblical and extrabiblical) and archaeological lines of evidence that a more accurate picture of early Israel can emerge. This picture will represent not a "scholarly construct" but rather a genuine understanding of ancient Israel based on all the sources at our disposal.

Tucson, Arizona 85716 MICHAEL G. HASEL

Dick, Everett Newfon. *William Miller and the Advent Crisis.* Edited with a Foreword and Historiographical Essay by Gary Land. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994. xxvii + 221 pp. $16.99.

William Miller and the Advent Crisis is Everett Dick's revision of his 1930 University of Wisconsin Ph.D. dissertation, which was the first scholarly historical investigation of the Millerite movement. In 1932 Dick submitted the manuscript for publication in a series of books for Seventh-day Adventist ministers, but L. E. Froom, ministerial director and editor of *Ministry*, rejected it and later convinced administrators at Union College (Lincoln, Nebraska) not to publish it at the college press. After a third rejection by another denominational publishing house, Dick shelved the project and went on to other pursuits (Land's foreword, vii).

Everett N. Dick (1898-1989) taught history at Union College from 1930 until shortly before his death almost sixty years later, winning wide acclaim as a historian of the American frontier. His publications included *The Sod-House Frontier* (1937), *Vanguards of the Frontier* (1941), *The Dixie Frontier* (1948), *Tales of the Frontier* (1964), *Union, College of the Golden Cords* (1967), *The Lure of the*

Land (1970), and *From Horses to Horsepower: Life in Kansas, 1900 to 1925* (1986). While he furnished the church with one popular book of denominational history, *Founders of the Message* (1938), Dick's research on the Millerites remained largely forgotten.

Three questions shaped the development of this review. First, what was there in the content of Dick's work that evoked such adamant opposition from denominational leaders? Second, How does Dick's work measure up to present-day standards of historiography? Third, what does it still have to contribute to historical knowledge more than sixty years after it was written?

Regarding the first question, it is hard to see what Froom objected to. For Dick's research reveals no scandals or closet skeletons. It does abound in historical detail which Dick presents without idealization. For instance, Dick cites a newspaper description of a Millerite camp meeting where some of those present were "puffing on cigars" (52). While the use of tobacco was two decades later proscribed by Sabbatarian Adventists as a health hazard, it was not so viewed in the 1840s. Again, Dick notes that in the aftermath of the disappointment Millerite editor Enoch Jacobs and some others joined the Shakers (159). In a third example, Dick records about William Miller that although he was extremely patient with the slowest person who gave evidence of being a sincere seeker, he occasionally lashed out at his critics. "Galled by the bitter criticism, slander, scoffing, and abuse heaped upon him, Miller lost his patience at times and was extremely severe in his retorts. When aroused by his enemies, he was a master at sarcasm and irony. [These] outbreaks, although often richly merited by his slanderers, were nevertheless unbecoming of a Christian. . . . Miller felt this keenly and made it a subject of many prayers and tears" (14-15). Evidently such candid realism on Dick's part did not fit with the kind of apologetic writing that denominational leaders favored in the 1930s, and this became a major factor in the manuscript's suppression (vii-viii).

How then does Dick's work measure up to present-day standards of historiography? One indication of the breadth of Dick's research is his bibliography. In addition to the expected general works, secondary histories, and Millerite publications, Dick consulted more than sixty newspapers, secular periodicals, and non-Millerite church papers from the 1840s. An example of Dick's careful research is his account of the founding of the first Millerite paper, *Signs of the Times*, in 1840. William Miller's reference to the origin of the *Signs* was almost legendary in its simplicity. Miller simply mentioned the need to Himes who, "without a subscriber or any promise of assistance," began publishing and made a success of the venture (*William Miller's Apology and Defence*, 21-22). F. D. Nichol merely quotes Miller's cryptic reference (*The Midnight Cry*, 74). Dick, however, reveals a fascinating fuller story of how the *Signs* was started (61-62). While Dick's account does not contradict those of Miller and Nichol, the details he has gleaned from the primary sources tell a story that completely transcends the other accounts. In short, Dick did solid and thorough research that remains respectable today.

A third question that may well occur in the mind of a reader is "What does a work sixty years old still have to contribute to our understanding of

Millerism?" Despite the passing of time, Dick's work still contains material not included in any subsequent accounts. For example, his chapter on Millerite camp meetings (37-58) is a richly-detailed portrayal that places them in the context of the earlier and wider phenomena of frontier camp meetings in general. He describes how the camp meetings were organized and administered, the preaching, the social life, the sometimes violent encounters between the worshippers and gangs of disruptive rowdies, the rough and ready behavior of the people of the frontier, and the occasional outbursts of fanaticism.

In general, the careful reader will find many details of color and nuance which were not deemed of value by the more apologetic writers of the 1940s and 1950s. Dick's work remains credible, despite the passage of time. And the flowing style that endeared him to readers of his other historical works is already evident in this, his earliest book manuscript. His candor is tempered with a tact and sense of propriety that nevertheless do not sacrifice accuracy.

In addition to the excellent work of the original author, the volume has been enhanced by the skillful editing of Gary Land, Professor and Chair of History at Andrews University and author or editor of several previous publications on Adventist history, including *Adventism in America* (1986) and *The World of Ellen G. White* (1987).

Land has made three major contributions to the present volume. First, he has edited the text, correcting "obvious spelling and factual errors," but without making any "stylistic revisions." Land's editorial comments occur in footnotes identified by asterisks, daggers, and double-daggers, which clearly distinguish them from Dick's numbered endnotes (ix, 2, 6-7). Second, Land's foreword reconstructs the manuscript's history. Third, Land's historiographical essay treats all major published and unpublished works on the Millerite movement (xiii-xxviii). Thus the volume brings together the old and the new. Dick's work—the earliest scholarly treatment of Millerism—is completed by Land's up-to-1994 historiographical summary (reproduced in this issue of *AUSS*, pp. 227-246).

Finally, in addition to Dick's bibliography, the volume includes illustrations (frontispiece and 79-82) and an index. For serious students of Millerism, Land's historiographical essay is must reading, but readers will also enjoy the depth and detail of Dick's narrative.

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Drummond, Lewis A. *The Word of the Cross: A Contemporary Theology of Evangelism.* Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 383 pp. $22.99.

Lewis A. Drummond, former Billy Graham Professor of Evangelism at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1973-1988) and associate evangelist on the Billy Graham evangelistic team, contends that true evangelism grows out of deep theological roots. He recognizes authority as the fundamental issue in theology. He rightly suggests that revelation is just as legitimate an authority

as any other presupposition in epistemology. In fact he argues that revelation, as a basis for understanding reality, is far more comprehensive than empirical or rationalistic presuppositions. Because God is suprarational and so cannot be known on mere finite empirical, rational, intuitive grounds, empirical and rationalistic presuppositions are seen to be more limited in scope than revelation. Thus the book supports a high view of Scripture as propositional revelation. Drummond correctly notes that a high view of Scripture increases missionary evangelism whereas a low view of Scripture decreases it. He denies, therefore, the significance for faith of the mere *kerygma* apart from historical reality. Drummond is to be commended for defining evangelism biblically and theologically rather than institutionally and culturally.

A few of Drummond's doctrinal positions may affect the degree to which non-Calvinist readers can appropriate his evangelistic theology. For instance, Calvinistic "eternal security," portrayed as the biblical perspective, overlooks Luke 9:62. Again, election to mission (Rom 9:11-16) is apparently confused with election to salvation (279-280). These are significant in a book on evangelism, because an important motivation for evangelism is human freedom.

A few other weaknesses may also be noted. One may question Drummond's acceptance of the historical-critical method as theologically neutral. His assertion that the Reformers "used the principles of historical criticism" (216) appears to be an anachronism. It would be more accurate to say that they used the historical-grammatical method. While Drummond accepts the bodily resurrection of Jesus, his treatment could be strengthened by including reference to Christ's post- resurrection ministry in heaven *(sessio ad dexteram,* Heb 6:19, 20). Regarding punishment, Drummond argues that punishment cannot include annihilation because Calvary was substitutionary punishment without annihilation (232). This overlooks the fact that while it was not annihilation, Calvary was punishment that was completed and ended within a finite period of time. Again, regarding the millennium, Drummond sees Christ returning to set up an earthly millennial kingdom (262). Contextual evidence on the millennium suggests that the saved will be in heaven during the millennium, for the "a-b-a" structure of Revelation 12 and 20 follows an "earth-heaven-earth" focus. Furthermore Scripture warns about meeting Christ on the earth (Matt 24:4, 5, 24) and speaks about meeting Him in the air (1 Thess 4:16-18).

Despite some points where there are biblical grounds for disagreement, Drummond's work is well worth reading. He commendably makes reference to "completing the Reformation" (303). Some would go so far as to assert that evangelism is precisely concerned with helping the individual to complete the Reformation journey from tradition to Scripture. This would include moving from tradition to the biblical teaching on the seventh-day sabbath, Christ's present high-priestly ministry (completing Calvin's *triplex munus)* and God's sovereign will as revealed in apocalyptic prophecy about end-time events (beyond Reformation insights). These all should be important elements in a contemporary theology of evangelism that believes in a high view of Scripture.

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NORMAN R. GULLEY

Avery Dulles. *The Craft of Theology: From Symbol to System.* New York, NY: Crossroad, 1992. xi + 228 pp. $24.95.

When Vatican II opened the doors of Roman Catholicism to modernity, it prompted a series of theological ventures, as Catholic theologians tried to relate their tradition to new discoveries in science, history, and philosophy. In *The Craft of Theology*, Avery Dulles addresses the aftermath of Vatican II from the perspective of doing theology.

Chaps. 1-3 deal with general contemporary issues in theological methodology. Chap. 1 starts by clearly stating the need for moving from the 19th- and 20th-century neoscholastic structures (4) to a "postcritical" version of Catholic theology (5) under the inspiration of thinkers such as Polyani, Gadamer, Ricoeur, and Balthasar. As it tries "to reunite the creative with the cognitive, the beautiful with the true" (15), postcritical theology is, according to Dulles, to be conceived as an art rather than a science (8). Theology is thus defined as the art of correctly articulating Christian symbols (8). The title of the book seems, in fact, to reflect this emphasis as it replaces the traditional "science of theology" with "the craft of theology". In chap. 2 the idea of symbol, which Dulles understands on the basis of Karl Rahner's ontology of symbol (20-21), is explored. Symbols and symbolic language, which belong to a first-order language, provide the material and referent of theological discourse. Theological discourse belongs to a second order of language (19). In chap. 3 Dulles explains and justifies his usage of theological models as relevant methodology facilitating the appropriate technical evaluation of the many theological options available today.

Chap. 4 is Dulles' appraisal of fundamental theology, which he basically perceives as rational apologetics. Since Christian faith "cannot be justified by public criteria" (54), fundamental theology should, he suggests, study the process of conversion (54). Chaps. 5-7 discuss the sources of theology, namely, Scriptures (chap. 5), tradition (chap. 6), and ecclesiastical magisterium (chap. 7). The relationship between theology and philosophy is explored in chap. 8, while theology's relationship to the physical sciences is investigated in chap. 9. Chaps. 10 and 11 deal with the teaching of theology in the university and address the issue of academic freedom. Finally, the emphasis on truth and tradition is brought to its logical conclusion as guidelines for ecumenical theology, as suggested in chap. 12.

Since the Protestant Reformation, and particularly throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Christianity has fragmented itself into a multiplicity of theological systems and traditions. With Vatican II, Roman Catholicism has experienced the same fragmentation in the theological realm (vii-viii). In full awareness of the divisive nature of theological pluralism, *The Craft of Theology* is written in order to help Roman Catholicism (viii-ix) by calling its theology back to basics, namely, the perennial, philosophical principles as expressed in Aquinas' scholasticism, to the richness of tradition, and to the authority embodied in the teaching magisterium of the Church.

Dulles is well aware that the task of systematic theology requires specific commitment to a philosophical tradition (119). However, how should the philosophical foundations of theology be chosen? At this point, the revisionistic post-modernity of Dulles' thinking is apparent. Kant's criticism of the rational proofs of the existence of God seems to be implicitly assumed (29) as a limited interpretation of reason's powers (51), replacing the traditional aristotelic-thomistic interpretation. Following Polanyi, reason, the agent that creates the variety of theological systems (50, 52), is reinterpreted as "creative imagination" (30). Consequently, reason is unable to decide between competing systems (60). As reason is weakened, tradition is strengthened to fill the vacuum. From the very beginning we are told that only the Church possesses the "sort of instinct or phronema" (9) necessary for selecting the philosophical ideas that determine the true system of theology. In the final analysis, then, the Church thinks in us and we in the Church (66). Consequently, Scripture is to be understood as the "book of the Church" (69), which has no "normative value except as read in the light of tradition and under the vigilance of the magisterium" (98).

The Craft of Theology successfully explains that Vatican II cannot be used as a justification for the existence of divisive, theological pluralism within the Church. It is true that Vatican II had a pastoral rather than theological goal, and that it called for the opening of Roman Catholic theology to modernity. However, the possibility for a pluralistic reinterpretation of the philosophical foundations for theology is nowhere to be found in the various documents produced by the council. On the contrary, the philosophical principles undergirding Vatican II are the same traditional perennial principles of scholastic philosophy embodied in Thomistic theology. Consequently, our author argues, contemporary Catholic theology should build its openness to modern and postmodern thought on the basis of such perennial, philosophical principles. As always, Roman Catholicism is conceived to engage in open dialogue with the philosophies of the times.

Yet, if Catholicism is to preserve its identity, its classical tradition should survive in any future system (133). Dulles represents the traditional, official understanding of Catholicism, both theologically and institutionally, as a viable option in postmodern times. Unfortunately, the scientific dimension of theology is somehow de-emphasized in favor of its confessional dimension. Thus, *The Craft of Theology* does not penetrate into the theological-philosophical search for the rational ground of theology demanded by postmodern criticism. On the contrary, Dulles' voice calls Catholic theologians back to faithfulness to the Church. Other voices in contemporary Catholicism, however, are calling for new interpretations of the philosophical ground for theology. Only time will tell what trend will carry the day in the future. Dulles seems to be right when he argues that the Catholic project of theology finds its ultimate foundation and authority in the supernatural mediatory ministry of the Church. However, one wonders if it is possible for Catholic theology to stand only on the basis of the authority of the Church, without its traditional, independent ground in absolute reason.

Andrews University FERNANDO CANALE

Fewell, Danna Nolan, ed. *Reading Between the Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible.* Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation Series. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992. 285 pp. $21.99.

Of various approaches to biblical study, reading Scripture as literature is one. *Reading Between the Texts* is part of a series, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation, which uses tools from literary analysis to make scripture more accessible and to derive contemporary meaning from the text. In this volume scholars apply "intertextuality," the reading of one text in terms of another, as an interpretive grid for passages of the Hebrew Bible. This approach offers insights into textual relationships and may change the way readers think about textual production and interpretation.

Most of these essays have been a part of an ongoing dialogue in the Reading, Rhetoric, and Hebrew Bible section of the meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. The basic assumption of the authors is that texts are related. They explore the nature of the relationships and the ways they can affect and effect meaning. Fewell includes a glossary, but most readers will still have to look up some technical words elsewhere. Competence in Hebrew is helpful but not necessary, since intertextual connections are often evident in English. Also included are a bibliography and lists of abbreviations, contributors, and biblical references.

The book's first section contains three essays which define terms and discuss ideology, theory, and method. Timothy Beal argues that the reader's ideology imposes limits on the text and that either reader or writer might utilize strategies to support or undermine certain ideologies. He raises questions about whether boundaries ought to be maintained around text or to what extent such boundaries may be usefully "transgressed" in order to discover new relationships or to give priority to previously unheard voices in the text.

In light of this, the authors have particular interest in bringing to the foreground concepts found in connections between and within the text, possibly not otherwise in evidence. Some issues addressed include the way the biblical writer's audience may or may not have understood the use of irony or contrast in the text, the writer's portrayal of YHWH, the treatment of women in the stories and by story writers, and the ways prophets interpreted and reinterpreted, making new literary uses of their oral traditions.

