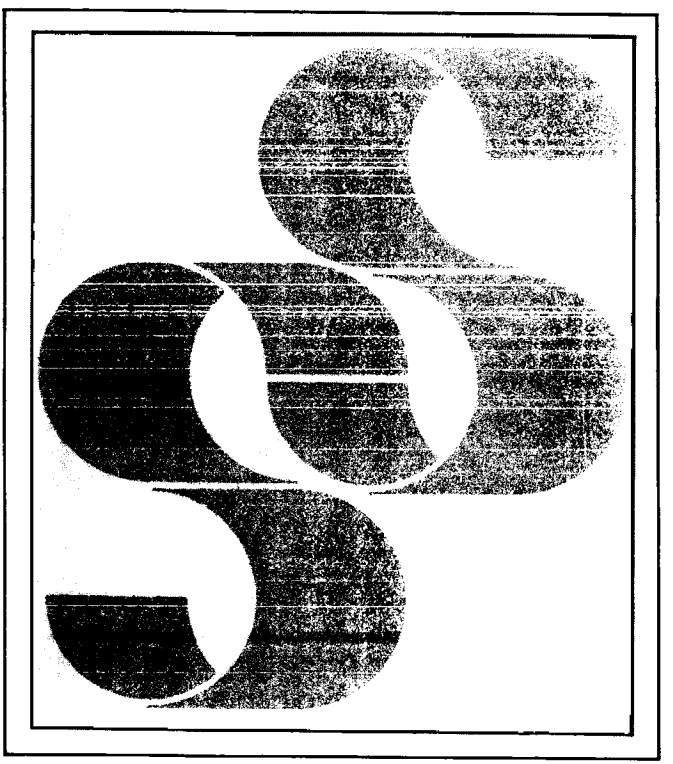
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 27 Number 3 Autumn 1989



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

Editors: GEORGE R. KNIGHT, KENNETH A. STRAND

Associate Editors: RAOUL DEDEREN, LAWRENCE T. GERATY, GERHARD F. HASEL, ROBERT M. JOHNSTON, LEONA G. RUNNING

Book Review Editor: GEORGE R. KNIGHT (*pro tempore*)

Editorial Assistant: MATTHEW M. KENT

Circulation Manager: MATTHEW M. KENT

Editorial and Circulation Offices: AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and brief notes on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, Biblical theology, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, systematic theology, philosophy of religion, ethics, history of religions, missiology, and special areas relating to practice of ministry and to religious education.

The opinions expressed in articles, brief notes, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1989 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$13.50*	$15.50*
Institutions (including Libraries)	16.50*	18.50*
Students	10.50*	12.00*
Retirees	10.50*	12.00*

(Price for Single Copy is $6.00)

*NOTE: These are net rates for *prepaid* orders. A handling and service fee of $1.50 will be added if orders are to be billed.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect (old address as well as new address must be given). Send all communications to *AUSS,* Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, U.S.A.

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

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 27 Autumn 1989 Number 3

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

LABIANCA, ØYSTEIN S. Intensification of the Food System in Central Transjordan During the Ammonite Period 169

MERCER, MARK K. Daniel 1:1 and Jehoiakim's Three Years of Servitude 179

SHEA, WILLIAM H. A Further Reading for the Hobab Inscription from Sinai 193

STRAND, KENNETH A. The "Spotlight-on-Last-Events" Sections in the Book of Revelation 201

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

ASHWORTH, WARREN S. Edward Alexander Sutherland and Seventh-day Adventist Educational Reform: The Denominational Years, 1890-1904 223

ESPINOSA, C. ENRIQUE. Orthodoxy and Heresy in Hans Küng: An Analysis and Critique of His Criteria and Norms of Christian Truth and Error 225

JONES-HALDEMAN, MADELYNN The Function of Christ's Suffering in 1 Peter 2:21 226

MATTHEWS, JOHN V. G. Alexander Hegius (ca. 1433-98): His Life, Philosophy, and Pedagogy 227

NAM, DAEGEUK The "Throne of God" Motif in the Hebrew Bible 228

BOOK REVIEWS 229

Beagley, Alan J. *The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* . . . . . Jon Paulien

Geraty, Lawrence T., and Larry G. Herrr, eds. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies* . . . J. Bjørnar Storfjell

Specifically, our methods have had to be redesigned to help us observe more clearly the unglamorous lives of the farmers and shepherds of these past millennia—people whose daily routines produced little in the way of impressive monuments, objects of gold and silver, or informative inscriptions; but who produced much in the way of rude walls, cisterns and storage bins, broken jars and pots, scrapped fruit pits and animal bones, and pieces of spilled grains, legumes, and dung.

In order to bring the subtle traces of this silent majority into clearer view, a research design has been devised which focuses our attention as a team on the everyday activities of the rural population. This research design is based on the belief that among all of the everyday activities carried out by villagers and shepherds, none dominated their daily lives more—in terms of time and energy expended—than did the quest for food.

We are considering this quest in the broadest sense, of course, in that we have in mind all of the beliefs and all of the political, social, and economic relationships involved in producing or procuring, processing, distributing, preparing, and consuming food. In settling on this perspective, we have merely reaffirmed and refurbished a theoretical orientation that has long been in vogue in anthropological circles. The focus on food systems, whether in the name of functionalism, structuralism, or cultural ecology, has been pursued by anthropologists on both sides of the Atlantic since the earliest days of systematic fieldwork by members of this and related disciplines.

2. *Conceptual Framework*

What is perhaps unique about our particular research design is the extent to which it explicitly operationalizes the food-system concept for use by archaeologists. To this end, it focuses attention on five specific parameters of food systems, each of which is traceable by means of the data available to archaeologists. These include environmental conditions, settlement patterns, land-use patterns, operational patterns, and dietary patterns.

For example, changes in *environmental conditions* can be traced through analysis of present-day habitat conditions and analysis of plant and animal remains. Changes in *settlement patterns* can be traced through analyzing the distribution of various types of sites located within our project area. Changes in *land-use patterns* can be traced through analysis of plant and animal remains, earth-

works, water-management works, and soil conditions. Changes in *operational patterns* can be traced through analysis of the remains of agricultural tools and facilities (such as storage installations and food processing facilities), transportation and marketing facilities, defensive structures, and so on. Changes in *dietary patterns* can be traced through analysis of plant and animal remains, as well as by means of anthropometric analysis of human skeletal remains.

When it comes to dealing with the temporal dynamics of food systems, our research design includes several important concepts. To begin with, there are *intensification* and *abatement*. Whereas the former construct refers to the changes which take place when people intensify their exploitation of various natural and cultural resources, the latter has to do with the opposite process. Two related concepts for thinking about the changes which occur in the lives of individual households when intensification or abatement occur are *sedentarization* and *nomadization*. Whereas sedentarization is typically linked to intensification and involves households becoming increasingly oriented toward crop production and stationary modes of existence, nomadization is typically linked to abatement and involves households converting to more-pastoral, more-nomadic modes of existence.

In order to give further concreteness to the idea of change over time in the intensity of food systems, our research design posits the existence of three different intensity states: low, medium, and high. These three states exhibit the following configurations of the five referents mentioned earlier:

Low-intensity Configurations are characterized by high diversity of naturally occurring plant and animal species; high seasonal variation in location and intensity of human population due to migration; prevalence of pastoral pursuits and minimal disturbance of soils due to cultivation; prevalence of portable or seasonally abandoned operational facilities; and prevalence of a subsistence diet derived from animal by-products, fruits and grains in season, hunting, and gathering. This configuration corresponds to times during which *pastoral nomads* prevailed within the project area.

Medium-intensity Configurations are characterized by a moderate diversity of naturally occurring plant and animal species; moderate seasonal variation in location and intensity of human population due to an increased number of permanently settled households; prevalence of field-crop pursuits and moderate disturbance of soils due to cultivation, especially in fertile plains and

valleys; prevalence of small-scale water and soil-management technologies, fortified residential compounds and villages, and extensive utilization of cattle for plowing; prevalence of a subsistence diet derived primarily from field-crops, but supplemented by produce resulting from limited gardening, orcharding, and the raising of sheep, goats, and poultry. This configuration corresponds to times when village-based *cereal farming* prevailed.

High-intensity Configurations are characterized by a low diversity of naturally occurring plant and animal species; minimal seasonal variation in location and intensity of human population due to large numbers of permanently settled households; prevalence of field-crop pursuits in combination with extensive gardening and orcharding, the latter being especially important in hilly terrain; prevalence of large-scale water and soil management technologies, food processing and storage installations, transportation facilities, market and urban centers, and an extensive utilization of mules and horses for plowing; prevalence, especially in urban areas and to a lesser degree in rural areas, of a diet consisting of a greater variety and quantity of exotic items, fruits, and vegetables due to delocalization of the food supply by means of long-distance trade. This configuration corresponds to times when *urban-oriented agriculture* prevailed.

The utility of these configurations when it comes to interpreting the archaeological data is that they provide a basis for estimating the intensity level represented by specific combinations of finds. For example, a stratum filled with the remains of exotic fish would point to a high-intensity configuration. If in addition to the fish bones, large quantities of pig bones were also found, this would give further weight to this estimate. If, furthermore, the ruins of impressive public buildings were also found in the same stratum, our confidence level would rise a bit more, and so on.

By means of this type of reasoning, an idea of the changes which have taken place over the centuries in the vicinity of both Hesban and ᶜUmeiri has begun to emerge. Food production in the Hesban region has depended upon four basic strategies: camel herding, sheep and goat herding, field-crop cultivation, and tree-crop cultivation. It should be noted that we do not assume that these various strategies were pursued in isolation, but rather that they were carried on in varying combinations, depending upon the production goals and risk-management objectives of individual households and villages. To the extent that one or two of these

strategies were emphasized more than others, they furnish a clue for estimating the intensity state which prevailed during a particular historic period.

To an important extent, our research at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and vicinity is providing a new empirical testing ground for conclusions derived as a result of our previous work at Tell Hesban. This is true, for instance, with reference to our investigation of the rise and fall of the Ammonite people. I will turn next to providing a brief explanation of how we have utilized the food-system concepts discussed above to operationalize this investigation.

3. *Operationalization of Concepts for Low-intensity States*

To begin with, there is the problem of trying to ascertain whether and when the Ammonite food system existed in a low-intensity state within the project area. As could perhaps be expected, this has proved to be the most difficult problem for us to operationalize. Nevertheless, we believe we are on the right track.

The approach which we have taken to this problem is one which has proven itself repeatedly for our team: namely, to shift attention to the most recent instance of the phenomena under investigation. In other words, before concentrating our efforts on finding evidence of a way of life that existed three thousand years ago, we have instead sought to learn as much as possible from the most recent practitioners of a similar way of life. In so doing, we believe our capacities for knowing what to look for in the more historically remote Ammonite period will be greatly enhanced.

Already some potentially significant insights have been obtained as a result of our investigations of the modes of livelihood which prevailed during the Late Ottoman Period—the most recent period in which a low-intensity system existed within the project area. What we have found is quite contrary to the widely held view that during the Ottoman centuries (which preceded the establishment of the modern Kingdom of Jordan) the country's population was made up primarily of tent-dwelling, camel-breeding nomads. While this is not an entirely false picture, especially with regard to tribes such as the Beni Sakhr, it certainly is not an appropriate picture of the way of life of the Ajermeh, another major tribal group occupying the project area during Ottoman times.

In the latter case, another mode of livelihood prevailed which on an annual basis combined a period of stationary existence in

cave villages with a period of seasonal migration from camp site to camp site. For example, an abandoned cave village has been located in the mound immediately to the south of the village of Al-Bunayat. This village, which is located about a kilometer to the north of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri, belonged to a group of Ajermeh tribesmen. By means of interviews with older residents of Al-Bunayat, we have learned that this abandoned village was the ancestral village of the population of Al-Bunayat. Indeed, we were able to make contact with a number of individuals who could remember how life was lived in this ancestral village.

In the case of Jeriet el-ᶜUmeiri, as this village used to be called, at least a dozen Ajermeh households once occupied the same number of caves. Along with their cave dwellings, they maintained a threshing ground, several cisterns, and a burial ground. Their period of residence usually lasted for about four to five months, just long enough to plant and harvest a crop of grain on the fertile slopes below the village. The rest of the year they would be on the move with their animals, up and down the slopes of the Wadi Hesban, in search of pasture and water.

Since similar clusters of caves have been located throughout the entire project area, there is good reason to suppose that a number of such seasonal villages existed throughout the Ottoman centuries. That this was indeed the case has been confirmed both by local informants and by examination of accounts of visits to such places by some of the explorers who visited the project area in the previous century (e.g., Conder).

While we have just barely begun to unravel the complexities of the survival strategies to which people adhered during the supposedly "lifeless" Ottoman centuries, one important implication of the limited research carried out thus far is that we have a great deal more to learn about how people lived during periods when the tells are silent. Thus, the fact that there are comparatively few tells with traces of sedentary occupation during the Late Bronze Age in Transjordan cannot be taken as evidence that the region was somehow uninhabited. To the contrary, it is very likely that various and complex modes of semisedentary livelihoods were pursued by the populations which existed during periods when the majority of Transjordan's tells were unoccupied.

A particularly intriguing question is whether cave villages might have been occupied by the early Ammonites as well, especially during the Late Bronze Age, when they were at the begin-

ning of the process of settling inside their borders in Transjordan. During this period, it would seem quite possible that the silent majority of the Ammonite population existed as a semisedentary, mixed agropastoralist people, perhaps something like the seasonally stationary, seasonally mobile Ajermeh of the Ottoman period.

To answer this question, our regional survey team plans to continue to study the ways of the Ajermeh and other tribesmen of the Ottoman period. As suggested above, once we have a better grasp of the range of subsistence alternatives available to these historically more accessible tribes, we shall have a better feel about how to operationalize research on previous centuries, such as the Late Bronze Age, about which the majority of the tells of Transjordan are silent.

4. *Operationalization of Concepts for High-intensity States*

Having given an indication of how we are approaching the problem of whether and when the Ammonite food system existed in a low-intensity state within the project area, I shall turn briefly to a discussion of our procedures for ascertaining whether and when higher-intensity states prevailed. Although, as I have already mentioned, we are still trying to find out exactly where and what to look for in tracing the low-intensity states of the Ammonite food system, quite a different problem presents itself when it comes to tracing the medium- and high-intensity states. This is the challenge of knowing what *not* to include in our investigations, as the hinterlands of the project area abound in traces of ancient terraces, retention walls, field walls, building foundations, cisterns, and other evidences of ancient agricultural activity. Indeed, the discussion of what exactly we should call a "site" was carried on among our survey crew for nearly the entire 1987 season. The problem, of course, is that when approached from a food-system perspective, there is no piece of land, no ruin, no environmental unit that is not potentially of importance to understanding the whole picture. Thus, the whole notion of what constitutes a "site" becomes problematical.

In order to deal with this problem, we have devised an approach that has thus far proven to be quite satisfactory. This approach consists of three complementary procedures: namely, the random-square survey, the judgment-sampling survey, and the environmental survey.

As its name implies, the *random-square survey* is a procedure which involves intensive survey of randomly selected squares. Jon Cole (an engineer on our team) has drawn up a grid that divides the 5-km-radius ʿUmeiri project area up into approximately two thousand 200 × 200-meter squares. Our survey team has as its goal to sample about 10% of the entire project area using this grid. Thus far we have completed one hundred squares. Each 200 × 200-meter square has received the equivalent of two person-hours of intensive scrutiny, not counting the time spent after each survey in making notes and drawings.

For each of the random squares we record everything deemed important to understanding past and present configurations of the food system. This includes topographic features, soil and vegetational features, present land use, and all traces of ancient ruins or artifacts. Our goal with this procedure is, in the end, to be able to make statistically valid statements about the intensity of successive food-systems regimes for the project area as a whole.

One of the distinct advantages of the random-survey approach over more traditional surveys is that it forces one to make visits to places which a person with any sense of appropriateness or the least measure of courtesy would not think to visit. What I have in mind are places such as villagers' backyards and gardens, forbidden army reserve areas, and the shoulders of main highways. In the process of locating remote or sensitive locations, significant ruins are more often than not encountered—ruins which very likely a more traditional survey would have missed. The string of discoveries made by the random-survey team is rather impressive. It includes numerous farmstead sites, Roman-road sites, and the oldest Paleolithic site found in Jordan.

As already indicated, the random survey is not pursued at the expense of studying important ruins as they are encountered. Indeed, as we have begun to learn the patterns that govern the location of certain types of sites, such as farmstead ruins, traces of ancient roads, or lime-kiln sites, we have deliberately set out to find more examples belonging to the same class of structures. In other words, we have freely pursued the traditional *judgment-sampling procedure* in conjunction with the random-square survey. Our goal in doing so is to locate and record as many farmsteads and related installations as can be found within the project area. Well over fifty such sites have thus far been located and recorded.

The third procedure in this trifold approach to locating and studying medium- and high-intensity configurations of the local food system is the *environmental survey*. This procedure differs from the other two primarily in its unit of analysis, which might consist of an entire valley system, an underground water resource, or rainfall data from adjacent meteorological stations. One of the goals of this survey is to reconstruct changes over time in the conditions of local water, soil, and plant resources within the project area. Projects currently underway include mapping of the likely location, during Ammonite times, of forests and agricultural soils; examination of the surface and subsurface water resource of our project area today and during the days of the Ammonites; and investigation of the role of Ammonite and Roman methods of erosion control in the preservation of the present-day natural environment.

A major difficulty with which we are having to deal in relation to all three of these survey procedures is the problem of obtaining reliable temporal controls on the data. While this is also a challenge in the context of the excavations on Tell el-ᶜUmeiri, it is a particularly difficult problem in the regional survey, inasmuch as a large number of the structures located in the hinterland have no associated pottery. The approach to this problem that we have adopted is to classify the various hinterland structures according to typological categories, just as has been done in the case of ceramics. Once temporal control has been obtained for one member of these classes, the others can also be assigned to the same time period.

5. *Conclusions*

In addition to the momentum which food-system theory has given to our regional survey, it has also led to sites being selected for excavation that might otherwise not have been deemed worthwhile under the traditional tell-archaeology paradigm. Such is the case, for example, with Rujm Salim. As it turns out, this site is teaching us a great deal about how the Ammonite food system abated. Our goal for the 1989 season includes excavation of at least two additional sites of this type.

When it comes to the implications of the food-system perspective for the excavations on Tell el-ᶜUmeiri itself, one of the most important of these is that this perspective overcomes the tendency to be preoccupied with certain historical periods at the

expense of others. Instead, it provides a unitary framework for operationalizing fieldwork on all archaeological periods represented at a multiperiod site such as Tell el-ᶜUmeiri or Hesban. This framework involves interpreting the stratigraphic remains from all periods in terms of whether they reflect motion in the direction of intensification or abatement.

In the foregoing discussion I have set forth certain highlights of the research design that currently is guiding our investigations of the Ammonite silent majority. While it is by no means the only possible research design for operationalizing research on the Ammonites or on any other cultural group in Transjordan's history, it is one which has stimulated a number of promising current and future lines of research.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1989, Vol. 27, No. 3, 179-192
Copyright © 1989 by Andrews University Press.

DANIEL 1:1 AND JEHOIAKIM'S THREE YEARS OF SERVITUDE

MARK K. MERCER
Irving, Texas 75062

Scholars have identified three problems with the statement in Dan 1:1-2 concerning a siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim. First, some claim that it contradicts the statement in Jer 25:1 that Nebuchadnezzar did not become king until the fourth year of Jehoiakim.[1] Second, the third year of Jehoiakim was 606 B.C., during which time Crown Prince Nebuchadnezzar was not involved in any campaigns in Judah.[2] Finally, the only clearly attested sieges of Jerusalem which took place near the time of Jehoiakim were perhaps the incursions mentioned in 2 Kgs 24:2 and the siege which commenced shortly after his death during the brief reign of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:10-16).

1. *Preliminary Considerations*

Most scholars explain Dan 1:1 as a derivation of 2 Kgs 24:1 and 2 Chr 36:6-7.[3] A possible motivation behind this dating may have

[1]R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford, 1929), p. 4; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge, Eng., 1900), p. 2; Arthur Jeffery, "The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB* (New York, 1956) 6:361; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 113; Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 25; D. S. Russell, *Daniel*, The Daily Study Bible Series (Edinburgh, Philadelphia, 1981), p. 229.

[2]John J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, Forms of Old Testament Literature (Grand Rapids, MI, 1984), p. 45; Raymond Hammer, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge, Eng., 1976), p. 18; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB (Garden City, NY, 1978), p. 47; Jeffery, p. 361; André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, trans. David Pellauer, Eng. ed. rev. (Atlanta, 1979), p. 24.

