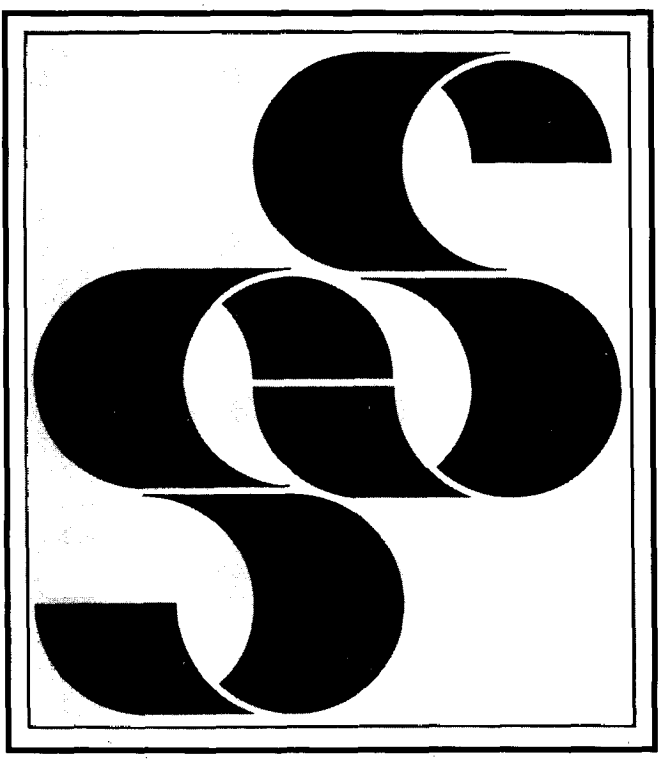
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 33 Autumn 1995 Number 2



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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

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A refereed journal, ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES provides a scholarly venue, within the context of biblical faith, for the presentation of research in the area of religious and biblical studies. *AUSS* publishes research articles and brief notes on the following topics: biblical archaeology and history of antiquity; Hebrew Bible; New Testament; church history of all periods; historical, biblical, and systematic theology; ethics; history of religions; and missions. Selected research articles on ministry and Christian education may also be included.

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 nor those of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring and the Autumn. The subscription rate for 1996 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$18.00	$21.00
Institutions (including Libraries)	24.00	27.00
Students	15.00	18.00
Retirees	15.00	18.00

(Price for Single Copy is $12.00 in U.S.A.; $14.00 Foreign (in U.S.A. funds.)

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.

Printing by Patterson Printing, Benton Harbor, Michigan

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY UNIVERSITY STUDIES

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The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Old Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Religion Index One; Periodicals; Religious and Theological Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttesta-mentliche Wissenschaft.*

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MR. *AUSS*

In this special issue, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* pays tribute to Kenneth A. Strand. Since Strand's retirement in 1994 we have surreptitiously been preparing this issue, not only to honor Strand, but because we want to savor once more his incurable delight at a surprise! With love and admiration we present these pages to Mr. *AUSS*!

Although *AUSS* was founded by the well-known archaeologist and professor of ancient history, Siegfried H. Horn, Strand's tenure as associate editor, coeditor, book-review editor, and editor-in-chief spans nearly three decades. Besides numerous book notices and introductory paragraphs here and there, Strand has contributed 39 articles and 72 book reviews to *AUSS*. Recently he spoke to me of some ideas for future articles. His massive scholarly contribution is delineated in the bibliography. Appropriately, Strand's biography has been drafted by historian George Knight, Strand's colleague in the Department of Church History and *AUSS* collaborator.

When we began to discuss the contents of this number, we wondered if we might center the articles on a theme. As we reviewed Strand's interests, we decided instead to bring in items representing some of his major pursuits. Unfortunately, there is not enough space to include them all. A glaring omission involves the Brethren of the Common Life.

John Baldwin's article on the *Heerpredigt* stands for Strand's interest in Luther studies, which he has taught to generations of students. Robert McIver explores the Sabbath in Matthew in honor of Strand's work on the Sabbath, in both history and theology. Nancy Vyhmeister's article on patronage in James relates to Strand's passion for biblical interpretation, as well as the Mediterranean world with which Strand is so familiar.

Two articles on the Apocalypse speak to the rich contribution to Revelation studies made by Strand over the years. Josephine Massingbaerde Ford writes as a colleague; Jon Paulien is a former student who now teaches courses Strand once taught.

The dissertations abstracted in this issue of *AUSS* represent Strand's years of service on the Ph.D.-Th.D. Committee. He either chaired the dissertation defenses or was a member of the doctoral committees of candidates whose dissertation work appears in this issue.

Given the broad scope of book reviews written by Strand through the years, we felt no need to limit the topics of books reviewed. Truly a Renaissance man, Strand was and is well-versed in all these areas and more.

KENNETH A. STRAND
appropriately framed in a woodcut from the title page of the
1524 Augsburg New Testament.

To Mr. *AUSS*: Thank you for the toil and sleepless nights, your patient teaching, the postcards from faraway places, the boxes of chocolates for no good reason at all, and the inspiration you have been to all of us at *AUSS* and the Seminary. May God bless your retirement years and make them fruitful!

Nancy J. Vyhmeister

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. A woodcut by Lucas Cranach in *Luther's September Bible.* Reproduced from Strand, *Woodcuts from the Earliest Lutheran and Emserian New Testaments,* p. 27.

KENNETH A. STRAND: EDITOR, AUTHOR, PASTOR, TEACHER, ADMINISTRATOR, AND FRIEND

GEORGE R. KNIGHT
Andrews University

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES has been indebted to many people over its thirty-three-year history, but no one has made a greater impact upon the journal than Dr. Kenneth A. Strand. Ken became an associate editor of *AUSS* under Siegfried Horn in 1967. Then in 1974 he became the sole editor of the journal for 14 years. Those years were followed by six years of coeditorship with George R. Knight (1988-1991) and Nancy J. Vyhmeister (1991-1994).

Ken's years of leadership of *AUSS* not only witnessed a consistently high quality of editing, but also saw several significant changes in the journal. Foremost among those changes were the publication of three issues per year rather than two and the modernizing of the cover design. For over a quarter of a century Ken dedicated a great part of his time to *AUSS*. One result is the respect in which the publication is held in scholarly circles.

Kenneth Strand was born into a Norwegian-speaking home in Tacoma, Washington, on September 18, 1927. At an early age he made a decision that would be primary in shaping the rest of his life. That decision—made in 1945, against the wishes of his father—was to join the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Ken's baptism meant several things. For one, it brought continued study into the theological implications of his new faith. Ken had been studying the Bible for two years before his baptism and had cleared up many questions on troublesome points (i.e., the 2300 days of Daniel 8, the nature of the millennium, and the ministry of Ellen White). But baptism was just the beginning of study for the young convert. The rest of his life would be spent in careful study of Scripture and topics related to the Bible. A prodigious reader who could get by on little sleep, Ken used his spare time to study. That stimulated a habit that became lifelong. While in his early years he claims he needed only four or five hours of sleep, in his adult years he often got by on less as his enthusiasm for study carried him from one field to another.

A second life-changing event that resulted from Ken's baptism was a change of professional goals. Until 1945 he had set his heart set on an

engineering career, but after his baptism, Ken's only goal was to become a Seventh-day Adventist minister.

His new professional goal determined a different type of educational institution from what he had anticipated. He opted for a Christian college even though some of his undergraduate work was taken at the University of Minnesota. After attending Walla Walla College in Washington state, Ken finally settled in at Emmanuel Missionary College (now Andrews University) in southwest Michigan.

At Emmanuel Missionary College, Ken developed an extracurricular skill that would further shape his future. He became editor of *The Student Movement*. He graduated from EMC in 1952 with a major in religion and minors in history and biology.

After graduation Ken was employed by the Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. He served as a pastor to congregations in Battle Creek, Monroe, Ann Arbor, and Kalamazoo from 1952 to 1959 and was ordained to the ministry in 1956. A man with a pastor's heart, Ken claims that he left a part of himself at each location. His pastoral concern would later show up in his teaching years as he routinely visited students in their dormitory rooms and apartments. Beyond that, he has spent countless hours in his office, at all hours of the day and night, working closely with students struggling with research projects.

As a pastor in the Michigan Conference, Ken had the rare fortune of working under an administrator who took the initiative in encouraging him to take up Ph.D. studies at the University of Michigan. George E. Hutches was a firm believer in an educated ministry. Thus he not only arranged for Ken's study program with the Michigan Conference administrative committee, but he also placed Ken in churches that were near the Ann Arbor university. Hutches was delighted that Ken accepted his offer. He later pointed out that as conference president, he had opened the way for graduate study for at least eight promising young men; Ken was the only one to accept the challenge.

Ken completed a master's degree in history at the University of Michigan in 1955 and a Ph.D. in the same department in 1958. His M.A. research dealt with the Council of Trent and his doctoral studies included work in the ancient Near East, Roman history, the Renaissance, and the Reformation. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the Low-German edition of the partial New Testament published by the Rostock Brethren of the Common Life. That translation is of particular interest because Martin Luther condemned it without having seen it. Had Luther seen it, Strand points out, he would have seen that a great deal of the text (and even some of the notes) was his own work.

Ken's career as an author would be profoundly affected by his doctoral dissertation. Ken was not only shaped by his research but also by some of his teachers. Among the most influential were Albert Hyma, a foremost authority on the Brethren of the Common Life and Ken's dissertation director, and George E. Mendenhall and George Cameron, established authorities in ancient Near East studies and the Mediterranean world. On the undergraduate level Ken had been shaped by his relationship to Edwin R. Thiele, an internationally recognized authority on the chronology of the Hebrew monarchy.

In 1959 Ken, with reluctance because of his sense of allegiance to the Michigan Conference but with the approval of Hutches, accepted a position teaching religion at Emmanuel Missionary College. The college at that time was just beginning to prepare for the transfer of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and the Graduate School of Potomac University to the Michigan campus as the denomination sought to establish a more adequate university with both undergraduate and graduate divisions. As a result, Emmanuel Missionary College was in desperate need of scholars holding doctoral degrees.

The move to Berrien Springs in 1959 was a key element in Ken's career. He would remain at the developing university until his retirement in 1994. Early in his thirty-five year tenure on the Andrews University faculty Ken taught in both the undergraduate and graduate divisions, but from the early 1960s onward his teaching time was devoted entirely to the graduate schools of the university. While his primary appointment was in the Department of Church History of the Theological Seminary, Ken also taught courses in the Seminary departments of New Testament, Old Testament, Theology and Christian Philosophy.

Beyond his editorial and teaching duties at Andrews, Ken held several administrative positions. They have included chairing the Church History Department and directing the M.A. program in religion. In addition, for many years Ken served as secretary of the Ph.D./Th.D. program in the Seminary, held key appointments in the Graduate school, and served as the Seminary advisor to the doctoral programs in the School of Education. In this school, his influence was especially strong in the area of Religious Education. Ken's input has also been felt in the many university committees on which he actively served for many years.

Besides his editorial, teaching, and administrative posts in his thirty-five years at Andrews, Ken has also somehow found time to write. He has authored some twenty-three books and edited another five. He has also published well over one hundred scholarly articles, book chapters, and reviews. His articles and reviews may be found in such journals as *New Testament Studies*, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, *Journal of Biblical*

Literature, Andrews University Seminary Studies, American Historical Review, Catholic Historical Review, Erasmus Yearbook, Renaissance News, and *Renaissance Quarterly.*

Not only has the quantity of Ken's academic output been prodigious, but its breadth has been equally impressive. Not one to take the easy road, Ken has established himself as an authority in many fields.

As might be expected, a primary field for Ken has been the area of Reformation studies. Twelve of the books he authored deal with early German Bibles. Collectively, these volumes provide a valued resource regarding the pre-Luther and Reformation periods. Several of the books reproduce pictures and woodcuts selected to show the artists' conceptions of religious themes of the period. Ken is one of very few scholars who have specialized in this field. Ken edited and authored another seven volumes on Reformation topics. One of those was a *Festschrift* in honor of Albert Hyma.

Another field of interest in Ken's publishing career is the book of Revelation. Three of his books and many of his articles are in this area. He is especially noted for his groundbreaking contributions to knowledge of the literary structure of Revelation.

Ken also authored a volume on the ancient Near East and three more on the Sabbath/Sunday controversy in the early church. Perhaps his most important scholarly contribution in the area of the history of the Sabbath was the editing of *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (1982). Meticulously researched by nineteen scholars under Ken's direction, this volume is the most comprehensive and scholarly history of the Sabbath ever published by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

In addition to his "official" duties as editor, scholar, pastor, author, teacher, and administrator, Ken is best known to many of us as a friend. He has a heart that has reached out to his colleagues and students in genuine compassion and caring. Like his Master, Ken has left a mark on our lives that has inspired us with faith, hope, confidence, and courage. His ministry of reconciliation has borne its own special fruit.

The work of Dr. Kenneth A. Strand at Andrews University between 1959 and 1994 has left a lasting impact not only on the people he came in contact with, Andrews University, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but also on the larger world of religious scholarship. He did not labor in vain.

What is Ken doing in retirement? Much the same as before. He still teaches courses in church history and the theology of the book of Revelation as an Andrews University Professor Emeritus of Church History. And he is still researching and writing and "pastoring" in his own quiet way. And as the journal's first editor-emeritus, Ken still has an active interest in AUSS.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, No. 2, 171-183
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Through 1994

Compiled by Nancy J. Vyhmeister and Jennifer Kharbteng

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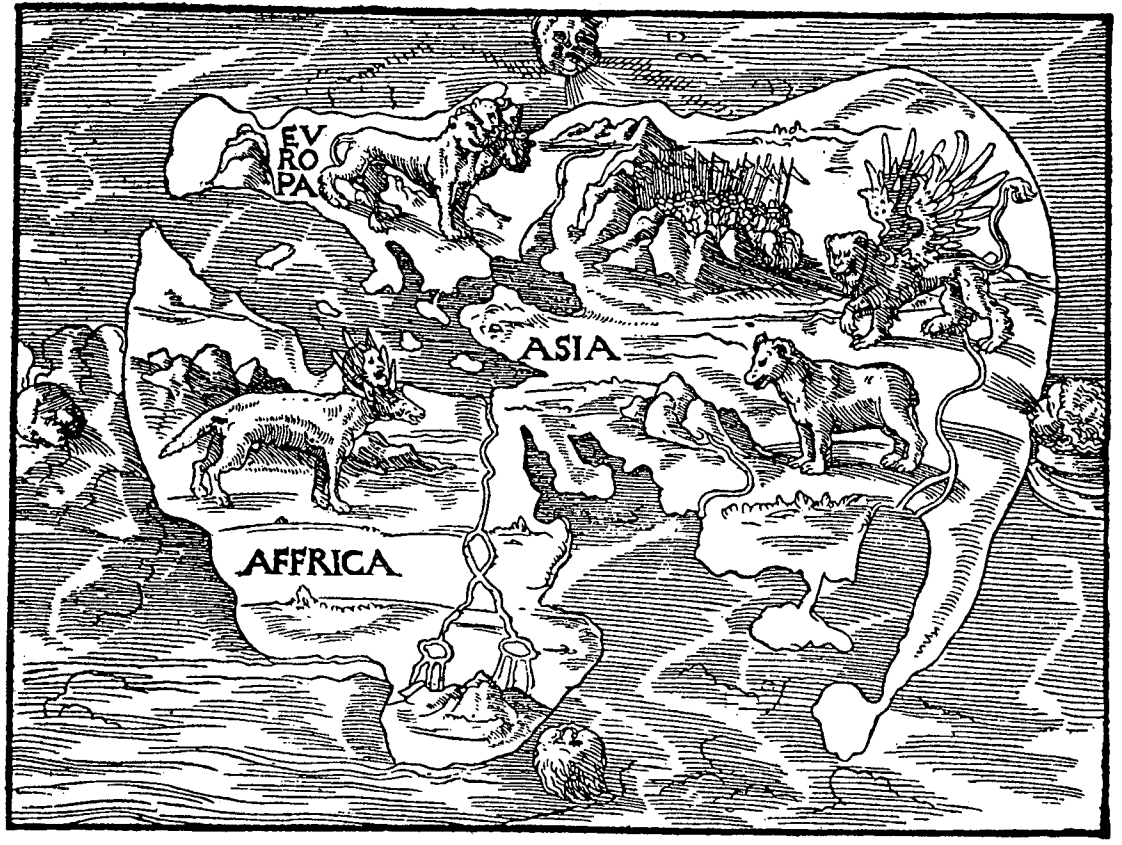

World map showing the beasts of Daniel 7. Woodcut by Hans Lufft, 1530.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, Vol. 33, No.2, 185-202
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LUTHER'S ESCHATOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF THE TURKISH THREAT IN *EINE HEERPREDIGT WIDER DEN TÜRKEN*

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Introduction

Although Martin Luther is deservedly well-known for his soteriological rediscoveries, Winfried Vogel cogently argues that his eschatological thinking warrants closer consideration than it is normally accorded because Luther's eschatological concerns permeate his theology.[1] The present study joins Vogel's efforts and those of other scholars currently mining this relationship.[2]

[1]Winfried Vogel, "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther, Part I: Luther's Basic Concepts," *AUSS* 24 (Autumn 1986): 249-264; ibid., "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther, Part II: Luther's Exposition of Daniel and Revelation," *AUSS* 25 (Summer 1987): 183-199. See Part I:249 for Vogel's thesis that Luther's theology was influenced by his eschatological concerns.

[2]For a sampling of these works (beginning with recent studies) see Jane Elizabeth Strohl, "Luther's Eschatology: The Last Times and the Last Things" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1991); Thomas A Dughi, "The Breath of Christ's Mouth: Apocalypse and Prophecy in Early Reformation Ideology" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1990); Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 64-74, 297; Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988); Johann Heinz, "The 'Summer That Will Never End': Luther's Longing for the 'Dear Last Day' in His Sermon on Luke 21 (1531)," *AUSS* 23 (Summer 1985): 181-186; Eric W. Gritsch, "The Cultural Context of Luther's Interpretation," *Interpretation* 37 (July 1983): 266-276; Pierre Buhler, *Kreuz und Eschatologies: eine Auseinandersetzung mit der politischen Theologie, im Anschluss an Luthers theologia crucis* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981); George W. Forell, "Justification and Eschatology in Luther's Thought," *Church History* 38 (June 1969): 164-174; John Richard Loeschen, "Eschatological Themes in Luther's Theology" (Thesis, Graduate Theological Union and the Pacific School of Religion, 1968); Ulrich Asendorf, *Eschatologie bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967).

Studies focusing largely upon Luther's views concerning the eschatological significance of the Turks include, among others, John Wolfgang Bohnstedt, *The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era* (Philadelphia: American

This essay complements Vogel's research in two ways. Both studies present introductory concepts relevant to an interpretation of Luther's eschatology. Where Vogel presents background material centering on seven "possible grounds for Luther's eschatological outlook,"[3] this study begins by discussing three interrelated components comprising Luther's theological and philosophical interpretation of history. Vogel's main investigation centers on Luther's eschatology as presented in the reformer's commentaries on the books of Daniel (1529) and Revelation (1529/30) while this piece focuses principally upon Luther's eschatological interpretation and evaluation of the serious Turkish military threat as stated largely in his untranslated hortatory treatise, *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken* (Army Sermon Against the Turks), (1529).[4]

The study proceeds in three steps. First, the piece highlights regulative principles shaping Luther's theological understanding of history, forming a setting within which to place his eschatological interpretation of the Turkish threat. Second, the paper briefly treats the historical context of the Turkish problem and Luther's developing theological attitude toward the Turks (1517-1529). Third, the study analyzes important details of Luther's eschatological interpretation of the Turks in the *Heerpredigt*, as found principally in the reformer's discussion of Daniel 7, and briefly reflects upon some theological consequences of Luther's eschatological interpretation.

Three Central Components of Luther's Theological Interpretation of History

In this short essay it is clearly not possible to deal fully with all components of Luther's theological interpretation of history. However, as a general introduction to his eschatological interpretation of the

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Philosophical Society, 1968); Harvey Buchanan, "Luther and the Turks 1519-1529," *ARG* 47 (1956): 145-160; Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-46* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521-1555* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); George W. Forell, "Luther and the War Against the Turks," *Church History* 14 (December 1945): 256-271; John Headly, "The Antichrist and the Last Times," in *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 224-265; Helmut Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg* (Munich: Albert Lempp, 1940).

[3]Vogel, Part I: 250. See pp. 251-264 for Vogel's seven basic components of Luther's eschatology: the existential component in Luther's eschatology, allegorical application of apocalyptic language and symbols, setting the time for Christ's return, end-time signs, the "beloved last day," the condition of the dead, and the Antichrist.

[4]The sermon is located in volume 30/2 of the Weimar Ausgabe edition of Luther's works (WA). The sermon itself will be cited as *Heerpredigt*. Because the 32-page *Heerpredigt* remains unpublished in English, the translations presented in this essay are those by the author.

Turkish phenomenon, it is helpful to note briefly the following three interrelated components of Luther's understanding of history, most of which represent his thinking at the time of the publication of the *Heerpredigt* in 1529: the God twice hidden in history, foreordination and providence, and God's universal sovereignty over the nations and history as affected by the principles of the two-kingdoms doctrine and the *Wunderleute Gottes* (God's miracle people).

God Twice Hidden in History

The doctrine of the hidden and revealed God is not only a major component, but also a regulative principle in Luther's understanding of history and nature.[5] In *The Bondage of the Will* (1525) Luther argues that in this life the Christian reads history with two sets of eyes by using the first two of the following three lights: "the light of nature, the light of grace and the light of glory."[6] On the one hand a person views history with the physical eyes, i.e., in the light of nature, but this does not reveal an active God. This is the first dimension of the hiddenness of God in this life. On the other hand, the believer must read the deeper invisible meaning of history with the eyes of faith in the light of grace in order to gain some understanding of God's actions in history: "By the light of nature, it is inexplicable that it should be just for the good to be afflicted and the bad to prosper; but the light of grace explains it."[7]

In addition, in *Lectures on Galatians* (1535) Luther laments that the first dimension of the hiddenness of God is acutely apparent in the presence and activity of God in nature:

> Now the whole creation is a face or mask of God. But here we need the wisdom that distinguishes God from His masks. The world does not have this wisdom. Therefore, it cannot distinguish God from His mask. . . . When a greedy man, who worships his belly, hears that "man does not live by bread alone, but by every Word that proceeds from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4) he eats the bread, but fails to see God in the bread; for he sees, admires, and adores only the masks.[8]

Thus, God's hidden, but active, presence is ubiquitous in nature, occasioning no end of wonder in Luther who marvels at the incredible

[5]For an insightful study of Luther's view of God hidden and revealed, see Heinrich Bornkamm, "The Hidden and the Revealed God," in *Luther's World of Thought*, trans. Martin H. Bertram (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1958), 55-74.

[6]Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, trans. J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston (London: James Clarke, 1957), 317. Hereinafter this work will be cited as *Bondage of the Will*.

[7]Ibid.

[8]LW 26:95.

blindness of the popular mind which refuses to perceive the miracle of God in physical reality. In commenting on Psalm 111:2 (1530—one year after the publication of the *Heerpredigt*) Luther discloses in the following delightful manner his own sense of awe concerning God's works:

> They [the masses] are used to them [the miracles of God in nature] and saturated with them like an old house with smoke. They use them and root around in them like a hog in a bag of feed. They say: "Oh, is that such a great thing that the sun shines, or fire warms, or water gives fish, or the earth yields grain, or a cow calves, or a woman bears children, or a hen lays eggs? That happens every day!" My dear Mr. Simpleton, is it a small thing just because it happens every day? . . . If a magician could make an eye that would live or that would be able to see one cubit, great God, he would be a lord on earth! . . .
>
> But it is a discouraging thing that men are so damnably ungrateful and blind. God showers upon them such great and rich miracles and they do not consider even one of them or thank Him for it. But if some clown shows up who can walk a tight rope or who has monkeys to display, him they admire, praise and exalt.[9]

This indicates that both in the natural world and in history God is hidden to the light of nature in this first dimension. One must remember that only in the light of grace can one pierce the mystifying events to an initial form of explanation of God's activities whose presence the events have masked.

Yet even in His revealedness in grace some of God's actions remain obscured in a depth of hiddenness which not even the light of grace can illumine, as Luther explains in *The Bondage of the Will*: "By the light of grace, it is inexplicable how God can damn him who by his own strength can do nothing but sin and become guilty."[10] Moreover, in the same work Luther instructs any person asking God for illumination on this point that "it is not lawful to ask; and though you should ask much, you would never find out; as Paul says in Rom. 11: 'Who art thou that repliest against God?' (Rom. 9:20)."[11] This is the second dimension of God's hiddenesses with respect to human understanding, in this life, of divine decisions and actions toward individuals in history.

However, Luther suggests that in the third light, the light of glory, the prima facie ontological contradiction revealed by the light of grace between the hidden and revealed God (e.g., that "He [God] does not will the death of a sinner—that is, in His Word; but He wills it by His

[9]LW 13:366-367.

[10]*Bondage of the Will*, 317.

[11]Ibid., 171.

inscrutable will,"[12]), will be shown to have been a noetic, not an ontic difficulty.[13] For example, according to Luther the light of glory will reveal the following truth about God's actions in earthly history: "The light of glory . . . will one day reveal God . . . whose justice is incomprehensible, as a God Whose justice is most righteous and evident."[14] These words imply that the believer needs two lights in this life and ultimately one celestial light to understand fully God's actions in history, thus suggesting that some of God's actions are twice hidden in history in this present life.

Luther's general point that God's actions are present yet hidden in history leads us to a second component in Luther's theology of history, namely to the concepts of foreordination and providence.

Foreordination and Providence

The complex notions of foreordination and providence are distinct but related doctrines which together form a kind of logical unit within Luther's theological understanding of history. Luther understands foreordination to refer to God's choice of this or that person to be saved and also to God's choice of this or that event, act, and so on. On the other hand, providence comprehends the effectual divine working out in history of that which has been foreordained. The following quotations characterize the nature of these related doctrines: "God foreknows and wills all things, not contingently, but necessarily and immutably;"[15] "For not even the leaf of a tree falls to the ground without the will of the Father;"[16] "All things take place according to God's election;"[17] and, "God is incessantly active in all His creatures, allowing none of them to keep holiday."[18] These lines illustrate Luther's view of God's ultimate orchestration of historical events and His constant activity in historical passage.

The need for the related doctrines of foreordination and providence in Luther's scheme of history including, of course, his convictions regarding eschatology, arises largely from his rejection of

[12]Ibid., 170.

[13]The author owes the mode of speaking about the tension in the divine nature in terms of noetic and ontic categories in Luther's theology to a study by Brian Gerrish entitled, "To the Unknown God," *JR* 53 (July 1973): 268.

[14]*Bondage of the Will*, 317.

[15]Ibid., 83-84.

[16]LW 25:373. Luther is commenting on Romans 8:28.

[17]LW 25:391. In this context Luther is commenting on Romans 9:17.

[18]Quoted in Ernest F. Winter, *Erasmus-Luther Discourse on Free Will* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 130.

natural moral synteresis. If sinful man is to participate in a divinely ordained history, God's foreordination and providence must be active because human beings are inherently turned away from God toward self, thus precluding their participation in divinely ordained historical objectives. For example, in *Lectures on Romans* Luther argues that the will of the natural individual without grace does not even weakly tend toward righteousness or God—it "lies dead"[19] and "is a nausea toward the good."[20] These statements provide the basis for Luther's powerful literary figure that the will is fatally "curved in upon itself"—*in curatus in se*.[21] Furthermore, Luther quotes John 6:44 in order to show the otiosity even of the external word of the gospel alone to move the will "unless the Father Himself speaks within, and teaches, and draws."[22] How does Luther apply these notions to God's activity concerning the believing and nonbelieving individual in history?

The application of these concepts to the cases of the elect seems to place the ultimate responsibility with God in the following sense:

> But now that God has taken my salvation out of the control of my own will [*arbitrio*, as contrasted with *voluntas*], and put it under the control of His, . . . I have the comfortable certainty that . . . no devils or opposition can break Him or pluck me from Him.[23]

These lines seem to suggest that Luther firmly believed that he was numbered among the elect on the individual level because of God's decision and control. But how is the foreordaining will of God applied in terms of divine intervention in history (providence) in the cases of the lost, for instance, in the famous case of Pharaoh? What is the modus operandi by which God supervenes in the secular mind to accomplish His will in history? We turn to Luther's responses to these questions in the discussion below.

While refuting a counterargument that God forces Pharaoh to sin, Luther articulates the method by which divinity guides the nonbeliever. Thus God did not harden the will of Pharaoh in a directly causal sense, but rather in an indirect, external sense by irritating Pharaoh's evil will from without, for example by the Word of God spoken by Moses to Pharaoh.[24] Because God finds an evil will in Pharaoh, He continues by

[19]LW 25:184.

[20]LW 25:299.

[21]LW 25:291.

[22]*Bondage of the Will*, 311.

[23]Ibid., 314.

[24]Ibid., 207.

"omnipotent action to move within him the evil will."[25] These divine actions show how Luther applies God's providence on the level of the individual in history. However, in what way do foreordination and providence extend, in a broader context, to the level of a nation and to the course of history in general, as for example, in the Turkish threat? This question leads to the final component of Luther's interpretation of history, namely, to the integrant of divine sovereignty in universal perspective as effected by the two-kingdoms doctrine and the *Wunderleute Gottes.*

God's Sovereignty Over the Nations and History Understood in Relation to the Two-Kingdoms Doctrine and the Wunderleute Gottes

In a discussion of Luther's concept of universal history and his eschatology in particular, it is important to note that Luther assumes with utter seriousness the presence of two warring cosmic forces which affect the day-to-day course of nations:

> God and Satan are personally engaged in this same conflict, the conflict between the Word of God and the traditions of men each laboring to destroy the works and to subvert the doctrines of the other, like two kings laying waste each other's kingdoms.[26]

This indicates that, for Luther, divine sovereignty with respect to universal history must be understood in light of an ongoing cosmic struggle between transcendent powers, namely God and Satan; otherwise, the human mind will not grasp the true meaning of historical events. However, within this framework how does God exercise successful sovereignty? The answer lies largely in Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms and the *Wunderleute Gottes*, to which we now turn.

As shown above, Luther argues that God effectuates universal sovereignty through two fundamental means, namely by the application of the principles of the two-kingdoms concept and by the activity of the *Wunderleute Gottes.* Luther develops the two-kingdoms doctrine in part one of his treatise entitled *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed* (1523), in which he divides "the children of Adam and all mankind into two classes, the first belonging to the kingdom of God, the second to the kingdom of the world."[27] The latter kingdoms, the divinely instituted secular authorities as credited by Luther in his *Large Catechism*, constitute "the hand, flues and agents through which God

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., 93.

[27]LW 45:88.

gives all [good] things [to us]."[28] Furthermore, in *Temporal Authority*, Luther indicates that the wielding of force by the government is permissible on the following basis:

> If this were not so [the rightful use of the sword or force by the government], men would devour one another, seeing that the whole world is evil and that among thousands there is scarcely a single true Christian. No one could support wife and child, feed himself, and serve God. The world would be reduced to chaos.[29]

As discussed below, Luther invokes the important distinction between the two kingdoms in his discussion of the Turkish threat. We turn now to the second principle by which Luther suggests God accomplishes his foreordination on the level of the course of nations.

In commenting on Psalm 101 (1534) Luther presents a most striking analysis of the nature and important historical role of the *Wunderleute Gottes* (God's miracle people). God fashions two kinds of individuals on earth: the common person and the outstanding individual. Human beings in the latter category are divinely tailored for a privileged purpose as follows:

> Some have a special star before God; these He teaches Himself and raises them up as He would have them. . . . For God, who puts it into their heart and stimulates their intelligence and courage, also puts it into their hands that it must come to pass and must be carried out; that was the case with Samson, David, Jehoiada, and others.[30]

According to this, Luther attributes genius (later illustrated particularly by military genius), heroic courage, and the like, not to natural endowment as such, but rather to the immediate creation of God. A closer connection between God and the course of history could hardly be imagined. For example, in discussing Psalm 101:1 the reformer addresses the linkage between God and history as follows:

> In Persia He [God] raised up King Cyrus; in Greece, the noblemen Themistocles and Alexander the Great; among the Romans, Augustus, Vespasian, and others. . . . Hannibal was . . . one created by God Himself to be a master of this art [military science].[31]

The list of miracle people could be easily multiplied. In fact, Luther traces the accomplishments of major figures from selected biblical characters to those in his own day. Luther presents an example of the

[28]WA 30/1:136, lines 8-9, my translation.

[29]LW 45:91.

[30]LW 13:154-155.

[31]LW 13:155-156.

latter category: "The sainted Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was created to be a wise prince, to rule and carry on his affairs in peace."[32]

Thus, through the instrumentality of divinely established earthly kingdoms and divinely ordained miracle-men leadership, God patiently works out the process and pattern of universal history. The following two quotations taken from Luther's comments on his beloved Psalm 118 (1529-30) and Psalm 127 (1527), respectively, are among his clearest concerning the meaning of history:

> Do you not see the gun being loaded? . . . And the bullet? . . . He shot the obstinate Jews with the Romans, the Romans with the Goths and the Wends, the Chaldeans with the Persians, and the Greeks with the Turks.[33]

> And even though they prevail for a while, to God this is barely a beginning. . . . Who permitted them to rise a little and then always knocked them over, one after the other.[34]

These two passages describe Luther's understanding of divine direction among the nations, and the termination of certain nations raises the issue of the possible end of history, or the overall problem of eschatology in the thinking of the reformer. This brief analysis of Luther's theology of history prepares the way for a discussion of Luther's eschatological evaluation of the Turkish threat to German national existence, to which we now turn.

Luther's Eschatological Appraisal of the Turks in Light Primarily of His Interpretation of Daniel Chapter Seven in Eine Heerpredight Wider den Türken

Having briefly noted some of the components of Luthers' theological interpretation of history, we now sketch the historical background to the Turkish peril in Luther's time and his developing thought concerning this problem.

The Turkish Problem

In the early years of the sixteenth century, Muslim forces overran the Balkans and Hungary with amazing ease, crushing nearly all resistance. By the autumn of 1529 Turkish detachments under General Suleiman the Magnificent were storming Vienna itself.[35] In view of this serious threat to German national existence, Luther was compelled to come to grips theologically with the Turkish issue early in his career.

[32]LW 13:157.

[33]LW 14:74.

[34]WA 15:370, see lines 15-27, as translated by Bornkamm, 60.

[35]For some historical details I am informed by Forell, "Luther and the War Against the Turks," 258, and Edwards, 97-114.

He felt it necessary to account theologically for the appearance of such a serious threat to the security of the German empire in light of his view, noted earlier, that God ordains all governments to a divinely appointed task. Thus, it was incumbent for Luther to articulate a proper German, Christian attitude and response to the invading Turkish army. Should the believer take up arms against the foreign invaders? As might be expected, Luther's thinking on the matter underwent moments of development over time.

Luther's Developing Attitude Toward the Turkish Threat (1517-1529)

As early as 1517, we find important initial indications of Luther's attitude toward the Turks. In the fifth of the ninety-five theses, Luther asserts a fundamental theological principle which he will use later without distinctions to argue against armed resistance to the Turks: "The pope neither desires nor is able to remit any penalties except those imposed by his own authority or that of the canons."[36] One implication of this thesis is that the pope's jurisdiction extends only over those penalties which are imposed on earth by earthly powers. However, as Luther later insists, the Turkish invasion is a divine penalty for sin rather than a papal penalty. Thus Luther concludes that the pope should not summon soldiers to violence against the Turks even in the name of a holy war, because this would constitute a serious circumvention of the will of God.[37] Luther makes this notion explicit in the lead thesis of the thirty-fourth article of "An Argument in Defense of All the Articles of Dr. Martin Luther Wrongly Condemned in the Roman Bull" (1521): "To make war against the Turks is nothing else than to strive against God, who is punishing our sins by means of the Turks."[38]

In an explanatory letter to Georg Spalatin dated December 21, 1518, Luther indicates why he took this position:

> I argued that no such war should be undertaken. I am still of the same opinion until I shall be refuted with better reasons. . . . Now that the clergy is sunk in the depths of avarice, ambition, and luxury, and now that the fate of the Church is everywhere most wretched, there is no hope for a successful war or victory. As far as

[36]LW 31:26.

[37]My attention was first drawn to this interpretation of Luther's fifth thesis by Buchanan, "Luther and the Turks 1519-1529," 145-146.

[38]*Works of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1930), 3:105.

> I can see, God fights against us: so first we must win Him over with tears, pure prayers, holy living, and pure faith.[39]

Here we find Luther's fundamental theological position regarding the method by which a Christian should resist the Turks, namely, by pure prayers, faith and holy living. However, with the alarming presence of Suleiman's forces at the very gates of Vienna, Luther began to make important distinctions in his theology concerning the response German Christians should make toward this military threat. These distinctions appear mainly in his well-known tract, *On War Against the Turks* (1529).

Whereas Luther had formerly resisted the war effort against the Turks, he comes to its defense theologically by evoking his regulative two-kingdoms doctrine. As noted earlier, Luther distinguishes two kinds of authority, namely the temporal authority of civil government and spiritual authority invested in the church which does not summon individuals to battle. Writing in *On War Against the Turks,* Luther implies that a clergyman in a leadership role on the battlefield is a frightful intermixing of the two realms:

> And, too, if I were a soldier and saw a priest's banner in the field, or a banner of the cross, even though it was a crucifix, I should run as though the devil were chasing me.[40]

Although Luther appeals to the famous two-kingdoms doctrine in support of his new hawkish attitude toward the Turks, in the last analysis the real justification for resistance against the enemy rests upon the notion that the divine punishing rod (the enemy) must first have clearly been removed from the hand of God:

> The first thing to be done is to smite the devil, his lord, and take the rod out of God's hand, so that the Turk may be found only, in his own strength, all by himself, without the devil's help and without God's hand.[41]

The rod can only be withdrawn from God's hand by the body of true Christians as in concert they return to true repentance, reform, and prayer.[42] Thus, the ultimate solution is spiritual in nature.

In a letter to Nicholas Hausmann at Zwickau dated October 26, 1529, Luther mentions his forthcoming treatise, the *Heerpredigt.* The tone of the letter shows that his developing attitude regarding the

[39]Martin Luther, *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters,* 2 vols., trans. Preserved Smith (Philadelphia Lutheran Publication Society, 1913), 1:141.

[40]LW 46:168. Robert C. Schultz informs us that the treatise was printed April 23, 1529 (LW 46:159).

[41]LW 46:170.

[42]LW 46:170ff.

Turkish struggle has become thoroughly eschatological in character, giving the conflict ultimate significance for the reformer:

> It [the Turkish war, which Luther views as a kind of divine wrath earned by Germany] will not be a jest, but the final wrath of God, in which the world will come to an end and Christ will come to destroy Gog and Magog and set free His own, for all the prophecies of Scripture are fulfilled, though we are sure that our humble prayers can avail somewhat against that Turk who will plague us Germans not this winter only but until the end of the world, as says Daniel vii.[43]

Similar sentiments are present in a letter written by Luther either in February or March of 1530 to Frederick, Duke of Saxony, on the occasion of the completion of the German translation of the book of Daniel: "The world runs and hastens so diligently to its end that it often occurs to me forcibly that the last day will break before we can completely turn the Holy Scripture into German."[44] These eschatological perspectives are an important aspect of the *Heerpredigt*, to which we now turn.

The Publication of the Heerpredigt

The publication of the *Heerpredigt* seems to have been sparked by two significant events subsequent to the Marburg Colloquy of October 1-3, 1529. First, while still in Eisenach, Luther and presumably the other members of his party met Friedrich Myconius who called their attention, apparently for the first time, to a commentary on the book of Daniel by a Franciscan monk named John Hilten, who had been imprisoned in Eisenach from 1477 to 1498.[45] Luther was fascinated with Hilten's application of Daniel chapters 7-9 to the Turks, because the monk had predicted the Turkish danger on the basis of these chapters.[46] Here was a possible Biblical solution to the grievous dilemma facing Christendom.

Second, while returning home from the Colloquy, Luther and his traveling party learned for the first time about the Turkish attack on Vienna.[47] George Forell appears to be quite correct when he states that "it was under the impact of this information [Hilten's commentary on Daniel] and of the siege of Vienna that he [Luther] decided to write

[43] *Luther's Correspondence*, 2:502-503.

[44] Ibid., 516.

[45] Headley, 245.

[46] Forell, 259.

[47] LW 49:240, note 3.

another book [*Heerpredigt*] dealing with the Turkish danger.[48] We turn now to a discussion of the key eschatological portion of the *Heerpredigt*.

Luther's Eschatological Interpretation of the Turks in the Heerpredigt

The key eschatological portion of the *Heerpredigt* focuses on the details of Daniel chapter seven. First, I shall briefly review the contents of the vision (this practice is also followed in the treatise) then present and analyze selected portions of Luther's interpretation of major elements of the vision.

In Dan 7:2-14 the prophet sees four beasts of prey, each of a different species, arise sequentially out of the sea. Thus, in turn, a lion with eagle's wings, a bear grasping three ribs in its mouth, a winged leopard with four heads and, finally a beast of unidentified species but of great ferocity, follow one another from the ocean. The fourth creature is not only equipped with iron teeth by which it devours all its enemies, the beast also sports no less than ten horns. The subsequent activity among the horns becomes the central focus of the vision. Soon a little horn pushes itself up among the ten horns uprooting three in the process. The little horn itself is a striking hermaphroditic entity, composed not only of horn material but also of human eyes and a blaspheming mouth. This odd horn battles against the saints on earth until the Ancient of Days comes and destroys it and sets up an everlasting kingdom given to the saints. Here the vision ends.

Luther begins his interpretation of this scenario by establishing what he understands to be the historical referent of some key apocalyptic symbols such as beast and horn. He quotes the biblical explanation given in Dan 7:17 in order to establish the general meaning of a beast in this prophetic context. The biblical text of the *Heerpredigt* reads: "These four great beasts are four kingdoms which will come upon the earth."[49] Luther explains the historical referent of the prophetic symbol of a horn as follows: "A horn signifies a kingdom in the Scriptures as Daniel himself says that the ten horns are ten kings which are a part of the fourth kingdom."[50] (In Dan 7:24 a divine interpreter equates the ten horns with ten kings.)

Having established these basic historicist ground rules of apocalyptic interpretation, Luther applies the principles to his own

[48]Forell, 259.

[49]WA 30/2:164, line 23. This quotation also illustrates Luther's principle of biblical interpretation, that Scripture is its own best interpreter. For a trenchant discussion of *scriptura sui ipsius interpres*, see Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Reason* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 149.

[50]WA 30/2:166, lines 24-25.

understanding of history in connection with Daniel 7 by connecting beasts, kingdoms and history together:

> This prophecy of Daniel can be harmoniously interpreted concerning every detail about the four following empires: The first is the Assyrian-Babylonian Empire, the next is the Medes and Persians, the third empire is that of Alexander the Great and the Greeks, the fourth is the Roman Empire which is the greatest, most powerful and cruel empire. Moreover, it is the last empire upon the earth as Daniel clearly points out when he states that after the fourth beast or empire then the Judgment follows and that there is to be no further empire except the Holy kingdom which is eternal, and so on.[51]

Neither in this quotation nor elsewhere in the *Heerpredigt* does Luther present as detailed an explanation of the four beasts as he offers a few months later in the introduction to his *Commentary on Daniel* (March 1530).[52] Here he adds that the two wings of the lion represent the two "parts" of the Assyrian-Babylonian Empire, and that the three ribs in the bear's mouth symbolize the three great leaders of the Persian Empire, namely, Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes I.[53]

Luther's main interest, however, centers on the meaning of the ten horns of the fourth beast and particularly on the significance of the activity of the little horn. He indicates that the ten horns are not successive empires, but that the horns belong to or form part of the fourth empire:

> The ten horns are ten kingdoms [*Kōnigreiche*] which belong to the fourth empire [*Kaisertum*]. . . . These same horns form the empire thus they are part of the Roman Empire since in its complete power it stands as, namely, Spain, France, Italy, Africa, Egypt, Syria, Asia, Greece, Germany and so on.[54] Such land the Roman Empire has obtained by means of great strength.[55]

This characterization harmonizes well with Luther's earlier paraphrase of the prophetic requirements of the fourth beast. In the paraphrase

[51]WA 30/2:166, lines 1-8.

