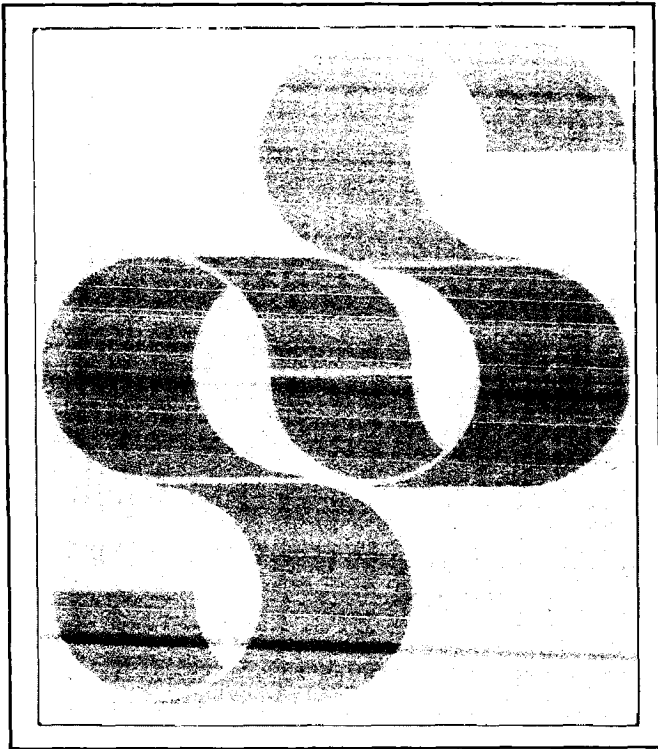


Andrews University  
**SEMINARY  
STUDIES**

Volume 26

Number 2

Summer 1988



Andrews University Press

# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary  
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

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*Subscription Information:* ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1988 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*
Students .....	9.50*	11.00*
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(Price for Single Copy is \$6.00)

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**ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES**

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

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## THE THEOLOGY OF SEXUALITY IN THE BEGINNING: GENESIS 3

RICHARD M. DAVIDSON  
Andrews University

The creation accounts (Gen 1-2) coupled with the portrayal of disruption and divine judgment presented in Gen 3 have been described as of seminal character and determinative for a biblical theology of human sexuality. In a previous article we focused upon the theology of sexuality in the creation accounts.<sup>1</sup> Now we will explore the theological insights on sexuality emerging from Gen 3.

Two basic issues related to sexuality call for our attention in Gen 3. The first concerns the contention by some scholars that Adam and Eve's "knowledge of good and evil" and their knowledge "that they were naked" (3:5, 7) both refer to the awakening of their sexual consciousness. The second issue involves the debate over the correct interpretation of the divine judgment on Eve (3:16).

### 1. *Sexuality in Genesis 3:5*

We cannot be long detained by those who contend that the knowledge of good and evil gained by Adam and Eve as a result of eating the forbidden fruit was actually a consciousness of sex.<sup>2</sup> Stephen Sapp rightly points out that "such a position assumes that sexuality itself occasions shame by its very nature (once one is aware of it)" and thus "suggests that sexuality was *not* part of God's intention for humans in creation," whereas both Gen 1 and 2, to the contrary, "consider sexuality to be a purposeful part of God's good creation, with no indication whatsoever that sexual experience was jealously withheld from Adam and Eve."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Richard M. Davidson, "The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 1-2," *AUSS* 26 (1988):5-24.

<sup>2</sup>See, e.g., Cuthbert A. Simpson, "The Book of Genesis: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB* (New York, 1952), 1:485-486. For a full discussion, cf. Robert Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and Qumran Scrolls," *JBL* 76 (1957):123-138.

<sup>3</sup>Stephen Sapp, *Sexuality, the Bible, and Science* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 18; cf. pp. 17-19 for further arguments advanced by Sapp against this option.

*The Nakedness of Adam and Eve*

The idea that a consciousness of sex came only after the Fall seems to be largely based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of Gen 3:7 and its relationship to Gen 2:25. It has been argued that since, according to Gen 3:7, Adam and Eve knew that they were naked only after the Fall, then Gen 2:25 must mean that they were not aware of their nakedness (or sexuality) in the beginning. But this line of argument fails to recognize that Gen 2 and 3 utilize two different Hebrew words for "naked."

In Gen 2:25 the word for "naked" is *ʿārûm*, which elsewhere in Scripture frequently refers to someone not *fully* clothed or not clothed in the *normal* manner.<sup>4</sup> Gen 2:25 does not explicitly indicate in what way Adam and Eve were without clothes in the normal sense ("normal" from the post-Fall perspective), but the semantic range of *ʿārûm* is consonant with the conclusion toward which parallel creation/Paradise passages point, namely, that Adam and Eve were originally "clothed" with "garments" of light and glory.<sup>5</sup> If such is the case in Gen 2:25, then the contrast with Gen 3 becomes clear. In Gen 3:7, 10, 11, the Hebrew word for "naked" is *ʿērôm*, which elsewhere in Scripture always appears in a context of total (and usually shameful) exposure, describing someone "utterly

<sup>4</sup>In 1 Sam 19:24, for instance, the term is "used of one who, having taken off his mantle, goes only clad in his tunic" (William Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* [Grand Rapids, MI, 1949], p. 653). Again, in Isa 20:2 the reference is to one "dressed with *saq* only" (Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 2d ed. [Leiden, 1958], p. 735); cf. Jn 21:7. Other passages employ the term in the sense of "ragged, badly clad" (Job 22:6; 24:7, 10; Isa 58:7; Gesenius, p. 653).

<sup>5</sup>We note in particular the parallel creation account in Ps 104. Jacques Doukhan, *The Genesis Creation Story: Its Literary Structure*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, Vol. 5 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1978), pp. 81-88, has analyzed the point-by-point parallels between Ps 104 and the Genesis creation story. What is significant for our discussion at this point is that in Ps 104, along with the poetic description of God's creative *work*, there appears to be at least one indication of his *appearance*, or rather, his "clothing" (vss. 1-2): "Thou art clothed with honor and majesty, who coverest thyself with light as with a garment." If God is portrayed as clothed with "garments" of light and majesty, it is not unreasonable to deduce that man, created in the image and likeness of God, is similarly clothed. Ps 8:5 (6 Heb) may also point in this direction. According to this verse describing man in Paradise, God "crowns" or "surrounds" (the latter if *ʿātar* is taken as *Qal*) him with glory and honor.

naked" or "bare."<sup>6</sup> As a result of sin, the human pair find themselves "utterly naked," bereft of the garments of light and glory, and they seek to clothe themselves with fig leaves.

Even this post-Fall "nakedness" should not, however, be interpreted as causing Adam and Eve to be ashamed of their own bodies before each other. There is no mention of mutual embarrassment or shame *before each other*. The context is rather one of fear and dread *before God*. Adam says to God (3:10), "I heard the sound of thee in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself."

Adam's nakedness described here is also obviously more than physical nudity, for Adam depicts himself as still naked even though already covered with fig leaves. The nakedness of Gen 3 seems also to include a sense of "being unmasked,"<sup>7</sup> a consciousness of guilt, a nakedness of soul. Likewise, God's clothing of Adam and Eve with skins appears to represent more than a concern for physical covering, more than a demonstration of the modesty appropriate in a sinful world, though these are no doubt included. The skins from slain animals seem to intimate the beginning of the sacrificial system and the awareness of a substitutionary atonement, because of which "man need no longer feel unmasked or ashamed."<sup>8</sup>

## 2. *The Divine Judgment on Eve*

When God comes to the Garden after Adam and Eve sinned, he initiates an encounter that constitutes nothing less than "a legal process," a "trial and punishment by God."<sup>9</sup> God begins the legal proceedings with an interrogation of the "defendants," and the defensive and accusatory responses by Adam and Eve (vss. 9-14) indicate the rupture in interhuman (husband-wife) and divine-human relationships that has occurred as a result of sin. Following the legal interrogation and establishment of guilt, God pronounces

<sup>6</sup>See Ezek 16:7, 22, 39; 18:7, 16; 23:29; Deut 28:48. Cf. Gesenius, p. 625; Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1953) pp. 735-736 (hereinafter cited as BDB); Koehler and Baumgartner, p. 702.

<sup>7</sup>Claus Westermann, *Creation* (London, Eng., 1974), p. 95.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 96.

the sentence in the form of curses (over the serpent and the ground, vss. 14, 17) and judgments (for the man and the woman, vss. 16-19).

What is of particular concern to us is the judgment pronounced upon the woman (vs. 16):

- (a) I will greatly multiply your pain [labor] in childbearing;
- (b) in pain [labor] you shall bring forth children,
- (c) yet your desire shall be for your husband,
- (d) and he shall rule over you.

The first two lines of poetic parallelism in this verse (*a* and *b*) indicate that as a result of sin, childbearing will involve much *ʿiṣṣābôn* (RSV, “pain”) for the woman. The word *ʿiṣṣābôn* occurs only three times in Scripture: here, vs. 17, and 5:29. The context of vs. 17 demands that *ʿiṣṣābôn* in that verse be translated as “toil” or “labor” (as in RSV) and not “pain”: “Cursed is the ground because of you; in toil/labor [*ʿiṣṣābôn*] you shall eat of it all the days of your life.” The same translation of *ʿiṣṣābôn* is required by the context in Gen 5:29, and seems to be also more appropriate in Gen 3:16, with an emphasis upon the hard work and not the pain.<sup>10</sup> Such an emphasis is accurately captured by the English term “labor” used to describe the birthing experience of woman.

But what is the meaning of the last two enigmatic lines (vs. 16 *c* and *d*) of the divine sentence upon the woman? The answer to this question is crucial for a proper understanding of the nature of God’s design for sexual relationships after the Fall.

### *Interpretations of the Divine Judgment on Eve*

Five major views have been advanced in the history of biblical interpretation. A first, and perhaps the most common, position maintains that the subordination of woman is a creation ordinance, God’s ideal from the beginning, but as a result of sin this original form of hierarchy between the sexes is distorted and corrupted and must be restored by the Gospel.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>See BDB, pp. 780-781.

<sup>11</sup>John Calvin, *Commentary on Genesis* (Grand Rapids, MI, n.d.), 1:172, for instance, sees woman’s position before the Fall as “liberal and gentle subjection,” but after the Fall she is “cast into servitude.” C. F. Keil, *The First Book of Moses* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1949), p. 103, similarly understands the original position of



A second major interpretation also views subordination as a creation ordinance but sees in Gen 3:16 not a distortion but a reaffirmation of subordination as a blessing and a comfort to the woman in her difficulties as a mother. The meaning of vs. 16c-d may be paraphrased: "You will have labor and difficulty in your motherhood, yet you will be eager for your husband and he will rule over you (in the sense of care for and help you, not in the sense of dominate and oppress you)."<sup>12</sup>

A third major view contends that the subordination of woman to man did not exist before the Fall, and the mention of such a subordination in Gen 3:16 is only a *description* of the evil consequences of sin (the usurpation of authority by the husband), to be removed by the Gospel, and not a permanent *prescription* of God's will for husband-wife relationships after sin.<sup>13</sup> Proponents of this position underscore the culturally conditioned nature of this passage and vigorously deny that it represents a divinely ordained normative position for sexual relationships after the Fall.

A fourth major position concurs with the third view that the submission of wife to husband is part of the evil consequences of

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man-woman as rule/subordination rooted in mutual esteem and love, but he argues that after sin the woman has a "desire bordering on disease" and the husband exercises "despotic rule" over his wife. James B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981), pp. 218-219, concurs with a pre-Fall hierarchy of the sexes and a post-Fall distortion, but argues that Gen 3:16 should be interpreted along the lines of the similarly worded statement of God to Cain in Gen 4:7. Just as God warned Cain that sin's *desire* would be to *control* him, but he must *master* it, so woman's desire would be to control/manipulate man and the husband must master her desire. Cf. a similar position in Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Women in the Church: A Biblical Study on the Role of Women in the Church* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1987), pp. 79-84.

<sup>12</sup>Stephen B. Clark, *Man and Woman in Christ: An Examination of the Roles of Men and Women in the Light of Scripture and the Social Sciences* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980), p. 35. Clark does not rule out view 2 as a possibility, but he more strongly favors view 1. See also Ambrose, *De Paradiso*, p. 350 (quoted in Clark, p. 677): "Servitude, therefore, of this sort is a gift of God. Wherefore, compliance with this servitude is to be reckoned among blessings."

<sup>13</sup>See, e.g., Leonard Swidler, *Biblical Affirmations of Women* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 80; Paul K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female: A Study of Sexual Relationships from a Theological Point of View* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1975), p. 114; Phyllis Trible, "Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation," *JAAR* 41(1974):41; cf. Raymond Collins, "The Bible and Sexuality," *BTB* 7(1977):149; Helmut Thielicke, *The Ethics of Sex* (New York, 1964), p. 8; Patricia Gundry, *Woman Be Free!* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), pp. 60-63.

the Fall and did not exist as a creation ordinance. But in the fourth view Gen 3:16 is to be understood as *prescriptive* and not just *descriptive*—i.e., it presents God's normative pattern for the relationship of husband and wife after the Fall.<sup>14</sup>

A final view agrees with the second that vs. 16c-d is a blessing and not a curse, but differs in denying that subordination of woman to man is a creation ordinance. This position also argues, in effect, that even in Gen 3 no hierarchy or headship in the sexes is either prescribed or described.<sup>15</sup> According to this view, the word for "rule" (vs. 16d) is translated "to be like," emphasizing the equality of husband and wife.

### *Assessment of the Divine Judgment on Eve*

In our attempt to assess the true intent of this passage, we must immediately call into question those interpretations which proceed from the assumption that a hierarchy of the sexes existed before the Fall—i.e., views 1 and 2. The analysis of Gen 1-2 in my previous article has led to the conclusion that no such subordination or subjection of woman to man was present in the beginning.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>See e.g. Francis Schaeffer, *Genesis in Space and Time* (Downers Grove, IL, 1975), pp. 93-94; cf. Theodor C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1970), p. 399.

<sup>15</sup>See, e.g., John H. Otwell, *And Sarah Laughed: The Status of Women in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 18.

<sup>16</sup>See Davidson, pp. 5-24. The views favoring a hierarchy of the sexes already in creation seem to be largely based on the Pauline passages that, at first sight, appear to ground the subordination of woman in creation. Two passages are especially in view: 1 Tim 2:13 and 1 Cor 11:8-9. This is not the place for an exposition of these Pauline statements. But it seems that most studies of these passages have made Paul say what in fact he does not say. Paul does indeed refer to creation in discussing the submission of wife to husband. But he does *not* say that the submissive role was in effect from creation. Rather, it seems more likely that Paul is arguing that after the Fall, when a subjection of one spouse to another was necessary in order to preserve union and harmony (see discussion below, pp. 127-130), God chose the man to "rule," because, among other reasons, he was created first and Eve was made *from* and *for* Adam. It should be noted that in 1 Tim 2:14, Paul specifically places the submission within the context of the Fall. Krister Stendahl seems to be correct when he points out that Gen 3:16 constitutes "the decisive Scriptural passage for the whole New Testament's instruction concerning the submission of women." (Krister Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women: A Case Study in Hermeneutics* [Philadelphia, 1966], p. 29.) In another Pauline passage describing subordination of women, 1 Cor 14:34-35, support for Paul's position is given as "the words of the

Furthermore, it appears that view 3 is unsatisfactory, for it fails to take seriously the judgment/punishment context of the passage. As we have already noted, Gen 3:16 comes in a legal “trial” setting. God’s pronouncement is therefore not merely a culturally conditioned description. It is a divine sentence! It must be concluded that “the judgments of God, who is Lord of time *and* culture, are universally applicable to the fallen (sinful) world.”<sup>17</sup> Just as God destines the snake to crawl on its belly; just as God ordains that woman’s childbirth is to involve her “going into labor”; just as God curses the ground so that it will not produce crops spontaneously but require man’s cultivation and labor—so God pronounces the irrevocable sentence upon Eve with regard to her future relationship with Adam outside the Garden.

It seems clear that according to Gen 3:16*c-d* a change is instituted in the relationship between the sexes after the Fall, a change which involves the subjection/submission of the wife to the husband. The force of vs. 16*d* is difficult to avoid: “He [your husband] shall rule over you.” The word *māšal* in this form in vs. 16*d* definitely means “to rule” (and not “to be like”) and definitely implies subjection.<sup>18</sup> Theodorus Vriezen correctly concludes that woman’s position after the Fall is one of subjection to her husband: “This is considered as a just and permanent punishment in Gen iii.”<sup>19</sup> Umberto Cassuto aptly paraphrases and amplifies the divine

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law.’ In this phrase, according to Stendahl, “it is still Gen 3:16 which is alluded to.” Statements regarding creation are made only with reference to their applicability after the Fall. And significantly, only *after* the Fall is Adam representative (Gen 3:9; cf. Hurley, p. 216).

<sup>17</sup>Susan T. Foh, *Women and the Word of God: A Response to Biblical Feminism* (Phillipsburg, NJ, 1979), p. 66.

<sup>18</sup>Recent attempts by some feminists to translate *māšal* as “to be like” instead of “to rule” face insurmountable lexical/grammatical/contextual obstacles. It is true that (following BDB nomenclature) the root *mšl*<sup>I</sup> in the *Niph<sup>c</sup>al* does signify “to be like, similar,” but in Gen 3:16 the root *mšl* is in the *Qal*. Both *mšl*<sup>II</sup> “to use a proverb” and *mšl*<sup>III</sup> “to rule” occur in the *Qal*, but the context of Gen 3:16 seems to clearly preclude the idea of “use a proverb” (*mšl*<sup>II</sup>). That *mšl*<sup>III</sup> “to rule” is intended in this passage is confirmed by the use of the accompanying preposition *b<sup>e</sup>*, the normal preposition following *mšl*<sup>III</sup> (cf. BDB, p. 605), and other Hebrew words of ruling, governing, restraining (*mlk*, *rdh*, *šlt*, *ʕsr*, etc.), and never used with *mšl*<sup>I</sup> or *mšl*<sup>II</sup>. Arguments based largely on the meaning of ancient Near Eastern cognates should not be allowed to override the biblical context, grammar, and usage.

<sup>19</sup>Vriezen, p. 399.

sentence: "Measure for measure; you influenced your husband and caused him to do what you wished; henceforth, you and your female descendants will be subservient to your husbands."<sup>20</sup>

But we should immediately note that the word *māšal*, "rule," employed in vs. 16 is not the same word used to describe human-kind's rulership over the animals in Gen 1:26, 28. In the latter passages the verb is *radah*, "to tread down, have dominion over,"<sup>21</sup> not *māšal*. A careful distinction is maintained between human-kind's dominion over the animals and the husband's "rule" over his wife. Furthermore, although the verb *māšal* does consistently indicate submission, subjection, or dominion in Scripture, "the idea of tyrannous exercise of power does not lie in the verb."<sup>22</sup> In fact, there are many passages where *māšal* is used with the connotation of "rule" in the sense of "comfort, protect, care for, love."<sup>23</sup>

The semantic range of the verb *māšal* thus makes it possible to understand the divine sentence in vs. 16 as involving not only punishment but blessing, just as the judgments pronounced upon the serpent and man included an implied blessing in the curse/judgment.<sup>24</sup> That the element of blessing is especially emphasized in this verse appears to be confirmed by recognizing the probable,

<sup>20</sup>Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, 1961), 1:165.

<sup>21</sup>BDB, pp. 921-922.

<sup>22</sup>John Skinner, *Genesis*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 53.

<sup>23</sup>See e.g., 2 Sam 23:3; Prov 17:2; Isa 40:10; 63:19; Zech 6:13. Cf. Robert D. Culver, "משל (*māshal*) III," *TWOT*, 1:534: "*māshal* usually receives the translation 'to rule,' but the precise nature of the rule is as various as the real situations in which the action or state so designated occur." Specific examples follow to support this statement. Note, e.g., that the first usage of *māšal* in Scripture is in reference to the two great lights created by God (Gen 1:16)—they were to "dominate" (NJV) the day and night.

<sup>24</sup>Hurley, pp. 216-219, has rightly pointed out how in each of the divine judgments in this chapter there is a blessing as well as a curse. In the curse upon the serpent appears a veiled blessing in the *Protoevangelion* (3:15): "The warfare between Satan and the woman's seed comes to its climax in the death of Christ." (Hurley, p. 217; cf. Walter Kaiser, *Toward an Old Testament Theology* [Grand Rapids, MI, 1978], pp. 35-37, for persuasive evidence in favor of this traditional interpretation in contrast to the modern critical tendency to see here only an aetiological reference.) Likewise, in the curse of the ground and the "toil" that is the punishment of Adam, there is at the same time a blessing in that God promises the ground will continue to yield its fruit and man will still be able to eat of it. Furthermore, the term *ba<sup>a</sup>būr* employed in vs. 17 probably means "for the sake of"

synonymous parallelism between vs. 16c and vs. 16d.<sup>25</sup> God pronounces that even though the woman would have difficult “labor” in childbirth—an ordeal that would seem naturally to discourage her from continuing to have relations with her husband—“yet,” God assures her, “your desire shall be for your husband.” The meaning of the Hebrew word *tʿšûqāh*, “strong desire, yearning,”<sup>26</sup> which appears only three times in Scripture, is illuminated by its only other occurrence in a context of man-woman relationship, i.e., Cant 7:10 (11 Heb).<sup>27</sup> In this verse the Shulamite bride joyfully exclaims, “I am my beloved’s, and his *desire* [*tʿšûqāh*] is for me.” Along the lines of this usage of *tʿšûqāh* in the Song of Songs indicating a wholesome sexual desire, the term appears to be employed in Gen 3:16c to denote a positive blessing accompanying the divine judgment. A divinely ordained sexual yearning of wife for husband will serve to sustain the union that has been threatened in the ruptured relations resulting from sin.

If Gen 3:16d is seen to be in close parallelism with vs. 16c, then the emphasis upon blessing as well as judgment seems to accrue also to man’s relationship with his wife. The husband’s “rule”

(KJV) and not “because of” (RSV) inasmuch as the meaning of “because” is already expressed by *kî* earlier in the verse. The ground is cursed “for his [Adam’s] sake”—that is, the curse is for Adam’s benefit. Though it did result from Adam’s sin, it also is to be regarded as a needful discipline, part of the divine plan for man’s recovery from the results of sin.

<sup>25</sup>Otwell, p. 18, cogently argues that the normal structure of Hebrew parallelism is followed here in that Gen 3:16a and b are in parallel and 3:16c and d are likewise in parallel. As the first two parallel members of this verse duplicate content with regard to childbearing, so “we may expect . . . that ‘he shall rule over you’ parallels ‘your desire shall be for your husband.’” Otwell’s argument is strengthened by the use of the conjunctive translated by “yet.”

<sup>26</sup>See BDB, p. 1003.

<sup>27</sup>The only other occurrence of this word in the Hebrew Bible is in Gen 4:7, which has no reference to a man-woman relationship. Despite the similarity of grammar and vocabulary, the latter verse must not be held up as a standard of interpretation for Gen 3:16, which involves a completely different context. Those who interpret Gen 3:16 by means of 4:7 generally hold to the hierarchy of the sexes as a creation ordinance, and therefore must find something *more* than subordination in 3:16. But it hardly seems justified to compare the experience of Eve with the picture of sin as a wild animal crouching in wait for his prey (Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* [Downer’s Grove, IL, 1967], p. 75). For a discussion of the possible reasons for similar wording between the widely different contexts of Gen 3:16 and 4:7, see Cassuto, 1:212-213.

over his wife, even though it grows out of the results of sin, may be regarded as a blessing in preserving the harmony and union of the relationship. As is implied in the semantic range of *māšal*, and as becomes explicit in the Song of Songs, this is to be a "rule," not of tyrannical power, but of protection, care, and love.

### 3. Conclusion

We thus conclude that of the suggested interpretations for Gen 3:16 described above, view 4 is to be preferred, in that there is a normative divine sentence announcing a subjection/submission of wife to husband as a result of sin. This involves, however, not only a negative judgment but also (and especially) a positive blessing (as suggested in views 2 & 5).

Two final points must be underscored with regard to a theology of sexuality in Gen 3. First, it must be noted that the relationship of subjection/submission prescribed in vs. 16 is *not* presented as applicable to man-woman relationships in general. Gen 3 provides no basis for suggesting that the *basic equality* between male and female established in creation was altered as a result of the Fall. The context of Gen 3:16 is specifically that of marriage: a *wife's* desire for her husband and the *husband's* "rule" over his wife. The text indicates a submission of wife to husband, not a general *subordination* of woman to man. Any attempt to extend this prescription beyond the husband-wife relationship is not warranted by the text.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Some commentators argue that in such passages as 1 Cor 14:34-35 and 1 Tim 2:13-14, Paul has *widened* the original submission of wife to husband in Gen 3:16 to include the submission of all women to men in general, and based on this, he is thought to have excluded woman from teaching authority in the church, etc. But may I suggest this widening may be in the minds of the commentators and not in the mind of Paul! The possible ambiguity comes because in the original text the same Greek word (*gynē*) means both wife and woman, and another single Greek word (*anēr*) means both husband and man. In these crucial Pauline passages on the role of woman which allude to Gen 3:16, the translation can be either "woman-man" or "wife-husband." These passages that have usually been taken to refer to the role of woman in relation to man in general, may instead be referring to the relationship of wives to their husbands and may have nothing whatever to do with limiting woman's sphere of service and leadership in the church. As a case in point, 1 Tim 2:11-12 is translated in the RSV: "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over man; she is to keep silent." But the Williams translation puts it this way: "A married woman must

Second, we must emphasize that although in Gen 3 the husband is assigned the role of "first among equals"<sup>29</sup> so as to preserve harmony and union in the marriage partnership, yet this does not contradict or nullify the summary statement of Gen 2:24 regarding the nature of the relationship between husband and wife. As we have already observed,<sup>30</sup> Gen 2:24 is written in such a way as to indicate its applicability to the post-Fall conditions. God's ideal for the nature of sexual relationship after the Fall is still the same as it was for Adam and Eve in the beginning—to "become one flesh." The divine judgment/blessing in Gen 3:16 was given, we may conclude, in order to facilitate the achievement of the original divine design within the context of a sinful world.

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learn in quiet and perfect submission. I do not permit a married woman to practice teaching or domineering over a husband; she must keep quiet." A world of difference in meaning! For evidence supporting this latter translation, see N. J. Hommes, "Let Women Be Silent in Church," *Calvin Theological Journal* 4(1969):5-22. Note in particular how an almost exactly parallel passage in 1 Peter 3:5, 6 clearly demands the translation "*wife/husband*" and not "woman/man." Likewise the passage in 1 Cor 14:34-35 is in close parallel with Eph 5:22-24, and in the latter the translation must be "*wives and husbands*" and not "women and men" in general.

<sup>29</sup>Gerhard Hasel, "Equality From the Start," *Spectrum* 17(1975):26. Note the parallel relationship of God and Christ (1 Cor 11:3).

<sup>30</sup>See Davidson, pp. 12-24.





## OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY FROM 1978-1987

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The decade from 1978-1987 saw major trends in the development of OT theology, with totally new issues having emerged. The developments from 1969-1978 were presented in my earlier essay, "A Decade of Old Testament Theology: Retrospect and Prospect," published in *ZAW*.<sup>1</sup> The year 1978 was a landmark in OT theology. No fewer than seven volumes on the subject were published in English by Continental, British, and North American scholars, such as Walther Zimmerli,<sup>2</sup> Claus Westermann,<sup>3</sup> Ronald E. Clements,<sup>4</sup> William A. Dyrness,<sup>5</sup> Samuel L. Terrien,<sup>6</sup> Walter C. Kaiser, Jr.,<sup>7</sup> and Elmer A. Martens.<sup>8</sup>

In the last ten years a variety of articles was published addressing the development of OT theology or special aspects and proposals thereof by scholars from several continents. These include: Robert

<sup>1</sup>G. F. Hasel, "A Decade of Old Testament Theology: Retrospect and Prospect," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 165-184. For part of the present decade, see my "Major Recent Issues in Old Testament Theology 1978-1983," *JSOT*, no. 31 (1985), pp. 31-53. See also n. 16 below.

<sup>2</sup>W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline*, trans. by D. E. Green (Atlanta, 1978) (Eng. translation of *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* [Stuttgart, 1972; 5th ed., 1985]).

<sup>3</sup>C. Westermann, *Elements of Old Testament Theology*, trans. by D. W. Stott (Atlanta, 1982) (Eng. translation of *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen* [Göttingen, 1978]).

<sup>4</sup>R. E. Clements, *Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach* (Atlanta, 1978).

<sup>5</sup>W. A. Dyrness, *Themes in Old Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL, 1979).

<sup>6</sup>S. L. Terrien, *The Elusive Presence: Toward a New Biblical Theology* (New York, 1978).

<sup>7</sup>W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1978).

<sup>8</sup>E. A. Martens, *God's Design: A Focus on Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981), co-published in Great Britain under the title *Plot and Purpose in the Old Testament* (Leicester, 1981).

Martin-Achard,<sup>9</sup> Henning Graf Reventlow,<sup>10</sup> F. F. Bruce,<sup>11</sup> A. H. J. Gunneweg,<sup>12</sup> Walter A. Brueggemann,<sup>13</sup> Rolf Rendtorff,<sup>14</sup> Hans M. Barstad,<sup>15</sup> Gerhard F. Hasel,<sup>16</sup> Eckart Otto,<sup>17</sup> R. Smend,<sup>18</sup> Horst Seebass,<sup>19</sup> Alberto Soggin,<sup>20</sup> Rolf P. Knierim,<sup>21</sup> Hans Strauss,<sup>22</sup> George W. Coats,<sup>23</sup> Samuel L. Terrien,<sup>24</sup> and others.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>9</sup>R. Martin-Achard, "A propos de la théologie de l'Ancien Testament: Une hypothèse de travail," *TZ* 35 (1979): 63-71; idem, "La théologie de l'Ancien Testament après les travaux de G. von Rad," *Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses* 47 (1972): 219-226.

<sup>10</sup>H. Graf Reventlow, "Basic Problems in Old Testament Theology," *JSOT*, no. 11 (1979), pp. 2-22; idem, "Zur Theologie des Alten Testaments," *TRu* (1987): 221-267.

<sup>11</sup>F. F. Bruce, "The Theology and Interpretation of the Old Testament," in *Tradition and Interpretation: Essays by the Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*, ed. G. W. Anderson (Oxford, 1979), pp. 385-416.

<sup>12</sup>A. H. J. Gunneweg, "'Theologie' des Alten Testaments oder 'Biblische Theologie,'" in *Textgemäss: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments. Festschrift für Ernest Würthwein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. H. J. Gunneweg and O. Kaiser (Göttingen, 1979), pp. 38-46.

<sup>13</sup>W. A. Brueggemann, "A Convergence in Recent Old Testament Theologies," *JSOT*, no. 18 (1980), pp. 2-18; idem, "Futures in Old Testament Theology," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. 1-11 (hereinafter *HBT*). More recently Brueggemann advances his proposal for an OT theology in "A Shape for Old Testament Theology, I: Structure Legitimation," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 28-46; idem, "A Shape for Old Testament Theology, II: Embrace of Pain," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 395-415.

<sup>14</sup>R. Rendtorff, "I principali problemi di una teologia dell' Antico Testamento," *Protestantesimo* 35 (1980): 193-206.

<sup>15</sup>H. M. Barstad, "The Historical-Critical Method and the Problem of Old Testament Theology: A Few Marginal Remarks," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 45 (1980): 7-18 (hereinafter *SEÅ*).

<sup>16</sup>In addition to the essays mentioned in n. 1 above, see G. F. Hasel, "The Future of Biblical Theology," in *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology: Papers from the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society*, ed. K. S. Kantzer and S. N. Gundry (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979); idem, "Recent Contributions to Biblical Theology," *Catalyst* 9 (1983): 1-4; idem, "Biblical Theology: Then, Now, and Tomorrow," *HBT* 4, no. 1, (1982), pp. 61-93; idem, "Biblical Theology Movement," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. W. A. Elwell (Grand Rapids, MI, 1984), pp. 149-152.

<sup>17</sup>E. Otto, "Hat Max Webers Religionssoziologie des antiken Judentums Bedeutung für eine Theologie des Alten Testaments?," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 187-203; idem, "Impleta est haec scriptura—Zum Problem einer christologischen Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Anschluss an Traugott Kochs Christologiekritik," in *Die Gegenwart des Absoluten: Philosophisch-theologische Diskurse zur Christologie*, ed. K. M. Kodalle (Gütersloh, 1984), pp. 156-162.

Inasmuch as a single essay cannot cover the entire range of areas relevant to OT theology, this article will be restricted to major publications of this decade that (1) provide monographic surveys of the entire discipline of OT theology, (2) discuss problems and issues related to methodology and structure for OT theology, (3) show in what directions the "center" (*Mitte*) of the OT moves in relationship to OT theology, and (4) address OT theology, or the theology of the Hebrew Bible, as descriptive and/or normative.

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<sup>18</sup>R. Smend, "Theologie im Alten Testament," in *Verifikationen: Festschrift für Gerhard Ebeling zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Jüngel, J. Wallmann, and W. Werbeck (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 11-26.

<sup>19</sup>H. Seebass, "Biblische Theologie," *Verkündigung und Forschungen* 27 (1982): 28-45.

<sup>20</sup>A. Soggin, "Den gammaltestamentliga teologin efter G. von Rad," *SEÅ* 47 (1982): 7-20; idem, "Teologia dell' Antico Testamento oggi: dopo Gerhard von Rad," *Protestantesimo* 39 (1984): 1-17.

<sup>21</sup>R. P. Knierim, "The Task of Old Testament Theology," *HBT* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. 24-57; idem, "On the Task of Old Testament Theology," *HBT* 6, no. 2 (1984), pp. 91-128, which is his response to the following respondents: Walter Harrelson, "The Limited Task of Old Testament Theology," *HBT* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. 59-64; Roland E. Murphy, "A Response to 'The Task of Old Testament Theology,'" *HBT* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. 65-71; W. Sibley Towner, "Is Old Testament Theology Equal to Its Task? A Response to a Paper by Rolf P. Knierim," *HBT* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. 73-80.

<sup>22</sup>H. Strauss, "Theologie des Alten Testaments als Bestandteil einer biblischen Theologie," *EvT* 45 (1985): 20-29.

<sup>23</sup>G. W. Coats, "Theology of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 239-262.

<sup>24</sup>S. L. Terrien, "Biblical Theology: The Old Testament (1970-1984). A Decade and a Half of Spectacular Growth," *BTB* 15 (1985): 127-135.

<sup>25</sup>W. Zimmerli, "Biblische Theologie. I. Altes Testament," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin, 1980) 6: 426-455; Nancy Fuchs-Kreimer, "Christian Old Testament Theology: A Time for New Beginnings," *JES* 18 (1981): 76-92; John J. Collins, "The 'Historical Character' of the Old Testament in Recent Biblical Theology," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 185-204; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Old Testament Theology and the Jewish-Christian Connection," *JSOT*, no. 28 (1984), pp. 3-15; F. Charles Fensham, "Die verhoudingsteologie as 'n moontlike oplossing vir 'n teologie van die Ou Testament," *Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif* 26 (1985): 246-259; W. C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Theology of the Old Testament," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 12 vols., ed. F. E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979), 1: 285-305; Bruce C. Birch, "Old Testament Theology: Its Task and Future," *HBT* 6, no. 1 (1984), pp. iii-viii; Jose M. Abrego, "Teologia del Antiguo Testamento: perspectivas actuales," *Iglesia Viva* 113 (1984): 391-399; John Barton, "Gerhard von Rad on the World-View of Early Israel," *JTS* 35 (1984): 301-323; Marten H. Woudstra, "The

### 1. *History and Development of OT Theology*

Prior to 1972 there were no full-fledged monographs surveying in detail the origin, development, and history of OT theology from its beginnings in 1787 to the present,<sup>26</sup> with the possible exception of a short volume by R. C. Dentan.<sup>27</sup> The focus of H.-J. Kraus's *Die Biblische Theologie* (1970) included parts of OT theology, but did not treat OT theology as a separate subject on its own terms.<sup>28</sup>

Gerhard F. Hasel first published his *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* in 1972. A second, revised edition appeared three years later, and the third edition, revised and enlarged, came off the press in 1982.<sup>29</sup> An updated edition is in preparation for publication in 1989.

In 1982 Henning Graf Reventlow published *Hauptprobleme der alttestamentlichen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, which appeared in English three years later as *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century*.<sup>30</sup> The translation cites more English and non-English literature than does the German original, covering more or less the same ground as Hasel but with different emphases.

Reventlow begins his volume with a 44-page history of OT theology, with primary emphasis on the period from World War I to the 1950s. Written for the expert, Reventlow's work is not for

Old Testament in Biblical Theology and Dogmatics," *Calvin Theological Journal* 18 (1983): 47-60; Timo Veijola, "Vinns det en gammaltestamentlig teologi?," *SEÅ* 48 (1983): 10-13; idem, "Onko Vanhan testamentin teologiaa olemassa," *Teologisk Tidskrift* 87 (1982): 498-529; Ben C. Ollenburger, "Biblical Theology: Situating the Discipline," in *Understanding the Word: Essays in Honor of Bernhard W. Anderson*, ed. J. T. Butler, E. W. Conrad, and B. C. Ollenburger (*JSOT Supplement Series* 37: Sheffield, 1985): 37-62.

<sup>26</sup>Gustav F. Oehler, *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1845) was the first systematic study of the history and methodology of OT theology in monograph form.

<sup>27</sup>R. C. Dentan, *Preface to Old Testament Theology* (New Haven, CT, 1950; rev. ed., New York, 1963).

<sup>28</sup>H.-J. Kraus, *Die Biblische Theologie: Ihre Geschichte und Problematik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970).

<sup>29</sup>G. F. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*, 3d ed., enl. and rev. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982).

<sup>30</sup>H. Graf Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1985) (Eng. translation of *Hauptprobleme der alttestamentlichen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert* [Darmstadt, 1982]).

beginners in OT theology. The second chapter, "The Problem of a Systematic Account," focuses on methodology in OT theology. Unfortunately, the author distinguishes only between an old and a "new systematic programme." The former follows the classical dogmatic, or what is more appropriately called "dogmatic-didactic," approach of a God-Man-Salvation scheme of presentation, while the latter is exemplified in Walther Eichrodt's three-volume *Theologie des Alten Testaments*.<sup>31</sup> From a methodological perspective, it is confusing to group together as "new systematic programme" such diverse methodological approaches to OT theology as those of W. Eichrodt, L. Köhler, O. Procksch, O. J. Baab, Th. C. Vriezen, P. van Imschoot, E. Jacob, G. A. F. Knight, J. B. Payne, M. G. Cordero, W. Zimmerli, C. Westermann, R. E. Clements, and others. Nevertheless, all of the above approaches are briefly mentioned, since they were written after the epoch-making tomes of Eichrodt.<sup>32</sup> The OT theologies of W. C. Kaiser, Jr., William Dyrness, Elmer A. Martens, Samuel L. Terrien, Georg Fohrer, Gerhard von Rad, and others are not mentioned in this chapter on methodology.

Reventlow's third and longest chapter focuses on "The Problem of History," particularly the traditio-historical investigation of the OT. Here Gerhard von Rad's *Theologie des Alten Testaments* is the major starting point of discussion.<sup>33</sup> A variety of issues involved in history, such as "actual" history versus believed history, history and revelation, salvation history, and the OT as *Geschichtsbuch* (storybook)—including a discussion of J. Barr's view on the OT as "story"—receives attention.

The succinct discussion on "The 'Centre' of the Old Testament" summarizes what has been published previously (see Hasel above), reaffirming forcefully that God is the center (*Mitte*) of the OT—i.e., "God acts dynamically." He "is free and not at man's disposal, yet is consistent in his faithfulness, keeping his promises

<sup>31</sup>W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia, 1961, 1967) (Eng. translation of *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 5th ed., 2 vols. [Stuttgart, 1957, 1961], originally published in 3 vols. [Leipzig, 1933, 1935, 1939]).

<sup>32</sup>See Hasel, "A Decade of OT Theology," pp. 167-181; idem, "Major Recent Issues in OT Theology," pp. 32-37; idem, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 51-92.

<sup>33</sup>G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh, 1962, 1965) (Eng. translation of *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. [München, 1957, 1960]).

despite all the unfaithfulness and apostasy of Israel." This God is the God of the whole Bible, the one of whom Jesus Christ spoke.<sup>34</sup>

The concluding chapter focuses on "The World Horizon of Old Testament Theology," with particular emphasis on three topics: "creation," "myth," and "wisdom."

Reventlow's book is a gold mine of bibliographical information on the topics covered from the Continent and North America (in the English edition). It is highly rewarding for the advanced student and essential for anyone seriously interested in OT theology. Several aspects of the subject move beyond what Reventlow considers to be OT theology proper and are treated by him in a companion volume on biblical theology,<sup>35</sup> a topic receiving much recent scholarly attention.<sup>36</sup>

Beyond works by Hasel and Reventlow, 1982 also saw the publication of *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* by John H. Hayes and Frederick C. Prussner.<sup>37</sup> The first part is an expansion, revision, and updating of Prussner's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Methodology in Old Testament Theology," completed at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago in 1952. Prussner died in 1978, and Hayes did the revising and updating.

Hayes and Prussner's work has five chapters, of which the first four relate "The Earliest Developments in Old Testament Theology" from its dawn in the seventeenth century through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to "The Rebirth of Old Testament Theology" after World War I to about 1950. Without doubt, this presentation is the most extensive historical survey (over 200 pages)

<sup>34</sup>Reventlow, *Problems of OT Theology*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>35</sup>H. Graf Reventlow, *Problems of Biblical Theology in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1986), which is an enlarged and corrected translation of *Hauptprobleme der Biblischen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1983).

<sup>36</sup>Emphasis should be given here to the work of Terrien (above nn. 6 and 24), Hasel (above n. 16), Seebass (above n. 19), Strauss (above n. 22), and the volumes of essays by Klaus Haacker *et al.*, eds., *Einheit und Vielfalt Biblischer Theologie*, *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, vol. 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1986). See also the volume by Wilfred Harrington, O.P., *The Path of Biblical Theology* (London, 1973) and more recently S. M. Mayo, *The Relevance of the Old Testament for the Christian Faith: Biblical Theology and Interpretative Methodology* (Washington, D.C., 1982).

<sup>37</sup>J. H. Hayes and F. C. Prussner, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* (Atlanta, 1985).

covering the period from the "proof-text" method of Sebastian Schmidt in 1671 to the early post-World War I period. Hasel covers this same historical span in but 20 pages,<sup>38</sup> whereas Reventlow devotes 41 pages to it (of which only 8 pages cover the period from about 1700 to World War I).<sup>39</sup> As we shall see below, however, the survey is very inadequate in the period from 1950 onward, when most of the changes have occurred.

The final 60-page chapter in Hayes and Prussner's work is devoted to "Recent Developments in Old Testament Theology" (ca. 1950 to 1982). Its organization is unclear, since it shifts from brief descriptions of OT theologies (such as those by Th. C. Vriezen, G. E. Wright, E. Jacob, P. van Imschoot, G. A. F. Knight, E. J. Young [who wrote only *about* OT theology], J. B. Payne, and G. von Rad) to a reevaluation of the Biblical Theology Movement, and then concludes with some contemporary trends in the discipline.

There are some significant lacunae in the concluding chapter. The reader will never learn, for instance, that Vriezen rewrote his whole third Dutch edition (1966; translated as the second English edition [1970]) in order to counter the OT theology of von Rad.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, of the seven OT theologies published in 1978, only five are briefly mentioned<sup>41</sup> (four pages), and that mention fails to acknowledge their vast divergencies from each other and their reactions to von Rad.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Hartmut Gese's "theology as tradition building" is barely touched (about one-half page).<sup>43</sup> Without question the strength of Hayes and Prussner's work, as noted above, rests in their presentation of the development of OT theology from its beginnings to 1950. For an adequate and comprehensive survey of OT theology during the last four decades, one will have to look elsewhere.

<sup>38</sup>Hasel, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 15-34.

<sup>39</sup>Reventlow, *Problems of OT Theology*, pp. 2-10.

<sup>40</sup>Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Newton, MA, 1970), p. 8. Vriezen explicitly refers to G. von Rad and notes that "a rewriting has also taken place which tries to stress more firmly the unity of the whole [OT]," whereas von Rad argued for various disparate traditions.

<sup>41</sup>See above nn. 2-8. Those mentioned are Westermann, Clements, Kaiser, Terrien, and Zimmerli.

<sup>42</sup>See Hasel, "A Decade of OT Theology," pp. 168-178.

<sup>43</sup>Hayes and Prussner, p. 262. Cf. Hasel, "Major Recent Issues in OT Theology," pp. 32-34, and Oeming below.

## 2. Structures of OT Theology

Time has shown that there is no generally accepted convergence of methodologies for the structuring of OT theology.<sup>44</sup> A variety of models has been proposed to answer the "fundamental question of methodology and content [that] concerns the cohesion of the subject."<sup>45</sup>

### *The Cross-section Method*

The year 1933 saw Eichrodt's pioneering presentation of OT theology,<sup>46</sup> utilizing for the first time the cross-section method based on the covenant concept.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, D. G. Spriggs has ably defended the cross-section method without adopting the covenant concept as the only possible organizing principle.<sup>48</sup>

The cross-section method is utilized with vigor in the 1970 edition of Vriezen's *Outline of Old Testament Theology*, in which the "communion" concept functions as the unifying center of the OT.<sup>49</sup> The same method is used by Kaiser in *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (1978), which utilizes the "blessing-promise" theme.<sup>50</sup>

In 1981 the Roman Catholic scholar Anselmo Mattioli published the first OT theology by an Italian.<sup>51</sup> The structure is a mixture of dogmatic and cross-section approaches. Part I is entitled "God and Man as Creator and Creature." It contains five chapters

<sup>44</sup>Brueggemann, "A Convergence," pp. 3-8, sees a convergence in the approaches of Westermann, Terrien, and Hanson in the sense that each one deals with its own set of dialectics or polarities.

<sup>45</sup>Coats, p. 239.

<sup>46</sup>Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*.

<sup>47</sup>Among recent literature on his approach, see Hasel, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 50-54; Reventlow, *Problems of OT Theology*, pp. 49-52; Coats, p. 244; Hayes and Prussner, pp. 179-184.

<sup>48</sup>D. G. Spriggs, *Two Old Testament Theologies: A Comparative Evaluation of the Contributions of Eichrodt and von Rad to our Understanding of the Nature of Old Testament Theology*, SBT, 2d ser. 30 (London, 1974), p. 101.

<sup>49</sup>See above n. 38.

<sup>50</sup>See Kaiser, *Toward an OT Theology*. See also Reventlow, "Zur Theologie des AT," pp. 239-240.

<sup>51</sup>A. Mattioli, *Dio e l'uomo nella Bibbia d'Israele: Theologia dell' Antico Testamento* (Casale Monferrato, 1981). Previously the only OT theologies available in Italian were translations of works of other scholars.



covering such topics as the genetic development of monotheism in ancient Israel, the name Yahweh, the origin and absolute dependence of all things on Yahweh, and the identity of man and his history before Yahweh. Part II is designated "The Origin and Religious Role of Evil." Part III, "The Most Important Saving Gifts of Yahweh," contains chapters on "Israel as a Covenant People";<sup>52</sup> "Expectation of an Israel with Authentic Spirituality for the Future," including postexilic Messianic expectations; "Reception of Revelation Among the Prophets"; "Holy Writings as Inspired Witness of Revelation," including the development of the OT canon, which was supposedly concluded at Jamnia (ca. A.D. 90);<sup>53</sup> and "Expectations of Future Life After Death," including discussions on the Apocrypha, Qumran, and especially the Wisdom of Solomon. The book concludes with Part IV, "In the True

<sup>52</sup>The discussion reveals nothing about the recent debate about the supposedly late arrival of the covenant concept in Deuteronomic circles as argued by L. Peritt, *Die Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969) and E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz*, BZAW 131 (New York, 1973) who suggests the meaning of "obligation" (*Verpflichtung*) for the Hebrew term *b'rit* with "covenant" as a relatively late meaning. For opposing views, see the magisterial second edition of D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, Analecta biblica 21A (Rome, 1963); W. Eichrodt, "Darf man heute noch von einem Gottesbund mit Israel reden?" *TZ* 30 (1974): 193-206; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwehs. Ex 34, 10-26*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 114 (Göttingen, 1975); E. W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1986). The latter argues forcefully for the "covenant" idea as early as the prophet Hosea, who may have originated the idea or who may have borrowed it from earlier Israelite tradition.

<sup>53</sup>Mattioli still holds to the outdated idea of a "council of Jamnia" as fixing the canon. See Peter Schäfer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne. Zur Trennung von Juden und Christen im ersten/zweiten Jh. n. Chr.," *Judaica* 31 (1975): 54-64, 116-124 (reprinted in his *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* [Leiden, 1978], pp. 45-64); Jack P. Lewis, "What Do We Mean by Jabneh?" *JBR* 32 (1964): 125-132 (reprinted in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible: An Introductory Reader*, ed. S. Z. Leiman [New York, 1974], pp. 254-261); S. Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge, MA, 1975), pp. 1-41. For recent views on the pre-NT, second-century B.C. or earlier canonization of the OT, see David N. Freedman, "Canon of the OT," *IDBSup* (1976), pp. 130-136; S. Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of the Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* (Hamden, CT, 1976); R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1985), pp. 276-278.

Yahweh Cult Towards Liberation and Peace," with chapters on the Hebrew cult, conversion, and forgiveness.

Mattioli intends "to present the major religious ideas which the Bible contains,"<sup>54</sup> but organizes his OT theology on the basis of "ideas" concerning God and man which reveal a "dogmatic principle."<sup>55</sup> The individual chapters, on the other hand, follow roughly a cross-section method, since the respective themes/topics are supported from various parts of the Bible. At times there is a genetic presentation, such as the chapters on the expectation of future life after death and the reception of divine revelation among the OT prophets. This mixture of approaches lacks consistency.

The most recent extensive support for the cross-section method is John Goldingay's *Theological Diversity and the Authority of the Old Testament* (1987), which began as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Nottingham (1983).<sup>56</sup> Goldingay enlarges on many features discussed in his *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation* (1981).<sup>57</sup> He is also known from several essays dealing with OT theology or aspects thereof.<sup>58</sup>

In *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation* Goldingay begins by discussing the "aims and approach" of an OT theology, rejecting the either/or of a descriptive or normative method. Rather, he opts for a "middle ground," concluding that "the task of OT theology is to mediate between the religion of the OT and the religion we believe and practice today."<sup>59</sup> As regards the form or structure of an OT theology, he sees the covenant (Eichrodt), communion (Vriezen), election (H. Wildberger), or twin concepts (G. Fohrer, R. Smend) as helpful but too limiting in scope. "In one sense," he writes, "the search for the right structure of an OT

<sup>54</sup>Mattioli, p. 14.

<sup>55</sup>See Reventlow, "Zur Theologie des AT," p. 237.

<sup>56</sup>J. Goldingay, *Theological Diversity and the Authority of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987), p. viii.

<sup>57</sup>J. Goldingay, *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL, 1981).

<sup>58</sup>J. Goldingay, "The Study of Old Testament Theology: Its Aim and Purpose," *Tyndale Bulletin* 26 (1975): 34-52; idem, "The 'Salvation History' Perspective and the 'Wisdom' Perspective Within the Context of Biblical Theology," *EvQ* 51 (1979): 194-207; idem, "Diversity and Unity in Old Testament Theology," *VT* 34 (1984): 153-168; idem, "The Chronicler as a Theologian," *BTB* 5 (1975): 99-126.

<sup>59</sup>Goldingay, *Approaches to OT Interpretation*, pp. 17-24.

theology, and for the right central concept from which to view OT faith as a whole, has been fruitless (or over-fruitful!).” Since “we have not yet discovered the single correct key to producing a satisfactory synthesis of OT faith, this suggests that there is no such key.” While it is true that “no such solution to the problem of structuring an OT theology will illuminate the whole; a multiplicity of approaches will lead to a multiplicity of insights.”<sup>60</sup>

Having thus outlined the nature and methodology of OT theology in his first chapter of *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation*, Goldingay develops in the remaining four chapters the themes of “The Old Testament as a Way of Life,” “The Old Testament as the Story of Salvation,” “The Old Testament as Witness to Christ,” and “The Old Testament as Scripture.” In some ways this volume is a sort of prolegomenon to OT theology.

Goldingay’s recent monograph, *Theological Diversity and Authority of the Old Testament*, in many ways complements and enlarges his earlier writings and demonstrates his superb acquaintance with relevant European and American literature. The major concern is to deal with the “theological diversity” of the OT. One is immediately reminded of Paul D. Hanson’s *Diversity of Scripture* (1982),<sup>61</sup> which also seeks to come to grips with the posited diversity of scripture and possibilities of recognizing coherence and unity in all diversity. For Goldingay, however, the most critical issue is that if contradictory diversity in the OT precludes any theological unity, then no OT theology is possible.

That is essentially the argument made by R. N. Whybray in his 1987 essay, “Old Testament Theology—A Non-existent Beast?”<sup>62</sup> Whybray argues that the diversity of the OT is such that we should write only a “study of the religion of ancient Israel and of the Old Testament,”<sup>63</sup> because any OT theology is so determined by some sort of a center or principle of coherence that other equally meaningful parts are left aside or relegated to silence. This has been true

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-29.

<sup>61</sup>P. D. Hanson, *The Diversity of Scripture: A Theological Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1982).

<sup>62</sup>R. N. Whybray, “Old Testament Theology—A Non-existent Beast?” in *Scripture: Meaning and Method. Essays Presented to Anthony Tyrrell Hanson*, ed. B. P. Thompson (Pickering, North Yorkshire, 1987), pp. 168-180.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

all too frequently, particularly as one thinks of such neglected aspects in OT theology as creation, wisdom, cult, and the like. Nevertheless, Whybray's argument that there can be no OT theology will hardly be sustained.

Goldingay is fully aware of the issues of diversity in OT faith and the problem of stepchild topics, such as creation, wisdom, and cult. To come to grips with the diversity of the OT, he develops his study after a careful "Introduction," in which "Theological Diversity in the Old Testament" is addressed. Part I, "A Contextual or Historical Approach," covers different viewpoints appropriate to varying contexts—namely, "what it meant" to be the people of God from patriarchal times to the late OT period. The modes of the diachronic approach of a wandering family, a theocratic nation, an institutional state, an afflicted remnant, a community of promise, and so on, lead to a synchronic method in which there are "certain constants about the OT's underlying understanding of the people of God, 'family resemblances' which generally appear."<sup>64</sup>

Part II treats "An Evaluative or Critical Approach," which "begins from the variety in attitudes which sometimes appears within the same document, or which in some other way does not seem to reflect primarily historical factors."<sup>65</sup> Scholars make evaluations of the OT material on the basis of "moral concerns," "developmental levels," "Mosaic or prophetic spirit," and "a comparison with NT concerns." The critique of these approaches presupposes "the assumption that the OT itself ought to be allowed to determine what is central to its faith and what is peripheral."<sup>66</sup> The OT material is to be evaluated on its own terms, which involves a critical understanding of *Sachkritik* (content criticism) and the matter of "the canon within the canon." The book of Deuteronomy is selected as an illustration to show its behavioral values, theological perspective, and pastoral strategy.<sup>67</sup>

In Part III, "A Unifying or Constructive Approach," Goldingay devotes a full chapter to the issue of whether it is possible to formulate a single OT theology. His answer is affirmative (*pace* Whybray). He is influenced by Spriggs in affirming that a "cross-

<sup>64</sup>Goldingay, *Theological Diversity*, p. 87.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 116-166.

section method" is appropriate, but not one that is limited to a single principle of organization. Goldingay points out "that the trouble is that the search for a right principle or organization for writing OT theology has been not so much fruitless as overfruitful, and all the principles [i.e., centers] that have been proposed are more or less illuminating when applied to the OT material itself." For Goldingay there is no single center, but "many starting points, structures, and foci can illuminate the landscape of the OT; a multiplicity of approaches will lead to a multiplicity of insights."<sup>68</sup> Thus he denies OT theology based on one "center" as its organizing structure.

Goldingay takes further Eichrodt's cross-section method,<sup>69</sup> again in the wake of Spriggs's suggestion,<sup>70</sup> by opting for a constructive approach. "OT theology," he writes, "is inevitably not merely a reconstructive task but a constructive one."<sup>71</sup> "It is actually unrealistic to maintain that OT theology should be a purely descriptive discipline; it inevitably involves the contemporary explication of the biblical material."<sup>72</sup> This position puts Goldingay in the camp of Vriezen and others<sup>73</sup> who are sympathetic to this emphasis of Eissfeldt<sup>74</sup> in his debate with Eichrodt.<sup>75</sup> Goldingay also opposes thereby the dichotomy posited by Krister Stendahl between "what it

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 184: "The OT theologian's task can be expressed in terms of a mathematical analogy. The cross-section approach suggests that OT theology seeks the Highest Common Factor in the various versions of OT faith. Preferable is the view that OT theology seeks the Lowest Common Denominator of the various versions of OT faith, that entity into which all the insights that emerge at various points in the OT can find a place because it is large enough to combine them all. It does so taking seriously the historical particularity of the OT statements, yet setting these in a broader context shaped by the OT's total range of particular, concrete theological statements."

<sup>70</sup>Spriggs, p. 89; Goldingay, *Theological Diversity*, p. 181.

<sup>71</sup>Goldingay, *Theological Diversity*, p. 111.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>73</sup>Vriezen, p. 147.

<sup>74</sup>O. Eissfeldt, "Israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte und alttestamentliche Theologie," *ZAW* 44 (1926): 1-12 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* [Tübingen, 1962], I: 105-114).

<sup>75</sup>W. Eichrodt, "Hat die alttestamentliche Theologie noch selbständige Bedeutung innerhalb der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft?" *ZAW* 47 (1929): 83-91.

meant" and "what it means" or between the descriptive and the normative tasks of biblical theology.<sup>76</sup> "Indeed a Christian writing OT *theology*," says Goldingay, "cannot avoid writing in the light of the NT, because he cannot make *theological* judgments without reference to the NT. Admittedly the converse is also true: he cannot make theological judgments on the NT in isolation from the OT."<sup>77</sup>

It is evident that this enlarged "cross-section method" is radically different from that used by Eichrodt, Kaiser, and others, because it is not at all tied to a center, whether single, dual, or multiple.<sup>78</sup> One actually wonders whether it should still be considered a "cross-section approach." This question emerges since Goldingay himself notes that he also employs other "theological constructions" that are based on "diachronic approaches."<sup>79</sup> The attentive reader keeps wondering how the "cross-section" method and the "diachronic" one can come together without both becoming so transformed that neither is what it is known to be.

### *The Formation-of-Tradition Method*

It was Gerhard von Rad (1901-1971) who inaugurated a totally new approach to OT theology through his development of the

<sup>76</sup>K. Stendahl, "Biblical Theology, Contemporary," *IDB* (1962), 1: 418-432 (reprinted in his *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide*, [Philadelphia, 1984], pp. 11-24); idem, "Method in the Study of Biblical Theology," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. P. Hyatt (Nashville, 1965), pp. 196-209. See the critique of this distinction in Hasel, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 136-139, and also in Langdon B. Gilkey, "The Roles of the 'Descriptive' or 'Historical' and of the 'Normative' in our Work," *Criterion* 20 (1981): 10-17; Brueggemann, "Futures in OT Theology," pp. 1-4; Ben C. Ollenburger, "What Krister Stendahl 'Meant': A Normative Critique of 'Descriptive Biblical Theology,'" *HBT* 8, no. 1 (1986), pp. 61-98; B. S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 6-17.

<sup>77</sup>Goldingay, *Theological Diversity*, p. 186 and passim. Goldingay is influenced by Norman W. Porteous, *Living the Mystery: Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1967), p. 45, and opposes John L. McKenzie, *A Theology of the Old Testament* (New York, 1974), who "wrote the theology of the Old Testament as if the New Testament did not exist" (p. 319).

<sup>78</sup>G. F. Hasel, "The Problem of the Center in the OT Theology Debate," *ZAW* 86 (1974): 65-82; idem, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 77-103; Reventlow, *Problems in OT Theology*, pp. 124-133; Hayes and Prussner, pp. 257-260; Manfred Oeming, *Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart: Das Verhältnis von AT und NT in der hermeneutische Diskussion seit Gerhard von Rad*. (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 182-185.

<sup>79</sup>Goldingay, *Theological Diversity*, pp. 197-199.

diachronic traditio-historical OT theology<sup>80</sup> that has generated so much discussion.<sup>81</sup>

Hartmut Gese's<sup>82</sup> approach to OT theology, or biblical theology, aims at the tradition-building process that began in the OT and is continued in the NT, or "brings about the OT . . . [and thus] brings the so-called OT to an end."<sup>83</sup> The method of biblical theology is tradition history because it "describes the living process forming tradition."<sup>84</sup> The tradition-building process provides for continuity between the testaments and gives them unity, so that it is not necessary to look for or to propose a center (*Mitte*) common to both Testaments.<sup>85</sup>

The recent dissertation of Manfred Oeming describes Gese's roots in von Rad's traditio-historical theology and shows at the same time the deep indebtedness of Gese to such philosophers as Hegel, the later Heidegger, and particularly H.-G. Gadamer.<sup>86</sup>

Gese has found a supporter in Seebass,<sup>87</sup> while other contemporary scholars have voiced reservations and a variety of reactions. Kraus has argued that Gese transforms "theology into a phenomenology of tradition history" built upon a new ontology.<sup>88</sup> Hans Heinrich Schmid has pointed out that Gese's approach suffers from a "*methodische Verengung*,"<sup>89</sup> because the tradition-building process is not as unilinear as suggested. Siegfried Wagner<sup>90</sup> and

<sup>80</sup>See n. 33.

<sup>81</sup>For bibliography, see Hayes and Prussner, p. 233; Reventlow, *Problems in OT Theology*, pp. 59-71; Hasel, "A Decade of OT Theology," pp. 178-179.

<sup>82</sup>Hartmut Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion: Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie* (München, 1974), pp. 11-30; idem, *Zur biblischen Theologie* (München, 1977); idem, "Tradition and Biblical Theology," in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, ed. D. A. Knight (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 301-326.

<sup>83</sup>Gese, *Zur biblischen Theologie*, p. 11.

<sup>84</sup>Gese, "Tradition and Biblical Theology," p. 317.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 320-322.

<sup>86</sup>Oeming, pp. 108-110.

<sup>87</sup>Seebass, "Biblische Theologie," pp. 34-35; idem, *Der Gott der ganzen Bibel* (Freiburg, 1982), p. 219, n. 4.

<sup>88</sup>H.-J. Kraus, "Theologie als Traditionsbildung?," in *Biblische Theologie heute*, ed. K. Haacker (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), pp. 67-73.

<sup>89</sup>H. H. Schmid, "Unterwegs zu einer neuen Biblischen Theologie?," in *Biblische Theologie heute*, p. 81.

<sup>90</sup>S. Wagner, "'Biblische Theologien' und 'Biblische Theologie,'" *TLZ* 103 (1978): 793.

Zimmerli<sup>91</sup> see the tradition-building processes in both testaments as more differentiated than is suggested by the Gese paradigm. Oeming's analysis led him to the conclusion that "the alleged unity of the biblical tradition claimed by Gese is historically unsupported." <sup>92</sup>

Georg Strecker, a *Neutestamentler*, raises serious objections about Gese's claim that the OT canon is a result of the NT and that the NT gives rise to the OT.<sup>93</sup> Gese, for instance, states that "the Old Testament originates by means of the New Testament. The New Testament forms the conclusion of the tradition process which is essentially a unity, a continuum."<sup>94</sup> Strecker counters that the canonization of the NT is a process that goes on into the latter part of the second century A.D. and beyond, providing historical evidence that the NT canon is a later fact of history than the OT canon.<sup>95</sup> Accordingly, the OT canon has historical priority over that of the NT.

The alleged late closing of the OT canon at Jamnia (ca. A.D. 90) remains in itself very problematical and can hardly be maintained.<sup>96</sup> If the arguments of David Noel Freedman, Sid Z. Leiman, and Roger Beckwith<sup>97</sup> concerning a pre-Christian or even very early closing of the canon should hold, then the approach of an OT-NT biblical theology of tradition building is severely undercut at its foundation. In our opinion, the "formation-of-tradition" theology proposal of Gese is an attempt at a theology of the history of tradition building, but is not a theology of the OT. Beyond that, it is too problematical an approach for biblical theology.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>91</sup>W. Zimmerli, "Von der Gültigkeit der 'Schrift' Alten Testaments in der christlichen Predigt," in *Textgemäss: Festschrift für E. Würthwein*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>92</sup>Oeming, p. 115.

<sup>93</sup>G. Strecker, "'Biblische Theologie'?" Kritische Bemerkung zu den Entwürfen von Hartmut Gese und Peter Stuhlmacher," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Lührmann und G. Strecker (Tübingen, 1980), pp. 425-445.

<sup>94</sup>Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion*, p. 14; cf. idem, *Zur biblischen Theologie*, pp. 11-13; idem, "Tradition and Biblical Theology," p. 323.

<sup>95</sup>Strecker, p. 427.

<sup>96</sup>Lewis, pp. 254-261; Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, pp. 120-124. See above n. 53.

<sup>97</sup>Freedman, "Canon of the OT," pp. 130-136; Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, pp. 131-135; Beckwith, pp. 276-277; B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 46-68.

<sup>98</sup>Hasel, "Biblical Theology: Then, Now and Tomorrow," pp. 63-67.



*Bipolar Dialectic Approaches*

Brueggemann<sup>99</sup> has pointed out that the apparent stalemate in OT theology between the "history-of-traditions" approach of von Rad and the more "systematic" cross-section method of Eichrodt is apparently overcome by those scholars who suggest bipolar dialectics in OT theology. It is believed that the presentations and proposals of Terrien's *Elusive Presence*, Westermann's *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen*, and Hanson's *Dynamic Transcendence* (all published in 1978) contain a convergence of bipolar dialectics. Each of these three scholars depicts a different governing dialectic. Terrien depicts the "ethic/aesthetic" dialectic; Westermann, the "deliverance/blessing"; and Hanson, the "teleological/cosmic."<sup>100</sup> Brueggemann proposes the dialectic "of 'providence/election' which itself," so he states, "bespeaks an important tension."<sup>101</sup>

In *The Diversity of Scripture* (1982), Hanson speaks of the twin polarities of "form/reform" between kings and prophets, and the "visionary/pragmatic polarity" involving apocalyptic seers and priests.<sup>102</sup> Hanson sees largely an interfacing of sociology and faith. He contributes to a sociological/theological understanding of the OT with dynamic tensions as essential for biblical faith. Like Terrien, Hanson sees the polarities also at work in the NT, and he envisions them to be the paradigms functioning in both testaments and beyond.<sup>103</sup> A convergence exists in the recognition of various dialectics or polarities. The fact that Brueggemann's proposed dialectic of "providence/election" is to encompass the "ethical/aesthetic," "deliverance/blessing," and "teleological/cosmic" ones reveals that the latter are too delimiting. This is explicitly admitted by Hanson, who speaks in his recent work of twin polarities.

Most recently, Brueggemann seems to have abandoned his bipolar dialectic of "providence/election" in favor of a more comprehensive bipolar dialectic. Now he advances "one particular

<sup>99</sup>Brueggemann, "A Convergence," pp. 2-3.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>101</sup>W. Brueggemann, "Canon and Dialectic," in *God and His Temple*, ed. L. E. Frizzell (South Orange, NJ, 1981), p. 25.

<sup>102</sup>Hanson, *The Diversity of Scripture*, pp. 14-36, 37-62. The polarity of 'visionary/pragmatist' was already elaborated in Hanson's monograph *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1975).

<sup>103</sup>Hanson, *The Diversity of Scripture*, pp. 107-135.

proposal for an OT theology," suggesting that "any theology must be bipolar to reflect the central tension of the literature." At one pole this tension is reflected by the approach of "how we got the text" based on "*the process and character of the text.*"<sup>104</sup> Here the concern is the social process of how the text reached its present form and shape by being "in the fray" along the line of Norman Gottwald's *The Tribes of Yahweh*.<sup>105</sup> At the other pole Brueggemann seeks to follow Brevard Childs, for whom the text that matters theologically is the canonical form of scripture. This pole, in the words of Brueggemann, is "above the fray." "The *bi-polar* construct I suggest is that OT faith serves both *to legitimate structure* and *to embrace pain.*" Brueggemann's thesis of bipolar dialectic for OT theology is as follows: "OT theology fully partakes in 'the common theology' of its world and yet struggles to be free of that same theology."<sup>106</sup>

Brueggemann derives the idea of a bipolar dialectic from Westermann, Terrien, and Hanson; he gets the concept of the pole "in the fray" from Morton Smith and especially Gottwald, who applied a rigorous sociological method to Smith's categories; and he claims to derive the concept of the pole "above the fray" from Childs, who insists that OT theology (as well as biblical theology) must also relate to the (contemporary) community of faith.<sup>107</sup> Brueggemann's dual polarity of the social forces that shaped both the text and the faith community that was and is to hear the text stands in a dialectic relationship to each of its components.

Does Brueggemann's approach do justice to the full argument of Childs? After Brueggemann had published his programmatic essays, Childs took his pen again to react to Gottwald's sociological approach, claiming that "Gottwald's attempt to replace biblical theology with biblical sociology . . . illustrates the high level of reductionism at work."<sup>108</sup>

<sup>104</sup>Brueggemann, "A Shape for OT Theology, I," p. 30 (Brueggemann's italics).

<sup>105</sup>N. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (Maryknoll, 1979).

<sup>106</sup>Brueggemann, "A Shape for OT Theology, I," pp. 30-31 (Brueggemann's italics). Brueggemann adopts the expression "the common theology" from Morton Smith, "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East," *JBL* 71 (1952): 135-147. The expression means, according to Brueggemann, "a set of standard assumptions and claims of religion that are pervasive in the ancient Near East and are shared in the literature of ancient Israel" ("A Shape for OT Theology, II," p. 395, n. 1).

<sup>107</sup>Brueggemann, "A Shape for OT Theology, I," p. 45, n. 46.

<sup>108</sup>Childs, *OT Theology*, pp. 24-26.

In no case does Brueggemann embrace as comprehensively the position of Childs as he does those of Smith and Gottwald. His bi-polarity seems to allow him to move beyond the Smith-Gottwald paradigm by bringing in the "structure-legitimation of pain which changes the calculus."<sup>109</sup> Brueggemann sees the pole of "structure-legitimation" in tension with the counterpole of "pain embracing," which is "an ongoing tension, unresolved and unresolvable." He insists that "that tension must be kept alive in all faithful biblical theology."<sup>110</sup> It remains to be seen how Brueggemann's proposal will be received and in what direction he himself will take it. It seems evident already that his descriptive task is not rooted in the canonical text itself, but "in the fray" of historical-critical reconstructions of the shaping of the traditions, which is constructively and thus theologically related to the faith community. Brueggemann has no center for OT theology. His bipolarity approach is different from those of his predecessors. His methodology is creative and imaginative but bound by the limitations of both the sociology of the past ("in the fray") and that of the present. He, too, is going beyond the "what-it-meant" approach for OT theology.

### *Canonical Approaches*

In 1986 Childs published his *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*.<sup>111</sup> This publication is the result of labors begun in the programmatic essay, "Interpretation in Faith" (1964).<sup>112</sup> In 1970 he presented his influential *Biblical Theology in Crisis*.<sup>113</sup> He followed this with a number of essays<sup>114</sup> and a commentary on Exodus,<sup>115</sup> all of which remained on the same track. In 1979 his

<sup>109</sup>Brueggemann, "A Shape for OT Theology, II," p. 398.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 414.

<sup>111</sup>See above n. 76.

<sup>112</sup>B. S. Childs, "Interpretation in Faith: The Theological Responsibility of an Old Testament Commentary," *Int* 18 (1964): 432-449.

<sup>113</sup>B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia, 1970).

<sup>114</sup>B. S. Childs, "The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem," in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Donner, R. Hanhart, and R. Smend (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 80-93; idem, "The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament," *VTSup* 29 (1977): 66-80; idem, "Some Reflections on the Search for a Biblical Theology," *HBT* 4, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-12.

<sup>115</sup>B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1974).

magisterial *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*<sup>116</sup> was published, followed by his *New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* in 1984.<sup>117</sup> His *Introduction to the Old Testament* aroused extensive reaction,<sup>118</sup> to which Childs responded in measured, but uncompromising, ways.<sup>119</sup> Childs's OT theology is methodologically unique, inasmuch as it is the only presently-published OT theology based on what he calls the "canonical approach." The intention of this method is to provide a "fresh approach to the discipline by resolving many of the crucial methodological issues at stake, but [it] also opens an avenue into the material in order to free the OT for a more powerful theological role within the life of the Christian church."<sup>120</sup> In the latter aspect, Childs shares the same concern for the relevance of the OT for the church as others have in the last couple of decades.

The name "canonical approach," as used by Childs of his methodology for OT theology, is the unequivocal assertion that "the object of theological reflection is the canonical writing of the Old Testament" and that it "is consistent in working within the canonical categories."<sup>121</sup> In *Biblical Theology* (1970) he had already maintained "that the canon of the Christian church is the most appropriate context from which to do Biblical Theology."<sup>122</sup> What Childs emphasized then as the foundation of a "new Biblical Theology"—namely, the absolute normativity of the canon of the OT and NT—he applied in 1986 to the theology of the OT. The entire canon of the OT and the NT is the Christian canon. "The Christian canon maintains the integrity of the Old Testament in its own right as scripture of the Church."<sup>123</sup> It is, therefore, a logical "contention that the discipline of Old Testament theology is essentially a Christian discipline, not simply because of the

<sup>116</sup>See above n. 97.

<sup>117</sup>B. S. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia, 1984).

<sup>118</sup>The entire issue of *JSOT*, no. 16 (1980) is devoted to it.

<sup>119</sup>B. S. Childs, "Response to Reviewers of *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*," *JSOT*, no. 16 (1980), pp. 52-60; idem, "A Response," *HBT* 2 (1980), pp. 199-211.

<sup>120</sup>Childs, *OT Theology*, p. 6.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup>Childs, *Biblical Theology*, p. 6.

<sup>123</sup>Childs, *OT Theology*, p. 9.

Christian custom of referring to the Hebrew Scriptures as the Old Testament, but on a far deeper level."<sup>124</sup>

Childs makes the point that "the term 'Old Testament' [in OT theology] correctly recognizes that the discipline is part of Christian theology, and that the Jewish scriptures as they have been appropriated by the Christian church within its own canon are the object of the discipline."<sup>125</sup> It is to be noted in this connection that there is a fairly new trend among some OT scholars to designate the discipline of OT theology as the "theology of the Hebrew Bible," as is the case with Coats<sup>126</sup> and the section heading (for the last two years) in the program for the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. Childs's point is that the theology of the OT is never based on a purely descriptive method.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, Gabler's heritage—namely, the sharp separation between "the analytical task of describing what the biblical writers themselves thought" from "the constructive task of interpreting how the church later thought to appropriate and use the Bible"<sup>128</sup>—is to be rejected and replaced (*pace* Stendahl).

The "canonical approach," in the words of Childs, "envisions the discipline of Old Testament theology as combining both descriptive and constructive features." The "descriptive task" is one in which the OT text is correctly interpreted as "an ancient text which bears testimony to historic Israel's faith."<sup>129</sup> This is formulated so as to oppose the "formation-of-tradition" method of Gese and von Rad before him. The real bone of contention "is not over the theological significance of a depth dimension of the tradition. Rather, the issue turns on whether or not features within the tradition . . . can be interpreted apart from the role assigned to them in the final form [of the canonical text] when attempting to write a theology of the Old Testament." Childs goes on to state: "Even more controversial is the usual method of reconstructing an alleged traditio-historical trajectory which does not reflect actual

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid.

<sup>126</sup>Coats, pp. 239-262.

<sup>127</sup>Here the dichotomy of "what it meant" (i.e., the historical reconstruction which is supposedly objective), and "what it means" (i.e., what its present interpretation and its theological and normative meaning is for today) is rejected.

<sup>128</sup>Childs, *OT Theology*, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

layers within Israel's tradition, but is a critical construct lying outside Israel's faith." The reason for this rejection of the tradition-building approach is that "at the heart of the canonical proposal is the conviction that the divine revelation of the Old Testament cannot be abstracted or removed from the form of the witness which the historical community of Israel gave it."<sup>130</sup>

In regard to the "constructive features," it is impossible to describe an historical process of the past (*contra* Gese); rather, one must recognize dimensions of flexibility. Therefore, there can also be no "center," because the "center" approach usually views OT theology as but an historical enterprise.

How does Childs's "canonical approach" for OT theology fare in terms of "the structuring of a modern Old Testament theology"? There is no single answer, because (1) the element of flexibility consonant with its canonical shape should be maintained in its modern actualization, and (2) a theological interaction based on the present is warranted and is open for "innumerable other options within the theological activity of interpreting scripture which are available for grappling with the material."<sup>131</sup> It is at this point, where there is such a degree of indefiniteness, that one wonders why Childs has not more to offer.

Childs's presentation of the theology of the OT in *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (1986) is given in 19 chapters: (1) "The Old Testament as Revelation," (2) "How God Is Known," (3) "God's Purpose in Revelation," (4) "The Law of God," (5) "Knowing and Doing the Will of God," (6) "The Theological Significance of the Decalogue," (7) "The Role of the Ritual and Purity Laws," (8) "The Recipients of God's Revelation," (9) "Agents of God's Rule: Moses, Judges, Kings," (10) "The Office and Function of the Prophet," (11) "True and False Prophets," (12) "The Theological Role of the Priesthood," (13) "Benefits of the Covenant: The Cultus," (14) "Structures of the Common Life," (15) "Male and Female as a Theological Problem," (16) "The Theological Dimension of Being Human," (17) "The Shape of the Obedient Life," (18) "Life Under Threat," and (19) "Life Under Promise."

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 13, 15-16. On the idea of "actualization," see the dissertation of Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, SBL Dissertation Series 86 (Atlanta, GA, 1987).

As a reader seeks some sort of coherence in these chapters, one can perceive chaps. 1-3 as dealing with the nature of "revelation"; chaps. 4-7 with the content of revelation in the moral, ritual, and purity laws; chap. 8 with the recipients of revelation: chaps. 9-12 with community leaders (Moses, judges, kings, true and false prophets, and priests); chaps. 13-14 with cultic and secular institutions; chaps. 15-16 with anthropology; and chaps. 17-19 with life in obedience, under threat and promise.

Compared to Childs's earlier works—which are weighty tomes of scholarly discussion, critical reflections, and constructive proposals—we find this canonical theology of the OT to be more or less a sketch or outline of OT theology. Although it is in a number of instances quite engaging and stimulating, this OT theology hardly matches the breadth of others published in the decade from 1978-1986.

The concluding chapter, "Life Under Promise," is a case in point. The first section identifies four classical problems; the second deals with "methodological issues" in the scholarly debate; the third handles patterns of canonical shaping which are reconstructive in nature; while the fourth refers to forms of the promise, such as "judgment and salvation," "the messianic kingdom and the Messiah" (with reference to but seven texts to the Messiah and none to the kingdom), "the land," and "eternal life." It is affirmed that Isa 26:19 and 56:5 give a "veiled hint of individual after-life,"<sup>132</sup> but such texts as Dan 12:3 are not emphasized. This brevity of treatment is the most painful, since it has been shown quite convincingly that future hope on a broad scale is part and parcel of Yahwistic faith.<sup>133</sup>

In short, Childs is methodologically innovative and challenging, but, unfortunately, is too brief in the execution of the "canonical approach."

### 3. Conclusion

Today there is a greater multiplicity of methods employed for OT theology than at any other time: (1) The "dogmatic-systematic" approach, with the God-Man-Salvation schema, is supported by

<sup>132</sup>Childs, *OT Theology*, p. 245.

<sup>133</sup>H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft von Alten und Neuen Testament 87 (Stuttgart, 1968).

R. C. Dentan, D. F. Hinson, and García Cordero. (2) The “genetic-progressive” method is utilized by Chester K. Lehman and Roland E. Clements. The latter squarely breaks away from a purely descriptive task by his “fresh approach” of arguing for a “Christian study of the Old Testament.”<sup>134</sup> (3) The “cross-section” method, pioneered by Eichrodt and followed by Vriezen, is adopted and adapted by Mattioli and in another way by Goldingay. (4) The “formation-of-tradition” or traditio-historical diachronic method, pioneered by von Rad, is advanced by Gese and Seebass. (5) The bipolar dialectic approach is used by Terrien, Westermann, Hanson, and has a most ardent supporter in Brueggemann. (6) The “canonical approach” is most extensively and creatively conceptualized and executed by Childs.

Changes in the discipline of OT theology include: (1) a move away from a center (*Mitte*) oriented approach, (2) the dissolution of the “what-it-meant” and “what-it-means” or the descriptive and normative distinction (*pace* Stendahl and followers), (3) a growing recognition that OT theology is a Christian enterprise that is also constructive in nature, and (4) a recognition that OT theology is part of biblical theology.

In view of these changes, we are in a position to reassert the “multiplex canonical OT theology” approach,<sup>135</sup> as follows:

1. The task of OT theology is to provide summary explanations and interpretations of the final form—i.e., canonical form—of the individual OT writings or blocks of writings.

2. The aim of this procedure is to let the various motifs, themes, concepts, and ideas emerge in both their uniqueness and their relatedness.

3. The content of OT theology is indicated beforehand by the entire OT canon. OT theology must inevitably be a Christian theological enterprise, or it should be renamed “theology of the Hebrew Bible,” as some call it.

4. The structure of OT theology follows the procedures of the multiplex approach. This means that there is no single, dual, or multiple center or focal point that will allow the full richness of the OT to emerge. The theologies of the various OT books or

<sup>134</sup>Clements, p. 186.

<sup>135</sup>See Hasel, *OT Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 169-183, for a more detailed presentation of these summary statements.



blocks of writings will need to retain their diversity, while exhibiting a unity of mutual complementation.

5. The two-pronged approach of book-by-book presentation and inherent themes, motifs, and concepts seems best presented in the historical sequence of the origin of the OT documents.

6. A second step of the presentation of OT theology is the bringing together of the longitudinal themes and to penetrate through these varieties of theologies and themes to the dynamic unity that binds all theologies and themes together.

7. The Christian theologian recognizes the OT as part of a larger whole—i.e., the entire scripture of OT and NT. The NT will not be superimposed upon the OT. The OT must be seen as providing its own witness. Yet the Christian sees the OT as pointing to Jesus Christ, and the Christian cannot disengage himself in such a way as to read the OT as a member of another religion, ancient or modern. It is both historically and theologically anachronistic to attempt to read the OT as if we were living before the coming of Jesus Christ. The Christian OT theologian will refrain from Christianizing the OT, but will allow it to speak on its own terms in all its richness and diversity, without distorting its text, purpose, and hopes.

In short, OT theology is a theological-historical undertaking that is oriented by its canonical form. It is both descriptive and constructive. As such, it can reassert its role as the crown of OT and biblical study.



## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STUDY OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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The book of Revelation is currently recovering from 35 years of critical neglect. We are entering a new era of scholarly interest in the Apocalypse that may surpass even that of the beginning of this century, which is associated with such names as Charles, Swete, Allo, and Lohmeyer. This essay offers an overview and critique of four recently published books on Revelation. Two function as critical introductions to the book,<sup>1</sup> one addresses the issue of its Semitic background,<sup>2</sup> and one is a thematic study of Revelation's relationship to the NT gospel.<sup>3</sup>

### 1. *Two Critical Approaches*

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's *Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* is a collection of essays published in various places over a seventeen-year period.<sup>4</sup> The prologue attempts to bring unity to the essays by summarizing them in such a way as to reveal the unifying purpose behind their composition. The collection is a preliminary introduction to the author's forthcoming commentary on Revelation in the Hermeneia series.

Many readers will be disappointed that the previously published articles were not more extensively revised. Although there

<sup>1</sup>Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia, 1985); Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia, 1984).

<sup>2</sup>Steven Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 52 (Cambridge, Eng., 1985).

<sup>3</sup>Graeme Goldsworthy, *The Lion and the Lamb: The Gospel in Revelation* (New York, 1984).

<sup>4</sup>Of the volume's nine essays (including the prologue), six were published previously in journals and multi-author volumes, two were in the publication process, and one (the prologue) is unique to the book. See p. vi for a complete listing.

were hundreds of editorial changes,<sup>5</sup> they were not major and the literature citations were not updated. Nevertheless, the book is helpful for a number of reasons. First, it collects essays that many readers would have difficulty assembling otherwise. Second, the essays are far more impressive as a group than they are when read individually. Although published over a seventeen-year period, there is a remarkable consistency in the author's work. The volume reads as though it was written as a unit.

Schüssler Fiorenza asserts in her introduction that the failure of critical scholarship to provide a definitive interpretation of Revelation in its original setting argues for new approaches to the book's language and imagery. She calls for the integration of historical-critical and literary-critical paradigms so that a new literary-historical model of interpretation can emerge.

In the first two chapters, Schüssler Fiorenza explores whether Revelation is to be understood in terms of Jewish apocalyptic or NT eschatology. She contends for the latter on the grounds that the focus in Revelation is on the final judgment, the vindication of the Christian community, the shortness of time until the end, and God's kingdom,<sup>6</sup> rather than on world history as a whole (pp. 46-51). She realizes that this assertion can be disputed with regard to the two scrolls (Rev 4:1-15:4), but she views them as thematic rather than chronological.

Chapters 3-5 assess the relationship between the theology of Revelation and other Christian theologies which had an impact on the contemporary churches of Asia Minor. With exceptional thoroughness, the author shows that Revelation has as much in common with Paul and the Synoptic Apocalypse as it has with the Gospel of John. She suggests that the author of Revelation made an eclectic use of OT, apocalyptic, Pauline, and Johannine traditions, while perhaps being most at home with an early Christian prophetic-apocalyptic tradition.

<sup>5</sup>These changes consisted primarily in the rearrangement of words or their replacement with ones the author preferred. The most significant change was the consistent replacement throughout the book of the word "Apocalypse" with the word "Revelation." Several charts were also omitted. In the reviewer's opinion, the content of the essays was not altered significantly.

<sup>6</sup>Schüssler Fiorenza views God's kingdom in Revelation as a reality only in the Christian community, and not in the larger world.

Schüssler Fiorenza identifies John's opponents in Revelation with the enthusiasts of Corinth rather than with the Judaizers of Galatia or Colossae. These "Nicolaitans" practiced some form of libertine gnosticism which enabled them to participate in pagan society while professing Christianity. She argues that both Paul and John countered this libertine theology and its overrealized eschatology with the help of apocalyptic categories. Thus, the theology of Revelation was quite at home in the Pauline communities of Asia Minor.

In her last two chapters, Schüssler Fiorenza outlines her understanding of Revelation's message and the impact it might have had on the social situation of the Christian communities of Asia Minor. The heart of the author's message, a prophetic interpretation of the political and religious situation of the community, is indicated by the material in the structural center of the book (i.e., Rev 10:1-15:4).

That situation was characterized by social isolation, persecution, temporal deprivation, and the threat of violent death. As a result, many Christians (characterized as Nicolaitans, Balaam, and Jezebel) were advocating theological compromises which would enable them to participate actively in the commercial, political, and social life of their cities. In the face of this challenge, John paints the picture of heavenly realities to motivate them to take up his uncompromising stand toward the world. The readers are faced with a decision which will jeopardize either their lives and fortunes here and now or their lives and fortunes in the coming New Jerusalem. Through his symbolic universe the author transports the community onto a cosmic plane where decision for Christ can be seen in its true significance, independent of the vicissitudes of individual existence.

In contrast to Schüssler Fiorenza, Adela Yarbro Collins spends more time on traditional introductory questions, such as author and date, although the heart of her book is also concerned with issues of interpretation.

Yarbro Collins begins by addressing some of the basic assumptions with which people approach the book of Revelation. The historical-critical method, she asserts, while enlightening the modern reader as to the situation which a work addressed, also creates distance between the reader and the text. One must overcome this distance in order to determine the normative meaning of the text. Readers of Revelation have attempted to do this in three different

ways: precritically, critically, and postcritically. The precritical reader of a text is naive and gullible. He accepts his reading of the text at face value, totally unaware of the philosophical and sociological presuppositions that shape the way one understands the text. The critical reader attempts to examine both the text and the self with objectivity and detachment. While Yarbro Collins sees the critical reading of any text as basic, she hopes to lead her readers to a postcritical reading. "A postcritical reading of a text," she writes,

is one based on a lived, experienced knowledge of the text as a product of another time and place and as a flawed human product. At the same time there is an openness to a personal reinvolvement on a new level. There is recognition that a flawed, broken myth can still speak to our broken human condition (p. 22).

Following the Introduction are chapters on the authorship and date of Revelation. Yarbro Collins agrees with most scholars that the date is Domitianic. In dialogue with Schüssler Fiorenza, however, she contends that the author is an unknown Palestinian Jew whose self-understanding had been shaped by the traditions of the classical prophets rather than by some early Christian "prophetic school."

Yarbro Collins breaks new ground when she points out that there is very little evidence that Domitian persecuted the Christians (pp. 69-73). As a result, she argues that John was not so much writing to comfort Christians in a time of persecution, as to call their attention to a crisis that many of them did not perceive—a crisis brought about by the willingness of many to accommodate themselves to the pagan culture for economic, political, and social reasons.

Since the crisis that produced Revelation may not have been all that obvious to most Christians at the time, Yarbro Collins argues that apocalyptic arises out of the condition of "relative deprivation." In other words, the crucial element is not so much "whether one is actually oppressed, but whether one feels oppressed" (p. 84). The apocalyptic mentality arose because of the disparity between expectations and their satisfaction. Thus, "it was the tension between John's vision of the kingdom of God and his environment that moved him to write his Apocalypse" (p. 106).

Yarbro Collins addresses the social situation of the author and his readers in her first three chapters. Chapters 4 and 5 turn to the

effect that the Apocalypse had on its first readers and how it produced that effect. These chapters argue that Revelation's task was to overcome cognitive dissonance—the intolerable tension between hopeful faith and the reality that Christ had not returned and that the social situation of the Christian addressees had not improved when they became Christians (p. 141). The imagery of the Apocalypse was designed to provide a logical model capable of overcoming the tension. Yarbro Collins calls that model “social radicalism.” John was advocating social, political, and economic withdrawal from the life of the cities of Asia Minor.

How could he motivate the community to withdraw? Yarbro Collins suggests that the feeling of powerlessness caused by a marginal social situation was mitigated by the assurance that the community had access to privileged information of heavenly origin. That powerless situation was exactly where God wanted them to be. Although the forces of chaos were dominant at that time, their defeat was certain; and then roles would be reversed. This vision of a heavenly reality and of a radically new future, she asserts, functioned as compensation for the relatively disadvantaged situation of the first-century readers and hearers of the Apocalypse.

Yarbro Collins, however, goes even further. She argues that the book of Revelation exemplifies a type of transference. “When aggressive action,” she writes, “is not desirable and aggressive feelings cannot simply be suppressed or converted into other feelings and activities, the aggressive feelings may be transferred.” The aggression is transferred from the community to Christ, who makes war on its enemies, and from the past to the future, when Christ will deal with the community's opponents both within and without.

In her conclusion, Yarbro Collins takes off the mantle of the scholar and puts on the robe of the ordinary Christian who struggles to understand in what sense a book like the Apocalypse should be authoritative for him or her personally. A critical and post-critical reading of the book of Revelation has led Yarbro Collins to the conclusion that there is a failure of love in the Apocalypse. Love has been subordinated to justice. While Revelation does promote the cause of the poor and the powerless, the book tends to divide people and ideas into uncompromising categories of right and wrong which oversimplify the complexities of human society. Violence is portrayed as a solution to injustice.

In spite of these perceived shortcomings, Yarbro Collins argues that the Apocalypse can be taken critically and seriously in the

second half of the twentieth century. It encourages the church today to protest all institutions which reflect the characteristics of the demonic, and to ally itself with all movements that promote freedom, peace, justice, and reconciliation.

Although they disagree on many points of detail, both Schüssler Fiorenza and Yarbro Collins break new ground in the study of the book of Revelation. They have issued a clarion call to understand the Apocalypse in terms of its author's concerns and his social situation before addressing what authority the book might have for the twentieth century. While this is not a new insight, sociological and literary paradigms are shedding fresh light on both the author's original situation and the needs a book like Revelation might address in today's world. These books cannot be ignored in the future study of Revelation. It is to be hoped that each of these scholars will soon provide a commentary on the text of the Apocalypse that will flesh out the insights expressed in their introductory works.<sup>7</sup>

These words of commendation do not ignore the fact that there are problems in both books. Schüssler Fiorenza seems to have dismissed the role of history in Revelation too lightly. Like 2 Thess 2 and the Synoptic Apocalypse, Revelation could well be addressing the community's concerns in terms of its place in history as well as its place in the kingdom of God. Likewise, although she has made a powerful case for the dissimilarity between Revelation and the fourth gospel, other lines of research suggest a fundamental unity of thought between the two.<sup>8</sup> One could also wish that Schüssler Fiorenza had given more attention to the Judaizing heresy and its impact on Revelation (cf. Rev 2:9 and 3:9). But these are mere quibbles.

The major concern with Yarbro Collins's book is the suspicion that her postcritical approach has at times been overly critical

<sup>7</sup>Schüssler Fiorenza has been commissioned to produce the commentary on Revelation in the Hermeneia series. In Nov. 1985 she indicated that publication was still a few years away. Another capable scholar, David Aune, may complete a commentary along similar lines before the end of the decade for the Word Biblical Commentary series.

<sup>8</sup>See Otto Bocher's contribution to the Uppsala Colloquium, "Das Verhältnis der Apokalypse des Johannes zum Evangelium des Johannes," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (Gembloux, 1980), pp. 289-301.



toward the text. She freely admits that the bottom line of post-critical interpretation is the reader's own "critically interpreted present experience" (p. 167). Unfortunately, human beings are often naive, even in their self-critical objectivity. Time and again scholarly debate has uncovered flaws in the interpretation of even the most self-critical scholars. The scholarly consensus of one generation becomes the precritical naivete of the next. Thus, we must approach Yarbrow Collins's concluding assertions with great care. For example, she faults the author of Revelation for seeing the world in discrete categories of right and wrong. But we must not forget that Paul and Jesus were also intolerant by our standards (see, e.g., Matt 12:30; Luke 11:23; 14:26-33; Mark 9:43,45,47; 1 Cor 5:1-5; 2 Thess 3:6,14). The NT documents exhibit a continual tension between loving acceptance and uncompromising faithfulness. At what point can the text be allowed to challenge our "critically interpreted present experience"? In Revelation we experience an author who speaks to those who "have their backs against the wall." While he offers them encouragement in Christ, he also exhorts them to uncompromising faithfulness at a time in which tolerance might only breed compromise, resulting in the loss of the gospel and the gravest of consequences for a world under judgment. Perhaps it is a secular generation like ours, in which tolerance and acceptance are proclaimed as a way of life, that needs to be reminded by John that there are truths that are worth dying for.

While acknowledging the danger inherent in Yarbrow Collins's concluding assertions, we must commend her for the openness with which she has approached an issue that many with less courage have wrestled with in private. The best safeguard against precritical naivete is the self-correcting influence of scholarly debate. In her willingness to dialogue publicly with us, Yarbrow Collins has served us well.

## 2. *A Linguistic Approach*

Another recent book that is important for every Revelation scholar's library is Steven Thompson's *Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax*. Thompson's observations impact on nearly every exegetical detail of the book of Revelation.

The book grows out of a doctoral dissertation supervised by Matthew Black at the University of St. Andrews. After a brief

survey of previous work on the Semitic background of the Apocalypse,<sup>9</sup> Thompson offers a short chapter on the current status of the text. The heart of his book deals with specific examples of Semitic influence on the meaning of Greek verbs (chapter 2), on the verbal syntax (chapter 3), and on the clause (chapter 4) in the Apocalypse. He closes the volume with some observations concerning the larger implications of his work for the ongoing study of the book of Revelation (chapter 5). In addition to a bibliography and general index, there is an index of references to biblical and other ancient materials. This makes *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* an invaluable reference tool for the study of Revelation.

Of the multitude of exegetical insights afforded by the book, space permits listing only a few. For example, Thompson indicates that the Greek aorist tense in the Apocalypse normally translates the Hebrew perfect. Thus it is not necessarily punctiliar, but often expresses the sense of the Hebrew prophetic perfect (p. 37). In addition, the Greek present tends to translate the Hebrew participle, the future translates the imperfect, and the Greek perfect generally carries the force of one of the derived conjugations in the Hebrew (cf. the chart on p. 53). Thompson also notes that verbal clauses in Revelation often retain the word order that would be common to such a construction in the Hebrew, and that one should not expect to find a precise temporal relationship between the participle and the main verb, as is the case in classical Greek. As one can see from these examples, much previous work on the book of Revelation may need to be revised in the light of Thompson's findings.

Thompson's most basic contribution is to clarify the nature of Revelation's peculiar language. Most of the "barbarisms," he suggests, are due to the influence of Semitic syntax, which overpowers the rules of Greek grammar (p. 107). "In the Apocalypse," he writes, "the Greek language was little more than a membrane, stretched tightly over a Semitic framework, showing many essential contours from beneath" (p. 108). While this is not a new suggestion, the book broadens the base of evidence. Thompson speculates that for the author "the necessity of expressing sacred themes in a Gentile tongue was rendered less distasteful" by preserving the syntax of OT language.

<sup>9</sup>Bousset, Laughlin, Charles, Scott, Allo, Torrey, Lancellotti, Mussies, Rydbeck, Mandilaras, Bakker, Turner, and Beyer.

That conclusion leads to Thompson's most radical proposition: the book of Revelation was little influenced by the Hebrew and Aramaic of the first century, since its primary source was the language of the OT prophets—i.e., biblical Hebrew and Aramaic (pp. 1, 34, 56, 57, 107). This points the exegete to the OT background of the thought and imagery of the book. While the social and literary setting of Asia Minor (discussed above in relation to the books by Schüssler Fiorenza and Yarbrow Collins) is important, Thompson holds that the author of Revelation will be misunderstood unless full weight is given to the overwhelmingly OT flavor of his account. In the drive to understand the first-century meaning of Revelation, therefore, examination of the OT background must play a central role.

Thompson's book does not make for light reading. It is, as one would expect from the subject matter, rather ponderous and full of minute details. That, however, is typical of most reference works, and many of its purchasers will use it primarily for reference. The reader will note that in a number of places Thompson's examples could be interpreted differently than they are. On the other hand, the work exudes a general solidity which lends confidence to his conclusions. *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* should change the way exegetes of the Apocalypse do things. From now on the student of Revelation's language must be fully aware of Hebrew meanings, grammar, and syntax, as well as of NT Greek.

### 3. *A Theological Approach*

Graeme Goldsworthy's *The Lion and the Lamb* is fittingly subtitled *The Gospel in Revelation*. The author addresses the question of how the content of Revelation relates to the NT gospel. Although the book has a contemporary emphasis that is almost devotional at times, it argues persuasively that the gospel is the central theme of the Apocalypse.

Goldsworthy takes a theological approach in which he assesses the relationship of various aspects of Revelation to its central theme. Following an introduction, in which he argues the need to take the author's perspective seriously, Goldsworthy has written ten chapters to demonstrate that all portions of the Apocalypse—the prologue and epilogue, the letters to the churches, the key symbols, the hymnic material, and even the prophetic and apocalyptic visions—share in the basic NT perspective of justification by

faith and the tension between the two ages. Following an appendix on the mark of the beast, the book concludes with a subject index and a list of biblical references.

If Goldsworthy's basic thesis is correct, that Revelation shares the same basic theological substructure as the rest of the NT, it would further underline recent scholarly studies into the apocalyptic nature of Paul's letters and the gospels. The NT writers saw no dichotomy between salvation and eschatology. For them the salvific coming of Jesus ushered in the OT "Day of Yahweh." Though the consummation was still future, in Christ the new age had overlapped the old. Goldsworthy's contribution is to show that while Revelation, in its use of the language and structure of the OT, seems to share in its eschatological viewpoint, it has modified that viewpoint to reflect the NT perspective of the two ages. Thus John's apocalyptic visions cannot be rightly understood unless they are approached from the NT eschatological point of view, whether or not Christ or the gospel is explicitly named in a given passage. Recent studies demonstrating the essential unity of the Apocalypse support this thesis, since the gospel perspective of the letters to the churches and the hymnic material is unquestionable.

The weakness of Goldsworthy's book lies in the fact that he appears to have an ax to grind. His definition of the gospel is limited to the historical act of the Christ-event, and is not to be confused with regeneration or sanctification. While one may not disagree with his reiteration of the classical Protestant position over against Trent and Cardinal Newman, it is to be questioned whether that debate fairly addresses what is going on in the book of Revelation. Goldsworthy fears that traditional interpretations of Revelation undermine this "pure gospel," and in his zeal to reclaim John's Apocalypse for the Reformation he at times overstates his case.

In spite of this weakness, Goldsworthy's basic thesis is true to the text. Revelation opens with a summation of the Christian view of God, Christ, salvation, and eschatology (Rev 1:4-8). The major apocalyptic visions are then preceded by images of Christ that transform the OT sanctuary into a Christian house of worship (note esp. Rev 1:12-20; and chapters 4 and 5). The victory of God is founded on the Lamb that was slain, and the Lion and the Lamb become symbols of the two ages of suffering and glory (Rev 5:5,6). The letters to the churches emphasize that "the good works of the

people of God are part of the apocalyptic struggle between the reigning Christ and the powers of darkness" (p. 80). Goldsworthy is of the opinion that John uses the hymnic material scattered throughout the book as a gospel-oriented framework to mitigate the apparently Christless bleakness of the apocalyptic sections. Even the apocalyptic material, with no readily apparent Christian emphasis, contains themes and vocabulary common to other NT passages.<sup>10</sup> In so doing, it becomes apparent that the apocalyptic war is played out in everyday life as much as at the cosmic level. Thus it is a distortion to see Revelation as primarily a vengeful diatribe against Rome. The heart of the book is the work of Christ and the experience of those who are faithful to him.

#### 4. *Summary Evaluation*

What direction should the study of Revelation take in the light of the four books reviewed here? Current scholarly interest focuses on historical, literary, and sociological concerns. Schüssler Fiorenza and Yarbrow Collins have reaped well-deserved acclaim for their contributions to the discussion. Exegetes cannot ignore these concerns if they wish to understand John's message and the impact it may have had on his audience in Asia Minor.

Current scholarly interests, however, are often pursued to the neglect of other areas of equal importance. The impact of the OT and the early Christian traditions on the thought of the author and his audience has been seriously neglected in much recent scholarship. The books by Thompson and Goldsworthy provide a corrective to the current trend.

Thompson forces us to note that the language and imagery of Revelation betray much more dependence on OT language and thought than on Jewish or Greek apocalypses. It is now also clear that John studiously avoided the constructions common to the rabbis and sectarian Jews in favor of the syntax of the Hebrew OT. Thus, as Thompson points out, John models himself on the OT prophets rather than on any contemporary model. Goldsworthy

<sup>10</sup>Note, e.g., the allusion to Luke 10:17-20 in Rev 9:1-4. Apocalyptic passages also contain exhortations to the individual reader that are reminiscent of other NT writers. Cf. Rev 16:15 with Mark 13:35-37, Matt 24:43,44, Luke 12:39,40, 1 Thess 5:2,4, and 2 Pet 3:10. Cf. Rev 18:4 with 2 Cor 6:17, Matt 24:15,16, and parallel passages.

reminds us that the basic message of Revelation is one that is Christian. Although heavily symbolic in nature and written in the language of OT history and prophecy, Revelation is more a Christian book than a Jewish one. The recent books by these two authors indicate that an overemphasis on the historical, literary, and social setting of Revelation to the neglect of the OT and NT backgrounds will result in a misunderstanding of the message of the Apocalypse.

That fact does not deny the need for basic exegesis of the Apocalypse. But the complexity of that book, indicated anew by the divergent concerns our four authors have expressed, suggests that a broader, more theological method of exegesis is necessary to do justice to Revelation.

Therefore, having done the basic exegesis, the exegete needs to consider the impact of the OT language and idioms on the passage. An essential part of the exegetical process must be to assess, on the basis of the context, the extent to which a given passage is to be read in terms of standard Greek or in light of the Semitic background. Attention must also be given to literary and thematic allusions to the OT.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, it is clear that John's experience with Jesus has led him in the Apocalypse to transform thoroughly the OT materials with which he was working. Thus, rather than trying to impose OT concepts and structures upon Revelation, we must interpret these concepts through the prism of the Christ-event. The correct interpretation of Revelation will be one that is fundamentally Christian.

Taken together, the four books we have discussed are helpful toward providing a balanced basis for future study of Revelation. The wealth of recent literature suggests that significant advances in the understanding of this enigmatic book may be forthcoming.

<sup>11</sup>This is an area of great complexity in which much work needs to be done. This reviewer plans to publish in the field of OT allusions in Revelation at a future time.

## SENNACHERIB'S DESCRIPTION OF LACHISH AND OF ITS CONQUEST

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When Sennacherib's conquest of Lachish is considered, the vivid reliefs depicting that event which were found in the ruins of his palace at Nineveh immediately come to mind.<sup>1</sup> These are, however, simply pictorial representations; they do not include any verbal description of any significant length of the events depicted. For instance, the cuneiform label which accompanies one of the scenes says little beyond the fact that Sennacherib conquered Lachish.

Thus, the search for a text which provides a parallel literary description of this conquest takes one beyond the confines of the room of palace reliefs and into the Neo-Assyrian archives. Until now, this search has not been very rewarding. The entry in the annals for Sennacherib's western campaign of 701 B.C. does not mention the city of Lachish,<sup>2</sup> nor has it been thought that any other extant text mentions that city's conquest by Sennacherib.

The suggestion of the present study is that just such a text has indeed been found. However, because of difficulties with the text, it has not been recognized for what it is. In fact, because of the document's fragmentary nature its two main pieces were previously looked upon as two different texts, both of which were attributed to Assyrian kings other than Sennacherib—one to Tiglath-pileser III,<sup>3</sup> and the other to Sargon II.<sup>4</sup> N. Na<sup>3</sup>aman has brought these

<sup>1</sup>For an earlier presentation of these reliefs, see J. B. Pritchard, *ANET*, Plates 371-374 on pp. 129-132. For the most recent and extensive presentation of these materials, see D. Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (Tel Aviv, 1982).

<sup>2</sup>*ANET*, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup>Tablet No. K6505 in the British Museum, first published by G. Smith in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 3 (London, 1870), Pl. 9, no. 2, and subsequently published by P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 18-20, lines 103-119.

<sup>4</sup>H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 (Leipzig, 1898): 570-574; H. Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur," *JCS* 12 (1958): 80-84.

two fragments together and demonstrated convincingly that the text they comprise was written during the reign of Sennacherib.<sup>5</sup>

This text continued to pose a problem, however, because of the name of the god whom Sennacherib identifies in it as the one who directed him to attack the cities of Hezekiah of Judah. The name of that god is Anshar, not Ashur. H. Tadmor has noted that Sennacherib did not employ the name of this god in this way until after his conquest of Babylon in 689 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Following up on that observation, I suggested in a previous study that this text should thus be connected with a second western campaign conducted by Sennacherib some time after 689.<sup>7</sup>

In this present study, that earlier proposal is now made more specific in terms of its description of the events which took place during that second western campaign. The more specific application to which that earlier interpretation is extended here is the addition of the proposal that the second half of the surviving text of the tablet describes the city of Lachish and Sennacherib's conquest of it.

### 1. *Overview of the Contents of the Text*

Although the text is damaged, the gist of its first half is relatively straightforward (lines 1-10). It describes Sennacherib's conquest of the Judahite city of Azekah. Since the name of Azekah has survived in the fifth line of the text, there is no doubt about the identity of the city that Sennacherib attacked in this instance. Its description as "located on a mountain ridge" (line 6) is particularly appropriate for the site of Tell Zakariyeh, with which the ancient site of Azekah has been identified.<sup>8</sup> The mountain ridge upon which this site rests belongs to a forested park along the present-day Highway 38 south of Beth Shemesh, and because the tell is barren it stands out in contrast to the forest which surrounds it. Sennacherib's concern with the border between his dependencies in Philistia and Hezekiah's territory should be noted here also, for in

<sup>5</sup>N. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR*, no. 214 (1974), pp. 25-39.

<sup>6</sup>Tadmor, p. 82.

<sup>7</sup>W. H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-418.

<sup>8</sup>Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 431.



this case he emphasized the fact that Azekah was located on that dividing line (line 5).

The next section of the text, lines 11-20, presents more difficulties in historical and geographical interpretation. The reason for this is that the name of the city conquered by Sennacherib's forces in this case is missing, due to the damage to the text at the beginning of line 11. The rest of the line, however, goes on to identify the site as a "royal [city] of the Philistines, which H[ezek]iah had captured and strengthened for himself." Further details concerning the site are given in subsequent lines, and various of these are noted below.

Because of the identification of this site as a royal city of the Philistines, it has been natural to view this unnamed city as one or the other of the two inland cities of the Philistine pentapolis. Gath has been a more popular choice than Ekron. The suggestion of the present study is that this royal city of the Philistines which Hezekiah took over and fortified for himself was neither Gath nor Ekron, but rather that it was Lachish.

## *2. Two Major Questions in the Lachish Identification*

At first glance it may seem quite strange to identify Lachish as "a royal city of the Philistines." The paradox of this proposal raises two main questions: (1) How did Lachish come to be a possession of the Philistines?, and (2) why would it be identified as a "royal" city?

### *Lachish in Possession of the Philistines*

If this text describes events that took place during the course of Sennacherib's 701 campaign, then no reasonable answer can be given to the first of these two questions. If, on the other hand, it refers to events that occurred during a later western campaign of his, then there is a good historical explanation available. As a result of his success in campaigning through Judah in 701, Sennacherib imposed a heavy payment of tribute upon Hezekiah. He did more than that, however, for he also cut off some of Hezekiah's territory and gave it to the Philistine cities on Hezekiah's western border. As the Assyrian king states in his annals, "His [Hezekiah's] towns which I had plundered, I took away from his country and gave them (over) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi,

king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza. Thus I reduced his country. . . .”<sup>9</sup>

Located as it was in southwestern Judah, Lachish was a prime candidate to be among the cities and towns of Judah that were taken away from Hezekiah and given to the Philistine cities. The extensive fortifications of Lachish provided all the more reason for Sennacherib to have been interested in removing it from Hezekiah’s control. D. Ussishkin, the current excavator of Lachish, has come to the same conclusion: “Sennacherib tells in his inscription that the towns which he had plundered were given to the Philistine cities along the Mediterranean coast. That is, to Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. The desolate city of Lachish was probably one of those towns.”<sup>10</sup>

The only difference in my proposal here is that Lachish had not yet been destroyed and was still a viable city when it was turned over to one of the Philistine kings, probably Padi of Ekron. As a part of his capitulation, Hezekiah was forced to turn over the still-fortified stronghold of Lachish in order to diminish his capacity for further rebellion against the Assyrian king.

As a former Judahite city, Lachish would have been a prime target for Hezekiah to take back from the Philistines in the interval between Sennacherib’s two campaigns. Its location was strategic, its fortifications were impressive, and it probably was the second most important city of Judah at the time. If it was to Padi of Ekron that Lachish was given by Sennacherib, then that city would have been all the more attractive as a target for repossession, for Padi was an Assyrian puppet who at one time had been in Hezekiah’s custody when Ekron was in revolt against Assyria.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the events in the interval could explain how, in taking Lachish back from the Philistines, Hezekiah would have been “taking over a royal city of the Philistines and fortifying it for himself.”

#### *Lachish as a “Royal City”*

While the aforementioned course of events could explain how Hezekiah could have taken Lachish over from the Philistines, it does not necessarily explain how Lachish could have been classified

<sup>9</sup>*ANET*, p. 288.

<sup>10</sup>D. Ussishkin, “Answers at Lachish,” *BAR* 5 (1979): 34.

<sup>11</sup>*ANET*, p. 287.

as a royal city. When I first proposed that this text should be connected with Sennacherib's second western campaign in a paper presented to the American Oriental Society meeting in Toronto, Canada, a few years ago, M. C. Astour noted in the discussion of the paper that the Neo-Assyrian use of the phrase "royal city" was quite general and need not be connected with one of the cities of the Philistine pentapolis.

Now the ongoing excavations at Lachish have provided archaeological data which explain how Lachish could have been referred to as a "royal city." Ancient Judahite Lachish was not a cosmopolitan residential city in the ordinary sense of the term. It was rather a royal quarter or royal citadel, very much like Megiddo and Samaria in northern Israel. The excavations at Lachish have uncovered many structures within the city walls. These include the governor's palace, Late-Bronze and Persian-period temples, the gate complex, and store houses or stables (or both!). But they have not uncovered ordinary residential houses of the common people. The reason for this absence has to do with the nature of the city. It was not an ordinary residential city; it was rather a "royal" citadel. Therefore, it would have been quite appropriate for Sennacherib to have referred to it as such when he attacked it during his second western campaign.

Thus, we may summarize the historical situation as follows: The events of 701 explain how Lachish could have fallen into Philistine hands, the interval between Sennacherib's two western campaigns explains how Hezekiah could have taken it over again and fortified it for himself, and the archaeology of the site explains how it could have been referred to as a "royal" city. Beyond these points, however, the city whose name is missing from the Assyrian text still needs to be identified by comparing its characteristics with those of the city described in the text.

### 3. *Lachish and the City Described in the Text*

Although badly broken, line 12 of the text appears to describe the city in question as being "like a tree standing out on a ridge." While this description is quite general, it is appropriate for Lachish, especially when it is viewed along the western, northern, and eastern sides of the hill upon which it is located. In addition, line 13 describes the city as "surrounded with great towers and exceedingly difficult (is) its ascent." The tourist visiting Lachish today

approaches the city up the road toward the city gate from the southwestern corner, the same corner from which the Assyrian troops mounted their main attack. This approach is already fairly steep, as witnessed by the angle of incline of the Assyrian siege ramp; but the ascent to the city walls on the other sides of the city is even more steep.

As for the towers, the Lachish reliefs from Nineveh illustrate the abundance of towers in Lachish's fortifications. Four towers are depicted at the city's southern end, anywhere between seven and ten towers are shown at its northern end, and another tower is connected with the city gate between these two points. If the reliefs were complete, they probably would demonstrate that there were still more towers along the city walls.

Line 14 refers to the "palace like a mountain (which) was barred in front of them and high (was) its [top?]." This description fits very well with the impressive governor's palace of Strata IV and III at Lachish. Given the size and prominence of this palace upon the mound, it probably was visible for a considerable distance from the city.

Line 15, as N. Na<sup>3</sup>aman has noted, refers to the water shaft of the city.<sup>12</sup> This is described as "dark and the sun never shone on it, the waters were situated in darkness. . . ." The water supply of ancient Lachish has not as yet been located by the excavators. At present there is a small well at the foot of the northeastern corner of the tell, but it could not have been adequate to supply a city of this size in ancient times. Given the size of that ancient city, one may expect that it had a water shaft comparable to those found at Megiddo, Hazor, and Gibeon. Certainly, Sennacherib considered that the water supply of the city referred to in this text was inaccessible to his besieging troops. (As I understand it, one of the goals for the 1989 season of excavations at Lachish is to locate the city's water shaft, and the northern end of the tell seems to be the most likely area in which such an installation would have been situated.)

The point of reference of line 16 is obscure.<sup>13</sup> It states that "its [mou]th was cut with axes and a moat was dug around it." If this statement refers to the subject of the preceding line, then the water shaft is in view here; but a moat around the water shaft does not

<sup>12</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>aman, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

seem to make very good sense. If one thinks in terms of the results of the excavations at Lachish in seeking to ascertain the meaning of this particular specification in the text, one might consider the outer revetment wall. The Ninevite reliefs of Lachish show a double wall around the city. The excavators have noted, however, that the outer lower wall was different from the upper inner wall.<sup>14</sup> They have called the lower wall a revetment, and a glacis ran up from it to the foot of the upper wall. This feature of the city's fortifications might have been what is in view at this point in the text.

Line 17 refers to Hezekiah's marshaling of his troops to defend the city. This statement gives little that is specific for Lachish, for it could have applied to any city defended by Hezekiah against Sennacherib. By way of contrast, however, line 18 has a direct archaeological correspondence at Lachish. The text states here: "I caused the warriors of Amurru, all of them, to carry with . . . ." The evident reference is to the construction of a siege ramp. The existence of just such an Assyrian siege ramp has now been clearly demonstrated in the excavations at Lachish. It is the only siege ramp known in Israel that dates to Assyrian times.

There has been some speculation about just how this siege ramp at Lachish was built. Was it by only Assyrian engineers? Was it by Judahite captives? Or was it by some other personnel? This text of Sennacherib tells us where he got the personnel to construct the siege ramp referred to here—namely, the soldiers of Amurru, i.e., from the western countries. Thus, in order to execute this project he requisitioned soldiers from the western towns, cities, and countries under his control, probably from Philistia and Phoenicia and others in the area.

#### 4. *The Assyrian Capture of the City*

Although damaged, line 19 of the text appears to refer to the breakthrough of the Assyrian troops into the city in question. Since line 20 deals with the booty carried out from the city, one may expect a victorious action like this to be referred to here. The language appears to describe the breakthrough in terms like those used for the breaking of a clay pot.

<sup>14</sup>D. Ussishkin, "Defensive Judean Counter-ramp Found at Lachish in the 1983 Season," *BAR* 10 (1984): 72.

A time element is mentioned in connection with this victorious breakthrough. The Assyrian phrase for this reference to time reads, *ina 7-šu*,<sup>15</sup> which translates as "in his 7th (time)." The kind of time referred to here has seemed obscure. It does not appear to be a 7th year, for neither Hezekiah nor Sennacherib celebrated their 7th years of reign during either the first or second western campaigns of the latter king. If a month had been involved here, Sennacherib probably would have referred to it with an Assyrian month name, as is customary in the annals.

In addition to these difficulties, neither the year nor the month seems sufficiently immediate to the time of the event described. Like the inscription of the Siloam tunnel, this text appears to refer to a very present time for the breakthrough. Reference to the day of the breakthrough would seem much more appropriate here than would notice of the month or year. But if the time in question is a day, which day is it?

The third-person singular masculine pronoun used following the number 7 is the suffixed form, not the independent form. Therefore, the reading would be "his" 7th time. Two individuals are mentioned in this text, Sennacherib and Hezekiah. Sennacherib refers to himself in the first person, and it is Hezekiah who is referred to in the third person. Thus, this 7th time or day should be Hezekiah's, not Sennacherib's.

The question then is, What kind of 7th day would be referred to in connection with Hezekiah, king of Judah? There was, of course, a particular kind of 7th day in use in Judah—namely, the Sabbath as the 7th day of the week. The Assyrian king did not have a seven-day week, hence such a reference would not have been meaningful in his case. Hezekiah, on the other hand, had just such a special 7th day, and the text appears to indicate that Sennacherib was aware of that fact. Not only that, but Sennacherib appears to have made use of that fact to make his final assault upon the city.

A military procedure adopted by a number of later enemies of the Jews at various times was to attack them on their Sabbath, when they ordinarily would have been at rest.<sup>16</sup> What we appear to have, then, in this cryptic cuneiform statement is the earliest

<sup>15</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>aman, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup>A. F. Johns, "The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews," *VT* 13 (1963): 482-486.

known reference to such a practice. Moreover, if this interpretation is correct, this reference now becomes the earliest extrabiblical reference to the Sabbath. And if the city involved was Lachish, as has been proposed above, this would mean that Lachish fell to the Assyrian troops on a Sabbath.

It might be objected that the Lachish reliefs do not show any Sabbath-like activities on the part of the residents of Lachish, but that, on the contrary, they are fighting for their lives. Two points should be taken into account here: (1) The Assyrian reliefs appear to depict a series of events, not just one frame frozen in time. For example, the refugees are coming out of the city gate while the men are still fighting on the city walls. Probably these were not intended to represent exactly contemporaneous events. (2) In addition, the Lachishites may already have adopted the attested later Maccabean practice of fighting on the Sabbath when necessary in defensive warfare.

The final partially legible line of this text, line 20, refers to the livestock that were led out of the city as booty. While this reference is nonspecific as far as localizing this action at Lachish, it is also well represented in the Lachish reliefs. There cattle are shown being led away from the city as it fell.

### 5. *Conclusion*

The data from the legible portions of the lines of the second half of our text can now be summarized by noting that all of them, as far as their terms of reference can be understood, fit compatibly with the archaeology of Lachish and its artistic representation at Nineveh. Some of these statements are rather nonspecific and could apply to a city other than Lachish. Other statements seem to point more directly to Lachish itself. These include references to it as a "royal" city and to its location, walls, towers, palace, and the siege ramp built to conquer it. Furthermore, the events of the first western campaign of Sennacherib and the interval between it and the second western campaign provide an explanation of how Lachish could have fallen into Philistine hands and then been recovered by Hezekiah.

The present study, thus, has highlighted two basic aspects of the historical situation and historical events in Judah in the early seventh century. First, there is evidence for the identification of

Lachish as the name which has been broken away from the beginning of line 11 of the text, and with this identification we secure an Assyrian account of Lachish's conquest by Sennacherib's army. Second, this reconstruction contributes further to the identification and description of events that occurred during the course of Sennacherib's second western campaign. These two points are complementary in elucidating the history of the period.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Badenas, Robert. *Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10:4 in Pauline Perspective*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 10 (Sheffield, Eng: JSOT Press, 1985). xiv + 311 pp. £25.00/10.95.

This book represents the edited version of a Ph.D. dissertation written at Andrews University under the direction of Abraham Terian. The work is a model of methodological control within a well-defined and limited objective, and its publication is very much welcomed by the scholarly community. Even though Badenas insists that his work is strictly confined to the exegesis of Rom 10:4 and relevant only to the understanding of the letter to the Romans, it is bound to have an impact on long-disputed issues in Pauline studies.

"Christ is the end of the law" has been recognized as one of the hermeneutical keys of Paul's thought. Badenas has focused his research on the middle term, *telos*, which in the original occupies an emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence. The book is divided into three chapters (with the overall conclusions somewhat unnaturally attached to the third chapter). The first chapter reviews the history of the interpretation of the text from the early church through modern times and establishes the importance of the project at hand. Most importantly, the presentation demonstrates Badenas' contention that in the past the meaning of the passage has been determined by theological decisions made elsewhere, rather than by linguistic considerations.

In chap. 2 Badenas does his own linguistic examination of the key word, *telos*. Here he exhibits his consummate ability to handle the sources while carrying on a piece of research of the first magnitude. All of the Hellenistic literature surveyed shows that, unless explicitly demanded by the context, *telos* has teleological signification. He demonstrates to the satisfaction of this reviewer, therefore, that whoever wishes to read *telos* in a temporal sense must carry the burden of proof.

Chap. 3 argues that the immediate context (Rom 9:30-10:21), the wider context (Rom 9-11), and the letter as a whole do not demand that *telos* be understood in a temporal sense meaning "abrogation" or "termination." Rather, Paul's use of *telos* throughout his extant letters, save three clear exceptions, falls within the general signification common to the Hellenistic age, which Badenas designates as the "controlling criterion" (p. 80). He writes: "It is the contention of the present study that a teleological interpretation of Rom 10.4 is the only proper way to understand this verse" (p. 117).

While making his point about the reading of *telos* as "goal," "winning post" (in a race), "aim," or "climax," Badenas argues for continuity between the law and Christ in the whole of the letter to the Romans. There is no question that Paul in Romans argues that the law bears witness to the righteousness of God ultimately revealed in Christ, and Badenas recognizes that Rom 3:21-31 contains the core of the letter. Yet, he deals with the opening words of this text only in a passing way when summarizing his argument (pp. 139, 149). He never allows the force of Paul's "But now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from law" to deny that the righteousness of God is manifest *in* the law. Paul does say that the law ran its course with Christ as its aim, as Badenas demonstrates. And Paul may have found that the hermeneutical key to the law was its *telos*, rather than its *archē* (p. 150). This does not mean, however, that the righteousness of the law may be legitimately pursued, so that Israel's problem was not her pursuit after righteousness in the law, but "the way in which" she pursued it (p. 105), or "a lack of proper perspective" (p. 112).

Admittedly the exegesis of the immediate context is complicated by the presence of a mixed metaphor in the midst of the imagery of athletes on the race track. Christ is said to be both the finish line and the stumbling stone that prevents Israel from reaching the finish line. Moreover, the stone imagery comes from two passages in Isaiah which have different stones in view. While 8:14 refers to a stone placed purposely on the way in order to cause Israel to stumble, 28:16 invites Israel to build on the foundation stone laid down by God. In Paul the one stone on the race track serves as a stumbling block to those who pursue the Law of righteousness, and as a foundation stone to those who attain to righteousness by faith without having pursued it. The point is not that the Jews have "stumbled over him (Christ) and kept on running—in the wrong direction" (p. 115), but that they had been running in the wrong direction, or with the wrong finish line in view.

The issue in the larger context, as Badenas correctly states, is "whether God's word has failed" (Rom 9:6). What Paul is arguing is that even though righteousness may be attained by anyone without reference to the law, which seems to place the Jews in a privileged position, God has not become irresponsible or capricious. Israel's election was not the attainment of an inviolable status, but the ability to participate in a dynamic relationship with God in history. Apparently some of Paul's opponents (I am not as sure as Badenas seems to be that Paul's audience was made up of Gentile Christians, p. 82) had argued that, if what Paul says in chaps. 5-8 is true, God is proving unfaithful to Israel. Paul's point, then, is that God's election of Israel has always been dynamic within history. Some descendents of the ancestors were left out and the Gentiles were always in view. As it happened, the Christ event was another dynamic moment in

the history of God's working toward the salvation of all. Paul does not seem to be combating, primarily, the view that election is "exclusive" (p. 94), but that it is static. This means that Israel's pursuit of the law and their failure to attain to righteousness are a demonstration not of God's unfaithfulness, but of their stubbornness to pursue "the law of righteousness."

Badenas argues that God's righteousness is found in the law. Thus the righteousness the Israelites pursued in their pursuit of "the law of righteousness" is the same as "the righteousness of faith" to which the Gentiles attained. In the chart on p. 102, where he sets up the antitheses of 9:30-31, he does not contrast these two. He also argues that in 10:5, 6 there is no contrast made between "the righteousness of the law" about which Moses "wrote" and the "righteousness of faith" which now "speaks." In support, he claims: "The motif that the law was intended to 'give life' in 10.5 is already announced in 7.10" (p. 138). It should be remembered, however, that in 7:10 Paul is not making an assertion about the law, nor about the commandment, but about his experience with the commandment. He had discovered that instead of being "unto life" it was "unto death." Overlooking these contrasts allows Badenas to write: "The present exegetical approach has shown that in Rom 9.30-10.13 the law is presented as the witness of righteousness by faith. Paul insists that submission to the righteousness of God (identified with Christ) is, in fact, obedience to the law (10.3-8)" (pp. 148-149). What needs to be explained is how a law that serves as a *witness* is to be *obeyed*. This problem is created by Badenas because while Paul writes about the "obedience of faith" (Rom 1:5; 16:26), Badenas writes about obedience to the law. And while Paul understands God's righteousness as God's power to save, exercised ultimately in the resurrection of Jesus to life at the right hand of God and, therefore, made manifest "apart from law" (3:21); Badenas, unexplainably, confuses the issue by adopting Reicke's definition of righteousness as "that absolute fairness with which God is willing to save" (pp. 102, 111).

This reviewer, for one, would like to thank Badenas for having demonstrated how the teleological reading of *telos* in Rom 10:4 fits well into the context and establishes that in Romans Paul sees a basic continuity between the teaching of Torah and the Christian Gospel. There is no question that Paul taught that righteousness by faith was a teaching found in the Torah, which made explicit reference to the inclusion of all nations as the beneficiaries of God's election of Israel in order to bring about righteousness (i.e.; salvation, Badenas correctly equates the two, p. 134). As such, the law was a witness to God's righteousness, and the finish post of its race was Christ. This means that while agreeing totally with Badenas' basic argument, I have some difficulty with some of his exegesis. This in no way detracts from the significant achievement of his work. He has not only read well the literature of the Hellenistic age in order to make his linguistic

analysis, but he has also read widely and very well a large body of secondary literature. His footnotes (pp. 152-263) are a gold field of reliable information. The book is also enhanced by its bibliography and its indexes of authors and biblical references. It will, undoubtedly, occupy a significant place in the future discussion of Paul's letter to the Romans.

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Carson, D. A. *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12-14*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 256 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

D. A. Carson has made a helpful contribution to the debate over spiritual gifts in general and glossolalia in particular. Although a wealth of material has been produced on both topics, exegetical studies have been few, and readable exegetical studies fewer still. Carson, however, has done exegesis for the common man in such a manner that few of the iterative or inceptive "bones" show through. He does include numerous transliterated Greek words in the text, but the more technical discussions are included in the footnotes. While exegesis does not often lend itself to interesting lectures, the book is actually comprised of a series of talks the author delivered at Moore College in Sydney, Australia, in 1985. It is a pleasing combination of scholarship and understandable communication.

Carson introduces his work by setting the familiar stage—a kind of face-off between how charismatics and non-charismatics view each other. Charismatics view non-charismatics as "stodgy traditionalists" who are enamored of propositional truth, dull in worship, and afraid of what the words "spiritual *experience*" might imply. The non-charismatics, of course, see the charismatics as controlled by "experience" at the expense of truth, naively proof-texting their way to an unbiblical, unsophisticated theology. In the midst of such an environment, fruitful dialogue is difficult indeed. But precisely at this point, Carson's book provides a helpful bridge.

His work is divided into five chapters. The first two chapters deal with 1 Cor 12 & 13 respectively, while chaps. 3 and 4 expound 1 Cor 14. Chap. 5 is devoted to theological reflections on topics such as "Second-Blessing Theology," "Revelation," "The Evidence of History," and "The Charismatic Movement." All his "reflections" are on topics closely related to spiritual gifts.

Carson systematically works his way through the three chapters of 1 Corinthians by giving the grammatical/syntactical meaning of the key words and small phrases and then commenting on their theological ramifications. For example, in his first chapter he comments at length on the key

words *pneumatikos* and *charismata* (1 Cor 12:1, 4), underscoring Paul's apparent preference for the latter. He suggests that since the Corinthians had become preoccupied with personal spiritual experience (*pneumatikos*), Paul wanted to stress the element of grace in the gifts (*charismata*), hence his preference. Also, Carson gives in parallel columns all the NT lists of gifts, which show at a glance their considerable variety, thereby supporting his argument that no one list of gifts was exhaustive or normative. This is important for his later assertion that no one gift (such as tongues) should be held up as a criterion of the Spirit's baptism (p. 158).

Regarding 1 Cor 13, Carson comments briefly on such things as authorship and location of the chapter, but does not elaborate on any critical exegetical issues. Instead, he enhances the popular appeal of his book by occasional contemporary applications, such as: "If Paul were addressing the modern church, perhaps he would extrapolate further . . ." (p. 61).

As mentioned above, Carson devoted the greatest space to 1 Cor 14. In the process he dialogues with the most common positions regarding tongues: Was the experience one of ecstasy or one of speaking in a previously unlearned foreign language? He lines up on the side of ecstasy, drawing support from an impressive bibliography.

Given the variety of readers for whom Carson writes, his book has few significant flaws. He does dramatize a bit when he says that Paul's "all mysteries" in 1 Cor 13 was "wildly hyperbolic." Also, he is less than clear when he defines the tongues phenomenon as "cognitive speech" (p. 83), but later describes it as a private prayer experience "without mental . . . or thought benefit" (p. 104). In that same vein, he seems so chary of the word "mystery" that he tries too hard to show that there is "no necessary connection" between the term "mysteries" in 14:2 and noncognitive speech. But although his definition is occasionally slippery, he uses the term "ecstasy" frequently and suggests that the Corinthian phenomenon was not the "known languages" experience of Acts 2.

While his exegesis is clear and readable, Carson does not deal evenly with all the crucial verses. For example, Paul's summary statement of caution in 14:26, 27 calls for careful evaluation, yet Carson devotes only one page to it. On the other hand, he devotes 10 pages to the verses on women keeping silent in church (14:34-36), which is only a marginal issue to his spiritual gifts theme. At the same time, since this passage on the role of women has become so fraught with conflict in some circles, Carson's treatment seemed brief and superficial. He might better have left it for a later study when he could do it more justice. Also, his bibliography is truly impressive. Yet in his list of unpublished dissertations the omission most noticeable to me was my own work, especially since our content, method, and bibliographies had so many points in common.

Finally, Carson's reflections on the charismatic movement are balanced and helpful. He points out numerous lessons that the charismatics and the non-charismatics can learn from each other. For example, he asserts that all *charismata* should be carefully tested, and some, at times, circumscribed; but that there is no exegetical or theological reason to preclude the tongues gift.

I found Carson's book to be true to the text, and yet not so technical that laymen would lose interest. Furthermore, I repeatedly found myself in agreement with his conclusions. Anyone who attempts a serious study of spiritual gifts, particularly tongues, will be obliged to include this book in his/her study.

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WILLIAM E. RICHARDSON

Davis, Leo Donald. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987. 304 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

Protestants, Eastern Orthodox, and Roman Catholics agree that the seven councils covered by Davis are ecumenical and can be called upon as authoritative. After a brief introduction to the Roman world, Davis sets about the task of describing both the history and the theology of the ecumenical councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680), and Nicaea II (787). He also includes a helpful, yet brief, glossary of the major theological terms used in the book.

Davis attempts and succeeds in bringing both history and theology together in an area in which a person cannot understand one without comprehending the other. He provides concise summary chronologies at the end of each chapter which help the reader to put the various councils in historical perspective. Davis also includes a selected bibliography at the end of each chapter. While these are generally helpful in determining the classics in the field, they are often rather dated. Only a few references to works written in the 1980s are found.

One of the strengths of Davis' work is his comparisons of the opposing points of different views being promulgated about the time of each council. In just a few short paragraphs Davis is able to summarize the points of contention without burdening the reader with technical terminology and intricate argumentation. At the same time he avoids the dangers of oversimplification.

While Davis states that he has kept footnotes to a minimum (p. 10), his work would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of more of them. Short highlight summaries of the chapters would also have been

helpful, as the chronologies are primarily geared toward a description of the historical events.

Davis reveals his Roman Catholic background when he states that one of his sub-themes is to indicate "the growing authority of the Papacy within the developing structure of the Church" (p. 10). On the other hand, he also points out that the East had great difficulties with the Bishop of Rome's understanding of his authority, and he demonstrates this throughout the work.

One of the interesting features of this book is the author's frank admission that these seven ecumenical councils do not always fit the neat definition of an ecumenical council as understood by the Roman Catholic Code of Canon Law. (According to the Code an ecumenical council is defined as an assembly of bishops and other specified persons, convoked and presided over by the pope for the purpose of formulating decisions concerning Christian faith and discipline. Such decisions require papal confirmation [p. 323]). Rather, he admits, the councils were often called by the emperor, the papal legates did not always approve the actions in behalf of the pope, and some of the councils were designated ecumenical only by the action of subsequent ecumenical councils. In Davis' mind, this has greatly complicated the count of ecumenical councils.

The foregoing problem, however, should not stand as a barrier to recognizing these seven councils as ecumenical. In the interest of better relations with both Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox Church (who recognize only the seven councils), Davis calls upon the Roman Catholic Church to reconsider the whole question and to accept only the first seven councils as being truly ecumenical.

This book, despite its weaknesses, is well written and highly informative—especially in the area of the interrelationship of the history and theology of the first seven ecumenical councils. It aids readers not only in a better understanding of the councils, but also of their place in Christian history.

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BRUCE NORMAN

Knight, George R. *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones*. Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald Publishing Association, 1987. 288 pp. \$16.95.

The Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church observes a noteworthy anniversary in 1988: the centennial of the landmark Minneapolis General Conference. As part of the remembrance, the Review and Herald Publishing Association has issued three histories, of which George Knight's *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones* is perhaps the most notable.

Knight has established himself through this and earlier writings as one of the SDA denomination's most judicious interpreters of its past.

*From 1888 to Apostasy* has the form of a conventional biography, but Knight uses Alonzo Trévier Jones's career as the occasion for analyzing a critical period of Adventist history. The issues with which the church contended at the turn of the century remain with it today—a reason why a close reading of this volume would well repay all who have an interest in that period of SDA history.

Jones took the SDA Church by storm in the late 1880s and 1890s. A whirlwind of energy, he became the denomination's greatest advocate of religious liberty in an age of disturbing threats to separation of church and state. He testified before Congressional committees on several occasions in defense of traditional separation. Jones's prominence also resided in a commanding platform presence and a persuasive editorial pen. Knight effectively conveys the sense of a man who both spoke and wrote with a conviction rooted in an absolute certitude of his rightness. His authority in the church was further enhanced by a series of important offices, including editorships of the *American Sentinel*, the *Signs of the Times*, and the *Review and Herald*; presidency of the SDA California Conference; and membership on the SDA General Conference Committee. Through a combination of charisma and editorial access to the Adventist public, Jones became one of the two or three most influential voices in the SDA Church in the 1890s.

But his was a troubled and a troubling influence. It was troubled because of an essential dogmatism and an inability to compromise that left him perpetually frustrated with the seemingly slow pace of change. It was troubling because his insistent advocacy of certain doctrinal positions and institutional arrangements set him squarely against other church leaders. In view of Jones's being impelled by a compulsive personality and impeded by inertial forces in the church, one might in retrospect see his "fall from grace" and ultimate alienation from the SDA denomination as inevitable. Though his career was marked by periodic confessions of pride and public reconciliation with his opponents, his good resolutions seemed quickly forgotten at subsequent contretemps.

Nevertheless, for a decade and a half beginning in 1888, Jones was at the center of the most momentous SDA Church debates of the age. The foremost of these followed Jones's alliance with E. J. Waggoner in their attempt to reinfuse righteousness by faith into Adventist theology. In four evocative chapters Knight provides a helpful review of events and attitudes surrounding the contentious Minneapolis General Conference of 1888. He applauds Jones for having championed a vital doctrinal insight, but faults him for a proclivity to publicly berate opponents to his message. The acerbic and uncompromising nature of Adventist theological debate up to the present may at least in part be seen as a legacy of the Minneapolis



Conference. More positively, of course, this Conference also laid the basis for a gospel-centered Adventism, which a century later is well established in theory even if not always in practice.

A second doctrinal dispute concerning the nature of Christ bore less pleasant fruit. Knight carefully examines Jones's accepting of the idea that Christ shared humanity's fallen nature. This meant, by extension, that all persons can come to experience the same holiness as Jesus through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Though Jones was not a part of the fanatical "Holy Flesh" movement in the 1890s, his preaching certainly encouraged the more extreme applications of holiness belief.

In the final third of the book Knight relates an additional church issue in which Jones became embroiled: administrative reorganization. The inadequacy of the growing SDA Church's institutional structure was painfully clear well before the turn of the century. Some means of decentralizing church administration was needed, but Jones insisted that a NT plan of organization denied virtually any hierarchical authority. His variety of "Christian anarchy" found surprising resonance among SDA leaders of the time (doubtless a reaction against the "kingly" powers at the General Conference headquarters in Battle Creek), but not to the degree Jones desired. Ellen White and A. G. Daniells prevailed at the crucial 1901 and 1903 General Conference sessions, reorganizing the church along the lines still in use today. Jones's unhappiness with the results of 1901 and 1903 (in particular the influence of the new president, A. G. Daniells) soon led him to ally with another notable dissident, John Harvey Kellogg, and took him out of the church.

In *From 1888 to Apostasy*, Knight assumes an Adventist readership and utilizes a devotional vocabulary. He seldom misses an opportunity to draw parallels between his story and the contemporary SDA Church. Still, there are two timely questions which Jones's career suggests but which the book does not address. First, How does a bureaucratic organization deal with nonconformity, especially when such behavior includes criticism of aspects of the organization? Knight's explanation of Jones's meteoric rise and fall resides chiefly in the man's personal qualities: multiple virtues ultimately undone by the vices of pride and stubbornness. But it is also illuminating to consider this cautionary tale from an institutional perspective. The question then becomes how a figure such as Jones ever gained the prominence he did, given his unconventional and abrasive ways. The answer may lie in part in the revival of primitive faith that occurred during the years following the Minneapolis Conference. Those years when the church felt the sting of intolerance and foresaw an imminent persecution, when the message of righteousness by faith lifted a burden of legalism from the hearts of many, and when the promise of an indwelling Spirit gained new currency, provided the religious atmosphere for Jones to acquire great authority. Truly a man for his time, he epitomized both the

sense of urgency and the sense of Christian freedom that Adventists experienced in the 1890s. Inevitably, though, an institution demands order; and with that imperative, Jones's star would fall.

The second question that could well have been addressed is, What was the political role of Ellen White in the SDA Church? This question relates to the first, because in fact she did exercise true charismatic leadership, not by virtue of personality but by her widely acknowledged prophetic gift. Of course, Ellen White is not the subject of Knight's study. But her place in the church of these years forms a natural extension to this book. Knight provides fascinating glimpses of White as one outside the formal circle of power, yet one whose counsel was by turn sought as a justification for a course of action, resisted if opposed to a group's wishes, or begrudgingly accepted. Certainly, Jones's own relationship to White revolved through all three types of response. What has been explored in part by George Knight, Jonathan Butler, Ron Graybill, and others should now lead to a systematic study of a prophet in a modernizing church.

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BENJAMIN MCARTHUR

Land, Gary, ed. *Adventism in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. ix + 301 pp. Paperback \$14.95.

From several perspectives *Adventism in America* represents a work that is both helpful and courageous: helpful in attempting a studied and balanced review of the whole of Adventism within 230 pages, and courageous in facing the criticism sure to follow as the narrative touches on many near-contemporary events whose movers and shapers are still living. In addition, an approach that relies on several authors for dealing with historical segments casts on the editor the almost intolerable responsibility for bringing harmony out of diversity in content selection, value choices, and style. In responding to this challenge, editor Land often distinguishes himself with success. Quite remarkably, he has all but eliminated the redundancy endemic to such projects.

In general, the authors—all Seventh-day Adventists of extensive professional experience in the church—have created a very readable tracing of the mainstream of Adventism. Aside from slightly sour notes in the preface, which criticize ecclesiastical protectiveness as having obstructed truthful historical self-examination (a premise that certainly will be challenged), the text responds to accepted norms of contemporary historical investigation. In most instances it is as nearly an objective perspective as can be expected of a self-examination. Without question the major readership will be Seventh-day Adventist, for the book is filled with discussions and allusions to persons and issues obscure to those outside Adventist circles.

Beyond this plenary commendation, *Adventism in America* presents an uneven texture in selection of materials for inclusion or exclusion. On the positive side, its discussion of 19th-century developments among the non-sabbatarian descendants of the Millerite movement opens new understandings for Seventh-day Adventists, most of whom are scarcely aware of the existence of other branches.

There are, however, substantial gaps in coverage that could have been filled, even in a work of this length. As an example, undue attention is given to an array of problems that distressed church leaders from time to time, leaving the more positive elements to incidental commentary. The logarithmic growth of the church, a phenomenon of major proportions, is handled slightly. Possibly this winnowing represents a conscious editorial policy; conceivably it reflects a journalistic bias toward stressing problems while tripping lightly over successes. Although the book rides well above the thought investment level of popular journalism, the bias toward problems shadows much of the book following the third chapter.

This observation is augmented by substantial gaps that occur in treatment of the church's geographical expansion. Although pioneer work in the Midwest, Pacific Northwest, and California is described to satisfactory levels, the only work in the South that receives more than passing comment is that among the Blacks. Minimal attention is given, for example, to the Madison College project and its flock of more than 60 institutional units scattered through the upper South, or the pioneering of Adventism among the majority populations throughout the old Confederacy.

The explosive 20th-century development of church membership outside North America rests in benign underdevelopment or is treated somewhat condescendingly on an incidental basis as a "third world" phenomenon. Possibly this approach is justified by the announced editorial goal of dealing with Adventism primarily in America.

The book is well structured along chronological lines. As with any historical effort, treacherous waters appear when the narrative approaches the contemporary, where the seasoning of experience diminishes. To a degree greater than necessary, the concluding section of *Adventism in America* suffers a significant narrowing of perspective. Leading events of the most recent two decades are approached from the point of view fostered by a single segment of the Adventist intellectual community. Almost without exception, citations come from persons active in the Adventist Forum group. For example, substantial attention is given to an ill-fated effort to develop a more specific statement of views that denominational employees would be asked to affirm. As threatening as this appeared to be to certain select circles, the minimal concern in the church as a whole needs to be considered. The increasing polarity regarding values and Adventist relationships to the prevailing naturalistic world view as manifest within Adventist academic circles is deserving of greater attention. It is

probable that this growing issue and the internationalization of the church will provide the sharpest challenges as the Adventist church approaches the close of the 20th century.

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GEORGE W. REID

Mare, W. Harold. *The Archaeology of the Jerusalem Area*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 323 pp. \$19.95.

There has been an explosion of archaeological excavation since the previously divided city of Jerusalem came under the administrative control of the Israeli government. Both technical and popular publications have attempted to record the flood of new discoveries. Perhaps more has been learned about the archaeology of this ancient city in the past couple of decades than during the previous century.

The sheer volume of material needs some kind of guide to it. W. Harold Mare's new book provides this service. Drawing from both primary reports and secondary works of such figures as Kathleen Kenyon, N. Avigard, Benjamin Mazar, and Yigal Shiloh, Mare outlines what archaeology has revealed of the history and development of Jerusalem from prehistoric times to the Turkish era. He follows a chronological format.

Although the author bases his approach on the archaeological evidence, he fleshes his material out with information contained in biblical and literary sources. He not only details the architectural development of the city, but weaves in facts regarding the daily lives of its people. Often this provides unexpected insights into the biblical narrative. Sometimes Mare takes the biblical record itself and lets the reader see it with an unexpected clarity. For example, on p. 77 he has a proposed layout for the buildings that Solomon constructed. When one compares the sizes and number of structures of the palace and administrative complex with the area of the Solomonic Temple, one discovers that all but the Palace of Pharaoh's Daughter were larger than the temple, and the latter was almost as big. This archaeological evidence amplifies the biblical account of Solomon's drift from the religion of his ancestors.

In spite of the fact that he is aiming at a popular audience, Mare writes with authority. He has taught archaeology and New Testament at Covenant Theological Seminary for a quarter of a century, has served as president of the Near East Archaeological Society for several years, and has directed excavations at Abila of the Decapolis in northern Jordan. He is able to translate concepts and jargon into language understandable by intelligent laymen. The book contains a "Glossary of Technical Terms."

Although Mare's basic position is generally conservative, he avoids the polemics of many evangelicals. In a footnote on p. 36, for instance, he

alludes to the question of dating and chronology and cites a work published by an evangelical publisher, but he does not belabor the point. For the most part he employs the traditional dating framework of modern archaeology. He examines the discoveries, insights, interpretations, and theories of modern archaeology, but behind his writing one senses a strong, traditional acceptance of the biblical narrative.

*The Archaeology of the Jerusalem Area* provides an excellent introduction to Jerusalem archaeology and excavation. Its extensive bibliography and footnotes will lead the interested reader to more specialized and technical material. Besides the biblical period, the book is invaluable to those interested in the development of Christianity and Islam in the Holy Land. Tourists will also find it helpful in their explorations of archaeological Jerusalem.

One disappointing aspect of the book is the quality of its many illustrations. Photographs reproduced from color transparencies are not usually expected to have the same sharpness and contrast as those derived from negatives, but the diagrams and maps in the book appear as if they were several copies removed from the original. Still, the overall quality of the illustrations has improved over that of the same publisher's earlier work, *Biblical Archaeology in Focus* by Keith N. Schoville.

*The Archaeology of the Jerusalem Area* deserves an honored place in the library of anyone interested in biblical archaeology.

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GERALD WHEELER

Meyers, Carol L. and Eric M. *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 25B. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1987. xcv + 478 pp. + 8 pp. of illustrations. \$20.00.

Eric and Carol Meyers, a husband-and-wife team with expertise in archaeology and biblical studies, have co-authored the 23rd volume in the Anchor Bible OT commentary series. This series, now targeted for 36 volumes, is a growing one—both in the number of volumes and in the size of the books. If all the pages in this commentary are counted, there are on the average 58 pages of material per biblical chapter. The “notes” (not including “comments”) section on Hag 1:1 alone totals 14 pages. In contrast, the 1964 E. A. Speiser volume on Genesis in the same series averaged about 9 pages per chapter and cost only \$6.00. If such a trend continues, one wonders what the size of the last volumes in the series might look like—and cost!

The volume comes with a wide array of features. Preliminary materials include a preface, table of contents, list of illustrations (maps, charts, and

photographs), a glossary of difficult terms, and an explanation of translation principles. Those interested in pictures should note that (in the volume supplied to me) the location of the two sections of illustrations is wrongly given in the index. The commentary proper has an extensive introductory background section which includes a 23-page bibliography. An original translation of the text is given for each segment. The translation is followed by "notes" and "comments." "Notes" are detailed, in-depth, verse-by-verse analyses of the text from a linguistic and historical standpoint. "Comments" are discussions of the text by paragraph or section. They attempt to synthesize larger overall meanings. The volume concludes with separate indices for authors, subjects, Hebrew words, words from other languages, and scriptural references.

The authors believe that Haggai and Zech 1-8 form a single composite literary work which reached its present form in anticipation of the dedication of the second temple in 515 B.C. They hold that the time period between the original giving of the prophetic oracles and the final book form was very brief. The person putting the material together may in fact have been Zechariah himself. The Meyers find nothing in these two prophets which has proved definitive in arguing against the assumption that "Haggai and Zechariah were the authors of virtually all that is attributed to them" (p. XLVII). The writers also believe the book has deep moral and spiritual value and displays rhetorical ingenuity and skill coupled with a sophisticated, elevated prose style (p. XLII). Second-temple Judaism largely survived because of the success of Haggai and Zechariah in proclaiming their message.

Two examples of the Meyers's exegesis of specific passages show us a sample of their style. The oracular insertion in Zech 4:6b-10a is not viewed as misplaced and intrusive as many commentators would argue. The authors suggest that the interweaving of visionary and oracular styles is most characteristic of Zechariah's writing style. In the difficult passage of Zech 6:9-15 that deals with crowning, the writers favor retaining the MT plural "crowns" in vs. 11 rather than emending it to "crown" as even the conservative NIV Bible does. I find their interpretation of the passage, which includes both Joshua and Zerubbabel, to be convincing.

In general, the book is thorough, judicious, and insightful. Viewed from the overall sweep of OT scholarship, it takes a conservative to a middle-of-the-road position. Some lengthy discussions could be pared down without loss of essential content, but the commentary generally is well written. Scholars of these two OT books owe a debt to the authors, and their volume will be an important one for the foreseeable future.

My main criticism relates to the stated aim of the Anchor Bible series. If it really is "to make the Bible accessible to the modern reader" and "is aimed at the general reader with no special formal training in Biblical Studies," then 581-page commentaries complete with Semitic words and

technical vocabulary do not seem to fit. Only the most stalwart general reader would even think of trying to digest this work. Either Doubleday should change its description, or such a commentary should be published in a way that it can be labeled for what it is—a major scholarly work mainly for specialists.

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Morris, Leon. *New Testament Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 448 pp. \$20.95.

This volume plays a major role in Zondervan's attempt to broaden its scholarly market. Leon Morris is well chosen to represent this image. He offers scholarship of the first rank, while approaching the biblical text as the Word of God. Thus he considers the gospels to be reliable accounts of Jesus' words and deeds. Being relatively uninterested in the historical approach, he deems it to be his task to describe the teachings of the NT documents and the theology that lies behind those teachings, rather than to speculate on how those documents got into their present form.

A central point of Morris's book is that the writers of the NT were unique individuals in their expression of Christian theology. They were not following any "party line" (p. 325). While Morris grants the diversity of the NT, however, he is not willing to assume that variations of expression necessarily point to irreconcilable differences. In his brief summary of the book (pp. 325-333), Morris draws these two aspects together by summarizing both the key contrasts between the various writers and their central agreements. The book closes with the thought that the unity and diversity of the NT teach two things: (1) that narrow dogmatism is "ugly," and (2) that the great central teachings of Christianity are not optional.

The book is divided into four main parts: the Pauline writings, the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, the Johannine writings, and the General Epistles. Although Morris examines the Pauline writings as a whole, he treats Matthew, Mark, and Luke-Acts separately, seeking to distinguish the unique theology of each evangelist while maintaining, nevertheless, that they compositely offer a reliable picture of the theology of Jesus.

Morris does address some major issues in NT studies. Although he believes that the Gospel of Mark was the first Gospel written, he does not think that one's position on the Synoptic Problem makes a great deal of difference theologically. He regards the thirteen letters which carry Paul's name to be "Pauline" in at least a broad sense. Morris opposes the trend to see the writings of Paul in terms of "apocalyptic categories," agreeing with Bultmann that justification and the Christ-event are central to Paul. He

also rejects the idea that the primitive church lived in daily expectation of the Parousia, an expectation which the church supposedly lost in its "early Catholicism" stage (a stage whose existence Morris denies can be demonstrated in the NT documents).

Morris's intention is to provide a "compact introduction to the theology of the New Testament" (p. 7). He proceeds book by book through the NT (treating Luke-Acts and the Pauline and Johannine letters as units), examining the texts relevant to each major topic as expressed in the language of the NT writers. A fairly typical example of his approach to a specific theme is his treatment of the "son of man" in the Gospel of Mark. After surveying the use of the phrase generally in the NT, he examines the background of the son-of-man concept in contemporary Aramaic and the OT. He then notes that the concept is associated with three aspects of Jesus' career in the Gospel of Mark: (1) his earthly authority, (2) his eschatological authority, and (3) his lowliness and suffering. While none of these ideas is unique to Mark, Morris's examination of the topic in the context of that Gospel illuminates the theology of Mark in a way that a general discussion of the son of man in the Synoptic Gospels could not.

Although Morris did not intend to write a book at the cutting edge of NT scholarship, his *Theology* does make significant contributions. While Morris's conservatism will automatically disqualify his book in some circles; nevertheless, his skepticism of the "assured results" of historical criticism is healthy. We know far less about the first century than one would gather from reading the secondary literature. Tentativeness is always appropriate where the evidence is not all in or can be read in more ways than one. In treating Mark, Matthew, and Luke separately, Morris helps to clarify the unique perspectives of the Synoptists without relying heavily on questionable presuppositions, as, for example, Conzelmann does. His simplistic textual approach allows the reader a quick handle on the extent of the material, thus providing a basis for further work, as well as avoiding the ever-present danger of imposing a dogmatic system upon the NT through the use of language that carries 2000 years of theological baggage.

Unfortunately, however, the book does not excite the reader. It often comes across as a mere restating of collections of texts on various topics. His insights are rarely as fruitful as Ladd's *Theology*, an equally conservative work with which Morris's will often be compared. While his treatment of Luke-Acts is extensive (even more pages than on the Gospel of John), there is much less coverage given to such important books as Matthew, Hebrews, and Revelation. Morris's *Theology*, therefore, leaves a reader with mixed feelings.



Noll, Mark A. *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986. xiv + 255 pp. \$19.95.

*Between Faith and Criticism* is the first of several volumes being sponsored by the Society of Biblical Literature in its Confessional Perspectives series. The purpose of the series is to examine the Bible within diverse American religious communities. While the present work deals with Bible scholarship among evangelicals, future volumes will examine Catholic, Jewish, and mainline Protestant Bible scholarship in America.

Mark A. Noll, a professor of history at Wheaton College, is becoming a major figure in the study of the role of the Bible and the development of biblical scholarship in American culture. His editorship of *The Bible in America* (1982) and *The Princeton Theology* (1983) are two of his contributions to a largely neglected field of study.

*Between Faith and Criticism* falls into three major sections: (1) an introduction that deals with definitions, themes, and theses; (2) chaps. 2-6, which are a historical treatment of the relationship of evangelicals to modern critical scholarship of the Bible; and (3) chaps. 7-9, which discuss problematic and unsettled issues in evangelicalism's approach to biblical scholarship.

Noll characterizes his book as "a historical essay on evangelical interaction with critical Bible scholarship in America" from 1880 to the present (p. 1). He writes for both evangelicals and non-evangelicals, claiming that his "essay" is not exhaustive, comprehensive, or entirely impartial. Despite that disclaimer, the reader will find *Between Faith and Criticism* to be the most comprehensive study of evangelical biblical scholarship available. While there is much more work to be done in this field, Noll's book certainly presents to its readers the main figures and developments in his field of study.

The book's focus is on the interaction of evangelicals with critical scholarship. That area is insightfully developed in the historical chapters.

The historical chapters (2-6) are undoubtedly the best in the book, and they are the part of the book that will have permanent value for students of biblical scholarship, evangelicalism, and American religion in general. It is in these chapters that the author has systematically developed topics that previously have been treated only in bits and pieces, if at all. More than just collecting the bits and pieces, however, Noll has synthesized his material and developed relationships that have not always been obvious.

The evangelical biblical scholar, Noll points out, has been forced into the dilemma of simultaneous membership in two hostile communities—"the professional community in which scholars willingly adopt a mien of intellectual neutrality, and the community of belief, in which the same scholars embrace a childlike faith" (p. 7). The problem, he points out, is

that evangelical biblical scholars live in both communities at the same time. The book's title, *Between Faith and Criticism*, reflects the tension involved in this dual citizenship. It is the often hostile interaction of those two communities that constitutes the context for the topic.

Noll indicates that the history of the evangelical scholars who experience the clash between those two communities is actually two quite diverse stories—an American version and the British story.

The book traces the American version as: (1) the response to the development of critical methodologies in the period from 1880-1900 (chap. 2). During this period, Noll sees the "traditional Bible-believers" as competing in the intellectual marketplace as equals in the academic dialogue regarding holy scripture. (2) The period of decline (1900-1935), during which conservatives retreated into the "fortress of faith" (chap. 3). (3) The evangelical return to the world of scholarship between 1935 and 1950 (chap. 5). (4) The discovery of strategies between 1940 and 1975 to put themselves back into the academic-professional picture (chap. 5). Chap. 6 completes the American version by surveying the status of evangelical scholarship since 1975, when it had once again become represented in the academic community.

The relationship of British evangelicals to critical study of the Bible from 1860-1937 is developed in chap. 4. In this very valuable treatment, Noll demonstrates that the less abrasive atmosphere between conservative and liberal scholars in Great Britain did not produce the unhealthy withdrawal from scholarship that was found in American fundamentalism with its escapist and name-calling approach to methods and ideas that threatened it. As a result, British evangelical biblical scholars were not excluded from the academic marketplace. Rather, they stayed, participated, and developed strategies that aided them in responsibly facing the questions being raised by critical methodologies. These strategies and models, Noll points out, were in place to give guidance to American conservatives as they came back into the academic world. Beyond that contribution, British biblical scholars—such as F. F. Bruce, G. T. Manley, and Norval Geldenhuys—became practical examples of the British approach to the tension between faith and criticism. The subsequent chapters of the book integrate the British contributions into the American development and demonstrate the continuing preponderance of British scholarship in some areas, such as the writing of conservative Bible commentaries.

Chaps. 7-9 discuss issues raised by the evangelical renaissance in biblical studies, along with some challenges that still need to be faced. The author leaves one with the distinct impression that even though American evangelical biblical scholars have come a remarkably long distance, they still have a way to go before achieving full maturity and full equality in the academic-scholarly marketplace.

*Between Faith and Criticism* is a major contribution to our understanding of the development of the American evangelical mind in general and the evolution of the relationship of evangelicals to critical methods of studying scripture in particular. Of special value are the historical chapters. Those chapters should be read by all who are interested in evangelicalism, American religion, or the role of critical methods in Bible study, even if they choose not to read the entire book. The scholarly world is indebted to Noll for this contribution and to the Society of Biblical Literature for its insight in sponsoring its series of studies on Confessional Perspectives.

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GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Perkins, Richard. *Looking Both Ways: Exploring the Interface Between Christianity and Sociology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 189 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

To the extent that sociology is taken seriously in Christian circles, it is generally viewed in one of two ways: as a threat to faith or as an aid to greater understanding of religious commitments. These views roughly correspond with conservative or liberal orientations, and with rejection or acceptance of sociological insights. Most often, however, sociological methodology is used without regard to the discipline's philosophical underpinnings—an unsatisfying solution to the sociologist, as well as to the thinking Christian, but one that is perceived to be safer than other alternatives.

In *Looking Both Ways*, Richard Perkins takes the bull by the horns and examines the foundations of sociology and Christianity as belief systems that do not naturally mix. The result is a profound yet readable book that offers as much to the sociologist as to the committed Christian, but most to those who try to integrate the two viewpoints. In his analysis, the author sacrifices neither faith nor scientific integrity—in itself a respectable achievement. By getting to the roots of both sociology and Christianity (a “radical” approach), he finds a meeting ground that appears to be mutually satisfying to all who accept the premise that several perspectives are better than one.

Comprised of two parts, the first on the problem of relativity and the second on the problem of ideology, the book focuses on the central questions that confront Christians as they grapple with the insights that sociology can offer. Perkins defines a Christian as one who subscribes to the core tenets of the Christian gospel, including creation, fall, and restoration through the sacrificial death of Christ. Thus, the analysis transcends denominational boundaries. Sociology is seen as representing two contradicting claims: that social reality is a human construction and that humans

are conditioned by the structures of social experience—in short, the constructionist and the structuralist approaches (p. 15). The interpretive, phenomenological orientation of the constructionists leads to relativism; and the positivistic orientation of the structuralists may lead to determinism—both abhorred by the committed Christian.

The solution Perkins proposes to the problem of relativity is found in the difference between metaphysical relativism and cultural relativity. A Christian can accept the latter but not the former. Thus, a Christian has no problem with social construction of reality at the micro-level. It is when sociology begins to assert its own metaphysical assumptions, such as the denial of any absolutes, that the Christian will have to part company. Yet Christianity can gain from sociology the ability to step back and look at itself from a cognitive distance and see its own assumptions, some of which are not biblically based. "Sociologically informed Christians," claims Perkins, "are metaphysical absolutists while remaining epistemological relativists" (p. 84), recognizing that, from the human standpoint, knowledge will always be relative and incomplete.

In the second part, Perkins shows how ideologies work implicitly to legitimize the existing structures that are conducive to one's own interests. Christianity, in its ideologically conservative individualism, has tended to reduce social issues to personal troubles, thus blaming the victim. Such moralist reductionism, however, is not inherent in Christianity but has been "tacked on" (p. 140), forgetting that an issue-oriented approach to sin is biblical. Much of sociology, on the other hand, is amoral structuralism. Perkins asserts that Christian sociologists ought to reject both. A combination of Christianity and sociology can lead the way out of the parochial confines of each, since each provides the criticism that the other needs. Christianity and sociology can meet in "reflexive praxis"—i.e., in cognitive detachment from conventional social reality, transcending immediate interests, and learning through committed involvement, while exercising faith active in love.

Through an analysis that is equally critical of sociology and institutional Christianity, Perkins has avoided the pitfall of religious dogmatism that sometimes colors Christian sociology. It is easy to say that secular science is arrogant, as S. D. Gaede (*Where Gods May Dwell: On Understanding the Human Condition*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1985), for example, has asserted. It is far more difficult to defend Christianity without a tone that may sound arrogant to secular scientists. Perkins has done this by subjecting the Christian assumptions to the same scrutiny as those of sociology—a strategy that speaks of openness and objectivity. He makes an excellent point in showing that all parochialism, Christian or secular, is arrogant. To force one type of explanation onto everything is "analytical imperialism" (pp. 125-126). The key lies in the centrality of faith that, following the example of Jesus, challenges society rather than justifies its

ideologically-based status quo. This powerful conclusion strikes at the core of both sociology and Christianity.

There are a few points used for illustrative purposes that seem to have been stretched too far. For example, in his explanation of reification in Christianity, Perkins equates monogamy with slavery as humanly-constructed institutions. Although he accepts the family as "divinely sanctioned," he sees monogamy merely as a "useful cultural form," endorsed by NT writers but "not prescribed anywhere" (p. 161). A parallel could be drawn, however, from what Jesus said about divorce: "from the beginning it was not so" (Matt 19:8, RSV). In the same spirit, it could be said that monogamy is assumed in the Bible as the original plan, which has fallen victim to many human aberrations, such as polygamy, divorce, and so on. The survival of monogamy, furthermore, would suggest a more enduring quality to that institution. It seems that in "looking both ways" Perkins has in this instance cast a longer look in the sociological than in the biblical direction.