[3]Robert A. Anderson, *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, International Theological Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI, 1984), p. 1; Aage Bentzen, *Daniel*, Handbuch zum Alten Testament, 2d ed. (Tübingen, 1962),

been the desire to provide the seventy years of exile (Jer 25:11) with an exact *terminus a quo*.[4] Similarly, Otto Plöger believes that Dan 1:1 and the other dates in Daniel are stereotyped phrases.[5]

Various proposals have been made to emend the text in order to derive a more historical sense out of the passage. Lacocque suggests that Jehoiachin be substituted for Jehoiakim, thus dating the incident to 594.[6] A. Malamat emends the text from *šlwš* "third (year)," to *šš* "sixth (year)," and thus places the incident in the winter of 603 (second year of Nebuchadnezzar).[7] G. Ricciotti, following Josephus, emends the numeral to *šmnh* "eighth (year)."[8] As attractive as these emendations may be, however, there is no external evidence to justify changing the text.

Several commentators take the third year of Jehoiakim as being the last of the three years of servitude to Babylon mentioned in 2 Kgs 24:1.[9] This solution is unlikely, for the text of Daniel states that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem "in the third year of the *reign* of Jehoiakim" (*bšnṯ šlwš lmlḵwṯ*), not "in the third year of the *servitude* of Jehoiakim" (*bšnṯ šlwš lʿḇwḏh*)—as one might expect if the statement in Dan 1:1 were derived from 2 Kgs 24:1.

Various attempts have been made to relate the text as it stands to what is known about the period. H. C. Leupold, who inac-

---

p. 17; A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Cambridge, Eng., 1892), pp. 57-58; Collins, p. 45; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 128-129; Gilles Gaide, *Le Livre de Daniel* (Tours, 1969), p. 29; Hammer, p. 18; Jeffery, pp. 361-362; Montgomery, pp. 72-73, 113-114; Porteous, p. 25; Russell, p. 229, n. 1. Lacocque suggests that the author of Daniel also may have combined Jer 25:1, 11 with 2 Chr 36:6 (pp. 25-26).

[4]Hammer, p. 19; Jeffery, p. 362; Lacocque, p. 25; Montgomery, p. 114; Russell, p. 229.

[5]O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Gütersloh, 1965), pp. 38-39.

[6]Lacocque, pp. 7 (n. 29), 24. Cf. Gaide, p. 29.

[7]A. Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah in the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh 1974*, *VTSup*, no. 28, p. 130, n. 15.

[8]Giuseppe Ricciotti, *The History of Israel*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to the Exile*, trans. Clement Della Penta and Richard T. A. Murphy (Milwaukee, 1955), p. 407.

[9]Iben Ezra, Jephet, Pseudo-Saadi, Rashi; cited by Judah J. Slotki, *Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah*, Soncino Books of the Bible (London, 1951), p. 1; E. G. Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 3, *Daniel-Malachi* (Camden, NJ, 1966) p. 25; and perhaps M. Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel*, SB (Paris, 1971), p. 60.

curately dated the battle of Carchemish to 604, placed the siege mentioned in Daniel at a time preceding that battle, holding that there was no strong garrison at Carchemish in 605 to hinder a siege of Jerusalem.[10] C. F. Keil translated *bʾ* (Dan 1:1) to mean "to set out"[11] and interpreted the verse as conveying that Nebuchadnezzar set out in Jehoiakim's third year but did not besiege the city until the latter's fourth year (Jer 25:1).[12] Dan 1:1 seems to suggest, however, that it all happened at once.[13]

The purpose of this article is to reexamine Dan 1:1-2 exegetically and historically and to propose a solution as to how the chronological data of this passage might conform to the history of the times during which it was purported to have been written. It is my contention that the passage may be adequately related to the campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine, which took place from the summer of 605 through the late winter of 604, and to the notices in 2 Kgs 24:1 and 2 Chr 36:6-7. The article begins by tracing the history of the Neo-Babylonian Empire from the end of the reign of Nabopolassar to the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

2. *An Historical Introduction to the Relationship between Jehoiakim and Babylon*

In the third month of 607 (4 May-2 June)[14] both Nabopolassar and Crown Prince Nebuchadnezzar campaigned in a mountainous region not identifiable from the text.[15] Nabopolassar, however, returned to Babylon the next month, whereas Nebuchadnezzar stayed on until sometime during the sixth month (1 Aug.-30 Aug.).[16] A month or two later (29 Sept.-28 Oct.) Nabopolassar set

[10]H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), pp. 51-53.

[11]Some passages cited by Keil in defense of this meaning are Gen 45:17; Exod 6:11; 7:26; 9:1; 10:1; Num 32:6; 1 Sam 20:19; 2 Kgs 5:5; Jonah 1:3 (*Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, trans M. G. Easton [Grand Rapids, MI, 1959], p. 62).

[12]Ibid., p. 63.

[13]E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1949), pp. 268-269.

[14]All dates have been taken from the tables in Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology: 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence, RI, 1956).

[15]A. K. Grayson, [trans. and ed.], "Chronicle 4: Chronicle Concerning the Later Years of Nabopolassar," lines 5-11, in *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, vol. 5 (Locust Valley, NY, 1975), p. 97.

[16]Ibid., lines 8, 12, p. 97.

out with his army for Kimuḫu, a strategic city south of Carchemish,[17] and was able to capture it near the end of 607 (27 Nov.-26 Dec.), also leaving a garrison there before going home in early 606 (25 Jan.-23 Feb.).[18]

In the spring or early summer of the same year, the Egyptians laid siege to Kimuḫu for four months and eventually recaptured it.[19] When Nabopolassar heard of this, he returned to Syria and there made the city of Quramatu his base of operations against the cities of Shunadiru, Elammu, and Daḫammu before returning home in the early part of 605 (15 Jan.-12 Feb.).[20] The Egyptians, however, besieged the Babylonian garrison left at Quramatu shortly thereafter and forced the Babylonians to withdraw from the city.[21] In response, Nabopolassar dispatched Nebuchadnezzar to Carchemish shortly after the beginning of his own twenty-first year of reign, which began on 12 April.[22]

In contrast to the previous Babylonian encounters with the Egyptians, Nebuchadnezzar defeated them soundly at Carchemish and subsequently routed the remnant which had fled southward to the province of Ḫamath.[23] At this time the Babylonian forces conquered Ḫamath,[24] but they apparently also continued moving southward within Ḫattu (i.e., Syria-Palestine[25]), as evidenced by the fact that later (when he returned from Babylon after the death

[17]Ibid., lines 12-13, p. 97. The location of Kimuḫu is disputed. D. J. Wiseman places it south of Carchemish (*Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* [London, 1956], p. 83), whereas J. D. Hawkins places it north of Carchemish ("Kummuḫ," *RLA*, 6:338).

[18]Grayson, "Chronicle 4," lines 14-15, p. 98.

[19]Ibid., lines 16-18, p. 98.

[20]Ibid., lines 19-23, p. 98.

[21]Ibid., lines 24-26, p. 98.

[22]A. K. Grayson, [trans. and ed.], "Chronicle 5: Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II," obv. 1-2, in *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, vol. 5 (Locust Valley, NY, 1975), p. 99.

[23]Ibid., obv. 2-7, p. 99.

[24]Ibid., obv. 8, p. 99. The middle of line 8, which has been restored by some (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 68-69) to (*māt*)*Ḫa*[*-at*]-*tú*, is read instead by others as ^{kur}Ḫa-[*ma-a*]-*tú* (Grayson, "Chronicle 5," p. 99). Grayson's reading seems to be the best. Ḫattu always appears as *Ḫat-tú* in this chronicle (ibid., p. 99), and the syllables *ḫa*-[ ]-*a*-*tú*, as well as part of the syllable *ma* (not *at* or *ḫat*), are clearly visible on the tablet (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, Pl. XIV).

[25]Wiseman, *Chronicles*, p. 25.

of his father) Nebuchadnezzar returned not to Ḥamath, but to Ḥattu (even though the Chronicles mention only the conquest of Ḥamath and not the conquest of Ḥattu). Upon learning of Nabopolassar's death (15 August 605), Nebuchadnezzar hastened back to Babylon and ascended the throne on 7 September.[26]

3. *Babylon and Jehoiakim (605-598)*

The Beginning of Jehoiakim's Three-year Submission to Babylon (605-604)

Nebuchadnezzar's probable movement to Ḥattu can be connected with Dan 1:1, which states: "In the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon[27] came to Jerusalem and besieged it" (*bʾ . . . yrwšlm wyṣr ʿlyh*).[28] The text indicates that an actual siege took place, since each time *ṣwr* is used with the preposition *ʿl*[29] it means "shut in, besiege."[30]

[26]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 9-11, pp. 99-100.

[27]Proleptic use of king (cf. "Tirhakah king of Ethiopia" [2 Kgs 19:9]).

[28]In *Antiquities* 10.87 Josephus skips from this point to the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, thus omitting four years of his reign. This may suggest that his statement that "the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea," may be summarizing the years between the fall of Carchemish up to the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar. If so, it has nothing really specific to say about the period following the fall of Carchemish.

[29]Deut 20:12; 2 Sam 11:1; 20:15; 1 Kgs 15:27; 16:17; 20:1; 2 Kgs 6:24, 25; 16:5; 17:5; 18:9; 24:11; Isa 29:3; Jer 21:4, 9; 32:2; 37:5; 39:1; Ezek 4:3; Dan 1:1; Cant 8:9.

[30]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1906), s.v. II צור, p. 848; Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3d ed., ed. Walter Baumgartner, et al. (Leiden, 1983), s.v. I צור, pp. 951-952.

D. J. Wiseman's suggestion that the verb *ṣwr* "can denote action preliminary to, but not necessarily an actual siege" (*Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* [Oxford, 1985], p. 23) is not convincing from the usage of the verb and in light of the fact that spoils were taken from the temple. Earlier he had suggested that *ṣwr* was a bi-form of *ṣrr* ("Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* [London, 1965], p. 18, n. 57). While it is true that *ṣwr* is a bi-form of the hiphil preterite of *ṣrr*, "cause distress (to)" (Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* [Leiden/Grand Rapids, 1958], s.v. I צרר, p. 818), it is unlikely that *wyṣr* in Dan 1:1 is from the root *ṣrr*, because the hiphil of *ṣrr* is never followed by the *ʿl* preposition. The preposition *ʿl*, however, is common in conjunction with *ṣwr*.

If the third year of Jehoiakim fell between 19 September 606 and 6 October 605,[31] then the latter part of the third year would have fallen into the period after 12 April, after which time Nebuchadnezzar had been dispatched to Syria. This would have left a sufficient amount of time between the conquest of Ḥamath and his return to Babylon for him to begin a siege of Jerusalem.

Two passages must be connected with the siege of Jerusalem mentioned in Dan 1:1: (1) 2 Kgs 24:1, which states that Nebuchadnezzar "came up" (*ʿlh*) in the reign of Jehoiakim, and (2) 2 Chr 36:6, which claims that Nebuchadnezzar "came up against him [Jehoiakim]" (*ʿlyw ʿlh*). While *ʿlh* does not necessarily include a siege, it does not exclude it either.[32]

After Nabopolassar's death on 15 August 605,[33] Nebuchadnezzar was forced to return to Babylon and to leave the siege of Jerusalem in the hands of his subordinates. He arrived by the first day of the following month (7 Sept.) to claim the throne.[34] By leaving his army in Palestine and returning with only a small escort,[35] Nebuchadnezzar was able to cross the desert in only twenty-three days. After he secured the throne, Nebuchadnezzar immediately returned to Palestine where he rejoined his army and completed "mopping-up" operations.[36]

Thus the result of the siege was that "the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his [Nebuchadnezzar's] hand" [*wyttn ʾḏny byḏw*] (Dan 1:2)—a depiction of the surrender of Jehoiakim to the Babylonians.[37] A similar meaning is conveyed in 2 Kgs 24:1ab:

[31]Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p. 183. D. J. A. Clines objects to the Tishri dating system because it does not fit in the book of Jeremiah ("Regnal Year Reckoning in the Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah," *AJBA* 2 [1972]:23-25). Thiele would concur, and that is why he also sees the Nisan system in Jeremiah (pp. 52-53). For a survey of the various solutions to the chronological problems associated with Jer 46:2, see Alberto R. Green, "The Chronology of the Last Days of Judah: Two Apparent Discrepancies," *JBL* 101 (1982): 68-73.

[32]Note the usage of *ʿlh* in 1 Kgs 14:25 and 2 Kgs 18:25 (cf. vs. 17).

[33]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 10, p. 99.

[34]Ibid., obv. 10-11, pp. 99-100.

[35]Berossus; quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1. 137.

[36]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 12-13, p. 100. The Wadi-Bissa inscription may be descriptive of this campaign, but its historical value is limited (Anthony Spalinger, "Egypt and Babylonia: A Survey (c. 620 B.C.-550 B.C.)," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 5 [1977]: 228).

[37]Note the similar phrase in Lam 5:6; cf. also Deut 20:13; Jer 21:7, 10; 32:3, 4.

"Jehoiakim became his [Nebuchadnezzar's] servant for three years." This latter passage refers to Jehoiakim's position as a vassal,[38] which involved his paying of tribute three times.

We find in 2 Chr 36:6 that Nebuchadnezzar "bound him [Jehoiakim] with bronze to take him to Babylon." This situation is analogous to that of Manasseh, who also was bound and taken to Babylon (2 Chr 33:11),[39] and perhaps also to the circumstances of Zedekiah, who went to Babylon in his fourth year (Jer 51:59). Using Manasseh as an example, we see two reasons why Jehoiakim may have been taken to Babylon. First, he may have been brought to represent Judah at the confirmation of a vassal treaty[40] or to swear a new oath of loyalty.[41] Second, he may have been accused of being in a rebellion. Manasseh, for example, is thought by some to have been implicated in the rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin.[42] Leupold believes that 2 Chr 36:6 describes an incident that took place in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, during which he took 3023 Jews into exile (Jer 52:28).[43] But the exile of Jer 52:28 must refer to a time after the death of Jehoiakim (9 Dec. 598), because Nebuchadnezzar started out for Ḥattu in the month of Kislev of his seventh year (18 Dec. 598-15 Jan. 597).[44]

Nebuchadnezzar took Jehoiakim, "along with some of the vessels of the house of God, and he brought them [*wyḇyʾm*] to the land of Shinar, to the house of his god,[45] and he brought the vessels

[38]For the usage of *ʿḇd* ("servant") as a term of vassalage, see J. C. Greenfield, "Some Aspects of Treaty Terminology," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Papers* (Jerusalem, 1967), 1:117-118. For examples, see 2 Kgs 16:7 and 1 Sam 27:12.

[39]Some believe that this was a legend that grew out of Manasseh's journey to Nineveh during the reign of Esarhaddon (e.g., W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *A History of Israel*, vol. 1, *From the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem*, by T. H. Robinson [Oxford, 1932], pp. 400-401). There is nothing, however, to contradict the possibility that it actually took place.

[40]E.g., D. J. Wiseman, "Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 3-4.

[41]E.g., R. Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *OTS* 14 (1965): 152.

[42]John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d. ed. (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 311, 314. For other views concerning the possible reasons for Manasseh's deportation to Babylon, see J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 374-376.

[43]Leupold, p. 41.

[44]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 11, p. 102.

[45]Hartman and Di Lella (p. 127) and Montgomery (p. 116) omit the four words after "Shinar" because they consider them to be a dittography. They thus read: "He

into the treasury of his god" (Dan 1:2; cf. 2 Chr 36:7). The antecedent of the suffix on *wyḇy'm* must be both Jehoiakim and the temple vessels, otherwise the latter part of the verse becomes redundant.[46] If our interpretation is correct, then both Jehoiakim and the vessels were taken to a temple of Marduk in Babylon. That would not be unusual, since booty was often deposited in temples,[47] which also served as depositories for treaties and other documents.[48]

The text of Dan 1:1-2 does not specify the time of Jerusalem's capitulation to Nebuchadnezzar, only that the siege began in the third year of Jehoiakim. But one would expect that it was short, since the penalty was not harsh. This interpretation might account for the fact that it is not mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicles.

During the eleventh month (2 Feb.-2 Mar. 604), Nebuchadnezzar took the spoils back to Babylon.[49] That was most likely the time when Jehoiakim, Daniel, and others were taken to Babylon (2 Chr 36:6-7).[50] Jehoiakim, however, returned to Jerusalem to

---

carried them into the land of Shinar, (and) he brought (them) into the treasure house of his god."

[46]Montgomery objects to the suffix referring to both the king and the vessels, because he believes it was improbable that the captives were taken to the temple (p. 116). Charles also holds that it must refer to the vessels alone, because the captives have not yet been mentioned (p. 7). Lacocque, in order to avoid the nonhistorical exile of Jehoiakim, states that it must refer to the vessels alone (p. 21). Keil also believes that it only refers to the vessels (p. 72). He claims that the application to Jehoiakim is excluded by the connection of *wyḇy'm* with *byṯ-'lhyw* ("house of his god"). Jeffery, however, states that it refers to the prisoners, since the disposition of the vessels is subsequently explained (p. 363).

Saadia Gaon interprets the word *h'lhym* as a reference to the judges (cited in Lacocque, p. 21). Some, based on the usage in Hos 8:1 and 9:15 (cf. LXX Dan 1:2), have taken "house of his god" to be the land of Babylon. But Keil disputes that interpretation (p. 72).

[47]Temples had treasuries. Cf. 1 Kgs 7:51; *bīt niṣirti* in Mesopotamian temples (*CAD* 11, pt. 2:279).

[48]Wiseman, "Vassal-Treaties," p. 1.

[49]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 13, p. 100.

[50]This is supported by the Chronicles. They state that *after* Nebuchadnezzar returned to Palestine following his succession, "he took the vast booty of Ḥattu to Babylon" (ibid.). Berossus' statement (Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.137) concerning Israelite exiles taken to Babylon at the time of Nabopolassar's death does not refer to this deportation, but rather to a deportation of the prisoners taken from the Egyptian forces defeated at Carchemish and Ḥamath. This Egyptian force no doubt consisted of Egyptian vassals, among which was Israel.

continue reigning as a (hopefully) loyal vassal of Nebuchadnezzar. This he succeeded to do for three years.

D. J. A. Clines has several objections to a siege of Jerusalem in the midsummer of 605 and to the veracity of Dan 1:1.[51] First, he believes that there was not sufficient time for the Babylonians to march from Ḥamath to Jerusalem and to begin a siege between May-June and 15 August—the time at which Nebuchadnezzar had to return to Babylon.[52] However, even at a slow rate of march, the Babylonians could have arrived at Jerusalem in less than a month.[53]

Second, Clines claims that a siege and deportation of Daniel in the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan 1) are not consistent with Dan 2:1, which implies that Daniel had already completed his three-year term of instruction in the Babylonian court in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. 1:18-21).[54] That difficulty, Clines holds, is especially weighty if the three years of instruction were three full years.[55] Daniel was taken to Babylon and began his instruction in the spring of 604. The second year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Book of Daniel, was Tishri of 604 to Tishri of 603. Thus the episode in Dan 2 took place after Daniel had finished only about one-half to one and one-half years of his training.

It should be noted, however, that Dan 2 does not necessarily follow Dan 1 chronologically.[56] In addition, the text of Dan 2 suggests that he was *not* finished with his training. After all, Daniel was evidently not among those who were unable to interpret

[51]Three of his objections presuppose a Tishri new year and a nonaccession year for the Book of Jeremiah (objections [i], [iii], and [iv], Clines, pp. 23-25). Since we see an accession-year system and a Nisan new year in the book of Jeremiah, these three objections do not apply to the present study. Cf. n. 31 above.

[52]Ibid., p. 24.

[53]Compare the rates cited by Clines, p. 34.

[54]Ibid., pp. 25, 28.

[55]Ibid., p. 28. Some commentators hold that the three years of Dan 1:5 were not three full years (e.g., Driver, p. 17; Young, pp. 55-56). They would say that Daniel was trained during the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's accession year, all of his first year, and part of his second year. That then would harmonize Dan 1:5 and 2:1. The fact that the three years were a specific period of time set up for education would suggest, however, that the years were three whole years, not a part of three. There is also some evidence that in the Persian period the length of training was indeed three full years (Montgomery, p. 122).

[56]In fact, Daniel is not arranged chronologically, but symmetrically (cf. A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7" *Bib* 53 [1972]: 169-190).

the dream (vv. 2-11; cf. v. 27), nor had he even been informed of the matter (v. 15). Thus it is entirely possible that Dan 2 records an incident that took place after the story in Dan 1:8-17, but before the end of the three-year period.