[52]Like the *Heerpredigt*, Luther's *Commentary on Daniel* also apparently remains unpublished in English.

[53]WA, *Die deutsche Bible*, 11/2:10, lines 28-29; 11, line 29; 12, lines 1-3.

[54]Luther omits only one of the ten kingdoms in this list—*Anglia*—which is inserted into his *Commentary on Daniel*, WA 11/2:12, line 15 and note 3.

[55]WA 30/2:166, lines 24-29.

Luther asserts that the fourth beast "will be mightier than any realm and will devour and tread down any land."[56]

This is a necessary prelude in the *Heerpredigt* to Luther's enthusiastic exposition of the identity and activities of the little horn. First, he insists that the little horn cannot be one of the ten horns just identified, but that it must be active among the ten kingdoms as the prophecy specifies.[57] He takes his cue from history as to the identity of the little horn:

> The Romans have obtained such land [the ten kingdoms] of old, then the Muhammadan or Turk comes. Now Daniel says that after the ten horns arrive, then a little horn appears among the ten horns. It comes and proves to be the Turk.[58]

In order to support his interpretation that the little horn is the Turkish power, Luther points out that the little horn has not only arisen from a small beginning, but that "it also has grown up, disposed and captured three kingdoms of the Roman Empire, namely Egypt, Greece and Asia."[59] A second reason Luther offers in favor of identifying the Turks with the little horn is the fact that the Turks had possessed two of the ten horns, namely Egypt and Asia, in its power for a long time, but that only in his day had Greece been won by the Turks.[60] The implication is that the recent Turkish capture of Greece fulfills the specifications of the prophecy in terms of the number of horns to be deposed, and consequently points to the historical power signified by the conquering little horn—the Turks.

Next, Luther gives a helpful summary of the interpretation presented thus far in reference to the little horn:

> Just as we assuredly hold at this point that the same little horn is the Muhammadan and his kingdom, so we can now just as easily and clearly learn from Daniel how the Turk and the Muhammadan Kingdom should be interpreted. Furthermore, we can learn what the Turk means to God. First, he is certainly to be a mightier lord than the three horns in the Roman Empire, that is to say, it conquers and holds three of the best kingdoms, for example, Egypt, Greece and Asia and thereby is mightier than any king among the ten horns. This is the clear meaning of the text and turns out to be so in action, because no king which has been in the Roman Empire, for

[56]WA 30/2:165, lines 17-20.

[57]WA 30/2:166, lines 12, 25.

[58]WA 30/2:166, lines 29-32.

[59]WA 30/2:167, lines 5-7.

[60]WA 30/2:167, lines 7-10.

> example, the French Kingdom, Spain, *Welschland*,[61] and so on, is as powerful as the Turkish or Muhammadan Kingdom including those kingdoms which the Turk now possesses. Furthermore, there is no king except the Turk who sits practically in the center of the Roman Empire, yes, in the Roman Emperor's house at Constantinople. This is signified by the fact that the little horn is situated among the ten horns of the fourth beast.[62]

Luther pauses briefly in his interpretation to reflect on the significance of the human parts of this unique horn:

> The horn has human eyes, that is, he rules according to Muhammadan's Koran or law. In this law there is no divine eye, rather, in it there is only vain human reason without God's word or spirit.[63]

Thus the human eyes and mouth represent human notions as opposed to the divine revelations from God contained in the gospel and in other biblical teachings.

Finally, Luther brings out two significant eschatological implications of his interpretation. First, because "Daniel gives the Turks no more than three horns,"[64] which Luther has already identified as Egypt, Greece and Asia, the Germans can rejoice in the knowledge that "the Turks henceforth will conquer no more land of the Roman Empire."[65] Thus, Luther predicts that the German-speaking region will not fall to the Turks. An additional exegetical backing for this comforting conclusion is that a fifth world empire will not arise upon the earth, because Daniel had not seen a fifth beast.[66] If the Turks were to become an empire like Rome, "Daniel would become a liar, and that is not possible."[67]

The second implication is perhaps more significant. Because the vision predicts the destruction of the little horn, the current war against the now fully developed little horn seems to imply the possibility of the imminent end of history, as the *Heerpredigt* explains:

[61] *Welschland* may refer to a French-speaking district of Switzerland.

[62] WA 30/2:168, lines 3-14.

[63] WA 30/2:168, lines 15-17.

[64] WA 30/2:172, lines 2-3.

[65] WA 30/2:171, lines 25-27.

[66] WA 30/2:166, lines 13-17.

[67] WA 30/2:166, line 19.

> Christ has given a sign by which one can know when the Judgment Day is near. When the Turk will have an end, we can certainly predict that the Judgment day must be at the door.[68]

This is the major eschatological moment in the treatise, which was anticipated in Luther's letter to Nicholas Hausmann, October 26, 1529, quoted earlier.

Luther devotes the remaining portion of the *Heerpredigt* to further appeals to personal sacrifice in the struggle in terms, for example, of financial contributions and if necessary, of life itself.[69] We turn now to a brief discussion of the theological consequences and implications of the *Heerpredigt* concerning Luther's ongoing evaluation of the Turks, the significance of the Reformation, and finally the steadfastness of Luther's own theological posture.

Luther's Subsequent Attitude Toward the Turks

The question arises whether Luther retained his late mid-career (1529) eschatological convictions concerning the Turks to the end of his life.[70] According to my reading of the material to date, this question can be tentatively answered in the affirmative. However, Luther does broaden his basis for the expectation of the coming of the Lord. Five years before his death in 1546, Luther writes, in his *Appeal for Prayer Against the Turks* (1541), the following words about the proximity of the Day of Judgment, "That day [the Day of Judgment] cannot be far distant."[71] In addition, according to table conversations recorded by Heydenreich, Luther expresses a similar attitude one year later in the summer or fall of 1542 in the following manner, "I think the last day is not far away. My reason is that a last great effort is now being made to advance the gospel."[72] These and other sources which could be presented suggest that Luther held rather consistently throughout his career to his basic eschatological opinions developed in light of the Turkish threat.

Concluding Reflections

Among important theological implications which can be quarried from *Heerpredigt*, three merit special attention. First, based largely upon Luther's eschatological statements regarding the Turks presented in the

[68]WA 30/2:171, lines 18-21.

[69]E.g., WA 30/2: 175, lines 9-11; cf. Buchanan, 159.

[70]For a major study indicating that Luther's mid-career spans the years 1521-1530, see Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-career 1521-1573* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[71]LW 43:235.

[72]LW 54:427.

Heerpredigt and discussed in this study, one may conclude that at least during the latter portion of his mid-career (1529) the reformer held the eschatological position that the final cosmic struggle was unfolding before his eyes. In the *Heerpredigt* the following words, "Das is der klare Text und findet sich also im Werk," seem to be his refrain which he sings over each new step in his interpretation.[73] Thus, Luther's reading of contemporary events carried ultimate eschatological significance not only because it involved the violent conflict of a final battle, but, above all, because it promised the return of Christ to establish a kingdom of eternal peace.

Second, in light of Luther's views concerning the Turkish threat noted above, the Reformation may have been conceived not simply as one more historical step, albeit an important one, among other steps yet to come in a divine plan of theological reform. On the contrary, given the profound eschatological implications of the Turkish threat, Luther may have conceived the Reformation to be the final divinely ordained step of reform before the end of history. Such a view of the Reformation would, perhaps, confer upon the Reformation in the minds of its original human framer and his associates perhaps the greatest significance possible, and would clearly charge its message with the utmost sense of urgency.

Finally, such a self-understanding may help to explain one cause of Luther's theological intractability. Participation in a movement so conceived would have offered privileges and grave responsibilities. For example, a founder might be driven by the conviction that the original shape of the reform ideals must be preserved. Why? To admit the need of major theological revisions would tend to jeopardize the Reformation's claim to finality. If present in his thinking, this element may have helped to shape Luther's own adamant theological intractability. On principle the Reformation must not be theologically altered because it is God's complete, final reform movement, the headstone of the historical church of God, which is to usher in the Kingdom of Glory. Such theological implications indicate why Luther's *Heerpredigt* is indeed a rich mine not to be ignored.

[73]WA 30/2:168, lines 9-10. A free rendering of this line is as follows: "This is the clear meaning of the text which is confirmed by the process of history."

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, No. 2, 203-230
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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER: THE ANTICHRIST

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Introduction

No "construction of the other"[1] has called for more ingenious and unbridled imaginative resources than the construction of the Antichrist.[2] It is the purpose of this article to trace the trajectory of the Antichrist from the biblical and pseudepigraphic sources to somewhat beyond the Second Temple period. The focus will be on four aspects of this construction: (1) the Antichrist as external foe(s), (2) the mythic dimensions of the Antichrist, (3) the Antichrist as internal foe(s), and (4) the collective Antichrist. In the course of the paper, as occasion presents itself, we shall inquire concerning the sociological and anthropological implications behind such eagle flights of the imagination.

In spite of commentators' free use of the label, the term "Antichrist"[3] does not occur in the Apocalypse of John but only in the Epistles of John (1 John 2:18, 22; and 2 John 4:11). Therefore, in considering this figure, we must make use of other labels,[4] symbols, and

[1]This paper was presented in an earlier version to the Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Seminar at Notre Dame University during the autumn of 1993, when the topic under consideration was the "construction of the other."

[2]Literally the term means "contrary to the anointed one," although it can be used in a temporal as well as adversative sense. Cf. Isidore *Etymologiarum* 20.63r.

[3]Further research on the manuals of physiognomy indicates that, although the portrayal of the Antichrist is fictive, each feature is chosen carefully according to the cultural practices of dishonoring persons and describing their appearance to indicate their moral disposition. See my paper, "The Physical Appearance of the Antichrist," delivered at St. Andrew's University, Scotland, June 1994.

[4]For the most recent work on the Antichrist in the early centuries, see Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991). This has an excellent collection of texts accompanied by translations. The introduction summarizes major research on the Antichrist. W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* (reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1983); M. Friedländer, *Der Antichrist in den vorchristlichen jüdischen Quellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901); R. H. Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1919), li-lxxiii; and R. H. Charles, *Revelation*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956-1959), 2:76-87; W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the*

synonyms to reconstruct the portrait of so eminent a personage.

Neyrey and Malina see the process of labeling as providing "a social distancing device, . . . thus dividing social categories into polarities such as the good and the wicked."[5] They remark negative labeling as a "social act of retaliation," which challenges honor, signifies aggression, or constitutes a means of defense. Negative labeling can lead to lethal consequences. These scholars also see one of the phases of the process of labeling as "the actual processing of the deviant by the creation of a retrospective interpretation of the deviant's life."[6] This is certainly true of the Antichrist.

Historicization of the Concept of the Antichrist as External Foe

As regards the biblical text, I shall comment very briefly on 2 Thessalonians and then concentrate on Revelation 13. The discussion of 1 and 2 John is in the third section.

2 Thess 2:1-12: The "Lawless One" Introduced

This text,[7] earlier than the Johannine epistles, speaks of the coming of ὁ ἄνομος. This personage appears to be a human figure modeled on Antiochus Epiphanes (or possibly Caligula), who was seen as a type of the Antichrist.[8] He is the false prophet who usurps God's throne and who will be slain by a belligerent Jesus.[9] Although the biblical text does not use the term *antichristos,* the figure was soon interpreted in terms of the Antichrist (e.g., Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* 5.25.1; Tertullian *De*

Johannine Christology (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 47-55; J. Ernst, *Die eschatologischen Gegenspieler in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* Biblische Untersuchungen 3 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1967), x; W. C. Weinrich, " The Antichrist in the Early Church," *Concordia Theological Review* 49 (1985): 135-147.

[5]See B. J. Malina and J. H. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988), 37.

[6]Ibid., 81.

[7]See C. H.Giblin, *The Threat to Faith: An Exegetical and Theological Re-examination of 2 Thess 2* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967); W. Trilling, *Die zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher,* Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar 14 (Zurich: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1980), 81-105; R. Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); A. J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); Hans-Heinrich Schade, *Apokalyptische Christologie bei Paulus: Studien zum Zusammenhang von Christologie und Eschatologie in den Paulusbriefen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981).

[8]Compare, for example, Cyprian *Ad Fortunatum* 11; Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* Prologue; 2.8; 4.11.

[9]See Giblin, 89-95. This recurs frequently in patristic sources, e.g., Quodvultdeus *Dimidium temporis* 16.

resurrectione carnis 24.18-20; 2.45).[10]

Important features in the portrayal of the Lawless One are the following: (1) He is labeled "the Lawless One" and and the "Son of Perdition"; (2) he is arrogant to the point of blasphemy, even establishing himself in the temple of God; (3) at the present time he (or it) is restrained; (4) the mystery of lawlessness is already at work; (5) he is the agent of Satan; (6) he comes with power, signs, and miracles; (7) he is guilty of wicked deception; (8) those who follow him will perish; and (9) Danielic influence on the text is discernible.

Here, therefore, we have the basic "ingredients" of the Antichrist: arrogance, blasphemy (sacrilege), deception, and destruction. However, he is still on a human plane and the Thessalonian correspondent does not indulge in the rich imagery that we shall encounter later. The text shows affinity with the Person of the Lie in the Qumran material.[11]

The Mythic and Theriomorphic Dimension of the Antichrist
The Two Beasts and Dragon in the Apocalypse of John

In the Apocalypse we find another dimension to the Antichrist— the mythic, mysterious, profound. The two beasts in Rev 13 are frequently identified with the Antichrist and his allies in patristic sources. Examples of this identification are those of Tertullian, "the beast Antichrist with his false prophet may wage war on the Church of God" (*De resurrectione carnis* 25), and Augustine, who speaks of "four beasts, signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth of them overcome by a certain king who is recognized as the Antichrist" (*De civitate Dei* 20.23); (cf. Quodvultdeus *Liber Promissiorum* 2.24; *Dimidium temporis* 8). Jerome says that the fourth beast is Antiochus

[10]Cf. Aponius *Commentary on Canticle of Canticles* 12; Rufinus *Expositio in Symbolum apostolorum* 32; Augustine, *Epistula* 199; Quodvultdeus *Dimidium temporis* 9; Jerome *Commentary on Isaiah* 7.19; *Commentary on Daniel* 2.7; 4.11.

[11]H. Burgmann, "Der Josuafluch zur Zeit des Makkabäers Simon (143-134 v. Chr.)," *BZ* 19 (1975): 26-40. He argues that Simon was seen as the creature and tool of the devil and that we may suppose that the original historical picture of Simon later developed into the picture of the antimessiah and still later the antichrist. The Qumran texts suggest this, for they treat of four persons: the one who will come at the end time, the prophet, the worldly and spiritual messiah, and the man who will play the role of opponent to the creature of Belial (38). Simon is labeled the "Person of the Lie" (1QHab 2; CD 20,15), the Person of Mockery (CD 1.14), the Preacher of Vanity (CD 4.19), the Preacher of Lies (1QHab 9); CD 8.13=19.25f; cf. 1QHab 3, 12, 18: (39 cf p. 40). Compare also his article, "Der Gründer der Pharisäergenossenschaft der Makkabäer Simon," *JSJ* 9 (1978): 153-191, especially 165, where he suggests that the "whore" (4 Q 184 I) may be a nickname for the Person of the Lie, and 189-190, where he refers to Rosenstiehl's suggestion of a link with the physiognomic texts at Qumran (Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, "Le portrait de l'antichrist," in *Pseudépigraphes de l'ancien testament el manuscrits de la Mer Morte* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967], 45-60. Burgmann suggests that the antichrist may have been the creation of the Qumran community, with which I do not wholly agree.

Epiphanes but he is a type of the Antichrist (*Commentary on Daniel* 2.7).

The two beasts in Rev 13 may owe their origin to the great animals described in Job: the Leviathan or male sea monster (Job 41) and Behemoth the great female land monster (Job 40:15-24).[12] But in our text the influence of Daniel is much more obvious. Here we are faced with potent theriomorphic symbolism,[13] for the author draws upon the luxuriant tradition of the Ancient Near East with regard to mythic animals,[14] some of whom battle with Yahweh.[15]

The Dragon of Rev 12

The dragon of Rev 12 is not always identified with the Antichrist although he is his agent. He may, therefore, be given short shrift! Suffice it to say that he is the chaos dragon, identified with Satan and the serpent. He reflects Tiamat, in rage against the gods who produces monsters, vipers, dragons, lions, sphinxes, scorpions, and wild dogs.[16] Rev 12 does identify the dragon with Satan and the old serpent, and around him the author of the Apocalypse weaves the story behind Isa 14.

The dragon belongs to the genus of the "serpent." Serpents were awesome creatures. Aelian says that Egypt is "the mother of the very largest serpents [*δρακωντων*], 180 feet: they can kill elephants" (*De Natura Animalium* 2:21). The serpents of Phrygia are sixty feet long. In Mysia the serpents suck in whole birds by their breath: they also slaughter sheep and herdsmen.

However, the symbolic nature of the serpent is explained in the *Physiologus*,[17] a book on animal symbolism incorporating folklore as early as Herodotus and also Indian, Egyptian, and Hebrew legends which passed into the Greco-Roman culture. The author is unknown. The conjectured date is between 200 and the late fifth century A.D. This work was perpetuated in the bestiaries of the Middle Ages. Of the viper (*echidnes*) the author says:

[12]See also Job 3:8 (*θ*); 7:12; Ps 73:13f.

[13]Cf. the "Animal Apocalypse," *1 Enoch* 85-90.

[14]See P. Michel, *Tiere als Symbol und Ornament* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1979). Although this work is primarily concerned with the Middle Ages, it has some valuable insights into the use and meaning of animal symbolism.

[15]See N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987) and A. Y. Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 9 (Missoula: Scholars, 1976).

[16]P. Ricoeur, *Symbolism of Evil* (Boston: Beacon, 1969), 178.

[17]D. Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion*, Beiträge zu Klassichen Philologie 63 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1974); M. J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus* (Austin: University of Texas, 1979); R. Foerster, *Scriptores Physio-gnomonici Graeci et Latini*, vols. 1 and 2 (Lipsiae: B. G. Teubneri, 1893).

> . . . the viper's brood kills its father and mother, so this people [the Pharisees] which is without God kills its father, Jesus Christ, and its earthly mother, Jerusalem.[18]

So our dragon is probably to be identified with the serpent who was deemed the most demonic of all creatures in antiquity.[19] This creature opposed God at creation and will oppose God at the *eschaton*. The dragon personifies chaos versus harmony. He is frequently identified with Satan.

The Sea Beast of Rev 13

The sea beast is most frequently identified with the Antichrist. For example, Hippolytus avers:

> As Daniel says, "I considered the beast, and lo there were ten horns behind it" And under this was signified none other than Antichrist, who is also himself to raise the kingdom of the Jews. He says that three horns are plucked up by the root by him, viz., the three kings of Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he cuts off in the array of battle. And he, after gaining terrible power over all, being nevertheless a tyrant, shall stir up tribulation and persecution against men, exalting himself against them.[20]

In his study *Metaphors and Monsters*, Paul A. Porter sees the monsters in Dan 7 and 8 as metaphors with semantic "tension" or "interaction."

> Underlying this approach is the conviction that certain metaphorical expressions in Daniel 7 and 8 are semantically active. Just as new things may emerge in nature from hitherto ungrouped combinations of

[18]Curley, 16. However, the Latin bestiary of the twelfth century gives him a more severe critique. He is the biggest of all serpents, "in fact of all living things on earth." He is often carried up into the sky. His strength lies in his tail. He is immune to poison.The text continues: "The Devil, who is the most enormous of all reptiles, is like this dragon. He is often borne into the air from his den, and the air round him blazes, for the Devil in raising himself from the lower regions translates himself into an angel of light and misleads the foolish with false hopes of glory and worldly bliss. He is said to have a crest or crown because he is King of Pride, and his strength is not in his teeth but in his tail because he beguiles those whom he draws to him by deceit, their strength being destroyed. He lies hidden round the paths on which they saunter, because their way to heaven is encumbered by the knots of their sins, and he strangles them to death. For if anybody is ensnared by the toils of crime he dies, and no doubt he goes to Hell." The Latin text can be found in F. Unterkircher, *Bestiarium: die Texte der Handschrift Ms. Ashmole 1511 der Bodleian Library Oxford, Lateinisch-Deutsch.* Interpretationes et Codices 3 (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1986). The English translation is that of T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Dover, 1984), 166, 167.

[19]See *TDNT* under δράκων.

[20]Demonstratio de Christo et Antichristo 25; Gk text from Norelli; translation from ANF. See also 26-29 and compare Beatus *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 6.122; Primasius *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 4.13.

> elements, so tensive or interaction-type metaphorical expressions communicate new meaning by juxtaposing normally unjoined ideas or images.[21]

Similarly from his new creation the author of the Apocalypse introduces us to a new facet of the Antichrist. While the parallels between Daniel and Rev 13 are impressive, as appears in Beale's chart,[22] our author has considerably modified the material from Daniel.

The first monster emerges from the sea. As Schlier says:

> Es ist wohl das Meer der Welt, in das der Satan blickt und in dem er so, im Erkennen seiner selbst, sein Spiegelbild erzeugt. Das Meer is dabei der "Abgrund" (11, 7) des Kosmos, aber zugleich—denn das ist kein Widerspruch—das Meer im Westen, wo Rom liegt und von wo der Antichrist kommt . . . es ist das listige [cunning], plumpe [shapeless], alles verschlingende Imperium, die von bestialischen Instinkten beherrschte, in bestialischen Formen zutage tretende Weltmacht.[23]

Indeed, returning to Paul Porter, the nature of the beast is not merely a trespass against "kosher breeding,"[24] beasts who transgress boundaries are composite, malevolent beings,[25] genetic "mongrels." The cluster of metaphors has a deeper meaning. Porter traces the physical characteristics of the beasts in Dan 7 and 8 to Mesopotamian wisdom traditions. We may compare Rev 13:18 (ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν) and Rev 17:9. He suggests that Daniel draws upon omen texts and quotes Grayson to the effect that "prognostic texts make up the single largest category in Ashurbanipal's library."[26] He selects divination tablets from Mesopotamia dated from ca. 1600 to ca. 1000 B.C.).

The *Šumma izbu* interprets animal anomalies in the light of political events; e.g., "If an anomaly has two heads, but (only) one neck—the king will conquer wherever he turns."[27] Multiple-horned anomalies are described

[21]P. A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters,* Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series 20 (Lund: Gleerup, 1983), 4. Cf. P. Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1954), 101-122.

[22]G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 229-230, 232-233, 240-241, 242-243 (charts) and 229-248 for his commentary.

[23]H. Schlier, "Vom Antichrist-Zum 13. Kapitel der Offenbarung Johannes," in *Die Zeit der Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1956), 21; cf. 16-29.

[24]Cf. the prohibition against mixed species in Lev 19:19 and Mishnah *Kil.* 8:1. Josephus says, ". . . nature does not delight in the conjunction of things dissimilar" (*Antiquities* 4. 229).

[25]Cf. *Testament of Solomon* 12 (three-headed dragon), 15 (the female dragon with two heads), and the other angels who take the crude shape of hybrid animals.

[26]Porter, 15, 16; he refers to the mention of the "wise" in Dan 11 and 12.

[27]Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma izbu* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1970), 17.

in Tablet IX. Horns might betoken conquest of the enemy, expansion of the kingdom, or the enemy residing in the land. Porter sees the following parallels:

Daniel 7	*Šumma izbu*
v. 4 The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings. . . .	V 50 If a ewe gives birth to a lion, and it has the head of a *hūqu*-bird—the son of a widow will seize the throne.
v. 5 And behold, another beast, a second one, like a bear. . . .	V 107 If a ewe gives birth to a bear—a person with no right to the throne will seize it.
v. 6 After this I looked and lo, another, like a leopard. . . .	V 96 If a ewe gives birth to a leopard—a prince will seize universal kingship.
v. 13 I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man. . . .	V 51 If a ewe gives birth to a lion, and it has a human face. . . .
	XVIII 33 If a goat gives birth to a human, (var.), a cripple. . . .
	XX 24 If a mare gives birth to a human—the whole land will have a good fortune.

Both the dragon and the sea beast have ten horns and seven heads. The dragon has crowns on his heads; the sea beast wears crowns on his horns. Although I do not postulate direct influence of the Omen Oracles on Rev 13, yet this kind of symbolism is not alien to the Mediterranean culture. We have a belligerent and potent sign, an omen that the Antichrist will go conquering and to conquer. The beast is ominous in every sense of the word.[28]

However, the sea beast is even more complicated. It is like a panther, (παρδάλει)[29] with feet like a bear[30] and a mouth like a lion.[31] These are curious features for one who emerges from the sea. He can, therefore, be classed as a prodigy,[32] a sign that the *pax deorum* is disturbed or in danger

[28]For horns see also *T. Jos.* 19, Dan 7:8, and *Šumma izbu* 9.69-70.

[29]Aristotle notes: "They say too that the panther has learned that wild animals like her scent, and hunts them by concealing herself: they come near, and thus she catches even the deer" (*History of Animals* 8.612).

[30]Aristotle *History of Animals* 2.498: ". . . like those of a bear, for each has five toes, and each toe has three flexions and a smallish nail. The hind feet also have five toes, and flexions and nails similar to those of the front feet."

[31]Aristotle *History of Animals* 2.501a: "All blooded viviparous quadrupeds have teeth, but to begin with some have teeth in both jaws while others have not. . . . Furthermore, some of them are saw-toothed; e.g,. the lion, the leopard and the dog . . . (By "saw-toothed" is meant those animals whose sharp-pointed teeth interlock)."

[32]See Julius Obsequens *Prodigiorum Liber* and also Livy's frequent references to augury.

of being so.[33] He is a predatory beast; indeed, the author uses a cluster metaphor referring to the three most feared predatory animals—panther, bear, and lion—in order to suggest the character of the Antichrist.

We turn again to the *Physiologus* to attempt to discover the import of the symbolism of these three wild animals. Most translations render *pardalei* by "leopard" or "panther." However, as both the *Physiologus* and the *Bestiary* give the panther a positive appraisal, it is most likely that our author means the "hyena."[34] Hyenas are described as "viciously clever (*kakoethēs*) animals," who change their sex every year.[35] The *Physiologus* (38) avers that this makes the creature (called the "brute" in Latin) unclean. Aelian notes that a hyena can imitate the human voice to lure persons into its trap. He also says:

> The Hyena . . . can with a mere touch induce torpor. . . . The Hyena scoops out the earth beneath the head to such a depth as makes the head bend back into the hole, leaving the throat uppermost and exposed. Thereupon it fastens on to the animal, throttles it, and carries it off to its lair. . . . Having bewitched them [dogs], as sorceresses do, it then carries them off tongue-tied and thereafter puts them to such use as it pleases.[36]

The *Physiologus* sees the hyena as the symbol of double-minded, voluptuous, lecherous, and idolatrous persons.[37] These characteristics, as we will see below, are consonant with the character of the Antichrist.

Our beast is also supernaturally endowed, for he is intimately associated with the devil, the old serpent, who gives him "his power and his throne and great authority" (Rev 13:2). However, we have a third feature which is of vital importance, namely, mimetic rivalry. The beast, like Satan, demands the worship due only to God. Our author expatiates on the blasphemous behavior of the beast (vv 5-7). We note also the mortal wound which may suggest mimetic rivalry with Christ and his resurrection. Here we find the nucleus of the Satanic trinity.

[33]Porter also compares the Animal Apocalypse of *1 Enoch* 85-90 (Porter, 48-60).

[34]The word is παρδάλις which can mean leopard, panther, or hyena (Aelian *De natura animalium* 6.2). Cf. παρδαλέην ἠνεσθαν, of a shifty person (Eustathius *Commenta-ry on Iliad and Odyssey* 374.44). *Pardalis* is also a metaphor for savage persons (4 Macc 9:28).

[35]Aelian *De natura animalium* 7. 22; 1.25.

[36]Aelian *De natura animalium* 6.14; 7.25.

[37]Porter summarizes attempts to trace the origin of the beasts in Dan 7—Babylonian and Canaanite traditions, astrological symbols, Mesopotamian art forms, or the three most dangerous predatory animals known to Israel (Porter, 34-35; cf. Hubert Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des buches Daniel* (Bonn: Hamstein, 1932), 37. Wittstruck explains the lion, bear and panther against a background of treaty curses dealing with predatory animals (Thorne Wittstruck, "The Influence of Treaty Curse Imagery on the Beast Imagery of Daniel 7," *JBL* 94 (1978): 100-102).

Second Beast of Rev 13

The second beast of Rev 13 has two horns like a lamb (in contrast with the Lamb of Rev 5, who has seven horns) and speaks like a dragon. She is a land beast and no less important than the first beast. Hippolytus identifies her with the kingdom of the Antichrist:

> By the beast, then, coming up out of the earth, he means the kingdom of Antichrist; and by the two horns he means him and the false prophet after him. And in speaking of "the horns like a lamb," he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as a king. . . . "He exercised all the power of the first beast before him" signifies that, after the manner of the law of Augustus, by whom the empire of Rome was established, he too will rule and govern, sanctioning everything by it, and taking greater glory to himself . . . and he [Antichrist] then shall with knavish skill heal it, as it were, and restore it.[38]

This second beast may be the theric presentation of the false prophet predicted in Deut 13. Later she will take her place as the false spirit in the satanic trinity. She leads the people astray with signs and wonders to practice idolatry. As the Spirit was breathed into Adam and into the bones in Ezekiel's vision, so this false spirit breathes life into the image of the first beast.[39] She is the false paraclete, who gives a "character" to her initiants.

John implies that she mimics the Lamb. He *may* perhaps have in mind the tradition of the Bokkhoris Lamb from Egypt, a prophetic lamb that appeared in the reign of King Bokkhoris (718-712 B.C.). Porter (23) makes the following parallel:

Aelian *De natura animalium*	*Šumma izbu*
12.3. The Egyptians assert (though they are far from convincing me), they assert, I say, that in the days of the far-famed Bocchoris *a Lamb was born with eight feet and two tails*, and that it spoke.	8.84. If an anomaly has two *heads*, four shoulders, two tails (and) eight *feet*—one throne will overthrow the other.

In summation we may say that various background factors converge to form this construction of the Antichrist. Among them we have sketched the following: (1) the sea monster, Tiamat or Yamm, who was demythologized to depict a political power[40] and other hybrid beasts; (2)

[38]Hippolytus *De Antichristo* 49.2.

[39]Note that the *Physiologus* 1 and the bestiaries state that the lion gives birth to dead babies but after three days she breathes life into them.

[40]See Bousset, *Der Antichrist*; also A.E. Brooke, *Johannine Epistles*, ICC, 69-70; also T. Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 104-108.

Satan or the Angelic Adversary;[41] (3) a human ruler embodying evil; and (4) the false prophet (Deut 13:2-6 and 18:20).[42]

Bios/Vita of the Antichrist

I shall find it most convenient to use material from the Pseudepigrapha and the early patristic works in my summary of the Bios or Vita of the Antichrist. No one pens a biography[43] of an insignificant personage and hence it is from the Bios of the Antichrist that we learn how his persona is construed, both in literature[44] and in art. It is comparatively easy to draw up a Bios of the Antichrist. Treatises on the Antichrist include those of Hippolytus (Περὶ χριστοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀντίχριστου)[45] and Adso (*De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi* and *Pseudo Alcuin*).[46] The most detailed construction of the Vita of the Antichrist is in Adso.

Origin and birth

The ancestry of the Antichrist was of great interest to early Christians. His forerunners included Lamech, Nimrod, Balaam, Achan, Goliath, and Judas.[47] He was of Jewish parentage from the tribe of Dan,[48] which is not listed among the twelve in Rev 7.[49]

[41]Compare *1 Enoch* 6-16, where Azazel is bound in a pit until final times, to be released in the final struggle. Cf. 1 QM 1.1-2; *Sib. Or.* 3. 63-74.

[42]Note the eschatological false prophet in *Didachē* 16.3-4. *SibOr* 3:63-74 describes Beliar performing signs and wonders.

[43]Malina and Neyrey remark how constructing a *Vita* can be part of the negative labeling process (Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* [Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988], 81).

[44]Much of which must have been in oral form originally. On this point, see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend* (London: Hutchinson, 1896), 30-31.

[45]I use E. Norelli, *L'Antichristo*, Biblioteca Patristica 10 (Florence: Nardini, 1987).

[46]Adso Verdensis, *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976); this book includes *Pseudo Alcuin.*

[47]See the table in Richard Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 32.

[48]". . . from the bottomless impiety of the Jewish people" (*Pseudo Alcuin* 1.148); see Gen 49:10-17; Deut 33:22; Jer 8:16; Isa 25:6-8. Hippolytus notes: ". . . and in naming the tribe of Dan, he declared clearly the tribe from which Antichrist is destined to spring. For as Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan and that the case stands thus we see from the words of Jacob: 'Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse's heel.'" Hippolytus also quotes Jer 8:16, the whole earth trembling at the sound of the cavalry of Dan (cf. Rev 9:7-21) (*Antichrist* 14). Cf. Ambrose *De Patriarchis* 7.32-34; Rufinus, *De Benedictionibus patriarcharum* 2.16; Augustine *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum* 6. 22; Quodvultdeus *Dimidium temporis* 9; Adso, 20-24.

[49]Irenaeus *Adversus haereses* 5.30. See A. Geyser, "The Twelve Tribes in Revelation: Judean and Judeo-Christian Apocalyptism," *NTS* (1982): 388-399; and R. Bergmeier, "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt," *ZNW* 75 (1984): 86-106.

Conception

Two main traditions concern the conception of the Antichrist: (a) he was to be born naturally from human parents and (b) he was to be engendered by an evil spirit and a whore. The *Apocalypse of Daniel*[50] devotes considerable detail to this point. It claims that the Antichrist will come from Hades and enter a "small garidion[51] fish." This fish is conveniently purchased by a virgin who, upon ingesting it, becomes pregnant with the Antichrist. Her names are Injustice and Perdition. The Antichrist is born prematurely, after only three months of gestation. He is suckled for four months.[52]

Adso states that he will be born of human parents, not from a virgin. Further, he will be conceived and born in sin.

> At the very moment of conception the devil will enter into the womb of his mother and will nourish the fetus. As the Holy Spirit overshadowed Mary and filled her with divinity so that the child born from her was divine, the devil will descend on the mother of the Antichrist and fill her completely, possess her inwardly and outwardly and with the help of the devil she will conceive through a male and what is born will be the epitomy of evil. So this man is called the "Man of Iniquity," for he will lead astray the whole human race. Finally he himself will be annihilated (25-26).

Signs of the Coming of the Antichrist

Increasing moral decadence, general disasters, wars, plague, and famine will precede the Antichrist's birth. Some traditions anticipate Gog and Magog before his appearance. In other texts he comes with the Goths or with the ten lost tribes (*Sib. Or.* 2.713). These armies are terrible in mien but they are not the armies of the Antichrist himself; rather they portend his coming. One certain sign is the fall of the Roman Empire (cf. 2 Thess 2:6 and Lactantius 7, 15; cf. Jerome *Commentary on Jeremiah* 5). Nations will break away from Rome.

Astrological wonders, with the darkening of the sun and moon, will not be absent (Jerome *Commentary on Isaiah* 6.13).

[50]Usually dated in the 8th or 9th century, but Zervos argues that the material on the Antichrist may belong to an earlier stratum because of the parallels to earlier works, e.g., *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *4 Esdras*.

[51]Or *gauridion* which is interesting as *gauroomai* means "to be arrogant." I have searched Oppian's *Halieutica*, but have found no reference to this particular species. I have been told, however, that this fish was used by Jewish persons for soup. If this is so it constitutes a libelous anti-Semitic fiction.

[52]*Apocalypse of Daniel* 9. Children were often breast-fed until the age of three, thus the Antichrist is presented as a precocious child.

Place of birth

His natal locality is named as Babylon (Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 4.11.100-104) or Chorizin. He is reared in Bethsaida and rules in Capernaum (cf. Lk 10:13, 15). Adso also says that he is born in Babylon, the root of all evil, a city once glorious and famous, the capital of the Persian kingdom. He will be brought up in Bethsaida and Chorazim, the cities over which the Lord proclaimed, "woe!"[53]

Physical Appearance

There are numerous descriptions of the physical appearance of the Antichrist. I quote three below.

Gk Apocalypse of John (parallel to *Apoc. of Ezra* 4:29-32)

The appearance of his face is gloomy; the hairs of his hands are sharp as missiles, his eyebrows like those of a wild man, his right eye like the star which rises at dawn and the other like that of a lion; his mouth (is as wide) as one cubit, his feet a span long, his fingers like scythes; the soles of his feet (are) two span; and on his forehead (is) an inscription: "Antichrist." He will be exalted up to heaven, he will descend as far as Hades, performing false apparitions. (*OTP* 1: 568)

Apoc. of Daniel 9:16-27

And he will appear quiet and gentle [*prao-phyles* (B) and *praophaleis* (M); Berger corrects to *prosphiles*] and guileless [M further describes the Antichrist as "downcast" and "prosecuting transgressions"]. The height of his stature (will be) fifteen feet [lit. "ten cubits" of about eight-een inches each]. And the hairs of his head (will reach) as far as his feet. And he (will be) large and three-crested [τρικορυθος; M: "topped with hair"]. And the track of his feet (will be) large. His eyes (will be) like the star which rises in the morning, and his right (eye will be) like a lion's. His lower teeth (will be) iron and his lower jaw diamond. And his right arm (will be) iron and his left copper. And his right hand (will be) four and a

Apocalypse of John 9

The appearance of his face will be gloomy (ζοφωδες), the hair of his head will be as sharp as weapons, his eyebrows like a savage man. His right eye will be like the morning star and the other one like a lion's, his mouth will be about one cubit, his teeth a span long, his fingers will be like scythes, the track of his feet two span, and on his forehead is written Antichrist.

[53]Adso, 45-51; cf. *Apocalypse of Daniel* 7.

> half feet (long). (He will be) long-faced, long-nosed, and disorderly. And he also has upon his forehead the letters: A,K,T. And the A signifies: "I deny," the K: "And I completely reject," the T: "The befouled dragon." And the Antichrist will be teaching and being Taught." (*OTP* 1:767-168)

Pertinent to this description I append some quotations from Aristotle's *Physiognomonika* to show that the features cannot be taken at face value but rather are indicative of personal characteristics. To the description of Antichrist's complexion as gloomy we may contrast Aristotle's statement that "a pink-and-white complexion proves a good disposition, when it occurs on a smooth skin" (2.806b). The reference to the hirsute features is important. Aristotle says: "Those with a hairy back are excessively shameless . . ." (6:812b; the philosopher is speaking of animals here). Eyebrows are also significant: "Those with eyebrows that meet are gloomy. . . . Those whose eyebrows fall towards the nose and rise towards the temples are stupid . . ." (6:812b). The condition of the eye denotes certain characteristics: "Those who have flaming eyes are shameless . . ." (6.812b; cf. *Physiologus* 3. 808a). The formation of the lips is a telling feature: "Abusive men have a pendulous upper lip." The digits may offer a clue to temperament: "Those whose toes are curved are shameless, just like creatures which have curved talons" (6.810b).

J. M. Rosenstiehl gives seventeen descriptions of the Antichrist from Rabbinic, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin sources. Several body features recur throughout: height, corpulence, head, hair, forehead, neck, mouth, eyes, eyebrows, teeth, ears, nose, hands, arms, fingers, feet, legs, and joints. These features, Rosenstiehl feels, find their origin in Jewish sources, perhaps at Qumran, and have astrological associa-tions. Rosenstiehl also compares the appearance of the Antichrist with the descriptions of Caligula found in Seneca (*De Ira* 3.19), Suetonius (*Caligula* 50), and Pliny (*Natural History* 11.144),[54] who described him as follows:

> He was very tall and extremely pale, with an unshapely body, but very thin neck and legs. His eyes and temples were hollow, his forehead

[54]Rosenstiehl, 45-60.

> broad and grim, his hair thin and entirely gone on the top of his head, though his body was hairy. . . . While his face was naturally forbidding and ugly, he purposely made it even more savage, practicing all kinds of terrible and fearsome expressions before a mirror.

Stone and Strugnell further discuss his appearance in the fragments of the Elijah literature.[55]

It is important to realize the purport of these descriptions. In Aristotle's *Physiognomonika,* we see how the ancients associated physical characteristics with temperament and character.

> It seems to me that soul and body react on each other; when the character of the soul changes, it changes also the form of the body, and conversely, when the form of the body changes, it changes the character of the soul.[56]

The construction of the physical traits of our Antichrist supports Aristotle's statement: "Ill-proportioned (*asummetroi*) persons are scoundrels."[57]

We may also note Stone's observation that this description has much in common with Jewish physiognomic and chiromantic texts. He sees Ezra as combining "two old traditions, that of the physiognomic literature and that of the Antichrist."[58]

The above descriptions distinguish the Antichrist from the heroes and heroines of Greco-Roman and Jewish-Christian literature. He is a physical monstrosity which lacks any semblance of beauty and proportion (he is acosmic), with limbs designed for torture and destruction rather than elegant manufacture.

Identification

Some thought that the Antichrist would be the devil incarnate. But he was usually conceived as the human agent of the devil (Augustine *De civitate Dei* 20.19).

Nurture, training, and "accomplishments"

His mentor is Satan, who teaches him the way of deceit and gives him power and authority. Moreover, he is schooled by those associated with sorcerers. Adso declares that the Antichrist will have magicians and divines

[55]M. E. Stone and J. Strugnell, eds., *The Books of Elijah* (Missoula: Scholars, 1979), especially fragment 2, the appearance of the Antichrist (27-39), and fragment 5, the Antichrist gathering the people from the diaspora (83-85).

[56]*Physiognomonika* 6.808b.

[57]*Physiognomonika* 6.814a.

[58]M. E. Stone, "The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision," *JTS* 33 (1982): 1-18.

who are inspired by the devil and they will verse him in all wickedness and deceit. Evil spirits will lead him and be his constant companions.[59] The false prophets are also his disciples and messengers. He promulgates false doctrine, persecutes the church and, through his false prophet (the second beast), organizes impious false worship. The false prophet will even inaugurate a false Pentecost.[60]

Accomplishments and Deeds (Past and Future)

He comes in different guises: Nero (*Sib. Or.* 2, 4, 5) or Gog and Magog. He is also identified with historical figures and nations: Assyria, Domitian, Julian. He can also be dragon or beast. Bruno de Segni notes his versatility: "For Antichrist is called the dragon because of the strength and success of deception; and he is called the beast because of his cruelty; and he is also called the false prophet because he pretends to be Christ."[61] Besides, he has the ability to perform signs and wonders (Adso 65).

The Antichrist is a mighty warrior. He conquers Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. He gathers people from every country of the dispersion, makes them his own, and re-establishes the Jewish kingdom. He will persecute the saints, exalt himself against God, and possess the temple.[62]

After defeating kings of Libya and Ethiopia the Antichrist will go to the Mount of Olives, declare himself as Christ, and prepare to imitate the Ascension. He will be killed by Christ or Michael. However, according to some traditions, he has a false resurrection, ascension, and pentecost.

His power emanates from his ability to deceive. This deception takes its most arresting and beguiling form in his parody of Christ, which arises from an imaginative interpretation of Rev 13:11 (the beast like a lamb). The contrasts are given by Hippolytus:

[59]Adso, 651-655.

[60]Adso, 64-65; so Pseudo-Methodius; see Bousset, 2-56.

[61]Bruno of Segni, *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, PL 165, col. 695; cf. Emmerson, 26.

