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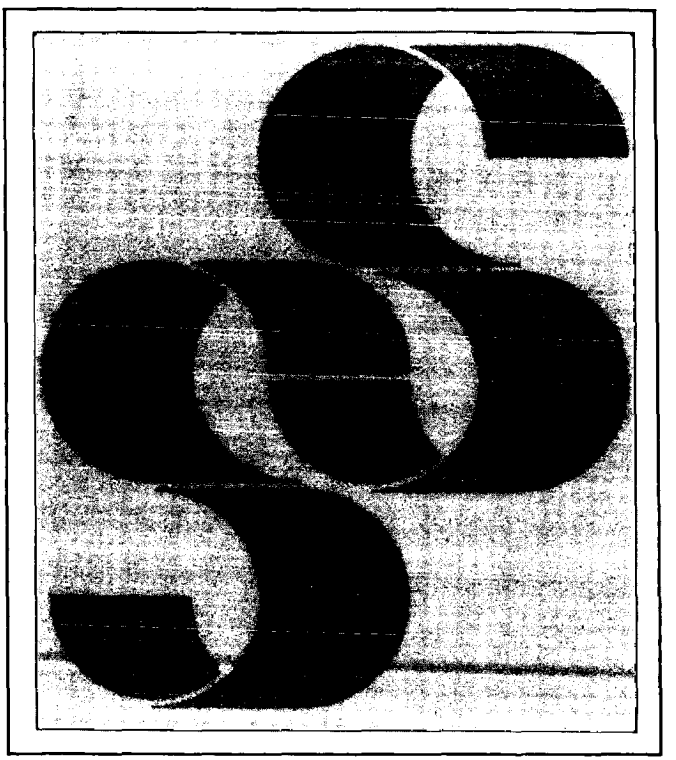

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THE INSCRIBED TABLETS FROM TELL DEIR ʿALLA PART II*

WILLIAM H. SHEA
The Biblical Research Institute
Silver Spring, MD 20904

Part I of this article furnished an introduction to the discovery, context, and general nature of the eleven Deir ʿAlla Tablets; gave attention to the matter of decipherment of the script of the three tablets that were inscribed with texts; and discussed in some detail the text of the first two written tablets. This leaves for the present study the discussion of the text of tablet III and the integration of the information obtainable from all three of the inscribed tablets.

Before proceeding further, however, we first repeat here the transliteration and translation of tablet I as a basis for relations with the other two texts that follow. The transcription and linguistic comments given on the text of tablet I stand as they were presented in Part I of this article. Also, a new "Table of the Letters of the Script of Deir ʿAlla" appears on the next page, updating the listing given in Part I.

Text I: Pethor Smitten
(*Deir ʿAlla No. 1449*)

Transliteration and Translation

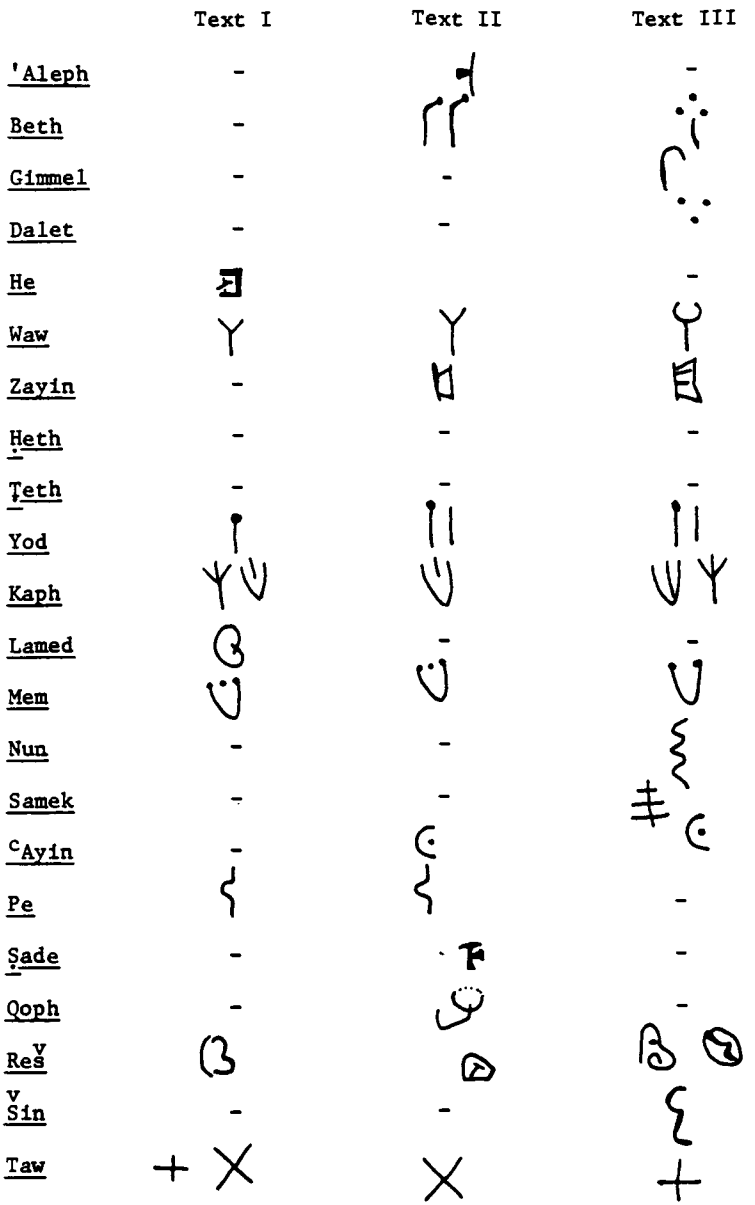
lkm / mk. / wtm.y / whm / mk. / ptr

(1a) "To you (have come) a smiter and a finisher,
(1b) and they (are) the smiters of Pethor."

Text II was also transliterated and translated in Part I of this article. It is the most difficult of the three written tablets from Deir

**Editor's Note*: Part I of this article appeared in *AUSS* 27 (1989): 21-37. Part II continues the sequential numbering of footnotes and sections given in that earlier portion of the study. The figure depicting the script of Deir ʿAlla is, however, renumbered as "1" inasmuch as it represents simply a revision of Figure 1 in Part I.

Figure 1. Revised Table of Letters of the Script of Deir ᶜAlla



ᶜAlla to work with because it has suffered the most damage, having many cracks on its written surface. These cracks confuse the identification of the letters that were originally written because, in some instances, they appear to provide additional strokes with those letters. Since Part I of this article was finished, further progress has been made in distinguishing the original letters from extraneous marks due to damage.

While much of the epigraphic and linguistic discussion of this text given previously still applies, some corrections need to be made to it. The results of these improved readings have been incorporated into the transliteration and translation of text II presented here. These new readings also affect the historical application of this text. As a basis for this new treatment of text II, a new and more accurate line drawing of it is provided here.

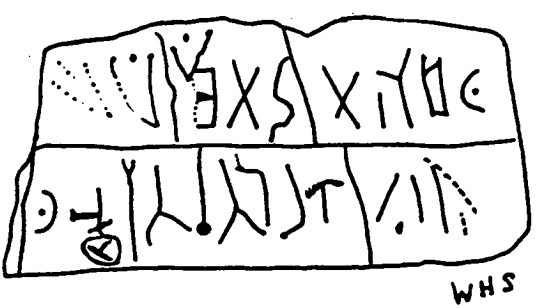
5. *Text II: Pethor's Smiters (Deir ʿAlla No. 1441)*

Transliteration and Translation

(1) ***ᶜṣr / wywbbq / mk***
(2) ***ᶜzwʿt / ṗtᵓm / mk***

(1) "There was a damming up and the Jabbok (became) a smiter.
(2) Mighty (shocks) suddenly (became) a smiter."

The Line Drawing:



Introduction

Since text II was written in boustrophedon order, it is difficult to determine which of its two lines should be read first. The order of the lines in this text have been reversed here in comparison to

my previous treatment of them. The reasons for this are developed after text III has been translated and interpreted.

Analysis of the Text of Line 1

The first word of the first line begins with a clear occurrence of a half-moon shaped *ʿayin*. A *yod* was previously read following this *ʿayin*. This *yod* should be rejected now. There is a vertical stroke here, but further examination of the photographs indicates that a triangular wedge-shaped stroke extends to the right from its mid-shaft. In addition, a horizontal stroke of short length was incised across the top of the vertical stroke. This form resembles that of the dog-legged-shape *ṣade* in other early alphabets, and as utilized here that letter contributes to the identification of an intelligible word.

Further examination of the photographs also indicates that a circular letter was incised above the head of the *ṣade*. This circle is faint in the published photograph, but a copy of that photograph with its lines darkened brings this circle out more clearly. This circle is rather flat across the bottom, it is pointed in its right lower quadrant, and it contains a t-shaped incision angling down towards the left within its circle. All of this gives this sign a head-shaped appearance, which identifies it as a *reš*. This *reš* is comparable to those that have been identified in text III below.

In conjunction with the previously recognized *ʿayin*, these two new letters make up the word *ʿṣr*. In Hebrew this verb means "to restrain, retain, shut up, stop." It may function here either as a Qal perfect or a participle. Its subject should be taken as an indefinite third person, for the next word is separated off from it by a *waw* which serves as a conjunction. The word that is connected in this way is the name of a river (see below). Since a river is restrained, retained, or shut up when it is dammed up, such a damming up appears, therefore, to be that to which reference is made here.

This type of event is known to have happened in this region when the Jordan River was temporarily dammed up by earthquakes that knocked in its west bank near Damiyeh, biblical Adam, in 1267, 1546, 1906, and 1927 A.D. If a damming up of the Jordan was located below its confluence with the Jabbok, then such an obstruction would naturally have had a similar effect upon the Jabbok River too.

The first three letters which follow the word divider have been read correctly previously as *w-y-w-*. This combination may be taken as a conjunction followed by a consonantal *yod* and a vocalic *waw*. Thus this word begins with *w* + *yo-*. Two vertical strokes were written following the second *waw*. The first one curves downwards to the right and the second one curves upwards to the right, but they both look like the same letter, which has simply been oriented differently in the two positions. At one

time these two letters were read as *gimmel*s, but the *gimmel* in text III has a head that makes a 100° bend to the right, whereas these two letters angle only slightly at their upper and lower ends. This suggests that these letters differ from that *gimmel*. If the curved ends of these letters were expanded into triangular heads, as has been done with dots for the *beth* in *btym* of text III, these letters could easily be read as *beth*s. My suggestion is that the scribe of this text, working with a somewhat different orthography than the scribe of text III, wrote these two *beth*s here with this form.

At first glance, the last letter in this word-box looks like a trefoil sign pointing upwards. This was previously identified as a *kaph*, but closer inspection reveals that the part of the stroke that extends upwards to the right also curves around and bends back towards the left upstroke. That makes this letter one which consists of a quasi-circular head with a short tail extending to the left. There are four main letters with closed heads and tails in the early alphabets: *beth, dalet, qoph,* and *reš. Beth, dalet,* and *reš* have been identified elsewhere in these texts and this letter does not look like them; therefore, by a process of elimination this letter should be identified as a *qoph*, its first occurrence in these texts.

From these letter identifications the word written after the conjunction in this word-box can be identified as *ywbbq*. This corresponds rather directly with the way in which the name of the Jabbok River was written in the biblical text, with only two minor variations. In the MT the *beth* of this name was doubled with a *dagesh*, but here it appears to have been doubled by writing out the two letters. This was an irregular practice not continued in later inscriptions. Given the early date of the alphabetic writing of these tablets, however, experimental irregularities like this are only to be expected. The second variation is that this word was written with an *o*-vowel in first position while the Massoretes pointed it with an *a*-vowel. Since this text is two millennia older than the Massoretic pointing, however, the *o*-vowel should be taken as more original.

The final word of this line, *mk*, refers to a "smiter," and should be identified linguistically as it was in Part I. The proper name which precedes it identifies that "smiter," i.e., the Jabbok River after it was dammed up and overflowed this area. Text I mentions, but does not identify, "smiters" of the region. Text II reveals that the river which overflowed after it was dammed up was one of these smiters.

Analysis of the Text of Line 2

The first word of the second line remains the same linguistically, *ᶜzwᵛt*. This is the word for "strong, mighty," with a feminine plural ending. Previously I interpreted this word as referring to human forces or, more specifically, Israelite troops that came from Pithom in Egypt at the time of the Exodus. Since the next word can no longer be read as Pithom,

however, this interpretation must be abandoned. My new reading of the next word now indicates that these "mighty" ones, whatever they were, came upon Pethor "suddenly." Text III, discussed below, indicates that when these mighty ones came upon Pethor so suddenly, they caused the collapse of houses there. Since human attackers could be fended off for a time at least, they do not fit this description very well. The suddenness of the disaster and its effects suggest rather that the mighty ones that affected the town in this way were shock waves of an earthquake. Given the location of this site in the earthquake-prone area of the Jordan Valley and given also the archaeological evidence for earthquakes found in the excavations, such an occurrence here seems quite reasonable.

Three of the four letters in the next word stand as they were read previously. The problematic letter is the third one. The clear portion of this letter consists of a vertical stroke with a triangular wedge extending to the left from its mid-shaft. In Part I of this article two horizontal strokes extending to the left were also read as connected to the superior and inferior poles of the vertical stroke of this letter. These additional horizontal strokes should now be discarded as not connected with this letter, for they appear to be cracks in the tablet due to damage.

An epigraphic indicator for this revision comes from the *mem* incised above and to the left of this letter. If a horizontal stroke extended to the left from the superior pole of this vertical stroke, the right-hand downstroke of the *mem* would have crossed it. This is unlikely, for this crossing could easily have been avoided and does not occur anywhere else in the three tablets. Thus the faint line here is more likely a crack due to damage and should not be taken as a part of the letter. The same can be said for the crack extending to the left from the inferior pole of the vertical stroke.

Without these horizontal strokes, this letter cannot be a *he* or *ḥeth*. It still remains, however, to establish the real identity of this letter. If its horizontal wedge were extended across the vertical stroke, and the superior and inferior margins of that wedge were separated, it would resemble the form of the *ʾaleph* in other early alphabets. In view of that resemblance this letter should be taken as an *ʾaleph* here, the first occurrence of the *ʾaleph* to be recognized in these texts. The third word in this line can be read as *ptʾm*, "sudden, suddenly." Whatever occurred by means of the actions of the "mighty ones" should have taken place "suddenly." This suddenness strongly suggests that the "mighty ones" are to be identified as the shock waves of an earthquake. The description of the disaster which follows in text III fits well with a disaster of this nature.

The word *mk*, which means "smiter," stands at the end of this line as it was previously read. Thus these strong shocks which suddenly struck Pethor constituted the second of the two smiters mentioned in text I, the "finisher" referred to there. The reason for this ordering of the statements in text II is discussed further below.

The revisions I have proposed for the statements in text II might be summarized here as a complement to my previous study of this text. Six letters have now been identified more accurately: the *ṣade* and *reš* in the first word of what is now the first line, two *beth*s and a *qoph* in the second word of that line, and an *ʾaleph* in the second word of the second line. In addition, these two lines have been reversed in order from the way in which they were presented previously.

The revisions now set forth provide a transliteration and translation indicating that the smiters which struck Pethor were not human forces like the troops of Israel or King Og of Bashan. Rather, they were the forces of nature that were unleashed against this site, first by the nearby river and subsequently by an earthquake. These were the two "smiters" of text I, the first identified there as a "smiter" and the second as a "finisher."

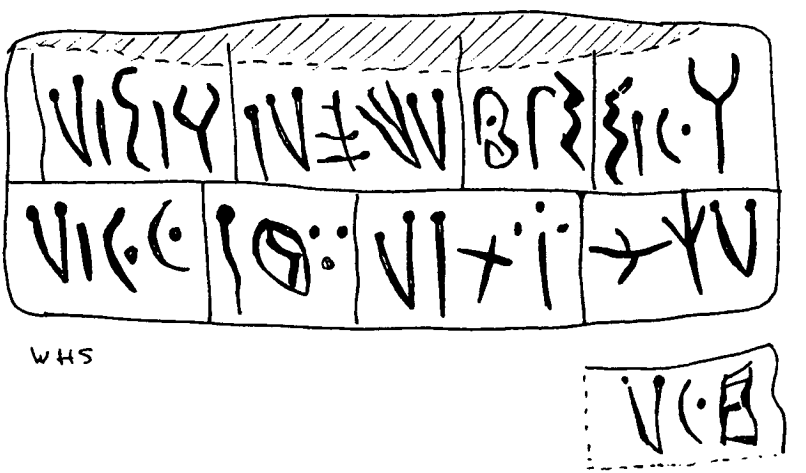
6. *Text III: Pethor's State (Deir ʿAlla No. 1440)*

Transliteration and Translation

(1) ***mkk / btym / dry / ᶜᶜym***
(2) ***wᶜyn / ngr / mksmy / wyśym***
(3) ***zᶜm***

(1) **"The houses have fallen in heaps of ruins,**
(2) **and the spring has poured out covering them,**
(3) **and a curse has been placed."**

The Line Drawing:



Introduction

This final written tablet is in mint condition. Its writing is very clear. The third line consists of one word written along the bottom edge of the tablet. Line 1 is the bottom line on the face of the tablet, and line 2 is the top line on the face of the tablet. The reason for following this order rather than the reverse is syntactical. The bottom line begins without a *waw*, whereas the two statements in the top line both begin with a *waw*. These *waw*s should serve as conjunctions to join their statements to those that have gone previously. It seems likely, therefore, that this tablet was meant to be read from bottom to top rather than the reverse.

Analysis of the Text of Line 1 (Bottom Line)

The first word of the bottom line begins with a broad v-shaped *mem* and two trefoil-headed *kaph*s. These two *kaph*s have tails, whereas the *kaph* in the top line of this text does not, an irregularity in this scribe's writing. The second *kaph* is rotated 90° in comparison to the first, another irregularity in this text, but there are parallels to this type of irregularity in text II. In spite of this rotation, both of these letters are readily recognizable as *kaph*s. The Hebrew word *mkk* means "to fall down, sink down, settle in." It is used in Eccl 10:18 to refer to houses that fall into ruins due to neglect. But the houses here were hit suddenly according to the second text, so their collapse into ruins must have been more abrupt than in the biblical case.

The subject of this verb follows as the second word in this line, and it is the plural noun *btym*, "houses." The *beth* consists of a three-point triangular head atop a vertical unbent tail. The *taw* is standard in form for this text. The *yod* has a dotted head. The *yod* is used four other times in this text, and the *mem* of the plural ending is only one of five examples of that letter in this text. An interesting feature of the *btym* here is the presence of the *yod*, representing the *i*-vowel of the plural ending *-im*.

The third word of this line begins with a dotted triangular head that has no tail. This is similar to the *dalet* of the later scripts, with which it should be identified. The second letter is taken as representing another occurrence of the head-shaped *reš*. It can be compared to the *reš* with which *ngr* ends in the top line, even though slightly different in shape. The most common use of *dr* or *dor* in Biblical Hebrew is as a reference to a "generation." This idea is derived from the root idea of a "cycle" or "circuit." As a verb, *dor* means "to pile up," and the noun "dwelling place" is also derived from this root. Any one of the foregoing meanings could make sense here, but the idea of a "circle" or "heap, pile," of ruins fits best. The final letter of this word is a *yod*, which serves as an indicator

for a construct relationship of a masculine plural noun. This word should thus be taken as in a construct or genitival relationship with the word that follows it. It is striking to see the *yod* of this relationship written out here, in contrast to the practice of scribes who wrote later inscriptions.

The final word of this line begins with two vertical half-moon shaped *ᶜayins*. These are followed by another *yod* and another *mem*. This form corresponds well to the biblical word for "ruins" in the masculine plural. In Biblical Hebrew this word was written with one *ᶜayin* and two *yods*, while here it was written with two *ᶜayins* and one *yod*. Presumably, these *ᶜayins* were intended to be read or pronounced with *i*-vowels, and the *yod* here represents the *i*-vowel of the plural ending.

Analysis of the Text of Line 2 (Top Line)

The first word of the top line begins with what is, for this text, a normally shaped *waw* with a semicircular head. This should serve as a conjunction connecting the second thought in the text with the first thought written in the line below. The *waw* is followed by the vertical half-eye *ᶜayin*. Next come the dotted vertical stroke of the *yod* and the wavy vertical line of the *nun*. Thus we have here the word *ᶜyn*. In Biblical Hebrew this word can mean either an "eye" or a "spring." The latter meaning makes better sense in the context here, especially in conjunction with the verbs that follow it.

The *nun* which begins the second word is virtually identical to the *nun* with which the first word ends. This is followed by a *gimmel* with a curved head, and then a head-shaped *reš*. The Hebrew word *ngr* means "to flow, pour, gush forth." In 2 Sam 14:14 it is used of water being poured out, and it is used for wine in Ps 75:9. As a feminine singular perfect (or participle) in the Niphal, it probably was pronounced with a final *a*-vowel, but that vowel was not written out here.

The broad v-shaped sign of the *mem* occurs twice in the next word, and its first occurrence is followed by standard forms of the *kaph* and *samek*. The word ends with the vertical stroke topped by a dot to make it a *yod*. The *kaph-samek* combination at the heart of this word provides the root *ksh*, which in Biblical Hebrew commonly means "to cover." With a *mem* preformative, this form looks like a participle in the Piel, the conjugation in which this root commonly occurs. The second *mem* of this word should be taken as a masculine plural pronominal suffix inasmuch as a plural ending on the participle would not fit with the gender or number of either the preceding subject or verb. The antecedent of this plural pronominal suffix would most logically be the "ruins" of the "houses" mentioned in the preceding line.

The *yod* written after the pronominal suffix may represent an old case ending. An archaic survival of a similar old case ending appears with the

same suffix on the same verb in the old poem of Exod 15 (v. 5; cf. v. 7). There this verb was used for the action of the waters that covered the chariots of Pharaoh and his men. Here it was used for a similar action of a covering by waters, but in this case it was waters from a spring that covered ruins of the houses of a town. Evidently the earthquake which struck this area and toppled houses also fractured the water table that supplied the spring of the town, thus causing it to pour forth in abundance.

The initial letter of the next word is a *waw*, which should be taken as a conjunction. This is followed by a word containing two *yod*s and ending with a *mem*. The vertical strokes of the *yod*s are undotted. Between them is a vertical bow-shaped sign of the *śin/šin*, which Cairus distinguished from the *nun*. In Biblical Hebrew *yśym* parses readily as a third person masculine singular Qal imperfect of *śym*, "to put, set, place." It is interesting to note that the central *yod* of this middle weak verb is written out here.

This verb cannot stand alone. It needs something to go with it—a subject, an object, or more. The search for such a complement leads to the word on the edge of the tablet, its third line. Presumably this word was written there because there was not enough space left on the second line of the text written on the face of the tablet. According to Franken's study of the scribal methods employed in writing this text, this was the last word written on the tablet. It should, therefore, complete the statement that began with *yśym*.

The word written along the edge of the tablet was *zʿm*. The *ʿayin* and the *mem* have been seen previously in the body of the text. The sign that precedes them is a vertical box-shaped letter with a number of crossbars. This looks most like a *ḥeth*, but that letter does not fit well here preceding an *ʿayin*. Cairus has suggested that this sign should be identified as a *zayin*. In favor of that identification is the fact that some of the crossbars incline downwards at an angle to the left, as does the crossbar of the later *zayin*.

In Biblical Hebrew *zʿm* means "to curse." This word appears, for example, in a speech made by Balaam of Pethor in which he described Balak's instructions to him (Num 23:7). Thus it seems quite appropriate to find the same word in this text from Balaam's home town. As a noun, this word on the side of the tablet serves well as the subject of the verb at the end of the second (upper) line on the face of the tablet. The whole phrase *wyśym zʿm* thus translates, "and a curse has been placed." Either the scribe who wrote this text saw the events that had taken place as the result of a curse, or a curse was placed upon the site after it was affected in this way.

Summary of Text III

The falling down of houses referred to in the first line of this text is interpreted here as being caused by an earthquake, presumably the same earthquake mentioned at the end of text II. Knocking

down the houses was the first destructive action of this quake, hence it was mentioned first on the tablet. The quake also fractured the water table of the spring at the site causing it to overflow upon the ruins of the fallen houses. This was the "covering" of "them," i.e., the ruined houses mentioned in the second line of this text. The final line of this text refers to the curse, either that from which these effects resulted, or that which was pronounced upon the site after its destruction.

7. *The Language of the Texts*

With the script of these texts deciphered and their contents translated, the language of the texts can now be analyzed in some detail. Even though we have only three short texts with which to deal, they provide a surprisingly large amount of linguistic data, some of it quite extraordinary for texts from so early a date.

Six verbs occur in these three texts—two in tablet I (*nkh* and *tmm*), and one of these (*nkh*) is used over again in tablet II. Tablet III adds four more verbs (*mkk, ngr, ksh* and *śym*). Perfects and participles occur, but only one example of an imperfect (*yśym*) and no infinitives or imperatives appear to be present. Four different conjugations are represented: the Qal, Piel, Niphal, and Hiphil. All of these roots and forms are readily recognizable from Biblical Hebrew.

Five nouns are present in these texts—the words for "curse," "strong (ones)," "houses," "heaps," and "ruins." The first of these is in the singular, the rest are in the plural. One of the plurals is feminine, and the others are masculine. One of the masculine plural nouns appears in a construct form. There are no recognizable occurrences of the article with the nouns in these texts, a fact consistent with the early date of writing. All five of these nouns are well known in the vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew. Two toponyms occur, the place name of Pethor in text I and the river name of the Jabbok in text II.

Three pronouns occur in these texts, two of them independent and one of them suffixed. The second person and third person plural are represented. The pronouns correspond in form with the forms used for similar functions in Biblical Hebrew. The *waw* used as a conjunction appears in all three of the texts—twice in text I, once in text II, and twice in text III.

One of the more remarkable linguistic features of these texts is that they appear to be vocalized in part. The main letter or sign

that was used for this function was the vertical stroke of the *yod*, either dotted or undotted. This appears to have represented mainly the *i*-vowel, but in one case of a masculine plural noun in construct it may stand for *e*. The most obvious vocalic use of the *yod* is in the plural masculine ending on nouns, *-ym* or *-im*, which occurs with three words in text III. In one instance—*yśym* of text III—the second *yod* appears to represent the middle weak radical of the verbal root. In one instance, in *mksmy* of text III, the *yod* following the pronominal suffix may represent an old case ending that may be compared with the related archaic forms in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:5, 7).

In two instances in text II the *waw* appears to have been used to represent *o*-vowels. The more obvious case of this is with the feminine plural ending *-ôt*. There it is accompanied by an undotted vertical stroke. This appears to be an indicator for the use of a vowel letter rather than representing a vowel or consonant itself. The other use of the *waw* as a vowel letter appears in the name of the Jabbok River. No cases have been recognized in these texts in which representation of an *a*-vowel or *u*-vowel was attempted.

The conclusion from these linguistic data is that either these tablets were written by Hebrews, or they were written in a Transjordanian dialect of Canaanite that was very close to Biblical Hebrew. These two possibilities are examined further, following a discussion of the potential historical connections of these tablets.

8. *Historical Geography*

The major contribution which the Deir ʿAlla Tablets make to historical geography is to locate Pethor of Num 22:5 at Tell Deir ʿAlla. The reading of this name on tablet I is reasonably clear and direct. Locating this text as part of a series of tablets that were found at that site makes it more likely that this text was written there rather than brought from elsewhere.

In another direction, this discovery provides an explanation for another major find at the same site, the eighth-century-B.C. plaster texts from the walls of a later building. These texts, written in red and black ink on the plaster walls, were discovered in 1967,[15]

[15]See H. J. Franken, "Archaeological Evidence Relating to the Interpretation of the Text," in J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 3-4, for the circumstances of the discovery.

and they were published in 1976.[16] They were found in a very fragmentary condition, and much scholarly ingenuity has gone into their reconstruction and study.[17]

The central character in combination I, a narrative dramatic text, is Balaam the son of Beor. His name and patronym appear in broken or complete form in at least four places in the first six lines of this text. His title is given with his name in the first instance—i.e., "the man who was a seer of the gods." There can be no mistaking that the individual named and described here is the same person as the Balaam whose actions are set forth in Num 22-24. The rest of combination I relates Balaam's experience. The gods revealed themselves to him in a night dream or vision, and informed him about a coming disaster involving both a "fire of chastisement" and a convulsion of nature. Combination II is even more fragmentary and the nature of its contents is obscure.

A. Lemaire has asked the question, "Why were these literary, probably religious, texts copied on the plaster wall of a room at Deir ᶜAlla?"[18] His answer is that there probably was a sanctuary nearby. This appears to be correct, but is only part of the answer. Now, thanks to the Deir ᶜAlla Tablets, we can recognize that this locale was where Balaam's home sanctuary of Pethor was located. Of all the places in the entire Near East where his memory might have been preserved, this location is obviously the most likely because of its being the very spot where he lived and exercised his

[16]See the entire report of Hoftijzer and van der Kooij mentioned in the preceding note.

[17]One Ph.D. dissertation has been written on these texts, that of Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAlla* (Chico, CA, 1984). Other studies include A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les textes araméens de Deir ᶜAlla," *Syria* 54 (1977): 189-208; B. A. Levine, "The Deir ᶜAlla Plaster Inscriptions," *JAOS* 101 (1981): 195-205; P. K. McCarter, "The Balaam Texts from Deir ᶜAlla: The First Combination," *BASOR* 239 (1981): 49-60; Victor Sasson, "The Book of Oracular Visions of Balaam from Deir ᶜAlla," *UF* 17 (1985): 284-309; idem, "The Language of Rebellion in Psalm 2 and in the Plaster Texts from Deir ᶜAlla," *AUSS* 24 (1986): 147-154; J. A. Hackett, "The Dialect of the Plaster Text from Tell Deir ᶜAlla," *Or* 53 (1984): 57-65; A. Lemaire, "Fragments from the Book of Balaam Found at Deir ᶜAlla," *BARev* 11 (1985): 26-39; J. Naveh, "The Date of the Deir ᶜAlla Inscription in Aramaic Script," *IEJ* 17 (1967): 256-258. On Balaam in general, see Jo Ann Hackett, "Religious Traditions in Israelite Transjordan," in *Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 125-128.

[18]Lemaire, "Fragments," p. 38.

prophetic ministry. How appropriate, then, that a narrative text from him or about him should have been preserved at this site.

The identification of Tell Deir ᶜAlla with Pethor also aids in clarifying a problem in biblical geography. In Num 23:7 Balaam introduces his first oracle of blessing upon Israel with the remark that "from Aram Balak brought me, the king of Moab from the eastern mountains." This statement is commonly assumed to be a reference to northeastern Syria or Mesopotamia. Support for such an impression has been found from a remark in Num 22:5, which says that Balak called Balaam from "the river." Since the unmodified term "the river" is commonly used in the Bible to refer to the Euphrates River, this reference in Num 22:5 has been considered as referring to that river valley and that Balaam was called from that region.

In light of the new information available from the Deir ᶜAlla tablets, however, the foregoing proposal deserves reexamination. Both "the river" and "eastern mountains" (Num 23:7) could fit just as well for Pethor at Tell Deir ᶜAlla. In this case, the river would be the Jordan River and the eastern mountains would be those of the eastern Jordan Valley leading up to the plateau.

The major obstacle to making such an identification is the reference to Aram, which should be Syria to the north, not Canaan to the south. A rather direct solution to this problem lies in positing a very small and simple, but significant, scribal error in the transmission of the biblical text. Two out of three of the letters in the names of Adam and Aram are the same. They differ only in the *dalet* and *reš*. These two letters were written in a very similar fashion in the pre-exilic Hebrew script. *Dalet* had a large triangular head and a short vertical tail, while *reš* had a smaller triangular head but a longer vertical tail. In Iron-Age Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic inscriptions these two letters are commonly very difficult to distinguish.

My proposal for resolving this problem is that while the original author wrote "Adam," a scribe later in the course of textual transmission miscopied it as "Aram," either through misunderstanding the reference or through an inability to distinguish the correct letter in an earlier manuscript. The scribe who copied Deut 23:4 went even further to gloss in "Naharaim," i.e., "of the two rivers," to go along with the already miscopied "Aram." In this

way Pethor came to be located in Mesopotamia when in actuality it was located near Adam by the Jordan River and by the mountains of the eastern Jordan Valley.

Balaam could be called from both Adam and Pethor, according to the text, because Adam was the residential town in the area and Pethor was the specific site of the sanctuary there, where Balaam carried out his prophetic ministry. Excavations at the latter site have demonstrated its religio-sanctuary nature.

9. *History*

Interconnections between the Tablets

Before potential relations between these texts and external sources can be explored, their own internal relations need to be established as firmly as possible. The translations developed above indicate an interconnection of all three texts in that they all dealt with the same theme, a disaster of natural origin which overcame Pethor.

Within that framework these texts can be set in order quite readily. Text I provides a general introductory statement about the disaster, text II identifies the factors or "smiters" which brought about this destruction, and text III concludes the series with a brief description of the state of the site after these "smiters" struck. The lexical and thematic relations among the three texts have established this as the proper order, and it would be difficult to alter it.

Tablet II has been the most difficult to read, translate, and understand. It is also the one most difficult in regard to determining the internal order of its own statements. Because it was written in boustrophedon order, the tablet can be turned in one way and read in that order, or it can be turned upside down and read in the alternate order. The question here is, Which should come first, the line with the flood or the line with the earthquake? The tablet itself does not appear to give a clear-cut indication of which direction of reading was intended, so one must go to its connections with the other tablets to establish the order of its statements.

While one might suspect that the earthquake of tablet II should have preceded and caused the river flooding mentioned in this text, that order cannot be established directly from the text. Text I refers to two "smiters," an initial "smiter" and a "finisher." Tablet II

identifies two "smiters," each connected with that specific word in the singular. It is logical, therefore, to take the two smiters identified in tablet II as the two smiters mentioned by tablet I. Thus the flood and earthquake of tablet II should be taken as separate and distinct "smiters," they were not seen as two phases of the same event. In other words, the earthquake was not mentioned here as an indication as to why the river flooded, but was mentioned to point out that it too was a smiter of Pethor.

The question of sequence remains, therefore, and it still needs to be determined whether the flood was the initial smiter and the earthquake the finisher or vice versa. Tablet III appears to provide the best answer to this question by describing the final events at the site. Its description of the final destruction there is one of an earthquake, not a river flood. This was the occasion upon which the houses fell in ruins and the spring at the site poured out over these ruins. The finality of this sequence of events is emphasized in tablet III by the mention of the curse at the end of this tablet's recital. Regardless of whether this curse was a reflection back upon the course of these destructive events or an active imprecation at their conclusion, this act of cursing surely was the last event in the sequence narrated by all three of the tablets.

Applying this information to the question with which we are dealing indicates that the earthquake was the "finisher" as a smiter, and therefore the flood of the river should be taken as the initial smiter of the two. Thus the first tablet mentions the two smiters of Pethor, the second tablet identifies them by their nature, and the third tablet sets them in order by indicating which of them finished the site off. It also describes the state of the site after that finisher got through with it.

The conclusion here, then, is that the first statement on the second tablet should be identified as the one that deals with the flooding by the Jabbok and that its second statement should be taken as the reference to the mighty shock waves which struck suddenly. Thus tablet II does not say that the river was dammed up as a result of an earthquake, nor does it say that it was not dammed up by an earthquake. It simply does not address that point. If it was dammed up by an earthquake—something which one might suspect on other grounds—then that shock wave was an earlier one of less intensity than the final one that finished off the destruction of the site.

By way of conclusion to this point, these tablets may now be translated together and in order:

Text I To you have come a smiter and a finisher,
and they are the smiters of Pethor.

Text II There was a damming up and the Jabbok became a smiter.
Strong and sudden (shocks) became a smiter.

Text III The houses fell in heaps of ruins,
and the spring poured out covering them,
and a curse was placed.

A Potential Connection to Biblical History

In Part I of this article a connection with biblical history was proposed, mainly on the basis of a misreading of two words in the difficult text of tablet II. It is now evident from improved readings for the letters in these words that the biblical connection proposed—with the Israelite conquest of Transjordan—cannot be sustained. That conclusion does not mean, however, that no potential connection between these tablets and the Bible is available. It simply means that to address that issue one must look elsewhere to determine whether such a connection is possible or not.

The nature of the events described by these tablets leads rather directly to another series of events described in the Bible. This series, recorded in the book of Joshua, begins with the crossing of the Jordan River by the Israelites and ends with their conquest of Jericho. Jericho was in the southern Jordan Valley and Pethor in the mid-Jordan Valley, both of them thus being located near the geological fault that runs north and south through that valley. It is natural, therefore, to expect that they would also share somewhat similar fates whenever earthquakes struck the region. If the epicenter of such an earthquake was near enough to Jericho to knock down its thick and heavily supported and defended walls, it could easily have had sufficient force to knock down the thinner walls of houses at Tell Deir ᶜAlla in the mid-Jordan Valley.

Josh 6:20 describes the way in which the Israelites gained entrance into the city of Jericho. The walls of the city fell down on that occasion. Even though the Hebrew text does not use the specific word for earthquake here, the net effect of what is described can be referred to as an earthquake. Regardless of whether this was naturally or supernaturally induced, some sort of quaking of the

earth is the best mechanism through which to understand how these walls fell. And this quake must have been one of considerable magnitude in order to accomplish the extent of the destruction at Jericho. As such, it should also have had sufficient force to damage Pethor farther north in the Jordan Valley. This would fit well with the quake mentioned in the second line of the second Deir ʿAlla tablet, the effects of which are more fully described in tablet III.

Another event took place near Jericho prior to that final destruction, however, and it too could be expected to have had direct effects upon the region of the mid-Jordan Valley. Josh 3:13 specifically states that this particular region was affected by a damming up of the Jordan River at the time the Israelites crossed over the river from their camp at Shittim. The waters of the Jordan were cut off at ancient Adam, modern Damiyeh, in order to make it possible for the Israelites to cross over. The biblical text conveys the Israelite's viewpoint and participation in these events. Their interest was in being able to cross over the river, something they normally would not have been able to do at this time. But we must also take into account the view of the Canaanites who lived on the other side of this blockage, north and east of Adam. It is reasonable to assume that conditions were not very congenial for them at that time in that they most likely experienced a considerable amount of flooding in their settlements. That is what text II says happened at Pethor.

The river most important to the Israelites in their quest to cross from one side of the valley to the other was the Jordan, hence that is the river referred to in their description of these events. As the river nearest to Pethor at Tell Deir ʿAlla, on the other hand, the Jabbok was of more concern to the residents there. Any damming up of the Jordan should have affected the Jabbok in a similar way, so long as the blockage was located south of the point of their confluence. Text II does not specifically state that the Jabbok was the only river dammed up at this time. It simply says that there was a damming up and that the Jabbok became a smiter of Pethor as a result. The actual point of the blockage could just as easily have been on the Jordan, and the course of events in more recent occurrences of this type suggests that it probably was so in this case too.

The relations proposed above can now be outlined by citing from both sources in parallel:

	Deir ᶜAlla Tablets		Joshua
I.	To you have come a smiter and a finisher,		
	and they are the smiters of Pethor.		
II.	There was a damming up and the Jabbok struck,	=	Josh 3:13
	(then) strong and sudden (shocks) struck.	=	Josh 6:20
III.	The houses fell in heaps of ruins,		〃 〃 〃
	the spring poured forth covering them,		〃 〃 〃
	and a curse was placed.	=	Josh 6:26 (at Jericho)

Chronology

It should be noted here that the biblical text puts a minimum of two weeks, and probably more time than that, between the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:13 and the conquest of Jericho in 6:20. These brief statements on these tablets do not address that issue directly, they only indicate that the events occurred in succession without indicating how long an interval elapsed between them.

Another aspect of the chronology involved here is the question of how long a period elapsed from the time these tablets were written when Jericho and Pethor were destroyed to the time the tablets were sealed in the later destruction of the sanctuary at Pethor. Two main dates have been proposed for the conquest of Jericho by those who hold a historical view of the events narrated in the book of Joshua. One view dates this conquest to the end of Late Bronze Age I, ca. 1400 B.C., while the other dates it to the end of Late Bronze Age II ca. 1230 B.C. My personal preference favors the Late Bronze Age I date,[19] but the difference between these two dates is not a major consideration here. The date selected simply

[19]A date of 971 B.C. for the accession of Solomon, as established by E. R. Thiele in *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1965), p. 55, by fixing Solomon's death in 931 B.C., dates the commencement of the construction of the temple to Solomon's fourth year, 967. I Kgs 6:1 extends 480 years back to the time of the Exodus, and 40 years should be subtracted from this figure to allow for the wandering in the wilderness. These figures date the conquest under Joshua to late in the fifteenth century B.C. Judg 11:26 supports such a date by indicating that the conquest took place some 300 years before the time of Jephthah. If Jephthah is dated to about 1100 B.C., the conquest would be dated to approximately 1400 B.C., or essentially the same time that I Kgs 6:1 would date it.

determines the length of time these tablets would have been preserved in the sanctuary at Deir ʿAlla. If the earlier date is correct, then those tablets would have been preserved there for approximately two centuries. For a thirteenth-century conquest date, the tablets would have been preserved there less than a century.

A distinction between earthquakes is important here. From his excavations at the site, Franken determined that the Late Bronze Age II sanctuary was destroyed by an earthquake.[20] The inscribed tablets were found in this destruction level. Obviously, the earthquake referred to by the tablets could not be the earthquake that caused the destruction in which they were sealed, or they would have had to be written and stored in the sanctuary simultaneously with that earthquake. The earthquake to which the tablets refer must therefore be one which hit this site sometime earlier in the Late Bronze Age.

Specificity

With these tablets pointing to an earthquake antedating the one which finally destroyed the site, the question arises as to how specific one can be in connecting that first earthquake and surrounding events with those that are mentioned in the Bible in connection with the fall of Jericho. Since there were other earthquakes in this area at this and other times, perhaps these tablets refer to an earthquake and related events other than those which took place in the time of Joshua.

The reference to the damming up of the river makes the course of events much more unique and specific, however. While there have been many earthquakes in the Jordan Valley throughout history, only a few of them have been of sufficient strength or

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The most recent work on the pottery of Jericho is that of Bryant Wood presented to the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Boston in December of 1987. In his as-yet-unpublished paper the author demonstrates that the excavator, Kathleen Kenyon, has missed indigenous Late Bronze I pottery mixed in with the Middle Bronze IIC pottery from the last strata of Middle Bronze-Late Bronze Age Jericho. This discovery has the effect of bringing the time of the destruction of the last of those strata down from Kenyon's date of 1550 B.C. to Wood's date of ca. 1400 B.C.

[20]H. J. Franken, "The Stratigraphic Context of the Clay Tablets Found at Deir ʿAlla," *PEQ* 96 (1964): 73-78.

proximity to dam up the Jordan River near Adam/Damiyeh. In recorded historical times this has only happened on four occasions since the thirteenth century A.D. It also occurred in the time of Joshua, according to Josh 3:13, and now these tablets give us a reference to such an occurrence prior to the end of the Late Bronze Age, i.e. in the same era in which Joshua lived and fought. That connection brings these two sources close together in time.

It should also be stressed that these tablets take our knowledge of this kind of phenomenon two millennia farther back in time than was previously the case from extra-biblical sources. From the damming up of the Jordan by the earthquake of 1267 A.D. these tablets take our knowledge of this kind of occurrence all the way back to the Late Bronze Age. It appears that an event of this sort—or in any case our knowledge of such events—is a rarity.

There is the matter, as well, of the distinctive nature of the sequence of the events recited by these tablets, as translated and interpreted above. The earthquake which caused the destruction of the site was not the shock wave that caused the damming up of the river, if it was dammed up by an earthquake at all. Tablet I separates those two events, and tablet III indicates that the more destructive quake came later. So we have here a damming up of the river first, and then of the more destructive quake that damaged the site so badly. This unique order of events is all the more unlikely at other times, but it just happens to fit precisely the order of events in the biblical record.

Thus there are four major factors which point to a connection between the events narrated by these tablets and those described in Joshua. First, the damming up of the river along with an earthquake emphasizes the rarity of the events described by the tablets. Second, the archaeology of the site places the events of these tablets prior to the end of the Late Bronze Age, the same age in which Joshua was active. Third, the contrast with later historical records adds further emphasis to the rarity of these events. And fourth, the sequence of the events described in these tablets is the same as the sequence in the book of Joshua, a factor making them even less likely to have been replicated at some other time. The conclusion here, then, is that there is sufficient specificity in the narration of the events in these texts to connect them with those described in Joshua.

Authorship

A final question remains: Who was at the site of Deir ᶜAlla when the tablets were written? There are two possibilities, and they have already been raised at the end of the discussion of the linguistic data from the tablets. Either these tablets were written in Hebrew by Israelites or they were written by some non-Hebrew residents of Transjordan who spoke and wrote a dialect of Canaanite that was very close in form and content to Biblical Hebrew. Historical contexts can be suggested for either of these possibilities.

An Israelite authorship could be posited from the following circumstances: The portion of Transjordan settled by the Israelite tribes was conquered and distributed before Joshua led all Israel across the Jordan River (Num 32). Pethor at Deir ᶜAlla could have been part of this conquest and temporary settlement. The Transjordanian tribes promised Moses, however, that they would not permanently settle upon the lands distributed to them until the Cis-Jordan tribes had inherited their lands too (Num 32:18-20). In fact, they were supposed to cross the Jordan and accompany the Cis-Jordan tribes in the latter's battles of conquest. They might very well, however, have left a small garrison behind at this strategic site, and one of the soldiers stationed there might have written up this account after the fall of Jericho.

A non-Israelite authorship can be suggested from another set of circumstances: This place was Balaam's headquarters, and he may not only have composed his prophetic oracles in poetry (Num 22-24) but may also have written them down. We cannot attribute the writing of these tablets to Balaam himself, however, for he was killed before the Israelites crossed the Jordan (Num 31:8); but the nature of the Deir ᶜAlla site as a religious center would imply the existence there of other literate persons or prophets. Most likely there was something resembling a non-Israelite school of the prophets, the staff of which included Balaam for a time; and someone among the other literate persons could have been responsible for the writing of these tablets.

Even though no final conclusion has been reached in this matter of authorship, it still is evident that the texts were written in Hebrew or in a dialect very close to Hebrew. As translated and interpreted above, they also indicate that their writer had a knowledge of events in the mid-Jordan Valley contemporary with the

Israelite crossing of the Jordan River and the conquest of Jericho under Joshua. They simply reflect a perspective of someone located elsewhere in the valley concerning the way in which the people there were directly affected by those same events.

I had originally intended to discuss in this second installment of my article the dotted, unwritten tablets, as mentioned in Part I. But the study of these tablets is still in a very preliminary state, and therefore my comments on them will be reserved for another occasion.

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THEMATIC LINKS BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL AND PROPHETIC SECTIONS OF DANIEL

ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC
Asia Adventist Theological Seminary
Manila, Philippines

The unity, or lack of it, between the two main sections of Daniel (chaps. 1-6 and 7-12) has long been an issue in the study of this OT book. This issue intersects with the problem of the date of Daniel. From a classical and traditional viewpoint, if elements in the historical chapters and the Aramaic language of that section of the book are early (ca. sixth century B.C.)[1] and the book is a unity, then the prophetic chapters belong to that early date too. Exactly the opposite approach on dating was taken by H. H. Rowley.[2] He held that the historical "errors" in the first part of the book indicate that those chapters were written as late as the second century B.C. together with the prophetic chapters. The prevailing view of this book at the present time is that the book is not a unity, the historical chapters having been written or collected some time earlier than the prophetic chapters, but not so early as the sixth century B.C. Adherents of this view date the prophetic chapters to

[1]Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary* (Wheaton, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1978), p. 43; E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980, Reprint), pp. 18-20; L. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), p. 20; J. B. Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987); W. H. Shea, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 147; Z. Stefanovic, "Correlations between Old Aramaic Inscriptions and the Aramaic Section of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1987). I am personally indebted to W. H. Shea, without whose assistance this article could not have been written, and also to Leona G. Running for her invaluable help.

[2]H. H. Rowley, "The Bilingual Problem of Daniel," *ZAW* 50 (1932): 256-268. See also H. L. Ginsberg's reaction in his *Studies in Daniel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1948), and Rowley's reply in "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), pp. 249-280.

the second century B.C. and the historical chapters to the third and fourth centuries B.C.[3]

1. *The Major Divisions in Daniel*

Links that can be demonstrated between the historical and prophetic chapters serve to draw those two sections closer together into an ultimate unity of authorship. The purpose of the present study is to point out some of the thematic links and lexical affinities that exist.

A literary criticism of the book of Daniel in terms of the unity of its main divisions is not quite so simple a matter as it might appear to be to the superficial reader who readily notices the natural division between the historical and the prophetic chapters, at the end of chapter 6. Confronting us immediately, for instance, is the well-known fact that the Aramaic section of the book, chapters 2-7, bridges that boundary line. If the division of the book by its contents goes back to its author/s or editors, then we would expect that the linguistic divisions in the book should follow its divisions by the nature of its contents, but they do not.

A similar phenomenon is encountered in terms of the speaker in the various narratives of the book. A division has commonly been made on this basis between the third-person reports of the historical chapters and the first-person reports of the visions in the second main section of the book. But even this division is not so straightforward as it might at first appear. In Dan 10, the introduction to the final prophecy of the book, the narrative begins with a third person report (v. 1) and then it shifts to a first-person report.

Thus, while at first glance it may appear that the person-speaker number lines up with the division of the book by content, there are at least some minor exceptions to this rule. And when it comes to the linguistic divisions, there are some major exceptions in terms of both chapters 2 and 7. This does not fit the pattern of two neatly divisible literary sources, but it could point to a unity in which these overlaps stem from the design of one author.

Another way in which this problem can be approached is to notice links between the historical chapters and the prophetic chap-

[3]Among the most outstanding commentaries which break the book up into different sources are J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*

ters, or between the Hebrew chapters and the Aramaic chapters. The purpose of this study is to point out some of these links, which in turn reinforce the case for the unity of authorship.

As a simple lexical example of such links, we may notice the word *pat-bag*. This loan word from Old Persian appears in two places in the book of Daniel, in chapter 1 five times (vv. 5, 8, 13, 15, 16) and in chapter 11 once (v. 26). Thus, this uncommon word makes a very specific link between a chapter in the historical section and a chapter in the prophetic section of the book—a common element less likely to have occurred if these two chapters had been written a century or two apart and in different eras, the first during the Persian epoch and the second during the domination of the Seleucids.

Our main focus in this essay, however, is on the larger pictures of commonality between portions of the book of Daniel that frequently are attributed to different authors and origins. These larger pictures are the broad thematic relationships. They may include, of course, the use of the same or similar words, but they need not necessarily do so. Our first two lists of correspondences are between portrayals within the historical part of the book, but in sections which are differentiated by being in Hebrew in the first case and in Aramaic in the second. Then we will move on to consider two sets of striking commonalities between portrayals in the historical portion of the book and the prophetic portion.

2. *Interconnections between the Hebrew and Aramaic Sections*

Our first comparison is between the character and activities of Daniel himself, on the one hand, and King Belshazzar, on the other hand. The fact that in these variations Daniel is called Belteshazzar (perhaps an intentional corruption of the proper Babylonian name Belshazzar) provides at the outset a link that enhances the importance and pertinence of other points of comparison or contrast in the two narratives. The following list of correspondences and antitheses may be drawn up between these two central figures in these narratives:

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on the Book of Daniel (New York: Scribner's, 1927), and L. F. Hartman and A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday, 1978).

	DAN 1		DAN 5
1.	Daniel is named Belteshazzar (1:7)	1.	The king's name is Belshazzar (5:1)
2.	Daniel learns the language (1:4)	2.	Daniel reads the writing and communicates with the king (5:18-28)
3.	Daniel refuses to drink wine, doing so in the presence of a Babylonian official (1:8)	3.	Belshazzar drinks wine in the presence of his Babylonian officials (5:1)
4.	Daniel successfully passes the test (1:20)	4.	Daniel reads the writing (5:17)
5.	Daniel is "quick to understand" (1:4) and makes up his mind (1:8)	5.	Because of his drunkenness, Belshazzar loses his understanding and is unable to retain control of his mind (5:2)
6.	Daniel refuses to defile himself (1:8)	6.	Belshazzar defiles the sanctuary vessels with his use of them (5:22-24)
7.	Daniel's reward is a high position granted him (1:10)	7.	Belshazzar's reward is the loss of his high position (5:30-31)
8.	Daniel's countenance is changed for the better (1:13, 15)	8.	Belshazzar's countenance is changed for the worse (5:6)

Even Nebuchadnezzar can be contrasted with Belshazzar in some respects in these two chapters. In this case we have the good or accepted king of Babylon contrasted with the bad and rejected king of Babylon. The following are a few comparisons that can be made between these two royal personages:

	DAN 1		DAN 5
1.	Nebuchadnezzar brought Babylon to conquests and prosperity (1:2, cp. 4:30)	1.	Belshazzar brought Babylon to defeat and subjection (5:23-24, 30)
2.	Nebuchadnezzar was the legitimate king of Babylon (1:1; cp. 2:37-38)	2.	Belshazzar was only a coregent holding second place in Babylon (5:7, 29)
3.	Nebuchadnezzar was the son of the founder of the dynasty	3.	Belshazzar is identified as the son (or grandson) or successor of Nebuchadnezzar (5:11)
4.	God gave Jerusalem and the vessels of the temple into Nebuchadnezzar's hands (1:2)	4.	Belshazzar took the vessels of the temple into his own hands (5:2)

DAN 1	DAN 5
5. He was really the first king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire	5. He was the last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire
6. The conquest of 605, with which the Empire and Nebuchadnezzar's reign began, is described in this chapter	6. The conquest of 539, with which the Empire and Belshazzar's reign ended, is described in this chapter.

3. *Interconnections between Historical and Prophetic Chapters*

In both cases noted thus far, our comparison has been made of details taken from historical-narrative chapters, even though those details are from the Hebrew of chapter 1 and from the Aramaic in chapter 5, respectively. These comparisons show that such relationships can and do cross the language dividing line, but the question remains: Can similar relations be worked out between the historical and prophetic chapters? It appears that they can be, and two different cases are next examined as examples of this type of relationship. In the cases above, our attention has been on features in the character or actions of one historical figure—Daniel or Nebuchadnezzar—in relationship to those of another historical figure—Belshazzar. In the cases below, similar relations are proposed for one historical personage—Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar—in relation to a prophetic and symbolic figure in the book—the final symbolic beast or the little horn.

The first of these two cases relates to a comparison between Nebuchadnezzar and the fourth symbolic beast of Dan 7. Some of the verses cited below for Nebuchadnezzar come from the Belshazzar narrative in Dan 5, but they are verses in which Daniel referred back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

	Nebuchadnezzar	*The Fourth Beast of Dan 7*
1. Both were frightening (*dhl*)	5:19	7:7
2. Both did as they pleased	5:19	7:7
3. All inhabitants were subject to them	4:22, 5:19	7:7, 23
4. Both devoured people	5:19	7:23
5. Both existed in an unclassified zoological form	4:25	7:7, 19
6. Both capitulated to the judgment	4:34-35	7:11

Just as there are some similarities between Nebuchadnezzar and the fourth beast of Dan 7, so there are also some similarities between Belshazzar, the last Babylonian king after Nebuchadnezzar, and the little horn, the last power to come out of the fourth beast. For purposes of comparison, the assumption is made that the little horn of Dan 7 and the little horn of Dan 8 represent the same power, without arguing the case in detail and regardless of the historical entity to which that symbol is applied.

		Belshazzar	*The Little Horn*
1.	Both appeared toward the end of their empires	5:31	7:8, 8:23
2.	Both claimed royal power and prerogatives	5:1	8:23-24
3.	Transgression on the part of both resulted in desecration of the temple	5:3-4	8:11-12
4.	Both came to their end in rebellion against God	5:22-23	7:26
5.	Both came to a sudden end brought about by God	5:26-28	7:26, 8:26
6.	Both spoke and acted blasphemously	5:23	7:25, 8:11
7.	Both became strong by means of someone else's power	5:16, 23	8:22

4. *Summary*

I have endeavored to demonstrate above that there are themes, actions, and individual words that are common to differing parts of the book of Daniel. The comparisons of Belteshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar with Belshazzar (Dan 1 and Dan 5) bridge the languages in the book and reveal that the language division cannot be considered as a firm basis for separating these two sections of the book into different literary sources. The thematic and lexical relations suggest a more unified authorship.

A similar comparison was then carried out for the historical figures of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar in the historical section of the book, and the prophetic figures of the nondescript beast and the little horn in the prophetic section of the book. The linkages evidenced through these comparisons cross the boundary of both

the language dividing line and the dividing line suggested by the nature of the historical and prophetic contents of the book. The thematic relationships noted support, once again, the idea that a unified outlook of one author is represented, rather than the production of the book by bringing together separate sources from different time periods.

I have not thus far discussed in detail the dating of these related sections, noting only in passing the fact that historical studies on the historical chapters and linguistic studies on the Aramaic chapters support an early date for both the historical and Aramaic chapters. Given the relations proposed here for the connections between the prophetic chapters written in Hebrew and the historical chapters written in Aramaic (with chapter 7 looking both ways), these connections suggest an early date for the prophetic chapters as well.

The view that the book of Daniel divides neatly between two major sections, the historical and the prophetic, with the linguistic arrangement supporting such a division, is thus seen to be an overly simplistic premise from which to work. Rather, the book presents a number of overlappings across these various junctures—overlappings that connect them rather directly. In this way, these relations provide an additional supporting argument for the unity of the book with respect to its historical and prophetic narratives.

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ARTICLE ABSTRACT

"HAR-MAGEDON" ACCORDING TO THE HEBREW IN THE SETTING OF THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES OF REVELATION 16

ROLAND E. LOASBY[1]

(Abstracted by Leona G. Running)
Andrews University

In Rev 15 we find an advance statement which is a summary of the sign of the seven plagues that are set forth in chap. 16. The accumulated wrath of God is to burst upon the world in a final explosion of divine recompense. Inasmuch as the seven plagues are the great outblast of this pent-up anger and are so terrible in their effects, the events that will occur subsequent to the plagues are described before the details of the plagues themselves are disclosed. Seven angels, "other" (*allo*) than the seven angels of the Presence referred to in Rev 8:2, are the ministrants to pour out these plagues. The number seven is perhaps an indication of the complete nature of the judgment. Rev 15:4 concludes with the following words:

> . . . because all the nations shall come and shall do obeisance before thee, because thy righteous decisions have been revealed.

The word I have translated "decisions" is a *-ma* word, the Greek suffix that denotes results. So this word may apply to acts or verdicts, but not to demands. It is not the righteous demands of God that will cause the nations to make obeisance to Him, but either His righteous acts or His righteous decisions. The whole universe will ultimately acknowledge the righteousness of all of God's acts and formal verdicts.

[1]The late Dr. Roland E. Loasby was a leading professor of Biblical Languages and Exegesis for nearly a quarter-century in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, then in Washington, DC, after a career nearly as long in India as a missionary teacher and founder of schools. He was the major professor of Leona Glidden Running in her M.A. work before her doctorate in Semitic languages at the Johns Hopkins University. She has condensed his unpublished article for publication here.

As part of the final events of the sixth and seventh plagues of Rev 16 we have Ἁρμαγεδών, reflecting Hebrew *Har-Magedon.* The apostle John saw three unclean spirits in the form of frogs (v. 13) whose specific task it is to assemble the nations "of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of the great day of God Almighty" (v. 14). This mobilization is to be at a place which has a compound Hebrew name composed of two words (v. 16). The first word presents no difficulty; it is the Hebrew word *har,* meaning mountain, hill, elevation, hill-country, the very opposite of a plain, valley, or flat lands. Commentators have been greatly troubled, as a Mount Magedon does not appear in any other place in the Scriptures, neither is there mention of any such mountain in any other ancient literature, as far as we know. The Valley of Megiddo is found, but not Mount Magedon, nor Mount Megiddo, for that matter, and it is a mountain that the Hebrew demands. There are vital reasons that preclude Megiddo as the Magedon of Har-Magedon. One is that Megiddo is a valley or plain.[2] It is more than difficult to have faith in the long arguments built up by some in an endeavor to convince us that Har-Magedon is a valley, a plain.

To return to our text in Rev 16, we note whose battle Har-Magedon is (v. 14):

> For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.[3]

Several verses in Ezek 39 (2, 4, 17) speak of the destruction of the wicked as being consummated on "the mountains of Israel." Mountains here refer to the modern Jebel-el-Tur, which is not a single peak, but a ridge with several crowns or crests, the highest of which rises to 2,723 feet above sea level. Joel 2:23 gives a suggestion that Mount Zion with Jerusalem may be the place of deliverance for the righteous. Amos 1:2 is still more definite: "The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem." Zech 14:1-4 also suggests that the Lord's battle is to be fought from the region of Mount Zion. Likewise Ezek 11:23: "And the glory of the Lord went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain

[2]The following texts provide OT witness concerning Megiddo as to its location and physical geography: Judg 1:27; 5:19; 1 Kgs 4:12; 9:15; 2 Kgs 9:27; 23:29-30; 1 Chron 7:29; 2 Chron 35:22.

[3]Cf. Isa 42:13; 30:30; Ezek 39:2, 4, 17.

which is on the east side of the city." The mountain on the east side of the city is the Mount of Olives. Joel 3:9-16 speaks of the nations assembling, and of war in the "valley of Jehoshaphat" (v. 12); "The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (v. 16).

With this background, John could scarcely think of any other place than Jerusalem, the sanctuary of Yahweh on His holy mountain, as the locale from which the wicked are to be finally destroyed. What John says in the book of Revelation of Har-Magedon as the scene of the destruction of the wicked fits in perfectly with the teachings of the OT prophets. Har-Magedon, for John, could have no connection with the Valley of Megiddo.

I suggest that we cut loose from any further consideration of the valley of Megiddo and that we look for the Hebrew root-word to go with "mountain," as demanded by Rev 16:16, that will fit the problem of a gathering of all nations, not to fight one another nor to fight God with tanks, submarines, and planes, but rather to come into Yahweh's Presence to meet the administering of the final judgment at the second coming of Christ.

The Hebrew verb *yāᶜaḏ*, "to appoint a time or place," occurs 29 times in the OT,[4] with the meanings of "assembling," "meeting," "gathering together" for judgment. This verb root fits in with Har-Magedon in respect both to root and to meaning: the nations are to *be gathered* by evil spirits into God's Presence.

The next step is to see if the noun of that root would fit (for Magedon is a noun form), and if it was used in the way demanded by the Hebrew expression Har-Magedon. Hebrew grammars list under preformatives of nouns, *mem*, the principal uses of which are instrumental and local. Among the illustrations is *môᶜeḏ*, "an appointed place of assembly," which is, I believe, the definition that fits Rev 16:16. It is used nearly 200 times in the OT.[5]

The Mount of Assembly is further identified in Isa 14:13 by the expression "in the recesses of the north." With the disintegration of the tabernacle of the wilderness, and the building of the temple-sanctuary in the holy city, the Hebrew expression that had become permanent for the tabernacle, or tent of meeting, could not fail to

[4]Typical instances are: Num 10:3-4; 14:35; 16:11; 27:3; Josh 11:5; 2 Sam 20:5; 1 Kgs 8:5; 2 Chron 5:6; Job 9:19; Ps 48:4(5); Jer 50:44; 49:19.

[5]See Isa 14:13, the only place where it is with *har*; and many others with *ᵓohel*, "tent or tabernacle [of meeting or assembly]."

become attached to the temple and the mountain ridge upon which it is built. Holding now in mind the complete descriptive concept of the "Mount of Assembly in the sides of the north," we notice Ps 48:2:

> Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is mount Zion,
> on the sides of the north, the city of the great King.

God's dwelling place, the Temple, did lie on the north (northeast) of the city, with the city lying on the south side of the ridge.

The Hebrew should be written *Har Môᶜed*.[6] The translator no doubt recognized the word *har*, mountain, but was not able to recognize *môᶜed*, so he transliterated the whole expression, and it appears in the Greek NT with addition of *ōn*, as Ἁρμαγεδών. This again has been transliterated from Greek as Armageddon, with the *h* left off and an additional *d* added, no doubt due to the translators' obsession with Megiddo. So Har-Magedon is not the *battle* of the Lord, but the *locality* of the battle, the place from which Christ will destroy the wicked, the "Mount of Assembly," that is, Mount Zion.

[6]*Note added by Leona G. Running*: From Semitic linguistics studies we know that Proto-Semitic *ghayin*, a very harsh guttural, fell together in Hebrew with *ayin*, a less harsh sound, and both were transliterated in Greek times by *gamma*, as demonstrated by the names Gaza and Gomorrah, both of which begin with *ayin* but originally had the harsher sound. (Also with *g* in Egyptian and in Arabic.) Thus there is ample linguistic support for the *g* in Armageddon, but not for the double *d*. The latter is due to confusion with Megiddo (Mageddo[n] in the LXX), but the word in Rev 16:16 has one *d*.

The Yale scholar Charles C. Torrey published an illuminating comment in *HTR* 31 (1938): 247-248: "The only Greek consonant which could represent the Hebrew ע is γ; and it was much used in transliteration, without regard to the question of etymology, as is now well known. Indeed, it was especially likely to be employed in cases where the interpreter did not know the meaning of the word before him. Thus in 1 Chron 4:9 the cautious translator Theodotion renders the problematic עבץ (the result of text-corruption) by γαβης; in 2:47, 49 שעף by Σαγαφ; in 1 Sam 9:4 the Lagarde text has Σεγαλειμ for שעלים, etc. It is not necessary to multiply illustrations. The *gamma* in μαγεδ certainly represents the Hebrew guttural. The choice of the vowel ε for the second syllable may have been made simply for the sake of variety; but it seems more likely that it was occasioned by familiarity with the name Μαγεδδω(ν) which occurs a dozen times in the Greek.

"... The phrase in 16:16 ... was in fact an occult designation of the battle-ground, the holy mountains about Jerusalem; on which, according to the author of this Apocalypse, as well as to every other exponent of Jewish eschatology, the hosts of heaven were destined to overthrow the heathen armies at the end of the present age."

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Andrews University doctoral dissertations are microfilmed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Some dissertations will also have been published in dissertation series (e.g., the Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series), and in such cases, the pertinent information will be noted in connection with the abstract printed herein.

LESSER GODS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND SOME COMPARISONS WITH HEAVENLY BEINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Author: **K. Merling Alomía.** Ph.D., 1987.
Adviser: William H. Shea.

This study examines the concept and imagery of heavenly beings as they are described and depicted in the texts and iconography of the Ancient Near East and compares the variegated concept and imagery with the angelic realm in the OT.

Utilizing motifs commonly repeated in the mytho-epic literature of the Fertile Crescent—such as the divine assembly and its diverse constituency, the protector gods, the messenger gods, the sons of the gods, the warrior gods, the demonic gods, etc.—the study exposes the diversity among heavenly beings and their place within the divine realm or the hierarchical pantheon. The study abounds with drawings illustrative of the heavenly population as depicted in Ancient Near Eastern iconography.

The OT references to angelic beings, examined alongside the Ancient Near Eastern material, clearly show Israelite awareness of an elaborate tradition. Although a graphic representation of heavenly beings is totally lacking on the biblical side, descriptive semblances are found in the biblical material from Adamic times to Danielic days.

Finally, the study synthesizes the differences and similarities between the Ancient Near Eastern and OT imagery. Although the polytheistic side appears to be more colorful and varied, in both written and graphic sources, there is an appreciation for the uniqueness of the monotheistic view sustained in the biblical passages. The investigation concludes by asserting that the Ancient Near Eastern literary-graphic imagery of the celestial population serves to illustrate the biblical angelic realm. Biblical and non-biblical sources alike—in their own peculiar way—attest to the reality of angelic population.

ASPECTS OF THE REMNANT CONCEPT IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

Author: **Edgar A. Johnson.** Ph.D., 1984.
Adviser: Abraham Terian.

Only some aspects of the remnant concept in the christology and ecclesiology of Matthew are dealt with in this dissertation. Special attention is given to this Gospel-writer's distinctive interpretation of Jesus as the "remnant" and the conceptual structures (e.g., μαθητής, ἐκκλησία, μικροί, πτωχοί, ἐκλεκτοί, ὀλίγοι, and others) that cohere with the remnant concept.

A brief survey of recent debate on the ecclesiology of Matthew and a statement on the purpose, scope, method, and plan of the dissertation are set forth in the Introduction. The need for a careful analysis which would necessitate a much more inclusive review of the complex *Traditionsgeschichte* of ancient Israelite and primitive Christian self-understanding is stressed.

Chap. 1 examines the remnant concept in the OT prophets and in selected literature of Late Judaism. Chap. 2 investigates the remnant concept in the way Matthew introduces Jesus as the Son of David (legitimate King), the Son of Abraham (true Israelite), and the Prophet like Moses (new Lawgiver). Chap. 3 treats the remnant concept in the Baptist's message of judgment and repentance. Chap. 4 examines the remnant concept in the baptism and temptation of Jesus. Chaps. 5-7 deal with the nature of the remnant concept in the ecclesiology of the gospel: First, chap. 5 treats the remnant concept in Jesus' call of disciples; then chap. 6 discusses the concept as related to the Sermon on the Mount; and finally, chap. 7 examines the concept in four other teachings of Jesus—the poor, the little ones and the sheep, the reproof of an erring brother, and the covenant at the Last Supper.

Because of the difficulties and pitfalls in reducing the remnant concept in Matthew to a set of lowest-common terms, greater emphasis is placed on Matthew's presentation of Jesus as the remnant of Israel, whose role of sonship Jesus reenacts with divine approval. Following the call of the first disciples, an ever-widening circle of disciples is formed around Jesus, the Master. This, in essence, is Matthew's ἐκκλησία: those who have appropriated Jesus' words on his messianic authority and who, as disciples, share in the experiences of the Master, who in turn shares in the experiences of ancient Israel.

THE CONCEPT OF THE POOR IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Author: **Amin A. Rodor.** Th.D., 1986.
Adviser: Raoul Dederen.

This investigation deals with the concept of the poor in the thought of Latin American Liberation theology, particularly as articulated in the context of the movement's ecclesiology.

Chap. 1 traces the historical and theological context for the emergence of liberation theology. The focus is placed first on the ecclesiological models through which the Roman Catholic Church expressed its life and mission in Latin America and how they affected the Church's social relations in the area. The impact of the ecclesiological shift of Vatican Council II, in combination with the historical situation of Latin America in the late 1960s, is seen as creating the immediate setting for the discovery and option for the poor by progressive Latin American Catholics.

Chap. 2 shows that liberation theology, in its effort to place theological reflection at the service of humanization and social changes in a context marked by massive poverty, has attempted to situate theology in history and rethink it "from below." The ecclesiological and pastoral implications of this approach are readily apparent. Demanding from the Church an effective function on the side of the oppressed determines the necessity for an analysis of the society's socio-political-economic situation. Marxist analysis of society is brought into the theological method. Thus, to avoid traditional spiritualization, paternalistic, and fatalistic approaches, the poor are identified "scientifically" in terms of the Marxist dialectic of history. This preunderstanding of and precommitment to the poor fatally shapes the liberation view of sin and salvation, its notion of the "church of the poor," and its rereading of the Bible. Biblical texts and events dealing with the poor, selectively chosen, are strongly influenced by the adopted conflictive view of society.

Chap. 3 reflects critically on liberation theology's concept of the poor as framed within the class struggle polarization. Since, when faithful to their methodology, liberation theologians see "the poor" and "oppression" exclusively in socio-economic terms, the reactualization of Christian doctrines from the "perspective of the poor" tends to replace traditional verticalism with the opposite one-dimensional approach. Option for the poor tends to be expressed as an option for the proletariat, and the "church of the poor" tends to become the church of one social class. The last part of the chapter tests the liberationist view of the poor in the light of Scripture.

This investigation concludes by affirming the biblical validity of liberation theology's concern for the poor. "Option for the poor," however,

must be cleansed from ideological ambiguities. Liberation theology could avoid the ideological trap and increase its appealing potential if its view of the poor through sociological criteria were balanced and controlled by the biblical criteria. In the light of Scripture, "option for the poor" is, in fact, option for the needy, independent of conformity with ideological demands.

BOOK REVIEWS

Carson, D. A., ed. *Biblical Interpretation & the Church: Text & Context.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1984. 240 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Carson, D. A., ed. *The Church in the Bible and the World.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 368 pp. Paperback, $19.95.

The purpose of *Biblical Interpretation* is to explore some of the hermeneutical issues that bear on the task of world mission in the late twentieth century (p. 7).

D. A. Carson introduces the essays in this book with a short article entitled "A Sketch of the Factors Determining Current Hermeneutical Debate in Cross-Cultural Contexts." He reminds us of five important aspects to keep in mind when dealing with hermeneutics in cross-cultural contexts. First, all come to the text with a preunderstanding, which can lead to a lack of adherence to the Scriptures. In Carson's opinion, we can only overcome this if we have a self-conscious dependency upon, and an open humility towards, the Word.

Second, we must be aware of the new hermeneutic. It has the danger of imposing the interpreter's cultural concepts on the biblical writers. Carson points out that the interpreter may attempt to distinguish what he thinks is the culture-bound material of the Bible from that which is supracultural (p. 19). This can lead him to reject the idea that God has revealed truth which is objectively true for all cultures and jettison certain parts of the Bible because they are too culture-bound to be of value to us.

Third, there is the danger of creating a canon within a canon. Certain texts are interpreted in the light of a particular idea one wishes to focus on. This destroys the objectivity of hermeneutics. Carson suggests two ways to avoid this: (a) to listen to each other and hear the things we do not like as well as the things we do like, and (b) to embark both personally and ecclesiastically on systematic studies of Scripture that force us to confront the whole spectrum of truth (p. 23).

Fourth, one must consider the problem of salvation-historical development. This usually takes the form of a *paradigmatic* approach to Scripture, in which one focuses on one narrative part of the Bible and seeks to use it as the *paradigm* for current belief (Carson uses liberation theology's tendency to do so with the Exodus as an example). Again, Carson warns that we must be submissive to the entire canon and its message in order to avoid this.

The final problem Carson points out is that of too little criticism and self-criticism within theology. According to him, the more communication there is between diverse cultures, the greater the need that evenhanded criticism and self-criticism be done to sharpen our expression of theology.

Each of the other seven essays continually points to the problem of cross-cultural hermeneutics and its application to ecclesiology in accordance with the work's stated purpose.

The Church in the Bible and the World is a sequel to *Biblical Interpretation.* Its purpose is to build on the previous volume and "try to formulate some biblically informed and hermeneutically sensitive statements on the doctrine of the church" (p. vii).

In moving towards that goal, Carson's chapter, "Church and Mission: Reflections on Contextualization and the Third Horizon," can be taken as representative of articles in this work. Here he posits three horizons that one needs to keep in mind when attempting to share the gospel cross-culturally. The first horizon is that of the biblical witness itself. The second is that of the established Christian seeking to understand the Scriptures. The third is that of trying to teach the Word to another group of people. Carson points out that the greater the gap between the evangelizing church and the target people, the greater the chance for massive distortion of the message. This must be taken into account when doing cross-cultural evangelization.

Based upon the three horizons, Carson defines the task of the church as the "contextualization" of Christianity. "Contextualization" for him cannot be simply defined as the church's becoming self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting. It goes beyond these to include the questions of biblical interpretation and theological expression. He is not suggesting a pluralistic theology. He believes that the truth found in Scripture must be expressed in terms that the receiving culture can understand without distorting its basic message. The aim of evangelization is to "develop an indigenous, contextualized Christianity that is in hearty submission to Scripture, growing in its understanding of and obedience to God's Word" (p. 257). This, then, sums up the task of these two works.

Both works have one major weakness besides the varying quality of the essays typical of this kind of enterprise. The majority of the writers are from first-world countries. It would have been helpful to include a number of prominent third-world scholars to give their viewpoints on the hermeneutical issues that bear on the tasks of world mission. In spite of this weakness, the books can be read profitably by those seeking to understand various ways the problems of hermeneutics are being solved today and how those problems relate to the task of world mission in the late twentieth century.

Andrews University BRUCE NORMAN

DeMolen, Richard L. *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam.* Bibliotheca Humanistica and Reformatorica, Vol. XL. Nieuwkoop: De Graff Publishers, 1987. xviii + 224 pp. Fr 90.

The significant role played in relationship to both the Renaissance (especially Northern Humanism) and the Protestant Reformation by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, called the "Prince of the Humanists" even in his own lifetime, is well known. The features of his career and activities best known to nonspecialists are a few of his more satirical works (such as the *Praise of Folly*) and his preparation of the Greek text of the NT—the Greek text which served as the primary source from which Luther translated his famous German NT.

In a number of ways, however, Erasmus has seemed quite enigmatic to his biographers and to Renaissance/Reformation historians. For instance, just how did Erasmus view the Roman Catholic Church, some of whose ceremonies he at times ridiculed, but from whose communion he never departed? What was his attitude toward monasticism? And in his own personal life, did he have genuinely serious goals, or was he a neurotic—possibly even an immoral—person? In the massive Erasmus literature that has emerged in recent decades, one can find a variety of answers to these and other questions. The beauty of the present publication by Richard L. DeMolen is that, rather than adding to the confusion, it brings focus to the question of the *real* Erasmus through careful analysis of his voluminous correspondence and numerous treatises.

In producing several earlier books, DeMolen compiled and edited significant essays by various distinguished scholars: *The Meaning of Renaissance and Reformation* (reviewed in *AUSS* 14 [1976]: 250-251); *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (reviewed in *AUSS* 19 [1981]: 263-264); and *Leaders of the Reformation* (reviewed in *AUSS* 24 [1986]: 270-272). In contrast to such volumes, the present one is comprised totally of essays by DeMolen himself. He has gathered together eight essays prepared for various occasions and appearing in print in a variety of scholarly publications from about 1971 to 1987. The chapter titles are: "Erasmus of Rotterdam in Profile" (pp. 1-14); "Erasmus as Adolescent" (pp. 15-34); "The Interior Erasmus" (pp. 35-67); "*Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*: Rungs on the Ladder to the *Philosophia Christi*" (pp. 69-124); "First Fruits: The Place of *Antibarbarorum Liber* and *De Contemptu Mundi* in the Formulation of Erasmus' *Philosophia Christi*" (pp. 125-142); "Erasmus on Childhood" (pp. 143-164); "The Expression of Love in the *Oeuvre* of Erasmus" (pp. 165-190); and "Erasmus' Commitment to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine" (pp. 191-197). In addition to these chapters, the volume has a "Selected Bibliography" (pp. 205-216) and a fairly comprehensive "Index" (pp. 217-224).

DeMolen has shattered a number of the more popular caricatures of Erasmus, including that of his being some sort of scoundrel who shunned neither falsification nor contradictory statements if such would foster his own welfare. Rather, a careful study of both Erasmus' written works and his correspondence from the earliest extant pieces until the time of his death in 1536 reveals a rather remarkable consistency in his outlook and emphases; indeed, for most of this time he had an overriding concern to encourage, and also to attempt to exemplify, a holiness of life in imitation of Christ. Among sources important to him were the sacred Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and devotional-type writings such as Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ.*

DeMolen's assessment stands in sharp contrast to the view that Erasmus was but a classicist, whose genuine interest was ancient letters, but who had generally little religious conviction. It also modifies the view of those scholars who would allow some small degree of spiritual tone to Erasmus' work, especially as evidenced in his *Handbook of a Christian Knight* (prepared in 1501 and first published in 1503). What DeMolen demonstrates is that Erasmus began his emphasis on his *Philosophia Christi* as early as 1489, while he was a canon in the Augustinian monastery at Steyn; and, moreover, that from that time onward the theme is pervasive, not simply incidental, in Erasmus' writings.

Although I normally do not review the same title for more than one scholarly journal, in the case of *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* I have also prepared a critical review for the *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 8 (1988): 145-148. That review differs somewhat in nature from the present one, and therefore the interested reader may wish to consult that review also. (The most helpful procedure, of course, is to peruse the book itself for the genuinely fascinating information it presents.)

In closing, a *caveat* is in order: The reader of this book should not expect total cohesiveness, for the topical treatment utilized does not lend itself to a consistent chronological presentation; and there is, as well, some duplication of material among the various chapters. Nevertheless, the volume is lucid both in its parts and in its totality. I would highly recommend it to anyone seeking a better understanding of Erasmus, and especially to those who are interested in the great Humanist's spiritual dimensions.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Elwell, Walter A., ed. *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible.* 2 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988. 2210 pp. $79.95.

The primary intention of the two-volume Baker *Encyclopedia of the Bible* is to make the ancient concepts of the Bible vibrant and understand-

able to the non-specialist in today's world. As a result, technical jargon is avoided, Greek and Hebrew terms are transliterated, and scholarly arguments are kept to a minimum. Also in keeping with the comfort level of the target audience, it maintains a conservative stance toward the biblical text; the Bible is assumed to be what it claims to be, the Word of God.

We are not, however, dealing with some kind of mindless biblicism. The editors and writers of the *Encyclopedia* read like a who's who of the most eminent evangelical biblical scholars in the English-speaking world. General Editor Elwell is best known for his earlier *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*. The five associate editors include such well-known names as Peter Craigie and Roland K. Harrison. The more than 5,700 articles are produced by over 175 high-quality scholars such as David Aune, Colin Brown, F. F. Bruce, James D. G. Dunn, George Eldon Ladd, I. Howard Marshall, Leon Morris, and Edwin Yamauchi.

The *Encyclopedia*, made up of completely new material, includes a "mini-commentary" on each Bible book; extensive articles on major biblical themes; general articles on historical, cultural, and literary backgrounds; entries on every biblical person and most historical events and geographical places; and over 600 photos, maps, and other illustrations. In addition, there are thirty "omnibus articles" that cover various aspects of life in biblical times, bringing together a number of related items in one place for convenience. Bibliographies are occasionally offered, but are not a regular feature. Cross-references are normally from minor to major articles. Authors for articles worked on by several different people are not attributed.

A major problem with the *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible* is the claim on the "dust jacket" that "more advanced [students] discover it to be far more thorough and complete than any Bible dictionary." It is not clear what is meant by "advanced" or by "dictionary." Whether or not intended, the impression is left with the browser that this *Encyclopedia* will be of great value to the scholar and that it will compare favorably with such standards as the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. This is certainly not the case. Most articles are minimal in their discussion of scholarly issues and totally lacking in bibliographies. The *Encyclopedia's* few bibliographies focus particularly on works of previous generations and on those of evangelical scholars. Reference to critical works is rare.

Particularly disturbing is the age of the bibliographical material. A fairly extensive survey revealed only two items from the 1980s, and both, not surprisingly, are in the article on Ebla (the latest being 1981). This deficiency is masked to the casual reader because no dates are given in the bibliographies. Such first-rate recent evangelical commentaries as those of F. F. Bruce on Thessalonians (1982) and John (1984), Peter Davids on James (1982), Robert Gundry on Matthew (1982), Peter O'Brien on Colossians and Philemon (1982), and Stephen Smalley on the letters of John

(1984) are all missing, even though the *Encyclopedia* was published in 1988. (This is particularly surprising in that Bruce and Davids are among the writers of the *Encyclopedia.*) By contrast, the fourth volume of *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* published around the same time, contains a multitude of references to works in the 1980s, right up to 1985. Since many of the commentaries which were left out are superior to items in the respective bibliographies, one can only conclude that most of the content of this *Encyclopedia* is at least ten years old.

Such quibbling, however, needs to be placed in perspective. The primary intent of the *Encyclopedia* is simplicity and clarity combined with scholarly accuracy. In this, it succeeds admirably. Its closest competitor is *Harper's Bible Dictionary,* a more critical work also aimed at the general reader, even though produced by the Society of Biblical Literature. In content the two are fairly equal, but the *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible* is much more complete. *Harper's* leaves out many minor entries without providing any significant improvement in the quantity and quality of the bibliographies. Of the two, the Baker approach is to be preferred. Though not as complete as the *ISBE* or even *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible,* the *Baker Encyclopedia* should be given careful consideration by non-specialists who are appreciative of its style, intent, and theological stance. Specialists, on the other hand, are advised to stick with the *ISBE* and/or *IDB* until the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* makes its long-awaited debut in a couple of years.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Grant, Robert M. *Greek Apologists of the Second Century.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1988. 254 pp. $19.95.

Robert M. Grant, Professor Emeritus of New Testament and Early Christianity at the University of Chicago, is deservedly recognized as one of the greatest living authorities on the crucial second century of Christian history. In this book he shares the ripe fruits of a lifetime of study.

The book offers a rather complete survey, from the Jewish and pagan background of apologetic and its Christian beginnings (he rightly sees Acts 14 and 17 as the earliest Christian specimens of the genre) through to the use of the second-century Christian apologists by writers in later centuries. All major and minor figures are dealt with.

Greek Apologists of the Second Century consists of twenty-three short chapters, three appendices, notes, and a useful bibliography. The chapters deal not only with the apologists themselves but also with the political and religious situations which they addressed. Able attention is given to the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus; and

there is a chapter on Celsus. Three chapters are devoted to Justin Martyr and four to Theophilus of Antioch, reflecting not only the importance of the former but also the special interest of the author in the latter.

The volume demonstrates rich classical erudition and charm, and even flashes of wry humor; but while it adds up to a cumulative picture, it gives the impression of being more a description of individual trees than a portrait of a forest. A thesis is stated at the outset: "While there is a certain timeless character to the Christian apologists of the second century, they are deeply involved in the political and social struggles of their time and cannot be understood apart from the precise circumstances in which they are writing" (p. 10). But such a thesis, as it is carried out, borders on being platitudinous. One is left wishing for something a bit more striking and insightful, something that might enhance the value of a knowledge of the apologists for the church today.