Ilona Rashkow demonstrates intertextual interpretation by analyzing the relationship between the text and the reader of Gen 12 and Gen 20. She claims that these two similar stories intensify each other, exposing Abraham's doubt of God, his possible hope of material gain, and revealing a narrative style of contrasting participant speeches to create in the reader discomfort about Abraham's behavior. The discomfort occurs upon reading of Abraham's exploitation of Sarah and his lies to Pharaoh and Abimelech. The writer appears to contrast Abraham's lack of concern for Sarah, a powerless possession, with Abraham's concern for his own safety, emphasizing this through the contrast of Abraham's words with the impassioned rebukes by Pharaoh and Abimelech. Rashkow shows that the manner of writing also focuses attention on the

recurring Genesis theme of the matriarch in danger. In the spirit of intertextual interpretation this could be taken further to show that these nuances of writing reveal God's protective concern both for the women in these stories and for the alien or Gentile figures, themes all too often ignored by readers.

The second section of the book considers selected texts from the Genesis-Kings corpus. Essays in this section examine possible links of meaning between stories, such as the theme of hospitality in the stories of Rahab and Lot. One essay focuses on a reading of I Kgs 12 and contrasts the intentions of the historical Jeroboam with the possible intentions of a literary Jeroboam created by the writer to discuss actions and consequences. Another essay explores the account of the fall of Ahab's house through the ancient metaphor of carnival.

The book's third section brings together texts from various parts of the Hebrew Bible. The ideology of this section may be illustrated through Ellen Davis's analysis of the possibly chance use of a term in two dissimilar passages. This article focuses on the stories of Jacob and Job. Both men are called *ish tam* (man of integrity), and from this term Davis suggests a reading of Jacob's story which points to his gradual growth into wisdom and eventual trust in God to yet insure his high destiny. Davis concludes that while Job models an example of suffering and persistent faith to exilic Israel, the textual tie of "integrity" provides an opportunity for illuminating the puzzling character of Jacob. At a time when Israel searched her history of relationship with God for clues about disaster and hope, such an understanding could mirror their hope that God would recognize their belated maturity and still keep them as a chosen nation.

This is a useful, if subjective, reading. Questions which can be asked include whether the same meaning or another is derived by reversing the order of comparison. What, if anything, is revealed by using Jacob to illuminate Job? How does such an interpretation avoid special pleading? These questions may be asked of any comparative interpretation. The intertextual approach requires the reader to ask them specifically. The authors are explicit about identifying their own ideologies; this assists readers in their own analysis of the success or failure of the method in each particular case. It also reinforces the cautionary comments by the editor and the authors of the first-section essays.

While the authors make claims for the legitimacy of their particular approach, they often raise as many questions as they presume to answer. In a number of cases the authors' intertextual approach functions to deconstruct a conventional interpretation and, while suggesting an alternative view, seems more interested in the possibilities for interpretation than in establishing a definitive meaning.

The intertextual approach raises other questions. Conclusions may be reached because they are relevant to current interests. How valid are such conclusions? The shaping of result by particular interest is a subjective methodology. What tests can the reader apply to measure applicability of either the method or its result? The book would make its case more strongly for this interpretive method had it addressed these questions in a more substantive way.

The intertextual approach assumes that Bible authors used words, themes, and structures in rich, purposeful ways. While it is certainly a mistake to view these writers as simple scribes, unaware of what they wrote or how they wrote it, how much freedom may be accorded to the reader beholding this literary wealth? It must be noted that limiting excess lies more with the individual reader than with the discipline or method itself. This type of study requires a certain type of mind that sees connections which may elude others, or may only be appreciated by a similar mind. The value of this method for individual readers will probably depend on their interest in both careful reading and its potential results for theological enterprise.

As a whole, this book demonstrates that the biblical text will yield many clues to meaning for the reader who can evaluate such features as irony, allusion, theme, and narrative and linguistic parallels, as well as the biblical authors' appreciation of their own narrative traditions. Those scholars will be amply rewarded who become progressively more discerning about the textual richness of the Bible.

I recommend *Reading Between the Texts* as a stimulus to tapping possibilities for contemporary biblical study. I recognize, however, that some readers may have reservations about interpretations that may be overstated. Most will find the book technically challenging, since the writers presume some expertise in literary and rhetorical analysis.

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SUSAN E. JACOBSEN

Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. *Revelation: Vision of a Just World.* Proclamation Commentaries, ed. Gerhard Krodel. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991. 160 pp. $9.95.

Most scholars interested in the Apocalypse are familiar with Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's short commentary entitled *Invitation to the Book of Revelation*, published by Image Books in 1981. When Fortress Press expressed an interest in publishing an updated version of that commentary, Fiorenza discovered that the considerable development in her thinking on the Apocalypse in the intervening period made minimal revisions an impossibility. The result is not just a new commentary in the old format, but an entirely new style of commentary.

Commentaries tend to take one of two approaches. One approach is the "historical-critical" commentary, which seeks to elucidate what the text meant in its original context with as much scientific objectivity and disinterestedness as possible. In the process, issues of theological interest and the church's need for sound biblical preaching are often marginalized or ignored. The other approach aims at the preacher or lay reader, using the text as a springboard for addressing current concerns, but usually failing to grapple meaningfully with the text in its original situation. In her commentary Fiorenza seeks to be as

objective and scholarly as ever, but to do so in a way that interacts seriously with the way Revelation impacts and should impact on society today.

The answer to her quest for a fresh approach is found in what she calls "rhetorical analysis." By her definition "rhetorical analysis" is concerned with the impact of the book's argumentation not only on the original context and the original readers, but also on the context from which the present-day interpreter reads the Apocalypse. For example, writers and readers from so-called first-world countries tend to place sexual and psychological problems in the foreground, whereas so-called third-world writers and readers tend to focus on social and political experience. Each group of readers will get something different out of Revelation.

Fiorenza has, therefore, chosen to work from two directions at once, on the one hand from the perspective of academic biblical studies, and on the other hand from the perspective of feminist theological discourse. She seeks to use her rhetorical analysis as a means to discover how biblical texts and interpretations create or sustain oppressive or liberating theo-ethical values and sociopolitical practices. She operates on the assumption that there is no such thing as value neutrality when one does biblical interpretation; what we see in the text depends on where we stand. Biblical scholars, therefore, should be up-front about the religious presuppositions and theoretical frameworks from which they view the text.

The commentary is divided into three sections. In the first section Fiorenza sets her book and reading strategy in relation to other strategies, both popular and critical. In the second section she offers a relatively brief, yet close, historical and literary-critical reading of the text of Revelation. Instead of a verse-by-verse approach, she moves section by section, tracking the main lines of the author's argumentation, rather than getting lost in the details of the text or of the text's history and development. In the third section she seeks to relate John's vision and purpose in writing the book to the issues and concerns of contemporary feminist discourse. She finds much in the Apocalypse to appreciate, but also expresses serious dismay at how the book has been used through the centuries to support oppressive ethical values and sociopolitical systems.

The significance of Fiorenza's proposals is such that an article-length review would be necessary to do justice to this profound book, which is the most important of her many contributions to date. My reactions here, however, will of necessity be brief.

As a fellow scholar of the Book of Revelation I was most enriched by the central section of her book, where she unpacks the text of Revelation section by section. Her grasp of the large movements in the text is truly phenomenal, and the reader gains a whole new vision of John's overall purpose and strategy in writing the book. Her judgments about the interrelationships within the text's structure are almost always sound and helpful. No student of the Apocalypse can afford to ignore Fiorenza's proposals, most of which appear to be solid readings of the original intention. Although details are generally left out

on account of brevity, wherever details are examined, her observations tend to be significant contributions to the understanding of Revelation.

The third section, likewise, offers serious food for contemplation. I particularly appreciated her emphasis that Revelation looks at the issue of power and control in the world from the viewpoint of those who are out of power. As a result, the book will probably be best understood by those who are oppressed and marginalized within their own contemporary context. Another important insight is that the primary purpose of Revelation's depiction of cosmic destruction and holy war is not a sterile description of first-century, historical, or future realities, but rather the impact of the book's vision on the personal and spiritual experience of the reader. Revelation was not written to satisfy the reader's curiosity about present or future realities; it was written to affect the way the reader lives and the way the reader responds to the oppressive realities of a disordered world.

As appreciative as I am of this book, and as much as I find myself in agreement with its observations, I must confess a certain amount of disquiet as I read it. Fiorenza's approach to the book makes considerable use (perhaps unintentionally) of Troeltsch's principle of criticism. She feels free to stand in judgment over some of the ideas presented in Revelation and the way in which these ideas are portrayed. As a result, the reader of Fiorenza's book senses a somewhat skeptical stance over against the biblical material. For instance, she suggests that by likening God's power to Roman imperial power and by portraying Christ as a "divine warrior" John leaves his work open to the understanding that God's power is "power over" or oppressive power. Fiorenza suggests, therefore, the need for Christian theology to replace Revelation's symbolism of imperial might and destructive warfare with language and metaphors for God that foster democratic responsibility and resistance to all political powers that dehumanize, oppress, and destroy.

I cannot deny a certain validity in this and similar observations. The writers of scripture were human beings who used contemporary ways of expression to articulate their messages. Their choices of language and metaphor were often far from ideal. But the language and metaphors of this world are never ideal. I fear that in reading Revelation from a more skeptical and disinterested stance we may lose touch with something of the soul of the work itself.

God's sovereignty in Revelation is not inherently oppressive; rather, it highlights the huge difference between the infinite and the finite. As such, all finite powers, such as Rome and modern oppressors, are relativized. Because all humans are equally subject to God's absolute rule, no one has the right to assert power over another. A skeptical reading of Revelation misreads the description of God's power as seeking to offer a model for how humans should relate to each other. But John would assert that no human has the right to rule in the way that God rules over a finite creation.

A profound example of a scholarly, yet faith-oriented, reading of Revelation is Richard Bauckham's more recent work, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*. Bauckham, Fiorenza, and I are generally seeing the same things

when we look at Revelation. The structural and theological insights generally cohere. But I am more comfortable with Bauckham's sympathetic and positive approach to John's rhetoric, and I believe that there are academic advantages to such an approach.

Recent studies of human perception suggest that it is impossible to treat any document fairly unless you can generate some sympathy for the author's perspective. The best reading of a text will arise out of a kind of soul communion with the world of the author. We live at a time when skepticism and disbelief are increasingly called into question. A reading of the Apocalypse that is sympathetic to the faith and basic honesty of the original author's presentation should no longer be considered out of harmony with good scholarship.

In offering this concern about the approach of Fiorenza's book, I do not intend to diminish her achievement or disparage her character. I am simply answering her call for scholars to be honest about the stance from which they prefer to read the text. Her book opens the way for more honest and authentic discussion of the personal and spiritual dynamics that affect academic readings of the biblical texts. She herself has practiced what she preaches in this book. All readers and critics of her book would do well to follow her example.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Grenz, Stanley J. *The Millennial Maze: Sorting Out Evangelical Options.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 239 pp. Paperback, $12.99.

In a bid to lead readers through the bewildering maze of evangelical views of the millennium, Stanley J. Grenz, Professor of Theology and Ethics at Carey/Regent College, calls for an appreciation of each of the major perspectives: postmillennialism, dispensational premillennialism, historic premillennialism and amillennialism. He describes his own understanding as "amillennialism sympathetic to postmillennialism."

The author provides a fresh, readable survey of millenarianism in Christian history and accents the tragic results that have sometimes followed on millenial thought gone awry. (One wonders, though, whether William Miller's misjudgment with regard to October 22, 1844, was "catastrophic" in the same sense that that adjective is deserved by, say, Thomas Münster's millennial thought. Succeeding chapters examine the main features, biblical bases, and criticisms of each view.

Postmillennialism is described as "probably the most maligned and misunderstood" position. Attention is focused on a modern iteration, "Evangelical Postmillennialism," which features a belief in a future era that begins imperceptibility, may last more than a literal one thousand years, and during which the gospel is proclaimed. The view finds in Rev 19:11-21 a presentation of church-age conquest. It provides a reminder that God's reign is

in some sense a present one and lends a buoyant optimism concerning the spread of the gospel.

"Classical dispensationalism" has been joined by a younger, academically-centered "progressive dispensationalism" which has taken seriously the criticisms of the older form. Both forms reject the thought that the church is the "New Israel" and see the tribulation and millennium as centered on God's program for national Israel. Modifications in dispensational thought, represented by the "progressive" variety, have produced problems of internal consistency and Grenz wonders whether "it simply may not be possible to construct a separate theological understanding for Israel that does not detract from the primacy of the church" (124).

Advocates of "historic premillennialism" believe that the present age will conclude with a time of tribulation ended by the second coming of Christ, an event which serves as cataclysmic introduction to a millennium of peace and righteousness on earth. The position "spiritualizes" Old Testament prophecies with regard to Israel but applies a "literal" hermeneutic to the two resurrections of Rev 20:4-6. Grenz claims historic premillenialists fail to live up to the title in that they advocate a futuristic rather than a historical interpretation of the Apocalypse. The view underlines the point that eschatological blessings are divine ones and so warns against triumphalism.

Amillennialism denies a future earthly millennium as an interregnum before the final establishment of God's kingdom and holds, instead, that the present era will be followed by the eternal Kingdom of God. There is only one resurrection of humankind. Revelation 20 presents the church age during which Satan is bound or the reign of the saints in heaven during the "intermediate state."

Two themes conclude the monograph. First, the "three basic alternatives" harbor three corresponding "moods": optimism (postmillennialism); pessimism (premillenialism); realism (amillennialism). The author applauds the way amillennialism combines the "moods" of the other two. Second, true Christian eschatology focuses less on the chronology of future events than on providing insight with regard to the present age. The author's own evaluations of millennialist positions emphasize the values of optimism and activism during this era.

This informative volume has its flaws. The pattern of the evaluative chapters introduces a considerable degree of repetition. And despite the expressed importance of Revelation 20, the book fails to provide any extended exegetical treatment of the chapter. For such attention the reader may wish to consult the recent attempt by J. Webb Mealy (*After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20* (Sheffield: JOST, 1992). More broadly, Grenz's overtures toward alternative viewpoints may be judged somewhat feigned as he tends to affirm in each perspective that which concurs with his own amillennialism. That the author's eclectic solution for evangelicalism's millennial fragmentation matches so closely his own theological odyssey (see the preface) will give the reader pause.

For a genre which requires a high concentration of technical terms, the book is written clearly and provides a substantive survey of both the perspectives themselves and the major criticisms offered of them. It deserves a thoughtful readership and will prove useful as an ancillary text in college and seminary classrooms. A final evaluation will turn on whether the reader believes Grenz has found his way out of the millennial maze or is, in fact, still caught in it.

Pacific Union College JOHN McVAY

Grenz, Stanley J., and Roger E. Olson. *20th-century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 393 pp. Cloth, $27.99. Paper, $18.99.

For the greater part, evangelical theologians have pursued their craft within the evangelical circle using methods and sources congenial within the fellowship. To be sure, one thinks of the apologetic stance of Bernard Ramm and more recently of Clark Pinnock and a few others who have essayed forth to directly engage modern thinkers outside the evangelical camp, but such are relatively few. A study of the major thinkers and contours of post-enlightenment theology of the proportion and style of *20th-Century Theology* is without precedent in American evangelicalism.

One thinks of several possible models for this study. Perhaps Karl Barth's *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* of fifty years ago is one such—both are penetrating and fair and, in a sense, friendly studies of "big-person" representatives of theological positions. Or going further back, H. R. Mackintosh's *Types of Modern Theology* or, more recently, John Macquarrie's *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought* may have been influential. There are some parallels in all of these in that they cover some of the same thinkers and they all trace patterns of thought from one era to the next. But these similarities become surface phenomena when one penetrates the substance and intent of Grentz and Olson's work. As the subtitle "God and the World" implies, the single organizing principle and criterion of judgment running through every page of this volume is that of God's relationship to the world—the tension in theological thought between divine transcendence and immanence.