Another problem area is related to the history of ideas, which Perkins has oversimplified in his attempt to explain the pitfalls of dualism (p. 173). While the idea that dualism has prevented the integration of faith and action is valid, it is not entirely correct to attribute the origin of dualism to Greek thought and to perceive it as a Western development. Dualism is a common notion in much ancient literature, particularly in Iranian Zoroastrianism and Jewish apocalypticism. Primitive Christianity was not devoid of it either, as is evident in the NT writings. Furthermore, in the author's search for the origin of dualism, the distinction between the Greek use of the word for knowledge as a noun and its Hebrew use as a verb is somewhat forced. The latter observation seems to be based on the tendency in Hebrew lexicography to prioritize words by their verbal forms. The ancient Hebrews, however, did express knowledge also as a noun. Interestingly, in the Gospel of John, faith and knowledge appear only in verbal forms, a fact that lends support to the Gospel's emphasis on active faith.

Perkins seems to use the concept of dualism in a narrow, restricted sense as an antithesis to action-oriented faith. He condemns dualism in this sense while endorsing it in its more general meaning, such as good versus evil and physical versus spiritual. This is evident in his commendation of sectarian Christianity for its detachment, skepticism, and marginalism ("sojourner" and "pilgrim," p. 162) in his statement that Christianity liberates "from the conventions of the cosmos" (p. 164), and in his view of Jesus as one who always stood apart from conventional definitions of reality (pp. 170-172). While such marginality is a good antidote against reification, it is based on a dualistic worldview. Certainly it is not the incarnational theology that praxis would suggest. The challenge is to be *in* but not of the *cosmos*, as Perkins concludes (p. 177). His basic point is

thus well taken. Western Christianity's overemphasis on correct doctrine or propositional truth has to some extent obscured the concept of relational truth capable of integrating knowledge and practice, faith and action.

*Looking Both Ways* is a thorough and thought-provoking analysis of a dilemma every enlightened Christian must face, since sociology's secular, humanistic foundations are shared by other disciplines. It is by looking critically at the assumptions of both Christianity and sociology that Perkins has succeeded in providing a larger perspective: Whatever else they are, "social science is a metaphysical exercise" and "Christianity is a collective human endeavor" (p. 24). Each benefits by learning from the other, and in this intersection lies the challenge of faith as praxis. Presenting that challenge is one of the many contributions of this excellent and enlightening book.

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Rast, Walter E., ed. *Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1980-84*. BASOR Supplement Series, No. 24. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986. 164 pp. Paperback, \$20.00.

This volume is the second in a series incorporating preliminary reports of ASOR-related excavations. Its intent is to publish archaeological reports in the shortest possible time after their completion.

Each study focuses on the results of either the initial or the most recent season of excavation for each site covered. Due to their introductory nature, a necessary tentativeness about conclusions is maintained, though there is frequent reference to earlier discussions and/or field reports where appropriate. Fuller treatment must, of course, await the final excavation reports.

The geographical areas represented in this volume are Turkey, Israel, and Jordan. It begins with the 1983 season at Sardis as reported by C. H. Greenewalt, M. L. Rautman, and R. Meriç. Material remains from the various sectors on the site and in a regional survey span from EB through Byzantine times, though the most prominent features examined were from the Lydo-Persian and Late Roman periods. The second report (by R. Bull, E. Krentz, and O. Storvick) covers the ninth season (1980) at Caesarea Maritima. The excavations were concentrated in Fields C and G, which are located just south and north, respectively, of the Crusader Fortress. Important finds include slight evidence of a Roman *cardo* beneath the Byzantine one, and the major city wall (W 8001) from Herodian Caesarea.

The third report (by E. Oren, M. Morrison, and I. Gilead) is on the 1982 and 1983 seasons of the Land of Gerar Expedition. The project includes systematic mapping and surveying of the Gerar and Besor Wadi Systems. The present report, however, deals with the excavations at Tell

Haror and the Chalcolithic site of Gerar 100. Areas D, E, and G produced impressive evidence for an Iron Age mudbrick wall, towers, and revetment surrounding the site. In the following section, R. Smith and A. McNicoll report on the 1982 and 1983 seasons at Pella and its larger vicinity. The eleven areas of excavation revealed material ranging from as early as the Palaeolithic to as late as the Ayyubid period.

The fifth section (by L. Geraty et al.) focuses on the first season (1984) at Tell el 'Umeiri and vicinity. The Madaba Plains Project has two major emphases. The first, which takes the form of a regional survey, is more anthropological in nature, stressing the "food system" concept. The second is the Tell itself where four fields were opened up (A-D). Significant finds include a large structure comparable to the "Western Tower" at Tell Beit Mirsim, a casemate wall with associated glaçis, a defensive wall protecting the spring, an EB IV domestic area, and a seal impression of the Ammonite King Ba'alīs (cf. Jer 40:14). The final report (by G. O. Rollefson and A. H. Simmons) is over the 1984 season at the Neolithic village of 'Ain Ghazal, where a definite period of transition (Phase S-III) from aceramic to ceramic now seems to have been determined.

Each study contains preliminary remarks on pottery, objects, and stratigraphy connected with brief historical summaries where appropriate. The volume contains a considerable number of figures, maps, pictures, plans, and tables which aid in the decipherment of the written material and help the reader to reconstruct the remains three-dimensionally. Two minor faults were the inconsistency in spelling of the word Tell (Tel) in the Gerar report, and the unfortunate error of "Middle or Late Bronze period" (instead of Byzantine period) on p. 34 in the report on Caesarea.

A couple of problematical matters of interpretation might briefly be mentioned. Area B at Gerar 100 is a one-phase Chalcolithic settlement dominated by pits, some of which, it is suggested, were used as dwellings (p. 80). However, one of the excavators (I. Gilead) has since argued against this interpretation for similar structures at Beer-Sheba (cf. "A New Look at Chalcolithic Beer-Sheva," *BA* 50 [1987]: 110-117), and this would suggest similar implications for Gerar 100. Glueck's conclusions regarding settlement in the Southern Transjordan continue to be modified as there is significant evidence for MB and LB sedentary activity at Tell el 'Umeiri (p. 117), though evidence for the surrounding area is somewhat weaker (pp. 117, 125-126).

The editors of this series of reports have done scholars a favor by providing a means whereby the preliminary results of excavations may appear in print rapidly. The excavations of this volume took place between 1980 and 1984. Therefore, the series thus far seems to be reaching its goal. In a day when there is much call for archaeologists to publish their results quickly, this series of "Preliminary Reports" is to be commended.

Rochat, Joyce. *Survivor* [A Biography of Siegfried H. Horn]. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. xii + 332 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Horn, Siegfried H. *Promise Deferred*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987. 95 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

The story recounted in these two books is one of the best I have ever read. It belongs to one of Adventism's most remarkable scholars—a renowned archaeologist, noted professor, prolific author, esteemed churchman, and founder and first editor of *AUSS*: Siegfried Herbert Horn. Both books concentrate on the six-and-a-half years of Horn's life when, as a German missionary to the Dutch East Indies, he was imprisoned as a World War II prisoner of war in a succession of five camps in Dutch Java, Sumatra, and British India. Both books see these years as not wasted, but as valuable preparation for Horn's scholarly career because of his iron determination to "redeem the time" by making the most out of his adversity. Both books are exceptionally well written, at least partially because both are based on the detailed diaries Horn has kept since his teen years.

Joyce Rochat's volume has the advantage of historical context, beginning with accounts of Horn's grandparents, parents, and youth, all told in considerable detail and illustrated with family photographs. By comparison, Horn's version is more like a *Reader's Digest* first-person account. Though considerably shorter, it gives some important details that are strangely missing from Rochat's longer book.

The latter's early chapters are important for understanding the development of Siegfried Horn as a person. We see his paternal grandparents as indomitable and controlling; his father, one of the pioneering air heroes of his time, as daring and romantic; and his mother as strong, disciplined, loyal, and devoted to her church and its teachings. While Siegfried inherited characteristics from all of these ancestors, it seems to have been his mother who most influenced and molded his development. An iron will, coupled with a firm belief in providence, carried him through his schooling; his courtships in Germany, England, and Holland; his transition to denominational employment; his missionary hardships; and finally his years of imprisonment and separation from his wife.

It is in these last six-and-a-half years that the two books overlap and, in fact, supplement one another. We learn how Horn miraculously ended up as a missionary in Java, and how he steadily built up his personal library to over a thousand scholarly volumes. We see him, as a German citizen, get caught up in the Dutch rage over the Nazi takeover of their homeland, while his Dutch-born wife was allowed by both the Dutch and later the Japanese (because she was married to a German) to carry on her mission work undisturbed. We read how he survived the cruel treatment he



received in an island prison off the coast of Java; how he nearly died of dysentery in the jungles of Sumatra; and how, when he was transferred to British supervision, he providentially escaped drowning in the Indian Ocean when he completed passage to India on the wrong ship. We watch him surmount difficulties at camps in Ramgarh, Deoli, and Dehra Dun, moving beyond circumstances that would have daunted most, even making these very circumstances work in his favor.

Despite its greater length, Rochat's book skips some fascinating details of camp life—surgical operations under primitive circumstances and daring prisoner escapes. The most glaring omission was the fact that Horn's wife was notified by the Red Cross that he had drowned at sea, and for nearly four years she believed herself to be a widow. Rochat's book also leaves its readers hanging with unanswered questions: What happened to the German wives and children who left the Indies for Germany via Japan and Russia? When and how was Horn reunited with his wife? Rochat's book is also marred by numerous typos, spelling errors, and other inconsistencies: e.g., Hänschen or Hannchen? Seyss or Seis Inquart? Andreas or Immanuel Krautschick? Nevertheless, using the inclusio of Psalm 146, Rochat tells her story well.

Those readers who know of Horn's importance as an archaeologist, professor, author, and churchman will find in both books the account of a fascinating decade that places his scholarly endeavors in their immediate context. They will see the origins of his later scholarly contributions in his single-minded interest in his private library, in his unrelenting desire to travel in the Middle East and do advanced study, and in his devotion to learning and writing during a self-imposed camp regimen.

Those readers who are merely looking for an inspiring story will find in either book not only entertainment, but also many valuable lessons and insights: the value of relating constructively to a different culture; the importance of sensitivity to a companion's differing reaction to what life brings; the sheer magnitude of what can be accomplished when a task is pursued with single-minded devotion, energy, and organization.

Neither book takes the reader past 1947 and into the productive forty-year span of Siegfried Horn's scholarly career. In terms of a biographer's task, the easy part is now done. The analysis and evaluation of Horn's contributions since 1947 will be much more difficult but just as rewarding, if not more so. The work that has come the closest thus far, though it is far from definitive, in capturing the essence of one who modeled his life after Schliemann and Christ, is Lloyd A. Willis, *Archaeology in Adventist Literature, 1937-1980* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1984).

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LAWRENCE T. GERATY

Schriver, George H. *Philip Schaff: Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987. xii + 138 pp. \$19.95.

Philip Schaff (1819-1893) was one of the giants of nineteenth-century religious scholarship in the United States. Primarily remembered as a church historian, Schaff also made major contributions in the areas of biblical studies and practical ecumenism. Among his many accomplishments as a biblical scholar was overseeing the translation and editing of the American edition of John Peter Lange's massive *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* and the presidency of the American Committee of Bible Revision that, in conjunction with a British committee, produced the Revised Version of the Bible—the first major translation of the scriptures into English since the King James Version in 1611. Schaff, a firm proponent of "Evangelical Catholicism," viewed all of his work as ecumenical. Beyond being ecumenical in general, however, he also served as secretary for the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance for the better part of a decade.

Many of his works in church history have become classics. Some of the most important are his monumental seven-volume *History of the Christian Church*, his *Creeds of Christendom*, and the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Beyond these accomplishments, he served as general editor of the *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (28 volumes), and he gave impetus and shape to the American Church History series—a thirteen-volume set of denominational histories published in the 1890s that greatly influenced the writing of American church history in the early twentieth century.

In addition to all these achievements, Schaff was instrumental in the founding of what have become known as the Society of Biblical Literature and the American Society of Church History. It is the centennial of this last event in 1988 that stimulated Schriver's biography of Schaff, the Society's first president. Despite Schaff's prominence, the only biography of him, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, was published by his son David in 1897. J. H. Nichols' *Romanticism in American Theology: Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg* (1961) is also helpful in understanding the man.

To remedy the lack of serious published studies on Schaff and to celebrate its own centennial, the American Society of Church History commissioned Schriver to write a biography. Schriver, a professor of history at Georgia Southern College, is well qualified for the task, having completed his dissertation—"Philip Schaff's Concept of Organic Historiography"—at Duke University in 1960.

Schriver, at the request of the centennial planning committee, sought to develop a scholarly biography that would appeal to a broad audience. The committee suggested that his notes be minimal and that he highlight the major aspects of Schaff's life and contributions.

These various requests are to some extent contradictory in the sense that the book could have been much more scholarly if the author had not been saddled with the committee's restrictions, including severe limitations on space. Time after time readers will wish for further treatment of topics as they move through the book.

Schriver divided his text into three major sections: (1) Schaff's youth, education, and early professional life in Europe; (2) his years at Mercersburg Theological Seminary in south central Pennsylvania, where he and J. W. Nevin developed the "Mercersburg theology," a high church movement in the Reformed tradition; and (3) his years in New York City as chairman of the New York Sabbath Committee, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, and professor at Union Theological Seminary.

Although this biography concentrates on two major aspects of Schaff's life—his Christian scholarship and his ecumenical vision—it also presents the human side of the man. It portrays him as a warm, personal individual who was not only a devoted husband and father, but also an international figure who made friends wherever he went and who managed to unite the leading religious scholars of two continents in common endeavors and understandings.

While the irenic Schaff was undoubtedly a pleasant person, it seems that Schriver has probably painted him a little more perfect than reality might warrant. Perhaps more use of the writings of his detractors and enemies might have balanced the picture. One has to read between the lines to see what appears to be the other side of Schaff.

In spite of its limitations, *Philip Schaff: Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet* is both well written and informative. Its helpful survey in the text, along with its notes and bibliography, provides a useful guide to students of Schaff and the institutions and movements with which he was connected. Beyond that, it is enjoyable reading about a scholar whose works are widely used, but who is not well known as a person.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Weiss, Herold. *Paul of Tarsus: His Gospel and Life*. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. xiv + 188 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

In this work Herold Weiss, Professor of Religious Studies at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, offers an excellent and quite readable survey of Paul's life and thought. He does not claim to be original, but rather attempts to target the nonspecialist and convey what is central to Paul. In this he is very successful.

The first two chapters focus on the person of Paul under the categories "Paul the man" and "Paul the apostle." Weiss correctly emphasizes that Paul remained a Jew throughout his life and that on the Damascus road

he changed his mission more than his religion. He provides helpful background information that gives the reader an understanding of Paul's Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds. Although it is nowhere explicitly stated, various remarks throughout the work (see, e.g., p. 50) demonstrate that Weiss does not include the pastorals, Ephesians, or Colossians in the Pauline corpus.

The third chapter introduces Paul's thought by surveying the basic lines of argument through Paul's longest letter, Romans. This chapter is a very good summary exposition of Romans, with one small exception that is noted later in this review.

The remaining five chapters summarize the central message of Paul's letters by focusing on pairs of Pauline terms that are either antithetical or complementary. These are: the cross and the end, the law and salvation, the body and the mind, the spirit and love, and the Lord and the slave.

A special strength of this work is the author's decision to avoid modern theological terms and categories and to utilize Paul's own vocabulary and motifs as the rubrics under which analysis occurs. This enables Weiss to keep close to the text and to Paul's conceptual world as he analyzes Paul's thought. Nevertheless, some chapters are more successful than others.

The exposition of the law and salvation is especially helpful. Careful theological analysis is combined with crisp, expressive language. Weiss's interesting and insightful language is seen in statements like these: "As a means to righteousness, the law's run is over" (p. 98), and "Christ may be the end of the law, but he is certainly not the end of obedience" (p. 99).

Even though Weiss claims that he left what is best for the end (p. 138), the chapter on the Lord and the slave is perhaps the weakest. This is largely because he spends more time cataloging various texts than he does in actual analysis and exposition.

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of this survey is its less-than-adequate attention to Paul's moral thought and his practical advice, although the discussion of food offered to idols in the chapter on the spirit and love is an excellent exception. In the chapter on Romans, however, little attention is given to Rom 14-15, and there is hardly any space devoted to analyzing how Paul goes about approaching practical, moral issues. On the theoretical level, to be sure, Weiss shows how the spirit motivates Christian action, but one wonders whether Paul's thought is adequately summarized in theological terms. There is no discussion, for example, of Paul's views on marriage and divorce, church discipline, or women. These seem to be at least as important to Paul's thought as many of the theological issues and terms Weiss addresses. His prejudice for the theological over the everyday issues of moral life is the work's major weakness.

This should not, however, discourage anyone from reading this book or from using it in classes. There are few introductions to Paul's thought

that can compare with this one in terms of readability, coverage, or clarity. I strongly recommend it for undergraduate classes, church study groups, and any individual who wants to know more about Paul and his teachings. I believe it will do more than interest the reader; it will also inevitably lead him/her to Paul's writings.

There are a few printing errors in the book. The most glaring is the misspelling of the author's name on the cover (it reads "Harold" instead of "Herold"). The book is also inconsistent in its use of sexually inclusive language, sometimes using male pronouns and sometimes using him/her.

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## BOOK NOTICES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

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

Colson, Charles, with Vaughn, Ellen Santilli. *Kingdoms in Conflict*. New York: William Morrow and Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 400 pp. \$15.95.

A fast-moving and timely examination of the role of religion in American politics by one who can speak as an authority from both sides of the fence. Despite its popular style, Colson's book is crowded with insights that have been carefully thought out.

Dillard, Raymond B. *2 Chronicles*. Word Biblical Commentary, Vol 15. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. xxiii + 323 pp. \$24.95.

The problem of biblical inspiration is central to the study of 2 Chronicles since it covers much of the same ground as 2 Kings, but with significant variations in treatment. Dillard takes the position that, like Christ, the Bible is both divine and human. The ancient author, he holds, "recasts, shapes, models, enhances, modifies, transforms, edits, and rewrites" his material to suit particular needs and purposes. This interpretive framework sets the stage for Dillard's commentary.

Dudley, Roger L. *Passing On the Torch: How to Convey Religious Values to Young People*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1986. 192 pp. \$12.95.

One of the great queries of Christians is how to pass on their value system to the next generation. Dudley has developed a readable and informative study on how to accomplish that task within the framework of evangelical Christianity. His book has three sections: "Understanding Values," "How Values are Acquired," and "How to Teach Values."

Ferch, Arthur, J., ed. *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918*. Warburton, Victoria, Australia: Signs Publishing Co., 1986. 202 pp. Paperback, \$12.00.

A product of the centennial of Seventh-day Adventism (SDA) in Australia and the South Pacific, this volume contains well-documented studies of the SDA Church in the South Pacific in four areas: its socio-political and cultural context, the work of pioneer leader Arthur G. Daniells, the growth and outreach of the SDA Church in Australia and New Zealand, and the denomination's missions to the South Pacific.

Hassey, Janette. *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. xv + 254 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Hassey's research counters the popular myth that evangelical feminism is simply an accommodation to secular and theologically liberal movements for women's rights. Previous studies have delved into the role of 19th-century evangelical women. The present study extends that research through the turn of the century.

Hawthorne, Gerald F. *Philippians*. Word Biblical Themes. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. 119 pp. \$8.95/\$6.95.

Hawthorne's *Philippians* is one of the latest contributions to a series of books aimed at busy pastors and laypeople. Each volume overviews a Bible book, setting forth its theological themes in a concise manner for practical application.

Henry, Carl F. H. *Confessions of a Theologian: An Autobiography*. Waco, TX:

Word Books, 1986. 416 pp. \$12.95.

*Confessions* is a major autobiographical statement by one of the most important figures in conservative 20th-century American Christianity. Far from being unbiased, this work furnishes insights into the dynamics and tensions of American evangelicalism in addition to providing a sketch of its author's life.

Kysar, Robert. *1, 2, 3 John*. Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 159 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

A helpful commentary on the "epistles of love." Like other commentaries in this series it is written primarily for pastors, laypeople, and students. As such, it has synthesized a great deal of data from more technical works.

Martin, Ralph P. *2 Corinthians*. Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 40. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986. lxxviii + 527 pp. \$25.95.

Martin, in dealing with this difficult biblical book, has exhaustively treated its technical problems, but he has given his prime concern to a clear interpretation of the text as it stands. He demonstrates that the contents and chief emphases of the letter are best appreciated by viewing it from the perspective of a critical juncture in Paul's career—a juncture in which his apostolic leadership was the subject of heated debate at Corinth. Martin views "reconciliation" as the key element in Paul's relation with that community.

McKim, Donald K., ed. *A Guide to Contemporary Hermeneutics*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986. xx + 385 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

This book offers a guide both to current trends in hermeneutics and to the directions major movements are taking. The essays describe methods of biblical hermeneutics, assess contemporary hermeneutical approaches, and offer representational viewpoints from biblical interpreters.

Moreland, J. P. *Scaling the Secular City: A Defense of Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 267 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

Moreland's book is a new presentation of an old topic: a defense of the thesis that the Christian God exists and that it is rational to believe in His existence. Rather than presenting a rehash of previous materials, however, the author brings fresh insights from a rich background in philosophy, science, and theology.

Muller, Richard A. *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena to Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 365 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

This is the first of a projected 3-volume work examining Reformed dogmatics between the close of the Reformation period and the beginning of the secularist Enlightenment. The present work deals with general introductory issues and specific preliminary concerns in relation to Reformed theology in the post-Reformation period.

Nash, Ronald H., ed. *Evangelical Renewal in the Mainline Churches*. Westchester, IL: Crossways Books, 1987. 174 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

The contributors to this volume examine the dynamic renewal that is sweeping America's mainline churches and revitalizing them from within. Included are essays on the United Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, the Lutheran



churches, the American Baptists, the Disciples of Christ, the United Church of Christ, and the Roman Catholic Church.

Newsome, James D., Jr., ed. *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: With Related Passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1986. 275 pp. \$16.95.

Students of the OT are quite familiar with the fact that there is a relationship among the historical books which is akin to that of the Synoptic Gospels in the NT. Unlike their NT colleagues, however, OT scholars have not had in English a harmony in which the principal texts are laid side-by-side. Newsome's work seeks to fill that need.

O'Donovan, Oliver. *Resurrection and the Moral Order: An Outline for Evangelical Ethics*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986. 284 pp. \$18.95.

O'Donovan argues that Christian ethics stem directly from the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Such a system of ethics does not leave us with "the unacceptably narrow choice" between an ethic which is revealed but has no essential connection with the created order, and an ethic which is derived from nature and known through nature. He engages history's most significant ethical thinkers in discussion in order to mark the critical points of convergence and divergence that define the shape of Christian moral thought.



# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

כ = k	ט = d	י = y	ס = s
ב = b	ה = h	ק = k	ע = c
בּ = b	ו = w	ק = k	פ = p
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p
גּ = g	ח = h	מ = m	צ = s
ד = d	ט = t	נ = n	ק = q

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	ײ, ׳ (vocal shewa) = e	. = o
ױ = ā	ײ, ׳ = ē	ײ = o
ֿ = e	. = i	ײ = o
ױ = e	ײ, ׳ = f	ײ = u
ױ = ē	ײ, ׳ = o	ײ = u

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

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