Such a purpose could have been accomplished had the author undertaken to demonstrate explicitly the generalizations with which he begins his very first page: "Apologetic literature emerges from minority groups that are trying to come to terms with the larger culture within which they live. . . . The apologist is not completely at home in either his own group or the larger society. He is too much of a generalizer for his own people, and too closely related to minority specifics for society at large. . . . An apologist's efforts are likely to produce significant changes in the ways the minority looks at itself . . ." (p. 9). But these introductory insights are left, for the most part, undeveloped. The addressing of the apologies to emperors and officials is accepted at face value, with little consideration given to the importance of these writings for the intramural audience which, after all, preserved them.

The aim and audience of the book are unclear in that the earlier chapters often spell out matters which are probably common knowledge to the kind of reader likely to be interested in such a subject; but, as the book progresses, it becomes more and more technical and narrow in its focus. Grant is especially concerned to uncover sources—those sources used by the apologists and the apologists themselves as used by later writers. It is fair to say that this becomes more and more the dominant interest as the book proceeds. This aspect is covered so thoroughly that it is hard to imagine that anyone will want to take it up again.

Though the chapters follow a largely chronological sequence, they could all be read intelligibly as self-standing articles. In addition, material is sometimes duplicated. Thus we read of Numenius's allegorizing of Gen 1:2 on pp. 49 and 62; of Justin's denunciation of pornography on pp. 67 and 73; of the Montanists on pp. 78 and 87-88; of the Twelfth Legion on pp. 78 and 85; of Origen's criticism of Melito on pp. 189 and 193; and one finds the same list of works which were falsely attributed to Justin on pp. 191 and 199. Sometimes, even within the same chapter, there is needless

repetition and what appears to be contradiction. Thus on p. 175 Grant seems to accept the study by J. van Pottelberge of Clement of Alexandria's *Exhortation* and to deduce from it that "Clement must be viewed not as an apologist but as an independent literary figure," but on p. 179 he states: "Clement himself was undoubtedly the most significant Alexandrian apologist, . . . for he wrote the important *Exhortation.*" The whole effect is what one might expect if the chapters had been written as separate articles over an extended period of time, with minimal reference among them, and then strung together without much editing.

The book has not escaped its quota of typographical errors, incomplete sentences, and minor errors of fact. Thus, contrary to what is said on p. 195, the apology of Aristides as it is incorporated into *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is not found on the lips of a Christian missionary in India but in the mouth of Nachor, a pagan hermit who is persuaded to utter it under threat.

In spite of these problems, the author knows his subject thoroughly, and his readers will learn much.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Hedrick, Charles W., and Robert Hodgson, Jr., eds. *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986. xliv + 332 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

The present volume is a landmark of scholarship devoted to a discipline which until the middle of the twentieth century was dependent on the writings of the opponents of gnosticism in the early church. With the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices and the subsequent editions of the texts, scholars have arrived at a much fairer understanding of this very distinct movement within early Christianity. The present volume takes the student and the scholar alike to the frontier of scholarship on Nag Hammadi, gnosticism, and their place in the theological discord of the early church.

Twelve of the thirteen papers included in this book were presented at the 1983 Springfield, Missouri, Working Seminar on Gnosticism and Early Christianity, organized by the two editors.

After a generous preface by Hodgson and an illuminating introduction by Hedrick, the volume is divided into three parts: (1) non-Christian gnosticism; (2) gnosticism, the NT, and early Christian literature; and (3) gnosticism and the early church. The topical coverage and distribution of the papers are well balanced. Three papers are devoted to the question of non-Christian gnosticism—all dwelling on the Sethian tradition (B. Pearson, B. Layton, and J. Turner). Three of the five papers on gnosticism, the

NT, and other early Christian writings deal with the Gospel of John (G. MacRae, H. Koester, and H.-M. Schenke), while the others treat Q and the Gospel of Thomas (J. Robinson) and the literary evidence for inner diversity and conflict within early Christianity (F. Wisse). The latter paves the way for the remaining five papers on the struggle between gnosticism and orthodoxy, their conflicting cosmologies, the Valentinian affiliation of the *Gospel of Truth*, interpretations of the creation accounts, and the Syro-Mesopotamian branch of the controversy between orthodoxy and heresy (D. Parrot, P. Perkins, H. Attridge, E. Pagels, and S. Gero).

While all papers are of great interest, the three touching the Gospel of John merit particular notice. In the first of these, "Gnosticism and the Church of John's Gospel," MacRae raises the old question of possible gnostic influences on the Fourth Gospel and Johannine Christianity and answers it with yet another question of possible mutual indebtedness to a common wisdom tradition. Koester, in the second of these papers, "Gnostic Sayings and Controversy Traditions in John 8:12-59," underscores the traditional nature of the sayings in the fragmentary discourse of John 8:12-59 by cataloging similar sayings found elsewhere in John—and the Synoptics occasionally—and in the gnostic scriptures. In the third, "The Function and Background of the Beloved Disciple in the Gospel of John" (the only paper not read at the Springfield seminar but given on a lecture tour across the United States in 1982), Schenke treats the Beloved Disciple passages (13:21-30; 19:25-27; 20:1-10; 21:1-14, 15-24) as redactional and compares them with certain gnostic passages remotely suggestive of the Beloved Disciple idea. Focusing on equally vague hints in the Thomas legend, the East German scholar wonders "whether Judas Thomas, the most mysterious of all the brothers of Jesus, might not have been the historical model (in terms of history of traditions) for the Beloved Disciple figure" (p. 123). He then concludes: "If this suggestion is correct . . . the same Syrian Judas Thomas tradition . . . would have affected the Fourth Gospel at two stages in its development." ("For Thomas appears . . . in the part of the Gospel written by the Evangelist, and then reappears in the part of the Gospel added by the editor as the anonymous Beloved Disciple" [pp. 124-25]). The respective authors of these three papers seem to restore some relevance to Bultmann's *Gospel of John*.

Much of the credit for this unique compilation truly belongs to the editors, who brought together these renowned scholars, assigned presentations in the areas of their expertise, and solicited coverage of the latest developments on every front. The careful planning for a seminar of this magnitude, coupled with the meticulous editorial attention which a task of this nature demands (seen especially in the detailed bibliographical information provided at the beginning of the volume and in the classified index of ancient texts given at the end), clearly distinguishes this book from most collections of seminar papers.

Together with the ongoing publication of the Nag Hammadi texts and translations, and the 1980-81 publication of the Proceedings of the 1978 International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale (Bentley Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, 2 vols. [Leiden, 1980-81]), the papers of the Springfield Seminar are to be greeted as a major event in the study of gnosticism. They define the state of scholarship in the areas they cover and testify to the vitality of such studies in America.

Andrews University ABRAHAM TERIAN

Hunter, James Davison. *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. xi + 302 pp. $19.95.

With the appearance of *Evangelicalism*, Hunter has established himself as a major interpreter of contemporary evangelicalism whose work must be taken with absolute seriousness. This is his second book on evangelicalism, and it continues his exploration of the dialectical tension between conservative religion and modernity that formed the core of his earlier study. As the subtitle indicates, it concentrates upon young evangelical elites, who in all probability will be the bearers and shapers of the evangelical tradition in the years to come. The empirical base of the study is a cohort of college and seminary students in the years 1982/83 in nine of the leading evangelical colleges in the Christian College Consortium and in seven major evangelical theological seminaries. It is broader than his earlier study in that it locates American evangelicalism within the context of the global evangelical phenomenon and takes a comprehensive view of evangelicalism as a cultural system with an interlocking network of beliefs, values, ideals, and practices. The depth of Hunter's quest for understanding the meaning of modernity and the fate of conservative religion in the contemporary world is never far below the surface in this study.

Hunter's basic conclusion is that the symbolic boundaries which maintain the inner cohesion of the evangelical subculture are being blurred. More specifically, he argues that this is taking place in the very institutions—colleges and seminaries—which have been established to transmit and maintain the traditions. Boundaries are being redefined and eroded as these academic communities are confronted by the push and pull of modernity. This takes place just as much in the redefinition and simplification of boundaries in efforts by the right to defend the tradition against modernity as it does under the impulse to accommodate modernity by reconstruction of the traditions. He studies trends in four general dimensions of the evangelical cultural system: its theology; its understanding of work, of morality, and of the self; its concepts of the ideal family; and its attitudes toward involvement in politics. He does so by analyzing the attitudes of

his sample cohort of students in comparison with definitions of an earlier quintessential evangelical orthodoxy. To provide perspective, the attitudes of his cohort were compared with those of a group of students in the Religious Studies Department of the University of California at Santa Barbara, which he admits may not be a strictly representative sample.

The difficulties one has with this study are typically those inherent in this kind of research. For instance, one wonders whether Hunter's population of students, who attend prestigious evangelical institutions, is generally representative of all evangelical students. And there are difficulties with the questions asked, particularly with those which force difficult answers. For instance, respondents were requested to decide which of the following statements best reflected their views: "1. The Bible is the inspired Word of God, not mistaken in its statements and teachings, and is to be taken literally, word for word" or "2. The Bible is the inspired Word of God, not mistaken in its teachings, but is not always to be taken literally in its statements concerning matters of science, historical reporting, etc." (p. 24). The key word in both is "literally," but there is no definition of what the word is intended to mean. Does it mean there is no room for any kind of symbolism? And if a student reads "literally" in an absolutist sense and feels that he/she could not respond positively to Question 1, would this really indicate a betrayal of orthodoxy?

Further, the questions on theology seem to give undue weight to notoriously difficult problems regarding biblical inerrancy and salvation for those who do not know Jesus Christ. No questions are asked regarding other concerns which are central to the gospel, viz., the virgin birth or the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ.

A larger problem, as this reviewer sees it, is Hunter's definition of evangelicalism as an orthodoxy. What is distinctive about an orthodoxy on this view is that it represents a "consensus through time" that is "based upon the ancient rules and precepts derived from divine revelation" (p. 181). The truth of orthodoxy "does not unfold but has already been revealed" (p. 158). Can the orthodoxy of evangelicalism at the four loci tested be adequately defined in such static terms? Has the evangelical experience not been characterized more by process than by absolute stability of this order? The ideals he upholds at each of the four major loci studied would seem to exist more firmly in myth than they have ever existed in reality. The understanding of evangelicalism as an orthodoxy sets the stage for, and casts its shadow upon, the whole study.

Hunter takes seriously the empirical data he has collected; but, as noted above, he locates these in a matrix derived more from ideal constructs than from the evangelical reality. In addition, his arguments proceed beyond the analyses of the data to theoretical interaction with the ideals previously projected. As a result, the reader feels constrained to wonder whether Hunter gives so much weight to high-level theoretical analysis

that his empirical analysis hardly has a chance to stand on its own feet and tell its own story. One result of this is his overly pessimistic prognosis of the future of conservative religion in its confrontation with modernity.

Hunter disavows any intention to predict the future of evangelicalism, but his data lead him to conclude that the traditions are being eroded under pressures from both the left and the right and that the boundaries of orthodoxy are being blurred in the process of transmission. Evangelicals, and others who are concerned regarding the future of a society that has lost its basic consensus regarding values, find this study deeply disturbing. In fact, it simply cannot be ignored by any who are involved in the transmission of Christian belief and values to succeeding generations.

Andrews University RUSSELL L. STAPLES

Michaels, J. Ramsey. *1 Peter*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 49. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988. lxxv + 337 pp. $24.95.

J. Ramsey Michaels has produced a significant commentary that will likely become the standard text on 1 Peter. The readers of *AUSS* are already familiar with other fine contributions in the Word Biblical Commentary series, so nothing needs to be said regarding format and arrangement.

Michaels, in taking a conservative, though cautious, approach with regard to authorship, considers that there are no solid grounds for setting aside the traditional view of Petrine authorship. He identifies 1 Peter as an "apocalyptic diaspora letter" and its recipients as Gentile Christians. His discussion of sources is standard, not really breaking any new ground. The discussion of the book's theology, though brief, is helpful, particularly in pointing out the similarity and distinctiveness of 1 Peter in relation to the rest of the NT.

Michaels breaks from current scholarly trends in his discussion of date and authorship. It is generally held that if a late date can be established, then Peter cannot be the author, since tradition holds that he was crucified under Nero. Michaels, however, points out that there is also a strong line of tradition which indicates that Peter lived much longer in Rome. He thus holds to the compatibility of a later date with Petrine authorship. While this position is not new (it dates back to William Ramsay), it provides an important contribution to the current discussion.

Michaels' presentation of the letter's structure is helpful for understanding its purpose and the development of the argument. The discussion, however, could have been improved by taking note of Peter's pattern of following paraenetic material with a theological motivation, usually centered around a Scripture quotation, though at times apparently based on a hymnic or liturgical fragment. Such arrangement can be detected in 1:15

after 1:13-14, 1:18-21 after 1:16-17, 1:24-25 after 1:22-23, 2:3 after 2:1-2, 2:6-10 after 2:4-5, 2:12b after 2:11-12a, 2:21-25 after 2:13-20, 3:10-12 after 3:1-7, 3:18-22 after 3:13-17, 4:17-19 after 4:12-16, and 5:5b after 5:1-5a.

The commentary proper provides a solid exegesis and discussion of the text which future work on 1 Peter will need to take into account. While there is insufficient space to make much comment on Michaels' treatment of the text, one passage in particular needs mentioning.

1 Pet 3:18-22 has remained a problem passage of particular difficulty for students of the NT. Even today, despite William Dalton's decisive thesis, one cannot truly point to any sort of scholarly consensus. For example, while many scholars follow Dalton in identifying the "spirits in prison" as fallen angels, Leonhard Goppelt's recent German commentary identifies them as the souls of the dead, while recent articles by Wayne Grudem and John Feinberg view them as contemporaries of Noah who perished in the flood.

Michaels does a good job of indicating the crucial issues for understanding the passage and in evaluating the various approaches to it. His discussion of the Greek text is helpful and insightful. But what is probably most interesting is that, while he follows Dalton's basic approach, he takes it one step further. He identifies the "spirits in prison," not with the fallen angels of I Enoch, but with their offspring, who are seen as the origin of the demonic powers or evil spirits. He further links *phulakē* with Rev 18:2 and understands it not as "prison" but as "refuge." While this interpretation is somewhat idiosyncratic, and its acceptance within the scholarly community remains to be seen, it is helpful in that both the relevance of the passage to the audience and its consonance with other NT teaching concerning "spirits" become more readily understandable.

Whether or not one agrees with all of Michaels' points, his commentary provides a significant contribution and is essential reading for any serious student of 1 Peter.

Andrews University MATTHEW KENT

Numbers, Ronald L., and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987. xxiv + 235 pp. $29.95.

The past few years have seen a spate of books featuring Millerism. David L. Rowe published *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* in 1985, Michael Barkun's *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840's* was marketed in 1986, while 1987 saw the release of Ruth Alden Doan's *Miller Heresy, Millenarialism, and American Culture*. One

interesting common denominator is that these volumes were all written by scholars standing outside the Adventist tradition. The 1980s also witnessed the production of an "insider's" history of Millerism from the Advent Christian perspective in Clyde E. Hewitt's *Midnight and Morning* (1983).

The most sophisticated of the recent contributions to our understanding of Millerite Adventism, however, is *The Disappointed.* Made up of eleven essays, the volume grew out of a conference on "Millerism and the Millenarian Mind in 19th-Century America" held at Killington, Vermont, from May 31 to June 3, 1984. The contributors come from both inside and outside the Adventist tradition.

Included in *The Disappointed* are a demographic portrait of the Millerites by David L. Rowe, a sketch of the lives and contributions of William Miller and Joshua V. Himes to Millerism by Wayne R. Judd and David T. Arthur, and essays on the relationship of Millerism to the Shakers and John Humphrey Noyes by Lawrence Foster and Michael Barkun. Other contributions are "The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain" by Louise Billington, "The Millerite Use of Prophecy" by Eric Anderson, "Millerism and Evangelical Culture" by Ruth Alden Doan, "The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection" by Ronald Graybill, "Millerism and Madness: A Study of 'Religious Insanity' in Nineteenth-Century America" by Ronald L. and Janet S. Numbers, and "The Makings of a New Order: Millerism and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventism" by Jonathan M. Butler.

The volume closes with three fascinating primary accounts of Millerites in their post-disappointment experiences. Luther Boutelle's memoir represents the experience of one who evolved into an Advent Christian minister, while that of Hiram Edson lays the groundwork for the Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of the October 22, 1844, disappointment. Perhaps the most fascinating of the accounts is that of Henry B. Bear, who became a Shaker soon after the Millerite crisis. The volume is also greatly enriched by the contribution of James R. Nix, who supplied the illustrations. Beside 27 well-chosen period illustrations, there are a color frontispiece of Miller and a removable poster-size reproduction of Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale's 1843 prophetic chart.

An overall gestalt emerging from the various articles is that Millerism is best understood as representative of the religious outlook of nineteenth-century America. Such a finding runs against the traditional understanding of Millerism as being eccentric, pathological, deviant, and/or deprived. While the negative image of the movement may be largely credited to Clara Endicott Sears' *Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History* (1924), *The Disappointed* is a significant contribution in righting a skewed interpretation that undoubtedly found wider acceptance than it deserved in the emotionally heated atmosphere of the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s.

One of the most valuable chapters in *The Disappointed* is "Millerism and Madness." Up to the present, the historiographical debate on the topic has centered on Sears' derogatory book on the one side, and Francis D. Nichol's apologetic *Midnight Cry* (1944) on the other side. Seeking a better understanding of the topic, the essay addressed the question of "Why did so many contemporaries, including some Millerites, *believe* that Millerism caused insanity?" (p. 94). The ensuing discussion provides an excellent background perspective on religious enthusiasm as it related to religion in general. Such a perspective should be helpful in enabling modern students to evaluate the seemingly extreme statements of nineteenth-century commentators on those things that could lead to madness—statements that are difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend in a more secular culture. The essay's conclusions, while buttressing the belief that "Millerites seem to have been no more prone to mental illness than their neighbors," also brought some needed correctives to that orientation as expressed by Nichol. The authors found that the movement did attract "some marginally and poorly functioning persons to its fringes, Americans who might have gravitated toward any religious fad" (p. 105).

Butler's article, which traces the evolution of Millerism's single-minded otherworldliness into established Seventh-day Adventism, is both insightful and readable. Being highly interpretive, however, a reader is left with the conviction that his interpretation is not the only explanation for much that he is seeking to explicate. The sociological explanations he utilized provide one possible mode of coming to grips with a phenomenon; they should not be confused with a full understanding. It is easy for scholars to confound *a priori* methodological assumptions with the truth of history. While Butler's explanations are often helpful, the present reviewer is left with the uneasy feeling that a one-sided sociological explanation of the development of Millerism into Seventh-day Adventism may not be much more helpful than a one-sided "religious" explanation.

The Disappointed is a major contribution to the study of Millerism. Unlike many books growing out of conference presentations, all of its chapters are well written and make significant contributions to an understanding of the field. The book will undoubtedly set much of the agenda for Millerite studies in the foreseeable future.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Poythress, Vern S. *Understanding Dispensationalists*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 137 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Vern S. Poythress, himself a covenant theologian, has written an insightful and helpful introduction to the understanding of the theological tensions between dispensational and traditional Protestant theologians.

Instead of the usual attack mentality, Poythress attempts to analyze the essential theological differences: "We will be trying to understand other people, not just make up our minds" (p. 8). His approach is to survey some of the past and present forms of dispensationalism (chaps. 2-3) and to compare modified dispensationalism with modern modified covenant theology (chap. 4). He then suggests a strategy for dialogue (chap. 6). His challenge to the dispensationalists is: "Make a good case for the long history of the idea that Israel and the church have parallel-but-separate roles and destinies, if such a case can be made" (p. 11). He proposes that the term "dispensationalism" is, properly speaking, "an inaccurate and confusing label" and might better be replaced by the term "Darbyism" or "dual destinationism" (p. 12). In addition, he observes that many contemporary dispensationalist scholars have "now modified considerably" the classic form of dispensational theology, as defended by Darby, Scofield, Feinberg, Pentecost, Ryrie, and Walvoord. The continuity exists basically only in the theory that national Israel is still expected to enjoy the fulfillment of the Abrahamic promises of the land in the millennial period (p. 12).

Poythress points out that the relation of OT prophecy to the church is a key point in the dispute (p. 29). He notices that Scofield dispensationalism often postulates "two levels of meaning to a single passage," as in Joel 2:28 and Matt 5:2, and tries to preserve the hermeneutic of absolute literalism by calling the fulfillments of OT prophecy in the church mere "applications" or "illustrations," while reserving the term "actual fulfillments" for "Israel" as the Jewish nation (pp. 28-29). With regard to Christ's Sermon on the Mount, he distinguishes between "hardline" dispensationalists (who refuse to apply it to Christians) and "applicatory" dispensationalists (who regularly make applications of it to Christians). He concludes from this: "Applicatory dispensationalists should recognize that some nondispensationalists are closer to them in their practical use of the Bible than are the hardline dispensationalists" (p. 33). Poythress's basic norm for evaluating dispensationalism is Rom 5:12-21. That passage "excludes in principle the idea of two parallel peoples of God, because the corporate unity of the people of God derives from their common representative Head" (p. 43).

He discusses the complexity of defining unambiguously the concept of "literal interpretation" (chap. 8). The term "grammatical-historical interpretation," he insists, is much less ambiguous (p. 86). On the other hand, he cogently reasons that more than a grammatical-historical interpretation is needed to do justice to OT prophecy (chap. 11). Grammatical-historical interpretation "shows how prophecy also has an organically unified relation to New Testament believers. Typological relations cannot merely be dismissed as a secondary application" (p. 115). His major challenge to the dispensationalists, consequently, is "to be willing to enrich the results of

grammatical-historical interpretation with insights that derive only from considering earlier and later Scriptures together" (p. 116), especially within OT prophetic passages.

Chap. 12 is especially valuable since it deals with Heb 12:22-24 as one of the crucial, yet often neglected, passages in the discussion with dispensationalism. The author shows that the option of either "application" *or* "fulfillment" in the church cannot be sustained in Heb 12, although the glorious apocalyptic fulfillment is still future. All believers will enjoy one common destiny.

Reasoning from salvation through justification by faith in Christ, Poythress concludes that "one cannot now contemplate splitting apart the new humanity that is under one head, under Christ," in the coming millennium (p. 129). Also Rev 21:1-22:5 does integrate heaven and earth as the one destiny for the united people of God in all dispensations.

A helpful bibliography (pp. 133-137) is added at the close of the book for further study. It was a joyful surprise to discover that a conservative Protestant Bible scholar arrived independently at basically the same evaluation and conclusions as the present reviewer had described earlier in *The Israel of God in Prophecy: Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (Andrews University Monographs Studies in Religion, vol. 13 [Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983]).

Andrews University HANS K. LARONDELLE

Ross, Allen P. *Creation and Blessing: A Guide to the Study and Exposition of Genesis.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988. 744 pp. $29.95.

Among the numerous works on Genesis, this book is unique. It is not a new commentary, theological essay, or methodological introduction. It does not convey new information nor bring out new insights. It is essentially the pedagogic concern of the author that makes this book different.

Of the four parts of the book, the first is an introduction to the author's method and the book of Genesis itself. Various methodological approaches (literary-analytical, form-critical, traditio-historical, rhetorical) are discussed. Their strengths, weaknesses, and specific contributions are pointed out. Then, against this background and in dialogue with these approaches, the author defines his own. On the "delimitated text," the author proposes a "close-reading" approach which would take into consideration the philological, grammatical, syntactical, and literary data without ignoring critical matters. This step-by-step analysis is designed to ultimately produce an exegetical and theological synthesis which can serve as the basis of the homiletic exposition.

Regarding the nature and composition of Genesis, the author addresses such issues as the interference of myths, etiological sagas, and traditions in relation to the delicate question of the historicity of the recorded events. Then the book of Genesis itself is systematically studied in four steps following the structure of Genesis: 1) the primeval events (1-11), 2) the patriarchal narratives about Abraham (12-25:11), 3) the patriarchal narratives about Abraham's descendants (25:12-36:43), and 4) the story of Joseph (37-50). Chapter by chapter the book of Genesis is unfolded; first drawing out the theological ideas and structure of each passage, then expounding the text point by point according to the already established structure. Each chapter is followed by a select bibliography in addition to the general one at the end of the book. Four appendices, dealing with specific questions related to the creation story and the patriarch Abraham, close the book.

The book is easy to read, and the presentation follows a clear outline. This deductive procedure has pedagogic value. The author builds upon the reader's logic. This concern for clarity, however, has its counterpart in the often superficial tone of the book in general, as well as in the sketchy and sometimes inconsistent treatment of complex methodological questions. On the one hand, the author holds a conservative approach and strongly argues against critical views; on the other hand, he is interested in the "best" of those critical approaches. But Ross does not provide lucid and definite criteria to distinguish "the best" from the rest. Also, we are not taught how theological ideas, especially the central one, are drawn from the text. Moreover, although it is stated that the exegetical assignment is supposed to lead to the theological point (p. 44), the exact process by which this is to be accomplished is unclear in the book.

In spite of some tentative statements, Ross did not establish the theological unity of Genesis. He did not demonstrate that the covenant is indeed the central idea of the book (p. 44). On the other hand, the title, *Creation and Blessing*, implies that the author thought of these two concepts as being the theological leitmotifs of the book. Yet if the motif of blessing is often referred to and explicitly proposed as the "theme of Genesis" (p. 65), the motif of creation is not as central to the book. It is also disappointing that in spite of the author's promise to stress literary and theological considerations (p. 37), the application of this intention often remains poor or unconvincing. The genealogical articulation of the structure could have been used as an indication of the theological direction of the whole. Although the author often displays chiastic structures (pp. 446, 474, 498, 649, etc.), he seems to ignore the possible chiastic structure of the whole book of Genesis (see Y. T. Radday, "On Chiasm in the Biblical Narrative," *Beth Mikra* 20 [1964]: 65-66).

In spite of these reservations, Ross's *Creation and Blessing* should be highly commended as a practical and helpful tool; it alerts readers to

crucial methodological issues and eases the way into the intricacies of the first book of the Bible. As Ross is fully aware, however, his work is not a replacement of other deeper and more specialized studies (p. 14); it is to be viewed as a starting point and an encouragement for further research.

Andrews University JACQUES DOUKHAN

Schwarz, Hans. *Responsible Faith: Christian Theology in the Light of 20th-Century Questions.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 448 pp. $23.95.

Hans Schwarz, professor of theology at the University of Regensburg, West Germany, has produced a comprehensive, one-volume summary covering the main themes of Christian faith: revelation, Scripture, God, creation, anthropology, sin, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, church, grace, resurrection, and the final judgment. The limited space allowed for each theme precludes in-depth treatment. Nevertheless, the book offers an informative and helpful presentation of Christian theology in our ecumenical age and serves as an excellent scholarly introduction to the main Christian themes.

Schwarz's concern is to present Christianity as truthful, thought-provoking, and growing, in distinction from other world religions, such as Buddhism (meditative) or Islam (obedience-oriented). Christian faith is intrinsically a responsible faith (p. 27). To remain credible and living, theology must function in "critical, apologetic, and doxological" ways (p. 34). Each era requires new accents in different places. "If this critical dimension is missing, the church will be in danger of becoming anachronistic, an archaic remnant in a changed world, rather than a beacon beckoning to new shores" (p. 35).

Theological reflection is, for Schwarz, the attempt "to raise into consciousness what we are doing." In other words, a responsible faith makes the difference between being a habitual or a conscious Christian. Anselm's dictum, "I do not seek to understand so that I may believe; but I believe so that I may understand," motivates Schwarz's summary of Christian faith. Since his point of reference is not the exegetical foundation of Christian faith, but rather the scientific and philosophical trends of our times, the book is characterized by a strong rational structure and terminology.

The historical introductions to the formation of the classical Christian doctrines are clear and contribute to a better understanding of the orthodox creeds. Most of all, Schwarz shows an overall respect for the biblical text and the history of salvation. His views of creation and redemption are basically in harmony with conservative biblical theology. On the other hand, he assumes that the creation accounts of Gen 1-2 "hardly take us back beyond the 7th or 8th century B.C." (p. 98).

The superficial treatment of the atonement of Christ is disappointing (pp. 252-254). Schwarz's positing of an alternative between a monistic and a dramatic dualistic approach to the divine atonement fails to consider seriously a standard exegesis of Holy Scripture. Schwarz further ignores the major theories of the atonement in Christian history. His treatment gives little guidance to the biblical understanding of the doctrine of reconciliation through Christ's atoning sacrifice. Also, Christ's present celestial ministry of intercession is fully overlooked.

As to the relation of law and gospel, Schwarz defends Luther's historical order of law-gospel (pp. 345-346). He acknowledges that "the proclamation of the gospel alone without the law does not suffice" (p. 348). Justified believers live from the gospel and respond to it by following God's will. But sinners live under the law, oblivious to God's grace. "The law then serves to drive the sinners back to the gracious God who once again forgives and encourages them" (p. 348). God has granted Christians a limited freedom, which is based on a relationship with God's Word that allows them to live in a "responsive responsibility" (p. 349).

Schwarz rejects the traditional concept of an "immortal soul" (p. 380). "We hope," he states, "for a fulfillment beyond death in the resurrection of the dead" (p. 381). He also affirms his belief in a universal final judgment, and views an intermediate state between death and resurrection as neither necessary nor legitimate. Death is called in the NT (and by Luther) a "sleep until judgment day" (p. 390). Schwarz explicitly confirms that the only way to heaven is through judgment (p. 396). The day of reckoning at the Parousia is not a judgment of "our own merits but of our response to God's grace which he has extended to us in Jesus Christ" (p. 397). Through alignment with Christ, the believer's death will result in a resurrection to both judgment and eternal life.

Schwarz affirms that the eternal separation of the believer and the persistent unbeliever is ultimately based on the distinction between divine justice and love (p. 399), a "paradox" that cannot be solved by human concepts. It is, however, disappointing that the central and important teaching of the last judgment receives such an inadequate and superficial treatment. The book of James is never quoted, although there judgment, justification, faith, and works are closely related. The indispensable messages of Daniel, Revelation, and 2 Thess 2 are sadly by-passed or deliberately omitted, as if these eschatological perspectives were superfluous and irrelevant to a responsible Christian faith.

All in all, Schwarz's book has great merit in its historical introductions to the main doctrines of Christian faith. It is inadequate, however, in its exegetical discussions, while it completely fails to consider biblical apocalyptic. The thirteen chapters are supplemented with helpful bibliographies.

Andrews University HANS K. LARONDELLE

Sleeth, Ronald E. *God's Word and Our Words: Basic Homiletics*. Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1986. 120 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Reading Ronald Sleeth's book, *God's Word and Our Words*, reminded me of my own pilgrimage as a preacher. As I searched for the ultimate style of preaching, I wanted a specific procedure whereby I could write and deliver sermons. I heard voices from all sides saying, "This is the way to do it." Eventually I became disenchanted with most of those methods and worked out my own. Sleeth's book is refeshing because he is not presenting highly structured methods. Rather, he emphasizes the content of preaching, with each pastor choosing a method comfortable to him.

Sleeth's book centers in three predominant themes: the emphasis on the power of the word, the individual expression of each preacher, and, most importantly, the "why" of preaching. His first theme on the word is exciting. Preaching becomes an event. As a result, what took place in history can occur today, with the same power and results. His second theme stresses that each preacher is not to be a clone of former preachers, but to be an individual who must allow for personal expression. He urges the pastor not only to work within his own personal preference, but also to use variety and not to be fearful of exploring different avenues of conveying the good news.

Rather than another book on the "how" of homiletics, this book explores the "why" in its third theme. It jerked me from the mundane rudiments of technique to the reality of what is really going on in the pulpit. In the first chapter Sleeth states that "Christian proclamation is a theological act." He ties it to the gospel itself. "One could say that the preaching of the gospel is part of the gospel. . . . Preaching is part and parcel of what it proclaims" (p. 1). Sleeth's reverence for the word is obvious. As the word was powerful when first uttered, it is equally powerful today. The entire preaching event is dynamic. In every phase of preaching—from the study, to the minister's life, to the delivery, to the recipient's mind—the word is powerful.

Each phase of sermon delivery is examined to discover the "why" of preaching. This is part of the strength of Sleeth's contribution. Rather than a tightly structured approach, he emphasizes freedom of style and expression. For example, the author is not particularly concerned with the hairline difference between an expository and a textual sermon. He states that "the test of a biblical sermon is not how much Bible is used. . . . The test for a biblical sermon is whether the insight of the Word expressed in the passage in that day becomes insight and Word for us in ours" (p. 53).

Every seasoned and aspiring preacher needs to be exposed to this essential book on the basics of homiletics. It provides freedom and yet clear direction for sermon preparation and delivery.

Southwest Adventist College
Keene, Texas 76059

ROB SHEPPARD

Smedes, Lewis B., ed. *Ministry and the Miraculous: A Case Study at Fuller Theological Seminary.* Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987. 80 pp. Paperback, $3.95.

A course at Fuller Theological Seminary setting forth "signs and wonders" as a part of Christian ministry engendered considerable controversy a few years ago, both on the Fuller campus and also among evangelical Christians more broadly. The course was suspended from the curriculum, pending the outcome of a study to be made by a taskforce of some twelve Fuller faculty members. The group gave careful study to the matter, and in the little booklet *Ministry and the Miraculous* Lewis B. Smedes provides the consensus statement. This booklet does not contain separate essays by various faculty. Smedes is "editor" in the sense that he has brought together into a cohesive whole the essence of the discussions that took place.

Smedes emphasizes that the study was not one intended to deal, or that did deal, with "signs and wonders" on a general basis, but rather that it probed specifically the question of whether or not it was valid and proper to have a course involving such "signs and wonders" as part of a seminary curriculum. In spite of this limited focus, it was hardly possible to avoid giving some attention to the questions of the reality of the miraculous, of what constitutes the miraculous, and of when to expect miracles. The approach used in the assessment was that of careful and very broadly based study of the *biblical* evidence, with due recognition also to the achievements of science, particularly in the realm of psychology.

Exegesis was carefully done, and dealt with a broad range of material that should not be overlooked when broaching the matter of "miraculous healing" and related issues. For instance, there is coverage of such topics as God's relationship to his world, the place of suffering in Christian experience, the means that are available for restoring and maintaining health, and so on. In contrast to those who would set forth God's desire and intent for well-being as decisive for Christians and as a sign of God's presence with them, this group study has given due recognition to human existence in a world of sin where evil consequences in a general way hold sway, and to the fact that the promise of restoration to the full vitality of life and health is designated for the future age rather than this one. Also given due consideration is the fact that Scripture sets forth Christians as frequently enduring suffering—indeed that suffering itself can be, and often is, the greatest sign of discipleship to Christ. An abundance of biblical evidence is set forth to support this conclusion, but one of the Bible books holding forth a superlative degree of such evidence has been overlooked: the book of Revelation, which portrays in striking clarity that in the present age the true Christian can indeed expect suffering with Christ and that it is faithfulness in such suffering that becomes the great sign of loyalty to the

Master. In Revelation, the "signs and wonders" are, in fact, attributed to the anti-divine powers (see, e.g., Rev 12, 13).

Smedes and his colleagues repeatedly make the significant point that there must be *responsibility* in Christian ministry. A seminary curriculum, whose intent is to train ministers, must therefore weigh carefully *all* aspects of a matter and must be certain that what is said, done, or illustrated leads the seminarians into ministry that is both well informed and careful not to engender such things as unwarranted speculations and unfulfilled hopes. This book is indeed worthy of careful attention by all seminarians (not just those at Fuller), by all practitioners in the field of religion, and by all lay persons interested in the topic.

Ministry and the Miraculous provides excellent coverage on many relevant aspects of its general subject. Perhaps the most remarkable facet of the consensus statement it sets forth, however, is that consensus could be reached at all by a faculty taskforce representing a variety of Christian confessions, some which maintain rather diametrically opposed views on various of the issues treated. That this consensus should emerge in such a context is possibly in itself one of the greatest "signs and wonders"!

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Tabor, James D. *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in Its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts.* Studies in Judaism Series. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986. x + 154 pp. $23.50/$12.25.

This monograph, based on the author's 1981 Ph.D. dissertation at The University of Chicago, has been rewritten to escape the stylistic characteristics of that genre. As published, the argument is presented quite economically, delighting those looking for the author's conclusions, but frustrating those wishing more evidence. Frequently Tabor simply states, "I am convinced" or "I would argue." The work seeks to interpret the significance of 2 Cor 12:2-4, but the chapter devoted to examining that text "in some detail" (p. 113) is only twelve-and-a-half pages in length.

The work consists of a short introduction and three chapters. The introduction rejects the "'Eusebian' view of the past" (p. 4) and states Tabor's intention neither to paint Paul against a background, nor to prove Paul's uniqueness. Rather, he wishes to examine "certain structural similarities and differences discernible in texts which contain the idea of the heavenly journey, as clues to issues and questions which might otherwise be overlooked" (p. 5).

Chapter 2 describes what Tabor considers to be the core of "Paul's system of beliefs." He discovers four basic tenets: (1) A predetermined

secret plan exists to bring about the glorification of God in the universe. The evidence for this is two instances of Paul's use of the verb *proorizō* (to determine) in connection with *doxa* (glory). (2) Christ as the *eikōn* (image) of God transforms human beings in his image, thus creating a cosmic family that shares the image (*summorphos*) and is glorified. "The reason for 'the sending of the Son' was that believers might receive this 'sonship'" (p. 13). This is described as "the heart of Paul's system of thought" (p. 12). (3) The plan is already in its full implementation phase, as described by the five aorist verbs in Rom 8:29-30 ("foreknow," "predestine," "call," "justify," "glorify"—the "key elements . . . of God's cosmic plan"). (4) As the last Adam, Jesus (as earthly) is the first of a transformed race of immortals and (as heavenly) is the prototype of those who are to be glorified. The point Tabor wishes to make is that the glorification of the sons of God is to be understood in terms of "a particularly Jewish notion of *apotheōsis*" (p. 19).

The rest of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of Paul's apostolic authority, demanded by the need to establish the proper context for 2 Cor 12:2-4. Tabor claims that 2 Cor 10-13 is unique in tone and represents "an outright *demand* for . . . obedience and submission" to Paul (p. 28). At issue is the question of the role played by Paul's appeal to "visions and revelations" and his journey to Paradise. Here Tabor takes a position markedly different from that of most, who say that Paul disparaged pneumatic experiences in his defense. Tabor argues that Paul valued most highly his journey to Paradise as the basis for his apostolic authority. Taking his cue from Schweitzer, he writes, "I would maintain that this journey to heaven is a higher and more privileged experience than that of the epiphany at his conversion" (p. 37). Tabor argues also that Paul had a special eschatological hope for himself and saw his mission on earth in the light of Isaiah's Suffering Servant songs, considering himself a facsimile of Jesus in a very special sense.

Noting that the internal evidence is insufficient to settle the issue, chapter 3 surveys the ascent motif in the pagan, Jewish, and Christian literature of the period. Tabor suggests that the motif's popularity resulted from the cosmological shift brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great. Central to this shift is the change from earth to heaven as the true home of human beings. This means that death ceases to be seen as a journey down to *sheol*, but comes to be viewed as a return to the heavenly spheres. Tabor covers the literature well and contributes a typology of the heavenly ascent. He suggests four types: (1) ascent as an invasion of heaven, (2) ascent to receive revelation, (3) ascent to heavenly immortality, and (4) ascent as a foretaste of the heavenly world. Some stories could be classified in more than one type.

Of particular interest in this classification is that authors who claim to have been to heaven are really trying to gain a heavenly endorsement for

the content of their work. Without negating that, Tabor wishes to gain a special place for his type 4, and to point out that it argues for the transformation of the individual who had such an experience (p. 95). It is important for him, therefore, to go beyond the study of a literary motif that serves a particular rhetorical purpose and to argue that what is being considered is a particular person's experience. Such an experience may have been connected with cultic practices and may have included preparation techniques, such as amulets, potions, secret formulas, and so on. Jews of various stripes, for different reasons, at particular times, in likely and unlikely places, showed an interest in these practices, as demonstrated by Scholem. It is, therefore, not improbable to see Paul in that context.

Chapter 4 examines Paul's account of his heavenly journey. In spite of the use of the third person, Tabor has no doubts that Paul is writing about himself. He finds the chronological reference ("fourteen years ago") impossible to specify. At most, it argues that the experience "is vividly remembered and obviously important." Tabor understands the double reference to the third heaven and to Paradise to mean that the journey reached first the third heaven (something which Paul's opponents also may have claimed), but that then it continued on to Paradise, where Paul was in the presence of God and heard unutterable things (something none of his opponents could claim). By means of this two-stage journey Paul builds on ground he shares with his opponents, but then leaves them behind by his most privileged journey to the highest heaven. Whether it was in or out of the body is a "mildly apologetic" (p. 121) statement, to be taken at face value, as it admits ignorance as to the "how" of the journey, and thereby serves to establish the genuineness of the experience. The unutterable things make the point that while his opponents claim to share with "spirituals" heavenly secrets (a phenomenon common to hellenistic religions in general), what Paul received in Paradise "was *neither shared by, nor to be shared with,* others who possessed the Spirit" (p. 122). The price he paid for this daring accomplishment through the heavenly spheres was harassment ever after by a messenger of Satan, as a thorn in the flesh. Paul boasts of that accomplishment, even if he recognizes it was granted by God's grace. That recognition, however, does not preclude that Paul may have been involved in a cultic practice that included some preparation techniques. Because of this experience, Paul has had a very special taste of ultimate power and glory that fired his apocalyptic "particulars." His understanding of salvation as a form of apotheosis, or "immortalization," was, however, hellenistic. "His was not a scheme of salvation for any place or for all time" (p. 124).

Tabor's work represents a rather challenging rereading of Paul's letters, which takes seriously what we know about the hellenistic religious world and brushes aside what Christian theology, beginning soon after the destruction of the Temple, began to make of Paul. Thus Tabor finds a

different candidate for the position of "the center" of Paul, namely: the glorification of a small group of sons of God. To his credit, Tabor confesses to be "acutely aware that the results of this study are in the end largely theoretical" (p. 5). He claims no more than to have taken two insights, one from Schweitzer and the other from Scholem, and to have carried them a bit further. In the process he has written a book that is at times quite provocative and at times quite frustrating, especially the latter because of the brevity of the discussion of important issues and the opinionated handling of difficult texts. Moreover, part of the argument is based on a hypothetical knowledge of "the dynamics of Paul's apostolic consciousness" (p. 40). To claim that the mission to the Gentiles is supported by appeals to Isaianic passages of the Hebrew Bible is one thing. To claim that Paul "literally *finds himself and his apostolic mission* in these texts" (p. 40) is quite another. To cover one's flanks with disclaimers, like "he likely has in mind" Isa. 2:2-4; 60:5-9 (p. 42), just will not do. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Paul, the hellenistic Christian Jew, shall remain to Christians of the twentieth century a stranger and an enigma.

Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

HEROLD WEISS

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.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988. 366 pp. $29.95.

A fresh look at two of the most difficult and neglected books of the Bible. Blenkinsopp discusses the historical and theological issues that are involved in Ezra-Nehemiah to give readers a clearer and more objective picture of emergent Judaism, and, by implication, Judaism as a whole.

Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988. xii + 225 pp. $26.50.

A landmark study that is the most complete, substantial, and sophisticated treatment of the American Protestant Sunday school. It will undoubtedly become the standard book in its field. Boylan's work is a thematic study of the social functions of evangelical Sunday schools from their shaky origins in the 1790s to their consolidation in the 1870s.

Bruce, F. F. *The Canon of Scripture*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988. 349 pp. $19.95.

F. F. Bruce brings his formidable scholarship to bear on one of Christianity's basic issues. While covering the canonization of both the OT and NT, his major concern is with the NT.

Carson, D. A., and H. G. M. Williamson, eds. *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1988. xx + 381 pp. $59.50.

Composed of essays in honor of Barnabas Lindars, the present volume differs from many *Festschriften* in that it is a tightly organized unity rather than a disparate collection of essays. These essays bring together a great deal of material that helps the reader better grasp the fact that the use of Scripture in Scripture is part of a process that extends beyond any one corpus.

Cwiekowski, Frederick J. *The Beginnings of the Church*. New York: Paulist Press, 1988. viii + 222 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

Beginnings of the Church traces the story of the church in an ecumenical perspective from its origins in the ministry of Jesus to the end of the NT period. It focuses on the dramatic shifts that have taken place in the way scholars understand the first generations of the Christian church.

Dussel, Enrique. *Ethics and Community*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988. xii + 260 pp. $26.95/$13.95.

A comprehensive introduction to what liberation theology has to say about ethics and morals. Dussel makes a fundamental distinction between two types of ethical systems (i.e., community ethics and social morality), treats ten questions basic to a discussion of ethics, and examines several contemporary issues requiring an ethical stance.

Evans, C. Stephen. *Wisdom and Humanness in Psychology: Prospects for a Christian Approach*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 161 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Evans aims at demonstrating the possibility and viability of a distinctively Christian psychology. "The chief barrier to this," he writes, "is . . . the empiricist picture of psychology as an objective, value-neutral affair, which is properly modeled on the natural sciences, or on a certain picture of the natural sciences."

Farrow, Douglas. *The Word of Truth and Disputes about Words.* Winona Lake, IN: Carpenter Books, 1987. xiv + 234 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

This volume aims at incorporating balance in scriptural interpretation between free-thinking libertarianism on the one hand and an authoritarianism that overly stretches inerrancy on the other hand. The author argues against an inflexible stance in defending inerrancy. The church, he holds, must affirm both its commitment to the Word of Truth and its discomfort with unnecessary disputes about words.

Ferguson, Sinclair B., David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer, eds. *New Dictionary of Theology.* Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988. xx + 738 pp. $24.95.

An evangelical reference work containing more than 600 original articles penned by over 200 scholars from around the world. While not as "weighty" as most of its genre, this volume provides readable insights on many theological topics and bibliographies on most of them.

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

Unlike most works of this type, the present *Festschrift* presents preassigned essays on a unifying theme in an attempt to break new ground in biblical scholarship. Its twenty-four essays focus "on central and peripheral aspects of Israel's apostasy and restoration in the light of prophetic thought" (p. xiii).

Granberg-Michaelson, Wesley. *Ecology and Life: Accepting Our Environmental Responsibility.* Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988. 200 pp. $12.95.

As a volume in Word Books' Issues of Christian Conscience series, *Ecology and Life* faces one of the fundamental crises of modern civilization. The treatment seeks to enlighten the Christian community regarding its responsibility on an issue not directly confronted by Scripture.

Grudem, Wayne. *The First Epistle of Peter: An Introduction and Commentary.* Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988. 239 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

Grudem's work is a contribution to the "new generation" of Tyndale NT commentaries. It replaces the volume by A. M. Stibbs and A. F. Walls. The updated series is still aimed at the non-specialist in biblical studies.

Hubbard, Robert L. *The Book of Ruth.* The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. xiv + 317 pp. $26.95.

An in-depth treatment in which Hubbard shows how the author, with great literary artistry, used the story of Ruth and Naomi to treat important theological themes as well as to delight his audience.

Larkin, William J. *Culture and Biblical Hermeneutics: Interpreting and Applying the Authoritative Word in a Rela-*

tivistic Age. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988. 401 pp. Paperback, $16.95.

This volume grapples with the challenge that historical and cultural relativism poses to the hermeneutical process when applied to the Bible. Larkin explores both the origin and the current state of biblical hermeneutics. He also develops a biblical theology of hermeneutics and culture.

Lotz, David W., with Donald W. Shriver and John F. Wilson, eds. *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. xi + 387 pp. $27.95/$17.95.

Altered Landscapes covers the most significant developments in American Christianity and religion during the past half century. It especially focuses on the evolving American churches and the changing theological disciplines. Twenty-one impressive scholars have supplied chapters for this tribute to Robert T. Handy.

McKim, Donald K. *Theological Turning Points: Major Issues in Christian Thought*. Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1988. xiv + 211 pp. Paperback, $13.95.

A one-volume work that introduces people with a limited theological background to the history of Christian theology. It traces the major Christian doctrines from their biblical roots through crucial "turning points" in their historical development.

Merrill, Eugene H. *Kingdom of Priests: A History of Old Testament Israel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 546 pp. $24.95.

Merrill presents a comprehensive history of Israel from a conservative evangelical perspective. The author approaches the OT documents "as the Word of God, with all that implies for its worth and authority as [a] historical source" (p. 16). Careful attention is also given to the literary and archaeological sources of the ancient Near East.

Morris, Leon. *The Cross of Jesus*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988. x + 118 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Following a clear statement of the biblical teaching of the utter necessity of the cross and a brief consideration of some representative traditional views, Morris breaks new ground with chapters on the cross as the answer to the pervasive modern maladies of futility, ignorance, loneliness, sickness, death, and selfishness.

Oden, Thomas C., ed. *Phoebe Palmer: Selected Writings*. New York: Paulist Press, 1988. xii + 364 pp. $24.95.

One of the latest volumes in the Sources of American Spirituality series, *Phoebe Palmer* is an important addition to the literature on the development of the American holiness movement. While largely a collection of Palmer's published and unpublished writings, the volume also contains a significant essay on her life and place in history.

Osborne, Kenan B. *Priesthood: A History of Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church*. New York: Paulist Press, 1988. vii + 388 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

Osborne considers the ordained ministry from the standpoint of Jesus as the primordial minister. Written from a Roman Catholic perspective, *Priesthood* enhances the multiple nature of ministry in the Christian Church, and helps

pinpoint the main issues in the ecumenical dialogues of our contemporary world.

Pinnock, Clark H., ed. *The Grace of God, the Will of Man: A Case for Arminianism.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 318 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

This volume defends the proposition that God is a dynamic personal agent who respects the freedom he chose to delegate to human beings and that he relates sensitively to them in the outworking of his plans for the whole of history. The essays come from a wide range of scholars representing several traditions.

Ross, C. Randolph. *Common Sense Christianity.* Cortland, NY: Occam Publishers, 1989. 266 pp. $19.95.

Common Sense Christianity is an iconoclastic broadside by an analytic philosopher against simplistic "Christian" assumptions. Aimed at fundamentalism, the book both evokes and provokes thought from its readers on all sides of the sensitive topics it treats.

Springett, Ronald M. *Homosexuality in History and the Scripture: Some Historical and Biblical Perspectives on Homosexuality.* Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1988. x + 173 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

Springett treats homosexuality in terms of definition, OT background, OT texts bearing on the topic, the classical NT background, the Hellenistic NT background, and the NT on homosexuality. The book provides broad coverage of a current social issue.

VanGemeren, Willem. *The Progress of Redemption: The Story of Salvation from Creation to the New Jerusalem.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 544 pp. $19.95.

The Progress of Redemption emphasizes the continuity between the two testaments. The book's underlying thesis is that humans will live in dialectic tension across a series of polarities until the eschaton. VanGemeren relates each epoch in biblical history to the place of Jesus in bringing in the New Heaven and New Earth.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ	ד = *d*	י = *y*	ס = *s*	ר = *r*
ב = *b*	ה = *h*	כ = *k*	ע = ʿ	שׁ = *ś*
בּ = *b̲*	ו = *w*	כּ = *k̲*	פ = *p*	שׂ = *š*
ג = *g*	ז = *z*	ל = *l*	פּ = *p̲*	ת = *t*
גּ = *g̲*	ח = *ḥ*	מ = *m*	צ = *ṣ*	תּ = *t̲*
ד = *d*	ט = *ṭ*	נ = *n*	ק = *q*	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ = *a*	ְ, ׃ (vocal shewa) = *e*	ֹ = *ō*
ָ = *ā*	ֱ, ֶ = *ê*	ׄ = *o*
ֲ = *ă*	ִ = *i*	וֹ = *ô*
ֵ = *e*	ִי = *î*	ֻ = *u*
ֶ = *ē*	ָ = *o*	וּ = *û*

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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