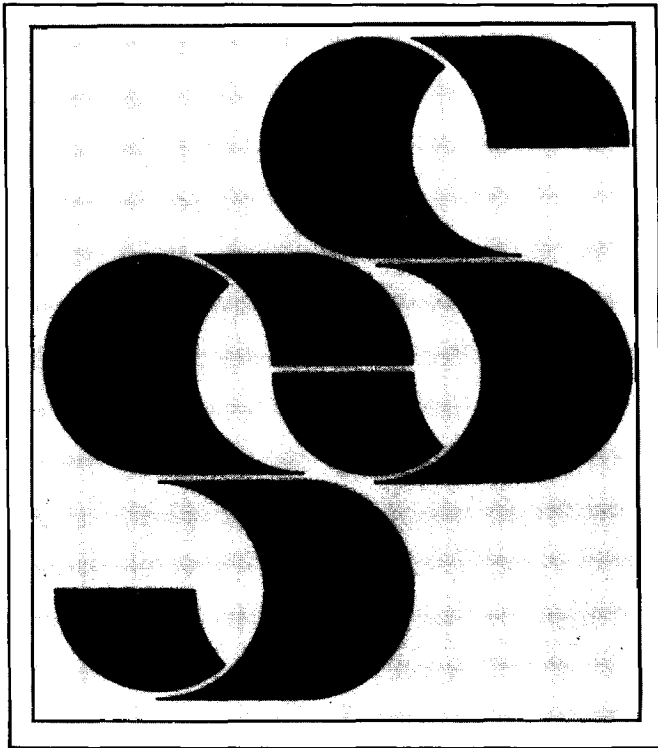


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CHURCH DISCIPLINE OR CIVIL PUNISHMENT: ON THE ORIGINS OF THE REFORMED SCHISM, 1528-1531

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The question of the proper relationship between the church and the civil magistracy in the Christian community was one of the significant issues brought to the fore by the Protestant Reformation. The problem was a legacy of the challenge to papal supremacy by several late medieval theorists, the most notable of whom, Marsilius of Padua, gave complete sovereignty in the Christian community to the civil authority. A second and related late medieval development was the tendency in the imperial cities to view the Christian city in corporate terms, thus identifying the church with the civil community, and giving complete control of the Christian city to the civil magistrates.¹ This trend toward magisterial supremacy was intensified as a result of the Reformation.

In the Swiss Confederation, several city governments had already, prior to the Reformation, partially imposed their wills over the churches under their jurisdiction. With the advent of the Reformation, the magistrates of these cities acted swiftly to institutionalize their control by abolishing the old ecclesiastical discipline and substituting for it a civil discipline. They had few qualms about extending their authority over church and clergy. The first such institutionalization took place at Zurich when the council, in 1525, created the *Ehegericht*, or marriage court, which in time became a true morals court. It was a magisterial court, not an ecclesiastical tribunal. In Zurich, church discipline thus became

¹For Marsilius, see Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace*, vol. 1: *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy* (New York, 1951); for the process in the imperial cities, see Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Gütersloh, 1962).

civil punishment under the authority of the Christian magistracy.² Similar systems of discipline were adopted by other Swiss states, such as Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen, as they became Reformed cities in the late 1520s.

This institutionalization of magisterial discipline did not occur without controversy. Throughout much of the sixteenth century there was a continuing conflict within the Reformed churches between two parties advocating two distinctive approaches to discipline. Two vital issues were involved in this controversy. First, there was the late medieval question of who should control discipline in the Christian community: Should it be the church, or should it be the magistracy? This issue largely pertained to the development of public policy and the wielding of political power; at stake was the matter of who exercised decisive social control. The second question related more directly to Reformation theology: What should be the definition of the nature of the church and the consequent relationship of the church to civil society?

The present essay is devoted to an analysis of the origins of the split in the Reformed mind over the matter of discipline in the thought of Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger, on the one hand, and Johannes Oecolampadius, on the other hand. The model of church polity and discipline developed in Zurich by Zwingli and especially by Bullinger was perfectly in tune both with the theoretical developments of the later Middle Ages exemplified in the theory of Marsilius and with the actual assumption of power over the church by the civil governments. The system advocated by Oecolampadius in Basel, however, cut directly across these late medieval lines with its insistence on the essential independence of the church from the civil magistrate in matters of discipline and polity.

1. *Zwingli's Concept of Christian Discipline*

Zwingli was the originator of the first Reformed concept of Christian discipline. He clearly presented his mature point of view

²For the 1525 statute, see Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531): Selected Works* (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 118-122. For a study of the court, see Walther Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, 1: *Das Zürcher Ehegericht und seine Auswirkung in der deutschen Schweiz zur Zeit Zwinglis* (Leipzig, 1932).

as an advocate of magisterial discipline in a remarkable letter of May 4, 1528,³ to Ambrosius Blarer of Constance. Blarer had written Zwingli to present the objections of Lutherans, Anabaptists, and Catholics in Constance to the *ius reformandi* of the magistracy and to ask for Zwingli's own opinion on the right of the magistrate to effect reform and to rule over the external affairs of the church. Zwingli's reply was a short treatise on the topic of Christian discipline. He based his theory on the conviction that the church and civil community formed a single corporate entity under the complete authority of the Christian magistrate.

Zwingli cast his entire argument in opposition to Luther's dictum, "Christ's kingdom is not external," which Zwingli equated with the Anabaptist position on the relationship of the magistracy to the church. On the basis of the internal nature of Christ's kingdom, then, Luther denied that the magistrate could involve himself, as a magistrate, in matters of religion.⁴ Zwingli countered with the assertion that "Christ's kingdom is *also* external."⁵ In building

³Emil Egli, et al., eds., *Huldrych Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, Leipzig, Zürich, 1905-), 9:451-467 (hereinafter cited as *ZW*). Some feel that Zwingli originally took a position advocating discipline in the hands of independent congregations, based on such evidence as Article XXXI of Zwingli's "Sixty-Seven Articles" of 1523; in Jackson, *Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531)*, p. 114. For this point of view, see Alfred Farner, *Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli* (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 15-18; but cf. Robert C. Walton, *Zwingli's Theocracy* (Toronto, 1967), p. 214, to the effect that Zwingli's point of view as stated in his letter to Blarer was "only a further elucidation of the position taken before 1523."

For a discussion of the situation in Constance that precipitated Blarer's request and of Zwingli's reply, see Bernd Moeller, *Johannes Zwick und die Reformation in Konstanz, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte*, 28 (hereinafter cited as *QFRG*) (Gütersloh, 1961), pp. 121-123; Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Konstanz von den Anfängen bis zum Abschluss 1531*, *QFRG* 40 (Gütersloh and Karlsruhe, 1971), pp. 74-75; and Fritz Blanke, "Zwingli mit Ambrosius Blarer im Gespräch," pp. 81-86 in *Der Konstanzer Reformator Ambrosius Blarer 1492-1564. Gedenkschrift zu seinem 400. Todestag*, ed. Bernd Moeller (Stuttgart, 1964).

⁴*regnum Christi non est externum*. *ZW*, 9:452 (cf. p. 466, lines 9-10). For an English translation of Zwingli's letter, see G. R. Potter, trans., "Church and State, 1528: A Letter from Zwingli to Ambrosius Blarer (4 May 1528)," *Occasional Papers of The American Society for Reformation Research*, 1 (Dec., 1977): 114-115. See also Hans Rudolf Lavater, "Regnum Christi etiam externum—Huldrych Zwinglis Brief vom 4. Mai 1528 an Ambrosius Blarer in Konstanz," *Zwingliana*, 15/5 (1981/1982): 338-381 (an annotated German translation of the letter is given on pp. 353-381).

⁵*ZW*, 9:454; see also Lavater, p. 359, n. 119.

his argument, Zwingli noted that the apostles abolished circumcision, clearly an external matter. Then, in case someone might reply that even though the apostles could legislate concerning such a matter as circumcision, the magistrate could not do so, Zwingli pointed out that the decision at the Council of Jerusalem had been made by the apostles and elders (Acts 15:6). He then proceeded to argue that the term "presbyter" in the NT referred both to ministers of the word and to lay elders, i.e., to men of substance "who in arranging and attending to affairs were to the church what the council is to the city." Appealing to Erasmus' translation of "πρεσβύτεροι" with "*seniores*," Zwingli argued that these elders of apostolic times were the equivalent of councilmen or magistrates in Zurich or Constance. Just as the elders made decisions for the church at the Council of Jerusalem, so the council of the Christian city should not hesitate to make decisions for the church.⁶

Zwingli thus defended the supremacy of the magistracy over all affairs in the commonwealth, including religion. Even though he did not deal directly with the classic locus on discipline and excommunication (Matt 18:15-18), it is clear that "Tell it to the church" (vs. 17) meant, for Zwingli, "Tell it to the magistracy." He opposed any separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and therefore viewed the *Ehegericht* as a magisterial rather than an ecclesiastical court. Furthermore, he clearly identified the church assembly with the civil community. For him, these were but a single corporate entity. In his letter to Blarer, in direct opposition to the viewpoint of Luther and the Anabaptists, Zwingli wrote: "I think that the Christian man is to the church what the good citizen is to the city." And even more clearly, at a later time, he insisted: "The Christian man is nothing other than the faithful and good citizen; the Christian city is nothing other than the Christian church."⁷ This view of Christian society led Zwingli to place in the hands of the Christian magistracy all disciplinary authority, including the imposition of excommunication, if it was to be used at all. Since there was but one example of excommunication in the NT (1 Cor 5), Zwingli felt that only the most flagrant sinner could be banned from the

⁶ZW, 9:456.

⁷Ibid., p. 466, and 14:424.

Eucharist. There was no thought on Zwingli's part that either the church or the Supper was in any way polluted when sinners participated in the Eucharist.⁸ For Zwingli, then, the church was in every way equivalent to Christian society, and the individual Christian was to be equated with the citizen. The purpose of discipline was to check evident evil in the community—to check crime and disorder in the Christian city—, not to create a pure church. This was the origin of the first Reformed position on Christian discipline.

2. *Oecolampadius' Approach to Christian Discipline*

The second approach was first clearly defined by Oecolampadius in mid-1530, when he requested a new form of discipline from the Basel city council.⁹ Then, in late September he presented his plan again, at a meeting of the Christian Civic Union (*das Christliche Burgrecht*) at Aarau.¹⁰ He obviously felt that the system of civil discipline then in existence in Basel was ineffective and rested upon erroneous assumptions. The basis for his position was his conviction that the church and civil society were separate entities, that there was an essential difference between secular and ecclesiastical authority. Even though the church and civil society formed a single Christian commonwealth, Oecolampadius was certain that the church was nevertheless an independent community existing parallel with the civil community.¹¹ For instance, he said to the magistrates: "You give good and peace-loving citizens; the church produces pious and blameless Christians."¹² At Aarau he made his point even more succinctly when he stated that "there

⁸Ibid., 9:456, 466; Roger Ley, *Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli*, Quellen und Handlungen zur Geschichte des schweizerischen Protestantismus, 2 (Zürich, 1948), pp. 71-76, 103, 125.

⁹Ernst Staehelin, ed., *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, Bd. 2: 1527-1593, QFRG 19 (Leipzig, 1934), no. 750, pp. 448-461 (hereinafter cited as *Briefe und Akten*).

¹⁰Ibid., 2, no. 782, pp. 494-498.

¹¹Köhler, 1:284.

¹²*Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 750, p. 456.

is a great difference between secular power and ecclesiastical authority.”¹³ Given such distinctions, Oecolampadius felt that magisterial punishment was insufficient, inasmuch as the offender could still have fellowship at the Lord’s Supper. Therefore, the ban must be instituted under the control of the church.

Oecolampadius’ entire argument flowed from his understanding of Matt 18:15-18. Excommunication had been “instituted by the commandment of Christ.”¹⁴ Its use was not a matter of choice for the church. Christ himself had given the power of the keys to the church, the power to exclude the sinner from the church. To treat as a heathen and a publican meant to excommunicate. The church had used the ban from the very beginning (Acts 5; 1 Cor 5). There was no reason to neglect divine law, even though the papacy had abused excommunication and used it as an instrument of tyranny.¹⁵

Excommunication, then, was an absolute necessity for the church. Its general purpose was to keep the evil ones in check, to purify the church.¹⁶ To those who argued (like Zwingli) that peace and piety in a well-governed commonwealth came by means of civil law, Oecolampadius responded that, even when such laws were good and equitable, and even though “our magistracy is Christian,” the civil magistrate was often too distracted by secular matters to govern ecclesiastical matters well. But more to the point, excommunication, as a remedy for sin, was necessary in addition to civil punishment for crime. However, the ban must be exercised in love, for correction and spiritual edification, and only after several warnings, according to the rule of Christ in Matt 18. Despite Paul’s admonition in 1 Cor 5, even the most shameful sinner ought to be treated with love. As Oecolampadius put it, in order to avoid the very appearance of tyranny, “we prefer to follow the rule of Christ, rather than the example of Paul.”¹⁷ The purpose of excommunication was thus twofold: to purify the church as much as possible, and to amend the ways of the individual sinner.

¹³Ibid., 2, no. 782, p. 494.

¹⁴*excommunicationem . . . a Christo institutam*. Ibid., 2, no. 750, p. 451; *ecclesiae suam censuram ex instituto Christi iure*, p. 452.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 449, 450, 452, 456.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 449-450, 458.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 456-457.

Oecolampadius' plan for Basel incorporated one additional element—an ecclesiastical court made up of twelve censors or presbyters. These were to be holy and honest men, chosen from the pastors, the magistrates, and the people, and who, in behalf of the church, would judge sinners according to the law of Christ in Matt 18. After issuing proper warnings, this ecclesiastical court would excommunicate the sinner until he repented publicly, at which time he could be reconciled with the church. Thus, the same individual might well be answerable to two courts—to the magisterial tribunal, because he destroyed public honesty and peace; and to the church's court, because he profaned religion.¹⁸

Oecolampadius clearly felt that without such church discipline, the Reformed church was not fully reformed. At Aarau, he stated: "The papists and the Anabaptists revile us not without reason; we are not a Christian church, [for] we have no keys [with which] to lock up, nor any ban." Christ did not say to tell it "to the magistrate," but "to the church" (*gemein*). The Christian magistrate who refused to give the church its proper jurisdiction might well be thought of as "Antichrist" (*widerchristisch*).¹⁹ Therefore, as Oecolampadius charged the Basel magistrates, since "you are pure members of a pure church," do not neglect your duty.²⁰

Although Oecolampadius did not deny the power of civil discipline to the magistracy, he did insist, unlike Zwingli, that the civil and ecclesiastical communities were not identical. The magisterial court dealt with crime in the civil community; the new ecclesiastical court would deal with sin in the church by means of the ban, with the purpose of purifying the church as much as possible. Zwingli, on the other hand, saw only one corporate community and thus a single magisterial tribunal that punished crime. For Zwingli, the purpose of magisterial discipline was not to create a pure church, but to keep evil in check in the commonwealth: it was an instrument of social control.

3. *Dialogue Among the Swiss Reformers*

Oecolampadius' new plan for ecclesiastical discipline resulted in a dialogue among the Swiss Reformed churches over the issue.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 454, 456-457.

¹⁹Ibid., no. 782, pp. 494-495.

²⁰Ibid., no. 750, p. 458.

He attempted to enlist Zwingli's support, and Zwingli appears temporarily to have been at least partially persuaded by Oecolampadius.²¹ On June 23, 1530, Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli, rejoicing that opponents to the Reformation had been expelled from the council at Basel. He was confident that this action would soon lead to the introduction of the ecclesiastical ban, and that the church in Basel would thus be cleansed.²² In early September, Oecolampadius joined Capito and Megander in Zurich to meet with Zwingli. Among other items, the group discussed discipline and decided that the issue should be put on the agenda of the upcoming meeting of the Christian Civic Union at Aarau in late September.²³

About two weeks later, on September 17, Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli, rejoicing that Zwingli "approved" of his plan "to introduce, indeed to reestablish, excommunication or ecclesiastical discipline." Any magistrate who usurped this disciplinary authority that had been given to the church by Christ was "more intolerable than the Antichrist himself." Oecolampadius was quick to deny that he wished to exclude the magistrate from the church as the Anabaptists attempted to do. His meaning was that magisterial authority differed from ecclesiastical authority, and that often the magistrate had to compromise and do things, such as tolerate Jews, that impeded evangelical purity. An enclosed copy of his June address to the Basel council would fully clarify his position. He fervently hoped that Zwingli could obtain support from the Zurich council in the form of a letter to the Basel council.²⁴ There is also proof from Zwingli's own pen that he was favorably inclined toward Oecolampadius' plan. On September 22 he wrote to Vadian at St. Gall: "Recently when we were gathered together [at Zurich] we discussed excommunication. Oecolampadius presented a plan that at the time did not very much please the brothers; but it appeals to

²¹Staehelin seems to be the only scholar who has noticed this. *Ibid.*, no. 778, p. 490, n. 6; no. 780, p. 492, n. 3.

²²*ZW*, 10, no. 1049, pp. 642-643.

²³Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*, QFRG 21 (Leipzig, 1939), p. 514; *Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 774, p. 486.

²⁴*ZW*, 11, no. 1096, pp. 129-131; cf. *Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 778, pp. 489-491.

me more and more. I will now refer a summary of our opinion in that assembly to the council of the cities [at Aarau]."²⁵

It seems clear that Zwingli was at least open to the plan of Oecolampadius. He did not, however, have the opportunity to submit the idea at the meeting at Aarau. The Zurich council admitted in a letter to the Basel council that the ideas of Oecolampadius on discipline were "not repugnant to our preacher [Zwingli]." Nevertheless, the Zurich council itself was opposed, and Zwingli would not be permitted to attend the meeting at Aarau.²⁶ After the meeting, Oecolampadius wrote on September 27 to Zwingli: "I went to Aarau; I was heard most patiently; I explained the matter *as you wished*."²⁷

Zwingli's attitude mystified some of his friends. Berchtold Haller, writing from Bern on October 5, praised Bern's solution to the problem of discipline. The system in Bern was nearly identical with that in Zurich. The marriage court in Bern received its authority from the magistracy; and it both punished in the name of the magistracy and admonished and excommunicated in the name of the church. There was in Haller's mind but a single corporate body, and he could not understand what might be gained with the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical court.²⁸ Zwingli, a few days later in a letter to Vadian (October 13), seems to have begun to cool towards the plan of Oecolampadius. Rather than pleasing him "more and more," as in his letter to Vadian three weeks earlier, now he wrote that "it does not displease me greatly."²⁹ Then, on October 19, Bucer wrote to Zwingli, expressing concern that Zwingli favored such an ecclesiastical court that inevitably would impede

²⁵ZW, 11, no. 1101, p. 146. Ley, p. 80, says that Zwingli approved only of submitting the plan to the Christian Civic Union at Aarau, not of the plan itself.

²⁶*Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 780, p. 492.

²⁷ZW, 11, no. 1106, p. 158, italics added. (Original reads, *rem exposui, ut volebas*.) For a brief account of the events leading up to Aarau, of the meeting itself, and of the results, see Akira Demura, "Church Discipline According to Johannes Oecolampadius in the Setting of His Life and Thought" (Th.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1964), pp. 92-103.

²⁸ZW, 11, no. 1112, pp. 177-179.

²⁹*Ibid.*, no. 1115, p. 189.

the authority of the magistracy. Bucer also feared that such discipline as Oecolampadius wished to institute would be too harsh.³⁰

For whatever reason, because of the opposition of the Zürich magistrates or because of the disapproval of Haller and Bucer, Zwingli reverted to his previous position in an address to the St. Gall synod on December 22, 1530.³¹ The St. Gall pastor, Zili, presented an argument, based on the passage in Matt 18, for ecclesiastical discipline. Zwingli responded that the use of the ban in the hands of the church had been an emergency measure in NT times, when there had been no Christian governments; but when princes became Christian, then discipline again became the proper concern of the magistracy, as it had been during the age of the prophets. The church could take disciplinary power into its own hands only when the magistrate refused to perform his duty in checking evil. Then Zwingli interpreted Matt 18:17, "Tell it to the church," in the light of Exod 12, which he obviously considered to be the clearer text. Even though God commanded Moses to speak "to the entire congregation of Israel" (Exod 12:3), Moses actually addressed only the elders who had been placed over the people (Exod 12:21).³² Zwingli had returned to his interpretation of 1528: namely, that to tell it to the church meant to tell it to the elders, i.e., to the magistracy.

There were thus two distinctive positions by 1530 on the matter of discipline within Reformed Protestantism. Zwingli, although

³⁰*Ibid.*, no. 1118, p. 199. Ley does not accept this letter as Bucer's, arguing that it does not represent Bucer's view on discipline (*Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli*, pp. 82-83, n. 14). It seems clear, however, that in 1530 Bucer agreed with the Zürich point of view, only moving to the position of Oecolampadius in the later 1530s. For the relevant literature, see Demura, p. 104, n. 1. Recently, Jean Rott has listed this letter from Bucer to Zwingli, 19 October 1530, as a genuine Bucer letter: *Correspondance de Martin Bucer: Liste alphabétique des correspondants*, Association des Publications de la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université des Sciences humaines de Strasbourg, Bulletin No. 1 (Strasbourg, 1977), p. 94.

³¹The issue of excommunication had also come up at the meeting of the Zürich synod on October 25 and 26. See Emil Egli, ed., *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533* (Zürich, 1879), no. 1714, p. 734: "C.3. Excommunicatio: blibt noch uf den christenlichen mandaten," etc.

³²*Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 815, pp. 547-548. See also Emil Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria, 1: Dokumente und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Zwinglis und seiner Zeit* (Zürich, 1899), pp. 127-128, 514-516.

at times equivocal, tended to equate the civil and ecclesiastical communities and advocated only one tribunal, that of the magistrate, to punish crime (broadly defined). The purpose of discipline was to keep evil in check within the Christian community. Oecolampadius advocated excommunication in the hands of a separate ecclesiastical court that could deal only with sin, not with crime and matters of larger social policy. Thus his vision of the church was narrower: the church and the civil community were not identical, and the purpose of the ban was to purify the church as much as possible. Nor was this split in Reformed thinking resolved during the lifetimes of Oecolampadius and Zwingli.

It is true that at the next meeting of the Christian Civic Union, at Basel on November 16, 1530, the majority voted to allow each member city to make its own decision on how to handle discipline. Also less than a month later, on December 14, the Basel council introduced the church ban, although it was not exactly the plan of Oecolampadius that was enacted.³³ Nevertheless, the Zwinglian position continued to be the dominant point of view in Reformed circles. And during the last few months of his life, Zwingli found an effective and persuasive ally—Heinrich Bullinger, pastor at Bremgarten, and Zwingli's successor in Zurich in December 1531.

4. *Bullinger's Position on Christian Discipline*

While still pastor at Bremgarten, Bullinger found himself involved in the conflict. In July 1531, Haller wrote to Bullinger asking his views on discipline.³⁴ In his reply, Bullinger revealed himself to be more rigorous and consistent than Zwingli on the discipline issue. He made his position crystal clear at the outset: "I see excommunication to be nothing other than the public and Christian guarding of public virtue and Christian morals." He thus defined excommunication broadly to mean simply Christian discipline. Then he turned immediately to the question of who controlled discipline. The Anabaptists denied that the magistrate rightly exercised Christian discipline. Quoting Matt 18:17, they

³³*Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 800, pp. 527-528; nos. 809-810, pp. 536-541.

³⁴Haller's letter has been lost.

declared, "The magistrate is not the church."³⁵ Bullinger countered this argument by insisting that Christ used a synecdoche in Matt 18: If the magistracy was gathered in Christ's name (Matt 18:20), then it could and should act as the agent of the church in matters of discipline. The magistrate, as the minister of God (Rom 13), had the task of guarding the good and destroying the evil in the Christian community. Bullinger then used the same argument that Zwingli had employed six months earlier at St. Gall: Since Moses spoke only to the elders (Exod 12:21) and not to all Israel (Exod 12:3), "the power of excommunication is handed over to the holy council not by robbery, but piously."³⁶

Next, Bullinger broached the mode of excommunication. To those who argued that to treat a person "as a heathen" (Matt 18:17) meant to exclude the offender from fellowship, Bullinger replied: "In all such things Christ wished nothing else except that he who decided to live dishonorably after he had spurned friendly warnings should be publicly punished." To be "a heathen and a publican" was to be counted among the criminals and to be punished as such. This was also, according to Bullinger, Paul's meaning in 1 Cor 5—to deliver the offender to Satan for the destruction of the flesh was to punish physically. Therefore, the offender should first be warned by a close friend and then by two or three others. If he was still recalcitrant, he should be called before the overseers of excommunication (the *Ehegericht*), that is, before the magistrate. If this final warning was ignored, "let him pay the penalty. And this (according to the word of the Lord) is the method and limit of excommunication: punishment, I say, proclaimed and paid."³⁷

The rest of the letter Bullinger devoted to an argument *against* the ban from the Eucharist. The purpose of the Eucharist was for the consolation and healing of sinners. Excommunication had as its goal the constraining of the evil example, and was not to be employed for the purification or the satisfaction of the church. Therefore, inasmuch as excommunication and the Eucharist had separate and distinct functions, they should not be connected with

³⁵Heinold Fast, *Heinrich Bullinger und die Täufer. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie und Theologie im 16. Jahrhundert* (Weierhof [Pfalz], 1959), p. 173.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 174-175.

³⁷Ibid., p. 176.

each other. Moreover, once the punishment had been inflicted by the magistrate, the offender had fully paid his penalty. Faith in the heart could not be judged by men, but only by God. Christ did not exclude anyone from the Supper, not even Judas. And Paul left participation in the Eucharist up to the individual conscience (1 Cor 11:26).³⁸

This, in brief summary, was Bullinger's position as he expressed it to Haller. The power of the keys had nothing to do with excommunication. Rather, that power was the power of teaching, of preaching the gospel. Although the mode of discipline had to be adjusted to the people, time, and place—as had been the case in the early church, when there was no Christian government—the meaning of Christ in Matt 18 and Paul in 1 Cor 5 was that Christian discipline should be external, physical punishment by the magistrate. Excommunication was public punishment of public crimes. It had nothing to do with a ban from the Eucharist, a celebration which must be kept open to all who wished to participate.³⁹

5. *Dialogue Between Bullinger and Oecolampadius*

Haller sent Bullinger's letter to Oecolampadius,⁴⁰ and in return received a long, rambling letter responding to Bullinger's position. Needless to say, Oecolampadius was horrified by Bullinger's argument, perhaps particularly by Bullinger's labeling of his opposition as "Anabaptist." The first portion of Oecolampadius' letter is concerned with Bullinger's definition of excommunication as "the public and Christian guarding of public virtue and Christian morals." Oecolampadius wondered what Bullinger meant by "Christian." In his opinion, nothing external constituted the kingdom of God (Rom 14:17), and thus nothing external "is properly called

³⁸Ibid., pp. 176-179.

³⁹See also *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi Domini nostri Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, Commentariorum libri XII. per Henrychum Bullingerum* (Zürich, 1543), fols. 158, 174b-175; and *In omnes apostolicas epistolas, divi videlicet Pauli XIII., et VII. canonicas, commentarii Henrychi Bullingeri* (Zürich, 1539), 1:149-151.

⁴⁰Haller sent it either as an answer to Oecolampadius or, more likely, because he, like Zwingli earlier, had been partially convinced by Oecolampadius. See *Briefe und Akten*, 2, no. 901, pp. 636-637, esp. n. 2.

'Christian.'"⁴¹ The Christian approach to discipline was outlined by Christ in Matt 18:15-17—warnings and admonitions; and if necessary, exclusion from fellowship and the Eucharist. Punishment by the magistrate was not an ecclesiastical matter; it was a punishment in addition to, and separate from, excommunication.⁴² In his opinion, the church gained far more by "friendly admonitions than the profane magistrate [does] by punishment or by the sword." Therefore, admonition and the use of the ban was more properly "called the Christian guarding of morals."⁴³

Reacting to Bullinger's contention that Christ used a synecdoche in Matt 18 and meant public punishment in prescribing treatment of the offender as "a publican and a heathen," Oecolampadius exclaimed that "where he discovered this strange idea, I do not know." Oecolampadius conceded that those excluded from the church might also be criminals and thus subject to punishment by the magistrate as well, but such punishment had nothing to do with excommunication. The magistrate, he further declared, had to tolerate many people, such as Jews and harlots, whom the church could not tolerate. And moreover, the reference to the keys in Matt 18:18 clearly did not support Bullinger's interpretation, but rather referred to the spiritual punishment of the ban.⁴⁴

Oecolampadius felt that those, like Bullinger, who rejected the use of the ban did not understand either the purpose of the Supper or the nature of the church. Like the Lutherans, Bullinger connected "consolation" with the sacrament itself, whereas Oecolampadius felt that all such efficacy must be attributed to the Spirit. It was true that the Eucharist was for sinners, but not for flagrant and public sinners; the Supper was for those who confessed Christ (Rom 10:9), not for the enemies of Christ. It served for unity, peace,

⁴¹Ibid., no. 925a, p. 665.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 666-668.

⁴³Ibid., p. 667.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 668. Matt 18:18 itself does not specifically mention the "keys," but it does refer to binding and loosing in terms similar to those used in Matt 16:19, where this binding/loosing terminology elaborates on the phrase "keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Oecolampadius also rejected Bullinger's interpretation of 1 Cor 5. Satan, just as he afflicted Job, afflicted sinners in addition to excommunication. Ibid., p. 669.

love, and purity in the church; and those who refused to use the ban “hold the church for nothing and do not desire to increase its holiness.”⁴⁵

6. *In Conclusion: The Theological Rationales, and the Eventual Outcome in Reformed Practice*

In the end, that was the purpose of excommunication for Oecolampadius—the holiness of the church. The church could not judge the heart; but if it did not judge the fruit of faith, every hypocrite would be able to break in. He was clearly concerned about the level of Christian morality: “I am ashamed when I compare the coldness of our church with the ardor of others [the Anabaptists?].” What, he wondered, would be the effect of more severity in the church?⁴⁶ Toward the end of the letter, he struck out at Bullinger: How could anyone be so ignorant of philology that “he does not know what excommunication is?” Why deny the ban when it was used in the ancient church? Why twist Paul’s clear meaning in 1 Cor 5? The ban had been given by Christ to guard against shameless sinners in the church, but Bullinger wanted to open the door to those very sinners!⁴⁷

Oecolampadius had touched upon the central issue early in his letter when he complained about the “ambiguity” in Bullinger’s use of the word “Christian.”⁴⁸ This complaint points to the Basel Reformer’s primary concern—the purity of the church. Clearly the expectation of the Reformation could not be fulfilled for Oecolampadius within the structure of a magisterial discipline, for under such a system there could be no real concern for the purity of the church as an entity apart from the civil jurisdiction within the Christian community. In order fully to reform the church, an ecclesiastical tribunal must be instituted—a tribunal separate from the magisterial jurisdiction and invested with the power of excommunication. Oecolampadius’ concept of a church court in charge of Christian discipline cut deeply into the late-medieval corporate

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 670-672.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 672.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 673-674.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 665.

idea of the Christian community. It implied a subtly different understanding of the meaning of "Christian," of the nature of the church, and of the possibility of a Christian society.