In the meantime, Nebuchadnezzar conducted campaigns in Palestine during the years of 604-600. In the third month of 604 (30 May-28 June), Nebuchadnezzar went back to Palestine to collect tribute.[57] After capturing and plundering the city of Ashkelon, he returned to Babylon in the eleventh month (23 Jan.-20 Feb. 603).[58] This same basic pattern was repeated in his second (603-602)[59] and third years (602-601).[60] At an unspecified time in his fourth year (30 Mar. 601-18 Mar. 600), Nebuchadnezzar returned to Palestine.[61] It was during this campaign (in late 601) that Babylon and Egypt fought to a standstill, and Nebuchadnezzar withdrew to Babylon with no tribute.[62] It was also during this campaign that Jehoiakim of Judah, who had paid tribute for the past three years, rebelled against the Babylonians. This understanding fits 2 Kgs 24:1, which states: "In his [Jehoiakim's] days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehohiakim became his servant for three years; but then he turned and rebelled against him."

The Time of Jehoiakim's Submission to and Rebellion against Babylon

The beginning of the three-year period of Jehoiakim's submission is not stated, and various starting points have been proposed. Some start the three years in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after his defeat of Ashkelon in December 604[63] (cf. Jer 36:9), after

[57]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 15-17, p. 100.

[58]Ibid., obv. 18-20, p. 100.

[59]Ibid., obv. 21-23, p. 100. Wiseman has recently argued that the lacuna describes a siege of Tyre (*Nebuchadrezzar*, pp. 24-29). For a survey of the views, see Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah," p. 131, n. 18.

[60]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 1-4, p. 101.

[61]Ibid., rev. 5, p. 101.

[62]Ibid., rev. 6-7, p. 101.

[63]K. T. Andersen, "Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *ST* 23 (1969): 110; Bright, p. 327; Klaus Dietrich Fricke, *Das zweite Buch von den Königen* (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 345-346; Siegfried Herrmann, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*, rev. ed., trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 277; J. Philip Hyatt, "New Light on Nebuchadrezzar and Judean History," *JBL* 75 (1956): 280-281; Leupold, p. 50; A. Malamat, "A New Record of Nebuchadrezzar's

which there was purportedly a siege of Jerusalem. The end of the three years would therefore be in Kislev 601, probably after Nebuchadnezzar fought against the Egyptians. The problem with this view is that there is no specific evidence for a siege of Jerusalem during the first year of Nebuchadnezzar.

Second, some hold that Jehoiakim became a vassal in late 603 in connection with a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in his second year. Jehoiakim then rebelled in 601/600 after the unsuccessful battle against the Egyptians.[64] But it is not known what should be supplied in the lacuna of the Babylonian Chronicle which discusses the campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine late in his second year.[65]

Third, the three years are said to have started in 601. Then Jehoiakim paid tribute in 600, 599, and 598, at the end of which time he rebelled, and Nebuchadnezzar subsequently marched against Judah.[66] The problem with this view is that one would expect the

---

Palestinian Campaigns," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 251; Miller and Hayes, pp. 406-407; B. Oded, "When Did the Kingdom of Israel Become Subject to Babylonian Rule?" *Tarbiz* 35 (1965-66): II; Plöger, p. 38; Martin Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige: Ein Kommentar* (Würzburg, 1982), p. 235; E. Vogt, "Nova chronica Babylonica de pugna apud Karkemiš et expugnatione Ierusalem," *Bib* 37 (1956): 395; idem, "Die neubabylonische Chronik über die Schlact bei Karkemisch und die Einnahme von Jerusalem," in *Volume de Congrès: Strasbourg 1956, VTSup* 4, pp. 90-91; Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1. Kön. 17-2. Kön. 25* (Göttingen, 1984), p. 468. David Noel Freedman holds to this view, but places the submission in connection with the campaign in Nebuchadnezzar's first year, not necessarily in connection with the fall of Ashkelon ("The Babylonian Chronicle," *BA* 19 [1956]: 53, n. 14).

[64]W. F. Albright, "The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR* 143 (1956): 31; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 47; G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI, 1984), 2:634; A. Malamat, "The Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah," in *The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, ed. Abraham Malamat, The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times (Jerusalem, 1979), 4, pt. 1:208; idem, "The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem: An Historical-Chronological Study," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 142, esp. n. 10; idem, "The Twilight of Judah," pp. 131-132; J. T. Nelis, "Note sur la date de la sujétion de Joiaqim par Nabuchodonosor," *RB* 61 (1954): 391; V. Pavlovský and E. Vogt, "Die Jahre der Könige von Juda und Israel," *Bib* 45 (1964): 345-346, n. 3; Bezalel Porten, "The Identity of King Adon," *BA* 44 (1981): 49; Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, "A Survey of Neo-Babylonian History" (Ph.D. disser., University of Michigan, 1963), p. 97.

[65]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 23 ff., p. 100. Cf. n. 59 above.

[66]John Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary*, 2d ed., Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 756-757; Oesterley and Robinson, 1:434-435; Russell, p. 14; and Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.87-88, 97.

vassals to withhold tribute following Nebuchadnezzar's unsuccessful battle against Egypt rather than to submit faithfully to him. On the other hand, if the vassals in Ḥattu were paying their tribute, it might explain why Nebuchadnezzar did not campaign there during his fifth and sixth years and most of his seventh year.

Fourth, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem between the campaign in Ḥamath and his return to Babylon in August of 605. That was followed by Jehoiakim's three years of servitude.[67] (A similar view sees the siege of Jerusalem after Nebuchadnezzar's return to Jerusalem from Babylon instead of before his return to claim the throne.)[68]

A fifth view, the one which appears to integrate all of the data most successfully, is that Jehoiakim's three years of vassalage began after his brief deportation to Babylon in the late winter of 604 (Dan 1:1-3; 2 Chr 36:6-7).[69] If Jehoiakim was not subservient to Nebuchadnezzar in the latter part of his third year (summer of 605) and was subsequently taken to Babylon at the beginning of his fourth, then the three-year period of vassalage must have started from the imposition of tribute[70] which followed that brief deportation to Babylon in the winter of 604. That particular tribute was collected in the campaign of 604, which began in the third month (30 May-28 June).[71] Tribute was subsequently collected in the spring of 603[72] and in the year 602-601.[73] In summary, Jehoiakim submitted to Nebuchadnezzar as a vassal by paying tribute in 604, 603, and 602 (the first through the third years of Nebuchadnezzar), but in 601 he rebelled by failing to pay tribute.

The impetus behind Jehoiakim's rebellion was probably his renewal of ties with his original overlord, Necho of Egypt, who had made him king (2 Kgs 23:34-35). Jehoiakim's ability to extradite gives evidence that he was at one time a vassal of Egypt (cf.

[67]Wiseman, "Historical Problems," pp. 17-18.

[68]Berossus; cited by Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.134-138; G. Larsson, "When Did the Babylonian Captivity Begin?" *JTS* 18 (1967): 417-423.

[69]For this view, see Alberto R. Green, "The Fate of Jehoiakim," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 108-109; J. Robinson, *The Second Book of Kings*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge, Eng., 1976), p. 233; Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 28, 30.

[70]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," obv. 13, p. 100.

[71]Ibid., obv. 15-16, p. 100.

[72]Ibid., obv. 21-23, p. 100.

[73]Ibid., rev. 2-4, p. 101.

Jer 26:22-23).[74] Necho also imposed a very modest amount of tribute.[75] Jehoiakim was a part of the pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem and probably hoped that Necho would help him against the Babylonians. This renewed alliance would explain Nebuchadnezzar's march to Egypt in 601.[76]

Aware of the alliance between Jehoiakim and Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar marched for Egypt in the tenth month of 601 (21 Nov.-19 Dec.). When Necho heard of Nebuchadnezzar's action, he mustered his army and marched out to meet him.[77] Both armies suffered heavy losses, and Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon with no tribute.[78] The subsequent effect on both armies was significant: Nebuchadnezzar did not campaign the following year,[79] and the Egyptians never regained any semblance of the control that they once exercised over Syria-Palestine.[80]

The Events Following Jehoiakim's Rebellion

Having stayed at home to refit his horses and chariots in the year following his failure against the Egyptians,[81] in the ninth month of 599 (29 Nov.-27 Dec.) Nebuchadnezzar marched to Ḫattu, which became his base of operations.[82] From there he dispatched his army for a desert campaign against the Arabs[83] and (secondarily)

[74]Extradition was a standard clause in vassal treaties (cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, [ed. and trans.], "Sf III," lines 4-7, in *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* [Rome, 1967], pp. 96-97).

[75]Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah," p. 127, n. 8.

[76]Most explain the impetus behind the revolt as the *defeat* of Nebuchadnezzar instead of a *coalition* between the Egyptians and Jehoiakim (e.g., Freedman, p. 55, n. 17; Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah," p. 132, n. 20). The idea of a renewed alliance between Jehoiakim and Necho, however, would explain why Nebuchadnezzar undertook a campaign against the Egyptians at this time.

[77]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 6, p. 101. Lipinski believes that the battle took place at Migdal and that it was followed by an attack on Gaza by Necho ("The Egypto-Babylonian War of the Winter 601-600 B.C.," *Annali del'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 32 [1972]: 240-241).

[78]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 7, p. 101. Cf. obv. 13, 17; rev. 4.

[79]Ibid., rev. 8, p. 101.

[80]2 Kgs 24:7. See Spalinger, p. 232.

[81]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 8, p. 101.

[82]Ibid., rev. 9, p. 101.

[83]Ibid., rev. 10, p. 101.

against the outlying regions of Judah.[84] After obtaining much booty, the army returned to Babylon three months later (25 Feb.-26 Mar. 598).[85] Jehoiakim died on 9 December 598[86] and was succeeded by Jehoiachin.[87]

4. *Conclusion*

This article has elaborated on (1) a possible link between the siege of Jerusalem in Dan 1:1 and the subjugation of Jehoiakim in 2 Kgs 24:1, and (2) the connection between the deportation of Jehoiakim in Dan 1:2 and the deportation in 2 Chr 36:6-7. It was concluded that Nebuchadnezzar began a siege of Jerusalem (which was completed at an unspecified time) in the midsummer of his accession year (605). In the eleventh month of Nebuchadnezzar's accession year (Feb.-Mar. 604), Jehoiakim, Daniel, and others were taken to Babylon. Following three years of servitude (604-602), Jehoiakim rebelled against the Babylonians in Nebuchadnezzar's fourth year (601-600), prior to his battle against the Egyptians in November-December of 601.

[84]2 Kgs 24:2; cf. Jer 35:11; also perhaps the Ramath-Negeb ostracon from Arad (Yohanan Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *BASOR* 197 [1970]: 16-28). This passage refers to "bands" (*gḏwḏy*) of Chaldeans. The term *gḏwḏ*, when used in the plural, refers to a division or portion of an army (2 Sam 4:2; 2 Kgs 5:2; 6:23; 13:20, 21; 2 Chr 26:11). Therefore, this passage refers to raids, and not a major thrust by the entire Babylonian army.

[85]Grayson, "Chronicle 5," rev. 10, p. 101.

[86]2 Kgs 24:7; Jer 22:19; 36:30. For the chronology of Jehoiakim's death, see Green, "Fate of Jehoiakim," pp. 107-108.

[87]According to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10. 96-97, Nebuchadnezzar besieged the city and killed Jehoiakim. But since nothing is mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicles concerning Nebuchadnezzar's presence in Palestine during the latter part of 598, we must conclude that Josephus has confused his sources. For details, see E. J. Smit, "Josephus and the Final History of the Kingdom of Judah," in *Studies in the Chronicler*, Ou-testamentiese Werkegemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, no. 19, pp. 53-56.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1989, Vol. 27, No. 3, 193-200
Copyright © 1989 by Andrews University Press.

A FURTHER READING FOR THE HOBAB INSCRIPTION FROM SINAI

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

In the Spring 1987 issue of *AUSS* I examined the important Proto-Sinaitic inscription discovered in 1960 by Georg Gerster.[1] This inscription is located a considerable distance west of the other Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions which cluster around the mines at Serabiṭ el-Khadem.[2] Both by its location and by its contents it appears quite distinct from the usual mining inscriptions or dedications written in this script. Its unusual and distinct nature led to my suggestion that it should not be related to the Semitic miners who worked for the Egyptians in the mines at Serabiṭ, but rather that it should be connected historically with the Israelites who took up residence in Sinai after they left Egypt at the time of the Exodus.

1. *Previous Interpretation*

In my previous essay, the letters and lines of this inscription were read from top to bottom and from left to right. The reading of a number of the letters in this inscription had actually been agreed upon by the scholars who had treated it previously,[3] and readings for the letters at the bottom of each column and the top of the fourth column were added in my article. This yielded the following transcription:[4]

[1]W. H. Shea, "New Light on the Exodus and on Construction of the Tabernacle: Gerster's Protosinaitic Inscription No. 1," *AUSS* 25 (1987): 73-96.

[2]For the location of this inscription in comparison to the other mining and dedicatory inscriptions at Serabiṭ, see the maps on p. 74 of ibid.

[3]See the table of comparison of previous readings of the inscription on p. 79 of ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 83.

Column I	Column II	Column III	Column IV
W	*T*	*ʾA*	*R*
L	*W*	*D*	*K*
ʿA	*Ḥ*	*Y*	*R*
D	*B*		
	B		

Putting these letters and their words in order by rotating their lines and dividing their words yielded the following text:[5]

wlʿdt wḥbb ʾdyr kr

This was translated as follows:[6]

"Now for the congregation and Hobab, mighty is the furnace."

2. *Further Analysis*

All of the readings for the letters of this inscription stand correct, and the translation of them is essentially correct; but one word in the translation must now be qualified—namely, the last one, the word for "furnace." The question has already been raised in previous studies as to whether or not there were additional letters written below the head of the second *reš* at the bottom of the fourth column. It is reasonably clear that there was a horizontal bar below that head (see figure 1), and regarding this I commented in my previous study that "the horizontal bar at the bottom of Column IV looks more like a marker which demarcates the end of the inscription than it does like another letter."[7] Reexamination of this inscription has led me to a revision of this opinion, and I now agree with those scholars who have argued that there was another letter where this bar occurs.

A. F. Rainey proposed that a *beth* should be reconstructed here.[8] That opinion is correct, since it matches the traces found in the rock. He read this column from bottom to top, however, and therefore interpreted this letter as the first consonant in the word

[5]Ibid., p. 84.

[6]Ibid., p. 85. I should have made the predicate adjectival relationship clearer in my previous translation.

[7]Ibid., p. 84.

[8]A. F. Rainey, "Notes on Some Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions," *IEJ* 25 (1975): 106-116. See pp. 106-111 for Gerster No. 1, and especially p. 107 for the line drawing of this inscription with the damaged letter at the bottom of the right-hand column.

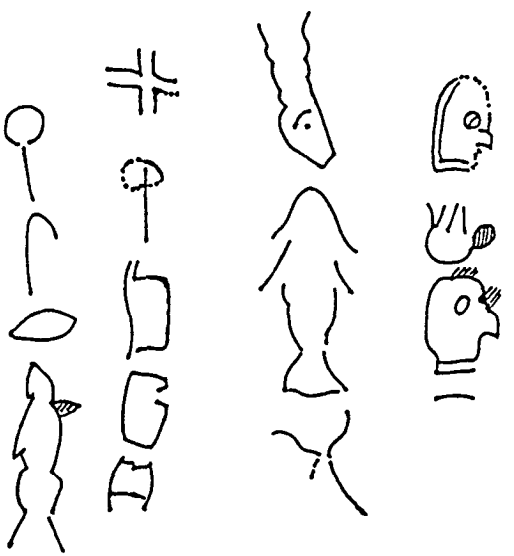


Figure 1. Old Line Drawing

for blessings, *brkt*. M. Dijkstra, on the other hand, has read this letter as a *nun*.[9] While I do not agree that Dijkstra is correct, his variant view illustrates the fact that there is diversity of opinion in reading this letter.

The line drawing which accompanies Rainey's study on this Proto-Sinaitic text is particularly helpful, for it illustrates not only the horizontal bar but also a vertical bar on the right and the traces of a vertical bar on the left. If this configuration had been enclosed with another horizontal bar at the bottom, it would have made up the box or rectangle that illustrates the house-shaped sign which was used, on the acrophonic principle, for the *b* in *beth*. The three strokes that do occur in the rock, even if surviving alone, would fit best—and probably fit only—with the *b* in the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet.

[9]M. Dijkstra, "Notes on Some Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions Including an Unrecognized Inscription of Wadi Rod el ʿAir," *UF* 15 (1983): 35-36.

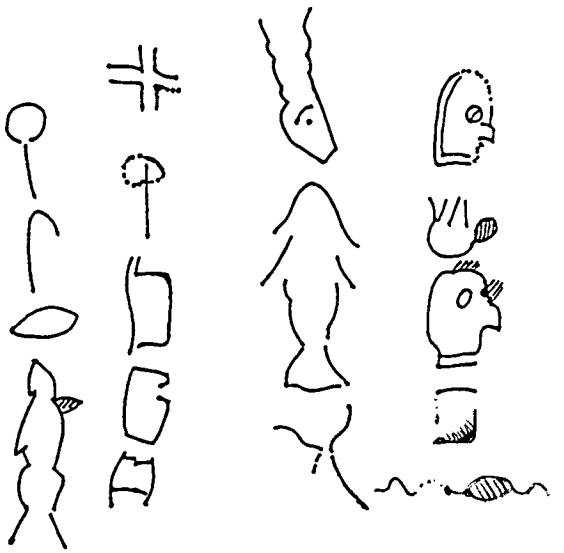


Figure 2. New Line Drawing

My reexamination of the photograph of this inscription makes it now appear that the bottom line of the *beth* is present and that this letter can be read more clearly than was previously appreciated (see figure 2). The horizontal line at the top is clear. Only faint traces of the vertical line on the left remain, but on the right there is a rather clear and deeply incised vertical line. That line on the right does not reach, however, all the way up to touch the horizontal line at the top. As it goes down the face of the rock, it becomes deeper; and indeed, a chip has come out of the rock at the corner where this letter's line turns left. This deepness, due to the chipping, is probably the reason for the failure to identify the line as part of a letter, for the chipping makes the line look like simply another natural groove in the rock. But that such is not the case is evident from the sharp angle of the corner that is present. From it the deep horizontal line at the bottom of this letter extends to the right.

There may well be a reason why the vertical line on the right does not extend all the way up to the horizontal line at the top. When one compares this letter, proposed as a *beth*, with the first *beth* in the second column, it becomes evident that the vertical line on the right of that rectangle does not go all the way up to meet the top horizontal line either. The probable reason for this is that this open space was left to represent the door in the house-sign used for this letter.

The foregoing observations and comparisons make it seem reasonably clear that there is indeed another letter at the bottom of column IV and that that letter is a *beth*. I would now propose, however, that there is not just one additional letter at the bottom of this column, but two. Below the square box of the *beth* and beginning a considerable distance to its right is a wavy horizontal line. Again, the probable reason why this has not previously been recognized as a letter is that it is cut so deeply into the rock—more deeply than the other letters, which were only scratched on the surface. This wavy line runs into a groove in the rock, at a place where the rock has been chipped out or fallen out. The wavy line, however, emerges and continues to the left from this groove, and there it is more superficial, like the other letters in the inscription. The wavy-line letter of the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet was the *m*, taken from the representation of *mayim* or water. The last letter in this column is therefore a *mem*.

I previously read the main word in this column as *kr*, which I interpreted as referring to a *kûr* or "furnace."[10] This, in turn, was taken to refer to the smelter that must have been used in the area, as evidenced by the very large heap of slag found in the floor of the valley of the Wadi Naṣb. Since Hobab came from the tribe of Kenites, a tribe of metalsmiths, his connection with such activities made a logical link to the biblical account of similar activities during the Israelite stay in Sinai. That link can still be maintained, but it should be modified into a slightly different form on the basis of the new readings for the two additional letters at the bottom of column IV. The word that is present here should now be read as *krbm*.

In the singular, *krb* occurs 25 times in Biblical Hebrew, with the meaning of "cherub." It occurs more frequently in the dual or

[10]Shea, p. 89.

plural form of *krbm* (65 times), with the meaning of "cherubs" (or using the transliterated Hebrew ending, as "cherubim"). That is the word which can be identified in its dual or plural form at the end of the inscription. As can be seen from the description of the production of the cherubim in Exod 25:18-22 and 36:8, 35 and 37:7-9, the same type of metal work that was involved in the construction of other parts of the sanctuary was also involved in the production of the cherubim. The metal was different, since gold was involved in their production in contrast to the bronze that I discussed in my earlier study.[11]

This difference in metals need not, however, disconnect this Proto-Sinaitic inscription from the smelting area in the valley below it, for one may reasonably expect that all of the different metals that went into the construction of the sanctuary were worked in the same area. On the basis of the slag heap left behind from the bronze (copper) worked here, one would expect that this should have been the area where the cherubim were made too.

With the word for "cherubim" identified at the end of this inscription, the question arises as to how this word relates to the foregoing portion of the inscription. The immediately preceding word is *ʾadîr*, all the letters of which can be read with a reasonable degree of security. This is a word which can be used either as an adjective meaning "mighty, majestic, glorious," or as a noun meaning "the Mighty One, the Majestic One, the Glorious One." The question then is, Which of these uses is involved in this inscription?

The phrase *ʾadyr krbm* might be taken to mean "mighty (are) the cherubim" by interpreting *ʾadyr* as a predicate adjective. This will not fit, however, as the predicate adjective should agree with its subject in terms of number, whereas here we would have a singular followed by a plural. If the word is not an adjective, then it should be taken as a noun. And if it is a noun, then it should stand in construct with the word for cherubim which follows it. Thus we have here either "The Mighty One of the cherubim," referring to God, or "the mighty one of the cherubim," referring to some other object associated with these cherubim. If it is the latter, then the Ark of the Covenant, the mercy seat on the Ark, or the sanctuary as a whole would come to mind from biblical parallels.

[11]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

The decision between the two possibilities is difficult to make, but it seems more likely that the reference here is to the God who dwelt between the cherubim, rather than to some other object associated with the cherubim in the sanctuary. At any rate, either interpretation makes a significant connection between the sanctuary and the God who dwelt there among the cherubim.

The word *ʾadîr* could be used to describe objects, such as the "lordly" bowl with which Yael served Sisera (Judg 5:25), so its use to refer to some piece of equipment in the sanctuary related to the cherubim would have been suitable. It was also used as a noun for human "nobles" (Judg 5:13, 2 Chr 23:20, etc.) and as an adjective with which to describe such persons (Ps 136:18). It was used, as well, for God (Ps 8:2) and for describing various aspects of His person (Ps 8:1, 9; 76:5; 93:4). It is of interest to note that the Philistines referred to the God of the Israelites by use of this word in a context which involved the Ark of the Covenant and in which reference was made to events at the time of the Exodus (1 Sam 4:8).

Of special interest here are the three uses of this root in the old poem of the Song of the Sea, set after the victory over Pharaoh and his hosts and just before Israel entered Sinai, where the inscription here under consideration was written. In its first occurrence, this word was used to describe God's right hand with which He gained the victory (Exod 15:6). In the second instance, it referred to the "mighty" waters which buried Pharaoh's hosts in the depths (v. 10). And in the third and final instance, it was used to refer to God Himself (v. 11). Thus it would be quite appropriate to find this word in an Israelite inscription in Sinai as referring to the God who brought the Israelites there.

3. *Revised Interpretation*

From the foregoing attention given to the final phrase of this Proto-Sinaitic inscription we may turn to the overall translation of the text. To the first phrase, *wlᶜdt wḥbb*, "Now for the congregation and Hobab," can be added this final phrase, "The Mighty One of the cherubim." Together the entire statement can be translated, "Now for the congregation and Hobab (is) The Mighty One of the cherubim." Reversing the phraseology for smoother English, we would read this as "The Mighty One of the cherubim is for the congregation and Hobab." Or, paraphrasing a bit more freely, we might well read as follows: "The Mighty One who resides between

the cherubim is for the congregation of Israel and Hobab." The essence of the statement which is elaborated in this way is simply that "our God is for us."

The question next arises, Why was such an inscription inscribed in its locale precisely at that time? A connection with the work of smelting objects for the Israelite sanctuary was previously posited as the occasion, and that connection should be maintained. As a matter of fact, the connection can now be made more specific, for we find that we have reference to the cherubim which were a part of the work of preparing and constructing the sanctuary. Thus, this inscription probably was incised upon the completion of the construction or preparation of the cherubim for the sanctuary. (It could, of course, have been incised as early as when the instruction was given concerning their preparation, though it seems more likely that it would have been incised to commemorate the completion of their forms.) The credit for the accomplishment, however, was not, from the Israelite perspective, to be given just to the cherubim themselves or to the workmen who made them, but was above all to be given to the God who was to dwell among the cherubim when the sanctuary was complete. He was indeed the "Mighty One"—that same Mighty One who had brought them out of Egypt and into this place where they could prepare His sanctuary.

This inscription still carries with it the same implications that I outlined in my previous discussion of it.[12] These pertain to the route of the Exodus, the location of Mount Sinai, the date of the Exodus, the time of inscribing the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, and our knowledge of the construction of the sanctuary. It is this last point in particular that is now made more specific through the determination that this inscription refers to the cherubim which were to go into that sanctuary. Making this point more specific simply reinforces the other historical conclusions that have been drawn from this important inscription.

[12]Ibid., pp. 92-94.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1989, Vol. 27, No. 3, 201-221
Copyright © 1989 by Andrews University Press.

THE "SPOTLIGHT-ON-LAST-EVENTS" SECTIONS IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

The book of Revelation is a remarkably well-crafted literary piece, with an intricate design of intertwining literary patterns of various scopes and types that aid in conveying the book's theological message—a fact called to attention heretofore through a variety of studies covering various of the significant patterns.[1] In my own recent two-article sequence in *AUSS* treating broad structures in the book of Revelation, I first presented an overview of the basic literary pattern that embraces the eight major visions of the Apocalypse, and then I analyzed more specifically the individual scenes that introduced those eight visions.[2] To each of these introductory sections I gave the general designation of "Victorious-Introduction Scene."

[1]Among studies in *AUSS* that have set forth a variety of such literary patterns are several by William H. Shea: "Chiasm in Theme and Form in Revelation 18," 20 (1982): 249-256; "Revelation 5 and 19 as Literary Reciprocals," 22 (1984): 249-257; and "The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20," 23 (1985): 37-54. Also the following by Kenneth A. Strand: "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," 16 (1978): 401-408; "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18," 20 (1982): 53-60; "Some Modalities of Symbolic Usage in Revelation 18," 24 (1986): 37-46; "The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of Revelation," 25 (1987): 107-121; and "The 'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes in the Visions in the Book of Revelation," 25 (1987): 267-288. The pioneering work on the Apocalypse's broad chiastic structure as this emerges directly from the text itself is K. A. Strand, *The Open Gates of Heaven* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1970), and now represented with slight revision and additional material in idem, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, FL, 1979). The two articles mentioned above that were published in 1987, however, provide still further refinement and furnish some additional diagrams of structure not published earlier. N. W. Lund, *Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Chicago, 1955), had considered chiasm in the book of Revelation prior to my earliest publication on the matter, though my "detailed study of the Apocalypse" did antedate "by several years this major publication of Lund's," and also is based more directly "on the text itself rather than on an interpretation of the text [as seems to be the case with regard to Lund's schema]" (Strand, *Interpreting*, p. 76).

[2]Strand, "Eight Basic Visions" and " 'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes," respectively.

Visions I and VIII contain one section beyond their respective introductory scenes, but visions II through VII all contain three further sections beyond their inaugural sections. The purpose of the present brief essay is to set forth certain correlations among three of the third sections in the sequence: namely, those for visions II, III, and IV. For the reader's convenience, figure 1 on the next page provides a reprint of my earlier-published diagram of the basic structure and content of the book of Revelation. In this diagram, the three sections to which I wish to call special attention in the present essay are designated by the caption "Interlude: Spotlight on Last Events."

The term "Interlude," which is commonly used by commentators and expositors for these particular sections, must not, however, lead one to view them (as is too often the case) as being disruptive or interruptive of the vision sequences in which they occur. Rather, they contribute meaningful and pertinent expansions, elaborations, and heightened focuses on certain crucial happenings, conditions, or particulars that relate to the final portion of the immediately preceding sections of their respective major-vision sequences—namely, the sections designated in figure 1 as "Basic Prophetic Description in History."

One further matter highlighted in figure 1 should be noted here: The three "Spotlight" sections under consideration in this article (as well as the broader vision sequences of which these sections are a part) fall within the first of two major divisions of Revelation, a major division to which I have given the title "Historical-Era Visions."

1. *Content of the "Spotlight" Interludes*

From a literary standpoint, each of the "Spotlight" interludes not only shows an integral relationship to the content of the rest of the vision sequence in which it occurs, but it actually provides its own unique contribution in a *bipartite pattern.* An overview of all three bipartite interludes is first given below, followed by a discussion of each of the interludes.

Overview of the Interludes

The interlude for the 7-seals vision of 4:1-8:1 divides neatly into a first part in 7:1-8 and a second part in 7:9-17. The first tells of John's *hearing* about the sealing of 144,000, and the second

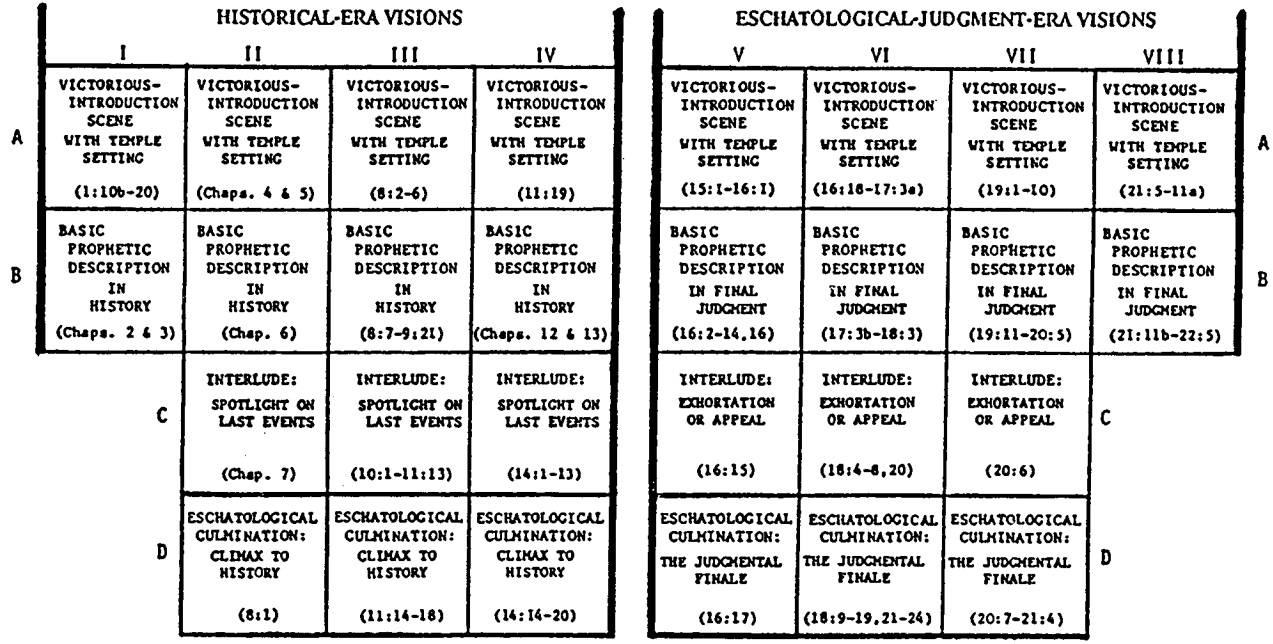


FIGURE 1. AN OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE APOCALYPSE

reports John's *seeing* a great multitude clothed in white, plus his learning the identity of this group.

For the 7-trumpets vision of 8:2-11:18, the interlude first depicts, in chapter 10, a mighty angel with an open scroll giving an important prophetic proclamation (v. 6: "that there should be time no longer" [KJV] or "that there should be no more delay" [RSV][3]). Then it treats, in 11:1-13, the vision of the measuring of the temple (vv. 1-2) and the mission of the two witnesses (vv. 3-13). In this chapter, temple imagery is a unifying thread, for the two witnesses are introduced in terms of the temple imagery of "the two olive trees, even the two lampstands, that stand in the presence of the Lord of the earth" (v. 4).[4]

Finally, in the vision of the great conflict engendered and fought by the antidivine trinity against Christ and his people, set forth in 12:1-14:20, the "spotlight" interlude divides quite clearly into two parts as follows: First, there is a description in 14:1-5 of the 144,000 with the Lamb on Mt. Zion. Then follows a subsection in 14:6-13 setting forth the proclamation of three warning messages by three angels flying in heaven (vv. 6-11) and depicting God's loyal followers who heed the message (vv. 12-13).

This bipartite structure and the basic content of these three interludes for visions II, III, and IV are summarized briefly in outline form in figure 2.

Revelation 7: (1) The 144,000 and (2) the Great Multitude

Inasmuch as the central theme of vision II is the Lamb's (Christ's) breaking the seals of the seven-sealed scroll, the use of a *seal* in Rev 7 as the mark of God's ownership and assured protection

[3]Whenever a specific translation is used in this article, that translation will be indicated.

[4]The *kai* in this statement is epexegetical, as is clear from the context; hence my rendition of it as "even" rather than as "and." That the lampstands represent temple imagery is obvious; but as S. Douglas Waterhouse has shown in as-yet-unpublished material, so also is the symbolism of "two olive trees," one of whose backgrounds is the temple-pillars Jachin and Boaz mentioned in 1 Kgs 7:21. See my earlier reference to Waterhouse's research in "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 135, n. 14; and cf. my own brief further attention to the Jachin-and-Boaz background in "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 259.

	Vision II The Seals Septet	Vision III The Trumpets Septet	Vision IV The Antidivine Trinity Against God and God's People
	Scripture Passage *Chap. 7*	*Scripture Passage* *10:1-11:13*	*Scripture Passage* *14:1-13*
INTERLUDE SECTIONS PROVIDING "SPOTLIGHT ON LAST EVENTS"	1. 144,000 Sealed (John *hears* the number), *7:1-8*	1. Angel Holding Open Scroll and Giving Prophetic Proclamation, *Chap. 10*	1. 144,000 with the Lamb on Mt. Zion, *14:1-5*
	2. Great Multitude Arrayed in White (John *sees* this multitude that "no man can number"): a. John's Vision of the Multitude, *7:9-12* b. Elder's Explanation as to the Identity of This Multitude, *7:13-17*	2. Judgment Motif and Prophetic Proclamation: a. Measuring of Temple, Altar, and Worshipers, *11:1-2* b. Mission and Testimony of the Two Witnesses, *11:3-13*	2. Messages of 3 Angels: a. The Prophetic Proclamation Entailing Judgment Motif, *14:6-11* b. Result for God's People, *14:12-13*

FIGURE 2. THE BIPARTITE "SPOTLIGHT-ON-LAST-EVENTS" INTERLUDES

for his servants is indeed appropriate.[5] As for the number 144,000, we must keep in mind that there are certain "stylized" numbers in Revelation and that the use of such numbers tends to be highly symbolical.[6] This is particularly so when we find a number of the sort we have here: namely, a combination of the stylized numerals $12 \times 12 \times 1000$.[7] Essentially, the picture is that of a protected group of God's servants in terms of completeness and vastness. As John *heard* the number 144,000 (*he did not see* the sealing of the 144,000), he would have recognized that the group so depicted must indeed be a massive one—precisely what he next *saw* in vision: the "great multitude" that no one could number.

That the 144,000 and this great multitude are but two descriptions of the same end-time corps of God's faithful servants may be deduced from several considerations, including their juxtaposition within an end-time interlude. It is made clear elsewhere in Revelation that at this particular time the loyal followers of the Lamb are a unit group that contrasts with the sole other group, the beast-worshipers (cf. 13:8-17).[8]

Moreover, the very presentation pattern in chapter 7, with John *first hearing* of something under one symbol and *then seeing* it under another symbol, parallels exactly the presentation style in Rev 5. There he first hears that the "Lion of the tribe of Judah" can

[5]Regarding various implications of the use of seals in the ancient Near East, reference should be made to good Bible dictionaries, encyclopedias, and lexica (e.g., *IDB*, *TDNT*). The two closely related significations of ownership and protection seem basic for the context in Rev 7, and especially so when account is also taken of the description of the 144,000 in Rev 14:1-5.

[6]Such as 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 100, and 1000. They may, of course, be used "literally" to designate entities of the particular designated quantity, but there is a tendency in highly symbolic contexts (and in some other contexts) to feature these numbers as representing greater or expanded realities. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 3d ed. (London, 1909; reprinted in Grand Rapids, MI, 1968), pp. cxxxv-cxxxviii, furnishes a good brief overview of number symbolism used in Revelation; but a more detailed (and therefore more helpful) discussion of numbers used symbolically in the Bible may be found in Walter L. Wilson, *Wilson's Dictionary of Bible Types* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1957). Unfortunately, Wilson does not treat the numeral "1000."

[7]A comparison may be made with Rev 14:20, where the stylized "$4 \times 4 \times 100$" yields "1600 stadia"—symbolic of the completeness of destruction in the earthly realm when the unsaved of earth meet their doom in the symbolic grape vintage.

[8]The same picture is given elsewhere in the NT: e.g., Matt 13:24-30; 25:31-46; and Luke 17:26-37. Also cf. Rev 14:14-20.

take the 7-sealed scroll and break its seals, and then he sees a "Lamb as it was slain" taking the scroll and breaking those seals (5:6-7; 6:1-17; 8:1). In a somewhat similar manner, though perhaps not as strikingly obvious, the pattern appears, as well, in the Apocalypse's very first vision: There John first hears behind him "a loud voice like a trumpet" and then turns and sees the glorified Christ (1:10-16).

It is also noteworthy that in Rev 7:1-8 there is no description of the characteristics of the 144,000 "servants of God" who are being sealed and that that kind of information comes only in the latter part of the chapter, in the depiction of the "great multitude." This fact should be considered in conjunction with the subsequent portrayal of the 144,000 in Rev 14:1-5, where this number which John heard sealed in 7:1-8 is described as having character attributes of the kind that inhere in the multitude which he saw in Rev 7:9-17. (This is a matter to which we will return below, in our treatment of Rev 14:1-5.)

One further matter should here be noticed; namely, the relationship of the number symbolism to antecedents in the history of ancient Israel. The numerical term of "1000" (*ʾelep*) represented a military unit in Israel's wilderness encampment and journeyings in the Sinai. Tribal military contingents consisted of multiple "1000s," with subunits of 100s and 50s (cf. Num 2:2-26). Interestingly, whenever Israel broke camp, Moses would say "Arise, O Lord, and let your enemies be scattered; and let those who hate you flee from your presence"; and then, when camp was pitched, Moses would declare, "Return, O Lord, to the myriad thousands of Israel" (Num 10:35-36). In an attack of reprisal against the Midianites, Moses ordered that a thousand soldiers from each tribe be sent for a total of 12,000 (Num 31:2-5); also, 12,000 was the number of Israelites dispatched against Jabesh-gilead (Judg 21:10); and further examples utilizing the numbers 12 and 1000 (and on occasion 100) in martial settings could be cited.[9]

Moreover, the number 12 and its multiples were used in conjunction with the temple service during the monarchy period of Israel's history and onward—for instance, 24 courses or "families"

[9]Those mentioned here, plus several others (including examples at Qumran), have been suggested by James Valentine, "Theological Aspects of the Temple Motif in the Old Testament and Revelation" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985), p. 313.

of priests (1 Chron 24:1-19)[10]—and this usage suggests a further major background source that very likely informs the number symbolism 144,000 in the book of Revelation. In this connection, it should not be overlooked that the Christian addressees of the book are at the very outset referred to as a "kingdom of priests" (Rev 1:6; cf. 5:10). Indeed, the "holy-war" and temple motifs are pervasive throughout the Apocalypse.[11]

Revelation 10:1-11:13: (1) The Mighty Angel and (2) the Temple and Two Witnesses

As we move ahead now to the next "spotlight" interlude—the one in 10:1-11:13—we have already briefly noticed that in terms of its basic imagery it too divides neatly into two parts. The complete content of chapter 10 consists of but one main unit, a unit in which the mighty angel with his open scroll and prophetic proclamation is central and provides the basic undergirding. In the sequence, and as an integral part of it, are two further items: John's eating of the scroll (vv. 7-10), and the commission to John to "prophesy again" (v. 11).

We would expect that the second major section of this particular interlude would parallel its first section in somewhat the same way as the scene depicting the great multitude parallels the reference to the 144,000 in chapter 7; and indeed, this is the case. The theme of prophetic proclamation which is so basic and central to chapter 10 continues, under different imagery, in chapter 11: namely, the imagery of a temple setting. Here we find, as already observed, a temple-measuring scene (the measuring of the temple and altar and worshipers, with the court excluded [vv. 1-2]), followed by the pericope concerning two prophetic witnesses (vv. 3-13) who are introduced in terms of the temple imagery of two olive trees that are also two lampstands (vv. 3-4).[12]

[10]Ibid., pp. 315-316, gives a good array of illustrations.

[11]Ibid., pp. 306-323, provides a useful survey of both aspects. A basic and comprehensive work on the "holy-war" motif in Revelation is Adele Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Missoula, MT, 1976); and Hans K. LaRondelle, *Chariots of Salvation: The Biblical Drama of Armageddon* (Washington, DC, 1987), gives a helpful treatment of the topic indicated in the subtitle, but does so with the inclusion of considerable valuable background from both OT and NT regarding the "holy-war" concept. For further information concerning the pervasive temple imagery in Revelation, see, e.g., my two articles cited in n. 2 above.

[12]See n. 4 above regarding epexegetic *kai*; cf. also Strand, "Two Witnesses," pp. 127-135, including the rather extensive footnote references given there.

There is, however, another important way in which the interlude of 10:1-11:13 is *twofold*: It carries two basic intertwining themes: (1) the prophetic word of warning, and (2) judgment. The content involved in these two themes and the relationship between them are of such basic importance as to deserve further attention, and this will be given in the next main section of this essay (section 2).

Revelation 14:1-13: (1) The 144,000 and (2) the Three Angels' Messages

As briefly noted earlier, the bipartite nature of the final of the three "spotlight" interludes here under consideration (14:1-13) entails first a further description of the 144,000 and then a report of three angels with messages warning of judgment. The 144,000 are now described, not in their process of being sealed, but as standing victoriously with the Lamb on Mt. Zion. Their victory and their perfection of character in loyalty to the Lamb and in following him "wherever he goes" (v. 4b) are emphasized through several descriptive phrases, such as their having the Lamb's and Father's names "written on their foreheads," being "redeemed from the earth," being "chaste" (or "virgins"), being "firstfruits for God and the Lamb," having "no deceit [or "lie" or "guile"] in their mouths," and being "spotless."[13]

This sort of description is reminiscent of the character attributes and activities of the great multitude depicted in Rev 7. For instance, those who comprise that multitude are clothed in white, having "washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (7:13-14)—imagery which embodies several of the characteristics applied to the 144,000 in Rev 14:1-5, such as "chaste," "no deceit," and "spotless." And the references to the multitude's "coming out of great tribulation" and the Lamb's being their Shepherd who guides "them to springs of living water" (7:14) convey the same sort of concepts as indicated in 14:4 by the expression "these who follow the Lamb wherever he goes."[14]

[13]The terms "virgins" and "firstfruits" have been especially puzzling to many commentators. An excursus dealing with these terms appears at the close of this article.

[14]This expression can only be understood in the light of the motif as illuminated by other expressions in Revelation itself (in addition to 7:9-17, notice the implications of 1:17-18; 2:3, 10, 13; 3:8b, 10; 12:11; 14:12) as well as elsewhere in the NT (cf., e.g., Matt 10:24-27, 38-39; John 13:36b; 15:20; 17:14-18, 24-26).

In the second part of the bipartite interlude of Rev 14 the first angel's message contains an appeal to worship the Creator, an appeal that is set in the context of a proclamation that "the hour of his [God's] judgment has come" (vv. 6-7). This message is then followed by one which declares that "Babylon is fallen, is fallen" (v. 8). And finally, a most severe message is given by the third angel, who warns in most urgent terms against worship of the beast and the beast's image and against reception of the mark of the beast (vv. 9-11)—an allusion to the coercive activity of the earth-beast of Rev 13:11-17. Those who heed these warning messages are described as having "the patience of the saints" and receiving divine blessing in the face of martyrdom (vv. 12-13).

Inasmuch as in the end-time crisis there is a clear demarcation between two groups—(a) those loyal to God and the Lamb, and (b) those choosing allegiance to the sea-beast of 13:1-10, 18 (the "beast" whose worship and mark the earth-beast promotes)—we can find in this interlude of Rev 14, as in the case of the two preceding ones, a close connection between the subdivisions of the bipartite structure: Those persons who heed the messages of the three angels are indeed the same victorious ones that are pictured in 14:1-5 as followers of the Lamb wherever he goes. The first section of chapter 14 thus sets forth the character and victory of these loyal ones, and the second part of this "spotlight" interlude relates to the method and the cost involved in becoming a part of this victorious group.

While an exegesis of both sections of the interlude in chapter 14 would be of great interest, to provide such is beyond the scope of our treatment here. We shall, however, return to this particular bipartite interlude briefly again in the third main section of this essay, where we provide a comparison of the content and relationships that exist among the three interludes.

2. *Twin Themes: Prophetic Warning and Judgment*

The essential focus of Rev 10:1-11:13 has been brought to attention in two previous articles in which I have dealt more specifically with the two-witnesses and the "measuring-of-the temple" passages of Rev 11.[15] The subsections below will include

[15]Strand, "Two Witnesses," and idem, "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 317-325.

some of the highlights from those two articles, but for complete data the reader must refer to the articles themselves.

The Prophetic Word-of-Warning Motif

The trumpet septet of 8:2-11:18 develops its symbolism on the basis of a double theme: the Israelite Exodus from Egypt and the Israelite deliverance from ancient Babylon. The first five trumpets (8:7-9:11) have as their background the plagues on ancient Egypt, but with the sixth trumpet the scene shifts this background from the land of the Nile to the Euphrates River, the river of Babylon (9:14). In this context of an "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif,[16] the trumpet blasts—one of whose main uses was the sounding of an alarm (cf. Jer 4:5 and 6:1)[17]—would most logically symbolize God's prophetic messages of warning. Such warning had indeed accompanied the plagues on Egypt, as Moses and Aaron repeatedly carried to Pharaoh God's call for release of the Israelites (cf. Exod 5:1; 6:10-11; 7:1-2, 15-20; 8:20-27; et al.). Babylon too had had its witness from God, a fact summed up in the comment that "we would have healed Babylon, but she was not healed" (Jer 51:9).[18]

Within the trumpet septet, however, the prophetic-witness motif unfolds the most clearly and the most directly in Rev 10:1-11:13—a passage whose contents have briefly been summarized above. Our focus now turns to implications of the passage.

[16]Cf. my diagram in "Two Witnesses," p. 129.

[17]The basic OT background passage relating to uses of the trumpet in both temple ritual and call to arms is Num 10:2-10. In the context of the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif, the function set forth in the Jeremiah references seems primary from the standpoint of message content, though imagery from the temple and worship forms a backdrop throughout the entire book (cf. my article on "Victorious-Introduction Scenes"), and the specific background here is the feast of "blowing of trumpets" ten days prior to *Yom Kippur* (cf. Lev 23:24-27). For a comprehensive review of the wide array of trumpet usages in ancient Israelite cultus and divine-summons contexts, see Jon Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretations of Revelation 8:7-12*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 11 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1988), pp. 206-216.

[18]Just as the descendants of Jacob and their leaders (Moses and Aaron) bore witness to Egypt during the period of the Sojourn and Exodus, so captives from Judah, including prophets of Yahweh and other leaders, were a living witness to the Babylonians. We may, in this connection, readily think of the prophet-priest Ezekiel, who ministered to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia (Ezek 1:1-3 and 3:11-15); but most striking and relevant with regard to witness directly to Babylonian rulers themselves are the accounts given in the book of Daniel, chaps. 1-4.

The mighty angel who holds open a scroll brings to mind the sealing of the scroll of Daniel until the "time of the end," when it was to be unsealed (Dan 12:4); and this angel proclaims a message concerning a certain terminus pertaining to time, a message that is obviously in response to the "until when?" of Dan 8:13-14 and 12:6-9. (The "time-of-the-end" context throughout Dan 12, not just in vv. 1-4, should be given due consideration.) Next in Revelation 10 follows the scene concerning John's eating of the scroll (vv. 8-10), this being reminiscent of the prophet Ezekiel's similar eating of an inscribed scroll (Ezek 2:8-3:3). Finally, John is commanded to "prophesy again" (Rev 10:11), which calls attention to the similar commission to Ezekiel (Ezek 3:4).

Thus, the emphasis in Rev 10 on a prophetic proclamation that draws upon, attests to, and makes application of OT prophetic-witness backgrounds is so direct and transparent that even a most casual reading can hardly miss it. But that chapter itself is even more direct, as well, by supplementing the angel's proclamation regarding time (v. 6) with the clause "as he [God] declared to his servants the prophets" (v. 7). The time prophecy relates to the "mystery of God" as about to be fulfilled or completed (v. 7)—an allusion, once again, to the proclaiming of God's word, specifically the gospel message (cf. Eph 6:19; Col 1:25-28; and Rom 10:14-17). It is significant that the clause referring to "his [God's] servants the prophets" is set in the context of both *OT witness* and the proclamation now being made in the *NT epoch.* That there was a unity of testimony by OT prophets and the witness given by Christ and his apostles is, of course, a pervasive NT theme.[19]

The two-witnesses section in Rev 11:3-13 sets forth this same concept of proclamation of God's prophetic word (cf., e.g., v. 3). Here the testimony of the two witnesses is intensified by their ability to bring about plagues (vv. 5-7).

As pointed out in my earlier study on this passage, what is at the center of the two-witnesses symbolism is the OT Scripture proclamation and the apostolic testimony (the latter being what came later to be known as the NT).[20] These work together in total and perfect unity. Thus there is here a continuation of the two-

[19]Cf., e.g., Luke 24:27; Acts 2:29-32; 3:18; 1 Pet 1:10-12; and see my discussion in "Two Witnesses," pp. 131-133.

[20]See ibid., p. 134.

witnesses emphasis that we already have noted in chapter 10. It is, as we have seen, a pervasive NT emphasis. Moreover, it is set forth as a basic motif elsewhere in the book of Revelation itself (see especially 1:2, 9; and 20:4[21]).

Indeed, it is the only application of the two-witnesses symbolism that is compatible with a number of elements in the description given in Rev 11. For instance, the fact that these two witnesses are not to be arithmetically computed as representing just two personages or two groups is clear when one considers that their activity draws upon the experience, not of just the two prophets Moses and Elijah (as is generally assumed), but of three prophets—Moses, Elijah, and *Jeremiah*. The allusion to fire proceeding from the witnesses' mouths and devouring their enemies (11:5) is an allusion to Jer 5:14, a background text wherein the emphasis is on the power of *God's word*: It is this word that is the fire in Jeremiah's mouth. When we consider that Rev 10 is also part of the basic context for the two-witnesses pericope of Rev 11, we can add the two further OT prophets whose prophetic testimony is called to attention there: Daniel (compare Rev 10:1-6 with Dan 12:4), and Ezekiel (compare Rev 10:8-10 with Ezek 3:1-3). Moreover, the very emphasis in Rev 11 on the united and unified way in which the testimony and every activity of the two witnesses were carried out jointly negates further the concept that these two witnesses were intended to be mathematically delimited to, and precisely identified as, two personages or two groups patterning after "Moses and Elijah," for Moses and Elijah labored under *differing* circumstances and with *differing* plagues.[22]

Paul S. Minear has captioned the 7-trumpets vision with the title "The Prophets as Victors."[23] Although he has not missed

[21]Considering the fact that in the Apocalypse the experience of Jesus, the faith of Jesus, the witness borne by Jesus, etc., are replicated in his faithful followers (cf. also this motif in the Gospel of John; e.g., 15:20; chap. 17; and 21:22), we may readily add these further texts to our list: Rev 6:9; 12:11; and 14:12.

[22]Concerning the unity of action of the two witnesses, Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, DC, 1968), pp. 101-102, has aptly stated the following: "John makes no statement which applies solely to either of the two figures separately. Whatever is done, they do together; whatever is suffered, they suffer together. The time of their prophecy is a single time, beginning and ending simultaneously and having the same duration. The place is also the same, for although 11:8 mentions three separate places, it treats them as one."

[23]Used as a chapter title in ibid., pp. 85-104.

the mark by far in using this description, I would suggest instead the term "Victory of the Prophetic Word," for it is the *word* of the prophets in speaking for God that is really the essential element in the 7-trumpets vision.

A Judgment Motif

In my earlier treatment of Rev 11:1-2, I noted that the two OT passages most generally considered as root sources for John's temple-measuring vision—namely, Zech 2:1-5 and Ezek 40-48—actually stand in greater contrast to, rather than parallel with, Rev 11:1-2.[24] The sole common element in all three passages is their use of the "measuring-rod"/"measuring-reed"/"measuring-line" symbolism. As far as the entities to be measured are concerned, there is diversity, so that in the essential element the parallelism or affinities break down. John was commanded to measure three entities: the temple, the altar, and the worshipers. On the other hand, the "outer court" was to be excluded; and, as noted in v. 2, this "outer court" is also identified as the "holy city." Zechariah's passage deals specifically with the matter of measuring the *city* for walls, not the temple at all; and it was a measuring which, in fact, was called off, inasmuch as God himself was to be the city's protective wall ("a wall of fire around her" and "the glory within her" [Zech 2:5]). Ezekiel's vision of the temple measurements begins with the appurtenances to the outer-wall complex and with the outer court (Ezek 40:5-23), the very area excluded in John's vision; and there are also further contrasts.[25]

There is, in fact, only one OT passage to which Rev 11:1 does stand in very close parallel—namely, *Lev 16*.[26] This passage in Leviticus describes the "Day-of-Atonement" ritual in the ancient Israelite cultus. Except for the omission of the priesthood in Rev 11:1, the items to be measured by John are identical with the elements for which atonement was to be made on the Day of Atonement. In fact, not only are the entities identical, but the order in which they occur is also the same. Moreover, the sole difference—the omission of the priesthood in the Revelation vision—is what logically would be expected, inasmuch as there would be no need

[24]Strand, "Overlooked Background to Revelation 11:1," pp. 317-325.

[25]For further discussion, see ibid., pp. 320-321.

[26]Discussion is provided in ibid., p. 322.

for Christ, the perfect High Priest of the new covenant, to have any atonement or measuring made for himself.

Relationship between the Word-of-Warning and Judgment Motifs

The two themes we have isolated as being the basic and foundational ones in Rev 10:1-11:13 intertwine with respect to both theological import and presentation pattern. As to theological significance, there is echo of what we find stated, for example, in John 12:48, where Jesus declares, "He who rejects me and receives not my words has one who judges him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day." Thus the word-of-warning and the judgment themes go hand-in-hand.

With regard to presentation pattern, we may notice that Rev 10 places its primary emphasis on the prophetic word and that 11:1-2 stresses judgment ("measuring"). But when we come to the two-witnesses pericope of 11:3-13, we find that both themes merge in bold relief, for the testimony of the witnesses is accompanied by judgment plagues.

3. *Structural and Theological Relationships of the Three Interludes*

It remains now to notice briefly the manner in which the three "Spotlight-on-Last-Events" interludes interconnect. The very obvious link between the first interlude (chapter 7) and the third interlude's first subsection (14:1-5) has already been treated. What we must now observe, in addition, is that the twofold theme of the second interlude has a similar linkage to the third interlude's second subsection. The essence of this particular subsection is, of course, *messages*—specifically, messages of prophetic declaration and warning. But each of these messages embodies, as well, a judgment motif: The first angel calls attention to the "hour of God's judgment" having come, the second angel proclaims the judgment decree that Babylon is fallen, and the third angel warns in most urgent tones concerning the judgment that will be the fate of all those who are beast-worshipers.

The pattern of structural interrelationships among the three "spotlight" interludes may now be set forth diagrammatically, as in figure 3. From a theological perspective, it is important to observe that these elements of literary structure highlight certain prominent NT themes or motifs, on the one hand, and then also bring a

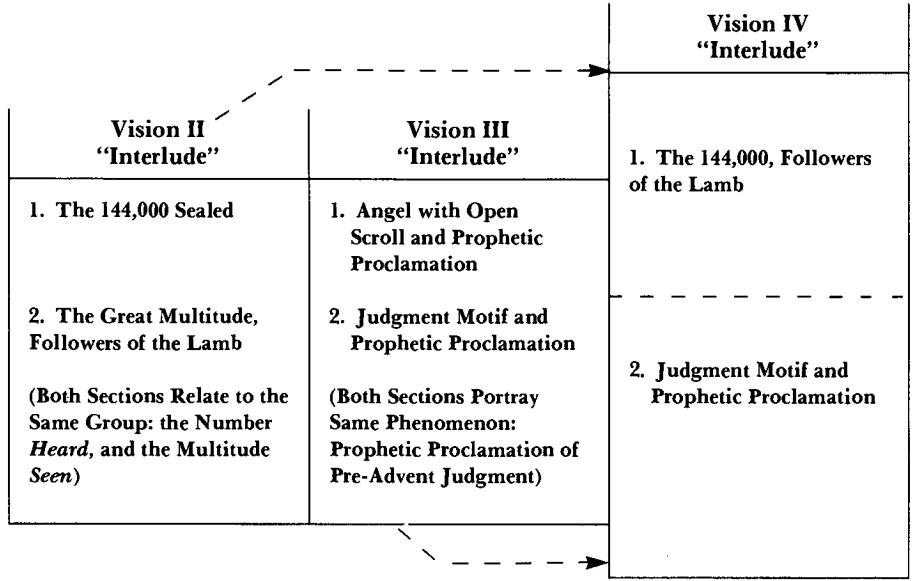


FIGURE 3. CORRELATIONS AMONG THE THREE "SPOTLIGHT" INTERLUDES

number of these motifs together into integral relationships, on the other hand. Although space limitations preclude any detailed theological analysis here, a few basic considerations may be set forth in concluding this article.

First of all, there is in the interludes an amplification of the magnitude and efficacy of God's activity in the end-time of earth's history. The positioning of these interludes within the literary patterns of their respective vision sequences bespeaks an end-time temporality. Moreover, the parallelism in this positioning (third section of each vision) suggests a bonding of the three "spotlight" sections, not only in the manner already described above, but also more broadly and comprehensively with respect to theological themes and motifs.

The first point to notice here is that the special activity by God at the end-time contrasts strikingly with what is portrayed as the concluding stance within the foregoing "Basic Prophetic Description in History"—a portrayal of an intensification of evil and/or of a stubborn refusal to repent on the part of the enemies of God and his saints. In the seals septet there is a crescendo of devastation, climaxed in the sixth seal by the cry of earth's multitudes, "The great day of his [the Lamb's] wrath has come, and who will be able to stand?" (6:17). The interlude of chapter 7 responds by portraying those who will indeed be able to stand, thanks to the work of God and the Lamb in their behalf and their own response of complete loyalty. In the trumpets septet, warning disaster after warning disaster leaves survivors of these plague warnings unrepentant of their idolatry, murders, and other sins (9:20-21)—much as in the case of the Exodus-era Pharaoh, who continually "hardened his heart" (cf. Exod 7:13, 22-23; 8:15, 19; etc.). To this bleak picture is juxtaposed the "spotlight" interlude revealing that the gospel message is nevertheless going to be finished (10:7, 11) and that the testimony of the two witnesses will ultimately triumph (11:3-13), for in the devastating earthquake that destroys a symbolic 7,000 there will remain a "remnant" who fear and give God glory (v. 13). The terminology here is akin to that in Rev 12:17 ("remnant") and also to that in 14:6, "Fear God and give him glory." The latter connection has been obscured in English translations and has been missed by most commentators except G. B. Caird.[27] In the next

[27]G. B. Caird, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (New York, 1966), pp. 139-140. Caird sees the last part of 11:13 as depicting *true repentance* in contrast to what is indicated in the foregoing clause and also in

vision sequence we find that the earth-beast places a death sentence and embargo on all who will not accept the mark of the sea-beast and worship that beast and his image (13:15-17). But this climax in the antidivine activity finds a contrasting divine counterpart in the following interlude—first, in the depiction of the victorious 144,000 with the Lamb on Mt. Zion, and then in the three messages that result in a people so loyal to God that they are described as keeping God's commandments and having the very "faith [or "faithfulness"[28]] of Jesus" (14:12).

Finally, we may just point out a few of the intertwining, interdependent motifs that are given prominence in the three interludes we have been investigating. Among these, we may first simply reiterate two combinations noticed earlier: (1) the relationship between the divine word and judgment, and (2) the military and temple-service imagery used in connection with the 144,000. But there are other significant thematic relationships that also deserve mention, three of which we notice here:

1. The close connection between "*holy war*" and *judgment* is a basic portrayal throughout the book of Revelation, including our three interludes and various other sections of the vision sequences in which these interludes are located.[29] As expressed in a later vision of the Apocalypse, the Coming-One, who is called "Faithful and True" (19:11) and "the Word of God" (v. 13), "in righteousness judges and makes war" (v. 11).

2. The pervasive activity of the Holy Spirit in both *sealing the saints* (cf. Eph 1:13; 4:30; 2 Tim 2:19) and *proclaiming the divine*

---

contrast to the description of unrepentant persons in Rev 9:20-21. His own rendition for v. 13b is "in awe did homage to the God of heaven." English Bible translators have almost invariably done injustice to the text by such renditions as "were affrighted" (KJV), "were afraid" (New KJV), "became terrified" (RSV), and "were terrified" (TEV and NIV). The type of "fear" involved here is of the nature indicated by the term "God-fearers," not the terrifying or frightening negative kind generally thought of when the English word "fear" is used.

[28]*Pistis* may be rendered with either word, but the choice of "faith" by most translators may not make any significant difference, for the "faith of Jesus" consisted of his faithfulness in testimony by word and deed and even death.

[29]For just one example from a section other than an interlude we may notice the martial nature of the four horsemen of Rev 6. Besides conquest terminology ("conquering and to conquer," v. 2) and instruments of war (bow and sword, vv. 2, 4), there are such judgment allusions as "balances" (v. 5, reminiscent of Dan 5:27) and the fourfold death scourge of the rider on the pale horse (v. 8, reminiscent of God's "four sore punishments" in judgment on the sinners in Jerusalem, as given in Ezek 14:21).

word (10:1-11:13, including the "olive-trees" imagery in 11:4) brings together in a further significant way the interludes we have been treating. In this connection, the divine word itself is a sustainer of the saints (cf. John 17:17), and it is the Spirit who speaks that word (cf. 1 Pet 1:10-12; John 14:26) and who with and through it brings Christ to his faithful followers (cf. John 14:16-20).

3. The close connection between the saints' *faithful testimony* and their having had their robes "*washed in the blood of the Lamb*" is another thematic combination that finds prominence in our interludes as well as throughout the entire book of Revelation. The experience of the great multitude of Rev 7:9-14 and the characteristics of the 144,000 in Rev 14:1-5 highlight this combination, as does also the climactic conclusion to the third interlude by its reference to those who keep the commandments of God and have the faith of Jesus (14:12). In the portrayal of the saints' death-struggle with the great Dragon, the same theme had been enunciated: God's faithful followers gained their victory over the Dragon "through the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto death" (12:11).

Further interconnections of the aforementioned basic motifs, as well as other themes of theological importance, could be outlined. Furthermore, the foregoing discussion is by no means intended to imply that theological motifs in Revelation are necessarily always, or even primarily, dual in nature or relationship; for the paired themes we have noticed, together with further theological motifs (the role of the Lamb; the essence of becoming an "overcomer" or "conqueror"; the dynamics of persecution, deception, and self-deception; the nature of, and choice between, two worships; the marks of true discipleship; et al.), all work together into a unified whole.

To investigate this matter further is beyond the scope of this essay. In concluding it can be said that the paramount picture emerging in the "spotlight" interludes we have reviewed is that of a special activity on the part of God and the Lamb in enhancing their witness and safeguarding their followers during a period of earth's history which James Moffatt has expressed in a somewhat-interpretational translation as "the crisis at the close."[30] This safeguarding does not assume an escape from a martyr's suffering and

[30]Moffatt's translation in Dan 8:17 and 12:9 (cf. "the crisis at the end" in 12:4). The more usual rendition is "time of the end," as in KJV.

death; but even in the face of death, the Lamb's loyal ones have the assurance that the Lord they follow is the very one who "was dead," "is alive forever," and "has the keys of death and the grave" (1:18).

EXCURSUS: THE TERMS "VIRGIN" AND "FIRSTFRUITS" AS APPLIED TO THE 144,000

The term *parthenoi*, "virgins," in Rev 14:4 has been particularly puzzling to exegetes; and the term *aparchē*, "firstfruits," as used in the same verse has also caused some confusion for expositors. This excursus looks briefly at these terms in the context of their use in Rev 14:1-5.

A survey of commentaries reveals an almost incredible variety of opinions as to the significance of the term "virgins" as descriptive of the 144,000. Notions to the effect that John was a misogynist or even that he promoted celibacy out of concern for the exigencies of his time can be rejected as incompatible with the specific spiritual thrust of the Apocalypse. More appropriate are suggestions regarding the 144,000 as not having had adulterous relationships with the harlot Babylon of Rev 17-18 or with the Jezebel of Rev 2:20-23; as being a reflection of what is expressed in 2 Cor 11:2 and Eph 5:27 regarding the position of the church in relationship to Christ; or as derivative from the OT references to Israel as the "virgin daughter of Zion" and the "virgin of Israel" (cf., e.g., 2 Kgs 19:21 and Jer 18:13).[31]

An important point missed by most commentators, however, is the significance of the military imagery for the terminology used in this passage. An exception is G. B. Caird, who calls attention to the prohibition of marital cohabitation for Israelite men when they were to go into, or were engaged in, "holy-war" combatancy—directives set forth in Deut 20 and 23:9-11 and illustrated in 1 Sam 21:4-5.[32] The 144,000, as we have seen in the main discussion

[31]Especially concerning the last suggestion, see Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), p. 270.

[32]Caird, p. 179. Caird's apt suggestion has been echoed by some later writers, such as G. R. Beasley-Murray; but the most recent comprehensive discussion of this martial background for the 144,000 and the use of the term "virgins" in Rev 14:4 has been provided by James Valentine, who has suggested, as well, a temple-ritual background in that preparations for the annual Day of Atonement had among their prohibitions the abstinence from marital intercourse (pp. 311-317). We can add here

above, are the Lamb's warriors who have come off victorious in their "life-and-death" struggle with the antidivine trinity of Rev 12-13.

The term *aparchē*, "firstfruits," has been confusing to a number of expositors in that it has led them to attempt to identify two groups of the saved, whereas the lines are tightly drawn in this end-time between the one group that is faithful to God and the Lamb and the other group that consists entirely of the beast-worshipers. But the term *aparchē* could probably better be rendered here as "choice offering," for that is essentially what it had come to mean in Roman Asia by or before NT times. In fact, even in the LXX *aparchē* renders *t*^{e}*rûmāh*, "oblation or offering," twice as often as it does *rē*^{ʾ}*šît*, "firstfruits"; indeed, in the total 66 occurrences of *aparchē* in the LXX, only 19 times does it translate from *rē*^{ʾ}*šît*.[33] The point is that the 144,000 are a choice offering or oblation to God and the Lamb, for they are the very ones who have given themselves as a holy sacrifice (cf. Rom 12:1) and have come out of great tribulation (Rev 7:14).

---

a possible further—and conceptually related—antecedent: namely, the fact that in conjunction with the three-day preparation for the Lord's descent on Mt. Sinai, the Israelite males were ordered, "Do not come near your wives" (Exod 19:15).

[33]For information on the LXX usage and on the meaning of the term in the *koinē* Greek of Asia Minor in John's day, see R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1920), 2:6. Valentine, pp. 314-315, has called attention to the fact that "the area wholly consecrated to God and to be inhabited of [sic] priests is called, in the LXX, *aparchē*, the same word used in Rev. 14:4."

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.

EDWARD ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND AND SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST EDUCATIONAL REFORM: THE DENOMINATIONAL YEARS, 1890-1904

Author: **Warren Sidney Ashworth.** Ph.D., 1986.
Adviser: George R. Knight.

Problem. Edward Alexander Sutherland, 1865-1955, was one of the most notable and successful educational reformers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He served the church for sixty years, fifty-three of them as president of four Adventist colleges. This study has been delimited to his years of denominational employment, 1890 through 1904, and does not include his forty-one years as president of Madison College—a self-supporting Adventist institution that received no direct financial assistance from the denomination.

Method. This study, investigating Sutherland's life from the perspective of his work as an educational reformer, employed the historical method of research. Major sources included extensive correspondence housed in the archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Loma Linda University, Andrews University, and the Ellen G. White Estate. Official minutes of organizations and institutions, denominational periodicals, and miscellaneous archival materials were also valuable sources of information.

Conclusions. Sutherland led in the campaign to eradicate the classics from Seventh-day Adventist colleges and to place the Bible at the center of the curriculum. His philosophy of holistic education permanently altered the thrust of Adventist education from the elementary through the college levels. He was instrumental in the creation of the Adventist elementary- and secondary-school system and a distinctive teacher-training program. Placing major emphasis on manual labor, Sutherland developed a viable work-study curriculum and sought to instill in Adventist youth a deep commitment to being missionaries regardless of their chosen career.

Attuned to the reforms of his era, Sutherland's work was reflective of the educational innovations attempted both in the Adventist church and in

society at large around the turn of the century. His aggressive actions brought to fruition many of the reforms that his Adventist predecessors in the United States had not been able to consummate, as well as reforms not previously attempted by them. Sutherland's efforts to integrate faith and learning illuminate the most significant reform period in the early years of Adventist education.

ORTHODOXY AND HERESY IN HANS KÜNG: AN ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF HIS CRITERIA AND NORMS OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH AND ERROR

Author: **C. Enrique Espinosa.** Ph.D., 1988.
Adviser: Raoul Dederen.

This investigation deals with the concepts of orthodoxy and heresy in the thought of the Swiss theologian Hans Küng.

Starting with NT times, chap. 1 sketches the broad outlines of the development of Christian orthodoxy and, by implication, of the heresy which opposed it. The most relevant elements constituting the structure of the orthodoxy-heresy antithesis are identified, described, and analyzed. Attention is thus focused on the traditional and modern principles, criteria, norms, and theological issues which have interplayed in the church's efforts to understand the Christian message correctly.

Chap. 2 shows that the pastoral concerns which constitute Küng's theological starting point originated during the years of his priestly formation in Rome. These concerns are his interest in contributing to ecumenical understanding among all Christian traditions and his preoccupation for proclaiming the gospel in terms both intelligible and relevant to modern humankind. Some important shifts in the development of his theology and hermeneutical principles are described as well.

Chap. 3 endeavors to describe and analyze Küng's understanding of the principles, criteria, and norms of classical orthodoxy. It presents the manner in which he stresses the normativity of the original deposit of faith over against the subapostolic traditions and magisterial pronouncements of the church. His concept of heresy as a selection from the totality of revelation is addressed at the end of the chapter.

Chap. 4 deals with the modern criteria and norms of orthodoxy. Küng's dynamic, dialectical, and historical concept of truth as such is described and analyzed. In this context, his views on the fallibility of human propositions are also addressed. His theory of the changes of paradigm in theology is briefly enunciated. This theory explains how the revolutionary changes in the basic assumptions and in the worldview of one paradigm originate a crisis which entails the replacement of the old paradigm by the new, thus rendering past orthodoxies obsolete.

This study ends, in chap. 5, with a critical appraisal of Küng's model of orthodoxy-heresy. It is concluded that his decisive norm of Christian truth is the modern scientific-historicist horizon of understanding. As for the gospel of Jesus Christ, which Küng claims is his ultimate criterion and norm of Christian truth, it is considered, rather, as the center of the theologian's personal faith. Finally, some of the contributions of Küng to the understanding of orthodoxy-heresy are mentioned, as well as the inner tensions of his model.

THE FUNCTION OF CHRIST'S SUFFERING IN 1 PETER 2:21

Author: **Madelynn Jones-Haldeman.** Th.D., 1988.
Adviser: Robert M. Johnston.

The Haustafel of 1 Pet 2:11-3:12 encourages the slaves on two levels: First, they are exhorted to "submit" to both good and crooked masters; and, second, they are encouraged to do good. The "submission" enjoined upon the slave is not to deter rebellion against, or dissatisfaction with, the system. Rather the paraenesis is to inform the Christian slave to maintain impeccable civic behavior in his situation, whether it be under the hand of a good or of a cruel master. Although punishment is to be expected from improper behavior, nevertheless a Christian slave may be punished for doing good. The slave is therefore admonished to remain in his situation, enduring rather than running from the injustice. Such behavior is "doing good," a word that has not only juridical but Greek philosophical overtones and thus emphasizes the concept of benefaction.

The recipients of this benefit are not the masters but the believing community itself. Such behavior on the part of the slave will help not only to mitigate the rumors of sedition leveled against the church but also to maintain the cohesiveness and solidarity within the church. The slave suffering for doing good has God's benediction, not that suffering *per se* is good or beneficial, but rather because the suffering brings a benefit to someone else.

The call to which the slaves responded consists of the triad **doing good-suffering-enduring**. As they experience doing good on a civic and Christian level, doing good also takes the form of suffering (for the sake of others), and finally enduring (for the sake of others). Thus, their experience is patterned after that of the Lord, who left them an example both in bringing a benefit by suffering, which is not spelled out until verse 24, and in showing how to suffer in an acceptable Christian manner, as verses 22-23 portray. Therefore Christ's suffering ("for you") in verse 21a is not a reference to his atoning death. Rather, it gives the reason for God's blessing on, and acceptance of, the one who suffers unjustly and endures it for others; and it also presents the ultimate Example of this concept.

ALEXANDER HEGIUS (ca. 1433-98): HIS LIFE, PHILOSOPHY, AND PEDAGOGY

Author: **John V. G. Matthews.** Ph.D., 1988.
Adviser: George R. Knight.

Problem. There are scholars who have suggested that Alexander Hegius was one of the most important educators of the fifteenth century. Whether or not this can be substantiated is open to question. The fact remains that he was a pivotal figure in the development of education in the Northern Renaissance. Scholars have argued at length about his life, the obscure details of which are significant for understanding the youth of Desiderius Erasmus. There are also a few outdated studies that deal in a cursory manner with his pedagogy. Although some of this material is based on genuine primary research, only a small proportion of it is of any great consequence. Little of significance has been published in English. When it comes to an analysis of his writings, there has been no definitive study made in any language. In view of the paucity of scholarly material available, it is the purpose of this study, after giving a brief biography of Hegius' life, to examine his prose writings and to make an analysis of his philosophy and the consequent educational corollaries. The investigation is undertaken to evaluate Hegius' contribution to the emerging Northern Renaissance.

Method. An historical-documentary method of research was used in approaching this topic. The major primary source for the study is the *Dialogs of Alexander Hegius* published in 1503. Other sources include letters and treatises of Hegius' contemporaries.

Conclusions. Hegius was principal of the school at St. Lebuins in Deventer for sixteen years prior to his death in 1498. During that time the school grew and prospered. What had been a fairly typical school of the late medieval period in that area soon became one of the main centers for the study of the "humanities." It must consequently be acknowledged that Hegius' efforts had a considerable influence on the emergence of the Renaissance in the Netherlands. An analysis of Hegius' writings reveals a subtle shift in attitude towards a nominalist philosophy and away from the Thomism prevalent in the schools of the Low Countries. The complex interplay of this nominalism with Hegius' emerging humanism had far-reaching effects on the curriculum and methods in Deventer and made St. Lebuins an outstanding center of the new learning.

THE "THRONE OF GOD" MOTIF IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Author: **Daegeuk Nam.** Ph.D., 1989.
Adviser: Gerhard F. Hasel.

This dissertation explores the biblical significance and theological implications of the "throne of God" motif through an exegetical investigation of the texts of the Hebrew Bible which have direct reference to it.

Chap. 1 states the problems which the biblical "throne of God" motif poses, and also sets forth the importance, methodology, and procedure of this study.

Chap. 2 reviews pertinent literature since the turn of the century. This survey reveals that the current status of investigation on the topic is only fragmentary.

Chap. 3 is devoted to the investigation of the "divine throne" motif in ancient Near Eastern literatures such as Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts. One of the remarkable points in these texts is that the throne was deified and/or worshiped as a cult object.

Chap. 4 presents a brief study of the "throne" terminology in order to provide a linguistic background for the exegetical study which follows. Four Hebrew terms (*kissē'*, *kissēh*, *môšāḇ*, and *tᵉḵûnah*), one Aramaic word (*korsē'*), and other related expressions are surveyed here.

Chap. 5 undertakes an exegetical investigation of the "throne of God" passages of the Hebrew Bible. The throne of God mainly symbolizes his eternal kingship/kingdom, judgeship, and creatorship. Thus, it points to both sides of time, i.e., *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*. It also represents the authority of the One who calls and sends the prophets, functioning as the place of revelation. It is, as well, the insignia of God's victory over his enemies and of his absolute power. There are, in addition, many other implications. In sum, the throne of God stands for the totality of God's attributes and activities in sustaining the universe and in bringing about the salvation of his people.

Chap. 6 summarizes and synthesizes the results of the investigation. This chapter also compares the biblical "throne of God" motif and the extrabiblical "divine throne" motif. Many peculiar aspects of the "throne of God" motif in the Hebrew Bible attest to its own unique provenance.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beagley, Alan James. *The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies.* Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, vol. 50. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987. 207 pp. $51.25.

This book is a revision of Alan Beagley's Ph.D. dissertation (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), which was a reaction to the prevailing trend in Apocalypse scholarship to read the book of Revelation against the backdrop of violent persecution of Christians by Rome, presumably during the reign of Domitian. Instead, Beagley argues that the author's primary focus was judgments on the nation of Israel (or Judaism), and particularly upon the city of Jerusalem.

Chapter 1 surveys the Jewish experience of persecution prior to the time when the Apocalypse was written. Beagley argues that most of that suffering and martyrdom took place at the hands of fellow Jews rather than non-Jews. Antiochus Epiphanes' motives, for example, were political rather than religious. Nevertheless, his attempts to control Palestine resulted in a division between Jews allied to him ("innovators") and those who resisted ("traditionalists"). Beagley suggests that the time of the Apocalypse is analogous. It is the Christian Jews who are the innovators and are being persecuted by the traditionalists (non-Christian Jews), who, in this case, are the ones who have enlisted the help of the Empire.

The second chapter contains a survey of the passages in the Apocalypse that involve opponents of the Christian faith. Beagley points out that at the only point in the book where its message is relatively explicit, the seven letters, there are two references to "pseudo-Jews" (Rev 2:9; 3:9—whom he understands to be Jewish citizens of the Empire who do not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah) and none at all to the Imperial authorities. Therefore, the former are perceived as the greater danger. From that point on, Beagley sees Jewish enemies lurking behind every symbol. Rev 6 and 18 parallel the Synoptic Apocalypse, which highlights the fall of Jerusalem. The trumpets are based on OT judgments on the Jewish people. Chapter 11 concerns the fate of Jerusalem and its temple. The harlot and great city of chapters 17 and 18 are Jerusalem and Judaism (a view already promulgated by Josephine Ford), rather than Rome, which is symbolized by the seven-headed beast. Since there is little hard evidence for serious persecution of Christians by Rome in the first century, Beagley concludes that the author's main concern was the alliance between Judaism and Rome, with particular focus on Judaism.

Chapters 3 and 4 are subsidiary to Beagley's argument. In chapter 3 he shows convincingly that in the OT prophets Jerusalem is always condemned for its present condition and that hope is offered only for the future. In chapter 4 he observes that the earthly Jerusalem is generally viewed negatively in the NT as the representative of unbelieving Israel. The Christian's hope is in a heavenly Jerusalem (Gal 4:21-26). Since the visions of judgment in Revelation draw heavily from the OT prophetic denunciations of Jerusalem, Beagley concludes that the earthly Jerusalem and non-Christian Judaism are the primary enemies of the author of Revelation.

The heart of Beagley's case must stand or fall on the success of his argument in chapter 2. His case there has much to commend it. If it is true, as U. B. Müller has argued, that the seven letters provide a prose "envelope" to aid the reader in the acceptance and interpretation of the apocalyptic symbolism of the main part of the book, it is striking that there is no reference to Rome there. Instead, the church faces danger from "pseudo-Jews" and from enemies within (such as the Nicolaitans and "Jezebel"—Rev 2:6, 14-16, 20-23).

Beagley, however, undoubtedly overstates his case. For example, although it is true that some of the seven trumpets are based on judgments against ancient Israel and Judah, a stronger case could be made that they are primarily based on judgments on Egypt, Jericho, and Babylon—heathen powers that opposed OT Israel. And just as in the Synoptic Apocalypse the fall of Jerusalem becomes a paradigm for the end of the world, so in the seals (written after A.D. 70), the language of the Synoptic Apocalypse seems to serve more universal ends than merely a judgment on the city of Jerusalem.

I find the insights of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (see review in *AUSS* 26 [1988]: 161) more convincing. She argued that the main opponents in the letters are fellow Christians of a different stripe than John. It is possible that even the "pseudo-Jews" of 2:9 and 3:9 are to be understood as "counterfeit" Christians and should be classed with the Nicolaitans, the Jezebels, and other potential opposers of the message of the Apocalypse. As Hans LaRondelle has convincingly shown (see review in *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 373-376), the dividing line of concern in the NT is faith in Christ. The true Jew is the one who believes in Jesus. Jews who do not believe in Jesus are classed with the Gentiles (Acts 4:24-28; cf. Joel 2:32-3:15). Thus, it is less than certain that John would be particularly interested in singling out the Jews as special enemies of the church after A.D. 70.

Whether the main opponents in Revelation are non-Christian Jews or false Christians, however, Beagley has served us well in calling for a reevaluation of the evidence regarding these opponents. Future studies of the subject will have to take his arguments into account.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Geraty, Lawrence T., and Larry G. Herr, eds. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies.* Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. 716 pp. $49.95.

This collection of essays on biblical studies and archaeological work in Jordan and other parts of the Near East is dedicated as a *Festschrift* to Siegfried H. Horn, Professor Emeritus of Archaeology and History of Antiquity at Andrews University. The size of the volume and the great number of eminent scholars—a total of thirty-three, among whom are W. F. Albright, Crystal M. Bennett, Frank Moore Cross, Mitchell Dahood, William G. Dever, John S. Holladay, Jr., Ute Lux-Wagner, George E. Mendenhall, James A. Sauer, and William H. Shea—who have contributed to this book are only a small indication of the general respect in which Horn's scholarship is held. In a more limited way, the book touches on the impact Horn has had in inspiring young students to pursue advanced work in archaeology and in becoming involved in the fieldwork of the discipline.

There are twenty-eight essays in five groupings. The first essay, by Lawrence T. Geraty and Lloyd A. Willis, is a thumbnail sketch of the history of archaeology in Transjordan. As an historical outline of archaeological investigation in Transjordan, the essay is quite useful. However, its value is somewhat diminished by the fact that work done during the six years prior to publication is absent. In this respect, the first essay typifies much of the rest of the book. This is the most serious drawback of an otherwise excellent collection of essays. The notation in the preface that the book is nearly a decade overdue only calls attention to the greater contribution it would have made had it been published earlier. It is also unfortunate that a collection of such fine essays dedicated to a man of Siegfried Horn's stature should be beset with so many editorial and printing errors.

The five sections of the book are: (1) "Biblical Archaeology and Method," with five essays; (2) "Cities and Structures," with three essays; (3) "Cemeteries and Ceramics," with six essays; (4) "Inscriptions and Philology," with six essays; and (5) "History and Old Testament," with seven essays.

If a reaction were made to each essay, this review would be unnecessarily long. Consequently, only a few selected remarks will be made. In the section entitled "Biblical Archaeology and Method," Øystein LaBianca suggests that cultural development is the result of a society's exploitation of the environment. While recognizing the influence of historical and cultural factors, he sees the extra-cultural factors—the ways a society exploits the environment—as the core of cultural development. LaBianca later notes "that, except for the pig, all the other domestic animals present in ancient times are also found in the present-day village" (p. 173). However, his argument falters when it is recognized that the absence of the pig from the present-day village has very little to do with a close articulation

to the local environment. On the other hand, the absence is closely related to the philosophical/religious framework of the modern village. Thus, in this case, the modern village, which could be an ethnographic model for understanding the past, shows that the unique characterizing feature of the culture—the absence of the pig—is not related to the environment at all and must be called something other than "peripheral culture" (p. 176). A greater sensitivity to the real underlying cultural forces would not invalidate the essential soundness of LaBianca's ethnographic analogy model. His work has so far not addressed the interface between the ethnographic/environmental/zooarchaeological approach and the historical and cultural approach that sees philosophical/religious factors as fundamental components of a total cultural system. This methodological interface needs further exploration.

James A. Sauer writes on the "Umayyad Pottery from Sites in Jordan." He follows the traditional approach to pottery discussions. Date parameters are established, the selected sites are discussed, and then follows a description of the pottery by technique, ware, surface treatment, and form. The value of the article is obvious to anyone who has had to do any work with pottery from the Early Islamic period. For certain periods there is a lack of published material presented authoritatively and systematically. Sauer's article goes a long way toward filling an obvious gap in ceramic studies. Such an essay is quite appropriate in a *Festschrift* honoring Horn. One of the issues in the biblical archaeology debate has been a legitimate concern about responsible treatment of data from outside the biblical period. It is to the credit of Horn that he had the foresight to incorporate a multidisciplinary approach to archaeological field work in the 1960s. That strategy assured the proper treatment of all data.

The other essays are also informative and useful for the archaeologist, linguist, and biblical scholar. One of the strong points of the book is its diversity in scope, as indicated by the titles of the various sections listed above. There are some sections and articles that are less affected by the passage of time than others. This is particularly true in regard to articles that do not base their conclusions on dated material. The editors are to be congratulated for putting together the works of such a fine group of scholars to honor a man who has given so much to so many of us.

Andrews University J. BJØRNAR STORFJELL

Huehnergard, John. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, Harvard Semitic Studies 32 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). xvii + 371 pp. Paperback, $29.95.

Most Ugaritic writings available to modern scholarship are written in the cuneiform alphabet of Ugarit, which consists of 26 consonants and

four consonant-vowel combinations. Thus the pronunciation of stems and the morphology of noun declensions and verb conjugations are poorly represented in the spelling system. Important sources of information on vocalization are those documents in which Ugaritic is written in the syllabic cuneiform of Sumerian and Akkadian. This resource of Ugaritic vocalization has been exploited, but there has remained a need for a systematic treatment of syllabic Ugaritic—a need which Huehnergard seeks to fill.

Ugaritic Vocabulary begins with an introduction to the texts available and the work that has been done thus far. Huehnergard is a minimalist concerning the syllabic data which he will recognize as Ugaritic. To be recognized as Ugaritic a term must be in the fourth (Ugaritic) column of the polylingual lexicons, or be marked by a gloss sign, or be of a form or meaning foreign to Akkadian and/or characteristic of Northwest Semitic (= Ugaritic), or found in a location where a Ugaritic term is expected. Most proper nouns are excluded from the study because they often preserve foreign, archaic, and nonlocal characteristics.

Part 1 draws together the polylingual lexicons of Ugarit into a synoptic list. These lexicons consist of three to four columns of word equivalents in syllabic cuneiform: the first column is Sumerian, the second is Akkadian, the third is Hurrian, and on some tablets there is a fourth column of Ugaritic. Thus the lexicons are important for both Ugaritic vocalization and semantic range. Huehnergard orders the lexical entries according to the standard Sumerian sign list numbers (Sa Voc. No.). In Huehnergard's synoptic list there are seven columns: the Sa numbers, the four languages of the lexicons, the meaning, and the publication references for the tablets. This synopsis is not only useful for Ugaritic lexicography, but also for the study of Western Akkadian and Hurrian. A detailed commentary follows the synopsis, concentrating on implications for Ugaritic.

Part 2, the glossary, is the heart of the book. Here the Ugaritic terms found in syllabic cuneiform are listed alphabetically by root and discussed. This glossary is heavily dependent on the synoptic lexicon of Part 1, but also draws from other syllabic texts. The root is vocalized, and in the case of verbs the tense is discussed. The relevant syllabic transcriptions follow with references to source, and the Sa number is given if the root is found in the lexicons. The alphabetic spelling is then given, followed by commentary on the term.

Part 3 discusses implications for orthography and grammar. Chapter 1 compares syllabic and alphabetic spellings, chapter 2 notes phonological developments evidenced, and chapter 3 discusses the morphology of nouns and verbs.

Three indexes conclude the book. The first two list syllabic texts cited. The third index lists forms cited from Ugaritic, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, Arabic, Aramaic, Eblaite, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and South Arabian.

This book is an excellent and much-needed work in Ugaritic studies. Some points, however, are without full support. For instance, it is commonly taught that for the three alephs *a*, *i*, and *u*, the designated vowel may precede or follow the aleph. However, on page 268 Huehnergard states that for *a* and *u* the vowel always follows the aleph (with exceptions of course, pp. 279-280, n. 58), but that the *i* sign is used both for *ʾi* and for any vowel preceding the aleph (*aʾ*, *iʾ*, *uʾ*). The exceptions are precisely the problem, and Huehnergard's solution may not be regarded as final.

Huehnergard quietly ignores evidence of Canaanite shift in Ugaritic, and the question is not discussed in his orthography and phonology sections. A commonly cited example of Canaanite shift is *ʿolmatu* ("future") as the vocalization of *ʿlmt*. However, the syllabic term on which this vocalization is based is *ḫu-ul-ma-tum* (Sa numbers 198.8-9). The other three columns of the lexicon are badly damaged, making lexical identification of the term difficult. Huehnergard does point out, however, that *ḫ* rarely transcribes Ugaritic *ʿ*, though it may transcribe Ugaritic *ǵ* (pp. 98-99). Thus a different transcription and translation of *ḫulmatum* is proposed without bringing up the subject of Canaanite shift.

Another important example of Canaanite shift is *a-du-nu* (Jean Nougayrol, [ed. and trans.], "RS 19.139," line 2 in *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, ed. Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, Mission de Ras Shamra, vol. 12 [Paris, 1970], 6, pt. 1:109) which represents Ugaritic *adn* ("father" or "lord"). However, the syllabic form is part of a proper name, and thus is not considered by Huehnergard. In the lexicon the term occurs only as *a-da-nu*, the only syllabic transcription which Huehnergard recognizes (p. 104). Huehnergard is probably correct in not recognizing *a-du-nu* as representing standard Ugaritic, but the question remains: Where did the middle vowel come from? Does this name reflect the presence of Canaanite shift in one of the Northwest Semitic dialects of the surrounding area?

In the case of *ḫu-ul-ma-tum* and *ʿlmt*, and even in the glossary entry for *adn*, one might wish that Huehnergard had taken up these presumed examples of Canaanite shift in Ugaritic, if only to debunk them as examples of the shift. There is a great deal of speculation and many premature conclusions circulating in the study of Ugaritic. As this book ignores some prominent examples of these, the student and even the scholar may become confused. The reader will profit by investigating what is not mentioned as well as what is mentioned in this book.

Huehnergard's book is an important contribution to the study of Ugaritic phonology and lexicography. This systematic treatment of the subject will provide an important stimulus for further work in the field.

Madison, WI 53713 JAMES E. MILLER

Kaiser, Walter C. *Toward Rediscovering the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 219 pp. $17.95.

In the fourth of his "toward" volumes (OT theology, 1978; OT exegesis, 1981; OT ethics, 1983), Walter Kaiser tackles the significance of the OT for the Christian church. The solution to this issue, Kaiser rightly points out, affects all other areas of theology. The aim of the volume is to restore the OT to its proper place in the church and to help Christians find meaning, relevance, and direction from it.

The book is described as part of an emerging genre on the OT. However, although Kaiser tells his readers what it is not, what works it is similar to, and what issues he wishes to address, he never quite gets around to naming the genre. His concerns are historical, hermeneutical, and theological. Though academic and theoretical, the book attempts to be practical. The thesis is that the OT is relevant to today's issues, but only if Christians are aware of its contents. Inherited prejudice against the OT, and especially the law of God, must be removed and a balanced spiritual diet of both OT and NT maintained.

According to Kaiser, "The Christian Problem" is the OT, with two issues to be faced: (1) Is the OT authoritative for the Christian? and (2) How shall that authority be recognized? Concomitant with the latter is the problem of deciding the contents of that authority for today. Trying to deal with these issues, Kaiser addresses a series of questions from the OT. These are placed under the more general section topics of canon, criticism, OT theology, Christology, the plan of salvation, ethics, the OT as an object of proclamation, and the OT as scripture.

The specific questions discussed under each of the above topics are too numerous to be cited in full, so only a few will be discussed here. The Jamnia hypothesis is addressed within the section on the canon, but correctly viewed as not settling the issue. Instead, a case is presented for a "progressive formation and canonization" on the basis of the internal witness of the OT books themselves. As for criticism, Kaiser maintains that faith must be founded on fact, truth, and event. Adequate evidence (rational and historical) must exist to indicate that central events actually occurred. Scripture was meant to be read and understood, and methods of criticism used carefully, without acceptance of the philosophical presuppositions of Troeltsch, are acceptable.

In addition to the above, there are useful discussions on the amount of continuity and discontinuity between the OT and the NT, the personal and objective effectiveness of the OT sacrifices, the OT believers' experience of the Holy Spirit, the OT believers' hope of life beyond the grave, and methods for deriving principles from the specific commands of the law. Kaiser's solutions to these and other pertinent questions deserve careful consideration, even if one does not agree with all of his conclusions.

There are, however, at least three problem areas that need comment: (1) Kaiser links the land aspect of the covenant to Rom 11:26, 27 and concludes that the Jewish nation ("all Israel") will be restored to its land again. M. Kline ("Review of McComiskey," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 30 [1987]: 77-80) calls this position "halfway dispensationalism." For a more cogent approach to this problem, cf. C. Wright, *An Eye for an Eye: The Place of Old Testament Ethics Today* (Downers Grove, IL, 1983), pp. 88-102. On the various views concerning Israel in Rom 11, cf. C. M. Horne, "The Meaning of the Phrase 'And All Israel Will be Saved' (Rom 11:26)," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 21 (1978): 329-334. (2) Regarding the covenant, Kaiser appeals to T. McComiskey's *The Covenants of Promise* to divide Gen 17 into two separate covenants. This obscures the unity of the Abrahamic covenant (cf. Kline). (3) In sections dealing with the Messiah, Kaiser seems to attribute more exact knowledge to the OT prophets concerning final fulfillment than they probably had.

These problems aside, Kaiser has offered a very stimulating volume, one that deserves a large readership, both scholarly and lay alike.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 PAUL J. RAY, JR.

Mack, Burton L. *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988. xii + 432 pp. $29.95.

Burton Mack's *A Myth of Innocence* is intended to set a new trend within NT scholarship. In his study of the Gospel of Mark as a source for the understanding of early Christianity, he reads Mark not as a reflection of the life situation of Jesus but solely as a reflection of situations the community of Mark faced and experienced. Thus Mack speaks rather deprecatingly of previous attempts to understand the "novelty" of Christianity as being due to the appearance of Jesus. For Mack, the information needed for such an approach is unattainable to the historian because it lies "on the other side of limits set by the nature of the texts at the scholar's disposal" (p. 3).

Mack's introductory chapter sets forth his goal and purpose. He briefly rehearses the attempts of NT scholarship to account for the origins of Christianity, in terms of both the quest for the historical Jesus and the quest for the earliest Christology. Mack is dismayed by the seeming impossibility of achieving any sort of consensus. That problem, coupled with the "lateness" of the texts at hand (a point he greatly overemphasizes), leads Mack to the conclusions that an understanding of the life situation of Jesus is unattainable and that the texts of early Christianity, with Mark as the focus of his study, have to be understood solely on the basis of the

social circumstances of the community which generated the texts. Thus he is of the opinion that "Mark's story is most probably Mark's fiction" (p. 11), and that it is not so much an articulation of "how it was at the beginning, but [of] how it was or should be at the several junctures of social history through which a memory tradition traveled" (p. 16).

Part one of *A Myth of Innocence*, consisting of five chapters, is a minimalist reconstruction of the historical Jesus and the early "Jesus movements" (Jewish) and "Christ cults" (Hellenistic) that followed upon his ministry. Mack moves beyond form criticism by attaching the pieces of tradition not so much to a life situation as to a life community. Part two, containing three chapters, examines the parables, pronouncement stories, and miracle stories for what they might reveal of the social situation, not only of the earliest Christian communities, but especially, that of Mark as he created his gospel. These composite elements of Mark's gospel are in Mack's view not reflective of Jesus, but are a part of Mark's myth of origins. Part three, also three chapters, examines the passion narrative in similar fashion. The four chapters of part four discuss Mark's overall structure for social illuminations.

For Mack, Mark's myth of Jesus as the founder of a new movement comes in the context of "the synagogue reform movement." Mark has linked the Christ myth with the Jesus traditions and associates Jesus' death with his movement's rejection by the synagogue. He thus created an apocalyptic Jesus who in no way resembles the actual Jesus, who must have been something of a Cynic sage.

Since Mack is Professor of New Testament Studies at Claremont, it will come as no surprise that his work presupposes Markan priority and the existence of Q. This methodological assumption, which goes undefended, represents one of the book's most serious weaknesses. One wonders what sort of reconstruction of early Christianity would be developed if Matthew's gospel were taken as the origin of the Christian "myth." Furthermore, the fact that Q is a scholarly construct obviates much of what Mack says based on Q. Mack needs to take more seriously the ambiguity that exists within NT scholarship over the relationship among the Gospels.

Another shortcoming of Mack's treatment is his focus on the social setting of Mark as he wrote the gospel to the exclusion of that of Jesus. While it is certainly necessary to understand the historical, social, and cultural circumstances that generated the Gospel of Mark, it is more likely that these circumstances influenced the selection and telling of the stories rather than inspiring their creation. This means that Mack errs in his cavalier dismissal of the earliest *Sitz im Leben*, that of the life of Jesus. The gospels do not merely reflect the social situations of their respective authors, however influential those may be, but are rooted in Jesus himself.

Furthermore, it seems doubtful that the various form-critical categories can be isolated to individual movements. While there may well have been

collections of sayings, miracle stories, and the like, it is not reasonable to isolate them to particular groups. Mack recognizes the likelihood that there was "some overlapping of people, ideas, activities, and the production of texts," but still insists that "each memory tradition does stem from distinctive social experience and determined intellectual response localized somewhere" (p. 96). Mack's bias is evident at this point; for he denies any ability of the historian to reach the historical Jesus in the texts, but generates communities which should rightly be just as unreachable since they too "lie on the other side of limits set by the nature of the texts" (p. 3).

A Myth of Innocence is a tour de force. While not every scholar, particularly those of a conservative bent (this reviewer included), will hold to Mack's presuppositions and thus be able to accept all of his conclusions (as Mack himself is very well aware), none will be able to ignore this study, which makes an important contribution to research on Mark's Gospel and early Christian origins. Mack is particularly helpful for his ability to summarize and synthesize the results of a significant and large body of research on the Gospels and the origins of early Christianity. On the other hand, one may find Mack's "ruse" of addressing "any interested reader" hard to swallow, since his study is so densely packed with information that it would tend to give mental indigestion to anyone not firmly committed to NT studies.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 MATTHEW M. KENT

Nash, Ronald H. *Faith & Reason: Searching for a Rational Faith.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 295 pp. $17.95.

Faith & Reason is an introduction to Christian rational apologetics that may be used as a textbook in colleges and universities. Ronald Nash guides the reader through the complex argumentation and counter argumentation that apologetics necessarily involves. Old apologetical aspects of natural theology are brought into view in a clarity of style that is commendable, yet Nash defends theism within the Reformed tradition. His theism is broader than natural theology in that it includes the defense of Christ's historical resurrection. Nash defends theism over against atheism as expressed in contemporary naturalism.

The introduction sets a very important rule for the debate when Nash distinguishes between negative apologetics (playing defense) and positive apologetics (playing offense). Negative apologetics challenges "the view that Christian belief is irrational unless it is accompanied by supporting reasons or arguments" (p. 18). The "burden of proof" is on the side of the believer only in positive apologetics.

Part 1 further sets the stage for apologetics by rightly suggesting that the dispute between theism and naturalism is to be understood as a conflict

between two competing conceptual systems or worldviews. An introductory description of what a worldview is and criteria for choosing between conflicting worldviews are provided. Part 2 introduces the reader to an exercise in negative apologetics. Evidentialism's claim that belief in God is irrational because no conclusive evidence can be provided in favor of God's existence is analyzed and found groundless (chapter 5). Foundationalism's claim that "only beliefs that are evident to the senses, self-evident, or incorrigible may be properly basic" is criticized on the basis of Alvin Plantinga's arguments (chapter 6). And the contribution of natural theology for Reformed apologetics is briefly discussed in chapter 7. The rest of the book deals with the defense of two foundational tenets of Christian theism: (1) the existence of God (parts 3 and 4) and (2) the historical resurrection of Jesus Christ (part 5).

In comparison to traditional pre-Kantian theistic apologetics, Nash's approach appears to be less ambitious. For example, before being introduced to the polemics on the arguments for the existence of God, the reader is warned not to have an excessively "high standard" of proof (pp. 113-116). In other words, no single argument will decisively prove the existence of God. Sound argumentation will reach only a degree of "probability" (p. 115). Additionally, we are told that, since arguments are always person-relative, "it seems highly unlikely that there is such a proof for God's existence that will convince every one" (p. 110).

The contrast with pre-Kantian apologetics is clear, since arguments bear neither necessity nor universality; yet Nash's rational optimism leads him to see "nothing wrong with reaching a decision based on a cumulative argument" (p. 115) as used by any lawyer building up a courtroom case. That is precisely the way Nash builds up a case in favor of Reformed theism. It is difficult, however, to see how such an approach will convince naturalists that theism is "true" and naturalism is false. As Nash proceeds in his analysis of the various arguments regarding the existence of God, theodicy, and the resurrection of Christ, one gets the impression that by building his case through "cumulative evidence" he is claiming the victory of theism over naturalism. Explicitly, however, he never claims victory, but apparently regards his defense as adequate against naturalism's proof for the nonexistence of God. Nash, nevertheless, fails to explicitly recognize this fact, which in itself questions the relevancy of a rational positive apology that fails to achieve its goal.

On the other hand, in his closing statement Nash himself declares that "the argument of this book . . . is that such a faith [Christian theism] is a *rational* faith" (p. 285). That statement seems to suggest that Nash recognizes that the contribution of his book is to be seen in the area of negative apologetics; namely, in the claim that Christian theism is essentially rational in its main tenets. That much, I think, Nash is able to demonstrate as he draws from the rich heritage of Christian apologists, including, in particular, Augustine, Descartes, and Plantinga. Therefore, naturalists and

secularized persons are not consistently rational themselves if they dismiss theism as irrational only because it does not match the presuppositions of their own system.

The rational effectiveness of such an apology, however, does not appear so impressive when one realizes that the "rationality" of a system does not necessarily entail its "truth." Nash is aware of this fact when he correctly explains that "people have in the past behaved quite rationally with regard to beliefs that we know to be false" (p. 75). Additionally, naturalism is not shown to be either "irrational" or "false." Consequently, the issue regarding a rational basis for choosing between theism and naturalism as systems seems to reach a stalemate.

One wonders whether rational apologetics should argue for more than the rationality of theism as a system. An effective apologetics should include the "truth" dimension of the system. Nash fails at that point, yet his "comparison of ideological systems" approach to apologetics could prove to be fruitful if the issue of "truth" is integrated into that system. That would require Nash to develop his thinking from "faith and reason" to "faith and truth." According to this strategy, the opposite views to be considered must first be analyzed on the basis of their systematic presuppositions; second, be developed in their actual theoretical interpretation of reality as a whole; and, third, be compared regarding their "truth" on the basis of the verification of their theoretical claims on the meaning of reality with reality itself. Nash sets the stage for such a strategy in the first part of *Faith & Reason*, but fails to carry it to its ultimate consequence as it relates to the "truth" dimension of the controversy between systems. Such an approach would require not only a critical analysis of theism's presuppositions and components (including ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological structures), but also should include as "the opponent" more than just naturalism. Several different ideological systems that currently challenge not the rationality but the truthfulness of Christian theism should be considered. If followed, this approach could prove to be beneficial not only for apologetic purposes, but for a much needed self-criticism of theism as well.

Despite its deficiencies, Nash's book is helpful. Anyone interested in a clear introduction to the current state of rational apologetics in the Reformed tradition will benefit from Nash's *Faith & Reason*.

Andrews University FERNANDO L. CANALE

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

Clark H. Pinnock was a Calvinistic evangelical until about 1970. Since then he has been on a pilgrimage from "Augustine to Arminius"—

an experience shared in chapter one of *The Grace of God.* The following chapters (2-15) constitute a symposium of essays on determinism versus free will by such scholars as Fritz Guy, I. Howard Marshall, Terry L. Miethe, Jack W. Cottrell, Richard Rice, William L. Craig, John E. Sanders, C. Stephen Evans, Randall G. Basinger, William G. Macdonald, William J. Abraham, Grant R. Osborne, Jerry L. Walls, and Bruce Reichenbach.

While the book's title includes the phrase "A Case for Arminianism," the authors, generally, do not subscribe to a thoroughgoing, classical Arminianism. Craig suggests a Calvinist-Arminian rapprochement, Abraham encourages Calvinists and Arminians to borrow lavishly from each other, and Osborne prefers a modified Arminian theology that balances sovereignty and responsibility. However, each author begins his chapter by refuting the Calvinist/determinist position on a given issue before contending for one that is free will.

Central to the issue of determinism is the question of God's sovereignty. How can God be sovereign unless His will, His knowledge, His justice, His love, and His grace be absolute? But piling absolute upon absolute results in serious paradox if not outright contradiction. Hence, Cottrell and Basinger call for a modified, biblical understanding of God's sovereign will because deterministic/absolute sovereign will leads to fatalism. Reichenbach, moreover, argues for true human freedom and moral responsibility (humans are more than mere animals) by denying the necessitarian view of divine sovereignty and asserting that man has genuine freedom to accept or reject God's offer of grace.

Critical, also, to the issue of determinism is the question of God's character. Can God, through His foreknowledge, elect some of His creatures to be damned and still be loving and just?

One way to deal with the divine attributes is to make one of them absolute and condition the others accordingly. This seems to be what happens when Guy considers the love of God. A loving God, as defined in the life and teachings of Jesus, would not will any of His creatures to be damned. But a loving God, by the same token, would not force any to be saved if they choose otherwise. Universalism may be attractive, but it is not biblical.

In discussing God's grace, Marshall and Miethe argue for a universal or unlimited atonement because the alternative is election in the sense that God elects some to be deprived of His grace—a position contrary to the clear witness of scripture, in which God makes appeals for all mankind to repent and be saved. Walls seeks to show how Wesley's conditional view of predestination and a modified divine-command theory avoid the charge that God is immoral and unjust.

But if the character of God is the Achilles heel for Calvinistic determinism, God's foreknowledge is the Achilles heel for Arminianism. Arminius himself did not know quite how to deal with the dilemma. The

prophetic element in scripture requires divine foreknowledge, yet absolute foreknowledge does deny human freedom.

Craig finds the solution in Molina's doctrine of middle knowledge, which is enjoying a current resurgence, but which must be somewhat suspect because of, among other considerations, the convoluted logic it requires. Rice rejects Molina's thesis ("if God's creatures have genuine freedom, which possible world is actualized depends on their decisions as well as on God's") in favor of a doctrine of divine foreknowledge which is inclusive except for the content of future free decisions. Concerning prophecy, however, Rice allows for "exceptional" acts of divine intervention. But, one might ask, does this call for "exceptional" divine judgment for those whose freedom has thus been violated? My sympathies, however, are with Rice's view. Would it be too much to say that God has selective foreknowledge? By insisting upon absolute divine foreknowledge do we deny Him freedom of choice in His sphere while requiring it for ourselves in ours?

Sanders makes a critical point with respect to the whole issue of divine determinism. He contends that our reading of the text of scripture is governed by "control beliefs." These are preconceptions about God that we begin with but which do not originate in scripture. This point is critical and needs further development. It seems obvious that the theology of Calvin, Luther, and others was controlled by beliefs about God that had their origin in Greek philosophy. There is a fundamental correlation between the idea of immutability and God as the unmoved mover. God is the source of all motion, therefore He cannot move. Since He cannot move, He cannot change. Hence with God there is no before or after, only an eternal present. The problem with all of this is that it is not scriptural, nor is it logically consistent (Rice—it denies God's omniscience), nor is it acceptable, given our present knowledge of the universe. What is changeless about God is His character. God is love.

The book's strength is also its weakness. Having been written by a number of authors, the insights, perspectives, and perceptions are enriching and broadening. But, quite naturally, it lacks an internal consistency. The writers do not agree on all points. Moreover, in arguing their case they are limited to one chapter. But, given their task, there is probably far less risk in not saying enough than in saying too much.

The book is not, and does not intend to be, the last word on the subject. But it is an extremely interesting and helpful source for those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge on a very important issue for all serious Christian scholars, especially at a time when the swing is away from Calvinistic determinism.

Andrews University STEVEN P. VITRANO

Shea, William H. *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation.* Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol 1. Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1982. vi + 137 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *Symposium on Daniel.* Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986. xii + 557 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy.* Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol 3. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986. xii + 394 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

In this trilogy on Daniel and related topics, the historicist school of prophetic interpretation espoused by the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century receives a vigorous scholarly reaffirmation. At the same time, futurist and preterist systems of interpretation—popularized during the Counter-Reformation and currently dominating the scholarly understanding of Daniel—are challenged by meticulous exegetical, historical, and theological studies.

In the first volume, William Shea presents a series of selected studies pertaining to the historicist interpretation of Daniel. In succeeding chapters, Shea (1) examines some twenty-eight representative OT passages that parallel and illuminate the *rîḇ* (covenant lawsuit or investigative judgment) of Dan 7, (2) discusses in detail the problematic nature of interpretations identifying the little horn of Dan 8 with Antiochus IV, (3) provides some two dozen lines of biblical evidence for affirming the year-day principle within scripture (and particularly within Daniel), (4) shows how this principle was known and applied by Jewish interpreters from the second century B.C. through the post-Qumran period, (5) provides a literary analysis and exegesis of the judgment scene in Dan 7, and (6) suggests mathematical calculations based upon Parker and Dubberstein's *Babylonian Chronology* related to the fulfillment of Dan 8:14.

Volumes two and three are collections of scholarly papers presented to the Daniel and Revelation Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in sessions beginning in 1980. The *Symposium on Daniel* is composed of two sections: the first addressing questions of introduction related to the book of Daniel, and the second focusing upon exegesis of major passages in Dan 2 and 8. Volume three (*The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy*) continues the exegesis of Daniel with four studies on Dan 9, examines the cultic background of Daniel in Leviticus, and concludes with five general studies related to the fulfillment of prophecy and the theology of judgment.

Contributors to these symposia include an international array of Adventist biblical scholars (a number of whom are specialists in Daniel

studies): Niels-Erik Andreasen, Douglas Bennet, Ivan Blazen, Arthur Ferch, Gerhard Hasel, William Johnsson, Angel Rodríguez, Siegfried Schwantes, William Shea, Alberto Treiyer, and Pierre Winandy.

Rich insights abound in these three volumes. Fresh literary, historical, grammatical-syntactical, semasiological, and theological analyses of Daniel in its OT context have made significant advances beyond previous Adventist studies and provide a wealth of new data to be considered in the ongoing scholarly study of Daniel.

In volume one, this reviewer was impressed particularly by Shea's analysis of the broad spectrum of biblical parallels to the investigative judgment of Dan 7 (especially the divine *rîḇ* of Eze 1-11), and by the internal evidence adduced within Daniel (as well as the numerous external biblical and extrabiblical indicators) supporting the historicist year-day principle of prophetic interpretation.

The four studies in volume two dealing with technical questions of introduction in Daniel have carefully synthesized a significant amount of data favoring a sixth-century B.C. date for a unified book. Analyses of the chiastic structure of Dan 7 (Ferch) and the dual chiastic structure of the whole book (Shea) are especially illuminating. The five studies on Dan 8 provide insight into crucial issues in the chapter. Particularly noteworthy are the terminological studies on key words in Dan 8:14 (Schwantes and Andreasen), the detailed exegesis of Dan 8:9-14 (Hasel), and the analysis of the cultic language in this same passage (Rodríguez).

The four studies of Dan 9 in volume three are all worth reading, but the exegesis of Dan 9:24-27 (Shea) is outstanding for its insightful treatment of the passage. The studies on transfer of sin and the Day of Atonement (Rodríguez and Treiyer respectively, synopses of their doctoral dissertations) are penetrating treatments of the function of the Levitical cultus. And the general studies which conclude volume three are all helpful for their insights on the issues of the conditionality and multiple fulfillment of prophecy (Johnsson and Hasel), the theology of the investigative judgment in Dan 7 and biblical parallels (Shea), and the relationship of judgment and justification (Blazen).

There are some noticeable weaknesses in this trilogy on Daniel: (1) the organization of the books is problematic—a typical difficulty in volumes developed out of symposia; (2) a systematic treatment of the major portions of Daniel is not achieved; (3) a number of the studies overlap in the material covered; and (4) crucial portions of Daniel's prophecies are only lightly treated—most conspicuous by its absence is a major study on Dan 11.

A significant problem with these volumes seems to be the breadth of the target audience. According to the "Foreword" of volume 2, the books are commended to the average reader, pastor and layman alike, yet much of the discussion is too technical for laity or most pastors to follow.

Editorial synopses at the beginning of each subsection of the chapters are apparently an attempt to partially remedy this problem, but the interspersed synopses tend to disrupt the connected argument of the chapters for scholarly readers.

Certain exegetical issues have not been completely resolved by the committee. That is apparent in tensions between contributors in minor details. Note, for example, the disagreement over whether or not the little horn of Dan 8 engages in defiling activity (2:246-247, 409, 442-443). This limitation, which arises from multiple authorship, is unavoidable; and the editor is actually to be commended for his stand in not seeking "to harmonize the authors where they differed on minor points" (2:xii).

There are some exegetical conclusions that call for further study and reassessment. For example, the analysis of Dan 8:12 (2:418) does not canvass all the options regarding the translation of this verse, the identity of the host, and the ones committing the transgressions (see 2:416-418, in apparent tension with the argument of 2:441-443; cf. 2:516). In addition, some of the biblical evidence adduced in favor of the year-day principle in volume one may be strained (although the cumulative force of the various lines of evidence, especially those internal to Daniel, is difficult to dismiss). Again, the survey of biblical parallels to the *rîḇ* in Dan 7 needs to be expanded to include the divine *rîḇ* in passages without an explicit sanctuary setting.

Aside from minor limitations such as these, I have found the three volumes to be quite productive of new insights, fresh analyses, and provocative conclusions. This work of the Daniel and Revelation Committee and its contributors has provided the opportunity for the historicist position of prophetic interpretation to have a fair hearing in the current scholarly discussion. It is hoped that the forthcoming NT volumes planned by the Daniel and Revelation committee will be as rich as this trilogy on Daniel.

Andrews University RICHARD M. DAVIDSON

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

SEMINARY STUDIES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT, KENNETH A. STRAND
Editors

RAOUL DEDEREN, LAWRENCE T. GERATY, GERHARD F. HASEL,
ROBERT M. JOHNSTON, LEONA G. RUNNING
Associate Editors

GEORGE R. KNIGHT
Book Review Editor
(pro tempore)

MATTHEW M. KENT
Editorial Assistant

MATTHEW M. KENT
Circulation Manager

VOLUME 27 (1989)

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

INDEX TO VOLUME 27 (1989)

ARTICLES

DAVIDSON, RICHARD M. Theology of Sexuality in the Song of Songs: Return to Eden 1

LABIANCA, ØYSTEIN S. Intensification of the Food System in Central Transjordan during the Ammonite Period 169

MERCER, MARK K. Daniel 1:1 and Jehoiakim's Three Years of Servitude 179

SHEA, WILLIAM H. A Further Reading for the Hobab Inscription from Sinai 193

SHEA, WILLIAM H. The Inscribed Tablets from Tell Deir ᶜAlla: Part 1 21

SHEA, WILLIAM H. The Inscribed Tablets from Tell Deir ᶜAlla: Part 2 97

STEFANOVIC, ZDRAVKO. Thematic Links between the Historical and Prophetic Sections of Daniel 121

STRAND, KENNETH A. Luther's First Edition of the Pentateuch 39

STRAND, KENNETH A. The "Spotlight-on-Last-Events" Sections in the Book of Revelation 201

WINKLE, ROSS E. Another Look at the List of Tribes in Revelation 7 53

ARTICLE ABSTRACT

LOASBY, ROLAND E. "Har-Magedon" according to the Hebrew in the Setting of the Seven Last Plagues of Revelation 16 129

RESEARCH NOTE

LaRondelle, Hans K. The Etymology of *Har-Magedon* (Rev 16:16) 69

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Alomía, K. Merling. Lesser Gods of the Ancient Near East and Some Comparisons with Heavenly Beings of the Old Testament 133

Ashworth, Warren Sidney. Edward Alexander Sutherland and Seventh-day Adventist Educational Reform: The Denominational Years, 1890-1904 223

Espinosa, C. Enrique. Orthodoxy and Heresy in Hans Küng: An Analysis and Critique of His Criteria and Norms of Christian Truth and Error 225

Johnson, Edgar A. Aspects of the Remnant Concept in the Gospel of Matthew 134

Jones-Haldeman, Madelynn. The Function of Christ's Suffering in 1 Peter 2:21 226

Matthews, John V. G. Alexander Hegius (ca. 1433-98): His Life, Philosophy, and Pedagogy 227

Nam, Daegeuk. The "Throne of God" Motif in the Hebrew Bible 228

Rodor, Amin A. The Concept of the Poor in the Context of the Ecclesiology of Liberation Theology 135

BOOK REVIEWS

Beagley, Alan James. *The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* (Jon Paulien) 229

Beasley-Murray, George R. *John* (Jon Paulien) 75

Brownlee, William H. *Ezekiel 1-19* (Angel Manuel Rodriguez) 76

Burgess, Stanley M., Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander, eds. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (George R. Knight) 78

Carson, D. A., ed. *Biblical Interpretation & the Church: Text & Context* (Bruce Norman) 137

Carson, D. A., ed. *The Church in the Bible and the World* (Bruce Norman) 137

Cassidy, Richard J. *Society and Politics in Acts of the Apostles* (Angel Hernandez) 80

Craigie, Peter C. *The Old Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content* (Paul D. Duerksen) 82

DeMolen, Richard L. *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Kenneth A. Strand) 139

Doukhan, Jacques. *Daniel: The Vision of the End* (Douglas R. Clark) . . . 84

Elwell, Walter A., ed. *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Jon Paulien) 140

Geraty, Lawrence T., and Larry G. Herr, eds. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies* (J. Bjørnar Storfjell) 231

Grant, Robert M. *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Robert M. Johnston) 142

Gundry, Robert H. *Sōma in Biblical Theology: With Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (Atilio Dupertuis) 86

Hedrick, Charles W., and Robert Hodgson, Jr., eds. *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (Abraham Terian) 144

Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *Symposium on Daniel* (Richard M. Davidson) . . . 243

Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy* (Richard M. Davidson) 243

Huehnergard, John. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (James E. Miller) 232

Hunter, James Davison. *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (Russell L. Staples) 146

Hutchison, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (George R. Knight) 87

Kaiser, Walter C. *Toward Rediscovering the Old Testament* (Paul J. Ray, Jr.) 235

LaRondelle, Hans K. *Chariots of Salvation* (Kenneth L. Vine) 89

Mack, Burton L. *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Matthew M. Kent) 236

McGrath, Alister E. *The Mystery of the Cross* (Jon Paulien) 90

Michaels, J. Ramsey. *1 Peter* (Matthew M. Kent) 148

Nash, Ronald H. *Faith & Reason: Searching for a Rational Faith* (Fernando L. Canale) 238

Neusner, Jacob. *The Enchantments of Judaism: Rites of Transformation from Birth through Death* (Roger Brooks) 92

Numbers, Ronald L., and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (George R. Knight) 149

Pinnock, Clark H., ed. *The Grace of God, the Will of Man: A Case for Arminianism* (Steven P. Vitrano) 240

Poythress, Vern S. *Understanding Dispensationalists* (Hans K. LaRondelle) 151

Ross, Allen P. *Creation and Blessing: A Guide to the Study and Exposition of Genesis* (Jacques Doukhan) 153

Schwarz, Hans. *Responsible Faith: Christian Theology in the Light of 20th-Century Questions* (Hans K. LaRondelle) 155

Shea, William H. *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation* (Richard M. Davidson) 243

Sleeth, Ronald E. *God's Word and Our Words: Basic Homiletics* (Rob Sheppard) 157

Smedes, Lewis B., ed. *Ministry and the Miraculous: A Case Study at Fuller Theological Seminary* (Kenneth A. Strand) 158

Tabor, James D. *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in Its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts* (Herold Weiss) 159

BOOK NOTICES (George R. Knight) 163

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= *a*	ְ, ֱ	(vocal shewa)	= *e*		ֹ	= *o*				
ָ	= *ā*	ֶ, ֱ		= *ē*		וֹ	= *o*				
ֲ	= *a*	ִ		= *i*		וֹ	= *ō*				
ֶ	= *e*	ִי		= *î*		וּ	= *u*				
ֵ	= *ē*	ֹ		= *o*		וּ	= *ū*				

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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