[62]Hippolytus *De Antichristo* 52, 54; Jerome sees this as the realization of the millennium, the false Christ reigning on earth in a rebuilt Jerusalem (*Commentary on Daniel*, Passim).

Christ	Antichrist
Christ lion because of royalty and glory	Antichrist lion because of tyranny and cruelty
king	king
lamb	outwardly lamb but inwardly wolf
circumcision	circumcision
apostles among nations	false apostles among nations
brings together scattered sheep	brings together scattered people
seal	mark
appeared in human form	appeared in human form
Saviour raised temple of his Body	will raise temple of stone

In various other texts the contrasts appear as follows:

Christ	Antichrist
Jewish	Jewish
conceived by virgin	conceived by virgin
precursor John the Baptist	precursors Elijah and Enoch
Christians are other christs (Origen *Against Celsus* 6.79)	heretics are other antichrists
miracle worker and exorcist	performs signs and wonders
resurrection	pseudo-resurrection (symbolized by healing of wound, Rev 13:3)
Pentecost	pseudo-Pentecost (fire from heaven, 13:13; breathing spirit into image of beast, 13:15)

This power of imitation and mimetic rivalry is Antichrist's most powerful weapon. Its purpose is to make Antichrist outwardly like Christ but inwardly to deceive Christ. Much of this parody may be derived from the legends about Simon Magus who is represented as a false prophet and claims to be the Christ. Origen states that Christ is the Word but the Antichrist is also the (simulated) word. Christ is truth; the Antichrist, simulated truth. Christ has wisdom; the Antichrist, simuladed wisdom. For

every kind of good which Christ does for the edification of humanity, the Antichrist performs similar deeds to lead the saints astray.[63]

It is also possible to think of his parousia or second coming. As Christ is present in the Eucharist and the Church, and yet still to come at his parousia, similarly the Antichrist is present in aberrant Christians but is to come formally before the parousia of Christ.[64]

Antichrist As Internal Foe(s)

In his discussion on the reconstructed portrait of the adversaries in the Johannine Epistles, R. E. Brown argues that John's opponents constitute a sizeable group or groups who had withdrawn from the Johannine community.[65] They are characterized as "demonic" antichrists and false prophets. For John it is the "last hour" (1 John 2:18).[66] The antichrists are "evil heralds" of the eschatological era.[67] Indeed, they are seen as the embodiment of eschatological iniquity (*anomia*, 2:18, 22; 4:1-5; 3:4-5).[68] John exhorts the faithful to "conquer" the antichrists (1 John 4:4). One notes the military metaphor found so often (17x) in Revelation. The true Christians are distinguished from the *antichristoi* because they have the true anointing in contrast to the false (1 John 2:20, 27).[69]

In order to describe these secessionists John used imagery from Jewish apocalyptic.[70] This rich imagery is also consonant with that of Mark 13:22 and its parallels, and 2 Thess 2:1-12.

We note John's emphasis on lying and the reference to the Liar[71]

[63]Origen *Commentariorum serie 33*, PG 13, cols. 1644. 1645.

[64]Cf. Rupert of Deutz, "This is Christ, who shed his own blood. This is Antichrist, who shed other blood" (*On the Apocalypse of John* [Nuremberg, 1526], 377. Arnold of Villanova, *Tractatus. de Tempore Antichristi*. "Nam Christus est domus and alius latro, Christus est pastor et alius lupus, Christus custos et alius fur, Christus est sponsus et amicus, alius vero adulter, et inimicus" (Emmerson, 265, n. 7).

[65]See Augustine *In Johannis Epistularum ad Parthos tractatus*, PL 35; R. E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 49-68; R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973). This seems to suggest that there is no one prominent, well-known figure, such as Cerinthus (Brown, 67).

[66]One notes that in the Johannine Epistles the Antichrist(s) is (are) to "come," just as in John's Gospel Jesus "is to come" (1:15, 27; 12:13).

[67]Their religious indifference epitomizes and embodies the *anomia* of the final struggle (1 John 3:4).

[68]Brown, 85.

[69]Cf. Rev 7 and 14 for those sealed.

[70]Brown, 100. However, one would hardly expect the term "antichrist" to appear in Jewish literature except in a temporal sense of one who is a precursor of the Anointed One.

[71]This is the only biblical text which has the definite article with *pseustēs*.

(1 John 2:22; cf. 2 Thess 2:8-9). In 2 John 7 the "Deceiver" is parallel to the Antichrist (cf. also 2 Thess 2:11). Brown concludes that "the Antichrist," "the Liar," and the "Iniquitous One" may have been current titles for the anticipated opponent(s) of the last times. A combination of all these figures is found in Rev 12, 13, 16, 19, 20.[72]

Brown thinks that the Johannine school may have coined the term "antichrist" in place of a less vivid word. The tradition of the Great Adversary may have been part of the early Johannine belief, possibly inherited from Judaism.[73] Strecker observes that the early Christians knew of the Jewish expectation of one or more false prophets who would oppose the true prophet of Deut 18:15.[74] Strecker also discusses 4QPsDanA[75] and 4QTest 23f[76] where after the series of messianic figures there is reference to a "Verflüchter, einer von Belial."[77]

The author of 1 John historicized the apocalyptic struggle while taking an important theological step. He brought common Christian oratory to new dimensions. In doing so he began a catena of identifi-cations of the Antichrist that would have enormous repercussions in the history of the Church. He saw the Antichrist, not as an objective, external foe, either diabolic or political, but identified him with the secessionists. They seem to have been precursors of the great Antichrist who would appear before or at the parousia of Jesus. On this Tertullian says:

> In his epistles [John] designates as the chief Antichrists those who deny Christ to have come in the flesh and those who think that Jesus was not the Son of God. Marcion proved to be an example of the former, Ebion of the latter.[78]

The suggestion in 1 John 4:3 seems to be that the evil spirit does not come from the Antichrist, but rather produces him or her. The evil spirit dwells in the secessionists and they play the role of the Antichrist. Thus the

[72]Brown, 365.

[73]Ibid., 333.

[74]G. Strecker, "Der Antichrist: Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund von 1 Joh 2, 18.22; 4,3 und 2 Joh 7," in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature*, ed. T. Baarda et al. (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1988), 247-254.

[75]Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," *NTS* 20 (1974): 391-394.

[76]Strecker, 250, note 14.

[77]A translation is found in G. Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 3d ed. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), 296. Strecker also mentions *Syriac Baruch* 40.1, 2 and *Assumption of Moses* 8:1f and 10:1, but these texts do not specifically mention the Antichrist (250-251).

[78]*De Praescriptionibus adversus haereticos* 33.11. Athanasius sees the Arians as heralds of the Antichrist (*Historia Arianorum* 78. 5, 4; *Letter* 10. 8).

Johannine community "labeled" the "enemy" and created a social distance.[79]

Tyconius' Concept of the Corpus Diaboli[80]

John's concept of *antichristoi* within the church gained popularity with the constant "labeling" of "heretics." Tertullian (*De Praescriptionibus adversus haereticos* 33) equates the Marcionites and the Ebionites with the Antichrist. Lucifer Calaritanus (*De non convenendo cum haereticis,* passim) so names the Arians and Constantius as the Antichrist's precursor. Ambrose (*Exposition of the Gospel of Luke* 10) so calls Arius and Sabellius. Augustine (*Contra Julianum* 1.132) refers to Julian as the "new Antichrist."

The doctrine of the church as the Body of Christ is well-known (1 Cor 12-14; Rom 12:1-8; Eph 4:1-16), but less familiar is this concept of the Body of the Devil. The idea of the *corpus diaboli* was first clearly enunciated by the lay Donatist theologian Tyconius, who was condemned for his Catholic views by the Donatist Council at Carthage (ca. 380).[81] His chief works comprise *De Bello Intestino Libri Tres, Expositiones Diversarum Causarum* (not extant), the indispensable *Liber Regularum* which does survive,[82] and a commentary on the Apocalypse. We do not possess the latter but large portions of it are found in Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (ca. 786),[83] in Victorinus/Jerome, Primasius, Bede, and the Pseudo-Augustine *Homilies.* Further, Lo Bue has edited the Turin Fragments (Bobbio Codex 62)[84]; the only previous edition of this manuscript was that of the Benedictines of Monte Cassino (*Spicilegium Casinense,* vol. 3).[85] This was also used by Hahn who

[79]Brown, 496-497. Brown comments further: "If the epistolary author demythologized the Antichrist by seeing an apocalyptic expectation of evil fulfilled in a schism that had wracked the Johannine Community, perhaps the time has come to demythologize further his insight by recognizing what he really teaches—not the advisability of continuing to identify one's Christian opponents as the Antichrist, but the evil of schism and of doctrine division in the Christian community" (366).

[80]Much of this material comes from "The Body of the Devil," a paper presented to the Catholic Bible Association, in Memphis, TN, August, 1993.

[81]On the significance of Tyconius as a lay person, see J. Ratzinger, "Beobachtungen zum Kirchenbegriff des Tyconius im *Liber regularum*, *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 2 (1956): 174-175.

[82]W. S. Babcock, *Tyconius: The Book of Rules,* Texts and Translations 31, Early Christian Literature Series 7 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989). See S. A. Campos, "Fuentes Literarias de Beato de Liébana," in *Actas del Simposio para el Estudio de los Códices del* Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1978-80), vol. 1; 2:128.

[83]E. Romero-Pose, ed., *Beatus of Liébana: Commentarius in Apocalypsin,* 2 vols. (Rome: Typis Officinae Polygraphicae, 1985).

[84]F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation,* Texts and Studies, New Series, ed. by C. H. Dodd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[85]See G. Kretschmar, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1985), 96, n. 225, on the reconstruction of Tyconius' commentary. See also Campos, 117-162.

quotes Beatus at length.[86]

In contradiction to the Donatist view of a pure, elect church,[87] Tyconius taught that the church was spread over the earth and comprised both good and evil people. Rauh correctly observes that against the Donatist background this organic (and striking) image of the two parties in conflict belonging to the one body describes the situation of the church better than any abstract formula. The weeds and the wheat grow together.[88] Both groups, the elect and the rejected, are prefigured in the twins, Jacob and Esau, *in uno corpore sunt ex uno semine* (Rule 3).[89]

In contrast to Augustine, Tyconius recognizes only one city, not two: the city Jerusalem which, at the end of time, will be divided into two parts.[90] Thus, for Tyconius the Church is bipartite, both the *corpus Christi* and the *corpus diaboli.*[91] Clarification of the concept of *bipartitio* was the goal of Tyconius' exegesis.[92] Tyconius' work greatly influenced patristic writers, especially commentators on the Apocalypse[93] and particularly Augustine.[94]

[86]T. Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien* (Lepizig: Scientia Verlag Aalen, repr. 1971. See also Campos (117-162) who, while using the text of Sander, appends to his article a table of Beatus' sources.

[87]See W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 141-168, 315-332. The Donatists paid special attention to their own martyrs, deemed the Roman church to be the *civitas diaboli,* and criticized the union of church and state in the Constantinian era (H. P. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus* [Münster: Aschendorff, 1973]), 104. This spirit was also aggravated by the militant movement of the Circumcelliones. Accompanied by ecclesiastical rigorism, a lively eschatological consciousness was significant for the Donatists. That this church used the OL text may account for the lack of Greek influence in Tyconius.

[88]Rauh, 106. In Tyconius the Antichrist appears only in a veiled way in intermediate time (ibid., 108), but he was an important feature of the eschatological expectation in the Middle Ages. The concept of a continually repeated ethical-religious act of penitence in the heart of the individual strikes at the root of the Donatist ecclesiology. There is a vital difference between ontological and ethical-religious membership of the church. The Antichrist can destroy only the outer aspect of church.

[89]On this duality, see Ratzinger, 179-180.

[90]Whereas Tyconius recognizes the effect of the secular world on the church and sees the church open to converts, yet the pagans are not his focus in his teaching on the Body of the Devil.

[91]Although one might be able to discern outwardly the parts belonging to the Corpus Christi, one cannot definitely discern the ethical-spiritual dimension (Rauh 107).

[92]Nearly all the symbols are ambivalent, e.g., Nineveh is both the rejected city and a figure of the church. This idea of twofold nature of church obtained throughout the Middle Ages.

[93]See the careful and interesting work of K. B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of its Reception and Influence* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

[94]Concerning the influence of Tyconius, see Maier, 129-171, especially 161-166.

One sees the change in Augustine's thought from *Homily* 259, where Augustine takes a literal interpretation of the millennium (Rev 20:4-6) to *De Civitate Dei* 20-22, where he follows Tyconius in spiritualizing it.[95]

Augustine gives us a direct link between the *corpus diaboli* of Tyconius and his own concept of the city of the devil. In *De Civitate Dei* he discusses the meaning of the Antichrist seated in the temple of God.

> Wherefore some are inclined to believe that Antichrist here means not only the prince himself but in some sense his whole body, that is the multitude of men belonging to him as well as himself, their prince; and they think that the Greek is more correctly expressed in Latin not by "sit in the temple of God," but by "sit as the temple of God," as if he were himself the temple of God, that is, the church. So we say, "He sits as a friend," meaning "like a friend," and other expressions of the kind.[96]

Summarizing Tyconius' work presents some difficulty, for his method often takes the form of a catena of sometimes bewildering biblical quotations, which he uses to support his various theses. Let me, however, attempt a summary, based mainly on Rules 1, 2, 4 and 7.[97]

The church is bipartite, that is, it comprises both good and evil people[98] and has both a good and evil supernatural character, one might say a collective evil.[99] Tyconius compares it to the human person who has two sides, right and left,[100] and the Jewish body that is both a body of an election and a body of enemies.[101] The church, according to Tyconius, is strongly spiritual and eschatological.[102] The State is no longer the opposing power; rather the struggle is internal.

However, Tyconius' important contribution is that he unites world

[95]See *De Doctrina Christiana* 3.30-37, where Augustine summarizes and comments upon Tyconius' Rules.

[96]*De Civitate Dei* 20.19; cf. also his observations on Tyconius in *De Doctrina* 30-37 but especially 32 ("... for that is really no part of the body of Christ which will not be with Him in eternity").

[97]For a discussion of these rules see P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu' à l'invasion arabe* (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1920, 5:183-184).

[98]Ratzinger, 179-181.

[99]Maier says that we find in Tyconius two concepts which have not been clearly stated in prior ecclesiastical writings, namely, the twin ideas of the city and the body (115).

[100]Cf. Monceaux, 183.

[101]Compare Rule 2: "For the temple is bipartite; and its other part, although it is being constructed with great blocks of stone, will be destroyed and 'not one stone will be left upon another.' Against the continuous coming of that temple we must remain on guard until the church shall depart 'from the midst' of it."

[102]See Ratzinger, 175; Maier, 116.

history and church history,[103] not from an empirical but from a spiritual point of view. This principle is established with the help of the Hebrew prophets whom Tyconius regards as indispensable for understanding salvation history. The church is not a way of triumph but of suffering and hiddenness.[104] Tyconius has also an eschatological view of the chosen community: it can be compared to the remnant of Israel. It is the beginning of his universalistic theology of history.[105]

Indeed, there is a certain trinitarian aspect to the *corpus diaboli* for it has three parts—the dragon, the sea monster and the land monster— and these three are one. Kamlah provides the following table:

Deus	diabolus
Christus	Antichristus
angeli	daemones
	maligni spiritus
civitas Dei	civitas diaboli
Ecclesia	universitas malorum
Jerusalem	Babylon
apostoli, prophetae	
doctores, praedicatores	reges malorum
martyres, virgines	principles malorum
boni	mali
sancti, iusti	reprobi, impii,
	iniqui
electi	damnandi
salvandi	haeretici,
fideles	schismatici,
	hypocritae
	falsi Christiani
	pagani soweit sie nicht
	(gentiles) bekehrt
	Judaei werden.

Curiously Kamlah omits a reference to the Holy Spirit who would be the

[103]This was very important for later writers: e.g., Nicholas of Lyra.

[104]Maier, 117.

[105]Typology is no abstract concept for Tyconius. It illuminates the "here and now" in the church, the living, historical Body of Christ. Recapitulation signifies especially the bringing together of Type and Antitype. Recapitulation is directed towards the future, confirms the past and also makes it dynamic but not simply a repetition but a moving to a climax, a *consummatio* (Rauh, 106). Salvation history in the positive sense is spiritual union of Christ and his Body, in the negative sense is also valid for body of devil and his leaders.

antithesis to the false prophets.[106]

Emmerson gives the following chart:[107]

The Trinity	**The Symbols and the Antitrinity**
God the Father	Dragon/Satan (god of this world)
God the Son	Seven-headed Beast/Antichrist (son of the devil)
God the Holy Spirit	Two-horned Beast/False Prophet (spirit of evil)

The *adversum corpus* is to be separated from the Body of Christ only at the end of time.[108]

Ratzinger states that the Antichrist belongs to the church, "Die Völker der Welt werden in der Kirche den Zornwein Gottes trinken, weil die Kirche Christ und Antichrist zugleich umfasst." We may compare 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3 and 2 John 7 and contrast 2 Thess 2.[109]

Both the Head of the Body of Christ and the Head of the Body of the Devil have two Advents.[110] One member affects the other; this has been so since the beginning of the world. The evil is ceaselessly renewed as one evil generation gives birth to another. This uncanny circle of continually renewed evil is the *mysterium facinoris*. This is the rule of Satan, the body politic of the devil. Tyconius summarizes Rule 1 (concerning the Body of Christ=the church) as follows:

> And so the body, in virtue of its head, is the son of God; and God, in virtue of his body, is the son of man who comes daily by birth and "grows into the holy temple of God." For the temple is bipartite; and its other part, although it is being constructed with great blocks of stone, will be destroyed and "not one stone will be left upon another. Against the continuous coming of that temple we must remain on guard until the church shall depart "from the midst" of it.[111]

Of vital importance is Tyconius' interpretation of the millennium (Rev 20:4-6). He understands it not as a circumscribed, historical period in

[106]Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtlichtstheologie* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935), 57-58; this negative superhuman character is illustrated from the fall of Lucifer portrayed mythologically in Isa 14.

[107]Emmerson, 24.

[108] We may compare the *Turin Fragments*, # 156: "Antequam discissio fiat, omnes Dei populus reputantur./ Postquam vero discissio fuerit / facta, tunc apparebit qui sit / populus Dei et qui sit diaboli."

[109]Ratzinger, 181; cf. also *Turin Fragments*, # 74: "Non enim, ut aliqui putant, antichristum regem esse novissimum que se dicat Deum, cum rex novissimus unum sit membrorum antichristi, id est discessio diabolici corporis profutura."

[110]Kamlah opines that the Apocalypse does not treat of the history of the church but rather the earthly course, that which is always happening. See Hahn, 26-27.

[111]The *corpus diaboli* is at times identified with the body of the harlot (Rev 17-18).

contrast to an eternal condition of perfection. It is the time when Christ exercises his Lordship; the throne is his Incarnation. This kingdom comes to birth through baptism. God rules in his own State. This inter-pretation of the millennium shows how Tyconius saw in the *Civitas Dei* the realization of Redemption. It goes back to council of God before the beginning of the world. It is accepted by the free choice of human beings. The choice lies in becoming part of Christ in his suffering, death, and resurrection. This is God's concept of the church from the beginning, when God chose Abraham, in whom the true church is conceived. Justification is now by faith and love, not by the Law. The means of salva-tion is the Spirit through the mediation of Christ.[112] The Church is like a body of a child which grows from itself, not through outside source.[113]

There are, however, differences between the two bodies, that of Christ and of the Devil: (1) The *corpus diaboli* has no mediator; (2) it is never at peace; (3) it has no posterity, no hope of eternal bliss; (4) it can hope for no resurrection.[114]

Beatus of Liébana[115]

Beatus of Liébana (Spain; 730-798) wrote a long Latin commentary on the Apocalypse, with abundant source material. Many of the extant manuscripts of his popular commentary are illuminated.[116]

Beatus' theology of the bipartite church, heavily influenced by Tyconius, is found throughout his text. I choose four examples.

(1) In his discussion of Jezebel (Rev 2:20) Beatus says that the church is a saintly person but also has intimacy with a prostitute. There are two sides, right and left, to a human body and two sides to the church. The body has healthy and sick members (organs). The healthy ones are the saints but

[112]Ratzinger, 177-179.

[113]Hahn, 27-36.

[114]Cf. Beatus, 1:150. Tyconius' *Turin Fragments* cover only Apoc 2:20-4:1 and 7:16-12:6. We observe firstly—and with surprise—that, although the argument of the text is very close to that of the *Book of Rules*, the actual phrase *corpus diaboli* occurs only once in Lo Bue's edition. Second, Hahn (42-44) observes the idea of redemption is remarkably different from Rule III. It is less Pauline, more ecclesiastical, emphasizes more the wrath of God and dwells on the importance of postbaptismal repentance, which is seen to be a type of martyrdom. It is this penitence which distinguishes the true Christians from the false. Third, there is abundant similarity in symbolism.

[115]For Beatus' sources, see Campos, 120-121; H. L. Ramsay, "Le Commentaire de l'Apocalypse par Beatus de Liébana," *Revue d' Histoire et Littérature Religieuses* 7 (1902): 427; Hahn, 10-11; and W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 56-72.

[116]Beatus of Liébana, *Beati Apocalypsin libri duodecimi*, ed. E. Romero-Pose, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis Officinae Polygraphicae, 1985).

the weak ones are the sinners.

> As there are sick limbs in a person in such a way that also the healthy ones suffer pain, and then when the sores become external the person appears as a sick person [lit. the person is unmasked by sickness], so it is also with wicked persons, who are the left side, thus they are like evil humours in the sound organs of the church, who are the right side. As you understand this person as an individual, so you can understand him in a generic sense to be one church, concerning which he says, TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH WRITE. Thus also the angel <and the members> [of the church] are bipartite. The universal is hidden in the particular.[117]

(2) In his discussion of the ten horns Beatus explains that the "beast" is the generic name for what is contrary to the Lamb. But this symbol must be interpreted according to the context.

> For sometimes he calls the devil the beast: sometimes his body which is the unfaithful, that is, those without baptism; sometimes one of the heads of the same beast, which is supposed to be dead, rose, which is an imitation of the true faith, that is, wicked Christians within the church; sometimes he calls only the leaders the beast, that is, the bishops or priests who live in carnal fashion within the church: he calls all these members the one body of the devil.[118]

(3) Beatus' most detailed explanation of the Body of the Devil appears in two passages of the *Summa Dicendorum*. Here Beatus comments on the three unclean spirits which proceed from the mouth of the dragon, the beast, and the pseudoprophet. He interprets the dragon as the devil; the beast as the Body of the Devil, that is, evil people, false prophets, leaders, priests, evil preachers. The second beast is the false prophets; all these have one spirit like a toad. Beatus then develops the theme beyond Tyconius. The false prophet has four limbs or organs (*membra*) as follows: (a) The heretics, who chose their own beliefs according to their own judgment (or whims); (b) the schismatics, who possesses the same religiosity, the same cult, the same rites as others but are not of one spirit with the church because they believe themselves superior to others for indulging in more fasting, vigils, etc.; (c) the superstitious person who blindly adheres to religious rules (the ecstatic or prophet) and indulges in supererogatory works and courts self-imposed martyrdom,[119] identified by Beatus with the Circumcel-liones, who are itinerant and form no community;[120] (d) the hypocrites. Beatus calls these

[117]Beatus, 1:341.

[118]Beatus, 2:123-124.

[119]See W.F.C. Frend, *Donatist Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 175. "Martyrdom" sometimes included suicide.

[120]Frend dates the beginning of their movement about A.D. 340 and sees them as a revolutionary fringe of Donatism (171), the modern day "terrorists."

four classes "false prophets." They do not form part of the episcopate, the clerics, the religious orders, or the penitents, but they live as they please, forming their own beliefs and mores not derived from the authority of Scripture or the church. They are the thieves and robbers who do not enter by the door of the sheepfold. They are the limbs of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophets and are polluted like toads.[121]

(4) In interpreting the harlot seated upon the beast, Beatus relates the entire symbolism to the Body of the Devil:

> AND THE WOMAN WAS CLOTHED IN PURPLE AND SCARLET AND ADORNED WITH GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES AND PEARLS, that is, she is revealed adorned with every seduction of the semblance of truth, for externally she appears to be Christianity.[122]

This, therefore, is briefly Beatus' interpretation of the collective body of the Antichrist.

Sociological and Anthropological Approach

As to sociological and anthropological aspects of the question, I can only suggest further research which would consider the following.

(1) The projection of hate on to the individual figure of the Antichrist as important for distancing the enemy, for social cohesion of the opposing group, for the shaming of the foe, perhaps as a deterrent to those who might be tempted to "swap sides," as a burlesque for release of emotion, and providing features for use in an illiterate society. Unfortunately, this also presents an egregious example of anti-Semitism.

(2) The mythic element, using Ian Barbour's theory of myth,[123] provides a basic vision of reality "out there"; informs people about their identity and destiny; engenders the hope of a saving power; and provides patterns for human behavior.

(3) The labeling of heretics as antichrists may be a form of catharsis; polarizes good and evil; and graphically portrays the lethal consequence of the actions of the Antichrist and his followers.

(4) The collective Antichrist explains the presence of the internal foe (always more fearful than the external one); and provides internal boundaries.

Tyconius' nonliteral interpretation of the text of the Apocalypse, especially of Rev 20:4-6, radically changed the eschatological outlook of many in the early church, and thus transformed the spirit of community

[121]Another passage (2.246) also identifies the dragon with the devil and the (sea) beast with wicked people, the body of the devil, but the second (land) beast is not identified with the four classes discussed above but with the false prophets who are the priests.

[122]Beatus, 2:169-170.

[123]I. Barbour, *Myths, Models, and Paradigms* (New York: Harper and Harper, 1974).

within the church. It was to be an inclusive, not exclusive, body. Chiliasm became the exception rather than the rule.[124]

With the bipartite church as the internal enemy, Rome is converted into an external foe.[125] The internal critic or the prophet in his or her native country is more violently threatened than an external enemy. Hence, Tyconius and those who followed his hermeneutic inveighed vehemently against the hypocrites, false prophets, simonists, schismatics, etc., within their community. However, added to these are the superhuman elements. The enemies become diabolically inspired. Demon and deliverance therefrom are convenient ways of exonerating oneself from moral responsibility and avoiding personal criticism.

(5) The body is used as a simile and/or metaphor of orderly, harmonious and integrated society.[126] We may compare Seneca *Epistle* 95.52:

> All that you behold, that which comprises both god and man, is one—we are the parts of one great body. Nature produced us related to one another, since she created us from the same source and to the same end.

and Marcus Aurelius *Meditationes* 2.1; 7.13:

> The principle which obtains in single organisms with regard to the limbs of the body applies also in separate beings to rational things constituted to work in conjunction.

The body of the devil is used of a society which is depraved, contentious, and inimical to well-being. It is not a purely human society but one which bears a supernatural character.

Mimetic Rivalry

The whole concept of *corpus diaboli/corpus Christi* shows the power of mimetic rivalry.[127] The *corpus diaboli* in every point tries to mimic and compete with the true church. The culprits are seen to ape both God and his Christ and also the true officers and people of the accepted community. The land beast is a parody of the Lamb (Rev 13). There is a diabolical trinity.[128] What is true of the head is true of the members; so the members engage in

[124]See Rule 4 and Maier, 117-125; also see John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975).

[125]Tyconius was, of course, reproaching the Donatists and Beatus the adoptionists.

[126]Compare the fable of Menenius Agrippa recorded in Livy *History* 2.32 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquities of Rome* 6.86.

[127]See R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Sacred Violence* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992), 19-24.

[128]Rauh, 110.

mimetic rivalry.[129] The *corpus diaboli* exists *secundum voluntatem*; what joins the members to the head is their *imitatio*, which holds them together, not as physical but as spiritual children *per opera imitando*.[130]

Characteristic of the Tyconian school is the idea that the personal Antichrist comes through imitation: as the son of the devil *non per naturam, sed imitationem*, as the human receptacle of Satanic will. Under such an aspect Satan and the Antichrist are one, *Diabolus ab homine suo non separatur, nec homo, in quo diabolus non est, potest dicere: Ero similis Altissimo*.[131] But the Antichrist is not the incarnation of Satan in the thought of Tyconius. Only in his *Commentary on Revelation* does Tyconius introduce a personal Antichrist momentarily on the scene.[132] This mimetic rivalry leads to idolatry, economic sanctions and murder.[133]

However, above all, in the body of the Antichrist we have the idea of collective, vertical, generational, and all-pervasive evil. This concept shaped thinking throughout the ages and perhaps continues yet today.

Conclusion

We have covered not a little ground in our investigation of the Antichrist. We saw him as a human individual, opponent of God in 2 Thessalonians. He appeared as a horrendous theriomorphic symbol in Revelation 12 and 13. This symbol owes much to mythology, divination, and physiognomy and presented the Antichrist as a composite, grotesque monster which would inspire terror into the hearers of the Apocalypse. Gradually as a form of negative labeling, a whole life of the Antichrist developed and a photographic caricature of him as a malformed creature published his moral turpitude. Finally we saw him as a collective figure, first, in the opponents mentioned in the Johannine Epistles, and then, through Tyconius' theory of the Body of the Devil opposing the Body of Christ, as the weeds, the faithless Christians, among the wheat, the faithful, within the very body of the church. The complex figure of the Antichrist should inspire us to pray for the Holy Spirit's gift of discernment.

[129]Hammerton-Kelly sees this as the sin of Adam and Eve.

[130]Rauh, 110-111. Cf. Beatus, 9.2.20.

[131]Tyconius *Book of Rules*, Rule VII (Babcock, 126).

[132]Rauh, 115. Rauh also points out the frequent reference to simony (118).

[133]There may also be an element of the scapegoat complex; see S. B. Perera, *Scapegoat Complex* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1986).

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, No. 2, 231-243
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THE SABBATH IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW: A PARADIGM FOR UNDERSTANDING THE LAW IN MATTHEW?

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The problem of the Matthean understanding of law has proved resistant to resolution, despite a mini-deluge of scholarly output on the subject. In contrast to the widely divergent approaches to the general issue of law in Matthew, however, there is a strong majority opinion that the Gospel was written amongst a Sabbath-observant community.[1] Despite the occasional contrary voice,[2] it is probably fair to describe this majority opinion as a consensus. Nor is this consensus surprising, given that it is based on strong evidence. Compared to the other Synoptic Gospels, Matthew is clearly at pains to remove any possible doubt that

[1]It would be impractical to cite every reference to the Sabbath-observant nature of the Matthean community, but the following might be considered representative: G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), 116; Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz Joachim Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (London: SCM, 1963), 31, 81-83; Eduard Schweizer, *Matthäus und seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart: KBW, 1974), 138; John Mark Hicks, "The Sabbath Controversy in Matthew: An Exegesis of Matthew 12:1-14," *Restoration Quarterly* 27 (1984): 79-91, esp. 91; Ingo Broer, "Anmerkungen zum Gesetzesverständnis des Matthäus," in *Das Gesetz im neuen Testament*, ed. Johannes Beutler et al. (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), 137-141; J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 80-82; David L. Balch, ed., *Social History of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 7, 48.

[2]For example, Georg Strecker interprets Matt 12:1-14 in terms of Jesus' elevating the moral aspect of the Sabbath over the ceremonial aspect *(Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962). E. P. Sanders rightly protests against this kind of distinction between ceremonial and moral law in the teachings of Jesus *(Jesus and Judaism* [London: SCM, 1985], 250-251). It is an alien category to the language and thought world of the Gospel accounts, especially the Gospel of Matthew. Graham Stanton raises doubts as to whether the redactional changes the evangelist has made to his Markan Vorlage really do indicate that the community was still Sabbath-observant, and in his conclusion states that there is not enough evidence to confirm or deny the possibility (*A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992], 203-205).

the Sabbath might not retain its validity for the disciple of Jesus.[3] It is only in Matthew that Jesus defends his disciples as guiltless (ἀναίτιοι, Matt 12:7). Likewise, in defending the actions of the disciples, Matthew includes three further arguments not found in the parallel Gospels (Matt 12:5-6, 7, 11-12a). Furthermore, there is no parallel to the dominical saying recorded in Mark 2:27 (NIV), "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." By these differences the Gospel of Matthew is more careful than either Mark or Luke to show that Jesus and the disciples did not in any way break the Sabbath or speak of its demise.[4] In fact, within Matthew, the dispute is about **how** the Sabbath should

[3]The current debate as to whether Mark or Matthew has priority, as reflected in Arthur Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, GA: Mercer, 1985); and David L. Duncan, ed., *The Interrelations of the Gospels,* Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 95 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), does not affect this assertion. It is possible to see a difference of emphasis between two synoptic Gospels without needing first to determine which derived from the other. The only necessary assumption is that there is some kind of relationship between them, on which not only both the "two-Gospel" and the "two-source" advocates agree, but also those who are promoting yet other approaches.

[4]A discussion of whether either Jesus or the evangelists responsible for Mark or Luke intended to abandon Sabbath observance lies outside the purview of this paper. Willy Rordorf argues that Jesus' actions amount to deliberately provocative breaking of the Sabbath: "The Sabbath commandment was not merely pushed into the background by the healing activity of Jesus: it was simply annulled" (*Sunday* [London: SCM, 1968], 70; cf. 54-79). According to Rordorf, Jesus' attitude to the Sabbath was considered as "something monstrous" (65) by the early church, which altered the tradition to explain that Jesus' actions were not in fact contrary to the true meaning of the Sabbath. He specifically denies that Matt 5:17-18 is an authentic saying of Jesus (77), and while he does not say explicitly, one would imagine he also doubts the authenticity of Matt 12:3-7, 11-12a, and would therefore explain them as part of the early church's "transform[ation] of the content about Jesus' attitude to the Sabbath" (73). For Rordorf, Jesus' attitude is shown by the authentic and provocative incident of the disciples' plucking grain, and Jesus' reply that the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath. Rordorf is not alone in suggesting that Jesus or the Gospels broke with Sabbath observance; see Harald Riesenfeld, "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day in Judaism, the Preaching of Jesus and Early Christianity," in *The Gospel Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 111-37; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974), 17-18; Eduard Lohse, "Σαββατον," *TDNT* 7:22, 27-28. Others argue that Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels presuppose continued Sabbath-observance: Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian Press, 1977); D. A. Carson, "Jesus and the Sabbath in the Four Gospels," in *From Sabbath to Lord's Day* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 57-97; Robert L. Odom, *Sabbath and Sunday in Early Christianity* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1977), 18-34, 43-52; Sanders, 250, 264-267; Herold Weiss, "The Sabbath in the Synoptic Gospels," *JSNT* 38 (1990): 13-27; Walter F. Specht, "The Sabbath in the New Testament," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History,* ed. K. A. Strand (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 92-105.

be observed, not **if** it should be observed.[5] That it should continue to be observed is taken for granted.

Given this relatively secure datum, this article will attempt to explore the implications of Sabbath-keeping for the vexed question of the law in the Gospel of Matthew. Indeed, most of the issues related to that wider question are reflected in the texts that deal with the Sabbath: if the Sabbath law is still binding on Christians, then in what way has it been transformed by the Christ event? Is Jesus' treatment of the Sabbath law so radical that, in practice if not in theory, it overthrows any significance the Sabbath might have in the life of a Christian? These questions can only be answered by a careful scrutiny of the relevant texts.

The Range of Evidence

Compared to Mark and Luke, Matthew somewhat deemphasizes the Sabbath. The other two Synoptic Gospels place an account of a Sabbath miracle right at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus (Mark 1:21-28; Luke 4:31-37). Indeed, it could be argued that both use Jesus' treatment of the Sabbath as a paradigm for his whole ministry, especially Luke. Not only is this Sabbath incident missing in Matthew, the repositioning of the healing of Simon Peter's mother-in-law to 8:14-15 removes its sequential association with the Sabbath (cf. Mark 1:21, 29; Luke 4:31, 38), even though the influx of others in need of healing when it became evening (Matt 8:16a) remains inexplicable without the information that these others had waited till after the Sabbath. Robert Mohrlang argues that Matthew's omission is deliberate, as it has the effect of removing Jesus' possible Sabbath violations from their embarrassing position of prominence in the other two Gospels. The two remaining Sabbath controversies are moved to a place in the Gospel well after 5:17-20, where it has been clearly established that the law has continuing validity.[6] Be that as it may,[7] the principal Matthean texts that deal with the Sabbath are found in Matt 12:1-14. In addition, Matt

[5]"The Gospel is concerned not so much with the question of keeping the Sabbath at all, as with the question of how rigidly it was to be kept" (Kilpatrick, 116).

[6]Robert Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul* (Cambridge: University Press, 1984), 9-10.

[7]While Mohrlang's observations are inherently plausible and fit well with the overall tenor of the Gospel, it is nevertheless possible that the healing of the demoniac was omitted for other reasons, such as the possibility that the evangelist had already decided to include the dramatic healing of the two Gadarene demoniacs (Matt 8:28-34) and was wishing to limit the number of healings recorded in Matt 8-9, the two chapters devoted to them. In other words, it is hard to speak with confidence on this matter.

11:28-30 and 24:20c should be mentioned in any discussion on the Sabbath in Matthew.

Matt 11:28-30 is unique to Matthew and linked to Matt 12:1-14 in at least three ways: (a) Matt 12:1-14 follows immediately on 11:28-30;[8] (b) the rest Jesus promises in 11:28 fits thematically with the "rest" of the Sabbath;[9] and (c) the phrase ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (12:1a), unique to Matthew, underlines the connection between the saying and the incident following.[10] To assist in carrying their burdens, Jesus enjoins his followers to take his yoke upon them.[11] In Sir 6:18-31 and 51:23-27, wisdom, law, and yoke are linked together:[12] the yoke of wisdom is instruction in the law. This kind of linkage fits nicely the context of this saying in Matthew.[13] Jesus' interpretation of the law would be the

[8]Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 299.

[9]Samuele Bacchiocchi, "Matthew 11:28-30: Jesus' Rest and the Sabbath," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 296-302; Daniel Patte, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 167; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 220; Richard B. Gardner, *Matthew* (Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1991), 195; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1976), 277.

[10]W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *Matthew*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 2:288-289, 305; Robert Banks, *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 113.

[11]The image of one carrying heavy burdens makes unlikely Eduard Schweizer's suggestion that instead of a yoke used to assist in carrying heavy loads, Jesus is in fact referring to the yoke of a prisoner of war, an otherwise attractive interpretation in the light of the more stringent application of the law made by Jesus in places like Matt 5:21-48 (*Good News*, 272-273).

[12]Most commentators sense the importance of these texts to the interpretation of this passage, but few would go so far as Goulder who claims that they are a midrash on Sirach (362-363).

[13]M. Jack Suggs makes a convincing case for identifying Jesus with wisdom and his yoke with his interpretation of law (*Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970], 99-108. Others who so understand the reference include Gundry (219-220) and Hans Dieter Betz ("The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest, Matt 11:28-30," *JBL* 86 [1967]: 22-23. M. Maher shows evidence linking the image of the yoke to the law ("'Take My Yoke Upon You,' Matt. xi. 29," *NTS* 22 [1976]: 98-100). Celia Deutsch understands the reference to "my yoke" as a description of Jesus as wisdom incarnate and specifically rejects any link between the yoke and the Torah (*Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11:25-30*, *JSNT* Supplement 18 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987], 115-139). Other interpretations, such as the suggestion that the yoke is "the yoke of a Kingdom in which 'Abba, Father' is sovereign, the 'rest' of which is the peace of that new relationship with God" (A. M. Hunter, "Crux Critocorum—Matt xi.25-30: A Re-appraisal," *NTS* 8 [1961-62]: 248-249), or

easy yoke which he offers to the burdened, and the way in which Jesus' interpretation of the law is easy is thereupon illustrated by his understanding of the Sabbath. Thus Matt 11:28-30 should be understood both as introducing the Sabbath controversies of Matt 12:1-14 and informing the reader or listener that Jesus brings true rest to those burdened by their understanding of the Sabbath.

A study of the phrase μηδὲ σαββάτῳ in Matt 24:20c, on the other hand, probably should be excluded from this discussion of the Sabbath in Matthew, despite its occasional use as evidence that the Matthean community was Sabbath-observant.[14] The flight spoken of in Matt 24:20 is so urgent that Jesus' listeners are not even to go into their houses if they are on the roof, or cross a field to regain their cloak (24:17-18). From 1 Macc 2:29-41 we learn that taking action to save one's life on the Sabbath was considered appropriate long before NT times. While there is always uncertainty tracing later Rabbinic thought directly back into NT times, it is clear that the Rabbis taught that at times of deadly peril the law of *pekuah nepeš* took effect. In Rabbinic Judaism there would be no question about fleeing in time of crisis, even on the Sabbath day. It is even less likely that the members of a Christian group like the Matthean community, who defended the right of their leader to heal on the Sabbath, would have any qualms about fleeing for their lives on a Sabbath. The phrase in Matt 24:20c would then have some other significance unrelated to the Gospel's theology of Sabbath.[15] Thus

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that the yoke "is the yoke of the Kingdom, . . . [which] is to accept the sovereignty of God and to give oneself to His service" (T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* [London: SCM, 1949], 186), or that the references to a yoke and rest refer to the prophetic image of breaking the yoke of oppression and entering into national rest (B. Charette, "'To Proclaim Liberty to the Captives': Matt 11:28-30 in the Light of Prophetic Expectation," *NTS* 38 [1992]: 290-297), all make valid theological points, but overlook the prominent role the law takes in the Kingdom in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 5:19).

[14]E.g., Günther Bornkamm, "End Expectation and Church in Matthew," in *Tradition and Interpretation*, 31; Dennis MacDonald, "A Response to R. Goldenberg and D. J. Harrington, S.J.," in *The Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. T. C. Eskenazi, D. J. Harrington, W. H. Shea (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 60-61; Erich Spier, *Der Sabbat* (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1989), 111.

[15]So also Stanton, 203-206. Eric Kun-Chun Wong takes Stanton to task for denying the possibility that the Matthean community does not keep the Sabbath strictly, charging him with using a predetermined conclusion to force the meaning of this particular text ("The Matthean Understanding of the Sabbath: A Response to G. N. Stanton," *JSNT* 44 [1991]: 3-18, reacting to Graham Stanton, "'Pray that your Flight may not be in Winter or on a Sabbath': Matthew 24:20," *JSNT* 37 [1989]: 17-30 and republished as chap. 8 of his *Gospel for a New People*). However, his suggestion that the phrase μηδὲ σαββάτῳ is a concession to the "weaker brethren" of the Matthean community who wish to retain a very strict observance of the Sabbath fails to account for the fact that all the available

the truly significant Matthean Sabbath passage is Matt 12:1-14, together with its introduction, Matt 11:28-30.

Matt 12:1-8: The Incident in the Grainfield

The Pharisees' accusation that the disciples were breaking the Sabbath appears to have been based on their understanding that by plucking grain they were engaging in the work of reaping.[16] This assumption is not challenged, despite the fact that the disciples' actions are described as ἀναίτιοι. In other words, their actions, while in technical breach of the Sabbath commandment, were not liable under law.[17] The defense against the charge is given in three stages: the example of David, the analogy of the priests, and the citation from Hosea.

For a variety of reasons, a significant number of commentators find the appeal to the example of David and his men eating showbread inappropriate: There is no reference of any kind to the Sabbath in the story of David and his men;[18] the disciples' hunger does not seem proportionate to the hunger and need of David and his men; and the later Rabbinic rule pointed out that Halakah could not be determined on grounds of Haggadah.[19] These problems should make the interpreter seek the point(s) of comparison between the two events rather than the differences, because the three Synoptic evangelists considered that the argument had merit enough to warrant its inclusion. Common to the two events is the violation of the holy: the disciples violate the holiness

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information would indicate that even they would consider it lawful to escape destruction by fleeing on Sabbath.

[16]Morris, 300. Presumably rubbing the grain between the hands and blowing to remove the husk could be understood as threshing and winnowing. Reaping, threshing, and winnowing were all listed in the 39 categories of work prohibited by *Šabb.* 7:2.