The Zurich tradition found its basis in the late-medieval corporate point of view: Both Zwingli and Bullinger identified the ecclesiastical assembly with the civil assembly and argued that only the Christian magistrate properly had disciplinary power within that totally integrated Christian community. When Bullinger was confronted with Matt 18:17, he interpreted the text within the context of his own preconceptions about the inclusive nature of the church and the character of Christian society. This context justified his use of metaphor, with the clearer evidence for him being found in OT precedent.

These were hardly the last words on the matter of discipline in the Reformed churches. The Zurich tradition was ably defended not only by Bullinger, but also by Wolfgang Musculus at Bern and by Thomas Erastus at Heidelberg. That tradition, however, came under increasing attack by the second Reformed position, as it was further developed by Guillaume Farel and John Calvin, and fully explicated by Theodore Beza. In the end, it was the position of Oecolampadius that became the Reformed approach to church discipline.

LITERARY STRUCTURE AND THEOLOGY IN THE BOOK OF RUTH

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In recent years there has been a growing awareness of chiasmic literary patterns that exist in the biblical literature on a broad scale, rather than simply and solely in a narrower and more limited way within poetic passages. Account may be taken, for instance, of the work of Paul Lamarche, Joyce Baldwin, and Philip Payne on Zechariah;¹ of William H. Shea on Amos, Mark 13, and other passages;² of Joseph S. Kidder on Matthew 23-25, and Luke 21;³ of George Rice and others on the book of Hebrews;⁴ and of Kenneth A.

¹Paul Lamarche, *Zechariah IX-XIV* (Paris, 1961); Joyce Baldwin in the Zechariah section of *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Chicago, 1972); and Philip Payne, "Chiastic Structure in the Book of Zechariah," Appendix Essay IV in Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation: Hermeneutical Guidelines, with Brief Introduction to Literary Analysis*, 2d ed. (Naples, Fla., 1979), pp. 81-84.

²William H. Shea has discovered a large number of broad chiasms, but for the most part has not as yet published his materials on this subject. Three items which have been published in journals are as follows: "The Chiastic Structure of the Song of Songs," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 378-396; "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 249-256; and Chiastic Structure of Mark 13, Diagram 2 in Joseph S. Kidder, "This Generation in Matthew 24:34," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 209. In addition, Shea presented "The Chiastic Structure of the Book of Amos" as a paper to the Rhetorical Criticism Section, Society of Biblical Literature, annual meeting, San Francisco, California, Dec. 20, 1981.

³Kidder, in the article cited in n. 2, above. For a quick overview, see Diagram 1 on p. 208; and for a sketch of the chiasmic form of Luke 21, see Diagram 3 on p. 209. A more detailed outline of the chiasmic pattern of Matt 23-25 appears on p. 204, within the general discussion given on pp. 203-207.

⁴George E. Rice, "The Chiastic Structure of the Central Section of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 243-246. (This "central section" is Heb. 6:19-10:39.) Albert Vanhoye, *La structure littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris, 1963), and John Bligh, *Chiastic Analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Oxon, 1966), represent other attempts at analysis of this epistle—in either a broad scope for the entire book (Vanhoye), or a series of some thirty-three more-limited chiasmic structures (Bligh). Rice's persuasive study covers ground not embraced within either of those earlier

Strand on the Apocalypse.⁵ The book of Ruth has not been bypassed in this regard, and an intriguing chiasmic pattern for it has been set forth by Stephen Bertman.⁶

My own analysis of Ruth differs in some respects from that of Bertman, and in the present article I suggest two patterns of chiasmic structure—one pertaining to chap. 1 of the book, and the other embracing the entire book. After setting forth these two pieces of literary analysis, I offer some suggestions as to the relationship of structure to theology in Ruth, and in so doing, take note also of several of the more important theological motifs that are highlighted by the book's broad chiasmic structure. Inasmuch as focus here is on the *literary* patterns and their significance, it is beyond the scope of this article to delve into questions of authorship, date, provenance, etc.—matters which, in any event, are discussed rather fully in various of the commentaries and other studies.

1. *Structure in the Book of Ruth*

Scholars are generally agreed that the book of Ruth takes the form of a *novella*—a highly artistic story which develops a plot through various scenes before reaching a climax.⁷ In a sense, this book also has the character of a *drama*, in view of its large amount of discourse, its introduction of each episode with a clear definition of the place or setting in which the action is to center, and the use of the early episodes to build up a tension which is resolved in the later episodes. In any case, Ruth provides an integrated and unified

works; and moreover, in a subsequent study, Rice disputes the existence of an overall chiasmic framework for Hebrews as suggested by Vanhoye. (*Editor's note:* On the last-mentioned point, see the article by Rice appearing in the present issue of *AUSS*.)

⁵Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, pp. 43-52, for a major chiasm embracing the entire book. Further chiasms, more limited in scope, are noted in some of his other publications: "Chiasmic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 403, Diagram 2; and "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 53-60, with a diagram of the structure for chap. 18 given on p. 54.

⁶Stephen Bertman, "Symmetrical Design in the Book of Ruth," *JBL* 86 (1965): 165-168.

⁷This has been essentially the case since the work of Hermann Gunkel. Cf. the notation concerning Gunkel's *Reden und Aufsätze* (Göttingen, 1913) in Jacob M. Myers, *The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth* (Leiden, 1955), p. 33; and see also M. Garsiel, "Literary Structure: Development of the Plot of the Book of Ruth," *Beth Mikra* 75 (1978): 444-457. Garsiel agrees with Gunkel on the genre of Ruth and considers the book to be a short story with four episodes.

literary composition, which may be contrasted with what would be the case if the book had developed from a collection of originally independent sagas.⁸

It should be noted that this book uses devices common to Hebrew poetry—a point that has been observed by various researchers, including J. M. Myers.⁹ There are, for instance, parallels in the numerical patterns (the ten years in Moab with death [at the beginning of the book], balanced by the ten generations of births [at the end of the book]),¹⁰ word plays of various sorts,¹¹ and both chiasmic microstructures and the chiasmic macrostructure embracing the whole book. As an example of a chiasmic microstructure, we may note Naomi's speech on her return to Bethlehem (2:20-21):

Shaddai has embittered my life,
 Yahweh brought me back empty;
 Yahweh afflicted me,
 Shaddai brought misfortune upon me.

An example on a larger scale—an analysis of chap. 2—has been provided by Y. T. Radday and G. W. Welch:¹²

- A. Ruth and Naomi
- B. Boaz and the reapers
- C. Boaz and Ruth
- B'. Boaz and reapers
- A'. Naomi and Ruth

⁸Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 2d ed. (Austin, Texas, 1968), sees the story as being structured according to ancient folklores; but J. M. Sasson, *Ruth* (Baltimore, Md., 1979), pp. 216-224, regards Propp's folkloristic structure to be somewhat forced on the text. In any event, it seems to me that attempts to fragmentize the text are not persuasive.

⁹Myers, pp. 44-63.

¹⁰See B. Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 7 (1978): 23-49.

¹¹Types of paranomasia include (a) onomastic word plays, such as with personal names and place names; (b) etymological word plays, such as with the names "Naomi" and "Mara"; and (c) extended word plays, such as expressions similar in sound, or catchwords made particularly provocative by means of their placement in the text. For illustrations of word plays, see, e.g., Roland E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, and Esther*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1981), p. 85; and J. M. Sasson, "Wordplay in the Old Testament," *IDBSup* (1976), pp. 968-970.

¹²Y. T. Radday and G. W. Welch, "Structure in the Book of Ruth," *Beth Mikra* 77 (1979): 180-187.

My somewhat detailed analysis of chap. 1 reveals that this chapter, too, has a chiasmic pattern:

OUTLINE 1
THE CHIASMIC STRUCTURE OF RUTH 1

A. FAMINE (1:1)

B. EMIGRATION FROM BETHLEHEM (1:1)

C. "NAOMI" = "PLEASANT" (1:2-5)

D. LEAVING MOAB FOR BETHLEHEM (1:6, 7)

E. NAOMI SAID: (1:8)

Go

Go back!

May Yahweh show to you kindness [ḥesed]

May Yahweh grant to you rest [menûḥāh]!

F. NAOMI KISSES ORPAH AND RUTH GOODBYE (1:9)

G. ALL WEEP LOUDLY

CENTER: "I am indeed too old to conceive" (1:11-13)

G'. ALL WEEP LOUDLY (1:14)

F'. ORPAH KISSES NAOMI GOODBYE (1:14, 15)

E'. RUTH SAID: (1:16, 17)

Where you go I will go

Where you stay I will stay

People of you, people of me

God of you, God of me

Where you die I will die

And there I will be buried

D'. ENTERING BETHLEHEM FROM MOAB

C'. "MARAḤ" = "BITTER" (1:20, 22)

B'. IMMIGRATION TO BETHLEHEM (1:22)

A'. BARLEY HARVEST (1:22)

As mentioned earlier, Bertman has suggested a chiasmic structure embracing the entire book of Ruth. On the basis of my own analysis, which differs somewhat from his, I would outline this chiasmic macrostructure as follows (on facing page):

OUTLINE 2
THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF RUTH

A. NAOMI—Too old to conceive	Chap. 1
B. THE POSSIBLE REDEEMER IS INTRODUCED	2:1
C. RUTH AND NAOMI MAKE A PLAN	2:2
D. RUTH AND BOAZ' FIELD	2:3
E. BOAZ COMES FROM BETHLEHEM	2:4
F. BOAZ ASKS: "Whose is that young woman?"	2:5-7
G. RUTH BECOMES PART OF THE BOAZ CLAN	2:8-16
—servants are to offer her water	
—she is to be regarded as a maidservant and can eat with the household	
RUTH BRINGS ONE EPHAH OF BARLEY TO NAOMI	2:17, 18
H. NAOMI BLESSES BOAZ	2:19
I. BOAZ THE ONE WHO IS IN POSITION TO REDEEM	2:20
J. RUTH JOINS BOAZ' WORKERS	2:21-23
THE PIVOTAL POINT—The plan laid by Naomi and Ruth	3:1-8
J'. RUTH IDENTIFIES HERSELF AS BOAZ' HANDMAID	3:9
I'. RUTH CHALLENGES BOAZ TO ACT AS A REDEEMER	3:9
H'. BOAZ BLESSES RUTH	3:10
G'. BOAZ PROMISES TO MARRY RUTH	3:11-15
RUTH BRINGS 6 MEASURES OF BARLEY TO NAOMI	3:16
F'. NAOMI ASKS: "Who are you?"	3:16-18
E'. BOAZ GOES TO BETHLEHEM	4:1
D'. RUTH AND A FIELD	4:2-12
C'. RUTH AND NAOMI'S PLAN IS FULFILLED, marriage	4:13
B'. THE REDEEMER WAS NOT DENIED	4:14-16
A'. A SON WAS BORN TO NAOMI!	4:17
APPENDIX = What a son!—Grandfather of King David	4:19-22

2. *From Structure to Theology*

Generally speaking, the center of a chiastic pattern is considered as pointing to the essential theme of the passage or text at hand. In *Ruth*, this is not precisely the case. The drama reaches, in a sense, a central point at the chiastic apex; but the theological implications are brought to attention only somewhat later, toward the end of the book. However, that central episode of the story itself (in 3:1-8) is, in fact, anticipatory of, and points toward, a later passage (4:13) which serves as the key passage theologically.

In view of this, two factors should especially be taken into consideration as we follow the development of the story by the structure: (1) It is essential to analyze carefully what the main characters of the story convey by their opinions and actions; and (2) aside from introducing the divine reality in history at the beginning (Yahweh had "visited his people" in terminating the famine, 1:6),¹³ the narrator leaves unexpressed the full and precise theological perspective until very near the end of the story.¹⁴ Or to put this in another way, we first are to follow the unfolding of the story itself through the events and dialogue, and then to follow the unfolding of the theology.

In tracing the story, we must not miss the initiative taken by *Ruth* and *Naomi*, as given in 2:2. This verse, which uncovers a key point, is frequently misunderstood. It contains the same idiom that is used in 2:10 to refer to *Boaz*, but that idiom has sometimes been overlooked in translations of 2:2. A proper translation of this verse would be:

¹³The word *pāqad*, "to visit," has a wide range of meanings in the OT. See Henry S. Gehman, "Episkpōmai in the Septuagint in Relation to *Phqd* and Other Hebrew Roots," *VT* 22 (1972): 199. Gehman defines the term as "to attend with care." It may involve punishment, as in Amos 4:6-13, as well as the positive type of experience mentioned in *Ruth* 1:6. Cf. Dave Bland, "God's Activity as Reflected in the Books of *Ruth* and *Esther*," *Restoration Quarterly* 24 (1981): 132.

¹⁴Various commentators have pondered the meaning of *Ruth* 2:3, the question being why the author attributes *Ruth*'s presence in *Boaz*' field to "chance" or "happencence." Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth*, AB 7 (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), p. 112, points out that few things in the Bible happen by chance! It seems that here the deliberate purpose in the narrative is to refrain at this point from becoming involved with theology—with that being saved, instead, for a forceful climax later, toward the end of the book.

Ruth of Moab said to Naomi: "Should I go to the fields and glean among the ears of grain, in the hope of pleasing him?"¹⁵

This particular statement is essential for the chiasm, for it is the opening point of the story where the two women decide upon action.

Did the plan work? In 4:13, the chiastic counterpart, we read: "So Boaz took Ruth and she became his wife." The build-up of the story has reached its end here. What follows does not so much add to the development of the story as it has theological significance.

If we turn now to the theology, we can see that the revelation of God's actions leads us also to 4:13. At this point the author's own silence is broken. Furthermore, for the only time in the book of Ruth, Yahweh is mentioned directly as the subject of a verb. Here the author reveals God as breaking in and acting indeed: "And the Lord enabled her [Ruth] to conceive." Thus, in 4:13 the human story and the divine come together in an obvious way. Therefore, and with some justification, this verse has been considered the most important one in the book.¹⁶

3. *Some Theological Motifs*

In the chiastic pattern I have given in Outline 2, 4:13 is designated as C'. What follows in B' and A' is an elaboration of this verse; but as we pick up the motifs, it is necessary for us to note also some of the questions raised earlier in the book. I will deal here briefly with only three of these motifs.

Naomi's God

The first chapter of Ruth pictures scenes similar to those in the book of Job. Naomi is faced with one calamity after another. Although she does not speak of any reason why this distress has come upon her, she bitterly states that the Lord has caused her sad situation (1:20-21). This situation may be summarized as follows: (1) the family had been forced to emigrate because of famine;

¹⁵The idiomatic expression *hn b^cny*, "favor in the eyes [of X]," is well represented in Hebrew literature. Here, the *waw* suffix (*b^cnyw*) indicates that reference is to a definite individual. Cf. Sasson, *Ruth*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁶See W. S. Prinsloo, "The Theology of the Book of Ruth," *VT* 30 (1980): 339.

(2) Naomi's husband and both of her sons had died; and (3) she was left without any descendants, although her sons had been married for several years.¹⁷ Thus, Naomi was convinced that there was no future for her. She had lost everything, and even if someone would marry her, she was too old for having children anew (1:11-13).

In the midst of being bitter towards God, however, Naomi still showed belief and faith in God. This can be seen in her wishing God's blessing to her two daughters-in-law and also to Boaz (1:15 and 2:20).

Commentators commonly present the opinion that the author of Ruth shares Naomi's conviction that the Lord has caused the evil to happen.¹⁸ However, it must be kept in mind that the author's response to the story comes only toward the end, as I have noted above. In fact, possibly there may even be indication of a rebuke to Naomi, as the women neighbors utter blessings to God while Naomi is speechless (4:14-16). What the Lord has caused is the opposite of what Naomi had earlier claimed to be caused by God. She has now received what seemed impossible—a "son" through the levirate, an event which she had referred to at the beginning of the story as affording no realistic hope (1:11-13 and 4:17).

Hesed and God's Manifest Providence

Hesed, an expression which denotes in a deep and profound way a loyal relationship and a desire to do good for the other person,¹⁹ comes into view quite early in the book of Ruth. It is the Hebrew word used in 1:8 to express the true, caring concern that Ruth and her sister-in-law Orpah had for their husbands. Naomi's wish is that Yahweh might show similar kindness to them, even if she herself, because of the situation in which she has found herself,

¹⁷Cf. Ronald M. Hals, *The Theology of the Book of Ruth* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 8; Prinsloo, p. 333; and C. Weber, "Ruth," *The Bible Today* 98 (1978): 1753.

¹⁸Cf. Hals, p. 9.

¹⁹H.-J. Zobel, "Hesed," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. Botterweck and Ringgren (Stuttgart, 1982), 3: 53. When a human being is the subject of *hesed*, the word usually describes the person's kindness or loyalty to another. See "hesed" in *Nelson's Expository Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Nashville, Tenn., 1980), p. 283.

is unable to be good toward them as they deserve. Ruth's genuine and deep love for Naomi is also expressed in the oath that she makes to Naomi, sealing it by calling upon Yahweh's name (1:17). As the story continues, Boaz describes Ruth's deeds as "goodness" (2:11-12) and "*hesed*" (3:10).

The question of reward may be raised here, and it is important to note that the book of Ruth pictures Ruth as acting from a pure lovingkindness toward Naomi, for there was definitely no reward in sight. However, in the progress of the narrative, the author does make it clear that the kind deeds of human beings form the basis of their supplication to Yahweh to bestow his blessings.

The ultimate in *hesed* is the *hesed* of Yahweh himself. As the story builds toward its chiasmic acme, we find that Ruth "happens" to glean in the fields of Boaz; and when receiving this news, Naomi, in her expression of praise to God, declares, "Blessed be he of the Lord, who has not left off his kindness [*hesed*] to the living and to the dead" (see 2:3, 20). The significant providence evident here is that Boaz was a near kinsman (vs. 20), naturally raising the hope of the redemption of Naomi's and Ruth's inheritance. The chiasmic center that we have noted comes with the planning between Naomi and Ruth for challenging Boaz to become indeed such a *gō'ēl*, or redeemer (3:1-7). The final outworking of Yahweh's *hesed* which Naomi expresses in 2:20 comes, again, to its high-point or focus in 4:13—both as a culmination of the story itself and as a key to the book's theological perspective: "So Boaz took Ruth and she became his wife. And the Lord enabled her to conceive, and she gave birth to a son" (NIV). And what a son that was! He was Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of King David (vss. 17, 21).

Redemption

Very closely related to the *hesed* of God in his manifest providence for the family of Elimelech, Naomi, and Ruth is the concept of redemption. At stake was the property of Elimelech, Chilion, and Mahlon—the deceased spouses of Naomi, Orpah, and Ruth. The narrative in this respect picks up with a note of genuine despair as Naomi, before departing from Moab, endeavored to convince her two daughters-in-law to remain there. "Am I going to have any more sons, who could become your husbands?" (1:11), she asked bitterly. And the record of her continuing conversation only reinforces the existence of that despair.

But redemption came! The thematic high-point for this redemption is again 4:13, in the statement about Boaz marrying Ruth. However, the prelude should not be missed in vss. 1-10: There was a closer “kinsman-redeemer,” but because he might endanger his own estate (see vs. 6), he declined to go through with the redemption. For Boaz, the true redeemer, a sacrifice was involved, for he was to lose by buying the field from Naomi and by providing a son who could later claim it back to the family of Ruth and Naomi. On the other hand, the marriage between the redeemer and the redeemed make them both part of the same inheritance.

God’s supreme *hesed* was manifested in the culmination of this redemptive activity, which in the final verses of the book of Ruth looks even beyond the immediate story of the book. For that child who was born to Boaz and Ruth was none other than the grandfather of David—a fact that is twice stated in the conclusion (4:17, 21).

But we can carry the outcome of this story of redemption even a step further: In the genealogy of Matt 1, it is linked to the great Redeemer for the whole world (see vs. 5). Only from the perspective of the NT can we understand all the implications involved.²⁰

²⁰Of fundamental theological import is the point that God sympathizes with those who act in the capacity of *gōʾēl*, “redeemer”; for God himself was once to buy back—redeem—those who had verged into a debt. E. A. Martens, *Plot and Purpose in the Old Testament* (Leicester, Eng., 1981), p. 18.

APOSTASY AS A MOTIF AND ITS EFFECT ON THE STRUCTURE OF HEBREWS

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The last two decades have seen a lively discussion over the literary structure of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Those who have been engaged in this discussion would agree with J. Swetnam that the arrangement "of independent factors into an intelligible pattern cannot be the result of chance but has to be the result of design."¹ Albert Vanhoye, referring to a "concentric design" in Hebrews, suggests that the ability to write according to such a design came quite naturally to the author, who, without giving thought to each detail, was spontaneously guided by his design.² Swetnam continues his discussion by saying that factors constituting the "intelligible pattern" indicate "the relation of the several parts of the writing to the whole and consequently influence the meaning of everything in the several parts and everything in the whole."³

Beyond the foregoing broad generalizations, however, agreement on the structure of Hebrews comes to an end. As a result, the message of Hebrews, which all agree is influenced by its structure, becomes the victim of a "structural push and shove." That is not to say that Hebrews' major themes are lost in the discussion. Jesus' divinity, his superiority to Moses and Aaron, the superiority of his priesthood over that of the Levitical system, the superiority of the new covenant over the old, etc., remain; but the fine nuances of the text that enrich our understanding of the major themes are often

¹J. Swetnam, "Form and Content in Hebrews 7-13," *Bib* 55 (1974): 346.

²Albert Vanhoye, "Discussions sur la structure de l'Épître aux Hébreux," *Bib* 55 (1974): 370.

³Swetnam, p. 346.

minimized by the structural divisions suggested by various authors. For this reason, Swetnam cautions that the "factors" going into an "intelligible pattern" that has resulted from the author's design must really be factors, and that they must "be understood as such by the addressees." Also, these factors must "point to an intelligible pattern which can be understood as such by the addressees."⁴

My remarks below provide, first, an overview of the current debate, and then a suggested outline for the Epistle to the Hebrews, based on structural considerations which have apparently been overlooked by earlier investigators.

1. *The Current Debate on Structure*

The opening salvo in the current discussion was fired by Albert Vanhoye in 1963 in his *La structure littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux*.⁵ Following the introduction of Hebrews (1:1-4) and prior to its conclusion (13:20-21), Vanhoye divides the epistle into five structural units: (1) 1:5-2:18, "Eschatology"; (2) 3:1-5:10, "Ecclesiology"; (3) 5:11-10:39, "Sacrifice"; (4) 11:1-12:13, "Ecclesiology"; and (5) 12:14-13:18, "Eschatology."

Vanhoye arrives at his divisions by watching for one or more literary devices which he calls "indices." He believes these indices can show where structural divisions may be made within the epistle. These indices are as follow: (1) "announcement of the subject" is found in the conclusion of one section and announces the subject of the next section; (2) "inclusions" consist of verbal relationships between the beginning and end of a literary unit; (3) "alteration of genres" in Hebrews is the movement, back and forth, between exposition and exhortation; (4) "characteristic words" are terms one would expect to find within a section dealing with a particular motif; and (5) "word hooks" are words used at the conclusion of one section and at the beginning of the next to connect the units of thought together.

The use of the terms "eschatology," "ecclesiology," and "sacrifice" help the reader to see that Vanhoye divides Hebrews into a chiasm:

⁴Ibid., pp. 346-347.

⁵Albert Vanhoye, *La structure littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris, 1963).

- a. Introduction
- b. Eschatology
- c. Ecclesiology
- d. Sacrifice
- c'. Ecclesiology
- b'. Eschatology
- a'. Conclusion

John Bligh, not satisfied with Vanhoye's analysis of the structure of Hebrews, attempts a division of this book by a series of chiasms.⁶ Vanhoye's reaction to Bligh's effort is that he accomplishes nothing, because he ignores the literary "indices," as well as the development of thought within the epistle itself.⁷

R. Gyllenberg sees two major divisions in Hebrews, based on the themes of ἀρχηγός (1:1-4:16) and ἀρχιερεύς (5:1-12:29).⁸ These are criticized by Vanhoye as not corresponding to the text of the epistle.⁹ Jukka Thurén, a student of Gyllenberg, takes brief notice of Vanhoye's work, and declares that Vanhoye's analyses of the small sections of Hebrews are fruitful for interpretation, but that the same cannot be said of his analysis of the combined structure of the whole book. In his brief treatment of Vanhoye, Thurén compares Vanhoye's work on Hebrews with that of Gyllenberg, and favors Gyllenberg over Vanhoye.¹⁰

Vanhoye devotes a major portion of his subsequent article, "Discussions sur la structure de l'Épître aux Hébreux," to Thurén's criticisms. In this article, Vanhoye concludes that after unsatisfactory responses to his objections and after an incomplete critique of his positions, Thurén is not in a position "to play judge" between Gyllenberg and himself. Vanhoye says that it was clear from the beginning that Thurén was biased toward Gyllenberg.¹¹

⁶John Bligh, *Chiastic Analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Oxon, 1966).

⁷Vanhoye, "Discussions," p. 370.

⁸R. Gyllenberg, "Die Komposition des Hebräerbriefes," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, 22-23 (1957-1958): 137-147.

⁹Vanhoye, "Discussions," p. 364.

¹⁰Jukka Thurén, *Das Lobopfer der Hebräer: Studien zum Aufbau und Anliegen von Hebräerbrief 13*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A, vol. 47/1 (Åbo, 1973), pp. 44-49.

¹¹Vanhoye, "Discussions," pp. 364-365.

Swetnam, in evaluating Vanhoye's work, declares that the structure of Hebrews is worthy of attention, but he sees a danger in separating formal structure from content. This procedure, he feels, can only lead to a distortion of content; and if the discovery of form is pursued independent of content, "it can well result in error as to the form."¹² Vanhoye responded that Swetnam's suggestion of his establishing his structure at the expense of content "is absolutely not the case."¹³

Swetnam's discussion continues with the observations that the announcement of subjects, the genres of exposition and exhortation, and the length of a division are the criteria for structure "because they are intrinsically linked with content in the form of judgments," and that "hook words," "characteristic words," and "inclusion" play a subsidiary role. Content, above all, he states, must be included in any formulation of structure.¹⁴

In response to Swetnam, Vanhoye insists that all five of his literary indices be given priority.¹⁵ However, he does recognize that they will not receive exclusive priority, because, for example, the announcement of the subject will, by its very nature, take into account the context. This is also true of inclusions. However, without his literary indices, though one may reconstruct the form coherently, it will be done in an inexact manner.¹⁶ Therefore, Vanhoye concludes that Swetnam's suggestions are those of opinion, not of scientific demonstration.¹⁷ And so the dialogue goes on.¹⁸

¹²J. Swetnam, "Form and Content in Hebrews 1-6," *Bib* 53 (1972): 369.

¹³Vanhoye, "Discussions," p. 369.

¹⁴Swetnam, "Hebrews 7-13," pp. 333, 334.

¹⁵Vanhoye, "Discussions," p. 369.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 370.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 373.

¹⁸For further discussion, see P. Auffret, "Essai sur la structure littéraire et l'interprétation d'Hébreux 3,1-6," *NTS* 26 (1980): 380-396; P. Auffret, "Note sur la structure littéraire d'Hb ii. 1-4," *NTS* 25 (1979): 166-179; M. Gourgues, "Remarques sur la 'structure centrale' de l'épître aux Hébreux—À l'occasion d'une réédition," *RB* 84 (1977): 26-37; E. B. Horning, "Chiasmus, Creedal Structure, and Christology in Hebrews 12:1-2," *BR* 23 (1978): 37-48; D. W. B. Robinson, "The Literary Structure of Hebrews 1:1-4," *AJBA* 2 (1972): 178-186; A. Vanhoye, "La question littéraire de Hébreux xiii. 1-6," *NTS* 23 (1977): 121-139; and A. Vanhoye, "Literarische Struktur und theologische Botschaft des Hebräerbriefs," *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 4 (1979): 119-147.

2. *A Suggested Structure for the Epistle*

At the risk of becoming a contributor to the “structural push and shove,” I wish to suggest a division of Hebrews which, to my knowledge, has not yet been proposed. Although Vanhoye’s indices may be employed usefully within the subdivisions, and though chiasms may be identified throughout the text, the overall structure of this epistle appears to be based on content. Stanley D. Toussaint presents a convincing argument that the eschatology of the five warning passages in Hebrews “is a determinative factor in coming to the conclusion that the passages in question are concerned with the danger of apostasy.” He goes on to point out:

There were some in the readership who had made a profession of faith in Christ but were seriously considering returning to Judaism. It was not a case of the Galatian heresy where some were attempting to unite Christianity with Judaism; on the contrary, these people were about to abandon Christianity to slip back to the works system of Judaism.¹⁹

I would like to suggest that the “concern with the danger of apostasy” lies not only behind the five warning passages (exhortations), but also behind the exposition in this epistle. With apostasy as the central concern of the entire epistle, Hebrews may be divided into five sections, exclusive of introduction (1:1-4), pastoral exhortation (13:1-19), and conclusion (13:20-25). Each section is subdivided into three parts: (1) theological exposé, (2) warning, and (3) statement of judgment.

Each theological exposé is a tightly knit piece of logic as to why the forsaking of Jesus is unthinkable. He is superior to angels, Moses, and Aaron; his priesthood is superior to the Levitical priesthood; and his blood alone brings purification from sin. Forsake him, and where does one go to find eternal salvation? There is nowhere to go! Jesus and what he offers—this is superior to all else.

Each exposé is followed by a warning not to forsake the only one who is capable of purging the conscience. This, in turn, is

¹⁹Stanley D. Toussaint, “The Eschatology of the Warning Passages in the Book of Hebrews,” *Grace Theological Journal* 3 (1982): 67-80.

followed by a statement of judgment against those who apostatize, disregarding who Jesus is and what he does for those who accept him. Thus, we have the following five divisions of Hebrews, with their respective three subdivisions.

I. —1:5-2:4

Theological Exposé—1:5-14. Jesus is the Son of God, elevated to God's right hand, and thus superior to angels.

Warning—2:1. Do not let slip what has been heard and thus drift away from it.

Judgment—2:2-4. If disobedience to the message declared by angels received just retribution, how shall one escape who neglects the salvation provided by him who is greater than angels?

II. —2:5-4:13

Theological Exposé—2:5-3:6. Jesus is made like his brethren so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest. As high priest, he is faithful to him who appointed him, just as Moses was faithful. Yet, Jesus is greater than Moses.

Warning—3:7-19. Today, if you hear his voice, do not harden your heart as in the rebellion.

Judgment—4:1-13. Fear, lest you be judged to have failed to enter God's rest. God's word is sharper than a two-edged sword, discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart.

III. —4:14-6:8

Theological Exposé—4:14-5:10. Jesus is the great high priest, designated by God as a priest after the order of Melchizedek. He is able to sympathize with the weakness of humanity; therefore, sinners are to draw near to the throne of grace with confidence.

Warning—5:11-6:6. The Hebrew Christians are dull of hearing, not being able to tolerate solid food. It is impossible to restore again to repentance those who commit apostasy.

Judgment—6:7-8. As the thorns and thistles of worthless land are burned, so judgment awaits those who crucify the Son of God and hold him up to contempt by apostasy.

IV. —6:9-10:39

Theological Exposé—6:9-10:25. God will fulfill the covenant promises made to Abraham and his descendants through Jesus, who is a priest after the order of Melchizedek and mediator of the new covenant; as high priest, Jesus mediates the efficacy of his blood in the heavenly sanctuary.

Warning—10:26-27. If those who once professed Jesus sin deliberately, there remains no longer a sacrifice for sins, but only judgment and a fury of fire.

Judgment—10:28-31. As a man who violated Moses' law died without mercy at the hands of two or three witnesses, so he who forsakes Jesus will stand condemned to die on the basis of three facts that bear witness against him: (1) he has spurned the Son of God, (2) he has profaned the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified, and (3) he has outraged the Spirit of grace.

Secondary Warning and Judgment—10:32-39. Hebrews 10 has a secondary warning and a secondary statement of judgment: "Do not throw away your confidence" (vs. 35), and "For yet a little while, and the coming one shall come and shall not tarry" (vs. 37).

V. —11:1-12:29

Theological Exposé—11:1-40. The great men of faith have not yet received the fulfillment of the promises. They wait for the Hebrew Christians, so all may be made perfect together.

Warning—12:1-24. This is a long passage mixed with various warnings, e.g., "Do not despise the chastening of the Lord" (vss. 5, 6); and exhortations, e.g., "Lift up your drooping hands and strengthen your weak knees" (vs. 12).

Judgment—12:25-29. As those who were disobedient in ancient Israel did not escape him who warned them on earth, much less shall those who are disobedient now escape him who warns from heaven. God's voice will shake earth and heaven to remove all who are not obedient, so that only those who cannot be shaken will remain.

3. Conclusion

Although Vanhoye's "indices" may be helpful in working within the smaller units of Hebrews, it would appear that Swetnam's position is sound. The broad structure of Hebrews rests upon the divisions indicated by content and ideas. The overriding concern about apostasy underlies the five theological exposés and the stern warnings and strong statements of judgment at the conclusion of those exposés.

THE PARALLEL LITERARY STRUCTURE OF REVELATION 12 AND 20

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In three previous studies on literary structures in the Apocalypse I have dealt successively with the chiasmic arrangement of materials within one narrative (Rev 18),¹ the application of the covenant formulary to the letters for the seven churches (Rev 2-3),² and the chiasmic arrangement of materials found in two balancing narratives (Rev 5 and 19).³ I would like to extend this series of studies here by calling attention to the parallel (non-chiasmic) structural forms found in two narratives located in relatively similar positions in the overall structure of the book, Rev 12 and Rev 20.

For a preliminary observation on the location of these two narratives in the overall structure of the book, K. A. Strand's outline of that structure may be noted.⁴ In that structure, Rev 12 is within a section which Strand has entitled "Evil Powers Oppose God and His People."⁵ As such, this narrative comes very close to the center of the book, where his transition from the "historical

¹William H. Shea, "Chiasm by Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 249-256.

²William H. Shea, "The Covenantal Structure of the Letters to the Seven Churches," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 71-84.

³William H. Shea, "Revelation 5 and 19 as Literary Reciprocals," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 249-257.

⁴Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979), p. 52. Though here the two main divisions of Revelation are simply designated "Part I" and "Part II" (see, however, the preceding page), in a revised form of the diagram, Strand refers to these two main divisions of Revelation as "Historical Series" and "Eschatological Consummation Series" (see Strand, "Apocalyptic Prophecy and the Church," *Ministry* [Oct., 1983], p. 23).

⁵Strand, *Interpreting*, p. 52, and "Apocalyptic Prophecy," p. 23.

series" to the "eschatological-consummation" series occurs. In fact, this fourth major bloc is the concluding sequence in the "historical series."⁶

Rev 20, on the other hand, is located at the end of Strand's seventh major bloc of materials in the book (Rev 19-20), that which he has entitled "Judgmental Finale by God."⁷ If one excludes the final bloc of material that deals with the New Earth (Rev 21-22), which obviously is very distinct in content, Rev 20 can be thought of as located at the conclusion to the main eschatological section of the book.

Thus, we find these two narratives, Rev 12 and 20, to be located at relatively similar and corresponding positions in the book as the concluding sections of the historical and the main eschatological series, respectively. This represents a non-chiastic parallel. However, as Strand has also pointed out, there is a chiastic correspondence, as well. He has indicated in a diagram (for convenience, incorporated as Diagram 2 at the end of this article) that one of the more limited chiasms in the book of Revelation deals with the entry of the evil forces opposing God's people, and then depicts, in reverse order, their demise.⁸ The first entity among these evil powers is none other than the devil himself, Satan, the great dragon. Chap. 12 is devoted to his activity during the historical period. Chap. 20 is the corresponding counterpart, as Satan, the dragon, meets his millennial imprisonment and the final defeat.

Given the types of literary correspondences found elsewhere in different passages in the book of Revelation, one might also expect to find some sort of correspondence between chaps. 12 and 20. And indeed, this proves to be the case. The type of correspondence through which these two narratives compare the most directly is in their use of very similar literary structures for their respective contents. Beyond that, however, there are also correspondences in thematic development and in alternation of the vertical and horizontal dimensions.

⁶See n. 4, above.

⁷Strand, *Interpreting*, p. 52, and "Apocalyptic Prophecy," p. 23.

⁸Kenneth A. Strand, "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 403. See also his discussion on p. 402.

1. *The Literary Structure of Revelation 12*

Regardless of any difficulties in interpretation, the progression of thought in Rev 12 is straightforward. As outlines in the commentaries illustrate, the transitions between that chapter's main thought units or sections are relatively well demarcated.

The narrative opens with a five-verse section which depicts a conflict between a glorified woman (vss. 1-2)—commonly interpreted as the church (or Israel as an earlier phase of the church)—and the dragon (vss. 3-4)—commonly interpreted as the devil and/or his earthly agent(s). The particular point of this conflict revolves around the man-child whom the woman delivers. Since this man-child was caught up to the throne of God and is to rule all nations with a rod of iron (vs. 5) he is commonly—though not universally—identified by the commentaries as representing Jesus Christ. Thus, we may identify this initial five-verse section of chap. 12 as describing the early phase of conflict between the dragon and the woman.

The next verse in this narrative (vs. 6) should be seen as transitional to an intermediate section that deals further with the conflict between the dragon and the woman. This transitional verse indicates that having given birth to the man-child, the woman, now more definitely identifiable with the church, found it necessary to flee into the wilderness for the purpose of self-preservation. There she remained, protected by God, for a specified period of time—1260 days.

At this point, the flow of the narrative dealing with the conflict between the dragon and the woman is interrupted to include a parenthetical section (vss. 7-12) which explains the origin of the dragon's enmity towards the woman. This section of the narrative is in part descriptive (vss. 7-9) and in part hymnic (vss. 10-12). The first portion of this central section describes a conflict in heaven between the dragon ("that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan" [vs. 9]) and his angels with Michael, the leader of the angels on God's side. Michael and his host emerged victorious, and the dragon and his host were cast down to earth. The second part of this central section celebrates the defeat of the dragon and warns the inhabitants of earth of his enmity.

Several different interpretations have been given to this central section. Some interpreters see it as a description of a conflict in

heaven in which evil originated prior to the creation of mankind. Others see it as a description of the victory gained by God over the devil at the time of the incarnation of Christ. Still others see it as a description of the victory gained by God through Christ's atonement on the cross. Our purpose here is not to give a detailed exegesis or interpretation of this passage. It is rather to see where these verses fit in the literary structure of the chapter. That point is clear, even though commentators may differ in their interpretation of the text itself. These verses provide a central bloc of material in the chapter; and the main flow of the narrative which is more directly concerned with the conflict between the dragon and the woman, resumes following this excursus.

The next section of the narrative, vs. 13-16, returns, then, to the subject of the woman in the wilderness, under attack by the dragon. In vs. 6, which we have noted above, it is mainly the actions of the woman herself that are in view. That subject is now treated again in vs. 14. But vs. 15 then continues with the other aspect of the subject—the actions of the dragon towards the woman during her residence in the wilderness. He pursued her there and poured out a great flood upon her to sweep her away. The earth helped the woman, however, and rendered the flood ineffectual (vs. 16). The length of time that the woman was resident in the wilderness is given again, in this instance as "a time, two times, and half a time" (vs. 14), which is equivalent to the 1260 days mentioned earlier in vs. 6.

For literary structural purposes, it is important to note how closely the contents of vs. 14 correspond to those of vs. 6:

Rev 12:6

"And the woman . . .
fled . . .
into the wilderness,
where she has a place
prepared by God,
in which to be nourished
for 1260 days."

Rev 12:14

"And the woman was given the two
wings of the great eagle that
she might fly from the serpent
into the wilderness,
to the place
where she is to be nourished,
for three and one-half times."

A comparison of the Greek phraseology found in these two verses indicates that the same words are used in them for "into the wilderness" and the "place" to which the woman fled. The same

verbal root for "nourish" is used in different forms in its two occurrences. While the verbs "to flee" and "to fly" are not the same, they convey a similar idea. Finally, both verses end with a time period, and those time periods should be equated.

From these specific lexical relationships, and also from the general thematic relationships present, it is evident that the content of these two verses makes a direct connection between them and that in fact vs. 6 and vss. 13-16 form an *inclusio* around the central section of vss. 7-12. Specifically, vs. 6 provides an initial statement about the flight of the woman into the wilderness, while vss. 13-16 provide an amplifying and concluding statement on the same subject. Thus, the complete or overall statement about the intermediate period of conflict between the dragon and the woman has been divided, and its two parts have been utilized to frame or enclose the central statement about the war between Michael and the dragon in heaven.

The final verse of the chapter, vs. 17, refers to the third and final phase of conflict between the dragon and the woman. In this case, at the end of the 1260 days, it is the remnant of her seed or offspring with which the dragon aims at making war. The nature of this final conflict is spelled out in more detail in the subsequent two chapters, which contribute in making up the bloc of prophecies in Rev 12-14.

There is a certain thematic link between the beginning and the end of Rev 12. Both deal with the dragon's attack upon the woman's offspring. In the first case, it is her principal offspring, the man-child, that is attacked; and in the latter case, it is the remnant of her offspring that is his target. Furthermore, the man-child at the beginning of the narrative should be interpreted as referring to Jesus, with the remnant at the end of the narrative bearing testimony to Jesus. And finally, in vs. 5, the dragon "stood" before the woman when she was about to bear her child, and at the end of the narrative the dragon "stood" upon the sand of the sea. (The same verbal root is present in these two passages. Some hold that this final statement should be connected with Rev 13, but this lexical correlation suggests that it may be correctly located at the end of Rev 12.)

From this survey of Rev 12, the contents of this chapter can now be reduced to a basic outline:

- A. Vss. 1-5 — Early dragon-woman conflict
- B¹. Vs. 6 — Intermediate dragon-woman conflict
- X. Vss. 7-12 — Michael-dragon conflict in heaven
- B². Vss. 13-16 — Intermediate dragon-woman conflict (resumed)
- C. Vs. 17 — Final dragon-woman conflict

2. The Literary Structure of Revelation 20

Like Rev 12, the thematic progression and the literary structure in the narrative in Rev 20, about the millennium, are relatively straightforward. The first three verses describe events that are to take place at the beginning of the millennium. The principal event to occur then is that Satan is to be imprisoned. Vs. 3 of this section is transitional in that it not only recites events to occur at the beginning of the millennium, but also anticipates the reversal of conditions at the end of the millennium—the loosing of the devil from his prison for a time.

The central section of the narrative (Rev 20:4-6) describes events that will occur during the millennium. The saints, especially the martyrs, will be resurrected and reign with Christ for 1000 years. During this period of time, they will sit upon thrones judging with him, as priests to God. A blessing is pronounced upon those who share in this first resurrection, and their fate is contrasted with the wicked, who will not come to life again until the 1000 years are ended.

The third major section of this narrative describes events that will take place at the end of the millennium (Rev 20:7-10). The devil will be loosed from his prison then, and he will go forth to deceive the nations of the wicked, whose resurrection has been referred to in vs. 5. He gathers them together for a final assault upon the city of God, but they meet their fate when fire comes down from God and consumes them.

For the purpose of studying the literary structure of this narrative, it is important to note the transitional nature of vs. 3 at the end of the first section and the transitional nature of vs. 7 at the beginning of the third section of this narrative. The former deals with the transition from events at the beginning of the millennium to the next section which describes events during the millennium, while the latter deals with the transition from events during the millennium to the next section which deals with events at the end of the millennium.

Given this transitional function for these two verses, one might expect to see some lexical correspondences between them. This proves to be the case, as can be seen from the following comparison:

<i>Rev 20:3</i>	<i>Rev 20:7</i>
<p>“He threw him into the pit, and shut and sealed it over him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years are ended. After that he must be loosed for a little while.”</p>	<p>“And when the thousand years are ended Satan will be loosed from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations”</p>

Much of the phraseology in these two verses is virtually identical. The correspondence is exact in the Greek of the phrase about the ending of the thousand years. In the cases of the dual occurrences of the verbs “to loose” and “to deceive,” the same roots are employed in different forms. The object of this deception, the nations, is the same. Also, it is evident from these correlations that the “prison” mentioned in vs. 7 is the same as the “pit” in which Satan is to be shut up in vs. 3. Even though vs. 3 concludes the section which deals with events at the beginning of the millennium, statements are made there which anticipate events that are to occur at the end of the millennium, as described further in vs. 7. The latter verse thus supplements and expands upon the former.

These close lexical and thematic relationships demonstrate that these two verses were written in such a way as to link them directly to each other. This serves the purpose not only of continuing the flow of the narrative about the millennium, but it also serves the structural purpose of forming an *inclusio*—(a frame or envelope)—around the central section, which deals with events during the millennium. That being the case, Rev 20:3 and 20:7 stand in the same position in their narrative as do Rev 12:6 and 12:13-16 in theirs, and these two sets of paired verses function in the same way, by forming an *inclusio* around the central sections of their respective narratives. An important further point of comparison between these two sets of paired statements is that both of them include references to time periods.

For our present purposes, the scene describing the judgment to take place at the Great White Throne (Rev 20:11-15) may be reserved

for a later comment. The literary structure of Rev 20:1-10, which we have covered thus far, may be summarized in an outline, as follows:

- A. Vss. 1-2 — Events at the beginning of the millennium
- B¹. Vs. 3 — Transition from the beginning of the millennium
- C. Vss. 4-6 — Events during the millennium
- B². Vs. 7 — Transition to the end of the millennium
- D. Vss. 8-10 — Events at the end of the millennium

3. *A Comparison of the Literary Structures of Revelation 12 and 20*

At this juncture, we may compare the literary structures of Rev 12 and 20. A first point of comparison that can be made between these two narratives is that they both describe a series of events occurring through a span of time; they each cover an era. Included within that era are prophetic time elements. Moreover, both of these eras are divided prophetically into a tripartite scheme. The three sections of this tripartite scheme deal with events at the beginning, through the middle, and at the end of their respective eras.

The central section of each of these narratives has been demarcated in a special way. The portions of text which introduce and conclude their respective central sections have been tied together through very direct lexical and thematic connections. Thus, as noted above, vss. 6 and 14 in Rev 12 and vss. 3 and 7 in Rev 20 are literary brackets around the central sections of their narratives that may be described as *inclusios* which provide frame or envelope constructions around those central sections.

These *inclusios* differ somewhat in the way they are made up, however. In Rev 12, the central section itself has been divided and an additional, almost-parenthetical section has been inserted between its two divisions. In Rev 20, the order of march in the narrative is more directly progressive, with no such parenthetical passage having been inserted. The section which deals with events during the millennium itself serves the same purpose in this instance, but the *inclusio* which frames it is no less distinct.

In abbreviated form, the outlines of these two narratives may now be compared as follows:

<i>Rev 12</i>		<i>Rev 20</i>	
Vss. 1-5	Beginning of the era	A. Beginning of the era	Vss. 1-2
Vs. 6	Transitional statement, of middle of the era	B ¹ . Transitional statement, to middle of the era	Vs. 3
Vss. 7-12	Central statement, parenthetical	C. Central statement, of middle of the era	Vss. 4-6
Vss. 13-16	Transitional statement middle of era resumed	B ² . Transitional statement to end of the era	Vs. 7
Vs. 17	End of the era	D. End of the era	Vss. 8-10

4. Thematic Correspondences Between the Narratives

The relations between Rev 12 and 20 involve both literary structure on the large scale indicated above and also specific lexical and thematic correspondences. An especially prominent example of the latter variety of relationship is present in the series of names and epithets applied to God's main adversary in Rev 12:9 and 20:2. In both instances he is identified as "the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan." The same four names and epithets occur in the same order in both passages of the Greek text, and these two passages are the only places in the entire book where this series as a whole is applied to him. This unique parallel between these two passages provides some evidence of an intent to connect the two narratives.

The last verse of Rev 12 describes a scene in which the dragon "stood on the sand of the sea." When the devil leads his great host in their march upon the city of God in Rev 20:8, "their number is like the sand of the sea." The same Greek phrase is used in both instances, and it is also connected with the devil and his work (in the first instance, used in a symbolical sense; in the second, applied in a more metaphorical way). Furthermore, the devil's function as deceiver is emphasized by the use of the same verbal root in both narratives: In 12:9 he is the one who "deceives" the whole world; in 20:3 he is bound so that he cannot "deceive" the nations any longer; and in 20:8 he is loosed once more and comes out of his prison to "deceive" the nations one final time. Though the target audience is not referred to in precisely the same terms, it is evident that that audience for these deceptions is essentially the same in Rev 12 and 20.

In both of these narratives we encounter the saints as the special group to whom the devil is opposed. In both instances they are said to give their "testimony." In 12:11 this testimony is one of the aspects of their lives by which they overcame the devil, while in 20:4 this testimony is identified as the factor which brought about their martyrdom. The word for "souls" occurs in these same two passages, as well—in 12:11 the faithful ones loved not their "souls" unto death as they gave their testimony, while in Rev 20:4 John beheld the "souls" of those who had been beheaded for giving their testimony. The use of these same word clusters in these two passages supports the idea that the same group of people is in view in both of them. The same group is also identified in the same terms under the fifth seal (Rev 6:9), and there is an interesting quasi-chiastic alternation in the word order of the original text for the order in which these elements appear in these three passages:

6:9	12:11	20:4
souls		souls
word of God	word of their testimony	their testimony
their testimony	souls	word of God

It seems evident that the intent of the text is to refer to the same group through the use of the same terminology in all three cases.

The position of the martyrs, and of the church more generally, in these two narratives brings up the subject of more broadly based thematic relations between them. While God and Christ stand supreme and are ultimately sovereign over all of the events described in these two narratives, the focus in particular is upon two main protagonists—the devil and the church.

The fates of these two entities follow rather reciprocal patterns through the course of the respective narratives. In general, Rev 12 portrays the devil on the offensive and the church on the defensive, with this general picture interrupted in the central section to describe an initial defeat of the devil—the one that took place in heaven during his confrontation with Michael. In Rev 20, on the other hand, the picture is reversed. The chapter begins with a picture of an initial defeat of the devil, and it ends with a picture of his final defeat, but between these two poles we encounter the victorious members of the church, especially the martyrs, whom the dragon had previously defeated in a limited physical sense. Now

they have come to life in the resurrection and are reigning with Christ as priests to God.

Thus, these two narratives follow an A:B:A pattern, both in terms of literary structure and in terms of the theological themes treated within the units in that structure. The negative and positive poles have been reversed, however, in terms of the fate and outcome for the two main protagonists in the two narratives.

Another theme which alternates between Rev 12 and 20 is that of the blessing and the curse, a couplet of ideas which has distinct covenantal overtones. Towards the end of Rev 12, a woe is pronounced upon the earth because the devil has been cast down to it and is vigorous in prosecuting his work (vs. 12). This statement occurs in the second, or hymnic, half of the central unit of the narrative. By way of contrast, a blessing is pronounced in the same location in the millennial narrative—a blessing upon those who have come up in the first resurrection (Rev 20:6).

5. The Alternation of Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions

An additional important aspect of these two narratives is their use of the vertical dimension of apocalyptic; i.e., the connection between earth and heaven that is found in them. The situation with respect to this is relatively straightforward in Rev 12. Although there is reference to John's seeing signs in heaven at the beginning of this chapter, it soon becomes evident that these signs portray earthly events—the attack of the devil upon the church in the world. Then, in the central section of the chapter, the scene shifts to heaven, to the war between Michael and the dragon. Finally, the latter portion of the chapter becomes quite emphatic that the scene for this warfare has shifted back to earth. Thus, Rev 12 begins with a scene on earth, shifts to a scene in heaven, and concludes with another scene on earth. This A:B:A pattern of the vertical dimension in this chapter follows that same A:B:A pattern also utilized for the literary structure and theological themes, as noted earlier.

The matter of the vertical dimension in Rev 20 is more complex. First, there is the question of the location of the "pit," "prison," "abyss," to which the devil is confined during the millennium. Since he is released from this prison to work with his hosts on earth again, it seems reasonable to conclude that this location of confinement, whatever its precise nature, should be thought

of as closely connected with the earth in one way or another. The final episode in this narrative also takes place on earth (Rev 20:7-10).

That leaves for examination the larger question of where the action of Rev 20:4-6 is to take place. Since they identify the events of the Christian era with those of the millennium, some amillennial interpreters see these events in Rev 20:4-6 as occurring in heaven in correspondence with the course of spiritual events on earth throughout this era.⁹ Among premillennial interpreters in general, there has been a tendency to locate the events of Rev 20:4-6 on earth;¹⁰ but a minority view among premillennial interpreters sees these events as occurring in heaven.¹¹ To the extent to which similar patterns exist for the vertical dimension between the structurally parallel passages in Rev 12 and 20, to that extent the suggestion that the events of Rev 20:4-6 have a heavenly setting receives some further support. Thus, the movement in Rev 20:1-10 is sequentially from earthly (vss. 1-3), to heavenly (vss. 4-6), to earthly again (vss. 7-10).

The three patterns—those of literary structure, thematic development, and vertical dimension—can now be correlated with each other through the use of another outline:

⁹It is common among present-day amillennial interpreters to locate Rev. 20:1-3 in heaven and 20:4-6 on earth, both spanning the Christian era. For a representative example of this, see A. Hoekema, "Amillennialism," in R. G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1977), p. 165. The first known statement of an amillennial position in early Christian literature comes from Augustine, who changed his own stance from premillennialism to amillennialism and set forth his amillennial views in *The Kingdom of God*, book 20.

¹⁰For representative examples of the "historic premillennial" position see G. E. Ladd, "Historic Premillennialism" in Clouse, p. 17; and for a representative example of the dispensational position, see H. A. Hoyt, "Dispensational Premillennialism," in Clouse, pp. 91-92. Though both of these positions hold to an earthly millennial kingdom, the dispensational position is unique in stating that this is a kingdom for the Jews—in fact, it is supposed to be the kingdom promised to the Jews in the OT, then promised to them again by Christ but rejected by them in NT times, and now finally fulfilled to them during the millennium.

¹¹This position is held by Seventh-day Adventists; and for a representative example, see F. D. Nichol, ed. *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7 (Washington, D.C., 1957): 886.

	Rev 12			Rev 20			
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Locus</i>		<i>Locus</i>		<i>Theme</i>	<i>Structure</i>
Beginning	Satan's initial attack	Earth	A	Earth		Satan's initial defeat	Beginning
Vss. 1-6							Vss. 1-3
Middle	Satan's heavenly defeat	Heaven	B	[Heaven]		Church victorious	Middle
Vss. 7-12							Vss. 4-6
End	Satan's final attack	Earth	A'	Earth		Satan's final defeat	End
Vss. 13-17							Vss. 7-10

6. *The Final Scene of Revelation 20*

One final scene of Rev 20 remains to be discussed, and that is the Great-White-Throne scene of vss. 11-15. On the basis of its contents, this scene is both connected with and yet separate from, the preceding narrative about the millennium. The "lake of fire," which is mentioned in vss. 14-15 of this scene, has already been referred to previously, in vs. 10, in the third descriptive scene of the millennial narrative. These two references obviously have in view the same "lake of fire." Thus, to put the Great-White-Throne scene in correct chronological order, one would have to insert it between vs. 9a and vs. 9b, because the fire which goes to make up that lake comes down at that point in the narrative.

To some extent, therefore, the final two scenes of this chapter go over the same ground twice. But each of the two scenes has its own major emphasis. The earlier of the two emphasizes the destruction of the devil and his agents, perhaps because the whole narrative of Rev 20 began with him as its subject. Then the closing scene which follows places its emphasis upon God as the judge, who presents his final judgment at this time. This second supplementary scene thus provides a fitting thematic conclusion to the events of the millennium.

This final section of Rev 20, in vss. 11-15, appears also to provide a fitting structural conclusion to this bloc of text. One reason for this can be seen from a comparison with the narrative of Rev 12. The question arises as to whether any corresponding feature can be found there.

In this connection, attention should be called to Rev 11:19. Contrary to the current chapter divisions of the text of the English Bible, this verse belongs with Rev 12, not with what precedes it, as Strand has pointed out.¹² Each of the major lines of prophecy in Revelation is introduced with what Strand has identified as the "Victorious Vision."¹³ Rev 11:19 fits satisfactorily into that category as an introduction to the major line of prophecy presented in Rev 12 through 14. Following this, the next major bloc of prophecy in Revelation includes the seven bowls or plagues and the fall of the impure woman in Rev 16-18, introduced by the Victorious Vision of Rev 15.

The bloc of prophecy which includes the presentation of the millennium begins in Rev 19, introduced by the Victorious Vision of 19:1-8. But this same bloc of prophecy also concludes with a Victorious Vision, that of Rev 20:11-15. This latter Victorious Vision brings the events of the millennium and of salvation history proper to a close. As such, it is especially fitting that it should be added to the end of this narrative.

This concluding material in Rev 20:11-15 balances, in turn, with the Victorious Vision in Rev 11:19 that immediately precedes the narrative of Rev 12. In addition to this structural balance, these two Victorious Visions share some related thematic elements as well. In 11:19 the Ark of the Covenant was seen in God's temple in heaven, and from it issued lightning, thunder, hail, and an earthquake—events that in Revelation are characteristic of God's judgments (cf. 4:5, 8:6, and 16:18). Because of the fact that the glory of God was represented as dwelling over the mercy seat of the Ark of the Covenant in the OT sanctuary (Exod 25:22; 30:6; Lev 16:2; Num 7:89), that location came to stand for God's earthly throne. In like manner, we may think of God's throne in heaven as associated with the Ark of the Covenant seen by John in the vision of it given to him in Rev 11:19.

These aspects of this scene in Rev 11:19 relate to what was seen in the final Victorious Vision of Rev 20:11-15; namely, God's throne from which he gives judgment. Thus, these two Victorious Visions

¹²Strand, *Interpreting*, pp. 46-47, 48, 51, 52.

¹³Ibid., pp. 48, 51.

share in common these two themes: God's throne, and the judgment given from it. These alternately balancing scenes have been added to the diagram of the parallel literary structures of Rev 12 and 20 which summarize this study (see Diagram 1 at the end of this article).

7. *Conclusions*

Some concluding observations are now in order on the nature of the literary structures of Rev 12 and 20 and their significance.

1. A distinct form of literary structure has been derived from the text of Rev 12, and that form is followed quite closely in Rev 20. This form consists of a tripartite division of the narrative, in which the central section of the three is in each instance framed by a repetitive *inclusio* that links the first section with the third.

2. The contents of the narratives set in these two frameworks, however, are not identical. Thematically, they are almost reciprocals of each other. Their similarity in form, therefore, should not be pressed to the point of making them identical. The millennial era of Rev 20 is not the same as the era of the church in Rev 12. This pattern is comparable to other chiasmically parallel patterns in the book (e.g., the trumpets and plagues are similar, but not identical).¹⁴ The relationship here is rather that of two eras, one of which (Rev 20) follows the other (Rev 12).

3. The relatively balanced locations of those two narratives in the overall structure of the book should be noted. Rev 12 is within the final historical series, whereas Rev 20 is within the final eschatological series, if the somewhat different material in chaps. 21-22 is excluded. Moreover, chaps. 12 and 20 are chiasmic counterparts in a chiasm that reveals the devil's activity in history and then his being judged in the eschatological consummation.

4. A general parallelism between these two passages supports the idea that both of these prophetic narratives span eras. The first section of the tripartite structure of Rev 12 pertains to the beginning of the Christian era; the middle section carries time forward toward the end; and finally, attention is called in the last section to the dragon's wrath with the remnant of the woman's offspring. In

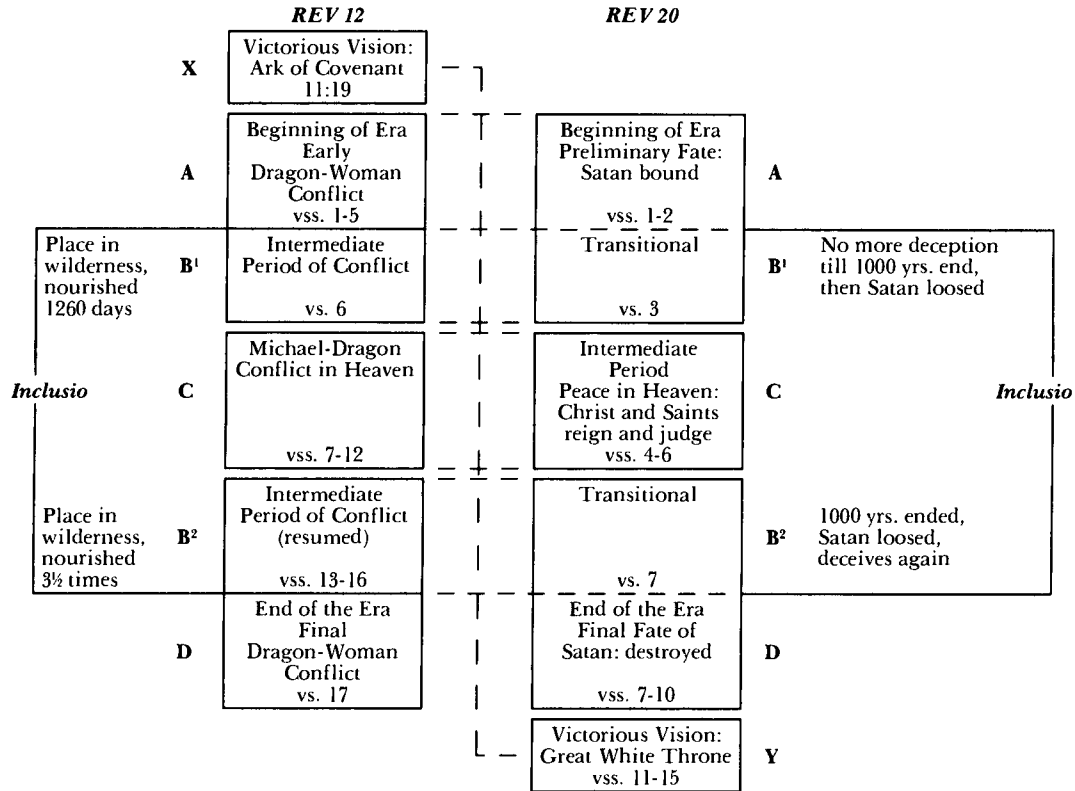
¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

Rev 20, the first few verses introduce the millennium, then comes the description of the millennium itself, and finally the narrative describes the events at the close of the millennium.

5. Not only are these two parallel passages prophecies about eras, but they both also contain specific time elements relating to the extent of their respective eras. I would suggest that the first time prophecy (in Rev 12) appears to be given in symbolic time, whereas the other (in Rev 20) appears to be given in literal time. There is an intriguing correspondence here with the use of time periods in the Book of Daniel. This matter deserves discussion beyond what can be provided here, and I hope to treat this subject in a later article.

6. Finally, a few theological observations may be made on these two parallel prophecies. Rev 12 and 20 both confirm to us that the ultimate defeat of God's great adversary is assured. The church and its members may yet suffer physically at his hands, but a preliminary victory over him has already been won and thus his ultimate defeat and destruction are certain. The example of the martyrs who have gone before us stands out here, for they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony. God will one day reverse this earthly situation, just as the fates of the respective parties shift according to the prophetic transition from Rev 12 to Rev 20. God is the final sovereign judge, and he will ultimately restore his creation and set right the wrongs that have been inflicted upon his earthly servants by their adversary in ages past.

DIAGRAM 1
COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES—REVELATION 12 AND 20



STRUCTURE OF REVELATION 12 AND 20

DIAGRAM 2

THE EVIL HIERARCHY INTRODUCED AND JUDGED
 (only the first verse of multi-verse references is given)

- A. Dragon (12:3)
 B. Sea-Beast (13:1)
 C. Earth-Beast = False Prophet (13:11)
-
- D. Babylon (14:8)
 E. Beast-Worshippers (14:9)
-
- E'. Beast-Worshippers (16:2)
 D'. Babylon (16:19)
-
- C'. Earth-Beast = False Prophet (19:20)
 B'. Sea-Beast (19:20)
 A'. Dragon (20:2)

Note to Diagram 2: This diagram is from Kenneth A. Strand, "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 403. For further information concerning it, see Strand's notes to it on p. 403 and his general discussion on p. 402.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beld, Scott G.; Hallo, William W.; and Michalowski, Piotr. *The Tablets of Ebla: Concordance and Bibliography*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1984. x + 70 pp. Paperback, \$6.50.

This is a handy little book for anyone interested in following the course and content of Eblaite studies. A concordance like this has been made necessary in large part because of the division among the members of the team of the Archaeological Mission to Syria from the University of Rome. When discharged from his responsibilities as epigrapher of the expedition, G. Pettinato took with him the photographs and hand-copies of at least one thousand of the tablets that had been excavated at the site of Tell Mardikh in north-central Syria. He is in the process of editing a series of volumes in which the texts at his disposal are being published. This series is known as *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla (MEE)*, and is already up to vol. 4, if not further.

On the other hand, P. Matthiae, the director of the excavations, has turned the complete corpus of texts from the site over to an international committee of Assyriologists, and he now utilizes the services of A. Archi as the chief epigrapher of the expedition team. The series of text volumes being published by this group is known as *Archivi reali di Ebla (ARET)*, and is already up to vol. 3, if not further.

In addition to these two principal text-volume series, miscellaneous texts from this archive have been published in various journal articles. For the scholar who works in this area, therefore, the task of keeping up with what has been published and where it has been published can become somewhat complicated. This concordance sets out to resolve that problem, up to the time of its publication.

As each tablet came out of the ground at the tell, it was given an object number according to the year of the excavational season (1974, 1975, or 1976), the area where it was found (palace G), and a serialized accession number. When Pettinato published his catalogue of the texts in *MEE* 1, however, he assigned them new numbers according to his organization of them. In addition, each successive volume of *MEE* and *ARET* that has come out contains its own publication number for the texts within it. What has been done in this concordance is to coordinate all of this information in one easy-to-read table of six columns.

These six columns include (1) the original excavation number, (2) the *MEE* I catalogue number, (3) the name of the editor of the text when it was published, (4) the date of publication, (5) a brief reference to the publication in which it appears, and (6) if a photograph of the text is available, its source. A bibliography of Eblaite studies which are oriented around primary textual studies accompanies the table.

If one wonders what will become of this concordance when more texts are published, the editors have promised that the files will be updated as soon as such new texts are published and that new editions of the concordance will be forthcoming.

Because the Eblaite texts were written in two languages, Eblaite and Sumerian, and because Eblaite looks like a dialect of Old Canaanite (or Old Akkadian, according to some authorities), the contents of these texts will probably have a certain degree of continuing relevance for biblical studies, beyond their value in the realm of Assyriology and Syriology, to which they more properly belong. This concordance, and future editions of it, will undoubtedly be a considerable boon, therefore, to anyone working in biblical studies as well as to scholars in those other fields of study.

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Dennison, James T., Jr., *The Market Day of the Soul: The Puritan Doctrine of the Sabbath in England, 1532-1700*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. xii + 174 pp. \$19.75/\$9.75.

Two aspects of the bibliographical data cited above require initial comment: the title of this study, and its length. When James Dennison refers to the Puritan Sabbath, he means Sunday, in keeping with the mainstream Puritan view that the moral obligation of the fourth commandment had been transferred to the first day of the week. Here Dennison stands on a firm enough foundation, as the sources readily indicate. There is nothing new to those familiar with seventeenth-century religious history in the fact that Puritanism emphasized the Sabbath and sought its sanctification on Sunday.

In attempting to cover the Sabbatarian debate from 1532 to 1700 in 140 pages of text, more than half of which are given over to copious footnotes and lengthy quotations, Dennison is on rather shakier ground. One might justifiably wish for a more thorough discussion of this long-running and often-involved controversy than the remaining seventy pages or so of Dennison's own analysis permit. It has to be remembered, therefore, that this work is essentially an M.Th. dissertation (submitted originally in 1973), and that a certain superficiality is inevitable.

Dennison divides his topic into four chronological periods: (1) "The Formative Years: The Sabbath and the Desire for a Pure Reformation, 1532-1603"; (2) "The Restless Years: The Sabbath in the Era of the *Book of Sports*, 1603-1633"; (3) "Years of No Rest: The Sabbath Pamphlet Wars, Laud and the Revolution, 1633-1650"; and (4) "Years of Relative Rest: The Sabbath as an English Custom, 1650-1700." Despite this rather neat classification, one has to look hard at times for the distinctions suggested in these chapter titles. While progression did occur in the controversy as the years unfolded, there was also evident reiteration and entrenchment which Dennison's somewhat arbitrary division tends to conceal. This deficiency is to a degree remedied by Dennison's method, which essentially is to survey the works of the main protagonists in this debate, thus reflecting the repetitive nature of many of the arguments involved.

Reference has already been made to Dennison's excessive use of lengthy quotations. While this might be acceptable in an academic thesis, it makes for heavy reading, and might even be construed to suggest that the author found his sources overwhelming. To my mind, this latter charge could not be made to stick, but the book's heaviness is apparent on a number of occasions beyond the frequency of quotations.

Dennison's style is often clumsy, and his argument not developed along clearly discernible lines. What are we to understand by a "period of precisioning the Sabbath" (p. 22)? Or, what is meant by the remark, "It should be obvious that whatever effect the *Book of Sports* had on restraining 'merry ol' Englishmen' was short-lived" (p. 65)? Even in context, not very much is obvious from this statement. And, furthermore, it is also from no standpoint clear that "by 1650, the English Sabbath had apparently found its rest" (p. 116).

Despite its obvious limitations, Dennison's study does provide some helpful insights into the Sabbatarian controversy in Reformation and post-Reformation England. The author succeeds in convincing us that the Sabbath issue was very much alive long before Richard Greenham at the end of the sixteenth century and Nicholas Bownd at the beginning of the seventeenth century—the time at which the Sabbatarian debate is usually said to have begun. Hooper, Latimer, Cranmer, and Becon may all be cited as proto-Sabbatarians of the Puritan kind, and Dennison's observation that "future Sabbatarians would look back to the days of Henry VIII and Edward VI in order to find the rudiments of their doctrine" (p. 13) is fully justified. Several advocates of the Puritan Sabbath drew on the writings of early English reformers in defense of their argument that the anti-Sabbatarianism of Stuart kings and their bishops was a late English twist to traditional Christian doctrine.

It is also helpful to be reminded that the Puritan attitude to the Sabbath, so frequently caricatured beyond recognition, was not in reality

overstrict or burdensome. Some servile labor was regarded as essential, as were works of mercy and "extraordinary works of absolute necessity." Dennison provides sufficient evidence to demonstrate that, given the Puritan commitment to a thoroughgoing biblical theology, its Sabbath doctrine was in principle opposed to extreme strictness. Hence, he is able to affirm, "The popular impression that the Puritans were 'kill-joys,' dour and sombre to the point of morbidity, is absurd" (p. 113).

Those who wish to pick their way with relative ease through the dense jungle of the Sabbatarian controversy could do much worse than follow Dennison through his third chapter. Here the arguments of two of the three contending sides in the debate, the Prelatical party and the Puritans, are clearly and fairly summarized. Seven questions are intended to encompass the controversy, of which the following are representative: When was the Sabbath instituted? Is the letter of the fourth commandment moral? Was the Lord's Day instituted by divine authority or by ecclesiastical authority?

Dennison shows that on virtually every issue, the establishment Prelatical party and the Puritans were irreconcilably opposed. By way of example, the Prelatical party argued that the Sabbath was instituted at Sinai and that Gen 2:1-3 was a proleptic assertion of a doctrine yet to come. The Puritans, on the other hand, maintained that the Sabbath was a "creation institution," given to the human race in Eden. The Prelatical party conceded that the Lord's Day had no foundation in Scripture, let alone in the fourth commandment, while the Puritans claimed full divine and biblical authority for the substitution of the first day for the seventh.

Indeed, it is at this point that, in Dennison's judgment, the underlying issue in the whole controversy comes most clearly to the surface—in the question of authority, ecclesiastical or biblical. Exponents of the Prelatical view saw quite clearly in which direction admission of biblical authority with regard to the Sabbath might take them, and sought to avoid it. Exponents of the Puritan view saw this with equal clarity, and also sought to avoid some of its implications, but by very different arguments.

Here, a note of disappointment with regard to Dennison's treatment must be sounded again. Dennison bases his study on the proposition that the Puritan view is one of three positions on the Sabbath which struggled for recognition in the English church of the seventeenth century, and goes on to say that it was flanked "on the left" by "the Prelatical party," and "on the right" by "the Seventh-day or Saturday-Sabbatarians" (p. xii). That being the case, we are left to conjecture why Dennison does not give as thorough an analysis of the views of the party to the "right" of the Puritans, as he does to the Prelatical party on the "left."

Indeed, the study as a whole could be described as a comparison of the Prelatical-party views with the views of the Puritans, with occasional

references to the Saturday-Sabbatarian position thrown in. It is true that the names and views of some of the more well-known seventh-day men do appear towards the end of the book—John Traske, Theophilus Brabourne, Thomas Tillam, and Francis and Thomas Bampffield—but we are not given any real idea of the strength of the Saturday-Sabbath arguments. In fact, Dennison himself seems totally unaware of the extent to which these views had spread throughout England by the end of the seventeenth century. And it must be noted, furthermore, that neither Traske nor Tillam is thoroughly representative of the Seventh-day movement as a whole.

Moreover, Dennison's insistence on the Puritan view as the *via media* between the two extremes of the Prelatical party and the Saturday-Sabbatarians may be considered to betray a subjective, if not biased, stance. It could be argued with equal logic that the Saturday-Sabbatarian position was a *via media* between two opposing views of the Lord's Day, or Sunday-Sabbath—the Prelatical view, which allowed that ecclesiastical authority could supersede biblical authority in matters adiaphorous, and the Puritan view, which tried to defend Sunday on the grounds that it had been substituted in apostolic times on divine authority. Perhaps the charge of subjectivism could be substantiated by a statement such as the following: "Without a doubt, the New Testament indicates that the Christian church assembled on the first day of the week, Acts 20:7; I Corinthians 16:1, 2; Revelation 1:10" (p. 107). After all, the Saturday-Sabbatarians, in their many published works, dealt at length with all of these texts, although Dennison chooses to ignore this line of evidence.

Subjectivism aside, Dennison has provided a useful introduction—but no more than this—to one of the most significant and protracted theological controversies to arise in English-speaking Protestantism. It is a debate which continues today, still calling forth from all sides the arguments raised four centuries ago in the mature years of the English Reformation. When the questions are at last settled, it may well be that Dennison's final word on the subject might prove to be a shade too narrowly Calvinistic and predestinarian. The Puritan Sabbath, he concludes, is "an ideal to be attained perfectly in the *eschaton*—by the godly!" (p. 141). That the godly will participate in the eschatological attainment is hardly to be disputed. That the godly are those alone who continue to champion the Puritan Sabbath is altogether another matter.

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Hawthorne, Gerald F. *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 43. Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1983. liii + 232 pp. \$18.95.

The "Editorial Preface" to the Word Biblical Commentary claims that the broad stance of its contributors is evangelical, as this term is understood in its positive and historical sense. That is, there is "a commitment to scripture as divine revelation, and to the truth and power of the Christian gospel" (p. ix).

There are several features that make this commentary series easy to use, two of which deserve special mention here: (1) The abbreviations used are divided into ten lists, thus making them easy to find and identify. Besides the usual lists of general items, periodicals and reference works, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works, other lists of abbreviations include "Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts," "Targumic Material," "Other Rabbinic Works," "Orders and Tractates in Mishnaic and Related Literature," and "Nag Hammadi Tractates." (2) There are seven indexes, one for each of the following: ancient authors, modern authors, selected subjects, biblical texts, Dead Sea Scrolls, rabbinic and mishnaic writings, and finally patristic writings.

A unique feature of this series is that the various commentators provide in each instance their own translation of the biblical text, thus enabling them to work into the translation their understanding of words and syntax. The commentators' own translations then become the basis for their particular commentaries.

The bibliographical information furnished in each commentary, moreover, is extensive, and is another strong point of this series. Preceding the "Introduction," there is a bibliography listing commentaries that have been used in the preparation of each individual volume. The Introduction itself begins with a "General Bibliography" containing references to works on the topic of introduction, and each subdivision of the Introduction contains a bibliography. Within the body of the commentary, each passage that is dealt with has its own bibliography, as well. Finally, the volume may also include a substantial concluding bibliography (for instance, the volume on Colossians and Philemon, treated in a separate review on pp. 74-76, below, has an additional nine-page bibliography at its conclusion).

The format of the series volumes presents five clearly defined sections. The first is the commentator's translation of the biblical text. This is followed by "Notes," where variant readings are listed, along with manuscript witnesses and the commentator's observations on the variants. The third section, "Form/Structure/Setting," is devoted to the literary form and structure of the passage being studied. The two concluding sections, "Comment" and "Explanation," present the exposition of the biblical passages and relevance to biblical studies.

With this general background, we may now make some observations that relate specifically to Hawthorne's commentary on Philippians. Hawthorne sees this book as a single literary unit, written by the Apostle Paul around A.D. 59-61 from prison in Caesarea. Those who opposed the proclamation of the gospel, and thus became Paul's opponents at Philippi, were Jews, who had their own missionaries proclaiming a message of righteousness and perfection that was available through circumcision and compliance with certain laws.

On the whole, Hawthorne offers penetrating and interesting insights into the text of Philippians. However, in one place, Phil 1:23-24, where Paul expresses himself as being upon the horns of a dilemma, Hawthorne faces the decision as to which horn to light upon, and is obviously uncomfortable in settling upon either of them. His translation of these two verses reads, "Indeed, I am torn between two desires. I desire to break camp and to be with Christ, which is a very much better thing for me, and I desire to remain alive in this body, which is a more urgent need for you" (p. 32). He observes that some commentators see in other passages a consistent Pauline doctrine of life after death: The Christian who dies sleeps until the second coming of Jesus, at that time being awakened and raised to a new life (1 Cor 15:35-55; 1 Thess 4:13-5:10). On the other hand, Phil 1:23 seems to suggest that at death the Christian is immediately ushered into the presence of his Lord. This would render belief in the future resurrection "superfluous." And thus, we find Hawthorne in his own two-horned dilemma.

Instead of choosing one position and explaining the other in light of his choice, Hawthorne attempts a compromise between the two, thus introducing a position that is seriously questionable. Following the lead of several other commentators, he wishes to preserve what he sees as Paul's understanding that there is fellowship with Christ immediately following death, while maintaining the integrity of a future resurrection. Thus, he concludes that Paul envisioned "an intermediate existence in which any deceased Christian . . . is 'with Christ' after death and before the resurrection in a state of companionship with Christ in glory" (p. 50). This intermediate state has no independent existence apart from the resurrection, but (here following H. Ridderbos) "'to be with Christ' after death and before the resurrection 'does not have the full redemptive significance in Paul's epistles that the resurrection has'" (p. 51).

To say the least, this compromise has a hollow ring, especially so in view of the passages in 1 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians. An explanation of Phil 1:23 based on Paul's "consistent doctrine of the life after death" subsequent to the resurrection would be truer to Paul than is this compromise. But aside from this questionable interpretation, the volume as a whole is a worthy and useful publication.

Hayes, John H., and Holladay, Carl R. *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook*. Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1982. 132 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

As the title suggests, Hayes and Holladay in this short volume intend to introduce students and nonspecialists to the art/science (p. 27) of interpreting the biblical text. Unlike some other similar introductions to exegesis (e.g., Otto Kaiser and Werner G. Kümmel, *Exegetical Method: A Student's Handbook*, new rev. ed. [New York: Seabury Press, 1981]), Hayes and Holladay integrate their treatment of the OT and NT throughout. Their approach is to discuss the task and application of exegesis and the various critical tools in general, with examples and illustrations from each Testament, rather than to introduce the exegesis of the two Testaments separately. They have attached to each chapter of their volume an excellent bibliography of related English-language publications.

The first chapter of the book provides a general introduction to exegesis, which the authors define as "a systematic way of interpreting a text" (p. 23). They move from the universal need to interpret all types of communication to the specific challenges associated with, and the history of, interpreting the biblical text. The task of biblical exegesis is said to be the search for *an* interpretation of a given text, rather than *the* interpretation. Here I would raise this query: Would it not be better for each exegete to aim for *the* interpretation of the text at his particular point in time and space and in his particular community?

The authors devote the next seven chapters to specific critical tools available to the exegete. These tools include textual, historical, grammatical, literary, form, tradition, and redaction criticism. Generally, these chapters provide a good overview of the various types of analysis.

The discussion of textual criticism would have been enhanced, especially for beginners, by the inclusion of more examples of types of variants and by illustrations of how to apply the criteria for determining preferred readings. The bibliography for this chapter should not have included as critical editions of the NT the several volumes of gospel parallels it lists.

The chapter devoted to grammatical criticism (defined as concern "with the meaning of the words in their combination in sense units" [p. 54]) is strong on the lexical elements of texts (words and phrases), but is somewhat weak on the strictly grammatical elements (grammar and syntax). The expression of caution concerning word studies (pp. 59-60) is commendable.

The treatment of literary criticism is weak on the various literary phenomena that may be associated with a text. Little or nothing is said on

the kinds of texts represented in the Bible or on how such kinds of texts function as texts (e.g., narrative, parable, hymn, etc.). Some good examples would have been helpful.

It may seem that the issue of kinds of texts is taken up in the chapter on form criticism. However, in this discussion, genres are treated only in terms of classification and *Sitz im Leben*, as one would expect, and are not considered as "kinds of texts" from a literary perspective. The authors make no mention of alternatives to form criticism, such as the approach of the Scandinavian school.

The final two chapters of this volume deal with the integration of exegetical techniques and the application of biblical exegesis to history, theology, preaching, and personal edification. The authors would have greatly improved their treatment of integration by exegeting a sample biblical text. They also state that the preacher is one who must look at the text from the outside in an objective manner, as opposed to one who reads the text from within for spiritual edification. However, this perspective ignores the fact that the one who proclaims the message of the text to others will be most effective if he himself has been edified by it.

Among the many positive characteristics of this book are its good organization of material, its balanced consideration of the Old and New Testaments, its use of common language, and its definition and explanation of technical terms.

The book suffers somewhat from its lack of an index of topics and terms, from the absence of documentation and references (e.g., pp. 21, 33), and from its failure to consider the roles of the Spirit and personal prayer in the exegetical process. The most serious problem with the book is the unfulfilled expectation created by the title. The word "Handbook" in this case suggests a manual for the beginner to use in doing his own exegesis. However, while beginners would encounter here a good survey of the need for, and techniques involved in, biblical exegesis, they would not find a step-by-step method of approaching the text through the application of the various tools.

Nevertheless, Hayes and Holladay have produced a helpful volume. Their publication is a useful elementary introduction to biblical exegesis for beginners and a commendable review for veteran scholars in the field of biblical studies.

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Holmes, Arthur F. *Contours of a World View*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983. ix + 240 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

Contours of a World View is the first volume in a ten-volume series entitled "Studies in a Christian World View." Under the general editorship of Carl F. H. Henry, the series is being sponsored by the Institute for Advanced Christian Studies. Holmes, chairman of the philosophy department of Wheaton College, has presented an overview of what he believes it means "to think Christianly today" (p. viii). His volume provides the philosophical framework for the nine subsequent works, in which a spectrum of scholars will explore the relationship between Christianity and contemporary philosophy, psychology, economics, natural science, the Eastern religions, the arts, history, contemporary God-concepts, and literature. This series, to my knowledge, will be the most extensive unified treatment by evangelicals of the interface between Christianity and the larger culture. As such, it has the potential of being a significant influence in helping Christians think of "secular" subjects in Christian terms.

Holmes, who is convinced "that the most persuasive case for Christianity lies in the overall coherence and human relevance of its world view," highlights the importance of world views and "sketches in broad strokes the overall contours of a distinctively Christian world view in relationship both to the history of ideas and to the contemporary mind" (p. viii). He uses the insights of philosophy as well as theology to develop a Christian view of things as an alternative to the prevalent naturalistic humanism of our day. While recognizing that there are many contemporary alternatives to theism besides naturalistic humanism, Holmes has delimited himself to this alternative, since his purpose is not to be comprehensive, but to set forth a Christian world view in contrast to representative forms of contemporary humanism and to "point directions for further inquiry" (p. ix).

The results of such a methodology, he suggests, will not be formal proof, but a proposal regarding the shape of Christian thought and "an invitation to pursue its implications further because of the intellectual credibility and the human appeal of its claims (p. ix). Part of Holmes's purpose is to help Christian thinkers better understand the role of presuppositions. Accordingly, he claims, it is important that Christians be able to ferret out the influence of non-Christian assumptions and to supply distinctively Christian presuppositions in their place.

Contours is divided into three parts. Part I is the most important, since it not only sets the stage for the balance of the book, but also provides the essential framework for the other nine volumes in the series. In chap. 1, Holmes points out that a world view is a basic human need, since it unifies thought and life, defines the good life, provides hope and mean-

ing, and is a guide to both thought and action. Chap. 2 explores the general nature of humanism and, more specifically, the attributes of four modes of naturalistic humanism that are major shapers of world views in contemporary culture—scientific humanism, romanticist humanism, existentialist humanism, and Marxist humanism. This exposition is followed by a discussion of values. Holmes then points beyond secularism to the potential of Christian theism, with its emphasis on creation and persons, to develop a Christian humanism that has “another basis for values, another conception of social institutions, and so on” (p. 30). The third chapter identifies the variables that shape a world view; discusses the relative contributions of theology, philosophy, and science to the building of a world view; and points to issues important in the justification of world-view beliefs.

Part II examines the major themes of a Christian world view in historical perspective and contrasts the Christian position with its naturalistic alternatives. The themes treated include God and creation, persons in contemporary and Christian perspective, truth and knowledge, a theistic basis for values, and society and history. Holmes’s belief that “the first and overarching theme of a Christian world view is the God-creation distinction and relationship” is the foremost postulate of each discussion. “We think,” claims Holmes, “about everything within that framework and live in every sphere of life in relation to the God who acts” (p. 92).

Part III applies the implications of a Christian world view to four types of cultural activity—human creativity, science and technology, work, and play. It thus attempts to bridge the gap between abstract thought and daily life.

Holmes has treated a most important topic for twentieth-century Christians who are enveloped in secular culture. To a large extent, he has succeeded in his task. His general approach is quite helpful, even though his writing tends to be a bit murky at times.

His book provides a useful guide to presuppositional analysis, which is even more interesting if the philosophical and theological presuppositions of Holmes himself are examined as one reads the book. His discussion of a Christian view of society, for example, is firmly rooted in the Calvinistic approach to the redemption of culture. To me, this merely highlights the existence of the variation of world views within the evangelical community, and, more importantly, the necessity of reading everything with one eye on presuppositions—a point upon which Holmes would agree. In the final analysis, *Contours of a World View* is a thoughtful proposal and a stimulating invitation to think Christianly about every aspect of contemporary life.

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

This volume honors G. E. Mendenhall, Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan. Mendenhall has been a prodigious OT researcher, whose work has started up, to cite one example, a whole subspecialty of biblical studies with his landmark study on the covenant in 1954. This collection of useful and interesting essays provides a fitting tribute to Mendenhall's work.

In the lead article, N. K. Gottwald extends the discussion of the social-revolution model of the Conquest and Settlement, originated by Mendenhall, to answer critics of Gottwald's own book on the subject. The particular critic that he singles out, the sociologist G. Lenski, sees early Israel as a frontier society, while Gottwald holds that Israel arose through revolt from the heart of Canaanite society and territory. Gottwald also sees early Israel as more egalitarian than Lenski does.

The "Sack of Israel" to which John McKenzie refers in his study by the same name was the extortion of the Israelite people by an oppressive kingship (cf. 1 Sam 8), not that of a foreign invader. This "sack of Israel" resulted in the enrichment of the king and his ruling oligarchy. Under this system the people of the land were affected by their "enemies," the tax collector, the landlord, and the money lender.

J. W. Flanagan has dealt with the topic "Succession and Genealogy in the Davidic Dynasty." He sees discrepancies in the genealogies of the descendants of Saul and David as clues to the way in which their political fortunes developed.

Taking up the subject of the covenant, R. R. Wilson has contributed a study on the way in which the covenant was enforced in ancient Israel. Under the monarchy a judicial bureaucracy was set up which operated under the authority of the king. The picture of the administration of justice in the pre-monarchic period is more attenuated in the biblical sources. In this period, justice was administered on different social levels—those of family, clan, village, and tribe. Wilson denies M. Noth's thesis that the "minor judges" of the book of Judges functioned as judicial officers over all of Israel.

D. J. McCarthy, who has also written extensively upon the covenant, addresses that subject in late OT sources. These sources show how the idea came to be modified by that time. Particular emphasis was placed upon the stipulations of the covenant in this period as a provision of wisdom. But why was there no covenant renewal under the Maccabees? McCarthy's answer is: the lack of prophetic guidance then.

In B. A. Levine's contribution to this volume, he has explored aspects of "Legal Themes" in the book of Ruth. His treatment covers the technical terminology for "purchase" and "redeem," their significance, and their application in the story of that book.

H. Huffmon, in a study on Amos, suggests that although the prophet's message is one of judgment which indicates that the end has come, that kind of a message still served the social role of calling the people back to correct conduct under the covenant. W. Harrelson has contributed a study of Isa 9:1-6, in which he connects it with both the immediate and local situation in Isaiah's time and with the more-remote future. J. J. M. Roberts has explored the role of transformed human society in the eschatological kingdom described in Isa 32. And D. Hillers has attempted to fit Micah 5:4-5 into a more concrete geo-political picture by emending its rulers of "men" (Heb., ^ʾ*adam*) into rulers of "Aram"—this on the basis of a scribal error which he proposes.

In his "Discourse on Prophetic Discourse," David Noel Freedman, a fellow professor of Mendenhall's at the University of Michigan, has examined Micah, chaps. 1 and 3. For chap. 1 in particular, he holds that the text is not as corrupt as previously assumed, but that it can be understood better when it is analyzed from a poetic standpoint. Frank M. Cross, Jr., has also provided a poetic analysis for this volume in his treatment of the Psalm of Jonah. Cross feels that the poetic differences between the two main sections of this psalm in Jonah, chap. 2 (vss. 3-7 and 8-10) are so great as to indicate different authorship.

The archaeological section of the *Festschrift* begins with A. E. Glock's appeal for the use of ethnography in archaeological research. A. R. Green has followed this up with an extensive survey of the social stratification at the city of Alalakh in ancient Syria. John Lundquist, in his study entitled "What is a Temple?: A Preliminary Typology," has provided a series of interesting propositions about what constitutes a temple. J. T. Luke, who wrote his doctoral dissertation under Mendenhall on texts from Mari from the early second millennium B.C. that deal with the Amorites, has dealt with the biblical references to the Amorites. And L. T. Geraty of Andrews University has examined the different ways possible for relating the narrative about the conquest of Sihon's Transjordanian kingdom in the book of Numbers with the archaeological evidence excavated at Tell Heshbân.

The final section of this *Festschrift* is entitled "Biblical Ideology," and it includes three studies: "Magic, Monotheism, and the Sin of Moses," by J. Milgrom; "Qoheleth and the Reformation of Wisdom," by F. A. Spina; and "From Holy War to Holy Martyrdom," by W. H. Brownlee. The volume concludes with Mendenhall's bibliography as compiled by M. O'Connor, plus author and Scripture indices.

I would say that the aim of the editors has been realized well, in that they have brought together a series of interesting, useful, and perceptive essays by a significant panel of authors on different topics, especially as these topics revolve around the interests of the honoree, G. E. Mendenhall. It is a well-prepared book which serves as a fitting tribute to one of the more outstanding figures in American biblical studies today. It can indeed be recommended for its in-depth coverage on the topics treated.

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WILLIAM H. SHEA

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

William S. LaSor is Professor Emeritus of OT Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary and has authored or co-authored nearly twenty previous books dealing with biblical studies and related fields. Included among his earlier titles are handbooks of both NT Greek and biblical Hebrew. The present volume reveals LaSor's expertise with respect to both the biblical literature and the original languages in which that literature was written.

It is important to state early in this review that the title is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as only one chapter (chap. 11, pp. 135-149) out of a total of fifteen chapters treats "Armageddon" specifically. A few other chapters may be considered corollary to the discussion; but by and large, the volume treats materials far beyond what normally is considered to relate to "Armageddon."

Chaps. 1 and 2 deal with "The Present Concern with the End" and with a definition of "The End of the World." Chaps. 3-7 carry the following titles, respectively: "The Present Age," "The People of God," "The Servant of the Lord," "The Satanic Character of This Age," and "The Messianic Idea." What most readers will undoubtedly consider the portion of the book relating more specifically to "the end times" (a phrase from the subtitle) begins with chap. 8 on "The Second Coming of Christ." Then follow, in succession, chapters on "The Antichrist," "The Great Tribulation," "Armageddon," "The Millennium," "The Resurrection," "The Judgment," and "The New Heavens and the New Earth." The author, prior to preparing the manuscript for this volume, had presented the basic material as series of studies at two Presbyterian churches in California (see p. xii), and it seems obvious that in both that sort of context and in the book now published he has endeavored to provide a *broad* perspective as the basis for the much more limited and specific topic indicated in this book's title.

Aside from LaSor's evident competence in biblical studies, his organization of material in each chapter is also such as to deserve commendable mention. All fifteen chapters begin with a statement of "the problem," introducing the reader very quickly to the main issues currently under discussion on the respective topics. He then presents his own analysis under convenient and logical subtopics. All but the first and last chapters have as their final section of text a helpful "summary" (chap. 1 has instead a section entitled "The Present Task"). Finally, the chapters conclude with endnotes and then suggestions for additional reading. Following this main text are a bibliography (pp. 207-210), a "Subject Index" (pp. 211-220) and an "Index of Scripture Verses" (pp. 221-226). The two indexes are particularly comprehensive and useful for a book no larger than this. (Included in the latter index, incidentally, are brief subsections for "Apocrypha" and "Noncanonical Books.")

As an illustration of the type of coverage in a chapter, we may note chap. 3, "The Present Age." Aside from the "problem" and "summary" statements, the subtopics are "What Is an Age?," "This Is a Satanic Age," "This Is a Revelatory Age," "This Is an Age of Human Government," and "This Is an Age of Redeemable Men and Women." In this chapter, as elsewhere, LaSor refers constantly to the Scripture data as basic. But here, as also elsewhere, he is indeed familiar with current secondary literature. Scripture documentation is provided in footnote form (in only eleven pages of main text, chap. 3 has 71 such notes, sometimes with multiple Scripture references in the same footnote); the references to other literature and the presentation of general explanatory material appear in the endnotes.

As in-depth as this volume's coverage of the various topics is, it seems to me that there are occasionally significant gaps. For instance, in chap. 5, "The Servant of the Lord," it is curious that the only servanthood that is dealt with is that of redeemed human beings. The author's treatment of this limited aspect of the topic is admittedly perceptive (the concept of "servant and service" is treated from the standpoint of both Greek and Hebrew; and a number of aspects of servanthood, including "obedience" and the role and significance of suffering, are dealt with in an incisive and thought-provoking way); *but* where is the discussion of the Servant *par excellence*? It would seem that at least from the NT standpoint, any treatment of the topic "The Servant of the Lord" should have as central to its discussion—if indeed not the very beginning point of it—the person whom Scripture sets forth as the great Exemplar.

Similarly, in chap. 7, "The Messianic Idea," does not LaSor unduly restrict the backgrounds by treating only the *royal* aspect, while neglecting other roots of the concept? And is it precisely accurate to declare that "to attempt to remove the 'material' elements of the messianic age and leave only the 'spiritual' is to cut the doctrine from its Old Testament roots and

leave it as a structure more akin to Greek idealism" (p. 85)? Such a declaration, it seems to me, fails to take into account *all* the OT roots, as well as the meaning of the "remnant" concept in both OT and NT.

In the final chapters of his book, LaSor has to grapple more directly with a plethora of current views on eschatological topics. In doing so, he is not dogmatic; but readers will undoubtedly find various parts of his treatment here somewhat more debatable (possibly at times, even speculative) than the material in earlier chapters. Nevertheless, his arguments against a pretribulation rapture of the Christians (pp. 130-131) and his caution against removing the Gog prophecy of Ezek 38 from its contemporary setting (p. 139) seem to be particularly well taken. With respect to the former, however, I would question his prior discussion which views the several time periods of Daniel 7, 8, 9, and 12 from a *futuristic* standpoint (pp. 128-129); and with respect to the Gog prophecy, his critique of certain current lines of interpretation that connect "Rosh" with "Russia," etc., could have been strengthened by linguistic analysis, as well as further historical data. Also, his treatment of the "Armageddon" imagery of Rev 16:16 (toward the end of chap. 11), though basically cautious and balanced, could have benefited from considerations of the kind noted by William H. Shea, "The Location and Significance of Armageddon in Rev 16:16," *AUSS* 18 (1980): 157-162.

In conclusion, I would state that *The Truth About Armageddon* is a valuable production that treats an array of important related biblical topics, even though it has relatively little to say specifically about "Armageddon" as such. Its shortcomings, including those noted above, are, in my view, quite minimal in comparison with the richness of material and the perceptive analysis that are provided. The book's excellent organization and the author's clear and smooth writing style are further "plusses." Readers will certainly be rewarded by reviewing LaSor's incisive discussions of both Scripture data and current viewpoints. Even the exercise of looking up, in context, the wide array of Scripture references which he cites will provide an enriching experience.

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KENNETH A. STRAND

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

It is seldom that a reviewer has the opportunity to review three books by the same author, especially books that are in a sequence to follow up and extend earlier discussion of the same topic. In *The Great Rapture*

Hoax, MacPherson again sets forth the thesis in his two books that I have earlier reviewed: *The Unbelievable Pre-trib Origin* (reviewed in *AUSS* 13 [1975]: 86-87), and *The Late Great Pre-trib Rapture* (reviewed in *AUSS* 15 [1977]: 238-239). The common thesis to these three publications is that the concept of a pretribulation ("pre-trib," in MacPherson's popular jargon) "secret rapture" as held by modern dispensationalists harks back to the charismatic revelations of Margaret Macdonald, in Port Glasgow, Scotland, in the spring of 1830. To this specific matter, highlighted in a lengthy "Appendix A" in the present publication ("Margaret's Revelation," pp. 125-180), as well as in chap. 3, I shall return later in this review; but attention should first be given to the general scope and content of the book and to some of the features that broaden or extend the coverage of the present volume over that of its predecessors.

The Great Rapture Hoax has five main chapters: 1, "The Rapture Revolution" (pp. 3-14); 2, "Famous Rapture Watchers" (pp. 15-42); 3, "Back to Beginnings" (pp. 43-70); 4, "Appearances Can Be . . ." (pp. 71-87); and 5, "Time to Wake Up!" (pp. 89-124). There are also two appendixes besides Appendix A, mentioned above. These further appendixes are as follows: B, "Lacunza's View" (pp. 181-186); and C, "Gundry's Change" (pp. 187-204). There is also a section entitled "Footnotes" (actually, endnotes, pp. 205-210), but the volume has no index (nor is one really needed).

The first chapter outlines briefly the author's own background with respect to pretribulationism and furnishes an account of the recognition being given his earlier publications on the same subject. Chap. 2 begins the book's real content enhancement by quoting excerpts from some 124 writers from the early-church period till the present day—writers who have expressed belief in a *post*-tribulation rapture (pp. 16-35). Though this information is necessarily very brief and also somewhat sketchy, it nonetheless is valuable in providing an overview. The use of a chronological sequence for the entries, together with a format that makes the individual items stand out, increases the value of the material from the standpoint of utility as a reference list. (One may wish to compare and contrast, e.g., the far-more-detailed treatment of the somewhat less-sweeping and less-clearly-organized presentation by George E. Ladd, *The Blessed Hope* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956], pp. 20-34, 45-58.)

Skipping past chap. 3 for the moment (it will be discussed below, in conjunction with Appendix A), we may note that chap. 4 does basically two things: (a) it uncovers unsavory aspects of C. I. Scofield's life (including newspaper reports of such); and (b) it reveals that certain leading pretribulationist advocates, such as Harry Ironside, have expressed doubts about pretribulationism. The second feature is interesting, to say the least; but one can well wonder whether there is much value in MacPherson's *ad hominem* argumentation with respect to Scofield. If MacPherson had

proved that the Scofield Reference Bible was the product of fraud (and such is *not* the case, nor does MacPherson attempt the task), his discussion might have been *apropos*. But what do the details of Scofield's marital status, Scofield's questionable practices during his political career, etc., have to do with the correctness or error in his pretribulationist views as expressed in the notes of the Scofield Reference Bible?

Chap. 5 portrays more forcefully than any other chapter the author's own strong personal involvement in his subject matter. He begins with accounts of strange events that would hamper his research on pre-trib origins (including a fire at Powerscourt House in 1974, thus destroying any evidence that might be uncovered there). He next deals with the lethargy of the news media to treat the question of pre-trib origins, though they have in other respects given abundant attention to the right-wing clergy who are proponents of the view. Has he adequately considered, however, that *secular* media would necessarily be more interested in the overt political interests and activities of this group than in religious theories? Then, a major portion of the chapter is devoted to discussion of certain ideas recently and/or currently set forth by pretribulationist exponents (including a few pages on the "Jupiter Effect" and other speculations). His perceptive analysis of a number of present-day pretribulationist arguments that are frequently mentioned in radio and television broadcasts (treated on pp. 98-108) constitutes, to my mind, one of the more valuable aspects of this book. Moreover, for persons confused about terminology relating to the varieties of "millennialist" and "tribulationist" positions, the author's discussion on pp. 114-116 provides an excellent, accurate, and easy-to-understand overview.

Appendix B, dealing with Manuel Lacunza's eschatological views, is timely. Certain writers in recent years have attributed the idea of a two-stage second advent of Jesus to Lacunza, who wrote his major work on the subject prior to 1800. Moreover, it has also been suggested that Edward Irving adopted the same concept in 1826, while translating Lacunza's work into English (four years prior to Margaret Macdonald's vision that MacPherson claims originated the view!). By use of a number of direct quotations from Lacunza's own work, MacPherson shows that what Lacunza really believed entailed no double second coming, nor any pretribulation rapture of the saints. Rather, Lacunza saw Christ's *one* second advent as embracing a period of time. Lacunza does state that upon Christ's coming forth from heaven and "much before" his arrival on earth, he gives forth orders (involving the "shout, the archangel's voice, and the trumpet of God"); but the "much before" must be seen in the context of Lacunza's reference to other writers of his time who thought of the period as but "a few minutes" (see pp. 181-182). Lacunza, as MacPherson also points out, does deal with a 45-day period (based on Lacunza's subtraction of the 1290

days from the 1335 days of Dan 12), but in Lacunza's view this period was *after* Christ's descent to earth, subsequent to the tribulation, and with the saints here on earth at that time (pp. 183-184). To my mind, this rather short Appendix B, consisting of only six pages, is one of the major contributions in MacPherson's present book.

The final appendix in *The Great Rapture Hoax* notes that Robert Gundry, in the "sixth printing" of his *The Church and the Tribulation* (December, 1980), has deleted "all of his support for Edward Irving as the Pre-Trib originator" and substituted MacPherson's "published evidence about Margaret Macdonald"—this change in Gundry's stance taking place subsequent to a long letter by MacPherson to Gundry, dated January 21, 1980 (p. 187). Then the text of the letter follows as the major portion of this appendix. It is a letter which, incidentally, provides a rather broad and quick overview of the lines of argument that influenced MacPherson to opt for the Margaret Macdonald thesis.

That thesis, as mentioned earlier in this review, is reiterated in chap. 3 and Appendix A of the present volume. As in MacPherson's first book on the topic, the text of Margaret's vision, as published in 1840 in Robert Norton's *Memoirs of James & George Macdonald, of Port Glasgow*, is given in full—at this time, however, with the advantage of a numbering of the lines of text (117 lines in total). This presentation of the text of the revelation at the outset of Appendix A (pp. 125-128) lends to easy reference with respect to MacPherson's discussion of specific items in the text.

I would say, however, that such discussion, both here and in chap. 3, is no more convincing than the author's earlier attempts to discover in this "revelation" a pretribulation secret rapture. The text of the vision makes abundantly clear that the antichrist's activity "with all power and signs and lying wonders" constitutes "the fiery trial which is to try us" (lines 63-65), that the "trial of the Church is from Antichrist" (lines 85-86), and that it "is by being filled with the Spirit that we shall be kept" (lines 86-87). The fact that Margaret's vision considered the "sign of the Son of man" as being "just the Lord himself descending from Heaven with a shout" (lines 7-13), moreover, has nothing to do with a secret *pretribulation* rapture of the saints. Rather, in the context of the discussion that follows, it manifestly relates to the importance of spiritual discernment on the part of Christ's followers (i.e., to the power of the Holy Spirit), so as to withstand antichrist's persecutions and to be ready for the *post*-tribulation rapture. What Margaret's view seems more akin to is that of Lacunza, a point overlooked by MacPherson; and one can well wonder if somehow she had had contact with Lacunza's material.

What has just been said does not dispute the fact that certain later pretribulationists, such as Norton, could read back their *own* views into Margaret's revelation. Their doing so does not, however, validate the idea

that that vision was really pretribulationist in even the most incipient form. Its very text speaks to the contrary!

In spite of the author's failure to *prove* his thesis regarding Margaret Macdonald, his chap. 3 and Appendix A summarize some vital discoveries that have been made with respect to early pretribulationist developments. It is interesting to find, for example, that Irvingites did not express pretribulationist ideas until September of 1830 and that among the Plymouth Brethren the earliest evidence of such leanings comes from 1831. Moreover, J. N. Darby himself—the individual most responsible for the origin and initial spread of *present-day* pretribulationist views—did not manifest any pretribulationism prior to 1834. Finally, in the earliest period of the two-stage second-advent theory, the two stages were separated by only a very short period of time; it was not until about 1839 and 1840 that both Irvingites and Darbyites stretched the period out to encompass seven years.

In conclusion: Although I see in this new volume some of the same weaknesses and strengths as I have indicated in my reviews of MacPherson's earlier books on the topic, the present title has additional material that is helpful indeed. The presentation style is again popular, rather than scholarly, in nature. It is obvious, however, that the author has done a great deal of "homework" (or perhaps better said, "library research"). *The Great Rapture Hoax* can well be read and reflected upon by Christian educators, pastors, and laity. The enthusiasm with which MacPherson and his wife have devoted themselves to the task of divulging the *late* origin of the pretribulationist theory (in this point they are correct, regardless of the manner of the origin) and the very reasonable price of the books they have published—these are indications that theirs is indeed "a labor of love." That labor of love can well be received as such; and its fruitage, as represented in *The Great Rapture Hoax*, provides both fascinating and helpful reading, irrespective of points of agreement and disagreement.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

O'Brien, Peter T. *Colossians, Philemon*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 44. Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1982. liv + 328 pp. \$18.95.

In my review of the commentary on Philippians in this series, I have made certain general observations concerning characteristics of the various volumes of the entire series (see p. 60, above). Those observations pertain also to the volume here under review.

With respect to the two epistles treated in this volume of the commentary, O'Brien sees them both as written by Paul about A.D. 60-61 during the

Apostle's first Roman imprisonment. The two letters were carried by Tychicus, who had also been entrusted with the return of Onesimus to Philemon.

Concerning the Colossian epistle and the situation in Colossae, O'Brien is tentative about a Colossian heresy. If it did exist, he would tend to agree with F. F. Bruce that it was "a Phrygian development in which a local variety of Judaism had been fused with a philosophy of non-Jewish origin" (p. xxxiii).

As for O'Brien's comments on the biblical text in Colossians, as with Hawthorne's commentary on Philippians, this author too displays penetrating insights. This fact can be illustrated by reviewing his treatment of three controversial passages (though, of course, not all of his conclusions will or should go unchallenged).

First, after surveying recent comments on the Christological hymn at 1:15-20, O'Brien states that the case developed by the majority of writers against Pauline authorship is very flimsy indeed. To speak of this hymn as a Christological digression—an excursus—or to speak of it as not belonging to the context is misleading. This hymn "undergirds" the whole epistle; "remove it and a serious dislocation occurs" (p. 62).

Second, at 2:11 the "circumcision of Christ" is not taken as a subjective genitive, with the understanding that Christ circumcizes the heart of the believer, and that Christian baptism replaces circumcision as the sign of the covenant. Rather, O'Brien follows Bruce, G. R. Beasley-Murray, and others in seeing the circumcision of Christ as his crucifixion, of which Christ's literal circumcision was an anticipatory token. O'Brien feels that Paul's statement here concurs with others made by the Apostle, in which the believer is described as sharing in Christ's death (= circumcision), burial, and resurrection. However, in the NT Jesus' suffering is repeatedly called his "baptism," not his "circumcision," and one wonders if O'Brien does not force the meaning of the text here in Col 2:11.

Third, "the religious festival," "new-moon celebration," and "sabbath day" at 2:16 are not, declares O'Brien, being condemned by Paul, for the observance of these holy days was a sign of Israel's election and evidence of her obedience to God's law. These sacred days, however, were being kept at Colossae for the sake of the "astral powers who directed the course of the stars and regulated the order of the calendar" (p. 139), i.e., the elemental spirits of the universe. So, what Paul is condemning is the wrong motives for the observance of these days. Nor, in O'Brien's view, were the Colossian Christians to observe these sacred days as obligatory, for Christ and his gospel are the perfect reality to which these customs pointed as a shadow—customs that had lost their binding force.

With respect to the epistle to Philemon, one can wonder why this epistle, consisting of a mere twenty-five verses, was included in the canon. O'Brien, following J. Knox, supports the idea that Onesimus, the fugitive slave, became the bishop of Ephesus; and, in this position of authority, Onesimus saw to it that Paul's letter to Philemon became part of the Pauline corpus. The alternative possibility that Philemon was included in the canon because the three principal characters—Philemon, Paul, and Onesimus—portrayed the workings of the plan of salvation is not even entertained by O'Brien. However, except for this one glaring omission, O'Brien's insights with respect to this epistle are generally good, and his treatment of the text is helpful.

Andrews University

GEORGE E. RICE

Raitt, Jill, ed. *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland and Poland, 1560-1600*. New Haven, Conn., and London, England: Yale University Press, 1981. xx + 224 pp. \$22.50.

The book *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland and Poland, 1560-1600* is a bold undertaking. It attempts to present within 224 pages the biography, the theology, and the role in the church of twelve important but generally poorly-known theologians of the second half of the sixteenth century: Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Johann Wygand, Martin Chemnitz, Jakob Andreae, Heinrich Bullinger, Theodore Beza, Lambert Daneau, Zacharias Ursinus, Peter Canisius, Stanislas Hosius, Peter Skarga, and Faustus Socinus. Thus, one may not expect in-depth treatment. The success of the book must be judged on the basis of the crispness and clarity with which it brings out what is most significant about each of those shapers of religious traditions. Elusive as this goal is, it has been successfully reached by several contributors to that work.

For instance, in her chapter on Theodore Beza, Jill Raitt, the editor of the volume, has done a remarkable job of presenting in easy-to-read language the essentials concerning Calvin's successor at Geneva. Her presentation of his theology is a model of the genre, a broad overview that focuses on the points which are quite particular to Beza. She clarifies for the reader how God's sovereignty meshes with man's capacity to make decisions, however warped by sin the latter may be. One may well be surprised at the degree of concern that this predestinarian had concerning man's free will. Also, by a sharp definition of Beza's christology, Raitt is able to give the rationale for his views of the Eucharist. And throughout the chapter, she shows the points at which Beza went beyond Calvin.

One may regret, however, that Raitt does not commit herself more clearly on the thorny issue of Beza's role in the development of the doctrine of predestination. She seems to see in Beza's position an inevitable development of Calvin's thought. One cannot read her chapter, though, without being impressed by her ability to expose the unity of Beza's theology.

Robert Kolb's essay on Jakob Andreae and Derk Visser's on Zacharias Ursinus also deserve commendation for drawing clearly the theological framework of the thought of those men. John Donnelly has brought out the controversialist's skill of the Jesuit Peter Canisius. In a few of the essays, the biographical sections are excellent.

Moreover, one cannot help noticing the decidedly ecumenical spectrum of the book, which takes us from the Gnesio-Lutheran Matthias Flacius to the Unitarian Faustus Socinus, with stops on the way in the Reformed and Catholic streams.

The type face is very pleasant to the eye, and there are few mistakes. Ironically, what is perhaps the most glaring error appears on the first page of the editor's own chapter, where Beza's birthday is given correctly in the title as "1519" but appears seven lines later as "1516." Finally, it may be said that even though price-wise the book is not exactly cheap, its wide range of difficult-to-obtain material makes it nonetheless quite a bargain.

Andrews University

DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Weber, Timothy P. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982*. Enlarged edition. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. viii + 305 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

"One of the least expected developments in American religion since World War II," writes Timothy Weber, "has been the evangelical renaissance" (p. 3). Of special concern to Weber is the development of a widespread interest in Christian eschatology that has made it possible for Hal Lindsey's *Late Great Planet Earth* to sell over twelve million copies in such unlikely places as drugstores, supermarkets, and "secular" bookstores.

Part of Weber's purpose in producing this volume was to provide a clearer picture of the historical rise of this interest in biblical prophecy. More specifically, however, he purposed to "ask behavioral questions about the history of American premillennialism. . . . For example, what difference did believing in the imminent second coming of Christ make in the way people actually lived? How do modern, educated people behave in a growingly complex industrial society, when they are firmly convinced that

this age might suddenly be turned into the age to come by the personal return of Jesus Christ?" (p. 8). Thus, the word "living" in the title is quite accurate in revealing the book's primary purpose.

It is Weber's behavioral approach that differentiates his work from a mere reiteration of the evolution of premillennialism as a movement. This methodology, developed by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., in *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York, 1969), endeavors to supplement more traditional approaches to the historical craft, rather than to exclude them. It is Weber's behavioral analysis that constitutes his main contribution to our understanding of premillennial thought in American life.

Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming was originally formulated as a doctoral dissertation under the guidance of Martin E. Marty at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. In 1979, Oxford University Press published a revised version of Weber's dissertation that covered the period from 1875 through 1925. The recently published enlarged edition has brought the coverage up through 1982, and has thus caught the post-World-War-II interest in premillennialism that has been largely fueled by events related to the founding and growth of Israel as a nation.

Weber's subtitle, *American Premillennialism, 1875-1982*, is somewhat misleading, since he does not provide an account of the development and behavioral impact of premillennialism in general. Rather, he focuses on a particular variety of premillennialism—futurist, pretribulationist, dispensational premillennialism. Other positions (i.e., historicism, midtribulationism, and posttribulationism) are introduced briefly, to provide a context for Weber's discussion of pretribulationism. Perhaps his misleading subtitle can be forgiven, in view of the fact that pretribulationist dispensationalism is by far the majority view among American premillennialists. At any rate, Weber makes his focus clear in his introduction, even though he brings in some attention to posttribulationism and midtribulationism in his final chapter.

The first of Weber's nine chapters provides a context for his discussion throughout the volume. This chapter's focal point is the distinction between the "new premillennialists" (i.e., the dispensationalists) and the "old premillennialists" (i.e., the Millerites). In order to succeed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, according to Weber, the new premillennialists had to establish two related truths: "that they had nothing essentially in common with the discredited Millerites, and that they were just as evangelical and orthodox as the rest of the Protestant mainstream" (p. 16). Within the framework of these needs, chap. 1 briefly surveys dispensationalism's historical roots and its cardinal points of prophetic interpretation.

Chaps. 2, 3, and 4 are in many ways the core of the book in terms of the impact of premillennial belief on daily Christian living. These three chapters highlight the dilemma which the Christian premillennialist faces as he seeks to live responsibly in (and even improve) a world that is soon to be destroyed. Chap. 2 explores how premillennialists adjusted their personal lives in the light of an imminent second coming, while chaps. 3 and 4 probe the relationship between belief in an any-moment second coming and revivalism, world evangelization, and the inherited evangelical commitment to social reform. These three chapters shed light on issues faced by premillennialists of all stripes, and are of themselves worth the price of the book.

Subsequent chapters include the reactions of dispensationalists to World War I and issues of prophetic interpretation in the twentieth century, particularly with respect to those prophecies dealing with the reestablishment of Israel. Chaps. 5 through 9 provide extensive coverage of the historical development of this line of prophetic interpretation, but, unfortunately, do not remain especially faithful to the author's purpose of demonstrating how these beliefs influence behavioral life-styles.

Despite Weber's deviation from his primary purpose, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming* is a volume that deserves serious attention from scholars who are interested in the history of fundamentalism, the development of dispensational thought, and the effect of this thought on Christian living.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

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

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*. Transl. by James L. Schlaf. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985. xiii + 557 pp. \$36.95.

Focuses on the young Luther. Chronologically, the book complements Heinrich Bornkamm's *Luther in Mid-Career - 1521-1530*. Brecht contrasts the theological perspectives of earlier biographies with the results of more-modern Luther research.

Charlesworth, James H. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983. 1 + 995 pp. \$35.00.

The first volume of this landmark work contains two sections: (1) Apocalyptic literature and related works, and (2) Testaments (often with apocalyptic sections). Many of these documents are here for the first time translated into modern English.

DeMolen, Richard L., ed. *Leaders of the Reformation*. Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press / London, Eng.: Toronto, Ont.; and Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1984. 360 pp. \$39.50.

Focuses on how some of the major figures in the Reformation perceived themselves as reformers, and how their reforming ideas were related to an inward religious experience and personal piety. Eleven essays deal with Erasmus, Luther, Zwingli, Karlstadt, Loyola, Calvin, Thomas Cromwell, Reginald Pole, the Châtillon Brothers, Ferdinand II, and William Laud.

Furnish, Victor Paul. *II Corinthians: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 32A. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984. xxii + 619 pp. \$18.00.

Treats the literary and theological characteristics of Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians and its historical and sociological background. Maps, diagrams, and photographs shed light on the city of Corinth and its people at the time of Paul.

Goldstein, Jonathan E. *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 41A. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983. xxiii + 595 pp. \$18.00.

Examines the book of 2 Maccabees, treating its vocabulary and style, its emphasis on the miraculous, its parallels with and divergences from 1 Maccabees, its references to the teachings of the Torah and the Prophets, and its historical context. Also attempts to reconstruct sources, and concludes that 2 Maccabees is an abridgment of Jason of Cyrene's work and was written for a Greek-speaking audience as a contrast to the propaganda in 1 Maccabees.

Heinz, Johann. *Justification and Merit: Luther Vs. Catholicism*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 8. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1984. xi + 459 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Over the past several decades, as Heinz points out in this volume, the Catholic picture of Luther has changed to a more balanced and correct one. A few

ecumenically minded Catholic theologians even hold that "Catholic theology is in basic agreement with Luther in the doctrine of justification," a statement "perceived on the Lutheran side as 'most highly positive and pleasing.'" Heinz, however, reaches the conclusion that the bridging of the fundamental gap between Luther's *sola fide* principle and the Tridentine dogma of the Catholic church would require "either a disregarding of Luther or an interpreting of the Catholic doctrine in such a way that it can be brought into conformity with the Reformer." Theological subtleties or dialectic will not remove the obstacle, he contends, for to accomplish this there would be need to "relinquish fundamental structures" in the historical and dogmatic position on the part of at least "one of the dialoguing partners." And therefore, "the claim does not seem justified that consensus has been reached on justification and that the dispute over the doctrine of merit can be given up."

Knight, George A. F. *Servant Theology: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 40-55*. International Theological Commentary. [2d] rev. ed. Edinburgh: Handsel Press / Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1984. ix + 204 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

Verse-by-verse theological commentary. Places "Deutero-Isaiah in the second half of the 540s B.C."

Lindars, Barnabas. *Jesus Son of Man: A Fresh Examination of the Son of Man Sayings in the Gospels in the Light of Recent Research*. London, Eng.: SPCK, 1983 / Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1984. xi + 244 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Reappraisal of the meaning and use of the phrase "Son of Man" in the NT. Reviews the linguistic usage of the Aramaic phrase, taking this original meaning as

the criterion for distinguishing the authentic sayings of Jesus from those constructed by the Gospel authors, and shows each evangelist's distinctive use of the phrase. Finally, relates the whole tradition of the Son-of-Man sayings to the development of Christology.

Seton, Bernard E. *Our Heritage of Hymns: A Swift Survey*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1984. viii + 152 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Rather than presenting stories behind the writing of our hymns, this book sketches "the history of the Christian hymn by presenting some of the men and women who have written the words and composed the music for some of the best hymns that grace the English language." Short chapters range from our Greek inheritance, the Roman world, medieval times, and the Reformation era in Germany, France, and Britain, to the age of Watts and Wesley, the Victorian epoch, and our own time. Contains a bibliography and several indexes.

Sigrist, Marcel. *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum*. Institute of Archaeology Publications, Assyriological Series, vol. 4; Andrews University Cuneiform Texts, vol. 1. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1984. vii + 89 + 108 pp. \$23.95.

This first in a series of five volumes treats 974 economic texts from the Drehem archive (Ur III, 2100-2000 B.C.). The book contains indexes of personal names; names of deities; toponyms, temple names, and field names; geographical names; register and description of the texts; concordance of accession numbers; a Sumerian index; and 108 plates of autographed texts. A supplement volume on seals from the Ur-III epoch will appear later.

Smith, Ralph R. *Micah-Malachi*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 32. Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1984. xvi + 358 pp. \$18.95.

A study of the last seven "minor prophets" according to the Hebrew canon. Treats the original setting of the books, and the primary meaning of the language the prophets used for warning, rebuke, praise, and hope.

Szarmach, Paul E., ed. *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe: Fourteen Original Essays*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press,

1984. vi + 376 pp. \$39.50/\$14.95.

The fourteen essays treat both figures who are traditionally considered important, and mystics who thus far have usually been known only to specialists and scholars. There are chapters on Augustine, Smaragdus, William St. Thierry, Bernard of Clairvaux, Friar Thomas, Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, Meister Eckhart, John Tauler, Nicholas of Cusa, as well as on Jewish mysticism, medieval continental women mystics, and the "Cloud of Unknowing." Each chapter concludes with bibliographical notes.

AN ANDREWS UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL UPDATE: THE 1984 EXPEDITION TO TELL EL-^cUMEIRI

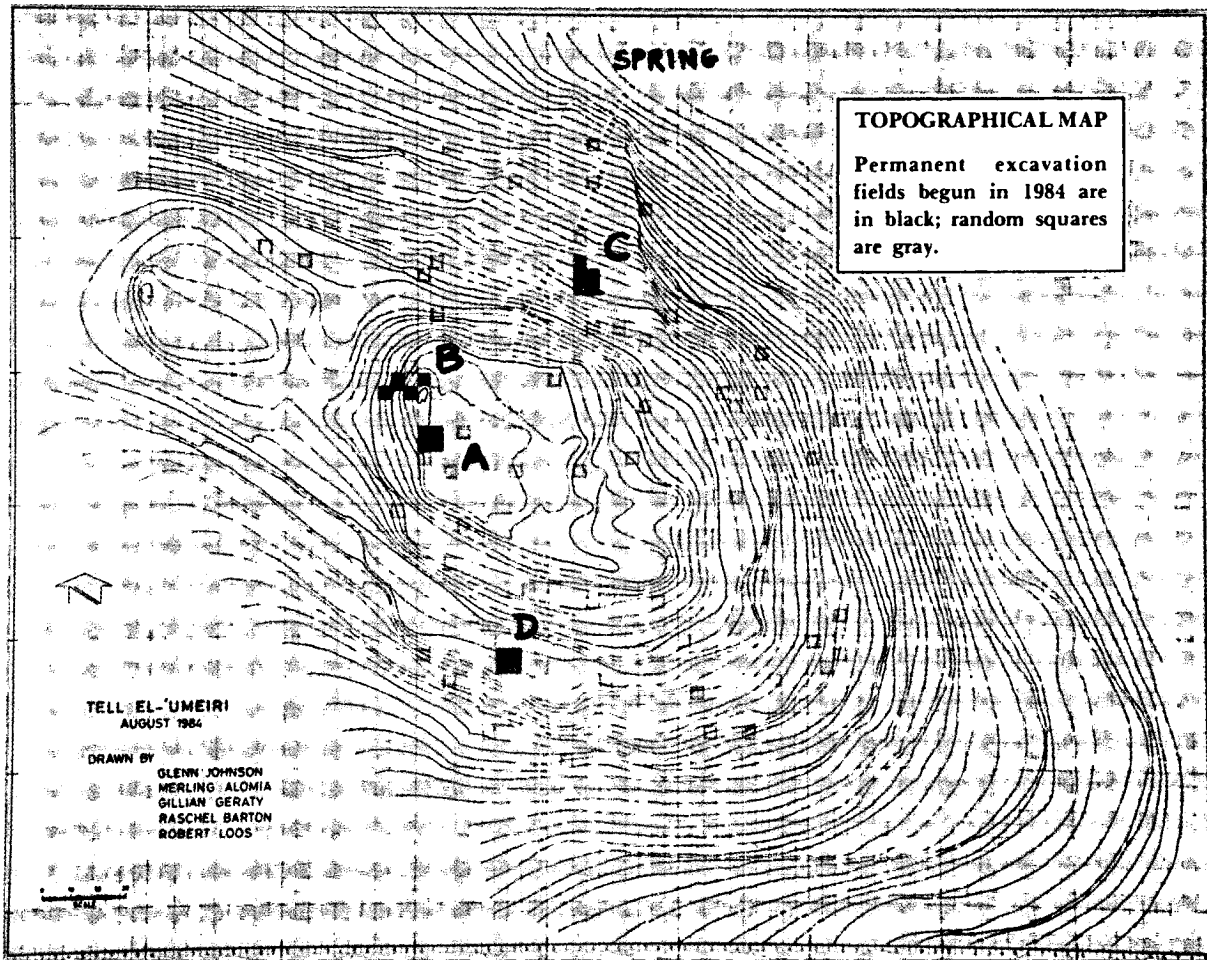
In this issue of *AUSS*, we are pleased to present a preliminary report of the work and discoveries of the 1984 Andrews University Archaeological Expedition to Tell el-^cUmeiri in Jordan. This report, which includes a topographical map and nineteen photographs, has been provided by Lawrence T. Geraty, director of the expedition. Geraty, a professor of OT and the Curator of the Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum at Andrews University (as well as an Associate Editor of *AUSS*), also directed the final two seasons of Andrews-University-sponsored archaeological work at Heshbon. (For a rather comprehensive description of the results at Heshbon, see *AUSS* 16 [1978]: 1-303, and the more than forty photographs in a section of plates inserted after p. 303.)

A shorter second article herein, by OT scholar William H. Shea, highlights an item that is perhaps the most extraordinary find of the season at Tell el-^cUmeiri: It is a cone-shaped lump of clay with a seal impression bearing two Ammonite names from ca. 600 B.C.—that of a servant of a certain Ammonite king, and the name of the king himself. The name of the king, interestingly enough, is found also in a biblical passage, Jer 40:14; but there it appears in a form that is substantially altered from the way in which it occurs on the seal impression. Shea proposes a possible solution to the problem created by this discrepancy.

As our long-term readers will undoubtedly notice, our procedure here in reporting the results of this 1984 Andrews-University-sponsored archaeological dig in Jordan differs from our manner of reporting the five seasons of work at Heshbon. Rather than reporting these new excavations through such very detailed, data-packed, and lengthy write-ups as we did for Heshbon, we will plan to inform our readers in a more succinct and generalized way (comparable to Geraty's preliminary report herein) of the main developments of each season at this new site. (The seasons of work at Tell el-^cUmeiri, incidentally, are projected for alternate years.) Also, whenever there are especially striking finds, and as the information becomes available concerning them and their possible significance, we will plan to incorporate short articles or brief scholarly notes to alert our readers to the discoveries and to their importance and meaning.

Reports with greater detail about each season's work at Tell el-^cUmeiri are, of course, planned; and in due time, such reports will appear in appropriate publications. Information concerning the availability of, and procedure for securing, such reports may be obtained from the Institute of Archaeology, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

Kenneth A. Strand
Editor



THE ANDREWS UNIVERSITY MADABA PLAINS PROJECT

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE FIRST SEASON AT TELL EL-^cUMEIRI (JUNE 18 TO AUGUST 8, 1984)

LAWRENCE T. GERATY
Andrews University

After a hiatus of eight years, Andrews University again sponsored an archaeological expedition in Jordan from June 18 to August 8, 1984. This new field effort centered at Tell el-^cUmeiri in the Ammonite foothills on the northern edge of the Madaba Plains, some 10 kilometers south of Amman's 7th Circle by the new airport freeway. This project encompassed two spheres of research: Larry G. Herr (then of the SDA Seminary—Far East, Philippines) supervised excavation at the tell proper, while Øystein S. LaBianca (Andrews University) had the oversight of the regional surface survey within a 5-km. radius of the tell. The combined results of both team efforts are significant, not only for the archaeology of Jordan, but also for biblical studies. The following is a general preliminary report of the work done by, and discoveries of, the 75-member team engaged in this project in 1984.¹ (*See Plate 16 on p. 109 for team photograph.*)

¹The writer of this preliminary report, who served as project director, acknowledges his indebtedness to each of the 75-member staff who helped to make possible this report. Furthermore, it must be noted at the outset that the expedition would not have materialized had it not been for the financial assistance of Andrews University and of the California Society for Archaeological Research (Ed Distler, president; John Cassell, secretary; Bernard Brandstater, treasurer; and Charles Anderson, Harold Bailey, Barry Crabtree, trustees), along with numerous private donors. Among the

1. *Overview of the Project: Goals, Identification and Description of the Site, Etc.*

Goals of the Project

Our specific goals in this new project included expanding the temporal and spatial frame of our previous investigations at Tell Ḥesbân and its environs,² centered some 8 km. to the southwest, where we uncovered the remains of nineteen superimposed cities covering a 2700-year span of history from about 1200 B.C. down to at least A.D. 1500. We tested hypotheses derived from those limited inquiries, using this time a wider range of cultural materials and greatly improved methods of instrumentation and information processing.

Most readers will probably know that we had hoped to accomplish this next stage of investigation at Tell Jalul, starting in 1982; but political considerations in the Madaba Region prevented us

latter, the substantial gifts of Vern and Barbara Jean Carner, Gary Stanhiser, Thomas and Hazel Geraty, Ron Geraty, and Gary Frykman must be singled out. Worthington Foods, through the good offices of its President, Allan Buller, provided the staff with complimentary textured protein products for the season. Ali Ghandour, Chairman of Alia-Royal Jordanian Airlines, arranged for substantial staff savings on airfare. And through the good offices of Principal Wilson Tatum, the Baptist School in Amman turned over its facilities to the dig for our headquarters. The officers and staff of the American Schools of Oriental Research and its local affiliate, the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, provided invaluable assistance; the latter's director, David McCreery, and administrator, Laura Hess, must be particularly mentioned. Others within the country of Jordan without whom the excavation would not have been possible were Prince Raad ibn Zeid, Director-General of Antiquities Adnan Hadidi, and Businessman/Scholar Raouf Abujaber. As the landowner of ʿUmeiri, the latter went out of his way in time, effort, and financial assistance to assure our success. And so also did Richard T. Krajczar, Superintendent of the American Community School in Amman.

²For the fullest report on Andrews University's five seasons of archaeological work at Tell Ḥesbân and within a 10-km. radius of that site, see R. S. Boraas and L. T. Geraty, et al., "Andrews University Heshbon Expedition, the Fifth Campaign at Tell Ḥesbân (1976): A Preliminary Report," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 1-303 and 24 plates. It contains references to earlier publications. Final publication of the results is now nearing completion.

from implementation of our plans.³ While postponing that phase of the project, we felt we could achieve most of our immediate goals by focusing our work at this alternate Madaba-Plains site with an occupation history similar to that of Jalul.

Possible Identification of Tell el-^cUmeiri

Neither the biblical nor ancient-Near-Eastern identification for Tell el-^cUmeiri is yet known with certainty. Robert Ibach has suggested it to be the Amorite Heshbon⁴ (cf. Num 21:21-30), while Donald B. Redford considers it to be the biblical Abel-keramim⁵ (cf. Jgs 11:33). I have personally wondered if it might be one of the towns mentioned in Jer 48:21-25. Its linguistic root can be related to the names Gomorrah, Omri, and Amram, but most likely derives from a root meaning "to be plentiful, copious, abundant, abound (water); to overflow."⁶ If so, the name would obviously have reference to the tell's spring, the only natural water source between Amman and Madaba. (*See Plate 5 on p. 94 for a view of the spring.*)

Description of the Site

The name ^cUmeiri actually applies to three tells roughly 250 meters apart, and lying in a somewhat triangular position to the northeast, southeast, and west. The tells are now separated, not only by a wadi, but also by the freeway. Because of the new road, the entire region is open to activity destructive of ancient remains;

³A journalistic report of the reasons for the cancellation is found in P. H. Tompkins, "Adventist Raiders of the Lost Ark," *Spectrum* 13/1 (June 1983): 49-54.

⁴During the course of the Ḥesbân Project, it was Ibach who first surveyed the site of ^cUmeiri (Site 149) and called attention to its importance, suggesting it to be a candidate for the city of Sihon.

⁵This is based on his topographical and linguistic identification of toponym nos. 95-96 in the list of Thutmose III; cf. his "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," *JSSEA* 12 (1982): 55-74.

⁶See Brown, Driver, Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1962), p. 771; cf. Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3d ed. (1976), p. 683—a reference for which I am indebted to James Battenfield.

and in a sense, our entire project can be seen as a salvage effort. (*See Plates 1, 4, 5, and 10 for photographs of the site.*)

The northeastern tell is the latest in terms of its occupation history: Islamic Period. The southeastern tell is smaller and earlier in terms of occupation: Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods. The western tell is the largest, approximately 16 acres in size; and it is also higher than the others—ca. 900 m. in elevation, situated some 60 m. above the wadi. At its base is the major natural water source already mentioned. This western tell is the one on which our 1984 excavations focused.

The slopes of this tell incorporate several terraces, but rise steeply on all sides except the west, where the hill joins a ridge. Considerable evidence of architecture is to be seen on the site, especially on the summit, which, though irregular, is fairly flat. It drops off abruptly on all sides along a scarp which has proved to be the line of a defensive wall. (*See Plates 2, 4, and 5.*)

There were huge quantities of sherds to be found on the surface of the site. These range in date from Chalcolithic through Early, Middle, and Late Bronze (especially on the slopes) to Iron I and II (primarily on the summit) and to a very few that are Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine.

The Questions to Be Probed

What was the archaeological team looking for? The problem which lies at the heart of our continuing investigation is the tension which appears to have existed in this region since antiquity between the processes of sedentarization, on the one hand, and beduinization, on the other. Whereas sedentarization has to do with the gradual establishment of villages and towns whose inhabitants engage in varying degrees in the production primarily of crops, beduinization has to do with the gradual reestablishment of nomadic or beduin food-getting strategies on previously cultivated lands.

More specifically, we are interested in the following questions: What is the rate at which these processes of sedentarization and beduinization have occurred within the project area? What are the biophysical and wider socio-political factors which affect the tension between the two processes and the rate at which both occur? What were the specific structural arrangements which made possible

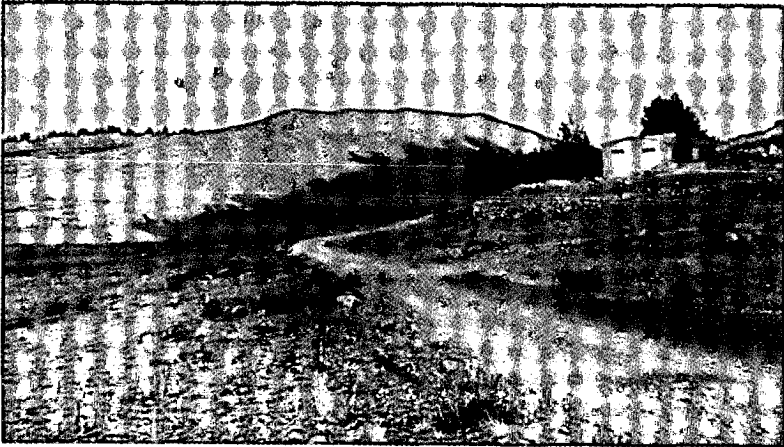


Plate 1. View of Tell el-^cUmeiri (West) from the east taken in 1976 before the new freeway divided it from Tell el-^cUmeiri (East), with building and trees in the foreground.

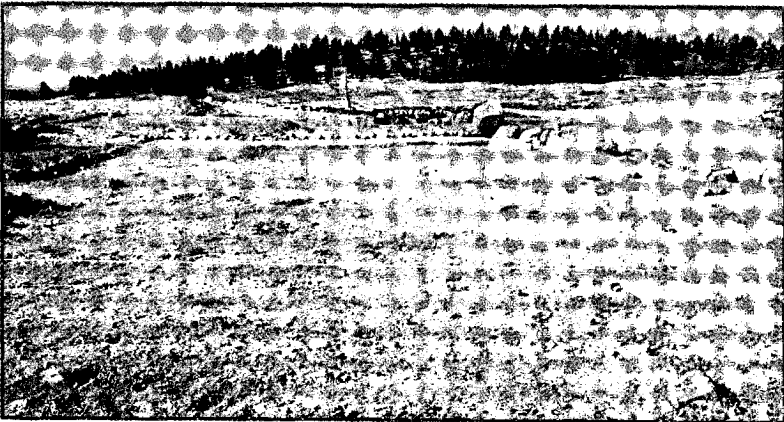


Plate 2. Flat western summit of tell prepared for Field A in foreground; looking south across wadi to forested hill with EB watchtower.

the persistence, during certain periods, of a particular balance between these two processes? What were the specific structural arrangements that made possible or enhanced destabilization of the tension? What are the identities of the various actors who have played a part in the historical drama represented by these processes, and are any of them mentioned in the Bible or in other ancient sources?

To seek solutions for these and related questions, we initiated both the stratigraphic and surface-survey inquiries referred to above. In a methodological innovation, both the excavation on the tell and the field survey utilized randomly chosen squares as a control on the judgment samples. The results pertaining to everything discovered were recorded on standardized forms that allowed all data to be computerized. A preliminary summary of these results follows. (Compare the topographical map on p. 84.)

2. *Discoveries on the Tell—By Location*

The westernmost tell at Tell el-^cUmeiri was divided into four "fields" for excavation purposes (A and B in the west, C in the north, and D in the south). Where successive occupations were discernible in a "field," these "phases" were designated by number ("Phase I" being the most recent, with numbers increasing with depth of the probe into the tell). This section of the present report provides a summary of the discoveries in each of the four fields.

The Western Citadel: Field A⁷

Field A was opened at the western end of the flat summit, in the expectation that a gate or entrance might be discovered. Instead, all four squares soon came down on what are apparently the interior walls and rooms of a large structure we are calling the

⁷This account draws on the report of Field Supervisor John Lawlor (Baptist Bible College, Pennsylvania), who was assisted by the following Square Supervisors and their associates: 7K40—Anabel Lázaro, Caryn Broitman; 7K41—John Hackwell, Anne Crawford; 7K50—James Fisher, Elsie Peterson; 7K51—Mary Steratore, Glenn Montgomery.

“Western Citadel”—a building perhaps comparable in function and certainly in date to W. F. Albright’s “Western Tower” at Tell Beit Mirsim.⁸ This structure appears to date from Late Iron II (ca. 7th century B.C.), after which the area was abandoned. (See *Plate 3*.)

Two major phases of construction were noted, each followed by an ephemeral phase. Both phases utilized basically the same plan, had roughly similarly sized rooms (e.g., 6.4 × 1.7 m., 5.5 × 4.0 m., 4.0 × 2.5 m.), and employed beaten-earth surfaces. On the floors of

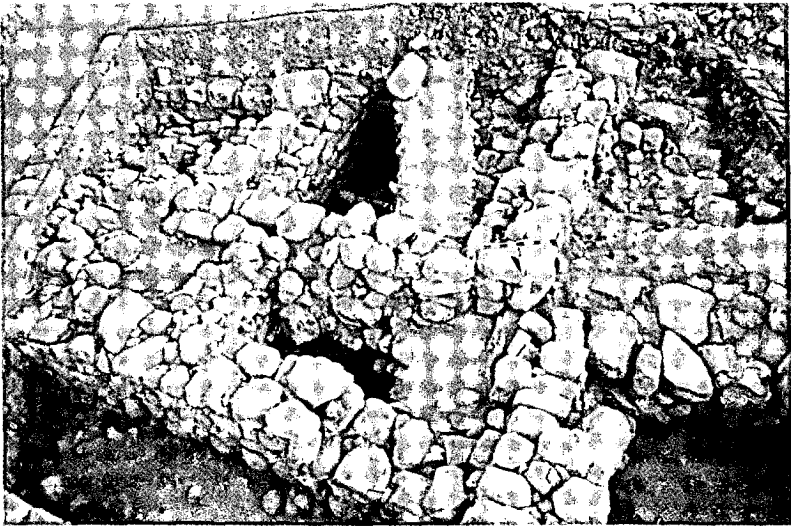


Plate 3. End-of-season photograph of Field A, the “Western Citadel,” with balks partially removed; looking south.

⁸Cf. the discussion in Ruth Amiran and I. Dunayevsky, “The Assyrian Open-Court Building and Its Palestinian Derivatives,” *BASOR*, no. 149 (Feb. 1958), pp. 25-32, and Y. Shiloh, “The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City,” *IEJ* 20 (1970): 180-190, both based on W. F. Albright’s TBM III, pp. 15, 38-48, and Pl. 6—a reference for which I am indebted to Randall Younker.

the earlier, Phase-2 building were found many smashed but restorable whole pots. These were in addition to stone ballista, pounders, whetstones, pendants, figurines, fibulae, spindle whorls, a cosmetic pallate and spatula, etc. The walls of the later, Phase-1 building revealed a reorientation of the Phase-2 structure. However, these walls were not as well built, nor were the floors as well done, as in the earlier construction.

The massive size of the building's plan and the width of the individual walls (up to 1.65 m.) indicate more than a domestic function for the structure. Whether that function was official, administrative, for defensive purposes, or something else can be more certainly ascertained after future broader horizontal exposure.

The Western Defense: Field B⁹

Tell el-^cUmeiri is joined by a saddle on the west to a ridge of hills running north-south. This topographical feature makes the tell's western slope the one most vulnerable to enemy assault. Our assumption, therefore, was that this would be the logical place to look for the town's defenses. The five squares opened up on this slope did indeed uncover some five phases of the Iron-II defenses and perhaps an earlier one from Iron I. (*See Plate 4.*)

Field B provides a section through the western slope not far from Field A, the Western Citadel. From top to bottom it uncovered a number of interesting features.

At the summit were found the remains of a massive mudbrick wall (platform? tower? tumble?), which appears to be Iron I (ca. 10th century B.C.) at the latest, though it was reused in Iron II. This wall covers nearly the entire square. The bricks either were purposely laid at angles during construction or their current position is the result of forceful destruction. From discovery of some five pits of varying sizes and shapes built on or into this mudbrick construction, it is apparent that the latter is at least 1.4 m. deep, though probably much deeper.

⁹This summary depends on the report of Field Supervisor Doug Clark (Southwestern Adventist College, Texas), who was assisted by the following Square Supervisors and their associates: 7J87-Lloyd Willis, Vilmar Gonzalez; 7J88-Kenneth Carlson, My Louc Erhard; 7J89-Richard LaCom, Gillian Geraty; 7J98-David Merling, Steven Hawkins; 7K90-Helen Dates, Jean Gard.

At the crest of the hill lie two parallel stone walls, possibly a casemate defense, the outer wall being 2.0 m. wide. Above this construction, a storeroom destroyed in Early Iron II was found. The room's contents included three large Iron-II collar-rimmed storejars *in situ* (set into the earthen surface supported by cobbles); a perfectly preserved juglet, whose floated contents were a few barley and flax seeds (the larger-than-expected size of these seeds indicating possibly an irrigation agriculture); and several stone ballista in the ashy remains of the destroyed room. Outside this perimeter wall on the downhill side, an impressive terre pisée glacis was found surmounted by a white chipped-*nari* layer held in place by stone rows whose section was pyramidal. The slope above this latter construction was 32°; below, it was 40°. The entire glacis was at least 2.0 m. thick, and it may cover an earlier rampart below. (See *Plate 17* on p. 110.)



Plate 4. View of tell from northwest showing beduin tent on ridge connecting mound to hills on the west (to the right); arrow identifies location of Field B, which sectioned the tell's western defense.

*The Northern Terrace: Field C*¹⁰

Striking features of the north slope of the tell include wall lines originating at both eastern and western ends of the summit but which gradually converge at the bottom of the north slope in the vicinity of the important spring already mentioned. (See Plate 5.) In fact, the walled suburb may have been an attempt, at some point, to incorporate the spring within the walls (or at least to protect it). Crossing this isosceles-triangle-shaped area is a prominent bedrock shelf that contains in its eastern end, outside the wall, what looks like an Iron-Age tomb. Field C was laid out in such a way as to section this bedrock shelf and whatever lay below it.

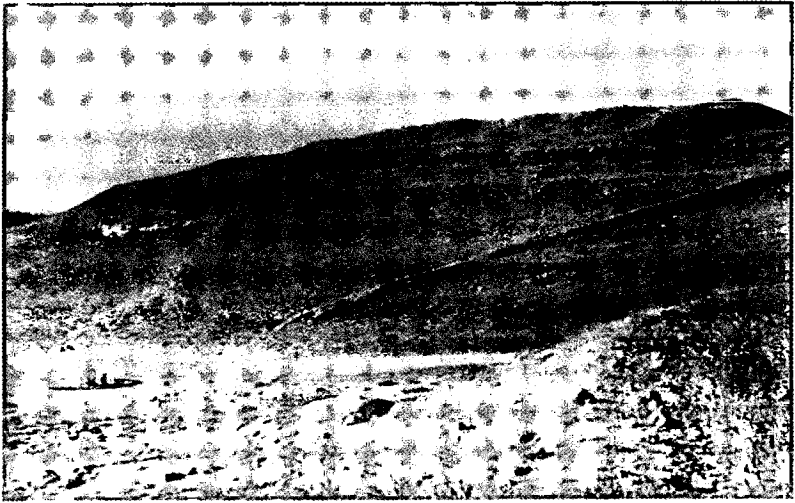


Plate 5. North slope of tell, with wall lines converging at bottom left in vicinity of spring; arrow indicates location of Field C.

¹⁰The results in this field are credited to Field Supervisor James Battenfield (Grace Graduate School, California), who was assisted by the following Square Supervisors and their associates: 8L62 and 8L82-Richard Davidson, Ross Miller; 8L63 and 8L64-Robert Merrill, Bryce Cole; 8L72-Claire Peachey, Hanan Azar, and Stephanie Merling; 8L63-Zdravko Stefanovic, René Stables.

The southern squares of the field came down immediately on the noted bedrock shelf. The face contained anomalies, but no tomb or cave entrance—possibly because this portion of the shelf was incorporated within the walls. The terrace in front of (to the north of) the shelf had evidently been used for quarrying. Most subsequent building remains had probably been robbed, for the excavators found only bits and pieces of walls, few surfaces to go with them, and mostly evidence of erosion. Some of our team theorized that this bedrock shelf may have been the path of a stairway from the spring to the summit. Just above bedrock, quantities of Early-Bronze pottery were found, including a whole juglet. There were also numerous cupmarks in the bedrock.

In the latest square to be opened to the north, farthest down the slope, a substantial revetment wall or tower appeared, dating possibly to Iron I, or even to the Late Bronze Age. Only further work will enable us to make better sense out of what has been found in this field.

*The Lower Southern Terrace: Field D*¹¹

The broad southern slope of the tell is made up of several terraces. Field D was opened up on the edge of the flattest, broadest (width of 20 to 30 m.), and lowest terrace to be occupied. It proved to be a domestic housing area from the Early Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.).

Some five phases of occupation were identified here. Very little was exposed of Phases 5 and 4, the earliest phases that were reached. These phases appear to have walled rooms and may date to Early Bronze III and IV, respectively, though it is really premature to say.

Phase 3, possibly Early Bronze IV (ca. 2000 B.C.), was the most thoroughly preserved of the excavated remains. At least two houses were built into shallow pits some .50 to .75 m. deep, with horizontal

¹¹Field Supervisor Larry Mitchel (Pacific Union College, California) was responsible for the excavation and interpretation of the data summarized here, along with the following Square Supervisors and their associates: 7K76—Marilyn Murray, Robert Collins; 7K77—Steven Boozer, Howard Krug; 7K86—Colin House, Jason Mitchel; 7K87—Hans Curvers, Cheryl Jacob.

dimensions of approximately 4.0×4.0 m. (See *Plate 6.*) In both cases, the door sills and steps leading down into the houses were preserved and showed wear patterns from ancient foot traffic. It must not be coincidental that both entrances are opposite the wadi overlook, at protective angles from the prevailing wind. Inside, the houses had beaten earth floors, where the following features were found: mortars, a stone-outlined ash and refuse pit, a fine flint blade, and animal bones. In addition, each floor had a stone base for a central support pillar, placed approximately 1.6 to 1.8 m. equidistant from the exterior walls. Originally, these would each have supported a wooden beam, which in turn would have supported roof rafters going out to the walls. Over the rafters, reeds would have been placed, many of whose impressions have been preserved in chunks of the fallen plaster.

Phase 2, possibly Early Bronze IVC (post-2000 B.C.), contained several walls, but no really cohesive plan emerged. The bits and

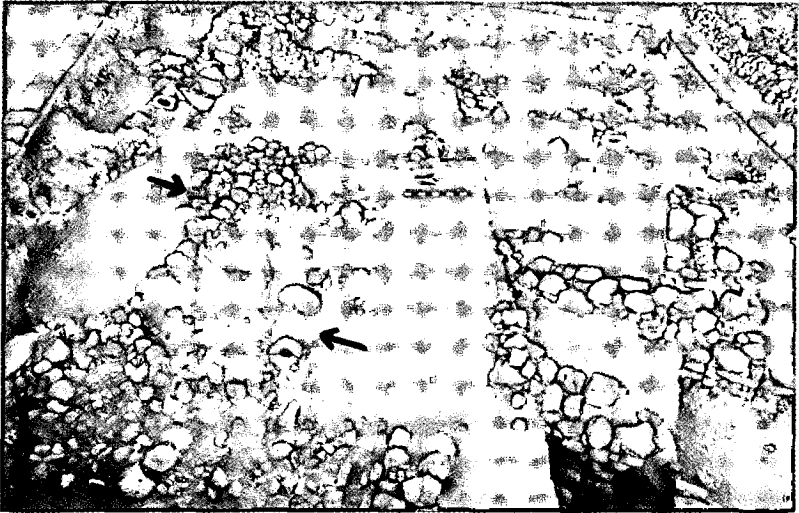


Plate 6. End-of-season photograph of Field D showing remains of EB IV houses; arrow on left points to stepped entrance to one such house, while arrow on right points to mortar and stone base for wooden post.

tatters of Phase 1 dated to the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods, when the terrace was probably used for irrigation agriculture.

3. *Discoveries on the Tell—By Type*

A few general remarks are now in order concerning the kinds of material or objects found at the tell. These finds include a seal impression which is especially noteworthy as being a unique extra-biblical discovery of the name of an Ammonite king mentioned in Jer 40:14.

*Pottery, Lithics, Objects*¹²

The chronological range of pottery sherds discovered on the tell has already been mentioned. Scores of whole pots were found, as well. Though not as abundant as the sherds, lithic-tool finds covered the same periods. The ongoing analysis of these two categories of artifacts will be of the utmost importance for the clearest understanding of our site.

Of some 500 objects found, about one-fourth may be considered household objects: millstones, grinders, mortars, pestles, whetstones, knives, spoons, flint tools, stoppers, rope stone weights, stone bowls, etc. About half are divided somewhat equally among industrial objects (spindle whorls, spindles, loom weights, weaving spatulas, burnishers, chains, etc.), weapons (slingstones, maceheads, and arrowheads), and unidentified objects. There are significant numbers of jewelry and cosmetic items (beads, pendants, bangles, earrings, cosmetic palettes, mirror, etc.) and cultic objects (mostly figurines). The remainder may be classified as clothing (buttons, fibulae, pins), toys (cart wheels), agricultural implements (stone hoe), and miscellaneous (shells, glass, coins, ostraca, scarabs, seals, and seal impressions). Together, these objects beautifully illustrate life in OT times (primarily the Bronze and Iron Ages). (*See Plates 18 and 19 on p. 110.*)

¹²Larry Herr was responsible for pottery processing, assisted by Registrars Mary Ellen Lawlor and Hester Thomsen and the help of the Lawlor girls: Karis, Nancy, and Renée. Many other volunteers were involved in cutting, drawing, describing, reconstructing, etc. Michael Alcorn processed the lithics; and Object Registrars Elizabeth Platt and Siegfried Horn, assisted by Lotta Gaster, identified and cataloged all the small finds, which were drawn by Artist Peter Erhard.

*Seal Impression with Royal Name*¹³

The single object that caused the greatest stir was a small ceramic cone found by Lloyd Willis (Spicer Memorial College, Pune, India) in the sift from soil near the mound's surface in a random square. (See *Plates 7 and 8*.) He passed it to his supervisor, Doug Clark. In turn, Clark handed it to his colleague, Larry Mitchel, who happened by. Mitchel recognized it as inscribed on its flat end. Within a couple of days, Larry Herr had a definite reading: *lmlkm-²wr ^cbd b^cl-yš^c* ("belonging to Milkom-²ur, minister [literally, servant] of Ba^cal-yasha^c"). The Ammonite script and design in the center (a winged scarab, flanked by two standards surmounted by sun discs and crescent moons) are typical of the 7th/6th century B.C. Paleographically, Herr dates the impression to ca. 600 B.C. Functionally, it may have served as a stopper—with identification mark—for a juglet with unknown contents.

Both of the personal names in the inscription constitute "firsts" in biblical archaeology. Surprisingly, the name of the owner, Milkom-²or ("Milkom is light") or Milkom-²ur ("Milkom's flame"; cf. "²Uriah"), is the first known occurrence of the well-known Ammonite divine name Milkom as one of the elements in an Ammonite proper name. Obviously, the person with this name was a prominent government official, because in these Iron-Age seals, the name which follows the one identified as "servant of" is invariably royal. In this inscription, that royal name, too, is a "first": Ba^cal-yasha^c ("Baal saves"), or Ba^cal-yisha^c ("Baal is salvation"; cf. "Elisha^c"), is the first extra-biblical confirmation of the Ammonite king Baalis mentioned in Jer 40:14.¹⁴

¹³My discussion of this seal has profited from reading first drafts of Larry G. Herr's articles for the forthcoming preliminary report as well as for a forthcoming issue of *BA*.

¹⁴During the excitement of discovery, it was Robert G. Boling who called Herr's attention to the reference in Jer 40:14 and suggested the identification of the two kings. This find is indeed the first-known extra-biblical reference to Baalis, despite G. Ernest Wright's claim about "Ba^clay" being on the Tell-Siran bottle (see his president's report in the 1973-74 *ASOR Newsletter*, no. 9 [April 1974], p. 3); he simply misunderstood F. M. Cross. Unfortunately, this misinformation is being perpetuated; cf. Charles L. Feinberg, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), p. 272.



Plate 7. Ammonite seal impression with royal name, described in text on opposite page; enlarged from 19 mm. diameter.



Plate 8. Drawing of Ammonite seal impression by Peter Erhard in consultation with Larry Herr; features and inscription described in text on opposite page.

The difference between Jeremiah and our seal impression in the spelling of the royal name may be explained in at least three possible ways. It may represent an intentional pious change in the Bible to avoid heathen theology,¹⁵ an unintentional change reflecting the way the Judeans heard the name pronounced in Ammonite (partially preserved, perhaps, in Jer 47:14 LXX, as Βελισα),¹⁶ or simply a hypocoristicon.¹⁷

4. *Discoveries of the Regional Survey*¹⁸

The work of the regional survey had a threefold focus. It investigated a series of randomly chosen 200- \times -200-m. squares within a 5-km. radius of Tell el-^cUmeiri; it engaged in site-seeking within the same territory; and it entailed specialized studies by various staff members. As the team carried out their research, they took special note of current patterns of land-use (especially water resources), as well as giving attention to plant communities (especially in relation to the geographical-environmental contexts of those plant communities). The team also carried out numerous interviews with villagers and farmers whom they met.

¹⁵There are other examples of this in the OT: "Moses" was originally probably "Thutmose" or "Rameses"; "Ezebel" ("pride of Baal") was changed to "Jezebel" ("shame of Baal"). An example contemporary with this name-occurrence in Jeremiah is called to attention by W. H. Shea in an article immediately following this report. This general explanation was first proposed on the dig by Robert Boling.

¹⁶This was suggested to Herr by Dennis Pardee. Émile Puech has written me that in a forthcoming 1985 *RB* he has a pre-find discussion of how b^clyš^c → b^clyš → b^clys.

¹⁷F. M. Cross, Jr., "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," *BASOR*, no. 212 (December 1973), n. 23 on p. 15; also in more detail in a personal communication to me, Feb. 4, 1985.

¹⁸The preliminary report and site list of Field Supervisor Robert G. Boling (McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago) are the basis for what follows. He was assisted in the field by the following associates: Jon Cole, survey engineer and hydrologist; Michael Alcorn, biological anthropologist and lithicist; Randall Younker, zooarchaeologist and botanist; Bruce Cole, photographer; Mohammad Mihyar and Hanan Azar, translators; and Allison McQuitty, ethnoarchaeologist.

The season's goal was to survey a minimum of 30 randomly selected squares; 38 were actually surveyed. Interestingly enough, of these squares none was devoid of artifacts. Visits to several of them led the team members to other sites, many of which would probably have been found through no other means. Some 55 sites (a *site* being defined as "a place where one can find clustered evidence of ancient handiwork") were surveyed, mapped, and cataloged. For two reasons, most of the site-seeking was done in the northern portion of the 5-km.-radius intensive-survey region: first, the rapidly-expanding urban growth in this region, aided by the new Amman-International-Airport Freeway, means that the archaeological evidence is fast being destroyed; and furthermore, much of the southern half of the survey region had already been traversed by Robert Ibach's Ḥesbân survey team in 1976.¹⁹

Pottery was naturally the most abundant artifact found. Absent or scarce were sherds from the following periods: Chalcolithic, Middle Bronze I, Persian, Hellenistic, Nabatean, Abbasid, Fatimid, and Ottoman. Few sherds were found from Middle Bronze II, Late Bronze, and Modern. The Ayyubid/Mamluk Period was securely represented, but not abundantly so. Truly numerous were sherds from Early Bronze, Iron I and II, Early and Late Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad.

It is interesting to note that where data are most abundant, the percentages of correlations are closely comparable between this 1984 survey by Robert G. Boling's team and the earlier one in 1976 under the direction of Ibach. This result engenders confidence in the usefulness of both surveys, including the methodologically innovative random sampling employed in 1984. Where the figures are very different, i.e., the Hellenistic Period, there may be genuine historical/territorial factors to account for them.

Among the many interesting sites discovered, some warrant special mention. Possibly the oldest, largest, and richest Palaeolithic site (no. 53) yet discovered in Jordan was recognized first by Michael

¹⁹Ibach has completed his manuscript for the final publication of the Ḥesbân regional survey.

Alcorn during the sherding of an adjoining random square. (*See Plate 9 for a photograph of this site.*) The first inhabitants may have been drawn to the site by a seasonal lake to the southeast. Today, virtually the entire 300- \times -300-m. site is under cultivation. In just a few hours, hundreds of lithic artifacts were collected, which, according to prehistorians Gary Rollefson and Al Simmons, include Acheulean handaxes (Lower Palaeolithic), predominantly Lavalloiso-Mousterian tools (Middle Palaeolithic), and some Neolithic/Chalcolithic specimens; no good Upper Palaeolithic tools were recognized.

Opposite Tell el-^cUmeiri, on the summit of the wooded hill just to the south, a 12- \times -12-m. Early-Bronze watchtower (no. 2) was found. (*See Plate 10.*) It would have been needed by the inhabitants of the slightly lower tell, in order to keep track of what was going on in the Madaba Plain.

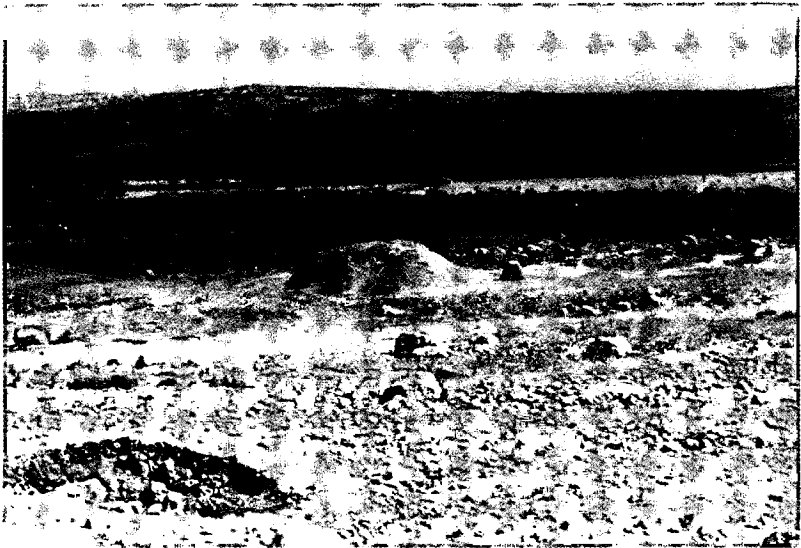


Plate 9. Palaeolithic site (no. 53) discovered by regional survey team; it is crossed by road leading from Amman (to left) to Na^cur (to right).

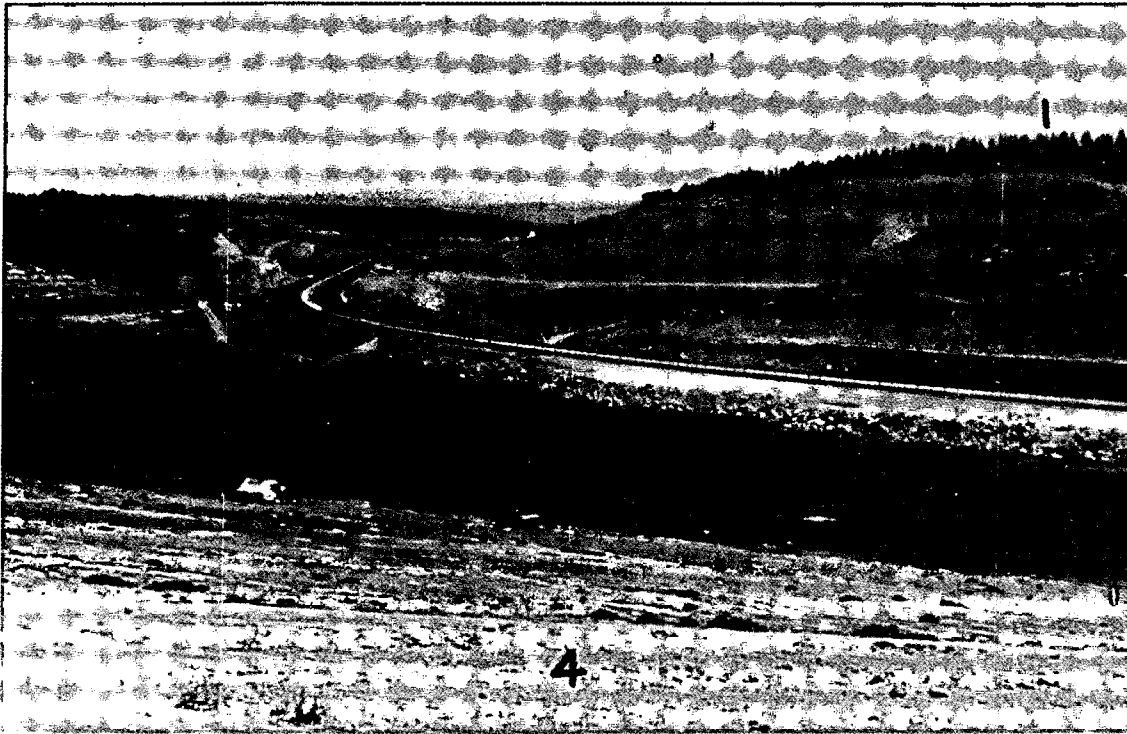


Plate 10. Freeway running from Amman down into Madaba Plains to the new international airport.
(1) Wooded hill surmounted by EB watchtower; (2) Tell el-^cUmeiri West; (3) Tell el-^cUmeiri Southeast; (4) Tell el-^cUmeiri Northeast.

From the Roman Period, a hitherto undiscovered station on Trajan's *via nova* (no. 18) was identified by remaining portions of the ancient road and by three milestones (uninscribed)—two of them in secondary use.²⁰ (See *Plate 11*.) This find is thought to establish the route of the *via nova* south of Amman as running to the east near Yadoude, rather than to the west toward el-Al.

An impressive columbarium (no. 39) artificially carved out of the hillside, was found, dating possibly to the Byzantine Period. (See *Plate 12*.) More than 15 m. on a side, it was composed of two chambers full of hundreds of shallow niches for cinerary urns.



Plate 11. Roman milestone in reused position as roof support within a cave near Yadoude; note how base of a second milestone has been used as a capital.

²⁰It should be noted that Ibach's team saw and described one of the three milestones, but did not recognize its significance (this information furnished me in a private communication from Ibach).

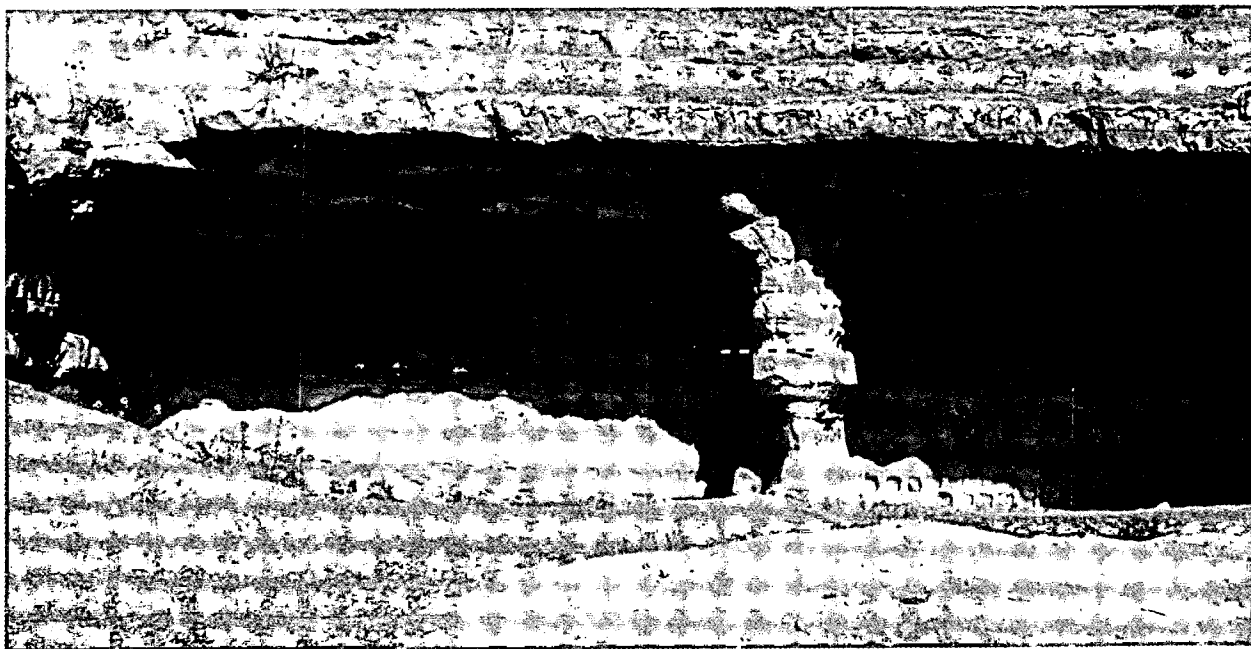


Plate 12. Columbarium (site no. 39) carved out of hillside near ʿUmeiri.

From the "Classical" Period, numerous cemeteries were discovered. These included hundreds of opened tombs. Just to the north of the tell, a nearly completed rolling stone was identified in a Roman/Byzantine cemetery (no. 3). In another cemetery (no. 26), the team discovered a basalt stele carved in low relief; it appears to depict a Stylite monk standing before his "pillar." (See *Plate 13*.)

Nearly half of the sites identified by the regional survey are characterized by small rectangular (but sometimes round) "towers," with or without perimeter walls, and having associated structures (cisterns, wine presses, heaps of stones from field cleaning, etc.). The dating is mostly to the Iron Age (1200-500 B.C.). In most cases, these structures are too small (from 4.0 × 4.0 m. to 18 × 18 m.) or too poorly located to serve a military function. On the edge of what used to be forested ridges, they command broad views of farm fields today and probably did so in antiquity as well. (See *Plates 14 and 15 for photographs of such towers.*)

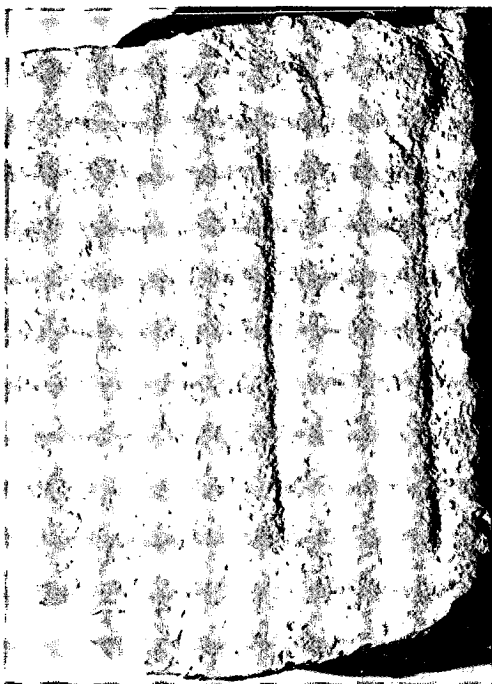


Plate 13. Basalt stele carved in low relief, depicting Stylite monk standing before his "pillar"; from Roman/Byzantine cemetery no. 26.

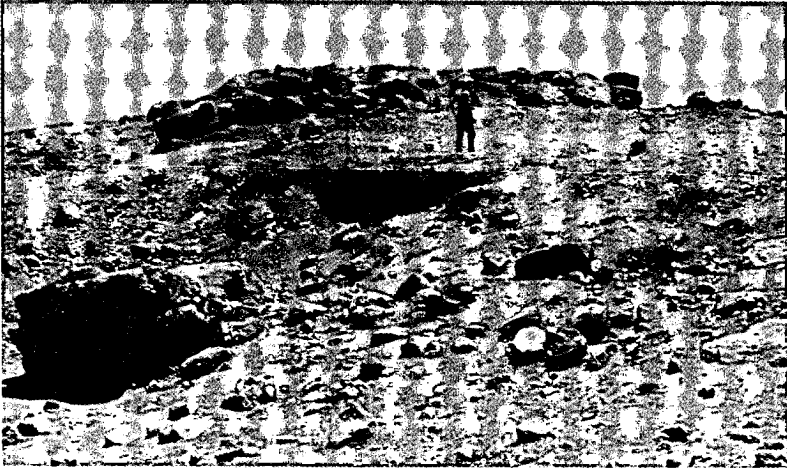


Plate 14. Site 22—an Iron Age watchtower 16 × 5 m. and 2 m. high;
note Robert Boling for scale.

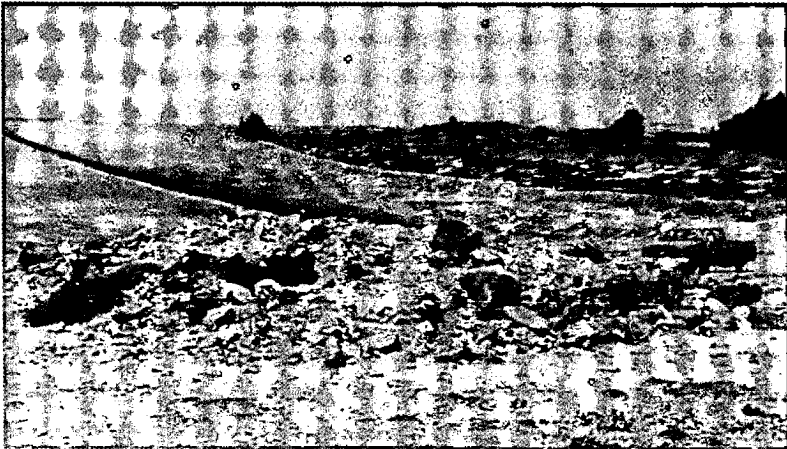


Plate 15. Site 54—an Iron Age watchtower in front of survey
pickup.

These towers illustrate exceedingly well what the husbandman did in the Song of the Vineyard in Isa 5:1-7. Thus, thanks to the cooperative work of archaeologists, zooarchaeologists, and palaeobotanists, we now have a clearer perspective on Iron-Age agriculture in general and on the background for Isaiah's contemporary oracle in particular—one more example of the value of archaeology as a contextual aid in understanding and interpreting Scripture.²¹

* * * * *

The second season of excavation and survey in the vicinity of Tell el-^cUmeiri is planned for June 16 to August 12, 1986.

²¹From the foregoing, it is obvious that other key personnel, in addition to those already mentioned, were involved in a cooperative endeavor, sometimes on the tell or in the region, but more often in the laboratory or headquarters camp. Relations with some fifty local workmen and numerous governmental authorities were eased through the assistance of Hefzi Haddad and Hanan Azar, representatives of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities.

The photography team was headed by Don May, with the assistance all summer of Larry Coyle and Jonathan Hearon. Robert Artman developed a video program, in addition to his time-consuming role as handyman/engineer. Glenn Johnson supervised the preparation of a topographical map, the laying out of the grid, and the recording of architectural finds, with the assistance of Merling Alomía, Raschel Barton, and Robert Loos.

Though Øystein LaBianca set up the ecology laboratory for the processing of animal bones (by Randall Younker and Larry Rich), plant remains (by Randall Younker), seeds (by Yvonne Hackwell), etc., it was Patsy Tyner who ran it. Claire Peachey assisted in the area of geology. James Brower built and operated the computer system used at camp, where he entered the field data and provided supervisors with integrated locus printouts.

David Merling headed a camp staff that provided everyone else with crucial services. Rachael Hallock presided over the kitchen, with the help of Myrtle Miller, Elvira Ferreira, and the younger Hackwells—Natalie, Bronwyn, and Andrew—, not to mention many volunteers. Nursing service was provided throughout by Jean Gard, and physicians who took turns were Erwin Syphers and Gary Frykman. The latter's family (Annette Frykman and sons Gregory, Philip, and Eric) all volunteered on the tell, as did certain residents of Amman from time to time. Lloyd Willis acted as chaplain, and JoAnn Davidson did secretarial work.

Four further photographs accompany this report, on pages 109 and 110. The first of these shows a group picture of our 1984 team.



Plate 16. ^cUmeiri 1984 dig team; *1st row (seated), from left to right:* Renée, Nancy, and Karis Lawlor; Natalie, Bronwyn, and Andrew Hackwell; Jason Mitchel; Rahel Davidson. *2d row (seated):* Jim Battenfield, Doug Clark, John Lawlor, Larry Herr, Larry Geraty, Bob Boling, Larry Mitchel, Hefzi Haddad, Hanan Azar. *3d row (standing):* Jon Hearon, Peter Erhard, Mary Ellen Lawlor, Elizabeth Platt, Glenn Johnson, Gillian Geraty, Jon Cole, Randy Younker, Patsy Tyner, Jim Brower. *4th row:* Larry Coyle, Bruce Cole, Bob Artman, Yvonne and John Hackwell, Dick and JoAnn Davidson. *5th row:* Michael Alcorn, David Merling, Elvira Ferreira, Rachael Hallock, Lloyd Willis, Myrtle and Ross Miller, Jean Gard, Claire Peachey. *6th row:* Caryn Broitman, Cheryl Jacob, Anabel Lázaro, Marilyn Murray, Steve Boozer, Mary Steratore, Helen Dates, René Stables, Anne Crawford. *7th row:* Elsie Peterson, Vilmar Gonzalez, Ken Carlson, Richard LaCom, Colin House, Jim Fisher, Merling Alomía, Bob Loos, Raschel Barton. *8th row:* Bryce Cole, Steve Hawkins, Muhammad Mihyar, Hans Curvers, Bob Merrill, Zdravko Stefanovic, Howard Krug, Glenn Montgomery, Larry Rich.



Plate 17. Lower portion of terre pisée rampart that ran up to Iron II wall in Field B.

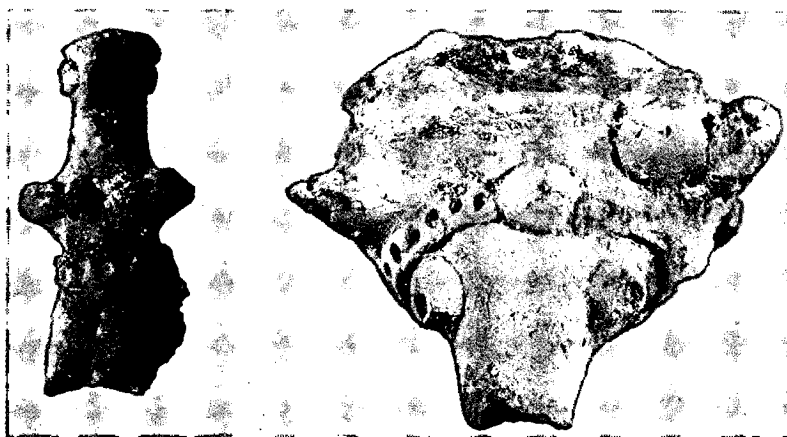


Plate 18. (Left) Typical Iron II female figure.

Plate 19. (Right) Typical Iron II zoomorphic figurine head.

MUTILATION OF FOREIGN NAMES BY BIBLE WRITERS: A POSSIBLE EXAMPLE FROM TELL EL-^cUMEIRI

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Andrews University

One way in which the biblical text can be checked for its accuracy is to compare the form in which it has preserved the names of foreign personages with the forms in which those names have been preserved in extra-biblical sources. For example, the names of some half dozen Assyrian kings appear in the biblical text, and—given known phonetic shifts between ancient Semitic languages—these appear to have been preserved in the biblical text quite accurately. The 1984 season of excavation by the Andrews University archaeological expedition to Tell el-^cUmeiri in Jordan has, however, discovered a seal impression containing the name of an Ammonite king, Baalis, in sufficiently different form from its occurrence in Jer 40:14 to pose a problem that requires investigation.¹

Lawrence T. Geraty, in his discussion of this find in the preliminary report published as the preceding piece in this issue of *AUSS* (which in turn benefited from Larry G. Herr's analysis for the official publication), has suggested several possible explanations for the divergence.² When first receiving information last summer on the reading of the seal impression,³ I independently opted—on linguistic grounds and because of paralleling examples—for the

¹The earliest report appeared under the title "Madaba Plains Project Report: The First Two Weeks," in *Newsletter, The Horn Museum Institute of Archaeology* 5/2 (Spring 1984): 1. The discovery was made by Lloyd Willis of Spicer Memorial College, Pune, India, on the second day of field activity. He found the cone-shaped object bearing the seal impression just beneath the surface of the soil in his square.

²See p. 100, above.

³My attention was first drawn to the find by the article cited in n. 1, above—which article contains a drawing of the impression. Upon Lawrence Geraty's return from Jordan, I also had opportunity to examine the sealing itself, which is currently on loan to the Horn Museum from the Jordanian Department of Antiquities.

first of the three suggestions made in Geraty's report: namely, that of intentional pious change.⁴

Since information on the making of the discovery and Herr's reading of the text are provided in Geraty's report, details in regard to these matters may be omitted here. It will suffice to mention that I agree with Herr's reading—*B^cLYŠ^c*—and to note that although in the drawing (see p. 99, above) the fourth letter might be considered a *lamed*, examination of the seal itself indicates that it is indeed a *yod*, as Herr has presented the reading of it.

B^cLYŠ^c is a good Semitic sentence-name, which may be translated as "Baal saves"/"Baal delivers." In Jer 40:14, however, the name is written *B^cLYS*. Not only is the last letter of the name on the seal impression (*ayin*) lacking in the biblical occurrence, but the S-type letters differ significantly, as well. In the sealing, the letter is a *šin/shin*, while in the biblical text it is a *samek*. A phonetic shift is not adequate to explain this difference, because the verbal root *yš^c* occurs both in biblical Hebrew and among other Ammonite personal names from sealings, and in *both* languages it was written with a *šin*, not with a *samek*.⁵ Thus, in the name's occurrence in Jeremiah, only the preformative *Y* of the verbal element in this name has survived in its original form. How then, could this name have come to be so badly garbled in the biblical text?

Given these linguistic problems the question can be raised: Do we really have the same individual referred to on this sealing and in Jer 40:14? In all likelihood we do. From the biblical text, from Assyrian texts, and from Ammonite inscriptions, we now possess a list of nine names of Ammonite kings from the tenth century through the sixth century B.C. The Baalis of Jeremiah is the only one that contains "Baal" as a theophoric element. In addition, there is the comparison with the Ammonite onomasticon which we

⁴See p. 100, above.

⁵Note, e.g., the Ammonite personal names on sealings which include this verbal root: *ʔl-yš^c*, *ʔl-š^c*, *yš^c*, *yš^cʔl*, all written with *šin*, none with *samek*. Cf. nos. 14, 25, 53, 54 in K. P. Jackson, "Ammonite Personal Names in the Context of the West Semitic Onomasticon," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth*, ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), pp. 507-521.

currently possess, in which 106 names are present, and in which Baalis is the only name containing “Baal” as its theophoric element. As far as our present knowledge goes, therefore, the name of the god Baal as belonging to an Ammonite king’s name is exclusive to the king of this sealing and the king mentioned in Jer 40:14. The convergence of these lines of evidence is sufficiently strong and specific to conclude that the two references are to one and the same individual, even though the verbal element in the name differs.

That difference in the verbal element requires some explanation. Two main explanations are possible here: Either Jeremiah wrote it incorrectly (whether done inadvertently or purposely), or a later scribe somewhere along the line of transmission garbled it through an error in writing. Without Jeremiah’s autograph, the case cannot be decided definitively, but I would like to suggest that there is some weight of probability in favor of the first of these two possibilities.

As a sentence-name, B^cLYS^c makes perfectly good sense, while B^cLYS makes no sense at all. In the latter case, the final element should have been written YSX for a weak verb, or $YSXY$ for a strong verb. For a later scribe to have altered this name from YS^c to YS would mean that he would have changed it from an understandable form to an unintelligible one. While this could have occurred inadvertently, it should have been recognized as such; and thus, scribal error seems to be the less likely of the two possibilities. Indeed, for a scribe to have copied an impossible form would more likely suggest that he had received that impossible form from the scroll that he was copying.⁶

This leads us back to Jeremiah himself, and to the two possible explanations for his altering the name of this Ammonite king. Either Jeremiah did not know the name of this monarch well enough to have recorded it accurately, or he did have accurate knowledge of the name, but deliberately wrote it incorrectly. Given Jeremiah’s presence in the land while all of these events were transpiring, it seems unlikely that he would not have known this Ammonite king’s name well enough to have recorded it accurately.

⁶It should be recognized, of course, that the scribes were exceedingly careful to copy sacred texts faithfully and accurately irrespective of whether or not those texts made sense to them.

This line of probabilities leads to the hypothesis that Jeremiah deliberately miswrote this king's name in his text. Working with that hypothesis, one might ask the question as to why he would have done so. What was there about this name and its verbal element that he would wish to deface? The sentence-name of this Ammonite king makes a statement about Baal, and that statement is that Baal "saves, delivers." In other words, Baal is the savior, the deliverer.

That concept does not, of course, square with Jeremiah's theology; for he knew that the true savior and deliverer was Yahweh, not Baal. It appears to me, therefore, that what Jeremiah did in recording the Ammonite king's name was to deface the verbal element to a degree sufficient to deflect the original meaning of the name into an unintelligible statement about Baal—a statement no longer conveying the original meaning. Thus, I would suggest that the name of Baalis in Jer 40:14 stems from a deliberate alteration made by the author himself for theological reasons.

In a previous study, I have noted a similar phenomenon in connection with the name of Abed-Nego in the book of Daniel (1:7ff.).⁷ This name should mean "servant of (the god) Nego." But no such god as Nego is known in the Babylonian pantheon. Transparently, this name should read "Abed-Nabu," "servant of (the god) Nabu." Nabu was a well-known deity in Babylon, and his name appears as a part of many personal names in Babylonian sources. But, for the biblical writer to describe the good Yahwist Azariah as a "servant of Nabu" appears to have been too distasteful, and what he did was simply to move one letter further down in the alphabet and substitute a *gimel* for the *beth* formerly present in Nabu's name. In this way, he changed a perfectly sensible Babylonian statement about a known Babylonian god into a statement about an unidentifiable god, or a non-entity.

This case in Daniel appears to fall into a similar category with what we find in the case of the name Baalis in Jeremiah. There are some differences, of course. The former name belonged to a Judahite, while the latter name belonged to an Ammonite. Nevertheless, the kind of alterations made in both of these names

⁷W. H. Shea, "Daniel 3: Extra-Biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 48-49.

served a similar purpose: namely, to deny a predication about a foreign god.

Given the similarity of these two cases, it is worthy of note also that they occurred at approximately the same time in history. The episode in Daniel is dated just after the first exile from Judah in 605 B.C., while the episode in Jeremiah is dated just after the third exile from Judah in 586 B.C. These dates locate these two cases, therefore, in a similar time-frame of reference.

There are, of course, many occurrences of foreign names in the Bible which have been preserved accurately, even including names which contain predications about foreign and Yahwistically unacceptable gods. On the other hand, there do appear to have been some cases in which such names were deliberately altered for the theological reasons of the author, such as the two proposed cases of this kind that have been examined here.

Supplementary Note: At the galley-proof stage of the foregoing article, I have learned that Robert G. Boling, the first member of the archaeological team to identify the Ammonite king's name on the seal impression as the "Baalis" of Jer 40:14, had also suggested to the team in Amman the possibility of a solution to the name alteration which is similar to the solution I reached independently and discuss above. This information about Boling's suggestion with regard to the the sealing while the team was still in Amman has come to me through oral communication from knowledgeable sources, but I have had no direct contact with Boling himself on the matter.

EARLY LUTHER BIBLES: FACSIMILES FROM SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT EDITIONS

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

The year 1534 was epoch-making in the history of the German Bible. The first edition of Luther's complete Bible appeared in that year, as did also the first edition of Johannes Dietsberger's Catholic Bible. In our special Luther issue of *AUSS* last year, I briefly mentioned the steps in development and revision of Luther's translations during his own lifetime, provided an update on current research on the subject, and promised publication in a later issue of *AUSS* of some facsimile reproductions of pages from some early Luther Bibles (see *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 31-32, 128-134, and 6, respectively). The presentation here is in fulfillment of the promise to provide those photographic reproductions.

The first series of facsimiles (nos. 1 through 6) is from two Luther Bibles in the "Wurker Collection" owned by Chester J. Gibson, a prominent dentist in McMinnville, Oregon. The Heritage Room (a "Special Collections" division) of the James White Library of Andrews University is fortunate to have on extended loan from Dr. Gibson a number of his valuable Bibles, including two sections of a copy of the original Luther edition of 1534 and a copy of the "Sauer Bible" of 1763, published in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The Sauer Bible actually appeared in three significant editions, and it represents the earliest publication of Luther's version in America.

The further facsimiles (nos. 7 through 9) are from Luther's "September" and "December" Testaments of 1522. (For brief information about the development of Luther's own translational work from 1522 to 1534, see the "Note" on page 118.)

It should be observed that the 1534 and 1763 editions from the Wurker Collection here represented, as well as the other Bibles with pages shown in facsimile, are large *folio volumes*. Hence the reproductions herein are in *substantially reduced size*.

At my request, Dr. Gibson has provided a brief statement concerning the Wurker Collection. This statement appears on the immediately following page.

A Note on Luther's Bible from 1522 to 1534. The earliest edition of Luther's German Bible was the so-called "September Bible" or "September Testament" of 1522—a translation of the complete NT, for which the Reformer had finished the rough draft at the Wartburg Castle between about mid-December, 1521, and March 6, 1522, when he re-entered Wittenberg. A number of years prior to this, he had, of course, begun to manifest an interest in use of the vernacular, and had translated individual Bible texts within various sermons and treatises, as well as translating the Penitential Psalms into German in 1517.

Luther's German NT gained immediate popularity, with over 100 editions of it (most in High German, but some 20 in Low German) appearing before his first complete German Bible was published in 1534. That complete Bible itself was reached in stages, with separate editions of various OT sections and OT books coming from the press at intervals. The following paragraph, which summarizes these developments, is here reprinted for convenience from my note in the Luther issue of *AUSS* (Spring 1984), pp. 31-32:

The major steps in bringing out Luther's complete German Bible of 1534 included the appearance of the OT in several sections and a continuing process of revision. Subsequent to the publication of the NT in 1522, the OT appeared as follows: Pentateuch, 1523; Joshua to Esther, 1524; Job to Ecclesiastes, 1524; the Prophets, 1532; and the completed OT (including the Apocrypha), 1534. Various books of the Prophets had appeared separately between 1526 and 1530—Habakkuk, 1526; Isaiah and Zechariah, 1528; and Daniel (and also Ezek 38-39), 1530. A translation of the Wisdom of Solomon had been issued in 1529. When the section from Job to Ecclesiastes was published in 1524, a separate edition of the Psalms was issued as well. The Psalter underwent significant revisions discernible in the editions of 1528, 1531, and 1534.

A NOTE ABOUT THE WURKER BIBLE COLLECTION

CHESTER J. GIBSON
McMinnville, Oregon 97128

The Wurker Bible Collection, which consists of some 65 Bibles and other rare books, was compiled by Paul Wurker over a period of three decades or more. These works were gathered from France, Germany, Switzerland, Argentina, and the United States.

Included in this collection are the Koberger Nuremberg Bible printed in 1516, the Luther Bible of 1534, and a Paris Bible of 1532. Many of the volumes were obtained in the Eastern Sector of Germany after World War II.

Wurker was born in 1891 in Aue, Saxony, near Zwickau in the southern part of what is now the German Democratic Republic, and not far from the Czechoslovakian border. After World War I, Paul Wurker, like many of his countrymen, migrated to Argentina to escape the aftermath of the war. Argentina offered free land and equipment with which to farm it. In telling the story, Paul related that the parcel of land he obtained was jungle and that the equipment was an axe and a shovel.

After a relatively short time, Wurker moved to the United States, taking up residence in San Francisco, California, where he began placing regular advertisements in the San Francisco *Chronicle* newspaper for old books and Bibles. In the days after World War II and before the "Berlin Wall," he also traveled to the Eastern Sector of Germany to visit relatives, and there was able to collect many of the volumes of this rare collection.

Frequently I have opportunity in lectures and other discussions to share information on this collection and on some of its especially interesting titles—including the famed early English "Breeches Bible." Among volumes on loan to Andrews University are several German Bibles (including those from which pages are shown in facsimile herein) and an early-English-imprint ecclesiastical history. The collection consists, for the most part, of German Bibles of Reformation and early Post-Reformation times; but, as is obvious from the foregoing, there are also English-language publications; and the imprints include several European countries, plus Germantown, Pennsylvania, during the American colonial period. Several volumes have exquisite woodcuts.

Apocrypha.
Das sind Bücher: so nicht der
heiligen Schrift gleich
gehalten: vnd doch
nützlich vnd gut
zu lesen sind.

- I Judith.
- II Sapientia.
- III Tobias.
- IIII Eyrach. *alias Ezechij her*
- V Baruch.
- VI Maccabeorum.
- VII Stücke jnn Esther.
- VIII Stücke jnn Daniel.

D. Mart. Luther.

Wittenberg.
 M. D. XXXIII.

1. Title-page to OT Apocrypha Section, Luther's 1st Complete Bible, 1534. (Wurker Collection; Courtesy of Chester J. Gibson)

Der Propbet

andern begeben/ Der Kobold wird auch daselbs herbergen/ vnd seine ruge daselbs finden/ Der igel wird auch daselbs nisten vnd legen/ brüten vnd ausheggen vnter irem schatten/ Auch werden die weihen daselbs zusamen komen.

Suchet nu jnn dem Buch des **DEXXII** vnd leset/ Es wird nicht an einem der selbigen feilen/ Man vermisset auch nicht dieses noch des/ Denn crijs der durch meinen mund gepeut/ vnd sein geist ijs/ der es zu samen bringt/ Er gibt das los vber sie/ vnd seine hand theilet das mas aus vnter sie/ das sie darninen erben ewiglich/ vnd drummen bleiben fur vnd fur.

XXXV.



Verdie wüsten vnd einöde wird lüftig sein/ vnd das gesilde wird frölich stehen/ vnd wird blühen wie die lilien/ Sie wird blühen vnd frölich stehen jnn aller lust vnd freude/ Denn die herrligkeit des Libanon ist ir gegeben/ Der schmuck Carniel vnd Saron/ sie sehen die herrligkeit des **DEXXII**/ den schmuck vnser Gottes.

Stercket die müden hende/ vnd erquicket die strachelende knie/ Sagt den verzagten hertzen/ Seid getrost/ fürcht euch nicht/ Sehet/ ewr Gott/ der kömpt zur rache/ Gott der da vergilt/ kömpt vnd wird euch helfen/ Als denn werden der blinden augen auffgethan werden vñ der tauben oren werden gedöffnet werden/ als den werden die lammen lecken wie ein hirs/ vñ der stummen zunge wird lob sagen/ Den es werden wasser jnn der wüsten hin vnd wider fließen/ vnd strome jnn den gebilden/ vnd wo es zuuor trocken ist gewesen/ sollen teiche seihen/ vnd wo es dürrer gewest ist/ sollen brunquellen sein/ Da zuuor die schlangen gelegen haben/ sel hew vnd rohr vnd schilff stehen/ vnd es wird daselbs eine bane sein vnd ein weg/ welcher der Heilige weg heißen wird/ das kein vnreiner drauff gehen wird/ vnd der selbige wird fur sie sein/ das man drauff gebe/ das auch die thoren nicht iren mügen/ Es wird da kein lewe sein/ vnd wird kein reissend thier drauff treten/ noch daselbs funden werden/ sondern man wird frey sicher daselbst gehen/ Die erlöseten des **DEXXII** werden wider komen/ vnd gen Zion komen mit jauchzen/ Ewige freude wird vber irem heubte sein/ freude vnd wonne werden sie ergreiffen/ vnd schmerz vnd seufftzen wird wegmüssen.

XXXVI.



Vnd es begab sich im vierzehenden jar des Königes Dastia/ zoch der König zu Assyrien Sanberib erauff wider alle feste stedte Juda/ vnd gewan sie/ vnd der König zu Assyrien sandte den Nabfak von Lachis gen Jerusalem zu dem Könige Dastia mit grosser macht. vnd er trat an die wasser rohren des obern teichs/ am wege bey dem acker des ferbers. vnd es gieng zu im eraus Esakim der son Dilkia/ der Dofemeiter/ vnd Sebenader Cantzler/ vnd Joab der son Assaph der schreiber.

vnd der

2. Leaf Showing Isaiah 35, Luther's 1st Complete Bible, 1534. (Wurker Collection; Courtesy of Chester J. Gibson)

Die Epistel S. Pauli/ CLVI.

An Titon.

I.



Aulus ein knecht Gottes/ aber ein Apostel Ihesu Christi/ zu predigen den Glauben der auferweleten Gottes/ vnd das erkentnis der warheit/ welche zur Gottseligkeit furet/ auff hoffnung des ewigen lebens/ Welches verheissen hat/ der nicht leugget/ Gott/ vor den zeiten der welt/ hat aber offenbaret zu seiner zeit/ sein wort durch die predigt/ die mir vertrauet ist/ nach dem befehl Gottes vnseres Heilandes.

Titon meinem rechtschaffnen son/ nach vnser beider glaube.

Gnade/ barmhertzigkeit/ friede/ von Gott dem Vater/ vnd dem Herrn Ihesu Christo vnserm Heiland.

Derhalben lies ich dich inn Creta/ das du soltest vollend anrichten/ da ichs gelassen habe/ vnd besetzen die Stedte hin vnd her mit Aeltesten/ wie ich dir befolhen habe. Wo einer ist vntadelich/ eines weibes man/ der gelnbige kinder habe/ nicht berüchtiget/ das sie schwelger vnd frech sind. Denn ein Bischoff sol vntadelich sein/ als ein Haushalter Gottes/ nicht ^a eigensinnig/ nicht zornig/ nicht ein weinseuffer/ nicht beissig/ nicht vnehrlliche handtierung treiben/ sondern gastfrey/ gütig/ ^b züchtig/ gerecht/ heilig/ keusch/ vnd halte ob dem Wort/ das gewis ist/ vnd leren kan/ auff das er mechtig sey/ zu ermanen durch die heilsame lere/ vnd zu straffen die Widersprecher.

^a (eigensinnig) Der seinen eignen kopff hat/ niemad weicht/ man mus in weichen/ wie man spricht/ Mit dem kopff hindurch/ ^b (züchtig) Vermünftig/ messig etc.

Denn es sind viel frechen vnd vnnütze Schwetzer vnd verfürer/ sonderlich die aus der Beschneidung/ welchen man mus das Maul stopffen/ die da gantze Deuser verkeren/ vnd leren das nicht taug/ vmb schendliches gewins willen. Es hat einer aus jnen gesagt/ jrer eignen Prophet/ die Creter sind jmer lügener/ böse thier/ vnd faule benchel/ Dis zeugnis ist war. Vmb der sache willen straffe sie scharff/ auff das sie gesund seien im glauben/ vnd nicht achten auff die Jüdischen fabeln/ vnd menschen gebot/ welche sich von der warheit abwenden. Den reinen ist alles rein/ den vnreinen aber vnd vngelnbigen ist nichts rein/ sondern vnrein ist beide jr sijn vnd gewissen/ Sie sagen/ sie erkennen Gott/ aber mit den wercken verleugnen sie es/ sintemal sie sind/ an welchem Gott greuel hat/ vnd gehorchen nicht/ vnd sind zu allem guten werck vntüchtig.

II.

Ob ist

Der aber

BIBLIA,

Das ist:
Die

Heilige Schrift

Altes und Neues
Testaments,

Nach der Teutschen Uebersetzung

M. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
beygefügt vielen und richtigen Parallelen;

Nebst einem Anhang

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Sermantown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1763.

240

Die I Epistel

(Cap. 1, 2.)

zergehen, und die elemente vor hohe zerschmelgen werden.

13. Wir warten aber* eines neuen himmels, und einer neuen erden nach seiner verheißung, in welchen gerechtigkeit wohnet.

* Ef. 6, 17. c. 6, 6, 22. Offenb. 21, 1.

14. Darum, meine lieben, * dieweil ihr darauf warten sollet, so thut fleiß, daß ihr vor ihm unbedeckt und † unsträflich im friede erfunden werdet.]

* 1 Theßl. 3, 13. † 1 Cor. 1, 8.

15. Und die * gedult unsers HErrn achtet für eure seligkeit; als auch unser lieber bruder Paulus, nach der weisheit, die ihm gegeben ist, euch geschrieben hat.

* Rom. 2, 4. 1 Pet. 3, 20.

Ende der zweyten Epistel S. Petri.

16. Wieer auch in allen briefen davon redet, in welchen sind etliche dinge schwer zu verstehen, welche verwirren die ungelehrigen und leichtfertigen, wie auch die andern schriften, zu ihrem eigenen verdammniß.

17. Ihr aber, meine lieben, weil ihr das zuvor wiisset, so * verwahret euch, daß ihr nicht durch irthum der ruchlosen leute, samt ihnen verführet werdet, und entfallet aus eurer eigenen bestung.

* Marc. 13, 5. 9. 33.

18. Wachset aber in der gnade und erkentniß unsers HErrn und heilandes JEsu Christi. Demselbigen sey ehre, nun und zu ewigen zeiten. Amen.

Die erste Epistel S. Johannes.

Das I Capitel.

Von Christi person, seinem geoffenbarten wort, und von wahrer busse.



Als da * von anfang war, das wir gehört haben, das wir † gesehen haben mit unsern augen, das wir beschauet haben, und unsere** hände betastet haben, vom wort des lebens.

** Luc. 24, 39.

2. (Und das * leben ist erschienen; und wir haben es gesehen, und zeugen und verkündigen euch das leben, das ewig ist, welches † war bey dem Vater, und ist uns erschienen.) * Joh. 1, 4. † Joh. 1, 1.

3. Was wir gesehen und gehört haben, das verkündigen wir euch, auf daß auch ihr mit uns gemeinschaft habt, und unsere gemeinschaft sey mit dem Vater, und mit seinem sohn, JEsu Christo.

4. Und solches schreiben wir euch, auf daß * eure freude völlig sey. * Joh. 15, 11. c. 16, 22.

5. Und das ist die verkündigung, die wir von ihm gehört haben, und euch verkündigen, * daß Gott ein licht ist, und in ihm ist keine finsterniß. Joh. 8, 12.

6. So wir sagen, daß wir gemeinschaft mit ihm haben, und wandeln im finsterniß, so lügen wir, und thun nicht die wahrheit.

7. So wir aber im lichte wandeln, wie Er im lichte ist, so haben wir gemeinschaft unter einander, und * das blut JEsu Christi, seines sohns, machet uns rein von aller sünde. * 1 Pet. 1, 19. Ebr. 9, 14. Off. 1, 5. c. 7, 14.

8. So wir sagen, wir * haben keine sünde, so verführen wir uns selbst, und die wahrheit ist nicht in uns. * Spr. 20, 9.

9. So wir aber * unsere sünde bekennen, so ist er † treu und gerecht, daß er uns die sünde vergibt, und reiniget uns von aller untugend.

* Spr. 28, 13. † 1 Theßl. 5, 24. &c.

10. So wir sagen, wir haben nicht gesündigt, so machen wir ihn zum lügner, und sein wort ist nicht in uns.

Das 2 Capitel.

Von des Christenthums grund, kennzeichen, inhalt und ende, feinden und erhaltung.

Wie eine kindlein, solches schreibe ich euch, auf daß ihr nicht sündiget. Und ob jemand sündiget, so haben wir einen* fürsprecher bey dem Vater, JEsu Christ, der gerecht ist. * Rom. 8, 34. Ebr. 7, 25. c. 9, 24.

2. Und derselbige ist die * veröhnung für unsere sünde: nicht allein aber für die unsere, sondern auch für der ganzen welt. * Col. 1, 20. &c.

3. Und an dem mercken wir, daß wir ihn kennen, so wir seine gebote halten.

4. Wer da saget, ich kenne ihn, und hält seine gebote nicht, der ist ein lügner, und in solchem ist keine wahrheit.

5. Wer aber * sein wort hält, in solchem ist wahrlich die liebe Gottes vollkommen. Daran erkennen wir, daß wir in ihm sind. * Joh. 14, 21. 23.

6. Wer da saget, daß er * in ihm bleibet, der soll auch wandeln, gleichwie Er gewandelt hat.

* Joh. 15, 4. 5.

7. Brüder, ich schreibe euch * nicht ein neu gebot, sondern das alte gebot, das ihr habt von anfang gehabt,

(Cap. 2. 3.)

S. Johannis.

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Gehabt. Das alte gebot ist das wort, das ihr von anfang gehöret habt.

8. Wiederum ein neu gebot schreibe ich euch, das da wahrhaftig ist bey ihm und bey euch; denn die * finsterniß ist vergangen, und das wahre licht scheineth jetzt.

9. Wer da saget, er sey im licht, und * hasset seinen bruder, der ist noch im finsterniß.

10. Wer * seinen bruder liebet, der bleibet im licht, und ist kein ärgerniß bey ihm.

11. Wer aber seinen † bruder hasset, der ist im finsterniß, und wandelt im finsterniß, und weiß nicht, wo er hingehet, denn die finsterniß haben seine augen verblendet.

12. Lieben kindlein, ich schreibe euch, daß euch die * sünden vergeben werden, durch seinen namen.

13. Ich schreibe euch vätern, denn ihr kennet den, der von anfang ist. Ich schreibe euch junglingen, denn ihr habt den bösewicht überwunden. Ich schreibe euch kindern, denn ihr kennet den Vater.

14. Ich habe euch vätern geschrieben, daß ihr den kennet, der von anfang ist. Ich habe euch junglingen geschrieben, daß ihr † stark seyd und das wort Gottes bey euch bleibet, und den bösewicht überwunden habt.

15. Habt nicht lieb die welt, noch was in der welt ist. So jemand die welt lieb hat, in dem ist nicht die liebe des Vaters.

16. Denn alles, was in der welt ist, (nemlich des fleisches lust, und der augen lust, und hoffartiges leben) ist nicht vom Vater, sondern von der welt.

17. Und die * welt vergehet mit ihrer lust; wer aber den willen Gottes thut, der bleibet in ewigkeit.

18. Kinder, es ist die letzte stunde, und wie ihr gehöret habt, daß der * widerchrist kommt, und nun sind viel widerchristen worden; daher erkennen wir, daß die letzte stunde ist.

19. Sie sind * von uns ausgegangen, aber sie waren nicht von uns: Denn wo sie von uns gewesen wären, so wären sie ja bey uns geblieben; aber auf daß sie offenbaret wurden, daß sie nicht alle von uns sind.

20. Und Ihr habt die * salbung von dem, der heilig ist, und wisset alles.

21. Ich habe euch nicht geschrieben, als wüßet ihr die wahrheit nicht, sondern ihr wisset sie, und wisset, daß keine lügen aus der wahrheit kommt.

22. Wer ist ein lügner, ohne der da leugnet, daß

Jesus der Christ sey? * Das ist der widerchrist, der den Vater und den Sohn leugnet.

23. Wer * den Sohn leugnet, der hat auch den Vater nicht.

24. Was Ihr nun * gehöret habt von anfang, das bleibe bey euch. So bey euch bleibet was ihr von anfang gehöret habet, so werdet Ihr auch bey dem Sohn und Vater bleiben.

25. Und das ist die verheißung, die Er uns verheissen hat, das ewige leben.

26. Solches habe ich euch geschrieben von denen, die euch verführen.

27. Und die salbung, die ihr von ihm empfangen habt, bleibet bey euch, und dürfet nicht, daß euch jemand lehre; sondern wie euch die * salbung allerley lehret, so ist's wahr, und ist keine lügen; und wie sie euch gelehret hat, so bleibet bey demselben.

28. Und nun, kindlein, bleibet bey ihm, auf daß, wenn er offenbaret wird, daß wir * freudigkeit haben, und nicht zu schanden werden vor ihm, in seiner zukunft.

29. So ihr wisset, daß er gerecht ist, so erkennet auch, daß, wer † recht thut, der ist von ihm geboren.

Das 3 Capitel

Von wahrer Christen herrlichkeit eigenschaffen, erens und trost.

Sethet, welche ein liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget, daß wir Gottes kinder sollen heißen. Darum kennet euch die welt nicht, † denn sie kennet ihn nicht.

2. Meine lieben, wir † sind nun Gottes kinder, und ist noch nicht erschienen, was wir seyn werden. Wir † wissen aber, wenn es erscheinen wird, daß wir ihm gleich seyn werden: Denn wir werden ihn sehen, wie er ist.

3. Und ein jeglicher, der solche hoffnung hat zu ihm, der † reiniget sich, gleichwie Er auch rein ist.

4. Wer sünde thut, der thut auch unrecht; und die sünde ist das unrecht.

5. Und ihr wisset, daß Er ist erschienen, * auf daß er uniere sünden wegnehme, und ist keine sünde in ihm.

6. Wer * in ihm bleibet, der sündigt nicht; wer da sündigt, der hat ihn nicht gesehen noch erkant.

7. Kindlein, laffet euch niemand verführen,

H h

* Wer



7. The Woodcut to Revelation 11 in Luther's "September Bible" (left) and "December Bible" (right). Notice the reduction of the triple crown on the beast to a single crown. (From: K. A. Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse in Dürer's Time* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968], pp. 43, 44.)

Die Bucher des nerven testaments.

- 1 Euangelion Sanct Matthes.
- 2 Euangelion Sanct Marcus.
- 3 Euangelion Sanct Lucas.
- 4 Euangelion Sanct Johannis.
- 5 Der Apostel geschicht beschriben von Sanct Lucas
- 6 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern.
- 7 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.
- 8 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern
- 9 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Galatern.
- 10 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Ephesern.
- 11 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Philippem.
- 12 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Coloffern.
- 13 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.
- 14 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.
- 15 Die erst Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.
- 16 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.
- 17 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Tiron.
- 18 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Philemon.
- 19 Die erst Epistel Sanct Peters.
- 20 Die ander Epistel Sanct Peters.
- 21 Die erste Epistel Sanct Johannis.
- 22 Die ander Epistel Sanct Johannis.
- 23 Die drit Epistel Sanct Johannis.

Die Epistel zu den Ebreern.

Die Epistel Jacobus.

Die Epistel Judas.

Die offenbarung Johannis.

8. The List of Contents in Luther's "September Bible." Note the sort of "appended" position for Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation. (From: *Luther's "September Bible" in Facsimile* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972].)

Sanct Johannes.
Das erst Capitel.

LXV.

Jes. 1.



Matth. 3.
Marc. 1.
Luce. 3.

Der anfang wardz wort.
vnd das wort war bey
Gott / vnd Gott war das wort / das
selb war ym anfang bey Gott / Al-
le ding sind durch dasselb gemacht /
vnd on dasselb ist nichts gemacht
was gemacht ist / In yhm war das
leben / vnd das leben war eyn licht
der menschen / vnd das licht scheidet
vnt ym die finsternis / vnd die finster-
nis habens nicht begriffen.

Es wart eyn mensch / vñ Gott ge-
sand / der hies Johannes / der selb
kam zum zeugnis / das er vñ dem li-
cht zeugete / auff das sie alle durch
yhn glewben / Er war nicht das licht / sondern das er zeugete von
dem licht / Das war eyn warhafftigs licht / wilchs alle menschen
erleucht / durch seyn zu kunfft ym die welt / Es war ym der welt /
vñ die welt ist durch dasselb gemacht / vnd die welt kändet es nicht.

Er kam ym seyn eygentum / vñ die seynen namen yhn nicht auff /
Wie viel yhn aber auffnahmen / den gab er macht / Gottes kinder zu
werden / denen / die da an seynen namen glewben / wilche nicht von
dem geblutt / noch von dem willen des fleyschis / noch von dem wil-
len eynes mannes / sondern von Gott geporen sindt.

Matth. 1.
Luce. 2.

Vnd das wort ward fleisch / vñ wonete vnter vns / vnd wyr sahen
seyne herlickeyt / eyn herlickeyt als des eyngepornen sons vom vatter /
voller gnade vnd warheyt.

Johannes zeuget von yhm / schreyt / vnd spricht / Dieser war es / von
dem ich gesagt hab / Nach myr wirt komen / der für myr gewesen ist /
denn er war ehe denn ich / vnd von seynere fulle / habē wyr alle genom-
men / gnade vmb gnade / denn das gesetz ist durch Mosen geben / die
gnade vnd warheyt ist durch Ihesum Christ worden / Niemand
hatt Got vhe gesehen / der eyngeporne son / der ym des vatters schoß
ist / der hatt vns verkundiget.

Vnd dis ist das zeugnis Johannis / da die Juden sandten von
Jerusalem priester vñ Leuiten / das sie yhn frageten / wer bistu? Vnd
er bekant vnd leugnet nicht / vnd er bekant / ich byn nicht Christus / vñ
sie fragten yhn / was denn? Bistu Elias? Er sprach / Ich byns nit.
Bistu eyn prophet? vnd er antwort / Neyn / Da sprach sie zu yhm /
Was bistu denn / das wyr antwort geben denen / die vns gesand ha-
ben? was sagistu vñ dyr selbs? Er sprach / ich byn eyn ruffende stym
ym der wusten / Richtet den weg des herren / wie der prophet Jaias
gesagt

(gnad vmb gnad)
Unser gnad ist vns
geben / vmb Ihesu
Christus gnade / die ym
geben ist / das wyr
durch yhn das ge-
setz erfüllen vnd
den vater erkennen /
da mir heuchler auf
hoze vnd wyr was-
re rechtschaffen
menschen werden.

Matth. 3.
Marc. 1.
Luce. 3.
Jha. 4o.

9. Beginning of Gospel of John in Luther's "September Bible."
(From: *Luther's "September Bible" in Facsimile* [Ann Arbor,
Mich., 1972].)

Abbreviations (cont.)

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