It is the thesis of the book that a balance must be maintained. An overemphasis on transcendence leads to a conceptualization of God as being so far removed from this world as to be irrelevant to the experience of human beings. On the other hand, an exaggerated over-emphasis upon immanence may lead to a theology that is subservient to human culture and in which God is reduced to the limits of human thought. In the authors' opinion a balance was maintained in classical theological systems; they affirm in the penultimate chapter, "Reaffirming the Balance," that evangelical theology has gone a long way toward restoring this balance by its return to a biblically based theology. The subthesis of the book could perhaps be that the procrustean and rapid

changes in theological thought since the Enlightenment have been due to the elevation of human reason above biblical authority, and now that modernity has turned upon itself in self-criticism there is a fresh opportunity for evangelicals to rediscover the biblical meanings of both the sovereignty of God and the incarnation, and thus restore the balance.

The book opens with an analysis of the theological significance of transcendence and immanence and the legacy bequeathed to the twentieth century by the age of reason. It moves to a study of immanence in nineteenth-century theology (Kant, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Ritschl) and from thence to the revolt against immanence in neo-orthodoxy (Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, and Niebuhr). Two chapters are devoted to the deepening of immanence in liberal and secular currents of thought, followed by a major chapter on the theology of hope (Moltmann and Pannenberg) in which the axis of transcendence is shifted from spatial/vertical to a temporal category. A chapter is devoted to the concern in liberation theologies for the immanent dimensions of the gospel. This is followed by a study of the elements of transcendence in the new Catholic theology of Karl Rahner and Hans Küng. Given the evangelical emphasis on hermeneutics and the authority of Scripture, it is not surprising that narrative theology is accorded a chapter. This is followed by a study of two major evangelical theologians (Carl Henry and Bernard Ramm, chosen in part because of their complementarity) in a chapter with the title "Reaffirming the Balance"). A brief conclusion, "Past Contributions and Future Prospects . . . ," brings the book to a close. (This chapter is perhaps the best place from which to start reading the book.) Grenz and Olson conclude that twentieth-century theology ends by repeating the lessons with which it began. Because humans cannot transform earth into heaven, our only hope lies with the God who comes to us from beyond ourselves. Inasmuch as postmodernism has shown its power to deconstruct but has not yet shown itself able to go beyond the immanent, the challenge to evangelical theology in this era of transition, our authors conclude, is that of articulating anew the "Christian conviction of the reality of the transcendent-immanent God" (314).

This is a major study and one that is entirely suitable for seminary courses in theology and history of theology. The authors portray the subjects of their study with keen analysis that is not inconsistent with fairness and objectivity. It is a disciplined analytical rather than constructive study, but foundational lines for constructive evangelical theology are clearly drawn. Considerable information is given regarding the life experience and theological pilgrimage of the thinkers studied, which helps to make the book interesting and readable. There are some 70 pages of endnotes, a fairly extensive bibliography, and two indices. Not surprisingly, it was accorded first place in the 1993 *Christianity Today* "Critics' Choice" Award for theology.

Andrews University RUSSELL STAPLES

Harris, Murray J. *Jesus as God: The New Testament Use of Theos in Reference to Jesus.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 379 pp. $24.99.

Murray J. Harris, Professor of NT Exegesis and Theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, earned his Ph.D. under F. F. Bruce at the University of Manchester. In *Jesus as God*, he applies his internationally-recognized linguistic and exegetical skills to the examination of 17 biblical passages in which the term Θεός is associated with Jesus Christ (188).

Harris devotes a full chapter (chapters 2-11) to each of ten major passages: Jn 1:1, 18; 20:28; Acts 20:28; Rom 9:5; Tit 2:13; Ps 45:7-8 as quoted in Heb 1:8-9; 2 Pet 1:1; and 1 Jn 5:20. For each of these he discusses the grammatical, theological, historical, literary, and other issues that affect the interpretation of Θεός, weighs the pros and cons, and proposes a carefully-nuanced conclusion. Harris concludes that the use of Θεός as a title for Jesus Christ is "certain" in Jn 1:1 and Jn 20:28; "very probable" in Rom 9:5, Tit 2:13, Heb 1:8, and 2 Pet 1:1; "probable" in Jn 1:18, and "possible, but not likely" in Acts 20:28, Heb 1:9, and 1 Jn 5:20 (271). Chapter 12 considers more briefly seven other texts (Matt 1:23; Jn 17:3; Gal 2:20; Eph 5:5; Col 2:2; 2 Thes 1:12; and 1 Tim 3:16) that have occasionally been "adduced as evidence" for the use of Θεός as a christological title (255-56). Harris argues that "in none of these latter verses is a christological use of Θεός at all likely" (271). Rather, in these verses, Θεός is applied to God the Father, who manifests Himself through Christ.

In chapter 13, "Conclusions: *Theos* as a Christological Title," Harris suggests two main contributions that "Θεός christology" makes to general NT christology. The first is that "Θεός is a christological title that is primarily ontological in nature" (288). The application of Θεός to Jesus Christ asserts that Jesus is not merely "God-in-action or God-in-revelation-but-rather that he is God-by-nature" (291). Second, "while other christological titles such as κύριος and υἱὸς Θεοῦ imply the divinity of Jesus, the appellation Θεός makes that implication explicit" (293). Thus Harris finds "in the christological use of Θεός . . . both the basis and the zenith of NT Christology: the basis, since Θεός is a christological title that is primarily ontological in character; . . . the zenith, because Θεός is a christological title that explicitly and unequivocally asserts the deity of Christ" (299).

The work is completed by ample reference materials. In addition to copious footnotes, the text is supplemented by two appendices, "The Definite Article in the Greek NT: Some General and Specific Principles" and "An Outline of the NT Testimony to the Deity of Christ." Next comes a 30-page, small-print bibliography of some 900 entries. The final 30 pages provide separate indices to authors, subjects, Greek terms and phrases, and references from the OT, OT apocrypha, OT pseudepigrapha, NT, and "Other Ancient Authors and Writings."

The depth and breadth of Harris's scholarship, and the excellent reference materials included make this an impressive treatise indeed. It includes a wealth of material for seminarians, pastors, and scholars of christology.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 PANAYOTIS COUTSOUMPOS

Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Sacra Pagina. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992. xvi + 568 pp. $29.95.

A sequel to his *Gospel of Luke* in the same series (Sacra Pagina [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991]), Johnson's commentary on Acts cannot truly be appreciated apart from that book. For example, the authorship of Luke-Acts is treated in the first volume and not mentioned in the second. Throughout the volume on Acts, reference is made to the commentary on Luke.

Johnson considers Acts to be "apologetic history" (xii). Luke shaped his history of the early church with creative mastery in order to "defend God's activity in the world" (7). Furthermore, Luke convincingly made "his story of Jesus and of Christian beginnings a prolongation of biblical history" (12). He did so by the use of prophetic imagery and patterns. The religious themes stressed in Acts are the Holy Spirit, God's activity in the church, and the universality of divine salvation through Jesus Christ (14-17).

The plan of the book is simple. In this commentary, Acts is divided into four parts: "Raised Prophet and Restored People" (1:1-8:3); "Expansion of God's People" (8:4-15:35); "Apostle to the Gentiles" (15:36-22:29); and "Imprisoned Apostle" (22:30-28:31). Each section is, in turn, divided into subsections. For each there is an original translation, verse-by-verse notes, an interpretation, and a bibliography. Nearly a hundred pages of indexes include an index of Scripture; another of ancient writings, both Jewish and Greco-Roman; one of early Christian writings; and finally, one of modern authors.

Johnson's translation of Acts aims "at clarity and readability." To that end, the "biblicisms and complex sentences" are sacrificed "in favor of shorter sentences and idiomatic equivalencies." In addition, Johnson has attempted to use inclusive language in his translation of a text that is "pervasively androcentric" (xi). The result is clear and readable, but it lacks the elegance usually attributed to Acts.

The verse-by-verse notes deal with varied issues. In textual matters, Johnson admits his debt to Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, "which has made everything so much easier for his successors" (xii), and only mentions the Western text when it is significantly different. Greek words are transliterated (with a fairly obnoxious iota subscript apparently added by hand) and immediately translated. To clarify meaning, ample reference is made to passages of Scripture, as well as to Jewish, Greco-Roman, and early Christian writings.

The interpretation of each segment summarizes the passage with emphasis on the theological meaning as seen by Luke. A few Greek words and a sprinkling of Bible references appear in these sections, but in general the reading is smooth and coherent. Johnson's insights into the meaning of Acts of the Apostles are well expressed and based on the careful research suggested by the notes and the bibliography of each section.

As Johnson provides a short bibliography for each segment of the commentary, there is no general bibliography. This is understandable, but makes it hard to have a general idea of the sources used. In the preface, Johnson

notes a few general works to which he is indebted. The lists show a wide spectrum of references from both sides of the Atlantic; they come from journals, multiauthor books, and single volumes.

The publishers intended that this volume, as well as the others in the Sacra Pagina series, would be useful to biblical professionals, graduate students, theologians, clergy, and religious educators, within and without the Catholic community (jacket). Johnson's work will clearly stand beside such classics as Haenchen and Bruce.

Andrews University NANCY J. VYHMEISTER

Kempinski, Aharon, and Ronny Reich, eds. *The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods.* Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992. xiv + 332 pp. $48.00.

This handsome volume, dedicated to the memory of the late Immanuel Dunayevsky, is the first work in the 150-year history of archaeological work in Israel that attempts to provide a representative overview of architectural development from the prehistoric to the Persian periods. Designed as a handbook for both students and professional archaeologists, the architectural features of specific periods are compiled from numerous sites excavated in the area of ancient Israel, in order to provide a general survey of developments about all areas of architecture from domestic aspects to fortifications. The contributors, all of whom are Israeli archaeologists, bring a wealth of expertise from their respective areas of specialty.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first part, entitled, "Materials and Fashions of Construction" (1-27), includes articles by R. Reich and E. Netzer on the materials and technology of buildings in ancient Israel as well as possible causes of their destruction. The second part, "The Genesis of Architecture," includes articles on "Building Activities in the Prehistoric Periods Until the End of the Neolithic Period" (O. Bar-Yosef, 31-39) and "Domestic Architecture of the Chalcolithic Period" (Y. Porath, 40-48).

The third part contains seven chapters by A. Kempinski, A. Ben-Tor, I. Beit-Arieh, R. Cohen, and D. Bahat on "The Early and Intermediate Bronze Age" (51-93). The fourth part, "The Middle and Late Bronze Ages" (97-187), comprises eight chapters on dwellings, tombs, temples, and urbanization, by A. Kempinski, M. Ben-Dov, E. D. Oren, J. J. Baumgarten, R. Gonen, and A. Mazar. The last section, "The Iron Age" (191-309), includes eight chapters by A. Kempinski, R. Reich, E. Netzer, Z. Herzog, Y. Shiloh, Z. Meshel, and E. Stern, on domestic architecture, palaces, administrative structures, fortifications, and water systems.

A convenient "Glossary of Architectural Terms" by R. Reich and H. Katzenstein and an index of site names and geographical regions enhance the usefulness of this volume.

Both students and experts will benefit immensely from the concise synthesis presented in this significant contribution to Syro-Palestinian archaeology. With over 350 illustrations and plans as well as some 50 photographs *The Architecture of Ancient Israel* will be an indispensable resource and reference tool for anyone seriously interested in the archaeology of ancient Israel.

Tucson, Arizona 85716 MICHAEL G. HASEL

Klein, George L., ed. *Reclaiming the Prophetic Mantle: Preaching the Old Testament Faithfully.* Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 315 pp. $14.99.

Christians, since the time of Marcion, have struggled with questions regarding the use of the Old Testament in the Christian church. Some have diminished the Old Testament, while others have rejected it entirely. This volume, by Southern Baptist theologians from a variety of North American institutions, represents a laudable reaffirmation of the significant role of the Old Testament in modern Christianity.

Reclaiming the Prophetic Mantle is divided into three sections which move the reader from issues of Old Testament theological interpretation, through the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, to the relevance of the Old Testament to the changing culture and church of the present day.

Part 1 is entitled "Preaching from Different Old Testament Genres" (17-126). It discusses a number of genres of the Old Testament such as historical narrative (Kenneth A. Matthews), law (Robert D. Bergen), poetry (George L. Klein), prophets (Dan G. Kent), and wisdom (Duane A. Garrett). Matthews sets out to define "historiography," "history," and "narrative." While he states that "narratives of the Hebrew Bible are history writing and are trustworthy accounts, when they are not prejudged on the basis of modern historiography" (24), he also insists that "the biblical writers had a ideological agenda; they attributed to God whatever occurred in Israel's history (and all cosmic history)" (25). The question whether narrative is history or theology is an issue of unresolved tension.

Bergen steers a path between the extremes of a "fully valid" and a "valueless" use of the law. Proper uses of OT law are to be viewed in behavioral, analogical, christological, contextual, and illustrative ways. Bergen, however, does not attempt to explain how each of these aspects is to be implemented or integrated. Some statements indicate a reluctance to accept the authority of certain laws such as dietary restrictions and the keeping of the sabbath. He holds that these and other Pentateuchal laws "are no longer in force for one who follows Christ" (61).

In part 2, "Moving from Old Testament to New Testament Truth" (129-221), four chapters treat the unity of both Testaments: "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament" (Robert B. Sloan); "Typological Exegesis: Moving Beyond Abuse and Neglect" (David S. Dockery); "The Kingdom of God in the Old and New Testaments" (G. R. Beasley-Murray); and "The Renewal of the

Promise of Rest: A Canonical Reading of Hebrews 3:7-4:13" (David E. Garland). Dockery affirms a sound typological interpretation. Citing texts from John 5:39-40 and John 5:46, he demonstrates how Jesus understood the OT as referring to himself and saw himself as the antitype of individuals like David, Solomon, Elijah, and others (162-163).

While parts 1 and 2 are primarily concerned with methodological issues, part 3 (225-315) concentrates on practical ways of applying the OT to modern culture and the church. In "Preaching the Present Tense: Coming Alive to the Old Testament," Al Fasol focuses on the important homiletical issues involved in preaching the OT. He recommends that the theme text of the sermon be summarized with a brief, interpretive, past-tense statement. This sentence should reflect the Eternal Truth of the Text (E.T.T.). This is to be followed by a present-tense sentence of application which communicates the Truth for Today (T.T.). While Klein offers this suggestion with the intent of making the text applicable, it seems to be a reflection of Stendahl's much-debated dichotomy between "what it meant" and "what it means"—a dichotomy that has been challenged in some recent discussions.

The chapters on "Changing the Church with the Words of God" (C. Richard Wells); "Changing Culture with Words from God" (James Emery White); and "Where Do We Go from Here?: Integrating the Old Testament into Your Ministry" (Kenneth S. Hempell) represent a clear attempt to relate the OT to church and society.

The essays in this volume provide a helpful overview of current thinking about the relevance of the OT in preaching. The articles are clearly written and appropriately documented. Although the various writers deal more with theoretical issues than with actual sermon-making, other recent books by Elizabeth Achtemeier and John MacArthur, Jr., provide a more homiletical approach. This book is recommended as an introduction to major issues in the use of the OT in contemporary preaching.

Tucson, Arizona 85716 MICHAEL G. HASEL

Knight, George R. *Millennial Fever and the End of the World.* Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1993. 384 pp. $14.95.

Professor of Church History at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University since 1985, George Knight is a prolific writer on Adventist education, history, and theology. His works on education include *Philosophy of Education* (1980), *Issues and Alternatives in Educational Philosophy* (1982), and *Early Adventist Educators* (1983). Historical books include Myths in *Adventism* (1985), *From 1888 to Apostasy: Case of A. T. Jones* (1987), *Die Adventisten und Hamburg* (1992), and *Anticipating the Advent* (1993). In theology, he has written *Angry Saints* (1989), *My Gripe with God* (1990), *A Pharisee's Guide to Perfect Holiness* (1992), and *Matthew: The Gospel of the Kingdom* (1994).

Millennial Fever is the first truly comprehensive, scholarly survey of Millerism. Neither Clara Endicott Sears's *Days of Delusion* (1924), a hypercritical, anecdotal history, nor Francis D. Nichol's *The Midnight Cry* (1944), scholarly but apologetic, met this need. Recent scholarship in the Millerite movement by Clyde Hewitt (1983), David Rowe (1985), Michael Barkun (1986), Ruth Doan (1987), and Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler (1987) has been solid but specialized. By contrast, Knight analyzes nearly every known Millerite idea and leader—irrespective of gender, race, region, religious background, or mentality.

The book also seeks to explore the reasons for Millerism's success, arguing that beyond sociological factors, its internal dynamic was "a *deep certainty* . . . that Christ was coming soon and an impelling conviction of *personal responsibility* to warn the world of that good yet fearful news" (9-10). As the title implies, Millerite premillennialists were a mission-driven, prophetic people working feverishly to give an end-time message to a doomed world by October 22, 1844.

That they succeeded in reaching perhaps 500,000 people demonstrates what team effort could accomplish long before the invention of the telephone, radio or TV. Its leaders represented different states, churches, and personality types, yet each made significant contributions to the movement. The mild-mannered New York Baptist William Miller excelled at preaching. Zealous Rhode Island activist Joshua Himes of the Christian Connexion provided public relations for the movement. Massachusetts Methodist Josiah Litch, creative genius and insightful writer, clarified theological issues in his tracts and books. Sensitive New Jersey Presbyterian Charles Fitch designed its 1843 prophetic chart. Samuel Sheffield Snow, a bold, charismatic Congregationalist, focused attention on the "True Midnight Cry" of October 22, 1844. The impetuous, antidenominationalist George Storrs of Ohio preached conditional immortality and baptism by immersion.

Yet, as chapter 12 shows, this "millennial fever" also drove some proponents "over the edge" into fanaticism. Preacher Enoch Jacobs joined the celibate Shakers until, deciding he would "rather go to hell with Electra his wife" (260), he became a spiritualist, metamorphosing into a pantheistic Buddhist by 1891. Samuel Snow traveled the path from atheist to Millerite to shut-door spiritualizer, seeing himself as Elijah the prophet in 1845. George Storrs evolved from Methodist to Congregationalist to Millerite to mesmerized anti-establishmentarian. Knight does not whitewash these "fevered" saints' problems.

But *Millennial Fever* also highlights the positive experiences of female preachers such as Lucy Hersey, Olive Rice, Elvira Fassett, and Clorinda Minor. More than any other author, Knight explores the internal politics of Millerism, particularly the "power shift" after July 1843 from the moderates Miller, Himes, and Litch to the radicals Storrs, Snow, and Marsh. It is important to study this "radical wing," he states, not only because all other Adventist groups were forced to define themselves in relationship to its teachings, but also because the spirit of the radicals lives on today among some of the more stable descendants

of Millerism (266). Two of these groups—the Advent Christians and Seventh-day Adventists—are the focus of chapters 13 and 14.

Millennial Fever could have been improved in three ways. First, a comprehensive text deserves more than eight pages of photographs to cover the movement adequately. Second, the book lacks a bibliography to organize the 33 pages of endnotes. Finally, the ties between Millerism and Shakerism (257-263) are more amply explored than is the bridge between Millerism and spiritualism (245-247, 284), opening perhaps another door for future research. Nonetheless, this is still the best extant survey of Millerism.

Andrews University BRIAN E. STRAYER

Knight, George R., comp. and ed. *1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism.* Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Pub., 1994. 190 pp. $14.95.

George Knight's *1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism* is not a narrative history, but rather an anthology of primary source materials of Millerite Adventism and early Sabbatarian Adventism. From thousands of source documents preserved in four major archives—the Jencks Memorial Collection of Adventual Materials at Aurora University, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Adventist Heritage Center at Andrews University, and the Ellen G. White Estate in Silver Spring, Maryland—Knight has selected 33 exhibits of which the "majority have never been republished in any form" since their origination (8). They range in length from short personal letters to a 48-page article on "The Rise and Progress of Adventism" from the *Advent Shield and Review* of May 1844.

The selections span a broad spectrum of topics: historical overview, biographies and autobiographies, theological and doctrinal exposition, and personal letters. They represent most of the best-known figures of Millerite Adventism and early Sabbatarian Adventism, including William Miller, Joshua V. Himes, Josiah Litch, Charles Fitch, Joseph Bates, S. S. Snow, George Storrs, Sylvester Bliss, Apollos Hale, Joseph Turner, T. M. Preble, Hiram Edson, O. R. L. Crosier, Joseph Bates, and James and Ellen White. Every document included is reproduced in its extant entirety, providing the full context for many oft-quoted passages.

The compilation (a corollary to Knight's *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, see preceding review) has been divided into ten parts. Preceding each part, Knight has provided a very insightful two-or-three-page essay illuminating the historical background of that section and introducing each document. These "commentaries" (7), by alerting the reader to relevant contextual issues and pointing out salient characteristics and specific details of the text, greatly enhance the reader's comprehension of the selections and hence the value of the collection.

Parts I and II present the first published history of Millerite Adventism and some early biographical sketches of William Miller. Part III provides

documents that reveal the inner workings of Miller's mind—his hermeneutical principles and the logic that undergirded his exposition of prophecy. Parts IV through VII follow the Millerite movement from 1842 through the spring disappointment of 1843 and the "seventh-month movement" to the autumn disappointment of 1844. Part VIII highlights the Albany Conference of 1845 which became a formative meeting in the development of the Advent Christian denomination (132). Parts IX and X illumine the Millerite origins of Sabbatarian Adventism.

After a century and a half of secondary works on Millerism, this volume provides a real service in making available high-quality reproductions of rare original documents in an interpretive framework. The publishers are to be complimented on the attractive format and page design. Although some items have quite small type in consequence of their reduction from newspaper-size pages to the 8.5" by 11" format of the collection, nevertheless, a high standard of legibility has been maintained. Handwritten documents have been recast in large clear type for ease of reading. *1844 and the Rise of Sabbatarian Adventism* will be a great value to all students of Millerite and early Sabbatarian Adventism.

Andrews University JERRY MOON
Berrien Springs, MI 49104

LaBianca, Øystein S. *Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan.* Hesban Excavations Final Reports Series, ed. Lawrence T. Geraty, vol. 1. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1990. xx + 353 pp. $29.95.

Øystein LaBianca's *Sedentarization and Nomadization* is the introductory volume of a proposed 14-volume series. As such it provides the theoretical basis for the comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the data gathered by the Heshbon Expedition which has been excavating Tell Hesban since 1968. LaBianca's autobiographical history of the Heshbon project (21-24), the detailed appendix, "Sponsors and Participants of the Heshbon Expedition" (267-273), and the extensive "Bibliography of Hesban-Related Scholarly Publications" (249-258), provide ample documentation of the Heshbon project's far-reaching and long-lasting results. Many people who worked at Tell Hesban (e.g., Boraas, Herr, Lawlor, Mare, Parker, Sauer, de Vries, and Wimmer) have gone on to contribute time, energy, and expertise to other digs in Jordan and elsewhere.

It is reasonable to suggest that Siegfried Horn and his scholarly offspring—the staff and participants who have focused primarily on Tell Hesban, Tell el-ʿUmeiri, and Tell Jalul and their vicinities—have formed a "school" of their own, i.e., an approach to archaeological fieldwork that is somewhat distinctive. Since Professor Horn and his immediate successor at Hesban, Lawrence T. Geraty, were faculty members at Andrews University, archaeologists from other institutions sometimes refer to doing archaeological fieldwork "the Andrews way." The factors that make their strategy and tactics so recognizable are at least three in number:

(1) implementation of a state-of-the-art multidisciplinary methodology; (2) integration of various kinds of data into a broad perspective that goes beyond an interest in political history alone; and (3) publication of primary data and synthetic studies according to a well conceived, timely plan. Øystein LaBianca's book, *Sedentarization and Nomadization*, is both a product of the "Andrews way" and at the same time a testimony to the fact that LaBianca himself helped to formulate the overall approach followed at Hesban (Geraty's preface, xv-xvi). As such, the book under review contains a wealth of information about the history and cultural life that transpired on Tell Hesban and its environs, as well as the philosophy and methods used to retrieve the data on which the story of ancient Hesban is based.

As outlined in the "Overview of the Hesban Final Publication Series" (261-263), *Sedentarization and Nomadization* is the logical point of departure for a study of the Hesban region. In this well-indexed volume, LaBianca presents the overarching perspective that makes sense of the vast amount of materials excavated and information collected in and around Tell Hesban. In chapter 1 (3-30) he explains the food-system concept that is the interpretational framework for both the data from Hesban and the Madaba Plains Projects.

Sedentarization and Nomadization is a revision of LaBianca's doctoral dissertation at Brandeis University. The author's early involvement with the Hesban project and his Ph.D. program in cultural anthropology enabled him to lay the theoretical foundation—the food-system concept—for the 14-volume Hesban Final Reports series. One of the most interesting disclosures of the book is how the food-system approach was gradually adopted as the means to interpret some 35 centuries of cultural change at Hesban. LaBianca's foreword and chapters 1 and 4 address this increasing theoretical focus and the simultaneous shift from the use of "Heshbon" in the project's title to an almost exclusive use of "Hesban." He explains how and why the food-system concept came to dominate the retrieval, analysis, publication, and the long-term significance of the Hesban archaeological project. As a result, the book's reception will depend on how successful LaBianca is in convincing his readers (many of whom will bring to their reading a previous biblical or historical agenda) that an anthropological concept is the best way to assess the Hesban data.

The largest part of the book, chapters 3-7 (53-232), is given to a readable, period-by-period inquiry into the nature of the lifestyles followed at Tell Hesban, lifestyles ranging from sedentarized to nomadic. The book's title reflects its focus on the periodic fluctuations or cycles of food systems in the Hesban region, and the linkage of those food production, procurement, and processing techniques to overall cultural patterns. In the anthropological approach advocated by LaBianca, features such as political stability and complexity are understood as reflections of the way that cultures harness energy for food production, a dynamic process that is described in terms of intensification and abatement (see especially 12-20).

That the food system of such a settlement and territory was subject to change from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500 B.C.) until the recent past comes as no surprise, given our knowledge from other sites and the relevant literary evidence. But the fact that *Sedentarization and Nomadization* correlates all available archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information

to illustrate the dynamics of Hesban's food system means that LaBianca has delivered what he promised—namely, "to reconstruct and analyze various diachronic and synchronic dimensions of these long-term changes in human occupation and livelihood going back to about 1500 B.C. or to the Late Bronze Age" (3). Through the food-system concept, the sociocultural vicissitudes of a substantial piece of territory in central Jordan can be envisioned in a comprehensive way, and the nature of life in the Hesban region can be perceived over the long sweep of history or in relatively small slices of time. Since the evidence brought together in LaBianca's volume seems to indicate that this area experienced peaks of sedentarization/intensification in Iron Age I and Late Age Iron II and the Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, and Modern periods (235-245), it may be hoped that future excavations in this part of the near East will test the conclusions ascertained through the painstaking research of the Heshbon Expedition.

The Hesban series should be part of every library where there is an interest in Jordan's history and culture and where students and archaeologists want to see how an enormous body of data can be processed, filtered, and used to explain historical-cultural change through a sophisticated and comprehensive, yet easily understood, anthropological concept.

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GERALD L. MATTINGLY

Lipinski, E., ed. *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1992. xxii + 520 pp. $130.00.

This dictionary is a welcome addition to Phoenician and Punic studies. Indeed, since it is the *only* dictionary of Phoenician and Punic, it fills a real need and likely will become the standard reference work for the near future. Like most modern scholarly dictionaries, this work is the product of collaboration. Eighty-seven specialists are listed as authors or coauthors, though the vast majority of articles were written by the editor. Of special interest to North American readers is the fact that most of the authors are Europeans, thereby providing access to scholarly views which otherwise might be overlooked. Each article begins with the language or languages of the subject. For example, under Abdere, we read, "En pun. *'bdrn*, gr. *Abdera* . . . lat. *Abdera* . . ." (2). The article then presents a brief discussion of the relevant archaeological, geographical, textual, historical, onomastic, linguistic, theological, or other data. Extremely useful is the system of cross references used throughout the book, though in some cases, e.g., "Economie" (140), the article is entirely made up of cross references. Most articles include a bibliography for further reading. The text contains 382 figures (maps, drawings, and photographs) and is followed by 16 color plates.

The articles are written in a clear, nontechnical prose that facilitates the use of the dictionary and makes it accessible to the nonspecialist. College,

seminary, and graduate students will find this work extremely useful. Specialists in Near Eastern Studies and those in Classical Studies will find it indispensable, not only for its thoroughness, but for bringing together these two areas of scholarship. For the first time, there is an up-to-date reference work that enables scholars to draw upon material that otherwise would be outside (though related to) their own discipline. This is a major strength of this dictionary.

The dictionary covers all of the lands in which the Phoenicians lived and moved. But it is not limited to those lands alone. Thus, under Ebla (140) we read that the pre-Sargonic palace there produced the most ancient texts mentioning Phoenician sites Byblos and Sidon. We are also told what these references mean in the context of Ebla. The scope is, therefore, very wide. In addition to geographic and archaeological thoroughness, there is a wide range of articles on proper names (persons, places, and deities); language (e.g., writing, alphabet, *boustrophedon*, onomastics, etc.) and literature (e.g., inscriptions, scarabs, stelae, coins, fakes, etc.); daily life (e.g., clothing, medicine, jewelry, coiffure, razors [!], etc.); and weapons. Also noted are art and architecture of all kinds, religion, and a variety of other topics related to the Phoenicians. A special feature is the presence of short bibliographies of great scholars of the past who contributed to the study of Phoenician and Punic: Albright, Barnett, Baudissin, Botticher, Clermont-Ganneau, Delattre, Dhorme, Eissfeldt, Levi della Vida, Renan, Saidah, and de Vogue among others. It is surprising that Berger, Dahood, Dupont-Sommer, Ewald, and Lenormant have no entry. Another important aspect of this work is its attention to texts. References are made throughout the work to inscriptions, the work of classical authors, and other sources such as the Bible. Citations are to standard reference works, where they exist, and to individual texts where necessary. Because there is no single collection of Phoenician inscriptions, various collections such as KAI and *CIS* are used. But often, within an article, there are citations to the same inscription from different collections, thereby giving the impression that they are different inscriptions.

In every work of this nature, there are things about which one could quibble. A number of photographs are blurry (figs. 36, 267, etc.), opaque (fig. 34), or so small that the subject cannot be distinguished clearly (figs. 260, 268, etc.). In many cases the choice of illustrations is puzzling. Why provide a full-page aerial photograph of a relatively minor site such as Lixus (fig. 208), and no photograph of Carthage or Baalbek? Why include a full-page picture of a stela written in Aramaic (fig. 223), but not cite the figure in the appropriate article (285-287)? Why does the map of Sardinia (fig. 285) have only an alphabetical chart, the map of Tunisia (fig. 367) have only a numerical chart, and the map of Phoenicia (fig. 269) have both? The bibliographies are also sometimes a puzzle. Are they meant to reflect only the sources cited in the article, or are they intended to be examples of the range of the discussion of the field? The bibliography on Olbia (330) is as long as the article, while that on Alphabet (20-23) is surely much too short, omitting many important works. Since the bibliographies refer predominantly to works by European authors, they are a real benefit for those who might be exposed only to English-language

sources, but they often exhibit a kind of scholarly parochialism which diminishes the caliber of the dictionary.

One could go on at length citing these kinds of inconsistencies, omissions, and other problems. But these matters pale in comparison to the overall success of the endeavor and to its importance for the study of the Phoenicians and the world in which they lived.

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WALTER E. AUFRECHT

Loscalzo, Craig A. *Preaching Sermons That Connect.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 165 pp. $10.99.

Challenged by the problems of preaching to people today, Craig A. Loscalzo has written a book designed to help preachers preach sermons that "connect." Given the present critical attitude toward preaching, for preachers to expect a hearing just because they are preachers is naive. Loscalzo argues that "preachers more effectively communicate and persuade when they intentionally identify with their congregations" (17).

Highly influenced by Kenneth Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives,* Loscalzo argues that while persuasion is indigenous to preaching, it should be sought through "identification" rather than manipulation. What this means and how it is to be achieved is the burden of the book. For Burke, persons are persuaded when preachers talk the talk of their hearers through speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, and idea. He does not mean to suggest that preachers avoid confronting their congregations with the demands of the gospel. But as one who has a personal stake in the issue, he argues "we face a better chance of achieving our purpose in preaching if we focus on points of agreement rather than on places where [we] disagree" (23). Identification promotes authentic relationships, authentic relationships nurture trust between preacher and congregation, and trust enables the preacher to present sermon "content" with confidence that lives will be changed.

Loscalzo sees the principle of identification demonstrated in the ministry of Moses, Amos, Ezekiel, Paul, and Jesus, with "incarnation" as the ultimate paradigm of identification (55). Hearers need to know that the preacher is as human as they are, but that he or she is also trustworthy, keeps promises, and is a person of faith.

Loscalzo cites Burke's premise that communication is always "circumstantially founded" as the reason for preachers to "evaluate the congregation in terms of their scene and the circumstances that make it up" (83). The world scene, the political scene, the economic scene, the cultural scene, the religious scene, and the congregational scene all need to be understood and analyzed if one is to preach through identification.

An important and practical chapter is devoted to strategies for designing sermons that will connect. Strategies such as *attitude* toward the message of the

sermon being prepared, *interest* in what the hearers are interested in, *form* in keeping with the nature of the message and its movement, and *language* in saying the right thing in the right way are recommended and developed. The book closes with three sample sermons and a chapter on "delivery" (147-157).

Loscalzo's concern for identification in preaching is timely and timeless. Kyle Haselden, in his book *The Urgency of Preaching* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), quotes Martin Luther as saying, "I endeavored to make Moses so German that no one would suspect he was a Jew" (71). As radical and anti-Semitic as that may seem, it speaks to a concern, as Loscalzo points out, that has always attended the proclamation of God's Word. It is this concern that has caused authors of more contemporary books on preaching to cry out against "pontification" and "moralization." Loscalzo's book is perhaps the only recent one that has dealt with the issue in a more comprehensive and complete way.

There is a precaution, however, which he acknowledges. The preacher can "over-identify." In *Gauging Sermon Effectiveness* (Dubuque, IA: Priory Press, 1960), Sylvester F. Macnutt writes concerning the improper use of the editorial "we":

> When the preacher politely includes himself among certain types of sinners (for example, thieves) whose sins are utterly unbecoming the priesthood, he distracts his audience. To say 'we sinners' is humble, but for the priest to exaggerate in order to identify himself with the congregation is false. . . . A good preacher identifies himself with the problems of the people, but not with all their sins. His people want the pastor to be holy, strong enough to pull them out of the pit—not himself crawling at its bottom (63).

Be that caution as it may, Craig Loscalzo has written a much needed and helpful book. In these challenging and, occasionally, frightening times, "identification" is critical. God's Word is always relevant, but He calls upon His servants to demonstrate through preaching that it is so.

Andrews University STEVEN P. VITRANO

Maxwell, C. Mervyn. *Magnificent Disappointment: What Really Happened in 1844 . . . and Its Meaning for Today.* Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1994. 175 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

Magnificent Disappointment commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Great Disappointment of 1844 when Millerite Adventists expected the second coming of Jesus. C. Mervyn Maxwell, Emeritus Professor of Church History at Andrews University, presents the 1844 event as a "magnificent disappointment" because it led Adventists to the discovery of "a special message about Jesus" (5). While Adventists share much of their soteriology, christology, and eschatology with other Christians, they are unique in their understanding of the specific character of Christ's high-priestly ministry in the context of the end time.

Maxwell shows that 1844 derives its significance from the prophecies of the Son of man coming to the Ancient of Days (Dan 7) and the cleansing of the sanctuary in the time of the end (Dan 8), supported by some seventeen other OT and NT passages (82-84). He maintains that the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of 1844 as the fulfillment of several specific lines of biblical prophecy and the consequent insights into the present intercessory work of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary are the primary reasons for the Seventh-day Adventists' existence as a denomination. Further, he shows that 1844 has ramifications that impact almost every major area of Adventist self-understanding, mission, and lifestyle.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with how Millerite Adventists arrived at the date October 22, 1844. It shows that their prophetic time calculations were not unique but were the culmination of a nearly 1000-year tradition of biblical-hermeneutical exposition. The section also explores the mistakes that they made in prophetic chronology and how further biblical study resolved these dilemmas.

The second part investigates what exactly happened in prophetic fulfillment in 1844. Maxwell argues from a variety of biblical passages that Christ began in 1844 an "investigative" or "pre-advent" judgment which involved a special "work of grace" to prepare believers for his second coming (71, 67). Adventists recognized in this new perspective the fulfillment of Rev 14:7, "the hour of His judgment has come." They were convinced that Christ had begun the final phase of his high-priestly ministry to prepare people for his return, and they saw themselves as called to proclaim the "everlasting gospel" (Rev 14:6) in the specific end-time contexts of ongoing judgment and impending second advent.

In the third part, fully one half of the book, Maxwell devotes a chapter to each of seven practical implications of 1844: the meaning of "being 'Adventist,'" the sabbath, readiness for the second coming, the believer's assurance in the judgment, worship, lifestyle, and "being like Jesus" (89, 151). The author summarizes that "The great disappointment of 1844 was a dark cloud for those who experienced it, but . . . for everyone who has perceived its true meaning" it has a "silver lining . . . Jesus and His grand new work of judgment and atonement in heaven and of gathering and totally renewing His people down on the earth" (175).

The book makes a unique contribution to a subject that has received considerable scholarly attention in recent years. Most of the recent studies have confined themselves primarily to the theological significance of the relevant Scripture passages or to the historical significance of the period surrounding 1844. Maxwell however, makes the Millerite episode relevant for today by answering the practical "why" and "so-what" questions that have troubled Adventists since 1844. His study clearly affirms Paul Schwarzenau's observation that "it is very much to the point that Adventist doctrine is rooted in and derives strength from an event which Adventists later referred to as 'the great disappointment'" (*So Much in Common* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973], 106).

Maxwell has drawn on his more than 25 years' experience as a teacher of church history and historical theology to skillfully condense an abundance of complex historical and theological data from both primary and secondary sources in a semi-popular style that can be appreciated by specialists as well as digested by non-specialists. Several charts support the text and endnotes follow each chapter. This book will be valuable reading for anyone desiring to understand the theological roots and motivations of Seventh-day Adventists.

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P. GERARD DAMSTEEGT

McNamara, Martin. *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis.* The Aramaic Bible, vol. 1A. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992. xiv + 271 pp. $65.00.

Maher, Michael. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis.* The Aramaic Bible, vol. 1B. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992. xiv + 208 pp. $65.00.

The Aramaic Bible is a Targum translation project of Michael Glazier Books/The Liturgical Press. Though several volumes of The Aramaic Bible series have been published, these two volumes represent the long-awaited first number of the project. Originally the editors planned to publish the texts of Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan on facing pages with integrated notes. However, this proved unfeasible, and the two works were published simultaneously in separate volumes. Eventually the whole Pentateuch of Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan will be published as the first five numbers of the series, but the editors have not made it clear whether further numbers will follow the pattern of the first number with separate volumes for Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan.

Each volume begins with an introduction to the targum represented in the volume. The translation follows, accompanied by extensive footnotes. These translations are revisions of translations prepared for the publications of Diez Macho. Each volume has a bibliography and extensive indexes to ancient and traditional sources, as well as a briefer index to modern authors. Maher's volume also has a short subject index.

The two volumes were prepared together to cover all available exemplars of the Palestinian targum tradition and should be used side by side. McNamara's volume not only translates the text of Neofiti Genesis, but also includes an apparatus representing the other Palestinian targums, with the exception of Pseudo-Jonathan which has its own volume. Thus there are two sets of notes in the Neofiti translation; the first is the apparatus of other Palestinian targums along with erasures, glosses, and corrections in Neofiti, and the second contains translator notes and references to rabbinic and other sources. McNamara's introduction is not limited to Neofiti, but also covers the full range of known Palestinian targums. As the apparatus covers the erasures and glosses of Neofiti it provides an important supplement to Diez Macho's publication of Neofiti which neglected such an apparatus.

In contrast, Maher's volume has no apparatus, the translation is only of Pseudo-Jonathan, and the introduction deals with special features of Pseudo-Jonathan only, deferring the more complete coverage of the targum family to the Neofiti volume. On the other hand, the Pseudo-Jonathan translation has more extensive notes on rabbinic parallels than the Neofiti translation, and for this alone it provides an important supplement to the Neofiti volume.

More so than the Onqelos Targum to the Pentateuch, the Palestinian targums are rather expansive, containing a great deal of interpretation, explanation, expanded narrative, and other added material. However, the Palestinian targums are type-A targums, in which the translation of the Hebrew text is usually separable from the expansion. The Aramaic Bible series emphasizes this separability. A special feature of these two volumes is that the material directly corresponding to the Hebrew text is in roman type and the expansion material is in italics.

The introductions to the two volumes are well prepared and informative, written on a level accessible to most students. The authors discuss available texts (one manuscript each for Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan), text history, the nature of the targums, the special features of the Palestinian targums and possible dates for the present form of the available targums. Occasionally the arguments seem thin, however. McNamara cannot hide the paucity of evidence for the trans-mission history of the Palestinian targums, and his discussion on pp. 44-45 merely displays our ignorance. Also the argument linking these targums with Jerome (45) is curious. The targums were translations of Hebrew texts into Aramaic. Jerome, however, studied Hebrew and never learned Aramaic, and thus he had to rely on another translator to help him with Tobit and the Aramaic passages of Daniel and Ezra. Any similarity between the interpretations of Jerome and the targums must have been due to Jerome's interaction with the local Jewish community rather than any direct reading of the targums available in his day.

The Palestinian targums are of questionable value as parallel material for New Testament interpretation. Targums were produced since the Hasmonean period and were represented among the finds at Qumran. Some targumic material may go back to the time of Ezra. However, the Palestinian targums underwent continuous revision into the medieval period, and no expansions may be dated with certainty before A.D. 400. At best these targums may supplement writings which can be dated to the first century such as Josephus, Philo, and the Qumran scrolls. The New Testament scholar may find these targums tantalizing but ultimately disappointing as aids for understanding the first-century background of the New Testament. On the other hand, these targums provide a wealth of information about how the language and narrative content of Genesis was understood by Jewish scholars of late antiquity and the medieval period. Also the targums open a window on the history of rabbinic exegesis and the evolution of popular Jewish faith and practice.

The price of these two volumes is a major drawback to their usefulness, and indeed this is a problem with most volumes in The Aramaic Bible series. The cost is out of the reach of students and most scholars who do not specialize in targum research. Those scholars who do specialize in targums presumably do

not need the translations, though they may find the footnotes helpful as a reference commentary. It seems the primary market for these volumes would be libraries where the student and interested nonspecialist could gain ready access to this excellent resource on biblical translation and interpretation.

Madison, WI 53713 JAMES E. MILLER

Michael, J. Ramsey. *Interpreting the Book of Revelation.* Guides to New Testament Exegesis, vol. 7. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 150 pp. $9.99.

Interpreting the Book of Revelation is another addition to the excellent Guides to New Testament Exegesis series edited by Scot McKnight and designed to provide interpretive handbooks for each of the genres of the NT. The author attempts to follow in the tradition established by the three previously published volumes of the series. This is a great challenge, due to the nature of the Book of Revelation.

Michael, however, seems equal to the challenge, despite his assessment that Revelation is a mixed genre defying description. It has characteristics of letter, apocalypse, and classic prophecy. Yet, if it is a letter, it is unlike any other extant early Christian letter; if it is an apocalypse, it is like no other apocalypse; if it is a prophecy, it is unique among prophecies (31-32). Michael prefers to see it as a letter which contains a narrative, or story line. But he finds this somewhat inadequate, arguing, more precisely, for either prophetic letter, based on its long title, or apocalyptic letter, based on its content (31). At the same time, he doubts "how crucial the determination of genre is for the interpretation of specific passages" (32). He maintains that "the judgment that it is a letter, an apocalypse, or a prophecy will not take the student very far. The form of a specific passage under discussion is at least as important to the interpretive task as the genre of the entire book"(33).

If the reader did not figure it out by reading the table of contents, it becomes apparent already in the introduction that Michael is a proponent of narrative analysis, an "inside" approach to the text which he favors over "the so-called 'historical-critical method'" (16). Although he admits that the book must also be "interpreted 'from the outside' in light of what can be known of the times in which it was written and the traditions then alive" (18), he subsequently argues that "the student who wants to interpret Revelation probably will have to live with a considerable degree of uncertainty about its date and historical setting" (46). While he believes it is important for students to "familiarize themselves with the historical and social setting of the Book of Revelation in the late first century," he holds that "this setting is known to us only generally." Consequently, "if a precise historical setting is the 'key' to understanding Revelation, then understanding will elude us" (50).

One notable thing about this volume is the spirit of openness Michael displays toward alternative understandings of the Book of Revelation. He displays a healthy lack of dogmatism about his own suggested solutions to the

problems in the book. In fact, he raises far more problems and questions than he tries to resolve, and he seems quite comfortable leaving the solutions to the student. This is evident, for example, in his chapter on the structure of Revelation. While he proposes a structure, he admits that it is only one among many proposals, and concludes that "the best outline is the one you have made for yourself" (71). The student who is looking for airtight answers to the problems of the Book of Revelation will not find them in this volume. Michael expects the reader to lay aside well-worn presuppositions and to use the tools and suggestions he has given to craft his or her own new solutions through an openness to the text, especially from the inside.

The book is quite readable, with one exception. The Greek of each cited word or phrase is given in both Greek font and transliterated form. This complicates the reading unnecessarily. The editor claims in the preface that the series is designed for the student or pastor who has had at least one year of Greek. For these, Greek should be sufficient and providing transliteration is redundant. Those who do not read Greek would find the transliteration meaningless as well.

I counted only ten editorial errors in the book. Most are of the kind that would not unduly distract the average reader. On p. 81, however, the reader needs to know that the cross-reference to "see p. ooo" should probably read "see pp. 120-123." Michael appears to contradict himself on pp. 106 and 113 in regard to how far the interpreter is wise to go beyond what is made explicit in the text by the "reliable narrator" (cf. 100, 114, 123). On p. 111, Michael seems to imply that Brenton's edition of the LXX contains both Theodotion's and the LXX version of Daniel, but this is not so. While Rahlfs' edition does contain both texts, Brenton and *The NIV Triglot Old Testament* (Zondervan, 1981) contain only Theodotion's version of Daniel.

The author provides a "Select Bibliography." The selection could be debated, but on the whole is representative. Michael has limited himself to twenty works. I would have added a few others, like the commentaries by Collins (NT Message, Michael Glazier, 1979), Fiorenza (Proclamation, Fortress, 1991), and Sweet (Westminster Pelican/SCM, 1990). While I would take issue with Michael on several points of interpretation, his interpretation of 1:19 seems reasonable, particularly in light of the concept of the "reliable narrator." In this he makes a real contribution. Certainly he opens the mind of the reader to some nontraditional concepts in interpreting Revelation, and the student will be rewarded for the time spent with this helpful volume.

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EDWIN E. REYNOLDS

Morris, Leon. *The Gospel According to Matthew.* Pillar NT Commentary Series. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992; Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1992. xvii + 781 pp. $39.99.

When examining a commentary one may rightly ask whether the work is essentially derivative or whether it breaks new ground. This one by Leon

Morris does not break new ground. Its value lies in its collation of the views of others. Previously Morris' home base has been the Pauline letters, with a major foray into the Gospel of John. For this recent effort Morris has not become a Matthean scholar. Instead, he wrote with a number of published works in his lap—largely by English-speaking scholars, generally of a conservative stripe: William Barclay, P. Bonnard, D. Carson, D. Hill, R. T. France, R. H. Gundry, R. H. Mounce, D. Patte. Older commentators who accompanied Morris on the trip through Matthew include Calvin, Lenski, McNeile, and Plummer. German language scholarship is limited to Zahn and Strack-Billerbeck. Bultmann and Billy Graham are each named once; G. Campbell Morgan, twelve times. An expository air pervades the work, yet the most frequent references are to the standard Greek sources. The uninformed reader is not warned of the difficulties in drawing on the Mishnah and other later Jewish sources.

Morris writes as a believer in the essential historicity of the NT gospels. He is far more sanguine about the possibilities of harmonizing the NT gospels than many of his contemporaries. Genuine difficulties for the modern reader are minimized. The commentary exudes an air of sensible courtesy. Scholars with whom Morris disagrees usually remain anonymous as "some."

At the onset the author declares his awareness of current scholarship but sees little value in pursuing the antecedents of the book of Matthew or even its audience. He deliberately sets out to "take this Gospel as a work in its own right and to see what it says to us as it is" (xi). He keeps his promise. The introductory matters, including distinctive Matthean characteristics, are handled in a mere 18 pages. For the next 750 pages Morris proceeds on a verse-by-verse basis, giving only brief overviews to the eight major sections into which he divides the book. Redaction criticism and the Synoptic question are essentially omitted from the body of the commentary. More surprisingly, Morris shows little interest in the structure and arrangement of the Gospel.

A strength of the book is its accessibility to the nonprofessional reader unfamiliar with technical linguistic terms. Morris has the gift of clarity. Even though he frequently draws attention to Greek grammar and syntax, esoteric terminology in the body of the commentary is kept to a minimum. The footnotes provide the more technical information and are frequently helpful. The author has tried his own hand at translating the Greek text.

Who should buy this commentary? Conservative church and college libraries as well as pastors who might need convincing that a knowledge of Greek language and syntax should still be part of the preacher's skills. For the serious scholar of Matthew the emerging two-volume commentary on Matthew by Donald Hagner in the Word Biblical Commentary promises more substance.

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ERNEST J. BURSEY

Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Company, 1992. xvi + 576 pp. Cloth $39.95; paperback $29.95.

Mark A. Noll, professor of church history at Wheaton College and prolific writer on topics in ecclesiastical history, has recently enriched the literature on the history of North American Christianity with a comprehensive work that in an admirable way covers the great variety of Christian experience in the New World. Starting with the early Catholic activities in New Spain, New Mexico, Quebec, and Maryland, he chronicles the Protestant beginnings in their Puritan and other forms. In the subsequent main sections he covers the period from ca. 1700 up to the time of the evangelical mobilization of the early nineteenth century; the period of Protestant hegemony from the time of the Second Great Awakening to the early decades of this century; and finally, developments from World War I to the present. In this last section—more than in the previous parts—Noll sketches trends and does not so much deal with public events as with profiles of communities and remarkable personalities who helped shape twentieth-century religious life in North America.

Though not as detailed as the widely acclaimed work by Sydney E. Ahlstrom which appeared about twenty years ago (*A Religious History of the American People*; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), this new book provides a well-organized, balanced, and stimulating account of Christian life in America. As would be expected from an evangelical scholar, Noll deals extensively with the roots and further developments of his own tradition. Once in a while his evangelical orientation shines through, as, for instance, in his assessment of modern life in North America as a "moral wilderness" (425). But nowhere does he appear to be biased against other traditions. He writes with the assumption that "if historical figures and groups call themselves 'Christian,' and if they are recognized by others as 'Christians,' they should be treated that way in a textbook history of Christianity" (4).

Noll ably describes how religious and denominational patterns shifted as time went by and how contemporary religious pluralism resulted from earlier developments. Repeatedly he draws lines from the past to the present. A good example is his comment on the relationship between nineteenth-century revival techniques and modern political campaigning. In telling his story, Noll pays attention to regional differences, while not forgetting the role of women, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. At the same time he does not neglect the way in which religion (especially Protestant) has influenced American society and illustrates how many religious traditions have been thoroughly Americanized. The hymns at the beginning of each chapter and the over 200 illustrations give the book a special charm and, to some extent, make it a "people's history."

One might, however, question whether the author fully succeeds in delivering what the title of his book promises. He intends to cover all of North American Christianity. While his treatment of Catholicism is quite sympathetic and evenhanded, he does not always give it proportionate attention. The same is true of the geographical emphases of his book. For example, Noll successfully

demonstrates how Canada provided a "third way" between the traditionalism of Europe and the innovations of the United States (130), but his treatment of Canada's church history is not nearly as complete as his account of religious developments in the United States.

In a work that seeks to deal with the complex history of so many religious traditions over several centuries, not everything can receive due attention. But at times the reader might wonder why certain facts and names have been included, and why other events and persons have remained unmentioned or have received very scant treatment. Orthodox Christianity definitely seems to be underreported. Noll finds room to devote a few paragraphs to Noyes's Oneida experiment, but hardly mentions the different groups of Amish Christians. Or, to give another example, the rather important phenomenon of transcendentalism is mentioned only in passing.

Noll is not always convincing in his arguments as to how earlier events influenced later trends. It seems questionable whether it can indeed be demonstrated that the communal experiments of the nineteenth century "became an inspiration for further efforts at building separate religious communities in America during the counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s" (199).

The suggestions for further reading given at the end of each chapter and the biography of general works at the end of the book are useful. However, they are more limited than one would expect in a work of this scope.

The book has been carefully edited, but at least one name has been misspelled. William Miller's lieutenant was Joshua V. Himes, and not Joseph V. Himes. The few criticisms one might have, however, in no way detract from the superb overall quality of the book.

St. Albans, Herts., England REINDER BRUINSMA

O'Grady, John F. *Pillars of Paul's Gospel.* New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992. 178 pp. $9.95.

John F. O'Grady is a pastor and a scholar—formerly priest of the diocese of Albany, New York, currently Professor of Biblical Theology and Dean of Barry University in Treasure Coast, Florida. He holds doctoral degrees in theology and biblical studies—in theology from St. Thomas University and in Sacred Scripture from the Pontifical Institute, both in Rome.

Professor O'Grady considers that Galatians and Romans are the pillars of Pauline theology. In this book he studies these two epistles together in an attempt to interrelate Paul's personality, writings, and history.

The book is divided into four sections. The first deals with Paul's environment—his background, religious experience, relationship to Jerusalem, and encounter with the gospel. The second section, on the epistle to the Galatians, contains an introduction followed by a consideration of Paul's gospel, his theology of salvation by faith, and freedom in the Christian life. The third

section is dedicated to the epistle to the Romans. After a short introduction dealing with universal sin, O'Grady explains the gospel of faith, God's grace related to Israel and Christianity, and the way graced believers live. The final section considers Pauline theology, particularly the church as the new community of faith and justification, and Paul's impressions of Jesus.

O'Grady attributes Paul's theology and influence in Christianity to Paul's religious experience, which O'Grady explains anthropologically. O'Grady's exposition of Paul's experience on the road to Damascus places him as a bridge between Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Rudolf Otto (1869-1937). For Schleiermacher, religious experience or the consciousness of being absolutely dependent upon God is no different than any other human experience. Otto makes a theoretical distinction between what he calls *mysterium tremendum*—the experience with God through dread and fear, and *mysterium fascinans*—the experience with God through awe and fascination. O'Grady finds all of these in Paul's experience.

O'Grady defines justification as a "gift" and a "responsibility." As a gift it is forensic, and as a responsibility it is ecclesiological—every Christian has to live for others in the community of faith (59, 60). O'Grady's concept of justification does not exclude sanctification.

Following the lead of most other commentators, O'Grady fails to see freedom as the main subject of Galatians. He takes it only as one section of the epistle. It is a gift from God; and it means to be free from law, sin, and death (73), and particularly, free "to live for the sake of others" (75).

On the crucial subject of the law, O'Grady thinks that Paul changed his mind between Galatians and Romans. In the earlier epistle Paul showed even anger against those who taught the law, but in Romans he seemed "willing to compromise," coming closer to Peter and James (26). Regarding the relationship of faith and law, O'Grady says that Paul "will not attempt to have faith supersede the law but rather will place the law in its proper perspective"—faith precedes the law, and the law rests upon faith (98).

In his interpretation of Rom 5:12-21, which Roman Catholic theology has used through the centuries as the scriptural foundation for its theology of original sin, Professor O'Grady does not speak about original guilt. Instead, following contemporary theologians, he defines original sin as being born into a "sinful condition," which he explains as a "sinful environment" (100-101).

Even though this book is not a deep, scholarly study about Galatians and Romans, its importance rests on the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has historically relied on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The Church has never taken a major interest in Paul's writings. It has particularly neglected the two epistles to which this book is dedicated, in that whenever there has been an attempt to study Paul, attention was directed primarily to the pastorals. This book is recommended for college students and adults interested in Paul's writings as studied by a contemporary Roman Catholic mind.

General Conference of SDA
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MARIO VELOSO

Phillips, James M., and Robert T. Coote, eds. *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993. x + 400 pp. Paperback, $24.95.

This collection of 28 essays, written in honor of Gerald H. Anderson, the director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center and editor of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, attempts to provide a comprehensive survey of the "state of the Christian world mission" as the world is about to enter a new century.

The editors, both also associated with the Overseas Ministries Study Center in New Haven, Connecticut, have arranged the essays under four main headings. Section I deals with the "Christian Families in Mission" and provides well-written and informative profiles of the missionary philosophies and activities of evangelicals, the conciliar churches, Roman Catholics, and charismatics. The eight chapters of section II look at the world by region. Section III treats the foundational disciplines of mission and deals with the theological basis of mission; the spiritual formation for mission; mission strategies; and issues concerning contextualization, the development of indigenous theologies, and the widespread phenomenon of "folk" religions. The final section is dedicated to special challenges in mission, such as the teaching of missions, women in mission, mission and social justice, the need for a new focus on the city, Christian dialogues with other faiths, and church-state relations in a mission context.

As in most books of this nature, not all contributions are of equal scope and depth, although most of the essays in this *Festschrift* do succeed in providing a succinct summary of the main issues in the area they are addressing. A few are somewhat disappointing, especially in the last section, where one would have expected more of a mission agenda for the next century. This is certainly true for Ruth A. Tucker's contribution on women in mission, and Harvie M. Conn's essay on urban mission.

Other contributions, e.g., Lamin Sanneh's chapter on Africa, are rich in philosophical insights, but fail to give much factual information, or, like Yoshinobu Kumazawa's survey of mission in Northeast Asia, offer little more than factual data, lacking in interpretation.

The overall quality of the essays in this book is high, as would be expected, considering the caliber of the experts who have contributed to it. If pressed to list the best essays, this reviewer would mention the survey of the "Commonwealth of Independent States" by J. Martin Bailey; the "Reflections on Biblical Models of Mission" by the recently deceased David J. Bosch; and the critical evaluation of "Mission Strategies" by Wilber R. Schenk.

The contributors come from a wide range of traditions, but unfortunately the male/Western element predominates strongly. It also seems that the representatives of "conciliar missions" are overrepresented. The broad scope of the first section of the book, dealing with the different "Christian families in mission," is to a large degree absent in the rest of the book, where the viewpoints and concerns of the mainline Protestant churches receive most, and sometimes almost exclusive, attention. Two examples to illustrate this point of

criticism must suffice: The dominant theme of the people-group concept in current evangelical mission literature and the challenge of the unreached people groups is hardly mentioned. Also, with regard to the relationship between different Christian churches and mission organizations and also between Christianity and other religions, viewpoints characteristic of the World Council of Churches tend to dominate.

The bibliographies at the end of each essay greatly enhance the value of the book, even though in some of the lists evangelical and Roman Catholic authors are underrepresented and more non-American literature should have been included.

In spite of these limitations in focus and scope of treatment, the book is extremely useful, not only as required reading for college students in introductory mission courses, but also for mission planners and all individuals who want a comprehensive picture of mission in the last decade of this century.

St. Albans, Herts., England REINDER BRUINSMA

Postgate, J. N. *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History.* London: Routledge Press, 1992. xxiii + 367 pp. $65.

J. N. Postgate, a well-respected Assyriologist with a teaching appointment at Gambridge and also varied field experience in the Near East, has provided a distinctive and exhaustive tome on the development of the state in ancient Mesopotamia. Documenting the period from the third to the first half of the second millennia BC, the new approach refreshingly focuses on socioeconomic factors in the development of Mesopotamian culture rather than on more prevalent typological and historical sequences. Extrapolating from a vast pool of economic, legal, and commercial documents available from ancient Mesopotamia, as well as from less frequently available, but invaluable, historical accounts, Postgate leads the reader through the maze of textual and archaeological evidence by providing insightful and stimulating reflections with penetrating style and a persuasive manner.

The book's 16 chapters are grouped topically in four parts. Chapters on more common subjects like "Crops and Livestock" and "Domestic Economy" fit well under such larger categories as institutions, economics, and social order. These titles reemphasize the stress on a socioeconomic model for reconstructing the origin of civilization in Mesopotamia. While Postgate provides convenient references for further reading at the conclusion of each chapter, these references seem to indicate more his preference for certain authors than an exhaustive citation of primary and secondary sources. A few chapters seem poorly placed and structured. For example, to place chapter 14, "Religion and Politics," directly after chapters 7 and 8 on "The Temple" and "The Palace," would have enhanced the flow of thought and would have avoided the hiatus in the discussion of the duties of kingship, which discussion begins in one chapter and is not further developed until some one hundred pages later.

Every chapter contains a number of new theories. This makes for stimulating reading. In chapter 3, for example, the argument proposed by D. Schmandt-Besserat that writing developed through a complex system of clay tokens during the Uruk period is presented as though it were widely accepted. Unfortunately, the scholars who have severely criticized this hypothesis, particularly J. Oates and P. Michalowski, are not mentioned. Also, in the discussion on the nature of the countryside (chap. 4), Postgate does not mention that, due to the changing sociopolitical structure, villages of the urban period differ quantitatively from earlier preurban villages, as has been pointed out in S. Falconer's work in Jordan. Another, perhaps related, problem is Postgate's failure to note or recognize the apparent fluidity between the nomadic groups and the urban population as viewed from the dimorphic model of M. Rowton. Such disagreements are minor, however, and do not detract from the overall contribution of a book of this vast depth and magnitude.

Postgate writes in a fluent and captivating style that will prove attractive to any interested reader. Yet his originality and substantive coverage of the early period of Mesopotamian cultural development make this book at the same time an invaluable tool for specialists in Near Eastern archaeology, epigraphy, and historiography. Numerous primary texts which encompass legal, economic, commercial, and social subjects are reproduced throughout the volume, providing the reader with valuable insights into the rich diversity of the evidence available from this period. The repeated and wholesome emphasis on the relationship between the archaeological record and textual sources gives credit to the breadth of the writer's knowledge and encourages new archaeo-logical research techniques, such as faunal analysis for the reconstruction of ancient food systems.

Numerous maps, chronological charts, and photographs contribute to the strength and cohesiveness of the individual chapters. The extensive bibliography indicates the need for a knowledge of French and German by the specialist. An index on subjects and modern authors is provided, although it might have been more useful to provide two separate indexes, one on subjects and another on authors.

All in all, *Ancient Mesopotamia* is a successful *tour de force.* It is a welcome addition to quality secondary literature on early Mesopotamian history. Not only does this work provide a largely up-to-date review of research, but unlike its predecessors, it presents a new synthesis by means of an approach heretofore unparalleled. This makes it a necessity on the reading list of any person seriously interested in the rise of culture and civilization in ancient Mesopotamia.

Tucson, Arizona 85716 MICHAEL G. HASEL

Schoors, Antoon. *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 41. Leuven: Peeters, 1992. xiv + 260 pp. $45.00.