[17]ἀν-αίτιος, i.e., without αἰτία, charge, legal ground for complaint.

[18]*Menaḥ* 95b records rabbinic discussion as to whether the showbread eaten by David was baked on the Sabbath. Nothing of this is visible in the recorded words of Jesus, who instead points out that David and his men were hungry (Matt 12:3), the element highlighted by the Matthean inclusion of the observation that the disciples of Jesus were hungry (v. 1).

[19]David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956), 68-69; cf. Matty Cohen, "La Controverse de Jésus et des Pharisiens à propos de la cueillette d'épis, selon l'évangile de Saint Matthieu," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 34 (1977): 3-12. Daube himself points to the greatest weakness of such an assertion: whether or not the distinction was valid for the time of Jesus. "To be sure, the principle in question was the result of a long and slow evolution. But by the middle of the 1st cent. A.D., notwithstanding certain vestiges of a less rigorous attitude, it was, if not firmly established, at least rapidly gaining ground" (69).

of a day, while David and his men violate the holiness of a place.[20] A first-century reader of or listener to the Gospel of Matthew might reason that as a man "after God's heart" (1 Sam 13:14), whose life had been blameless except in the case of Bathsheba (1 Kings 15:3-5), David was guiltless, and thus his taking the bread was justifiable. But why was it justifiable within the bounds of the text in Matthew? The two clues provided are the reference to the disciples' hunger (Matt 12:1d, unique to Matthew), and the insistence that God seeks mercy, not sacrifice (Matt 12:7). Although a reference to the hunger of David is lacking in 1 Sam 21:1-6, it is supplied in Matt 12:3b (and parallels), linking the actions of the disciples and the followers of David to the same motivation: hunger.[21] An argument that human need, any human need, justifies the breach of Divine laws which would otherwise be observed also fits well with the following miracle of Sabbath healing and is perhaps the best explanation of the analogy with David.[22]

The next analogy, that of the priests' activities in the temple on the Sabbath (Matt 12:5), shares a common element with David's actions in taking the holy bread. Both David and the priests do something which they should not do according to the law. It was not lawful (οὐκ ἐξὸν, Matt 12:4b) for David and his men to eat the showbread.[23] Likewise, the priests profane[24] the Sabbath in the temple, but are not liable under law. Exactly in what way they profane the Sabbath is not spelled out, but we read that their prescribed duties did involve activities which would have been described as unlawful for the Sabbath

[20]Phillip Sigal, *The Halakah of Jesus of Nazareth According to the Gospel of Matthew* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 133; cf. Morna D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (London: SPCK, 1967), 97-98.

[21]Richard S. McConnell, *Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1969), 67.

[22]The suggestion of Banks, that the two events are further linked by the comparison of David and the Son of David, while not inherently implausible, finds little support in the text (115). Neither does the interpretation of Marcus J. Borg, that the link between the two events was that the urgency of David's mission matched the urgency of Jesus, overriding any considerations regarding the Sabbath (*Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* [Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1984], 152-153.

[23]"The relation between the OT story and the present instance of infringement of the Sabbath by the disciples of Jesus is obviously that righteous people are in both cases doing what is forbidden" (Lohse, 22).

[24]Βεβηλόω is used twice in the NT, here and Acts 24:6. One can profane the Sabbath (Ezek 20:13), the sanctuary (Ezek 28:18; Acts 24:6), and God's name (Lev 21:6).

if performed anywhere besides the temple.[25] The temple took precedence over the Sabbath. How much more, then, should something greater than the temple take precedence over the Sabbath.[26] So far the argument is clear, but what is present in the grain fields that is greater than the temple? Commentators have put forward a wide variety of suggestions: the Kingdom of God,[27] Jesus as the incarnation of the Spirit of God,[28] the superior service of the disciples of Jesus,[29] and the call to provide for human life which is the required response to the love command,[30] to give but four examples. The Kingdom of God, the love command, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18, 20) are all important in Matthew, but appear nowhere in this pericope. Furthermore, it is difficult to see that the disciples' plucking ears of grain could be readily viewed as service. Perhaps it is best to understand Jesus as the one who is greater than the temple.[31] His presence would certainly give full weight to the ὧδε, and it was on his authority that the disciples were doing these things (cf. v. 8). If so, that Jesus should

[25]One has only to consider the labor involved in dismembering and burning the prescribed Sabbath sacrifices—the regular daily sacrifice (Num 28:1-8), together with the extra sacrifices to be offered on the Sabbath day only (Num 28:9-10). Etan Levine wishes to identify the profanation of the Sabbath spoken of here as the "rigorously defended Pharisaic practice of reaping the first sheaves . . . offering . . . even if that day were a Sabbath" ("The Sabbath Controversy According to Matthew," *NTS* 22 (1975-76): 481. It is agreed that reaping this offering on the Sabbath nicely parallels the activity of the disciples plucking grain, but the only identification of the kind of work provided in the text of Matthew, that it takes place in the *temple*, makes it nearly impossible to maintain any link with the reaping of the offering of first-fruits.

[26]So Davies and Allison, 2:314.

[27]Manson, 189.

[28]Georges Ganders points out: "Les Juifs affirmaient que Dieu remplissait le Temple de Jérusalem de sa présence. Estimant également que le St. Esprit se trouvait dans les chrétiens, l'apôtre Paul leur disait: «Vous êtes le Temple de Dieu» (1 Cor. 3/16) ou: «Votre corps est le Temple du St. Esprit» (1 Cor. 6/19). A plus forte raison, donc, Jésus de Nazareth, incarnation de l'Esprit de Dieu dans un homme, pouvait-il entendre qu'il était le Temple du Seigneur, le vrai Temple, plus encore que le Temple de pierres de Jérusalem (Cf. J. 2/29-21)" (*L'évangile de l'église* [Aix-en-Provence: Faculté libre, 1970], 109).

[29]Birger Gerhardsson, "Sacrificial Service and Atonement in the Gospel of Matthew," in *Reconciliation and Hope*, ed. R. Banks (Exeter: Paternoster, 1974), 28.

[30]Sigal, 132. Sigal openly acknowledges a preference for a non-Christological interpretation, as this fits his thesis that there was little difference between Jesus and the proto-rabbis, the forerunners of later Rabbinic Judaism (134).

[31]So Davies and Allison, 2:314; Gundry, 223.

be compared to the temple in this way is an extraordinary claim. The temple was designated by God as the place to meet with his people (Exod 29:42-45). It was the place where God manifested himself. Is the claim that Jesus is greater than the temple a claim that Jesus is the superior manifestation of God's presence,[32] or that his mediation is superior to that available through the temple? Certainly other writers in the NT thought so (e.g., Heb 9:11-14, 24-26; 10:19-22), but this must remain an open question as there is very little additional data on the matter in the Gospel.[33]

The third argument involves the citation of a scripture found twice in Matthew, and not elsewhere in the NT. What does "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" mean in this context? The Pharisees are accused of demanding sacrifice above mercy. By expecting the disciples to remain hungry they are demanding sacrifice when in fact they should have been showing mercy. Does this mean that mercy empties the Sabbath command of all meaning?[34] Hardly, because this very quotation is cited to show that the disciples are ἀναίτιοι. Yet it does show a hierarchy of obligation. The obligation of mercy is greater than the obligation of Sabbath observance.[35] Hos 6:6 was not a call for the Israelites to abandon the giving of sacrificial offerings and, as used in Matthew, it was not a call to give up Sabbath-observance. It was a demand that priority should be given to the important matter of mercy. On the grounds of mercy, the disciples' actions were not in breach of the

[32]So A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1959), 396.

[33]John P. Meier comments that, "In his very person, and finally by his sacrificial death, Jesus replaces the Temple and all the sacrifices prescribed by the law" (*The Vision of Matthew* [New York: Paulist, 1978]). This is a fairly accurate summation of the theology of Hebrews. What makes one cautious of interpreting this verse in the same manner, though, is that the Gospel of Matthew retains an ambiguous stance towards the temple and its services, as indeed, did much of the early church, if the evidence of Acts is any guide. Aside from Matt 26:28, there is no suggestion that the death of Jesus is linked to sacrifices. In Matt 1:21 Jesus is given that name because he will save his people from their sin. But as Gerhardsson points out, "The interpretation of Jesus' name says nothing about the way in which Jesus saves his people from their sins. There is no suggestion that this is to happen exclusively through his sacrificial death" (Gerhardssohn, 26). See also Tibor Horvath, *The Sacrificial Interpretation of Jesus' Achievement in the New Testament* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1979), 38-39.

[34]Alexander Sand notes: "Wenn es dem Verfasser des Matthäusevangeliums auch nicht ganz gelungen ist, in den Markuszusammenhang älteres Überlieferungs gut einzubauen, so wird seine redaktionelle Absicht doch deutlich: Erbarmen mit den Mitmenschen läßt die Aufhebung eines Toragebotes zu . . ." (*Das Gesetz und die Propheten*, Biblische Untersuchungen 11 [Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974], 61.

[35]Davies and Allison, 2:315.

Sabbath. Furthermore, these considerations make it unlikely that this verse should be interpreted in terms of an inner ethical demand.[36]

The statement that "the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath" is not an argument. Rather, it is nothing less than a declaration that Jesus exercises authority over the Sabbath.

Two themes run through Jesus' defense of the disciples. First, there is a hierarchy of obligation, even in the law.[37] The need of the disciples took priority over the prohibition of work on the Sabbath. Second, there is a strongly christocentric focus. Jesus declares himself both greater than the temple and Lord over the Sabbath. A significant part of the reasoning appears to be that the disciples' actions were defensible in terms of who Jesus is.

What is not said in defense of the disciples may be equally significant. In Matt 12:1-8, Jesus does not dismiss the charge that plucking the grain is Sabbath-breaking on the grounds that it is trivial. Neither does he say that the Sabbath belongs to a segment of the law which has no validity for his followers.

Matt 12:9-14: The Healing

Matt 12:9 underlines the linkage between the two Sabbath incidents; the healing took place as the next occurrence in the flow of events.[38] The Matthean version of the healing is shaped to highlight the basic issue of lawfulness. The question asked by the unspecified interlocutors is unique to Matthew: "Is it lawful (ἔξεστιν) to heal on the Sabbath?" (Matt 12: 10b). This, in fact, is a fair question, and one that intrigues commentators to this day. Jesus healed the individual by a word. Unlike what he did in John 9:6, Jesus did not make clay; and unlike the incident narrated in Matt 9:6, he did not command the man to carry his pallet on the Sabbath. There was no transgression even of later Rabbinic strictures regarding the Sabbath. But the case was a nonurgent one. A hand does not become "withered" overnight, and the

[36]This would go against Strecker, 32-33.

[37]Carson affirms: "The point is not only that some laws by their very nature formally conflict with other laws, but that the more important law or principle takes precedence" (66).

[38]Contrast Luke 6:6, where the healing is said to take place ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ, which is likewise implied in Mark 3:1. Despite the common theme of controversy over the Sabbath, it appears that the Matthean evangelist was at pains to link further the two stories into an organic whole.

condition was certainly not life-threatening. Thus the healing could as easily have been done outside the hours of the Sabbath.[39]

Jesus defends his actions on the basis of a *qal wehomer* argument: if assistance is offered to a domestic animal, and if a person is of more value than an animal, assistance should be offered to a person in need.[40] The appropriateness of the citation of Hos 6:6 in Matt 12:7 is evident. It is indeed lawful to alleviate suffering and misery on the Sabbath. Assistance should not be restricted to life-threatening situations.

As with the previous incident, the evangelist has emphasized the continuing obligation of Sabbath observance. Jesus was not going beyond the real intention of the Sabbath by acts of healing. In a word, his actions were perfectly lawful. But nevertheless one must inquire as to the limitations that the evangelist might place on the principle that all acts of mercy become lawful, even nonurgent ones like alleviating a casual hunger or chronic, nonlife-threatening illness easily coped with at another time. These questions lead naturally to consideration of the implications which these two accounts have for the Matthean understanding of Sabbath. Further, one must consider the significance such an understanding might have for the Matthean concept of law.

Some Implications

Continuity of Law

The two Sabbath controversies recorded in Matt 12:1-14 illustrate the evangelist's understanding of the continuity of the law, previously expressed so dramatically in Matt 5:17-20. The law is preserved; Sabbath observance is retained. Yet, though there is an undeniable continuity in the disciples' relationship to the law, Jesus brings a freshness in his approach to the law that is in strong contrast to the Pharisees who oppose him in this incident (Matt 12:2, 14). Indeed, this freshness of approach might almost be described as a radical transformation of the law, a point taken up below.

Hierarchy of Law

In clear contrast to the teaching of the Pharisees described in Matt 12, Matt 12:1-8 outlines a clear hierarchy of law.[41] In observing the Sabbath, at times one law must be breached in the keeping of another law. Some laws and principles of action are more important than others.

[39]Gundry, 226.

[40]Daniel J. Harrington, "Sabbath Tensions: Matthew 12:1-14 and Other New Testament Texts," in *The Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, 49.

[41]Bacchiocchi, 52-53; Carson, 66.

It is good to be so scrupulous in observing the Sabbath that one refrains from plucking even a few ears of grain to eat them, but it is better to place the alleviation of even trivial human need above such scrupulosity. The two accounts highlight at least two important principles that should take priority in deciding what is lawful activity on the Sabbath: the principles of mercy (Matt 12:7) and of doing good (Matt 12:12).

Radical Transformation of Law

While the law is preserved, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is radically changed at the same time. Human need should take precedence over the Sabbath, understandably enough, but in both examples the human need was not great. To what extent the disciples were hungry is not said, but the casual plucking of grain does not give the impression of resolving a life-threatening situation or even serious hunger. Certainly, the disease of the man with the withered hand was chronic, not acute. So, what happens to Sabbath observance when human need, no matter how trivial, takes precedence? If, like Jesus, much of one's weekly activity is taken up by healing, how does one make a distinction between the Sabbath and other days of healing? If trivial matters can intervene, what is left?

It is hard to know how the evangelist would have reacted to such questions. From the way Sabbath-observance is carefully preserved it is unlikely that any radical abandonment of distinctions made between the Sabbath and other days is envisaged. But within clear view is a freer understanding of what is appropriate for the Sabbath and what is not.

Christocentricity

The other theme that emerges, especially in the grainfield incident, is the christocentric nature of the newly transformed Sabbath. The presence of one who is greater than the temple underlies the disciple's ability to break with Pharisaic conventions regarding Sabbath observance (Matt 12:6). Furthermore, Jesus is Lord over the Sabbath (v. 8). Thus the authority and presence of Jesus bring with them new attitudes and new observances.

Implications for the Matthean Theology of Law

Each of these elements has implications for and resonances with the way the law is treated elsewhere in the Gospel of Matthew. It will not be possible to develop this in any detail, but two elements may be indicated.

In the Matthean presentation of the Sabbath controversies in Matt 12:1-14 it clearly emerges that while the law is retained, in its very retention it has become transformed by the central fact of the person of Jesus. The law is under the authority of Jesus. He determines the

new directions in which the community will act. In this he has unparalleled authority. These motifs find significant parallels in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus has not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it (Matt 5:17). Even though the smallest element of the law will not be changed (v. 19), under the authority of Jesus new attitudes to the law emerge, as indicated by the recurrent variations on the phrase Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· . . ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι . . .(5:21-22, 27-28, 31-32, 33-34, 38-39, 43-44). This new observance of the law differs from the old. In other words, as with the Sabbath, all law is transformed by the presence and authority of Jesus, even as it retains its validity.

In Matt 12:1-14 there is a clear understanding that while all law places an obligation on the follower of Jesus, some laws appear as more important than others. This also finds parallels elsewhere in Matthew. For example, in a saying unique to the Gospel, Christians are told not to neglect paying tithe on the mint, dill, and cummin (Matt 23:23), yet they should remember that there are weightier matters of the law: justice, mercy, and faith. If there is any conflict, the lesser should unhesitatingly be put aside. Not unique to the Gospel of Matthew, but certainly close to the heart of its understanding of law, is the priority given to love as the first and great commandment (Matt 22:34-39).

Conclusions

Matthew's treatment of the Sabbath controversies is distinctive in many ways. The material unique to the Gospel shows greater interest in the question of Sabbath observance within the parameters of the law than the other Synoptics, although they also are interested in the question. As it is reported by Matthew, Jesus argues on the basis of continued validity for the law. He defends the correctness of his disciples' plucking of grain on the Sabbath by emphasizing the hierarchy of obligations found within the law: human need takes precedence (12:3-4), as does the holy (12:4), and mercy is more important than sacrifice (12:7). If these principles are taken into consideration, the disciples are guiltless before the law.

Jesus defends his own actions of healing on the Sabbath on the basis of the utmost importance of human need (12:11-12). Thus, while the Sabbath law remains valid in the life of the believer, there is a different relation to it than that adopted by the Pharisees in 12:2, 14. The law is viewed from the perspective of the Christ event, with a clear understanding that there are some principles which are to be upheld, even though this might result in new ways of observing the Sabbath. These observations might well form useful points of comparison with other elements of the Gospel of Matthew which need to be consulted in forming an understanding of the total Matthean theology of law.

The Armies of Heaven and Doom for the Beast. A woodcut by Lucas Cranach. Taken from Strand, *Luther's September Bible in Facsimile.*

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, Vol. 33, No. 2, 245-264
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THE ROLE OF THE HEBREW CULTUS, SANCTUARY, AND TEMPLE IN THE PLOT AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION[1]

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Introduction

Those who learn a second language generally come to realize that people express themselves by means of codes. Words are made up of a sequence of letters or sounds to which a particular meaning is attached. Words, therefore, function as codes, which those who are uninitiated into a language must learn one at a time. Linguistic codes are not limited to words; however, they can involve phrases, sentences, and even genres as well as words.[2]

In a literary work like the book of Revelation a series of codes is organized to express the author's intention for the text. But since the meaning of the codes within a given language system is constantly changing, the potential meaning in a text may far exceed the original intention of the author.[3] Over time the author's intention for a text

[1]An earlier version of this article, "Intertextuality, the Hebrew Cultus, and the Plot of the Apocalypse," was read to the Reading the Apocalypse Seminar (then known as the Literary Criticism and the Apocalypse Consultation) of the SBL Annual Meeting in New Orleans on Nov. 18, 1990. The concepts in this paper have greatly benefited from the discussions of the seminar group over the last five years.

[2]According to Ray F. Collins, "literary criticism" has been used in three ways in biblical scholarship: (1) as a synonym for source criticism, (2) as a way of seeking out the author's original intention by means of the analysis of structure and the component elements of the text, and (3) as a reference to the application of the laws of narrative from contemporary literature to ancient texts. Collins, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 116-117.

Collins' third approach to literary criticism is fairly recent and has not greatly impacted biblical scholarship because of the use of extremely esoteric language codes. The opening portion of this article reflects an attempt to simplify some of the insights of contemporary literary criticism which aided in the development of this essay. The remainder of the essay also makes use of Collins' second approach.

[3]Michael Harris, "Text in Vision/Vision in Text: Toward an 'Open' Poetics for the Apocalypse of John," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the SBL in Anaheim, CA, November 18-21, 1989, 4; cf. Edgar V. McKnight, *Post-Modern Use of the Bible: the Emergence of Reader-Oriented Criticism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 117-118; Norman R. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament Series (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 39-42.

may be lost to readers or even become distorted because of changes in the meaning of the codes that the author utilized.[4] The codes in a text often mean one thing to an original author and something entirely different to later readers.

The basic building blocks of a language, then, are codes made up of words, phrases, and genres which the users of a language commonly recognize and understand without particular effort. When a text makes use of common language or explains unfamiliar codes to the reader, one can speak in terms of "intrinsic" codes.[5] Intrinsic codes do not require that a reader have specialized skills or background in order to understand the text. An everyday understanding of a given language will suffice to understand such intrinsic codes.

Among those who speak a given language, however, there are also specialized language codes familiar only to those who have been initiated into their meaning.[6] Such "extrinsic" codes depend for their interpretation on information that is outside a given text.[7]

In contemporary literary criticism the extrinsic symbolism of a book like Revelation can be described as "overcoding."[8] In overcoding, shared experience between an author and his or her implied audience provides the context in which a work is to be understood. This shared experience can arise out of direct, face-to-face contact within a group, but it can also arise out of a common experience of reading. When author and reader share a common literary heritage, a special kind of

[4]Contemporary literary critics are not particularly disturbed by this reality. A text that takes on a life of its own may develop new and valuable significance as time passes. To those who see particular value in the original intention of the author, however, the phenomenon of code change may seem to threaten the integrity of the text. This is particularly the case where texts (such as the Bible and the Constitution of the United States) are considered authoritative.

[5]McKnight, 138-140.

[6]McKnight, 134.

[7]Ibid., 138-140. Harris, quoting Leland White ("Grid and Group in Matthew's Community: The Righteous-ness/Honor Code in the Sermon on the Mount," *Semeia* 35 [1986]: 61-62), notes that "narrative codes include 'tacit meanings' which 'include both presuppositions and intentions that are not or can not be specified in the text'" (5). The Gospel of Mark, for example, contains a number of codes, including both Aramaic terms and Jewish religious practices, which Gentile readers would not understand. When these are explained within the gospel (cf. Petersen, 42), however, they become intrinsic.

[8]McKnight, 221. A classic example of overcoding is the English phrase "once upon a time," which in addition to its natural significance conveys to the knowledgeable reader information that a fictional account placed in an indefinite nonhistorical time is in view. Cf. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979), 19-20; McKnight, 222.

overcoding is afforded by the interplay between the author's text and earlier texts (sometimes called intertextuality). Shared experience in reading provides the context for heightened enjoyment and understanding of a literary work.[9]

New Testament scholars have widely recognized that the symbolic overcoding of the book of Revelation is often grounded in a multitude of intertextual allusions and echoes to previous texts such as the documents of the Old Testament and Jewish Apocalyptic.[10] The purpose of this article is to explore the possibility that a major source of intertextual and cultural overcoding in the Apocalypse can be detected in the furnishings and the rituals of the Hebrew cultus, sanctuary, and temple as described in the Old Testament and elaborated upon in the traditions of Early Judaism.

A number of scholars have noticed elements of the Hebrew cultus in the Apocalypse.[11] But apart from generalities the role of that imagery in the author's overall structure and/or narrative plot has received only superficial treatment.[12]

The Introductory Passages

Building on the work of Kenneth A. Strand, I have noticed that allusions to the Hebrew cultus appear primarily in the passages which introduce the various visions in the Apocalypse, such as Rev 1:12-20;

[9]Eco, 21.

[10]See my book *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988) for a thorough discussion of the extent of such allusions in the Apocalypse and the varying success of those who have sought to master this aspect of the book.

[11]J. A. Draper, "The Heavenly Feast of Tabernacles: Revelation 7:1-17, *JSNT* 19 (1983): 133-147; Austin Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970); M. D. Goulder, "The Apocalypse as an Annual Cycle of Prophecies," *NTS* 27 (1981): 342-367; L. W. Hurtado, "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies," *JSNT* 25 (1985): 114; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 155-178; Lucetta Mowry, "Revelation IV-V and Early Christian Liturgical Usage," *JBL* 71 (1952): 75-84; D. T. Niles, *As Seeing the Invisible* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961); Massey H. Shepherd, *The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse*, Ecumenical Studies in Worship, vol. 6 (Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1960); Leonard Thompson, "Cult and Eschatology in the Apocalypse of John," *JR* 49 (1969): 330-350; idem, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 70; Hakan Ulfgard, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles*, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series, vol. 22 (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989).

[12]The sweeping and imaginative attempts by Farrer and Niles have been largely ignored by most scholars.

chapters 4 and 5; and Rev 8:3-5.[13] It may be helpful at this point to briefly outline the macrostructure of the book of Revelation as I understand it.[14]

Prologue (1:1-8)
Introductory Scene (1:9-20)
The Seven Churches (2:1 - 3:22)
Introductory Scene (4:1 - 5:14)
The Seven Seals (6:1 - 8:1)
Introductory Scene (8:2-6)
The Seven Trumpets (8:7 - 11:18)
Introductory Scene (11:19)
The Wrath of the Nations (12:1 - 15:4)
Introductory Scene (15:5-8)
The Wrath of God (16:1 - 18:24)
Introductory Scene (19:1-10)
The Final Judgment (19:11 - 20:15)
Introductory Scene (21:1-8)
The New Jerusalem (21:9 - 22:5)
Epilogue (22:6-21)

[13]Note the following helpful essays by Strand: "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 401-408; "The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 25 (1987): 107-121; *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Worthington, OH: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1976); *The Open Gates of Heaven*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1972); "The 'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes in the Visions in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 25 (1987): 267-288.

The most significant of these works for this study is the one entitled "The Eight Basic Visions in the Book of Revelation." This article was reprinted with some modifications in Frank B. Holbrook, ed., *Symposium on Revelation—Book I*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 6 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 35-49.

Strand divides the book of Revelation into eight visions with a prologue and an epilogue (see "The Eight Basic Visions," *AUSS* 25 [1987]: 108). Each is preceded by a "victorious-introduction scene with temple setting" (see "The Victorious-Introduction Scenes," *AUSS* 25 [1987]: 268). I find this outline basically convincing except for the designation of Rev 16:18-17:3a as an introductory vision with temple setting, leading to the treatment of Rev 17 and 18 as a separate vision. I prefer to treat Rev 17 and 18 as an elaboration of the bowl vision of Rev 15 and 16. The result is a seven-part outline with seven introductory scenes followed by seven visionary descriptions. This minor disagreement should not cause anyone to overlook my basic debt to Strand.

[14]In an extremely helpful dissertation Ekkehardt Müller ("The Microstructure of Revelation 4-11," Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1994, 10-11) speaks about "macrostructure" as the organization and arrangement of the broad text sequences of a book and of its larger blocks of text. "Microstructure," by way of contrast, is concerned with the relationships between sentences and the various verbal, grammatical, and syntactical entities in the small structures of a work.

The first of these introductory scenes (1:9-20) utilizes cultic imagery to portray the living presence of the risen Jesus among his churches on earth; the heavenly temple is not in view.[15] The seven lampstands seem to be an explicit reference to the ten lampstands placed in the outer room[16] of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:48, 49). [17]The garment worn by the "one like a son of man" may also recall the vesture of the High Priest of the Hebrew cultus.[18] This association of churches with elements of the Hebrew cultus reminds one of how the Gk word *naos* (Rev 3:12) is applied to the church in such passages as 1 Cor 3:16,17; 2 Cor 6:16; and Eph 2:21; cf. 1 Pet 2:4,5.[19] The association is probably grounded on the Early Christian concept of Jesus Christ as both the Christian High Priest and the replacement for the glorious Shekinah presence in the Hebrew tent/sanctuary.[20]

The second introductory scene (Rev 4:1-5:14) shifts the focus from churches on earth to a vision of the heavenly sanctuary/throne-room.[21] The scene contains a thorough mix of images from nearly every aspect of the Hebrew cultus.[22] The word for door in Rev 4:1 (*thura*), for

[15]The scene occurs on Patmos itself, and the seven lampstands represent the seven churches. The explicit invitation to "come up" or ascend into the heavenly realm comes later in Rev 4:1. Alberto R. Treiyer goes to great lengths to show that the scene of Rev 1:9-20 takes place in the outer room of the heavenly sanctuary. It seems to me that this goes against the explicit statements of the text, particularly the "ascension" language of 4:1 (*The Day of Atonement and the Heavenly Judgment* [Siloam Springs, AR: Creation Enterprises International, 1992], 498-503).

[16]Sometimes referred to as the "holy place" in contrast to the inner room containing the ark of the covenant, which was called the "most holy place."

[17]Treiyer indicates that Revelation as a whole is based more on the descriptions of Solomon's temple, than on the tent sanctuary of the Pentateuch, while in the epistle to the Hebrews the opposite is the case (472).

[18]The *podērē* and the golden sash suggest such descriptions as Exod 28. I do not imply that the imagery of this passage has only cultic significance. Imagery in Revelation tends to have multiple significance (cf. Robert Dean Davis, *The Heavenly Court Judgment of Revelation 4-5* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992], 65-67). Within the confines of this article, only cultic imagery is being explored.

[19]Cf. McKelvey, 92-132.

[20]Cf. Exod 40:34,35; Ezek 10:4,5. The High Priesthood of Jesus Christ is one of the central themes of the book of Hebrews. Jesus' replacement of Yahweh's glorious cultic presence is also expressed in John 2:13-22 (where he replaces with his physical body the temple buildings which were intended to house Yahweh's glory) and Matt 18:20 (which recalls *Aboth* 3:2. "If two sit together to discuss Torah, the *Shekinah* rests between them").

[21]Thompson, "Cult and Eschatology," 335.

[22]Davis (118-143) offers the most comprehensive survey of the cultic imagery in Rev 4 and 5 that I am aware of, although I do not accept his conclusions in every detail.

example, appears scores of times in the LXX in relation to the Israelite tent/sanctuary, temple, and liturgy.[23] Trumpets (4:1) were used in the cultus as well as in battle (Num 10:8-10). The three precious stones of Rev 4:3 were all found in the breastpiece of the High Priest (Exod 28:17-21).[24] The twenty-four elders remind the reader of the twenty-four courses of priests in the temple (1 Chr 24:4-19).[25] The seven lamps *(lampades)* may recall the lampstands in Solomon's temple, although a different Greek word is used.[26] The sea of glass makes use of the Greek word *(thalassa)* applied to the molten sea in Solomon's temple (1 Kings 7:23, 24).[27] The proximity of the four living creatures to the throne in Ezek 1 and 10 reminds one of the four major cherubim associated with the inner sanctuary of Solomon's temple (Exod 25:18-20; 1 Kings 6:23-28).[28] Jewish tradition also associates the lion, calf, man, and eagle with the four banners that surrounded the Israelite encampment in the wilderness (cf. Num 2).[29] The calf was sacrificed as a sin offering for both priest and congregation (Lev 4:1-21).

In Rev 5 many of these images are repeated but with some additions. The slain Lamb of 5:6 is reminiscent of the widespread use of lambs in the various sacrifices of the Hebrew cultus (Exod 12:3-5; 29:38-42; Lev 3:7; 4:32; 5:6; 14:10; Num 6:12; 28:19-21; 29:4, 10, 15). In 5:8 the 24 elders hold golden bowls of incense which are interpreted as the prayers of the saints. Both the incense and the prayers of the saints are likewise associated with the continual morning and evening sacrifices of

[23]Cf., for example, Exod 29:4, 10, 11; Lev 1:3, 5; 1 Kings 6:31, 32, 34.

[24]The connection with the High Priest's breastpiece is enhanced by the fact that sardius was the first stone listed in the Hebrew of Exodus 28 and jasper the last. Thus all the tribes are represented in the stones of the oldest and the youngest sons of Jacob (cf. Josephine Massingbaerde Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], 71, 85; McKelvey, 173). The emerald represented Judah, the tribe from which Messiah was to come (Gen 49:8-10; Rev 5:5, cf. Davis, 120).

It may also be significant that in the LXX of Exod 28:21 the breastpiece is said to be "sealed" *(sphragidōn)* with the names of the twelve tribes.

[25]Thompson, *The Book of Revelation*, 70; Robert E. Coleman, *Songs of Heaven* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1980), 39.

[26]The LXX word for the candlestick is *luchnia*, the word used in Rev 1:12,13,20. Cf. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation*, 70.

[27]Cf. Thompson, "Cult and Eschatology," 337, note 24; idem, *The Book of Revelation*, 70.

[28]Coleman, 32. The term "cherubim," of course, also applied to other "angelic" creatures whose images were carved into the walls and doors of the temple and worked into the curtains as well (cf. 1 Kings 6:29, 32, 35; 2 Chron 3:14).

[29]Ibid., 31.

the cultus (Ps 141:2, cf. Exod 29:38-42). The blood of the Lamb (Rev 5:9) provides the means to purchase the peoples of the earth for God. The elders serve God in analogy to the priests of the OT sanctuary (5:10, cf. Exod 19:5, 6).

No passage in Revelation contains a larger quantity or a wider variety of allusions to the Hebrew cultus than the introductory scene of Rev 4 and 5. Such a variety of references could only come from an occasion in which the entire temple/sanctuary was involved. Only two such occasions appear in the Hebrew cultus: the Day of Atonement and the service of inauguration (Exod 40; cf. 1 Kings 6-8).

For several reasons I believe that the best identification for the imagery in Rev 4 and 5 is the service of inauguration.[30] First of all, Rev 3:21 associates the scene of Rev 5 with the cross and the enthronement of Christ, events that are linked with the establishment of the heavenly cultus by the author of Hebrews.[31] Second, lambs were appropriate for sacrifice during the service of inauguration (Exod 40:29, cf. Lev 1:10, etc.); the Day of Atonement required a male goat instead.[32] Third, the linguistic codes associated most specifically with the inner room of the

[30]Both Davis (220-226) and Treiyer take the position that the scene of Rev 4-5 is a Day of Atonement scene. Because of space considerations, I do not deal with their arguments here. Suffice it to say that I do not find their approach convincing because it seems more philosophical and thematic than exegetical. Perhaps these points of difference can be examined in detail in later publications. The reason Rev 4-5 does not allude directly to the inauguration passages of the OT (Exod 40:34, 35; 1 Kgs 8:10-11) is probably that the primary focus of the passage is a royal enthronement (see Ranko Stefanovic, "The Background and Meaning of the Sealed Book of Revelation 5," Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1995). Since the Lamb of Revelation combines the roles of priest and king, the passage combines the imagery of royal enthronement with the imagery of temple inauguration.

[31]Heb 8:1-10:22. The "overcoming" of Christ at the cross (cf. Rev 5:5) and his enthronement with the Father, which appear to be the main themes of Rev 5, are linked as past points in time by Rev 3:21. I have argued elsewhere ("The Seven Seals," in *Symposium on Revelation—Book I,* 201-204) that Rev 3:21 is of specific and intentional importance to an understanding of the vision of Rev 4:1-8:1.

[32]Although lambs were sacrificed on the Day of Atonement, they were sacrificed as part of the *tamid* (Exod 29:38-42; Num 28:3-8) or as part of the general preparation for a festival that was in no way unique to the Day of Atonement (compare Num 29:7-11 with the entire context of Num 28 and 29). Where the services unique to the Day of Atonement are described (Lev 16; cf. *Yoma* 3:8, 9; 4:1-3; 5:4; 6:1-8), there is no mention of lambs. Other animals are used, male goats being the most distinctive.

sanctuary (*naos*[33] and *kibōtos*[34]) are absent; so is the language of judgment.[35] If Yom Kippur were in view we would expect Rev 4 and 5 to be filled with lang-uage related to the inner shrine and judgment (cf. Rev 11:18, 19). Instead, the immediate result of the lamb's sacrifice is intercession (5:8) and the outpouring of the Spirit (5:6). Finally, the implicit structuration of the Apocalypse associates Yom Kippur with a later portion of the book.[36]

Scene three (Rev 8:2-6) continues in the celestial sanctuary/temple, offering a view of the outer chamber or holy place of the temple with its continual services of intercession, involving the burning of incense and the blowing of trumpets.[37] Although Charles and others have suggested that the scene points to Yom Kippur,[38] a careful comparison of the scene with the tractates *Tamid* and *Yoma* in the Mishnah underlines its association with the *tamid* services of the continual sacrifice rather than with the annual cultic rites associated with the Day of Atonement.[39]

[33]In the first 10 chapters of the Apocalypse, the use of *naos* is limited to Rev 3:12 and 7:15; both have the eschatological consummation in view. The term *naos*, associated with God's throne in Rev 7:15 and 16:17, does not occur in chapters 4 and 5.

[34]The *kibōtos* was the ark of the covenant, the most sacred object of the Israelite sanctuary, whose cultic use was limited to the services of Yom Kippur. This word is used in Rev 11:19 where the inner room of the heavenly temple is clearly in view.

[35]In fact, the Greek words for judgment and judging are totally absent from the scene. The only time a Greek word for judging appears in the first half of the book is in Rev 6:10 and there the assertion is that God has not yet begun to judge!

Davis (22-23, 157-188) and Treiyer (474-567) have invested much effort in the attempt to demonstrate that the scene of Rev 4-5 is a judgment scene along the lines of the Day of Atonement and Dan 7. I have dealt with some of these issues in more detail in my earlier article on the Seven Seals (cited above), 206-221.

I am not as opposed as I once was to describing Rev 5 as a judgment scene, but I see it as the judgment of the Lamb (in relation to the significance of the Lamb's sacrifice), not the eschatological judgment of humanity announced in passages such as Rev 14:7. Where eschatological judgment is clearly in view, John uses the Greek language of judgment. Where reference is made to judgment in relation to the cross, the Greek language of judgment is absent.

[36]The language of judgment (*krinō*, *krisis*, and *krima*) is widely utilized in the Apocalypse after the explicit appearance of the inner *naos* of the heavenly temple (11:19). See below for a brief description of the role of Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse.

[37]The blowing of trumpets is mentioned neither in relation to the original Yom Kippur of Lev 16 nor in the detailed description of the Mishnah tractate *Yoma*.

[38]See the discussion in *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 309-323.

[39]Roger Lucas, a doctoral student at Andrews University, first pointed me to the evidence for this conclusion. Study of the originals confirmed that the scene of Rev 8:2-6

The fourth cultic introductory scene (Rev 11:19)[40] offers an explicit view of the inner chamber of the Hebrew sanctuary (*naos*) with its ark of the covenant. The fact that this scene appears in the context of judgment (11:18), after the multiple blowing of trumpets is strongly supportive of an association with the cultic activities of Yom Kippur.[41]

The fifth introductory scene (Rev 15:5-8) takes up the language of inauguration again.[42] However, it portrays a de-inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary/temple, a cessation or abandonment of its cultic activity during the events that immediately follow.

The sixth cultic introductory scene (Rev 19:1-10)—which introduces the visions concerning the rider on the white horse, the thousand years, and the judgment at the great white throne—contains the closest linguistic parallel in the book to the scene of Rev 4 and 5. There is, however, a significant difference. While Rev 19:1-10 makes mention of throne, worship, and Lamb, explicit references to

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is modeled on the daily liturgy, rather than that of the Day of Atonement. The incense altar was the main event of the *tamid*; it was bypassed during *Yoma* (*Tamid* 6:2, 3; cf. *Yoma* 5:1). In the *tamid* liturgy the priest is given the incense; during the celebration of *Yoma* he gathers his own (*Tamid* 6:2, 3; cf. *Yoma* 5:1). The incense of *tamid* is ministered on the incense altar; the incense of *Yoma* is ministered on the Ark of the Covenant (*Tamid* 6:3; cf. *Yoma* 5:5). If, as is argued below, the *tamid* liturgy is central to the structuration of this half of the Apocalypse, the identification of Rev 8:2-6 with the outer room and the *tamid* service of the Hebrew cultus is reasonably certain.

[40]In agreement with Bowman's outline; cf. J. W. Bowman, "Revelation, Book of," IDB 4:58-71. Many scholars prefer to see Rev 11:19 as part of the seventh trumpet (11:15-18) rather than as the introduction to chapters 12ff. Ekkehardt Müller (325-331), however, has offered some fresh argumentation in favor of a division between 11:18 and 11:19, which have settled the matter in my mind.

The issue may not, however, be as decisive as it seems. The boundaries of the book of Revelation tend to be soft, and often point in both directions from a literary perspective ("duodirectionality"). See Jon Paulien, "Looking Both Ways: A Study of the Duodirectionality of the Structural Seams in the Apocalypse," a paper read at the annual meeting of the SBL, Chicago, November 19, 1988; cf. also Leonard Thompson, "The Mythic Unity of the Apocalypse," in *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers*, 13-28.

[41]In the Pentateuch, as in contemporary Jewish liturgy, the Feast of Trumpets (Rosh Hashanah) precedes Yom Kippur (Lev 23:23-32).

[42]The use of the phrases "tent of witness" (*tēs skēnēs tou marturiou*) and "smoke of the glory of the Lord" (*kapnou ek tēs doxēs tou theou*) combined with the fact that no one could enter the temple creates a strong allusion to Exod 40:34,35. An additional allusion to 1 Kings 8:10,11, where a similar scene is described at the dedication of Solomon's temple, may also be intended.

furnishings and other elements from the Hebrew cultus are absent.[43] The heavenly sanctuary/throne room has faded from view.

The last introductory scene (21:1-8) introduces the New Jerusalem climax of the Apocalypse. The city's descent to earth creates the counterpart to chapter one; God is again with His people on earth. The key statement is found in Rev 21:3, "the tabernacle of God is with humanity, and He will tent with them, and they will be His people, and God will be with them."[44] Although there is no temple in the scene that follows (Rev 21:9-22:5; see specifically 21:22) there are many allusions to the Hebrew cultus.[45]

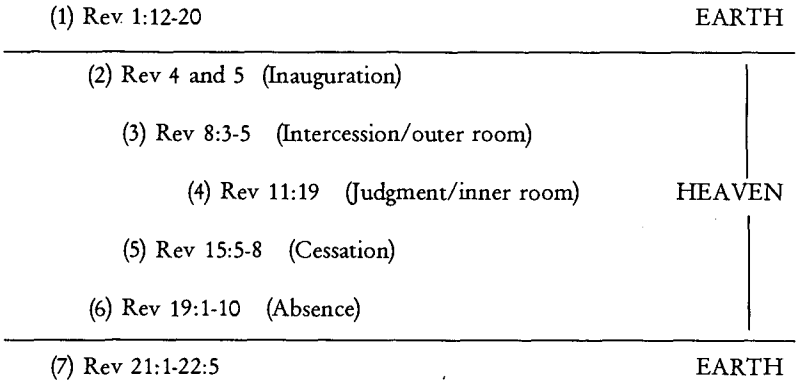
These introductory sanctuary scenes, therefore, show two definite lines of progression. First, the reader's attention is drawn from earth to heaven and then back to earth again. Second, within the heavenly portion of the heaven/earth dyad, the reader is led from the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary/throne room through its two liturgical compartments to a scene of its cessation, followed by its absence. These progressions are illustrated on p. 255.

Since all seven introductory scenes center around worship, the actions of priestly figures, and/or temple/sanctuary structures, their relationship to the Hebrew cultus is relatively explicit. Other cultic patterns are more implicit. They require the kind of "shared experience of reading" noted earlier. Nineteen hundred years after the production of Revelation, dogmatism regarding these patterns would probably be inappropriate. An examination of the background literature related to the Hebrew cultus, however, may lead to a number of implications for our understanding of the original meaning of the text.

[43]Although the term "Lamb" is certainly a cultic image, its use in Revelation is so ubiquitous that it does not necessarily carry cultic weight by itself (see Rev 6:16 and 17:14 as examples of "Lamb" used as a title for Jesus without any intention of importing cultic significance into the account). The term for the "fine linen" worn by the bride of Rev 19:7,8 (*bussinon*) is by no means limited to the priesthood and cultus in the LXX (cf., for example, Exod 36:35; 1 Chron 15:27; Esth 1:6; Ezek 16:13).

[44]The latter part of this verse recalls the language of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel (cf. Lev 26:12; Jer 32:38; Ezek 37:27).

[45]The cubical shape and the radiance of the new Jerusalem recall the inner sanctuary of the Hebrew cultus (1 Kings 6:20; cf. Coleman, 154; McKelvey, 176). The stones from which the foundation is built remind the reader of the stones on the breastpiece of the High Priest (Exod 28:17-21; cf. Coleman, 153). The twelve gates in four directions may allude to the encampment of the twelve tribes around the tent/sanctuary in the desert (Num 2; cf. Ezek 48:30-35). The description in Rev 22:1-5 is built on that of the eschatological temple of Ezek 47 and Zech 14 (cf. Ulfgard, 4, note 16). God's servants offer Him "sacrificial service" (*latreusousin*) before His throne (22:3). In addition to the above are allusions to the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth) as outlined below.



The Daily and the Yearly Sacrifices

The structure of the book of Revelation may have been developed in part on the basis of reference to the daily and yearly sacrifices of the Hebrew cultus. While the OT gives few details of the *tamid* service, a comparison of Rev 1-8 with Mishnaic sources reveals striking parallels between this section of the Apocalypse and the continual *tamid* services of the temple, as recollected in the Mishnah.[46]

As the first major act of the *tamid*, a selected priest opened the great door of the temple, entered the outer room of the temple, and trimmed the lampstand, making sure that each of the lamps was burning brightly and had a fresh supply of oil (*Tamid* 3:7, 9; cf. Rev 1:12-20). Following this act the great door of the Temple presumably remained open, as repeated entries into the outer room were made thereafter (*Tamid* 6:1-3; 7:1, 2; cf. Rev 4:1).[47] Both Revelation and the Mishnah

[46]OT references to the *tamid* include Exod 29:38-43; Num 28:1-8; and Ezek 46:13-15. The primary source for the description of the daily sacrifice is the tractate *Tamid* in the Mishnah. I do not intend to suggest that the author of the Apocalypse was quoting from the Mishnah, for the Mishnah as we know it was published roughly a hundred years later. (On the dating of the Mishnah see Jacob Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981]; idem, *The Mishnah Before 70*, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 51 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987]). In an oral society traditions such as are found there were not manufactured out of thin air, but usually had long histories of development. It seems to me that the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. was not the point at which the detailed practices of temple liturgy *began* to be developed, but that the recollections of the Mishnah had a basis in the practices that took place in the pre-70 temple. See Gary A. Anderson, "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings (OT)," *ABD* 5:885-886. The many parallels listed in my paper would certainly point to the aliveness of these concepts at the end of the first century.

[47]In Rev 4:1 the verb translated "standing open" (NIV) is a Greek perfect, implying that the door had been opened at an earlier time and was standing open at the time John is called to enter. Cf. Treiyer's struggle with this comparison (669-670).

refer next to the slaying of a lamb (*Tamid* 4:1-3; Rev 5:6), which did not begin until it could be certified that the great door was open (*Tamid* 3:7).[48] The lamb's blood was then poured out at the base of the altar of burnt offering in the outer court of the Temple (*Tamid* 4:1; Rev 6:9).[49] After the pouring out of the blood, incense was offered at the golden altar in the Holy Place (*Tamid* 5:4; Rev 8:3, 4; cf. Luke 1:8-10). Then, during breaks in the singing (*Tamid* 7:3; Rev 8:1), trumpets were blown to indicate that the sacrifice was complete (*Tamid* 7:3; Rev 8:2-6).[50]

Not only does this portion of the Apocalypse contain potential allusions to all the major details of the *tamid* liturgy, it alludes to them in essentially the same order. Thus, the material making up the septets of the churches, seals, and trumpets would be subtly associated with the activities in the temple related to the continual or *tamid* service. If the introductory scenes to the seals and the trumpets septets signify inauguration and intercession, reference also to the *tamid* service would be appropriate.

It is interesting, therefore, that in Rev 11 one finds language reminiscent of the annual liturgy of Yom Kippur. Strand has pointed out that Rev 11:1, 2 contains an allusion to the Day of Atonement.[51] This allusion is followed by an even more explicit one in Rev 11:18,19.[52]

[48]Cf. Treiyer, 670-671.

[49]Since no blood was ever poured out at the base of the incense altar in the temple (Exod 30:1-10; 40:5), it seems likely that Rev 6:9-11 contains a reference to the sacrificial altar in the courtyard outside the temple (Exod 29:12; 40:6; Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 34, etc.).

[50]But cf. Treiyer, 671. While D. T. Niles observed the possibility of connection between Revelation and the *Tamid* and was the means of calling it to my attention (*On Seeing the Invisible*, 112-114), he mistakenly, I believe, sought to pursue the parallel throughout the Apocalypse. This forced him to see enough material in a couple of phrases in *Tamid* 7:3 to provide the basis for the last half of the book. It seems far more likely to me that the overall liturgy of the *tamid* provided a cultic structuration for only the first half of the Apocalypse.

[51]Kenneth A. Strand, "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 317-325. In Lev 16, which outlines the liturgy of Yom Kippur, atonement is made for the High Priest, the Sanctuary, the altar, and the people. The only other place in Scripture where the terms Sanctuary, altar, and people are combined is in Rev 11:1,2. Since the NT High Priest (Jesus Christ) needs no atonement, the reference to sanctuary, altar, and people being measured appears to be a deliberate recollection of the Day of Atonement as a day when these are evaluated or "measured" (cf. 2 Sam 8:2 and Matt 7:2).

The possibility that this pericope may have come from a source (Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984], 65-67) should not impact on a literary study of the final form of the text.

[52]The association of the inner shrine of the temple with judgment in 11:18, 19 can point to no other aspect of the Hebrew cultus than the Yom Kippur liturgy. Another

From these points on in the Apocalypse there is repeated focus on the *naos* or inner sanctum of the temple where the central activities of Yom Kippur took place.[53] Judgment language and activity, a central theme of Yom Kippur, is also a major concern of the second half of the Apocalypse.[54]

The visions of the second half of Revelation, furthermore, portray a division of all humanity into two groups. There are those who serve the true God, represented in Revelation by the true trinity (introduced in Rev 1:4, 5). The true God is portrayed as sending out three angels of proclamation to the whole world (Rev 14:6-12), calling for decision (14:7). On the other hand, there are those who serve a counterfeit trinity (the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet; Rev 16:13), which are portrayed as sending out three demonic spirits to gather representatives of the entire inhabited world to the place called in Hebrew Har-Mageddon (Rev 16:13, 14, 16). A final battle between these worldwide forces results (17:14). The solemn appeals of 14:6-12; 16:15; and 18:4 also imply a spiritual division of humanity.

Such a division along spiritual lines took place also in relation to the lots cast over the two male goats on Yom Kippur.[55] On that day individuals chose between two types of atonement, the one offered by the service and the one represented by their own ultimate death.[56] In the Apocalypse the entire world is represented as facing such a life-and-death decision (cf. Lev 23:29, 30). The above evidence suggests that the heaven/earth dyad related to the Hebrew cultus in Revelation is accompanied by a daily/yearly dyad in which the first half of the Apocalypse is subtly modeled on the daily liturgy of the *tamid* while the latter portion of the book reflects the annual liturgy of Yom Kippur.

Revelation and the Annual Festivals

A number of scholars (such as Farrer, Niles, and Goulder)[57] have suggested that the Apocalypse as a whole is also patterned according to the order of the annual festal calendar of the Hebrew cultus. While such claims are easily overdrawn, I do believe that the language chosen by the author of the Apocalypse offers evidence of such a pattern.[58]

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association with the Day of Atonement may be the call to judgment in Rev 14:7 which is followed by a grape harvest (Rev 14:17-20), activity which typically occurred around the time of Yom Kippur.

[53]Rev 11:19 (2x); 14:15, 17; 15:5, 6, 8 (2x); 16:1, 17; 21:22 (2x). Cf. *Yoma* 5:1-4.

[54]Rev 14:7; 16:5, 7; 17:1; 18:8, 10, 20; 19:2, 11; 20:4, 12, 13.

[55]Lev 16:7-10; cf. *Yoma* 4:1.

[56]*Yoma* 8:8, 9.

[57]See footnote 11 for bibliographic information.

[58]I am indebted to my colleague at Andrews University, Richard M. Davidson, for many of the parallels described in this section on Revelation and the Annual Feasts. See

The epistolary septet of Rev 1-3 contains a number of images related to Passover, the primary spring festival. Nowhere else in the Apocalypse can one find such a strong concentration of references to Christ's death and resurrection (cf. Rev 1:5, 17, 18).[59] The searching scrutiny of the churches by "one like a son of man" reminds one of the Jewish household's search for leaven just before Passover (cf. Exod 12:19; 13:7). The manna mentioned in Rev 2:17 (cf. Exod 16) was associated in Early Judaism with both the original Passover and the Passover on which the Messiah was expected to come.[60] Rev 3:20 calls for a meal of mutual fellowship. Since Passover is the only festival first-century Christians considered fulfilled by the earthly Christ (1 Cor 5:7),[61] it would be fitting to associate it with that portion of the book where Christ is portrayed in his ministry to the churches on earth.[62]

As the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary, the throne-scene of Rev 4-5 is fittingly associated with Pentecost. The song of Rev 5:9, 10

Davidson, "Sanctuary Typology," in *Symposium on Revelation—Book I*, 121-126. The many other parallels between his article and this one can be attributed to our involvement together in team-taught classes and Davidson's familiarity with an earlier draft of this article, as his copious footnotes clearly indicate. The intention of this article is to update these ideas and bring them to the attention of the wider scholarly community.

I am well aware that the pattern of annual festivals being suggested here is far from explicit, with the probable exception of the Feast of Tabernacles. Connections with the other four Pentateuchal festivals range from probable to possible. Cf. Treiyer (663-668) for examples of possible objections to some of these connections.

[59]Although the slain lamb is mentioned in the next part of Revelation (Rev 5:6), its death was understood to precede the scene in Rev 5 (Rev 5:5, 6; cf. 3:21). If the "Lord's Day" of Rev 1:10 were the Quartodeciman Easter (Kenneth A. Strand, "How Sunday Became the Popular Day of Worship, *These Times*, November, 1978, 24; Goulder, 356) the connection would be even stronger since the Asian churches probably celebrated Easter on Passover at the time the Apocalypse was written (cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.23-25).

[60]In John 6, the manna, Passover, and Jesus' messianic role are tied together in the debate with the crowd in the synagogue at Capernaum. See Raymond Brown, *The Gospel According to John I to XII*, AB 29a, 2d ed., 265-266, for documentation on the relationship between manna, Passover, and the Messiah in Early Judaism.

[61]The Christian's "Passover sacrifice" took place at the crucifixion, an event that took place during a Passover feast (Matt 26:2,17-19; Mark 14:1,1 2, 14, 16; Luke 22:1, 7-15; John 13:1; 18:28, 39; 19:14). This association is underlined by the eucharistic connections with Passover found repeatedly in the Fourth Gospel (John 2:13-22; 6:1-66; 13:1-20). While the Fourth Gospel also understands Jesus to be the fulfillment of Sukkoth, the Feast of Booths, with its emphasis on water and light (John 7:2, 37-39; 8:12; 9:5), this fulfillment was postponed until after His glorification and ascension to the Father (John 7:37-39; 20:17).

[62]Goulder's association of the seven lampstands with the Paschal candle which burned in ancient churches from Easter to Pentecost is plausible, if the tradition can be traced to first-century Asia Minor (355).

recalls the language of Exod 19:5, 6, which describes the inauguration of Israel as the people of God. According to Exod 19 the giving of the law on Mount Sinai took place on the fifth day of the third month, the day that was ever after celebrated as the festival of Pentecost.[63] As the New Moses, the Lamb receives, as it were, the new Torah from God in Rev 5. Christ's death produced the "blood of *the* covenant" (according to Matt 26:28), an apparent reference to the covenant ratified on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:8).[64] It should not surprise us, then, that the Jewish liturgy for the festival of Pentecost included the reading not only of Exod 19 but also of Ezek 1, a major literary background to Rev 4-5.[65]

The blowing of seven trumpets near the center of the book (Rev 8-9; 11:15-18) echoes the Feast of Trumpets, which was celebrated on the first day of the seventh month (Tishri). The Feast of Trumpets is closely associated in Jewish thought with the new-moon festivals that were celebrated at the beginning of each month.[66] Since the months of the year in the Jewish calendar are numbered beginning with Nisan, there is a sense in which the Feast of Trumpets comes as the climax of a seven-month series of mini-Feasts of Trumpets. The festival, in principle then, covers the span between the spring and fall festivals. If John is familiar with Jewish thinking in these matters, and we have already seen abundant evidence that he is, the seven trumpets of Revelation probably represent the ongoing sequence of seven months with the seventh trumpet representing the Feast of Trumpets itself. It is, interestingly, within the seventh trumpet (Rev 11:18) that we find the first explicit use of judgment terminology in Revelation. In Jewish thought the seventh-month Feast of Trumpets ushered in the time of judgment that led up to the Day of Atonement (cf. 11:18, 19).

[63]Israel arrived at Sinai on the first day of the third month, according to Exod 19:1. The three days of preparation would indicate that the giving of the law was on the fifth day of the third month, coincident with the date of Pentecost. Cf. Hayyim Schauss, *The Jewish Festivals: History and Observance*, trans. Samuel Jaffe (New York: Schocken, 1938), 87-89. Evidence is lacking in Jewish sources to demonstrate conclusively that this connection was made in the first century. However, according to Jub 6:16, Pentecost was celebrated as a perpetual renewal of the Noachic covenant some 200 years before the Apocalypse was written. Thus, it is not unlikely that the feast had developed associations with the Sinai covenant as well by the time Revelation was written.

[64]Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: 1982), 528; cf. idem, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, vol. 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 57-59.

[65]Goulder, 356; cf. *Meg.* 31a.

[66]Schauss, 117; cf. Num 10:10; *Roš Haš* 1:3, 4; 3:1.

Correspondingly, from Rev 11:19 to near the end of the book there is an increasing focus on judgment.[67]

The importance of Yom Kippur imagery to the material in Rev 12-20 has already been discussed above and will not be repeated here. The last of the five basic festivals of the Levitical system (cf. Lev 23) was the Feast of Tabernacles or Sukkoth which followed Yom Kippur. In the language of the Apocalypse, the harvest is over (cf. Rev 14-20). God is now "tenting" with His people (Rev 21:3). Therefore, the end-time celebrations of the Apocalypse are filled with images of feasting, palm branches, music, and rejoicing, as was the Feast of Tabernacles.[68] The primary images of the feast, water and light, find their ultimate fulfillment in Rev 22:1, 5.[69] This connection was not unique to Early Christianity; the rabbis had already associated the messianic stream of living water in Zechariah with the water-drawing ceremony of Sukkoth.[70]

Since the Feast of Trumpets functioned as the climax of seven new-moon festivals (Num 10:10), it formed the bridge between the Passover and Pentecost festivals of spring and the Yom Kippur and Sukkoth festivals of autumn. The above evidence may, therefore, indicate a spring/fall dyad within the Apocalypse, dividing at roughly the same point in the book as the daily/yearly dyad, and coinciding with the center point of the liturgical sequence of the introductory passages.

The transition point for both dyads coincides with the opening of the scroll in Rev 10. If it could be demonstrated that the two scrolls of Rev 5 and 10 were the same, and time does not permit the exploration of that thorny issue,[71] these dyads come at a major move within the Apocalypse toward a resolution of the eschatological situation within which the author and his implied readers find themselves. This is

[67]Rev 14:7; 16:5, 7; 17:1, etc.

[68]Cf. Rev 7:9ff. and Rev 19:1-10 as well as Rev 21-22. Cf. *Sukkah* 3:1, 8-16; 4:1-4, 7, 8; 5:1. Some may wish to argue that the Tabernacles imagery of Rev 7:9ff. is evidence that the kind of overall scheme presented here does not work. I would suggest, instead, that Rev 7:9ff. functions as an example of what Harris calls "premature closure" or an "episodic plot" (Harris, 16-17).

[69]*Sukkah* 4:9; 5:2-4.

[70]According to Ulfgard, 4, note 16. I obviously disagree with McKelvey (163), who argues that the Feast of Tabernacles is the dominant image of all the liturgical scenes in the Apocalypse.

[71]However, note the suggestions of Fred Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-critical Perspective*, Beiheft zur *ZNW* 54 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 265-279.

supported by evidence that the fall festivals were understood in the first century as anticipations of the ultimate eschaton.[72]

Concluding Implications

What contribution can the above make toward a literary understanding of the Apocalypse? First of all, the patterns observed in this article all suggest a linear plot to the Apocalypse.[73] While scholars have observed abundant evidence of recapitulation and "premature closure" in the book,[74] its linearity must not be ignored. Like most literary works that originate in oral cultures, strict linearity is not observed, but is broken up by a high degree of repetition and enlargement, thus creating a continuous narrative with an "episodic plot."[75] The cultic background, however, overcodes the imagery in a linear direction.

The presence of strong allusions to Sukkoth in Rev 7:9-17, long before the consummative Feast of Tabernacles in chapters 21 and 22, on the other hand, underlines the fact that the linear closure of the Apocalypse is repeatedly anticipated by "premature closures."[76] Thus, Fiorenza's appellation "conic spiral," for all its shortcomings,[77] is an excellent summarization of the plot of the Apocalypse.[78] An even more accurate analogy may be that of a musical scale, which continually

[72]Thompson, "Cult and Eschatology," 330-331.

[73]By "linear plot" I mean a natural flow of action from beginning to end, as opposed to a series of episodes or "short stories" that have only a loose connection with each other. Harris (9-17) cites R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920)1:xxiii-xxvii; David Aune, "Revelation," *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 1301; and Jan Lambrecht, "A Structuration of Revelation 4,1-22,5," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, ed. Jan Lambrecht, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, vol. 53 (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), 77-104; as supportive of a linear structure in the Apocalypse.

[74]Harris cites the following as prominent supporters of a "recapitulation" view: Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 149; David Barr, *New Testament Story: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1987), 282-295; and Sophie Laws, *In the Light of the Lamb: Imagery, Parody, and Theology in the Apocalypse of John*, Good News Studies, vol. 31 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 16.

[75]Harris, 16-17.

[76]That the allusions to Sukkoth are nearly as strong in 7:9-17 as in the last section of the Apocalypse has been noted by a number of scholars such as Ulfgard, Draper (see note 11 for documentation) and Comblin. According to Ulfgard, Comblin sees no less than ten major parallels between Rev 7:9-17 and Rev 21,22 (Ulfgard, 86, note 368). Rev 7:9-17 does not negate the festal-year structuration of the Apocalypse but functions as a proleptic depiction of the realities of the consummation recounted in chapters 21 and 22.

[77]See Harris, 11.

[78]Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 171.

progresses in a linear direction while reviewing earlier tones in ever-richer vibrations.

Second, Harris has pointed out that Mediterranean society in the first century A.D. grasped ideas in terms of dyads or matching pairs, such as the shame/honor system.[79] Three further dyads; heaven/earth, daily/ yearly and spring/fall are suggested in this study. These three dyads appear to point in the direction of a two-part focus for the book.

The first half of Revelation, based on the daily sacrifices, the spring festivals, and the inauguration and intercession provided by the cosmic Christ, focuses on the ongoing realities of a world impacted upon by the Christ event, while the second half of the book, based on the yearly sacrifices, the fall festivals, judgment, and the abandonment of intercession focuses on the anticipated consummation.

This observation supports the approach of Strand, who argues on the basis of the book's chiastic structure that Revelation falls naturally into two halves, whose emphasis he terms "historical" and "eschatological."[80] This approach parallels the pattern of the other two great "apocalyptic" passages of the NT, Matt 24 (with its parallels in Luke 21 and Mark 13) and 2 Thess 2. Each of these passages contains a section that focuses on the immediate realities of the Christian age (cf. Matt 24:3-14 and 2 Thess 2:3-7), followed by a section which gives special attention to the anticipated climax at the *parousia* (2 Thess 2:8-12; Matt 24:15-31, especially vv. 27-31).[81] Revelation appears to be based on a similar pattern.[82]

[79]Included among his citations on that point were the following: Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981); idem, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1986; John H. Elliott, "Patronage and Clientelism in Early Christian Society," *Forum* 3/4 (1987): 39-48; Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom: Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel*, Overtures to Biblical Theology (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); idem, "Honor, Shame, and the Outside World in Paul's Letter to the Romans," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, Borgen, and R. Horsley (Philadelphia: Fortressss, 1988), 207-218.

[80]Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1979), 43-58.

[81]This dual perspective is particularly clear in Luke where the "Times of the Gentiles" (21:24) form a bridge between the description of A.D. 70 and the general realities of the Christian age (21:7-23), and the description of the end-time (Luke 21:25ff.).

[82]All three of the dyads observed draw attention to chapter 11 of the book as in some way central to the whole, the crucial turning point. While the heaven/earth/heaven movement of the introductory visions highlights the outer boundaries of the book, the development in the heavenly temple moves to its climax at 11:19 and then fades out progressively into oblivion. The daily/yearly dyad overlaps in chapter 11 as the trumpets

Third, while some may be inclined to consider this article an exercise in fantasyland, it is imperative to keep in mind that when an author's conceptual universe includes a cultic system with its own complex inner associations and contrasts, the selection of one or another image based on that system is likely to be of deep significance. To illustrate, when the author describes the ark of the covenant instead of the incense altar (Rev 11:19, cf. 8:3, 4), or Sukkoth instead of Passover (Rev 21, 22) he is not picking images out of a hat, but is operating within a narrative world that his ideal reader will also share. His choices must be examined not only in terms of their inherent significance within the cultic system, but also in the light of alternatives that were not selected.

The cultic imagery of Revelation suggests that the ideal reader of the book is one who, through shared competency in the texts and liturgical practices of the Hebrew cult, is enabled to enter more deeply into the world of the text. This leads us to two contradictory possibilities. If Thompson and Goulder are correct that the cultic elements of the Apocalypse reflect early Christian worship practices,[83] the Hebrew cultus was, in a metaphorical sense, at least, central to early Christian liturgy, and would have had deep literary and theological significance for any early Christian's reading of Revelation.[84] The other possibility is that the book's highly specialized narrative world was targeting a rather limited number of historical readers, perhaps a specific subgroup of Jewish Christians, already educated in the cultic intricacies of the author's conceptual world.[85] In either case, readers without such a background would have great difficulty in understanding and

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of the *tamid* draw to a close in 11:18 while Yom Kippur imagery begins in 11:1. The spring/fall dyad utilizes the trumpets of chapters 8-11 as the transition section. Thus, the book of Revelation is divided into two fairly equal halves to highlight the literary/theological movement from a focus on the results of the death of the Lamb and its consequences for Christian existence to a focus on the eschatological consummation.

Such anomalies as the Sukkoth imagery of Rev 7:9-17 are explainable in terms of the conic spiral or the tendency to premature closure in the plot of the Apocalypse. This cultic structuration is not the only way to structure the book, but needs to be taken into account in the development of the structure or plot of the book.

[83]Thompson, "Cult and Eschatology," 342-350; idem, *The Book of Revelation*, 72-73; Goulder, 349-354.

[84]The book would then have provided further liturgical material for the churches of Asia Minor. Cf. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation*, 72.

[85]It is sometimes overlooked that the grammar of the introduction indicates that there is a blessing only on those who read and hear "with understanding" (Rev 1:3).

appreciating the author's literary intent, which in fact is exactly what has happened with regard to the Apocalypse over the centuries.

Is the cultic mentality of John typical of first century Christianity, or was John speaking to a theological minority in the ancient Mediterranean world? It seems to me that the centrality of the Old Testament to early Christian thought and argumentation would lead to general familiarity with one of its central features. This is certainly true of the argumentation in the so-called Letter to the Hebrews, which requires thorough immersion in the Christian significance of the Hebrew cultus. The letters attributed to Paul[86] and the Gospels also show considerable familiarity with it.[87] Our own lack of familiarity with these cultic practices is no argument that early Christians as a whole were unfamiliar with them. The metaphorical use of cultic imagery was probably widespread among the early Christians.

While the reading of the book of Revelation suggested in this article may seem needlessly complex to today's readers, an understanding of the Hebrew cultus provides a window into the complex thought-world revealed in this strange yet fascinating book.

[86]Rom 3:25; 5:9, 10; 12:1; 15:16, 31; 1 Cor 3:16-17; 5:7; 6:19; 9:13; 10:18-20; 11:25; 2 Cor 2:14-16; 5:21; Eph 2:13, 19-22; 5:2; Phil 2:17; 4:18; Col 1:20; cf. Acts 21:26.

[87]Matt 5:23-24; 26:28; Mark 1:44; 14:24; 15:38; Luke 1:8-11; 2:22-24; 22:7-8,15-16, 20; John 1:29, 36; 2:13; 5:1; 7:2, 10-14; 10:22-23; 11:55-57; 12:1; 18:28; 19:14, 31, 36. However, the implied audience of Mark's Gospel requires some explanation of Jewish practices (Mark 7:3, 4).

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1995, Vol., 33, No. 2, 265-283
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THE RICH MAN IN JAMES 2: DOES ANCIENT PATRONAGE ILLUMINE THE TEXT?

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Introduction

The episode of the gold-fingered man in splendid clothes and the filthy pauper in Jas 2:2-4 is typically used to show God's preference for the poor and condemnation of the wealthy.[1] Some authors disagree, seeing it instead as an illustration of "proper relations of rich and poor in Christian society" as outlined in Jas 2:1-13.[2] Because the section begins with a prohibition of προσωπολημψία, "favoritism," the passage is also considered an "argument against the sin of prejudice"[3] or a condemnation of "snobbery."[4]

The following analysis suggests that the rich man of Jas 2 is portrayed as a potential patron of the Christian synagogue to which James was writing. Thus, I have come to agree with Bo Reicke that Jas 2:1-13 is a treatise on the "impropriety of currying favor with the rich".[5]

The client-patron relation, according to John H. Elliott, has received far less attention than it merits, "particularly on the part of students of early Christianity." He posits that "abundant literary and epigraphic witness to this ancient institution" should be used to analyze the New Testament setting. "Such an analysis, in turn, holds the promise of clarifying more precisely key features of the social contours

[1]See Elsa Tamez, *The Scandalous Message of James* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 44-45; Pedrito Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987), 48-67.

[2]For example, James Adamson, *The Epistle of James*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 102.

[3]John B. Polhill, "Prejudice, Partiality, and Faith: James 2," *Review and Expositor* 83 (1986): 395.

[4]Adamson, *Epistle of James*, 281.

[5]Bo Reicke, *The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 27.

and cultural scripts which shaped the world and literature of early Christianity."[6]

While the literature cited in this article indicates that ancient patronage has illuminated a number of other NT passages, an understanding of patron-client relations has not yet explicitly affected the interpretation of Jas 2:1-13. Following Elliott's lead, therefore, this article explores how an understanding of ancient patronage may contribute to the interpretation of Jas 2:1-13. In the first section, patronage as a social institution in the world of the NT is discussed. In the second, the passage itself is studied, with particular attention to the rich man in vv. 2-4, to examine the relevance of patronage for its interpretation.

Patronage: The Patron-Client Relation

The following survey of patronage in the NT world is not exhaustive. Its purpose is to provide sufficient background to re-evaluate our understanding of Jas 2:1-13.

Patronage Defined

According to Halvor Moxnes, "patron-client relations are social relations between individuals based on a strong element of inequality and difference in power." The basis of the relation is reciprocity—the mutual "exchange of different and very unequal resources."[7] Services or favors are often exchanged: the patron provides money, a dinner, or security in court; the client composes a poem for the patron, renders homage, or otherwise enhances his or her status.[8]

In their seminal study on patronage, S. N. Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger also describe characteristics of the patronage relation. There is an uneven exchange of resources: support and protection from the patron; solidarity and loyalty from the client. In particular there is a "strong element of solidarity in these relations, linked to personal honor

[6]John H. Elliott, "Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society: A Short Reading Guide," *Forum* 3 (December 1987): 39.

[7]Halvor Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 242. A. Blok sees the patron-client dynamic functioning in a variety of relations: father-son, God-man, saint-devotee, lord-vassal, landlord-tenant, politician-voter, among others ("Variations in Patronage," *Sociologische Gids* 16 [1969]: 365-378.

[8]Barbara K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 2.

and obligations." These relations are voluntary, yet binding and long-term.[9]

Patronage in the Greco-Roman World

Jo-Ann Shelton points out that the "patronage system was one of the most deep-rooted and pervasive aspects of ancient Roman society." Through these vertical relations the "upper class and lower class were bound to one another in relationships which emphasized deference and obsequiousness on the part of many toward a few." As a father had the duty of protecting his family, the aristocrats were to "devote time, energy, and money to the welfare of those inferior to them—the lower-class masses—and to provide public services without pay, but they demanded in return gratitude, submission, and veneration."[10]

One of the evidences of respect that patrons in Rome demanded of their clients was a daily appearance at the *salutatio.* While the patron benefited by appearing influential and powerful because of his many visitors, the client had an opportunity to receive favors or promises thereof. In one of his satires, Juvenal pointed out that at times "a meal is the return which your grand friendship yields you."[11] Martial describes in clever epigrams the feelings of clients. One is frustrated to attend the *salutatio* only to find his patron absent. Another jokingly suggests that the gold leaf supposedly from his patron's praetor crown is merely a flake from the leg of his patron's couch, "scraped off by the nail of a cunning slave."[12]

Patronage contributed to politics in Rome. In 64 B.C. Quintus Tullius Cicero wrote his more famous brother, Marcus Tullius Cicero, a letter on how to make the most of patronage as he ran for public office.

> Make sure that both the large number of your friends and also their high ranks are quite apparent. . . . Take care that you retain these supporters by reminding them of your campaign, by asking for their votes, and by using every method to make sure that the people who owe you favors understand that there will never be another opportunity for them to return the favor, and that the people who

[9]S. N. Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 48-49; see also S. N. Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger, "Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 49-51.

[10]Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 13, 14.

[11]*Satire* 5.12-23.

[12]*Epigram* 2.32; 8.33.

> desire your help understand that there will never be another opportunity for them to put you under obligation to them.
>
> . . . Make sure that you are attended every day by men from each class, order, and age group. . . . Your attendants can also be divided into three groups: (1) those who come to your home for the morning salutation, (2) those who escort you from your home, and (3) those who follow you through the city.
>
> Come down to the Forum at the same time every day; for a large crowd of escorts every day brings you great renown and great respect. . . .[13]

Seneca the Younger (ca. 4 B.C. - ca. A.D. 65) describes the foibles of both patrons and clients. The greedy clients, he notes, do not court "you for yourself; they merely court something from you."[14] On the other hand, patrons torture their clients by making them wait and then, "asleep and sluggish from last night's debauch," can remember "the right name only after it has been whispered to them a thousand times."[15] The hypocrisy of the institution is clear.

Moxnes describes different types of patrons. Some are able to provide for the clients from their own resources. On the other hand, the broker-patron serves as a mediator; he does not give of his own means, but facilitates the acquisition of goods or services by the client. A benefactor-patron, in turn, is able to provide major benefits to a commnity, for example, the construction of public buildings or monuments or payment for a public festival.[16]

Patronage operated throughout the Roman Empire on all levels. Everett Ferguson notes that "everyone from slave to aristocrat felt bound to display respect to someone more powerful than himself, up to the emperor."[17] In Rome this social institution was especially well-developed, following specific social canons. Although patronage functioned in other parts of the Empire, specific information is scarce. Garnsey and Woolf surmise, however, that patronage functioned "in

[13]Quintus Tullius Cicero *Some Thoughts about Political Campaigns* 1.1-5; 8.29-31, 33; 9.34-38; 11.41-45; 12.48; 13.53; 14.54, 54, quoted in Shelton, 220-224.

[14]*Epistle* 19.4.

[15]*On the Shortness of Life* 14.4.

[16]Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations," 248-249.

[17]Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 45.

widely separated parts of the Roman empire, operating alongside systems of rural dependancy."[18]

Regarding patronage among Jews, Daniel Sperber notes that "the Rabbinic literature contains evidence of the spread of the phenomenon of patronage from about the mid-third century onwards." The rabbis described God as more willing to help than a patron.[19] Sperber's time frame is later than the first-century setting of James, but one might conjecture that patronage was known earlier among the Jews.

Patronage in the New Testament

The New Testament provides no explicit discussion of patronage or the patron-client relation. However, recent studies suggest that patronage is evident in the text, as might be expected in a first-century Mediter-ranean environment.[20] Several aspects of the Luke-Acts narration may be related to patronage. Jerome H. Neyrey posits that "patron-client relations, then, are an indispensable scenario for understanding the full meaning of the social relations in Luke-Acts, especially those that deal with food and meals."[21] In his book, *The Economy of the Kingdom*, Moxnes describes several aspects of the patron-client relation, then applies them to Palestine as Luke describes it in his Gospel.[22] It is possible, according to Vernon K. Robbins, that Theophilus was a patron of Luke, from whom Luke would have

[18]Peter Garnsey and Greg Woolf, "Patronage of the Rural Poor in the Roman World," *Patronage in Ancient Society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 166. See also Peter Garnsey and Richard P. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 28-29, 122; Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1982).

[19]*Y. Berachot* 9.1, as quoted in Daniel Sperber, "Patronage in Amoraic Palestine (c. 220-400): Causes and Effects," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 14 (1971): 234. The text reads: "A man who has a patron, if he has trouble, he does not barge in on him suddenly, but comes, stands outside at his gateway, and tells the servant, 'So and so (i.e. I) is standing at the gate of your court; perhaps you will permit him to enter'. Not so the Lord. If trouble comes upon a man, he does not have to cry to Michael or Gabriel (God's servants, the Angels), but straight to Me, and I will answer him immediately."

[20]For example, Bruce J. Malina, "Patron and Client: The Analogy behind Synoptic Theology," *Forum* 4 (March 1988): 2-32.

[21]Jerome H. Neyrey, "Ceremonies in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 374.

[22]Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), especially 36-47 and 62-64.

received sustenance while doing his writing; he repaid Theophilus by dedicating the book to him.[23]

The story of the healing of the centurion's servant (Luke 7:2-10) suggests the brokerage of patron-client relations.[24] The Jewish elders came to Jesus requesting that he should heal the centurion's servant, because he "loves our nation, and he built us our synagogue" (v. 5).

Bruce Malina goes further in his interpretation of patronage in the New Testament. He sees Jesus as the broker between God the heavenly patron and the clientele he gathers during his ministry.[25]

Some commentators have caught glimpses of patronage in the epistles. Prominent Christians may have been benefactors of their local churches. Ferguson sees Phoebe (called διάκονος and προστάτις, Rom 16:2) as a "patroness," one "who gives aid and who had the resources to do so."[26] In his commentary on James 2, Peter H. Davids implies a potential patron-client relation between church members and the gold-ringed man in splendid clothes when he says: "If a wealthy person entered the church or was a member, there would be every reason to court him. His money was seen as a means of survival. Certainly one should not offend *him*."[27] Leaders of house churches in the early Christian church might well have been patrons or benefactors: among them, Lydia (Acts 16:14-15), Aquila and Priscilla (Rom 16:4-5; 1 Cor 16:19), and Stephanas (1 Cor 16:15).[28]

In a 1992 study on patronage in the church of Corinth, John Chow concludes that "patronage was *one* of the important ways through which relationships in first-century Corinth were structured." When the problems in the Corinthian church are viewed in "light of the convention of patronage in Roman Corinth," some important aspects of these problems can be attributed "to the presence, influence and activity of some who functioned as patrons of the church."[29] The divisions at the Lord's table (1 Cor 11), Chow feels, "probably reflect some of the same distinctions between patrons and inferiors." If the

[23]Vernon K. Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 321-322.

[24]Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations," 241-242.

[25]Malina, "Patron and Client," 2, 11, 13.

[26]Ferguson, 45.

[27]Peter H. Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 33.

[28]Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 78, 98, 119.

[29]John K. Chow, *Patronage and Power* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 188.

immoral man were a patron, the church might have been proud of him—in spite of his lapse. Further, the difficulty in giving up eating at the idol temple might have been due to an unwillingness to break off connections with powerful patrons in Corinth.[30] Chow suggests that "Paul's directives [to the church in Corinth] were aimed at strengthening the horizontal relationships in the church and these directives, in effect, carried subversive implication for vertical patron-client ties in the church."[31] Although Chow's conclusions may go beyond what the evidence warrants, some indications of patronage in the Corinthian church are evident.

The Benefactor Patron

The concept of patron-client relations between individuals can be extended to group relations. Whereas the patron provides advantages to an individual, the benefactor grants benefits to a community or even a nation. Frederick Danker has collected 53 examples of the recognition of benefactors, mostly from the Graeco-Roman world in which the New Testament appeared. The inscriptions and documents provide what Danker calls a "profile" of the human or divine benefactors: they are virtuous, generous, and reliable. Benefactors confer benefits which include forgiveness, healing, and financial aid. The natural response to benefactors is public honor and gratitude.[32]

Examples of honorific decrees illustrate the role of the benefactor and the response of the community. From Julia Gordos in Asia comes a grave inscription from the year 75/76 A.D.; Theophilos is honored with a public reading of commendation, and an inscription for "having contributed all good-will towards his country, having lived his life as master of his family, providing many things for his country through his generalship and tenure as agoranomos and his embassies as far as Rome and Germany and Caesar."[33] An honorific decree from Mysia (mid-first century A.D.) extolls the virtues of Apollonis. She was honored by the whole city "because of her parents' virtue and that of her husband, and because of her own moderation."[34] On a marble stele found in Benghazi, Decimus Valerius Dionysios is honored by the Jews of the city for

[30]Ibid., 189.

[31]Ibid., 190.

[32]Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis, MO: Clayton, 1982).

[33]G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde, NSW, Australia: Macquarie University, 1981-1989), 2:58-60.

[34]Horsley, 4:10-17.

plastering the floor of the amphitheater and adorning its walls with paintings. He is to be exempt from "liturgies," crowned with an "olive crown," and named "at the new moon."[35]

In Judaism the support of the synagogue was a most common and appreciated way of contributing to the community. An example appears in Luke 7, where the Jewish elders urged Jesus to heal the centurion's servant because he had built them a synagogue (v. 5). Synagogue inscriptions recovered by archeology amply illustrate this kind of benefaction.

Baruch Lifshitz has compiled 102 examples of inscriptions relating to support for construction, maintenance, or reconstruction of Jewish synagogues. These come from as far apart as Syria-Palestine and Spain; they range over several centuries. Some record the donation of the whole synagogue structure, as in Lifshitz' first inscription from Greece: "I have built the synagogue from its foundations."[36] Others tell of those who contributed an altar,[37] a fountain,[38] or so many feet of pavement.[39]

Most of these synagogue benefactors appear to have been Jewish, even when they bear Latin names, which indicate their accomodation to the environment.[40] On the other hand, some inscriptions suggest non-Jewish benefactors. For example, Julia Severa aided in the reconstruction of a synagogue in Phrygia; the same lady appears in another inscription as a pagan priestess.[41] Paul Trebilco concludes that she was "a pagan who was favourably disposed towards the Jews and built a synagogue as their patroness."[42]

The "benefactor" was a person who undertook some activity in favor of a group, often the construction of a building. In turn, he or she received the grateful homage of the community.

The Interpretation of James 2:1-13

In interpreting Jas 2:1-13 in the light of ancient patronage, I have made several assumptions. The first is that Christian congregations

[35]Horsley, 4:202-209.

[36]Baruch Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogue juives* (Paris: Gabalda, 1967), 13.

[37]Ibid., 21.

[38]Ibid., 38.

[39]Ibid., 42-45.

[40]A Jewish woman of Rome even bore the name Isidora, "gift of Isis" (Jean Baptiste Frey, CIJ, vol. 1, *Europe* [New York: KTAV, 1975), lxviii.

[41]Lifshitz, 34-36,

[42]Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 59.

might have had patrons or, more probably, benefactors. Patronage language appears repeatedly in James.[43] However, it most obviously points to God as the authentic Patron of Christians, especially in chapter 1, where James points to the "giving God" who is ready to provide whatever one may lack (vv. 4, 5). Vv. 6-8 indicate that one must ask in the right way—with full faith. Those who have God for a patron, even though they may suffer trials, will eventually receive a crown of life (1:12), not merely a golden leaf from a praetor's crown as might a Roman client. Perfect gifts do not come from earthly patrons; they come down from the Father above, the Patron who does not change his mind according to the day's mood (1:17). In earthly patronage, patrons who had their own clients often had a patron themselves. Thus, if Christians are clients of God, they are also patrons of the less fortunate, the widows and orphans of 1:27.

A second set of assumptions has to do with the epistle itself. While it cannot be determined with total certainty that James the early leader of the Christian churches in Jerusalem wrote the epistle, evidence and tradition strongly suggest the possibility.[44] Furthermore, the epistle seems to reflect the situation of the cosmopolitan Jerusalem church as depicted in Acts. In addition I believe the book is a literary epistle addressed to a group of believers, and is a unified treatise on issues they were facing.[45] Its theme is perhaps best expressed by Edmond Hiebert, who affirms that: "*Tests of living faith* is indeed the unifying theme of the epistle and . . . provides ready access to its contents."[46] In his letter James deals with how Christians ought to live their faith under differing circumstances.

[43]I owe much of the data in this paragraph to the reactions of Jerome H. Neyrey to my presentation on patronage in James 2 at the Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Seminar, Notre Dame University, 17 March 1993.

[44]Davids, *James*, 9; Ralph Martin, *James*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word, 1988), xxi-lxi; Adamson, *Epistle of James*, 22.

[45]F. O. Francis, "The Form and Function of the Opening and Closing Paragraphs of James and 1 John," *ZNW* 61(1970): 110-126. This, despite Martin Dibelius, who emphasized the discontinuity and "lack of theology" of James because "paranaesis provides no opportunity for the development and elaboration of religious ideas" (*James*, rev. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Michael A. Williams, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976], 5, 21.

[46]D. Edmond Hiebert, "The Unifying Theme of James." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 135 (July-September 1978): 224. A. S. Geyser suggests the key to the unity of James is to be found in a "reconstruction (from internal evidence) of the social and religious condition of the addressees." Thus the "seemingly haphazard and unconnected string of moralizing proverbs and trite sermonettes may shape into a consistent picture" (A. S. Geyser, "The Letter of James and the Social Condition of His Addressees," *Neotestamentica* 9 (1975): 25-33).

If indeed the theme of the epistle is "*tests of living faith*," Jas 2:1-13 speaks of the test posed to faith by προσωπολημψία, "favoritism." One might even suggest that the kind of favoritism that here tested the believers' faith was that routinely shown in the practice of patronage.

An analysis of the flow of the passage suggests several sections:

1 Prohibition: Do not mix favoritism and the Christian faith
2-4 Illustration: Favoritism in the congregation and its condemnation
5-7 Explanation: Why favoritism makes no sense
8-9 Expansion of the prohibition: Sinful favoritism is not compatible with loving one's neighbor as fulfillment of the law
10-11 Caution: Favoritism is much a sin as adultery or murder
12-13 Warning: Judgment by the law of liberty is sure

This article does not propose to present an exegetical study of the whole passage. It only looks at the those verses where the interpretation of the passage might be affected by a better understanding of the ancient social convention of patronage.

The Prohibition

In Jas 2:1, the Christian congregation is forbidden to mix acts of προσωπολημψία with their faith in Jesus. The prohibition is stated in the present tense: the recipients of the letter are to stop committing these acts.

The word προσωπολημψία, from πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν, is unique to the New Testament and was probably unintelligible to non-Jews or Christians of Gentile background. The phrase is modeled on the Hebrew, *nś' panîm*, "lift faces," reflecting the custom in which the one greeted by a respectful, face-down person, lifted that face in sign of recognition and favor. "Partiality" and "favoritism" are appropriate translations of προσωπολημψία. One might translate the verb, as does the TEV, to "treat people in different ways because of their outward appearance."[47]

This prohibition echoes Lev 19:15: "You should not be partial to the poor nor defer to the great" (cf. Deut 1:17; Exod 23:2-3).[48] As does

[47]See Eduard Lohse, "προσωπολημψία," *TDNT*, 6:779-780. Jouette Bassler surveys divine impartiality in the OT, deuterocanonical and rabbinic literature, Philo, and Paul; the description of God's impartiality explicates what is expected of humans in this area (*Divine Impartiality* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982]).

[48]On Lev 19:15, Kenneth G. Phifer states: "It is instructive to note that this Leviticus passage cuts both ways. The poor shall not be favored nor the rich treated with subservience. James's words also imply a call to equitable treatment regardless of outward appearance" ("James 2:1-5," *Interpretation* 37 [July 1982]: 278).

the Torah, the New Testament views προσωπολημψία in a negative light: Jesus does not do it (Mt 22:16; Mk 12:14; Luke 20:21); nor does God (Acts 10:34; Rom 1:11; Gal 2:6). Jas 2:9 calls προσωπολημψία sin.

The Illustration

As a "flagrant demonstration of partiality,"[49] James 2:2-3 describes the reaction of a Christian congregation to the entrance of a splendidly dressed gentleman and a filthy pauper. The condition is given as third-class, potential—something that could happen. This is not necessarily a story of something that had happened; one would assume, however, that, to be effective, the example was related to the experience of the believers receiving the epistle.[50]

εἰς συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν. Here the "synagogue" is a Christian congregation or meeting place, belonging to the brothers addressed in v. 1. Although some scholars would contest this notion, NT and patristic usage of the term point to the normal meaning of "synagogue" as a meeting place, in this case for Christians.[51]

Ἀνὴρ χρυσοδακτύλιος ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ. The man is not called rich. However, his appearance—the gold rings and splendid clothes—shows he has means and social status; he is relatively "richer" than others in the synagogue. His demeanor demands respect and honor.[52]

The word χρυσοδακτύλιος is unique and is considered by some to have been coined by James.[53] The meaning, however, is clear: the man wore gold on his finger (or fingers). Garnsey and Saller point out that the wearing of a gold ring was an entitlement of equestrians;[54] thus, our man would have been of noble class. On the other hand, Juvenal speaks of a slave-born citizen of Egypt who "airs a summer ring of gold on his

[49]Cain H. Felder, "Partiality and God's Law: An Exegesis of James 2:1-13," *JRT* 39 (Fall-Winter 1982-83): 53.

[50]Roy Bowen Ward, "Partiality in the Assembly," *HTR* 62:1969):88.

[51]Some scholars suggest that συναγωγή here refers to a court scene (for example, Martin, 57-58, 61; Maynard-Reid, 56-58). For patristic writings using συναγωγή to refer to Christian gatherings, see Ignatius *To Polycarp* 4.2; Hermas *Mandate* 9, 11, 13, 14; see also Smit, 64.

[52]On the question of honor, closely related to patronage, see Jerome H. Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 25-65. On the honor claimed by the display of wealth, see Jerome H. Neyrey, "Poverty and Loss of Honor in Matthew's Beatitudes," paper presented at the CJA Seminar, Notre Dame University, October 1992, 4-7.

[53]Adamson, *Epistle of James*, 106.

[54]Garnsey and Saller, 116. On the use of gold rings by Roman men, see Epictetus *Discourse* 1.22.18; Pliny *Natural History* 33.12.

sweating finger" and Epictetus describes the wearing of rings as one of the "ways whereby an indignity may be done to manliness."[55] By the first century A.D. earlier restrictions on the use of gold had eased. More than one ring began to be worn, often as a mark of dignity, but also as an ornament or a personal seal.[56] In Luke 15:22, the father places a ring on the prodigal's finger as a sign of acceptance and honor. The use of rings appears as normal in the Mishnah—signet rings for men and plain ones for women.[57] The gold ring (or rings) would show the gentlemen to be somewhat affluent, not necessarily a truly wealthy man or a noble Roman.

The basic meaning of λαμπρός is "brightly shining." Reicke has conjectured that the splendid clothing refers to the *toga candida* worn by a magistrate; thus the individual might have been seeking electoral support from the Christian congregation.[58] The meaning of λαμπρός differs according to the word it describes. The term appears eleven times in the New Testament, with six referring specifically to clothing: the mocking "gorgeous robe" Herod's soldiers put on Jesus before sending him to Pilate (Luke 23:11); the "shining garments" of the heavenly messenger sent to Cornelius (Acts 10:30); the two occurrences in Jas 2; and two references to "bright" linen clothing in Rev 15:6 and 19:8. Philo gives λαμπρός as an antonym of ῥυπαρός, even as James does here.[59]

James here describes the man as conspicuously well-dressed. His garb, like the ring, shows that he has means and status—or at least that he wishes to have people believe so.

The gold-fingered man in shiny clothes has been identified by some as an outsider to the Christian congregation. Perhaps he was a politician seeking election, says Reicke, who points out that "the magnates of the Roman empire were interested in acquiring the political support of different organizations by generosity towards their members."[60] Ropes says this man would not be a Christian, but perhaps might "worship the same God."[61] For Dibelius this person was not a Christian, or at

[55]Juvenal *Satire* 1.25-30 and Seneca *Natural Questions* 7.31.

[56]R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry* (London: Methuen, 1961), 189.

[57]Mishnah *Kelim* 13:6; 11:8; *Shabbath* 6:1-3.

[58]Reicke, 27.

[59]Philo *On Joseph*, 105.

[60]Reicke, 27.

[61]James Hardy Ropes, *The Epistle of St. James*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1973), 197.

least no longer properly included in the Christian church.[62] Laws stresses his equestrian rank.[63] In her passionate defense of the poor and indictment of the rich, Elsa Tamez finds that none of the rich in James belong to the Christian community, "or at least the author does not think they should belong to it."[64]

On the other hand, that a rich man might be a member of a Christian congregation should not be surprising. The book of Acts clearly shows that relatively well-to-do Christians belonged to the Jerusalem congregation: Barnabas (4:36), Ananias and Sapphira (5:1), and Mary (12:12-14) owned property. The Christians in Antioch (11:28-30), as well as those in Asia and Greece (Rom 15:26; 1 Cor 16:1; Acts 24:17), were able to provide relief to their brothers and sisters in Judea. The *Shepherd of Hermas* undoubtedly presupposes the presence of wealthy people in the church.[65] Meeks points out that Deissmann is to blame for the erroneous idea that first-century Christians were mostly from the lower classes; to the contrary, he gives prosopographic evidence of the large number of persons from higher social classes.[66] From a different perspective, Ralph Martin finds that "how to treat pagans would hardly cause division," thus suggesting that the man was a Christian.[67]

However, Maynard-Reid is probably right in stating that "the issue of whether the rich person is a Christian or not has no relevancy in this context."[68] According to Felder, although the rich man and the poor are the actors, James' topic is the "fraudulent criteria of the assembly's judgments and 'acts of partiality'."[69] The theme here is the incompatibility of faith and partiality—a favoritism such as that entrenched in the patronage system.

Δὲ καὶ πτωχὸς ἐν ῥυπαρᾷ ἐσθῆτι. In the LXX and other Greek literature, a difference is made between πένης and πτωχός. The first means poor; the second, destitute. The New Testament uses the first only once (2 Cor 9:9), in a quotation of the LXX of Ps 112:9. Whether the exclusive use of πτωχός signifies that all the poor of the New

[62]Dibelius, 87, 88.

[63]Sophie Laws, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), 98.

[64]Tamez, 31.

[65]*Simile* 1.8-11; 2.5-7.

[66]Meeks, 51-73.

[67]Martin, 61-62; see also Laws, 99, 100; Davids, 46.

[68]Maynard-Reid, 44.

[69]Felder, 56.

Testament were totally destitute, one must doubt.[70] The word πτωχός appears 34 times, of which 23 describe a person (or persons) lacking what is needed to live decently.[71]

Four words from the same root as ῥυπαρός appear in the New Testament. Their common idea is that of filth. The poor man's clothes are not merely shabby, they are filthy—quite understandable if he has only one very old garment.

In Jas 2, the poor man is defined by the description of his clothes, in stark contrast to the shiny garments of the gold-fingered rich man. He is very, very poor, a pauper, perhaps a social outcast, possibly a beggar, with no honor due him, with nothing to offer to the congregation.

Σὺ κάθου ὧδε καλῶς . . . Σὺ κάθου ὑπὸ τὸ ὑποπόδιόν μου. The instruction to the rich man, to sit well, may mean either, "You sit here fitly, appropriately, in the right way, splendidly," or "Please sit here" (RSV). In any case the words put in the mouth of the usher show that the man in shiny clothes is offered preferential treatment along with the seat.

The poor man, on the other hand, is told—rather abruptly—to stand or sit "under my footstool." Again, words are put in the usher's mouth, but his attitude represents that of the congregation. Perhaps sitting "under" the footstool is an exaggeration as are the caricatures of the persons involved in the story. Adamson suggests that the ὑποπόδιον is actually the Latin *podium*.[72] In any case, the filthy pauper is relegated to the place of the honorless, the worthless.

In the Jewish context of the first century, sitting in special places brought honor. Preferential seating arrangements in the Jewish synagogue are alluded to in Luke 11:43; these are called "chief seats in the synagogues" in Matt 23:6 and Luke 20:46. Luke 14:7 tells how Jesus observed the Pharisees "picking out the places of honor at the table"; he immediately related a parable about a wedding feast, where someone occupied the place of honor, only to be moved "in disgrace . . . to occupy the last place" (vv. 8-9). His advice was to take the last place and wait for the host to say, "Friend, move up higher"; "then you will have honor in the sight of all who are at the table with you" (v. 10).[73]

[70]See Tamez, 24.

[71]On πτωχός, see Ernst Bammel, "Πτωχός," *TDNT*, 6:885-915.

[72]James Adamson, *James: The Man and His Message* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 278.

[73]On the significance of seating arrangements at meals, see Jerome H. Neyrey, "Ceremonies in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 364-366.

In the Roman world, seating arrangements showed status and were carefully observed. In Spain, detailed regulations existed for seating in the amphitheater and theater; fines were imposed on those who inappropriately sat in "better" seats.[74] Suetonius and Tacitus describe how specific seats or rows of seats were designated for different kinds of people; senators, soldiers, civilians, singles—all had a clearly determined place to sit in public spectacles.[75] Two honorific decrees from Tarentum (fourth century A.D.) mandate that the benefactors should "receive front seating at the contests" as a sign of the city's recognition of their benefits.[76] Seating at banquets and dinner—and sometimes the quality of the food and drink offered—was arranged for the "display of distinction of status."[77] Regarding the importance attributed to particular seating arrangements, Garnsey and Saller contend that, "putting everyone in his proper place was a visual affirmation of the dominance of the imperial social structure, and one calculated to impress the bulk of the population of the empire."[78]

Admittedly the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* do not reflect church practice in the first century. However, it is interesting to note the fourth-century instructions to deacons and deaconesses in charge of church seating. When visitors came from another parish, the deacon was to question them regarding their status and then "conduct everyone to the place proper for him." After briefly describing the place for different kinds of people, the *Constitutions* continue: "Let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance." The final portion of the instructions regarding church suggests circumstances similar to those in James' church.

> But if after the congregation is sat down, any other person comes upon you of good fashion and character in the world, whether he be a stranger, or one of your own country, . . . let the brethren receive him by the deacons; and if there be not a place, let the deacon by speaking, but not in anger, raise the junior, and place the stranger there. And it is but reasonable that one that loves the

[74]Garnsey and Saller, 117.

[75]Suetonius *Augustus* 44; *Claudius* 21; Tacitus *Annals* 15.32; Garnsey and Saller, 117.

[76]Danker, 65.

[77]Garnsey and Saller, 122. Stambaugh and Balch suggest that the partiality described in the Corinthian agape feast (1 Cor 11:21) might have resembled the pattern set by secular banquets, often given by patrons (John E. Stambaugh and David L. Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment*, ed. Wayne A. Meeks [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], 114.

[78]Stambaugh and Balch, 117.

> brethren should do so of his own accord; but if he refuse, let him raise him up by force, and set him behind all, that the rest may be taught to give place to those that are more honourable. Nay, if a poor man, or one of a mean family, or a stranger, comes upon you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the deacon shall find a place for even these, and that with all his heart; that instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration towards God may be well-pleasing. The very same thing let the deaconess do to these women, whether poor or rich, that come unto them.[79]

James' vignette to illustrate partiality or favoritism presents, then, two men coming into the assembly. One is obviously well-to-do; his gold rings and splendid robe display not only his ability to provide well for himself, but also his claim to honor. The other is extremely poor and dirty. The first is able to provide benefits for the congregation; he may already be a benefactor of the congregation; the second has nothing to offer. For the first—as would be expected for persons commanding the respect of the community—there is a special place. For the second, there is a corner on the floor, at the feet of the usher. For the possible patron, there is deference, for the outcast, nothing. The decision on how to treat these two—according to their appearance—is condemned by James as one made by "judges with evil thoughts" (v. 4).

The Explanation

In vv. 5-7 James points out the absurdity of currying the favor of a rich person or patron. He gives three reasons. Snobbery—particularly the kind so common in patronage—is absurd in view of the fact that (a) God has chosen the poor for his special purpose; (b) the rich do not deserve honor since they are oppressive, even dragging people to court; and (c) their conduct is a blasphemy to the name Christian invoked over the believers.[80]

ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχούς. The terminology of "choosing" was familiar to Jewish thinking. God chose Abraham (Gen 18:19) and Israel (Deut 4:37; 7:7; 10:15; 14:2). In fact God had chosen a people "for his own inheritance" (Ps 33: 12); his "chosen ones" would inherit the mountains of Judah (Isa 65:9). Jesus, as recorded in the NT gospels, repeatedly spoke about the chosen ones (Matt 22:14; Mk 13:20: Luke

[79] *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 2.7.47-58, ANF 7:421-422. "If any be found standing in places not their own, let the Deacons put them to shame and bring them back to their places. . . . Let the people also, when they meet in the church, be placed together according to their class" (*Ethiopic Didascalia* [London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834], 94-95.

[80] D. Edmond Hiebert, *The Epistle of James* (Chicago: Moody, 1979), 156.

18:7; John 15:16). Christians also knew themselves to be chosen (Eph 1:4; 1 Pet 2:9).

The concept of God's "choosing the poor" may have originated from the sayings traditions of Jesus. According to Matthew and Luke, Jesus understood it to be his mission to bring good news to the poor (Matt 11:5; Luke 4:18; 7:22; cf. Matt 5:3; Luke 6:20).[81]

οἱ πλούσιοι καταδυναστεύουσιν ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕλκουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς κριτήρια. Rich people who claim honor from the congregation, such as would a benefactor—and evidently the beringed man in shiny clothes—are not deserving of respect because their conduct is not respectable.[82] They are not the only defective Christians in the congregation; there are those whose tongues offend (Jas 3:5-6), some who allow jealousy and strife in their hearts (3:14-15), some who are boastful (4:13-17), and others who fail to pay just wages (5:1-6). These oppress their brethren.

The verb καταδυναστεύω is used twice in the New Testament: once in Acts 10:38 of the overpowering of the devil and here in James. Its meaning is "to oppress, exploit, dominate."[83] In the LXX, the verb is used of socioeconomic oppression (among others: Deut 24:7; Jer 7:6; Ezek 18:7; Amos 4:1; 8:4), especially of the oppression of the poor, widows and orphans: "And do not oppress the widow or the orphan, the stranger or the poor" (Zech 7:10).[84]

αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσιν τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα. The conduct of the rich constitutes blasphemy of the "good name" by which the Christians are called.[85] In the New Testament, words from the root βλασφημία all

[81]On the relation between James and Matthew, see Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew," *JBL* 75 (March 1956):40-51; Davids, 48. Patrick J. Hartin finds 34 correspondences between James and the synoptic tradition; most occur in the Matthean Sermon on the Mount (*James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 141-145.

[82]Although the rich man may be an outsider (so, Laws, 99-100; Reicke, 27; Hiebert, 161), I prefer to consider him an insider, a friend if not a member (see Adamson, *Epistle of James*, 102; id., *James*, 251; Ward, 95-97; Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church: Aspects of a Social History of Early Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 47).

[83]So BAG; the word is not discussed in *TDNT*.

[84]The *Epistle to Diognetus* 10.5 warns: "To be happy does not, indeed, consist in lording it (καδαδυναστένω) over one's neighbors, or in longing to have some advantage over the weaker ones, or in being rich and ordering one's inferiors about" (*Library of Christian Classics* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953], 1:221). Origen of Alexandria urges the Christian duty of helping the καταδυναστευομένοις πτωχοῖς (*Enarrationes in Job* 6, *PG* 17, col. 93). Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329-390) warns against accumulating fields and houses, while oppressing the poor (*In Sanctum Pascha, Oratio* 45, *PG* 36, col 648).

[85]Felder, 59.

carry the basic concept of violating the power and majesty of God. For Christians, blasphemy in this sense included Christ. Denial of Christ or causing someone to speak ill of Christ or the Christian way also constituted blasphemy. "Any bad or unloving action can contain it [blasphemy], either because it resists the holy will of God or because it causes the enemies of Christianity to calumniate it (1 Tm. 6:1; Jm. 2:7; R. 2:24; Tt. 2:5)."[86] Martin translates the phrase: "bring into disgrace the fine name by which you are called."[87] Laws agrees that the "unloving litigiousness" of the rich brings "into disrepute among outsiders" the Christian name they bear.[88] This use of βλασφημέω is illustrated in 2 Pet 2:2, where because of false teachers among the Christians, ἡ ὁδός τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται.

The three rhetorical questions—which must be answered in the affirmative—constitute an indictment, not only of the rich, but of those who cater to the rich expecting to obtain favors.[89] James' Christians, says Smit, are "overly friendly towards the rich—and at the same time insulting and without care or sensitivity towards the poor." Their conduct shows

> that they have learnt, like all people, that it is wise and clever conduct to favor the rich and powerful, since they can perhaps award you something, while you can hardly expect anything from the poor, from orphans, widows, marginalized. They do not act out of neighbourly love, fulfilling God's will, but 'they treat people in different ways according to their outward appearance,' and thereby they 'commit sin and are convicted by the law as transgressors.'[90]

In the final verses of the segment on partiality, James gives the theological implications of his presentation on favoritism. He points out that the favoritism they practice, as illustrated in their obsequious treatment of the one who could provide benefits to them as individuals or a congregation, is incompatible with loving one's neighbor as the fulfillment of the law (vv. 8-9). In fact, favoritism is as much a sin as adultery or murder (vv. 10-11). Finally, Christians are warned that they will surely be judged—and condemned—by the law of liberty for their dishonest conduct (vv. 12-13).

[86]Hermann Wolfgang Beyer, "βλασφημία," *TDNT*, 1:621-625.

[87]Martin, 66.

[88]Laws, 107.

[89]Ropes, 195; Felder, 59.

[90]Smit, 63.

Conclusion

In the light of the ancient patronage system described in the first part of this article, Jas 2:1-13 takes on new contours. If patronage lies in the background of this passage, James is not so much condemning the rich and pronouncing himself in favor of the poor as he is advocating Christian respect for all, regardless of means or position. The congregation to which the epistle is adressed is admonished to practice God's impartiality. They are to eliminate the obsequious treatment of the beringed man in splendid clothes, even if by currying his favor they may obtain benefits for their congregation. At the same time, they should give to the pauper loving and considerate attention, in spite of the fact that he has nothing to offer the community. Equal respect for all would undercut the dishonest social relations that support patronage.

If James is offering a critique of the effects of ancient patronage on the congregations he is writing to, the use of this passage to support the condemnation of the rich and support for the poor is not justified. Instead, the thrust of the message is directed, as is the rest of the epistle, to the attitudes of the people in the congregation itself. They are to cease considering what people can do for them before deciding how to treat them. They are to apply their Christian faith to the test of favoritism and show the world that the Christian community applies its faith by treating everyone with respect.

The passage also indicates that the great reversal does not wait until the judgment day. Even now the man in splendid clothes must not assume that the congregation owes him special favor; he should not think of himself more highly than he ought (Rom 12:3). Likewise, the pauper is to know himself a citizen of God's kingdom (Luke 6:20).

The Lamb on Mount Zion, the 144,000, and the Three Angels. A woodcut by Hans Holbein. Taken from Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse from the Early Sixteenth Century.*

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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SCRIPTURE IN THE THEOLOGIES OF W. PANNENBERG AND D. G. BLOESCH: AN INVESTIGATION AND ASSESSMENT OF ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND USE

Author: **Frank Michael Hasel**, Ph.D., 1994
Adviser: Fernando Luis Canale

Scripture has played an authoritative role in Christian theology for centuries and has been at the very heart of Protestant theology from its beginning. The rise of modern historical criticism, however, has let to a crisis at the very foundation of Protestant theology. In this context this dissertation seeks to set forth, analyze, compare, and evaluate the concept of Scripture in the theologies of two contemporary Protestant systematic theologians, who represent significantly different concepts of Scripture. The theologians chosen for study are Wolfhart Pannenberg and Donald G. Bloesch.

A brief introduction, delineating the objective, research methodology, and delimitations of the study, is followed by an issue oriented overview of the concept of Scripture in theology, that begins with the Protestant Reformation and describes important theological representatives who significantly influenced the concept of Scripture in church history up to the present time.

Chapter 3 focuses on Wolfgang Pannenberg's concept of Scripture by describing his understanding of its origin, nature, and use. In the second part of this chapter an analysis of theological and anthropological presuppositions which influence his concept of Scripture is attempted. Chapter 4 describes Donald G. Bloesch's concept of Scripture, following the same pattern as chapter 3.

The final chapter compares the positions of Pannenberg and Bloesch and evaluates them on the basis of the internal consistency of their views. The assumptions and presuppositions upon which their respective positions seem to rest are also taken into consideration. It appears that despite their fundamentally different starting points and significant differences in their positions there are a number of surprising similarities between Pannenberg and Bloesch which seems to suggest that the concept of Scripture is determined for both theologians ultimately by presuppositions that are derived and shaped *extra scripturam*.

THE COMPOSITION OF TRIPOLAR PRONOUNCEMENT STORIES IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Author: **Hans-Otto Reling,** Ph.D., 1994
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In the Gospel of Mark one finds narratives with three main characters. These stories, which belong to the category of pronouncement stories, I call tripolar pronouncement stories. These narratives have not been recognized, nor has their significance been examined.

I utilize in my study the principles of narrative criticism. Subsequently, I analyze the eight tripolar pronouncement stories of the gospel of Mark according to the plot, characters, setting, and rhetoric of the story.

The tripolar pronouncement stories that can be identified in the Gospel of Mark are: (1) Mark 2:1-12 (The Healing of the Paralytic), (2) Mark 2:15-17 (Jesus' Company with Sinners), (3) Mark 2:23-28 (Plucking of Grain on a Sabbath, (4) Mark 3:1-6 (The Healing of the Crippled Hand), (5) Mark 7:1-13 (Clean and Unclean), (7) Mark 10:35-45 (Zebedee's Sons), and (8) Mark 14:3-9 (Jesus' Anointment). Elements that these narratives have in common are that they portray three main characters and unfold in a threefold progression of the plot with description, reaction, and reply.

The significance of tripolar pronouncement stories can be recognized (1) in comparing them with pronouncement stories that have two main characters (dipolar narratives), (2) in their contribution to the Gospel as a whole, and (3) in their impact upon the reader.

Dipolar pronouncement stories present only one party who approaches Jesus with a question or criticism. In tripolar pronouncement stories, two parties are set in dramatic juxtaposition to each other, creating a lively and complex situation, to which Jesus then responds with a pronouncement. Dipolar narratives present Jesus as a corrector, commender, responder, winner, and teacher, whereas tripolar pronouncement stories portray him also as a judge, vindicator, ally, protector, mediator, and authoritative example. Because of their detailed description of relationships, I have called these stories case studies in social interaction.

THE SODOM/EGYPT/BABYLON MOTIF IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Author: **Edwin Earl Reynolds**, Ph.D., 1994
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This study observes in the book of Revelation the motif of a Great City which was variously characterized as Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon. It sets out to determine the significance of this characterization by tracing the Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon traditions in the OT, the NT, and the relevant extrabiblical literature. Then it seeks to learn how John used the motif throughout the book of Revelation and to understand the implications of the motif for John's theology.

Chapter I is an introduction to the dissertation, to the book of Revelation, and to the literature relevant to the dissertation.

Chapter II outlines the evidence for the Sodom/Egypt/Babylon motif in Revelation, then explores the three traditions in the background literature to observe the significance which these traditions may have contributed to John's use of the motif. Several significant features shared by the three traditions emerge, which shed light on John's choice of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon to characterize the Great City.

Chapter III shows first how the key elements shared by the three traditions were used by John in highlighting certain features of the Great City and its impending judgment in Revelation. A broad study of the book follows, to determine the extent of the motif in the book. Elements of the motif may be found throughout the book, but are particularly prominent in the latter half of the book, beginning with chap. 11. The limits of the motif are considered, with special focus on the role of Jerusalem in John's theology. Finally, some theological implications of the Sodom/Egypt/Babylon motif are discussed. The OT record of God's dealings with people and nations in the past seems to have become, for John, a key to understanding His present and future dealings.

Chapter IV presents the conclusions of the study.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bauckham, Richard. *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993. 512 pp. $59.95.

The Climax of Prophecy consists of eleven essays, all of them written by Richard Bauckham. One third of the articles have been published before and are presented in this volume in revised form. Two thirds of the essays have not been previously published. In 1993, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* by Bauckham was included in the series New Testament Theology. That publication was much shorter (169 pp.) than the present volume; however, several lines of interpretation proposed in *Theology of the Book of Revelation,* are further elaborated in *Climax of Prophecy*. Nevertheless, there are differences between those two volumes. The shorter one is more interested in theology, whereas the tome presently reviewed pays more attention to the literary and historical questions.

In his excellent introduction, Bauckham mentions four methodological aspects which unite the essays in *Climax of Prophecy*: (1) Concentration on the literary composition of Revelation is imperative. (2) The use of the OT in the Book of Revelation is a vital key to its understanding. (3) Although we cannot be sure that John knew and used any non-apocalyptic apocalypse, nevertheless, Revelation's "primary literary context is the tradition of Jewish and Christian apocalypses" (xi). (4) The historical context including the political and economic history of the first century world is essential for an appropriate interpretation of Revelation. Bauckham provides also a short outline of each of his essays.

The first chapter deals with the literary structure of Revelation, with repetition and variation, and with numerical composition. The author is especially interested in the macrostructure of the Apocalypse. The expression "in the spirit" occurs four times in Revelation marking three major transitions. An identical expanded formula is found in 17:3 and in 21:10 pointing to two parallel sections in Revelation which deal with two cities and, at the same time, denote the climax of Revelation: Babylon's destruction prepares the way for the descent of the New Jerusalem. Bauckham opts for five divisions of Revelation, perceives the trumpets as coming forth from the last seal, identifies the scroll of Rev 5 with the open scroll in Rev 10, and observes a chiastic order with regard to the appearance and subsequent destruction of the principal enemies of God and his people.

In his essay "The Use of Apocalyptic Traditions", Bauckham establishes from four examples: (blood and horses in 14:20, completing the numbers of the martyrs in 6:9-11, giving up the dead in 20:13, and the silence in heaven in 8:1) that John did not borrow from other apocalypses, although he probably knew them in oral form.

Using a tradition-history approach, Bauckham studies "Synoptic Parousia Parables and the Apocalypse." He claims that Rev 3:3, 20 and 16:15 are

dependent on the synoptic parables of the Thief and the Watching Servant and shows that "parousia parables were widely used . . . in the primitive church," were collected from an early stage, and "suffered from deparabolization" (103). This was the case especially with 3:20. Three arguments in favor of an eschatological interpretation of 3:20 are listed.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the Christology and pneumatology of Revelation. The Book of Revelation draws a clear distinction between worship of the angels on the one hand and worship of Jesus and God on the other hand. Although Jesus belongs with God on the divine side and correctly receives worship, monotheism is not questioned. In Revelation, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of vision, the Spirit of prophecy, and the reality behind the symbol of seven Spirits, which also provides an eschatological perspective.

The next two essays draw attention to Revelation's rich imagery. The chapter entitled "The Lion, the Lamb, and the Dragon" points to Christ's conquest by sacrificial death. The victory of the lamb is at the same time the defeat of the dragon. One of Revelation's major end time images is investigated in "The Eschatological Earthquake."

In the eighth chapter, Bauckham explores the image of holy war in Revelation. The Messiah conquers as the divine warrior. However, his victory is gained by non-military means, namely by his sacrificial death. The participation of Christians in this war is expected. They need to take sides and resist the enemies by witness and suffering to the point of death. The heavenly perspective reveals that defeat is in reality victory.

Bauckham's longest essay—exactly one hundred pages—treats "The Conversion of the Nations" in the Apocalypse. He claims that "the sacrificial death of the Lamb and the prophetic witness of his followers are God's strategy for winning all the nations of the world from the dominion of the beast to his own kingdom" (336-337). Bauckham suggests that John takes up from the OT the most universalistic hope and incorporates it in his prophecy. In order to prove his interpretation Bauckham investigates universal terminology in Revelation, important concepts of Rev 10-11 and 14-15 (the scroll, the eating of the scroll, the measuring of the temple, the two witnesses, the first fruits and the harvest, and the Song of Moses), the idea of the New Jerusalem, the *testimonia* tradition (1:7; 22:16b), and the fourfold formula for the nations. In his opinion, this interpretation— that the witness of the church will lead to the conversion of the nations—is his most original contribution.

The last two essays deal with Revelation's critique of the Roman system of tyranny and oppression. Chapter 10 is concerned with the economic critique of Rev 18. The last essay on "Nero and the Beast" suggests that "the figure of Nero (who is identified as the beast by its number 666) is a major key to understanding Revelation's portrayal of the imperial power as the beast" (xvii). The legend of Nero's return is examined. However, only Christ's parousia can establish an eternal kingdom.

Readers may disagree with some of Bauckham's methods (e.g., the employment of *Traditionsgeschichte*), as well as with some of his conclusions (e.g., taking the scrolls of Rev 5 and Rev 10 as only one identical scroll). They

might wish to understand definitely if the author opts for or against recapitulation, and they might feel that in some cases Bauckham seems to disregard microstructural studies. Nevertheless, this volume is very helpful and provides many fresh insights into the Book of Revelation, its major themes, and its theology.

The extensive bibliography is useful. Unfortunately, despite Bauckham's emphasis on OT sources, he omitted *Decoding Revelations's Trumpets*, in which J. Paulien develops a methodology for determining with high probability the OT sources in Revelation and the manner in which John uses them. Bauckham provides three indexes—one for the scriptural passages cited, another for ancient persons and places, and a third for modern authors. *The Climax of Prophecy* is worthy to be studied and owned by any serious student of the Apocalypse.

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EKKEHARDT MÜLLER

Ben-Tor, Amnon, ed. *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992. xxi + 398 pp. $45.00.

Edited by Amnon Ben-Tor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* was initially published as a Hebrew-language textbook in 1991. Now translated into English, it represents the collaboration of seven Israeli scholars, each contributing a chapter encompassing their period of specialization.

In the introductory chapter, Amnon Ben-Tor provides a general overview of archaeology in the region, including a brief definition of archaeology, a background and history of the discipline as well as an overview of the geography and topography of Palestine. In his discussion of American and Israeli schools Ben-Tor provides a long list of archaeologists trained at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem along with their contributions in the field. The American school, however, is described all too briefly with references to only a few key individuals and sites. The impression is left that American contributions ended with the excavations at Gezer and Tell el-Hesi in the 1970s and 80s. No mention is made of current excavations at Ashkelon, Tel Miqne-Ekron, the Caeserea Project, the Sepphoris Excavations, and the Lahav Project, representing the five largest excavations in recent years conducted by the American school, some in partnership with Israeli institutions. The statement that American contributions were "formed mainly in the wake of renewed excavations" (7, see also 5) would, thus, have been tempered by a balanced account of recent activity. Furthermore, the recent British, German, and French contributions to the archaeology of Israel are neglected, with the exception of Kenyon (Jericho), de Vaux (Tell el-Far$^{\supset}$ah North), and Perrot (Beersheba).

Ofer Bar-Yosef of Harvard University authors the chapter on the Neolithic period, approaching the subject with an overview of recent theories of explanation for the Neolithic revolution. The chapter by Rivka Gonen on

the Chalcolithic period examines material culture, including artistic expression (the Nahal Mishmar hoard in particular), ossuary burial practices, basalt bowls, and other distinctive features, in the context of a broad socioeconomic approach to the period.

The Early Bronze Age is considered according to chronology, settlement patterns, economy, architecture, pottery, material culture and foreign relations. Amnon Ben-Tor's description is, therefore, broad. The development of urbanism is one of the important characteristics of the period, yet its impact is lost in descriptions of fortifications, public dwellings, and domestic dwellings without an adequate understanding of the nature of urbanism. Only in the concluding section is "the decline of urban culture" discussed and attributed to a number of possible factors, including northern invasion, ecological explanations, and attrition between city-states. Here Ben-Tor writes of the EB IV period lasting only 100 to 150 years (2350-2200 B.C.), a problem which receives more attention in the following chapter.

Ram Gophna of Tel Aviv University covers the Intermediate Bronze Age (Albright's MB I and Dever's EB IV), using terminology typical of the Israeli school. His bane throughout the chapter is Dever who in 1973 revived G. E. Wright's "EB IV" terminology and applied it to the entire period, thus reflecting the perceived continuity between this period and the previous. Gophna, in his description, admits this continuity in terms of metallurgy (148) yet describes both continuity and discontinuity in the pottery repertoire (145). In his characterization of burial types and customs he writes, "many of the shaft tombs were used for individual burials, but some served for entire families." The opposite is more accurate. Most of the shaft tombs (Khirbet el-Kirmil, Khirbet el-Kom, Jebel Qaʾaqir, Dahr Mirzbaneh, and ʿAin Samiya) contained multiple burials that remained disarticulated, an important factor in favor of a mixed-subsistence pastoralist society. Thus the issues and debate surrounding the socioeconomic structure of the period are left unresolved. Although the most recent *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale III* (Rome: Universita degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"), a dissertation published in 1990 by Gaetano Palumbo, was probably not available to the writer at the time of publication, it is perhaps one of the most comprehensive treatments of the period to date.

The coverage of the Middle Bronze Ages is stimulating. The late Aharon Kempinski, well-known for his treatment of Megiddo during the MB period, has attempted this long overview though several aspects seem overlooked. A section on burial customs is not provided, neither one on the economy or social structure of the period. How did MB society develop and what brought about its decline? This question is not addressed. Nevertheless, the discussions of architecture, material culture, and metallurgy reflecting strong Syrian and Mesopotamian influences are beneficial. The concluding retrospective view of the Middle Bronze Age addresses some of the epistemological questions pertaining to the relationship of archaeology, history, and culture. Little of this theoretical reflection, however, seems to have made its way into the chapter.

The Late Bronze Age by Rivka Gonen emphasizes the numerous internal and external developments in the region including the emergence of Egyptian

domination and its influence on the rise and decline of Canaanite culture as well as the development of the Canaanite alphabet. Amahai Mazar of the Hebrew University writes the Iron Age I chapter, reflecting a similar approach taken in his monograph (see below). Certain redundancies were detected, such as the two sections on "Terminology" and "Terminology and Chronology," but the general description of the period was concise and thorough.

The Iron II period, by Gabriel Barkey of Tel Aviv University, comprised the longest chapter in the book. This volume would be worth its purchase on the strength of this chapter alone. It provides a detailed approach combining both archaeological and written sources. Special attention is given to architectural features, material culture, and the archaeology of Jerusalem. Plates of pottery characteristic of Iron IIa, IIb, and IIc would have added to the chapter. A discussion of the development of society and economy were also omitted, possibly for the sake of providing adequate description of other aspects.

The Archaeology of Ancient Israel is a significant contribution in assessing the current state of archaeology in the Levant. Its 47 color photographs, 268 figures, and 11 tables provide the requisite illustrations for such a publication. Although a meager bibliography is provided for each chapter, the lack of footnotes and extensive references weaken its potential effectiveness as a resource tool. In this case, Mazar's *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible (10000-586 B.C.E.)* (New York: Doubleday, 1990) or Weippert's *Palästina in Vorhellinistischer Zeit* (München: C. H. Beck, 1988) provide the adequate references expected in a student textbook along with a similar breadth of coverage. In spite of these observations, *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* provides an important perspective of the discipline through the eyes of leading Israeli archaeologists. On these merits alone it is a necessity for anyone wishing to remain current in the archaeology and history of ancient Israel.

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Blumhofer, Edith L., and Randall Balmer, eds. *Modern Christian Revivals.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 264 pp. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $14.95.

Modern Christian Revivals compiles papers from a 1989 Wheaton College conference, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Examining revivals in a roughly chronological order, half of the essays address the American experience while the remainder take up other parts of the world.

The American essays include studies of "Eighteenth Century Pietism and the Revival Tradition in America" (Randall Balmer), "Christian Revival and Culture in Early America" (Gerald F. Moran), "Revivalism, Renewal, and Social Mediation in the Old South" (John B. Boles), "Early American Pentecostalism"

(Edith L. Blumhofer), and "American Revivalism from Graham to Robertson" (David Edwin Harrell, Jr.). Other essays analyze "Revival and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England" (David Bebbington), "Insights from Norwegian Revivalism, 1875-1914" (Frederick Hale), "Christian Revivalism in China, 1900-1937" (Daniel H. Bays), "Revivalism and Revolution in Latin America" (Everett A. Wilson), and "Writing about Canadian Revivals" (George A. Rawlyk). Although the essays collectively offer a comparative perspective, only two individually take a transnational approach: "The Second Great Awakening in Comparative Perspective: Revivals and Culture in the United States and Britain" (Richard Carwardine), and "Keswick and the Experience of Evangelical Piety" (David Bundy).

The editors believe that revivalism grows out of evangelicalism's emphasis, in contrast to Roman Catholic and High Church traditions, on the role of sentiments in one's relationship to God. They point out that revivalism thus "assumes some sort of decline" (xii), from which it is recalling the faithful.

This understanding applies to all of the revivals examined in these essays, although Keswick ultimately moved toward a "more developmental model of spirituality" (131). A second transnational characteristic that emerges in these pages is the extensive role of lay persons in revival, something documented by virtually every essay in this book.

Although a comparative perspective reveals these common elements of revivalism, differences also appear as time periods and cultures are juxtaposed. Gerald F. Moran, for instance, argues that the American "Great Awakening" played an essentially conservative role within its cultural setting, whereas the Baptist and Methodist churches of the Old South were "countercultural" (61) according to John B. Boles. David Bebbington, surprisingly, finds eighteenth-century English evangelicalism to be a part of the Enlightenment milieu, while nineteenth-century British revivalism at first challenged the social order before finally accommodating to it, as Richard Carwardine states.

With one exception, all of the essays in this volume are based on primary sources. Those addressing such areas as Norway, China, and Latin America, while not the first studies, pioneer new scholarship. Perhaps the most interesting essay is that of George Rawlyk, who rather than writing a research piece, explores the tensions of being a historian of religion within an increasingly secularized culture. He concludes that the rejection of Christianity by many Canadians may actually bring about a purer evangelicalism.

This is a useful and stimulating collection of essays. It provides information and interpretations regarding revivals in various times and places, thereby offering a brief overview of value to both teachers and scholars. More significantly, by bringing together under one cover studies of revivalism that acknowledge its transnational character, it establishes a springboard for more truly comparative studies.

Andrews University GARY LAND

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church 1532-1546.* Trans. James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993. xviii + 511 pp. $42.00.

Martin Brecht's *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church 1532-1546* is the third and final volume in his monumental series covering the entire life span of Martin Luther. Because of the relative paucity of secondary coverage of Luther after 1530, this volume is the most significant of the three.

To be sure, the "late Luther" had not been totally neglected prior to Brecht's new book. Several Luther biographies give minor attention to the period, and there are also significant works treating specialized areas (e.g., Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-46* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983], and a multi-authored two-volume compilation of essays edited by Helmar Junghans, *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546* [Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983]). Brecht's publication is, however, the first to treat in a detailed and unified manner the wide array of significant aspects of the Wittenberg Reformer's career from 1532 to 1546.

In his foreword, Brecht has stated a reason for his choice of 1532 as a starting point: namely, his "expectation that there were new discoveries to be made in the relatively little-used later volumes of the Weimar Edition" (xii). Another justification for beginning with 1532 was that the inauguration that year of John Frederick as the ruler of Electoral Saxony brought to Wittenberg and to the rest of Ernestine Saxony a new, or at least intensified, political paternalism. Thus Brecht's publication gives us insights into how Luther lived and operated within a changed religio-political climate.

Even a quick glance at the table of contents (v-viii) makes clear that Brecht has left untouched no significant events, developments, circumstances, or situations relating to the Reformer during the last fourteen years of his life. Among the subject areas treated are Luther's completion of his Bible translation (chap. 4); the spread of Lutheranism within the German lands and elsewhere (chaps. 2 and 12); polemics and controversies that involved Roman Catholics (chaps. 3, 7, and 13; and passim); theological disagreements and disputes that occurred within Lutheranism itself (chap. 6; mainly the "Cordatus," "Schenk," and "Antinomian" controversies); and polemics that berated the Jews and the Turks (chap. 13). Also, there are chapters that provide glimpses of Luther's home life and personal affairs (chaps. 1 and 9), his activities as a university professor (chap. 5), and his role as a pastor and church administrator (chaps. 10 and 11).

In this volume, one misses, however, any thoroughgoing theological analysis at various places where such analysis would have been pertinent and helpful. Also, I feel that Brecht's attention to Luther's eschatological beliefs and concerns is too scant in view of the emphasis that the Reformer himself placed on them, especially in his later years. There is, for instance, not even a succinct example of the kind of treatment that has been given by Ulrich Asendorf, *Eschatologie bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967). In this matter of theological analysis, we can bemoan the fact that Heinrich

Bornkamm, known for his theological interests, was prevented by death from producing the third volume of what he had begun (earlier than Brecht) as a massive three-volume study of Luther's career.

Regarding Brecht's use of source materials, he points out that aside "from insignificant trivialities, every text [in the later volumes of the Weimarer Ausgabe] has been included in this presentation, although in different degree" (xii). But he also makes substantial use of the earlier volumes of WA, plus giving a considerable number of citations from various other collections of primary source materials. His huge section of endnote references (385-444) underscores the care with which he has worked.

James Schaaf, the translator for the English edition, has given us an excellent rendition (approved by Brecht himself), but he has done much more. Painstakingly he has searched out in the 55-volume American edition of Luther's works all references that can be matched with Brecht's citations of the WA, and has supplied them as supplements to the WA citations.

Two indexes (a general index for this volume, 445-460; and a "Subject Index to Volumes 1-3," 461-511) conclude the volume. Further enhancement is achieved by inclusion of a section of twenty photographs between pp. 14 and 15, and fourteen other pictorial illustrations (generally woodcuts) placed appropriately throughout the volume.

In every respect, this is a book that deserves to be widely read. And indeed, Brecht must be congratulated and thanked for his phenomenal achievement in producing the entire set of volumes.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Cohen, Mark E. *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East.* Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993. 504 pp. Cloth, $37.50.

The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East by Mark E. Cohen is a comprehensive study of the calendars and annual or semiannual festivals of much of the Ancient Near East, including Mesopotamia, Elam, and the Levant. Building on the pioneering efforts of scholars such as B. Landsberger (*Der kultische-Kalendar der Babylonier und Assyrer,* 1915) and S. Langdon (*Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars,* 1935), Cohen has brought together a vast and up-to-date array of material relevant to over two thousand years of calendars and festivals. Much of this material was not yet available to Landsberger and Langdon, coming as it does from more recent excavations, tablet publications, and studies of cultic calendars limited to certain cities or periods.

Cohen's intention is "to provide a basic tool for further research" (ix) by non-Assyriologists as well as Assyriologists. By making the material in this volume accessible to non-Assyriologists, Cohen has provided a valuable reference work for scholars and students pursuing various disciplines of Ancient Near Eastern studies.

The book begins with an introduction to Ancient Near Eastern perceptions of lunar and solar cycles and agricultural seasons, and an overview of the development of calendric systems, which were intimately bound up with cultic observances. The bulk of the book presents material by geographic location, within overall divisions by millennium. For example, the section on the Third Millennium B.C. includes Early Semitic Calendars, Lagaš and Girsu, Nippur, Ur, Umma, etc. A final section on festival themes brings together information relevant to particular festival traditions, the *Akītu* Festival, and festivals for men and gods of the netherworld. An index and selected bibliography are provided at the end of the volume.

A number of features contribute to the usefulness and quality of the book as a reference study: (1) an abundance of references; (2) translations, often with transliterations of important texts; (3) cross-referencing and strategic redundancy; (4) a high level of technical accuracy; (5) concise and generally lucid description and argumentation; (6) appropriate caution, with recognition of limitations of evidence, and (7) clearly marked distinctions between solid information and less established hypotheses.

Two noteworthy hypotheses compellingly presented by Cohen are: (1) The first millennium B.C. Babylonian *akītu* festival of spring may have developed from separate festivals for the gods Nabû and Marduk (308, 441). (2) *Araḫsamnu*, the name of the eighth month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, may have been borrowed from the Old Persian month name *Markašan(aš)*, to which the Judean month name *Marḥešvan* is remarkably similar (302, 331). Since these ideas have important implications for the nature of the *akītu* festival and the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, respectively, it will be interesting to see whether or not they stand the test of time.

The title of the book, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, is somewhat misleading in two ways. On the one hand, it implies a broader geographic scope than Cohen has included, or could include. Some major Ancient Near Eastern areas such as Anatolia and Egypt are not covered. On the other hand, it implies the existence of *non*-cultic calendars of the Ancient Near East, which would be outside the scope of this book. In fact, the "cultic calendars" were the *only* calendars of the Ancient Near East. They were cultic in the sense that they were used for marking cultic (and often mythic) time and in the sense that many months were named after festivals or gods. However, these calendars were also used for noncultic purposes and there were (apparently) noncultic month names, and months for which no festivals are attested.

Cohen has achieved his goal of making the Ancient Near Eastern calendars and festivals accessible to non-Assyriologists in that his book gathers much material hitherto available only in the form of copies of cuneiform tablets or in technical Assyriological articles unknown and/or unavailable to nonspecialists. However, a significant percentage of the book is necessarily devoted to detailed presentation of linguistic evidence and argumentation regarding month and festival names and their significance. Some portions will not be readily understood by readers lacking Assyriological background.

Nevertheless, the general level of nonspecialist understanding could easily be enhanced in future editions by the inclusion of a few basic explanations regarding such matters as transliteration/ transcription conventions and abbreviations for dating by regnal years.

Cohen generally presents evidence in a careful manner. However, the following statement with regard to a spring New Year for the Israelites gives a false impression: "For the Israelites the New Year was the appointed time for cleansing the temple (Ezekiel [sic] 45:18 . . ." (15). It is true that Ezekiel prescribes the cleansing of the temple on the first day of the first month. But the visionary temple of Ezekiel was never built and its procedures were never carried out. The yearly day for cleansing the sanctuary/temple which was actually practiced was the tenth day of the seventh month in the autumn (Lev 16; 23:26-32), known in postbiblical times as Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement.

The criticisms voiced above are minor. Cohen's work will be an indispensable reference guide to Ancient Near Eastern calendars and festivals for years to come.

Andrews University ROY GANE

Doukhan, Jacques B. *Hebrew for Theologians: A Textbook for the Study of Biblical Hebrew in Relation to Hebrew Thinking.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993. 278 pp. Paper, $28.50.

Jacques Doukhan, a Hebrew himself with a Ph.D. in Hebrew and Jewish studies and postdoctoral research at Hebrew University, approaches the study of Hebrew with an insider's sensitivity to nuances of meaning that escape the average scholar. This volume contains a treasury of information that will fire enthusiasm in teachers and motivate students to learn. Since language is shaped by a people's culture and thought patterns, an outsider will never master it by learning forms and syntax alone. *Hebrew for Theologians* is different from many other grammars, in that it goes beyond the *what* of the forms to the *why*—the philosophy of Hebrew thought that molded the language.

The author describes the Hebrew concepts of space, time, man, and God. The language is dynamic, with verbs (*poal* meaning action) constituting the basic units of the language from which the other parts of speech derive. Verbs are not concerned primarily with time but rather with action—accomplished (perfect tense) and unaccomplished (imperfect). The seven verb patterns, each active form having its corresponding passive, are diagramed as a menorah (with no theological explanation)! The book goes beyond other textbooks in explaining relationships between words: families of words, permutations such as reversing of letters or changing one letter, and the variety of meanings (polysemy) of a word. The Hebrew propensity for piling up several words into one, such as construct chains or nouns with articles, prepositions, and possessive pronouns, is an expression of unity and totality. The book abounds in pithy comments

(consonants are the body and vowels are the soul that gives them life) and useful bits of information such as the meanings of the consonants and vowels (*segol* meaning "grape cluster," *qibbutz*, "gathering," and *sheva*, "nothingness").

The Hebrew concept of time spawns fruitful theological reflection. Doukhan explains that the Hebrews could synchronize events in the distant past with the present and future as if they occurred simultaneously. Thus the Sabbath became a reenactment of creation and a foretaste of the eschatological Sabbath rest. Israel's concept of solidarity with people of the past and the future enabled them to perceive past and future events as their own in the present. Doukhan thinks the capacity of synchronization with past and future time is what makes possible the apparent reversal of the perfect to the imperfect by the use of the *vav* consecutive-conversive. Also, future events can be so sure that they are spoken of in the perfect as if they had already happened (the prophetic perfect, as in Jer 32:37-41). I conclude that this way of thinking was what enabled prophets to blend their descriptions of impending disasters with the future Day of the Lord (Isa 13:1-13; Matt 24:3, 15-27). It also seems to be the basis for the typology of Scripture. God's "mighty acts" of Creation, the Exodus, and the Conquest become types of all His later deliverances: the deluge and new world (Gen 8:14-17), the exodus from Babylon (Isa 51:9-11), personal deliverance from sin (Rev 1:6) and the creation of a new heart (Ezek 36:26; 2 Cor 5:17), and the final conquest of sin and death in the new creation (Rev 21:3-4).

Doukhan explains the organization of the Hebrew Bible—not only the three divisions with the list of books in each one, but the notations regarding paragraphing and reading divisions that puzzle the uninitiated reader, and the accents used in cantillation which are named in terms of the medieval hierarchy of emperors, kings, dukes, and counts.

For teaching methods this book uses a combination of deductive and inductive methods. The first three chapters introduce the main facts about the language: chapter I, the alphabet—consonants, vowels, and accents; chapter II, morphology, including nouns, prepositions, conjunctions, verb tables, the seven verb forms, participles, and infinitives; and chapter III, a basic vocabulary. These chapters contain exercises in which the student identifies specific forms in the Scripture passages to be presented in chapter IV. After the student has more or less digested these big chunks of material in five to seven weeks, Chapter IV introduces three passages of Scripture (Gen 22:1-19; Ps 23, and Mic 4:1-4) with detailed explanations of each word, and background information where needed. The chapter exercises for chapter 4 include parsing and sentences to translate from English to Hebrew. For an additional $7 the student may purchase a 60-minute audiotape containing the pronunciation of the alphabet, a verse-by-verse reading of the texts, and cantillation in the Sephardic Masoretic tradition.

This method of study—a quick introduction to the basic features of the language followed by direct study of the Hebrew Bible—has its pluses and minuses. During the first few weeks the student is enveloped in fog, especially since examples of Hebrew forms are given before any vocabulary has been introduced. But the fog gradually lifts as s/he gets practice with the Scripture

text and its many repetitions. At the translation stage there is danger that the student will look up every word as new, without remembering the paradigms. To prevent this, the author inserts paradigms where needed. Since Chapter IV parses all the words, the student may not get enough practice parsing.

When the time comes for a second edition, I would recommend the following improvements:

1. There are sections of the book that need either simpler language or better explanations as each technical term is introduced (e.g., mnemotechnic, permutation, preformatives and afformatives, volitive, cohortative, polysemy). The language in places is more technical than necessary, making it heavy reading for the beginning student. Many terms used in Hebrew grammar are not even in a standard English dictionary. The author should not assume that the student already knows these words. Sometimes the explanations assume prior knowledge, as in the discussion of the *vav* consecutive-conversive.

2. Include a glossary of grammatical terms for quick reference.

3. A better index, with subheadings, needs to be devised. For instance, if one wishes to locate discussions of the *vav* consecutive-conversative, s/he must look up every *vav* cited in the book.

4. The tables are not complete (no pronominal suffixes for plural nouns, not enough verb charts).

Nevertheless *Hebrew for Theologians* is a hundred times more user-friendly than the book I cut my eyeteeth on, William Harper's *Elements of Hebrew*, which constituted cruel and unusual punishment. I would be comfortable using it for a class in beginning Hebrew.

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BEATRICE S. NEALL

Gangel, Kenneth O., and James C. Wilhoit, eds. *The Christian Educator's Handbook on Adult Education*. Wheaton: Victor Books, 1993. 358 pp. $22.90.

In 24 chapters by 25 authors, *The Christian Educator's Handbook on Adult Education* covers the basics for church practitioners. The authors come from a variety of Protestant backgrounds, all with experience in adult education or the teaching of adult education. Gangel, from Dallas Theological Seminary, has long been prominent in the field. His 1974 book, *24 Ways to Improve Your Teaching*, is still a useful tool. Wilhoit teaches Christian Education at Wheaton College.

The first two chapters establish the biblical and theological bases for the *process* of adult education. Gangel begins his biblical tour with Jesus the master teacher of adults, notes some OT examples of adult education, and constructs a biblical model on the basis of Titus 2. The Bible must be central in church adult education, says Edward Hayes. Next come the mission and ministry of the church, together with the priesthood of all believers. "Adult learning at the turn

of the century needs to fix its bearing on eternal, unchanging truth" (46). Wilhoit closes the section on foundations with a study on spirituality.

The next five chapters describe adult learners, their psychology, their development, and learning patterns. One of these chapters, "Contributions of Malcolm Knowles," written by Knowles himself, presents a distillation of Knowles' decades of work in adult education. It also includes an autobiographical sketch and an annotated bibliography of his own work from 1950 onwards.

Then come four chapters on teaching methods for adults. These deal with small groups, inductive learning, goal setting, and curriculum. For James Galvin and David Veerman, "curriculum for adult education is, in essence, the process of planning educational experiences for adults" (178). Their cycle begins and ends with the participants—determining their needs, enlisting their participation, formulating clear objectives, designing a program, and evaluating the program and its results.

Seven chapters discuss the different kinds of adult learners in the church: young adults, singles, ethnic groups, and oldsters. Special attention is paid to developmental theory and family-life education. The last chapters deal specifically with educational programs in the church: Sunday school, workshops and seminars, mentoring as teaching, and others. The possibilities seem to be limited only by the creativity of the leader, although the lack of church budget for education does pose threats to some programs.

Throughout the book, the emphasis is on discipling, on becoming people of faith. While filling adults' minds with information may be helpful, spiritual growth in grace is even more important.

The *Handbook* gathers in one source a great deal of useful material. Not only is each chapter worth reading and digesting; at the end of each is a list of sources "for further reading," which combined form an excellent bibliography on Christian education. The material is well organized, highly readable, and up-to-date.

If pastors would read the book, they might be more willing to support Christian education for adults within the church. To ensure that a few future pastors get an overview of the topic, I am planning to use the book as a text for my next class in "Teaching Ministry."

Andrews University NANCY VYHMEISTER

Gilkey, Langdon. *Nature, Reality, and the Sacred: The Nexus of Science and Religion.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. 266 pp. Cloth, $18.00.

In *Nature, Reality, and the Sacred,* Langdon Gilkey seeks to describe the sacred links between science and religion. He rejects creationism because it ignores science, it values doctrine over symbol, and it refuses to modernize its cosmology. He also rejects scientism because of its ontological dogma and its

ignorance of religion and of its own nonscientific ground. However, Gilkey does not critique scientific methods or results.

In part one, Gilkey surveys the various perspectives on knowledge. First, ancient cultures created value-inclusive systems, such as Dharma (India), Tao (China), and Logos (Greece). The Greeks replaced mythology with the idea that the divine is universal, timeless, rational order. Second, medieval Christian thought posited a larger Hebrew-Christian framework where reason is transcended by the divine, and human beings are the image of God. Third, modern philosophy views nature as material, mathematical, universal, necessary, rational, coherent, and without purpose, quality, formal/final cause, or deity. Kant formalized this separation of faith and reason. Fourth, contemporary thinkers (Whitehead, Tillich, Santayana) provide a way out of Kant's subjective maze, namely critical realism. This development requires a hermeneutic of science, philosophy and theology— each with its unique data, evidence, experience, authority, symbolism, and preunderstanding.

In part two, Gilkey proposes a role for theology based on science *and* primal religion. Theology, he suggests, explains primal symbols in terms of the meaning it finds in science and philosophy. On the other hand, he perceives scientific-limit questions as puzzles demanding a spiritual symbolic system. The classic answer to the limit question of viability was technology, but now we see that technology must be slowed or stopped, lest it destroy us. Irrationality threatens nature, on which rationality depends, and science is destructive, submerging the sacred. Rescuing nature and humanity has become a religious issue because religion responds to the dialectic of life and death, being and nonbeing, which renews life and the environment.

Gilkey regrets that Western culture has lost the primal unity of contingency and temporality. He argues that science need not separate nature and value because meaning arises from process. Therefore we should see nature in terms of spirit with a latent history. Orderly change requires a principle of order. Progressing change needs a principle of progressive order called "God" or the "evolutionary principle." Gilkey maintains that in the past, science and religion failed to respect nature as an image of God's transcendence, immensity, infinity, endlessness, wisdom, and power. We forgot to honor and love her as ourselves. History and persons do provide symbols of God, but without the symbols of nature, God would not be God. Nature is our mother and creator, says Gilkey; through its processes God brought us into being. Gilkey translates God as nature in the dictum of Acts 17:28: "In nature we live and move and have our being . . . . Nature is source and ground of sacred power, life, and order" (153).

In part three, Gilkey seeks to articulate the sacred in nature. Metaphysical inferences are developed into a natural theology which does not prove God, but is a basis for all other proofs. For Gilkey, natural theology is philosophical, not religious. It is not the final criterion or center of theology and does not tell much about God. Rather, natural theology is a first step in correlating religious and nonreligious knowledge.

For Gilkey, a persuasive ontology begins with science and presents aspects of nature inclusively, as principles of experience, as categories of all entities, and as symbols of being. To see power, life, order, and dialectical unity as traces of the sacred is an act of faith. Theism is superior to theories which deny sacred traces by reduction or contradiction of facts or save the facts at the expense of coherence.

For Gilkey, nature is dynamic process from actuality to possibility, with increasing novelty, order, and value. Ontology includes nature and history, objects and subjects, theory, and practice. The cosmos has a penumbra of mystery with sacred traces pointing to the source of life, death, and grace. God is "the unconditioned power to be—yet present in each puff of existence; God is the transcendent ground of freedom—yet creative in each quantum jump as in each human decision; God is the eternal source or order amid novelty, uniting the determined past with the possibilities latent in the open future" (203).

Having described the contents of *Nature, Reality, and the Sacred*, I turn now to evaluation. There are many aspects to appreciate in Gilkey's book, for example: his rejection of purely religious or purely scientific approaches; his masterful survey of the historical shifts in the science-religion nexus; his response to the challenge of limit questions, which makes theology a legitimate hermeneutical inquiry; and his account of natural theology which concludes that theism is the most reasonable explanation of nature in a scientific age.

However, I have three concerns. First, Gilkey seems unaware of those creationists who neither ignore nor counter science, though they are as concerned about scientism as he is. They emphasize doctrine over symbol in an attempt to translate religious language into scientific understanding without losing objective content. Gilkey's translation of religious language leads to transformation of religious content (see W. Hordern, *New Directions in Theology Today* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966], 1:141-154). Second, Gilkey's emphasis on the preunderstandings of science, philosophy and theology compromises his recognition of *Christian* scientists, philosophers and theologians, who can and must begin any inquiry with Christian preunderstanding. Third, in spite of Gilkey's delimitations, it seems inevitable that natural theology, informed by science, will take precedence in his "symbolic" theology. What is needed is a theology which is not only communicable in this scientific age but is also faithful to objective Christian revelation (see Chet Raymo, "God as Top Quark," in *Commonweal* 121 [May, 1994]: 31-32).

In addition to helpful notes and an index, Gilkey has added a very useful bibliography with sections titled "Historical;" "Religion and Science;" "Theology and Philosophy;" "Technology, Ethics, and Society;" and "Creation versus Evolution." Gilkey's book will provide stimulation and challenge to any explorer of the important question of the nexus of science and religion.

Berrien Springs, MI MARTIN FREDERICK HANNA

Johnstone, William, Iain McCafferty, and James D. Martin. *Computerised Introductory Hebrew Grammar.* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993, version 1.05. Full sound PC (disks 1, 2, 3 and 4), $69.95.

This innovative software is a tool for learning Hebrew grammar, mainly intended for the beginning level and, to a certain extent, the intermediate level. It comes in three different editions: (1) The non-sound edition comprising text only; (2) the basic-sound edition including sound for selected parts of the program; and (3) the full-sound edition which makes full use of digitally recorded sounds for Hebrew vocabularies (see **Figure 1**). The two last editions necessitate, of course, additional hardware requirements—a sound card and speakers. Versions are available for both the Macintosh and the PC (Windows only).

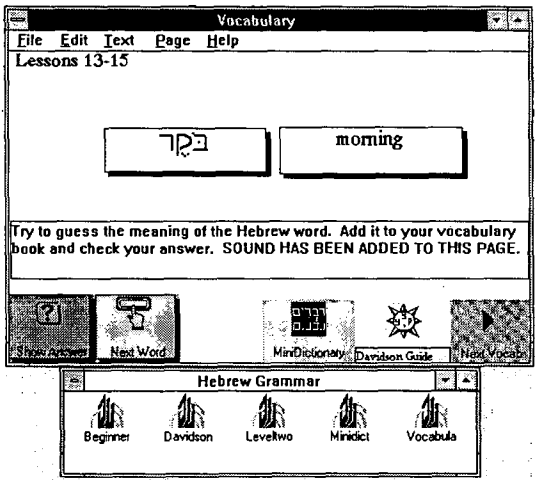

Figure 1. The Vocabulary Section with the Five Main Sections Listed at the Bottom.

The program has five main sections. The first is composed of introductory lessons to Hebrew grammar, including the study of the alphabet, nouns, and verbs. A scrolling list acting like a topical index allows the user to jump from one lesson to another. This feature is common to all other sections. This section also includes tests and exercises.

The second section deals with more advanced grammatical concepts, such as syntactical rules, the principal parts of verb types, *binyanim* of verbal forms, and verbal suffixes. Here again the use of hypertext allows the user to move from one lesson to another or even from one section to another.

The third section consists of a mini-dictionary. It displays the words according to the alphabet letter selected, provides the English translation, and optionally, some comments. This is where the full-sound edition becomes very handy, because every word selected is spoken. With the integration of sound and texts, this educational tool breaks new ground in the study of the Hebrew language, because of its visual and auditory impact on the student. Besides, as does any multimedia educational package, it makes learning fun and exciting.

The fourth section simulates a vocabulary book, which includes all Hebrew vocabularies used at the different levels. It is basically a memorization tool and can be used as flash cards. One would have wished that this software would have included the possibility of expanding the vocabulary list. In the full-sound version, each word is spoken.

The last section of this software is a simulation of the grammar book by James Martin, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993). The user can choose from a scrolling list that contains all the lessons. This section is structured in a way that necessitates the use of the printed book. After a recommended reading from the book, each lesson gives a brief summary of the grammatical rules, after which the student is given the choice of either jumping to the next lesson, learning and reviewing the vocabularies, or doing the exercise related to that specific lesson. Unfortunately, the exercises are not included in the software and the student has to refer to the printed book. The answers for the exercises, however, are provided.

The most obvious weaknesses of this software are three: (1) The installation is entirely manual and can become a tedious task for the uninitiated. With the proliferation of programming and utilities tools nowadays, one could hope that future versions will have an automated installation. (2) The interface is not only inconsistent at times, but lacks the three-dimensional effect common to Windows applications, making the interface display dull and unattractive. Most of the time, the rudimentary display does not permit one to distinguish between function buttons and window screen for text-display only. These remarks are even more significant since this software is a pedagogical tool. (3) A few bugs in the program still persist and need to be removed in future versions.

On the positive side, at any point in the program, the user can always access different sections with ease. For instance, the mini-dictionary is only "a button away." Each section ends with exercises and/or tests which make this program very useful. It even keeps track of points scored by the student while doing the exercises and corrects mistakes made.

Computerised Introductory Hebrew Grammar is a unique software that inaugurates a revolutionary approach to the study of Hebrew grammar. It is recommended for students who wish to learn Hebrew on their own. Its extensive use of hypertext makes it a very versatile tool. It has also been designed for use in a classroom setting, in which it would be most effective if accompanied by Martin's book. The authors of this software should be praised for pioneering in the field of joining multimedia technology to the study of biblical languages.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 MIARY ANDRIAMIARISOA

Lane, William L. *Hebrews 1-8* and *Hebrews 9-13*. WBC 47A, 47B. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1991. clvii + 617. $28.99 each.

Lane is noted for his commentary on Mark in the NICNT series. One would then expect his contribution on Hebrews to the WBC series to be of equally high quality. The reader will not be disappointed. Lane ranks well among the recent outstanding commentaries on Hebrews that have appeared in the last half dozen years or so (Attridge in Hermeneia, Bruce's 2d ed. in NICNT, Weiss in Kritisch- exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, Grässer in Evangelisch- katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, and Ellingworth in NIGTC to mention a few).

Lane (xlix) echoes Attridge (5) in denying "positive identification of the writer," but carries on a discussion of what can be known about the author: from the reference to Timothy in 13:23 he is likely from the Pauline circle but not Paul, since his Greek is "far superior to the Pauline standard" (xlix). Given the refined style and rhetorical acumen, the writer has received an Hellenistic education; from the intimate knowledge of the Jewish cultus and the Scriptures (albeit in Greek), the author is clearly Jewish. Hence Lane identifies him as a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian.

On the basis of the reference to "a permanent city" in 13:14, Lane locates the readers in an urban setting. As plausible a reading as this is, it does seem to push the evidence a bit far. Certainly the reference to city in this verse is metaphorical (note the reference to going outside the camp in v. 12—do the readers live in a camp as well?), as Lane acknowledges in his treatment of the passage in the commentary proper. The question, however, is whether the metaphor is chosen because the audience, living in an urban setting, can readily identify with it (as Lane suggests), or because of the prominence which the city of Jerusalem (and the heavenly or New Jerusalem) plays in early Jewish-Christian thought. The latter seems more likely given the polemic against the Jewish cultus.

Lane situates the group in a house church whose roots are in the Hellenistic synagogue. His discussion of the readers' background is more detailed than that of the author. Most of the arguments Lane uses to describe the readers seem more appropriate to the author: the use of the categories of the Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom tradition, the mediatorial role of angels in the transmission of the law, and the centrality of Moses. When he points out that the author can refer to Biblical stories without elaboration, Lane is on safe methodological ground. But the readers could be Gentiles well-indoctrinated in the Jewish scriptures (godfearers or thoroughly discipled converts as 5:11-14 implies) just as well as Jewish-Christians. More care needs to be taken in distinguishing elements of the text that reflect the author's situation and those that reflect the background of the readers.

Lane places these readers in Rome and, by associating the crisis they experience with Nero's persecution, dates the address to between A.D. 64 and June, 68. This is admittedly speculative, though he makes as good a case as can be made for associating the letter with Rome; he certainly reads 13:24b

correctly. In his discussion of the date he discounts the traditional argument that the references to the Jewish cultus in the present tense imply a date before A.D. 70. He follows the current trend that this argument is not valid because the references to the cult are based on the tabernacle and not on the temple. But I find it hard to see Jewish-Christians being tempted to return to the Jewish cultus if that cultus is not in fact active. The author focuses on the wilderness tabernacle simply because he bases his discussion on the biblical account of the cultus. The same procedure can be seen in Philo.

Lane follows the trend to identify the genre of Hebrews as a sermon or homily. The "homiletic" character of the letter is undeniable, though some caution should be noted here, because many of the features designated as sermonic are better described as rhetorical and can be found in works not designated as homiletic. Lane's own discussion of the rhetorical features shows that it can be associated with both deliberative and epideictic rhetoric. Lane rather too readily dismisses the notion of "epistle." The evidence in chap. 13 and elsewhere in the letter points to an intimate association between author and readers, and that he is addressing them from afar. Thus it is easy to see Hebrews as a written address to be read before the congregation as a whole.

A noteworthy feature of Lane's commentary is the attention he pays to newer trends in biblical studies. In his introduction he includes a section on "Discourse Analysis," in which he notes the contributions of this relative newcomer on the scene of biblical scholarship. Here he discusses the work of Neely and Guthrie. This makes his probably the first English commentary to incorporate the insights of this discipline. Very little, however, makes its way into the commentary proper.

In his treatment of 6:19 Lane translates εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, as "the inner sanctuary behind the curtain" (147). In his comments he asserts that the language here is used in the LXX to refer to signify "the inner curtain that separated the sanctuary of God from the holy place in the tabernacle" (154). Lane here fails to note that the syntax differs from that in Lev 16 where ἐσώτερον is a preposition and not a noun. Nor does he indicate that καταπέτασμα is the overwhelming choice in the LXX for all three veils (inner, outer, and courtyard) of the wilderness tabernacle. He makes reference to the "Throne of God" in his comment, where there is none in the text. He does not demonstrate sufficient exegetical rigor here as he does elsewhere in the commentary.

Lane's commentary is a major contribution to NT scholarship and will long be a standard reference for the study of the book of Hebrews. While this reviewer has focused on weaknesses (as reviews tend to do), this should in no way detract from the usefulness and serviceability of Lane's accomplishment. It deserves to be on the bookshelf of every student of the New Testament.

Berrien Springs, MI MATTHEW M. KENT

Liechty, Daniel. *Sabbatarianism in the Sixteenth Century: A Page in the History of the Radical Reformation.* Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993. x + 94 pp. Paper, $13.95.

Sabbatarianism in the Sixteenth Century broadens the scope of Liechty's earlier attention to Reformation and post-Reformation sabbatarians (persons observing Saturday as their special weekly day for rest and worship). In several previous articles and in his earliest book entitled *Andreas Fischer and the Sabbatarian Anabaptists* (Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1988), Liechty's focus was on Anabaptist sabbathkeepers; in this new volume his coverage has expanded to include Transylvania. In my review of his earlier title, I furnished information about his personal qualifications and study in Eastern Europe that made him eminently qualified to do research on Sabbatarian Anabaptism (*AUSS* 28 [1990]: 169-171), and that information is relevant for this volume, too.

This new book consists of two major parts: "Anabaptist Sabbatarianism in Silesia and Moravia" (9-41), and "Unitarian Sabbatarianism in Transylvania" (43-84). The main text is followed by endnotes (85-91) and a bibliography (93-94).

The first part of this new work covers some of the ground as that which Liechty treated in his earlier volume, albeit with certain important shifts in emphasis (especially the fact that now there is less information on Fischer and more on Oswald Glaidt). The major contribution of this new publication, however, comes in the second main part of the book. There, Liechty first gives brief information on "Hungary at the Time of the Reformation" (45-47); on "The Rise of Unitarianism" in Transylvania, a region which in the sixteenth century was located within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Hungary (47-50); and on "Francis David and Unitarian Radicalism" (50-53). After detailing the relevant religious and political backgrounds in the above-mentioned subsections, Liechty shifts his focus to the main core of his study, the sabbatarians in Transylvania (53-84). This was a group that emerged within the Unitarian community, but which formally broke away from it in 1588.

In the earliest history of Transylvanian Unitarian sabbatarianism (from 1585 to 1638), two periods may be distinguished, when the leaders were Andreas Eössi and Simon Pechi, respectively. The sabbatarianism of Eössi was derived from his own careful study of Scripture; a contemporary chronicle stated that he reached his sabbatarian conclusions because he "read his Bible too long [!]" (56). His sabbatarianism embraced various Jewish ceremonies, but it was nevertheless, according to Liechty, a Christian confession rather than a Jewish one.

Our author sets forth in some detail the beliefs and practices of the first-generation Transylvanian sabbatarians (57-67), introducing this discussion with the following summary statement: "What we find in these writings [of Eössi and the early Unitarian sabbatarians] is a form of Christianity which has grounded itself thoroughly in the Old Testament, which attempts to follow the teachings of the Bible exclusively, and which has been strongly influenced by the

chiliastic eschatology of Matthias Glirius. There is also clear concern in this theology to find bridges of commonality with Judaism" (57).

Pechi, although he was a disciple and adoptive "son" of Eössi, soon led the sabbatarians of Transylvania into a more Judaistic mold. In fact, he removed from Transylvanian sabbatarianism all elements that had distinguished it as Christian except for the "Our Father in Heaven" (referred to by present-day English-speaking Christians as "The Lord's Prayer"). The text of this prayer contains no truly unique Christian expressions, but is worded in such a way that Jews, as well as Christians, could recite it (72).

The whole episode of the rise of Unitarianism and then of Unitarian sabbatarianism in Transylvania occurred within the context of complex religio-political struggles, intrigues, and shifts in official positions regarding what was called "religious innovation" (a negative characterization applied especially to the sabbatarians). The Unitarian sabbatarians, after flourishing (with congregations in at least thirty villages and towns), suffered two severe persecutions in the years 1618 and 1638. From the latter, the movement never fully recovered, though for centuries there were still sabbathkeepers in Transylvania. Moreover, even some members of the group who under pressure joined the Catholic, Reformed, or other "recognized" churches, continued their adherence to sabbatarian beliefs.

For a period of 230 years, from A.D. 1638 to 1868, the Transylvania sabbatarians suffered repeated persecutions (78-79). The death knell to these East-European sabbatarians did not come, however, until "after 1941 and the Nazi occupation" (83).

Liechty has presented his discoveries with both authority and balance. However, although he has documented well the ties to Judaism, he has said virtually nothing about any possible Islamic influence that might have been related to the rise of Transylvanian Unitarianism. Perhaps there was none. But since the Turks were virtually the political overlords of Transylvania, beginning about the year 1526, a paragraph or two on the matter would have been helpful.

The reference in the book's title to the "sixteenth century," which is fully appropriate for the Anabaptist sabbatarians, should be broadened in the case of Transylvania, for most of the history of sabbatarianism there falls into the seventeenth and subsequent centuries. One further minor criticism may be mentioned: the endnote style is rather peculiar and, furthermore, reference after reference uses the abbreviation "ff." instead of giving *exact* citations.

Liechty's *Sabbatarianism in the Sixteenth Century* should be widely read, for it gives an intriguing and competent account of heretofore little-studied developments which deserve a rightful place in religious history and are instructive in the matter of religious liberty and in the impact of religio-political concerns on both Christians and Jews. Liechty makes a point of the fact that among the Reformation-era and post-Reformation-era Christian sabbatarians there existed a non-prejudicial attitude toward the Jews (2-3), a rare occurrence in the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Linnemann, Eta. *Is There a Synoptic Problem?: Rethinking the Literary Dependence of the First Three Gospels.* Translated by Robert W. Yarbrough. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 219 pp. $10.95.

Eta Linnemann is well known in scholarly circles. Her conversion to evangelical Christianity caused her to rethink her support for the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation, resulting in her surrendering the Bultmann chair at Marburg University. In this volume she tackles the arguments in favor of literary dependence in the Synoptic Gospels.

Linnemann begins by tracing the historical development of the argument for literary dependence in the Synoptic Gospels. She describes how a theory became accepted as an unquestioned assumption without the requisite scientific investigation which should form the basis for such certainty, and how subsequent investigations were done from the presupposition of literary dependence, leading to a biased result. Thus, from the outset, Linnemann attacks the credibility of any of the hypotheses that purport to explain literary dependence among the Synoptics.

In Part 2 she does her own quantitative scientific investigation to determine whether the actual evidence in fact supports any theory of literary dependence, concluding finally that it does not. Regardless of what one thinks of her conclusion, her statistical research is impressive, and certainly makes a very significant contribution to Synoptic studies. Scholars should be grateful for the wealth of data she has contributed to the field.

In Part 3 Linnemann asks whether the Synoptic Gospels could have arisen independently, then posits a theory of independence which does not require literary dependence to explain Synoptic relationships. She also attempts to offer alternative explanations for features that are often held to support theories of literary dependence, and postulates the probable origin of the Synoptic Gospels, with support from the testimony of the Fathers.

In Part 4 she briefly raises the issues of the Fourth Gospel and its relation to the Synoptics, closing with a suggested approach to the Gospels and a case study involving the relationships between the Gospels.

Linnemann's work poses a serious challenge to the claims of critical New Testament scholars. It deserves a serious response. Although she writes with an apologetic goal, that in itself does not invalidate the objective nature of the data she submits for evaluation. As she points out on pp. 12 and 40, Gotthold Lessing also had an apologetic goal when he formulated the Synoptic problem based on a theory of literary dependence, but that has not stopped scholars from studying and adopting or modifying his hypothesis. She has the right to begin from a presupposition different from that of Lessing and propose alternative conclusions from a restudy of the evidence, submitting the results to the world of scholarship for evaluation and feedback. She appeals for just such feedback on p. 158.

There are several things that could have improved the book. Linneman's qualification regarding other investigations of the Synoptic data, found in the introductory question and answer section (12-13), needs to be repeated elsewhere

in the study where she repeatedly asserts that the two-source theory resulted from no thorough investigation of the biblical data (see, e.g., 25, 39, 65).Also, chapter 8, in which Linnemann discusses the definition of literary dependence, should have come sooner in the study, before she drew conclusions in chapters 3-7 about whether or not literary dependence can be shown from the data.

One could question the basis for Linnemann's quantification of the Synoptic data, which for her was "the word as the smallest component of meaning" (71). Often a phrase, rather than a word, may constitute the smallest unit of meaning, especially with articular nouns and participles and with certain prepositional and infinitival phrases. I wonder, too, how the statistics would vary if she were to test words for similarity in content rather than for identity.

There were a few proofreading errors: "posses" (37), "a thorough an investigation" (67), and "into to writing" (186). The "heavy" and "light" diagonal lines described on p. 112 appear to be reversed on the chart on p. 113. Probably more serious is the apparent error in the figures given in the summary (128). As far as I can discern, the second sentence ought to read, "The above tables cover 3911 words, or 55.51 percent of the 7045 total."

Considering the fact that about seventy pages of the book deal with statistics, it is remarkably concise and easy to read. It was not the dull reading I had imagined it might be. I found it stimulating and challenging. It is always good to have a provocative challenge to established thinking. Whether or not Linnemann's work will change many minds from their established views regarding the Synoptic problem, her diligence should evoke admiration and invite a response from serious scholars. It is recommended reading for all students and teachers of New Testament studies. Those especially who take the Bible's own claims seriously will not want to miss this thought-provoking study.

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EDWIN E. REYNOLDS

McConville, J. Gordon. *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomic Theology.* Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993. 176 pp. Paper, $16.99.

McConville's collection of essays inaugurates a new series for Zondervan's academic publishing section, a series which with this work promises to offer a helpful dialogue with other (especially non-evangelical) perspectives in biblical theology. As the subtitle suggests, McConville offers a survey of the central theological ideas drawn from Deuteronomy (primarily) and the sacred history recorded in Joshua through Kings.

The five essays found here draw heavily from previously published work by the author; but that material is incorporated in a fashion that is conversant with more recent research. McConville's first essay, a history of research, sets

the stage for understanding the message of the Deuteronomic literature in its historical (ancient Israelite) setting. Other essays deal respectively with the date of Deuteronomy itself, the "Deuteronomic Idea in Joshua-Kings," a description of Deuteronomic theology, and the relation of this total theology to that of the New Testament.

McConville's central thesis is that Deuteronomy and its associated literature are best understood by reading them as a historical and literary unity. Modern critical studies of this literature have often divided the themes of Deuteronomy into fragments that belong (supposedly) to different periods in Israelite history. Many scholars view Deuteronomy itself as a kind of schizophrenic book: it is composed (among other things) of early layers which present a word of promise and election by God to his Israelite tribes during premonarchic (or antimonarchic) times. Then, writers of a later (exilic or postexilic) day superimpose a separate theology of judgment and punishment on the basis of the Deuteronomic law code and covenant curses in order to explain and justify the catastrophe of exile and the dispersion for God's people. Thus, grace and judgment become the two great and separate poles of Deuteronomic theology, and these poles account for the diverse tradition history found both in the book and in Joshua-Kings.

McConville counters this viewpoint by arguing that Deuteronomy makes best sense when read as a unity literarily and theologically. He argues that the themes of grace/promise on the one hand and warning/judgment on the other would make sense *together* for a number of periods within Israelite-Judaean history, including the settlement period and that of the united kingdom. His basis for this comes in his use of separate issues and themes (such as Deuteronomy's law code, outlook on cult, Canaanite relationships, style, and formal considerations) to overturn the long-standing seventh-century B.C.E. date of the first edition of Deuteronomy (during the reign of Josiah).

Some of McConville's arguments are convincing. For instance, it is true that in Deuteronomy grace and blessing, not judgment, are the final word. It is the elective will and the grace of Israel's God Yahweh which enable his human subjects under the covenant to obey his commandments (chap. 30). This is the dominant theological theme which does not oppose the hardships and necessity of obedience but rather makes good sense in light of those points.

What is missing in support of this thesis is important evidence from within and without Deuteronomy itself. The book, for instance, looks back on the settlement of the tribes in both cis- and trans-Jordan (1:12 and various references to "beyond the Jordan"), knows of kingship in Israel (33:5, misunderstood by McConville, p. 31), makes a direct anti-Solomonic reference in 17:16 (cf. 1 Kgs 10:26-29), speaks of "going after other gods" as repetitiously as does the book of Jeremiah, and even knows (in a prospective prophetic style) of the events of exile and return (Deut 29:21-27). Moreover, McConville does not draw upon the helpful inscriptional evidence from Palestine of the 7th-6th centuries B.C.E. which strongly supports a date in that milieu for an early stage of "D." Other important external evidence could be mentioned against the author's views. Hence, the complexity of Deuteronomy's setting (and that of

its related literature) historically and theologically cannot easily be dismissed or otherwise consolidated. Nevertheless, McConville has accomplished his task of producing a brief, contemporary survey of Deuteronomy's theology from an evangelical viewpoint. The inquiring seminary student will find *Grace in the End* useful as a supplement to other standard works.

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Millar, Fergis. *The Roman Near East 31 B.C.-A.D. 337.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. 618 pp. Cloth, $45.00.

The Roman Near East, an interpretive work on the Roman Empire and its governing policies, is destined to be a reference classic for serious students of Near Eastern history. Fergus Millar of Harvard, who has written many articles evaluating Rome's role in limited areas, is well qualified to assess the Imperial rule and expansion in the entire Near East. The book explains the roles and interactions of the various people groups as they were affected by the expansion of the Rome's Eastern Empire from the time of Herod about 31 B.C. to the death of Constantine.

The book is divided into two parts: "The Empire," and "Regions and Communities." The first part introduces the reader to the geographical concerns as well as the governing policies of Rome as she expanded her control in the Near East. This sets the stage for viewing the empire's interactions with her neighbors in the second part. The author clearly illustrates the changing governmental policies and how the rulers might have viewed this area during these changing times. By using troop movements and governmental control in tracing the development of the Empire in the Near East, the author demonstrates that Rome's expansion didn't stop at the early empire as some historians have maintained. The remainder of the book surveys social and political changes in regions within the scope of the changing Empire.

Each chapter starts with a broad overview, which is followed by sections organized geographically and presented chronologically. By citing inscriptions and ancient historians, Millar traces the spread of Greek language and customs and their adoption by the Romans.

In the first chapter the author defines the "Orient" and establishes its geographical boundaries. He points out two problems of modern Orientalists: first, as Westerners they have preconceived notions of what the 'Orient' comprises; and second, they tend to read inscriptions—no matter how explicit and informative—from the perspective of their own preconceived notions.

The chapter on Arabia is typical of the many regions examined. Millar begins by defining geographically the regions and cultures that will be discussed. Through the use of archaeological and other primary sources, the author presents a lucid view of the people groups of this region. The chapter's theme is introduced with a question: "Should we see these cities too as representing the

flowering of regional culture under Roman protection? Or as conscious bastions of Hellenism in an 'Arab' world?" (391). A concept that is repeated throughout the book is the idea that even though Rome granted colony status to cities and regions, it was Greek culture, not Roman, that characterized the life of the common people. Inscriptions are quoted to give the reader a view of life under Roman rule. However, when handling questions where sufficient evidence has not been found, footnotes point the reader to other authoritative sources. The author's use of archaeological data mainly pertains to inscriptions, although he presents other evidence, such as town plans and fort structures, that support his arguments.

The book would have been more complete if, instead of starting after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., it had gone clear back to 63 B.C. with Rome's first invasion of the Middle East. This, however, would have made the book prohibitively large. The maps are very useful for orientation of cities, but might have been easier to use if they were placed in each chapter, rather than grouped at the back of the book. Also included are several appendices.

This book is not an introductory textbook. It is not for a student who is unfamiliar with Roman history. While the author does explain in detail many aspects of the Imperial expansion, the many references to and citations of untranslated Greek inscriptions make it challenging to read. On the other hand, Millar offers the nonspecialist a plethora of resources for further study.

The book is destined to become a classic, because it bridges the gap between classical historians and Orientalists. The book is recommended for any serious student of Roman history.

Rochester, NY HOWARD P. KRUG

Olson, Jeannine E. *One Ministry, Many Roles: Deacons and Deaconesses through the Centuries.* St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992. 461 pp. $21.95.

Jeannine Olson (Ph.D. in history, Stanford University) is an assistant professor at Rhode Island College with a background of teaching at institutions with a religious orientation (San Francisco Theological Seminary, Graduate Theological Union). She has drawn from many earlier sources in an attempt to construct a comprehensive picture of the deacon and deaconess movements through the centuries.

The work follows a chronological pattern with chapters devoted to the New Testament practice, the early church up to Constantine, the fourth to the fifteenth centuries, the Protestant Reformation, the post-Reformation period, the nineteenth century in Europe, the nineteenth century in Britain and America, the early twentieth century, and contemporary trends. About 65 percent of the material is post-Reformation.

As the title indicates, the roles of deacons and deaconesses have been perceived in a variety of ways depending on the historical period and the

particular denomination. To one nurtured in a faith community in which these offices are held by congregationally elected lay people, it is somewhat surprising to note the extent to which they have been considered clergy in other bodies or at least seen as full-time, professional positions.

In NT times the diaconate was a ministry of service to the poor and needy, but as the medieval church developed, the office came to have more liturgical functions. It often came to be regarded as an assistant-pastor role and often a stepping stone to the priesthood. From the Reformation on, the church, rather than government was usually responsible for education, healing, and welfare, and deacons and deaconesses often served as the teachers, nurses, and social workers of society. Even today a significant professional diaconate exists, especially among Catholic and mainline Protestant denominations.

The book's strong points are first of all its comprehensiveness. Olson is not content with sweeping overviews but includes micro details of every deaconess home, every rule of order, and every historical fact that she could possibly discover. If the reader wants details about the history of deacons and deaconesses, this is the place to look.

The work is also extremely well-referenced. Endnotes are included after each chapter and total about seventy-two pages of small print, followed by a bibliography of twenty-five pages.

A third favorable point is that the reader learns more about church history than just the fortunes of deacons and deaconesses. In detailing this history, Olson also necessarily includes much about the polity, governance, and ministry of the Christian church and the major denominations that developed from it. The decisions of church councils—as they affect ministry—are discussed, and considerable space is devoted to the ecumenical movement, especially as to its impact on a common ministry.

For all its strong scholarship though, the book has serious weaknesses. One is that it seems somewhat disorganized and difficult to follow. Of course, the chapter organization follows a historical progression and therefore is logical. But within the chapters, material seems often to be ordered without apparent reason, and there is much repetition and overlapping. This is particularly true in the chapters dealing with modern times where the text seems to "jump around." Thus it can be confusing and difficult to integrate into a sensible configuration.

The greatest weakness, in my opinion, is that the volume simply makes very tedious reading. It may serve well as a reference work, but to read it from cover to cover (as I did) takes a certain amount of dedication and grit. The average pastor or Bible teacher will probably find four hundred pages of mostly meaningless detail more than he or she wants to know about deacons and deaconesses. The few specialists in the field, however, may find Olson's *magnum opus* a real gold mine. It is not likely to make the religious best-seller list.

Andrews University ROGER L. DUDLEY

Pinnock, Clark H. *A Wideness in God's Mercy: The Finality of Christ in a World of Religions.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992. 217 pp. $14.99.

Confronted with the contemporary challenge of religious pluralism, Christians are often called upon to reconcile their affirmation of the finality of Christ as the only Savior of sinners with their belief in God's boundless generosity and mercy towards all humanity. Clark H. Pinnock's book, *A Wideness in God's Mercy: The Finality of Christ in a World of Religions*, transposes the above problem into two theological axioms upon which he constructs his "evangelical theology of religions" (13).

The two components of this theology are: (a) *universality* (God's love for all humanity) and (b) *particularity* (the reconciliation of sinners through Jesus' mediation) of God's plan of salvation (17). Pinnock believes that his book meets the challenge of religious pluralism with a "biblically grounded and theologically sound argument" (181), and also avoids certain soteriological errors within the Christian community.

In charting a course to follow in this volume, Pinnock is faced with a number of options: "exclusivism" (which maintains Christ as the Savior of the world and other religions as zones of darkness), "restrictivism" (which limits hope of salvation to people who have faith in Jesus Christ in this earthly life), "inclusivism" (which upholds Christ as the Savior of humanity while at the same time affirms God's saving presence in the wider world and in other religions), and "pluralism" (the view that all religions lead ultimately to heaven). Pinnock's position can best be bracketed within the "inclusivist" camp.

The book is organized in five chapters. The first two chapters—"Optimism of Salvation" and "Jesus, Savior of the World"—offer biblical, theological and christological reasons for rejecting the fewness doctrine, according to which only a small number will be saved. Employing "a hermeneutic of hopefulness," Pinnock draws from the "universal orientation" of the biblical data to argue for "the optimism of salvation"—an expression that means that because of the boundless mercy of God, salvation is going to be extensive in the number of persons benefitted and comprehensive in scope (20). But while God's salvation is going to be universal, this salvation is reached by way of particularity in Christianity: i.e., a salvation through Jesus Christ. In making this christological argument, Pinnock distinguishes between the ontological necessity of Christ's redemptive work and the epistemological necessity to acknowledge Christ before one could be saved: "There is no salvation except through Christ but it is not necessary for everybody to possess a conscious knowledge of Christ in order to benefit from redemption through him" (75).

Chapters 3 and 4—"Religions Now," and "Religions Tomorrow"—discuss how Christians should relate to people of other religions. He maintains that a recognition of the optimism of salvation contributes to an attitude of oneness and love for people of other religions. Consequently, he recommends "truth seeking dialogue" as the most effective strategy in the Christian's mission activity. In chapter 5—"Hope for the Unevangelized"—Pinnock tackles the question of whether or not those who have not heard the gospel could be saved.

In arguing for his affirmative response, Pinnock points to God's desire for all to be saved as a fact that necessitates a universal *access* to salvation. He appeals to a "faith principle," not the content of one's belief, as the basis of universal accessibility to God's salvation (157-158). With respect to the fate of millions of "premessianic believers"—sincere seekers and followers of God (be they pagans, Jews, or Gentiles) who have not heard about Christ—Pinnock suggests that "a grace-filled postmortem encounter with Christ" ensures that they also will be saved (170-172).

There are some strengths in his work. Pinnock's bold attempt at a theology of religions must be applauded by Christians who consider mission and evangelism to be at the heart of their faith, and who constantly wrestle with how they should relate to other religions. His careful distinction between the ontological and epistemological necessity of Christ in soteriological discussion is useful. His theological explanation, using general revelation and God's prevenient grace, for the existence of truth and nobility in non-Christian religions is also enlightening (102-113; cf. 46, 76). Finally, his evangelistic strategy of "dialogue" appreciates the good in other religions, and thus avoids the cultural snobbery and imperialism that has often attended the mission activity of Christians (138-143). Without any *a priori* repudiating of other faiths as either wholly good or wholly bad, he does a masterful work in debunking the arguments of theological pluralists who seek to eliminate the finality claims from Christology by reinterpreting the Biblical data (64-74).

This is not to suggest that everything is totally impeccable in Pinnock's "optimism of salvation," his evangelistic strategy of "dialogue," and his "hermeneutic of hopefulness."

While he seeks to ground his theology of religions on a sound biblical basis, Pinnock leaves his readers to conclude that instead of allowing *sola Scriptura* to shape his views—as evangelicals have always insisted—his "hermeneutic of hopefulness" is established on "both Scripture and experience" (109, 106), "Scripture and reason" (158), and "historical factors, combined with a fresh reading of Scripture" (42). What hermeneutic undergirds this "fresh reading of Scripture"?

With regard to his "theology of optimism," two brief comments are in order. First, the "faith principle" which underlies his theology (157) maintains that the content of saving faith (without which "it is impossible to please God") does not have to be knowledge of the truth about Jesus, but rather a belief that God "exists and that he rewards those who earnestly seek him" (Heb 11:6). Accordingly, Pinnock writes, "A person is saved by faith, even if the content of faith is deficient (and whose is not?). The Bible does not teach that one must confess the name of Jesus to be saved" (158).

While we may agree with Pinnock that "people are saved by faith, not by the content of their theology," and that "Faith in God is what saves, not possessing certain minimum information" (157, 158), one is left wondering what is entailed by this kind of "faith." Does "faith" in Hebrews 11:6—the believe that God exists and rewards those who seek him—exhaust what is involved in saving faith? Does not Satan also posses this faith (cf. James 2:19)? Can one

legitimately dissociate *how* a person believes (the subjective component of faith) from *what* he believes (the objective content of faith)? Does not the Bible teach that the minimum information necessary for salvation is the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ (John 3:16; Acts 4:12; cf. Rom 10:9-10)?

Second, Pinnock recognizes that there have been many "pagan saints" before and after Christ, who though "informationally premessianic" (161), were nonetheless accepted by God (e.g., Abel, Enoch, Noah, Job, Daniel, Melchizedek, Lot, Abimelech, Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, Naaman, the Queen of Sheba, the Roman centurion Cornelius, and the pagan astrologers who came to worship Christ at his birth, etc.). These individuals, according to Pinnock, received and responded to God's "premessianic revelation" and "prevenient grace," a knowledge of God which will be "updated when they enter into his presence" in a postmortem encounter with Christ (92-106, 172).

Pinnock's argument fails, however, to show whether or not the "pagan saints" continued in their paganism once they were confronted with the claims of God given in the premessianic revelation. He also does not address one critical question that has to do with the *content* of the faith confessed by the "pagan saints": If one believes that the institution of the sacrificial system in post-fall Eden (and more comprehensively in the worship life of Old Testament Israel) foreshadowed the final sacrifice of Jesus Christ, cannot it be argued that the "pagan saints," just like post-messianic believers such as Peter, John, or Paul, all confessed their faith in Jesus Christ—however fuzzy that knowledge of Jesus Christ may have been?

It seems that while Pinnock exalts the finality of Jesus Christ as the only Savior of sinners, at times he comes dangerously close to down-playing the uniqueness and full deity of Jesus Christ as God-incarnate. He writes: "Uniqueness and finality belong to God. If they belong to Jesus, they belong to him only derivatively. He is not unique in his own right as an independent being, but as the Father's beloved Son" (53); "Incarnation, then, is not the normative category for Christology in the New Testament" (62). Could this apparent devaluation of christology be the reason why he makes a theological bid for a postmortem encounter of "pagan saints" with Christ (a doctrine that lacks sound biblical and exegetical support)?

Finally, although Pinnock's evangelistic strategy of "dialogue" rightly recognizes that other faiths share some similar concerns and views with Christianity (138-143), it fails to show to what extent these are identical. For example, a traditional religion in Ghana reveals that the worshippers "intend to acknowledge the true God as we do" (97); the experience of Buddhists seeking God teaches Christians about their need to be less materialistic and "more spiritually Buddha-like" (140); the writings of a Hindu sect "celebrate a personal God of love" (100). But the parallels and similarities between Christianity and other faiths do not *prove* that the gods in these non-Christian religions are identical with the personal, transcendent, and triune God of Scripture. Neither does Pinnock explain whether spirituality in these religions is equivalent to Christian spirituality— whether being "spiritually Buddha-like" is the same as being Christlike.

Despite the above weaknesses, *A Wideness in God's Mercy* will stimulate contemporary evangelical thinking on the problem of religious pluralism.

Berrien Springs, MI SAMUEL KORANTENG-PIPIM

Rhodes, Ron. *Christ Before the Manger: The Life and Times of the Preincarnate Christ.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 299 pp. $13.99.

In *Christ Before the Manger*, Ron Rhodes, Th.D., gives a glimpse of the fellowship of the triune God such as Christ, the eternal Son, makes possible to finite beings. For Rhodes, the sonship of Christ does not denote inferiority, since for the Semitic mind "son of God" means "of the order of God" (12-13, 30-31). God is revealed in Christ according to a plan conceived for humankind before time, to be carried out in time. This plan includes the preincarnate appearances of Christ and culminates in an earthly millennial kingdom, after which glimpses of God are replaced with his unveiled presence (14-15, 34).

Rhodes presents Christ as possessing all the divine attributes; he is the image, exact representation, and fullness of God. Christ's immutable, omnipresent divinity is mobile, active, and capable of local presence. These attributes are comforting, Rhodes writes, because Christ can never change his mind about using his power to secure us forever in faith (43-48). Rhodes further expounds the biblical revelation of Christ as Creator, Preserver, Angel of the Lord, Shepherd, Savior, Eternal Logos, holder of divine names, virgin-born, and possessor of human life and eternal glory.

The discussion of Christ as Savior, Logos, and fully human deserves special notice. (1) Christ's role as Savior was not an afterthought, but a part of God's plan, which encompassed even sin. This plan was a matter of sovereign decree, formulated on the basis of boundless wisdom and knowledge and allowing for freewill decisions. God's eternal decree is his sovereign resolve and purpose controlling all of creation (125-131). (2) Concerning the Eternal Logos, in the OT the Word was an active agent of God while in the Jewish targums "Word of God" was substituted for "God." Around A.D. 25, Philo developed dualistic concepts of a good God, evil matter, and mediating logos. However, John presents the Word as a divine person, unlike the OT or Jewish ideas (146-148). (3) "All that Christ did among human beings in his *preincarnate* state prepared in some way for what he would accomplish in his *incarnate* state" (190). His conception was supernatural but His subsequent development was normal, except that He never sinned. Christ did not cease to be God, but neither did He use divine attributes for Himself. He became "God *plus,*" for in contrast to triune oneness, he has two natures (198-199). Rhodes postulates that Christ, "with his divine nature *and* with his human immaterial nature . . . departed from his human body" and returned "to the same physical body in which he died" (201). The natures were without mixture or separation. Christ is *fully God* and *fully man,* always conscious of deity and humanity, one Will-er who possesses both a divine will and a human will (203-204).

In his book, Rhodes reviews early Christian thought, referring to Church Fathers and ancient creeds. He also takes note of contemporary theologians, not to prove, but to support and illustrate his conclusions. However, *Christ Before the Manger* is especially useful because of its biblical content. His writing style is based on a conscious theological method. For Rhodes, viewing the OT "Christo-centrically" is imperative in the light of Christ's claims, as recorded in Scripture (17).

Rhodes' extensive use of biblical material (often more than ten references per page) provides a useful introduction to the biblical revelation of Christ. However, there were issues raised which seem to deserve more complete treatment. Concerning the relation of time and eternity, Rhodes admits that his idea of created time is based on "hints" from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and from extrabiblical sources (36-37, 149). However, while creaturely time began with creation, God's time is another matter. See F. Canale's *Toward the Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions* (Berrien Springs, MI.: Andrews University Press, 1983).

Other matters in need of clarification include God's attributes, the millennial kingdom, Christian assurance, and human freedom. (1) What is the relation between immutability and omniscience, and the "God *plus*" of becoming human and learning what it feels like (198)? (2) Alternative interpretations of the millennial kingdom of Christ deserve consideration. (3) The linking of assurance with the idea of indefectability seems to ignore certain Scripture passages such as: "make your calling and election sure . . . so you shall never fall" (2 Pet 1:10). (4)Rhodes holds that God acts in history beyond his decrees, but his concept of sovereignty raises questions concerning the goodness of God, human freewill, and human sin.

Finally, Rhodes' description of how the divinity as well as the *immaterial* humanity of Christ survived death, seems inadequately supported. For instance, Millard Erickson, writing from a perspective similar to that of Rhodes, agrees with Rhodes that some Bible passages "seem to indicate an intermediate [conscious] state between death and resurrection," but he acknowledges that from the wider perspective of other texts, "the Bible does not view the human being as body, soul, and spirit [as discrete entities] but simply as self." Erickson approves H. Wheeler Robinson's conclusion that "the Hebrew idea of personality is an animated body, and not an incarnated soul" (Millard J. Erickson, *Introducing Christian Doctrine*, ed. Arnold Hustad [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1992], 173).

Of course Rhodes could not be expected to deal with all these issues within the limits of his book. He has accomplished the aims he set for himself, to survey the biblical revelation of the life and times of the preincarnate Christ. His book is made doubly useful by an index, a bibliography, and 70 pages of appendices on the names, titles, and types of Christ, fulfilled messianic prophecies, difficult passages, Christian creeds, and ancient errors on the person of Christ (229-299). I recommend this Bible-saturated book as a useful aid to biblical study of the person and ministry of the preincarnate Christ.

Andrews University MARTIN FREDERICK HANNA

Riches, John K. *A Century of New Testament Study*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993. x + 246 pp. Paper, $17.00.

John Riches is Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism and head of the Department of Biblical Studies at the University of Glasgow. His book offers a critical analysis of the work done in NT studies in the last century, arguing that developments in the discipline have corresponded to cultural shifts which had their roots in major political and economic changes in society (233). He seeks to understand the reasons for the shift away from the historical approaches which, until recently, dominated the discipline, in favor of new approaches to the text (ix, 240).

His work is divided into three sections. He begins with a historical survey of the direction of NT studies to the end of the nineteenth century, followed by developments from Johannes Weiss in 1892 to Rudolf Bultmann. This is the most interesting part of the book, revealing the cultural and historical factors which correlated with the studies of that period. The chapter, "Some Concluding Reflections" (233-235), gives a concise summary of major developments.

The second part focuses on the work of Bultmann himself. Riches is unapologetic that the figure of Bultmann "dominates the book," for the latter "dominated the discipline in this century by achieving a unique synthesis of theological and historical interpretation of the New Testament" (viii). The major weakness of Bultmann's interpretation, according to Riches, was his existentialism, which focused exclusively on the self-understanding of the individual and so failed to adequately account for social and political factors in religious belief (87-88).

The third section surveys the work done since Bultmann. It is presented in five areas: Jesus studies, Pauline studies, Markan studies, Johannine studies, and NT Theology. Riches reveals how the weaknesses of one scholar provides fodder for the work of others, but without ever achieving any assured results or consensus. He criticizes every major scholar for failing to answer the pressing questions in a balanced way. Each has his or her own agenda that influences the results. Riches concludes that in maintaining the important synthesis between history and theology, "there has been no notable successor to Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament*" (204). Not only that, but none of the proposals made for the future of NT theology suggest that it might be possible to revive Bultmann's synthesis (229). Rather, all but Hans Urs von Balthasar have abandoned the attempt to produce a biblical theology that is both historical and 'actualizing' (229).

While Riches yearns for a new synthesis between historical and theological studies of the NT, he is pessimistic about the likelihood of achieving it. He points out that to date there has been no consensus achieved in either the theology or the historiography of the NT. He asks, "Is the discipline as a whole able to resolve such debates within its present frame of reference?" and answers his own question: "If not, it might well seem that it will have to change that frame" (162). Speaking of Markan studies, he notes that the present "considerable diversity" is "unlikely to be resolved in the immediate future" (169). In fact, he adds, since "a comprehensive reconstruction of the history of

the tradition behind Mark is impossible, . . . to make such a reconstruction the basis of any account of Mark's theology is to condemn the discipline to confusion" (169-170). He says something very similar regarding the possibility of constructing a NT theology in general. With regard to Krister Stendahl's program for moving from the historical to hermeneutical reflection on the theological meaning, he writes, "Most obviously, it is a programme that cannot easily, if at all, move beyond the first stage. The work of the descriptive historian is never done, and the biblical theologian who embarks on the task of translating such original meanings into some meaning for today is chronically in danger of being false-footed by subsequent developments in New Testament historiography" (204).

Riches sees in today's pluralistic cultures and global society an increasing avoidance by scholarship of any objectification of faith that may lead to confessionalism and the superior culturalism manifested in the past by the liberal tradition, especially in Germany and England before World War II. He does not deny the validity of a confessional tradition, but he hopes that they will "see the future of that confession as lying in a greater openness to other traditions and religions" (231).

The book is a valuable contribution to the discipline, but there are several areas in which it could be improved. First, it is difficult to read, due in large part to the small, crowded type without any subheads or divisions to rest the eye or to signal changes in the flow of thought within the long chapters. This, combined with the technical nature of the language and the extended, detailed critical argumentation, may account for the very significant increase in editorial errors—over twenty—in the last hundred pages: the proofreader also apparently became wearied with the text.

Second, it is often difficult to discern where Riches is reflecting the ideas of his source as opposed to his own ideas. Sometimes he writes as though an idea is his own, but then the reader will find a page credit showing that the idea is taken from his source. Where there is no page credit given, there is frequently no clear basis for distinguishing whose idea is being represented.

Third, two features of Riches writing were done to excess and should have been given some editorial attention. One is his proclivity to use the expression, "that is to say," which is used far more than necessary. The other is his obsession with using the feminine gender throughout for all generic personal pronouns. I found "he/she" and "him/her" used in only one place, the masculine alone never. It may not be important, but it is distracting to the average reader because it is frequently unrepresentative of the context. A balanced approach would be better.

A Century of New Testament Study is challenging reading, but will reward the diligent, and is recommended for all those with an interest in the discipline of NT studies.

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EDWIN E. REYNOLDS

Roennfeldt, Ray C. W. *Clark H. Pinnock on Biblical Authority: An Evolving Position.* With a Foreword by C. H. Pinnock. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, no. 16. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993. xxiv + 428 pp. $19.99.

For the last three decades, Clark Pinnock has been an especially articulate and prolific contributor to the shaping of contemporary evangelical theology. His observations on the nature and function of Scripture have been provocative and influential. Thus, Ray Roennfeldt has performed a useful service in providing us with an overview and critique of Pinnock's developing convictions in this area.

After providing a brief history of Protestant discussions of inspiration and revelation, and offering a biographical sketch of Pinnock and a survey of his thinking about a variety of theological issues, Roennfeldt proceeds, in the book's two central chapters, to examine the contrasting views of the "early" and "later" Pinnock. Roennfeldt characterizes the early Pinnock as a thoughtful apologist for the inerrantist view of Scripture. Opposing subjectivism, Pinnock relied on "evidentialist" apologetics—designed to provide compelling rational support for Christian beliefs—to defend his position; he rejected appeals to the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit as "some sort of mystical proof of inerrancy." He argued for a view of inspiration in accordance with which meticulous divine superintendence of the production of Scripture was compatible with its origin in authentic, spontaneous human activity. And he was generally skeptical of historical-critical methods of Bible study.

By 1984, Pinnock had adopted a more nuanced view, recognizing the effects of divine accommodation and human weakness on the character of the Bible. The role of the community of faith—and not just individual authors—in the process of Scripture's formation received greater recognition. The *function* of the Bible became more important as a source of guidance for understanding its nature and meaning. Historical-critical techniques merited some qualified affirmation. And, perhaps most interestingly, Pinnock's earlier rationalism had given way to a new emphasis on the inner witness of the Spirit as helping—along with rational apologetics, to be sure—to authenticate the reliability of biblical teachings.

Roennfeldt concludes by assessing the contrasting views of the earlier and later Pinnock and offering brief suggestions for further study and reflection. The early Pinnock is criticized for inattention to the human aspects of the Bible's composition and transmission as well as for excessive rationalism. In addition, according to Roennfeldt, he was insufficiently clear how attention to the apparent intentions of the biblical writers, which Pinnock regarded as normative, might be used to determine what they did and did not seek to communicate—and thus to what precisely the quality of inerrancy might be supposed to apply. The later Pinnock, says Roennfeldt, overstresses the human dimension of Scripture and the complications resulting from God's accommodation to humankind in the process of inspiration and endorses historical criticism too uncritically.

Roennfeldt suggests that the most significant factor likely accounting for Pinnock's changing position seems to have been his growing recognition of the reality and importance of creaturely freedom. And he concludes by suggesting that this may be an especially important lesson to be learned from Pinnock. He is surely right. For a strict Calvinist, God determines everything that occurs; human freedom is understood in such a way that it is compatible with thoroughgoing divine predestination. So there is no conflict, from a Calvinist perspective, between saying *both* that a thoroughly human story can be told about the origin of Scripture and that it contains precisely what God intended. But a broadly Arminian theology—like that endorsed by Pinnock and Seventh-day Adventists—presupposes a different view of freedom. On such a view, human beings must be understood as capable of acting—because of sin, ignorance, and finitude—in ways contrary to God's purposes. God cannot be supposed to be able unilaterally to determine what a biblical writer will write—and thus preserve her or him from all error—and simultaneously respect the biblical writer's freedom. Thus, we cannot defend *a priori* inerrancy if we wish to take human freedom seriously.

Pinnock's theological development represents an appropriate outgrowth of his increased awareness of tensions within traditional Calvinist theology and a welcome embracing of the implications of belief in human freedom for Christian doctrine. Roennfeldt's extensive engagement with Pinnock's thought should be a useful source of encouragement for Roennfeldt's fellow Adventists—always uncomfortable with Calvinism and serious about freedom—to continue reflecting on the manner in which divine action takes place in and through the actions of free creatures without, as Austin Farrer put it, "faking or forcing the natural story." A recognition of the constraints accepted by God in creating free persons and a regular natural order with an integrity of its own is surely consonant with many central Christian convictions. Bearing these constraints in mind should enable us to characterize the nature of God's work in the world more fruitfully than we would be able to do if we sought to defend a position more akin to Calvinist absolutism.

An emphasis on the role of the Spirit in authenticating the truth of Scripture is understandable as a response to the complexities created by Pinnock's new view of the biblical materials themselves. A Bible of the sort Pinnock now envisions may not be capable of providing the basis for all of the rigorous apologetic arguments he defended earlier in his career. But his earlier discomfort with subjectivism seems more helpful than the assumption that the Spirit can be the source of a confidence that evidence and argument cannot provide. The claim that the Spirit's testimony is the ground of our confidence in Scripture's reliability sounds pious, and undoubtedly offers security in the face of confusion and complexity. But a reliance on the Spirit to authenticate the Bible subjectively, internally, rather than through the process of study, reflection, and discussion, can only open the door to irrationalism. Pinnock has not, of course, abandoned reason; he continues to regard evidence and argument as important. But a position that insulates Christian truth-claims from rational

evaluation runs the risk of turning them into the private property of a gnostic sect.

Traditional evidentialist apologetics are undoubtedly deficient; evidentialism is worth rejecting. But this is a problem faced by evidentialism not only in theology but in all other areas of life—science, history, morals—as well. New "postmodern" models of rationality can justify appropriate confidence without rendering some or all Christian beliefs immune to rational criticism. This path—reflected in such works as Nicholas Wolterstorff's *Reason within the Bounds of Religion* and William Placher's *Unapologetic Theology: A Christian Voice in a Pluralistic Conversation*—holds out the promise of taking rationality seriously without allowing Christian convictions to be undercut by a dubious rationalism. I would argue that it is to such an approach that we would do best to look in our attempts to find a basis for confidence in the face of our realization of the human element in Scripture.

Adventists and others will therefore no doubt continue to be stimulated by Pinnock's ongoing exploration of difficult theological questions. The process of understanding his further contributions to Christian thought will doubtless be facilitated by the systematic analysis provided by Roennfeldt's study of his theology of Scripture, for which we can thus be grateful. Because of its focus on Pinnock, this book does not directly resolve—or attempt to resolve—the broader issues with which its subject has been preoccupied. It is thus to be hoped that Ray Roennfeldt will follow his study of Pinnock with a constructive statement of his own regarding the topic of inspiration and authority, drawing on the insights gained in the course of writing this book and calculated to carry an important conversation further.

La Sierra University GARY CHARTIER

Sanders, Jack T. *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants: The First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations.* Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1993. xxiii + 404 pp. Paper, $30.00.

There are many works which study the split between early Christianity and Judaism. Sanders' work sets itself apart from the others by taking a sociological approach to the problem. Sanders reaches beyond the question of what beliefs and practices divided the two, and asks how these differences affected the members of the two groups and how they responded to the growing division.

Sanders' book is divided into six sections. The first two sections deal with Jewish-Christian relations in Palestine before A.D. 70 and between 70 and 135 (the Bar-Kochba revolt), with a third section for further social analysis. The next two sections deal with the situation in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, again with a third section for further analysis. A one-page Concluding Postscript completes the text. There are 89 pages of endnotes (the book is best read with two bookmarks), a bibliography and three indexes.

Almost all analyses of the split between Judaism and Christianity suffer from the ideological bias of the authors. Sanders's work is certainly no exception. Ostensibly Sanders is suspicious of the evidence found in Acts because of its sectarian stance and because its explanations do not fit sociological categories. However, Sanders' distrust of Acts is more personal than scientific. On the last page (258) Sanders states that Acts "caricatured" the Jews, one of a multitude of denigrating remarks about Acts in this book, and thus Sanders is incapable of finding any historical value in Acts at all. Far from being impartial, Sanders is offended, and this attitude is obvious throughout the book.

Hints of Sanders' bias are felt early. On pages 2-3 Sanders expresses his doubts over the persecution accounts of Acts. He describes his reaction as "incredulous" and notes that Acts gives "no credible reason for the persecution of the church." In this case Sanders assumes far more uniformity of Jewish identity and Roman provincial administration than is warranted from historical accounts. Rather, the various mob actions described in Acts are well within the realm of the probable. As noted, Sanders is incapable of finding historical reliability of any kind in Acts.

Sanders' bias becomes even more obvious in a major blunder on page 45. On the basis of John 7:20 Sanders concludes that the Jews of the period when the gospel was written were *not* trying to kill Christians. However, this statement accuses Jesus (the subject of the book) of having a demon, and occurs within a Christian work. The Gospel does not intend that the statement by the Jews be taken at face value. In light of chapters 18-19, John 7:19-20 is a foreshadowing of the crucifixion. If this text has sociological significance for the period in which it was written, it makes clear that Christians feared for their lives where Jews held power. As this is a Christian text, it is a poor witness to how the Jews themselves expressed their attitude. Even so, Sanders uses this text to show that Jews were not trying to kill Christians. Sanders simply cannot accept the idea that early Christianity could arouse the level of persecution indicated in Acts and implied in the Gospel of John. All texts are bent in support of this bias.

Not even Sanders is able to fend off the various textual witnesses to anti-Christian violence in this period. On page 89 he studies the Josephus account in which James and other Christian leaders are executed during a period of Roman absence. Thus he admits to the possibility that "official Judaism" would have done likewise earlier if it had possessed the temporal power to do so. Even here he does not specify execution or mob violence as part of that possibility, though Josephus does so.

In spite of his shortcomings, Sanders' sociological analysis is helpful. Relying on a sociological construct of deviance reaction, Sanders finds that the split between Christianity and Judaism in Palestine was conditioned, if not propelled by a social-identity crisis within Judaism, and such crises tend to result in boundary maintenance and exclusion of deviant groups (133-141).

In the second half of the book Sanders finds almost no evidence concerning Jewish-Christian relations (excluding Acts, as well as any other literature which *does* describe Jewish-Christian relations). Here the emphasis

ends up on gentile-Christian relations, and Sanders' model is social evolution, in particular allopatric speciation. Again, in spite of his biases Sanders does manage to provide useful constructs for understanding Christian development as well as opposition from the imperium.

For all its deficiencies, this book is an interesting foray into the social questions of the split between Judaism and Christianity. If Sanders' answers are suspect, the types of questions he asks and the sociological models he employs are seminal.

Madison, WI 53713 JAMES E. MILLER

Strickland, Wayne G., ed. *The Law, the Gospel, and the Modern Christian: Five Views*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1993. 256 pp. Softcover, $12.99.

Using the more and more familiar format of a "Views" book, this collection of essays presents five major approaches to the law-gospel issue in Protestant circles. After each of the five essays of this volume, the other four contributors offer their personal responses.

In chapter 1, under the title "The Law is the Perfection of Righteousness in Jesus Christ: A Reformed Perspective," Willem A. vanGemeren presents the "non-theonomic Reformed view" (11). Arguing from the premises of Covenant Theology, with constant references to John Calvin and the Westminster Confession, Professor vanGemeren exposes his view on the law through the history of Redemption. His main point is that, since God does not change, the law of God remains virtually the same throughout redemptive history. The new covenant "is the same in substance as the old covenant" (36). Jesus not only did not abrogate the law, but "he called for a more radical observance" (38). Grace is necessary for obedience of the law, but "sole dependence on grace without the responsible use of the law leads to antinomianism" (42, quoting John Murray, *Principles*, 182). This means that, of the three uses of the law, the *usus tertius* is the most important, as God's appointed instrument of sanctification (54).

W. vanGemeren is particularly to be commended for recalling Calvin's two principles of interpretation: (1) "the commandment addresses inward and spiritual righteousness," and (2) "the commandments and prohibitions always contain more than expressed in words" (75). But an unsolved incoherence remains in his explanation of how the ceremonial and juridical aspects of an everlasting law have been abrogated and nailed to the cross (Col 2:14).

In chapter 2, from what Greg L. Bahnsen calls "The Theonomic Reformed Approach," he argues against dispensationalism, for the continuing validity of the moral demands of the Old Testament law. The fact that God judges the pagan nations by the same moral standard as the Mosaic law proves that he does not have a double standard of morality, one for Israel and one for the Gentiles. Consequently "it is unreasonable to expect that the coming of the Messiah and the institution of the new covenant would alter the moral demands of God revealed in his law" (112). On this rationale Bahnsen justifies the

theonomists' commitment to the transformation of every area of life, including the socio-political realm, in accordance with the biblical principles, against the "misguided American conception" of the separation of church and state (129), and claims that "the civil precepts of the Old Testament are a model of perfect social justice for all cultures, even in the punishment of criminals" (142).

Besides the very positive points out to this presentation, the critiques observe that Bahnsen's reconstructionism does not give sufficient attention to Christ's sacrifice and to the new position in Christ of the believers whom he has delivered from the condemnation of the law. The Bible agrees with the reconstructionists that God desires to remake our society and not just the individual, it does not share, however, their optimism about the likelihood of this happening before the return of Christ. (For the full controversy see W. S. Baker and W. R. Godfrey, eds., *Theonomy: A Reformed Critique* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990], and G. North, *ed., Theonomy: An Informed Response* [Tyler: Institute for Christian Economics, 1991]).

Chapter 3 presents the position of Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., on "the Law as God's gracious guidance for the promotion of holiness." Although this essay is not as extensive as the others in this book, its methodological strength, exegetical vigor and conceptual clarity, surpasses many. The author addresses, among other topics: the unity of the law; the hypothetical offer of eternal life to all who obey the law (against Alva J. McClain), the legalistic "if" of Lev 18:5, Ex 19:8, and 23:3, 7 (190); and the understanding of *Tora nomos* as "law" instead of "teaching and instruction" (194). Keeping in tension both value and discontinuity, he concludes that only "the weightier matters of the law of Moses are binding on believers today" (227). He fails to prove exactly what these weightier matters include.

In chapter Four, dispensationalist Wayne G. Strickland pretends to depart from "the traditional dispensational view which advocates two ways of salvation in the Bible, one based on compliance with Mosaic law and the second based on faith in Christ" (232), but keeps rooted, on the assumption that "the economy of the law has been superseded by the dispensation of grace" (247). On the basis of his understanding of Rom 10:4 and other "classic" proof texts, he concludes that "the Mosaic law is antithetical to the gospel and has no part of it" (279). The discontinuity between law and Gospel is therefore a systemic issue in Strickland's presentation, which raises important questions regarding the place of God's law in the new covenant, the relationships between Israel and the church, and the events related to the millenium and biblical eschatology. The reasoning, questionable on linguistics (namely on *plerosai* and on *nomos* and *telos*), never proves why the essence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be incompatible with the essence of the law given by God to Israel. The interpretation of the texts, especially Mt 5:17-19, runs against the logic of the Bible itself, forced by the dispensational *a priori* ("The law is not eternal," "The law was for Israel only") as Bahnsen (290-301) and Kaiser (302-308) show in their reactions.

The fifth and last chapter, by Douglas J. Moo, is entitled "The Law of Christ: A Modified Lutheran View." Despite the encouraging statement, at the

beginning, that "the traditional approach needs to be modified by greater attention to the salvation-historical perspective of the Scripture" (321), the author fails to accomplish his good intentions, giving a rather negative picture of the Mosaic law as "no longer a *direct and immediate* source of, or judge of, the conduct of God's people" (343). D. Moo's position is, consequently, not very different from that of the dispensationalists. His radical separation of law and gospel into respective eras, "before" and "after" Christ, as well as his principle that only what is clearly repeated in the NT is binding for Christians, is not supported by the biblical evidence, and fails to explain why the law of Christ needs to be incompatible with the law of God.

In conclusion, each of the contributors to this volume argue that his approach is best able to solve the gospel and law problem, but, in fact, none seems to have all the answers. The diverse theological and hermeneutical framework of the different confessions still dictate which texts are given precedence and must be used to interpret others. So, despite the tremendous amount of homework accomplished by our authors, much work remains still to be done, whether in textual exegesis, cultural analysis, or theological and moral reasoning. Their stimulating essays, with their rich bibliography (available only in footnotes) provide helps for further research. Everybody may agree with Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., that "the time for a powerful proclamation of the proper uses of the law is now long overdue. . . . It is time for the dispute to come to an end" (75). It is time, also, that the energies be focused on discerning, by the work of the Spirit, how the law of God can be both understood and applied in a way that is faithful to Scripture.

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ROBERTO BADENAS

Underwood, Grant. *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993. vi + 213 pp. $24.95.

The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism seeks to unite the scholarly worlds of Mormonism and millennialism. Both areas of scholarship have blossomed in recent years, but for various reasons the study of Mormonism as a millennial movement has received scant attention in spite of the seeming obviousness of the topic. It is into that vacuum that Grant Underwood, associate professor of religion at Brigham Young University in Hawaii, moves with his book.

Correctly interpreting millenarianism as a comprehensive way of looking at life, Underwood demonstrates that the millennial model best helps us understand the entire universe of Mormon thought and action during the church's earliest years.

One of the important tasks accomplished by Underwood is that of definitely demonstrating that early Mormonism's eschatology was thoroughly premillennial. That task was crucial to the book, since earlier treatments of

Mormonism had at times viewed the movement as having postmillennial attributes. That was partly because of its "kingdom-building rhetoric" and partly because talk of an immediate end of the world began to subside about the end of the nineteenth century. Underwood's second chapter ties down the premillennial nature of early Mormonism in a manner that clears up the issues involved. Chapter one had set the stage for that understanding by tracing the eschatological background of Mormonism from the early church up through the nineteenth century.

Chapter three examines early Mormonism's apocalyptic dualism. Underwood notes that millenarian apocalypticists have traditionally divided the world into opposing factions that run along at least two lines: first, the faithful remnant versus the evil establishment, and second, the elect of the remnant who will experience the kingdom versus the opposition who will in the end be damned. In this manner Underwood again demonstrates his millenarian thesis.

Chapters four and five examine the use of authority from both the Bible and the Book of Mormon as they relate to Mormon eschatological thought. He finds millenarian expectations conditioning what Mormons saw in Scripture as well as how they interpreted it.

While concluding that Mormon use of the Bible indicated a millenarian belief, Underwood points out there may have been "little intrinsically 'Mormon'" about their understanding of the topic from the Bible, since that understanding may have merely reflected "contemporary patterns of millenarian interpretation" (76). That is where his treatment of the Book of Mormon in chapter five takes on importance, since that volume had "no history of interpretation, no published commentaries, no standard exegesis" (76). Thus a study of the Book of Mormon provided an independent source against which the conclusions of previous chapters could be tested. Once again Underwood demonstrated the millenarian bias of early Mormonism.

Having made his point on the premillennial orientation of early Mormonism in the first five chapters, chapters six through eight focus on comparisons between Mormons and other millenarians. Chapter six examines what Mormons criticized and supported in early nineteenth-century society and concludes that they were "moderate" millenarians who were quite a part of the dominant culture.

Chapter seven narrows the focus to comparing the two foremost premillennial movements of the day—the "moderate" Mormons and the more radical Millerites. Underwood found these two movements to be in an adversarial relationship and attributed to Millerism the abatement among Latter Day Saints of the sense that the second coming was imminent. Joseph Smith in the final eighteen months of his life took the lead in that shift of ideas. Smith's reaction to Millerism had modified his thinking.

The book's last chapter compares American and British Mormonism to see if the millennial aspect was merely an American phenomenon or whether it was of fundamental importance to the Mormon way of thinking. Underwood again sees the centrality of the millennial understanding of the church. The

volume's epilogue treats the moderation of the more abrasive features of Mormon millenarianism in the twentieth century.

The Millennial World of Early Mormonism is an important contribution to the study of both Mormon theology and nineteenth-century millenarian thought. It is especially insightful for those who have an interest in the millennial ideas of the 1830s and 1840s.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

BOOK NOTES

Ahituv, S., and B. A. Levine, eds. *Avraham Malamat Volume. Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies,* 24. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993. NonHebrew section, pp. viii + 241: Hebrew section, pp. xviii + 197. $90.00.

This volume of the Eretz Israel series is dedicated to Avraham Malamat on the occasion of his 75th birthday. It is made up of 30 essays in English, French, and German, and 29 in Hebrew. English summaries are provided for non-English articles. In addition, the editors present a bibliography of Professor Malamat's contributions with a brief description of his career. MICHAEL G. HASEL

Breckenridge, James, and Lillian Breckenridge. *What Color Is Your God? Multicultural Education in the Church.* Wheaton, IL: Bridgepoint/ Victor Books, 1995. 288 pp. Paper, $14.99.

This book addresses the challenge of multiculturalism in the North American church. After suggesting a theological framework for cultural sensitivity, the authors address the specific cultures of African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Native-Americans.

Carlson, Jeffrey, and Robert A. Ludwig, eds. *Jesus and Faith: A Conversation on the Work of John Dominic Crossan.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993. $18.95.

This is an edited collection of papers from the 1993 conference on Crossan at DePaul University, to which Crossan himself responds.

Countryman, L. William. *The New Testament Is in Greek: A Short Course for Exegetes.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1993. 208 pp. Paperback, $14.99.

Designed for a one-semester course, this textbook concentrates on reading rather than on grammar. It offers lessons in exegesis and the use of its standard tools.

De Gruchy, John W., and Charles Villa-Vicencio, eds. *Theology and Praxis.* Vol. 1, *Doing Theology in Context: South African Perspectives.* Vol. 2, *Doing Ethics in Context: South African Perspectives.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books; Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1994.

These two volumes are the first of a series reflecting the ecumenicity and pluralism of current South African theology. Volume I includes chapters on Theology, Scripture, Faith, and the doctrines of God, Creation, and Redemption. It also surveys a variety of African theologies, including confessing, black, liberation, feminist, and Kairos theologies. Volume 2 covers ethics from various African perspectives, including chapters on medical ethics, abortion, AIDS, euthanasia, political ethics, war and violence, human rights, economic justice, and ecology.

Moon, Jerry. *W. C. White and Ellen G. White: The Relationship between the Prophet and Her Son.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 19. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993. xxiii + 473 pp. $19.95.

William C. White (1854-1937) held major posts in the SDA denomination including acting General Conference president. He was best known as an assistant to his mother, Ellen G. White. The study investigates the 61-year mother-son relationship, especially with reference to the question of his influence on her.

Peterson, Rodney L., ed. *Christianity and Civil Society: Theological Education for Public Life.* The Boston Theological Institute, vol. 4. Cambridge, MS: The Boston Theological Institute; and Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995. xxvi + 166 pp. Paper, $16.95.

Nine contributors from the Boston Theological Institute address the place of Christianity in civil society in the United States and how theological education can prepare church leaders to speak to the issues of public life.

Scott, Bernard Brandon, Margaret Dean, Kristen Sparks, and Frances LaZar. *Reading New Testament Greek: Complete Word Lists and Reader's Guide.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993. 216 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Vocabulary occurring 10 times or more is listed by frequency; words appearing fewer than 10 times are listed alphabetically by chapter. Standard paradigms and an index to words in the first part are included.

Steele, Michael R. *Christianity, Tragedy, and Holocaust Literature.* Contributions to the Study of Religion, no. 41. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1995. 208 pp. $49.95.

Michael R. Steele is a professor at Pacific University and president of the Oregon Holocaust Resource Center. He appeals for a new theory of tragedy which would allow an understanding of Holocaust literature without Christian interpretive biases.

Van Wyk, Koot. *Squatters in Moab: A Study in Iconography, History, Epigraphy, Orthography, Ethnography, Religion and Linguistics of the ANE.* Berrien Center, MI: Louis Hester Publications, 1993.

The problem with dating Moabite seals is that a single seal usually displays "a mixture of forms from various cultures surrounding Moab and even of different time periods." Through a multiplex approach, van Wyk attempts to discover how seal cutters acquired their "orthographic idiosyncracies" (9).

Wagner, Walter H. *After the Apostles: Christianity in the Second Century.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994. xv + 287 pp. Paper, $16.00.

Wagner devotes 40 pp. to the second-century political context, 65 pp. to five major issues Christians faced, and 67 pp. to the responses to these issues given by Ignatus, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Irenaeus.

Winter, Bruce W., ed. *The Book of Acts in the First Century Setting.* Vol. 5, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting,* by Irina Levinskala. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995. 450 pp. Cloth, $37.50.

Irina Levinskala, a researcher at the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, challenges traditional views of first-century Jewish missionary activity, arguing that Diaspora Jews were looking not for converts but for "God-fearers" who enhanced Jewish relationships with Roman authorities. This supports Luke's understanding of the "God-fearers."

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TRIBUTE TO KENNETH A. STRAND

ARTICLES

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

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The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Old Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Religion Index One; Periodicals; Religious and Theological Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ = a	ֶ = e	ֵ = ē	ֹ = ō	וֹ = ô
ָ = ā	ֱ = ĕ	ִ = i	ֺ = o	וּ = û
ַ = a	ְ (vocal shewa) = e	ִי = î	ֻ = o	ֻ = u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
ADAJ	*Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANRW	*Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research*
BCSR	*Bull. Council on the Study of Religion*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands University*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BKAT	Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
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*
CH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CT	*Christianity Today*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CurTM	*Currents in Theol. and Mission*
DOTT	*Doc. from OT Times*, Thomas, ed.
EDNT	*Exegetical Dict. of the NT*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
EncIs	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies*
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HR	*History of Religions*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Dict.*
JAAR	*Journ. American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society*
JAS	*Journ. of Asian Studies*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*

Abbreviations (cont.)

JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical 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	*Journal of Palest. Orient. 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*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the NT*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRT	*Journal of Religions Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT
NIDNTT	*New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.*
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAp	*NT Apocrypha,* Schneemelcher
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
ODCC	*Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTP	*OT Pseudepigrapha,* Charlesworth
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca,* Migne
PL	*Patrologia Latina,* Migne
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*
QDAP	*Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RechSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RSPT	*Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RTP	*Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SA	*Sociological Analysis*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
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*
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theol. Dict. of the NT*
TDOT	*Theol. Dict. of the OT*
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday	*Theology Today*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWOT	*Theol. Wordbook of the OT*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.*
ZDMG	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesell.*
ZDPV	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT	*Zeitsch. für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie*
ZMR	*Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.*
ZNW	*Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wissen.*
ZRGG	*Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistegeschichte*
ZST	*Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie*