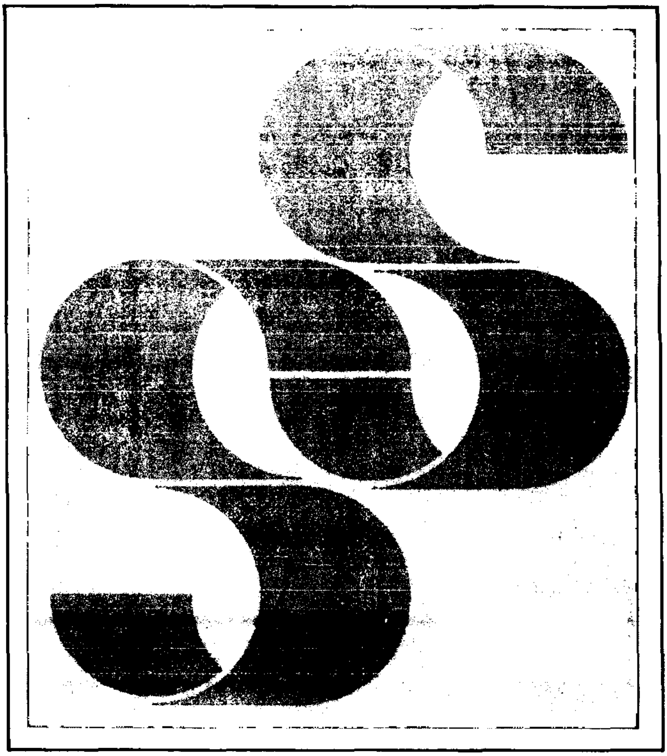
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 24 Number 2 Summer 1986



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
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Subscription Information: Andrews University Seminary Studies is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1986 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$12.00*	$13.50*
Institutions (including Libraries)	15.00*	16.50*
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(Price for Single Copy is $6.00)

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

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 24 Summer 1986 Number 2

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

REINHOLD, GOTTHARD G. G. The Bir-Hadad Stele and the Biblical Kings of Aram 115

RODRÍGUEZ, ANGEL MANUEL. Sanctuary Theology in the Book of Exodus 127

SASSON, VICTOR. The Language of Rebellion in Psalm 2 and in the Plaster Texts from Deir ᶜAlla 147

WINKLE, ROSS E. The Jeremiah Model for Jesus in the Temple 155

BRIEF NOTES

STRAND, KENNETH A. Two Notes Concerning Pamphlet Literature of the Reformation Era 173

1. A Message from "Hellish Prince Lucifer" to Martin Luther 173
2. A Note on Reformation-era *Flugschriften* 178

BOOK REVIEWS 181

Barclay, Oliver R. *The Intellect and Beyond* . . . . Miroslav Kiš

Bruce, F. F. *The Pauline Circle* . . . . Jon Paulien

Brueggeman, Walter. *The Message of the Psalms* . . . . William H. Shea

De Vries, Simon J. *1 Kings* . . . . Douglas R. Clark

Harris, Murray J. *Raised Immortal: Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament* . . . . Robert K. McIver

Hughes, Philip E. *Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* . . . . Daniel A. Augsburger

Kimball, William R. *What the Bible Says About the Great Tribulation* . . . . Hans K. LaRondelle

Knight, George A. F. *Servant Theology: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 40-55* . . . . Niels-Erik Andreasen

Marsden, George, ed. *Evangelicalism and Modern America* . . . . George R. Knight

Richards, Lawrence O. *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words* . . . . William H. Shea

Tenney, Merrill C. *New Testament Survey* . . . . Robert M. Johnston

Townsley, David, and Bjork, Russell. *Scriptural Index to the New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Index to Selected Extrabiblical Literature* . . . . Robert M. Johnston

Webster, Eric Claude. *Crosscurrents in Adventist Christology* . . . . Norman Gulley

Wesley, John. *The Works of John Wesley* . . . . George R. Knight

BOOK NOTICES 207

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of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

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

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Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1986, Vol. 24, No. 2, 115-126.
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THE BIR-HADAD STELE AND THE BIBLICAL KINGS OF ARAM*

GOTTHARD G. G. REINHOLD
Murrhardt, Baden-Württemberg
Federal Republic of Germany

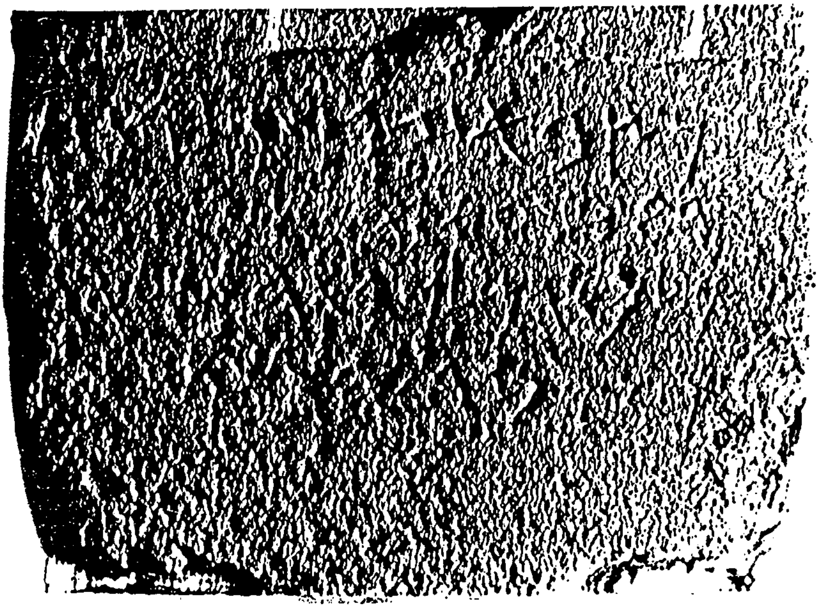
The Aramaic text from a stele that was found just north of Aleppo in Syria was first published by M. Dunand in 1939.[1] The rather standard dedicatory contents of this text refer to the fact that the stele was erected by a king named Bir-Hadad in honor of the god Melqart who heard and answered his petition. The main point about this text which has not been clear is the identity of this Bir-Hadad. His name was incised at the end of the first line and the beginning of the second line and it can be read quite clearly. It is also the direct equivalent of Hebrew Ben Hadad. Problems arise at this point, however, because there are at least three and possibly four different Aramean kings mentioned in 1 and 2 Kings who bore this name. The question then is, Which one of these Ben Hadads erected this stele?

If this text was whole and relatively undamaged, the making of such an identification probably would not have been very difficult. The rest of the second line went on to give some of the king's identifying characteristics or titles, but at this crucial juncture, however, the stone is badly damaged and the text is extremely difficult to read. As a result, a large number of different readings have been offered for the rest of this line, and thus the identifications made for the king mentioned here have varied considerably.

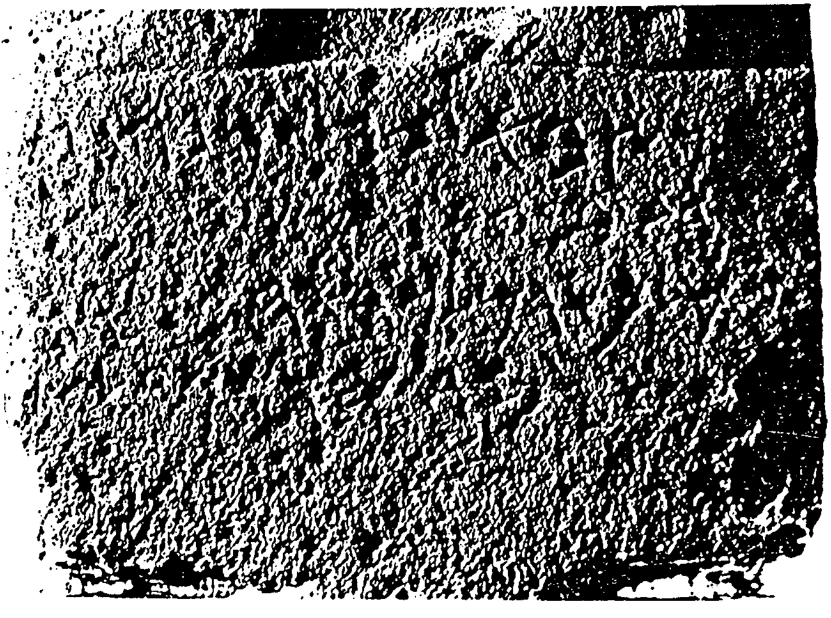
---

*The original study in German from which this article has been abstracted (by William H. Shea), entitled "Die Birhadad-Stele—'Ein halbes Jahrhundertrătsel'. Eine neue Untersuchung der aramäischen Könige bis zum Niedergang von Aram-Damaskus im Jahre 732 v. Chr.," was submitted by the author in its revised form in June, 1985. It remains on file in the *AUSS* office for future reference. The translation into English from which this present article has been abstracted was made by Ellen S. Erbes.

[1] M. Dunand, "Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 3 (1939): 70, 73 (cited hereinafter as *BMB*).



a.



b.

Plate I. Two Photographs Showing the Inscription on the Bir-Hadad Stele. (*Courtesy of Jean Starckey*)

Through the kind consideration of Jean Starcky of Paris and Wahid Khayata of Aleppo, I have been given access to new and unpublished photographs of the stele. The discussion of epigraphy which follows is based upon a close examination of these new photos and it is presented in the interest of clearing up the controversy which has revolved around the second line of this text and the identity of the king whom it describes. Basically, this new study confirms the results obtained by Frank M. Cross in his earlier study.[2] Beyond that confirmation, however, further conclusions can be drawn concerning events related to the stele.

1. *Epigraphy*

From his study of this text based upon the photographs of S. A. Birnbaum and J. B. Pritchard, Cross read its crucial passage as follows:[3]

> 2) ***dd. br ʿzr*** [.]***mś***⸢***q***⸣***y*** ⸢ʾ⸣ ***b*** [***r***] 3) ***mlk ʾrm***
>
> **Translation: "(Bir Ha) 2. -dad, son of ʿEzer, the Damascene, son of 3. the king of Aram."**

From my examination of the new photographs now available (see Plate Ia and b for two of Starcky's photographs), I now read this passage of the text as follows:

> 2) ***dd. br ʿzr. dmśqy*** ⸢ʾ⸣ ***br*** 3) ***mlk ʾrm***
>
> **(This translates the same way as the original treatment does in the study of Cross just quoted.)**

While readings for the last half of the second line still vary considerably among different interpreters, most interpreters, since the study of Cross was published in 1972, have accepted the reading of *ʿzr* or ʿEzer following the word for "son" in the first half of that line. Because of the fact that there are three circular letters—*ʿayin*, *ṭeth*, and *qoph*—in the alphabet of the script in which this text was incised, the first letter of this word had been in dispute until that time. These three letters can be distinguished from the fact that the *qoph* has a line down through its circle, the *ṭeth* contains two crossing bars within its circle, and the *ᶜayin* contains only a dot or no other marks at all within its circle.

---

[2] Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth by Ben-Hadad of Damascus," *BASOR* no. 205 (1972), pp. 36-42. For my own work on the Melqart Stele Inscription which follows I have been supplied with four photographs by Jean Starcky of Paris in his letter of May 5, 1977, and with three more photographs by Wahid Khayata of Aleppo in his letter of July 2, 1979. I want to express my sincere thanks to both of these scholars for their kindness.

[3] Ibid., p. 37.

When Dunand published his first study of this text, he noted what looked to him like a very short bar in the center of this circular letter. Thinking that this was all that was left of the rest of the two crossing bars, he identified this letter as a form of the *ṭeth*.[4] In his second study of this text, however, he decided that the center of this circle was hollowed out and thus it was not incised with the crossing bars of a *ṭeth*.[5] This we now know is the dot within the *ᶜayin*. The dot is dark in Starcky's photo, and it is lighter but still discernible in Khayata's photo. This reading of the *ᶜayin*, and with it the name of *ᶜzr*, is now secure here. In the newly discovered bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriyeh in Syria, the *ᶜayin* also appears as a circle with a dot in its center. The Fekheriyeh inscription is usually dated to the mid-ninth century B.C.,[6] or as essentially contemporary with the Bir-Hadad Stele.

In the 1972 study of this text by Cross, he was not quite certain about which letter followed *ᶜzr*. He suggested that it could be either a *dalet* or an *ᵓaleph*.[7] In the hand copy of this inscription by William H. Shea, this letter was drawn as a *dalet* with its tail extending downwards to the right from its triangular head.[8] I now read this as an unambiguous example of the *dalet*, but would suggest that its tail is shorter than has been copied by Shea. The top of the triangular head of the *dalet* is partially missing due to damage. The incision which makes up the bottom line of the head of this letter extends across the downstroke to its right. Just to the right of the tip of this crossbar there appears another very short downstroke. This should be taken as a word divider placed between the name ᶜ*zr* and the word which follows it. The word divider shows up to some extent in the photo by Starcky, but it is more clear in the photo by Khayata. The combination of this *dalet* with its cross stroke and the word divider located nearby makes this letter look something like the *šin*, with which Lipiński identified it.[9] Closer inspection and context, however, indicate that the word divider and a *dalet* following it are to be preferred here.

---

[4] Dunand, "Stèle araméenne," pp. 69-70.

[5] M. Dunand, "A propos de la stèle de Melqart du Musée d'Alep," *BMB* 6 (1942-1943): 42.

[6] Alan R. Millard and Pierre Bordreuil, "A Statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic Inscriptions," *BA* 45 (1982): 135-141, especially p. 140; Ali Abou Assaf, "Die Statue des HDYSᶜY, König von Guzana," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 113 (1981): 3-22. G. van der Kooij of the Archeologisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, gives another interpretation in his letter of April 29, 1986, to the author. He writes that the ᶜayin has no dot inside in the Melqart Stele (line 2) and that the hole is merely a "quartz pock," like so many other holes in the surface, and too small to have been made intentionally.

[7] Cross, pp. 37, 40-41.

[8] W. H. Shea, "The Kings of the Melqart Stela," *Maarav* 1 (1979): 166.

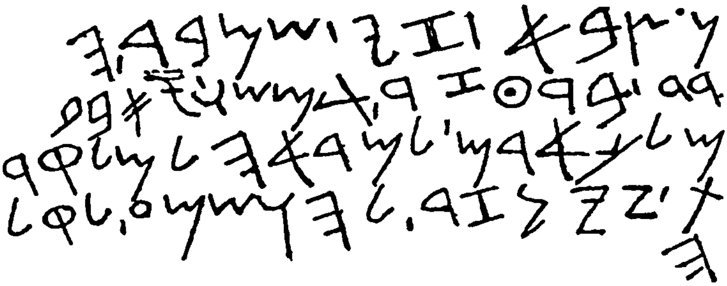
The *mem* and the *šin* which follow the *dalet* are clear in almost all photographs of the inscription. The main question here is, What letter follows the *šin*? Once it is noted that the top half of the circular head of a *qoph* and part of its downstroke are missing due to damage, this letter can be reconstructed here quite readily.[10] The semicircle forming the bottom of the head and the two short interrupted segments of its downstroke can be seen in most photographs of the text and even in some photos which include the depiction of the god above the text. This letter shows up especially well in a new photograph by Khayata (not available for publication here).

The end of this line is the most difficult portion of it to read. There I find a *beth* followed by a *reš*. They both have circular heads located quite close together. The tail of the *beth* curves around towards the *reš*, but the tail of the *reš* is straight and slants to the left, away from the *beth*. The *beth* is located directly under the *he* of Hadad with which the first line ends. These two letters appear as dark scratches in the stone in the photographs of Starcky (see Plate I), with which I have been able to identify them best. These two letters make up the word *bir* or "son," and this designation belongs with the phrase "king of Aram" at the beginning of the next line in making up another title of the king of this stele. Cross proposed just such a restoration here, but he was unable to read these letters directly from the photos at his disposal. With the new photographs of this inscription these letters may be regarded as more definite.

---

[9] E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (Leuven, 1975), p. 16.

[10] For a good comparison of this form of the *qoph*, see H. Klengel, *Geschichte und Kultur Altsyriens*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1979), fig. 55.



TRANSLITERATION:

Line 1: nṣb’ .zy .śm br⸢.⸣ h

Line 2: dd.br‘zr.dmśqy ⸢’⸣br

Line 3: mlk ’rm ⸢.⸣lmr’h lmlqr

Line 4: t. zy nzr ⸢.⸣ lh wšm‘ .lql

Line 5: h

TRANSLATION:

The stele which Bir-Hadad, son of ‘Ezer, the Damascene, son of the king of Aram, erected to his Lord Melqart, to whom he made a vow and who heard his voice.

Plate II. Reconstruction by Gotthard G. G. Reinhold of the Text Inscribed on the Bir-Hadad Stele.

There is enough space for approximately two letters between the *qoph* and the *beth* in this line. The photographs of Khayata suggest that a *yod* may follow the *qoph*, and the photographs of Starcky suggest that an *ʾaleph* should be identified immediately preceding the *beth*. These two letters are the most difficult of all in this line to read, but there are traces which favor such readings. Moreover, these letters fit well here as a gentilic ending and an article on the word for Damascus which precedes them. On the basis of these new photographs these new readings may be taken together as making up the following reading and translation of this line of the text:

dd. br ʿzr. dmśqy ⸢ʾ⸣ ***br***

"(Bir-Ha)dad, son of Ezer, [the] Damascene, son (of the king of Aram)."

2. *Paleography*

According to its script the Bir-Hadad text comes close to the Amman Citadel Inscription.[11] (For my transcription of the text, see Plate II.) Both of these inscriptions, however, are specifically less developed than the inscription of the Zakkur Stele,[12] which belongs to the period between 800 and 770 B.C. A characteristic of the Bir-Hadad stele is that it represents, along with the Amman Citadel Inscription, a mixture of both archaic and developed forms of letters.[13] The following examples demonstrate this:

dalet: the short tail is typical for early Aramaic forms.

he: The *he* in line 5, for example, is round-shouldered like the form that appears in line 5 of the Amman Citadel Inscription.[14] This is quite different from the form of the *he* which appears in the

---

[11] S. H. Horn, "The Amman Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* no. 193 (1969), pp. 5, 7, and figs. 2, 3; and Frank M. Cross, Jr., "Epigraphic Notes on the Amman Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* no. 193 (1969), p. 15, fig. 1. Cross dates the Citadel Inscription to ca. 875-825 B.C., or more specifically to the mid-ninth century B.C., contemporary with the Bir-Hadad Inscription and only slightly earlier than the Moabite Stone. See also Kent P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*, HSM 27 (Chico, Calif., 1983), pp. 9-33, for a good survey of the Amman Citadel Inscription.

[12] Cross, "Epigraphic Notes," p. 15, fig. 1; Alan R. Millard, "Alphabetic Inscriptions and Ivories from Nimrud," *Iraq* 24 (1962): 46, fig. 1, col. 11 (see here especially Millard's chart of the Hebrew and Aramaic letters of the eighth century B.C.).

[13] Cross, "Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," p. 40.

[14] Ibid.

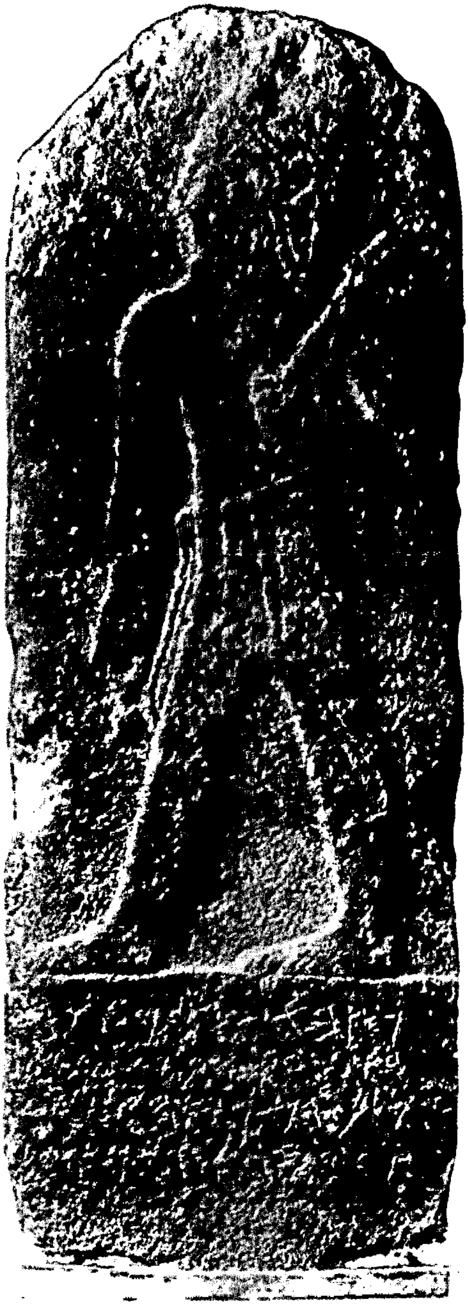


Plate III. The Bir-Hadad Stele. From James B. Pritchard. ed., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures: Relating to the Old Testament.* Copyright © 1954 by Princeton University Press. Illustration 499 reprinted with permission of Princeton University Press.

Deir ᶜAllā Plaster Text from the mid-eighth century B.C. and the Assur Ostracon from the mid-seventh century B.C.[15]

zayin: The fully developed *z*-form is found in the Zakkur Inscription from the early eighth century B.C. Here, however, we find the more archaic form in two or three of the four *zayins* in the inscription.[16]

kaph: This letter is identical with the forms of the Amman Citadel Inscription, but appears primitive over against the form of the Zakkur Inscription.

ᶜayin: The *ᶜayin* with the dot in its circle is the earlier form and that is the form which appears possibly in this inscription.

Taken together, these paleographical factors suggest a date between 850 and 840 B.C., or, in any event, some time after the middle of the ninth century but well before the end of that century. The discovery of further epigraphic material may assist in refining this date.

3. *Iconography*

Melqart, the main god of Tyre, is depicted on the relief above the inscription. (See Plate III.) He is shown striding barefoot from right to left. He holds an axe with a crescentic blade in his left hand, and it extends over his left shoulder.[17] This type of axe is known mostly from Syrian and Palestinian sites from the early Middle Bronze Age until the second half of the first millennium B.C.[18]

---

[15] See the chart of Aramaic cursive characters in J. Naveh, "The Date of the Deir ᶜAllā Inscription in Aramaic Script," *IEJ* 17 (1967): 257, fig. 1, lines 1 and 5. G. van der Kooij, "The Identity of Trans-Jordanian Alphabetic Writing in the Iron Age," a paper presented at the Third International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan in Tübingen, 7-11 April 1986, also includes a chart of the Trans-Jordanian scripts of the Northern and Southern regions.

[16] The archaic *z*-form is also found in the Jezebel seal on quartzite stone. This has been compared to the form of the *zayins* in Mesha's Inscription on the Moabite Stone that is dated here to ca. 850 B.C. See N. Avigad, "The Seal of Jezebel," *IEJ* 14 (1964): 275.

[17] K. Galling, "Archäologisch-historische Ergebnisse einer Reise in Syrien und Liban im Spätherbst 1952," *ZDPV* 69 (1953): 185.

[18] W. Culican, "Melqart Representations on Phoenician Seals," *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960-1961): 41-44. See also Pl. 1, figs. 1a and b.

Melqart carries another object in his right hand, but its nature is not entirely recognizable. It may possibly represent the Egyptian *ankh*-sign.[19] A useful comparison can be made here with the ninth-century-B.C. ivory relief from Zenjirli.[20] On it the god carries an Egyptian *was*-scepter in one hand and the *ankh*-sign in the other. Melqart's head is adorned with a low dome-shaped hat.[21] The head shows contours of the eye, nose, mouth, a broad beard with rounded-off lower point (incised with short parallel lines of irregular length), a small ear (two parallel curved lines), a tuft of hair above the eye (four curved furrows) and in the neck (with evenly parallel lines).[22]

While the torso is uncovered, the loins are draped in a skirt which flows down in a long tail along the left leg. The skirt is gathered by a belt, but the right front part of the garment remains open. Parallels for the gathering of the garment in this way are known from ᶜAmrīt (Marathus), Nimrud, and Arslan Tash.[23] The skirt is decorated in the striking form of two tassels which take the form of cobras. These run almost vertically down the legs but raise their heads in opposing fashion just above the hem.[24] A seventh-century-B.C. statue of a priest with a *uraeus*-skirt from ᶜAmrīt may be cited for a parallel.[25]

4. *History*

The following historical conclusions may be suggested on the basis of comparisons of the epigraphy, paleography, and iconography of this stele with biblical data and with other extra-biblical sources:

---

[19] Dunand, "Stèle araméenne," p. 67. See also Culican, p. 41.

[20] Galling, p. 185, n. 24.

[21] Dunand, "Stèle araméenne," p. 66; R. de Vaux, "Les prophètes de Baal sur le Mont Carmel," *BMB* 5 (1941): 9.

[22] Dunand, "Stèle araméenne," p. 66. Cf. also the head of the weather god with an axe and bundle of lightning bolts on the relief from Zenjirli (Samᵓal), which, however, is directed to the left. G. R. Meyer, *Durch vier Jahrtausende altvorderasiatischer Kultur*, enl. ed., vol. 2 (Berlin, 1962), p. 35 and fig. 4.

[23] Galling, p. 185, with reference to his *Biblisches Reallexikon* (Tübingen, 1937), cols. 211-212, no. 1 (stele of ᶜAmrīt), and *Iraq* 2 (1935): Pl. 23, no. 4 (ivory from Nimrud).

[24] Dunand, "Stèle araméenne," p. 67.

[25] M. Dunand, "Les sculptures de la Favissa du temple d'Amrit," *BMB* 7 (1944-1945): 99-107, and Pl. XVI, 9.

1. The text of the Bir-Hadad Inscription belongs to a time that is post-850 B.C. The political situation in this period suggests a date around 845.

2. The second line of this text identifies its Bir-Hadad as a son of the Aramaean king Adad-ᵓIdri. This king is known here only by his second name ᶜEzer. Given the appropriate phonetic shifts, ᵓIdri in Akkadian equals ᶜEzer in Aramaic and Hebrew. This king, Adad-ᵓIdri or ᶜEzer, was the Aramaean king who led the western coalition of kings and armies in battle against Shalmaneser III of Assyria at Qarqar in Syria in 853 B.C.

3. In the period after the battle of Qarqar, this father-and-son pair must have shared power on the throne of Damascus. Bir-Hadad the son may possibly have taken over the leadership of the army at that time. He was probably crown prince of the royal house of Damascus before he was raised to the status of coregent and king, ca. 845 B.C. or slightly earlier. Adad-ᵓIdri is commonly identified as Ben Hadad II in the series of kings of Damascus known by that name from the Bible. Since we are now inserting his son in that line of kings as another Ben Hadad, the Bir/Ben Hadad who inscribed this stele should be indentified as Ben Hadad III. The later Ben Hadad of the Bible, the son of Hazael, should now be moved from Ben Hadad III to Ben Hadad IV.

4. It is possible to interpret a statement in the annals of Shalmaneser III of Assyria in such a way as to indicate that Adad-ᵓIdri/Ben Hadad II (if they are identical), against whom the Assyrians fought so frequently, died in battle in 845 B.C. and therefore did not live on as late as 842/841, as previously held.[26] If that was the case, then it

---

[26] M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels,* 6th ed. (Berlin, 1966) p. 226. E. Lipiński, "An Assyro-Israelite Alliance in 842/841 B.C.E.?", *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* 1 (Jerusalem, 1977): p. 273 and passim, speaks here of a violent death of Adad-ᵓIdri in 842 B.C. according to his dating, which would have severed the alliance between Damascus, Hamath, and Israel. See also E. Lipiński, "Aramäer und Israel," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin, 1978), 3:590-599, esp. 594-597, and "Aram et Israël du Xᵉ au VIIIᵉ siècle av. n. è.," *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1979): 49-102, esp. 75-76. On the translation of the relevant Akkadian phrase from the annals, *šadašu ēmid,* see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1965): 211, and *CAD* (Chicago, 1958) 4:140, and esp. the proposal by J. Alberto Soggin, "Amos VI:13-14 und I:3 auf dem Hintergrund der Beziehungen zwischen Israel und Damaskus im 9. und 8. Jahrhundert," in Hans Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), p. 438. Soggin thought that this translation was possible.

would have been natural for his son, the Bir-Hadad of the stele, to have accompanied his father into that battle. If Adad-ʾIdri was killed at that time, it is possible that Bir-Hadad may have been wounded. This Bir-Hadad of the stele, then, would be the Ben Hadad that we encounter in 2 Kgs 8 as lying sick, or still convalescing, from his wounds on the occasion when the usurper Hazael entered and murdered him (in 842/841 B.C.). The national and personal reverses experienced by Bir-Hadad (Ben Hadad III) played into the hands of Hazael.

5. On the other hand, if the Ben Hadad of 2 Kgs 8 is to be identified with Adad-ʾIdri/Ben Hadad II, as the king whom Hazael murdered (vs. 15), then one might also expect that his son, the Bir-Hadad of the stele, met a similar fate at the hands of Hazael.

6. The Bir-Hadad Stele provides unique historical evidence that the god Melqart was worshiped in the royal court of Damascus following 850 B.C. Since Melqart was the god of Tyre in particular, this stele gives evidence of contacts between Tyre and Damascus.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1986, Vol. 24, No. 2, 127-145.
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SANCTUARY THEOLOGY IN THE BOOK OF EXODUS

ANGEL MANUEL RODRÍGUEZ
Antillian College
Mayagüez, Puerto Rico 00709

The book of Exodus is the first OT book that mentions the Israelite sanctuary. This book provides us not only with precise information with respect to the sanctuary's physical structure and furniture, but also with basic information on its significance.

The present study proposes to take an overview of several important theological motifs that emerge in connection with the ancient Israelite sanctuary as portrayed in the book of Exodus. Although various of these aspects have already been noticed by other researchers, my hope herein is to bring together certain significant elements in such a way as to broaden our understanding of the ancient Hebrew concept of the meaning of the ancient Israelite sanctuary.

At the outset, it is appropriate to state that the various elements we shall consider all have a bearing upon, and contribute to, an overarching theological concern related to the OT sanctuary/temple: namely, the presence of Yahweh. Moreover, the book of Exodus is foundational for a proper understanding of this basic motif, as it describes how the people of Israel were miraculously delivered from Egyptian slavery by Yahweh, and how, by his grace, they became a holy nation under his leadership. He entered into a covenant relationship with them, and gave them the precious gift of his own presence.[1]

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[1] The theology of the presence of God is a very important one in the OT. Among significant studies relating to it are the following: Samuel Terrien, *The Elusive Presence: Toward a New Biblical Theology* (New York, 1978); R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford, 1965); Baruch A. Levine, "On the Presence of God in Biblical Religion," in Studies in the History of Religions 14, *Religions in Antiquity* ed. J. Neusner (Leiden, 1968), pp. 71-87; W. Brueggemann, "Presence of God, Cultic," *IDB*, Supp. Vol., ed. Keith Crim (Nashville, Tenn., 1976), pp. 680-683. Brueggemann provides further bibliographical references.

1. *Redemption as the Background and Basis for the Israelite Sanctuary*

In the book of Exodus, a key text concerning the sanctuary is 25:8—"And let them make me [Yahweh] a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst." This divine command forms the link between the first twenty-four chapters of the book and the final fifteen chapters.

The preceding material in Exodus may actually be divided into two sections: chaps. 1-18 and 19-24. The first eighteen chapters describe the plight of the Israelites in Egypt, their deliverance from Egypt in the Exodus, and their journey to Sinai. Thus, the redemption feature lies at the very heart of this section of the book, for Yahweh had heard Israel's cries in Egypt (3:7-8) and now had delivered them from the house of bondage (20:1). As a result of that prior goodness on the part of Yahweh—that redemptive act in delivering Israel from bondage in Egypt—the covenant between Yahweh and his people was entered into at Sinai. Chaps. 19-24 in Exodus give details concerning this event.

The purpose of the redemption was a continuing freedom—a freedom which included the right to worship. When Moses had been instructed by Yahweh in the theophany earlier at Mt. Horeb, the divine command had been, "You and the elders of Israel shall go to the king of Egypt and say to him, 'The Lord, the God of the Hebrews, has met with us; and now, we pray you, let us go a three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice [*zāḇaḥ*] to the Lord our God'" (Exod 3:18, RSV; cf. 5:3, 8:27-29, and 10:25).[2] Pharaoh was also told that the Lord wanted the Israelites to be free in order for them to hold a feast to him in the wilderness (Exod 5:1; cf. 8:20 and 10:9).[3] It is clear that Pharaoh understood what was being asked, for one of his suggestions was to have the people offer their sacrifices in Egypt (8:25; cf. 5:17; 8:8; 10:7, 8, 11, 24). To this suggestion, Moses replied that in order for the Israelites to offer sacrifices to Yahweh, complete freedom—away from the Egyptians—was indispensable (8:26-27).[4]

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[2] Except for individual words and short technical phrases, the English renditions herein are from the RSV.

[3] The three reasons for the Exodus given by Moses (to sacrifice, to serve the Lord, and to hold a festival) are closely related. The act of sacrificing could refer particularly to the covenant sacrifices mentioned in 24:4-5 (see R. Alan Cole, *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary* [Downers Grove, Ill, 1973], p. 72); the act of serving the Lord, or worship, includes the offering of sacrifices, but also expresses the idea of Yahweh's lordship over Israel (see Foster R. McCurley, *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers: The Proclamation Commentaries* [Philadelphia, 1979], p. 113); the holding of a feast to Yahweh probably refers to the joyous procession from

That freedom finally came through the redemption experience of the Exodus, in which the Passover lamb became instrumental and symbolic (Exod 12). It was this new freedom that made it possible for Israel to enter into a covenant relationship with Yahweh at Sinai (chap. 19)—with Israel as Yahweh's people and Yahweh as Israel's God. In short, redemption lay at the very foundation of the covenant relationship which bound together the ancient twelve-tribe Israelite federation and which, according to the records, was in fact the beginning of the entity that was to become the Israelite nation. In Exod 19:6, the significance of this new entity in its covenant relationship with Yahweh is expressed as its being a "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation."

It is significant that only after the description of the Exodus from Egypt and the covenant at Sinai does the command come from Yahweh to "let them make me a sanctuary" (Exod 25:8). God had manifested himself in the Exodus, he had appeared on Mt. Sinai (Exod 19), and now his instruction is that a sanctuary be built so that he might dwell among his people.

2. *Yahweh's Closeness to His People*

In the statement of Exod 25:8, the verb translated "dwell" is *šākan*, which means "to tabernacle, to encamp."[5] Each Israelite

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Egypt to Sinai which culminates in the offering of sacrifices (on the meaning of the term *hāgag*, see B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "חַג *chagh*," *TDOT* 4: 201-213; and also J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971], p. 90).

[4] Moses' answer to Pharaoh was a very polite one. He did not want to offend the Egyptians by sacrificing to Yahweh animals which the Egyptians considered sacred (see W. H. Gispen, *Exodus*, trans. Ed van der Maas [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982], pp. 93-94; J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "The Book of Exodus," *IB* 1:901; George A. F. Knight, *Theology as Narration: A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976], p. 65). What Moses was really asking for was freedom to worship.

[5] See Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Priestly Tabernacle," *BAR* 1 (1961): 224-226; cf. W. Michaelis, "*skene*," *TDNT* 7: 369-372.

had a tent; now the Lord also expressed a desire to dwell in a tent in the midst of Israel.

Throughout the ancient Near East in general, sanctuaries/temples were built for the gods, and were considered to be the earthly dwellings of the gods.[6] The image of the god was placed in the temple as a symbol of the presence of the deity. As a matter of fact, the god was considered to be somehow present in his image.[7] The gods lived in temples mainly because they had some basic needs which man was supposed to satisfy. They especially needed food, which was provided for them by means of sacrifices.[8] If an individual cared for the deity, it was said that the deity would also provide and care for the well-being of the individual. Indeed, the basic relationship established between the individual and his god was determined by the principle of *do ut des*, "I give that you may give."

In Israel the situation was completely different. Yahweh's decision to dwell among his people was not motivated by any physical necessity. The sacrifices were not food for Yahweh. In fact, when the Israelites later adopted the pagan concept of sacrifices, the Lord rejected their offerings and sacrifices (cf. Ps 50:7-15).[9]

[6] See Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 27, 77; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Baltimore, Md., 1952), p. 149; Harold H. Nelson, "The Egyptian Temple," *BAR* 1 (1961): 147; G. Ernest Wright, "The Temple in Palestine-Syria," *BAR* 1 (1961): 172.

[7] Wright, p. 170, states: "In all ancient temples the proof of the deity's presence was his statue, which somehow was thought to house his essence. In neither Egypt nor Mesopotamia did religious leaders, at least, believe that the statue *was* the god, or that it confined him. Nevertheless, he was believed to be *in* the statue." For a discussion on the image of the god in Babylonian religion, see A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 184-187.

[8] E. P. Dhorme, *La religion Assyro-Babylonienne* (Paris, 1910), pp. 267-272; Giuseppe Furlani, *La Religione degli Hittiti* (Bologna, 1936), pp. 292-293; Ringgren, pp. 81-82; T. H. Gaster, "Sacrifices and Offerings, OT," *IDB* 4: 149-150.

[9] There are some passages in which the sacrifices are called food for the Lord (Lev 3:11, 16), or bread of God (Lev 21:6, 8, 17, 21; cf. Num 28:2); and it is even said that Yahweh smelled the pleasing odor of the sacrifices (Lev 1:9, 13, 17). Some OT scholars find in such expressions "a relic of the ancient belief that the sacrifice actually nourished the God" (e.g., C. R. North, "Sacrifice," in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. Alan Richardson [New York, 1950], p. 206); but also they are often willing to recognize that those expressions are not to be taken in a literal sense (cf., e.g., Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Religious Institutions* [New York, 1961],

In the Hebrew sanctuary, the Israelites could not give anything to Yahweh in order to enrich or bribe him. Instead, it was really Yahweh who was the giver. His presence among them had enriched Israel to the point where they were provided with a religious and national identity (Exod 33:16).

In summary, the theological significance of Yahweh's tabernacling with his people in their wilderness encampment means that God was not a wrathful being to be propitiated, like the gods of the surrounding nations, but was rather a loving God who should be worshiped and who had an intimate concern for the welfare of his people. The sanctuary is, therefore, a proclamation of God's immanence, rooted in his loving grace.

3. *God's Transcendence Safeguarded in the Sanctuary*

Not only was the sanctuary to reveal God's immanence, however, but it was also to safeguard his transcendence. Such a combination of immanence and transcendence was manifested when God came down upon Sinai to make the covenant with his people. Various investigators have noticed a parallel between God's appearance on the mountain and God's manifestation in the sanctuary subsequently.

With respect to the experience at Sinai, as soon as the people arrived there, the Lord commanded them to get ready for the meeting with him. The Israelites were to consecrate themselves and to wash their garments (Exod 19:10). On the third day Moses was to bring them out of the camp to meet God (vs. 17).[10] The people

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p. 449). Sometimes the expressions are taken to be, in the words of George Buchanan Gray, "petrified expressions preserving the forms of once living but long dead beliefs" (*Sacrifices in the Old Testament* [New York, 1925], p. 22); or they are, according to Robert J. Daly, metaphors to indicate God's acceptance of the sacrifice (*The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* [Philadelphia, 1978], pp. 21-22). Cf. also Werner H. Schmidt, *The Faith of the Old Testament: A History*, trans. John Sturdy (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 129, who states: "The understanding of sacrifice as feeding God is still to be heard in some expressions . . . , but had long been given up as a conscious intention."

[10] The expression *liqraʾṯ* (RSV, "to meet") could function not only as an infinitive but also as a preposition, "toward" (Brown-Driver-Briggs, Lexicon, p. 896). In both cases, the idea of the meeting of two persons is present (cf. Brevard S. Childs,

prepared themselves for the appointment, and "on the morning of the third day" Mt. Sinai was "wrapped in smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire" (vss. 16-18). Although Yahweh and his people were to meet, the people themselves actually were not to have access to the mountain: "And you shall set bounds for the people round about, saying, 'Take heed that you do not go up into the mountain or touch the border of it'" (vs. 12). Sinai became holy because of God's presence, and it was fenced in so as to avoid any violation of its sanctity by the Israelites.[11]

An altar was also built at the foot of the mountain (Exod 24:4), to which only certain young men, selected by Moses from among the people, could go to offer sacrifices (vs. 5). Access to the mountain itself was limited to Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel (vs. 1), who could go up a certain distance on the mountain only after the covenant had been ratified (vss. 6-9). There they would worship the Lord "afar off" (vs. 1), and participate in the covenant meal. While there, they saw God (vss. 10-11)—or perhaps more particularly, the place where the Lord was standing (vs. 10).[12] Moses alone could ascend all the way up the mountain, near to Yahweh (vs. 2), where the glory of Yahweh was manifested in a special way.[13] He went up there to get the tables of stone containing God's law (vs. 12).

The similarity of arrangement here with that of the subsequent tabernacle is striking. (See the illustration on the facing page.) The fence around the mountain, with an altar at the foot of the mountain, would correspond to the court of the sanctuary with its altar of burnt offering; the limited group of people who could go up to

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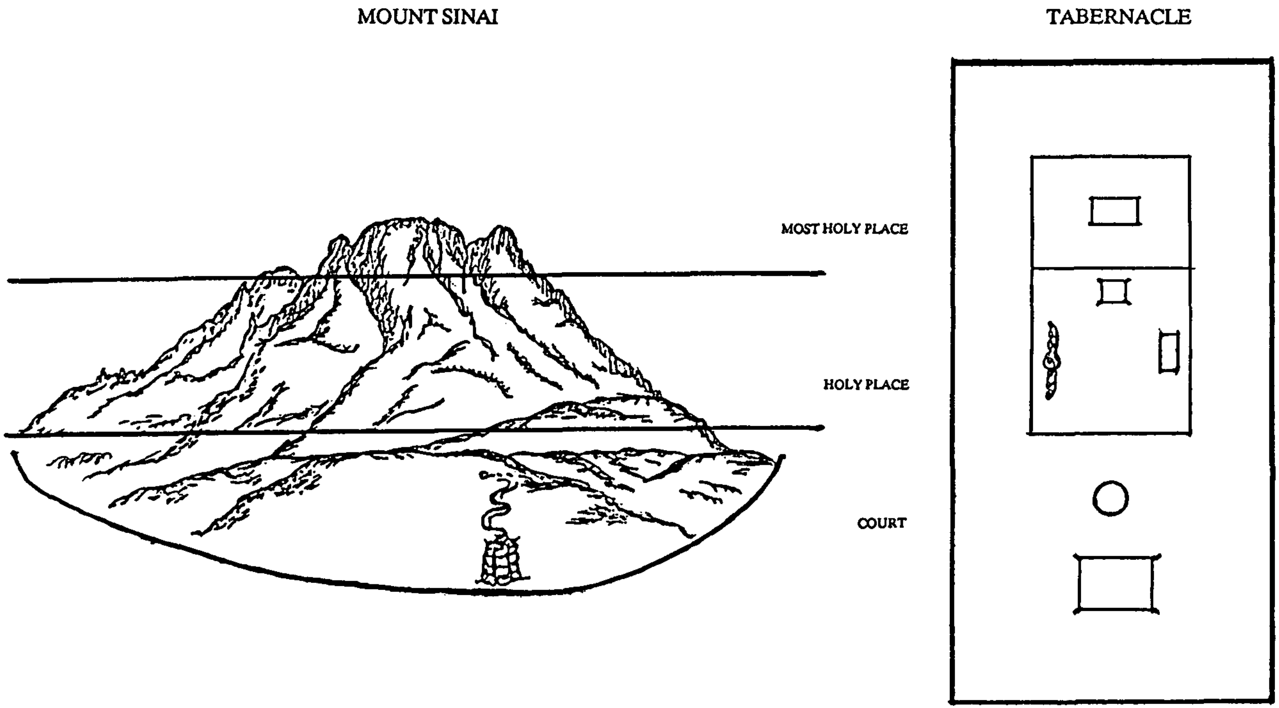
The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary [Philadelphia, 1974], pp. 341, 343).

[11] Cole, p. 147, states: "The area of the mountain itself was 'sealed off' by some kind of markers. Since the mountain was holy . . . , then anything or anyone that touched it would also become 'holy' or devoted to God. For a living creature that meant sacrifice, which, in turn, meant death." The verb *gāḇal* (RSV, "set bounds") means "to establish a border." Here it refers to the boundary of a cultic area (see Magnus Ottosson, "גְבוּל *gᵉbhûl*," *TDOT* 2: 363).

[12] See Rylaarsdam, p. 1018; Childs, pp. 506-507.

[13] The biblical text seems to suggest that Moses and Joshua went up together (24:13). But according to 24:15-18, Moses alone "entered the cloud, and went up on the mountain."


MOUNT SINAI
TABERNACLE
MOST HOLY PLACE
HOLY PLACE
COURT

MOUNT SINAI AND THE TABERNACLE
(Sketch by Angel Manuel Rodríguez)

a certain point on the mountain would correspond to the priests of the sanctuary, who could enter into the first apartment or "holy place"; and the fact that only Moses could go up to the very presence of Yahweh would correspond to the activity of the high priest, who alone could enter into the presence of Yahweh in the inner apartment of the sanctuary, or "most holy place."[14]

The theological implications of these structural parallels should not be missed. First of all, as indicated above, the ancient Israelite tabernacle was to be a perpetuation of the Sinai experience. Indeed, the very statement about the "glory of the Lord" settling on Mt. Sinai (24:16) uses the Hebrew term *šākan*, "settled" (or more appropriately, "tabernacled"). However, Yahweh did not intend simply to tabernacle on Mt. Sinai. He was leading the Israelites to the land of Canaan, in accord with the promise he had made to the patriarchs (Exod 3:16-17), and he desired to travel with them. The original connection between Sinai and the tabernacle was recognized in accounts of the later Hebrew experience and in Hebrew poetic literature. For instance, we find in the Pentateuch clear affinities between cultic theophanies in the tabernacle and the one on Sinai (see Exod 40:38 and Lev 9:23).[15] The same holds true for the descriptions found in the Psalms concerning the sanctuary as the place where God reveals himself: Expressions from the Sinai theophany are also used in a number of instances there (cf., e.g., Ps 50:2-3; 18:8-16; etc.).[16] Brevard Childs has pointed out that "what happened at Sinai is continued in the tabernacle"; and in the words of R. E. Clements, God's presence in the sanctuary causes the Sinai theophany "to be repeated in Israel's cultic life."[17]

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[14] Rylaarsdam, p. 1018, writes, "Moses is asked to come up to God, to enter what in the temple was known as the holy of holies." Knight, p. 159, states that "Moses enters into the mystery, just as does the High Priest in later days, when he enters the Holy Place in the Temple." G. Henton Davies, "Tabernacle," *IDB* 4: 503-504, has established the same connection between Sinai and the tabernacle that I have indicated, as Jacob Milgrom, in *Studies in Levitical Terminology* 1 (Los Angeles, 1970): 44-46, has especially noticed that Mount Sinai "is the archetype of the tabernacle."

[15] This has been especially noticed by Manuel Oliva, "Interpretación teológica del culto en la perícopa del Sinaí de la Historia Sacerdotal," *Bib* 49 (1968): 345-354. Cf. also Ronald de Vaux, "Ark of the Covenant and Tent of Reunion," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1971), p. 146; and Victor P. Hamilton, "שָׁכַן (*shākan*) dwell, tabernacle," in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris (Chicago, 1980), 2: 926.

[16] Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. Herbert Hartwell (Philadelphia, 1962), finds the different theophanic allusions mentioned in the Psalms to

A second theological implication, contingent on this first one, is that of Yahweh's desire to be present with his people wherever they are. It is his desire to remain accessible, in a covenant relationship. Thus, the ancient Israelite tabernacle becomes also an extension of the covenant experience of Sinai, in which the transcendent God has become immanent.

But, as already noted, this very extension of the Sinai experience in the tabernacle structure and liturgy also safeguards the fact that God is transcendent. In a sense, he is both accessible and at the same time inaccessible. That is to say, he is present with the congregation in their midst, but it is only through a group of carefully selected persons that the congregation itself has access to him (Exod 28:1; 29:1-46). Although present in the sanctuary, his manifestation to the congregation itself is only through the cloud and fire (cf. 19:9; 16:10). Also, the very concept of *kāḇôḏ*—specifically, of God's "glory"—is a clear testimony in Exodus of God's being both immanent and transcendent. The *kāḇôḏ* is the splendor, or the brightness, which testifies of God's presence among his people.[18] It is also his majesty—that which he "possesses in His own right," a "kind of totality of qualities which make up His divine power."[19]

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be related to the Sinaitic theophany. On pp. 28, 29, 38-42, he discusses a number of phrases which have theophanic motifs. He considers the cultic theophany to be at the heart of his hypothetical Covenant Festival (p. 38).

[17] Childs, p. 540, and Clements, p. 22. Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965), denies that Yahweh's theophany at Sinai played any significant role in the cultic theophanic traditions of the OT (cf. also his "Theophany in the OT," *IDB*, Supp. Vol., pp. 896-898). Yet, the fact remains that in the book of Exodus in its canonical form, there is a clear connection.

[18] Walther Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline*, trans. David E. Green, 2d ed. (Atlanta, 1978), p. 80; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, trans. J. A. Baker, 2 (Philadelphia, 1967): 32.

[19] Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York, 1958), p. 79.

In this respect, God's glory is inaccessible to human beings (Exod 33:18-23), who can see only some of the outwardly visible aspects of this glory—for example, its brightness (Exod 24:17). As pointed out by W. Eichrodt, the manifestation of God's glory in the sanctuary testifies of a "real entry of the transcendent God into the realm of the visible without, however, thereby prejudicing His transcendence."[20]

We should remember, furthermore, that while Yahweh's glory tabernacled in the sanctuary, his real and permanent abode was in the heavens. Whenever the OT refers to God's heavenly abode, it uses the verb *yāšaḇ* (literally, "to sit down"). Yahweh "sits down" (*yāšaḇ*) in the heavens, but "tabernacles" (*šāḵan*) among his people on earth.[21] Thus, the God who meets with Israel in the *ᵓohel môᶜēḏ* ("tent of meeting") is in reality the transcendental Lord of the universe, who dwells in the heavens.

In considering the Sinai-sanctuary correspondences, we should note here one further significant item: namely, the concept of "meeting" or "having an appointment" with Yahweh. Before the Exodus from Egypt, Yahweh had indicated to Moses at the theophany at the burning bush that when Moses had brought the people out of Egypt, he would serve God upon "this mountain [Horeb]" (Exod 3:12). That appointment was met at Sinai, where, as we have noted, Israel entered into a covenant relationship with Yahweh. Now, however, the meeting place is the sanctuary: "There I will meet [*yāᶜaḏ*] with the people of Israel, and it shall be sanctified by my glory" (29:43). The verb *yāᶜaḏ* means in this verse "to have an appointment." And thus, the sanctuary has become the *place*, or *space*, where the transcendental God comes to meet with his people.

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[20] Eichrodt, 2: 32.

[21] On the distinction between *šāḵan* and *yāšaḇ*, see Cross, pp. 226-227; and Clements, pp. 116-117. The problem of the divine transcendence and the sanctuary is addressed in a special way by Solomon during his prayer for the dedication of the Temple. Although he built a house for the Lord "to dwell in for ever" (1 Kgs 8:13), he is willing to raise the difficult question: "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee [Yahweh]; how much less this house which I have built!" (8:27). The solution to this problem offered by Solomon is found in what is frequently called "name theology"—Solomon's temple as "the place of which thou [Yahweh] hast said, 'My name shall be there' " (8:29). In Hebrew thinking, the name of a person represented the essential nature of the person. Yahweh had a name by which he could be invoked, and that name had been entrusted to Israel (see H. Bietenhard, "Name *Onoma*," *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* [hereinafter *NIDNTT*], ed. Colin Brown [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976], 2: 648-656). Israel can call upon the Lord and he will answer: "It is not another mediating god who is present in the 'name of Yahweh,' but Yahweh himself, and he alone" (Zimmerli, p. 78); it is Yahweh revealing himself, making himself accessible to his people (see Eichrodt, 2: 41). What Solomon is stating is that in spite of God's transcendence, God is present in the temple in his name (see Roland de Vaux, "Le lieu que Yahvé a choisi pour y établir son nom," in *Das ferne und nahe Wort*, Festschrift Leonhard Rost, ed. Fritz Maass [Berlin, 1967], pp. 219-228). On the theology of the name, see also Jacob, pp. 82-85; and H. Bietenhard, "Onoma," *TDNT* 5: 255-258.

4. *Divine Dynamic in the Sanctuary*

God's tabernacling in the sanctuary was not a static matter, but was dynamic in meaningful activity for Israel. The very fact that the sanctuary was to be built "in the midst" (*ḇᵉṯôḵ*) of the Israelite encampment identifies it as the heart of the camp—for which, and from which, all activity evolved between God and his people.

The sanctuary was the place where God revealed his will. Just as from the "most holy place" on top of Mt. Sinai God proclaimed the Decalog, so from the sanctuary the covenant code was given to Moses (Exod 20:21-23:33). That covenant code, as well as the Decalog, was to remain in the sanctuary, in the inner apartment or "most holy place," within the ark of the covenant. From that ark, the Lord would continue to reveal his will to the people of Israel (25:22).

But the sanctuary was also the center from which Yahweh ruled as King or Lord over the world. The fact that Yahweh had chosen to dwell among the Israelites might seem to suggest that he was going to rule over only Abraham's descendants. However, there was a divine movement or outreach from the Hebrew sanctuary to the world at large. Already Yahweh had defeated the Egyptians in order to deliver and redeem his people from their bondage in Egypt; and in Exod 15:3 he is described as "a man of war" who fought in behalf of his people.[22] He had desired that his people reach Canaan

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[22] Concerning the interpretations and problems relating to Exod 15, see the bibliographies and discussions in Childs, pp. 240-253; and Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Kitchener, Ontario, 1980), pp. 46-60, 185-186.

(cf. 15:17), and the nations of Canaan were afraid of that glorious and powerful God (15:14-15). Now, from the sanctuary his power reached far beyond the boundaries of that holy abode, as Yahweh would take away the land from the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, and would give it to Israel (cf. 3:8 and 23:23). Thus, from the sanctuary Yahweh's presence and power reached out to encompass the nations of the world.

Inasmuch as Yahweh fought for his people, the sanctuary became for them the central locus from which he protected them, redeemed them, blessed them (20:24) and guided them (cf. 40:36-38).[23] In short, for the Israelites the sanctuary was the source of their life as a nation, representing the fulfillment of the covenant promise that God would dwell among the people of Israel and would be their God (29:45).[24]

5. *The Center for Worship*

The converse side of the fact that Yahweh's presence and activity in behalf of his people were centered in the sanctuary was the fact that the sanctuary became for the people also the center of worship. As already noted in sections 1 and 3 above, a major issue Moses put before Pharaoh while the children of Israel were still in Egypt was the need for worship of Yahweh; and Yahweh had even prior to that made an appointment with Moses concerning a meeting at Mt. Horeb. But as we have also noted (mainly in sections 2 and 3), Yahweh descended from the mountain to make his presence available in the tabernacle that moved along with the children of Israel on their journey to Canaan. That central tabernacle was now, therefore, the place where God would meet with his people. The very terminology that we have noted earlier—the verb *yāᶜaḏ* ("to have an appointment") and *ᵓohel môᶜēḏ* ("tent of meeting")—indicates the same fact.

The sanctuary was for the Israelites, above all else, the place where they went to discover God's will for them. Even the priest's regalia gave answer at times to specific questions which the worshiper might have (28:30), and the sanctuary was the place where instruction with respect to the *torah* was given for the people (25:22).

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[23] See Levine, pp. 72, 83.

[24] Childs, p. 541.

6. *The Sanctuary and the Sin Problem*

In its origin, the sanctuary had nothing in common with sin. It was to be God's holy dwelling, where his redeemed people would come to meet with and worship him. Sin, on the other hand, separates human beings from God. In a sense, it might be said that sin and the sanctuary are therefore, in essence, mutually exclusive.

The book of Exodus illustrates this point from an experience of the Israelites—an experience that, in turn, carries us to the manner in which the sanctuary and its services came to deal with the problem of sin. While Moses was at the top of Mt. Sinai, the Israelites broke the covenant that had already been ratified, by worshiping the golden calf. From the mountaintop God witnessed what Israel was doing, and "the Lord said to Moses, 'Go down; for your people, whom you brought up out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves' " (32:7).

We find here two important concepts. First, Israel has separated itself from God. God refers to them as "your [Moses'] people." They belong to Moses, who had brought them up out of Egypt. The covenant relationship with Yahweh had now been violated by the people. Second, the people have "corrupted" (*šiḥēṯ*) themselves. The Hebrew verb *šiḥēṯ* is applied in Lev 22:25 to animals which, because of some physical defect (see the preceding verses) could not be used as sacrificial victims. They could not be brought to the sanctuary. Also in that same verse *šiḥēṯ* is used in synonymous parallelism with *mûm*, a term which in Lev 21:17-23 designates priests who, because of physical defects, could not officiate at the sanctuary. The point to notice here is that the people of Israel as a whole now have a moral defect that separates them from God. They cannot come to the sanctuary, for they have rejected God, and thus have become like a defective animal or a disqualified priest, unable to come into God's presence.

Since God was already dwelling among the Israelites, there appeared to be only one solution for the situation: "And the Lord said to Moses, 'I have seen this people, and behold, it is a stiff-necked people; now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may burn hot against them and I may consume them'" (Exod 32:9-10). God's presence was about to consume (*ʾāḵal*) the people of Israel because of their sin. When God had appeared to Moses in the midst of the burning bush, it was not "consumed" (*ʾāḵal*; 3:2).[25] The bush had been sanctified by the Lord's presence, but that was not Israel's experience now. Sin was found in the people, and the Lord was ready to consume them through his presence. Indeed, Israel had become, like the non-Israelites, separated from God.

As the account in the book of Exodus continues, Moses interceded for Israel before Yahweh, and a second alternative solution was suggested to Moses: "I will send an angel before you, . . . but I will not go up among you, lest I consume you in the way" (33:2-3). Yahweh was thus going to withdraw his presence from among the sinful people. He would remain faithful to the promise made to Abraham by sending his angel to lead Israel in its journey to Canaan, but Yahweh himself would not accompany them.[26] The tent of meeting that served as a temporary place of worship was placed a considerable distance from the camp (33:7).[27]

Moses continued to intercede. His request was for a third solution to Israel's apostasy—namely, forgiveness (32:30-32; 33:12-16). He knew that forgiveness was costly, and was even willing to offer himself in atonement for Israel.[28] Yahweh accepted Moses' intercessary pleadings to forgive Israel, but the basis for the atonement was not in Moses' giving up his life. That atonement, as indicated in Exod 33:19, was based exclusively on Yahweh's own graciousness (*ḥānan* = "be gracious") and compassion (*riḥam* = "have compassion on").

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[25] See Knight, p. 186.

[26] The angel mentioned in 23:20 is Yahweh himself, while in 32:34 and 33:2 "the Angel is not Yahweh. Instead Yahweh sends his Angel; for Yahweh himself has withdrawn his presence from Israel's midst" (Knight, p. 193; cf. Gispen, p. 233).

[27] The nature of this tent has been the cause of much debate and speculation, but is beyond the scope of our discussion here. For some of the differing views, see Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology,* 1 (New York, 1962): 234-238; Clements, pp. 36-39; de Vaux, "Ark of the Covenant," pp. 136-151; John A. Scott, *The Pattern of the Tabernacle* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, 1966), pp. 277-308; Hyatt, pp. 259-264; R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34* (Sheffield, Eng., 1983), pp. 63-66, 171-177; and Childs, pp. 590-593.

[28] Cf. Childs, p. 571; Knight, p. 190.

Now the covenant could be, and was, renewed. Moses ascended Sinai and witnessed there a very special theophany. This time Yahweh proclaimed from his most holy place his willingness to forgive his people for their iniquity (^{c}*āwôn*), rebellion (*peša*^{c}) and sin (*ḥaṭṭā*$^{\supset}$*āh*), while yet punishing the high-handed sinner (34:6-7). Once more Moses interceded before the Lord, asking Yahweh to "go in the midst of us, . . . and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thy inheritance" (34:9). God's response was one of covenant renewal ("Behold, I make a covenant" (34:10), and thus Israel was once again God's people, with the covenant promise re-established: "I will dwell among you." Sinai had now become the place of atonement when estrangement had occurred.

In light of this background, the sanctuary too, came to be seen not only as the meeting place for Yahweh with his redeemed people, but also as the place of atonement. In other words, it was now manifest that God was willing to deal with the sin problem from his dwelling, and the sanctuary thus became the meeting place for Yahweh and repentant sinners. The mystery and costliness of God's forgiveness are partially revealed through the sacrificial system described in detail in the book of Leviticus.[29]

It can be said that God's desire to be among his people was so strong that he was ready to pitch his tent amidst "their uncleanlinesses" (Lev 16:16). Forgiveness was available for the sinner at the sanctuary of God. Yahweh, in his graciousness, had decided not to remove the sinner from his presence, but rather to remove the sin. Thus, God and the forgiven sinner, who was now no longer "corrupt" (*šiḥēṯ*), could remain together.

[29] See A. Manual Rodríguez, *Substitution in the Hebrew Cultus* (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1979), pp. 75-260. It is to be recognized, of course, that the offering of sacrifices and the concept of divine forgiveness were not new at Sinai, as the record in the book of Genesis amply demonstrates. What was new was the incorporation of these into a new and broader context—namely, into the experience of the recently constituted Israelite federation. Both Sinai and the sanctuary were, in the first instance, places for communion of this covenant community with their divine Redeemer—rather than being settings for forgiveness and atonement. However, the sin problem that was manifested in the golden-calf episode revealed that there was need, too, for forgiveness and atonement at the very place where God most visibly and directly met his people. Hence, at Sinai at that time, God added this dimension necessary for restoring the communion with him which sin had broken—a dimension which was then naturally perpetuated in the sanctuary, as well.

7. *Built According to the "Model"*

In the book of Exodus, considerable detailed instruction is given to Moses concerning the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture. This information came to Moses in two forms: (a) Orally, the Lord told Moses what he wanted and what materials were to be used (chaps. 25-31); and (b) through a vision, Yahweh caused Moses to see the "model" (*tabnîṯ*) of the tabernacle (25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8). The term *tabnîṯ* (RSV, "pattern") is somewhat difficult to translate. The Koehler-Baumgartner *Lexicon*, for instance, gives as many as eight different meanings: "original, prototype, copy, duplicate, model, image, something like, architect's plan."[30] The term *tabnîṯ* could denote either the original from which a copy is made, or could indicate the copy itself.

The question remains, however, as to the nature of this *tabnîṯ*. There are about five different interpretations: (1) an original miniature model; (2) an architect's plan; (3) a miniature model which is a copy of an original; (4) an architect's plan which is based on an original; and (5) the original itself, in this case the heavenly sanctuary.[31] In most of the references to *tabnîṯ* in the OT there seems to be an indication of a solid object, not an architect's plan.[32] It would not be unusual, therefore, to find the term being applied in Exodus to a solid or a three-dimensional object.

It seems most probable that what Moses saw was either the heavenly sanctuary archetype itself (i.e., the original) or a miniature three-dimensional model of it. Several considerations point in this direction: First, the mentality in the ancient Near East envisioned the earthly dwelling of the gods as corresponding structurally with their heavenly abode.[33] Second, and of more significance, the OT itself indicates that in heaven there is a temple where

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[30] Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1958), p. 1018.

[31] For a discussion of these different interpretations, with bibliographical references, see Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture* (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1981), pp. 372-374.

[32] Ibid., p. 376.

[33] Rylaarsdam, p. 1021, writes, "The notion of a heavenly model for temples, cult objects, and laws is universal in the ancient Near East." See also Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (New York, 1978), pp. 172-173. We find the same concept in the Canaanite religion; see E. Theodore Mullen, *The Divine*

Yahweh dwells.[34] When the people pray in the earthly sanctuary, God hears their prayers in his heavenly sanctuary (cf. 1 Kgs 8:30). When the psalmist, in his distress, prays to God, God hears from his heavenly temple and descends from heaven to help his servant (Ps 18:6, 9-10). Elsewhere in the Psalter, as well as in the prophetic books, we find further references to God's heavenly temple (e.g., Pss 11:4; 60:6; 102:18-19; Isa 6:1-7; Mic 1:2). It is exegetically sound, therefore, to consider that that heavenly sanctuary or a model of it is the *tabnîṯ* which Moses saw.[35]

The book of Exodus thus posits that behind Israel's sanctuary there is a much more sublime reality, God's heavenly abode. And with the heavenly serving as a model for the earthly, there should exist not only a basic structural corespondence but also a functional correspondence. Accordingly, the heavenly sanctuary would be *the place* in the heavens where God would center his activity of dwelling among his creatures throughout the universe. From that sanctuary, he rules over his entire creation, blessing his creatures, redeeming and judging them. It is, in reality, from that particular place that his will is revealed, and that locus would be the center of worship for the whole universe.

Finally, it may be noted that, as in the case of Yahweh's earthly abode, the transcendental God is, in his heavenly sanctuary, also the immanent God, who reaches out to touch his entire creation. The heavenly reality, moreover, should be at the same time the place in which God deals with the sin problem. It is there that the repentant sinner actually is forgiven; it is the place where the mystery of atonement reaches its consummation.

Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature (Chico, Calif., 1980), pp. 169-170; and Richard J. Clifford," The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 221-227. These parallels do not necessarily show that Israel borrowed its ideas from the other ancient Near Eastern practices. Rather, they may go back to a common source.

[34] On this topic, see Niels-Erik Andreasen, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, eds. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 67-86; and Davidson, pp. 382-383.

[35] It should be noted that the concept of a heavenly sanctuary occurs in the NT (e.g., Heb 8:1-2; 9:23-24; Rev 11:19), and also in the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. See, e.g., George W. MacRae, "Heavenly Temple and Eschatology in the Letter to the Hebrews," *Semeia* 12 (1978): 179-199.

In terms of theological meaning, the significance of the tabernacle built by Moses was clearly determined by the fact that it pointed to God's real dwelling in the heavens. As stated by Richard Davidson, it is probable "that Moses was given a vision of the heavenly sanctuary and then provided with a miniature model of the heavenly as a pattern to copy in constructing the earthly.[36] The term *tabnîṯ* would then designate both the original and the model based on the original.

8. *Conclusion*

The concept of the sanctuary is a central one in the book of Exodus. The provision of a sanctuary was the fulfillment of the covenant promise. Yahweh was to dwell in the midst of his redeemed people. Originally, there appears to have been a concept of sin and sinners being excluded from his holy habitation, with only redeemed people able to worship there. However, although the sanctuary was the place where a holy God met with a redeemed people, it also was seen as the place where this holy God dealt with the sin problem—the place at which, through Yahweh's gracious love, the repentant sinner could come and find forgiveness. Thus, the mystery of atonement resided in the sanctuary.

The sanctuary represented, indeed, the greatest gift that Yahweh could bestow upon his people—the gift of his own presence. It perpetuated the Sinai experience; and in it, the divine transcendence also became immanent—making Yahweh accessible to his people, while continuing to safeguard his transcendence.

The sanctuary was, moreover, the specific place from which God continued to reveal his will to Israel through the covenant law, as at Sinai he had proclaimed the basic stipulations at the heart of the covenant—namely, the Ten Commandments. The sanctuary was, as well, the center of worship for the Israelites. It was the place where they expressed their gratitude to Yahweh for their redemption.

Finally, the ancient Israelite sanctuary, though embodying the glorious presence of Yahweh, was not Yahweh's eternal abode. This earthly dwelling was simply a pale copy of his heavenly abode. That heavenly sanctuary served as a model for the earthly one, and there is therefore a structural and functional correspondence between the two. It is the place from which, in fact, the forgiveness is granted to the repentant sinner. It is also the place where Yahweh reigns as King of the universe and makes known his will to all his creatures.

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[36] Davidson, p. 385.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1986, Vol. 24, No. 2, 147-154.
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THE LANGUAGE OF REBELLION IN PSALM 2 AND IN THE PLASTER TEXTS FROM DEIR ᶜALLA

VICTOR SASSON
South Bend, Indiana 46616

Editor's Note: The Deir ᶜAlla material treated here by Victor Sasson is a portion of a lengthy inscription on plaster discovered in fragmentary state within the ruins of a building at Deir ᶜAlla in Transjordan. This inscription, which claims to be "the sayings of Balaam," had apparently fallen from an upright position, breaking into two main clusters of fragments plus a scattering of smaller clusters and individual pieces lying between those two larger groups. As the two main clusters were pieced together (with gaps in the text, of course), the reconstructions came to be designated as "combinations." Sasson's article deals with a section from the "first combination"—i.e., text pieced together from the main cluster of fragments representing the beginning portion of the inscription.

In Psalm 2:1-2 we read of a rebellion brewing among the nations against the sovereignty of YHWH and his anointed king:

lmh rgšw gwym
wlᵓmym yhgw ryq
ytyşbw mlky ᵓrş
wrwznym nwsdw yḥd
ᶜl yhwh wᶜl mšyḥw

Why are the nations in turmoil?
Why do the peoples hatch their futile plots?
The kings of the earth stand ready,
and the rulers conspire together
against the Lord and his anointed king. (*NEB*)

The "nations" in this psalm are generally understood to refer to those neighbors of the Hebrew Kingdom who are conspiring to rebel against YHWH and his anointed king. Thus, in seeking to overthrow the sovereignty of the king, these pagan nations aim at overthrowing the sovereignty of God himself. On the whole, there is agreement among commentators and exegetes as to the general import of Ps 2:1-2, with recognition that these verses speak of conspiracy and revolt.[1]

The plaster texts from Deir ᶜAlla are a fairly recent discovery and much discussion is going on aimed at clarifying them.[2] In my own detailed study of the first combination I have argued that the *ᵓlhn* and the *šdyn* are two separate and opposing groups of gods.[3] I have maintained that the *šdyn* conspire against the *ᵓlhn*, who represent the established order in the world of men and in the cosmos. For some unknown reason, the *šdyn* seek to overthrow the rule of the *ᵓlhn* and bring about disorder and chaos to the world. Having formed a conspiracy in their assembly, the *šdyn* order the goddess *šgr w ᶜštr*—a lesser deity—to cover up the heavens with clouds of darkness and to bring about terror to the inhabitants of the world.[4] She is also told to keep silent forever, a command which can only mean that she is to undertake her orders and execute them with obedience to the will of the *šdyn*. The pertinent section of the text—lines 18-27—is as follows, in transliteration and translation:

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[1] See, e.g., Elmer A. Leslie, *The Psalms* (New York, 1949), pp. 89-91; M. Dahood, *Psalms I 1-50* (New York, 1966), p. 7; J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms 1-50* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977), pp. 19-20.

[2] See the original edition by J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ᶜAlla* (Leiden, 1976). All further references to Hoftijzer in this article are to this original edition, abbreviated as *ATDA*. See also A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les textes araméens de Deir ᶜAlla," *Syria* 54 (1977): 189-208; G. Garbini, "L'iscrizione di Balaam Bar-Beor," *Henoch* 1 (1979): 166-188; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., "The Balaam Texts from Deir ᶜAllā: The First Combination," *BASOR*, no. 239 (1981), pp. 49-60; B. A. Levine, "The Deir ᶜAlla Plaster Inscriptions," *JAOS* 101 (1981): 195-205; and Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ᶜAlla* (Chico, Calif., 1984). For my discussion of the first combination, see my forthcoming article in *UF*.

[3] The evidence is provided in my "The Book of Oracular Visions of Balaam from Deir ᶜAlla," forthcoming in *UF* 17 (1985; to be published in 1986). This article is a palaeographical, literary, and philological study of the first combination. Also, I have provided a short note entitled, "Two Unrecognized Terms in the Plaster Texts from Deir ᶜAlla," *PEQ* 117 (July-December 1985), pp. 102-103.

[4] Apparently *šgr w ᶜštr* is an astral-fertility goddess who cannot but obey the command of the powerful *šdyn* gods.

Transliteration[5]

18. [ᵓ dr]n̊. [ᵓ]tyḥ̊dw.
19. ^{6}wnṣbw. šdẙn. m̊ẘᶜd̊.
20. [wᵓmr]w. lš[gr.]
21. [ᵓl. ytk.] rẙ.
22. [s] k̊r̊y. šmyn. bᶜbky.
23. šm. ḥšk. [wᵓl.] n/^{7}gh.
24. ᶜṭm. ẘ[ṣrh.]
25. [b]smr̊ky. thby. ḥ̊t̊.
26. [wyrb.] ḥ̊š̊k.
27. wᵓl [.] thg̊ẙ. ᶜd. ᶜlm.

Translation

18. [The migh]ty [ones] have conspired,
19. The *šdyn* have established a council.
20. They [have said] to *š*[*gr* :]
21. ["Let no] rain-water [fall!]
22. [S]hut the heavens with thy dense clouds!
23. Let darkness rule there [and not] light,
24. Impenetrable gloom and [distress!]
25. [With] thy darkness, bring about terror,
26. And obscurity [will increase,]
27. And keep thou silent forever!"

All of this is communicated to Balaam by the *ᵓlhn* in a vision at night. What follows in the text is a depiction of a future series of events, events that will be contrary to what is deemed orderly, natural, or normal. We are told, among other things, that darkness will replace light, hares will feed without fear, men will fear to tread where ewes graze, and hyenas will listen to words of reform. As the *šdyn* assume power in the world and offend the *ᵓlhn* by their action, even so does the weak, the insignificant, and the contemptible mock the strong and the noble. With the rebellion of the *šdyn* against the *ᵓlhn*, the natural order in the animal kingdom and the social order in human society become chaotic.[6]

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[5] The numbers within the transliterated text indicate the sequence of lines according to the realignment of the fragments proposed by Caquot and Lemaire (see n. 2, above).

[6] Most of the above comments were made public in a paper read at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Dallas, Texas, in December 1983.

Some scholars have seen in the name *šdyn* an alternative or synonymous appellative for *ᵓlhn*.[7] The content of the first combination does not seem to me to support such an interpretation, however. My thesis that the *šdyn* and the *ᵓlhn* are two opposing groups of deities and that the language of the Deir ᶜAlla texts speaks of a rebellion is now further strengthened by the linguistic evidence we have in Ps 2. Both this Psalm and the Deir ᶜAlla texts deal with conspiracy and rebellion against the major deity (or deities)—and thus against the established order. And moreover, both documents use similar terms in their description of the conspiracy and rebellion. A closer look at the language used in Ps 2:1-2 and in the first combination of the Deir ᶜAlla texts will reveal the following similarities:

Sovereigns:

***Psalm 2* —YHWH; *mšyḥw*.**

***Deir ᶜAlla*—*ᵓlhn*; (*šdyn* vis-à-vis *šgr wᶜštr*).**

Rebels:

***Psalm 2*—*gwym*; *lᵓmym*; *mlky ᵓrş*; *rwznym*.**

***Deir ᶜAlla*—*šdyn*; (*šgr wᶜštr* as a possible rebel vis-à-vis the *šdyn*).**

Words of Same Roots in Context of Rebellion:

***Psalm 2*—*yhgw* (*hgh*); *ytyşbw* (*yşb/nşb*); *yḥd* (*yḥd*).**

***Deir ᶜAlla*—*ᵓtyḥdw* (*yḥd*); *nşbw* (*nşb*); *thgy* (*hgh*).**

A brief discussion of the usage of the roots *yḥd*, *yṣb/nṣb*, and *hgh* becomes necessary at this point. To begin with, all of these roots are found in the Hebrew Bible, used therein also in contexts that have nothing to do with opposition, conspiracy, or rebellion. Further, it is realized that the meaning of words from these roots in Biblical Hebrew and in the Deir ᶜAlla dialect need not be identical.[8]

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[7] So, for instance, McCarter and Hackett. The palaeographical and syntactical issues connected with my lines 18-19 are discussed in my *UF* article.

[8] In my brief discussion of the Deir ᶜAlla dialect in the *UF* article, I conclude as follows: "In sum, the overall lexical, morphological and syntactical features of the dialect coupled with the markedly Canaanite nature and pulse of its poetry all indicate—at this stage of our knowledge—that the language of these texts is more related to Canaanite dialects than to Old Aramaic."

We will first examine the biblical root *yḥd,* "be united."[9] Certainly the root is related to Hebrew *ᵓḥd,* "one," just as Arabic *tawaḥḥada* is related to *wḥd,* "one." In the Bible we encounter mostly the adverb *yḥd,* "together," appearing in various contexts. A good example of the use of *yḥd* as an adverb in a context of conspiracy occurs in Ps 31:14. As in Ps 2:2, the adverb here is used in conjunction with a verb from the root *ysd:*

> ***ky šmᶜty dbt rbym mgwr msbyb***
> ***bhwsdm yḥd ᶜly lqḥt npšy zmmw***
>
> **For I hear many men whispering**
> **threats from every side,**
> **in league against me as they are**
> **and plotting to take my life. (*NEB*, 31:13; cf. 88:18)**

A good example of the use of *yḥd* as a verb occurs in Gen 49:6a, where the nouns *sdm* (root *ysd*) and *qhlm* are used parallel to each other. The context of Gen 49:5-6 speaks of murder and destruction brought about by the rebellious brothers, Simeon and Levi.

A striking use of the root *yḥd,* in its Aramaic form, occurs in Haphel in an Old Aramaic inscription—the Zakkur inscription.[10] Here King Zakkur reports that Barhadad has formed a league (i.e., conspired) with several other kings to fight against him:

> ***whwḥd. ᶜly. brhdd. br. ḥzᵓl. mlk.***
> ***ᵓrm. s . .. . ᶜsr. mlkn.*** **(*KAI*, no. 202 A4-5)**

The use of the preposition *ᶜl,* "against," is clear in Pss 2 and 31 (where *yḥd* is used as an adverb) and in the Zakkur inscription (where *yḥd* is used as a verb). In the Deir ᶜAlla texts, on the other hand, the verb *ᵓtyḥdw* is used without the preposition *ᶜl.* It would be hazardous, of course, to generalize from one instance as to whether or not in the Deir ᶜAlla dialect the verb *yḥd* required the preposition *ᶜl* (in the kind of context we are discussing). Be that as it may, it is obvious that when the text states that the *šdyn* gods *ᵓtyḥdw*, we are to understand that they got together for a dark purpose, and not for an innocent social hour. The *šdyn* isolated themselves in a particular place to hatch their plots and to issue their orders. They "got together" in conspiracy aimed at rebellion, just as the nations and kings in Ps 2 got together to overthrow the rule of YHWH and his anointed king. The verb *hwḥd* in the Zakkur inscription gives further illustration of this particular usage.

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[9] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon,* p. 403 (hereinafter BDB).

[10] Although Hoftijzer mentions Pss 2 and 82, the word *hwḥd* in the Zakkur inscription, and other relevant biblical texts (see *ATDA,* pp. 192-193, 199), he steers a very different course in interpreting the first combination. Further, Hoftijzer believes that the *ᵓlhn* and the *šdyn* do not constitute two separate and opposing groups of gods (see *ATDA,* pp. 275-276).

Next to be examined are the roots *yṣb/nṣb*. The verb *yṣb* (Hitpael) occurs several times in the Bible in contexts of opposition (positive or negative)—e.g., Ps 94:16; Deut 7:24 (11:25) and, of course, Ps 2:2. But *nṣb*, too, can occur in context of opposition, as in Ps 82:1:

> ***ᵓlhym nṣb bᶜdt ᵓl bqrb ᵓlhym yšpṭ***
>
> **God takes his stand in the court of heaven**
> **to deliver judgement among the gods themselves.** ***(NEB)***

This example is interesting because the verb *nṣb* has God as its subject, just as the verb *nṣb* in the first combination of the Deir ᶜAlla texts has the *šdyn* gods as its subject. However, the meaning and usage of the verb *nṣb* in the Deir ᶜAlla texts is somewhat different. In Ps 82:1 God stands in the heavenly assembly (*ᶜdt ᵓl*) in order that he may pronounce judgment against false deities.[11] In the Deir ᶜAlla texts we are told that the *šdyn* have established (*nṣbw*) an assembly (*mwᶜd*). On the other hand, we have seen that the *šdyn*'s assembly is formed for the purpose of rebellion. On the whole, it appears that Biblical-Hebrew (hereinafter BH) *nṣb* and *yṣb* and Deir-ᶜAlla *nṣb* share something in common, especially when they are used in contexts that suggest opposition or rebellion.

According to the Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon*, p. 426, *ytyṣbw* is Hitpael from the root *yṣb* and this root occurs only in this form. The more recent Koehler-Baumgartner *Hebräisches und ara-*

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[11] It is interesting that the false and unjust deities judged in Ps 82, very much like the *šdyn*, are at home in darkness amid "the shaken foundations" of the earth (vs. 5).

mäisches Lexikon (Leiden, 1974), p. 408, makes the following parenthetical comment in its entry on *yṣb*: "(alle übrigen Stammformen zu *nṣb*?)." Clearly, there is a problem as to the exact relation between *yṣb* and *nṣb*. It is beyond the scope of this study to dwell on this problem. However, the use of the phrase *wnṣbw šdyn mwᶜd* in the Deir ᶜAlla texts appears to me to suggest (1) that BH *yṣb* in Ps 2 and Deir ᶜAlla *nṣb* must have something in common, since both are used (albeit in different ways) in contexts of rebellion; (2) that BH *yṣb* may well have originated in BH *nṣb* (cf. Ps 82:1); and (3) that *Biblia Hebraica*'s *ytyᶜṣw* for *ytyṣbw* in Ps 2:2 is an unwarranted suggestion and that *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* is correct in abandoning this suggestion (although it is not clear on what ground this abandonment was made). Surprisingly enough, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon* can still suggest *ytyᶜṣw* as a replacement for MT *ytyṣbw* in Ps 2:2.

As a verb, *hgh* in BH has two distinct meanings: (1) "to moan, speak, muse, imagine, devise," and (2) "to remove."[12] It is clear that in Ps 2 the verb *hgh* is used in the sense of "imagine, devise" (cf. *NEB*'s translation above). In the Deir ᶜAlla texts the verb *hgh* in the phrase *wʾl thgy ᶜd ᶜlm* is best understood to mean "speak" (with a nuance of "imagine, devise"). Some scholars, however, have understood *hgh* here to mean "remove,"[13] but the general context where the above phrase occurs does not support such an understanding of this verb. The linguistic evidence in Ps 2:1-2 now confirms the unlikelihood of this suggestion (see also Prov 24:1-2).

It should be noted that the first meaning of the verb *hgh* (see above) is the more prevalent one in the Bible, whereas the second is rather rare. To opt for the biblically rare meaning "remove" for the Deir ᶜAlla *hgh* on account of real or supposed difficulties in the preceding line(s) of the text is, surely, not the best methodology in this instance.[14]

In conclusion, both Ps 2 and the first combination of the Deir ᶜAlla texts use similar terms in their depiction of conspiracy and rebellion. In the case of Ps 2, the conspiracy and rebellion are those

[12] BDB, p. 211.

[13] So, McCarter and Hackett.

[14] The issues posed by the preceding lines are discussed in my articles in *PEQ* and *UF* (see n. 3, above).

of pagan nations against YHWH and his anointed king. In the case of the Deir ᶜAlla texts, the conspiracy and rebellion are primarily those of the *šdyn* against the *ᵓlhn*. To accept this last conclusion regarding the first combination will naturally entail the rejection of the proposal that the *ᵓlhn* and the *šdyn* are one single group of deities sharing a common purpose. The *ᵓlhn* and the *šdyn* will be correctly viewed as two distinct and opposing groups of gods in conflict with each other. In fact, we can now characterize the rebellion in Ps 2 as *universal* rebellion and that in the Deir ᶜAlla texts as *cosmic* rebellion.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1986, Vol. 24, No. 2, 155-172.
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THE JEREMIAH MODEL FOR JESUS IN THE TEMPLE

ROSS E. WINKLE
Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103

The Gospel of Matthew is the only NT book that refers to the prophet Jeremiah by name (2:17; 16:14; 27:9). Of particular interest here is the reference in 16:14, for it is the only one which occurs in a passage with parallels in either Mark or Luke. In response to Jesus' question about how the people understand his identity, the disciples reply in Mark 8:28: *Iōannēn ton baptistēn, kai alloi Elian, alloi de hoti heis tōn prophētōn* ("John the Baptist; and others say, Elijah; and others one of the prophets"[1]). In Luke 9:19 the disciples respond that some say that he is *Iōannēn ton baptistēn, alloi de Elian, alloi de hoti prophētēs tis tōn archaiōn anestē* ("John the Baptist; but others say, Elijah; and others, that one of the old prophets has risen"). In Matt 16:14, however, the disciples' response is more specific, by inclusion of the name of Jeremiah: *hoi men Iōannēn ton baptistēn, alloi de Elian, heteroi de Ieremian ē hena tōn prophētōn* ("Some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets").

Matthew's use of vocabulary in comparing the groups is significant here. While Mark[2] names John the Baptist and follows with a *kai alloi . . . alloi de* construction (Luke follows with an *alloi de . . . alloi de* construction), Matthew uses a different construction altogether: *hoi men . . . alloi de . . . heteroi de.*[3] This construction suggests that there are really only two groups who identify Jesus differently: those who identify him as John the

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are from the RSV.

[2] Although the majority of interpreters assume Markan priority over Matthew, this has no particular effect on the arguments set forth in this article.

[3] Matthew uses the *men . . . de* construction 20 times, while Mark uses it only three times and Luke only eight times. Matthew uses *heteros* nine times, Mark only once, and Luke 33 times. Cf. R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), pp. 644-645.

Baptist or Elijah, and those who identify him as Jeremiah or one of the prophets. In other passages Matthew clearly designates John the Baptist (3:3, 11) and Elijah (17:10-13) as forerunners of the Messiah; he even identifies John the Baptist as the Elijah to come (11:14; cf. Mark 9:11-13). By using *heteroi* instead of *alloi* in 16:14, Matthew distinguishes between those who identify Jesus as one of these forerunners of the Messiah and those who identify him as belonging in the prophetic tradition.[4]

But this does not answer the question of why Matthew singled out Jeremiah in this passage. During the first century, there were traditions circulating that Jeremiah was alive, while other later traditions asserted or implied that he was dead.[5] Whether he was dead or alive, the problem remains as to why Matthew would single him out, for Jeremiah was never associated with any messianic expectations in Jewish thought.[6]

Scholars have advanced several imaginative theories as to why Matthew mentioned Jeremiah here. W. Hendriksen wonders whether the people felt that Jesus would return the tent, ark, and altar of incense which 2 Macc 2:4-8 had recorded Jeremiah as having previously hidden in a cave.[7] J. P. Meier implies that the insertion was made because Jeremiah was the "great suffering servant among the prophets."[8] H. F. D. Sparks suggests that perhaps the reason for the insertion is that Jeremiah was the "representative 'writing' prophet" (Elijah did not fit this category, however).[9] B. T. Dahlberg proposes that Matthew inserted Jeremiah's name so that his audience could see more clearly a typological relationship between Matt 16:13-23 and Jer 1:4-19.[10]

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[4] Although it is difficult to differentiate between *allos* and *heteros* in the NT (F. Büchsel, "*allos*," *TDNT* 1 [1964]: 264), and although *heteros* is a favorite word of Matthew (see n. 3, above), the fact that in Matthew's text there is a separation of "the prophets" from John the Baptist and Elijah and an insertion of Jeremiah (who was not a forerunner of the Messiah) underscores the significance of *heteroi* in this text.

[5] 2 Macc 15:12-16 portrays Jeremiah as an intercessor before God during the priesthood of Onias III, and 2 Esdr 2:18 speaks of God as sending the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah at some time in the future. Although 2 Esdr 1-2 is a Christian addition (see J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research: With a Supplement* [Chico, Calif., 1981], p. 112), it possibly arose out of a Jewish tradition. Strack-Billerbeck 2:626 reports that there was a rabbinic tradition (ca. A.D. 320) to the effect that Jeremiah was the prophet mentioned in Deut 18:15 who was to come in the future. Several ancient Christian writers, such as Victorinus of Petau (d. A.D. 304), counted Jeremiah as never "tasting death." Certain late Jewish "paradise lists," however, did not list Jeremiah. See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1928), 6: 399-400.

[6] See Ginzberg, 5: 95-96, n. 67; Gundry, p. 329.

[7] W. Hendriksen, *New Testament Commentary: Exposition of the Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1973), p. 642.

It is not my purpose to argue either for or against any of the theories mentioned thus far, nor to deal with Matt 16:14 and its context in detail. Rather, I intend to investigate a provocative suggestion made by E. Schweizer in relation to the problem of the insertion of Jeremiah's name in 16:14. Schweizer has commented that perhaps the Matthean community "attached particular importance to him [Jeremiah] because he had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem."[11] Here Schweizer alludes to Jesus' declaration to the Jewish leaders in Matt 23:38: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate" (KJV).

Many of Jeremiah's prophecies contain warnings about the impending destruction of Jerusalem (cf. Jer 6:6, 8; 19:7-8; 25:18; 32:28-29; 34:2). But Jeremiah also prophesied against the temple itself (chaps. 7 and 26). Is it possible that Matthew was especially interested in Jeremiah because of parallels between that prophet's anti-temple discourses in the temple and Jesus' teaching in the temple?

A comparison of Matt 23:29-24:2 with Jer 7 and 26 reveals a series of parallels that collectively are impressive. What I propose is that Matthew compares Jesus with Jeremiah—not for messianic verification—but because Jeremiah spoke against the temple while standing within it. In any case, in Matthew, Jesus is at least a prophet who proclaims judgment on the temple community in a manner similar to that of the prophet Jeremiah.

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[8] J. P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church, and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York, 1978), p. 108.

[9] H. F. D. Sparks, "St. Matthew's References to Jeremiah," *JTS*, n.s., 1 (1950): 155-156.

[10] B. T. Dahlberg, "The Typological Use of Jeremiah 1:4-9 in Matthew 16:13-23," *JBL* 94 (1975): 73-80.

[11] E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew*, trans. D. E. Green (Atlanta, 1975), p. 340.

In this study, I will deal with the significance of the people's designation of Jesus as "the prophet" (Matt 21:11) in relation to Jesus' entrance into the temple and subsequent activity and teaching there. Then I will treat three especially important parallels between Matt 23:29-24:2 and Jer 7 and 26: namely, the sending of the prophets, the murder of the prophets, and the prophetic judgment against the temple. Finally, I will draw some conclusions.

1. *Jesus as Prophet*

Jesus' reference to "your house" (23:38) occurs in the context of his teaching and preaching in the temple in Matt 21:12-23:39. It is interesting to note that immediately before Jesus' entrance into the temple (21:12, *hieron*) and during his discourse there, Matthew makes two references to Jesus as being "the prophet" (21:11) or "a prophet" (21:46). In response to a question about Jesus' identity by the city of Jerusalem, the crowds (*hoi ochloi*) respond: *houtos estin ho prophētēs Iēsous ho apo Nazareth tēs Galilaias* ("'This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee'"). Later, Matthew records of the chief priests and Pharisees that *ephobēthēsan tous ochlous, epei eis prophētēn auton eichon* ("they feared the multitudes, because they held him to be a prophet"). Besides the fact that these references are the only ones in Matthew (outside of 16:14) that specifically identify Jesus as "a" or "the" prophet, both texts are uniquely Matthean.

J. D. Kingsbury has attempted to show that these references to Jesus as Prophet are really insignificant.[12] His reasons are basically three: (1) the identification is made by some "men" (16:13b-14) or the "crowds" (21:11, 46), but never by the disciples; (2) these groups are never described as having the attitude of faith, while the disciples realize Jesus' messiahship; and (3) Jesus' identification of John the Baptist as "more than a prophet" (11:7, 9) when the crowds identify John as a prophet (14:5; 21:26) shows that Matthew certainly does not make much of this designation.[13]

But Kingsbury's arguments are not persuasive. For one thing, in Matthew *hoi ochloi* ("the multitudes") are usually considered in a positive light.[14] They follow Jesus (cf. 4:25; 8:1; 14:13; 19:2; 20:29) and are amazed at his teaching (7:28; 9:33; 12:23; 15:31; 22:22, 33). Of the fifty times that the term *hoi ochloi* occurs in Matthew, in only five instances (20:31; 26:47, 55; 27:20, 24) does it have a distinctly negative connotation.

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[12] J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 88-92.

[13] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

As for Kingsbury's argument that the term "prophet" in relation to Jesus has only negative value (or, is insignificant), it is apparent from the sparse use of this term in Matthew that it is not a major christological title. It does seem apparent, however, from Matthew's phrasing of the crowd's reply in 21:11 that it is significant for Matthew. In every case except one, Matthew's statements beginning with *houtos estin* contain a definite ring of truthfulness.[15] The statements are either by John the Baptist or Jesus, or are identifications of Jesus. Of particular interest to us here are the statements in the latter category—those identifying Jesus—since 21:11 fits within this category.

Exclusive of 21:11, four of the five statements in Matthew identifying Jesus and beginning with *houtos estin* are *true* identifications of Jesus: *houtos estin ho huios mou ho agapētos* ("'This is my beloved Son,'" 3:17 and 17:5); *houtos estin ho klēronomos* ("'This is the heir,'" 21:38); and *houtos estin Iēsous ho basileus tōn Ioudaiōn* ("'This is Jesus the King of the Jews,'" 27:37).[16] The one statement that is *not* true (14:2) is different from these four statements, however, because it is not a descriptive identification of Jesus (i.e., *huios, klēronomos, basileus*), but is Herod's direct identification of Jesus with another person, John the Baptist.

Thus, in Matthew, aside from 21:11, all *descriptive* identifications of Jesus that begin with *houtos estin* are true, and one would therefore expect the same in Matt 21:11. At minimum, it can be said that in Matthew, Jesus is at least "the prophet."[17] To determine whether or not this description is a messianic one is beyond the scope of this article; rather, what is important to us here is that immediately preceding the reference to Jesus' entrance into the temple, there is a clear designation of Jesus as "the prophet"—a description which is positive and favorable in nature.

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[14] For negative critiques of *hoi ochloi*, see F. W. Burnett, *The Testament of Jesus-Sophia: A Redaction-Critical Study of the Eschatological Discourse in Matthew* (Lanham, Md., 1981), pp. 404-411; and J. D. Kingsbury, "The Verb *Akolouthein* ('To Follow') as an Index of Matthew's View of his Community," *JBL* 97 (1978): 56-73.

[15] Matt 3:3, 17; 7:12; 11:10; 13:19, 20, 22, 23, 55; 17:5; 18:4; 21:11, 38; 27:37. The one statement where it is false is 14:2, which will be noted later in our discussion. The phrase occurs in questions in 8:27, 12:23, and 21:10, and it occurs in the plural in 13:38.

[16] It is interesting to note that in the last-mentioned text Matthew includes the introductory phrase *houtos estin*, whereas Mark does not (cf. Mark 15:26).

But who is "the prophet"? The phrasing in 21:11 is significant, for Jesus is not just "a" prophet, but "the" prophet—a specific prophet. This term is somewhat of an enigma. Outside of the gospels (cf. John 1:21, 25; 6:14; and 7:40) there are two references to it in Qumran, 1QS 9:11 and 4QTestim 5-8, the latter of which clearly connects it with Deut 18:15-18.[18] Some commentators see the biblical references to "the prophet" as possible allusions to Deut 18:15-19, where God speaks of raising up a prophet like Moses.[19] Thus, Jesus would be compared to the prophet who was like Moses. The most striking connection between Deut 18:15-19 and Jesus occurs in Acts 3:22-23 (cf. 7:37), where Luke reports Peter's quoting of Deut 18:15, 19 in reference to Jesus as the prophet to come. Besides this passage in Acts, there are no biblical texts that explicitly connect this particular prophet and Jesus.[20] There is, nonetheless, a distinct possibility that the biblical and

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[17] Cf. G. Friedrich, "*prophētēs*," *TDNT* 6 (1968): 846; Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 411-412; idem, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, *NovTSup* 18 (Leiden, 1967), p. 210; Hendriksen, p. 767; A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (New York, 1915; reprint ed., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1980), p. 297; and Meier, pp. 145-146. For the opposite view, see D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1983), pp. 154-155.

[18] J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956): 182-187. Cf. P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976), p. 263; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1978), p. 185; and R. A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 441-443.

[19] See, e.g., C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 277, 330; and Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), pp. 136, 345, 428. Not all agree that *each* reference in John is a possible allusion to Deut 18:15-19.

[20] For early traditions in Jewish Christianity designating Jesus as "the prophet" and linking him with the prophet mentioned in Deuteronomy, see Friedrich, p. 858;

Qumran connections between "the prophet" and Deut 18:15-19 assume a common first-century understanding of the passage in Deuteronomy.

Does Matthew have any interest in Deut 18:15-19? One evidently finds the answer in Matt 17:5, a verse which interestingly contains a statement beginning with *houtos estin.* Matthew here records God's declaration at Jesus' transfiguration, *houtos estin ho huios mou ho agapētos, . . . akouete autou* ("'This is my beloved Son, . . . listen to him'").[21] The phrase *akouete autou* is a direct allusion to the LXX of Deut 18:15: *autou akousesthe* ("'him you shall heed'").[22] Matthew's inclusion of the allusion to Deut 18:15 (spoken by none other than God himself) heightens the significance of the declaration of the crowds in 21:11 about Jesus being "the prophet."

But how does this relate to Matthew's use of Jeremiah? On the one hand, we find Jesus compared to the prophet mentioned in Deuteronomy, but on the other hand, we find Matthew also strangely interested in recording that Jesus was compared with Jeremiah by some of the people of his day. Is there any connection between the two?

Various commentators and exegetes have noticed Matthew's penchant for comparing Jesus to Moses.[23] The miraculous escape of Jesus to Egypt, his baptism, his forty days in the wilderness, his ten miracles in chaps. 8-9, and his transfiguration are just some of the parallels that have been identified. In light of Matthew's interest in Jeremiah, however, it is indeed strange that NT scholars have generally failed to see that the close parallels between Jeremiah and Moses may be significant in the Gospel of Matthew.

L. L. Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies,* SBLDS 14 (Missoula, Mont., 1975), pp. 47-49; and J. L. Martyn, *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters* (New York, 1978), pp. 57-59.

[21] Matthew includes *en hǭ eudokēsa* whereas Mark does not (cf. Mark 1:11).

[22] See Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, pp. 36-37, 148-149. Also cf. W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew*, 3d ed., ICC (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 185; Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 345; McNeile, p. 250; and Schweizer, p. 349.

[23] See, e.g., Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 7, 33-35, 38, 54, 65-66, 69, 78-100, etc.; and Schweizer, pp. 36-37, 42-43, 59. However, for a critique of this view, see Kingsbury, *Matthew*, pp. 89-92.

William Holladay has noted some unusually close parallels between the call of Moses, the call of Jeremiah, and the prophet mentioned in Deut 18.[24] For instance, Jer 1:6 ("Then I said, 'Ah, Lord GOD! Behold, I do not know how to speak, . . .' ") and Exod 4:10 ("Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent, . . .") are strikingly similar in content and structure.[25] The pairing of the words "command" and "speak" in Jer 1:7 (". . . whatever I command you you shall speak") occur outside of Jeremiah only in Exod 7:2 ("You shall speak all that I command you") and Deut 18:18 (". . . he shall speak to them all that I command him"). And Jer 1:9 (. . . "Behold, I have put my words in your mouth") parallels Deut 18:18 (". . . I will put my words in his mouth, . . ."), not only in content, but also in the rare use of the word *nāṯan* in this context (which occurs elsewhere only in Jer 5:14).[26]

Thus we see some significant parallels between Moses, the prophet mentioned in Deuteronomy, and Jeremiah. If Jeremiah saw himself in relation to this prophet who was to come, he thus saw himself also in close relation to Moses (who was the model of this particular prophet). Therefore, when combined with the allusion to Deut 18:15 in Matt 17:5 and Matthew's favorable view of the crowd's designation of Jesus as "the prophet" in 21:11, Matthew's reference to Jeremiah in 16:14 appears in somewhat clearer light.

Matthew's making reference to the people's declaration about Jesus immediately before Jesus' entrance into the temple and his cleansing of it (21:12) is intriguing. Jesus' rationale (21:13) for cleansing the temple, which immediately follows the account of the cleansing, is a direct quotation from Jer 7:11 (LXX): the temple has become a *spēlaion lęstōn* ("den of robbers")[27]—a verse in Jeremiah that occurs in his famous Temple Sermon (7:1-15).[28]

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[24] W. Holladay, "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding: Moses, Samuel, and Psalm 22," *JBL* 83 (1964): 153-164. See also idem, "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations," *JBL* 85 (1966): 17-27; E. Achtemeier, *Deuteronomy, Jeremiah*, Proclamation Commentaries (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 48-56; and J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1980), pp. 66, 148, 150.

[25] There are only two other known cases of resistance to God's call by prophets aside from Moses and Jeremiah: Jonah (1:1-3) and Isaiah (6:5). Jonah did more than protest—he ran away. Neither is the case of Isaiah parallel, since it was one of a deep sense of spiritual unworthiness (instead of lack of ability). Amos' famous reply that he was "no prophet, nor a prophet's son" (7:14) does not prove his case to be one of resistance to God's call.

[26] Cf. Exod 4:15; Num 22:38; 23:5, 12, 16; Deut 31:19; 2 Sam 14:3, 19; Isa 51:16; 59:21. None of these texts uses the verb *nāṯan*.

Thus far we have seen that in some uniquely Matthean material (21:11), the crowds proclaim Jesus to be "the prophet" immediately before he enters the temple. Matthew looks favorably upon this designation, although for him it is not a major christological title. This designation alludes to Deut 18:15-19, as does also a clearly positive declaration alluded to in Matt 17:5. But earlier in history, the prophet Jeremiah had apparently applied the terminology in Deuteronomy to *himself.* In Matthew's very next verse (21:12), Jesus enters the temple and cleanses it because it has become a *spēlaion lęstōn* (21:13)—a direct quotation from Jeremiah's Temple Sermon (7:11, LXX). Thus, we have established a link between Jeremiah the prophet and Jesus "the prophet," and that link is the speeches made in the temple complex—in Solomon's Temple for Jeremiah, and in Herod's Temple for Jesus.

2. *Parallels Between Jeremiah 7 and 26 and Matthew 23:29-24:2*

Further links beyond those already mentioned exist between Jeremiah's Temple Sermon and Jesus' Temple Discourse. Jeremiah's Temple Sermon in chaps. 7 and 26 has three significant major motifs that are paralleled in Matt 23:29-24:2: (1) the sending of the prophets; (2) the murder of the prophets; and (3) the prophetic judgment against the temple.

The Sending of the Prophets

The motif of "sending the prophets" is a common one in Jeremiah (7:25; 25:4-7; 26:4-6; 29:18-19; 35:15; 44:4-5). Of special interest here are 7:25 and 26:4-6. Because of Judah's rebellious attitude, God desired the people to listen to "my servants the prophets whom I send to you urgently" (26:5). In a similar passage in 7:25, God tells the people that he has sent "all my servants the prophets" since the days of the Exodus. Yet, the result has been that the people have refused to listen to God and his prophets (7:26). Although they have rejected his prophets, God will send Jeremiah to "speak" and "call" to them; but still, they will continue to refuse to "listen" or "answer" (7:27).

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[27] Cf. Mark 11:17 and Luke 19:46. See Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament,* pp. 19-20. For the use of Jer 7:11 as a "prophetic anticipation" of what was to come, see Donald Juel, *Messiah and Temple: The Trial of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark,* SBLDS 31 (Missoula, Mont., 1977), pp. 132-134.

[28] For the view that the Temple Sermon includes only vss. 1-15, see, e.g., Thompson, pp. 272-273, 283. Whether Matthew considered that section as the entire Temple Sermon is not known.

In Matt 23:34, we have a parallel saying of Jesus, who expands it and casts it in the present tense: "Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, . . ."[29] Here Jesus refers to his disciples. In Matt 10:16 (cf. vs. 5) Jesus tells his disciples: "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves; . . ." Several other parallels between 23:34 and chap. 10 show conclusively that when Jesus refers to the "prophets and wise men and scribes," he is referring to his disciples.[30] Even as early as the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus implies that his disciples are prophets; there he refers to "the prophets who were before you" (5:12).[31] Thus, as Jeremiah was sent by God to the Judeans (Jer 7:25, 26), even though they were known for refusing to listen to the prophets, so Jesus sends the prophets (and wise men and scribes), even though their hearers are known for murdering the prophets and the righteous (Matt 23:34: cf. vss. 29-33).

The Murder of the Prophets

A second major parallel between Jer 7 and 26 and Matt 23:29-24:2 is that of the murder of the prophets.[32] At the beginning of

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[29] On the parallelism, see Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 469.

[30] The disciples are sent (10:5, 16), persecuted from city to city (10:23), scourged (10:17), and killed (10:21). These same characteristics are found in 23:34.

[31] Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 74.

[32] The general persecution of the prophets is, of course, a much larger theme, and is not treated herein, except where it is closely tied to prophetic martyrdoms. For an excellent discussion of the violent fate of the prophets, see Aune, pp. 157-159; and cf. also D. R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, SNTSMS 6, gen. ed. Matthew Black (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), pp. 137-139.

Jeremiah's Temple Sermon, God told him to tell the people not to "shed innocent blood in this place" (7:6). The shedding of innocent blood is an important motif both for Jeremiah and for Matthew. In Jeremiah, the expression "shed innocent blood" in 7:6 is paralleled in chap. 26: After delivering the Temple Sermon, Jeremiah defends himself against his impending death decree by saying that the priests, prophets, and people "will bring innocent blood" upon themselves if they kill him (26:15).

Although there is some question as to just what is intended by the term "in this place" in 7:6, it seems that the temple is the object here.[33] First, the temple is the place of the sermon itself. Second, the "place" in 7:12 is where God once dwelt—Shiloh. Third, the place that God chose for his name to dwell was traditionally the tabernacle/temple (cf. Deut 12:11; 14:23; 1 Kgs 8:29, 35).[34] If we see "this place" in 7:6 as referring to the temple, we find the people clamoring for Jeremiah's death in the temple—the "house of the LORD" (26:7)—even though he had warned them to stop this hideous practice!

But do we find any explicit OT accounts of the actual murder of prophets? There are only two cases to consider. The first is Zechariah, the son of Jehoida the high priest, who announced that God had forsaken his people because they had forsaken him; they had forsaken "the house of the LORD" (2 Chron 24:18). Zechariah was stoned to death in "the court of the house of the LORD" (vss. 20-21) while crying out for God to avenge his blood (vs. 22). In this case we assume that the Chronicler considered Zechariah to be a prophet (cf. vs. 19). The second case is that of Uriah from Kiriath-jearim, who "prophesied against this city [Jerusalem] and against this land in words like those of Jeremiah" (Jer 26:20). He aroused the wrath of King Jehoiakim and fled to Egypt (vs. 21), but he was brought back to the city and executed (vss. 22-23). These two cases are the *only* explicit cases mentioned in the OT with regard to prophetic figures being murdered.[35]

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[33] See Thompson, pp. 276, 279.

[34] See the arguments by J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 55, n. on vs. 3.

[35] It is *assumed* that Uriah spoke against the temple. It seems improbable that he was killed in the temple, since he escaped to Egypt first. There were prophets who

In Matt 23:29-37, there is a continued emphasis on the murder of the prophets. Jesus describes the Pharisees and scribes as persons who "build the tombs of the prophets" (23:29), deny that they would ever have had intentions of "shedding the blood of the prophets" (vs. 30), and yet prove themselves to be "sons of those who murdered the prophets" (vs. 31). Their evil character is proven by the fact that they will kill and crucify and persecute those Jesus is sending them (vs. 34). The murder of the prophets is such an outrage that Jesus refers to Jerusalem in an epithet as "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you!" (vs. 37). Jerusalem's reputation in Jesus' time as a place where prophets were murdered is somewhat obscure, however, mainly because of the paucity of OT information in this regard.[36] As we have just seen, the only two OT prophetic figures (mentioned by name, at least) who were murdered in Jerusalem were Zechariah and Uriah; and of these two, only one was stoned to death—Zechariah (2 Chron 24:21).

Nevertheless, the text in Matthew does seem to imply that there was more than one prophet who met death by stoning.[37] It is possible that the lament over Jerusalem consisted in part of a generally accepted truism or proverb disassociated from actual cases (cf. Acts 7:52; Heb 11:32-38). However, the problem of Jerusalem as being the center of the murder of the prophets and messengers of God becomes less perplexing when one realizes two things: First, Jesus is here referring to the prophets (and wise men and scribes) that he *is* already sending out (Matt 23:34).[38] These are his own disciples, who are sent forth on their mission to the

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were killed in other places (i.e., outside of Jerusalem) for other reasons. See 1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 19:10, 14; Neh 9:26; Jer 2:30; and cf. Friedrich, p. 834. As for Jewish traditions about the murder of prophetic figures, see D. E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23*, *NovTSup* 52 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 179-181; and Ginzberg, 6:371, n. 96, and 6:374-375, n. 103. Heb 11:37 is apparently acquainted with the tradition about Isaiah being sawn in two, although the OT is silent on this topic. Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964), pp. 340-341.

[36] See T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London, Eng., 1949), pp. 126-127.

[37] This *may* include reference to Jeremiah himself, who, according to some traditions, was stoned to death. See J. Jeremias, "*Ieremias*," *TDNT* 3 (1965): 219-220; Ginzberg, 6:399-400, n. 42; and Bruce, p. 340.

[38] Cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 472-473.

Israelites (cf. chap. 10). Second, Matthew has in mind the death of Jesus himself, who is the exemplar of his disciples (10:24-25). The *haima dikaion ekchynnomenon* ("righteous blood shed") in 23:35 finds its counterpart in 26:28: *to haima mou tēs diathēkēs to peri pollōn ekchynnomenon eis aphesin hamartiōn* ("[this is] my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins").[39] In 23:34-35, Matthew is preparing his readers for the death of Jesus. Thus, Jerusalem's reputation rests not only on the past, but also on the present as well.[40]

Matthew's use of *haima dikaion* in 23:35 is not an obvious rendering of the Hebrew in Jeremiah's reference to "innocent blood" in 7:6 and 26(33):15. In the LXX, the phrase is instead *haima athǭon*,[41] a phrase which occurs only once in the NT—Matt 27:4, where Judas cries out, *hēmarton paradous haima athǭon* ("I have sinned in betraying innocent blood"). This verse alludes to Jer 19:4 (LXX), which gives part of the reason for the change of the name of the place called "Topheth" to the "valley of Slaughter" (19:6; cf. Matt 27:8: *agros haimatos*, "Field of Blood"). That reason is that the people have shed the *haima athǭon*. In Matt 27:24, Pilate claims, "I am innocent of this man's blood" (*athǭos eimi apo tou haimatos toutou*), and the Jews subsequently (vs. 25) admit responsibility by shouting out, "His blood be on us and on our children!" (*to haima autou eph hēmas kai epi ta tekna hēmōn*). Thus, there is in Matt 27 a significant motif of the shedding of innocent blood, which motif becomes meaningful in the light of 23:35, even though the phrasing is different. Some interpreters think that perhaps 23:35 also contains the idea of innocence.[42]

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[39] Garland, pp. 177-178. Matt 26:28 (cf. Mark 14:24) alludes to Jer 31(38):33, 34. Also, Matt 23:35 has a parallel in Jer 7:6: *haima athōon mē ekcheēte en tǭ topǭ toutǭ*.

[40] Cf. Garland, p. 203.

[41] See also Deut 27:25; 1 Sam 19:5; 25:26, 31; 1 Kgs 2:5; 2 Kgs 21:16; 24:4; 2 Chron 36:5 (LXX only); Pss 94(93):21; 106(105):38; Jer 2:34; 7:6; 19:4; 22:3, 17; 26(33):15. For an example of the viewpoint that Jer 7:6 is an allusion to the curse of Deut 27:25, see Francis Kenro Kumacki, "The Temple Sermon: Jeremiah's Polemic Against the Deuteronomists (Dtr [1])" (Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary in New York, 1980), p. 230.

[42] D. P. Senior, *The Passion Narrative According to Matthew: A Redactional Study* (Leuven, 1975), p. 257; G. Schrenk, "*dikaios*," *TDNT* 2 (1964): 189; Garland,

Upon closer investigation of Matt 23:35, one finds another striking parallel to Jer 26(33):15 (LXX). Jesus states that the scribes and Pharisees will persecute and kill the prophets and wise men and scribes (23:34), with the result that "upon you [*eph hymas*] may come all the righteous blood shed [*haima dikaion ekchynnomenon*] on earth" (23:35)—from Abel to Zechariah.[43] The coupling of "innocent" or "righteous blood" with "upon you" occurs only in Jer 26(33):15 and Matt 23:35 (cf. Jonah 1:14, LXX).[44] Thus, with regard to the shedding of innocent blood, we can see several parallels between Matt 23:35, on the one hand, and Jer 7:6 and 26:15, on the other hand. (This is so, even though Matt 23:35 parallels Lam 4:13 [LXX] more closely by using *dikaion* instead of *athǭon*[45]).

The Prophetic Judgment Against the Temple

The third major parallel between Jer 7 and 26 and Matt 23:29-24:2 that requires attention here is the prophetic judgment against the temple. In Jer 7, the narrative reveals that the people have been trusting in deceptive words, in proclaiming, "This is the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD" (vs. 4). They have committed all kinds of evil (vs. 9), and yet they have felt that they would be protected because of the presence of the temple itself (vs. 10). But God declares that he is not bound to any particular locality, especially the temple in Jerusalem. He jolts the memories of the Israelites by saying, "Go now to my place that was in Shiloh, where I made my name dwell at first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel" (vs. 12)—and by adding, still further, that he would "do to the house which is called by my name, and in which you trust, and to the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I did to Shiloh" (vs. 14). In 26:6, God declares in a similar fashion that he will "make this house like

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p. 184, n. 71. Garland is less enthusiastic about this interpretation than are the others.

[43] As to the identity of Zechariah, which here appears confusing when compared with the OT, the Zechariah in 2 Chron 24 seems to fit the best. See the discussion in Garland, pp. 181-184, and Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 471-472.

[44] Cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 470.

[45] Ibid., pp. 470-471.

Shiloh, and . . . make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth."

The response to Jeremiah's message about the temple and the city was immediate: ". . . the priests and the prophets and all the people laid hold of him, saying, 'You shall die!'" (26:8). Because he had prophesied that the temple would become like Shiloh and that the city would become desolate, the crowds demanded the sentence of death (vss. 9, 11). But because some of the elders remembered that although the prophet Micah had prophesied the same message, King Hezekiah had not murdered him, Jeremiah was set free (vss. 16-19, 24).

To what does the reference to "Shiloh" allude? Shiloh had been the center of worship during the days of Eli (1 Sam 1-4), for the "house of the LORD" was there (1 Sam 1:24). Shiloh ceased to be the site of the tabernacle after the Philistines captured the ark of the covenant (1 Sam 4:11). Archaeologists have discovered that Shiloh was completely destroyed about the same time (ca. 1050 B.C.).[46]

The OT does not inform us as to what happened to Shiloh, except for the mention made in Ps 78:60-61. Here the psalmist states that God "forsook his dwelling at Shiloh" and delivered "his glory to the hand of the foe." Whether Jeremiah's reference is to the abandonment of the sanctuary or to its resulting destruction seems hard to determine, since he simply compares Shiloh and the Jerusalem temple. However, the idea was prominent that the two aspects—abandonment by God and subsequent destruction (or disaster)—were closely related in a cause-and-effect relationship.[47] For example, Zechariah's prophecy that God would forsake (or, abandon) the people (2 Chron 24:20) was fulfilled when the Syrians plundered Jerusalem and murdered its officials and when King Joash himself was murdered (vss. 23-25). Thus in Jeremiah, it is true that the people are portrayed as deceiving themselves by trusting in the temple, for when God abandons the temple, calamity will certainly follow.

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[46] For the view that Jeremiah referred to a recent destruction of Shiloh in his era, see R. A. Pearce, "Shiloh and Jer. VII 12, 14, & 15," *VT* 23 (1973): 105-108. Cf. also Kumacki, pp. 243-251. For the opposite viewpoint, see J. Day, "The Destruction of the Shiloh Sanctuary and Jeremiah vii 12, 14," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J. A. Emerton, *VTSup* 30 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 87-94.

[47] Cf. the discussion of rejection in T. M. Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgment/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 60-67.

In Matt 23:38 we find specifically the statement that *idou aphietai hymin ho oikos hymōn erēmos* ("Behold, your house is left unto you desolate," KJV). The word *erēmos* refers to the idea of "abandonment" rather than "devastation" or "destruction."[48] Several interpreters have seen this verse as an allusion to *some* verse in Jeremiah, usually 12:7 or 22:5, or to a conflation of both.[49] But a more vexing concern seems to be that of determining to precisely what the *oikos* ("house") in Matt 23:38 refers.[50] Scholarly opinion has been divided among three major options: the temple, Jerusalem, and/or Israel itself.

It is not within the scope of this article to evaluate the arguments for and against each of these options. Suffice it to say that I concur with the interpretation that the *oikos* refers to the *temple.* Some of my reasons for this are, briefly, these: (1) Inasmuch as Matthew quotes Jesus as referring to *ho oikos mou* ("my house") immediately after Jesus has entered the temple (21:12-13) and quotes him again as referring to *ho oikos hymin* ("your house") immediately before leaving the temple for the last time (23:38-24:1), it would seem that the *oikos* in chaps. 21-23 is the same in both cases; (2) Jesus' reason for the judgment against the *oikos* (23:38), as given in 23:39 (*gar . . . ou mē me idēte . . .* ["For . . . you will not see me . . ."]) would make the best sense if the desolation is viewed as a reference to Jesus' leaving the temple (in Matthew, Jesus never returns to the temple, even though he is still in the city of Jerusalem); [51] (3) Matthew's omission of the story of the Widow's Mite (cf. Mark 12:41-44) shows his concern to connect Jesus' leaving the temple in 24:1 with the saying in 23:38;[52] and

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[48] See G. Kittel, "*erēmos*," *TDNT* 2 (1964), pp. 657-660; Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 473; Meier, p. 166; and Schweizer, p. 445.

[49] Cf. Allen, pp. 251-252; Garland, p. 198, n. 116; Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 473; and McNeile, p. 342. Burnett, pp. 70-72, apparently sees no connection with either of these verses.

[50] See the excellent discussion in Garland, pp. 198-199.

[51] Cf. Burnett, pp. 72-74.

[52] Cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 474; and Burnett, pp. 112-129.

(4) when Jesus said, "You see all these, do you not?" (*ou blepete tauta panta*) in 24:2, he was referring, not to the physical temple which his disciples were admiring (cf. Mark 13:2), but to the content of what he had been discussing earlier, namely, in 23:38.[53]

To identify the temple as the *oikos* does not exclude the idea of the city or the country. All three were tightly bound together, as indicated in Jeremiah (cf. Jer 7:7-8; 12:7-13; 26:6, 9, 11, 18). Yet it was the abandonment of the *temple* that caused the destruction/desolation of the other two.[54] In fact, this broader conceptualization was probably part, at least, of the reason for the frenzied attack on Jeremiah, for to speak against the temple was to spell instant doom.

As Jesus began his Temple Discourse with a ringing condemnation of the temple because it had become a "den of robbers" (Matt 23:13; cf. Jer 7:11 [LXX]), so he drew that condemnation also to its natural conclusion: The temple would become abandoned and desolate, just like Shiloh (Matt 23:38; cf. Jer 7:12, 14; 26:6). The shedding of the "righteous" or "innocent" blood (Matt 23:29-35, 37; cf. Jer 7:6)—symbolizing the violent death of God's messengers—was a major reason why God abandoned his house.[55] And yet, in Matthew, the God who abandons his house is none other than Jesus himself; for after his judgment on the temple, Jesus goes out of it (*ekselthōn*) and goes (*eporeueto*) away—never to return (24:1).[56]

Conclusion

In this article, we have first seen that Matthew had an interest in Jesus "the prophet"—especially in reference to his teaching in the temple in chaps. 21-23. In the prediction about the prophet mentioned in Deut 18:15-19, we have found a link also between Jesus "the prophet" and Jeremiah the prophet. And we have discovered that both Jesus and Jeremiah preached in the temple, with the climax of their speeches being the alarming message that the temple would be abandoned by God.

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[53] See Gundry, *Matthew*, p. 475; and Burnett, pp. 156-160. For a similar use of *tauta panta*, see Matt 13:51. See also 19:20 and 23:36.

[54] Cf. Garland, p. 199.

[55] See ibid., pp. 201-202, n. 121. The "abominations" listed in Matt 23:13-26 and Jer 7:5-10 are also a cause of the abandonment. The same idea occurs in Ezek 8:6; 11:5-8, 22, 23.

[56] On *ekserchomai* in Matt 24:1, see Burnett, pp. 116-119 and 428-434. Comparable to Jer 7:4, in Matt 24:1 the disciples were trusting in the temple's presence; they could not believe that destruction would come upon it.

The drawing of parallels is, of course, a risky enterprise—especially when carried to extremes. Nonetheless, it can be fruitful and genuinely informative when undertaken with due caution and adequate controls. Moreover, the occurrence of multiple parallels carries weight that random and isolated parallels do not have, inasmuch as such a clustering of parallels tends to rule out the possibility of mere coincidence.

In this study, my purpose has been to seek to understand Matthew's interest in Jeremiah; and the question may logically be asked, Do not the multiple parallels of the sort I have noted above underscore and illuminate Matthew's reference to Jer 16:14? Matthew's interest in Jeremiah, I have argued, was not because he wished to identify Jesus with Jeremiah *per se*, nor because he saw Jeremiah as a messianic figure, but rather because Jesus' judgment on the temple while in the temple complex paralleled Jeremiah's judgment on the temple while that prophet was in the temple complex.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1986, Vol. 24, No. 2, 173-180.
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BRIEF NOTES

TWO NOTES CONCERNING PAMPHLET LITERATURE OF THE REFORMATION ERA

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

In the immediately preceding issue of *AUSS*, we were pleased to publish a catalog of forty-seven Reformation-era *Flugschriften* ("tracts" or "pamphlets") in the "Heritage Room" of the James White Library at Andrews University. We indicated in our "Introductory Note to Volume 24" (on p. 3) that from time to time we would endeavor to provide further information on at least a few of the more intriguing (and/or less well-known) of these pamphlets. In harmony with this purpose, we present here a brief note concerning the first pamphlet in the catalog—a short piece set forth as a communication from the "hellish Prince Lucifer" to Martin Luther. Also, immediately following this note we include a second one, relating more broadly to the type of literature that is classified as "Reformation-era *Flugschriften.*"

1. A MESSAGE FROM "HELLISH PRINCE LUCIFER" TO MARTIN LUTHER

So-called "letters from heaven" and "letters from hell" provided one of the familiar forms into which Reformation-era *Flugschriften* or "pamphlets" were cast. "Heavenly letters" had for centuries provided a fairly common literary device for promoting religious ideas and ideals. At precisely what time their negative counterpart, the "letters from hell," came into being is not easy to determine; but such literature is known to have existed in late-medieval times. For instance, during the era of the Avignonese Papacy (the so-called "Babylonian captivity of the church," A.D. 1309-77), a "Devil's Letter" appeared in the year 1351.[1] This Avignonese-Papacy period

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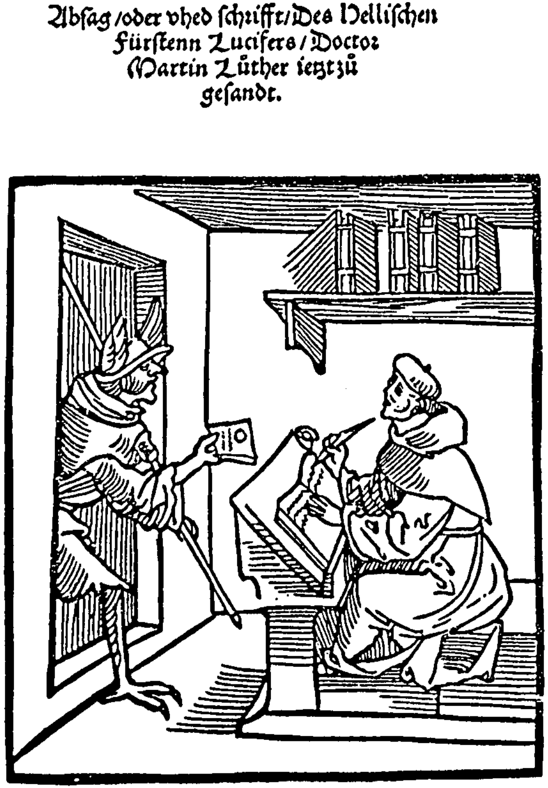
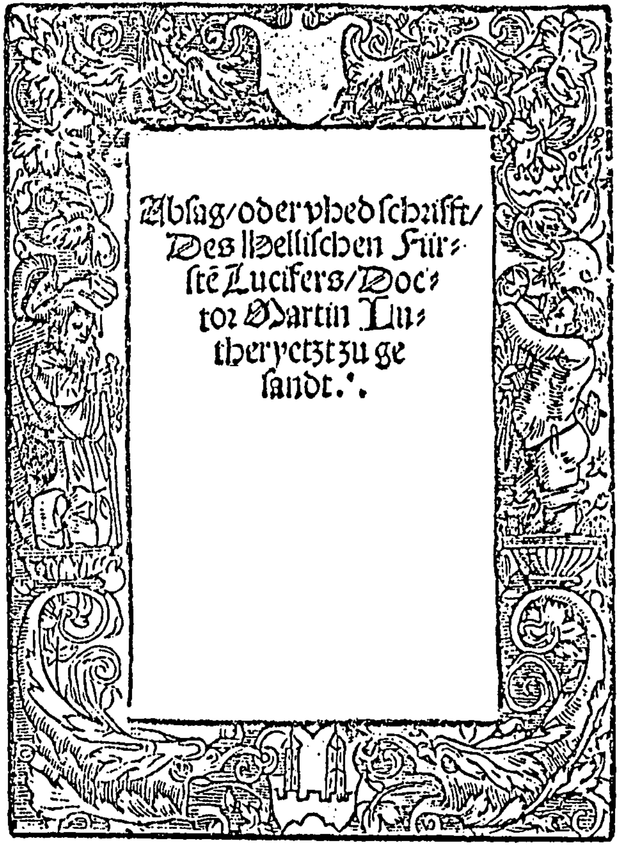
[1] See Otto Clemen, "Einleitung" to his edition of the "Absag oder Fehdschrift Lucifers an Luther (1524)," in Clemen, *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, 3 (1909): 356.



Abſag/oder vhed ſchrifft/Des Helliſchen
Fürſtenn Lucifers/Doctor
Martin Lůther ietzt zů
geſandt.

Plate I. Title-page of the First Edition of the *Absag.*



Abſag/oder vhed ſchrifft/
Des Helliſchen Fürſtē
Lucifers/Doctor
Martin Luther
yetzt zu geſandt.

Plate II. Title-page of the Andrews-University Copy (Second Edition?) of the *Absag.*

and that of the "Great Papal Schism" which immediately followed (with two rival popes from A.D. 1378 to 1409 and then three popes until 1417) were particularly conducive to the rise of criticism of the church. Such criticism came not merely from persons or groups denominated as "schismatics" and "heretics," but from prominent churchmen and other loyal Catholics. (The "Devil's Letter" of 1351 has been attributed variously to Bishop Nicolaus Oresimus of Lisieux, Pierre d'Ailly, and Heinrich von Langenstein.[2])

Writers in the Lutheran-Reformation movement of the early sixteenth century quite naturally adopted the "letter-from-hell" type of presentation as one of their literary vehicles for disseminating their polemic, and it is to this literary type that a short, intriguing piece in the Andrews University collection of Reformation *Flugschriften* belongs (entered as No. 1 in the "Catalog of Reformation Pamphlets" which appeared in the immediately preceding issue of *AUSS*). In the original, it carries the following title:

> **"Absag/ oder vhed schrifft/ || Des Hellischen Für⸗|| stẽ Lucifers/ Doc⸗|| tor Martin Lu⸗|| ther yetzt zu ge|| sandt.·."**

This *Absag* ("Renunciation") or *Fehdschrift* (a sort of declaration of "Feud [or Warfare]") on the part of the "hellish prince Lucifer" against Martin Luther is anonymous, but it appears to be one of a sequence of writings that were penned during the years 1523 and 1524, probably by Erasmus Alber while he was a schoolteacher in Oberursel, near Speyer.[3] The particular edition of this *Absag* that is in the Andrews University collection is apparently the second among at least five early editions.[4] It should probably be dated to 1524, just as in the case of the first edition, which presumably was printed in Speyer by Jakob Faber, and in its concluding statement is dated "the last day of September" of that year. Our copy, which has been tentatively identified as printed in Zwickau by Jörg Gastel,[5] carries the same "endnote," but this appears to be simply a "carry-over" statement from the first edition. In any event, it is likely that this Zwickau edition came from the press prior to the publication in December, 1524, of the "Indulgence Bulls" by Pope Clement VII, and to which reference seems to be made in the mention of an "Ablaßbrief" of that Pope in two of the further editions of the *Absag*.[6]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] For discussion and bibliographical listing, see ibid., pp. 360-362.

[4] See Alfred Götze, "Erasmus Albers Anfänge," *ARG* 5 (1908): 66-67. (For a brief biographical sketch, see, e.g., Theodor F. H. Kolde's article on Alber in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* 1: 103.)

[5] *AUSS* 24 (1986): 87, entry 1; and cf. Clemen, p. 361, paragraph 2.

In order for us to have a setting for this "Lucifer message" of 1524, reference should briefly be made to a publication of the previous year (and also attributed to Alber)—the "Precious *Dialogus* of Martin Luther and the Message Sent from Hell."[7] In this rather lengthy document, we find a messenger from hell in monk's garb coming to Luther and dialoging with the Reformer at the time the latter was translating the OT into German. A long series of Luther's offenses against the traditional religion is covered, and finally the devilish emissary offers the Reformer great reward: If Luther would but renounce his present stance and desist from preaching against the spiritual order, indulgences, monastic life, etc., the Reformer would become "a great lord, granted a cardinal's hat and have his own courtesans and servants." Luther, of course, immediately rejected the proposal, and the devil left.

The *Absag* appears to have this *Dialogus* of 1523 as its immediate background. The format now is not that of a dialogue, however, but is instead a "written communication" from Lucifer, delivered to the Reformer. Also, there is no longer an effort to reason with and to appeal to Luther, but rather a pronouncement of condemnation and of declaration of war against him. If the earlier publication intended to set forth "hell's" purpose as being to appeal to Luther and even to attempt to cajole him into compliance, the later document sets forth Lucifer as endeavoring to intimidate and frighten the Reformer. Here, too, of course, the devilish intent is foiled; and both documents present well their polemic in favor of Luther and his adherents.

The contents of the *Absag* may be briefly summarized as follows: In his letter to Luther, Lucifer introduces himself as "a lord and inhabitant of eternal darkness, powerful ruler and master of the entire world and also possessor of all of the treasures and riches that are in it, etc." Luther is then greeted with Lucifer's anger and displeasure, and the devil makes mention of his own "beloved" and "faithful" Romish legates and other officials gathered at Regensburg (in June-July of 1524). Then, after reference to Luther's "evil petulance" and "obstinate mind," the devil attacks the Reformer for such activities as propagating the Bible and evangelical books, encouraging monks and nuns to leave the cloisters and marry, etc. Because the Reformer in his "bullheadedness"[8] would not be persuaded by "friendly and earnest admonition," Lucifer is now moving against him and his adherents with threat of burning at the stake, decapitation, and other penalties. Lucifer has given "earnest" or "strict" order and "full power" to his servants who are "now assembled in Regensburg" to attack Luther and the latter's followers and supporters. The document concludes with the intriguing "publication datum" that it was printed and disseminated "in our city of eternal damnation on the last day of September" in 1524.[9]

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[6] See the note to line 9 in the text given by Clemen, p. 367. This note provides the supplementary material in the editions which Clemen considers as nos. 4 and 5 and which bear a slight variation in title: *Absag brieff des Fürsten dyser / welt etc. wider Marti= / num Lutther* (title as given in no. 4).

[7] The text of this has been given by Ludwig Enders in *Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, no. 62 (1886), pp. 1-29.

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[8] Literally, "your hard head" ("deinen hårten kopff").

[9] See the text in the entry in *AUSS* 24 (1986): 87. The 4th ed. carries the further notation, "Getruckt zů Saltzpurg, durch den geweichten Krumbschnabel by der Roßschwemb"; see Clemen, p. 367, note to lines 12-13.

2. A NOTE ON REFORMATION-ERA *FLUGSCHRIFTEN*

Flugschriften or pamphlets were a popular form of publication in western Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century—the time frame within which the pamphlets listed in the James White Library catalog appeared. It seems likely, in fact, that during that fairly short period (which, moreover, was still relatively early in the history of movable-type printing) possibly upward of 10,000 titles of this sort were printed.[1]

The question of how to distinguish the Reformation-era *Flugschriften* from other literature of that time period has evoked considerable discussion. Probably no definition will be adequate, but the following qualifications seem pertinent:[2]

1. *Physical Description.* The Reformation-era pamphlet is commonly understood to be more than simply a broadside, on the one hand, and for the most part would not exceed 64 small leaves (128 pages), on the other hand. The term "small leaves" has been used, because the printing format was normally octavo, or possibly small quarto. In any case, the obvious purpose of *Flugschriften* was to have small and handy items for ready and reasonably priced distribution. In their original distribution state, pamphlets were generally unbound.

2. *Purpose.* Reformation-era pamphlet literature, as defined by present-day Reformation specialists, manifests obvious apologetic and/or polemical concerns. In other words, in order to be considered *Flugschriften,* the materials must give evidence of a propagandistic

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[1] Movable-type printing was a fifteenth-century discovery in Europe, though it had been first used in China much earlier. The European "invention" of this much more versatile means of printing than the older xylography is usually attributed to Johann Gutenberg ca. 1455.

[2] An excellent discussion by Steven Ozment, "The Pamphlet Literature of the German Reformation," in Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo., 1982), pp. 85-105, presents the definition of pamphlet literature given by Hans-Joachim Köhler, the leader of a significant pamphlet-research project at the University of Tübingen, and then affords his own refinements of this definition (pp. 86-90). My analysis takes a somewhat different approach, but it does fall within the same general parameters as the definitions provided by those specialists; and in any case, it provides, I believe, some useful and appropriate guidelines for dealing with the complex literature involved.

function; their obvious intent must be to influence thought and/or to incite the readers to action for certain causes or on certain issues, theological or practical.

3. *Subject Matter.* The subject matter of the Reformation pamphlets could, and did, vary considerably from one publication to another. The topics treated might well be anything that would serve the intended apologetical and/or polemical purposes and concerns of the authors. Theological and ecclesiological issues were at the forefront of discussion in these Reformation pamphlets, but such pamphlets might range into treatment of political, economic, commercial, and social matters. Documents that were of purely commercial or political nature (as, for example, simple barter contracts or "bills of trade or sale") are not to be classified as "Reformation *Flugschriften.*"

4. *Presentation Style.* Presentation of materials in the Reformation pamphlet literature could take a variety of forms—from theological argumentation, to historical narrative, to imaginary accounts, to polemical diatribe and lampoons, and even to so-called "letters from heaven" or "letters from hell" (see the immediately preceding "Brief Note"). The vehicle of transmission might be elegant prose or poetry, or it could be rather raucous ridicule and invective. Dialogue and drama were sometimes used, and at times the subject matter was set forth largely by pictorial representation. Various treatises, though not primarily pictorial, were illuminated by woodcuts depicting concerns and viewpoints of the times—much as cartoons do in modern newspapers. "Open letters" were also a common type of Reformation-era pamphlet.

In recent years there have been efforts to compile lists of sixteenth-century pamphlets and even to provide corpuses that include selections of such pamphlets. Certain specific areas of interest, such as the Peasants' War, have had more substantial treatment of their pertinent *Flugschriften* than has been the case with regard to general pamphlet literature of the Reformation or even with respect to the pamphlet material pertaining to the German Reformation.[3]

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[3] Concerning the "Peasants War," there are, e.g., Günther Franz, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges* (Darmstadt, 1963), and Klaus Kaczerowsky, ed., *Flugschriften des Bauernkrieges* (Hamburg, 1970), as well as a publication sponsored by the Akademie der Wissenschaft der DDR and appearing on the 450th anniversary of

This situation is, however, being remedied by an ambitious project of publication by the Swiss Inter-Documentation Company of Zug, which in 1978 began producing in microfiche an extensive series under the capable editorship of Hans-Joachim Köhler. The series is entitled *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts,* and is an effort to provide bibliographical data and summaries of contents for all available German and Latin pamphlets that were published from 1501 to 1530 in the Holy Roman Empire.[4]

In closing, we should just mention that the German-Reformation pamphlet literature provides, by its sheer quantity, a significant body of source material to help enhance our knowledge of the events, developments, and thinking of the time. As repetitious of commonplaces as it frequently is, it nevertheless adds its own "twist" to those commonplaces as it shares the perspectives of its wide array of authors and the groups they represent. But beyond this, the great richness in variety of these pamphlets and their forthrightness in expression carry their readers into some of the recesses—the "nooks and crannies," as it were—of Reformation history in a manner that cannot readily be reached in any other way.[5]

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the historic "Peasants War" in Thuringia—Adolf Laube et al., eds., *Flugschriften des Bauernkriegszeit* (Berlin, 1975).

[4] In addition to this project, the Swiss Inter-Documentation Company has undertaken microfiche series on Reformed Protestantism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (under the editorship of Willem Balke et al.) and on Mennonite and related sources of the sixteenth century (under the editorship of Irvin B. Horst).

[5] Ozment, pp. 90-97, devotes an interesting section of his study to the question, "What Kind of Information Do Pamphlets Convey?" He discusses briefly each of seven varieties of the *Flugschriften*: "Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices," "Anticlerical Literature," "Social Profiles and Commentary," "Marriage and Family," "The Proper Relationship Between 'Church' and 'State,'" "Peasant Protest and Revolt," and "Christian Mirrors." The last-mentioned category may need explanation: It is what Ozment defines as "polemical catechisms for the laity that contain not only detailed theological and moral instruction, but also practical household advice" —works that "grew in number and size after 1530 when successful Protestants began to consolidate their gains, and when confessional differences with Catholics as well as those between competing Protestant groups themselves hardened and became irreconcilable" (p. 97).

BOOK REVIEWS

Barclay, Oliver R. *The Intellect and Beyond.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 157 pp. Paperback $6.95.

The concept of the mind occupies a prominent place in the biblical understanding of man. The understanding of this term has varied. To some interpreters this word is a part of the natural endowments of a rational being, whereas others consider it as meaning logical consistency in thinking, or even academic intellect. To Oliver Barclay, the "Christian mind" is something very different. His *The Intellect and Beyond* is written with the intent of examining the meaning of the expression and of pointing the way in developing the Christian mind. The book is a fine example of bringing difficult subjects to both professionals and laity.

"The Christian mind is not necessarily an intellectual affair," according to Barclay, nor is it merely a capacity for logical reasoning (p. 9). In the first chapter he argues that the Christian mind is even more than a rational aspect of the Christian's day-to-day lifestyle. It is rather a Christian mentality, a proper attitude of mind, a right outlook and onlook on life, a renewed and transformed way of thinking (Rom 12:1-2); it is having the mind of Christ—having one's thought brought captive to him (2 Cor. 10:5). In short, it is a new way of seeing things and then working out the implications.

In chaps. 2, 3, and 4, Barclay attempts to show what the Christian mind can see and how it functions in ethics, doctrine, philosophy, and some other areas. As an illustration, he takes Paul's reaction to the Corinthian tendency to file lawsuits against each other. Instead of immediately telling them what to do or not to do, Paul appeals to their Christian outlook. Six times in the same chapter of his first epistle to them (1 Cor 6), he compares their conduct with what they already know. "Do you not know that we are to judge angels?" (vs. 3): How then does your conduct fit into what you already know?

In ethics (pp. 19-34), this is of paramount importance, according to Barclay. We do not have a complete system of ethics, philosophy, or even theology contained in Scripture, but what we do have is a sufficient number of principles. Sufficient, that is, to a Christian. The Christian is in tune with the mind of Christ and thus becomes able to obey God's will. The Christian will face life and the world with a frame of mind rooted in Christ, and will never expect directions from society in matters of morality. The starting point is always in divine revelation.

In theology, declares Barclay (pp. 35-51), we need Christian minds to understand God's will. There are elements of mystery, insufficient data, and gaps in reasoning in Scripture. Whoever depends totally on a foolproof system of beliefs will be forced to argue for what is unwarranted or to generalize that which is relative. God did not intend to encourage mental laziness. His revelation molds Christian thinking and thus develops a Christian world-and-life view.

In philosophy, the Christian way of thinking is even more indispensable (pp. 53-66). Purely philosophical approaches are inadequate for so much of human life and nature. No one has been successful yet in creating a Christian philosophy. To Barclay, the Christian approach is theological. As with politics, philosophy cannot be permanently "married" to religion. "We must not be ashamed to admit that there are no clear Christian answers to some philosophical and other problems because they are the wrong questions" (p. 66). Man's questions are theological.

The following chapters in the volume (5, 6, 7, 8) provide illustrations of Christian thinking about man, work, and culture. Some useful and intriguing insights await the reader here.

In his final chapter, Barclay attempts to show how the Christian mind develops. This is, however, the weakest point of the book. It serves more as being a clear summary of previous chapters than an indication of how one's mind grows in Christ. A few hints on this subject are scattered throughout the book, and can be gleaned from the general reading of the various chapters. Included are such items as the following: (1) Reading of Scriptures exposes our mind to God's mind. (2) The Christian mind is "born" at conversion, and from then on it grows as the process of sanctification advances. (3) The exposure to truth as the Holy Spirit influences our minds orients our thinking in the right direction. (4) The application of Christian ethical principles further enriches our experience and thus molds our minds.

This very interesting and readable book warns against anti-intellectualism, on the one hand, and against dry academic pursuits, on the other. One does not need to be a scholar to know how to think in the Christian way. Yet the book leaves some questions unanswered: (1) Is the Christian mind in any way similar to the "inner light" certitude upheld by the Society of Friends? (2) What is the role of church, education, and family in the formation of the Christian mind? (3) Can a non-Christian imitate Christian thinking prior to conversion? (4) Can a Christian do anything to foster the development of a Christian mind?

A major contribution of this book must not, however, be overlooked. At the time when Hellenistic analytical thinking claims identity with Christian thinking, this book can help us remember that we have also Hebraic roots.

Andrews University MIROSLAV KIŠ

Bruce, F. F. *The Pauline Circle.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1985. 106 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

A major subject of recent debate in NT scholarship is the possibility that John the beloved disciple gathered around himself a "school" or "circle" of disciples who passed on the traditions about Jesus that they had received from him. Such a thesis has been particularly attractive to scholars who wish to acknowledge the inroads of critical scholarship on NT introduction, while nevertheless maintaining that the insight and authority of the beloved disciple controlled the content of what has traditionally been known as the "Johannine Writings" (the Fourth Gospel and the three epistles and Revelation of John). The main problem with this approach is that evidence for such a "school" or "circle" is virtually nonexistent. It is, in fact, only by imaginative reconstruction that such a hypothesis can presently be maintained.

In stark contrast to this situation concerning the Johannine corpus, Bruce rightly points out that there is abundant evidence within the NT documents themselves for a considerable "circle" of associates and disciples who worked together with Paul and, in many cases, carried on his work after his death. Yet, this topic has never been thoroughly studied along the lines of the "Johannine-School" hypothesis; and thus, Bruce's *The Pauline Circle,* though a shorter and more shallow work than one has come to expect from him, makes a major contribution by pointing out the possibilities in such a study.

Bruce devotes a chapter each to ten major figures or groupings in the "Pauline Circle"—Ananias (along with the disciples at Damascus), Barnabas, Silas/Silvanus, Timothy, Luke, Priscilla and Aquila, Apollos, Titus, Onesimus, and Mark. In chap. 11, he devotes about a paragraph each to some of the lesser-known associates of Paul, such as Aristarchus, Epaphras, Philemon, Epaphroditus, Demas, Tychicus, Tertius, and Onesiphorus. The final chapter focuses on the hosts and hostesses who sheltered Paul in the course of his journeys—Judas of Damascus, Lydia, the Philippian jailer, Jason of Thessalonica, Gaius of Corinth, and Mnason. It is evident from the giving of these lists that Bruce considers the Acts of the Apostles to be a reliable source of information about the career of Paul and his associates.

Some readers will perhaps be disappointed that Bruce does not engage in much "reading between the lines." His approach is, rather, a straightforward one to the evidence presented in the biblical account. A small exception can be found on p. 93, in his speculation that while Paul was working with Barnabas in Antioch, Paul stayed with the parents of Rufus, that Rufus' mother was the wife of Simeon Niger (Acts 13:1), and the Niger is to be identified with Simon of Cyrene, who was the father of Alexander and Rufus (Mark 15:21).

Bruce makes no attempt to analyze the personalities of Paul's close associates, even though hints in the NT almost beg that such an attempt be made. For instance, Bruce makes no effort to contrast the personalities of Timothy and Titus. Timothy appears timid and retiring (1 Cor 16:10, 11), especially so if the Pastoral letters reflect Paul's estimate of his character. On the other hand, Titus comes across in the NT as a powerful, self-assured personality—a person willing to be paraded before the apostles as a "model Gentile Christian" (Gal 2), succeeding in Corinth, where Timothy failed (2 Corinthians, esp. 7:15), and appearing to be in little need of Paul's direction while working in Crete.

Certain other questions are also bypassed—such as, what the kind of people who gathered around Paul tells us about the personality of the apostle, and what first-century history, geography, and sociology suggest concerning the activities, occupations, and interests of Paul's associates. Bruce's book would undoubtedly have made a greater contribution to Pauline scholarship if the author had interacted more with historical and sociological studies of the first century and if he had explored the possibilities implicit in the time and place of the NT record.

Negative reactions aside, it must be stated that this book is nonetheless indeed a helpful pointer to a neglected area of NT scholarship. *The Pauline Circle* provides a good starting point for the study of Paul's "friends and co-workers, hosts and hostesses, [who] had no other motive in being so helpful than love of Paul and love of the Master whom he served" (p. 99).

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Brueggemann, Walter. *The Message of the Psalms.* Augsburg Old Testament Studies. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984. vi + 200 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

This is a rather slender volume, but its usefulness extends considerably beyond its physical size. Its title-page describes it as a "theological commentary," and that it is. The aim of the author is to give the reader the heart of the theology of each of the psalms discussed. This calls for a format different from the typical exegetical commentary's verse-by-verse discussion. While the psalms are examined by sections in broad outline, no attempt is made to break the psalms down into smaller units than these. Because the treatment of the psalms is thematic and theological, their order of presentation follows the nature of their contents rather than their order of appearance in the Psalter. About a third of the total psalms in the Psalter are discussed in this work.

The categories of psalms followed are rather standard, but those standard categories are grouped into a larger tripartite overall scheme for the whole Psalter. This is the major contribution of this commentary. The three categories employed for this purpose are (1) psalms of orientation, (2) psalms of disorientation, and (3) psalms of reorientation. All of the lesser categories of psalms are subsumed under these three major headings, and the three chapters which constitute the heart of the book cover these topics in order. Under the heading of psalms of orientation come the following: (1) songs of creation (Pss 8, 33, 104, and 145); (2) songs of torah (Pss 1, 15, 24, and 119); (3) wisdom psalms (14 and 37); (4) songs of retribution (Ps 112; "songs of recompense" would have been a better title); and (5) songs for (special) occasions of well-being (Pss 131 and 133).

The psalms of disorientation are examined in the second main chapter. This is the longest chapter of the book, which is appropriate since psalms in this category are the most difficult for laypersons and professional theologians alike. The largest number of psalms in this group belong to the subcategory of individual laments. Three of these are examined (Pss 13, 35, and 86). Next come the communal laments, and three of these are also examined (Pss 74, 79, and 137). From these large general categories Brueggemann goes on to more specialized types of disorientation psalms, including two that pose special problems (Pss 88 and 109).

In all of these psalms of disorientation treated up to this point the main viewpoint expressed in them has been that of the human speaker who has found himself in one kind of predicament or another. There is another point of view from which that predicament can be examined, however, and that is from God's point of view. These psalms give, as Brueggemann terms it, a "second opinion" about the matter. Pss 50 and 81 are the examples of this type treated here. Following this, the subgroup of psalms known as the "penitential psalms" is examined (Pss 32, 51, 130, and 143). Finally come three psalms of submission (Pss 49, 73, and 90).

The third major section of the book covers the psalms of reorientation. These psalms express thankfulness for a restored state, for having been brought successfully out of trials, troubles, disease, or warfare. Brueggemann includes here the royal psalms, and he discusses eight of them, four of which are from the subcategory of enthronement songs (Pss 93, 96, 97, and 99). Along with the royal songs come two major sections that study the individual songs of thanksgiving (Pss 30, 34, 40, and 138). and the communal songs of thanksgiving (Pss 65, 66, and 124).

Since the Psalter is such a large and varied corpus of literature, one can always find some psalms where the categorization or treatment can be criticized. This is just as true of this commentary as it is of any other one on the Psalter. In general, however, I would say that Brueggemann has done very well in categorizing the psalms, in presenting the heart of their messages, and in providing a very useful overall framework in which to fit them. While other schemes of organization could be suggested, his is probably as good as or better than the others that are available. The basic outline of psalms of orientation, disorientation, and reorientation appears to fit well the body of literature and its contents, and enables the reader to understand the psalms better.

Some points on which one could take issue with Brueggemann might be noted in passing. In general he is quite sensitive to NT parallels and applications, but it seems to me that his remarks on the Messianic significance of Ps 22 are a bit weak. I would suggest also that he has missed a considerable part of the point of Ps 29 in that the divinely directed storm described there represents a judgment specifically upon Canaanite territory. He has grappled with a number of the more-difficult imprecatory psalms, and for this we can express our appreciation inasmuch as these are usually passed over lightly by other writers on the psalms. It seems to me, however, that he could have taken a more positive view of Ps 109 by noting the covenant context from which the curses present in this psalm derive.

I have now used this volume in a seminary class on the psalms, and in general the students were pleased with it and found it helpful. One of the assignments in this class was to write up a sermon for delivery to a congregation, and I was interested to see that, without any urging from me, a number of the students spontaneously included an explanation of the system of psalms of orientation-disorientation-reorientation as a part of the introduction to the psalm from which they chose to preach. Thus, the members of the class seem to have voted in favor of the usefulness of this format and system of thought for the Psalter, as presented in Brueggemann's commentary.

I, personally, have found this volume to achieve its purpose well and to provide a positive and useful contribution to the literature on the psalms. Its demonstrated value in my seminary class on the psalms has led me to plan for its use again in this context. However, for such use it should be supplemented with a more exegetically oriented commentary—such as Craigie's volume on the first fifty psalms that I reviewed previously in *AUSS* 23 (1985): 299-302.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

De Vries, Simon J. *1 Kings*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 12. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985. lxiv + 286 pp. $19.95.

De Vries's commentary on 1 Kings brings to twelve the number of available works in the new set of 52 proposed volumes of the Word Biblical

Commentary. The project promises to provide a Bible-study resource from a somewhat progressive-evangelical point of view, balancing gains from critical research with concerns for the life of faith. It intends, by means of translations based on the original languages and a format consisting of sections on everything from detailed textual notes to reflective theological explanations, to provide a useful tool for fledgling students and working ministers, as well as for professional scholars and teachers.

With the goals of this commentary series in mind, De Vries sets out to "hear" the ancient writings theologically. He begins with a good introduction that provides adequate attention to geographical, political, and religious background concerns, and also grapples with issues that have always made OT historiographical material a *crux interpretum*. His treatment addresses the problem of sacred history as theological testimony, by distinguishing between "historicity" and "historicality." The latter has to do, according to De Vries, with self-awareness in historical existence and does not depend for authenticity upon factuality. The books of 1 Kings, he asserts, is infused with historicality which should remind the student to avoid the two extremes of (1) overliteralizing and (2) denying all that does not fit the modern mind. The introduction also contains brief treatments of the history of interpretation of the book and summaries of text-, source-, and redactional-critical problems.

Sections in the commentary portion of the volume include useful, up-to-date bibliographies; new translations; fairly comprehensive textual notes; detailed remarks concerning form/structure/setting; extensive, but concise, comments on the passage; and a normally brief evaluative explanation. This distribution allows access by individuals with varying goals and different levels of expertise and ability. Useful as well are the author, subject, and Scripture indices.

De Vries's treatment of 1 Kings is, on the whole, thoroughly accomplished, and it represents a solid commitment to current, quality scholarship and to biblical faith. His work reflects a genuine sensitivity to literary characteristics and stylistic features of the text and a willingness to follow through on the implications of such. The "truth" of an account grows as much from *how* it was told as from *what* was said. Skillful and imaginative recounting stands behind many of the narrative portions of 1 Kings, reminding us of the creative, aesthetically-tempered theological goals of our source material which are observable in the finished product that we now have. De Vries also takes into account the value of historical and archaeological resources and employs them in a fair and appropriate manner.

Weaknesses are few, but deserve mention. Some would critique the author's use of terms like "historiography," "historicality," etc., which does not always appear to be entirely consistent throughout (e.g., compare

p. xxx with p. xxxviii). In addition, a few of the "explanation" sections tend to make moralizing evaluations of these ancient materials too much on the basis of modern criteria (e.g., p. 42) and, at times, christocentric agendas (e.g., p. 44). Typically, De Vries expresses in a clear fashion his Christian assessments of activities and ideologies which today appear unacceptable or reprehensible, and he distinguishes carefully between ancient societal mores and modern culture. Occasionally, however, the proper place, value (even possibly, redemptive value in antiquity), and function of certain practices are eclipsed by the imposition of later moral criteria. Finally, not all of De Vries's critical methodologies or conclusions will earn him a favorable hearing among some conservatives, no matter how well he has attempted a balanced approach to very difficult and complex material. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, a receptive hearing will be deeply enriching for the study of 1 Kings.

Southwestern Adventist College
Keene, Texas 76059
DOUGLAS R. CLARK

Harris, Murray J. *Raised Immortal: Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1985. 304 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

This book, first published as part of the Marshalls Theological Library series in 1983, was republished (by arrangement) by Eerdmans in mid-1985. As pointed out on the back cover, "While many books have been written about the Gospel teaching regarding the resurrection of Jesus, few go on to consider resurrection . . . in the Epistles, and fewer still attempt to relate all this to the theme of immortality."

Harris has indeed chosen to deal with an interesting selection of topics. The material in this volume ranges from the kind traditionally found in books dealing with Christian apologetics to that found in books engaging in biblical exegesis or biblical theology. It is, in fact, one of the strengths of the book in that it attempts to deal adequately with all aspects of the NT's portrayal of the topic of life after death. It deals, in turn, with exegesis of the major texts treating the resurrection of Jesus, with the historicity of that event, with the question of what sort of body the raised Jesus had, with the theological implications of his resurrection, with exegesis of the NT passages regarding the resurrection of believers, and with the difficult questions pertaining to the intermediate state, the general resurrection, and the manner in which all of the preceding relates to the NT's presentation of immortality. Harris brings all of these different facets of the subject into one coherent presentation, and also is to be commended for presenting both careful exegesis and a focus on theological considerations (particularly those of biblical theology) at each major step of his study.

It is stimulating to read a book with which one disagrees at times, and this book is no exception. Although conservative readers may well be delighted that Harris staunchly defends the historicity of the resurrection, some of them may be surprised that he considers the essential state of the resurrection body of Jesus to be invisible and therefore immaterial (p. 53). They may also be moved to disagree with his statement that "what he [Jesus] wished them [the disciples] to understand (*idete*) by touching was not that he was material but that he was real" (p. 54). Nor will all readers appreciate Harris's use of the *parable* of the rich man and Lazarus as a basis for starting his discussion on the intermediate state (pp. 134-35). Harris considers that between death and resurrection the believer "is not marked by 'the sleep of the soul' but by conscious, enriched fellowship with Christ" (p. 142), but nevertheless that the believer's ultimate destiny will be one of embodiment.

The sections in which Harris deals with the question of immortality in the NT are valuable. He finds that the expression "'immortality of the soul' ill accords with the tenor of New Testament teaching and therefore the expression deserves no place in Christian terminology" (p. 237), but he believes that the term "immortality" itself does deserve to be retained. He also considers that the resurrection and immortality, while distinct ideas, are inseparably linked in the NT.

Both in his text and in his footnotes, Harris reveals that he is familiar with current scholarly literature relating to his topic; and his select bibliography is a valuable starting point for someone new to the literature of the field. The volume also contains helpful indexes of modern authors, subjects, biblical and ancient references, and principal Greek words.

Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103 ROBERT K. MCIVER

Hughes, Philip E. *Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 210 pp. Paperback, $15.95.

Philip Hughes's book *Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* will be welcomed by English-speaking readers. While the importance of that Frenchman has long been recognized, relatively little has been available about him in any other language until recently. In fact, Hughes's publication is the first book-length biography since Jean Barnaud's in 1900.

This volume strikes the reader as a solid and conscientious work, with an abundance of illustrative source material. The author makes full use of the many monographs that have begun to clarify different aspects of Lefèvre's life and thought. The references, however, seem to reveal a rather heavy dependence upon Rice's edition of the prefatory epistles of Lefèvre (London, 1972). Also, a comparison of Hughes's work with A. Renaudet's pages on Lefèvre in *Préréforme et humanisme* (2d ed.; Paris, 1953) reveals Hughes's theological background and interests.

In the author's biographical material, which is interesting throughout, many readers will undoubtedly appreciate the first chapters, wherein Hughes painstakingly brings out the significance of the many influences that Lefèvre felt. Particularly enlightening are the description of the efforts of the evangelicals to sway the French crown after 1528 and the treatment of the significance of the meeting between Francis I and Pope Paul III at Marseille in 1533. The opposition of that pope to harsh persecutions of the Lutherans is not generally known. Bishop Briçonnet's harsh anti-Lutheran injunctions also become a little less puzzling after one has read Hughes's sketch of the ambivalent actions of the bishop at that time, of the bishop's staunch opposition to Lutheranism, and of his continued good relations with the French evangelicals.

The author could, on the other hand, have noted more clearly the rather striking change in Lefèvre's stance after his return from Strasbourg. After his appointment as tutor of the royal children and as royal librarian at Blois, Lefèvre assumed a very non-committal way of speech and life. However, in harmony with the view of most scholars, Hughes rejects the accounts of the dreadful remorses of Lefèvre on his deathbed.

Many readers will find the chapters on the *Quintuplex Psalterium* and the commentary on the Pauline epistles of special interest. In the former, Hughes discusses Lefèvre's exegetical method; and in the latter, Lefèvre's theology. The author sets forth very well the man's love for Scripture and his characteristic approach to its study, demonstrating also how concepts of the Protestant reformers had already appeared in his works. Hughes calls him an evangelical, but tends to "protestantize" him a bit too much when stating, for instance, on p. 97: "The commentary of 1512 on the Pauline epistles gives ample proof that before Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin had appeared on the scene, he [Lefèvre] had firmly grasped and propounded that evangelical faith which has commonly been regarded as the preserve of the theologians of the Reformation, and, what is more, that he did so in the precise terms and formulations that were destined to become the distinctive hallmarks of Reformed theology. . . . " Those "Protestant" expressions must, however, be read in the context of Lefèvre's whole theology—a theology which emphasizes the synergy of faith and works in a way that the Protestant reformers would probably have highly questioned. Likewise, Lefèvre's quest for the "prophetic-literal sense" (as H. Oberman terms it) is quite distant from the later Protestant emphasis on the historical meaning.

Hughes discusses the relationship between Lefèvre and Luther and between Lefèvre and Farel, but he somehow remains quite silent on the links between Lefèvre and Zwingli. He sees the French evangelical movement as very autochthonous. Perhaps Lefèvre's influence on Luther is less than what Hughes claims to find. But there is no question, of course, that through the group of Meaux, Lefèvre had a deep and wide-ranging influence.

At a time when in ecumenical discussions the idea is often heard that the Reformers should have given the church more time to reform itself from within, it is valuable to read Hughes's summary of the grounds for the condemnation of Lefèvre and of Pierre Caroli. Nowhere does there appear the least hint of acceptance of even the most moderate evangelical ideas.

This volume by Hughes provides indeed interesting reading and many valuable insights. Moreover, in order to understand the complex terrain in which the Protestant reformation found its roots, one can hardly find a better starting point than Lefèvre d'Etaples.

Andrews University DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Kimball, William R. *What the Bible Says About the Great Tribulation*. Joplin, Mo.: College Press Publishing Co., 1983. x + 291 pp. (Reprint ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1984. Paperback, $7.95.)

William Kimball, President of the Disciples Indeed Training Center of South Lake Tahoe, offers us in this publication an exegetical study of Jesus' prophetic discourse in Mark 13, Matt 24-25, and Luke 21. His book engages itself with the teachings of dispensationalism which include emphasis on a future seven-year period of great tribulation in the whole world before the final Judgment. Kimball's motivating question is, "Are the *signs of the times* pointing to a final period of unprecedented chaos referred to in the Bible as the Great Tribulation?" (p. ix). In seeking to answer this question, he challenges the legitimacy of expecting any "signs" which announce the imminency of Christ's second advent.

One must, first of all, give credit to Kimball's intention. This book is an endeavor to present as clear and unbiased an interpretation of Christ's prophetic words as possible, and to do contextual justice to the "intended meaning, application, and timing of the Lord's statements" (p. 3). In this brief review, I can only point out that Kimball places the major emphasis on Christ's purpose "to alert that very generation of believers of the approaching holocaust awaiting Jerusalem" (p. 10). The predicted "great tribulation" (or distress) of Matt 24:21 is interpreted, not as an end-time event, but as the terrible calamity attending the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, from which the disciples of Jesus could escape just in time. The quotations of Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37/38-ca. 100) in chap. 11 impressively underscore the reality of the horrendous distress of Jerusalem for that generation of Jews.

On the other side of the matter, Kimball insists strongly on the interpretation that "the sign of the Son of man in heaven" in Matt 24:30 intends to express the literal and glorious return of Christ from heaven to earth (chap. 18). This "sign," he feels, does *not* refer to a figurative coming in judgment in A.D. 70.

A problem for Kimball's thesis appears to be posed by Matt 24:29-30, where the second advent of Christ is said to take place "*immediately* after the distress." This statement seems to support the idea of a strict end-time setting for the "tribulation," which will "then" (vs. 30) be consummated by the second coming of Christ. Kimball states that the Greek word *tote* ("then") in Matt 24:30 can mean a specific time or "can be used in a far more general sense to indicate the sequence in which a series of events will happen" (p. 178). The focus here, he claims, is on the *order* of events in Matt 24—"1) tribulation upon the nation of Israel; 2) followed immediately by an extended period characterized by unrest and instability among the nations; and 3) *then* ending with the second coming of Christ in power and glory" (p. 178).

The weak point in Kimball's interpretation is the method he uses: He interprets Matthew and Mark, not by their own context and style, but by Luke's account (concerning this hermeneutic, see my article "Did Jesus Intend to Return in the First Century?", *The Ministry*, May 1983, pp. 10-13). The problem becomes evident when Kimball continues his analysis by spiritualizing the signs in the sun, moon, and stars (chap. 17). With regard to this cosmic imagery, he interprets the darkening of the sun and moon and the falling of the stars in a purely symbolic way "to characterize the destruction befalling nations and earthly powers" (p. 166). Also, the expression "and the powers of the heavens will be shaken" (Matt 24:29, last part, RSV) he views as "a subtle characterization of the ongoing conflict of truth clashing with and undermining the powers of evil in the earth" (p. 167; he appeals here to Eph 6:12, 13). In other words, Christ's cosmic imagery refers to the historical conflict between his church and the evil powers in the air. Kimball further equates this shaking of "the powers of the heavens" with the "times of the Gentiles" in Luke 21:24.

In this process, the immediate context becomes more and more neglected, while appeals are made to other contexts. Moreover, why must the "heavenly" powers of Matt 24:30 be seen as symbols of the "earthly" nations in Luke 21:25 (p. 158)? Why is there any need to *spiritualize* plain words in Christ's discourse, which Kimball himself insists, on the other hand, must be taken all the way *literally*? It seems strange to consider Luke 21:25 suddenly as an "obvious figurative expression" (p. 159). Also, Kimball's appeal to the clearly symbolic vision of Rev 17:15 and its symbolic waters of Babylon cannot be mixed with Christ's non-symbolic discourse on his literal return in glory from the cosmic heavens. These are two different genres or types of literature in Scripture, each of which possesses its own characteristics. The use of similar cosmic imagery in the OT seems to carry the clear theological message that the "Day of the Lord" is coming as the Judgment-day for all nations.

Kimball's specific burden, as already mentioned, is to show that Christ's discourse is devoted to only preliminary signs of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, supplying *not one* sign to measure the imminency of the second advent of Christ. He views Christ's announcement that the second coming will be "as the lightning comes from the east and flashes to the west" as containing "the strong implication" that there will be no preliminary signs to herald his final return (p. 154). Also, he believes that Matt 24:36 ("No one knows about that day or hour . . .") supports this concept.

In spite of my foregoing criticism, I feel that we are nevertheless greatly indebted to Kimball for his challenging and thought-provoking study on Matt 24-25 and the parallel chapters in Mark and Luke. Much can be learned from his stimulating Bible study. For instance, it is hard to find a better explanation of the proverbial saying, "Wherever there is a carcass, there the vultures will gather" (Matt 24:28) than that given by him in chap. 16: namely, that this saying expresses the certainty that God would *not* come to deliver the nation of Israel, but would come rather with devastating judgments to a nation in such spiritual decay.

Above all, Kimball's stress on Christ's warning to be *spiritually* prepared for his return is extremely beneficial (chap. 23). His focus on a Christ-centered waiting, instead of event-centered chronological calculations, is also a welcome corrective to some modern outlines of Christ's prophetic discourse. The real threat for the end-time church is not external tribulation or wars of persecution, but the corrosive influences of "dissipation, drunkenness and the anxieties of life" (Luke 21:34)—the "danger of self-indulgence, prosperity, materialism, idleness, lukewarmness, carelessness and indifference" (p. 255).

Kimball's volume is an important book on Matt 24 that cannot be ignored. It comes to us with penetrating questions, and—for most of us, undoubtedly—with a new perspective.

Andrews University HANS K. LARONDELLE

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

This revised edition of Knight's commentary, first published in 1965, will enable a new generation of students and pastors to benefit from its many theological insights into Isa 40-55. In accordance with the International Theological Commentary series, the volume seeks to move beyond the historical and literary analysis of the text in order to develop its theological themes and to indicate their relevance for the Christian church world-wide. Moreover, this particular volume shares its approach with Knight's earlier volume, *A Christian Theology to the Old Testament* (1959, 1964^2), by emphasizing the special relationship between the OT and NT, along with a specifically Christian reading of the OT.

According to Knight, Deutero-Isaiah (DI), to whom chaps. 40-55 are attributed, was a "theological giant" raised up by God in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., during the Babylonian captivity. Indeed, he is considered by Knight to be "the greatest theologian that has ever arisen" (p. 199), whose key contribution to biblical faith was the "insistence that the living Word of the living God began to be united—though still in a proleptic sense—with the very flesh of God's son Israel at that specific time in which DI himself was participating" (p. 5). That central theme is introduced in Isa 40, which presents the durability of God's Word (God himself), followed by a delineation of the missionary task assigned to Israel and for which she was prepared through suffering. The theme is developed further, not by means of theological propositions, but through a consideration of God's acts in history, which reach a climax in the appointment of Cyrus to accomplish Israel's redemption from servitude.

Central to Knight's argument are the identity and function of the servant. Here Knight follows H. Wheeler Robinson, C. North, and J. Muilenburg. The sinful, imperfect servant (Israel) merges with the perfect servant (God himself). "This portrait of the Servant comprises two elements, that of a very human Israel, and that of a 'God *in* Israel.' At this point one is not able to separate the two" (p. 171).

Consequently, the vicarious suffering of the servant (Isa 53) is understood as "participative," rather than as "penal" or "substitutionary"; that is to say, it becomes truly a "remedial and redemptive force" (p. 173). The participation of God in Israel enables Knight to draw lines between the themes developed in Isa 40-55 and the NT theology of incarnation. For instance the servant who "pours out his soul to death" leads to Paul's *kenosis* passage (Phil 2:7-8), and elsewhere the "resurrection" of God's people follows their "crucifixion"—a pattern of God's redemption for all time. However, for Knight, the relationship between Isa 40-55 and the NT is neither prophetic nor typological in nature, but rather the relationship rests on an OT anticipation and a NT realization of key themes pertaining to soteriology and missiology.

The main contribution of this commentary (and of its kind in general) lies in its ability to speak clearly and broadly about important theological themes central to the Christian gospel. Having abandoned historical and literary analysis as a useful approach, Knight resorts to fresh translations and expositions of relevant Hebrew words to develop these theological themes. Some of these are illuminating; e.g., the discussion of Isa 45:7 (p. 90). Others appear strained; e.g., the association of *qumi* in Isa 52:2 and Mark 5:41 (p. 161). A few seem infelicitous; e.g., the discussion of the "louse Israel" (p. 37). However, the key to the commentary remains Israel's existential experience of being the hesitant recipient of divine grace and an unwilling servant of world mission during the tumultuous sixth century B.C. The degree to which that key opens all the doors to NT and Christian theology may well require further examination.

Loma Linda University
Riverside, California 92515

NIELS-ERIK ANDREASEN

Marsden, George, ed. *Evangelicalism and Modern America.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. xix + 220 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Largely due to its recent renaissance, evangelicalism has been the topic of a large number of books during the past twenty years. One of the latest contributions to the ongoing dialogue is George Marsden's *Evangelicalism and Modern America.* In some ways this book is an unrefined sequel to Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping* *of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (Oxford, 1980). It is unrefined in the sense that it is a collection of essays that give the appearance of groping for the significance and meaning of modern evangelicalism rather than presenting a well-defined, synthesized interpretation, as did Marsden's earlier study. Undoubtedly, part of the reason for this "unrefined" nature of this new publication can be attributed to the fact that *Evangelicalism and Modern America* is the work of several authors, but perhaps the more real difficulty is that we are too close in point of time to the subject matter of the essays to have adequate perspective.

Most of the chapters were initially prepared for a conference on "Evangelical Christianity and Modern America, 1930-1980." Held at Wheaton College in April 1983, the conference inaugurated the Billy Graham Center's Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals. The nature of the event sheds light on both the content of the papers presented and the place the book's topic holds in the minds of many evangelical scholars.

Marsden notes that the book "is designed to be a unified account of recent evangelicalism rather than the proceedings of a conference." Thus, he points out, several of the conference papers do not appear in the book, while two essays on the New Right were added to the collection, even though they were not presented at the conference (p. xix). In spite of Marsden's disclaimer, the volume gives the reader the feeling that it is a set of conference papers. This impression, however, does not necessarily detract from the value of many of the individual essays as much as it does from the unity of the book.

The volume has two main purposes. "The first is to help describe and explain the re-emergence of evangelicalism as a formidable force in modern America" (p. vii). This, points out Marsden, is a remarkable development in American culture that could not have been predicted thirty years ago. The first part of the book is dedicated to an explanation of this phenomenon. Of particular value is Joel Carpenter's lead article, "From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition," which provides a concise historical overview of the development of one prominent evangelical group—the fundamentalists—from the early 1930s up through the development of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 and the rise of the Youth-for-Christ movement and of Billy Graham later in the decade. Other chapters were developed from a variety of perspectives by Grant Wacker, Leonard Sweet, Richard Ostling, and Martin Marty.

The second purpose of *Evangelicalism and Modern America* "is to help assess the character and quality of the evangelical return to prominence" (p. vii). Part 2 of the book devotes eight essays to this purpose. Included are a broad spectrum of topics that touch upon the relationship of evangelicalism to culture. The unifying issue is whether evangelicalism should challenge or whether it should reflect contemporary culture. The topics covered are the pluralistic and grass-roots nature of evangelicalism, the challenge of developing a contextualized evangelical theology, and the relationship of evangelicalism to the phenomena of history, modernity, the arts, science, politics, the Bible, and the social role of women. The authors include Nathan Hatch, David Wells, George Marsden, Mark Noll, Margaret Bendroth, Roger Lundin, Ronald Numbers, and Richard Pierard. Each chapter in this section presents one of these topics in a largely descriptive fashion, except for the chapter on "The New Religious Right in American Politics," which is a very valuable bibliographic essay.

One difficulty underlying this book (and other discussions of the topic) is the lack of a consensus on the meaning of evangelicalism. Due to the fact that the various authors are using widely differing definitions, Marsden has devoted a large part of his introduction to providing a threefold description of the phenomenon of evangelicalism. His discussion is helpful, but the varied definitions of the authors certainly do not add to the unity of the volume. One the other hand, perhaps this confusion is in reality an accurate reflection of evangelicalism's democratic pluralism.

One of the book's strong points is that it provides a wide variety of perspectives on a broad range of concerns to American Christianity. This very strength, however, is related to the volume's greatest weakness—its lack of a unity that encourages the reader to keep on reading. *Evangelicalism and Modern America* is more of a stimulant to thinking about the issues facing contemporary evangelicalism than it is a well-developed exposition. But as such a stimulant, it is a much-needed contribution to an area of ongoing relevance in the study of American Christianity.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Richards, Lawrence O. *Expository Dictionary of Bible Words.* Regency Reference Library. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. xv + 720 pages. $19.95.

This book provides an excellent tool to aid in understanding the Bible better for those who cannot utilize the technical source works based on the original Greek and Hebrew. It is rather similar in format and function to the Theological Dictionaries of the OT and NT which employ the original languages to work out their word studies, but it is more condensed in content than they are. In this case, however, the words and themes canvassed are based on the phraseology of the English Bible. Since different versions of the English Bible sometimes translate the same Greek or Hebrew words with different English words, it has been necessary to choose a version or two as the standard point of reference in this work. The NIV and the NASB are the versions to which this work has been keyed.

The work has been arranged alphabetically and the words or themes studied come in random order, as far as their origin in the NT or OT or in Greek or Hebrew is concerned. The book begins with "abandon" and ends with "youth." Four useful indices appear in the back of the book—an index of Hebrew words given in transliteration, an index of Greek words given in transliteration, an index of the subjects treated (including references to other treatments besides the one main entry on a topic), and an index of scriptural passages cited.

Most entries begin by mentioning, in transliteration, the Greek or Hebrew words that lie back of the English word or concept under discussion. Some very brief entries omit this kind of reference (cf. "beg"). Longer entries are subdivided into different sections of the main topic. "Beginning," for example, is treated in seven sections: First, there is an introductory OT statement, and then "beginning" of the world and of wisdom are OT topics taken up. Next comes an introductory statement for the word in the NT, this is followed by two discussions on Christ as preexistent before the beginning and on the beginning of the plan of salvation, and the seventh and final section of the entry is a brief summary statement.

A spot check of a few entries reveals the following: Under "Covenant," the OT covenant receives quite a thorough treatment but the NT covenant treatment is rather brief. The subject of the law receives an extensive treatment, but not all would agree with every point concerning the "Pauline theology" brought out in it. The subject of "Sin" is a difficult one to discuss because of the broad range of vocabulary used for it both in Greek and in Hebrew. I would say, however, that the author has done a good job of boiling this subject down into the four and one-half pages devoted to it, while still capturing the essence of the topic in this brief compass. The word "Sabbath" is not treated under this title, but appears instead under "Rest," where it receives one page of discussion. In that discussion the author sets forth the view that the rest of the Sabbath has been transferred to the first day of the week since the time of Christ's resurrection.

In general, the entries in this book are written from a conservative Evangelical perspective, and thus this book will be of most use to members (and pastors whose Greek and Hebrew are rusty) in churches which share a similar view of the Bible's authority in the Christian's life and teachings. From that perspective, this book is a well-written and useful aid to understanding scriptural words and themes better for those who do not have access to the original languages and to the references tools that go with them. Thanks are due to the author for condensing so much helpful information into such abbreviated, but still comprehensive and comprehensible, summary statements.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Tenney, Merrill C. *New Testament Survey.* Rev. ed by Walter M. Dunnett. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans/Leicester, Eng.: Intervarsity Press, 1985. xix + 454 pp. $19.95.

Tenney's *New Testament Survey,* a popular textbook first published in 1953 and revised in 1961, has now been completely reset, brought up to date, and somewhat expanded by Walter M. Dunnett at the request of Tenney and the publisher. If this new incarnation goes through as many printings as the previous revision (which sold for less than half the price), it will have a long and useful life. The present review will compare the 1985 revision with that of 1961.

All five parts ("The World of the New Testament," "The Gospels: The Records of the Life of Christ," "The Records of the Early Church," "The Problems of the Early Church," "The Canon and Text of the New Testament") and all the chapters of the 1961 edition have been retained with minimal change, but in some cases augmented. The special bibliographies, now updated, have been moved from the end of the book to the ends of chapters.

According to the Preface, one of the parts receiving additional materials is that dealing with the Canon, but the most noticeable change in the chapter dealing with that subject is a shortening of the section on "The Internal Testimony" (pp. 404-405 in both editions). There are also a few additions in Part II, dealing with the Gospels. For example, in the chapter on "The Gospels as Literary Works" (1985, pp. 137-147) three new paragraphs have been added to give an account of *Redaktionsgeschichte,* and nearly two new pages of concluding reflections upon the Synoptic problem are now included.

The most substantial addition is a new chapter on "Jewish backgrounds for the New Testament, 200 B.C.-A.D. 200." It supplements the original chapter on Judaism, which is retained virtually unchanged, and this results, for example, in material about Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls being awkwardly divided and distributed between both the old and the new chapters (pp. 108-111 and 119-124). Similarly divided is the discussion of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Any future revision of the book should unify these two chapters.

Appropriately for a conservative survey, there is nothing daring or adventurous in this work. But readers needing a concise, sober, and basic coverage of the whole waterfront of NT studies will be well served by this well-established production.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Townsley, David, and Bjork, Russell. *Scriptural Index to the New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Index to Selected Extrabiblical Literature.* Regency Reference Library. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 320 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

The valuable three-volume reference work, *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology,* which is a translation and expansion of the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament,* was provided with several indices, but a scriptural index was not one of them. Users accustomed to such an index in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* lamented its lack in the newer work.

The deficiency has now been remedied by two young scholars, with the help of that increasingly indispensable partner, the computer. The trio has even turned up a number of citation errors in the original work, and these are duly flagged in this index.

The index covers all references to the Jewish/Protestant canonical Scriptures, the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Josephus and Philo, the Apostolic Fathers, the Mishnah, and the Babylonian Talmud.

The volume comes in a soft binding and handy size, and it is clearly printed. Users of the *NIDNTT* will reach for this index often and with pleasure.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Webster, Eric Claude. *Crosscurrents in Adventist Christology.* Theology and Religion Series, 6. Berne, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 1984. xiii + 506 pp. Paperback, $26.50 plus mailing.

In this heavily documented volume (six chapters with 1,228 footnotes) Webster compares the christologies of four prominent Seventh-day Adventist (hereinafter, SDA) writers: Ellen White, E. J. Waggoner, Edward Heppenstall, and Herbert Douglass (the first two from an earlier generation, and the last two being currently active as writers and lecturers). The book is the published form of Webster's doctoral dissertation presented to the Theology Faculty of Stellenbosch University in the Cape Province of South Africa.

In chap. 1, the author provides background historical perspective and SDA orientation; chaps. 2-5 cover White (100 pages), Waggoner (90 pages), Heppenstall (98 pages) and Douglass (81 pages), respectively; and chap. 6 presents a summary and reflection. Webster divides his general treatment of christology into the following categories or schools of focus: (1) Ontological, (2) Speculative, (3) History of Jesus, (4) Existential, and (5) Functional. He places White and Heppenstall in the Ontological, Waggoner in the Speculative, and Douglass in the Functional schools. He finds the *person* of Christ to be the dominant factor for White, Waggoner, and Heppenstall; and he considers the *work* of Christ to be the dominating one for Douglass. He finds, further, the following christological motivations: (1) White's concern for God's character, (2) Waggoner's concern for the achievement of holiness in man, (3) Heppenstall's concern for objective salvation, and (4) Douglass's concern for Christlikeness. Man's natural sinful state, he suggests, is similarly and adequately emphasized by White, Waggoner, and Heppenstall, but insufficiently by Douglass. Finally, he notes the positive contribution made by each of these individuals to SDA thinking, as well as raising some questions.

Webster raises questions over Douglass's christology. For example, if the standard of salvation is higher after probation's close, is not this a sort of soteriological dispensationalism (p. 395)? Christianity, for Douglass, is reproducing Christ in the flesh, Webster asserts (p. 399); and therefore, has Douglass done credit to the uniqueness of Christ presented in the NT (p. 402)?

Webster finds a contrast between Douglass and White in that Douglass is preoccupied more with Jesus as an example than with the mystery of Christ's person (p. 407), whereas "Ellen White gives greatest prominence to Christ's substitutionary work" (p. 102). Also, whereas White says that there was in Jesus no "propensity," Douglass find "propensity to sin" there, although not "propensity of sin" (p. 418; cf. pp. 126-133, where present study in Melvill [used by White] throws additional light on the statement that Jesus had "our humanity, but without sin").

At this point, it may be well to take note of what appears to be one of Webster's central theses, if not indeed his major thesis. He suggests that "it was precisely the exercising of all of the divine attributes that made the Incarnation possible both initially and at every successive moment, for it was only by the continual exercising of grace, freedom, love, omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence that God was able to dwell among us as real Man without ceasing to be true God" (p. 451). No biblical support is given for this thesis. Although I am sympathetic with Webster's "thesis purpose"—to be true to the full divinity of Christ—, what shall we say about the biblical data suggesting a fuller *kenosis*? Webster questions whether Heppenstall (p. 449) and Douglass (p. 382) are true to the *kenosis*; but could not the same query be raised concerning his own view? Webster questions whether Douglass is true to Scripture (pp., 406-412) and to Ellen White (pp. 412-418); and again, one wonders if the same may not be raised about his own understanding of the *kenosis*.

About his dissertation methodology Webster explains, "While some Scriptural references will be used in presenting the Christology of our four representatives, it will not be possible in the scope of this dissertation to critically test these Christologies against his norm" (p. 5). Nevertheless, he states rightly that "the ultimate norm to test any Christology must be the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments" (p. 5). Yet, he does not furnish any biblical support for his understanding of the *kenosis*. Although one must not be dogmatic when discussing this mystery (and Webster is not), it is precisely the biblical data that seem to support White, Heppenstall, and Douglass in their portrayal of a fuller *kenosis*. The question is this: Was the man Jesus really omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent during his human life? And do not a number of biblical data serve as a corrective to Webster's thesis (cf., e.g., Luke 2:52, Mark 13:22, Matt 8:10, and John 11:34, among many others)?

In addition to this central concern regarding Webster's presentation of the *kenosis* and his lack of sufficient attention to the biblical data in this respect, I would suggest a few other, more-limited matters for consideration:

1. In the listings of representatives within the various categories of christologies he has set forth, Webster could well have included T. F. Torrance among the Ontological Christologians and Hans Küng among the Functional Christologians.

2. In connection with certain generalized statements, the addition of names of a few specific individuals would have been helpful. An example of such a statement is: "There are many in the church today who believe that the contribution of E. J. Waggoner in the field of Christology is vital for the church's fresh understanding of its role and for the forward thrust of the church as it seeks to fulfill its mission" (pp. 53-54). Who are some of these "many in the church today"?

3. On p. 342, there is a quotation from the jacket of Heppenstall's book *The Man Who Is God*. Would this not better have been omitted, inasmuch as the words are not the author's, but rather an editor's?

In concluding his volume, Webster gives a very helpful summation, with proposals. Perhaps his most significant observation here is that when speaking of Christ's humanity, we must take care not to present him as altogether like one of us (pp. 448-449) and that it "is possible to hold to the priority of the substitutionary life, death and resurrection of Christ, while still holding to the power of the indwelling Christ and the importance of Christ's example" (p. 452). I would agree with him that these christologies await a more extensive biblical evaluation. In his words, "Such a study waits the attention and research of yet another seeker of truth" (p. 5).

Although expensive, this book is a *must* for anyone who wishes to understand better some of the central issues of current theological debate in the SDA church on the topic covered. In this respect, I feel that Webster has indeed made a valuable contribution.

Southern College of S. D. A. NORMAN GULLEY
Collegedale, Tennessee

Wesley, John. *The Works of John Wesley.* Edited by Albert C. Outler. Vol. 1: *Sermons I, 1-33.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1984. xxi + 722 pp. $49.95.

In 1960 the theological schools of four Methodist related universities in the United States—Drew, Duke, Emory, and Southern Methodist—initiated the Wesley Works Editorial Project. Their aim was to publish the first critical edition of John Wesley's published and unpublished works.

Under the general editorship of Frank Baker, the various genre of Wesley's writings were assigned to unit editors. Several volumes were published by Oxford University Press, but severe economic problems compelled Oxford to announce its withdrawal from the project in 1982. Abingdon Press then offered its services to begin with the publication of the first of four volumes of Wesley's sermons in 1984, the bicentennial year of the formation of American Methodism as an autonomous church.

The unit editor for the sermons is Albert C. Outler, a scholar eminently qualified for the task. The initial volume of *Sermons* is divided into three parts. The first part is Outler's insightful one-hundred page introduction, which provides a focused biographical sketch, introduces Wesley as a preacher, highlights the role of preaching and the sermon in his life and thought, discusses the components of the corpus of Wesley's sermons, reviews his theological method, and surveys the large number and wide variety of sources used by Wesley.

"The chief aim and warrant for this edition of the extant sermons of John Wesley," writes Outler, "is to present them in reliable and readable texts, in a sequence that reflects Wesley's own sense of their proper order, with editorial comments focused on contexts and sources" (p. ix). At the center of Outler's effort is the documentation of Wesley's use of sources. Wesley, seeing himself as a spiritual leader of the common people, generally did not cite his sources in his published sermons. Furthermore, quoting from memory, he freely altered his originals. Wesley, pens Outler, "was a born borrower who nevertheless put his own mark on every borrowing" (p. 56). Outler's introduction enables the reader to begin to grasp the breadth of scholarship that undergirded Wesley's sermons.

In contrast to being "a puny tadpole in divinity" (p. 9), as some Calvinists asserted, Outler demonstrates that Wesley was a "folk theologian" who utilized the printed sermon rather than the systematic theological treatise as the foremost avenue of communication for his religious ideas. Outler points out that Wesley believed that a "cluster of *sermons* might serve as doctrinal standards for a popular religious movement" (p. 40). Thus, the original published order of Wesley's arrangement of his sermons is important theologically. The order of sermons in the eight volumes of *Sermons on Several Occasions* "is shaped by the inner logic of Wesley's special view of the mystery of salvation" (p. 45).

The second part of *Sermons* is the text of sermons number 1 through 33. Obviously, this is not the first edition of these sermons. Wesley himself published a selected and consciously arranged edition in his lifetime. Subsequent editons of note were published by Joseph Benson (1809-13), Thomas Jackson (1825 and 1829-31), and E. H. Sugden (1921). The bicentennial edition, however, is not a mere reprinting. For one thing, these four volumes will be the most complete published edition of Wesley's sermons—151 in all. Prior to Outler's work the most comprehensive edition was that completed by Jackson in 1831, containing 141 sermons. Modern textual scholarship, however, has discovered that four of the sermons Jackson attributed to Wesley were written by others. On the other hand, Outler presents fifteen sermons that have been definitely established as the work of Wesley, but were not in the Jackson corpus.

Just as important as the published sermons in this edition are Outler's extensive documentation of Wesley's use of sources and Outler's explanatory notes that enrich his findings and shed light on Wesley's rationale in the use of sources. Previous editions, by and large, were contented with merely reprinting Wesley's texts as they stood. Sugden's edition provided some annotation for the fifty-two "standard sermons," but the annotations were limited and his collection contained only Wesley's mature sermons. Outler has therefore provided the scholarly world with the first critical edition of Wesley's sermons.

Part three of this volume of *Sermons* consists of three appendices. The first is a listing of the sermons as ordered in Outler's edition. These are correlated to Jackson's ordering, noting where the two corpuses vary. Appendix B provides a listing of the sermons in chronological sequence. This is especially valuable for those who want to get a grasp of the development of Wesley's thought across time. The third appendix is an alphabetical listing of the sermons.

Volume one of *Sermons*, it can be said without reservation, is a scholarly contribution of the first magnitude. Utilization of it and its companion volumes will be a necessity for any serious study of Wesley in the future.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

BOOK NOTICES

Eavon Lee Mobley and Winfried Vogel

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

Evans, W. Glyn. *Beloved Adversary: Our Complex Relationship with a Loving God.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 161 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

The author tries to show how God accomplishes his purposes through what we perceive as an adversarial role. Addressed are the issues of alienation and the struggle of will, and Evans comes to the conclusion that an adversary relationship with God is crucial to spiritual growth.—W.V.

Firet, Jacob. *Dynamics in Pastoring.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986. xiv + 319 pp. $24.95/$19.95.

A study of pastoral theology upon its scriptural foundations is Firet's aim. He makes a distinction between, and discusses the interrelationship of, the *hermeneutic* moment—the impetus toward understanding—and the *agogic* moment—the impetus toward change. This publication focuses mainly upon the latter and the role of the pastor therein. The study is said to be widely used as a textbook in its original Dutch edition.—E.L.M.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Gospel According To Luke X-XXIV.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985. xxxvi + 801 pp. $18.00.

This is the author's conclusion of a two-volume study of Luke in the Anchor-Bible series. Each of the 15 chapters is studied with respect to the Gospel as a whole. A bibliography included after each section and subject and author indices are helpful to the reader.—E.L.M.

Gaede, S. D. *Belonging: Our Need for Community in Church and Family.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 277 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

The human need for community is analyzed and the major forces in today's fast-moving, fragmented society that undermine the relationships which make people human and life worth living are identified. Gaede offers positive suggestions on how to live in the modern world without succumbing to its pitfalls and pressures.—E.L.M.

Gaede, S. D. *Where God May Dwell: On Understanding the Human Condition.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 186 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

This book first explores the possibility and legitimacy of approaching the social sciences from a Christian perspective, and also provides a model for a Christian approach, arguing for a worldview that should be rooted in biblical thinking. The second part of the volume focuses on the area of human relationships as an example of applying a biblically based theoretical framework to this subject.—W.V.

Hubbard, Reuben A. *Historical Perspectives of Religion and Health.* Published by the author, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich., 49104. 211 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

The author presents an in-depth treatment of biblical health concepts and unfolds a new perspective in disease prevention and abundant living, as biblical health principles are revealed. The volume also delves into the field of paleopathology, as the diseases of ancient Egypt are discussed through information gained by means of autopsies of mummies. The ancient lifestyle is compared with the ancient diseases, and the findings are correlated with health problems of today.—E.L.M.

Kendall, R. T. *Stand Up and Be Counted.* Ministry Resources Library. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1984. 127 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

This volume deals with the practice of the "altar call" at the conclusion of gospel preaching. The objectives of this practice are examined, and note is taken of the possibilities for misuse and misunderstanding. The author proposes a new term, "public pledge"—as opposed to the emotionally-loaded "altar call." The "public pledge" is to "go public" with one's faith in Jesus on a regular basis.—E.L.M.

Kopp, Ruth L. *When Someone You Love is Dying.* Ministry Resources Library. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980. 238 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Formerly published under the title *Encounter With Terminal Illness,* this is a handbook of practical help. It is intended for those seeking to provide care and comfort not only to friends and loved ones who are terminally ill but also to family members and others who too need support during this trying time.—E.L.M.

Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah 1-33.* Word Biblical Commentary. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985. lvii + 449 pp. $24.95.

The author has divided vol. 24 in the Word Biblical Commentary into two parts, of which this is the first. The author's primary goal is to present an understandable interpretation of the Book of Isaiah. The translations are deliberately literal. Since the commentary is lay-reader-oriented, background information is furnished. The bibliographies provide access to helpful literature, and the notes in each section deal with textual variations and explanations for the translations.—E.L.M.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ
בּ = b
ב = ḇ
גּ = g
ג = ḡ
דּ = d̄

ד = ḏ
ה = h
ו = w
ז = z
ח = ḥ
ט = ṭ

י = y
כּ = k
כ = ḵ
ל = l
מ = m
נ = n

ס = s
ע = ʿ
פּ = p
פ = p̄
צ = ṣ
ק = q

ר = r
שׂ = ś
שׁ = š
תּ = t
ת = ṯ

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ = a
ָ = ā
ֲ = ᵃ
ֶ = e
ֵ = ē

ֱ , ְ (vocal shewa) = e
ֶי , ֵי = ê
ִ = i
ִי = î
ָ = o

ֹ = ō
ֳ = ᵒ
וֹ = ô
ֻ = u
וּ = û

(Dāḡēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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