The idiosyncratic nature of the language of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) has long been recognized. Though the book has some points of contact with various

other biblical books, within the Hebrew canon it stands *sui generis.* Since the inception of critical scholarship, this is most frequently accounted for by assigning a late date. However, in 1988 Daniel C. Fredericks published *Qoheleth's Language: Re-evaluating Its Nature and Date,* in which he argued strongly for at least a preexilic 8th-7th century B.C. date.

In his review of Fredericks' book, Schoors concluded, "Fredericks has built a strong case and it will no longer be possible to speak simply of the late characteristics of Qoheleth's language without a bad conscience. The situation of those defending a postexilic date of that language . . . has become much more complicated" *(JBL* 108 [1989]: 700). It is in part against this backdrop that Schoors writes in defense of the critical view.

In the introduction, Schoors furnishes the traditional survey of the literature grouped around the four principal theories that have been proposed to account for Qoheleth's distinctive language. The first is the Mishnaic Hebrew theory, a *crux interpretum.* Is the language of Qoheleth proto-rabbinic or biblical Hebrew? The second and third theories are related: the Aramaic influence theory, and the Aramaic translation theory. The former is admitted to a greater or lesser degree; but as for the latter, translations usually smooth out rather than complicate, a characteristic clearly lacking in Qoheleth. The fourth is the Canaanite-Phoenician influence theory and is, not surprisingly, connected with Dahood's name. Seen from this perspective, the author of Qoheleth wrote in Hebrew, but used Phoenician orthography, which is to say he did not use *matres lectionis* (vowel letters). Though himself a student of Dahood, in the final analysis Schoors rejects this theory.

Schoors's specific point of departure was C. F. Whitley's *Koheleth: His Language and Thought,* which had just become available when Schoors began his research. Though Schoors found much to commend in Whitley's work, he was dissatisfied with the linguistic analysis. As a consequence he decided to deal with grammar and vocabulary in two separate volumes in his own study. This first volume, the grammar, is in turn divided into three chapters which deal successively with orthography and phonetics, morphology, and syntax. Also included are a list of abbreviations (placed at the end of the work rather than the beginning), extensive bibliographies (first of Qoheleth, then of the works cited), and a very helpful series of indexes to the Bible and other ancient texts.

Of necessity, traditional grammars are eclectic since they must include a wide body of literature, both prose and poetic. On the other hand, it is easy for a grammar based on one book to be myopic. However, Schoors combines the features of both, since the specifics of Qoheleth are always set in the larger context, not only of Hebrew (biblical and Mishnaic), but also of the cognate languages and the various biblical versions.

This is a very thorough and careful analysis, unfortunately far too often marred by typographical errors, including—but by no means limited to—the Hebrew itself. An argument that turns on vocalization is difficult to follow when one is unable to trust the accuracy of the text. A few examples are: זֵה for זֶה (2); שׁ for שָׁ (?) (12); 'te' for 'to' (20); and "conects" for "connects" (35).

Since the conclusions based upon the full study are not yet available, Schoors provides an interim conclusion, confirming the general consensus among critical scholars. Of Fredericks he says, "His argumentation is too analytical, showing the evident weakness of most of the arguments taken on their own" (222). In place of that, Schoors presents what he calls the "the argument of convergency, viz, the general picture presented by the combination of all pertinent features" (ibid.).

The volume calls for Hebrew study on the part of the reader/student measured in years, not quarters, including a facility with post-biblical Hebrew. In addition, a good grasp of the cognate languages such as Aramaic and Syriac is desirable. Thus it is best suited to a graduate course, especially when coupled with the works of Fredericks and/or Whitley.

The choice of Qoheleth as a subject for linguistic analysis is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the book is not central to the curriculum in most seminaries. On the other hand, if it were included, the absence of prior knowledge might permit a greater degree of objectivity in interpreting it. However, this would be by no means automatic. Given the works of two careful scholars with diametrically opposing views, it is all too easy to accept the one that aligns with one's own presuppositions.

Loma Linda University Church BERNARD TAYLOR
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Tov, Emanuel. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992. xl + 456 pp. $40.00.

The goal of textual criticism is to establish as accurately as possible the original form of ancient texts, and, though this is often overlooked, it is the basis for all further studies of any given text. Because of the paucity of material available prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible was often seen as primarily synonymous with the study of the various daughter translations, especially the Greek Septuagint (LXX); but only secondarily concerned with what is known of the Hebrew text itself—if students had the requisite command of Hebrew.

It is not surprising, then, that when Tov published his *The Text-critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies, 3 [Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1981]), it was hailed as a definitive work on textual criticism. This perception seemed confirmed by the fact that on the first page of the introduction, Tov began by talking about the aims of OT textual criticism. As a result, when this current volume based on the Hebrew Bible was published, not a few scholars felt that Tov had perhaps betrayed them. When the book was publicly reviewed in Tov's presence, scholar after scholar focused on the relation between the LXX and the Hebrew Text, claiming that Tov had given undue priority to the latter over the former. As Tov makes abundantly clear in the book, this criticism is unwarranted and unjustified, given the focus of the present study.

The standard advice for someone wishing to come to terms with a new book is to study the table of contents. Nowhere is that advice more important than in the present volume. The book is divided into nine chapters of unequal length: chapter 1, "Introduction" (20 pp.); chapter 2, "Textual Witnesses of the Bible" (134 pp.); chapter 3, "The History of the Biblical Text" (43 pp.); chapter 4, "The Copying and Transmitting of the Biblical Text" (87 pp.); chapter 5, "The Aim and Procedures of Textual Criticism" (5 pp.); chapter 6, "The Evaluation of Readings" (19 pp.); chapter 7, "Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism" (37 pp.); chapter 8, "Conjectural Emendation" (19 pp.); and chapter 9, "Critical Editions" (8 pp.). Thirty plates are included, along with separate lists of ancient sources, authors, and subjects.

The sequence of chapters is interesting. In contrast to Tov's previous volume, the nature of what constitutes textual criticism is not explored until chapter 5. Seen in this light, the first four chapters lay out the evidence, and the next four evaluate it—a felicitous arrangement. Chapter 2 is the heart of the first section. It is gratifying to see the evident depth, comprehensiveness and evenhanded approach. One of the dangers inherent in the undertaking is the temptation to give undue emphasis to one area over another, such as the impact of the Masoretes upon the Hebrew text. This Tov has assiduously avoided.

On the other hand, Tov addresses one of the greatest and most pressing needs in the field: the integration of the DSS material into the current discussion. He is eminently qualified to do this, since he is, among other things, currently editor-in-chief of the DSS publication project. His presentation of the evidence is comprehensive and his evaluation in depth.

Apart from the sheer physical weight of the volume, two other characteristics are clearly in evidence even to the casual observer: the illustration of every aspect by numerous examples throughout the book, and the extensive bibliographies at the beginning of each major section which make a separate bibliography at the end of the book unnecessary.

With the publication of this volume, some will wonder if Tov has not in some way lost contact with his roots, since it was for his work in Septuagintal studies that he was first and best known to the scholarly world. Should this be the case, there is more than a touch of irony. It was the discovery of the DSS that brought the LXX back into prominence just when it seemed doomed to oblivion. Will the source of the rejuvenation be its demise? Personally, I think not.

One can but envy students of the Hebrew Bible who enter their studies after the publication of this volume. The amount of work previously necessary to begin to pull together a basic awareness of all the topics covered in this single volume gives some idea of how much scholarship Tov has packed into this book. No serious student of the OT text can afford to be without it.

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AUSS STYLE GUIDELINES

General Information

All articles submitted for publication must conform to *AUSS* guidelines as presented here. Submissions that do not conform to *AUSS* style may be returned to the author for corrections. A manuscript should be submitted in what the author intends to be its final form, and the text of the article must represent an original study that has not been published previously or submitted to other journals concurrently with the submission to *AUSS*.

AUSS publishes research articles and brief notes on the following topics: biblical archaeology and history of antiquity; Old and New Testaments; church history of all periods; historical, biblical and systematic theology; science and religion; ethics; history of religions; and missiology. Selected research articles on ministry and Christian education will also be published.

AUSS accepts articles written by authors of different religious persuasions. However, the focus of the journal, as that of the Andrews University Theological Seminary where *AUSS* is based, is biblical. A high regard for Scripture, along with elevated standards of research, characterizes the choice of articles.

Since *AUSS* is a refereed journal, each article is read by at least two and normally three scholars who are competent in the area treated in the article. Referees' comments that the *AUSS* editors feel will be helpful in doing any necessary rewriting will be sent to the author in full or in summarized form. After revising the manuscript, the author

may submit it to *AUSS* for reconsideration. To maintain objectivity, the author's name is deleted from the manuscript copies sent to the referees, and the referees' names are deleted from any comments furnished to the author. A final decision on whether or not the article will be published in *AUSS* is made by the editors.

Articles submitted to *AUSS* in English must conform to acceptable English language standards. American spelling and punctuation will be used in editing. Authors are asked to use inclusive gender language, such as "humanity" rather than "mankind"; "person" or "human being" rather than "man."

Except for the specific instructions given below, the directives of *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) are followed. In matters of style, authors should follow Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*, 5th ed. by Bonnie Birtwistle Honigsblum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). For spelling, the authority is *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1986).

AUSS prefers short articles of about 20-25 typewritten pages, including footnotes. Both the main text and footnotes are to be double-spaced. Occasionally longer articles may be accepted, if they are particularly significant and space is available in the journal. When the *AUSS* editors deem that an article needs to be substantially shortened, they will return the manuscript to the author, with instructions regarding the required cutting. Short scholarly notes are especially welcome.

To meet the requirements of the journal's content and style, the editors of *AUSS* reserve the right to make modifications as needed. Authors of articles edited for publication will receive a set of first page proofs. These are to be read carefully, checked against the original manuscript, corrected, and returned promptly. At this time, authors will be sent the copyright release form, which they will sign and return.

Once the journal has been published, *AUSS* sends offprints to the authors. Article authors will receive ten copies of their article. Book-review authors will receive two copies of their reviews while the book's publisher will also receive two copies.

Book Reviews

Books in the areas of *AUSS* interest are assigned for review by the book-review editor. A person interested in reviewing a book should contact the book-review editor. Recommendations of books for review are welcome. A review should summarize the main content of the book and provide a critique, the latter usually being given the larger amount of space. Brief reference to the author's background and qualifications is also useful.

The review should be critical, in the sense that it is evaluative. Comparisons with other books on the same or similar topics, as well as other works by the same author, and the place of the book in its special context, should be noted. Reviews must maintain courteous language, free from invectives of any kind.

Book reviews should be two to three double-spaced pages in length. In exceptional cases the editors may request a longer review, but normally reviews longer than four pages will be returned to the author for revision.

In *AUSS* book reviews, footnotes are not to be used; any needed references are to be incorporated into the text in parentheses. Any quotations from the book should be short and followed by the exact page reference in parentheses.

Form of the Manuscript

General Instructions

Manuscripts for articles and reviews should be submitted in the most readable form possible. They should be double spaced (including footnotes and indented quotations), typescript, on white letter-size paper. At least one inch of margin should be allowed on all four edges of the paper. The right margin of the text is not to be justified; the appearance will be "ragged."

Original typewriting, clear photocopies, and computer printing are acceptable. Authors are requested to use a new ribbon in the typewriter or printer. Either letter-quality or laser printing is requested.

Authors who have prepared their work on a computer are requested to submit together with the printed copy of the article an electronic copy on computer diskette. *AUSS* prefers WordPerfect, but can use

filesmade with other word-processing programs. Diskettes may be 3.5 or 5.25 inches.

The author's name should appear on a separate title page. Referees are not to be influenced by knowing the identity of an author.

Tables, charts, or diagrams to be used in the article should be prepared on separate pages. These should be large enough for easy reading yet no larger than 8.5 by 11 inches. Photographs should be black and white and very clear. They should be at least 5 by 7 inches in size for full-page reproduction and 4 by 6 inches for half-page reproduction. The place where these items are to be inserted in the text should be clearly marked (e.g., "insert table 3 here").

Quotations

Respect for accuracy in verbatim quotation demands that the spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations of the original be reproduced exactly, even if they differ from the style of this journal. In quoting or citing an author, care must be taken to correctly represent the intent of that author.

Indented quotations in the manuscript are to be double spaced. When printed, however, quotations of five or more lines will be printed as a separate indented paragraph, using a smaller type size. These indented quotations have no opening or closing quotation marks.

Citations

Titles of biblical books should be abbreviated according to the list below. No period is used following the abbreviation; a colon is used between chapter and verse. Biblical references should be placed in parentheses in the text of the article, rather than in footnotes or endnotes.

Citations of classical and patristic literature (other than those listed in these guidelines) should follow the Turabian style. *AUSS* prefers to use the English names of these writings; however, Latin names may be used if the author has a special reason to do so. In any case, usage must be consistent. Numbering of books, chapters, and paragraphs of these works should be that of the Loeb Classical Library. Periods are used to separate the parts of classical and patristic writings.

In an article which contains many short references to such sources the references may be given in parentheses as are biblical references. For example:

> Thus, Clement of Rome reminded the Corinthians that the Lord must come back soon (1 *Clem.* 23); the *Didache* (16.3-8) is rich with the eschatological vocabulary of Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians; and Ignatius of Antioch wrote that "the last times are come upon us" (*Eph.* 11).

Footnotes

Articles presented in WordPerfect computer printout may use the automatic footnote option with consecutive numeration. If the article is typed or computer-composed using other wordprocessing programs, consecutively numbered endnotes may be used. Under exceptional circumstances, a manuscript which employs another system of reference may be accepted.

As far as possible, there should be only one note for any given sentence. Placed at the end of the sentence, the note may contain multiple references.

When a note comments on some issue and includes a bibliographical reference, this reference should be set in parentheses and, if at all possible, at the end of the sentence. Example: But C. C. Torrey thinks that the name Cyrus has been interpolated in Isa 45:1 ("The Messiah Son of Ephraim," *JBL* [1947]: 253).

Reference Style

The style set forth in Turabian and *The Chicago Manual of Style* is used. The publisher, place of publication, and date of publication must be included in the first mention of a book.

> T. R. Henn, *The Bible as Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 9-15.

A reference to a periodical includes the title, volume, date, and page of the article.

> M. Ginsburger, "La 'Chaise de Moise,'" *Revue des Études Juives* 90 (1931): 161-165.

Two-letter postal codes should be used for states in the United States. For example: Berrien Springs, MI.

In order to save space, the publisher's name should be given as compactly as possible. For example: "Wm. B. Eerdmans" becomes "Eerdmans." Words such as "Company," "Publishers," and "Verlag" are omitted. "Press" is retained when connected to a university. Example: University of Chicago Press. For the sake of clarity, some publisher's names cannot be shortened; for example, "Southern Publishing Association" cannot safely be shortened beyond "Southern Pub." or "Southern Publishing."

The use of the abbreviations for monographs, series, and journals given at the end of these guidelines and on the back cover of *AUSS* does away with the need for publication data.

E. Lohse, "*Pentekostē*," *TDNT*, 6:44-53.

Abbreviations of titles of journals and books are italicized (underlined in the manuscript). Those for titles of series are neither italicized nor placed within quotation marks.

Biblical languages

If an article is submitted in WordPerfect, Greek and Hebrew words may appear in the text (using WordPerfect fonts or programs such as Scripture Fonts). Otherwise, the biblical languages should be transliterated according to the scheme given below. Ancient nonbiblical languages or modern languages not using roman script should be transliterated. *AUSS* does not have the capability to typeset languages other than Greek and Hebrew. We will, however, gladly accept camera-ready ten-point script for inclusion in the article.

Greek accents are not indicated. Greek long vowels are shown as ē and ō. The *upsilon* is transliterated with a "y." The "rough breathing" is indicated by the letter "h".

For Hebrew transliteration, the diacritical marks should be clearly readable. They may be computer-generated or carefully added in black ink. Apostrophes are not to be used to represent the *'aleph* or *'ayin*.

The transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic is to be done according to the following chart. No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

Consonants

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

Masoretic Vowel Pointings

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

Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

Commonly recognized abbreviations for English versions of the Bible are used without periods: NIV, RSV, NEB, etc. Abbreviations for the metric system (cm, kg, km, etc.) and those in the following list are to be used, both in the main text and in references, without periods:

HB	Hebrew Bible	OT	Old Testament
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)	QL	Qumran Literature
MT	Masoretic Text	LXX	Septuagint
NT	New Testament	VL	Vetus Latina
OL	Old Latin		

Reference Abbreviations

The following terms are to be abbreviated in footnotes and parenthetical references, but should be spelled out when they occur in the text.

chap(s).	chapter(s)	Heb	Hebrew language
col(s).	column(s)	n(n).	note(s)
frg(s).	fragment(s)	pl(s).	plate(s)
Gk	Greek language	Vg	Vulgate

The term "page(s)" is spelled out when it occurs in the text without a number; it is abbreviated (p[p].) when it occurs in the text with a number, and is normally omitted from parenthetical references and footnotes.

The term "verse(s)" is spelled out when it occurs in the text without a number; it is abbreviated wherever it occurs followed by a number.

Other usual abbreviations may be used (see the lists in *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14.32-36). Instead of *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and *art. cit.*, the author's surname is given. If more than one work by an author is cited in the article, second and later references to the work should give the author's surname plus a shortened form of the title of the item cited. Exact pages should be given, rather than "f." or "ff." for "following" pages.

Abbreviations of Biblical and Apocryphal Books

The following abbreviations are to be used with chapter or chapter and verse. When the name of the book is used without chapter and verse, it should be written in full.

Gen	Cant	1-2-3-4 Kgdms	Luke
Exod	Isa		John
Lev	Jer	Add Esth	Acts
Num	Lam	Bar	Rom
Deut	Ezek	Bel	1-2 Cor
Josh	Dan	1-2 Esdr	Gal
Judg	Hos	4 Ezra	Eph
Ruth	Joel	Jdt	Phil
1-2 Sam	Amos	Ep Jer	Col
1-2 Kgs	Obad	1-2-3-4 Macc	1-2 Thess
1-2 Chron	Jonah	Pr Azar	1-2 Tim
Ezra	Mic	Pr Man	Titus
Neh	Nah	Sir	Phlm
Esth	Hab	Sus	Heb
Job	Zeph	Tob	Jas
Ps(s)	Hag	Wis	1-2 Pet
Prov	Zech	Matt	1-2-3 John
Eccl	Mal	Mark	Jude
			Rev

Abbreviations of Pseudepigraphical and Early Patristic Books

Adam and Eve	*Books of Adam and Eve*
2-3 Apoc. Bar.	Syriac, Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch*
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*
As. Mos	*Assumption of Moses*
1-2-3 Enoch	Ethiopic, Slavonic, Hebrew *Enoch*
Ep. Arist.	*Epistle of Aristeas*
Jub.	*Jubilees*
Mart. Isa.	*Martyrdom of Isaiah*
Odes Sol.	*Odes of Solomon*
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
T. 12 Patr.	*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*

T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin*, etc.
Acts Pil.	*Acts of Pilate*
Apoc. Pet.	*Apocalypse of Peter*
Gos. Eb.	*Gospel of the Ebionites*
Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians*
Gos. Heb.	*Gospel of the Hebrews*
Gos. Naass.	*Gospel of the Naassenes*
Gos. Pet.	*Gospel of Peter*
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel of Thomas*
Prot. Jas.	*Protoevangelium of James*
Barn.	*Barnabas*
1-2 Clem.	*1-2 Clement*
Did.	*Didache*
Diogn.	*Diognetus*
Herm. Man.	*Hermas, Mandate(s)*
Herm. Sim.	*Hermas, Similitude(s)*
Herm. Vis.	*Hermas, Vision(s)*
Ign. *Eph.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Ephesians*
Ign. *Magn.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Magnesians*
Ign. *Phld.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Philadelphians*
Ign. *Pol.*	Ignatius, *Letter to Polycarp*
Ign. *Rom.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Romans*
Ign. *Smyrn.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*
Ign. *Trall.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Trallians*
Mart. Pol.	*Martyrdom of Polycarp*
Pol. *Phil.*	Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*
Bib. Ant.	Pseudo-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*

Abbreviations of Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

CD	Cairo (Genizah text) of the *Damascus* (*Document*)
Ḥev	Naḥal Ḥever texts
8 Ḥev XIIgr	Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever
Mas	Masada texts
MasShirShabb	*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* or *Angelic Liturgy* from Masada
Mird	Khirbet Mird texts
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at texts
p	Pesher (commentary)
1Q, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, yielding written material; followed by abbreviation of specific item
QL	Qumran literature
1QapGen	*Genesis Apocryphon* of Qumran Cave 1
1QH	*Hôdāyôt (Thanksgiving Hymns)* from Qumran Cave 1
1QIsa^{a,b}	First or second copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1
1QpHab	*Pesher on Habakkuk* from Qumran Cave 1
1QM	*Milḥāmāh (War Scroll)*

1QS	*Serek hayyaḥad (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline)*
1QSa	Appendix A *(Rule of the Congregation)* to IQS
1QSb	Appendix B *(Blessings)* to 1QS
3Q15	*Copper Scroll* from Qumran Cave 3
4QFlor	*Florilegium* (or *Eschatological Midrashim*) from Qumran Cave 4
4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text from Qumran Cave 4
4QMMT	*Miqsat Ma'aseh Torah* from Qumran Cave 4
4QPhyl	Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4
4QPrNab	*Prayer of Nabonidus* from Qumran Cave 4
4QPssJosh	*Psalms of Joshua* from Qumran Cave 4
4QShirShabb	*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, or *Angelic Liturgy* from Qumran Cave 4
4QTestim	*Testimonia* text from Qumran Cave 4
4QTLevi	*Testament of Levi* from Qumran Cave 4
11QMelch	*Melchizedek* text from Qumran Cave 11
11QShirShabb	*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, or *Angelic Liturgy* from Qumran Cave 11
11QTemple	*Temple Scroll* from Qumran Cave 11
11QpaleoLev	Copy of Leviticus in paleo-Hebrew script from Qumran Cave 11
11QtgJob	*Targum of Job* from Qumran Cave 11

Abbreviations of Targumic Material

The abbreviation tg(s). represents targum(s). The name of the targum may also be abbreviated: *Tg. Onq.* = *Targum Onqelos*. When used with chapter and verse number the citation reads: *Tg. Onq.* Gen 1:3-4.

Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onqelos*	*Tg. Neof.*	*Targum Neofiti*
Tg. Neb.	*Targum of the Prophets*	*Tg. Ps.-J.*	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
Tg. Ket.	*Targum of the Writings*	*Tg. Yer. I*	*Targum Yerušalmi I*
Frg.Tg.	*Fragmentary Targum*	*Tg. Yer.II*	*Targum Yerušalmi II*
Sam. Tg.	*Samaritan Targum*	*Yem. Tg.*	*Yemenite Targum*
Tg. Isa.	*Targum of Isaiah*	*Tg. Esth. I*	*First Targum of Esther*
Pal. Tgs.	*Palestinian Targums*	*Tg. Esth. II*	*Second Targum of Esther*

Abbreviations of Mishnaic and Rabbinic Literature

The following are the abbreviations and accepted spellings of the names of the tractates of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Babylonian or Jerusalem Talmud. The abbreviations, as well as the tractates, are italicized (underlined). Differentiation between Mishnah and Babylonian Talmud is made by the manner of writing chapter and verse: *Ber.* 8:2 (Mishnah) and *Sabb.* 31a (Babylonian Talmud). A letter t., placed before the tractate, indicates Tosefta; the y. (or j.) indicates Jerusalem Talmud.

ʾAbot	*ʾAbot*
ʿArak.	*ʿArakin*
ʿAbod. Zar.	*ʿAboda Zara*
B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
Bek.	*Bekorot*
Ber.	*Berakot*
Beṣa	*Beṣa (= Yom Ṭob)*
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
B. Meṣ.	*Baba Meṣiʿa*
B. Qam.	*Baba Qamma*
Dem.	*Demai*
ʿErub.	*ʿErubin*
ʿEd.	*ʿEduyyot*
Git.	*Gittin*
Ḥag.	*Ḥagiga*
Ḥal.	*Ḥalla*
Hor.	*Horayot*
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin*
Kelim	*Kelim*
Ker.	*Keritot*
Ketub.	*Ketubot*
Kil.	*Kilʾayim*
Maʿaś	*Maʿaśerot*
Mak.	*Makkot*
Makš.	*Makširin (= Mašqin)*
Meg.	*Megilla*
Meʿil.	*Meʿila*
Menaḥ.	*Menaḥot*
Mid.	*Middot*
Miqw.	*Miqwaʾot*
Moʿed.	*Moʿed*
Moʿed Qat.	*Moʿed Qatan*
Maʿaś Š.	*Maʿaśer Šeni*
Našim	*Našim*
Nazir	*Nazir*
Ned.	*Nedarim*
Neg.	*Negaʿim*
Nez.	*Neziqin*
Nid.	*Niddah*
Oholot	*Oholot*
ʿOr.	*ʿOrla*
Para	*Para*
Peʾa	*Peʾa*
Pesaḥ	*Pesaḥim*
Qinnim	*Qinnim*
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
Qod.	*Qodašin*
Roš Haš.	*Roš Haššana*
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
Šabb.	*Šabbat*
Šeb.	*Šebiʿit*
Šebu.	*Šebuʿot*
Šeqal.	*Šeqalim*
Sota	*Sota*
Sukk.	*Sukka*
Taʿan.	*Taʿanit*
Tamid	*Tamid*
Tem.	*Temura*
Ter.	*Terumot*
Ṭohar.	*Ṭoharot*
Ṭ. Yom	*Ṭebul Yom*
ʿUq.	*ʿUqṣin*
Yad.	*Yadayim*
Yebam.	*Yebamot*
Yoma	*Yoma (=Kippurim)*
Zabim	*Zabim*
Zebaḥ.	*Zebaḥim*
Zer.	*Zeraʿim*

Abbreviations of Nag Hammadi Tractates

Acts Pet. 12 Apost.	*Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*
Allogenes	*Allogenes*
Ap. Jas.	*Apocryphon of James*
Ap. John	*Apocryphon of John*
Apoc. Adam	*Apocalypse of Adam*
1 Apoc. Jas.	*First Apocalypse of James*
2 Apoc. Jas.	*Second Apocalypse of James*
Apoc. Paul	*Apocalypse of Paul*
Apoc. Pet.	*Apocalypse of Peter*
Asclepius	*Asclepius 21-29*
Auth. Teach.	*Authoritative Teaching*
Dial. Sav.	*Dialogue of the Saviour*
Disc. 8-9	*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*
Ep. Pet. Phil.	*Letter of Peter to Philip*
Eugnostos	*Eugnostos the Blessed*
Exeg. Soul	*Exegesis on the Soul*

Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians*
Gos. Phil.	*Gospel of Philip*
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel of Thomas*
Gos. Truth	*Gospel of Truth*
Great Pow.	*Concept of Our Great Power*
Hyp. Arch.	*Hypostasis of the Archons*
Hypsiph.	*Hypsiphrone*
Interp.Know.	*Interpretation of Knowledge*
Marsanes	*Marsanes*
Melch.	*Melchizedek*
Norea	*Thought of Norea*
On Bap. A	*On Baptism A*
On Bap. B	*On Baptism B*
On Bap. C	*On Baptism C*
On Euch. A	*On the Eucharist A*
On Euch. B	*On the Eucharist B*
Orig. World	*On the Origin of the World*
Paraph. Shem	*Paraphrase of Shem*
Pr. Thanks.	*Prayer of Thanksgiving*
Pr. Paul	*Prayer of the Apostle Paul*
Sent. Sext.	*Sentences of Sextus*
Soph. Jes. Chr.	*Sophia of Jesus Christ*
Steles Seth	*Three Steles of Seth*
Teach. Silv.	*Teachings of Silvanus*
Testim. Truth	*Testimony of Truth*
Thom. Cont.	*Book of Thomas the Contender*
Thund.	*Thunder, Perfect Mind*
Treat. Res.	*Treatise on Resurrection*
Treat. Seth	*Second Treatise of the Great Seth*
Tri. Trac.	*Tripartite Tractate*
Trim. Prot.	*Trimorphic Protennoia*
Val. Exp.	*A Valentinian Exposition*
Zost.	*Zostrianos*

Abbreviations of Commonly Used Periodicals

Reference works and serials titles not found in this list must be written out in full. Titles of journals and books are italicized (hence underlined), but titles of serials are set in roman characters, as are acronyms of authors' names when they are used as sigla

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AcOr	Acta orientalia
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCSR	*Bulletin of the Council on the Study of Religion*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CT	*Christianity Today*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CurTM	*Currents in Theology. and Mission*
DOTT	*Documents from OT Times,* Thomas, ed.
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
EncIs	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HR	*History of Religions*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*

ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Dictionary*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the NT*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRT	*Journal of Religions Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LW	Luther's Work, American Ed.
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of NT Theology*
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*

NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAp	*NT Apocrypha,* Schneemelcher
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTP	*OT Pseudepigrapha,* Charlesworth
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca,* Migne
PL	*Patrologia Latina,* Migne
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RB	*Revue biblique*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
SA	*Sociological Analysis*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem	*Semitica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT	*Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*

SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT*
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday	*Theology Today*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the OT*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT	*Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistegeschichte*
ZST	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.*	*CH*	*Church History*
AB	Anchor Bible	*CHR*	*Catholic Historical Review*
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*	*CIG*	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*	*CIJ*	*Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*
ADAJ	*Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan*	*CIL*	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
AHR	*American Historical Review*	*CIS*	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*	*CJT*	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*	*CQ*	*Church Quarterly*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures*	*CQR*	*Church Quarterly Review*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*	*CT*	*Christianity Today*
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers	*CTJ*	*Calvin Theological Journal*
AnOr	Analecta orientalia	*CTM*	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
ANRW	*Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt*	*CurTM*	*Currents in Theol. and Mission*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*	*DOTT*	*Doc. from OT Times*, Thomas, ed.
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*	*EDNT*	*Exegetical Dict. of the NT*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*	*EKL*	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*	*EncIs*	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*	*EncJud*	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*	*ER*	*Ecumenical Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research*	*EvQ*	*Evangelical Quarterly*
BCSR	*Bull. Council on the Study of Religion*	*EvT*	*Evangelische Theologie*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*	*ExpTim*	*Expository Times*
Bib	*Biblica*	*GRBS*	*Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge	*GTJ*	*Grace Theological Journal*
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society*	*HeyJ*	*Heythrop Journal*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands University*	*HR*	*History of Religions*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*	*HTR*	*Harvard Theological Review*
BKAT	Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament	*HUCA*	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*	*IB*	*Interpreter's Bible*
BR	*Biblical Research*	ICC	International Critical Commentary
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*	*IDB*	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
BT	*The Bible Translator*	*IEJ*	*Israel Exploration Journal*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*	*Int*	*Interpretation*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*	*ISBE*	*International Standard Bible Dict.*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*	*JAAR*	*Journ. American Academy of Religion*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*	*JAOS*	*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*	*JAS*	*Journ. of Asian Studies*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*	*JBL*	*Journal of Biblical Literature*

Abbreviations (cont.)

JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the NT*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRT	*Journal of Religions Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT
NIDNTT	*New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.*
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAp	*NT Apocrypha*, Schneemelcher
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
ODCC	*Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTP	*OT Pseudepigrapha*, Charlesworth
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, Migne
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, Migne
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*
QDAP	*Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RechSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RSPT	*Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RTP	*Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SA	*Sociological Analysis*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem	*Semitica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT	*Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought*
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theol. Dict. of the NT*
TDOT	*Theol. Dict. of the OT*
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday	*Theology Today*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWOT	*Theol. Wordbook of the OT*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.*
ZDMG	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesell.*
ZDPV	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT	*Zeitsch. für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie*
ZMR	*Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.*
ZNW	*Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wissen.*
ZRGG	*Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistegeschichte*
ZST	*Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie*