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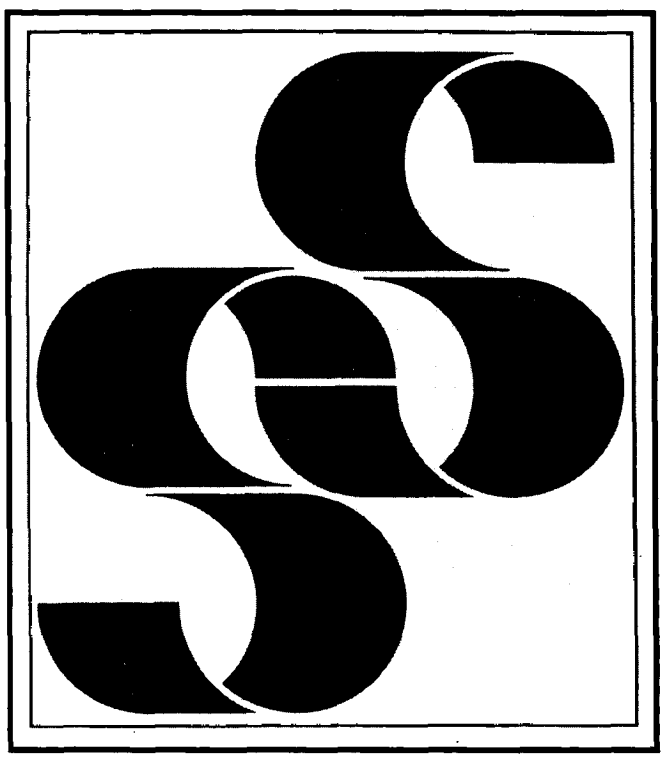

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AUSS HONORS GERHARD HASEL

The staff of *Andrews University Seminary Studies* is pleased to render posthumous tribute to Gerhard Franz Hasel with this special issue of the journal. We thus recognize with gratitude his long and fruitful association with *AUSS*.

Those who contributed to this issue have written in the many areas that were of interest to Hasel. Perhaps a word about the connections between the authors and Hasel would be of interest to our readers.

The life sketch, by C. Mervyn Maxwell, longtime professor of church history at Andrews University and Hasel's colleague at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, is an adaptation of the life sketch Maxwell delivered at Hasel's funeral.

The bibliography was prepared by Hasel's son Michael, who is about to complete his dissertation in Near Eastern archaeology with William Dever at the University of Arizona.

Jacques Doukhan was a colleague in the Old Testament Department of the Theological Seminary; his article on resurrection appropriately reflects Hasel's hope.

Walter Kaiser, Jr., shares Hasel's passion for biblical theology. When Kaiser was teaching in Illinois, Hasel repeatedly invited him to present guest lectures in his classroom at Andrews. Hasel also lectured in Kaiser's classroom.

Greg King, who recently completed a dissertation on Zephaniah, was a student of Hasel in his M.Div. years.

In addition to sharing a personal friendship with Hasel, Elmer Martens edited with him a book on biblical theology, *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology,* published in 1992 by Eisenbrauns.

Ken Mulzac was working on his dissertation at Andrews University under Hasel's tutelage at the time of his fatal accident; the abstract of that dissertation appears in this issue of *AUSS.* Mulzac's work was in a sense a continuation of his mentor's work on the remnant.

Gerhard Pfandl, a native of Austria but now working in Australia, completed his Ph.D. in 1990 with Hasel as his advisor.

Angel Manuel Rodríguez from Puerto Rico completed his doctorate in Old Testament at Andrews University under Hasel in 1979.

Before William Shea went to University of Michigan for a doctorate in Near Eastern history, he was a missionary physician. After his studies, he became a colleague of Hasel's at the Seminary.

Kenneth Strand, editor emeritus of *AUSS,* worked with Hasel on the journal, as a colleague at the Seminary, and as chair of the Church History department when Hasel was dean.

Bruce Waltke's friendship with Hasel grew on the basis of their shared interests. While they did not always agree on linguistic details, both strongly affirmed the inspiration and authority of Scripture. Waltke's article points beyond the grave to the resurrected and ascended Christ, a most fitting tribute to Hasel's faith.

Finally, Ganoune Diop was in the midst of writing his dissertation under Hasel at the time of the tragic accident that took his mentor's life. Diop now teaches in France.

The book reviews represent Hasel's far-reaching interests in other areas of biblical studies; their authors join in the *AUSS* tribute. Many others would have liked to contribute to this issue. Space limitations precluded their doing so.

We at *AUSS* pay tribute to Gerhard Hasel—Christian, scholar, friend. We extend our sympathies to his bereaved family. And until the resurrection, we say with John, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, . . . that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow with them" (Rev 14:13).

Nancy J. Vyhmeister

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1996, Vol. 34, No. 2, 165-168.

LIFE SKETCH: GERHARD F. HASEL, 1935-1994

C. MERVYN MAXWELL
Professor Emeritus of Church History
Andrews University

Gerhard Franz Hasel was born in Vienna, Austria, on July 27, 1935, the third and next-to-youngest child of Franz Joseph and Helene (née Schroeter) Hasel, and passed away on August 11, 1994, aged 59. At the time of death he was serving as the first John Nevins Andrews Professor of Old Testament and Biblical Theology and as director of the Ph.D. and Th.D. programs at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University. Earlier he had served seven years (1981-1988) as dean.

He was a widely-known scholar, a productive author, an effective administrator, an active leader in his local church, and an affectionate family man.

As a child, Gerhard spent the war years, 1939-1945, in or near Frankfurt, Germany. His father, a Seventh-day Adventist minister and literature evangelist, was early drafted into the Wehrmacht and assigned to the Russian front. From time to time, when alone, he drew courage from a fading picture of the Daniel 2 image, which he treasured in a pocket, reassuring himself that Hitler must fail sooner or later. A convinced noncombatant, Hasel's father saw his share of danger; but under heaven's blessing he became one of only seven out of his original battalion of several hundred to return home alive. He was one of the two who came home uninjured.

Gerhard's mother took a firm stand that none of her children would attend school on the seventh-day Sabbath. On one crucial occasion, while her small children waited at home for her to return or for them to be scattered to unknown destinations, the officer who was expected to sentence her fell ill. At that critical moment he was replaced by an officer who had once been befriended by a Seventh-day Adventist couple. Gerhard's mother returned home to very happy children! The immovable commitment of his parents to God's Word became Hasel's own.

The passing of years found Gerhard completing elementary and secondary schools and entering a trade school. In 1953, when he was 18, he was identified as the best apprentice in electrical engineering in Frankfurt. Subsequently he was designated the best apprentice in electrical engineering in the state of Hessen. With these impressive citations came an invitation to the Technical College in nearby Darmstadt, with full scholarship support through graduate school. But he kept asking himself, "Why should I work in a field that anyone else could choose? Why don't I do something for the Lord that only I could do?"

So thinking, he turned down the proffered scholarship and enrolled in the theology program at the small Seventh-day Adventist Marienhöhe Seminary (also in Darmstadt), completing the licentiate program in 1958. To meet expenses, he did colporteur work every summer, selling Christian books from door to door, following in the footsteps of his father, who, after the war, served as the leader of all Adventist colporteurs in Germany. Hasel often observed later that the literature work is a most valuable preparation for the ministry.

Having completed his work at Marienhöhe, in 1958 Hasel sailed to the United States and enrolled at Atlantic Union College, near Boston. His first goal was to learn English; his second, to find answers to theological questions.

Building on his work at Marienhöhe, Hasel completed a B.A. in 1959 and moved to Andrews University in Berrien Springs, Michigan, where he earned an M.A. in Systematic Theology in 1960, still selling books from door to door in the summers to pay his way. By 1962 he had a B.D. But in the meantime, on June 11, 1961, he married Hilde Schäfer. Hilde was still a student at Emmanuel Missionary College and thought she was much too young to get married. But when Gerhard persuaded her that she was unquestionably old enough, she gave her consent. "It was the best decision I ever made," she says. Over time, three children were born to them, Michael, Marlena, and Melissa, all of them now married.

Upon receiving his B.D., Gerhard served first as a pastor in Boston for a year (1962-1963) and then as Assistant Professor of Religion at Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists, near Chattanooga, for four years (1963-1967), being ordained to the gospel ministry in 1966. In 1967 he began a 27-year teaching career at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University.

In 1970 he completed a Ph.D. program in biblical studies at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. While he divided his class work between New and Old Testaments, his dissertation was in Old

Testament: "The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel." To help finance his university training, he accepted two named scholarships, a Hillel Scholarship and a Danforth Teacher Grant.

Hasel served as chairman of the seminary's Old Testament Department from 1976 to 1982 and as Director of the Ph.D. and Th.D. programs from 1976 till his death. He also served as dean for seven years, from 1981 to 1988. During his tenure as dean, Hasel balanced the seminary's budget in spite of severe financial difficulties, called several strong faculty members, led in a reorganization of the curriculum which enhanced its "practics" quality, and in general helped developed a seminary that proved to be a delight to the spring 1989 accreditation team. Noting that the seminary was one to be proud of, "equal to any in the land," the accreditation-team leader told the assembled faculty, "You should go out and celebrate."

At the time of his death Hasel was an active member of seven societies: Adventist Theological Society, American Academy of Religion, American Schools of Oriental Research, Chicago Society of Religious Studies, International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Near East Archaeological Society, and Society of Biblical Literature. In addition, he belonged to two honorary societies: Alpha Mu Gamma and Theta Alpha Kappa. He was listed in nine "Who's Who" kinds of publications, including *Men of Achievement*, 6th edition, and the prestigious *Dictionary of International Biography.*

Hasel's publishing profile is impressive. For over twenty years (1973-1994) he was associate editor of *Andrews University Seminary Studies,* being circulation manager as well for seven of those years (1973-1980). For twenty years (1974-1994) he was also an editorial consultant of *Origins*, the Seventh-day Adventist journal of creation science. From 1990 to 1994 he served as a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society.* Not long before his death he was appointed an associate editor of *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology.* At the time of his death he was the only writer who had contributed a major article to each of the volumes of the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* By invitation, he wrote the article on the Sabbath for the *Anchor Bible Dictionary.* At the time of his death he was working on two volumes, Amos and Hosea, for Eerdman's *New International Commentary on the Old Testament.*

His son Michael put together a list of his literary work; it follows this life sketch in this special issue of *AUSS.* In addition, Hasel delivered more than 50 scholarly papers to learned societies and denominational study committees. One test of a writer's impact in the academic world

is the degree to which his books are reviewed in scholarly journals. No fewer than 39 reviews of four of Dr. Hasel's books have been located. His publications also led to invitations for guest lectureships in a variety of institutions.

When asked, "Did your Father ever have time for you children?" his grown children respond quickly, "O, yes, lots of time!" When they were growing up, he was often home and available on weekends, and he was conscientious about taking month-long vacations with the family—even if, at times, he spent a portion of the month speaking at a camp meeting. When he was busy, the children sensed, they say, that he was working for God. They also knew that he would "be there" for them whenever they needed him.

Like any man of ardor and profound conviction, it was inevitable that Hasel was at times controversial. But even those who did not agree with all his views acknowledge that he was an outstanding scholar, one who committed robust energy and impressive intellect to the quest for truth, and who exerted a tangible influence in Old Testament circles within and without his denomination, supporting the integrity of the Bible.

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MICHAEL G. HASEL
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RADIOSCOPY OF A RESURRECTION: THE MEANING OF *niqqᵉpû zōᵓt* IN JOB 19:26

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Only those who have brushed with death and/or suffered the bite of pain can dream another vision. Job was one of those individuals. Right there from within his tormented flesh, Job draws this paradox of hope:

> "After my skin is destroyed, this I know, . . . I shall see God" (Job 19:26, NKJV).

In this most common translation,[1] the verb *niqqᵉpû* is derived from the root *nqp* I (strike off)[2] and rendered "is destroyed," referring to the skin, thereby suggesting that the seeing of God comes upon the destruction of the body. Other translations derive the verb *niqqᵉpû* from the root *nqp* II (go around, and so "mark off"), thereby suggesting, on the contrary, that the skin takes shape around the individual. The Vulgate has, "I shall be surrounded by my skin."[3] Evidently, the Hebrew is obscure and laden with problems.[4]

1. A syntactical problem: Is the verb "is destroyed" related to "my skin," as this translation suggests, or to "this," as the Masoretic accentuation indicates? And whatever subject is selected, how do we account for the fact that the words do not agree? The verb *niqqᵉpû* is plural, while its alleged subject, "my skin" or "this," is singular.

2. A semantic problem: The form *niqqᵉpû* is a *hapax legomenon*;

[1]See also the NIV: "And after my skin has been destroyed."

[2]Theophile J. Meek, "Job 19:25-27," *VT* 6 (1956): 100: "after my skin has been struck off"; cf. Edward J. Kissane, *The Book of Job* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1946): "after my skin is stripped off"; John E. Hartley, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 290: "after my skin has been so marred"; and Marvin H. Pope, *Job*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 139: "after my skin is flayed."

[3]Some relate the verb to "this" (*zōᵓt*); so Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 206: "this has been marked"; cf. J. Gerald Janzen, *Job* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985), 140: "things will come around to this."

[4]According to Pope: "This verse is notoriously difficult" (147); cf. Norman C. Habel, *The Book of Job, A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985), 293.

therefore, its derivation from the root *nqp* is problematic.

3. A theological problem: Is the operation taking place immediately after death, thus supporting the traditional idea of the immortality of the soul? Does it concern the eschatological event of resurrection, which is supposed to occur later, far beyond the time of death? Or does it simply describe an existential experience in the present course of life?

Furthermore, the great diversity of interpretations has clouded the understanding of this passage. According to H. H. Rowley, "It is in this verse that the problems of translation and interpretation are the greatest, and the versions offered by different scholars diverge most widely."[5] Significantly, after Rowley has given his own translation, "after my skin has been thus destroyed," he comments: "It is difficult to see what this can be supposed to mean."[6]

So, to make sense of this text, either the words are rearranged or they are reconstructed through dubious emendations or identified through hypothetic etymologies.[7] The diverse interpretations revolve around the three theological questions mentioned above.

So far, most interpretations have proceeded, so to speak, *in vitro*. The word *nqp* has not been researched in relation to the surrounding words and sounds. Further, the possible intertextual information, namely, other texts which may point to and hence enlighten our text, have not been explored.

I would like, therefore, to propose an interpretation of these words which would take into consideration not only the directions suggested by the poetic dynamics of the text itself, but also those suggested by another text from Job, which appears to be structurally, linguistically, and theologically related to our text. This is Job 10:8-12.

[5]H. H. Rowley, *The Book of Job*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 139.

[6]Ibid.

[7]See, for instance, Edmund F. Sutcliffe, "Further Notes on Job, Textual and Exegetical," *Biblica* 31 (1950): 377-378, who rearranges the order of the words in the MT to read: "And shall my skin be stripped from my flesh, even after I shall see God." Cf. Raymond Tournay, "Relectures bibliques concernant la vie future et l'angélologie," *Revue biblique* 69 (1962): 489-495; so too Jean Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu; Essai d'exégèse et de théologie biblique* (Paris: Gabalda, 1970), 2: 477, 486. See also G. Beer, who suggests (in *BHK*) to read the root *zqp* behind the word *niqqfpû* (cf. Edouard Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, trans. H. Knight [Nashville: T. Nelson, 1967], 285; Godfrey R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *VT*, Supplement 3 [1955]: 80; Theodor H. Gaster, "Short Notes: Job," *VT* 4 [1954]: 78) and connects the word *ʿorî* (my skin) with *ʿêdî* (my witness) and the word *zoʾt* with *ʾittî* (with me). For other proposed emendations, see Rowley, 139; David J. A. Clines, *Job 1-20*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1989), 433-434.

Semantic Directions in Job 19:25-27

A close reading of the literary structure of the passage and an examination of its parallelism reveal connections between words (synonyms) and sounds (assonances and alliterations), thereby indicating semantic directions which must ultimately shed light on the meaning of *nqp*. Verses 25 and 26 are organized in a chiastic manner:

A For I know that my Redeemer lives,
B And He shall stand at last on the earth;
B_1 And after my skin is destroyed, this I know,
A_1 That in my flesh I shall see God, . . .
A // A_1: *wa$^{\supset a}$nî yāda$^{\subset}$tî gō$^{\subset a}$lî hāy*
ūmib^{e}śārî $^{\supset}$eḥ^{e}zeh $^{\supset}$elôah

In both, we have the sequence: subject, first person; verb, first person; object (God). *Wa$^{\supset a}$nî* (I, myself)[8] relates to *ūmib^{e}śārî* (and from my flesh). In Hebrew anthropology, the flesh (*bāśār*) stands for the living person[9]; thus the word *b^{e}śārî* (my flesh) is often used as equivalent to the word *$^{\supset}$aṣmî* (myself).[10] This connection is furthermore confirmed in our immediate context, which has in the next line *$^{\supset a}$nî* as parallel to *b^{e}śārî*.

That in my flesh (*mib^{e}śārî*) I shall see (*$^{\supset}$eḥ^{e}zeh*)
Whom I (*$^{\supset a}$nî*) shall see (*$^{\supset}$eḥ^{e}zeh*) (Job 19:26-27)

Yāda$^{\subset}$tî (I know) relates to *$^{\supset}$eḥ^{e}zeh* (I shall see); the pair of knowing and seeing is attested in Job 24:1.[11]

B // B_1: *wa$^{\supset}$aḥ^{a}rôn $^{\subset}$al $^{\subset}$āpār yāqûm*
w^{e}$^{\supset}$aḥar $^{\subset}$ôrî niqq^{e}pû zō$^{\supset}$t

The word "and after" (*w^{e}$^{\supset}$aḥar*) relates to "at last" (*wa$^{\supset}$aḥ^{a}rōn*); the phrase *w^{e}$^{\supset}$aḥar $^{\subset}$ôrî* (and after my skin) echoes *wa$^{\supset}$aḥ^{a}rôn* (the last) by assonance (*$^{\supset}$ḥr*) as well as by alliteration (a - o). The two words convey the same temporal idea of future: what comes after. It is interesting to notice that the same association of the words *$^{\supset}$aḥ^{a}rôn* and *gô$^{\supset}$ēl* is found in Isa 44:6, where God as the Creator is referred to (see Isa 44:2ff).[12] The word *$^{\subset}$ôrî* (my skin) relates to *$^{\subset}$al $^{\subset}$āpār* (on dust) through assonance (on $^{\subset}$ and r/l); here also the two words convey similar ideas, both

[8]Note the emphasis on the subject by its position before the verb (see *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1910], §142f).

[9]See Gen 6:13, 17, 19; 7:16, 21; Job 34:15.

[10]See Gen 2:23, 29:14; 2 Sam 19:13, 14; Ps 102:6; Job 19:20; 30:30, etc.

[11]Cf. Job 34:32; Prov 24:32.

[12]Cf. Isa 48:7, 13; see Pope, 146.

referring to the human body; note that this association points back to the Genesis story of the Fall (Gen 3:19, 21), where the curse of death—the return to dust (*ʿāpār*)—is accompanied by God's action of covering the first human couple with skin (*ʿôr*).

Considering this multiplicity of semantic and phonetic connections between the two lines, we are allowed to search the meaning of *nqp* in relation to its possible parallels in the poetic expression. The very fact that the word *niqqᵉpû* parallels the word *yāqûm* (he shall stand) suggests that its meaning should be searched within the semantic range of "standing up."

Semantic Directions in Job 10:8-12

Within the literary structure of the book as a whole, it is significant that Job 10:8-12 occupies the position which symmetrically parallels our passage in the first cycle of speeches:

A.	The First Cycle	B.	The Second Cycle
1.	Eliphaz (Chaps. 4-5)	1.	Eliphaz (Chap. 15)
2.	Job (Chaps. 6-7)	2.	Job (Chaps. 16-17)
3.	Bildad (Chap. 8)	3.	Bildad (Chap. 18)
4.	Job (Chaps. 9-*10*) <---------->	4.	Job (Chap. *19*)
5.	Zophar (Chap. 11)	5.	Zophar (Chap. 20)
6.	Job (Chaps. 12-14)	6.	Job (Chap. 21)[13]

Furthermore, the two texts echo each other on a significant number of common words and themes:

In the two passages, Job's relationship with God is expressed through the same intimate expression *yāda*ʿ*tî* (I know) concerning God.

I know (*yāda*ʿ*tî*) that this was with you (10:13).
I know (*yāda*ʿ*tî*) that my Redeemer lives (19:25).

In both passages "life" (*ḥayyîm*) is attributed to God:

You have granted me life (*ḥayyîm*; 10:12).
My Redeemer lives (*ḥay*; 19:25).

In both passages God, named *ʾᵉlōah* (10:2; cf. 19:26), is addressed as the Creator and the Savior. In Job 10, God is the one who "delivers" (*maṣṣîl*; 10:7) and creates the human being (10:8-9). In Job 19, God is the "Redeemer" (*goʾēl*; 19:25) who will intervene even on dust (19:25).

Both passages refer to dust (*ʿāpār*). In Job 10, God will bring back

[13]See Hartley, 36.

"into (*ʾel*) dust" (10:9); in Job 19, God will stand up "on (*ʿal*) dust" (19:25).

The pair "skin and flesh" recurs in both passages, applying to the same person, Job:

> Clothe me with skin and flesh (10:11).
> And after my skin . . . in my flesh . . . (19:26).

The same demonstrative adjective *zōʾt* (this) is found in 10:13 as well as in 19:26, in both cases in relation to a plural. In 10:13, the plural connotation of *zōʾt* is indicated by its parallel *ʾēlleh* (these)[14]; in 19:26, it is revealed through the plural verbal form *niqqᶜpû* (destroyed?).[15]

Among all these verbal correspondences, the echo between the two words *niqqᶜpû* (19:20) and *taqpîʾēnî* (10:10) may also be of significance. One cannot for sure establish whether these two words are etymologically or simply phonetically related, but their position within the context of numerous parallels suggests some kind of connection.

In Job 10:10, the word *taqpîʾēnî* (curdle) applies to milk which solidifies into cheese:

> Did you not pour me out like milk,
> And curdle me (*taqpîʾēnî*) like cheese.

The same word is used in Exod 15:8 to describe the water which becomes firm in the miracle of the crossing of the Red Sea. And there, also as in Job 10, the language is reminiscent of creation:

> And with the blast (*rūaḥ*; cf. Gen 1:2) of your nostrils
> The waters (*māyim*; cf. Gen 1:2) were gathered together;
> The floods stood upright (*nissᵉbû*) like a heap;
> And the depths (*tᵉhôm*; cf. Gen 1:2) congealed (*qāpᵉʾû*)
> in the heart of the sea (*yam*; Exod 15:8; cf. Gen 1:10).

The word *taqpîʾēnî* of Job 10:10 contains, then, the notions of becoming firm along with the idea of creation and ultimately expresses the idea of something which stands up and becomes a solid reality. If we recognize the echo of *taqpîʾēnî* of Job 10:10 in the word *niqqᶜpû* of Job 19:26, we may well conclude that this word conveys also the same ideas of standing up and becoming firm and real. Indeed, as we already observed, it appears there in parallel with the word *qum*, which means "stand up," an association of ideas attested in Exod 15:8, where the word *qpʾ* parallels the word *nsb* (stand up).

[14]The same parallelism is used in Job 12:9.

[15]The plural meaning of *zʾōt* is also found in Job 17:8; cf. 1 Chr 4:33. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* identifies this syntactic form as a *constructio ad sensum*, "where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form" (§145a).

It may even be that the word *niqqᵉpû* in Job 19 is derived from the same root *qpᵓ* of the word *taqpîᵓēnî* in Job 10. In that case, the word *niqqᵉpû* should be understood with the same idea, "standing up," "becoming firm," a meaning which apparently has been retained in the Targum, which translates "after my skin has swollen" (*deᵓittᵉpāḥ*).

Morphology

The only problem left concerns the morphology of the word *niqqᵉpû*, which traditionally has been derived from the root *nqp* (I or II) meaning "surround" or "destroy." If the word *niqqᵉpû* is derived from the root *qpᵓ* I suggest that the form is a *niphal* (*niqpᵉû*) whose quiescent *alef* has disappeared, as is often the case in verbs *lamed alef* by identification with verbs *lamed he*.[16] As for the *dagesh* in the *qôf*, rather than implying the assimilated *nun* of the root *nqp*, it may be interpreted as a *dagesh forte dirimens*, to make the *shewa* audible.[17]

Translation and Theological Interpretation

I propose, then, the following translation of Job 19:26: "And after my skin, all these things will stand up firm and real." This translation is supported by the syntax suggested by the MT, which not only cuts after "my skin" with the disjunctive *dehî*, but also connects the verb "stand up" (*niqqᵉpû*) with the demonstrative adjective "this" (*zōᵓt*) by means of the *maqqef*. The phrase "all these things" (*zōᵓt*) refers to the body inside the skin. Job 19 parallels here the metaphorical language of Job 10. In both passages, the apparition of the human being follows two stages: first the skin, the external visible "cloth," then the internal body, "the bones and sinews" (10:11; cf. 19:25-26).

The verb "stand up" refers, then, not only to "all these things" (*zōᵓt*), but also to "my skin." This is implied in the word "after," which suggests that the "standing up" of the "all these" follows this "standing up" of "my skin." Indeed, Job 19 describes the same process of creation as Job 10; in both passages, the body arises out of a nonexistent stage. In Job 10:9, as in Job 19:25, this stage is referred to as dust (*ʿāpār*), a designation of death or the nether world.[18] Job's vision of God in the

[16]See *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §75 nn-qq.

[17]This phenomenon occurs especially on the emphatic *qôf* (see *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §20h).

[18]See Job 7:21; 17:16; 34:15, etc. Cf. Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms I*, AB 16 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), note 4 on Ps 7:6; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 32-34, 85-91.

next line does not then exclude the body;[19] on the contrary, it is with his real flesh that Job will see God (Job 19:26b).

The theology which is delineated in this passage does not support the idea of the immortality of the soul, since our text implies the presence of the body, nor does it support the idea of an existential experience, since our text implies death through the reference to dust. We find here, then, a clear expression of the doctrine of resurrection as it will be later developed in "Paul's famous discourse on the topic in 1 Cor 15."[20]

[19]*Miḇśārî* means then "from (with) my flesh" and not "without my flesh" (see Pope, 139).

[20]Pope, 147.

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BIBLICAL THEOLOGY AND THE INTERPRETATION OF MESSIANIC TEXTS

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It is a personal privilege to dedicate this essay to the memory of my friend Gerhard F. Hasel, with whom I had the pleasure, on a number of occasions, to discuss and weigh solutions to the issues related to our common interest in Biblical Theology.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed some rather remarkable shifts in the methods used for interpreting the older portion of the Bible. One of the most amazing shifts was the way that the messianic texts of the OT were treated as part of the theological study of the OT and the degree of continuity demonstrated with the theology of the NT. To judge from many of the results of the last century, it was almost as if the OT had suddenly become an embarrassment to modernity, if not to the church as well.

More recently, Gerhard von Rad put his finger on this issue, which previously had seldom been recognized for the problem it really was. Said von Rad as he reflected on the situation in Germany:

> But when National Socialism came, with its repellent and gross 'no' to the Old Testament, . . . the situation became critical, for this challenge found Old Testament scholarship almost completely unprepared. With an almost religious earnestness, it had trained people to the ethic of an incorruptible historical discernment; but it had not trained them to acknowledge the Old Testament publicly, indeed in the political sector, in a crucial situation—what theologians call *in statu confessionis*.[1]

The problem was especially acute as the nineteenth century drew to a close, for OT scholarship had for the most part failed to treat that

[1]Gerhard von Rad, "Gerhard von Rad uber Gerhard von Rad," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: G. Von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 660, as quoted by Rolf Rendtorff, *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 76.

testament theologically. But worse still, this situation continued into the 1920s and 1930s. The study of this part of the canon was declared to be only a historical science, with theology receiving scant, if any, notice.

It is most significant, as well, that in 1882, Julius Wellhausen (whose leading voice would dominate OT scholarship for most of the next century) applied to be moved out of the theological faculty into the faculty of philosophy. As he explained it:

> I became a theologian because the scientific treatment of the Bible interested me. It was only gradually that I came to realize that a professor of theology also has the practical function of preparing students for service in the Protestant church, and that this practical function was one I could not fulfill. Indeed, in spite of all restraint on my part, I was rather making my students incapable of carrying out their ministry.[2]

Wellhausen's honesty was refreshing, but nevertheless indicative of a problem that has continued to remain with us for most of this century. In this regard, little has changed, as a recent study published in 1995 by the American Association of Theological Schools has demonstrated.[3] The concern of that study was this: How can the relationship between theological studies in a seminary and the work carried out in university religious studies departments be stated in such a way as not to denigrate or to undermine the scholarship of the seminary? At the heart of this dilemma seems to be the embarrassment over the presence of theology in the academic curriculum of a university, even though many universities on the European continent were established first with faculties of theology and biblical studies. Accordingly, while much has changed in some regards, little has changed in the critical area of the avoidance of any use of theology in OT scholarship.

One area of theological studies that had early experienced a reevaluation of its meaning was the area of messianic interpretation. A study of this revolutionary change, by scholars and many in the Church, merits the investigation by OT biblical theologians.

[2]As quoted by Rendtorff,. 77, from A. Jepsen, "Wellhausen in Greifswald: Ein Beitrag zur Biographie Julius Wellhausens," Appendix 5, in *Festschrift zur 500-Jahr-Frier der Universitat Greifswald* (1956) 2:47-56 (= A. Jepsen, *Der Herr ist Gott* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1978), 254-270).

[3]See the lead article by Don Browning, "The Nature and Criteria of Theological Scholarship," *Theological Education* 32 (Autumn, 1995): 1-12. Seven responses were included in this issue including my own, "The Nature and Criteria of Theological Scholarship: An Evangelical Critique and Plan," *Theological Education* 32 (1995): 57-70.

Modernity and Messianic Interpretation

Nowhere has this tension been more acute than in the way modern study has left its mark on the messianic interpretation of the OT. Up to the modern era, it had been customary to regard Christology in the biblical text as a topic central to the whole of Christian theology and interpretation. But that favored-doctrine status began to change already several centuries ago.

The issue of how to interpret the messianic passages, then, did not arise for the first time as a problem in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; it had a history that went all the way back to at least the eighteenth century. One of the best documented starting points for this change is probably the work of Anthony Collins, who published a volume in 1724, entitled *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons for the Christian Religion,* and its sequel in 1727, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered.*[4] Collins argued in both of these works that the use of the natural or literal meaning of certain OT messianic texts, previously used as proof-texts for messianism in the OT, could not support the messianic interpretation placed on them by the NT. In his view, the only valid and true meaning of these texts was the original (i.e., the literal) sense, which for scholarly purposes was declared not to be the same sense attributed to them by the NT writers. To those who were attempting to defend a messianic reference in these OT texts by talking about a "spiritual" or "complete" fulfillment as referring to Jesus Christ, Collins concluded that these could be no more than mere illustrations; but in no case did they constitute a specific "proof" that Jesus had been anticipated in the OT.

Thus began the long debate which has continued to this very hour. And this debate is in no small measure linked to the paranoia about involving academicians in the theology of the OT as part of the scientific, scholarly, and academic exercise of genuine research into that testament. Strangely enough, at almost the same time as this debate was given its logical and exegetical formulation by Collins, George F. Handel's oratorio, "The Messiah," was first performed in 1742, less than twenty years after Collins published his work. That oratorio continues to be a favorite of many peoples to this day, even though many of the

[4]See Ronald Clements, "Messianic Prophecy or Messianic History?" *Horizons of Biblical Theology* 1 (1979): 87 and J. O'Higgins, *Anthony Collins: The Man and His Works,* International Archives of the History of Ideas 35 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970), 135 ff for Collins' works on biblical prophecy. Also, Walter C. Kaiser, Jr. *The Messiah in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 13-14, 18-23.

very texts that are in dispute in this central topic in biblical theology form the libretto for that soul-stirring music.

There is no need to rehearse here the history of interpretation of messianism in the OT, for Ronald E. Clements has succinctly done that in his 1979 article.[5] However, it would be helpful to note the various attempts made to meet the challenge raised by Collins.

Dual Meaning

The first rebuttal to the critique that Collins offered came from Thomas Sherlock's *The Use and Intent of Prophecy* (London, 1732). Sherlock began, as many would continue to do even to this present day, by conceding the case that Collins had made about the literal or natural meaning of these texts. However, there was another, later, but fuller meaning, to which the messianic interpretation could be attached. This tactic would prove to be popular over the next centuries for many who would maintain the traditional messianic meaning of these texts. But it would come at the price of forfeiting most of the predictive value and any genuine anticipations of the Messiah in the OT context as the so-called fuller meaning tended to crowd out the original or natural meaning of the text.

Single Meaning

Toward the end of the eighteenth century just as the dual meaning began to be considered as the way to interpret OT texts about the Messiah, J. G. Herder (1744-1803) and J. G. Eichhorn (1752-1827) proposed a new approach to the study of prophecy.

Prophecy, they contended, could only have one meaning—the meaning that the OT *text* was understood to possess in the prophet's own time and milieu. Eichhorn, in particular, was most confident that this claim had eradicated the whole idea of messianic proof-texts as well as predictive prophecy itself. He boasted in 1793, "the last three decades have erased the Messiah from the OT."[6] Rather than depending on "foretelling" (*Weissangung*), Eichhorn suggested that "discernment" (*Ahndung*) replace it as a category of thought to be applied to prophecy. The effect of this suggestion was to turn the interpreter's attention away from the text of the OT and to direct it instead to the prophet himself. Messianism was all but dead at the end of the eighteenth century.

[5]Clements, 87-104; see also Kaiser, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 13-23.

[6]The work of Herder and Eichhorn on prophecy is recorded in E. Sehmsdorf, *Die Propheten-auslegung bei J. G. Eichhorn* (Goettingen: Vandenhoef, 1971), 153-154 as cited by Clements, 89.

New Testament Meaning

Another attempt to counter the massive assault on messianic teaching in the OT was made by the Lutheran conservative, E. W. Von Hengstenberg, whose three and later four volumes of *Christology of the Old Testament and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions* were published between 1829 and 1835, with a second edition appearing between 1854 to 1858. Hengstenberg allowed the NT to be the final arbiter of what the OT text said whenever he encountered difficult passages, such as prophecies of Christ.

Developmental Meaning

Another conservative writer, Franz Delitzsch, broke with Hengstenberg's NT principle, for it, like the dual meaning, had failed to win any confidence in the scholarly community. While holding to many of the traditional arguments from prophecy, Delitzsch insisted that every interpretation must meet two criteria: (1) The prophecy had to be placed in the times and the setting of the original prophet, and (2) every prophecy had only one meaning, without resorting to a typological or spiritual meaning in order to rescue a text for a messianic interpretation. In order to get back to the traditional meaning of these OT texts, Delitzsch proposed the idea of development. Thus, the OT says *less* than its fulfillment in Jesus required, but it allowed for the original OT text to say *more* when it was filled out by later doctrine and Christian experience.[7]

Goal Meaning

While the two conservatives, Hengstenberg and Delitzsch, were working out their solutions to rehabilitate messianic interpretation of the OT, A. F. Kirkpatrick argued that Christ was not the goal of prophecy in the sense that he fulfilled specific, or even detailed, prophecies from the OT about his coming. Instead, Christ was the goal of prophecy in an ethical and moral sense.[8] But again, prophetic hope was now so large that any particular prophetic utterances were vague, archaic, incidental, and practically useless.

[7]Franz Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1891).

[8]A. F. Kirkpatrick, "Christ the Goal of History," in his book entitled, *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (New York: Macmillan, 1897).

Relecture Meaning

More recently there has been an attempt to connect OT prophecy with its New Testament "fulfillments" by a process known as relecture, i.e., the process of reading earlier prophecies in new ways so that they are filled with new meanings. In many ways, this is merely a return to the dual meaning position. Only here the contention is that since the OT is not the work of single authors, but the result of a long process of interpretation and reinterpretation, there is no final way to understand all the possible meanings of a text. The subjectivity of this approach is usually acknowledged, thus it offered no validating potentiality in anything that could be seen as objective.[9]

Theological Meaning

Christ as the end of Israel's history, even if it is only a theological and not a historical judgment, is yet another way to treat OT messianic prophecies. The hidden messianic theme had to play its part in the NT representation of the OT. Thus, the history of Israel would find its consummation and final stage in its growth in the appearance of the Christian church.[10] The price paid here, of course, is the transformation of Israel into the church, which becomes the last stage in the development of the concept of the nation "Israel." But this runs counter to the clear hopes expressed repeatedly by the OT prophets that God would conclude in space and time what he promised to do long ago to Abraham and David: to restore Israel to her land.[11]

And there the case rests. So what will it be? Did the OT contain specific and particular prophecies about the person and work of a coming Messiah? Or was there just a general, but unexpressed, expectation of the coming of some future Messiah, the details of which would rest totally on the shaping and interpretations given by NT adherents after the appearance of one claiming to be the Messiah? The questions were passed on to the twentieth century with little or no resolution from the previous centuries.

[9]Clements pointed to J. Vereylen, *Du prophète Isaie à l' apocalytiqu: Isaie I-XXXV miroir d'un demimillénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israel*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1977-1978), 2:655ff; and B.S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 55 ff.

[10]This view is espoused by H.G.A. Ewald, *The History of Israel*, 4th ed., 8 vols. (London: Longmans, 1883-1886), 6:7, 9.

[11]For a fuller representation of this critique, see Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "An Assessment of 'Replacement Theology,'" *Mishkan* 21 (1994): 9-20.

No doubt the classic work on this subject of the Messiah in the OT at the middle of this century was that of Sigmund Mowinckel.[12] Mowinckel examined a number of biblical texts that had traditionally been judged to be messianic, excluding many of them on the grounds that their original meanings, as he saw them, had nothing to do with a coming personal Messiah. Thus, texts like Gen 3:15, about a male descendant of Eve; Num 24:15-19, concerning a "star" and a "scepter" out of Israel; and royal Psalms, along with Psalms like the much quoted Psalm 22, were all referred either to the future supremacy of David or to the tribe of Judah. Mowinckel's conclusion was that the inextricably interwoven messianism and eschatology that Christianity so highly regards were unknown in the pre-exilic period. Only after the exile did a messianic hope arise in the post-exilic prophetic books. The Davidic ideal celebrated in the royal psalms was cultic in nature and not a prediction of a future Messiah, but only of a contemporary, earthly king in the line of David!

While there were minor dissensions from this general picture drawn by Mowinckel, it was by now exceedingly clear that: (1) there was no agreed-upon corpus of messianic texts from the OT; (2) there was no agreed-upon criteria as to what would constitute the basic data of messianism; and (3) there was no one literary form or type of text to which the study of messianism could be applied. The search for the Messiah in the OT was either at an end or had to be reintroduced on grounds that had not yet been tested in the debate of the past two hundred and fifty years.

Messianism and the New Search for Jesus

It would appear that there is a connection between the failure of the previous generations to establish any agreed corpus of texts, basic data, or even a paradigmatic type of OT text for the Messiah and the current frustrations of the new search for the historical Jesus in the New Testament text. The Easter 1996 issues of *U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek,* and *Time* all carried as their cover stories reports on the new search for Jesus.[13] After over two hundred years of scholarly

[12]Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959).

[13]Jeffrey L. Sheler with Mike Tharp and Jill Jordan Seider, "In Search of Jesus," *U.S. News and World Report,* 8 April, 1996, 46-50, 52-53; Kenneth L. Woodward, "Rethinking the Resurrection," *Newsweek,* 8 April, 1996, 40-46; David van Biema, "The Gospel Truth?" *Time,* 8 April, 1996, 52-59. Also Robert J. Hutchinson, "The Jesus Seminar Unmasked," *Christianity Today,* 29 April, 1996, 28-30, in a report on his interview with Luke Timothy Johnson and his book *The Real Jesus: The Mistaken Quest for the Historical Jesus and the Truth of the Traditional Gospels* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995), in which he critiqued the claims made by Marcus Borg, John Dominic Crossan, Robert Funk, and Burton Mack.

research, the signs are that the "Quest" for the Messiah announced in the OT and the various "Quests" for the "historical" Jesus have reached a dead end, given the grounds and the terms of current research.

The "Quest for the historical Jesus" has gone through at least three phases since the 1778 publication of Hermann Reimarus' *Fragments*[14]: the "Old Quest," 1778-1906, which concluded that the historical figure of Jesus was not supernatural; the "No Quest," 1906-1953, which asserted that Jesus' historical figure was lost to history—only the Christ of faith matters; and the "New Quest," 1953 to the present, that combines the search for the historical Jesus and the Christ of faith.[15] The central contributions in the debate were those by Albert Schweitzer,[16] Rudolf Bultmann,[17] Ernst Kasemann,[18] and James M. Robinson.[19]

A fairly unnoticed turning point in all these "Quests" was a statement made by Julius Wellhausen at the turn of this century. In his *Introduction to the Gospels*, he wrote, "*Jesus war kein Christ sondern Jude,*" ("Jesus was not a Christian, but a Jew").[20] Whatever else this statement meant, it was no longer possible to avoid the Jewishness of Jesus. It was this declaration by Wellhausen that opened up the study of Jesus for Reform Jewish scholars.

While liberal Christianity continues to become more skeptical about its ability to ever find the Jesus of history or the Jesus of faith, Jewish

[14]English translation by C. H. Talbert, *Reimarus: Fragments* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970).

[15]See Craig A. Evans, "Jesus of Nazareth: Who Do Scholars Say That He is?" *Crux* 23, no.4 (1987): 15-19.

[16]Albert Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte des Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen, 1906), trans. James M. Robinson, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (London:, 1910).

[17]Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesu* (Berlin, 1926); trans. *Jesus and the Word* (New York: Scribner, 1958).

[18]The translation of Ernst Käsemann's paper, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," was published in Käsemann's book, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM, 1964), 15-47.

[19]James M. Robinson's famous review of the whole movement was called *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: SCM, 1959). A Jewish criticism of the "New Quest" is given by Jewish scholar B. F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979).

[20]Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1905), 113, as cited by Walter Riggans, "Jewish Views of Jesus Through the Ages," *Mishkan* 17-18 (1992): 2.

scholars have come forth with their own new phase of the "Quest" for the historical Jesus.[21]

Many in this new phase are convinced, *vis à vis* their liberal counterparts in Christianity, that the real Jesus can be discovered, the three Gospels do have historical value, and that Jesus should be rooted in the Judaism of his day. This is not to claim that all of these Jewish claims are not without their own problems, for there is a tendency in much of this research to sharply distinguish Jesus from Paul and the rest of the apostles. The point of driving a wedge between the Jesus of history and Paul is to celebrate Jesus' Jewishness while making Christianity largely the creation of the apostle Paul. This, of course, will not bear the scrutiny of textual or historical research.

However, both Jewish and much of Christian scholarship has continued to join together in the prevailing estimate that the OT has a marked absence of any evidence for an expected figure in the future whose coming will coincide with the inauguration of an era of salvation. For example, such an esteemed Jewish scholar as S. Talmon concluded:

> But notwithstanding the palpable absence of Messiah-futurism in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is yet much truth in Martin Buber's assertion that messianism must be deemed '*die zutiefst originelle Idee des Judentums*,' deeply rooted in the ancient Israelites' conceptual universe, and that it is the only source out of which the various postbiblical formulations of messianism could have sprung. No equal to the messianic idea—its essence and its diversity—can be found outside the framework of the Judeo-Christian culture and belief systems.[22]

At the moment, then, there is almost a scholarly consensus that has now threatened to spread even into evangelical scholarship. As Joachim Becker has expressed it, "It is on the threshold of the New Testament that we first encounter a real messianism."[23] Becker can make the case even more stringent:

[21]This assessment of the situation is argued by N. T. Wright, "Constraints and the Jesus of History," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 39 (1986): 189-210. As examples of this Jewish search, Wright cites B. F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus;* 1973); M. J. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (New York: Mellen, 1984); E. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); and John K. Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1980).

[22]S. Talmon, "The Concepts of Mashiah and Messianism in Early Judaism," in *The Messiah:Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity,* ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 83.

[23]Joachim Becker, *Messianic Expectations in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 87.

> In fact, there was no such thing as messianic expectation until the last two centuries B.C. Does this eliminate the traditional picture of messianic expectation? Such a conclusion would contradict one of the most central concerns of the New Testament, which insists with unprecedented frequency, intensity, and unanimity that Christ was proclaimed in advance in the Old Testament.[24]

But how could this be? How could the New Testament be so sure that what was happening in their day was a direct fulfillment of what the OT had promised when most scholarship is certain of the opposite point of view? Most modern study on the question of the Messiah in the OT has agreed on three widely accepted principles: (1) When the original meanings of those passages that are traditionally considered to be messianic are discovered, the meanings bear only on contemporary situations and not on any future Messiah; (2) The real "ownership" of the OT is to be located in the synagogue and not the church; and (3) The NT used an exegetical method that was common in late Judaism, a *pesher* or *midrashic* interpretation, which made concrete applications of the OT text *without regard for the original statement or its concurrent historical consciousness.*

A Proposal for Cutting the Gordian Knot

Neither of the current alternatives appeals to this writer or to the current generation, i.e., to ride roughshod over the historical context of the OT, pointing only to the time of the future, thereby producing a messianological maximum, or being so critically bound to each individual context that it produces a messianological minimum. There must be another way through this impasse than concluding that the two contrasting approaches are irreconcilable.

But how can this Gordian knot be cut? Is the solution to adopt some ancient or modern form of a dual meaning? If two hundred years has demonstrated anything, it has shown that appeals to some form of a dual sense or meaning to the OT, such as a NT additive of a messianic sense to OT texts, or some secondary development behind, under, or around the text that carries a spiritual or typological meaning, have all proved in the end to be self-defeating, leading ultimately to parochial, subjective, privatized, and preferential points of view about the Messiah that cannot be validated by the OT text itself. The advantage of the commonality of language, in each of these proposals, is forfeited in favor of an in-house key that can be supplied only by those who participated in the esoteric mysteries of the conservative group or its cultic analogue, such as the Essenes of Qumran. Moreover, all alleged apologetic

[24]Ibid., 93.

advantages that might have accrued to those trying to make the case for NT Christology would be scrapped by the interjection of a two-track hermeneutical system for interpreting messianic passages.

The place to begin is by affirming two criteria that nontraditionalists used to assume: (1) The meaning of any OT references to the Messiah must reflect the author's own times and historical circumstances, and (2) that meaning must be reflected in the grammar and syntax of the OT text. To deny these two working hypotheses will only introduce pandemonium in the whole interpretive process and ultimately make any and all communication impossible.

But does that not leave us exactly where we started? Wasn't that the point that Anthony Collins had made in 1724 and 1727? No! While Collins, and all who have adopted some form of his method since his day, claimed that they were following the grammatico-historical meaning of the text, they were often more faithful to their own presuppositions than they were to the text itself. Prior philosophical and critical commitments tended to crowd out the authorial intentionality in these works that often made much of the author's times and circumstances.

What, then, was missing from those who claimed they espoused the historical or literal meaning of the text? Primarily, they failed to see the parts in terms of "the whole." And what was missing from those who claimed they espoused the theological meaning of the texts? Usually it was that they failed to see the whole in terms of its "constituent parts" from the OT text.

What, then, were these "wholes" and "parts" that were understated or completely left out of the alternative views?

To properly understand the Bible, as any other book, is to gain some idea of the beginning, the middle, and the end. There is plan, purpose, and progress to the OT, where the end folds back on the beginning. This claim, of course, has been vigorously denied. It is said that the Bible had too many disparate writers and editors to have had anything like a unified message or plan. But that is a philosophical point of view wherein the wish is parent to the demonstration of the matter from the text. One need only to contrast the Bible with other sacred scriptures such as the Koran, and the difference is immediately apparent. James Orr stated this matter exactly when he argued:

> The Koran, for instance, is a miscellany of disjointed pieces, out of which it is impossible to extract any order, progress, or arrangement. The 114 Suras or chapters of which it is composed are arranged chiefly according to length—the longer in general preceding the shorter. It is not otherwise with the Zoroastrian and Buddhist

> Scriptures. These are equally destitute of beginning, middle or end. They are, for the most part, collections of heterogeneous materials, loosely placed together. How different everyone must acknowledge it to be with the Bible! From Genesis to Revelation we feel that this book is in a real sense a unity. It is not a collection of fragments, but has, as we say, an organic character. It has one connected story to tell from beginning to end; we see something growing before our eyes: there is plan, purpose, progress; the end folds back on the beginning, and, when the whole is finished, we feel that here again, as in primal creation, God has finished all his works, and behold, they are very good.[25]

For too long now the topic of the unity of the Bible has been neglected. But that God had a fixed program can be seen early on in Genesis 12:3b, "In your seed [Abraham], all the families of the earth shall be blessed." This became one of the most succinct statements of that plan of God.

But the unity that Scripture exhibited was not a static, flat-Bible type of unity. It demonstrated growth, development, and an epigenesis. It is precisely this type of organic and holistic understanding that is so often missed by those who presume to take the historical conditioning of the words of Scripture seriously. The atomization of the individual words, nakedly left to their immediate contexts, tended to rob many of those words of the seminal ideas that the original authors deliberately imbedded and implanted in those same words. Much of the same freight was contained in those reutilized words, meanings they had for both the previous author and now the new author who specifically chose to use the same word again. Here is where a great deal of the doctrine of the Messiah is lost, by those who fail to see the epigenetical meaning of quotations, allusions, or words that tended to take on technical status, borrowed from earlier writers in the Scriptures.

It is not enough to speak of the moment of the predicted word and the moment of the fulfillment. What about the interval that passed between those two moments? It was more than just a necessary nuisance. But herein rests our main contention about the messianic doctrine. God was not only predicting what would happen in the future; he was mightily working out his promise-plan out in the everyday course of events as the very *means* by which he would bring about the final fulfillment. This was no wasted *filler*; it was part of the fulfillment in the process of history: the *means* by which the predicted *word* and the fulfilled *event* were bound together. Thus, those who saw

[25]James Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 31-32.

only the historic meaning in the times and circumstances of the days of the original writer(s) and readers were seeing truly, but only partially. They apparently had no idea that that already was the fulfillment in progress, unfolding before their eyes. In other words, the *word* about the past and the *word* about the future both shared the same *working in history*, a *working now* as well as a *working then.*

Some, of course, will object to our finding any provision in the text for prediction or foretelling. That debate, however, is a philosophical one—one that David Hume introduced and which has been answered elsewhere many times before. This cannot deter us here, for the claims of the text and a view of a communicating God will see to those objections that are not philosophical presuppositions that need to be cared for at that level of discourse.

Those who miss the parts of the messianic doctrine because they have assumed at some deeper level there is a holism that supersedes the parts will need to pay closer attention to two details. First there is the matter of the single or literal meaning of the text. These terms, though often abused, mean no more than this: The words of the text of Scripture must mean what they ordinarily meant when they were given their *usus loquendi*, i.e., their spoken sense in similar contexts of that day. To try to attach some *hidden* or *spiritual* meaning that is not really traceable to the grammar or syntax is to import meanings, a procedure we must avoid, called eisegesis.

But having said that, let us also understand that the *usus loquendi* can just as easily come with an association and a history of usage. Let a word or a phrase be used in a memorable or important occasion and that word will for the next number of years continue to carry that nuance as part of its single and literal meaning. In our own day, words like "Watergate," "gay," or names like "Martin Luther King" have an organic wholeness in their single meaning that forever will affect all subsequent usage.

This same phenomenon can be seen in what scholars have dubbed words that carry a "Corporate Solidarity." The exegete needs only to encounter words such as "seed," "branch," "firstborn," and "servant of the LORD," to notice that within the single meaning of these words is the presence of *the One* who represents the whole group as well as *the many* who are equally a part of that which was intended by the author. Usually such concepts are included in what are called "collective singulars." Thus, in English we say "one deer" or "ten deer"; we do not say ten deers. The noun remains the same. The closest parallel we have in modern society exists in legal suits. If I, after much exasperation and many attempts for remedial action, sue General Motors Company to get

relief for a new car that turns out to be a "lemon," the suit reads "Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., versus GMC." For the purposes of law, there is a legal fiction in which GMC is regarded as one individual, even though GMC represents management, boards, employees, and stockholders. In a similar way, the single meaning of some biblical terms that have taken on a technical status because of their embodiment of the One and the Many, are too insulated and isolated if they are treated as if it meant *only* the *One* or as if it meant only the *many*.

Conclusion

In the past, the great apologetic works pointed to scores of separate predictions in the OT with their NT fulfillments. But what was lacking was a biblical theology of the Bible's own case for the unity and cumulative force of all these promises. The depictions of the coming Messiah should not be a random association of heterogeneous prognostications, arbitrarily introduced in the OT or haphazardly chosen to suit the purposes of the NT writers. Instead, they comprised one continuous plan of God, each being linked to an ongoing stream of announcements that continued to expand and grow as they moved forward in the progress of revelation. This is the case we have attempted to restore in our recent monograph in the Studies in Old Testament Theology series, entitled *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, published by Zondervan in September 1995. Our contention in that volume is that there are at least sixty-five direct, straightforward prophecies of the Messiah that were meant to be apprehended (note: not comprehended) by the audiences to whom they were first addressed. These sixty-five prophecies were spread out fairly evenly throughout the OT in each of its sections.[26] And the way readers could apprehend them was not by tearing them apart from their linkage to the immediate history in the day in which they were written, but to see them in their wholeness, corporate solidarity, and unity in the divine plan that God had in the entire corpus of revelation.

If the case for supernaturalism is accepted, as it is here, then the claim that God announced beforehand what he intended to do in the future is not an insuperable objection. We argued in an earlier work that "prediction is so natural and so much a part of the divine activity that it can almost be ascribed as an attribute of God himself."[27] That was the exact challenge that God himself made to the dead idols of the

[26]For a graphic exemplification of thispoint, see Appendices 1 and 2, in *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 237-242.

[27]Walter C. Kaiser, *Back Toward the Future: Hints for Interpreting Biblical Prophecy* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 17-18.

nations through the prophet Isaiah: If your idols truly are deities, then say something about the future and how events will turn out (Isa 41: 22-23; 45: 21b-c; 46: 9b-10). In fact, so important is the predictive gift to the Bible that approximately 27 percent of its message was given over to this function.[28]

But no less significant is the fact that the OT does not even hint at the fact that its predictions must be understood in a *pesher* or *midrashic* method of interpretation. A straightforward understanding of the text in the context of the unity of the Bible will lead one straight to Jesus of Nazareth as the One who fulfilled and is now fulfilling the plan of God for the past, present and future. Because the rubric of the "center of Scripture" cannot be separated from the topic of the "unity of Scripture,[29] our argument is that the center of Scripture, like the center of history itself, is personal in that it focuses on God's son, the Messiah.

[28]J. Barton Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 631-682.

[29]This is the thesis of H. Freiherr Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968), 335, as cited by Gerhard Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, trans. Robert W. Yarbrough (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1994), 188. See Maier's note 12 on the same page for three other writers who came to the same conclusion.

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THE MESSAGE OF ZEPHANIAH: AN URGENT ECHO

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It is a privilege to dedicate this article to the memory of my colleague, mentor, and friend, Gerhard Hasel. When I think of my deceased friend, I recall the words of John the Revelator, "Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord. 'Yes,' says the Spirit, 'they will rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them'" (Rev 14:13, NRSV).

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a burgeoning interest in the phenomenon of intertextuality. A number of scholars have attempted to identify places where later biblical writers have made use of earlier texts and have also tried to show just how they have used them. Such intertextual investigations have taken place both within the Old Testament[1] and in relationship to the use various sections of the New Testament make of the Old.[2]

The book of Zephaniah is deserving of such an intertextual investigation. While it is true that a number of scholars, those from an earlier generation as well as contemporary ones, have made mention of Zephaniah's reliance on previous prophets,[3] no one has fully

[1]For intertextuality within the Old Testament as a whole, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); and Danna Fewell, ed., *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville, KY; Westminster/John Knox, 1992). For intertextuality in relationship to a specific book within the Old Testament, see Alice Bach, "Intertextuality and the Book of Jeremiah: Animadversions on Text and Theory," in *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum and David J. Clines (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993).

[2]For the parallels between the synoptic Gospels and the Old Testament, see Willard M. Swartley, *Israel's Scripture Traditions and the Synoptic Gospels: Story Shaping Story* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994). On the Apostle Paul's use of the Old Testament, see Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1989).

[3]For example, the Protestant reformer Martin Bucer, quoted in Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 460, called Zephaniah "a 'compendium' of prophet teaching." Recently, J.J.M. Roberts observed that Zephaniah's "message has much in common with the earlier prophetic tradition" (*Nahum,*

documented the many places at which this reliance is exhibited. In fact, sometimes a heavy dependence on the part of Zephaniah is merely asserted with little evidence offered in support of the assertion.[4] On the other hand, there are those who highlight the originality or individuality of Zephaniah.[5]

In light of these diverse perspectives, several questions arise: What are the parallels between the words and message of Zephaniah and prior prophetic books? What is Zephaniah's degree of indebtedness? Is the message of Zephaniah basically an echo, a reformulation of earlier prophetic material? What, if any, originality does Zephaniah evince? These questions will be addressed in the course of this article, the main part of which consists of a delineation of thematic and verbal parallels between the book of Zephaniah, who exercised his prophetic ministry sometime around the year 622 B.C.,[6] and the books of the eighth-century prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah.[7] As will be shown, the

Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1991], 164).

[4]Larry L. Walker states: "In many ways Zephaniah linked his prophecy to those of the earlier prophets, both in subject matter and expression" ["Zephaniah," in *Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 7:539]. J. Alec Motyer bluntly asserts that "Theologically, Zephaniah is noninnovative" ("Zephaniah," *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 3, ed. Thomas McComiskey [Grand Rapids: Baker, forthcoming]). However, they offer only limited support for these sweeping statements.

[5]For example, Rex Mason speaks of the "marked individuality" of Zephaniah's presentation (*Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel*, Old Testament Guides [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994], 55). Similarly, D. A. Schneider speaks of the "new and distinctive word" brought by Zephaniah ("Zephaniah, Book of," *ISBE*, rev. ed., 4:1190).

[6]The exact dating of Zephaniah is a matter of debate. Most scholars feel that the wickedness and idolatry described in Zephaniah suggest that the prophet ministered prior to the rooting out of these evils b y the Josianic reformation that was spurred on by the discovery of the book of the law in the temple in 622 B.C. However, O. Palmer Robertson has recently maintained that the echoes of Deuteronomy in Zephaniah indicated that the prophet arose in the days immediately following the discovery of the law book, to help further the cause of the reformation (*The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 254-256). It is probably impossible to speak with complete certainty on this matter.

[7]I will use the final form of both the book of Zephaniah and the books of the eighth-century prophets for this comparison. Of course, I am aware that the dating of certain units within each of these books has been disputed, particularly those promising future blessing and salvation. However, a number of recent scholars with a strong interest in a literary approach to Scripture have considered these books holistically, that is, in their entirety as literary units. Also, other contemporary interpreters have offered persuasive evidence supporting the position that the entire contents of the prophetic books dealt with in this study are best understood as originating from the historical context and the social setting of the prophet himself and need not be assigned to a later

parallels are numerous and sometimes striking.

Parallels in Proclamation of Judgment

The central theme of the book of Zephaniah is the Day of the Lord.[8] Zephaniah elucidates two major aspects of this central theme, judgment and restoration, and in both of these aspects Zephaniah evinces many parallels to the books of the eighth-century prophets. First of all, Zephaniah, like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, proclaims that the Day of the Lord brings the outpouring of God's judgment on the prophet's own nation (Zeph 1:4-6; see Amos 8:1-3; Hos 1:4; Isa 4:4; Mic 5:10-11).[9] Zephaniah also echoes several of the eighth-century prophets in singling out specific groups within the nation as targets of divine judgment. Like Isaiah, Zephaniah announces punishment, particularly on the leadership of the nation (Zeph 1:8; see Isa 3:1-3).

Another group especially targeted for judgment could be classified as the complacent.. Although Zephaniah does not use the same terminology as Amos, there is a thematic connection between the two prophetic books on this point. Just as Amos announces that the people "who are at ease," those "who feel secure," are slated for punishment (Amos 6:1), so Zephaniah quotes Yahweh as declaring, "I will punish the people, those who are thickening upon their lees, those who are saying in their hearts, 'Yahweh will not do good, nor will he do evil'" (Zeph 1:12).[10] In other words, both prophets describe people who feel

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editor. Thus, from both a literary and a historical point of view, it is best to take these prophetic books *in toto* in order to make this comparison between Zephaniah and the eighth-century prophets.

The following scholars are among those who have recently taken a holistic position with respect to either Zephaniah or one or more of the eighth-century prophetic books: Ivan J. Ball, Jr., *A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah* (Berkeley: BIBAL, 1988); Robertson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*; Shalom Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos*, AB 24a (New York: Doubleday, 1989); Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word, 1987); J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993); Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

[8]David W. Baker correctly observes that this theme is the center of Zephaniah's prophecy and unites the book both structurally and theologically *(Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah,* Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries 23b [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1988], 84).

[9]For the purposes of this comparison, I am considering the prophets to be talking about the Day of the Lord whenever they use either the precise phrase "the Day of the Lord" or a temporal phrase such as "on that day," "at that time," when the Day of the Lord is the referent of the temporal phrase.

[10]On the background and meaning of the phrase "thickening upon their lees" in Zeph 1:12, see David J. Clark, "Wine on the Lees (Zeph 1:12 and Jer 48:11)," *BT* 32 (1981): 241.

at ease, unthreatened by Yahweh's judgment. In both cases these are the very people headed for punishment.

Zephaniah also reflects his predecessors in the reasons given for the coming judgment. Like all four of the eighth-century prophets, Zephaniah indicates that one of the sins inviting divine judgment is social injustice and oppression among Yahweh's people (Zeph 1:9; 3:1-3; see Amos 2:6-7; 8:6; Hos 4:2; Isa 3:15; Mic 2:2). For these prophets, a primary cause for such injustice is the failure of the nation's leadership. Zephaniah follows Micah in declaring that the governmental, judicial, and religious leaders are all corrupt and perverse (Zeph 3:3-4; see Mic 3:1-3, 9-11). When such leaders rule, oppression follows. According to these prophets, God finds the violence and injustice directed toward the poor intolerable, and he will judge the oppressors on the Day of the Lord.

Moreover, Zephaniah follows his four predecessors in pointing to idolatry among the people as another reason for the coming judgment. Like them he indicates that those who worship anyone or anything besides Yahweh will suffer punishment on Yahweh's day (Zeph 1:4-6; see Amos 8:13-14; Hos 1:2; 2:18-19 [ET16-17]; Isa 2:8, 20; 17:7-8; 30:22; Mic 5:14-15).

Zephaniah echoes Isaiah in proclaiming that another rationale for judgment is human pride and arrogance. According to Isaiah, those who are proud and haughty are reponsible for and will suffer from the coming punishment (Isa 2:11, 17; 3:16). In fact, the Day of the Lord is specified as "a day against all that is proud and lofty, against all that is lifted up and high" (Isa 2:12). In the same vein, Zephaniah declares that Yahweh will purge the proud, exultant ones from Judah (Zeph 3:11), suggesting that he finds these traits particularly offensive. And for Zephaniah it is not only the people of Judah whose arrogance prompts divine judgment. Moab and Ammon will also receive judgment because of their pride (Zeph 2:8-10). Nineveh will merit severe punishment because of its haughtiness and self-exaltation (Zeph 2:13-15). For both Zephaniah and Isaiah pride seems to be among the foremost sins inviting divine judgment.

The fact that Zephaniah follows his eighth-century predecessors in reciting a litany of sins which provoke divine judgment emphasizes that for all of these prophets the Day of the Lord is a time of accountability to Yahweh. Yahweh's people will be brought before his bar of judgment and will there receive punishment for their wickedness.

As to the nature of the coming judgment, Zephaniah parallels all of his predecessors in suggesting that the judgment comes in the form of a military defeat (Zeph 1:10, 13-14, 16; see Amos 2:13-16; 4:1-3; Hos 1:5;

10:14; Isa 3:25; Mic 5:10-11). Zephaniah echoes Amos and Isaiah in describing a terrible loss of life. As Amos announces, "The dead bodies shall be many, cast out in every place" (Amos 8:3), so Zephaniah warns, "Their bodies will be poured out like dirt and their intestines like manure" (Zeph 1:17; see also Isa 3:25-4:1). Also, Zephaniah and Amos both use vivid and unusual word pictures to indicate that this coming judgment is unrelenting and inescapable (Zeph 1:12; see Amos 5:18-20).

Regarding the identity of the one primarily responsible for the punishment inflicted on the Day of the Lord, Zephaniah echoes each of his predecessors in proclaiming that Yahweh is the agent of judgment, the driving force behind it. Each of these prophets cites Yahweh in the first person as pledging to punish the covenant people (Am 8:9-11; Hos 5:14; Isa 13:11, 13; Mic 5:10-15; Zeph 1:2-4). A more precise parallel is seen in the verbal connection between Zephaniah and several of his predecessors which emphasizes Yahweh's personal involvement in the judgment. Zephaniah uses the same word as Hosea and Isaiah when quoting Yahweh's first-person announcement of his planned judgment, the verb *pāqadtî* (Zeph 1:8, 9, 12; see Isa 13:11; Hos 1:4; 2:15 [ET13]; 4:9).[11] This word connotes Yahweh's personal visit or intervention.[12] As I have argued elsewhere, it is the single word that most clearly expresses the essence of Zephaniah's proclamation regarding the Day of the Lord.[13] The fact that this judgment involves a personal encounter with Yahweh is further underscored by the fact that Zephaniah, paralleling Isaiah, indicates that a theophany takes place on the Day of the Lord (Zeph 1:15; see Isa 2:10, 21).[14]

Zephaniah echoes several of his predecessors in indicating that the

[11]In addition to the texts listed from Zephaniah, Isaiah, and Hosea, Amos 3:14 uses the verbal root *pqd* in a first person-announcement of judgment, but it appears in the infinitive-construct form with a first-person suffix.

[12]Carl A. Keller captures the personal involvement by Yahweh implied by this word when he states that *pqd* "signifies simply *to inspect, to verify* (emphasis his) and if need be, to intervene in one manner or another in order to reestablish the order" *(Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, 2d ed., Carl A. Keller and René Vuilleumier, CAT 11b [Paris: Cerf, 1990], 193).

[13]Greg A. King, "The Theological Coherence of the Book of Zephaniah" (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1996), 92.

[14]It is possible that the terms "darkness" and "gloom" in Amos 5:20 imply that Amos proclaimed a theophany on the Day of the Lord also. Although Paul *(Amos*, 185) holds that these terms simply "emphasize the doom and calamity in store for Israel" on the Day of the Lord, Ralph W. Klein ("The Day of the Lord," *CTM* 39 [1968]: 518) points out that "'darkness' is also a theophanic term." In any case, it is true that the Hebrew roots for both of these words found in Amos' description of the Day of the Lord are also part of Zephaniah's expression of the same event (*ḥšk* and *'pl*; see Zeph 1:15).

prophet's own nation and certain groups within it are not the only recipients of punishment on the Day of the Lord. As do Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, Zephaniah speaks of a judgment which spreads beyond the boundaries of Judah and Israel, punishing other nations as well. As do Amos and Isaiah, Zephaniah targets specific foreign nations for punishment (Zeph 2:4-15; see Amos 1:13-15; Isa 10:20-27; 19:1-16; 34:5-8).[15]. But for several of these prophets, the list does not stop with the neighboring nations. Rather, they depict the judgment on the Day of the Lord as one of worldwide proportions. In a similar vein to Isaiah, who proclaims that Yahweh intends "to destroy the whole earth" (Isa 13:9), Zephaniah quotes Yahweh as announcing, "I will completely destroy everything on the face of the earth" (Zeph 1:2; see also Isa 13:9; Mic 5:15; 7:13).

As to the question of when the Day of the Lord will occur, Zephaniah parallels Hosea and Isaiah in proclaiming the imminence of the event. In fact, the announcements of Zephaniah and Isaiah are quite close in wording. Isaiah exclaims, "Wail, for the day of the Lord is near" (Isa 13:6), while Zephaniah declares, "Be silent before Lord Yahweh, because the day of Yahweh is near" (Zeph 1:7; see also Zeph 1:14 and Hos 1:4). The nearness of this event causes these prophets to sound a strong note of urgency in their proclamation of the Day of the Lord.

Parallels in Proclamation of Salvation

Judgment is not the only aspect of the Day of the Lord in which Zephaniah echoes the eighth-century prophets. He also follows several of his predecessors in his description of a restoration, an era of blessing beyond the judgment. This era of blessing should not be viewed as disconnected from the era of judgment. In fact, for Zephaniah and his predecessors, the latter helps prepare the way for the former because the judgment is purging in nature. Zephaniah resembles Isaiah in stating that the judgment erases the blot of wickedness by removing those who perpetrate it (Zeph 3:11-12; see Isa 3:16-4:4, also Amos 9:10). But for Zephaniah as well as the eighth-century prophets, judgment is not God's

[15]Although I have only referred to units in Amos and Isaiah which contain temporal terminology referring to the Day of the Lord, there is some evidence to favor taking the entire sections containing the oracles against the nations in Amos and Isaiah as part of their respective teachings regarding the Day of the Lord (Amos 1:3-2:3; Isa 13-23). The verbal and thematic similarities between the units which do not contain the Day-of-the-Lord terminology and those that do imply that they should be considered part of the same continuum of events. The comment of Cathcart ("Day of Yahweh," *ABD* 2:84) is congruent with this position as well. He suggests that the oracles against the nations in the prophetic books "may well be linked to the concept of the Day of Yahweh." This possibility deserves more attention than it has received.

final word. Instead, it is a gateway of hope for both a remnant from the covenant people as well as those who worship Yahweh from all the nations.

This restoration-and-blessing aspect of the Day of the Lord is not immediately obvious in either Zephaniah or some of his predecessors. Just as Amos proclaims an apparently complete judgment constituting "the end" for Israel (Amos 2:13-16; 8:2), so Zephaniah announces a total and thorough judgment which threatens all of the covenant people (Zeph 1:4-6). But these two prophets make it clear that judgment does not bring obliteration. As does Amos, Zephaniah reveals the presence of some people who emerge from the judgment and enjoy restoration and blessing at the hands of Yahweh (Zeph 2:7, 9; 3:11-20; see Amos 9:8, 11-15).

Salvation for the Remnant

It should be emphasized that according to Zephaniah and his prophetic predecessors, the era of blessing and restoration will not be enjoyed by all of the covenant people. Rather, the blessings of the restoration are for a group of survivors called the remnant (Zeph 3:11-13; see Isa 11:11-16; Mic 4:6-7), further identified by both Zephaniah and Micah as the lame and the outcast (Zeph 3:19; Mic 4:7).

According to the prophets, this remnant is composed of people who demonstrate certain spiritual characteristics. First, Zephaniah, like Amos, implies that the remnant is made up of people who decide to respond positively to the prophetic exhortation to seek Yahweh (Zeph 2:3; see Amos 5:4-6). The other characteristics are closely related to this decision to concentrate their energies on seeking the Lord and probably grow out of it. For both Zephaniah and Isaiah, this remnant is said to be formed of humble people (Zeph 3:11-12; see Isa 2:11-12; 3:16-4:4). This remnant is composed of those who find their strength and security in Yahweh alone and not in any human source (Zeph 3:12; see Isa 10:20). Moreover, Zephaniah parallels Amos by indicating that they are those who live ethically, exhibiting justice and righteousness in their treatment of others (Zeph 2:3; 3:13; see Amos 5:14-15). So for Zephaniah and his predecessors, this remnant is a group of righteous people who are devoted to Yahweh and obedient to Him.

These characteristics are undoubtedly important, but Zephaniah and Amos suggest that they do not compel Yahweh's decision to save a remnant. Rather, both prophets make a point of protecting divine sovereignty and freedom, indicating that his preservation of a remnant proceeds from his grace.[16] This is apparent in the verbal parallel between

[16]Gerhard F. Hasel gives a most accurate expression of the balance between divine

the two prophets found in the proclamation, "Perhaps" you will be delivered (Zeph 2:3; see Amos 5:15). However, both prophets later clear up any uncertainty as to whether a group will survive by unequivocally affirming the existence of a remnant (Zeph 2:7, 9; Amos 9:11-15).[17]

Regarding the blessings of the restoration that will be experienced by this remnant, again Zephaniah closely resembles his prophetic predecessors. Zephaniah echoes Isaiah and Micah when he states that Yahweh will assemble his people and bring them back to their home (Zeph 3:20; see Isa 11:11-16; Mic 4:6; 7:12), and he parallels Amos and Hosea in describing these restored people enjoying their own land in complete security with nothing to fear (Zeph 3:13; see Hos 2:20 [ET18]; Amos 9:15). Not only do they enjoy their own land, but Zephaniah joins Amos, Isaiah, and Micah in speaking of territorial expansion for the remnant. The territorial borders of the restored people are expanded into formerly hostile territory with the defeat of their enemies. Interestingly, both Zephaniah and Isaiah specifically mention the conquest of the Philistines, Moabites, and Ammonites (Zeph 2:7,9; see Isa 11:14; Amos 9:12; Mic 7:11).

It is no surprise that those who are restored enjoy peace and security, for Zephaniah parallels Micah in portraying Yahweh as their king, reigning over them and personally dwelling in their midst. Even as Micah announces concerning the restored community, "The Lord will reign over them in Mount Zion now and forevermore" (Mic 4:7), so Zephaniah promises, "The king of Israel, Yahweh, is in your midst" (Zeph 3:15). Such wonderful blessings deserve a response of gratitude on behalf of the remnant. Zephaniah, paralleling Isaiah, calls these people to rejoice exuberantly, to give thanks for the presence of Yahweh and

grace and human conduct in the preservation of the remnant when he avers, "In the sense that the remnant has its basis in God's grace it is the result of God's action for man. At the same time it has its basis in the justice and righteousness of man, in his return to Yahweh, in his doing good. . . . Human action cannot be a substitute for God's action nor can God's action be a substitute for human action. Each has its proper sphere. There will be no remnant without God's grace just as little as there will be a remnant without man's return to God" (*The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah*, 3d ed., Andrews University Monographs: Studies in Religion 5 [Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1980], 206).

[17]W. Rudolph maintains that the uncertainty indicated by the word "perhaps" cannot be explained by fluctuations in the mood of the prophets. Rather, through this 'perhaps' "the absolute sovereignty and freedom of Yahweh is guaranteed" In other words, "it is completely up to Yahweh whether he wants to show mercy or not." (*Joel--Amos--Obadja--Jona*, KAT 13/2 [Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1971], 193). Herntrich opines that the "perhaps" of Amos 5:14-15 rules out the misunderstanding "that human conduct is the norm for deliverance"("The 'Remnant' in the Old Testament," *TDNT* 4:206). Such seems to be the case in Zephaniah as well.

the salvation they have received (Zeph 3:14-15; Isa 25:9).

One statement found in the last verse of Zephaniah is inclusive of all the blessings that Yahweh plans to bestow on this remnant. It also shows a striking parallel with one of Zephaniah's predecessors. Zephaniah's citation of Yahweh's statement, "When I restore your fortunes before your eyes" (Zeph 3:20; see also Zeph 2:7), resembles the promise from the mouth of Yahweh near the conclusion of Amos, "I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel" (Amos 9:14). It is clear from this that Zephaniah, like all four of his eighth-century predecessors, describes Yahweh as the active agent in the era of blessing and promise. Just as Yahweh brought judgment, so he now brings restoration. He is the prime mover and initiator in both aspects of the Day of the Lord (Zeph 3:11-20; see Amos 9:11-15; Hos 2:19-21 [ET17-19]; Isa 11:11-16; Mic 4:6-7).

Salvation for the Nations

However, the remnant of Israel are not the only recipients of future blessings, for like Isaiah and Micah, Zephaniah speaks of a future conversion of the nations to the worship of Yahweh (Zeph 3:9-10; see Isa 2:2-4; Mic 4:1-4).[18] Zephaniah especially parallels Isaiah in several facets of this future metamorphosis of the nations. As does Isaiah, he refers to a transformation of lip or language of foreigners, a transformation that enables them to express their devotion and allegiance to Yahweh (Zeph 3:9; see Isa 19:18).[19] As does Isaiah, he foresees foreigners showing their veneration of Yahweh by bringing him offerings (Zeph 3:10; see Isa 19:21).[20]

And though his terminology is different from that of Isaiah, he

[18]Andersen and Freedman contend that Amos also speaks of a conversion of the nations. It is their contention that the phrase "all the nations" is the subject of the clause in Amos 9:12, and that thus this is a reference to a positive future for these nations instead of an indication of judgment on these same nations, as the verse is commonly understood. To be specific, they maintain that in this verse the nations "are those that are converted to the true faith and that they will participate with the rebuilt Davidic kingdom in driving out or destroying" (*Amos*, 903-904, 906, 918). However, this does not appear to be the most likely understanding of Amos 9:12.

[19]Zeph 3:9 and Isa 19:18 use the same Hebrew nominal root (*śph*) to denote the "lip" or language of foreigners which is transformed. The opinion of some commentators, such as John D. W. Watts, that Isa 19:18 is a reference to Jewish colonies in Egypt like those mentioned in Jer 44:1 or the Elephantine papyri, is not convincing (*Isaiah 1-33*, WBC 24 [Waco, TX.: Word, 1985], 258). Rather, as John N. Oswalt observes, this passage "is not talking about Jewish colonists in Egypt, but a turning of Egypt to God" (*The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986].

[20]In fact, both prophets refer to foreigners worshiping Yahweh with a *minḥah* offering (Zeph 3:10; Isa 19:21).

also joins him in indicating that this Yahweh worship takes place by foreigners while in their own country, with the clear implication that their worship is accepted (Zeph 2:11; see Isa 19:19). According to both of these prophets, Yahweh is God of the nations as well as of Israel, for he claims other people as his own also (Zeph 3:10; Isa 19:25).

For Zephaniah, as for Isaiah and Micah, the worship of Yahweh spans the globe. Recognition of Yahweh and service to him are worldwide (Zeph 3:9-10; Mic 4:1-4; Isa 11:10). Such a transformation takes place only after the meting out of divine judgment. It is clear from each of these prophets that Yahweh's judgment on the nations, like his judgment on the covenant people, is a purging judgment that gives birth to a hopeful future (Zeph 3:8-10; Isa 19:22). To be more precise, according to Zephaniah and Micah, it is the display of Yahweh's awesome power that results in the worship of Yahweh by the nations (Zeph 2:11; Mic 7:12-17).[21]

Thus for Zephaniah, as for his predecessors, judgment is not God's last word for either the covenant people or the nations. Although Zephaniah parallels them in devoting the majority of his oracles to announcing the coming judgment, he also joins several of them in concluding his book with a stirring concatenation of restoration promises (Zeph 3:11-20; see Amos 9:11-15; Hos 14:4-9; Mic 7:11-20). Ultimately, for Zephaniah as well as his predecessors, the lingering aroma of the Day of the Lord is not the stench of doom but the fragrance of hope.

Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, in Zephaniah's description of his central theme of the Day of the Lord, the prophet largely echoes his eighth-century predecessors. In Zephaniah's portrayal of this day as a time of judgment in which Yahweh punishes the covenant nation, and certain especially wicked groups within it, through a military defeat, the prophet follows the contours of one or more of his predecessors. He also follows them in his indication that this punishment comes on account of their oppression of the poor and lack of social justice, their arrogance and human pride, and their idolatry. The parallels continue with Zephaniah's announcement that the punishment overwhelms the entire world and in his ringing declaration that the day is near at hand.

And the parallels do not stop with the description of judgment, for

[21]Speaking of the nexus between the nations' conversion and the display of Yahweh's awesome power, Ralph L. Smith observes: "Their total capitulation before Yahweh has made possible their worship of him" (*Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 [Waco, TX: Word, 1984], 59).

Zephaniah also echoes his predecessors with his portrayal of a dramatic reversal of fortunes following the punishment. As does Amos, he first refers to this reversal as a mere possibility with the word "perhaps." As does one or more of his predecessors, he clarifies this possibility by speaking definitively of a remnant from the covenant people who seek Yahweh and therefore survive the punishment, and who are gathered by Yahweh and brought back to their home with nothing to fear for the future because Yahweh is present with them, reigning as their king. Like them he speaks of foreigners, people from other nations, whose lips and worship habits have been transformed, and who worship the Lord while at home and bring offerings to him from afar.

It seems evident that in all the major aspects of Zephaniah's theological presentation, as well as in quite a number of specific themes, emphases, nuances, and terms, Zephaniah contains parallels to the writings of the eighth-century prophets. In light of these extensive parallels, the question as to whether the message of Zephaniah is largely an echo or a reformulation of the messages of earlier prophetic books must be answered in the affirmative.

It is true that the specific configuration of Zephaniah's message is distinctive to his book. It is also the case that several nuances found in Zephaniah do not appear elsewhere.[22]. But even when the book of Zephaniah shows creativity with a certain emphasis or manner of expression, there is still a fundamental theological continuity with earlier prophetic material. As shown above, all of the major aspects as well as many minor ones of Zephaniah's message can be found in the prophetic books that emerged from the eighth century.

This conclusion gives rise to some questions that cannot be pursued in detail in this study. Among these are the following: Why did the prophet Zephaniah basically provide a restatement of earlier prophetic material for another generation? Was it simply his purpose to emphasize old truths for a new day? Or was his generation largely ignorant of earlier prophetic material and thus did not consider it repetitious? Was he bound by a prophetic orthodoxy that prevented him from going much beyond what had already been said? Was his voice one of the few in his time that was in harmony with the genuine prophetic traditions and this explains why it was preserved?

It seems most likely that Zephaniah felt compelled to bring

[22]Among these distinctive nuances are the identification of Judah as the sacrificial victim on the Day of the Lord (Zeph 1:7-8; but see Isa 34:6 for a similar description, albeit with a different nation), the picture of Yahweh searching for the guilty with lamps (Zeph 1:12), the reference to the starvation of the idols (Zeph 2:11), and the description of Yahweh singing over his restored people (Zeph 3:17).

together the most important themes and emphases of his predecessors regarding the Day of the Lord and reformulate them into a single coherent proclamation, announcing the soon onset of this Day for his own contemporaries.[23] This may have been done because the prophet felt that Yahweh's day, spoken of by the prophets some years ago, really was now imminent. The time was at hand, and judgment would no longer be delayed. It also may have been done in an attempt to further the Josianic reformation. These and other issues connected with Zephaniah await and deserve further attention.

[23]In fact, the distinctiveness of Zephaniah in the prophetic corpus may reside primarily in his unremitting focus on a single concept, the Day of the Lord (although compare a similar feature in Joel). As Arvid S. Kapelrud observes, "He is the prophet who speaks in the most concentrated manner about the Day" (*The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* [Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975], 80).

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ACCESSING THEOLOGICAL READINGS OF A BIBLICAL BOOK

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I offer this essay with deep respect and a genuine affection for Professor Hasel. I am very grateful for his counsel and our joyous partnership in producing *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology*.

The late Gerhard Hasel suggested a decade ago that one way of formulating a theology of the Old Testament would be to proceed inductively by identifying the theologies of individual books.[1] His suggestion is taken up here for further exploration. Specifically, I wish to propose a range of methodological options for discerning the theology of a biblical book.

Making Distinctions: Message and Theology

An initial observation helpful to the process of determining the theology of a single biblical book is the distinction between message and theology. The message is captured by asking, What is the book about? The theology is found by asking, What drives the book? The message is a matter of information or persuasion about beliefs and behaviors. The theology is a matter of preunderstandings, givens, and fundamental assertions entailing a worldview. The message is more likely to be monocolored, as in the book of Judges, which laments the lack of a king. The theology, by contrast, is multicolored, because a constellation of conceptions informs the book. The message entails a focus on the text's audience; the theology, with the "why" and "wherefore" of that target. The message lies on the surface of the text as the sense of the text; the theology is beneath the text and "presumes there is a reference not fully held in the text."[2] The message is often situationally generated

[1]G. F. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 177-179. Cf. his essay, "The Future of Old Testament Theology: Prospects and Trends" in *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology*, ed. by B. C. Ollenbuyer, E. A. Martens, and G. F. Hasel (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 373-383, esp. pp. 382-383.

[2]Walter Brueggeman, *Old Testament Theology: Approaches to Structure, Theme, and*

(e.g., according to some scholars, the exile as the occasion for the Deuteronomic history). The theology of the Deuteronomist, however, is determining not only for a single situation but nuanced for any situation. The two, message and theology, belong together; but in the words of Leo G. Perdue (though on a different subject), "analytical dichotomies are necessary for critical inquiry."[3] The question to be kept to the forefront in this essay is, What drives the book?

Discerning the theology of a book is not a matter of following defined recipe-like procedures. Rather, a theology emerges from attention to certain factors pertaining, first, to the text, and second, to the researching theologian. The emphasis in this essay is on factors pertaining to the text.

Factors Pertaining to the Text

Repeated readings of the biblical book, preferably at a single sitting, are a prerequisite. Through multiple readings one becomes attuned to the tone of the book and is drawn into its subject matter. Ideally the theological synthesis of a book follows after a detailed exegesis of every pericope. With or without such detail, substantive investigation can begin with a form-critical structure.

Form-critical Structure

A form-critical structure is concerned, not first with topics or content, but with form and genre. Formal considerations rather than content considerations dominate in the preparation of a structural analysis. Here the signals from the Hebrew text in moving from genre to genre (signals often glossed or even ignored in translation) deserve notice. If one follows the guidelines given in the Forms of the Old Testament Literature (FOTL) series, one has available a method as well as a vocabulary: lament, *rîb*, judgment speech, historical review.[4] The labeling of the parts is not content-oriented, though as memory joggers and for later reference it is helpful to insert in brackets the subject matter treated (e.g., sanctuary, war). Use of the form-critical method means that certain relatively objective standards are in place. The method theoretically affords control of the material in ways which can be rechecked by another. In practice, however, the outcome is not that

Text., ed. P. D. Miller, Jr. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 113.

[3]L. G. Perdue, *The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 154.

[4]See Ronald Hals, *Ezekiel*, Forms of OT Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

discrete, nor do persons using the same method necessarily come to the same conclusions about a book.

Let Deuteronomy be an example of the identical method yielding disparate results. The approaches of three scholars can be noted: Peter Craigie, Rolf Knierim, and Dennis Olson. Peter Craigie structures Deuteronomy on the format of international treaties (cf. Mendenhall's research): preamble (1:1-5), historical prologue (1:6-4:49), general stipulations (chaps. 5-11), specific stipulations (chaps. 12-26), blessings/curses (chaps. 27-28), and witnesses (30:19; 31:19; 32:1-43). Craigie's mini-essay on the theology of the book deals with covenantal understandings, such as the decrees of Yahweh, the suzerain, and the call for the vassal to comply. Craigie writes: "The basic principle for interpreting the theology of Deuteronomy rests upon its character as a covenant document."[5]

Rolf Knierim offers a formal outline that differs markedly from the treaty form. Attention is given to the speeches of Moses, as well as to the narrative about his death. Knierim has a two-part structure for the book: Report of Events before Moses' Death (1:1-34:4), and Report of Moses' Death (34:5-12). In these two quite unequal parts, the first is dominated by Moses' farewell speech (1:1-30:20), and to a lesser degree by a report of Moses' last actions (31:1-34:4). The outer frame of the book, along with the several speeches, leads Knierim to conclude that the book is in the genre of last will and testament by a great leader. The message still calls for obedience to Yahweh, but the theological underpinning is now understood differently. The motivation for obedience lies in the authoritative directives of a notable leader. In this schematic of the book, the role of covenant is muted.[6]

Dennis Olson arrives at the structure of the book via six superscriptions which define the literary blocks as follows: "These are the Words" (Deut 1-4); "This is the Torah" (Deut 5); "This is the Commandment" (Deut 6-11); "These are the Statutes and the Ordinances" (Deut 12-28); "These are the Words of the Covenant" (Deut 29-32); and "This is the Blessing" (Deut 33-34). In his judgment, Deut 5 is a compressed form of the book's content. The chapter and hence the book are identified as "Torah." The form, he claims, is that of a catechesis. With such a structure the legally-oriented materials (chaps. 5-28) hold center stage. For Olson, much of the book is an

[5]P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 36.

[6]Class notes from a graduate seminar on Deuteronomy, Claremont Graduate School, 1968. Knierim's argument that the Pentateuch as such is in the genre of a biography of Moses is formulated in "The Composition of the Pentateuch," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* No. 24, 1985, 393-415.

exposition of the Ten Commandments as given in chap. 5. Deut 6-11 is a commentary specifically on the first commandment, and Deut 12-28 is an explication of the full Ten Commandments. The message remains one of obedience to the Torah, but the governing theology for this message is the importance of transmitting the teaching as a replacement for the presence of its founding leader.[7]

Since the objective is to provide a common, agreed-upon platform from which a theology may be extrapolated, what is to be said about the fact that the platform for a theology for Deuteronomy is variously built? There is, after all, a considerable difference between the scaffolding of an ancient Near East political treaty, of a last will and testament, and of a structure built around superscriptions. Do these various structures invalidate the form-critical approach as serviceable in discerning "theology"? Not necessarily. Indeed, the examples only sharpen the importance of this stage of the process, for the theological outcome is clearly determined by the proposal of the book's structure.

The differences in proposed structures may mean that the form-critical guidelines need to be more properly followed or that they need honing. Competing structures need to be compared for adequacy. Thus the ANE treaty overlay on the text of Deuteronomy is helpful for Deut. 1-28, but since that format leaves Deut. 29-34 dangling, it must be judged not fully adequate. Both Knierim's and Olson's outlines single out the importance of Moses' death. Knierim's outline assumes a strongly narrative base, but narrative is more a recessive than dominant feature. Olson's use of the book's own transition signals certainly gives his outline a competitive edge.

It is of some comfort that the structural scaffolding, while a critical piece in the construction of a theology, is but one of several methodological components in discerning a theology.

Sitz im Leben

One of the objectives of form criticism is the establishment of a *Sitz im Leben* of the written text. Were one able to pinpoint the agenda or purpose for which a biblical text was written, the theology of the book would more readily become apparent.

As with form criticism, where consensus on structure does not always prevail, so also with the *Sitz im Leben* research. Deuteronomy is a classic instance of lack of unanimity regarding *Sitz im Leben*. If its speeches are indeed by Moses, as purported, and the geographical location is the plain of Moab, then the agenda is to instruct a generation

[7]D. T. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses: A Theological Reading* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994).

now on the threshold of occupying the land about Yahweh's expectations. Crucial for theology, given this setting in life, is the legal material.

There is a second proposal. If, as generally argued, Deuteronomy was composed in the seventh century, then the preaching of the eighth-century prophets is presupposed; the audience is Judah. In one version of this reconstruction, the desire is to reform the Jerusalem cult tradition and to ensure the survival of Israel as a people, a survival threatened, as the writers saw it, by the apostasy of Manasseh. The intent of the book, then, is to stress the unity of God, his acts in Israel's history, especially the loving action of Yahweh in calling to himself a holy people for the purpose of giving them abundant life. Theologically, the *good* which Yahweh has extended to Israel is prime motivation toward obedience.[8]

There is still a third proposal about the *Sitz im Leben* and hence the agenda for Deuteronomy. The scholarly claim is that a redactor, perhaps not long after the destruction of the southern kingdom, fused a series of works into what is now known as the Deuteronomic history, a lead-off book for which is Deuteronomy. The redacted work is intended to show the inevitability of divine punishment upon sin and so offers a religious/moral explanation (perhaps in contrast to a popular military/political one) for the collapse of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar's attacks. The Book of Deuteronomy, as seminal, has for its theological locus the act-consequence nexus.

E. Achtemeier has followed up the preaching possibilites for Deuteronomy, depending on which *Sitz im Leben* is posited. For a thirteenth-century setting, the theological point is of a people under way on a journey. "Israel's journey is ours, and all along the way there are texts from Deuteronomy that tell what God is doing on the journey and how we are to respond to him."[9] The seventh-century setting, with its call to loyalty to God, functions as a stimulus for the churches' introspection. A sixth-century redaction had the purpose of showing that because of sin Israel and Judah were sent into exile. Warning and judgment are also appropriate words for the church which deviates from God's ways.

[8]For a convenient summary of impulses to the study of issues and approaches to Deuteronomy, see Duane L. Christensen, ed., *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 3-17.

[9]Elizabeth Achtemeier, "Plumbing the Riches: Deuteronomy for the Preacher," *Int* 41 (1987): 269-281.

The proposed settings for Deuteronomy have a tentativeness about them. They should not be ignored, even though currently literary and canonical considerations are fashionable. Where proposals about the *Sitz im Leben* differ, theologians had best use their keenest judgment and settle on the one which, given the evidence, appears the most likely.

The structuring of a book offers a framework on which the theology of a book is built. The agenda, if it can be determined from the *Sitz im Leben* research, narrows the field of theological options opened by the overall framework. A look at the traditions utilized in the biblical book will still further delimit the options and will move one closer to the nerve center of the book.

Traditions/Redaction

Traditions are part of the "stuff" of the Bible. While the theology of a book is more than identifying its traditions, the isolation of the traditions and the use which an author/editor makes of them become part of the checks and balances in a theological appraisal.

Attention to traditions takes place in three steps. The first step is to identify the major traditions incorporated in the book. In Deuteronomy that would include the exodus tradition, the wilderness tradition, the Sinai tradition, especially the Decalogue, and the golden calf story. The second step is to investigate the specific "spin" a tradition has within the text. For example, the motivational clauses frequently appended to the Torah statements recall the exodus. The rehearsal by Moses of the story of the golden calf introduces the new element (as compared with Exodus) of Moses falling prostrate before the Lord and fasting from bread and water for a second round of forty days (9:18). For Olson, that additional notation, especially the description of causing to fall prostrate, fits with other occurrences of self-denial and hence with the theme of Moses' death, a theme that he feels pervades the book.

The third step is to situate the tradition within the book. There are several possibilities. The particular tradition may embrace several minor traditions, or itself be subsumed within a more dominant tradition. It may, as having equal status with other notable traditions, weave a strand. In Deuteronomy, the Sinai complex of material is given a particular cast. In the Exodus version the legislation includes both cultic and ethical material with a preponderance of material relating to the tabernacle. In Deuteronomy *some* attention is given to cult, as in the centralization of worship and instructions about festivals, but the preponderant emphasis from the Sinai tradition is on a people's love-loyalty. Olson proposes that the first commandment is elaborated in

chaps. 6-11. The emphasis within these chapters is not in the context of cult but in the context of fleshing out the first commandment through love and obedience. Essentially, then, Deuteronomy has lifted up for marked emphasis a particular aspect of the Sinai tradition (viz., the internal) within which the tradition of the golden-calf incident is included as a negative commentary on what it means to have no other gods before Yahweh. Overall, the Sinai tradition, together with explanations and elaborations of the stipulations there, must be factored into a theology of the book.

Beyond such avenues of access to a theology as the shape of the book, its *Sitz im Leben*, and its traditions, there remains at least one other avenue of access: the literary.

Literary Analysis

Another direction from which help can come for the biblical theologian is literary analysis of the book, a method which in recent years has gained numerous adherents. Here, even more than in the earlier approaches mentioned, the activity changes from excavative scholarship for what is behind the text, to a stress on the biblical text itself. In contrast to form criticism, accused of too much focus on the smaller literary units, the newer approach keeps the literary whole in focus and asks about characterization, plot, and stylistic devices such as repetition, symbolism, and metaphor.[10] Especially because literary analysis keeps the literary whole in focus, it is highly valuable as an aid in the discernment of theology which also asks for the larger picture.

Attention to literary coherence starts the research for the theological warp and woof. Coherence within a literary work is exemplified by a variety of features: staging of material around plot, around cause and effect, around geography, or around a central character. The coherence of a work may consist, as Cuffey notes, in various internal linkages, including verbal forms and transitions.[11] Other options for cementing a text into a coherent whole involve repetition, patterning, and metaphor. The last three will be used to illustrate the possibilities of the literary approach for theologizing in Deuteronomy.

Repetition. Stylistic devices such as repetition can become handholds assisting the theologian to climb to fresh vantage points. The message of a book will almost always congeal into key terms which, in

[10]R. Alter and F. Kermode, eds. *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Collins, 1987); Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman, eds. *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993).

[11]Kenneth Cuffey, "The Coherence of Micah: A Review of Proposals and a New Interpretation," Ph.D. Dissertion, Drew University, 1987.

good rhetorical fashion, will be repeated. Identification of these repetitive words helps determine and document the theology. H. W. Wolff, for example, discerned that the kerygma of biblical material was through formulary speech patterns or even single words (e.g., "fear God" for the Elohistic strand; *shub* (turn, repent) for the Deuteronomic history.[12] F. H. Breukelman leads off a theology of Gen 1-25 around the key term *toledot* (generations).[13]

Deuteronomy, as Patrick Miller has shown, contains an oft-repeated term, *natan* (give). It occurs 167 times; in 131 occurrences God is the subject.[14] Often the term appears in association with land. Gift terminology in the Pentateuchal context recalls the earlier promise to the patriarchs, and so emphasizes that God is a promise-keeper. Within the Deuteronomy text itself, the theological significance is that, however much Torah that book may contain, Deuteronomy must be viewed from a particular angle of vision, i.e., God's earlier gifting activity which precedes Torah. A grace dimension must, therefore, be part of the theology of Deuteronomy. Exclusive attention to a single term may easily blind the theologian to other theological components operating in the text, but by attending to repetition the scholar may feel confident that some objective controls guide the enterprise.

Patterning. Another literary stylistic by means of which a book's theology can be discerned is patterning. Where parallels exist, as in prose and in poetry, or where chiastic structure is uncovered, one has not only a pleasing literary phenomenon, but may well find a door into theology. Patterns of symmetry other than parallelism also invite investigation. For example, the historical review in Deut 1:6-3:29 is staged according to events occurring successively at Horeb (1:6-18), Kadesh Barnea (1:19-45), en route to Zered (2:1-15), and in Moab (2:16-3:29). Each incident is launched with a directive (1:6; 1:19; 2:2-3; 2:8) and is followed by some complication. For example, Israel is to leave Horeb, but an overburdened Moses signals the lack of judicial organization (1:9-12). At Kadesh the problem is the unknown character of the land they are to enter (1:22).[15] There follows in each instance an

[12]Walter Brueggeman and H. W. Wolff, *The Vitality of Old Testament* Traditions (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 29-39, esp. 35-36.

[13]F. H. Breukelman, *The Theology of the Book of Genesis. Israel's First Born Status Gen. 1-25* (Kampen: Kok, 1992).

[14]P. D. Miller, Jr., "The Gift of God: A Deuteronomic Theology of the Land," *Int* 23 (1969): 451-465; J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy*, JSOT SS 33 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1984).

[15]Other examples: As Israel leaves Mt. Seir, they are faced with the negotiation of

account of how Israel coped with the obstacle. These sets of incidents throw into relief the characters: God, people, Moses. From here the theological undertow becomes clear: God is initiator, chastiser, boundary keeper, and deliverer; the people vary in their responses, sometimes compliant, and sometimes not; Moses is fulfilling the role of a much-needed mediator.

When this pattern is juxtaposed with the setting in which the book is cast, the theological impact is compounded. Taken together, the opening scenarios with the sequence of (1) order, (2) obstacle, and (3) resolution become a powerful prelude, a foreshadowing of what is to come. On the plain of Moab at the threshold of the land, the command to enter the land is imminent. Obstacles in that venture are certain to be present. How the conquest will be navigated can be informed by the past. The easily-understood *message* is to proceed. The *theology* about a God who overcomes obstacles informs that *message.*

Dennis Olson finds a symmetry in the closing chapters of the book, chaps. 29-32.[16] These chapters deal in turn with liturgy (chaps. 29-30), word (chap. 31), and song (chap. 32). These three blocks in parallel motion elucidate the Moabite covenant. The three blocks share a threefold movement. Each contains a reference to the past, noting especially God's faithfulness (29:2-8; 31:1-6; 32:3-14). Each block also mentions the present situation with a focus on human limitations (e.g., knowledge, 29:4,29; life, with the impending death of Moses, 31:14-15; or bondage resulting from rebellion (31:15-34). Each block ends with a reference to the future. The first block envisions restoration (30:3, 4; cf. God's breaking the barriers of space and time, 29:7; 30:11-14; 29:4,10,12, 13, 14, 15; 30:11, 15, 16, 18, 19). The future in the second block is signaled with the transfer of leadership to Joshua (31:7-8; 14-15, 23), and the third with Yahweh's victory (32:36-43). The movement in each block is thus a movement through time: from past to present to future.

Metaphor. Devices such as patterning and repetition are more on the order of the cosmetic and so only tenuously become pointers to a theological reading. Metaphor, by contrast, captures something of a worldview and is potentially more fundamental in generating or explicating a message. David Tracy maintains that "all major religions are grounded in certain root metaphors."[17] Here metaphor is understood

passage through alien territories (2:4-7). After crossing the brook Zered, Israel meets active military opposition by the forces of King Sihon of the Amorites and King Og of Bashan (2:30-3:5).

[16]Olson, 130-131.

[17]Tracy is quoted by Perdue, *Collapse of History,* 201, fn. 10.

as more than poetic enhancement but, leaning heavily on Paul Ricoeur, as being as ultimate as language itself. Proceeding analytically, one may distinguish between tenor and vehicle. Tenor is descriptive of the essence of what one wishes to communicate. It is the principal subject (e.g., God). Vehicle is the mythic (or perhaps existential) carrier by which the essence of the message is forwarded. Vehicle is the secondary subject (e.g., Divine Warrior). Metaphors are the interface of the two, tenor and vehicle.

Dennis Olson's recent work singles out the death of Moses as both the recurring theme and an important metaphor in Deuteronomy. In an overview of Deuteronomy, Olson delineates the way in which the subject of Moses' death is expressed in the six divisions of the book. He writes, "Moses' demise is a metaphor for the necessary and inevitable losses and limits of human life and power before God."[18] The death of Moses is not the ultimate word. God's compassion and blessing continue and so provide a basis for hope.

Other metaphors in Deuteronomy, however, vie for attention. There is the metaphor of covenant. God is the suzerain who elects a people and invites them into a relationship of intimacy and holiness (7:6-11; 26:16-19; 29:12-13). That God is the Lord of the covenant is abundantly clear from the section on blessings and curses (chaps. 27, 28). He is also the divine parent, and Israel are sons and daughters, an image which extends the notion of both authority and protection (32:6, 19). God is the Master, and Israel is cast in the posture of a servant (32:36, 43).

If the centerpiece in Deuteronomy revolves around Torah, which, as Olson observes, functions as a kind of community catechesis, then these images of covenant Lord, divine Parent, and Master reinforce the importance of the teaching. The metaphors about God lend large weight to that catechesis. So also, but in a lesser way, do the references to Moses' death. The topic of Moses' death, rather than pointing to life's limitation (as Olson sees it), functions to give authority to the Torah teaching.

How germane is metaphor in accessing a book's theology? Leo Perdue holds to a priority of metaphor. "Old Testament theology must begin with the metaphors which are present in narrative and poetic texts. The theologian should not be content to describe elements of faith, but must explain how narrative and poetry actualize faith and understanding for the implied audience. The task is not simply

[18]Olson, 17.

confessional recital but rather explanation of process."[19] Perdue has demonstrated his claim in the analysis of the theology of the book of Job, and more recently has shored up his case in a sustained discussion about methodology in doing biblical theology. He has critiqued the dominance of the history paradigm as constitutive of Old Testament theology and advocated that metaphor be primary in doing biblical theology, illustrating his claim from Jeremiah.[20] Perdue challenges the Enlightenment's linear thinking, and champions metaphor along with other literary methods as ways of focusing on the text rather than on the events and traditions behind the text. Perdue's emphasis on metaphor and rhetorical criticism is provocative. That metaphor has a solid place in the set of tools for getting at a theology is not to be disputed; but that its role should be as dominant as Perdue advocates needs further to be assessed.

On the basis of the procedure outlined here, we may sketch the lines of a preliminary theological statement of Deuteronomy as follows: Obedience to the expressed will of God is urged upon the people of God in view of God's good intentions, the operating dynamic of love, his various grace-gifts (including Torah, land, and victory), the specificity of his expectations, and the warnings that emerge from the act-consequence nexus as illustrated in Israel's checkered history. Further supporting theological nuances entail the authority (and also finitude) associated with the final words of a long-term, God-commissioned leader.

My proposal in accessing theological readings is to regard the structure of the book as offering the framework for a theological reading, to pay attention to the content of the book via traditions and patterning, and to allow metaphor to fine-tune the theology. All these avenues—structure, *Sitz im Leben*, traditions, patterning, and metaphor—are text-oriented. Another set of decisive factors pertains to the theologian.

Factors Residing in the Theologian

So far the emphasis has been on external data. The theologian, by giving attention to the theological tilt indicated by the form-critical structure, the *Sitz-im-Leben*, the traditions within the book, and the literary analysis, is poised to set out the theology of a book. But factors internal to the theologian also impinge on the delineation of a theology.

[19]L. G. Perdue, *Wisdom in Revolt: Metaphorical Theology in the Book of Job* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1991), 28.

[20]Perdue, *Collapse of History*.

These include the theologian's creativity, theological prehension, and social location.

Imagination/Creativity

Even if from the examination of the text one has several theological strands in hand, one still needs to sort them out and, so to speak, "get a line" on the book theologically. To set forth a theology of a biblical book is not a mechanical task which gathers up the input and rearranges it as output for consumption. Rather, a measure of creativity is involved. As with all creativity, it is important to assemble the research data, but then to allow for reflection and rumination. Even as one bends one's efforts to the task, one needs at some point to step away from close reading in order to let the details fall into place and allow the "big picture" to emerge with clarity.

The process is not unlike walking about town on foot making copious notes about streets, structures, even railways and rivers, in an attempt to describe the dynamics at work in the town. But then, airborne, the surveyor sees the same town from a different perspective. The surveyor/observer can now more easily give an account of the overall configuration. More is involved than rehearsing the data. From a new vantage position the connectedness of all the data should be plain. The rationale for the direction of the railways, the locations of industrial complexes, perhaps in terms of both railways and river, can be discerned and explained. But the explanation calls for identifying, almost intuititively and imaginatively, a certain Gestalt.

Multiple emphases which seem to the researcher to point in multiple directions can become through a flash of insight a series of carefully aligned emphases arranged as though around a magnet. Admittedly, how that comes together in the observer's mind is idiosyncratic. It is an "aha" experience. That which David Kelsey describes as a step in the process of exegeting a text is applicable also to the more macrocosmic task of theologically representing an entire biblical book: a process entailing "imaginative construal."[21] Imaginative construals are not dictated by the texts themselves (despite a theologian's close attention to them), but are in some ways the creative constructive work of the interpreter. Walker-Jones, using D. Kelsey's questions, tries to show how the theologies of Gabler, Eichrodt, and von Rad were influenced by how they saw the Bible functioning in the church and by what aspect(s) of the Bible they found interesting.[22] Each

[21]David Kelsey, *The Uses of Scripture in Recent Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 159, 163, 215.

[22]A. W. Walker-Jones, "The Role of Theological Imagination in Biblical Theology,"

was informed by exegesis, but each chose different points of departure (e.g., Gabler, ideas; Eichrodt, covenant; von Rad, confessions). Walker-Jones' thesis is "that there is no one method nor object of biblical theology; instead, biblical theologians make an imaginative, synoptic judgment about what is theologically meaningful and this judgment then influences the patterns in Scriptures they consider signficant."[23]

The process of congealing the heterogeneous into something of a unity is aided by asking of a book: What is the fundamental problem to which the book speaks, and what materials are brought to bear by the writer/editor on that problem?

Imagination has been highlighted for its importance to Old Testament theology by Walter Brueggemann.[24] The prophets, Brueggemann observes, are characterized by their imaginings of an alternative way of being in the world. One may think of them as pinpointing a problem, as for example Jeremiah, who identifies (1) the problematic ideology of security based on a Deity present at the temple (Jer 7), and (2) the sins of royalty (Jer 22-23). Upon these Jeremiah brings to bear Israel's traditions, such as the exodus and the Sinai/wilderness complex; but he does more: He paints a picture of what could be (Jer 30-31). The theologian in processing Jeremiah's materials is also creatively imaginative, not only in ordering materials theologically, but in describing the wellspring from whence they are derived. Leo Perdue, who offers extended treatment on the subject, notes, "The promise of imagination for theology is significant, for it offers a way not only of accessing the linguistic and historical realities of the past but also of engaging these narrative and poetic worlds in the present."[25]

Imagination, the subconscious, but also spiritual resources (e.g., prayer), make possible a constellation, a theological Gestalt, an imaginative construal of the data. The necessary creative touch can be fostered by a clear grasp of the data, experimentation with certain options of synthesis, and a willingness to set these options aside to allow time and space for other possibilities to emerge.

HBT 11 (1989): 73-97.

[23]Ibid., 73.

[24]Walter Brueggemann, *Hope within History* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1987); *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); *Interpretation and Obedience* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); *The Land* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); *Living Toward a Vision* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); *Power, Providence and Personality: Biblical Insight into Life and Ministry* (Louisville: Westminster-John Knox, 1990).

[25]Perdue, *Collapse of History*, 285-286.

Biblical Theological Prehension

The formulation of a theology of a book is influenced by the theological configuration the theologian already entertains about the OT as a whole. This configuration may be the result of studied reflection, perhaps distilled in a book or at least in copious teaching notes. Such a theologian will find the task of stating the theology of a single book easier because certain rubrics around which the individual themes of a book can be grouped are already in place. At the same time, this theologian may come to a single book somewhat fixated by the larger scheme and so have difficulty disentangling the threads, some of which may not fall into his or her larger theology.

Leo Perdue outlines the shift in Biblical theology from a focus on history (as event and tradition) to greater centrality given to creation.[26] For a theologian functioning with a creation model more than with a history model, motifs such as wisdom and land in Deuteronomy might well be singled out for attention. Eugene H. Merrill draws on the history model. He posits a schema for the Pentateuch, the coordinates of which include the mandate for humankind to rule over creation and God's intent to undo the damage of humanity's misrule. That this schema colors his approach to the theology of Numbers is made explicit. Merrill introduces Numbers with a link to the creation account; Numbers is a way station in the journey for Israel to occupy Canaan, a paradigm, morever, of the way humankind generally will take possession of the earth in a God-designed way.[27]

But that which makes the task easier also complicates attempts at objectivity. Too easily one reads a book searching for what one wishes to find. To find supporting evidence for an earlier-conceived framework is reassuring. The Chinese proverb applies: Ninety percent of what one sees is behind one's eyes. One's own religious orientation—whether Catholic, neo-orthodox, evangelical, dispensationalist, or reformed—will almost inevitably function in the critical stage of imaginative construal. For example: G.E. Wright's reformed tradition, as expressed in Barthian terms, shaped the way he structured an OT theology. There is no way to prevent impulses from one's tradition or from one's personal makeup from entering into the shaping of a final statement. Scholars have long since abandoned hope of total objectivity.

Still, if properly wary of subjectivity, one can minimize the subjective element. An obvious step in forestalling extraneous

[26]Ibid., 17-68; 111-150.

[27]Eugene Merrill, "A Theology of the Pentateuch," in *A Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*, ed. Roy B. Zuck (Chicago: Moody, 1991), 7-87.

theological import is to be aware of one's orientation. Perhaps one should examine with additional scrutiny those theological aspects that seem to reinforce one's biases. A dose of suspicion is wholesome. While one cannot put one's convictions aside, one can come to the text with an openness that wishes genuinely to be informed by the text. Continuous self-critical dialogue between interpreter and text should be cultivated. The subjective is mitigated also by a willingness to entertain critiques from the faith community.

Social Location

Not only one's religious convictions, but also one's social location, have a bearing on how one extrapolates a theology of a given book. A white, middle-class male may well attach importance to questions of leadership and status. Scholars trained in the enlightenment tradition, with an emphasis on the rational and methodical, may have a fascination with attributes and characteristics. Oriental scholars are more in tune with the mystical dimensions represented in biblical material. Feminist scholars and those from racial minorities will resonate with themes of discrimination, oppression, and social stratification. They may single out for emphasis the laws about slavery or the exclusion of Ammonites and Moabites from the congregation (23:1-6; cf. 24:17-19). One cannot deny one's social location. The skewing effects, however, can be minimized through self-awareness, willingness to dialogue honestly and self-critically with the text, and a readiness to entertain critique from the Christian community.

To summarize: Biblical theologians can better discern the theology of a biblical book by paying attention to factors that pertain both to the text and to factors inherent in the person of the theologian. To the first belong considerations of the book's formal structure, its traditions, the agenda it addresses, and its literary features. To the second belong considerations about the theologian—his or her creativity, theological prehension, and social location.[28]

[28]The paper was presented at the national meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. Comments there, as well as those from Ben Ollenburger and teaching colleagues Allen Guenther, John E. Toews, and Tim Geddert are gratefully acknowledged. An earlier draft benefited from the critique of members of the American College of Biblical Theologians.

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THE REMNANT AND THE NEW COVENANT IN THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

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Introduction

Although the book of Jeremiah "makes the most elaborate use of the theory" of the remnant[1] and is the only book to explicitly note the New Covenant, it is surprising that the connections between these two unique features have not been fully explored.[2] This paper attempts to bridge the gap.

For Jeremiah, the New Covenant was operative, not for the remnant who remained in Judah[3] but only for the exiles, those for whom the hope of restoration was reserved because in them the messianic hope was sustained.[4] This is the originality of Jeremiah,

[1]Emil G. Hirsch, "Remnant of Israel," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1905), 10:375. My dissertation, "The Remnant Motif in the Context of Judgment and Salvation in the Book of Jeremiah" (Andrews University, 1995), demonstrates the 68 occurrences of vocabulary associated with the remnant in terms of "definite historical entities"—that is, individuals, groups, or families that survive a disaster. See V. Herntrich, "Leimma," *TDNT* (1976), 4:197; G. F. Hasel, *The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1974), 145, 189.

[2]Some have suggested the nexus: G. Hasel, "Remnant," *ISBE* (1988), 4:133; H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1950), 76-77; Amado Cruz Lozano, "The Present Outworking of the Abrahamic Covenant as Evidenced through the Concept of the Remnant" (M.A. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1982), 15. Obed Dube's dissertation, "The Remnant and the New Covenant in the Book of Jeremiah" (University of South Africa, 1992), is hampered by methodological problems. See an evaluation in Mulzac, 73-76. Further, he does not deal with the factors valued in this paper.

[3]These constituted a mere historical remnant—those who survived the Babylonian invasion. They later broke faith, breached the covenant, and went to Egypt against God's command (Jer 42-44). They are described as figs too rotten for consumption (Jer 24). Othmar Schilling ("'Rest' in der Prophetie des Alten Testament," inaugural dissertation, University of Münster, 1942, 96, 102) describes them as the residue of disaster or the splinters of a nation.

[4]F. Dreyfus, "Remnant," *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, trans. Joseph Cahill, ed.

distinctive from his predecessors. For them the remnant constituted those who remained in the homeland. Jeremiah contends that restoration lies with the deportees, the true remnant.

Three connections exist between the Remnant and the New Covenant: a new exodus, divine initiative, and forgiveness.

New Exodus

Jer 23:1-8 speaks strongly about new exodus and the restoration of the remnant. The final oracle, vv. 7-8,[5] deals with the replacement of an old oath with a new one. The old recounts the exodus from Egypt, "As Yahweh lives who brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt"; the new, "As Yahweh lives who brought up and brought back the house of Israel from the north country and from all the lands where I have driven them,"[6] invokes a new exodus, greater than the original one.

This formulation of the restored remnant by means of a new exodus is also evident in Jer. 31:2-6, which has been described as a "prophecy of salvation." This consists of (1) the situation, in which the people find themselves (vv. 2-3); (2) the promise/message of salvation (vv. 4-5); and (3) the conclusion (v. 6), which affirms the Lord's ability to accomplish his promise.[7] The situation reflects God's deliverance at the Red Sea and his provision for the people during the wilderness sojourn.[8] The verb *maṣa'* is used as a perfectum prophecticum.[9]

Xavier Léon-Defour (New York: Desclée, 1967), 429; Jutta Hausmann, *Israels Rest: Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde*, BWANT 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1987), 99-101; Schilling, 102; Mulzac, 293-306, 376.

[5]The pericope consists of three oracles, vv. 1-4; 5-6; 7-8. The first two are structured chiastically and deal directly with God's regathering and establishment of the remnant community and setting up a righteous king to govern that community. For details see Peter C. Craigie, H. Kelly, and Joel F. Drinkard, Jr., *Jeremiah 1-25*, Word Biblical Commentary, 26 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1991), 325-332.

[6]Peter R. Ackroyd claims that this is a new *confessio fidei* which summarizes "the account of what Yahweh had done in the great decisive moment of the Exodus" (*Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968], 238).

[7]Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form Critical Method*, trans. S. M. Cuppit (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 213-214; cf. W. Eugene March, "Prophecy," in *Old Testament Form Criticism*, ed. John H. Hayes (San Antonio: Trinity University, 1974), 162.

[8]Robert Davidson, *Jeremiah*, Daily Study Bible (Philadelphia: Westminister, 1983), 1:78-79; E. W. Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 60; J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 566.

suggesting a "new exodus."[10] As in the exodus event the people "found favor" (*maṣa' ḥen*), God's gracious design will be extended to the new exodus.[11]

This new exodus of the regathered or remnant community is tacitly connected to the New Covenant of Jer 31:31-34. Inasmuch as the exodus from Egypt was ratified by the establishment of the covenant at Sinai, so too the new exodus was to be ratified by the New Covenant. In both cases God took the initiative, but just as the new exodus replaced the old one as the decisive saving event,[12] so too must the New Covenant replace the former. Hasel focused on this in his description of the eschatological, remnant community as "a remnant comprising those with a 'new heart' who live on the basis of the 'new covenant' (Jer. 31:31-34)."[13]

The "new heart" also provides a connection between the remnant and the New Covenant in that it embodies the ideal of interiority.[14] It is this "internalization that assures the success of the new community."[15] William L. Holladay has noted the nexus between this restored remnant community and the New Covenant: "If Israel is to swear by a God of the new exodus, then that new exodus will have to overshadow the old, just as the new covenant (31:31-34) will overshadow the old."[16]

The fundamental characteristic of the first exodus and its covenant was the establishment of a people. So, too, the new exodus and the

[9]Hausmann, 104; H. Freedom, *Jeremiah*, Soncino Books (London: Soncino, 1949), 203.

[10]John Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB, 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 280.

[11]Jer 31:2-6 contains imagery drawn from the Exodus: "Found favor in the wilderness" occurs five times in Exod 33:12-17, where it is reminiscent of Moses' intercession; the parallelism of "timbrels" and "dance" calls to mind Miriam's song in Exod 15:20. See W. F. Lofthouse, "*Hen* and *Hesed* in the OT," *ZAW* 51 (1933): 29-35.

[12]William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, I*, ICC (1986), 566.

[13]Hasel, "Remnant," 133; cf. Johannes Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Mühlenberg, 1962), 188, 189, 367; Dreyfus, "Remnant," 429.

[14]H. D. Potter, "The New Covenant in Jeremiah XXXI: 31-34," *VT* 33 (1983): 350; Jenni, "Eschatology in the OT," *IDB* (1962), 2:130; J. Swetnam, "Why Was Jeremiah's New Covenant New?" in *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers*, VT Supplement 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 111-113.

[15]Walter C. Kaiser, "The Old Promise and the New Covenant: Jeremiah 31:31-34," *JETS* 15 (1972): 12.

[16]William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 623.

New Covenant are to reestablish the people, that is, the remnant community. Both share the reality embodied in Yahweh's Covenant Formula:[17] "I will be your God and you will be my people" (Jer 31:33; Deut. 29:12,13).[18]

Jeremiah had criticized people and leadership for breaking and abandoning the covenant.[19] In its place they had adhered to institutions such as the temple, which had degenerated to a merely human structure maintained and protected by human effort and ingenuity.[20] But Jeremiah now vigorously declares that Yahweh will inaugurate a new era with the renewed remnant community ruled under the auspices of the New Covenant with a new king.[21]

Divine Initiative

The remnant and the New Covenant both share the divine initiative as the driving force. Yahweh declares: "I will gather the remnant of my flock" (23:4); "I will set my eyes on them for good, and I will bring them again to this land. I will build them. . . . I will plant them" (24:6, 7); "I will turn away your captivity and I will gather you from all the nations" (29:14); "O Lord, save your people, the remnant of Israel. Indeed, I shall bring them from the north country" (31:7b, 8a).

The same declaration is made regarding the establishment of the New Covenant: "I will make a new covenant. This is the covenant that I will make; I will remember their sin no more" (31:31, 33, 34).

[17]R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel*, Theologische Studien 68 (Zurich: EVZ, 1963), 6.

[18]G. F. Hasel, *Covenant in Blood* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1982), 101, 102; Steven M. Fettke, *Messages to a Nation in Crisis: An Introduction to the Prophecy of Jeremiah* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1982), 49; B. W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 394. Kaiser insists that "promise is actually God's single *all*-encompassing declaration" and that this formula epitomizes the content of promise (12). In his assessment of this promise, Willem VanGemeren says, "The hope of the new community remains the same covenantal promise" (*Interpreting the Prophetic Word* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990], 314). He adds that this reflects the eschatological era (502, n. 90).

[19]For a thoroughgoing study of how Jeremiah was a critic of society and how he used social criticism to illustrate the people's failure of realizing the covenantal ideal, see Laurent Wisser, *Jeremie, critique de la vie social: justice sociale et connaissance de Dieu dans le livre de Jérémie* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1982).

[20]VanGemeren, 312; William J. Dumbrell, *The End of the Beginning: Revelation 21-22 and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 83-86.

[21]See G. Pattison, "The Moment of the Void: A Meditation on the Book of Jeremiah," *ExpT* 97 (1985-86): 132-136. He claims for Jeremiah an ultimate horizon, a place for meeting and listening to God, who in turn is attentive to human needs and well-being.

The divine initiative is not to be lightly regarded. Despite the actions of the leaders in causing the people to stray (23:1-2), God determined to perform an act of salvation: the regathering of the remnant. They did not possess some special quality which recommended them to God and which resulted in their renewal.

Jer 31:2-3 clearly combines the ideas of remnant and covenant.[22] The remnant (*śᵉrîdê*)—those who survived the sword[23]—are the recipients of God's "love" (*ḥb*) and "faithfulness" (*ḥesed*), two very important covenant blessings.[24]

This voluntary, unsolicited favor toward the remnant finds expression in Yahweh's reversal of his judgment, together with the promise of return (new exodus)[25] and the repossession of the land. Yahweh *śûb śᵉbût*, "restored the fortunes,"[26] a "technical term indicating restoration to an earlier time of well-being—*restitutio in integrum*."[27] Yahweh's judgment against the people is expressed precisely in exile and the loss of the land. As it were, the "exile ended history because the

[22]William Holladay indicates that Jer 31:2-6 makes "a good poetic analogue to the new covenant passage" ("The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding: Moses, Samuel and Psalms 22," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1984], 323.

[23]Hasel's impressive study, "Origin and Early History," indicates that of the 29 occurrences of the noun *śarîd* only five are positive (196). Besides Jer 31:2, the others are Judg 5:13; Josh. 10:20; Isa 1:9, and Joel 3:5.

[24]Thompson, 566-567. Cf. Nelson Glueck, *Hesed in the Bible*, trans. Alfred Gottschalk (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1967), 102; Soeck-Tae Sohn, "The Divine Election of Israel" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1986), 10-52.

[25]According to John Bright, the historical event which provided the root and ground of Jeremiah's preaching was the recollection of Yahweh's gracious favor in the Exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land ("An Exercise in Hermeneutics: Jeremiah 31:31-34," *Int* 20 [1996]: 196).

[26]See Jer 29:14; 30:3, 18; 31:23; 32:44; 33:7,11. Although not used here, the term provides a good expression of Yahweh's intention for the remnant community. Connected as it is with the repossession of the land, it is linked with the remnant whose repossession of the land is similarly discussed in Jer 31:2-6, 8, 10-14, 16, and 21.

[27]John M. Brack, "*Šûb śᵉbût:* A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 244. For earlier studies on this question, see E. Preuschen, "Die Bedeutung von *šûb śᵉbût* im Alten Testament," *ZAW* 15 (1895): 1-74; E. L. Dietrich, *šwb šbwt: Die Endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten*, BZAW 40 (Giessen: Topelmann, 1925); E. Bauman, "*šwb šbwt*: Eine exegetische Unterschung," *ZAW* 47 (1929): 17-44. See also Holladay, *The Root šubh in the Old Testament with Particular Reference to Its Usage in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 110-115.

two are antithetical."[28] But Yahweh brings in the beginning of a new history with the proclamation of his "reliable *hesed* . . . when all seemed voided,"[29] which he extended to the remnant (31:2-6) who will return to the land. Just as the exile was a "tragic reversal,"[30] Jeremiah now announces that this reversal will be reversed.[31] This is the essence of Yahweh's planned restoration of his remnant people, the carriers of the election promises.[32] Therefore, the depiction here is the restoration of God's people as realized by the reversal of his judgments.

Once again, the stress is on the divine initiative since "redemption is accomplished by God's free and sovereign grace."[33] The new era expresses God's grace, his *hesed*, "covenant loyalty." Therefore, he affirms his covenantal love in such a way that the time of judgment and wrath will seem inconspicuous in comparison to future blessings.[34] This divine act of salvation on behalf of the remnant, therefore, embodies all the blessings of the new covenant: the law written on the heart, a new relationship with God, and forgiveness.

Forgiveness

Jer 50:4-20 links the remnant motif to two other interrelated theological themes in the book of Jeremiah: covenant and forgiveness.

[28]Walter Brueggemann, *The Land*, Overtures to Biblical Theology (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 126.

[29]Ibid., 134.

[30]Norman Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, SBT 14 (Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, 1954), 56.

[31]Brueggemann, *The Land*, 133-134. He calls this reversal "the good news, that God transforms those who are displaced and makes them a home, gives to them secure turf. And the good news is precisely to exile and precisely when no prospect for land is anywhere visible."

[32]The land and the return to the land are prominent themes in the book of Jeremiah. See further Peter Diepold, *Israels Land*, BWANT 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), 187; for him the land is "konstitutiv für Israels Existenz." Elmer A. Martens thinks that land is not only a territorial designation but has theological significance. An important conclusion is that land as an arena for judgment and salvation functions as a medium of revelation for the knowledge of Yahweh ("Motivations for the Promise of Israel's Restoration to the Land in Jeremiah and Ezekiel" (Ph. D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1972). In another volume, Martens contends that the land is seen as one of the four fundamental categories of "God's design" (*God's Design: A Focus on Old Testament Theology* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981]).

[33]Willem Van Gemeren, *The Progress of Redemption: The Story of Salvation from Creation to the New Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 301.

[34]Ibid., 302.

The weeping procession (v. 4) depicts the homecoming "in liturgical terms, as a pilgrimage back to Jerusalem and to Yahweh (cf. 3:21-23)."[35] Significant for this is the joining of the people to the Lord in *bᵉrît ʿôlām*, "an everlasting covenant," which is synonymous with the New Covenant motif in Jer 31:31-33.[36] This is the initiation of the divine-human relationship, understood by Jeremiah as dynamic and based on God's acts of salvation in the history of the people. As such, "Yahweh was understood by the prophet not only as the Lord of the Covenant but also as the Creator of the new relationship."[37] This also implies election.[38] This is the "God-people, people-God relationship,"[39] which has been called the "center of the Old Testament."[40]

This covenant motif connects the view of Judah-Israel in chaps. 50-51 with chaps. 30-33. In both instances restoration of the people, notably the remnant community, speaks of renewal of the relationship with Yahweh on a permanent basis. The difference is one of emphasis: In chaps. 30-33 attention is placed solely on Judah-Israel, whereas in chaps. 50-51 the focus is on the defeat of Babylon, the enemy, and the restoration of the remnant people as a result of this defeat.[41]

Fundamental to the renewal of the remnant community is the forgiveness of Yahweh. This too is connected to covenant theology. In fact, both passages (Jer 31:31-34 and 50:4-20) are framed by an *inclusio* of the new/everlasting covenant and complete forgiveness.

Garnett Reid is correct that forgiveness by Yahweh is foundational for internal transformation and the establishment of a dynamic relationship between God and his people.[42] Forgiveness is of a radical, complete nature in both cases:

> I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin I will remember no more

[35]Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 823.

[36]Thomas M. Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgment/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 203, 204.

[37]Martin Cheng-Chang Wang, "Jeremiah and the Covenant Traditions," *SEAJT* 14 (1972): 11.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Richard Deutsch, "The Biblical Concept of the 'People of God'," *SEAJT* 13 (1972): 10.

[40]R. Smend, *Die Mitte des Alten Testaments*, Theologische Studien 101 (Zurich: EVZ Verlag, 1970).

[41]Carroll, 823.

[42]Garnett Reid, "The Heart of Jeremiah's Covenantal Message," *BV* 25 (1991): 95.

(31:34); Iniquity shall be sought in Israel, and there shall be none: and sin in Judah, and none shall be found; for I will forgive those whom I leave as a remnant (50:20).

Forgiveness here is a divine prerogative. This points in the direction of Herntrich, who denotes that the establishment and preservation of the remnant are based, among other factors, on the forgiveness of God.[43] This is grounded in the divine initiative. Hasel comments, "This divine initiative aims at the culminating action of total forgiveness and God's total forgetfulness when it comes to human sins."[44]

One may also note that this forgiveness is complete and comprehensive; neither is there any uncertainty that God will forgive. This idea is embodied in the technical term, *salaḥ*, which is used exclusively of God's offer of forgiveness. It is never employed to refer to people forgiving each other. It thereby suggests that only by divine innovation could such a sin problem be effectively resolved.[45]

This forgiveness is filled with what J. J. Stamm calls "external attestations,"[46] which include deliverance from exile, election following punitive judgment, renewal of the covenant, closer fellowship with God than ever before, and transformation of the human being.[47] As such, *"Forgiveness becomes an integral part of a whole new era of salvation. . . . It is an act which liberates . . . and makes new things possible."*[48]

Such forgiveness, connected as it is to the new or everlasting covenant, points to the eschatological reality of God's actions.[49] As the climax of the whole oracle, forgiveness becomes the essential or vital component of the new era. Wilhelm Rudolph comments: "This word stands at the conclusion not as a chance addition, but as the operative

[43] Herntrich, 204.

[44]Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 104, 105. Cf. Prescott H. Williams, Jr., "Living towards the Acts of the Savior-Judge: A Study of Eschatolgoy in the Book of Jeremiah," *ASB* 44 (1978): 28; Raitt says, "The forgiveness, therefore, is purely an act of God's intervention, an exercise of his divine prerogative, an assertion of his freedom, a way he takes to get for himself and his people an open-ended future" (190).

[45]Walter C. Kaiser, "*Salaḥ*," *TWOT* (1980), 2:626.

[46]J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im Alten Testament: Eine Begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Bern: A. Francke, 1940), 142, 147.

[47]Raitt, 186.

[48]Ibid.; see also J. P. Hyatt, "Jeremiah: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB*, ed. G. A. Buttrick (Nashville: Abingdon, 1956), 5: 786, 1038.

[49]Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 100; Bright, 194.

basis of the whole promise: under all that is operating hitherto, a line is drawn, a new life with God commences."[50]

Forgiveness is here related to repentance as enveloped in the expression of "seeking the Lord," *we'et-'adonay 'elōhêhen y'baqqešû*, "and they shall seek the Lord their God." The root *bqš*, "to seek," is used with the understanding of "a conscious act with a specific goal in mind."[51] In Jer 50:4 it is used to describe repentance[52] and express an intensification of the relationship between God and His people.[53]

This act of repentance is linked to forgiveness, in that the repentant action of the people is favored by the deliberate action of God, who forgives, so that when guilt is searched for (*bqš*), none is found. This repentance[54] and subsequent forgiveness point to the reestablishment of a broken relationship—that is, the renewal of the covenant,[55] which is done on behalf of the remnant.

Conclusion

The citizens of the restored remnant community are characterized as those who receive the new covenant. Value is placed not on nationalistic groupings or tribal entities, but rather on a spiritual entity—those who are faithful to God's covenant and are in a binding relationship fostered by his grace and forgiveness, and their faith and

[50]Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 3d ed., HAT 12 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968), 185. Cf. Artur Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), 288, who writes: "The history of salvation in the past and future rests on God's willingness to forgive sins as the fundamental part of God's covenant."

[51]S. Wagner, "*Biqqeš, baqqašah*," *TDOT* (1974), 2:230. Used over 220 times *bqš* means literally "to seek," but may also be extended to mean "request," "desire," "wish," or "entreaty." It may be used in a literal or figurative sense and also as a legal term. Wagner contends that this root involves an activity that is determined to find an object that really exists, not close at hand, but earnestly desired. "Seeking" attempts to satisfy that desire.

[52]Ibid., 237. Cf. Deut 4:29; 2 Chron 7:14; 15:4; Jer 29:13; Hos 3:5; 5:15; 7:10.

[53]Ibid., 238.

[54]Against Raitt, who claims that there are no prerequisites, including repentance, to forgiveness (188). On the other hand, Walther Eichrodt insists that forgiveness requires repentance (*Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, trans. J. A. Baker, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminister, 1967], 465-473). Bright says, "The nation has no hope except in repentance—and repentance from the heart" (197).

[55]David Ellis Donnell, "An Examination of the Concept of Repentance in the Book of Jeremiah" (Th.D. dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1988), 185-187.

repentance. As "heirs of the promises,"[56] the renewed remnant community comprises not merely survivors of disaster, but a "spiritual kernel," a future entity that represents "the kernel of a new Israel."[57] The magnitude of this renewal, especially in view of the Messiah's leadership (Jer 23:1-8), makes the exiles the only ones fulfilling the fullness of the promise of hope extended to the remnant. Hence, what Hasel has said regarding the remnant in the book of Isaiah may also be said of the remnant in the book of Jeremiah: "This remnant serves as the link between the ideal *Urzeit* and the future *Heilszeit*; it is an eschatological entity from which the new community of the future springs forth."[58]

[56]Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 70.

[57]Hasel, "*Origin and Early History*," 241.

[58]Ibid., 326.

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INTERPRETATIONS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN DANIEL 2:44

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It is a pleasure and a privilege to contribute an article to a volume honoring the late great scholar Gerhard F. Hasel, who was not only my *Doktorvater*, but also my friend.

The kingdom of God occupies a prominent place in the NT; it is also evident in the OT (Ps 45:6; Isa 9:7). This article surveys the various interpretations of the kingdom of God in Dan 2:44, particularly during the patristic period and the last two hundred years. It investigates the claim that the stone kingdom in Daniel 2 was not interpreted as the first advent of Christ until the fourth century. It also presents a definition of the major schools of interpretation during the last two centuries.

In Daniel 2 the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar sees in a dream the image of a man whose head is of gold, his breast and arms of silver, his abdomen and his thighs of bronze, his legs of iron, and his feet part iron and part clay. While viewing this picture the king sees a stone cut loose without hands smiting the statue upon its feet of iron and clay and demolishing the whole statue. The stone then becomes a huge mountain which fills the whole earth (Dan 2:32-35).

In his interpretation, Daniel identifies the four metal parts of the statue as four successive kingdoms. The stone is the kingdom of God, which will crush and bring to an end all the kingdoms of this world and then stand forever (Dan 2:44).

Jewish Authors

The earliest known interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's image appears in the writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus.[1] He does not actually name the kingdoms in his discussion of Dan 2; but in his comments on Dan 8, which he understood to refer to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, he says: "In the very same manner [as he had written concerning Antiochus IV Epiphanes] Daniel also wrote concerning the

[1]Flavius Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 10. 208-210 (LCL 6:273).

Roman government and that our country should be made desolate by them."[2] Thus, Josephus seems to identify the fourth kingdom as Rome as did other Jews.[3] Concerning the stone kingdom Josephus states: "And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this, since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be."[4] He obviously did not want to offend the Romans by intimating that their kingdom would be destroyed by the stone-kingdom of God.

In *4 Ezra* (late first century A.D.) Ezra has a dream in which he sees an eagle come up from the sea. He is told, "the eagle which you saw coming up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in a vision to your brother Daniel" (12:11). While there is no definite identification of the eagle, from the context it seems fairly certain that the fourth kingdom is understood to be Rome.[5]

The Church Fathers

No comments on the vision of Dan 2 appear in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. On the other hand, most of their successors, the Christian interpreters during the first few centuries, understood the four kingdoms in Dan 2 to be Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome.[6]

[2]Ibid., 10. 276.

[3]Ralph Marcus, LCL 6:310-311, note c. *The Babylonian Talmud* consistently interprets the fourth kingdom as Rome; *ʿAbodah Zarah* 2b quotes Daniel 7:23 and remarks: "R. Johanan says that this refers to Rome, whose power is known to the whole world." See also *Shebuoth* 6b.

[4]Josephus, 10. 210 (LCL 6:275).

[5]B. M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *OTP*, 1:550, note b.

[6]Irenaeus (d. 195), the bishop of Lyons, identified the fourth kingdom as "the empire which now rules" (*Against Heresies* 5:26.1 [ANF 1:554]). Hippolytus (d. 236), presbyter and teacher in the church of Rome, interpreted the first three empires as Babylon, Persia and Greece. Of the fourth one he said: "The legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present" (*Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* 28 [ANF 5:210]). The same view was expressed by the great Alexandrian theologian Origen (185-254) in his *Commentary on Genesis* 3.37 (*PG* 12:59); by Eusebius of Caesarea (265-339), the father of church history, in his *Fragmentum Libri XV* (*PG* 22:793); and by Aphraates (d. 345), an ascetic from Mosul, who wrote in reference to the image in Daniel 2: "Its head is Nebuchadnezzar; its breasts and arms the king of Media and Persia; its belly and thighs the king of the Greeks; its legs and feet the kingdom of the children of Esau" (*Select Demonstrations* 5.14 [NPNF, 2d series. 13:357]). Aphraates, like the Jewish sages, believed that the Edomites were the first to accept the Nazarene's creed and that they brought the cult to Rome, where it later became the state religion (Hersh Goldwurm, *Daniel: A New Translation with a Commentary, Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic, and Rabbinic Sources*, The Art Scroll Tanach Series [New York:

Exceptions to this general consensus were the Neoplatonist, non-Christian philosopher Porphyry (233-304); Ephraem Syrus (306-373), the greatest light of the Syrian church; and Polychronius (d. 430), bishop of Apamea and brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who identified the fourth kingdom as Greece or the various Grecian kingdoms following the demise of the Alexandrian empire.[7] This view, however, never won general acceptance in their time.

Thus Cyril of Jerusalem (301-386) could say: That this fourth kingdom "is that of the Romans has been the tradition of the Church's interpreters."[8] This tradition was continued by John Chrysostom (344-407)[9] and Jerome (345-413), who wrote in his commentary on Daniel: "Now the fourth empire, which clearly refers to the Romans, is the iron empire which breaks in pieces and overcomes all others."[10]

In regard to the interpretation of the stone-kingdom the picture, unfortunately, is not as straightforward. A study of the sources reveals that many of the early Christian writers and commentators believed that "the stone being cut without hands" symbolized Christ's incarnation.

For example, Justin Martyr (100-165), arguing for the virgin birth in his dialogue with Trypho, says:

> For when Daniel speaks of "one like unto the Son of man" who received the everlasting kingdom, does he not hint at this very thing? For he declared that, in saying "like unto the Son of man," He appeared, and was man, but not of human seed. And the same thing he proclaimed in mystery when he speaks of this stone which was cut out without hands. For the expression "it was cut out without hands" signified that it is not a work of man, but [a work] of the will of the

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Mesorah, 1980], 105).

[7]On Porphyry, see *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel,* trans. G. L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 15; Ephraem Syrus *In Danielem Prophetam,* in *Opera omnia quae extant graece, syriace, latine,* 6 vols. (Rome: Typographia Pontificia Vaticana, 1737-1743), 2:205-206; Polychronius *In Danielem,* in *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticanis codicibus edita,* ed. Angelus Maius, 10 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1825-1831), 1:4 (The pagination begins with "one" for each book within each volume in this collection. Thus, 1:4 means volume one of the series by Angelus Maius but page 4 of the book by Polychronius).

[8]Cyril *The Catechetical Lectures* 15.13 (NPNF, 2d series, 7:108).

[9]John Chrysostom *Interpretation of the Prophet Daniel* 2. 214 (PG 56:206-207).

[10]Jerome, 32.

Father and God of all things, who brought Him forth.[11]

This view, it seems, became the accepted, standard interpretation, for we find it also explicitly stated by Jerome (345-413) and Theodoret (ca. 390-458) in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Jerome, who wrote commentaries on almost all the books of the Bible, explains in his comments on the stone in Dan 2:34,35:

> . . . at the final period of all these empires of gold and silver and bronze and iron, a rock (namely, the Lord and Savior) was cut off without hands, that is, without copulation of human seed and by birth from a virgin's womb; and after all the empires had been crushed, He became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.[12]

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria, in his commentary on Daniel 2 writes:

> Therefore we are taught both by the Old and the New Testament that our Lord Jesus Christ has been designated the stone. For He was cut out of the mountain without hands, being born of a virgin apart from any nuptial intercourse, and the divine scripture had always been accustomed to name him as having had his origin contrary to nature, the cutting out of a stone.[13]

However, while the view that "the stone cut out without hands" refers to Christ's incarnation seemed to be generally held, this does not mean that the stone smiting the image was therefore also understood to refer to the first advent of Christ. Some Church Fathers applied it to the first and others to the second advent.

There is no record of Justin's view concerning the stone smiting the image, but when discussing the ten kings in Rev 17:12, Irenaeus compares them with the ten toes in Dan 2: "The ten toes, therefore, are these ten kings, among whom the [Roman] kingdom shall be

[11]Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* 76 (ANF 1:236). The same argument was used by Irenaeus (d. 195), who also speaking about the virgin birth, states: "On this account also, Daniel, foreseeing His advent, said that a stone, cut out without hands, came into this world. For this is what 'without hands' means, that His coming into this world was not by the operation of human hands, that is, of those men who are accustomed to stone-cutting; that is, Joseph taking no part with regard to it, but Mary alone co-operating with the pre-arranged plan. For this stone from the earth derives existence from both the power and the wisdom of God. So, then, we understand that His advent in human nature was not by the will of man, but by the will of God" (Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 21.7 [ANF 1:453]).

[12]Jerome, 32.

[13]Theodoret *Commentary on the Visions of the Prophet Daniel* 2.34, 35 (PG 81: 1301).

partitioned."[14] Then after quoting Dan 2:44, 45 he states that "Christ is the stone which is cut out without hands, who shall destroy temporal kingdoms, and introduce an eternal one, which is the resurrection of the just."[15]

Irenaeus obviously saw a long time period between the cutting out of the stone, i.e., Christ's incarnation, and the stone smiting the image which he placed in the future, after the division of the empire.

Two opinions in regard to the origin of the view which identifies the stone with the church beginning with Christ's first advent deserve mention. L. E. Froom in his monumental work *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* claims that not until the fourth century was there a shift from interpreting the stone-kingdom as the second advent to viewing it as a symbol of the church, beginning at the first advent of Christ.[16] J. A. Montgomery and J. G. Gammie, on the other hand, believe that the identification of the stone with the church is much older. Montgomery finds the earliest instance of this interpretation in the shepherd of Hermas.[17] But it is questionable whether Hermas is even alluding to

[14]Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 5.26.1 (ANF 1:555).

[15]Ibid., 5.26.2 (ANF 1:555).

[16]L. E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 volumes (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1946-1954), 1:309. Froom sees three steps leading to this reversal in prophetic interpretation. "Origen's third-century spiritualization of the resurrection, blended with his allegorization of the prophetic Scriptures, constituted the first in a series of three fatal steps taken by the dominant church in departure from the earlier advent faith. These each occurred about a century apart, under Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine respectively. The second step, following upon the 'conversion' of Constantine, centered on the *revolutionary fourth-century concept of the kingdom of God as the newly established earthly church.* The third step, then as yet future, would be, as it unfolds, the fifth-century position that the thousand-year binding of the devil had begun with the first advent" (ibid., 349, emphasis mine). Douglas Bennett, following L. E. Froom, states that the literal interpretation of Scripture was superseded by the spiritual-allegorical method. "This type of biblical exegesis stood in contradiction to the literal-historical biblical interpretation of the first four centuries and succeeded in turning attention away from the Second Advent and directing focus upon the first advent" ("The Stone Kingdom of Daniel 2," in *Symposium on Daniel*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, ed. Frank B. Holbrook [Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986], 337).

[17]J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1926), 192. The text in Hermas, Parable 9, chap. 2 reads "In the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock that had risen from the plain. The rock was higher than the mountains, square, so that it could hold the whole world. And the rock was old, and had a gateway carved out of it." In chapters 12 and 13 the explanation is given, "This rock and gateway . . . are the son of God," who builds a tower which "is the church," and "the tower has become one stone with the rock" (Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Apostolic Fathers* [London:

Daniel. J. G. Gammie believes that certainly Tertullian (160-220) identified the stone with the Church. He says, "similarly to Irenaeus, Tertullian taught that there would be two advents of Christ, except that the stone of Daniel 2:34 which would crush the image of the secular kingdom is now understood to be Christ's Church (*Against Marcion* 3.7)."[18]

The statement to which Gammie is referring appears in Tertullian's work *Against Marcion*, written early in the third century. In the passage under consideration he discusses the two kinds of prophecies concerning Christ. These two types of prophecies Tertullian sees presignifying the two advents of Christ.

> Now these signs of degradation quite suit His first coming, just as the tokens of His majesty do His second advent, when He shall no longer remain "a stone of stumbling and rock of offence," but after His rejection become "the chief corner-stone," accepted and elevated to the top place of the temple, even His church, being that very stone in Daniel, cut out of the mountain, which was to smite and crush the image of the secular kingdom. Of this advent the same prophet says: "Behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they brought Him before Him, and there was given Him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away; and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."[19]

The question is, what is the antecedent of "being that very stone in Daniel"? Is it the word "church" which in the translation and in the original Latin immediately precedes that phrase? Or is it "He" (Christ) mentioned earlier in the passage? A careful reading of the passage, I

Independent, 1950], 173, 184).

[18]John G. Gammie, "A Journey Through Danielic Spaces," *Interpretation* 39 (1985):146.

[19]Tertullian *Against Marcion* 3.7 (ANF 3:326). The Latin reads: "Quae ignobilitatis argumenta primo adventui competunt sicut sublimitatis secundo, cum fiet iam non lapis offensionis nec petra scandali, sed lapis summus angularis post reprobationem adsumptus et sublimatus in consummationem templi, ecclesiae scilicet, et petra sane illa apud Danihelem de monte praecisa, quae imaginem saecularium regnorum comminuet et conteret. De quo adventu idem prophetes: Et ecce cum nubibus caeli tanquam filius hominis veniens, venit usque ad veterem dierum, aderat in conspectu eius, et qui adsistebant adduxerunt illum, et data est ei potestas regia, et omnes nationes terrae secundum genera, et omnis gloria famulabunda, et potestas eius usque in aevum, quae non auferetur, et regnum eius quod non vitiabitur" (Tertullian *Against Marcion* 3. 7. 3, *Corpus Christianorum*, Latin Series, part 1 [Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1954], 516).

believe, indicates that Gammie's interpretation is possible and that Tertullian may be referring to the church, though it must be admitted that the passage is ambiguous.[20]

If Gammie's reading is correct, this passage would then be in harmony with another statement which Tertullian makes in connection with Isaiah's prophecy that in the last days the nations would say, "Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob" (Isa 2:3). "Of Jacob," says Tertullian, "that is of *our* 'people' whose 'mount' is Christ, 'praecised without concisors' hands, filling every land, shown in the book of Daniel."[21] Christ "filling every land" can only refer to his church.

Cyprian (200-258), the converted rhetorician and martyred bishop of Carthage, argued for a christological and ecclesiological interpretation of the stone-kingdom in Dan 2 by suggesting that the stone which became a mountain is Christ the bridegroom who with his bride the church fills the earth with spiritual children.[22]

The interpretation of the stone as the church which, as we have

[20]Froom introduces this quotation with the words, "He specifically declares Christ to be the stone of Daniel 2 that will smite at His second coming the 'secular kingdom' image of Daniel 2 (Froom, 1:256). Froom obviously reads the passage differently from Gammie.

[21]Tertullian *An Answer to the Jews* 3 (ANF 3:154). This was also the position of Ephraem Syrus (2:206) and Polychronius (1:4) who following Porphyry interpreted the four empires as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Alexander's empire, and the Grecian kingdoms following Alexander. The stone-kingdom, therefore, was the church.

[22]*The Treatise of Cyprian* 12.2.16-19 (ANF 5:515). That Cyprian is not referring to the second advent is made clear by the context in which propositions 16-19 appear. The earlier ones refer to Christ's birth and those immediately following to the cross: "11. That He was to be born of the seed of David after the flesh. 12. That He should be born in Bethlehem. 13. That He should come in lowly condition on His first advent. 14. That He was the righteous One whom the Jews should put to death. 15. That He was called a Sheep and a Lamb who would have to be slain, and concerning the sacrament of the passion. 16. That He is also called a Stone. 17. That subsequently that stone should become a mountain, and should fill the whole earth. 18. That in the last times the same mountain should be manifested, upon which the Gentiles should come, and on which the righteous should go up. 19. That He is the Bridegroom, having the Church as His bride, from whom children should be spiritually born. 20. That the Jews should fasten Him to the cross. 21. That in the passion and the sign of the cross is all virtue and power. 22. That in this sign of the cross is salvation for all who are marked on their foreheads." Only the last three propositions (28-30) clearly speak of the second advent when Jesus should come as judge and king. Froom spends six pages on Cyprian, but nowhere does he refer to the above-mentioned propositions. In fact he says that Cyprian "does not expound the time prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, nor even the prophetic symbols of Daniel 2 and 7" (Froom, 1:334).

seen, did exist in the third century and was continued in the fourth century in *The Apostolic Constitution* (c. 380),[23] was taught as well as by Augustine (354-430), the most illustrious of the Latin fathers.[24] He, more than anyone before him, emphasized the idea of the kingdom of God as the church ruling on earth. In his magnum opus *The City of God* he writes, "Therefore, the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now his saints reign with Him."[25] In the history of theology, Augustine's thought on this subject was pivotal. He provided the materials which later writers used to build the medieval theory of the religio-political state church.

The fact that Augustine, long before the end of the Roman empire, could say that the stone (Christ) had filled the whole face of the earth with His kingdom (the Church) indicates that he, and those Church Fathers who held the same view, saw no conflict between the already-existing stone-kingdom and the picture of the stone shattering the image at the feet. They obviously interpreted the shattering of the kingdom not as a sudden event but rather as a gradual process in which the Church would finally—in the days of the feet of iron and clay—overcome all earthly powers.

However, not all Church Fathers agreed with this interpretation. As we have seen, Irenaeus saw the stone shattering the image as a picture of the second advent of Christ. His disciple Hippolytus (d. 236), author of the oldest surviving commentary on Daniel, after discussing the little horn in Dan 7, which he interprets as the coming Antichrist, says: "After a little space the stone will come from heaven which smites

[23]*The Apostolic Constitution* (5.20) reads: "Him [Christ] Daniel describes as 'the Son of man coming to the Father,' and receiving all judgment and honour from Him; and as 'the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth,' dashing to pieces the many governments of the smaller countries, and the polytheism of gods, but preaching the one God, and ordaining the monarchy of the Romans" (ANF 7:448).

[24]Augustine *Tractate 4 on the Gospel of John* 4.4 (NPNF, 1st series, 7:26) "Now then was the stone cut out without hands before the eyes of the Jews, but it was humble. Not without reason; because not yet had that stone increased and filled the whole earth that He showed in His kingdom, which is the Church, with which He has filled the whole face of the earth." As many before him, Augustine also interpreted the "cutting out without hands" as the virgin birth. "The prophet wishes that by the mountain should be understood the Jewish kingdom. But the kingdom of the Jews had not filled the whole face of the earth. The stone was cut out from thence, because from thence was the Lord born on His advent among men. And wherefore without hands? Because without the co-operation of man did the Virgin bear Christ" (ibid.).

[25]Augustine *The City of God* 20.9 (NPNF, 1st series, 2:430).

the image and breaks it in pieces and subverts all the kingdoms, and gives the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth."[26]

Aphraates (d. 345) leaves us in no doubt that he saw the stone as the future coming of Jesus. He clearly states, "that stone when it comes will find the feet alone."[27] Further, "the stone, which smote the image and brake it, and with which the whole earth was filled, is the kingdom of King Messiah, who will bring to nought the kingdom of this world, and will rule for ever and ever."[28]

Theodoret (393-485), a contemporary of Augustine, also repudiated the concept of the stone as the church. "Let them show," he says, "that the kingdom of the Romans passed away at the same time that the Saviour appeared."[29] Since the Roman empire still existed, he reasons:

> If therefore the first coming of the Lord did not overthrow the empire of the Romans, it properly remains that we should understand [by this] His second advent. For the stone which was cut out before without hands, and which grew into a great mountain and covered the whole earth, this at the second advent shall smite the image upon the feet of clay. That is, He will come at the very end of the kingdom of iron, which already has been made weak, and having destroyed all kingdoms, He will consign them to oblivion, and will bestow His own eternal kingdom upon the worthy.[30]

In general the view of the early interpreters concerning the four kingdoms was accepted in the church throughout the Middle Ages and the Reformation era.[31] The stone-kingdom was applied by some to

[26]Hippolytus *Fragments from Commentaries,* "On Daniel" 2.2 (ANF 5:178). In *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* 2.26 (ANF 5:209) he expresses the same thought, "After a little space the stone will come from heaven which smites the image and breaks it in pieces, and gives the kingdom to the saints of the Most High." Hippolytus interpreted Daniel 2 and 7 from the historicist point of view. Daniel 8 and 11, however, he placed primarily in the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In Daniel 11 he saw Antiochus only up to verse 35; verses 36-45 he applied to the future antichrist, as do many futurists.

[27]Aphraates *Select Demonstrations* 5.14 (NPNF, 2d series, 13:357).

[28]Ibid. This was also the view of Eusebius of Caesarea prior to the Constantinian conversion. After this event, it seems, he changed his mind (see Froom, 1:364, 382-385).

[29]Theodoret *Commentary on the Vision of the Prophet Daniel* (*PG* 81:1309).

[30]Ibid. (81:1310).

[31]Luther (1483-1546) in his exposition of Daniel wrote: "The first kingdom is that of the Assyrians or Babylonians; the second, that of the Medes and Persians; the third, that of Alexander the Great and the Greeks; the fourth, that of the Romans. Everyone agrees on this view and interpretation; subsequent events and the histories prove it conclusively"

Christ's second coming, as Theodoret had done;[32] however, most interpreters, particularly during the time of the Reformation, saw it begin at Christ's first advent.[33]

The Modern Period

The post-Reformation era saw an increase of interest in the prophecies of Daniel. Joseph Mede (1586-1638), one of the foremost theologians of his time, considered the four kingdoms in Daniel to be the "ABC of prophecy."[34] He interpreted them as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome.[35] The stone-kingdom depicted for him the two states of the kingdom of Christ:

> The First may be called, for distinction sake, the Regnum Lapidis, the Kingdom of the Stone; which is the State of Christ's Kingdom which hitherto hath been: The other, Regnum Montis, the Kingdom of the Mountain (that is the Stone grown into a Mountain etc.) which is the State of his kingdom which hereafter shall be.[36]

Thus Mede, as some of the Church Fathers, identified the cutting out of the stone "without hands" as the virgin birth and the stone "filling the earth" as the future kingdom of God. Mede's work became a classic in the field of prophetic interpretation and most writers on Daniel in subsequent centuries referred to him in some way.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries interpretations and commentaries on Daniel proliferated. At the beginning of the nineteenth century we find in operation four-systems for interpreting the prophecies of Daniel. We will briefly describe the origin,

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("Preface to the Prophet Daniel," LW. 35:295). An exception was Joachim of Floris (*Concordia novi ac Veteris Testamenti* [Venice, 1519; reprint, Frankfurt a. M.: Minerva, 1964], fol. 127 r.v.), who interpreted the golden head as the kingdom of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians; the silver as Greece; the third kingdom as the Roman Empire, and the Saracens who seized the territory of Rome were the fourth.

[32]For example, Joachim of Floris, fol. 127 v.

[33]For example, The Venerable Bede, *The Explanation of the Apocalypse by Venerable Beda*, trans. E. Marshall (Oxford: James Parker, 1878), 145; Luther, LW, 12:36; 35:296-297; John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 2 vols., trans. Th. Myers (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 1:180; George Joye, *The Exposition of Daniel the Prophete Gathered Out of Philip Melanchton, Johan Ecolampadius, Chonrade Pellicane, and Out of Johan Draconite* (Geneva, 1545), 30.

[34]Joseph Mede, "His Epistles," *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly Learned Joseph Mede* (London: Roger Norton, 1677), 743.

[35]Mede, "Discourses on Divers Texts of Scripture," *Works*, 104.

[36]Mede, "His Epistles," *Works*, 743.

development and basic premises of each and then indicate their respective understanding of the four empires and the stone-kingdom in Dan 2.

The Historicist School

The historicist school of interpretation is the oldest of the four schools. It can be traced back to the Church Fathers, was taught by men like Joachim of Floris (1130-1202), and became the standard interpretation until the time of the Counter Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Historicists believe in the divine inspiration of the book of Daniel, affirm that it was written in the sixth century B.C.,[37] and assert that its main prophecies cover the period from the Babylonian Empire to the second coming of Christ. Historicists generally agree that the four empires in Dan 2 and 7 represent the kingdoms of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome,[38] and that the little horn in Dan 7 is the papacy.[39] A third factor common to all is their use of the year-day principle in interpreting the time prophecies in Daniel.[40] This use of the year-day principle makes historicists different from other interpreters. Finally, there is also general agreement among historicists that Dan 9:24-27 refers to Jesus Christ and was fulfilled in the incarnation.[41]

[37]Albert Barnes, *Daniel*, 2 vols. (1853; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950), 1:45; Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible*, 6 vols. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, n.d.), 4:562; F. D. Nichol, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7 vols. (Washington DC: Review and Herald, 1953-1957), 4:743; C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares*, 2 vols. (Boise: Pacific Press, 1981), 1:11.

[38]Barnes, 1:156-65; Clarke, 4:571, 572; Robert Nevin, *Studies in Prophecy* (Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890), 23; Uriah Smith, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation*, rev. ed. (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1944), 93-96; Joseph Tanner, *Daniel and the Revelation*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), 160; Clarence H. Hewitt, *The Seer of Babylon*, (Boston: Advent Christian Herald, 1948), 47-58; Nichol, 4:772-774; George McCready Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1955), 76-78; Desmond Ford, *Daniel* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1978), 97; Edmund Filmer, *Daniel's Predictions*, (London: Regency, 1979); Maxwell, 1:36; Frank B. Holbrook, ed., *Symposium on Daniel*, (Washington DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 2:158; Jacques B. Doukhan, *The Vision of the End: Daniel* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987), 14.

[39]Nevin, 82; Tanner, 167; Barnes, 2:86; Smith, 103; Hewitt, 107; Nichol, 4:826; Price, 139; Maxwell, 1:131; Ford, 151.

[40]Barnes, 2:74; Smith, 129; Hewitt, 123; Nichol, 4:833; Price, 151; Maxwell, 1:130. The case for the year-day principle has been cogently argued by Ford in his *Daniel*, 300-305.

[41]For example, Nevin, 18; Clarke, 4:602; Smith, 195; Hewitt, 262; Nichol, 4:853;

All historicists agree that the stone represents Christ.[42] The Messiah is the stone which the builders rejected and which became the chief cornerstone (Matt 21:42). He is the "tried stone," prophesied in Isaiah 28:16, the "precious cornerstone" that is laid in Zion as "a sure foundation."[43] But is it Christ at his first or at his second coming? We find both views among historicists.

Some believe that the striking of the image by the stone is a symbol of the first advent of Christ.[44] They contend (1) that at that time Christ established His spiritual kingdom; (2) that this kingdom is the church, which "became a great mountain and filled the whole earth" (Dan 2:35); and (3) that this is in harmony with the manner of growth of the mustard seed in Christ's parable (Matt 13:31), symbolizing the growth of the Church through the centuries.[45] In addition, the vision seems to indicate that after the image has been broken in pieces there is a further process of crushing to powder the pieces which are then carried away by the wind (Dan 2:34, 35). This would imply, not only a single shock, but a continued destruction over a long time. Furthermore, if the stone refers to the second advent, the vision would completely ignore the most important event in history—the incarnation. Also, the phraseology in Daniel is similar to other texts predicting the birth of the Messiah (Isa 9:7).[46]

Others believe that the stone-kingdom will be set up at the second coming of Christ.[47] They argue (1) that the stone strikes the image at the feet of iron and clay (Dan 2:34), which symbolize the kingdoms following the Roman Empire. The stone therefore cannot strike the image during the time of the Roman Empire when Christ was born; (2) that the picture of the stone striking the image and shattering it to pieces suggests a world shaking, catastrophic event rather than an event almost unnoticed by the world, and the slow beginnings and relatively slow progress of the Christian church; (3) that the stone-kingdom does not exist contemporaneously with earthly governments; but destroys all

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Price, 239.

[42]Barnes, 1:176; Hewitt, 71; Smith, 53; Nichol, 4:776; Price, 81; Ford, 99.

[43]Hewitt, 70.

[44]Nevin, 44; Clarke, 4:573; Barnes, 1:174-175.

[45]Hewitt, 71.

[46]Taylor, *Daniel the Beloved* (1878; reprint, New York: G. H. Doran, 1919), 46-47.

[47]Tanner, 161; Smith, 53; Nichol, 4:776; Price, 81; Maxwell, 42-43.

the preceeding kingdoms and takes their place.[48]

While the first view certainly has some merit, the weight of exegetical evidence favors the view that the stone-kingdom represents the future kingdom of God to be established at Christ's second advent. Today, the historicist principles of prophetic interpretation are primarily espoused by Seventh-day Adventist scholars.

The Preterist School

Interpreters of the preterist school consider the book of Daniel as a revelation from God, but limit the fulfillment of its prophecies to the time period which runs from the time of Daniel in the sixth century B.C. to the first coming of Christ[49] or at most to the end of the Roman Empire.[50]

The historical roots of modern preterism go back to the Counter Reformation. On the basis of the historicist principle of interpretation, the Reformers applied the biblical prophecies of the Antichrist to the papacy. Luther, for example, firmly believed that the willful king in Daniel 11:36, 37—the Antichrist—was the pope.[51]

Several Jesuit scholars undertook the task of refuting this attack on the papacy. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), head of the Jesuit College in Rome, attempted to nullify the prophetic year-day principle

[48]Hewitt, 71-72.

[49]Nathaniel S. Folsom, *Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel*, (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1842); Irah Chase, *Remarks on the Book of Daniel* (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1844); Moses Stuart, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Boston: Crocker and Webster, 1850); Henry Cowles, *Ezekiel and Daniel* (New York: Appleton, 1868); William M. Taylor, *Daniel the Beloved* (1878; reprint, New York: G. H. Doran, 1919); J. E. Thomson, *Daniel*, Pulpit Commentary (London: Paul Kegan, Trench, Trübner, 1898); Otto Zöckler, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, Lange's Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915); Johannes Nikel, *Grundriß der Einleitung in das Alten Testament* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1924); Johannes Goettsberger, *Das Buch Daniel*, Die Heilige Schrift des Altens Testaments (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1928); Philip Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation* (Swengel: Bible Truth Depot, 1944); Robert M. Gurney, *God in Control* (Worthington: H. E. Walter, 1980).

[50]Samuel Lee, *An Inquiry Into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1849).

[51]In regard to changing the law of God, Luther says: "No one would dare to do that except Antichrist—namely, the papacy—who, as Daniel 12 [11:36] and St. Paul [2 Thess. 2:4] say, sets himself up against God." (LW, 41:212). In another place he says: "Listen to what St. Paul says to the Thessalonians [2 Thess. 2:4] 'The Antichrist takes his seat in the temple of God.' If now the pope is (and I cannot believe otherwise) the veritable Antichrist, he will not sit or reign in the devil's stall, but in the temple of God" (LW, 40:232).

as the main proof for the 1260 years of papal tyranny.[52] Francisco Ribera (1537-91) projected the Antichrist prophecies into the future.[53] Luis de Alcazar (1554-1613) contended that these prophecies were already fulfilled in the time of the Roman Empire; thus, the papacy could not be the Antichrist.[54]

Alcazar's interpretation was adopted by Hugo Grotius of Holland, H. Hammond in England, and others; in time it gained a strong foothold among Protestants. W. Bousset believes that "with Alcazar begins the scientific exposition of the Apocalypse."[55]

Some preterists see the four kingdoms in Daniel 2 and 7 as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander;[56] others have the sequence Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome.[57] R. Gurney has adopted the scheme of Ephraem Syrus, with Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece.[58]

General unanimity exists among preterists as to the identification of the stone-kingdom. They all agree that the stone refers to the spiritual kingdom of Christ, that is the church which he established at his first coming.[59] For example, Zöckler says: "The destroying stone represents the kingdom of Christ at the time of its introduction on the historical arena, while the growth of the stone until it fills the earth, indicates its gradual extension over all the countries of the earth."[60]

Preterism must be distinguished from the historical-critical school. While some preterists have adopted the same interpretation of the four kingdoms as that held by many historical-critical scholars (Babylon,

[52]L. R. Conradi, *The Impelling Force of Prophetic Truth* (London: Thynne, 1935), 346.

[53]See "The Futurist-Dispensational School," below, esp. note 79.

[54]A. Piper, "Johannesapokalypse," *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3d ed., 7 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959), 3:826. For an extended account of these developments, see Froom, 2:484-532.

[55]Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1906), 94.

[56]Folsom, 148-50; Chase, 19; Stuart, 173; Cowles, 305-08; Zöckler, 77-78.

[57]Taylor, 41-43; Thomson, 70; Lee, 159; Mauro, 116.

[58]Gurney, 30-33; cf. John H. Walton, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel," *JETS* 29 (1986): 25-36.

[59]Folsom, 154; Stuart, 67-68; Lee, 151; Taylor, 49; Cowles, 306; Thomson, 73; Gurney, 39.

[60]Zöckler, 87.

Medo-Persia, Greece and the successors of Alexander),[61] they clearly differ in regard to their presuppositions. Preterists believe that Daniel lived and wrote his book in the sixth century B.C.; historical-critical scholars do not. Preterists believe that the prophecies in Daniel are true prophecies; historical-critical scholars do not. They also differ in regard to the interpretation of the stone-kingdom. While preterists believe the stone to be a symbol of the Christian church, historical-critical scholars generally identify the stone with the expected OT Messianic kingdom, i.e., Israel's dominion over the nations, which, in fact, never materialized.

Today, preterism has virtually died out. As far as I know, only one commentary on Daniel published after 1945 espouses the principles of preterism.[62] Unfortunately, it is frequently equated with the historical-critical school, because both schools apply the prophecies of Daniel to the distant past.

The Historical-Critical School

The history of the Christian church shows that for about 1700 years the church accepted the book of Daniel as a book of true prophecy written by Daniel, who lived in the sixth century B.C.

A new direction in scholarship was introduced by the deists and rationalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[63] who began to lay the groundwork for a study of Scripture that investigated and analyzed the Bible as the product of human ingenuity rather than divine inspiration. The humanistic insights which subjected Scripture to the same principles of criticism as were applied to secular writings led to a revival of Porphyry's arguments concerning the authenticity of the book of Daniel and its traditional age.[64]

Predictive prophecy inspired by God did not fit into the picture which the Enlightenment had painted of this world. There really could

[61]See "The Historical Critical School," below.

[62]Gurney (see above) seems to be the last preterist interpreter.

[63]For an excellent review of the rise and development of biblical criticism and the forces that brought it into existence, see Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

[64]Jerome, 15. Porphyry's main theses were: (1) The book was written by an unknown Jew living in the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2d century B.C.) rather than by Daniel in the 6th century; (2) In the narration of events up to the time of Antiochus, we have true history, but anything beyond that time is false, since the writer could not know the future. The crux of the argument is the presupposition that predictive prophecy is impossible.

not be any prophecy in the book of Daniel. J. G. Eichhorn (1752-1827), one of the pioneers of higher criticism claimed, "The prophetic wording, therefore, should only be an embellished report of history."[65] Daniel, living in the second century B.C., had the idea "to place a prophetic cloak around past events."[66]

One of the results of this kind of thinking was that the identification of Rome as the fourth empire in Dan 2 was rejected. The Romans as established rulers in Palestine were still future for a Jew living in the second century B.C. Hence, the view that Greece was the fourth empire—held by Ephraem Syrus, Polychronius, and a number of interpreters in church history[67]—was revived.[68] Basically this is still the view accepted by mainstream historical-critical scholars today.[69]

Historical-critical scholars generally agree on the interpretation of the stone-kingdom. It is the Messianic kingdom in the broad sense of the term; i.e., it refers to the people of God, not only to the person of the Messiah.[70] It is not an extraterrestrial kingdom,[71] because "the sphere of that kingdom is that of its predecessors, only it possesses the everlasting endurance of the natural rock."[72] The emphasis is on the

[65]J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3 vols., 3d ed. (Leipzig: Weidmänni, 1803), 3:419.

[66]Ibid., 3:417.

[67]H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959), 71.

[68]Eichhorn, 3:419.

[69]For example, S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1901), 28-29; Karl Marti, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kurzer Hand-Commentar Zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1901), 15; J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927), 61; Aage Bentzen, *Daniel*, Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1952), 31; Norman Porteous, *Daniel*, 2d rev. ed., Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1979),47; Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Gütersloh: Gert Mohn, 1965), 56; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 147; A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), 51; Jürgen-Christian Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, Zürcher Bibelkommentar (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 56; W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel*, Interpretation (Atlanta: John Knox, 1984), 36; John J. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 166.

[70]Driver, 30; Bentzen, 31; Porteous, 50; Plöger, 54; Montgomery, 191.

[71]Lacocque, 52; Hartman and Di Lella, 149; John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC 30 (Dallas: Word, 1989), 59-60.

[72]Montgomery, 191.

people of Israel.[73] "The Divine Kingdom itself," says Driver, "is in the hands of a people, viz. Israel."[74] And the time of its establishment was to be immediately after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164).[75]

Today, the historical-critical school dominates the interpretation of the book of Daniel. Scholarly debate is largely carried on based on the presuppositions of the historical-critical school which rule out true prophecy, miracles, and therefore salvation history.[76] Even some evangelical scholars have found it necessary to use the historical-critical presuppositions in their interpretation of the book of Daniel.[77]

The Futurist-Dispensational School

This school of interpretation has its roots in the teachings of the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Ribera (1537-1591) who, in response to Luther, applied the Antichrist prophecies in Daniel and Revelation to a future personal Antichrist who would appear in the time of the end and continue in power for three and a half years.[78]

For more than two centuries this view was confined to the Roman Catholic Church. Then, beginning in 1826, Samuel R. Maitland (1792-1866), an Anglican clergyman, published a series of pamphlets in which he denied the year-day principle of prophetic interpretation, placing the time prophecies of Daniel and Revelation into the future and claiming

[73]For example: Driver, 30; Marti, 16; Lacocque, 52; Towner, 38; Plöger, 50. The exception are some Roman Catholic interpreters who identify the stone with the Christian church; for example Louis F. Hartman, "Daniel," *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968), 451.

[74]Driver, 30.

[75]Ibid.

[76]In 1898 Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) formulated the principles of historical criticism in his programmatic essay "Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," *Gesammelte Schriften* 2 (Tübingen, 1913): 729-753. According to Troeltsch the historical-critical method has three principles: (1) the principle of criticism, which implies that history only achieves probability; (2) the principle of analogy, which takes present experience as the criterion for the past; (3) the principle of correlation or mutual interdependence of all historical phenomena, which rules out any supernatural intervention as a principle of historical explanation.

[77]Goldingay, for example, in spite of his claim to believe that God is capable of knowing future events and of revealing them, treats all the prophetic visions as *vaticinia ex eventu*, i.e., prophecies actually written after the events they portray (xxxix).

[78]Francisco Ribera, *In Sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistai Apocalypsin Commentarii* (Antwerp: Petrum Bellerum, 1593); see Froom, 2:489-93.

that the pope therefore could not be the Antichrist.[79] Others who followed Maitland's lead were William Burgh,[80] James H. Todd,[81] John Darby,[82] and John Henry Newman,[83] the famous High Church Anglican who converted to Roman Catholicism and was made a cardinal by Pope Leo XII in 1879.[84]

A few years after Maitland had written his first "Enquiry," Heinrich A. C. Hävernick (1811-1845), a German Lutheran theologian, published his commentary on Daniel, in which he proposed that the division of the fourth empire in Dan 7 into ten kingdoms was still in the future.[85] He further suggested that the little horn in Dan 7 was a future Antichrist and that the little horn in Dan 8 represented Antiochus IV Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist.[86] Both of these views became trademarks of the futurist-dispensational interpretation, today predominant among conservative Protestants.

Futurist-dispensationalist interpreters, like historicists and preterists, accept Daniel's authorship of the book in the sixth century B.C.;[87] unlike

[79]*An Enquiry Into the Grounds on Which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John Has Been Supposed to Consist of 1260* Years (London: Hatchard and Son, 1826); *A Second Enquiry into the Grounds . . .* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1829); *An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1830); see further, Froom, 3:542-543.

[80]Irish Futurist who published a treatise on the second advent in which he rejected the identification of the Antichrist with the Pope. Like Maitland he expected a personal Antichrist in the future (*Lectures on the Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, 2d ed., enlarged [Dublin: William Curry,1835], 63, 65).

[81]Irish scholar and professor of Hebrew at the University of Dublin who declared that "the fourth kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar's vision is even yet to come," and therefore cannot be Rome (*Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Writings of Daniel and St. Paul* [Dublin: University Press, 1840], xii, 61-62).

[82]Darby was the most prominent among the founders of the Plymouth Brethren and a voluminous writer on a wide range of subjects. His writings on prophecy propagated futurism. (*Studies on the Book of Daniel: A course of Lectures* [London: J. B. Bateman, 1864]).

[83]Newman maintains that the Antichrist is yet to come ("The Protestant Idea of Antichrist," *The British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review* 28 [1840]: 391-440).

[84]For an extended treatment of all these authors, see Froom, 3:541, 658-669.

[85]Heinrich A. Hävernick, *Commentar über das Buch Daniel* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1832), 560-570.

[86]Ibid., 236, 251.

[87]H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Wartburg, 1949; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker,

them, they generally do not apply the figure of the little horn to the papacy or another power in the past. Rather, they expect that in the future a personal Antichrist will appear to fulfill what is said of the little horn in Dan 7 and of the king of the north in Dan 11:36-45.[88]

Adherents of this school can be divided into two groups. One believes that "Israel" in prophecy always refers to literal Israel. Therefore, they are forced to make a gap or parenthesis in the fulfillment of Daniel's prophecies from the first coming of Christ—when literal Israel rejected Jesus—to seven years before his second coming when literal Israel will accept Him. These are the dispensationalists.[89]

The second group rejects the gap theory. They believe "that from the time of the destruction of the Roman Empire to the appearance of the little horn [in the future] there will be a number of kingdoms [the ten horns], which may truly be said to originate from the ancient Roman Empire."[90] These are the futurists.[91]

Most futurists and dispensationalists identify the four empires in Dan 2 with Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome.[92] Concerning the

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1969), 8; G. Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, Wuppertaler Studienbibel (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1982), 62; John F. Walvoord, *Daniel* (Chicago: Moody, 1971), 11; Gleason L. Archer, "Daniel," *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 12 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 7:4; Stuart Olyott, *Dare to Stand Alone* (Durham, Engl.: Evangelical, 1982), 33; Sinclair Ferguson, *Daniel*, Mastering the Old Testament (Dallas: Word, 1988), 18.

[88]Edward J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 163; Archer, 93; Walvoord, 175; Olyott, 100; Ferguson, 162.

[89]We already mentioned J. F. Walvoord and G. L. Archer. Others include: H. A. Ironside, *Lectures on Daniel the Prophet* (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux, 1920); A. C. Gaebelein, *The Prophet Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1955); Leon J. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973); Merrill F. Unger, "Daniel," *Unger's Commentary on the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1981), vol. 2; John C. Whitcomb, *Daniel*, Everyman's Bible Commentary (Chicago: Moody, 1985); J. Vernon McGee, *Daniel*, Through the Bible Commentary Series (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1991); Stephen R. Miller, *Daniel*, The New American Commentary (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994).

[90]Young, 149.

[91]We already mentioned E. J. Young, G. Maier, H. C. Leupold, S. Olyott, and S. Ferguson. Others are: Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, David Brown, *A Commentary: Critical, Experimental, and Practical on the Old and New Testaments*, 6 vols. (1866; Reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1945); Carl F. Keil, *The Book of Daniel*, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, trans. M. G. Easton (1867; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949); A. R. Millard, "Daniel," *The International Bible Commentary*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986).

[92]Keil, 262; Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, 4:392; Walvoord, 64-68; Wood, 67-68; Young, 76; Leupold, 287; Olyott, 33; Ferguson, 63.

stone-kingdom, however, the two groups hold different views. Futurists believe that the stone refers to the Messianic kingdom set up at Christ's first advent.[93] Dispensationalists, on the other hand, insist that the stone-kingdom has reference only to the second and not to the first advent.[94]

Today, evangelical Christianity has adopted by and large the dispensationalist position concerning the exegesis of the book of Daniel. Only a few current evangelical commentaries are authored by futurists.

Summary

This review of the interpretation of Dan 2:44 has shown that the Church Fathers generally identified the four kingdoms of Dan 2 as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome and that "the stone being cut without hands" referred to Christ's incarnation. There was also a basic agreement among the early Church Fathers in regard to the view that the stone smiting the image symbolized the second advent of Christ. However, during the third century some writers applied the stone-kingdom to the church.

During the last 200 years four major schools of prophetic interpretation have dominated the understanding of the Book of Daniel: historicism, preterism, futurism/dispensationalism, and the historical-critical view.

Historical-critical scholars generally identify the stone kingdom with the OT Messianic kingdom, i.e., Israel's dominion over the nations, which was supposed to be established after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, but which, in fact, never materialized.

Preterists interpret the stone-kingdom as a symbol of the Christian church, beginning with the first advent of Christ. This is also the view of futurists and some historicists. Most historicists today, however, and all dispensationalists identify the stone-kingdom with the second advent of Christ.

Thus, I conclude that the interpretation of the stone-kingdom does not depend primarily on the textual exegesis of Dan 2:44. Rather, to a large degree, it hangs on the overall understanding of the book and the presuppositions the interpreter brings to the text.

[93]Keil, 269; Young, 78; Leupold, 123; Millard, 856; Olyott, 35; Ferguson, 65.

[94]Gaebelein, 35; Wood, 72; Walvoord, 76; Miller, 100; McGee, 49.

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LEVITICUS 16: ITS LITERARY STRUCTURE

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To the memory of Gerhard F. Hasel, a former professor, an excellent Christian, a respected scholar, and a supportive friend.

Scholarly work on Lev 16 has been mainly interested in the redactional history of the materials present in the chapter, and consequently little interest has been shown in the literary structure of this important passage. Questions related to the form and purpose of the supposedly original and independent rituals that are now embedded in the biblical text, as well as to the date for the creation or formulation of the day of atonement, are still lacking final answers.[1] It is not our purpose to look into those issues, but rather to explore the literary structure of Lev 16 in an attempt to illuminate the way in which its diverse sections constitute a single unity.[2]

It is no longer possible to argue, without introducing serious modifications to the statement, that "It is evident at the first glance that the chapter [Lev 16] is in its present form the result of a probably fairly long previous history that has left its traces in a strange lack of continuity and unity about the whole."[3] Some scholars have found evidence of literary structures and beauty in Lev 16 which suggests a definite attempt on the part of the writer to integrate it into a whole. For instance, John E. Hartley speaks of the "remarkable tapestry" of the chapter, pointing particularly to the balance and unity created by the

[1]On these and related issues, see A. Bertholet, *Leviticus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1901), 50-53; and more recently, K. Ellinger, *Leviticus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 200-201; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1061-1065; John E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (Dallas: Word, 1992), 217-220; David P. Wright, "Day of Atonement," *ABD* 2:72-76; and René Péter-Contesse, *Lévitique 1-16* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1993), 245-248.

[2]I would like to thank William Shea for going over the first draft of the literary structure proposed here and for his comments.

[3]Martin Noth, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 117.

constant reference to the sacrifices of the high priest and the congregation and the objects of expiation (priests, people, and parts of the sanctuary)[4]. He even finds a chiastic structure in Lev 16 based on the general content of the passage rather than on linguistic parallels.[5] Some scholars have found small chiasms within the chapter,[6] but as far as I know, none of them has attempted to carefully explore the literary structure of the whole chapter.

Literary Structure of Each Section of Lev 16

A literary analysis of Lev 16 indicates that chiasms and synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic parallelisms, complete and incomplete, are found throughout. It is now well known in the study of biblical texts that repetitions do have specific functions and purpose. This is also the case in Lev 16, which is formed by legal materials artistically constructed. Our reading of the chapter indicates that it can be divided into five main sections, each one well structured. In order to assist the reader, we will provide first the result of our study, followed by comments and interpretations of the proposed findings.

Lev 16:1-2: HISTORICAL SETTING

"The Lord spoke to Moses . . . 'Tell Aaron . . . or he will die.'"

Lev 16:3-5: INTRODUCTION

A Aaron's Bull for a Sin-offering 16:3
  B Aaron's Ram for a Burnt-offering 16:3
    C Priestly Vestment and Ritual Bath 16:4
A' People's Male Goats for Sin-offering 16:5
  B' People's Ram for Burnt-offering 16:5

Lev 16:6-10: FIRST DEVELOPMENT

A Aaron Brings Near Bull for Sin-offering 16:6
  B Makes Atonement for Himself and His House 16:6
    C Places the Two Goats Before Yahweh 16:7
      D Casts Lot for Yahweh 16:8
        E Casts Lot for Azazel 16:8
      D' Lot for Yahweh - Sin-offering 16:9

[4]Hartley, 31-32. Frank H. Gorman, Jr., speaks of the importance of recognizing in the study of Lev 16 "the dynamics of the text as a self-contained unit of meaning" (*The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990]), 67.

[5]He suggested the following structure: A narrative and introduction (vv. 1-2); B calendrical agenda (vv. 3-10); C liturgical regulations (vv. 11-28); B' calendrical instructions (vv. 29-34a); A' compliance report (v. 34b) (ibid., 232).

[6]E.G. Wright finds one in 16:29-31 (73), and Milgrom identifies another one in 16:14 (1033).

E' Lot for Azazel 16:10
C' Places Goat Before Yahweh 16:10
B' To Make Atonement for/on It 16:10
A' To Send It to the Wilderness 16:10

Lev 16:11-22: SECOND DEVELOPMENT

A Aaron's Bull: Sin-offering for Himself and His House 16:11-14
A1 Slaughtered 16:11
A2 Bring Incense behind the Veil: Not to Die 16:12-13
A3 Blood Manipulation 16:14

B Community's Goat for Yahweh: A Sin-offering 16:15
B1 Slaughtered 16:15
B2 Bring blood Behind the Veil 16:15
B3 Blood Manipulation 16:15

C Atonement for the Sanctuary, Tent of Meeting, the Priesthood, the Congregation of Israel, and the Altar 16:16-19
C1 Atonement for Sanctuary and Tent of Meeting 16:16
C2 Atonement for Priesthood and Assembly 16:17
C3 Atonement for the Altar 16:18-19
C' Atonement Finished for the Sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting and the Altar 16:20

B' Community's Goat for Azazel 16:20-22
B1 Live Goat Is Presented 16:20
B2 Place Both Hands on the Head of the Live Goat 16:21
B3 Confession of All Iniquities, Rebellions and All Sins 16:21
B2' Place Them [the Sins] on the Head of the Goat 16:21
B1' Goat Taken to the Wilderness 16:21
B2" Goat Bears All Iniquities upon Itself to a Barren Land 16:22
B1" Set Free in the Wilderness 16:22

A' _____

Lev 16:23-28: CONCLUDING RITUAL ACTS

A Priestly Vestments and Ritual Bath 16:23-24
B Atonement Performed through Burnt-offerings 16:24
C Disposal of the Fat of the Sin-offering 16:25
A' Vestment and Ritual Bath: Person Handling the Live Goat 16:26
B' Atonement and the Blood of the Sin-offering 16:27
C' Disposal of the Flesh, Skin and Dung of the Sin-offering 16:27
A" Vestment and Ritual Bath: Person Handling the Flesh of the Sin offering 16:28

Lev 16:29-34: INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE RITUAL

A Everlasting Statute: Seventh Month, Tenth Day 16:29
B Deny Yourselves 16:29
C Do no Work 16:29
D Atonement to Cleanse from All Sin 16:30

C' Sabbath Rest 16:31
B' Deny Yourselves 16:31
A' Everlasting Statute 16:31
D Anointed Priest Makes Atonement 16:32
E Wears Linen Vestments 16:32
E' Holy Vestments 16:32
D' Makes Atonement for Sanctuary, Tent, Altar, Priests, and All the Assembly 16:33
A'' Everlasting Statute 16:34
D To Make Atonement for the People of Israel from All Their Sins 16:34
A''' Once a Year 16:34

Lev 16:34: CONCLUDING REMARK

"Moses did as the Lord had commanded him."
(Heb, "Lord/Moses")

The five main literary units are carefully structured and integrated into each other through the use of specific terminology and by the flow of the different ritual acts. But before exploring those units we should define the function of the **Historical Setting** (vv. 1-2) and the **Concluding Remark** (v. 34d). From the literary point of view they form a literary envelope for the content of the chapter, singling it out as a unit by itself that can be separated from its immediate context for literary analysis. At the end of the chapter we are taken back to the beginning, hence informing us that the unit has come to an end. This is done in two ways. At the beginning Moses is ordered by the Lord to do something (*dabbēr 'el 'aharōn/* "speak to Aaron"), and at the end we are told that he did exactly as he was told (*wayya'aś ka'ašer ṣiwwāh yahweh/* "he did as the Lord commanded"). This "compliance report"[7] closes the literary unit. In addition, we find in both sections the names *Yahweh* and *Mošeh* together, something that is not found throughout the rest of the chapter. We find conceptual and linguistic connections between these sections.

The **Historical Setting** contains additional information that is useful in determining its purpose. In its canonical form the institutionalization of the day of atonement is dated to the period of the Israelite Sinai experience soon after the death of Aaron's sons inside the sanctuary. The possibility of dying inside the sanctuary was a real one, even if the sin of Aaron's sons was not repeated. The purpose of the legislation is to avoid a similar experience in the sanctuary. This could happen particularly whenever the priest would go into the adytum of

[7]Hartley, 225. Formulas of compliance are common in Leviticus; see Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 110.

the sanctuary (*yābō' . . . 'el- haqqōdeš*). The implicit question raised in vv. 1-2 is the one of the proper time for a *rite of entrance*,[8] but it is not answered until the end of the chapter. In addition we also find in vv. 1-2 terminology that will be used in other sections of the chapter, as, for instance, the verb "to die" (*môt*), the nouns "adytum" (*haqqōdeš*), *kappōret*, and "cloud" (*'ānān*), and the phrase "behind the veil" (*mibbêt lappārōket*). There is a clear terminological link between this section and the rest of the chapter.

Introduction (16:3-5)

The structure of this section is identified by the use of synthetic parallelism based on the repetition of the terms *ḥaṭṭā't*/"sin-offering" (*A//A'*) and *'ōlāh*/"burnt-offering" (*B//B'*). The parallelism is incomplete because the *C* element is omitted in the second part and there is no compensation for it. The reason for the omission is obvious: The ritual act under *C*, the exchange of clothes by the high priest and his ritual bath, takes place only once before the beginning of the activities of the day. But the fact that this ritual is left without a balance in the literary structure serves to emphasize its importance. The high priest should wear this special vestment only in preparation to enter the adytum. This type of vestment is directly related to the *rite of entrance* during the day of atonement.

It would seem that the introduction is primarily defining the basic elements needed for Aaron's *rite of entrance*. In 16:2 we were told that "Aaron should not go into [*yābō'*] the *haqqōdeš*," but v. 3 begins, "With this Aaron should go in [*yābō'*]." The introduction shows interest not only in the time element but also in the proper preparation for it (*bᵉzō't yābō'*/"with this he shall come in"). The *rite of entrance* requires the use of a special priestly vestment and a specific number of sacrificial offerings. It is important to observe that the burnt-offerings are included in v. 3. The reason for this is that the **Introduction** provides also a listing of the sacrificial victims that are going to be involved, in one way or another, in the activities of the day.

First Development (16:6-10)

This segment is formed by a chiasm within a chiasm. The beginning and end of the chiasm (*A//A'*) is framed by two opposite ideas, a case of antithetic parallelism. At the beginning we find the expression "bring near the bull"/*wᵉhiqrîb 'et-par*, and at the end "send it [the goat] to Azazel to the wilderness"/*lᵉšallaḥ 'ōtô laʿᵃzaʾzēl hammidbārāh*. One is

[8]On rites of entrance, see Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 24-25; he suggested that they belong to the general category of rites of passsage.

approaching the Lord, while the other is distancing or, better, being separated permanently from the Lord. The *B* lines in both sections of the chiasm contain the verb *kippēr*. The meaning of the verb and the preposition in the case of the goat for Azazel is unclear, although it is recognized that the goat is not related to the cleansing of the sanctuary.[9] Be that as it may, what is significant for us is that there is a parallelism between these sections. With respect to lines *C*, the parallelism is suggested by the use of the same verb, *'āmād*/"to station," and the phrase *lipnê Yahweh*/ "before the Lord" in both cases.

Lines *D* and *E* are located at the pinnacle of the chiasm but in inverted position, creating, as indicated above, a chiasm within a larger chiasm. One would have expected *D*//*D*' instead of *D*//*E*'. The parallelism is indicated by the term "lots" (*gôrāl*), used twice in association with Yahweh and twice in association with Azazel. The two goats that were introduced as a unit in 16:5 are now separated, and a specific function is assigned to each of them. The one for Yahweh is

[9]The usage of the phrase *kippēr 'al* in 16:10 is indeed unexpected and difficult to interpret. The phrase usually means "to make atonement for/on behalf of" someone or something. Obviously, this meaning does not fit the context of that passage, even though it has been supported by C.F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary of the OT*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), 683. It is true that in Israel purging rituals were performed on objects but never on animals, and this case does not seem to be the exception. In searching for a solution some scholars have suggested, without providing any supporting evidence, that the use of *kippēr 'al* here is a scribal error or mistake (Noth, 121; Elliger, 201; Bernd Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983], 185). Others have argued that the preposition *'al* means, in this particular case, "in proximity to," which is linguistically possible (Baruch A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord* [Leiden: Brill, 1974], 80; Gerhard F. Hasel, "Studies in Biblical Atonement II: The Day of Atonement," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*, ed. A.V. Wallenkampf and W.R. Lesher [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981], 121). Another has suggested that in this phrase the preposition *'al* means "for/on behalf of" only when the object is human, but when it is inanimate means "on, upon"; it is then argued that the goat for Azazel is treated as an inanimate object (Milgrom, 1023). Whether the distinction in the use of the preposition *'al* is valid or not, it is quite clear that in Lev 16 the goat for Azazel is not treated as an inanimate object, but on the contrary it is called several times "the living goat" (vv. 10, 20, 21). The preposition has been also interpreted to mean "by means of," and *kippēr 'al* has been understood to mean that atonement is performed through it by sending it away to the wilderness loaded with the sins of the Israelites (Péter-Contesse, 253-254). But in that case one would have expected the verb to take the preposition *b*ᵉ, which is used with the verb *kippēr* to express instrumentality, rather than *'al*. Another group of scholars have looked for a solution in the antecedent of the third person singular pronominal suffix attached to the preposition (*'ālākyw*, "for *it*"). One has suggested that it refers to Aaron (N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987], 150-152); and another that it could be referring to the congregation (Hartley, 237); in both cases the syntax of the sentence makes the solution very unlikely. Finally, it has been suggested, based on the history of tradition and redaction criticism, that what we find in 16:10 "is an attempt to assimilate an alien rite to the dominant priestly sacrificial practice and theology of expiation" (J.R. Porter, *Leviticus: A Commentary* [New York: Cambridge, 1976], 127-128). This is hardly a solution.

made a sin-offering (*śaḥû ḥaṭṭā't*). Originally either one of them could have been offered as a *ḥaṭṭā't*, but through the lot the one for Yahweh becomes the *ḥaṭṭā't*.[10] Since *DE//D'E'* are located at the center of the chiasm, we have to conclude that the elements listed there are being emphasized. The separation of the goats for different roles is an important aspect of the day of atonement because of their mutually exclusive roles. In the **First Development** the most important element is precisely the casting of lots to select the goat for Yahweh and the one for Azazel.

At the center of the chiasm we also find for the first time Yahweh and Azazel mentioned together. The parallelism suggests that they are both personal beings. They move in different spheres, which seem to be opposite to each other. Yahweh dwells with his people, but Azazel is located away from the Israelite camp, in the wilderness. Nothing more is said about the enigmatic figure of Azazel, but one senses that it is a negative power.

In the **First Development** two additional rites are introduced. We are told for the first time in the chapter that Aaron's bull will be part of a *cleansing rite;* it will be used to make atonement for himself and for his house (*kippēr ba'ad*). The second rite is associated with Azazel. The second goat is "to be sent to the wilderness," an expression that implies the performance of an *elimination rite.* Both rites will be developed in more detail throughout the rest of the chapter.

Second Development (16:6-22)

This is the central section of Lev 16, in which the ritual for the day of atonement is described in detail and is, therefore, a full development of what was stated in the previous verses under **First Development.** The structure of the whole section is basically chiastic, with one of its members missing; there is probably a theological reason for the omission. The pattern is *ABC//C'B'*, without a corresponding *A'*

[10]Some have concluded that the two goats together constitute the *ḥaṭṭā't* (e.g., N.H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers* [London: Oliphants, 1977], p. 112). We have argued that, according to v. 8, only the goat for Yahweh is selected to be a *ḥaṭṭā't* (A.M. Rodríguez, *Substitution in the Hebrew Cultus* [Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1979], p. 113; see also Gorman, p. 97). Kiuchi, pp. 148-149, has rejected our suggestion, arguing that since the two goats were destined for a *ḥaṭṭā't* in v. 5, none of them could later on cease to be a *ḥaṭṭā't* (see also Baruch J. Schwartz, "The Bearing of Sin in the Priestly Literature," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells,* David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz, eds. [Winona Lakes, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995], p. 18). Yet that is precisely what v. 8 indicates when unpacking the statement made in v. 5. Besides, he is unable to explain in a convincing way how the goat for Azazel functions as a *ḥaṭṭā't,* except by suggesting that its being sent away corresponds with the burning of the flesh of the *ḥaṭṭā't.* One seems to be going beyond the evidence when applying the term "sacrifice," in the Levitical sense, to the goat for Azazel. This is not a cleansing rite but an elimination rite.

parallel at the end of the structure. Under *A* we find three main activities: *A1*—Slaughtering Aaron's bull for a sin-offering, *A2*—Going behind the veil with incense, and *A3*—Blood manipulation. *A* takes us back to v. 6, repeating it almost verbatim but adding a new element: "And he shall slaughter his bull for a sin-offering" (v. 11). The addition is significant in that it describes the performance of the second step in the procedure followed when sacrificing a sin-offering, the slaughtering (*šāḥaṭ*) of the sacrificial victim (Lev 4:1-12).

The offering of incense is somewhat unexpected, but the text justifies it by associating it directly with the *rite of entrance*. We should look first at the structure of this activity. Its literary form is *abcd//a' b'c'd'e'*.

a Censer Full of Live Coals of Fire 16:12
  b From Altar Before the Lord 16:12
    c Hands Full of Incense 16:12
      d Brought Inside the Curtain 16:12
a' Place Incense on Fire 16:13
  b' Before the Lord 16:13
    c' Cloud of Incense 16:13
      d' The *Kapporet* 16:13
        e' "And he will not die" 16:13

The parallelism is developmental or synthetic. The *a//a'* lines mention "fire" (*'ēš*), which is placed in the censer and used to burn incense. Lines *b//b'* use the same expression, "before the Lord"/*lipnê Yahweh*, while lines *c//c'* use the term "incense"/*qᵉṭōret*. The *d//d'* parallel is synonymous: "inside the curtain"/*mibbêt lappārōket* is obviously the place where the *kappōret* is located. This last element is the most important one in the *rite of entrance* because it invades the most holy space to which the high priest could ever have access. Here the *rite of entrance*, reaches its highest point, its intended goal. It should not surprise us to find an extra element, line *e'*, in the second set of lines in the structure: *wᵉlō ' yāmût*/"that he may not die." This is exactly the same expression found in the **Historical Setting** (v. 2), when the *rite of entrance* was introduced for the first time. The extra line *e'* (16:13) brings the rite to its climax and indicates that it can be successfully accomplished by using incense when approaching the awesome presence of the Lord.

The literary structure of the blood manipulation of Aaron's bull (*A3*) is clearly a chiasm:

a Some Blood of the Bull
  b Sprinkle with Finger
    c On the Front of the *Kappōret*

c' And Before the *Kappōret*
b' Sprinkle Seven Times
a' Some of the Blood

By opening and closing the chiasm with the term *dām*, "blood," the significance of this element in the *cleansing rite* is stressed. At the center of the chiasm is located the *kappōret* (c//c'), the place where the Lord manifests his presence (v. 2). It deserves to be at the center because it is, in terms of significance, the very center of the sanctuary and of the Israelite camp, and especially because it is against God, who manifests his presence there, that the Israelites sin.

The first *B* line follows in general the structural pattern of *A*, but this time the sacrificial animal is one of the goats of the people. This line will develop the thought contained in 16:9, under **First Development**, where the goat for Yahweh was designated as a sin-offering and parallels the development of *A1-A3*. *B1* states that it is to be slaughtered (*šāḥaṭ*), and *B2* introduces the idea of going "behind the veil"/*mibbêt lappārōket*, an expression found also under *A2*. In this case the main emphasis falls on the blood manipulation of the sacrificial victim and the *kappōret*. This *ḥaṭṭā't* is part of the *cleansing ritual* performed during the day of atonement,[11] and its blood is also taken to the adytum, behind the veil. The blood manipulation, *B1*, is not structured, as in *A3*, in a chiastic form, because according to the text a summary of the procedure is being provided. Yet, one can detect an *ab//a'b'* pattern based on the fact that the verb *ḥizzāh*, "sprinkle," seems to have a double-duty function.

a Sprinkling
b upon the *Kappōret*
a' [Sprinkling]
b' before the *Kappōret*

Line C is at the center of the chiasm of the whole section. This is to be expected, because here we find an interpretation of the meaning of the rituals performed through the blood manipulation of the bull of Aaron and the goat of the people. This is the most important element in the instructions and deserves the center not only of this section but of the chapter itself. A word count of the chapter shows 229 words in

[11]Roy Edwin Gane, *Ritual Dynamic Structures: System Theory and Ritual Syntax Applied to Selected Ancient Israelite, Babylonian and Hittite Festival Days* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1992), has correctly argued that the rituals performed with Aaron's bull and the people's goat form "a ritual complex unit" (p. 211). He bases his conclusion on the fact that both of them are called the "purification offering of purgations" (16:25), that the rituals "are interwoven with each other, i.e. the second ritual begins before the first ritual is completed and similar activities belonging to the two rituals alternate" (p. 210), and that the rituals are actually merged when the blood is applied to the altar (p. 211).

vv. 1-15 and 237 in vv. 20b-34; the exact center of the chapter is in vv. 17-18.[12] We are indeed dealing here with the heart of the rituals performed during the day of atonement. The emphasis of this section is on the comprehensiveness of the *kippēr*-acts performed that day.

Line *C* can be subdivided into three main sections (*C1, C2, C3*), each one carefully constructed. *C1* discusses the purgation of *haqqōdeš* and the *'ōhel mô'ēd*. The cleansing of these two apartments is described in parallel lines following the *abc//a' b'c'*.

a Thus He Shall Make Atonement
  b for the Sanctuary
    c because of the Uncleanness of the People
a' So He Shall Do [Make Atonement]
  b' for the Tent of Meeting
    c' in the Midst of Their Uncleanness

Lines *a//a'* are related to each other by the use of the verb *kippēr*, which is clearly implicit in the parallel line. The next lines, *b//b'*, refer to *haqqōdeš* and the *'ōhel mô'ēd* respectively. In *c//c'* the term "uncleanness"*/ṭum'āh*, is used. The emphasis of the structure is placed on the reason for the purgation act: It is necessary because of the uncleanness of the people of Israel. It is not stated how the uncleanness got there; neither is the uncleanness limited to certain types of cultic or moral failures; purgation is called for because of all the sins of the people.

C2 deals with the cleansing of the priesthood and the assembly. In fact, v. 17 is phrased as a regulation forbidding anybody, except the high priest, to be inside the tent when the purgation rites are being performed. But while doing that, the cleansing of the people is also addressed. The structure of the regulation is a very simple one, *ab//a' b'*.

a Aaron Goes In
  b to Make Atonement in the Sanctuary
a' Aaron Comes Out
  b' Having Made Atonement for the
    Priesthood and the Assembly of Israel

The *a//a'* lines describe Aaron going in (*bô'*) and coming out (*yāṣā'*), making the parallelism antithetic. The parallelism in lines *b//b'* is, on the other hand, synthetic. Aaron goes in to perform a *cleansing rite* in the sanctuary. The verb is *kippēr* + *b^e*, stating the space where the purgation rite is performed. The interesting thing here is that the *kippēr*-act inside the sanctuary is at the same time a *kippēr*-act on behalf of (*b^e 'ad*) Aaron, his house, and all the assembly of Israel. What takes place

[12]I consistently counted words united by a *makkeph* as two words. But even if we count them as one word, 16:18 would continue to be the center of the chapter.

inside the sanctuary is for the benefit of all the people of Israel, thus making the cleansing of the sanctuary in its totality directly related to the cleansing of the people. This element the structure of *C2* seems to emphasize.

In 16:18-19, line *C3*, we find the regulation regarding the purgation of the altar. Its content is in some ways very similar to *C1*. Both begin with the verb *kippēr*, and at the end we find the phrase "from the uncleanness [*tum'āh*] of the children of Israel." But the significant difference is found in the description of the blood manipulation for the cleansing of the altar. *C3* is structured, like *A3*, in a chiastic form: *abc//c' b'a'*.

a Make Atonement for the Altar
  b Some Blood of the Bull and Goat
    c Placed on the Horns
    c' Sprinkled on the Altar
  b' Some Blood
a' Cleanse and Sanctify It from Uncleanness

Line *a'* explains the meaning of the purgation rite for the altar in terms of cleansing and sanctifying it from the uncleanness of the Israelites. The phrase "some blood"/*middam*, characterizes lines *b//b'*. Lines *c//c'* describe the blood application to the altar using the verb "to put"/*nātan* and "to sprinkle"/*hizzāh*. They are parallel actions performed on the altar. Lines *c//c'* are the center of the chiasm, making the blood application the most important element in the cleansing and sanctifying of the altar. Undoubtedly, blood is of extreme importance in Lev 16.

The parallel line C' is brief and covers only half of v. 2, which is a transitional verse summarizing what was said before and introducing a new development. We place under C' the statement, "When he has finished atoning for the most holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar." This is precisely what was described under the previous C line in vv. 16-19, which was interpreted as making atonement for the priesthood and the people. Since line C' is a summary, there is no need to develop its content, and that is exactly what has taken place.

The people's goat for Azazel, line *B'*, is a development of 16:9-10, where Azazel was introduced for the first time. The passage is structured as an elaborate chiasm, which happens to be the same type of literary structure found in 16:9-10, the **First Development.** A literary envelope is used to set the limits to the section, using antithetic parallelism. At the beginning the goat is brought (*hiqrîb*) to Aaron, line *B1;* but under *B1"* , at the end of the section, it is sent (*šālaḥ*) to the wilderness. The phrase "on the head of the goat"/*'al rō'š haśā'îr* is used in lines *B1//B1'* , and under line *B1"* we find the equivalent, "on

it [the goat]"/*'ālāw* ("on itself"). At the center of the first chiasm is the confessional act standing by itself and, therefore, identified as possibly the most important element in that literary structure. In the second chiasm, which is a development of ideas already contained in the first, the center is occupied by the description of the goat bearing iniquity upon itself to a barren land. This is the main idea expressed in that small chiasm. The two chiasms emphasize different but complementary ideas. The first is dominated by *the idea of transfer of sin* to the goat ("iniquities, transgressions, sins," *ʿawôn, pšaʿ, ḥaṭṭāʾt*) through the laying on of hands and the confessional act. The second chiasm puts the emphasis on *the removal of sin* to the wilderness (*hammidbārāh*), to Azazel. These two acts, transfer and removal, belong to the very essence of the *elimination rite.* Sending the goat to the wilderness brings the *elimination rite* to a close and signifies that the sins of the people, which had been purged from the sanctuary, are being sent to their source of origin. Sin and impurity are here dissociated completely from Yahweh.

The chiastic structure of the **Second Development** is, as indicated above, incomplete; there is no *A'* in parallel with *A*. The reason is obvious: The *cleansing rite* for the sanctuary and the people has already come to an end; the circle is closed. It is this element of completeness, finality, that the incomplete chiasm seems to stress through its abrupt end. Therefore, its incompleteness is not suggesting that something is missing, but on the contrary that nothing else needs to be added.

Concluding Ritual Acts (16:23-28)

This section is basically dominated by the ideas of clothes and ritual baths in which the high priest, the person who took the goat to the wilderness, and the one who burned the flesh of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* are involved. The structure of the section is built on synthetic parallelism with an ABC//A'B'C'//A'' pattern. Lines *A* are characterized by the use of the noun *beged/* "garment, clothes" and by the phrase *wᵉrāhas ʾet-bᵉśārō bammâyim/* "and he shall bathe his body in water." These are repeated three times, opening and closing the literary structure, creating a literary envelope for it. This does not mean that this unit is totally independent of the rest of the chapter. Rather, it combines elements from the other sections, bringing all the activities of the day to a close. For instance, *A* closes the circle of the high priest's vestment for the day of atonement, which was introduced in the **Introduction** under line *C* (16:4). Having concluded the *rite of entrance,* described in the previous section, the high priest changes his vestments to the ones he regularly wears.

The parallelism in lines *B* is indicated by the use of the verb *kippēr*. *B'* takes us back to the **Introduction**, lines *B//B'*, where the sacrificial victims for the burnt-offerings are introduced. Now we are told that the high priest offers them as expiatory offerings. The circle of the burnt-offering is finally closed. Line *B'* summarizes the expiatory or cleansing power of the blood of the sin-offerings of the people and Aaron, thus pointing back to the **Second Development**, lines *ABC//C'*. In 16:25 and 27, lines *C//C'*, the procedure for the disposal of the fat, flesh, skin, and dung of the sin-offerings is described. This closes the circle of the *ḥaṭṭā't* which was opened in the **Introduction**, under *A* (16:3).

The section under consideration is well constructed within itself and at the same time directly related to the **Introduction**. In fact, one can identify a chiastic structure in the elements listed in 16:3-4 and 16:23-25:

16:3-4	16:23-25
A Bull for Sin-offering	C Vestments and Ritual Bath
B Ram for Burnt-offering	B Burnt-offering
C Vestments and Ritual Bath	A Sin-offering

The whole **Introduction** is summarized in 16:23-25 by bringing together the burnt-offerings of Aaron and the people. The reference to the fat of the sin-offering includes the fat of both sin-offerings, i.e., the ram of Aaron and the goat of the people. The items are listed in an inverted parallelism. We can also identify a parallel structure between the **First Development** (16:6-10) and 16:26-28, the second part of the **Concluding Ritual Acts**:

A Bull for the Sin-Offering (16:6-10)
  B Goat for the Sin-Offering
    C Goat for Azazel
    C Goat for Azazel (16:26-18)
  A Bull for the Sin-Offering
B Goat for the Sin-Offering

The listing of the animals creates a chiasm within a chiasm, suggesting that there is a relation between these two sections of the chapter. This seems to be the way the text testifies to its internal unity, pointing to previous acts and at the same time moving onward the activities of the day.

Institutionalization of the Ritual (16:23-28)

This section is nicely constructed and emphasizes two main ideas: the time for the celebration of the day of atonement and its fundamental meaning (cleansing the sanctuary and the people). From a literary point of view this unit is formed by the combination of three

chiasms. There are four *A* lines, all of them dealing with calendric information. The first indicates that the celebration of the day of atonement is an "Everlasting Statute" to be celebrated once a year during the tenth day of the seventh month. Part of this information is used in *A*" ("Everlasting Statute") forming the first chiasm and opening the second one, which closes with the same phrase (line *A*"). *A*" functions as the initial element of the last chiasm, which closes with the phrase "once a year." It is undeniable that the stress is being put on the yearly celebration of the day of atonement and on its permanent character within the Israelite cultic calendar.

Lines *BC//B'C'* legislate what is expected of the people during this day. Until now the legislation has stressed only the activity of the high priest and of his assistants. Everything that the high priest does during that day is done on behalf of the people. What is required of them is to humble themselves and rest, not doing any work at all. Line *D* is at the center of the chiasm and introduces the idea of atonement. This line summarizes the center of the chiasm under **Second Development,** lines *C//C'* (16:16-20a): The people are cleansed "from all their sins"/*mikkōl ḥaṭṭo'têkem* (16:30). The idea of atonement is so important in the chapter that in this section it is further developed in vv. 32-33. In other words, the center of the chiasm, line *D*, is used to construct the next unit. The anointed priest is the one who performs the *kippēr*-acts mentioned in *D//D'*. This time the all-inclusiveness of the cleansing rite is mentioned: It cleanses the adytum, the tent of meeting, the altar, the priesthood, and all the congregation of Israel. One could develop line *D'* even more, revealing the care with which it was structured:

D He Shall Make Atonement
  E for (*'et*) the Adytum, and
  E' for (*'et*) the Tent of Meeting and the Altar
D' He Shall make Atonement, and
  E" for (*'al*) the Priests and
  E"' for (*'al*) All the People of the Congregation
D" He Shall Make Atonement

The first section in this verse deals with the cleansing of the sanctuary in its totality, specifically the inanimate objects; the second, with animate objects or persons, the priests and the Israelites. The reference is obviously back to 16:16-20a, where the verb *kippēr* is used five times; here, in two short verses, it appears four times. The parallelism suggests once more that the purgation of the sanctuary through the *cleansing rite* of the sin-offerings cannot be separated from the cleansing of the people.

V. 34 contains a small chiasm in which the contents of lines *A* and *D* are combined. The long sentence in v. 29 is broken; between its parts is placed a reference to the *kippēr*-act on behalf of the people. This small literary unit serves to summarize the section by bringing together the new development, i.e., the calendar for the celebration of the day of atonement, and the very essence of the meaning of the ritual, "to make atonement for [*ʿal*] the people of Israel from/because of all their sins [*mikkol-ḥaṭṭō ʾtam*]."

Chiastic Structure of Lev 16

It is always risky to attempt to identify chiasms on the basis of the general content of a text rather than on linguistic and structural similarities. That approach tends at times to reveal the creativity of the researcher rather than the literary skills of the biblical writer. Although it is not my main interest to demonstrate that Lev 16 is structured chiasticly, after reading it carefully and noticing its many apparent repetitions, I was impressed by the fact that it does seem to be constructed in terms of a chiasm. We are suggesting the following literary structure:

"And Yahweh said to Moses"
- A Aaron should not go into most holy place any time he wishes 16:2
  - B Aaron's sacrificial victims and special vestment 16:3-4
    - C Sacrificial victims provided by the people 16:5
      - D Aaron's bull, goat for Yahweh, goat for Azazel 16:6-10
        - E Aaron sacrifices his bull as a sin-offering 16:11-14
          - F Community's goat is sacrificed as a sin-offering 16:15
            - G Make atonement 16:16-19
            - G' Atonement is finished 16:20a
          - F' Community's goat for Azazel sent to the wilderness 16:20b-22
        - E' Aaron's closing activities 16:23-25
      - D' Goat for Azazel, Aaron's bull, goat for sin-offering 16:26-28
    - C' People rest and humble themselves 16:29-31
  - B' Anointed priest officiates wearing special garments 16:32-33
- A' Anointed priest makes atonement once a year 16:34

"As the Lord commanded Moses"

Lines *A//A'* deal with time elements as they relate to the sanctuary and particularly to the entrance of the high priests into the adytum. A general statement at the beginning of the chapter leads at the end to a more a specific one. Line *B* legislates the sacrificial victims and the type of vestments with which Aaron was to approach the Lord. Its parallel line, *B'*, states that during the day of atonement the anointed priest was to officiate, wearing a special priestly dress. The involvement of the people in the activities of the day of atonement is mentioned only in

lines *C//C'*. They provided sacrificial victims (*C*) and humbled themselves and rested (*C'*) while the sanctuary was being purged.

In 16:6-10 we find a reference to Aaron's bull for his sin-offering and a description of the casting of lots to select the goat for Yahweh and the goat for Azazel (*D*). In 16:26-28, *D'*, we find its parallel in which the goat for Azazel, the bull of Aaron, and the goat for the sin-offering are mentioned for the last time in the chapter, suggesting that the main activities of the day have come to an end.

There is not an exact parallel for line *E*, because it deals with the sacrifice offered by Aaron to make atonement for himself and for his house, which brings that part of the ritual to an end, making their experience final. But in the overall structure of the chapter there is compensation for it in 16:23-25, line *E'*, where Aaron is mentioned for the last time in the chapter and his last activities for the day are described. Lines *F//F'* describe how each of the goats provided by the people was used during the day of atonement. Lines *G//G'* are located at the center of the chiasm, indicating that this is indeed the most important aspect of the chapter. The chiastic structure combines the main elements of the ritual of the day of atonement with its fundamental purpose, forming a well-structured literary unity.

General Observations

We have suggested that in Lev 16 we have three rites[13] tightly integrated to create a new ritual complex unit with a very specific purpose. In its present form it is practically impossible to separate each of these rituals from the total activities of the day of atonement without damaging beyond repair the content of the chapter, its structure, and purpose. At the beginning of the chapter we find short summaries that are later on developed in detail, using the same terminology found in the summaries and introducing new elements in the discussion. We move from building block to building block until there is before us a well-structured, all-encompassing ritual complex.

It is interesting to notice how a circle of activity is introduced and then, at a rather slow pace, reaches its closure, taking us through a process in which each one of its parts is very significant. For instance, the circle of the burnt-offerings is initiated in 16:3, 5 and closed in 16:24, without any mention of it in between. The goat for Azazel is introduced in 16:5; the selection of the specific goat is recorded in v. 10. The laying on of hands, the transfer of sin to it, and the act of sending it away to the wilderness are found in 16:20b-22. But perhaps the most significant circle is that of Aaron's sin-offering. It is introduced in 16:3;

[13]Cf. Walter Kornfeld, *Levitikus* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1983), p. 62.

the sacrificial victim is presented in 16:6, slaughtered in 16:11; the blood manipulation is described in 16:14, the burning of the fat in 16:25, and the circle is closed with the disposal of the flesh of the victim in 16:27. We find a similar situation with respect to the people's sin-offering, which is introduced (16:5), then presented to the Lord (16:9), slaughtered, the blood manipulation performed (16:15), its fat burned (16:25), and finally the disposal of the flesh brings the circle to an end (16:27).[14] What was in the regular sin-offering a series of consecutive steps in the sacrificial process (Lev 4) is intentionally separated in the ritual of the day of atonement in order to make room for new details in this sophisticated and complex ritual unit. Thus, the unity of the chapter is emphasized.

In its present form Lev 16 combines, in a very well-balanced conceptual symmetry, the *rite of entrance*, the *cleansing rite* performed with the two sin-offerings, and the *elimination rite*. The *rite of entrance* makes it possible for Aaron to have access to the adytum in order to perform the *cleansing rite* through which sins and impurities are removed from the sanctuary on behalf of the priesthood and the people of Israel; finally, through the *elimination rite* the goat for Azazel takes them away to their place of origin, to the wilderness. The distinction between cleansing the impurities of the sanctuary through the sin-offerings and the sins of the people through the live goat is hardly present in the text of Lev 16 in its present form.[15] The

[14]It is significant that the laying on of hands is not mentioned in the case of the sin-offering of purgations. This omission should not be considered accidental or unimportant but seems rather to be intentional. The ritual was not performed on this occasion except on the goat for Azazel. This intentional omission appears to question the validity of the ownership theory of the ritual supported by some (e.g., David P. Wright, "The Gesture of Hand Placement in the Hebrew Bible and in the Hittite Literature," *JAOS* 106 [1986]:436-439; and Milgrom, pp. 152, 1024), as well as the consecration/dedication and the manumission theories.

[15]Milgrom has suggested that in its present form the cleansing of the sanctuary from its impurities in Lev 16 is performed with the expiatory sacrifices of Aaron and the people, but the sin of the people, the cause of the impurity, is removed through the goat for Azazel (ibid., pp. 1043-1044; also, David P. Wright, *Disposal of Impurity* [Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987], pp. 17-21). His most important argument is that in 16:21 the *tum'ah*/impurity was replaced by *'awôn*/iniquity, indicating that the goat bears the sins of the people but not their uncleanness. This radical distinction between *tum'āh* and *'awôn* does not seem to be valid. In 16:16 *tum'āh* had already been juxtaposed to sin (*haṭṭā't*). This fact led Levine to comment, "Uncleanness is equated with sinfulness; thus, according to the biblical conception, sinfulness was regarded as a kind of impurity" (*Leviticus*, p. 105). It does not seem proper to conclude that the concept of *tum'āh* is completely foreign to *'awôn* (see Kiuchi, p. 145). The use of three key terms for sin in 16:21 serves the purpose of expressing the idea of totality, that is to say, any kind of sin committed by the people of Israel (Péter-Contesse, p. 257; Hartley, p. 241; R. Knierim, "*Ht'* sich verfehlen," in *Theologisches Handworterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 1, ed. E. Jenni and C. Westerman [München: Kaiser Verlag, 1971], col. 547).

Moreover, the distinction made between impurity and iniquity does not seem to be

sin/impurity placed on the goat for Azazel is the totality of the people's sin/impurity removed from the sanctuary through the *cleansing rite*. There is here a clear and direct connection between the *rite of entrance*, the *cleansing rite* and the *elimination rite* which contributes to the literary and theological unit of Lev 16.

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operative in the regular *ḥaṭṭā't*. There is no mention there of two rituals, one to remove impurity from the sanctuary and the other to remove sin from the sinner. If the sin of the individual was removed from the person in the regular *ḥaṭṭā't* through remorse, as Milgrom has argued, one would have expected that the same would take place during the day of atonement when the people collectively humbled themselves before the Lord. In that case the goat for Azazel would not have been necessary. What we are suggesting is that, according to the present form of Lev 16, the goat for Azazel carried away the sin/impurities of the "sons of Israel," a phrase that includes Aaron and his family and the Israelites (with Milgrom, p. 1044; this fact was overlooked by Levine, *Leviticus*, p. 106). While two sacrificial victims were required for the *cleansing rite*, the *rite of elimination* required only one goat because it was not a sacrificial victim.

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THE TOMB OF DAVID IN JERUSALEM

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As one of the most important personages of Israel, King David must have been buried in regal style in an imposing tomb. Yet, surprisingly, the tomb where David was buried has not yet been discovered. A traditional location on the new Mount Zion is pointed out as the location of his burial. The upper room where Jesus is supposed to have met with his disciples is upstairs from this tomb. While David may have been buried there, it could only have been a secondary burial, after his body or bones were removed from his original tomb.

The approximate location of David's primary tomb is limited by the geography and history of Jerusalem. The city is built on four hills, one in the southeast, one in the northeast, one in the northwest, and one in the southwest. The southeastern hill, known as Mount Ophel was the first of the four to be occupied. This was the Jebusite city which David conquered as described in 2 Sam 5.

The northeastern hill, today known as the temple mount, was purchased by David and finally built upon by Solomon. Since this hill was not built on until after the death of David, the city of David in which he was buried, according to 1 Kgs 2:10, could not have been located there.

The other two hills of ancient Jerusalem offer even less possibility as the burial site for David. The southwestern hill probably was not incorporated into the city until the time of Hezekiah, when the city was expanded to accommodate refugees after the fall of Samaria after its conquest by the Assyrians. Thus the southwestern hill is even less likely to be the site of David's burial in the "city of David." Finally, the northwestern hill was incorporated into the city even later than the southwestern hill, probably in Roman times or at least between the time of Hezekiah and Roman times.

Thus three out of the four hills of ancient Jerusalem are excluded as possible locations of the tomb of David. The only one that qualifies

as the City of David in which David was buried is Mount Ophel, the southeastern hill, where the city of the Jebusites was located. A large cemetery lies across the Kidron Valley from that hill, but that was not "in" the city of David.

The one ancient cemetery found on Mount Ophel was excavated by Raymond Weill between the two world wars. He advocated that David was buried there, but his suggestion to that effect was ignored and forgotten. In the January-February 1995 issue of the *Biblical Archaeology Review,* Hershel Shanks revived the old idea of R. Weill to suggest anew that David was buried in these tombs. While the suggestion sounded reasonable, specific proof was lacking.

From the suggestion in that journal I took a serious interest in this cemetery. Bryant Wood of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, gave me a photograph taken from his visit there in the summer of 1995 (**Plate 1**). Magnification of that photograph suggested an inscription along the sill of the entryway into the large tomb (on the left in this photograph). Confirmation of that point came with the visit of George Reid to the area in March of 1996. He took a closeup photograph of the door sill of that large tomb, in which the inscription is clearer (**Plate 2**). The photograph studied below was taken of the left half of the door sill of the large tomb opening. In July 1996 I visited the site. To my reading, the inscription confirms that this is the primary tomb of David, located inside the original city of David.

The Inscription

The shadow of the photographer on **Plate 2** actually helps to decipher the inscription. Bright light directly on the rock sometimes makes it difficult to see or read an ancient inscription. Angled light helps to bring out the carvings.

The inscription begins at the upper right corner of **Plate 2**. Behind it there is a narrow dirt trench, which sets off what was inscribed on the sill from what was further inside of the tomb. The first letter on the upper right is in the form of a fish. That is the letter *dalet*. This letter came into use by taking the first sound of the word for fish, *dag*, and using the fish to stand for it. The principle whereby this transformation took place from pictograph to phonetic grapheme is known as the Rebus Principle.

In this case, the nose of the fish is pointed into the right upper corner at a 45-degree angle. The dorsal fin of the fish was cut down from the edge of the rock. The lower fin is present but not as prominent as the dorsal fin. The upper portion of the tail of the fish is clearly visible, but the lower portion of the fish is not quite so clear.

The use of the full form of the fish for this letter is unusual in the tenth century, the time of David and Solomon. I take it as a deliberate archaism. The inscriber deliberately used an older form of that letter for artistic and aesthetic purposes. The letter at the opposite end of David's name is also a fish, and thus his name is enclosed by two fish, one at each end of his name. The fish at the beginning of his name bends out to the right, and the fish at the other end of his name bends to the left, to a slightly lesser degree.

The next letter in this vocalized name is an A-vowel, represented by an ox-head, *'alep*. The horns of this ox-head parallel the dorsal fin of the fish. The right horn is longer than the left, in the perspective of the artist-inscriber. Both are cut deeply into the rock. The nose of the ox, which is down to the left, was also cut deeply into the rock. From the upper edge of the ox's nose two lighter lines outline the head as they reach up to and across between the two horns. Along the inner edge of these lighter lines are the darker outlines of the eyes of the ox. The left eye is more deeply cut than the right. This gives a clear picture of the ox-head, *'alep*.

The third letter, the middle consonant of David's name is a *waw*. This letter comes partially in its usual form and partially in an unusual form. The usual form is the head of the letter: a semi-circle open toward the top and cut up to the edge of the rock sill, a short space to the left of the horns of the *'alep*. Thus far the letter is normal. The tail of the *waw* is unusual; it curves, first to the left, then directly vertically, and finally back toward the right. In addition to curving, which is not that abnormal, it was written with two lines, not just one, as is customary. These two lines intersect and cross so that the tail of this letter gives the appearance of vines intertwined to make loops. There appear to be four of these loops below the semicircular head. While the loops of this tail are unusual, they do add an artistic touch beyond a simple straight-line tail.

The fourth letter is another vowel: a *yod*. The tail of this *yod* was inscribed with double lines and parallels the second and third loops in the tail of the preceding *waw*. It curves up from the lower left to the upper right. The head was inscribed with two parallel horizontal strokes. Usually by the tenth century the forked head of the *yod* would have angled more to the left, but these strokes are quite sharply left angled. The head of this letter is further down from the edge of the sill than the letters which precede it.

The final letter in David's name here is represented by another fish, which stands vertically across the rock surface. Its head is up and points slightly to the left. Its tail is down, and the left portion of the tail angles

out further than the right portion of the tail. The ventral fin is more prominent than the dorsal fin, and there may possibly be a gill slit outlined in the rock. Taken together, the lines of this fish are more crudely done than are the more gently curved lines of the fish at the beginning of David's name.

The signs are: a fish, an ox-head, a semicircular-headed letter with a twisted tail, a fork-headed letter with a curved tail, and another fish. The letters that these signs represent are: D - 'A - W - Y - D, or *d 'awyd*, which equals David. As the label on this tomb, the name of David is written upon the sill of the opening.

The Relief

To the left of the inscription, there is a representation, a carved relief of a human head. Since the name reads David, the relief may be interpreted as the head of David. It is located in the middle of the sill, with the name extending to the right edge of the tomb opening.

The head is round and curved. It faces left, away from the name, although the eye is eroded, but its shape is still visible. In front of the eye a short forehead angles down to a rather large and crudely incised nose. A short upper lip separates nose and mouth. The mouth extends rather deeply into the jaw and appears to be partially open. An angular chin may suggest a beard. Relatively little of the neck remains; it looks as if there had been two short vertical lines to indicate its location, but these are partly eroded. The back of the head consists of a large curve. There may have been a hairline with some curls incised within that large curve. Sitting on top of the head is something that looks like a crown, outlined by two deep parallel lines, the uppermost of which is more deeply incised. The front part of the crown appears to have been eroded or chipped away. The upper outer edge of the crown appears to have been serrated along the edge. There may have been a design or writing on the crown, but it is not clear enough to read. What is evident from this crown is that a kingly figure is depicted here and identified by name to the right of this relief. The name there, written in large letters, is David.

There may have been some writing below the head on the left and below the name on the right. The eroded writing on the left looks as if it might originally have spelled out the word for king, *melek*, but it is too badly eroded to be certain. On the right side of this panel, some writing may have extended downward from the nose of the *'aleph*. It may have been another occurrence of David's name, but it too is now too badly eroded to read.

Summary

On Mount Ophel, the southeastern hill of ancient Jerusalem, there is a cemetery of undetermined age. An early excavator, R. Weill, suggested that here could have been the tomb of David. A magazine article in 1995 revived that suggestion, still without proof. Since that time two of my colleagues have taken improved pictures of this site. I myself have visited the site. One view, taken by Bryant Wood, shows the general area as it has now been cleaned up. The other photograph was specifically taken of the door sill to the largest tomb of the group. An inscription appears there along with a relief. The relief depicts the head of a kingly figure with a crown on his head. The name of that individual is written out to the right of the relief. The name written there is the name of David, which may identify the head in relief and the tomb as belonging to King David. Thus the tomb of David in the city of David (I Kgs 2:10) has now been identified. Such a reading would permit the identification of the tomb of David in the city of David (1 Kgs 2:10).

Plate 1. The inscription begins where the arrow points, on the sill of a large tomb opening in an ancient cemetery on Mount Ophel. Photo by Bryant Wood.

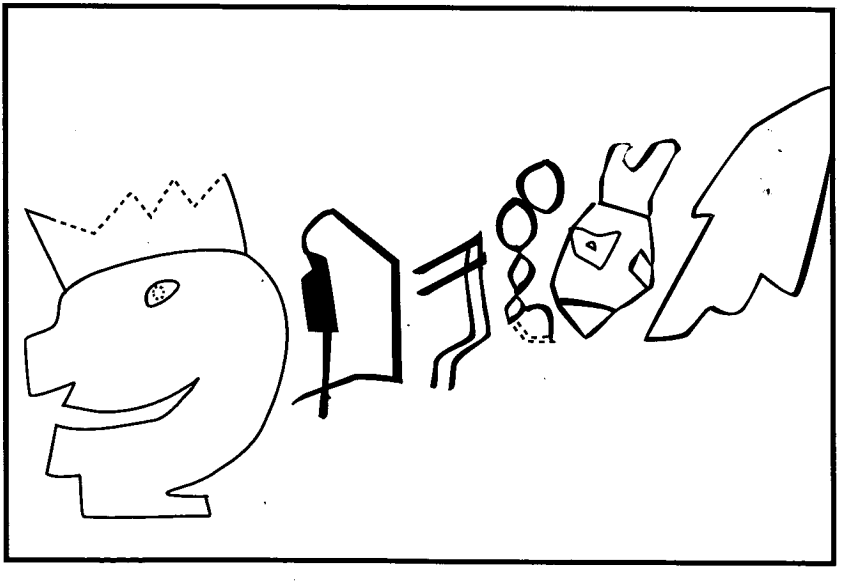

Plate 2a The shadow facilitates viewing the inscription on the sill of the large tomb. **Plate 2b.** Travis Spore digitized the photo and used the computer to trace the drawing directly from it; he then moved the tracing off the photo. Dotted lines show reconstructions. Original photo by George Reid.

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THIELE'S BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY AS A CORRECTIVE FOR EXTRABIBLICAL DATES

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The outstanding work of Edwin R. Thiele in producing a coherent and internally consistent chronology for the period of the Hebrew Divided Monarchy is well known. By ascertaining and applying the principles and procedures used by the Hebrew scribes in recording the lengths of reign and synchronisms given in the OT books of Kings and Chronicles for the kings of Israel and Judah, he was able to demonstrate the accuracy of these biblical data.

What has generally not been given due notice is the effect that Thiele's clarification of the Hebrew chronology of this period of history has had in furnishing a corrective for various dates in ancient Assyrian and Babylonian history. It is the purpose of this essay to look at several such dates.[1]

1. *The Basic Question*

In a recent article in *AUSS*, Leslie McFall, who along with many other scholars has shown favor for Thiele's chronology, notes five vital variable factors which Thiele recognized, and then he sets forth the following opinion:

> In view of the complex interaction of several of the independent factors, it is clear that such factors could never have been discovered (or uncovered) if it had not been for extrabiblical evidence which established certain key absolute dates for events in Israel and Judah, such as 853, 841, 723, 701, 605, 597, and 586 B.C. It was as a result of trial and error in fitting the biblical data around these absolute dates that previous chronologists (and more recently Thiele) brought to light the factors outlined above.[2]

[1]Although much of the information provided in this article can be found in Thiele's own published works, the presentation given here gathers it, together with certain other data, into a context and with a perspective not hitherto considered, so far as I have been able to determine.

[2]Leslie McFall, "Some Missing Coregencies in Thiele's Chronology," *AUSS* 30 (1992): 40. The factors he notes on pp. 38-40 are "Two New-Year's Days," "Two Systems for Counting

The scenario presented by McFall is not correct in Thiele's case. In this article I deal briefly with six of the dates mentioned by McFall: 853, 841, 723, 605, 597, and 586. Contrary to McFall's surmise, at the time when Thiele was formulating his chronological reconstruction, these dates were not the most commonly accepted ones for the events involved. In fact, in all six cases Thiele's work corrected erroneous or disputed dates that were then widely held by OT scholars and other specialists in ancient Near Eastern history.

I omit discussion of only one date noted by McFall: 701, the year of Assyrian King Sennacherib's invasion of Judah during his third military campaign. This date had already been rather firmly established by the time Thiele was doing his chronological work and therefore needs no treatment here.[3]

2. *Some Preliminary Matters*

In order to have an adequate framework for discussion of the six dates indicated above, we need to consider several preliminary matters: (1) the time frame when Thiele established his chronological pattern for the monarchs of Israel and Judah, (2) Thiele's procedure in developing that chronological pattern, and (3) the nature of the data from which Assyrian and Babylonian chronology is reconstructed.

Time Frame of Thiele's Work

The time frame for Thiele's solution to the chronology of the Hebrew Divided Monarchy is important, for the question before us is not the Assyrian and Babylonian dates that are presently accepted but the dates that were accepted when Thiele was producing his chronological pattern. That time frame is simple to determine, for Thiele's chronological findings were first published in *JNES* in July of 1944.[4] Recognizing the time lapse usually needed for articles to go through the refereeing and publication processes, we can safely assume

Regnal Years," "Switches between the Counting Systems," "Two Source Documents and Scribal Use of Them," and "Coregencies."

[3]See, e.g., Daniel David Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 10-12. Cf. L. L. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926). For a thorough discussion of opinions and evidence regarding whether Sennacherib made one or two invasions of Palestine, see W. H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-418; and Christopher Begg, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign: An Additional Indication," *JBL* 106 (1987): 685-686. In any case, the dating of the 701 campaign remains intact.

[4]Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES* 3 (1944): 137-186.

that his work was done prior to 1944, except for one last-minute reference added to the article, presumably in its galley-proof stage.[5]

After 1944, Thiele published a number of further pieces regarding aspects of his chronological discoveries. The most elaborate and well known is his *Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* which first appeared in 1951. Two subsequent editions of this work have also been published.[6] In these later editions Thiele omitted some of the more technical ancillary material of the first edition, added numerous helpful diagrams, and called attention to new information that has come to light since 1951. Although in this article I shall occasionally cite editions of *Mysterious Numbers*, the basic focus will be on the results Thiele had achieved by 1944.

Thiele's Procedure

As Thiele undertook and progressed with his work on the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, there was a certain amount of "trial and error" in his methodology,[7] but this was not in the sense which McFall has suggested. Although Thiele was well versed in the history of the ancient Near East, he determined not to allow that knowledge to influence his work. His only "trial-and-error" procedure was in seeing how the variable factors used by the Hebrew scribes were involved in producing the numbers given in the MT for the lengths of reign and synchronisms of the monarchs of the two Hebrew kingdoms. No dates whatever—either biblical or extrabiblical—were placed in his charts until he had established a pattern of internal consistency based solely on the biblical data.

He discusses his rationale and procedure in some detail in the "Preface" to the first edition of *Mysterious Numbers,*[8] and summarizes it as follows in the "Preface to the Second Edition":

> Let me once more call attention to the fact that in the production of

[5]Ibid., 182, n. 104 (also 183, n. 108), shows that Thiele added an item that had just come to light in January of 1944 from Albrecht Goetze, "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's *Babylonian Chronology*," *JNES* 3 (1944): 44.

[6]Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951). Later editions carry the same title as that of 1951; they appeared in 1965 and 1983, published respectively by Eerdmans and Zondervan in Grand Rapids, MI. Citations of the three editions will henceforth be *Myst. Numbers*, followed by a superscript "1," "2," or "3." In addition to these, Thiele published some dozen articles on various specific matters, plus a short popular book, *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977).

[7]Thiele, "Chronology," 140-141.

[8]*Myst. Numbers*[1], vi-ix; also in *Myst. Numbers*[2], vi-ix; and *Myst. Numbers*[3], 16-18.

> the pattern here set forth, the original purpose was to secure an arrangement of reigns [of the Hebrew kings] in harmony with the data themselves, without attention to contemporary chronology. Charts were prepared without dates of any kind, patterns showing the interrelationships of the rulers of Israel and Judah, but without indications of the overall passage of time. Only at the end was there to be a check with the known years of ancient history.[9]

The Bases for Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Chronology

As we now turn our attention to Assyria and Neo-Babylonia, two main questions confront us: How have B.C. dates been ascertained for events in Assyrian and Babylonian history, including those for contacts with Israel and Judah? And how reliable are such dates?

Assyria. The massive array of documents brought to light from excavations at several Assyrian capitals, as well as discoveries from other regions of the Assyrian Empire and elsewhere (for instance, Babylon), has furnished a wealth of information that is useful in providing a chronological structure for Assyrian history. First, and in some ways foremost, among such records are the "eponym" or *limmu* lists. A certain government official was designated each year as the eponym or *limmu* for that year, and thus a year-by-year list of eponyms was developed. A number of such lists are extant in more-or-less fragmentary state, and from them an "Eponym Canon" has been produced, giving the names of all the *limmus* in unbroken sequence from 892 until 648 B.C.[10] This Canon, as published in the standard translation of D. D. Luckenbill,[11] is fully reliable and uncontrovertible with only one exception. This single flaw, which affects all the dates prior to 786, derives from the Assyrian source lists themselves and is discussed below in our treatment of the year 853. As we shall see, Thiele was able to correct the Eponym Canon.

For most of the period pertinent to this study (853-723 B.C.), not only is the eponym named, but his office is given: for example, "field-marshal," "chief cup-bearer," "high-chamberlain," "governor of Calah," "king of Assyria," etc. (during the ninth century and in the eighth, up to and including Tiglath-pileser III [745-727], a pattern was followed in

[9]*Myst. Numbers*^{2}, xiv; also in *Myst. Numbers*^{3}, 21, in a slightly abbreviated form.

[10]The name of the eponym for 892 (earlier given incorrectly as 893) is fragmented, appearing only as ". . . shar. . . ." The first clear name is that of Urta-zarme for the following year. Prior to 892 there is a break in the list for the reign of Adad-nirari II, and beyond that the listing is rather sketchy.

[11]Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926-27). Hereafter cited as *AR*. The eponyms are listed in 2:427-439 (sects. 1195-1198).

which the king was eponym during his second official regnal year). Also, for the entire time period of interest to us here, a major event of the year is indicated.[12] Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the original source lists has at times left us without the office of the eponym and/or the event of the year. Restoration can frequently be made, however, from other considerations or documentation.

A second major source for Assyrian chronology is what has been called the "annals" of the Assyrian kings. It is preferable, however, to refer to these documents as annalistic-type records, for they do not necessarily always give a year-by-year account of major developments and activities during a particular king's reign. Some monarchs (or their scribes) structured their annalistic-type records on the basis of major military campaigns. Such is the case, for example, in regard to Sennacherib (705-681) and Ashurbanipal (669-627).

Two major lists of Assyrian kings are now extant. These are the Khorsabad King List and the SDAS King List, the former being the only one published before Thiele produced his chronology.[13] It covers the period from Assyrian beginnings until the end of the reign of Assur-nirâri V (745 B.C.), and the latter traverses the same ground, plus two further reigns: those of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) and Shalmaneser V (727-722). An important feature of these lists is that they indicate the lengths of reign of the various Assyrian monarchs.

In addition to extant documents of the three major types noted above, archaeology has uncovered thousands of tablets pertaining to business matters and other transactions. The "Babylonian Chronicle" also records certain events in Assyrian history, particularly when reference is made to contacts or relationships between Assyria and Babylonia.

We have now surveyed the kinds of ancient documents from which a general or overall chronology is built for Assyrian history. But how, then, are we able to put that chronology *into our own "B.C." terms*?

Fortunately, the Eponym Canon notes a solar eclipse as one of two major "events of the year" in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale during the reign of Assur-dân III. This eclipse took place in the "month of

[12]This begins with the eponymy of Tâb-bêl, 859 B.C., when Shalmaneser III became king. Frequently the event was a military campaign. Rarely more than one event is noted, but for the eponymy of Bur-Sagale (in the reign of Assur-dân III), 763, there are two events, as we shall notice later (see note 14, below).

[13]Arno Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," 3 parts, *JNES* 1 (1942): 247-306, 460-492; and 2 (1943): 56-90. For the actual list see 2:85-88. Both lists were later published by Ignace Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES* 13 (1954): 209-230. A cast of the SDAS list is in the Horn Museum of Andrews University (the original was returned to the Middle East).

Simanu."[14] Modern astronomy has fixed the exact date as June 15, 763 B.C. By moving eponym by eponym through the Canon in both directions from this year, we can ascertain the basic B.C. structure of Assyrian history for the entire period in which we are interested.

Neo-Babylonia. A significant chronological source for the history of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is the *Canon* of Ptolemy, a Greek astronomer in ancient Egypt (A.D. 70-161).[15] This *Canon* begins with the "Nabonassar Era" in 747 B.C., the accession year of Neo-Babylonia's first king, Nabonassar. That era covers both the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, reaching to the time of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Further subsections of the *Canon* carry the chronology down to Ptolemy's own time.[16] Of particular interest to us in this essay is the fact that Ptolemy listed both the lengths of reign of the Neo-Babylonian monarchs and the corresponding year numbers of the Nabonassar Era for the first and last regnal years of each king.

Ptolemy's *Canon* takes on special importance because of correlations that can be made with astronomical information given in his *Almagest*. The latter, which is specifically an astronomical work, provides more than eighty dated references to positions of the sun, moon, and planets. It includes five eclipses from Neo-Babylonian times and three from the Persian period.[17] One lunar eclipse is of particular interest to us: namely, that which occurred on the night of 29/30 Thoth during the 1st year of Babylonian King Mardokempados (Marduk-appal-iddin), which was also the 27th year of the Nabonassar Era. This eclipse has been determined through modern astronomical means to have occurred on the night of March 19, 721 B.C.

The special importance of this eclipse is that it furnishes the basis for an exact B.C. chronological correlation of Babylonian history with Assyrian history. Mardokempados reigned twelve years. His successor to the throne of Babylon was Sargon II of Assyria. The Assyrian Eponym Canon notes that during the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Assur-li', which was Sargon's 13th year on the Assyrian throne, this Assyrian

[14]*AR* 2:435 (in sect. 1198). The other event was a revolt in the city of Ashur.

[15]The *Canon* is given in F. K. Ginzel, ed., *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie: Das Zeitsrechnungswesen der Völker* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906), 1:139. It is discussed on the previous and several following pages. Thiele also provides the section of it from Nabonassar through Darius III (Appendix G in all three editions of *Myst. Numbers*).

[16]The Philip Era began on Nov. 12, 324 B.C.; and the Augustan Era was from August 30, 31 B.C., until A.D. 160.

[17]For the complete listing with B.C. dates, see Appendix H in any of the editions of Thiele's *Myst. Numbers*.

monarch "took the hand of Bel" (became king of Babylon).[18] From Ptolemy's work we are able to establish this event as taking place in the year 709 B.C. From Assyrian chronology, using the 763 B.C. date for the solar eclipse during the eponymy of Bur-Sagale, we also arrive at this very same date, 709. Thus the accuracy of both the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies has a double confirmation on the basis of these two recorded eclipses.

Numerous Babylonian records "flesh out" the Babylonian chronology. These include the "Babylonian Chronicle" and many dated documents of various sorts.

The Reliability Question. From the foregoing discussion it should be apparent that a firm chronological base has been established for both Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian history. But does this *overall reliability* of the chronological framework for the history of those two ancient Near-Eastern empires assure us also that the dates assigned by modern scholars for *specific* events in Assyrian and Babylonian history are always and invariably correct? Hardly so. A variety of factors may impinge on our efforts to secure correct dates for specific events. Among these are lack of extant information, incomplete or fragmented records, erroneous data provided by ancient scribes (either wittingly or unwittingly), and our own failure to understand precisely how chronological data should be construed or interpreted. Thus, to claim absolute validity for every date assigned by modern specialists to particular events or developments in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian history is folly.

3. *Review of Dates in Assyrian History*

Of the six dates we set out to review in this article, three pertain to Assyrian history. These, as now established (and given by McFall), are 853 B.C. for the battle of Qarqar, in which a coalition of western kings fought against Shalmaneser III; 841 for Jehu's payment of tribute to that same Assyrian monarch; and 723 for the fall of Samaria and the demise of the Hebrew Northern Kingdom.

The Battle of Qarqar—854 or 853?[19]

The earliest precise correlation between Assyrian history and Israelite history for which there is extant information is the battle of Qarqar. This battle took place in the 6th year of the reign of Shalmaneser III.[20] In it Ahab of Israel played an important role in the

[18]*AR* 2:437 (in sect. 1198).

[19]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 145-147, 149.

[20]Several Assyrian records refer to the battle at Qarqar, the most specific for our

western coalition. At the time when Thiele formulated his chronological pattern, the majority of scholars in the field considered the year of this battle to be 854 B.C., though some dissenters in Europe chose 853. Thiele, as he himself points out, had accepted the earlier date.[21] This was, after all, the date required by the basic reconstruction of the Eponym Canon by Luckenbill, George Smith, R. W. Rogers, and A. T. Olmstead.[22]

It came as a surprise to Thiele that his biblical chronology required, instead, the year 853 for this important battle. Even a one-year adjustment of his biblical-chronology pattern, which was entirely cohesive and internally consistent, would have led to confusion for all datings in both directions from 853. The end result would have been a huge number of adjustments to the biblical data in the books of Kings and Chronicles, significant disruption of Thiele's already-consistent chronology, and the need to resort repeatedly to speculation. Thiele's intellectual honesty would undoubtedly have led him to a full reconsideration of the pattern he had established, if such were necessary. But to him it was uncanny—indeed, almost inconceivable—that a pattern so perfect in itself could be out of step with Assyrian history, and therefore to him it made the best sense to give that history a closer look.

This he did, and in the process he discovered that the disputed dating of the battle of Qarqar had arisen because of confusion in the eponym source lists concerning the period between 788 and 784 B.C., during the reign of Adad-nirâri III (then dated as 810-781, but now dated as 809-781). For this period, one ancient *limmu* source list includes an additional name, Balatu, beyond the names given in several other such lists.[23] Since it seemed more likely that a name had been dropped rather than added, most scholars favored the longer chronology.

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interests being that of the Monolith Inscription. This gives the date (the year of Daiân-Assur) and mentions Ahab by name. See *AR* 1:222-223 (sect. 610) for the relevant text.

[21]See *Myst. Numbers*[1], viii; *Myst. Numbers*[2], viii; and *Myst. Numbers*[3], 17. Those who had accepted 853 were a few German and British historians, though this date was certainly not universally accepted in Europe. In America, 854 was always the year given in sources available to Thiele.

[22]*AR* 2:431 (in sect. 1198); George Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon* (London: Bagster and Sons, [1875]), 31; Roger William Rogers, trans. and ed., *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon, 1926), 226; and A. T. Olmstead, "The Assyrian Chronicle," *JAOS* 34 (1915): 360.

[23]C^a3 on the one hand, and C^a6, C^b2, and C^c on the other, in the classification of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (1938), s.v. "Eponymen."

However, some researchers had come to the conclusion that the shorter lists were chronologically correct. For example, in 1915 Emil Forrer had made the suggestion that Balatu, assigned to 787 in the longer list, was an individual who had been appointed as eponym for 786 but had died before taking office, so that Nabû-shar-usur was the eponym who actually served that year.[24]

Thiele himself carefully reviewed this evidence, and deemed Forrer's conclusion to be reasonable. However, he also took into account a further source of evidence just coming to light as he was doing his work, the Khorsabad King List. Since according to the longer eponym chronology there would have been 115 years from the accession of Shalmaneser III to the death of Assur-nirâri V—i.e., from 860 B.C. to the firm date of 745—but only 114 years according to the Khorsabad King List, the shorter eponym chronology must be correct. This being the case, the accession of Shalmaneser actually took place in 859, making his 6th regnal year 853. Thus the battle of Qarqar was fought in 853, not 854.

But the Khorsabad King List also made evident that the precise place where the longer chronology had gone astray was during the reign of Adad-nirâri III. According to the longer chronology this king would have reigned 29 years, from 810 to 781, whereas the King List gives his reign as 28 years. And it is, of course, precisely during this monarch's reign that the variance in the original eponym source lists occurs.

Thiele thus not only certified the year 853 as the date for the battle of Qarqar, but also was able to prepare a corrected Eponym Canon, now included as Appendix F in the three editions of his *Mysterious Numbers*. His assigning both Balatu and Nabû-shar-usur to the year 786, as Forrer had suggested, is undoubtedly the most feasible solution for the eponym-list problem. But for our purposes, his establishing the short eponym chronology as over against the long one is the vital matter, for it is the correctness of the short chronology that establishes 853 as Shalmaneser's 6th year and thus the date of the battle of Qarqar.

Jehu's Payment of Tribute to Shalmaneser—842 or 841?[25]

According to the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, this Assyrian monarch collected tribute from King Jehu of Samaria, and a text

[24]There are technicalities beyond our scope here, but these have been set forth clearly and adequately by Thiele not only in "Chronology," 145-146, but also in all three editions of his *Myst. Numbers* (see, e.g., *Myst. Numbers*^{3}, 73-74). Thiele's reference to Forrer's work is the latter's "Zur Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit," in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 20 (1915).

[25]Discussed by Thiele, "Chronology," 149.

fragment from Calah provides the date as Shalmaneser's 18th year.[26] Since the battle of Qarqar had taken place twelve years earlier, during Shalmaneser's 6th year, to determine the time of Jehu's payment of tribute was a simple matter of subtraction. The renowned American scholars who accepted 854 as the date for the battle of Qarqar considered 842 to be the date of the tribute payment by Jehu. Thus the matter stood when Thiele was developing the pattern for his Hebrew chronology.

However, on the same grounds mentioned above for correcting the date of the battle of Qarqar to 853, Thiele corrected also the date for Jehu's tribute payment to 841. According to Thiele's chronology, this was the very year when Jehu came to the throne, an especially appropriate time for Shalmaneser to demand tribute from his new vassal.

Moreover, since Thiele's chronology also required precisely twelve years as the interval between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu, it was now clear, as well, that Ahab died in 853. This was at the battle of Ramoth-gilead (1 Kgs 22:1-37), not long after Ahab's participation in the battle of Qarqar.

The Fall of Samaria—721/722 or 723?[27]

When Thiele entered into his chronological chart the date for the fall of Samaria and the dethronement of Hoshea, the Hebrew Northern Kingdom's last monarch, he was surprised to find that in his sequential pattern of biblical dates the year turned out to be 723 B.C., not 722 or 721. Virtually every important scholar who dealt with the history of the ancient Near East believed, on the basis of Assyrian records, that Sargon II, who acceded to the Assyrian throne toward the end of December 722, was the monarch who defeated Hoshea and brought the northern Hebrew nation to its end. Documentation from late in Sargon's reign made this almost indisputable, so the modern scholars felt, for the king seemed categorically to declare that he had attacked Samaria "at the beginning of my rule."[28] The time would have been very late in December of 722 B.C. or very early in the year 721. Virtually every

[26]For the text of the Black Obelisk, see *AR* 1: 200-211 (sects. 555-593, the mention of Jehu being in sect. 590); for the text of the Calah fragment, see *AR* 1:243 (sect. 672). The statement in this fragment is that Shalmaneser received tribute from the inhabitants of "Tyre, Sidon and of Jehu, son of Omri."

[27]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 173-174.

[28]The text, badly mutilated at this point, is given in *AR* 2:2 (sect. 4). Several other late inscriptions from no earlier than Sargon's 15th and 16th years appear to refer to the same supposed event.

specialist in the field *knew* that this was the correct dating for the event.[29]

Again Thiele was puzzled, for his chronology absolutely required the year of Samaria's fall to be 723. And once more he turned his attention to the pertinent Assyrian data, noting also that at least one prominent Assyriologist, Albert T. Olmstead, had already adopted 723 as the correct date.[30] Olmstead's conclusion rested basically on what he considered a correlation between certain Assyrian and biblical data, coupled with a consequent rejection of Sargon's claim (after all, if Sargon had indeed captured Samaria at the beginning of his rule, why was this important achievement not recorded early in his reign?). Olmstead observed that the biblical account in 2 Kgs 17:3-6 refers by name to Shalmaneser as coming against Hoshea and making the latter his vassal. Then the account continues with a number of references to "the king of Assyria." When Hoshea failed to pay tribute, "the king of Assyria" besieged Samaria for "three years" until the 9th year of Hoshea, when the Assyrian king captured Samaria and deported the Israelites to Assyria. Although the name "Shalmaneser" appears only once in this passage, with the term "the king of Assyria" used repeatedly thereafter, Olmstead deduced that a logical reading of the biblical passage requires that the same Assyrian monarch is referred to throughout the entire account. This would make Shalmaneser V, rather than Sargon II, the destroyer of the Hebrew Northern Kingdom.

But there was also Assyrian evidence to notice: namely, that for the three years 725, 724, and 723 in the Eponym Canon, Shalmaneser carried on military campaigns (or perhaps, rather, one extended three-year campaign).[31] Unfortunately, the text of the Canon is mutilated at precisely this point, leaving us without the name of the place (or places) which Shalmaneser attacked during those three years. The striking feature is that both the biblical record and the Assyrian Eponym Canon refer to three successive years of military campaigning, with Shalmaneser as the Assyrian monarch in each instance. It seemed to

[29]W. F. Albright, in speaking of the tentativeness of datings in his own chronology of the Hebrew Divided Monarchy, has made the assertion that "the only date which is absolutely certain is that of the Fall of Samaria"; this he sets forth as "between the accession of Sargon in December, 722, and the end of his accession year in the spring of 721" ("The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel," *BASOR*, no. 100 [Dec. 1945]: 17, and 22, n. 27).

[30]A. T. Olmstead, "The Fall of Samaria," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 21 (1904-05): 179-182; Olmstead mentions the matter also in some of his other writings, such as "Bruno Meissner," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 5 (1928-29): 30.

[31]*AR* 2: 437 (in sect. 1198).

Olmstead that the same Assyrian military activity was in view in both the biblical and Assyrian records.

But Olmstead also noted still another piece of important information bearing on the question. A statement in the Babylonian Chronicle 1:28 indicates that Shalmaneser destroyed "Sha-ma-ra-'i-in." This, for Olmstead, was Samaria. Although relatively few other scholars believed that this place should be identified as Samaria, it is interesting to observe that in his edition of the Eponym Canon, Luckenbill supplied "Samaria" for the years 725, 724, and 723.[32]

As plausible as Olmstead's argument was, drawing as it did upon three distinct lines of evidence, scholars in the field generally ignored it, choosing rather to accept the claim made by Sargon. Thiele, however, once he had studied the matter carefully for himself, recognized the strength of the evidence favoring Shalmaneser as the Assyrian monarch who brought the kingdom of Israel to its demise. He adopted the date 723 for this event. Moreover, through the publication of his chronological work, especially his *Mysterious Numbers*, he gave Olmstead's thesis new life. The fact that the year 723, and no other, would harmonize with Thiele's internally consistent biblical chronology furnished an added important support in favor of this date.[33]

Thus, it is fair to say that Thiele's chronological research was a significant factor in calling attention to 723 as the correct date for the fall of Samaria and to Shalmaneser V as the monarch who was responsible for terminating the Hebrew Northern Kingdom. Consequently, it also became evident that Sargon's claim to be the conqueror of Samaria at the beginning of his rule (during his accession year) was invalid.

The clinching argument from Assyrian sources that this was indeed the case did not surface, however, until some fifteen or more years subsequent to Thiele's discovery. In 1958 Hayim Tadmor published a study of the annalistic records of Sargon revealing that Sargon did not engage in any foreign military activity until 720 B.C.[34] In that year he

[32]Ibid.

[33]It is interesting to note that so distinguished a work as *Cambridge Ancient History* has included in its 2d ed. a statement by T. C. Mitchell that "the fall of Samaria is likely to have taken place before the end of his [Shalmaneser's] reign"(3/2 [1991]: 340). This is in striking contrast to Sidney Smith's statement in the earlier edition that it "is clear that Shalmaneser died before Samaria actually fell" (*Cambridge Ancient History* 3 [1929]: 42).

[34]Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," *JCS* 12 (1958): 38-39. Sargon's annalistic records had, of course, been treated earlier too (e.g., by A. T. Olmstead, "The Text of Sargon's Annals," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 47 [1930-31]: 259-280), but without the impact which Tadmor's study has made.

attacked Elamite armies to the south and then marched against a western alliance. Late in the year he visited Samaria to deport its inhabitants and transplant people from elsewhere to become the backbone of the Assyrian province named "Samerina."

4. *Review of Dates in Neo-Babylonian History*

As we turn our attention to Neo-Babylonian contacts with the Hebrew kingdom of Judah, three events and their dates concern us. The events are the three military assaults against Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, as mentioned in Dan 1:1-6, 2 Kgs 24:8-17, and 2 Kgs 25:1-21. In each of these attacks, Jewish captives were taken to Babylon.

The three "absolute dates" for these events, according to McFall, are 605, 597, and 586 B.C., dates which, in his opinion, were necessary for Thiele to use in developing his biblical chronology. The fact is, of course, that at the time Thiele did his initial work, none of these dates was generally accepted; and moreover, Thiele himself was the scholar who had a large role in giving them credibility.

Preliminary Observations

Three preliminary observations will expedite our discussion of Nebuchadnezzar's military attacks on Jerusalem. First, Thiele recognized that because the biblical accounts date these Babylonian assaults (or Hebrew captivities) to specific years in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and/or a particular Hebrew monarch, the time intervals between them are readily determined. The first interval would be 8 years (from Jehoiakim's 3d to 11th year, plus about three months for the reign of Jehoiachin), and the second one, 11 years (the number of years of Zedekiah's reign). This means that a firm date for any of the three assaults should also fix the dates for the other two (much as in the case of the 12-year interval between the battle of Qarqar and Jehu's payment of tribute to Shalmaneser III).

Second, readers of Thiele's *Mysterious Numbers* in its 2d or 3d editions should keep in mind that certain specific Babylonian datings which he has given in these publications were not available when he did his original work. They came to light only when D. J. Wiseman in 1956 published some Babylonian tablets in the British Museum whose content had earlier been unknown to the scholarly world.[35]

Third, in order to get a correct chronological picture, it is essential to proceed on the basis of the procedures used by the scribes who recorded the pertinent data. By a careful and thoroughgoing analysis of

[35]D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1956).

the chronological notations in the OT books of Kings, Chronicles, Daniel, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, Thiele derived the following pattern: (1) In stating regnal years, the records in Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel reveal the use of Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for Nebuchadnezzar as well as for the Hebrew monarchs. Judah's actual regnal years were from the Tishri to Tishri, but Babylon's practice was to begin regnal years in Nisan. (2) The Babylonian scribes gave their regnal data to according their own Nisan years. (3) Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel also set forth Babylonian regnal years in the Nisan-to-Nisan mode, except in material obviously taken from the same records as 2 Kings 24:18-25: 21 (e.g., Jer 39:1-14 and 52:1-27).[36] (4) The "calendar" year of both nations was, and regularly had been, Nisan to Nisan. (5) Also, at this time Judah was using postdating (the accession-year system) for enumeration of a monarch's years of reign, the standard system used in both Assyria and Babylonia. Although all these five considerations are vital, the most important one for us to keep in mind is that the OT books of Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel use Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for Babylonia as well as for Judah. As we shall see, confusion over this matter has led some scholars to retain a partially incorrect chronology for Nebuchadnezzar's attacks on Jerusalem, in spite of Thiele's work and the new information brought to light by Wiseman.

Nebuchadnezzar's First Assault on Jerusalem[37]

At the time of Thiele's study, available chronicle information about Babylonian military activity concluded with the year 608 B.C., prior to Nebuchadnezzar's first assault on Jerusalem.[38] Nevertheless, biblical scholars tended to believe that there was such an attack before 600 B.C., based on information in Jeremiah. Most such scholars, however, either rejected the record in Daniel or considered it dubious. A common date given was 604, but W. F. Albright suggested 603/02.[39]

[36]Alberto R. Green, "The Chronology of the Last Days of Judah: Two Apparent Discrepancies," *JBL* 101 (1982): 57-73, has concluded that the book of Jeremiah may be using Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning throughout. Green's most important contribution, in my opinion, is his elucidating the fact that the captivities mentioned in Jer 52:28-29 are not necessarily identical with those mentioned in Kings and Chronicles (63-67).

[37]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 181-182.

[38]This latest chronicle material available to Thiele was B.M. 21901, published by C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (London: British Museum, 1923). Wiseman has provided a new transliteration and translation of this tablet (54-65).

[39]The date 604 occurs in a number of older publications. W. F. Albright gave the date as "603/2" in his article "The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preëxilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel," *JBL* 51 (1932): 86; he has reiterated it in "The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR*, no. 143 (Oct. 1956): 31, though

Thiele noted the datum in Dan 1:1 that Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Jerusalem took place in Jehoiakim's 3d year. If this was correct (and Thiele believed that it was), the date could not have been later than 605. Thiele also noted that the Babylonian historian Berosus (ca. 300 B.C.), as quoted by Josephus, furnished the following important information: Nebuchadnezzar was crown prince at the time of a western campaign during which he learned of the death of his father, Nabopolassar, in the latter's 21st year of reign. Thereupon Nebuchadnezzar hastened across the desert so as to reach Babylon as quickly as possible to claim the throne. The "prisoners—Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and Egyptians"—and the "heavily armored troops and the rest of his belongings" were left in the hands of friends to escort to Babylon.[40] The fact that there were Jewish prisoners gives evidence that Judah was among the places attacked.

Thiele concluded that the records of Daniel and Berosus refer to the same Jewish captivity and thus corroborate each other. Moreover, the testimony is that of two independent, unbiased witnesses, a fact which should make that testimony all the more reliable.

It now remained only to determine the time of the transition in Babylonian rulership from Nabopolassar to his son Nebuchadnezzar II. The latest two extant documents dated to Nabopolassar's 21st year were from Aiaru 2 and Abu 1 (May 12 and August 8) of the year 605.[41] The first dated extant one from Nebuchadnezzar's accession year was from Duzu, the fourth Babylonian month (specific day lacking), which ended on August 7, 605, and the next one was from Ululu 12 (September 18) of that year.[42] It was now clear to Thiele that the transition in rulership took place somewhere in or near the month of August in 605. Thanks to the subsequently published documents by Wiseman, we now know the exact dates for Nabopolassar's death and Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne: Abu 8 and Ululu 1 (August 16 and September 7), respectively.[43]

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also now allowing the possibility that "the first conquest of Judah by the Chaldaeans . . . may have been in 604/3 instead of 603/2" (28, n. 4).

[40]Berosus, quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.19.

[41]Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 45* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 9. Thiele adjusted the first date to Aiaru 6 (May 16).

[42]Ibid., and Goetze, 44.

[43]Wiseman, 46, 68, 69. The tablet is B.M. 21946. For Babylonian texts, I use the Babylonian month names, even though Wiseman's translation gives the Hebrew month names.

Thus, for Thiele the time of Nebuchadnezzar's first major attack on Jerusalem, when captives were taken to Babylon, was 605. He had arrived at this date by giving due consideration to the biblical evidence, Berosus' account, and the Babylonian documentation available to him. It is fair to say that his careful work has swung the pendulum somewhat in favor of the date 605 instead of 604 or later. Not all scholars have accepted 605, however, and most notably so Albright, who still, after Thiele's publication of 1944, could declare, "I should consider it unlikely that Judah was actually invaded until some time in 603/2."[44]

Nebuchadnezzar's Second Major Assault on Jerusalem[45]

Nebuchadnezzar's second major military assault on Judah and Jerusalem occurred in what 2 Kings 24:12 refers to as Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year. After a reign of only three months (three months and ten days, according to 2 Chron 36:9), Jehoiachin king of Judah was removed from his throne by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kgs 24:8-12). Jehoiachin, his family, and numerous others from Judah were carried captive to Babylon (vv. 14-16); and Mattaniah, whom Nebuchadnezzar renamed "Zedekiah," was placed on the throne (v. 17). According to 2 Chron 36:10, this took place "at the turn of the year" (*litšûbat haššānāh*), which Thiele interpreted to be the spring season (Nisan) rather than the autumn (Tishri), a conclusion supported by several lines of evidence. One of these evidences, a datum in Ezek 40:1, establishes the very month and day of Jehoiachin's captivity as Nisan 10 (April 22).[46]

Since this captivity (and Jerusalem's capture which preceded it) occurred within Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year, Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning, that year would have to be 597 B.C. This dating, however, was by no means universally accepted when Thiele was doing his chronological research, as a glance at **figure 2** reveals. A more frequently given year was 598.

As we have noted earlier, at the time when Thiele was delving into this matter, no clear confirmation had come to light from Babylonian records concerning this Babylonian attack on Jerusalem. Such documentation did come, however, in Wiseman's publication of 1956. Babylonian tablet B.M. 21946 furnishes the information that in the 7th

[44]Albright, "Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar," 31; Cf. n. 39, above.

[45]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 182.

[46]Another evidence for the spring season noted by Thiele is the comment in Jer 36:30 that Jehoiakim's dead body would be exposed to "the frost by night." Thus the death of Jehoiakim would have taken place in winter, with the Babylonian attack on Jehoiachin coming some three months later.

year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Nisan reckoning, which was the 8th year in Jewish Tishri reckoning), Nebuchadnezzar led a military expedition to the Hatti-land in the month of Kislimu (December 17, 598, to January 15, 597) and captured Jerusalem on the 2d day of Addaru (March 16, 597).[47] We thus find once again that Thiele was able to provide a correct extrabiblical date prior to the time when the precise extrabiblical evidence for it was available.

Nebuchadnezzar's Destruction of Jerusalem[48]

According to 2 Kings 25:1-21, Nebuchadnezzar's next (third and final) major military campaign to Jerusalem resulted in the capture of the city and dethronement of Zedekiah, who was taken captive to Babylon after seeing his sons killed and then having his own eyes gouged out. The date given for the breaching of the city walls is the 9th day of the 4th month in the 11th year of Zedekiah (vv. 3-4); the date indicated for the arrival in Jerusalem of Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's deputy who destroyed the city with fire and sent the captives into exile, was the 7th day of the 5th month in Nebuchadnezzar's 19th year (vv. 8-11).

It would seem clear that these events should therefore be eleven years subsequent to Nebuchadnezzar's previous invasion, when he had placed Zedekiah on the throne of Judah. Scholars who had dated the preceding invasion to 598 usually opted for 587 as the date for Jerusalem's destruction and the end of the kingdom of Judah. Thiele's date was 586.

Although there is a gap in the Babylonian record for this period,[49] the Babylonian evidence brought to light by Wiseman for the year 597 firmly establishes also, so it would seem, the date 586 as the correct one for the final fall of Jerusalem and the termination of the Hebrew Southern Kingdom. However, some distinguished scholars in the field, most notably among them Albright and some of his former students, still retained 587 as the year when these decisive events in Judah's history took place.[50] This would be possible *if* the regnal-year dating in

[47]Wiseman, 72, 73. Regarding the month names, see n. 43, above.

[48]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 182-183.

[49]The extant portion of B.M. 21946 concludes with a military campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in his 11th year (thus in 594 B.C.). The next information, chronologically, is found in B.M. 25124 and pertains to Neriglissar's 3d year (557 B.C.). See Wiseman, 48-49.

[50]Albright, "Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar," 32; D. N. Freedman, "The Babylonian Chronicle," *BA* 19 (1956): 54-55; and John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 309, and also later editions.

2 Kgs 24 and 25 were Nisan to Nisan and *if* Zedekiah ascended the throne prior to Nisan 1 in the year 597. But the regnal year in 2 Kings is Tishri to Tishri, as evidenced by the harmony of all the data if this reckoning is recognized, a harmony which falls apart on the basis of a Nisan regnal year. Tishri reckoning makes Zedekiah's 11th year begin in the fall of 587, with the summer events of that year occurring in 586.

Moreover, it is likely that Nebuchadnezzar put Zedekiah on the throne after Nisan 1, 597, for the Babylonian monarch would undoubtedly first have spent several weeks in rounding up the captives (including Jehoiachin) and completing certain other tasks. The sequential arrangement of the biblical text in mentioning Jehoiachin's captivity before Zedekiah's accession (2 Kgs 24:15-17 and 2 Chron 36:10) is an indication, I believe, that the latter was not enthroned until the former was exiled, therefore on or after Nisan 10, 597. The somewhat elaborate account of Josephus also supports such a scenario.[51] In this case, even on a Nisan-to-Nisan basis, Zedekiah's 11th year would include the summer of 586.

There are other pieces of evidence noted by Thiele which cannot be accommodated to the 587 date. Such, for instance, is the datum of Ezek 40:1, indicating that the 25th year of Jehoiachin's (and Ezekiel's own) captivity was also the 14th year "after the city [Jerusalem] was conquered" (RSV). Another problematical datum for those who hold the 587 date is the statement in 2 Kgs 25:8-9 that Nebuzaradan arrived in Jerusalem and torched the city during Nebuchadnezzar's 19th year. The summer of that year would be in 586 on either the Tishri or Nisan regnal-year basis, as indicated in **figure 1**.

Albright recognized this anomaly for his reckoning and said the year should be Nebuchadnezzar's 18th, not 19th.[52] His suggestion was that in Judah Nebuchadnezzar was viewed as *de facto* king prior to actual enthronement because during the final year of his father's reign he alone was leading the troops while Nabopolassar remained in Babylon. This is an untenable suggestion, in my opinion, for the Jewish scribes, who took great pains to be accurate, could hardly have been so confused and unrealistic about the political events of their time.

Thiele's date of 586 runs into none of the problems mentioned above. Although some scholars have refused to accept this date, many specialists in OT studies have adopted it as the best, or even only viable,

[51]Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.7.1. He refers to a time lapse between Jehoiachin's surrender and the rounding up of captives by Nebuchadnezzar's generals. The captives were then brought to Nebuchadnezzar, who "kept them in custody and appointed Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, as king."

[52]Albright, "Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar," 32.

reconstruction from the evidence. For these scholars, the date 586 serves as a welcome corrective for both OT and Babylonian chronology.

5. *Analysis and Evaluation*

We have now taken note of three events in Assyrian history and three in Babylonian history wherein contacts occurred between one or the other of the Hebrew monarchies and either Assyria or Babylonia. In each case, Thiele provided evidence to bring correction to widely held incorrect dates. He was led to his conclusions because the internally consistent chronological pattern he had formulated caused him to see and investigate the problems he encountered with the extrabiblical datings. His refusal to enter any dates into his charts until he had arrived at a cohesive self-consistent pattern for the entire regnal history of the two Hebrew kingdoms was what enabled him to see the need for restudy of the extrabiblical erroneous dates so widely held at the time he was doing his work.

In this article I have purposely dealt only with dates noted by McFall—dates that McFall himself and many other scholars now accept, thanks in large part to Thiele's work. But Thiele's chronology has led to other clarifications, as well, such as the contacts of Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah of Judah and Menahem of Israel, to be dated as either 743 or 742 B.C. instead of the commonly held 738,[53] and the same monarch's placing Hoshea on the throne of Israel in 732/31.[54]

As a point of interest, we may observe some of the results of two late nineteenth-century and six twentieth-century scholars who have tried seriously to reconstruct the chronology of the Hebrew Divided Kingdom by taking note of extrabiblical information from Assyria and Neo-Babylonia (see **figure 2**).[55]

[53]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 155-163. Albright, in "Chronology of Divided Monarchy," 18, remarks that Thiele's "careful analysis of the records of Tiglath-Pileser III, showing that Azariah of Judah appears in connection with the events of 743 B.C.," is "the most important forward step for many years." However, Albright still dates Menahem's payment of tribute to Assyria in 738 (21, n. 24).

[54]Discussed in Thiele, "Chronology," 167.

[55]This very small list is excerpted from the extensive tables provided by Thiele, *Myst. Numbers*[1], 254-255 (technical material not repeated in the later editions). The specific works are not given in connection with the tables, but the citations may be found in footnotes to Thiele's accompanying text. The titles are also included in his bibliography in *Myst. Numbers*[3], 233-242. Omitted from my sampling, but included in Thiele's tables, is the chronology of Martin Anstey, whose work (published in 1913) in no way measures up to that of the other scholars listed (a fact that Thiele himself makes very clear). Anstey had access to the same basic extrabiblical sources available to the other chronologers, but still could go so far afield as to date Ahab's death to 904 B.C., fifty-one years before that king's participation in the battle of Qarqar! I have also omitted James Ussher's chronology

In addition to the comments made in connection with **figure 2** itself, we here consider just a few further items. Of the eight chronologers listed, only Rühl, Coucke, and Mowinckel date the division of the Hebrew Kingdom (and therefore the accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam) to 931, Thiele's date; the maximum divergence is 15 years. Only Kugler gives 12 years between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu, as required by the biblical data, but his dates are a year too early, 854 and 842. All the other chronologers have either lengthened or shortened the time, with a maximum divergence of 9 years. Finally, not even one of these eight scholars gives the correct date for Hoshea's dethronement, 723 B.C. (they choose 724, 722, or 721).

The point of all this is that Thiele could, and did, achieve his harmonious results only by strictly adhering to the procedure which he indicates that he used. His results would undoubtedly have matched in mistakes those of the serious scholars listed in **figure 2** if he had utilized their procedures. Thankfully, he did not.

5. *Conclusion*

The purpose of this essay has been to show how Thiele's biblical chronology has provided correctives to extrabiblical chronology. This purpose has been accomplished, and we have also seen that Thiele was able to make the proper adjustments only because of the procedure he followed. As a fitting conclusion to our study, we may take note of the importance of that procedure by examining what the case would have been if he had used the methodology attributed to him and other chronologers by McFall--that is, "trial and error in fitting the biblical data" around the so-called "absolute dates" of Assyrian and Babylonian history.

First of all, Thiele would have found himself in the same state of confusion as were the chronologers who used that process. He would have faced the necessity of making almost endless adjustments to his biblical chronology and the underlying biblical data. His cohesive and internally consistent pattern for Hebrew chronology would have been shattered, and he would inevitably have found himself speculating as to which biblical data should be considered reliable and which should not.

(published 1650-54), since it was worked out prior to the massive archaeological data made available in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My purpose here has been to sample the work of *serious* scholars who were able to utilize such extrabiblical evidence. The two nineteenth-century scholars in the list obviously did not have as much of this evidence available as did the six twentieth-century chronologers; but we must remember that a considerable amount of the basic textual material had been published and/or discussed prior to 1883 by such eminent authorities as H. Rawlinson, A. H. Layard, George Smith, and others.

Second, his biblical-chronology reconstruction would have been invalid by being in harmony with erroneous extrabiblical dates. His chronological reconstruction obviously could be no better than the incorrect extrabiblical information to which it had been made to conform.

Third, Thiele would not have been able to rectify the erroneous extrabiblical dates that we have noted, for he would have taken for granted that they were already correct. And therefore he would not have rendered the kind of service to Assyrian and Babylonian history and chronology that we have surveyed in this article.

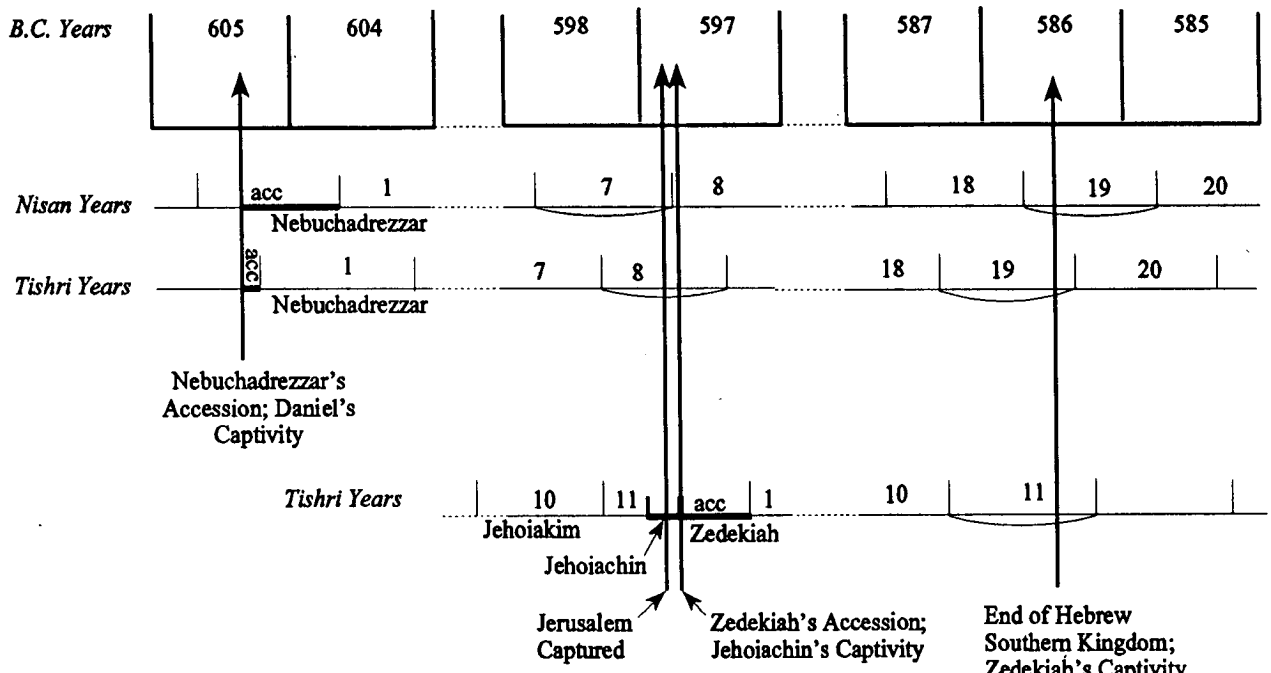

FIGURE 1. THREE BABYLONIAN ASSAULTS ON JERUSALEM

	KAMPHAUSEN	RÜHL	KUGLER	COUCKE	LEWY	BEGRICH	MOWINCKEL	ALBRIGHT
	1883	1894	1922	1925	1927	1929	1931	1932, 1945
The Schism	937	(931)	929	(931)	922	926	(931)	922
Ahab's Death	857	854	854	(853)	847	852	852	850
Jehu's Accession	842	(841)	842	846	(841)	845	843	842
Number of Years	*15*	*13*	(12)	*7*	*6*	*7*	*9*	*8*
Hoshea's Dethronement	722	721	724	722	724	724	722	724
Zedekiah's Accession	596	596	(597)	598	(597)	(597)	598	598
End of Zedekiah's Reign	(586)	587	587	588	(586)	587	587	587
Number of Years	*10*	*9*	*10*	*10*	(11)	*10*	(11)	(11)

Note: The source from which this table has been compiled is indicated in n. 56 to the main text. The dates and year totals that agree with Thiele's results are encircled so as to make them quickly visible. It is evident that (1) only a relatively small fraction (23.4%) of the figures match Thiele's, (2) there is no basic agreement among the eight scholars themselves, (3) not even one of them has a preponderance of correct information, and (4) they all have altered biblical data.

This table gives only a very small sampling inasmuch as it is limited almost entirely to dates and year totals of particular interest to the present study (the one exception is the dates given for the schism). The total chronological picture set forth by these eight chronologers displays a similar degree of erroneous and conflicting data.

FIGURE 2. A SAMPLING OF DATA FROM MODERN CHRONOLOGERS

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DOES PROVERBS PROMISE TOO MUCH?

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Introduction

This essay, "Does the Book of Proverbs Promise Too Much?" is poignantly fitting in this memorial volume to Professor Hasel, who exemplified both in his life and in his scholarship the highest Christian ideals. The untimely death of one of the finest Old Testament scholars makes the Book of Proverbs' heavenly promises seem detached from earth's reality.

Evangelicals confess the Book of Proverbs' inspiration and intellectually assent to its authority, but emotionally many cannot take the book seriously because its promises seem removed from the harsh reality of their experience. Prov. 3:1-12 brings the problem into sharp focus. I will divide this essay into four parts: (1) translation; (2) poetics; (3) theological reflection on the problem, "does it promise too much," and finally (4) exposition of 3:5.

1. Translation

3:1 My son, do not forget my teaching,
and let your heart guard my commandments;
3:2 for length of days and years of life,
and peace they will add to you.
3:3 Kindness and reliability let them not leave you,
bind them upon your throat;
3:4 and find favor and good repute,
in the eyes of God and humankind.
3:5 Trust in the Lord with all your heart,
and in your own understanding do not rely;
3:6 in all your ways know him,
and he will make your paths straight.
3:7 Do not be wise in your own eyes,
fear the Lord and depart from evil;
3:8 healing let there be to your navel,

and refreshment to your bones.
3:9 Honor the Lord from your wealth,
from the first fruits of all your produce;
3:10 and your granaries will be filled with plenty,
and with new wine your vats will overflow.
3:11 The discipline of the Lord, my son, do not reject,
and do not loathe his rebuke;
3:12 because whom the Lord loves he rebukes
even as a father the son in whom he delights.

2. Poetics

The encomium to wisdom in 3:1-12 is distinguished from that in 2:1-22: (1) by the renewed address, "my son" (cf. 2:1, 3:1); (2) by the change of form on the syntactic level from a lengthy protasis (2:1-4) and very expanded apodosis (vv. 5-22) to six strophes essentially consisting of admonitions in the odd verses (3:1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11) and to argumentation in the even (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12); and (3) by changing the theme on the paradigmatic level from admonitions to embrace the father's teaching (2:1-4) in order to find piety (2:5-8) and ethics (2:9-11), and so be protected against the fatal voices and ways of apostate men (2:12-15) and women (2:16-19), to admonitions to accept the teaching (3:1) and embrace ethics (3:3) and piety (3:5, 7, 9) in order to obtain palpable physical and social benefits.

This teaching is even more strongly anchored in God than chap. 2. First, the admonitions progress from the typical introduction, to keep the father's teaching (v. 1), to the command not to abandon covenant love and fidelity (v. 3), to establishing and retaining a relationship with God: trust the Lord (v. 5), to be humble before God (i.e., not to be wise in one's own eyes and so think and behave impiously and wickedly) (v. 7), to honor the Lord (v. 9), and not to reject the Lord's correction (v. 11).

Newsom argues that by these six strophes or quatrains the father anchors his teachings even more strongly in Israel's transcendent God.[1] The father begins, she observes, using the parallel, "my law" and "my commands," that "has resonances of God's *torah* and *miswot* to Israel and so subtly positions the father in association with divine authority." His appeals to have a right relationship with God (vv. 5-12) parallel, she further observes, "in structure and motivation the father's call for obedience to himself in 2:1-4." Finally, she notes, "it comes as no surprise that . . . the passage concludes in v. 12 with the metaphor of

[1]Carol A. Newsom, "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1-9," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy L. Day (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 149-151.

God as a father reproving his son."

In theological terms, the admonitions in the odd verses of 3:1-12 present the obligations of the son, the human covenant partner; the argumentation in the even verses shows the obligations of the Lord, the divine covenant partner. The human partner has the responsibility to keep ethics and piety, and the divine partner the obligation to bless his worshiper with peace, prosperity, and longevity.

The argumentation for keeping the Lord's commands is based on the tangible rewards that only he can give: long life and peace (v. 2), favor with God and humanity (v. 4), a smooth path (v. 6), psychological and physical health (v. 8), abundant harvests (v. 10), and a heavenly father's love (v. 12).

We can outine the pericope as follows:

Admonition	Argumentation
1. Keep my commands	2. Life and peace
3. Don't let go of unfailing love	4. Favor with God and people
5. Trust the Lord	6. Straight path
7. Don't be wise in own eyes	8. Healing
9. Honor the Lord	10. Prosperity
11. Don't reject the Lord's discipline	12. The Lord loves you

Overland notes, after the introductory strophe which sequences a negative and a positive command, the alternation between negative commands in vv. 3, 7, 11 and of positive admonitions in vv. 5, 9.[2]

The last strophe distinguishes itself from the preceding by renewing the address, "my son," and by changing the argumentation from promising tangible benefits to explaining that God's love finds expression in discipline. Its syntax and content, however, show it is part of the poem (cf. 5:20), not an introduction with an imperative to hear the teaching (cf. 1:8, 10; 2:1; 3:1, 21; 4:1, 10, 20; 5:1; 6:1, 20; 7:1). According to McKane, in Egyptian instruction "my son" may also be resumptive.[3] Overland notes that the two pairs of identical terms, found only in initial vv. 1-2 and terminal vv. 11-12, constitute an inclusio for this block of material; namely, *benî*, "my son" (vv. 1, 11), and *kî*, "for/because" (vv. 2, 12).[4]

[2]Paul B. Overland, "Literary Structure in Proverbs 1-9" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1988), 87.

[3]William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, in *The Old Testament Library*, ed. Peter Ackroyd and others (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 289.

[4]Overland, 79.

3. *Theological Reflection*

The palpable rewards to which the gracious Lord obliges himself in the even verses of 3:1-10 confront us with the theological problem, "Do they promise too much?" When applied to ordinary members of the covenant community, the interpreter of the text and of life may try to resolve the tension by explaining that the problem lies in the human partner's failure to keep the commands, not in the Lord's failure to keep his obligations. The expositor, with Job's friend Eliphaz, might conclude that individuals do not experience these promises because of original sin: "Can a mortal be righteous before God? Can a man be pure before his Maker" (cf. Job 4:16-21). As does Job, however, most expositors, though conceding the problem of original sin, insist that this is not the reason for the apparently failed promises.

Their rejection of the facile explanation by the likes of Eliphaz is validated by the life of Jesus Christ. Though without sin, he apparently did not enjoy these promises. Instead of enjoying long life, he died in the prime of life. Instead of enjoying favor with God and man, on the cross he lamented, "my God, my God, why did you forsake me" (Matt 27:46), as the crowds jeered, "He trusts in God to deliver him; let God rescue him!" (Matt 27:43). Instead of a smooth path he experienced rejection at birth, escaped the slaughter of the innocent, lived as an exile in Egypt, confronted hostility every day of his ministry, and ended up a lonely figure on the cross (cf. Isa 50:4-6). Instead of psychological and physical health, in the Garden of Gethsemane he experienced such trauma that his sweat was like drops of blood falling to the ground (Luke 22:44). On the cross his malefactors so abused him that he no longer appeared human (cf. Isa 52:14). How can it be said that the devout have barns overflowing with grain and vats that burst with new wine, when the Epitome of Wisdom cautioned, "Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head" (Matt 8:20)?

To resolve this obvious tension created by failed covenant promises, I will reject three false solutions and propose four others to help us toward a resolution of the problem.

Unacceptable Solutions

First, I cannot accept that **Solomon was a dullard**. He certainly was no less aware than Job that "God destroys both the blameless and the wicked. When a scourge brings sudden death, he mocks the despair of the innocent" (Job 9:22-23).

The sage is characterized by astute observation and reflection. Note how he composes his proverb in 24:30-34:

> I went past the field of the sluggard, past the vineyard of the man who lacks judgment; thorns had come up everywhere, the ground was covered with weeds, and the stone wall was in ruins. I applied my heart to what I observed and learned a lesson from what I saw: A little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest—and poverty will come on you like a vagrant and scarcity like an armed man.

His laboratory was the field of the sluggard, "I went past the field of the sluggard," and his method, scientific (i.e, astute observation and cogent reflection), "I applied my heart to what I observed." Observing that the inedible growth of thorns replaced the edible and that chaos replaced the diligently constructed cosmos, he drew the conclusion that some hostile power informed the fallen creation and that this deadly hostile force, if not overcome by wisdom, had the same damaging effects as a bandit plundering a man's house. Surely a person with these powers of observations and reflection knew with Qoheleth that under the sun:

> all share a common destiny—the righteous and the wicked, the good and the bad, the clean and the unclean, those who offer sacrifices and those who do not. As it is with the good man, so with the sinner; as it is with those who take oaths, so with those who are afraid to take them (Eccl 9:2).

Another solution unacceptable to me is that **these promises are false**, not true. Nonevangelical academics, tend to pit the optimism of the so-called older wisdom represented in the Book of Proverbs against the pessimism of the so-called younger, reflective wisdom represented in the books of Job and Ecclesiastes. Von Rad, for example, says:

> The most common view of the radical theses of Koheleth has been to see in them a counter-blow to older teachings which believed, too 'optimistically', or better, too realistically, that they could see God at work in experience. . . . According to the prevailing point of view, it would appear as if he were turning only against untenable statements, as if he were challenging a few, no longer justifiable sentences which presented the divine as too rational and too obvious a phenomenon. Such sentences may in fact have existed. . . . This explanation breaks down, however, for the reason that Koheleth is turning against not only outgrowths of traditional teaching but the whole undertaking. . . . Anyone who agrees with him in this can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the whole of old wisdom has become increasingly *entangled in a single false doctrine* [italics mine].[5]

William James agrees: "But the tradition that he [Qoheleth] knows is more of a foil for him than anything else; his use of gnomic forms,

[5]Gerhard Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (London: SCM, 1972), 233.

for example, is often in order *to contradict traditional wisdom* [italics mine]."[6] He also said of Qoheleth: "His primary literary mode of representing the paradox of the human situation is the citation of contrasting proverbs, some of which may be his own aphorisms, is in order *to contradict traditional wisdom* [italics mine]."[7]

This common academic solution is not open to me—as it would also have been unacceptable to Professor Gerhard Hasel—because it undermines sound theology, which must be based on the integrity and trustworthiness of Scripture. Paul said that "all Scripture"—including Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes—"is God breathed" (2 Tim 3:16). Yet if Job and Qoheleth contradict Proverbs, we are left with God contradicting himself and speaking what makes no rational sense (i.e., nonsense). Moreover, our Lord, who himself on the cross does not seem to have experienced these promises, trusted this book. The Book of Proverbs was part of the Scriptures which he said "cannot be broken" (John 10:35). Indeed the apostles use the Book of Proverbs about sixty times as sacred Scripture.

A third solution not open to me is that **the argumentation in the even verses of 3:1-10 presents probabilities,** not promises. As we shall see, there is an element of truth in this explanation, but it formulates the solution badly.

As noted, the odd verses of our text set forth the obligations of the human covenant partners; the even, those of the divine. Now does sound theology countenance that the human partner must keep his obligations perfectly, but not the divine partner? How unlike the faithful Lord to command his people to "trust in the Lord" with all their heart "and lean not" on their own understanding, and not obligate himself to "make their paths smooth." Rather, even "if we are faithless he will remain faithful" (2 Tim 3:13).

Moreover, if it were a matter of probabilities, then I for one want to know the odds. If these arguments are true 99 percent of the time, the audience would be well advised to keep the command to "not forget the teaching and to keep his commands in our heart"; but if they are true only 51 percent of the time, then maybe it is not worth the sacrifice and the effort to keep the human obligation.

Finally, how can the human partner trust in the Lord with a whole heart, when there is uncertainty as to the Lord's keeping his part of the bargain?

These three solutions—that the sage is a dullard, presents false

[6]James G. William, *Those Who Ponder Proverbs* (Sheffield: Almond, 1981), 53.

[7]Ibid., 60.

teachings, or states probabilities, not verities—are not acceptable for me.

Acceptable Solutions

Let us now turn to four solutions that I find helpful. First, most would agree that these **promises are partially realized in our experience.** Though keeping the proverbs does not guarantee "success" under the sun, nevertheless, experience often vindicates them. The sober (23:29-35), the diligent (10:4-5), the sexually moral (26:23-28), the peaceful, and the wise in general—not the drunkard, the sluggard, the sexually unclean, the hot-tempered, and the fool—enjoy abundant life and peace.

The sluggard, for example, as represented in Prov 24:30-34, does not enjoy longevity, social esteem, smooth sledding, health, and prosperity. The same applies to the drunkard:

> Who has woe? Who has sorrow?
> Who has strife? Who has complaints?
> Who has needless bruises? Who has bloodshot eyes?
> Those who linger over wine,
> who go to sample bowls of mixed wine.
> Do not gaze at wine when it is red,
> when it sparkles in the cup.
> when it goes down smoothly!
> In the end it bites like a snake
> and poisons like a viper.
> Your eyes will see strange sights
> and your mind imagine confusing things.
> You will be like one sleeping on the high seas,
> lying on top of the rigging.
> 'They hit me,' you will say, 'but I'm not hurt?
> They beat me, but I don't feel it!
> When will I wake up
> so I can find another drink?' (Proverbs 23:29-35).

Second, we need to take into consideration **the epigrammatic nature of proverbs.** Individual proverbs express truth, but, restricted by the aphorism's demand for terseness, they cannot express the whole truth. By their very nature they are partial utterances which cannot protect themselves by qualifications. Von Rad rightly said:

> It is of the nature of an epigram that a truth is expressed with the greatest concentration on the subject-matter and with a disregard of any presuppositions, attendant circumstances, etc. In the case of a sentence from antiquity, [how easily] can one reach the point where the meaning of a sentence is falsified for the simple reason that one has lost sight of ideological and religious facts which were constitutive

for the sentence.[8]

Because of this stylistic constraint, proverbs must be read holistically, within the total collection. The character-act-consequence nexus (i.e., you reap what you sow) represented in the strophes of our text must be modified by proverbs that qualify the nexus. The "better-than proverbs" (e.g., 15:16-17; 16:8, 19; 17:1; 19:22b; 22:1; 28:6) link righteousness with poverty and wickedness with wealth and so make it perfectly plain that piety and morality do not invariably lead immediately to social and physical benefits. Moreover, many proverbs recognize the failures of justice. Van Leeuwen notes: "There are many sayings that assert or imply that the wicked prosper . . . while the innocent suffer"[9] (e.g., 10:2; 11:16; 13:23; 14:31; 15:25; 18:23; 21:6, 7, 13; 19:10; 22:8, 22; 23:17; 28:15-16a, 27). Too many scholars fail to recognize the restraints of these counter-proverbs. Insisting the book of Proverbs teaches a tidy dogmatism of morality and piety, these scholars pit the so-called unrealistic sayings of Proverbs, such as the five strophes in Prov 3:1-10, against the realism of Qoheleth and Job, thereby easily discrediting the former. This solution regarding the epigrammatic nature of proverbs must be held in connection with the next two arguments; otherwise, it would appear to reinforce the solution that the proverbs present probabilities, not guarantees.

Third, **the Book of Proverbs teaches Israel's youth the "A, B, Cs" of morality**. Solomon kept before them the end of the matter, how it all turns out, not the temporary exceptions when the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer. The future will ultimately validate the character-act-consequence nexus, turning the present, often upside-down world right (cf. 11:4, 7, 18, 21, 23, 28; 12:7, 12; 15:25; 17:5; 19:17; 20:2, 21; 21:6-7, 22:8-9, 16; 23:17-18; 24:20). The genre-effect of Proverbs, in contrast to that of Job and Ecclesiastes, is clearly brought out in 24:15-16:

> Do not lie in wait like an outlaw against a righteous man's house,
> do not raid his dwelling place;
> for though a righteous man falls seven times, he rises again,
> but the wicked are brought down by calamity. (Prov 24:15-16)

The concessive clause, "though a righteous man falls seven times," assumes that righteous people come to ruin. Seven, recall, is the number of perfection, of completeness. To paraphrase the proverb, "The righteous may be knocked out for the count of ten." However, the

[8]Von Rad, 32.

[9]Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Wealth and Poverty: System and Contradiction in Proverbs," *Hebrew Studies* 33 (1992): 29.

proverb throws that reality away in a concessive clause, rushing ahead to how it all turns out: namely, "he rises again." Job and Qoheleth, however, have a different focus, a different genre effect. They are concerned with events under the sun and focus on the righteous man flattened on the mat for the count of ten; they do not focus on his rising, though they do not rule that out. To recast the proverb into their genre, it would reverse the concessive and main clauses, "though a righteous man rises again, he falls seven times." Proverbs differs from the younger reflective wisdom because it is presenting the primer on morality, the way things turn out. The wisdom books differ fundamentally due to this genre effect.

Fourth and finally, **the future beyond the temporarily failed promises outlasts clinical death** (see 2:21-22). To be sure, the future is not accessible to verification, as Gladson notes critically,[10] but without faith in the ethical God who controls the future, one cannot please God. If one can live by sight in realized promises, not by faith in God to fulfill them, why is there need to command, "Trust in the Lord" (3:5)?

Before turning to three or four proverbs that teach an immortality that outlasts death wherein the promises such as those found in the argumentation of 3:1-10 find their fulfillment, let us note that *the argument of the book implies such a perspective.* The book's second pericope (1:10-19) after its preamble (1:1-7) and first pericope to heed the teaching (1:8-9), represents innocent blood going to a premature death at the hand of thugs:

> My son, if sinners entice you,
> do not give in to them,
> If they say, 'Come along with us; let's lie in wait for someone's blood,
> let's waylay some innocent soul;
> let's swallow them alive, like the grave,
> and whole, like those who go down to the pit;
> we will get all sorts of valuable things
> and fill our houses with plunder;
> throw in your lot with us,
> and we will share a common purse . . .' (1:11-14).

"Blood" in 10a and "innocent" in 10b are parts of a broken stereotype phrase; together they refer to innocent blood. Admittedly, Solomon does not represent the innocent as actually being dispatched to a premature death, but he unquestionably assumes the possibility as real. On the other hand, the inspired king clearly and repeatedly teaches that

[10]Jerry Allen Gladson, "Retributive Paradoxes in Proverbs 10-29" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1978).

the Lord will cause the righteous to triumph over the wicked: "When a man's ways are pleasing to the Lord, he makes even his enemies to surrender to him" (16:7). In order for the innocent—such as righteous Abel, who are dispatched to a premature death—to triumph over the wicked, their victory must take place in a future that outlasts Sheol. Since the biblical doctrine of retribution fails to reflect human experience, Farmer rightly says that "one either has to give up the idea of justice or one has to push its execution into some realm beyond the evidence of human experience."[11] However, this doctrine came to full light only through the gospel of Jesus Christ (2 Tim 1:10).

We now turn to consider three or four texts that explicitly teach immortality.

Proverbs 12:28 reads: "In the path of righteousness is life, in the course of its byways is immortality." This synthetic parallel, which concludes the pericope of chap. 12, expresses in a creative and intensive way that the righteous retain a relationship with God forever. Here we need to define "life" in verset a, and defend the translation "immortality" in verset b.

Ḥayyîm, "life," in 12:28a occurs thirty-three times in the book, and the verb *ḥāyâ*, "to live," four times. After analyzing its uses W. Cosser draws the conclusion that "life" in the Canonical Wisdom Literature sometimes has a technical significance, viz., the fuller, more satisfying way of living to be enjoyed by those who 'seek Wisdom and find her,' a sense which can best be rendered in English by some such phrase as 'full life,' 'fullness of life,' 'life indeed.'"[12] In Egyptian instruction, which shares many points of continuity with Proverbs, life entails eternal life beyond clinical death. Its schools were called 'schools of Life.'[13] Solomon gives us no reason to think that his concept of life was any less eternal.

In biblical theology "full" life is essentially a relationship with God. According to Gen 2:17 disruption of the proper relationship with the One who is the source of life means death. Wisdom is concerned with this proper relationship and so with this kind of life. God continues forever to be the God of the wise, delivering them from the realm of death (see 10:2). Jesus Christ regarded life in the same way. In his argument against the Sadducees, who denied resurrection, he said: "But

[11]Kathleen A. Farmer, *Who Knows What Is Good? A Commentary on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 206.

[12]William Cosser, "The Meaning of 'Life' (*Hayyim*) in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes," *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions* 15 (1955): 51-52.

[13]Causse, *Les Dispersés d'Israel*, 115, cited by Cosser, 52.

about the resurrection of the dead—have you not read what God said to you, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead but of the living" (Matthew 22:32). Clinical death is only a shadow along the trail in the relationship of the wise with the living God.

Death in Proverbs is the eternal opposite of this full life. The wisdom teachers never describe the wicked as being in the realm of light and life; rather they are in the realm of darkness and death, a state of being already dead, because they have no relationship with the living God though they are not yet clinically dead. The texts predicting the eternal death of the wicked do not refer to a premature clinical death.[14] For example, the father's caution to his son not to apostatize because, "at the end of your life you will groan, when your flesh and body are spent" (Prov 5:11), implies a normal life-span.

In sum, death and life are eternal states that extend from the present into the eternal future. The condition of the righteous lies before the Lord (see Prov 15:11; 16:2 [= 21:2]), who admits them into the realm of eternal fellowship with him (cf. 2:19; 3:18,22; 10:11). The wise in the book of Proverbs enjoy an unending relationship with the living God.

We now turn to defend the gloss, "immortality" in 12:28b. All the ancient versions and more than twenty medieval codices read "unto death" (*'el māwet*), not "immortality" (*'al māwet*), the text of the great majority of codices within the Masoretic tradition. Text-critical, philological, contextual, and theological arguments favor the majority reading of the Masoretic text.

Regarding the text, three factors must be borne in mind. First, the phrase *'al māwet* is a *hapax legomenon*, and so the more difficult reading to explain away. Second, the reading of the versions demands that one emend "byways" *nᵉtîbâ* as well. Third, one cannot account for *'al*, the negative verbal particle, before a noun unless rooted firmly in a reliable oral tradition: "A complex body of evidence indicates the MT could not, in any serious or systematic way, represent a reconstruction or faking of the data."[15] In cases involving the oral tradition, the Masoretic text is preferred to the ancient versions.[16]

From a philological point of view, we note that though this phrase is otherwise unattested in biblical Hebrew, it is attested in the Northwest Semitic languages from mid-second millennium B.C. to

[14]C. H. Toy, *Proverbs, ICC* (Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 1977), 48.

[15]Bruce K. Waltke and M. P. O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 26, par. 1.6.3i.

[16]Ibid.

Mishnaic Hebrew. Even-Shoshan lists the term as an ordinary word for "immortality" in postbiblical Jewish sources. Moreover, the term also denotes immortality in a Ugaritic text (ca. 1400 B.C.).[17] The combined evidence, says Sawyer, "indicat[es] a remarkable continuity of meaning from second Millenium [*sic*] B.C. Syria to the post-biblical Jewish literature."[18]

From the contextual point of view one expects a synthetic, not antithetic, parallel.[19] Blocks of proverbs in the A Collection (Proverbs 10-15) regularly end in the rare synonymous parallelism, and a new block begins with an aphorism pertaining to the teachability of the wise and the incorrigibility of fools. The relationship of 12:28 to 13:1 exactly matches that of 11:31 and 12:1. Delitzsch agrees:

> The proverb xii. 28 is so sublime, so weighty, that it manifestly forms a period and conclusion. This is confirmed from the following proverb, which begins like x.1 (cf. 5), and anew stamps the collection as intended for youth.[20]

Theologically, the book of Proverbs consistently implies the immortality of the righteous (see 2:19; 10:2,16; 11:4,19; 12:3, 7, 12, 19); its explicit expression here is no surprise. Delitzsch comments: "Nothing is more natural than that the Chokma in its constant contrast between life and death makes a beginning of expressing the idea of the *athanasia* [i.e., 'without death']."[21] The doctrine is stated even more clearly in the Wisdom of Solomon: "for righteousness is immortal" (1:15); "God created man for incorruption, and made him in the image of his own eternity" (2:23).

Another verse that more explicitly teaches the righteous have a future that outlasts death is Prov 14:32: "The wicked person is thrown down by his own evil, but the righteous is one who takes refuge in the Lord when he dies."

Although "wicked" and "righteous" are precise antithetical parallels, "thrown down by his own evil" and "takes refuge in the Lord" are not.

[17]*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner and others, trans. and ed. under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson in collaboration with G. J. Jongeling-Vos and L. J. De Regt (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1:48.

[18]J.F.A. Sawyer, "The Role of Jewish Studies in Biblical Semantics" in *Scripta Singa Vocis: Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribs and Languages in the Near East,* ed. H. Vanstiphout and others (Gröningen: Forsten, 1986), 204-205.

[19]Against McKane, 451.

[20]Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon,* trans. from the German by M. G. Easton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.), 1:269.

[21]Ibid.

These ideas need to be projected appropriately into their antithetical parallels. In sum, the wicked, who perish through their evil, do not trust in the Lord when dying; and the righteous, who trust in the Lord when dying, are not thrown down by evil. Thus the proverb admonishes the disciples to show community loyalty and not to be guilty of antisocial behavior because of their radically opposed expectations.

However, here too we face a textual problem. Instead of the reading "when he dies" *bᵉmôtô*, the LXX reads ὁ δὲ πεποιθὼς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ὁσιότητι δίκαιος, "the righteous is one who trusts in his holiness," which is retroverted as *bᵉtummô* (cf. 1 Kings 14:41; 3 Kings 9:4). The difference in the unvocalized text involves the slight metathesis from *bmtw*, "when he dies" (MT) to *btmw*, "in his integrity" (LXX).

The resolution of this textual problem is found in a lexical study of *ḥōseh*, glossed here as "the one who takes refuge in the Lord." This qal active participle derives from the same root as the noun translated "refuge" in 14:26. In an antithetical parallel similar to this one, the Lord says: "A mere breath will blow [the idols] away, but the man who makes me his refuge [*bahôseh*] will inherit the land" (Isa 57:13).

The root *hsh* occurs 37 times in the Old Testament and always with the meaning "to seek refuge," never "to have a refuge" (*pace* NIV) or "to find a refuge" (*pace* NRSV). Thirty-four times, not counting Prov 14:32b, it is used more or less explicitly with reference to taking refuge in God/the Lord or under the shadow of his wings (cf. Prov 30:5). The two exceptions are Isa 14:32 and 30:2, but these two exceptions prove the rule. In Isa 14:32 the afflicted take refuge in Zion, a surrogate for God. In Isa 30:2 the prophet gives the expression an exceptional meaning because he uses sarcasm: *lahsôt bᵉṣēl miṣrayim*, "to take refuge in the shadow of Egypt." His intended meaning is that the Jerusalemites should have sought refuge in the Lord, not in Egypt.

The qal participle of *ḥsh* or *ḥsh* in a relative clause always denotes a devout worshiper, "one who seeks refuge in the Lord." One other time besides Prov 14:32b the qal participle is used absolutely: "Show the wonder of your love, O Savior of those who take refuge" (*môšîaᶜ ḥôsîm*; Ps 17:7). NIV here rightly glosses, "Savior of those who take refuge in you." Gamberoni[22] agrees that the qal participle of *ḥsh* has the same "religio-ethical" sense in Prov 14:32b as in Ps 17:7. O. Plöger and A. Meinhold independently also reached the conclusion that YHWH is always the stated or unstated object of *ḥōseh*.[23] W. McKane, citing A.

[22]*TDOT*, 5:71.

[23]Otto Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)*, *BKAT* 17 (Neukirchen-Vluyn:

Barucq (*Le Livre des Proverbes*), also recognizes this is the meaning of the Masoretic text.[24] In the light of this consistent use of *hōseh* with the object "Lord," never "integrity," "to seek refuge in the Lord when he dies" is far more probable than "to seek refuge in his integrity."

Not only does this lexical study support the Masoretic text over against the LXX, but so does the book's overall theology. The book of Proverbs teaches its audience to trust in the Lord, not in their own integrity. Prov 3:5 commands, "Trust in the Lord." Likewise the Prologue to the so-called Thirty Sayings of the Wise asserts: "That your trust may be in the Lord, I teach you today, even you" (Prov 23:19). Toy responds against Delitzsch that "seeks a refuge in his righteous" does not involve self-righteousness . . . , but is simply the general teaching of Proverbs as "the reward of the righteous."[25] If *hsh* meant "to find a refuge," the notion of reward could be read into the text; but since it means "to seek a refuge," it cannot. McKane implicitly confesses he rejects the MT for dogmatic, not exegetical, reasons: "I do not believe that the sentence originally asserted this [a belief in the afterlife]."[26] Against exegetical and theological expectations he follows the LXX, "But he who relies on his own piety is a righteous man." Meinhold reluctantly concedes this proverb, which sees a refuge for the righteous that lies beyond the limits of death, is exceptional.[27] In truth, however, the proverb as witnessed in the MT is entirely consistent with the historical context of the ancient Near East and with the rest of Proverbs.

In short, in this proverb ultimate destinies are clearly in view. Even when dying, the righteous has all the security of a devout worshiper, but the wicked will find his evil boomerangs on him at that time (see 10:25). Rashi comments: "When the righteous man will die, he is confident that he will come to the Garden of Eden."

Finally, we need to take note of the important term *'aḥᵃrît*, in Proverbs 23:17-18 and 24:19-20. Literally it refers to "the end" of something, and is rightly glossed "future hope" by NIV in these Proverbs: "Do not let your heart envy sinners, but always be zealous for the fear of the Lord. There is surely a future hope [*'aḥᵃrît*] for you,

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Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 176; Arndt Meinhold, *Die Sprüche* in *Zürcher Bibelkommentar AT* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag), 1:245.

[24]McKane, 475.

[25]Toy, 300.

[26]McKane, 475.

[27]Meinhold, 245.

and your hope will not be cut off" (23:17-18). Again, "Do not fret because of evil men or be envious of the wicked, for the evil man has no future hope [*'aḥᵃrît*], and the lamp of the wicked will be snuffed out" (24:19-20).

Commenting on this important term in its similar use in Psalm 49:16, Von Rad helpfully notes:

> One can never judge life in accordance with the appearance of the moment, but one must keep 'the end' *'aḥᵃrît* in view. This important term which is so characteristic of thinking which is open to the future, cannot always have referred to death. One can also translate the word by 'future.' What is meant, therefore is the outcome of a thing, the end of an event for which one hopes.[28]

Commenting on Ps 49:16, he says, "The most likely solution, then, is to understand the sentence as the expression of a hope for a life of communion with God which will outlast death."[29]

4. Exposition of 3:5

"Trust" *bth* is a primary term in the human covenant partner's relationship to the Lord. The verb essentially means "to feel secure, be unconcerned." D. Kidner, citing G. R. Driver, says "the Heb for *trust* had originally the idea of lying helplessly face downwards—an idea preserved in Jer 12:5b (see RSV) and Ps 22:9b (Heb 10)."[30] Jepsen notes aptly: "With an affirmation as to the reason for the security it [*bṭḥ*] means 'to rely on something, someone.'"[31] The preposition "in" *'el* in the phrase "in the Lord" refers to making the Lord the goal or object of trust.[32] The wise trust the Lord who stands behind the book of Proverbs, not in the proverbs themselves. The promises of proverbs are no better than God who fulfills them. The Lord, not some impersonal natural law, upholds the act-consequence nexus (cf. Prov 22:19).

Von Rad incredibly dismisses the many proverbs that call for trust in the Lord (3:5; 14:26; 16:3, 20; 18:10; 19:23; 28:25; 29:25; 30:1-14) as essentially irrelevant. According to him, the wise men did not teach trust in God, but "something apparently quite different, namely the

[28]Von Rad, 202.

[29]Von Rad, 204.

[30]Derek Kidner, *The Proverbs*, The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, InterVarsity, 1964), 63; citing G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1950), 59.

[31]*TDOT*, 2:89.

[32]Waltke and O'Connor, 193, par. 11.2.2a.

reality and evidence of the order which controls the whole of life, much as this appeared in the act-consequence relationship. This order was, indeed, simply there and could, in the last resort, speak for itself."[33] His substitution of "order" and "act-consequence relationship" for the Lord has become highly influential in wisdom studies. Some scholars remove God altogether from involvement in the world, or at best reduce him to a first cause within a deistic view of reality. E. F. Huwiler rightly complains:

> In its extreme form, the deed-consequence syndrome removes the deity from activity in the world. According to this view, the consequence follows the deed of itself, and Yahweh, whose power is limited, is directly involved merely as a midwife or a chemical catalyst, although indirectly involved as creator, who set into motion the deed-consequence syndrome.[34]

To be sure, many sayings claim a connection between character-act-consequence, but as Huwiler infers, they do not "presuppose divine inactivity."[35] Ultimately, God upholds that connection.

The Lord, however, does not uphold a moral order in a tidy calculus wherein immediately righteousness is rewarded and wickedness is punished. If that were so, people would confound pleasure with morality; all would behave righteously for selfish reasons, not out of pure virtue based on faith, hope, and love. They would substitute eudaemonism (i.e., the system of thought that bases ethics, moral obligation, on personal pleasure) for true virtue (cf. Rom 5:2-5; 1 Pet 1:5-8). The wise trust the Lord to uphold his ethical proverbs in his own time and in his own way, even when the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer.

Trust in the Lord, however, without definition, is platitudinous; it cuts no ice in one's thinking unless the Lord revealed himself. Here the Lord's revelation, which Solomon puts into the covenant parent's mouth, is in view. Of his wisdom, Solomon said: "From the Lord comes wisdom, and from his mouth come knowledge and understanding" (Prov 2:6). The parent's mouth is God's mouth. The son must don the entire armor forged in this book.

This trust must be exercised *entirely*, "with all your heart." Since the Lord alone gives wisdom and provides protection (2:5-8), one's eternal security depends only on him.

[33]Von Rad, 191.

[34]Elizabeth Faith Huwiler, "Control of Reality in Israelite Wisdom" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1988), 64.

[35]Ibid., 68-69.

This reliance must also be exercised *exclusively*. "Do not lean in your own understanding" functions as the negative synonym of "trust" (see nominal form in 1:33). To put it another way, "to rely in/to" is a figure for "trust" (BDB 1043; cf. Isa 50:10).

Whoever relies on inadequate human understanding is a fool (26:5, 12; 16:28:26a). Human wisdom is prejudicial, partial, and insecure. As philosophers are aware, none can know the real world objectively. That which is known is inescapably relative to the person who does the knowing. The way we see things is colored by a mix of previous experiences and stereotypes perpetuated by our families, friends, peers, movies, and television. Moreover, unaided human reason cannot come to absolute truth; it is a recipe for disappointment and disaster. And yet to come to absolute meaning and values, one must know all the facts. A play does not make full sense as one views only an isolated act or scene. It is not until the final act, until the last word is spoken and the curtain drops, that the play takes on its full meaning. Human beings, however, are confined to the tensions of the middle acts; without revelation they are not privy to their resolution in the final act (1 Cor 13:12). Moreover, facts are known only in relation to other facts. We distinguish one object from another by its similarity to some and its dissimilarity from others. To see any object "truly," one must see all objects comprehensively. Unaided rationality cannot find an adequate frame of reference from which to know. C. Van Til noted that to make an absolute judgment, human beings must usurp God's throne:

> If one does not make human knowledge wholly dependent upon the original self-knowledge and consequent revelation of God to man, then man will have to seek knowledge within himself as the final reference point. Then he will have to seek an exhaustive understanding of reality. Then he will have to hold that if he cannot attain to such an exhaustive understanding of reality, he has no true knowledge of anything at all. Either man must then know everything or he knows nothing. This is the dilemma that confronts every form of non-Christian epistemology.[36]

Finally, this trust must be exercised *exhaustively*, "in all your ways know him."

Conclusion

If the life of Christ came to an end on the cross, the covenant promises of Proverbs, such as those found in the strophes of 3:1-10, failed. However, if we pursue the career of Christ to Easter Sunday,

[36]Cornelius Van Til, *A Christian Theory of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1969), 17.

then God faithfully fulfilled the obligations he graciously took upon himself. Today our Lord enjoys life and prosperity. Saints around the world praise him, and at his name every knee will bow. When we travel the road from the cross to the tomb to his resurrection and ascension into heaven, we can say, his is a straight path. As the writer of Hebrews says of Jesus: "Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, scorning its shame, and sat down on the right hand of God." Let us then fix our eyes on Jesus, the pioneer and perfecter of our faith.

Professor Gerhard Hasel modeled this faith.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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THE NAME "ISRAEL" AND RELATED EXPRESSIONS IN THE BOOKS OF AMOS AND HOSEA

Author: **Ganoune Diop**, Ph.D., 1995
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This study provides an investigation of the occurrences of the designation "Israel," the related names "Judah," "Jacob," "Joseph," "Isaac," "David," "Ephraim," and their combinations in the books of Amos and Hosea in order to find out their referents and the reasons for their usages. Chapter 1 provides a statement of the problem, pointing out the considerable divergence of opinions regarding the etymology, origin, and usage of the designation "Israel."

Chapter 2 begins with a review of etymological and historical points of view in order to provide a background for the study. They follows a review of the literature that addresses the issue of the name "Israel" in the books of Amos and Hosea. In spite of the valuable contributions made by a few scholars for the understanding of these names in the books of Amos and Hosea, these are only partial and incomplete.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide an exegetical and theological treatment of every occurrence of the designation of "Israel" and related expressions in Amos and Hosea. Chapter 5 summarizes the research and sets forth some conclusions that may be drawn from it.

A major conclusion of the dissertation is that the name "Israel" in the books of Amos and Hosea is not a monolithic designation, but that it is used in reference both to individuals and to groups. Depending on the context, "Israel" and related expressions have a variety of connotations—tribal, sociopolitical, religious/cultic, or even geographical. This research has revealed that by use of the related expressions, both Amos and Hosea reinvest the designation "Israel" with theological content. Both prophets restore the covenantal connotation of the name "Israel." Going back before the institution of the monarchy, they use individual heroes of faith (namely, the patriarchs) to delineate the ideal identity and mission of God's people. The use of the tribal language ("sons of," "house of," "family") and of the covenant concept ("my people") provides the distinctive and unique features that characterize "Israel."

Finally, the name "Israel" is theologically related to the destiny of non-Israelite peoples. The existence of "Israel" as a tribal society that coexisted with the state during the monarchy allowed the vision of a reunion of one people of God that would consist of persons of both Israelite and non-Israelite descent. From the perspective of the books of Amos and Hosea, the ultimate leadership of the Messiah is a key concept for such a reunion or for any definition of a future

THE REMNANT MOTIF IN THE CONTEXT OF JUDGMENT AND SALVATION IN THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

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This dissertation attempts to fill a gap in studies on the remnant motif in the Old Testament by investigating this motif in the book of Jeremiah, a task not fully attempted previously. This study pursues the motif within the main theological framework of judgment and salvation in the book. Five technical terms designating remnant are considered: *śʾr*, *plṭ*, *mlṭ*, *śrd* and *ytr*.

Chapter 1 canvasses the literature on remnant research from 1903 to the present. It is divided into two sections. The first deals with publications on the remnant motif in materials outside the book of Jeremiah. It is not intended to be critical since it is not dealing with the data in Jeremiah. The second utilizes an evaluative approach to works on the remnant motif that discuss the Jeremianic materials.

In chapter 2 it is discovered that Judah's judgment results from faithlessness and breach of the covenant. The Babylonians are the agents of destruction, but God is the one who executes punitive action against his people, rendering them an insignificant "historical remnant" which loses its privilege of election. Any hope of renewal is reserved for the exiles.

The language of war in chapter 3 denotes unrelenting judgment against the remnant amid the oracles against foreign nations. From the onset both the inevitability and the universality of judgment are realized. The goal of judgment is the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh above all nations.

Chapter 4 demonstrates that God's final act is salvation and not judgment. The divine initiative manifests itself in the restoration of the remnant community. This is grounded in God's grace, forgiveness, elective love, and the establishment of the New Covenant in association with the faithfulness and repentance of the people. Under the auspices of the Messiah a new community with a New Covenant will be formed. This points in an eschatological direction. Salvation is here considered as a continuum of judgment. The remnant motif, therefore, functions to juxtapose the messages of judgment and salvation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Erickson, Millard J. *Evangelical Interpretation: Perspectives on Hermeneutical Issues.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1993. 132 pp. Paper, $9.99.

The rise of postmodern evangelical theology has created a tension in regard to its understanding of hermeneutics. Millard Erickson's book, *Evangelical Interpretation*, presents a suggestive alternative to modernist hermeneutics which has previously held sway but which is now itself under intense scrutiny.

Erickson's thesis is that a truly postmodern hermeneutic must be fully global and fully multicultural (125). In other words, one's personal or cultural view of the text is not the only possible way to determine its meaning. He attempts to support his thesis through an inductive study of the question of philosophical bases for hermeneutics, posing a series of answers to issues which are at the forefront of the discussion. For this reason, he deals first with authorial intent, a term that means the text has an independent meaning, or "absolute truth" which the interpreter tries to discover and apply to the contemporary situation. Erickson insists that in order to rightly interpret scripture at this point, one must allow it to interpret itself. Second, he reminds evangelical theology that the role of the Holy Spirit in interpreting the Bible is not to give new information about the text but insight and understanding which cannot be seen when doing "purely scientific exegesis" (exegesis which is done without the interpreter necessarily being a believer). Erickson then deals with the issue of the contemporization of the message of the passage under consideration, indicating that the primary purpose of interpretation is not to reproduce the biblical statement and simply apply it to the present, but to decontextualize it and then find the appropriate form to express it to today's world in order that its implications might be grasped and lived (69). In the fourth chapter, the reader is reminded that church history, theological, and cross-cultural studies are important to a post-modern hermeneutic since these help evangelical theology to recognize and identify its presuppositions when approaching the text. The purpose of this endeavor is that the interpreter may take account of them when attempting to understand the passage. Finally, Erickson offers what he terms "a new paradigm" for doing hermeneutics. Here he posits that differing times/contexts in our world call for a differing global/multicultural approach to Biblical interpretation in order to construct a contemporary evangelical hermeneutic.

Erickson has most certainly touched the nerve center of the postmodern mindset when he emphasizes the fact that the key question in today's theological and nontheological world is that of meaning, or "How do we know?" This means that any approach to hermeneutics, or even theology itself, must take into consideration the epistemological questions, not only of knowing but also of metaphysics, in order to be able to speak to postmodernity.

His stress on the role of cross-cultural studies (the global and multicultural system of hermeneutics) is to be commended. He attempts to make the point that the foundations of hermeneutics must take into consideration a "broader

view" of the task of interpretation rather than understanding meaning from the perspective of parochial concerns and thinking. There is here, however, an inherent danger that one could have such a global, multicultural hermeneutic that the uniqueness of the Christian message could be compromised or undermined. The degree to which Erickson's proposal for an evangelical hermeneutic avoids this pitfall will determine to a large extent how valid his alternative is.

Erickson reminds evangelicals, in a note of caution, that one need not be a trained professional to understand the Bible. He argues that the revelation of God's Word and its intended message appeals to all people at all times because it is itself truth. His stress on the fact that Scripture can be fully understood only by the illumination of the Holy Spirit is combined, however, with a recognition of the need for scientific methods of interpretation, which helps him avoid a purely subjective interpretation of the text.

In sum, Erickson's proposal that hermeneutics in the post-modern world needs to be fully global and multicultural is something that should help evangelicals to take seriously the task of conveying the meaning of the Scriptures to today's mindset. In this, he has fulfilled his intended purpose of helping each one to become more able and accurate interpreters of the incomparable word (114). It is in this process of thinking about guidelines for a post-modern evangelical hermeneutic that Erickson makes his greatest contribution to the ongoing discussion of what the text of Scripture says and means to contemporary society.

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Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 18-50*, NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995. xx + 774 pp. $40.00.

Wenham, Gordon. *Genesis 16-50*, WBC 2. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1994. xxxviii + 517 pp. $29.00.

These two volumes complete the two most recent and comprehensive evangelical commentaries on the book of Genesis. The simple fact that both commentaries required two volumes to cover the book of Genesis indicates the mass of scholarship which has grown around the first book of the Bible.

Consequently, both commentaries have extensive bibliographies and continuously reference other commentary series and studies on the various passages in Genesis. As with other volumes in the Word commentaries, each section of Wenham's commentary is headed by its own bibliography which supplements the main bibliography. Hamilton's main bibliography is located in the first volume of his commentary (*The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17*). Wenham's clearly has the more extensive bibliography, though only a portion of it is referenced in the text. Both commentaries make extensive use of rabbinic exegesis throughout the text.

These are both evangelical commentaries, written within communities highly sensitive to the claims of systematic theology and canonical authority. Because of the pressure of systematics on canonical text, evangelical commentaries such as these raise understandable doubts about the ability of the commentators to deal with delicate theological issues raised by the text. Two passages were selected to explore the commentators' ability to deal with such questions: the issue of human sacrifice in the sacrifice of Isaac (ch. 22) and the convergence of sexual issues in the story of Tamar (ch. 38).

In chapter 22 Abraham is instructed by God to perform a human sacrifice of his "only" son. At no point in the narrative is there a polemic against human sacrifice, and indeed this would detract from the story. Yet it is common in evangelical commentaries to seek to prove such a polemic in Genesis 22.

Hamilton faces the issue squarely. He states that in two passages (Gen 22 and Ezek 20) "is God the stimulus behind child sacrifice," and suggests that this story is evidence for a pervasive acceptance of human sacrifice (105). Wenham likewise faces the issue, and though he discusses whether this chapter explains why human sacrifice is no longer possible, he concludes that such reasoning is speculative (105). Instead Wenham mentions a different issue of importance to the Israelite: Isaac was to be the ancestor of all Israel, thus his death would be the sensitive issue, whatever the cause. In addition Wenham correlates Genesis 22 with the sacrifice for the firstborn. On the issue of human sacrifice in chapter 22 both commentaries do well in facing the troubling issues of the text. It is curious that neither commentary comments on the term "only son" in 22:2, though both note that Ishmael had been sent away.

The delicate issue in the Tamar story is incest. The man who finally fathers Tamar's children is her father-in-law. This is clear in the fact that she had to trick Judah into impregnating her, and in the fact that Judah had the authority to command her execution when he found out she was pregnant, indicating that he retained patriarchal authority over her even though she was living with her own father. Hamilton goes so far as to deny that Judah was *pater familias* to Tamar (449-450), though he briefly acknowledges the possibility of incest as a factor (451). Wenham does in fact recognize the incest in this case, pointing out that the patriarchal period had different standards from those in the Mosaic code and concluding that this incest was "at least partially justified" (370).

Incest is not the only issue of sexual ethics in chapter 38. It is notable that the accusation of adultery is successfully answered by proving incest. Neither commentary noted this close nexus in which incest disproves or at least absolves adultery. Chapter 38 also deals with the fact that Judah unwittingly fulfills the levirite obligation, and this point is implied but never directly stated in either commentary.

Both commentaries note the difference between the common prostitute (38:15) and the sacred prostitute (38:21-22). Both commentaries argue that Hirah called Tamar a sacred prostitute because common prostitutes were despised and temple prostitutes presumably had a higher status (Wenham 368; Hamilton 447), though only Wenham informs the reader that prostitution was a legal activity. Hamilton leaves that point assumed. Although both commentaries touch on

most of the sexual issues of chapter 38, there is a certain reticence to deal fully with the delicate issues at stake in this chapter.

Incidentally, both commentaries wrestle admirably with the difficult issue of why chapter 38 was inserted here in the Joseph story. Hamilton argues primarily from necessity; where else would this chapter fit into the narrative? Wenham, however, provides an extended argument for the integral placement of this chapter in the plot development of the Joseph story.

Both Hamilton's and Wenham's commentaries are significant additions to the research tools of the biblical scholar. Even so the reader is advised to continue asking hard questions sometimes glossed over by the commentators.

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Keel, O. *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit - Einleitung,* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 10. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; and Göttingen: V & R, 1995. 366 pp. $120.00.

O. Keel defines a stamp-seal amulet as any miniature object which could be easily worn around the neck, the wrist, or the finger (7). Thus in planning the publication of an extensive *Corpus* of the stamp-seal amulets from Palestine, he and his team of collaborators at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland have undertaken a mammoth project which—when completed—will provide relevant raw data to the scholar interested in the archaeology, the history, the iconography, and the religion of Israel/Palestine in a convenient format. Although the list of disciplines this project will affect is already long and diverse, there will be other areas impacted as well.

The present book is the introductory volume of the five volume series (8) and presents the rationale of the project (7-12), the chronological frame of reference (13-15), the photographic aspects of the future publications (16-17), the discussion of the different rubrics of the catalogue (19-154), the basics of the method of describing the stamp-seal amulets according to different motif classes (155-246), the criteria for the dating of the artifacts and the evaluation of the archaeological contexts (247-265), a more synthetic discussion of the function of stamp-seal amulets (266-277), two appendices concerning the different forms and their main periods of usage (279-290), a very extensive bibliography (291-360), and a subject index (361-366).

Keel's stated goal is to balance the perspective of the whole with the interpretation of the particular detail (1). He envisions making contributions in three key areas of research (7-12). First, he aims to further the interpretation of the Egyptian stamp seals in their historical and archaeological context, especially regarding the utilization of material from unidentified archaeological contexts. Second, he seeks to contribute to the knowledge of the archaeology of Palestine by including the scientific description of the primary material (in this case the stamp seals). Keel reckons that there are ca. 8700 stamp seals (8500 from Palestine and ca. 200 from Jordan), which have come to light in legal and

scientifically controlled excavations. Of these 8700 seals, only roughly an eighth of the stamp seals have been published in a corpus, while the rest have either not been published at all or are strewn all over the publications of the scholarly community. Thus this *Corpus* brings together for the first time the primary data in one single format—although not all 8700 known stamp seals will be published (due to other restrictions, such as authors who do not want to yield their publication rights, pieces that have been lost, etc.; 9-10).

Keel's third intended contribution is to the history of Palestine. Keel seems to perceive (10-12) that his main contribution to the history of religion of Palestine has been made by his earlier publications (cf. O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Göttingen, Götter und Gottessymbole. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen*, QD 134, 3rd ed. [Fribourg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1995]).

The chronological framework of the *Corpus* includes material up to the Persian period. Keel does not include earlier restrictions (13) and follows a slightly modified chronology (255) (see E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols. [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993]). Stamp-seal amulets were first used in Palestine during MB IIA (ca. 1760-1520 B.C.) under the influence of the beginning Egyptian hegemony. Keel understands the Canaanite religion as the breeding ground of the Israelite religion, which over a period of time in a process of different reforms and revolutions was developed until the Persian period (13). This viewpoint, which sounds very much like evolutionary development, will not be shared by everyone. The general layout for the *Corpus* does not seek to provide an exact chronological sequence of the stamp seals. Keel argues that the time has not yet come for this, especially considering the often immensely difficult question of the dating of the artifacts, even when found in a concrete archaeological context (13-14).

The *Corpus* will cover three main geographical entities: the central core-country of ancient Israel, the southern coastal strip (Philistia), and the northern coastal strip (Phoenicia). Keel has included a very useful map showing all the sites where stamp-seal amulets have been found.

In pages 19-154 Keel introduces the basic forms and categories of the stamp seals, starting with the scarab form and including a historical survey regarding the production and use of this form. Other scaraboid shapes, such as monkey, fish, duck, frog, etc., are introduced, described, and illustrated with drawings (66-78). Keel also seeks to locate each form in its historical context, suggesting main periods of usage of a particular shape. More definitive statements can be made only with the publication of the entire *Corpus*, which will provide the raw data (and also the necessary counterchecks) for such a systemization. For now, Keel introduces six different forms, namely (1) scarabs, (2) figure scaraboids, (3) round pieces with domed backs, prisms, and cone-shaped stamp seals, (4) finger rings, (5) fibulas with stamp seals, and (6) seal impressions on different types of material. The documentation of the entire *Corpus* will include, where possible, three different photos (of the base, the top, and the side) and drawings from the same perspectives (16-17).

Keel's inclusion of English, French, and Italian translations of the most important technical terms is one of the small, but important, details that make this volume more accessible. It is hoped that this feature will be included in the main volumes of the *Corpus*. Also included are an introduction to ancient engraving and probable production procedures (129-135), a section on the materials used for the production of stamp-seal amulets (including the archaeology of the minerals, their symbolic importance, and the different classes of material), and a concise discussion of the different colors and sizes of the stamp seals.

Modern iconographic studies always include at least two main sections: (1) the technical material description and (2) the iconographic content of the engraving (155). The *Corpus* will basically follow O. Tufnell's eleven motif-classes (or design-classes) for MB IIB (see her *Studies on Scarab Seals* [1984]). These include linear patterns, spirals, Egyptian signs and symbols, circles or circles with dots in the center, cross patterns, coiled and woven patterns, scroll borders, rope borders, animals and heraldic beasts, humans and anthropomorphic deities, and names and titles (158-246). Keel explains each section utilizing drawings and examples from the entire *Corpus*. Why does Keel follow Tufnell's classification, which is explicitly confined to an MB IIB archaeological context? The first volume of the *Corpus* will predominantly concentrate upon material from that MB IIB context and only later volumes will deal with the motif classes of LB and IA (246). It would appear that Keel—while not producing a chronologically sorted *Corpus* (13-14)—has, however, already "pre-sorted" the material at least into main periods. It remains to be seen if other scholars will accept his chronological decisions.

The dating of the mostly Egyptian material (or at least Egyptian-inspired material) follows the "low" chronology. (The "high" chronology, for example, dates the accession of Thutmose III to the year 1504 B.C., while the "low" chronology [and Keel, 251-254] opts for 1479 B.C.; cf. D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992], 104.) Each entry in the *Corpus* will also include a reference to its present location (private collection, museum, etc.) and its archaeological context (one wonders why this appears only after the "content" or iconographical descriptions).

The stamp-seal amulets definitely had manifold functions, including protection against evil, legal functions (in order to indicate ownership, for example), religious functions expressing religious propaganda or loyalty, the com-memoration of historical events, and—last but not least—the function of beauty.

Both the clear layout and the logical sequence of Keel's introduction should be lauded. The reader—even if not currently too well read in iconographic terminology and research—will quickly grasp the basic concepts and concerns of that growing field of research, which contributes to both archaeology (through iconography's descriptive aspect) and biblical studies (through iconography's interpretative aspect). The quality of the drawings is high and the highlighting (by means of using a bold typeface) of important

concepts guides the reader in understanding the material, although it sometimes invites skimming from bold character to bold character without actually reading and appreciating the explanatory notes in between. I found only two spelling and layout errors: (*niemaden* instead of *niemanden* (9), and one instance where the computer layout of a paragraph got slightly mixed up (81). Just for publishing the comprehensive bibliography, which is based upon earlier bibliographies by Salafranca and Martin (1), the scholarly community should thank Keel and his team. The *Corpus* will fill a great need for primary material for every scholar who is able to obtain it. Though expensive, the book is oversized and extremely well produced, and we are looking forward to the first volume describing the actual stamp seals. If the introductory volume is anything to judge by, the results should be comprehensive and well presented.

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Mager, Johannes, ed. *Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag.* Studies in Adventist Ecclesiology, vol. 2. Biblical Research Committee of the Euro-Africa Division of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Lueneburg, Germany: Saatkorn Verlag, 1994.

The essays of this second ecclesiology volume (*The Church and Its Commission*), first presented during the 1993 Bible Conference held at Marienhoehe Seminary, represent serious reflections primarily of European Adventist scholars on contemporary issues and trends in the church. The volume is divided into two parts. Part one, the core of the book, consists of seven chapters written by members of the Biblical Research Committee of the Euro-Africa Division. Part two contains the Bible Conference sermon by Johannes Mager based on Ezek 40:1-4; and three articles: "Toward a Theology of Adventist Worship" and "The Church of the Future and the Future of the Church—Problems and Tensions," by George W. Reid; and "The Adventist Church and Its Youth," by Johann Gerhardt.

A careful treatment of ecclesiology demands serious reflections upon the essence and the mandate of the church. In his lead article, "Wesen und Auftrag der Gemeinde" ("Nature and Commission of the Church"), Roberto Badenas reminds us that the church plays an important role in the establishment of the kingdom of God. He portrays the church metaphorically as a building still under construction. Consequently, it is not free of imperfections, as many church members think it should be. Badenas unfolds a new program for the church that includes the development of disciplined thought, creativity in the theological task, dynamic and mature faith, and the revival of church members to total dedication to the service of God.

His proposal is, no doubt, a key to enable the church to fulfill its mission. But what is the church? Who founded it? Did Jesus ever intend to found a church? Raoul Dederen in his essay, "Wollte Jesus eine Gemeinde gruenden?" ("Did Jesus Intend to Found a Church"?) addresses precisely this question which was raised by Kattenbusch many years ago. But Dederen differs from the

former, for he accepts the authenticity of the gospel accounts and takes them seriously. Thus he concludes that Jesus intended to leave behind a church with a structure, a message and a mandate. In Dederen's view, Christ's disciples were not just another theological school within Judaism, but the nucleus of Israel and basis of the spiritual Israel.

The following five articles zero in on issues of particular interest to Adventists. Richard Lehmann's essay, "Die Uebrigen und ihr Auftrag" ("The Remnant and Its Commission") pursues the existential question about the identity of the remnant. In Lehmann's opinion, "Ueberrest kann man nur durch die demuetige Annahme dieser Gnade Gottes und durch die vorbehaltlose Treue zu den goettlichen Plaenen sein" ("One can be a remnant only through the humble acceptance of the grace of God and through unconditional loyalty to the divine plans").

Dederen's affirmative article that Jesus intended the formation of the church is followed by a second one entitled "Authority of the Church: Its Origin, Nature and Work." Here Dederon shows how authority was exercised in the early church and how this authority finds expression in the contemporary church.

Hans Heinz and Bernhard Oestreich view the church in its relationship to other religious bodies and to the world in general. Heinz speaks to the church's relationship to the ecumenical movement in his article entitled "Oekumenische Bewegung und Adventgemeinde" ("Ecumenical Movement and the Adventist Church"). He emphasizes the independent role of the Adventist community in the world. They are called to proclaim the nearness of the parousia and the special claims of God such as the Sabbath and baptism. This mandate has motivated their mission.

In his article "Gemeinde in der Welt" ("Community in the World") Bernhard Oestreich focuses on the church's relationship to the world in two parts. He shows what it means to live in the world but not to be of it.

In the last article entitled "Sendung-Segnung-Weihe" ("Mission-Blessing-Consecration"), Rolf Poehler develops his view of ordination based on the concept of the priesthood of all believers. Poehler holds that if the church would take this concept seriously it would result in a change of its entire ecclesiology, its self-understanding, and its empirical reality.

Studies in Ecclesiology, vol. 2 is, no doubt, an earnest attempt on the part of European Adventist scholars to provide theologically sound solutions to some of the issues facing the contemporary SDA church. The contributors to this volume are to be commended for their clear and concise presentations. This is not to say that their studies are conclusive. But they are very insightful and form a substantial basis for further discussions. Fortunately, Studies in Ecclesiology, vol. 2, contains far fewer typographical and other avoidable errors than was its predecessor, vol. 1.

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Wainwright, Arthur W. *Mysterious Apocalypse: Interpreting the Book of Revelation.* Nashville: Abingdon, 1993. 288 pp. Paper, $19.95.

The subtitle of Arthur W. Wainwright's *Mysterious Apocalypse* could well have been "A Comprehensive Survey of Interpretations." The author does not explain how to interpret the book of Revelation nor does he give his own interpretation of it. What he does provide is a broad survey of an almost overwhelming array of interpreters and interpretations of the Apocalypse (or portions of it) throughout Christian history.

Mysterious Apocalypse has three main subdivisions. Part I, "The Millennium and History"(21-103), treats millennial views from the early-church period onward. Its five chapters touch upon important or representative exponents of chiliasm, amillennialism, postmillennialism, modern premillennialism, historicism, preterism, and futurism (some of these schools of interpretation overlap, of course; e.g., premillennialists may be either historicists or futurists). The main outline of the history of these various views emerges quite clearly, but the author's apparent attempt to be as exhaustive as possible also leads to occasional overburdening with details of relatively minor significance.

Part 2, "Critical Approaches to the Apocalypse"(107-158), contains three chapters covering "Authority, Authorship, Date, and Sources"; "Contemporary-historical Criticism and Mythology," and the kinds of treatment given when emphasis is on "Literary Criticism, the Social Sciences, and Theology." These chapters, too, are packed with interesting information and will reward the reader with a good overview of some of the newer approaches to the book of Revelation. The only clarification I would make is that Wainwright's treatment of "Sources"(119-122) is not a discussion of literary sources or historical backgrounds utilized in the text of the Apocalypse (such as the intensive use of the OT), but instead deals exclusively with the text-critical question of how the book came into its present form. Three general views and the variations within them are surveyed: single authorship at a given time (such as during Domitian's reign), single authorship of separate segments over a period of years or decades, and multiple authorship involving different documents brought together by a redactor or redactors.

Part 3, "The Apocalypse and Human Experience"(161-230), has four chapters dealing with political interpretations, societal concerns, the cultural heritage of the Apocalypse, and the use of Revelation for "inner life" and public worship. This third major portion of the book will undoubtedly be, for many readers, the most interesting. Whereas Parts 1 and 2 traverse ground fairly well covered by church historians and NT scholars, respectively, Part 3 brings us into some areas that either are less frequented or come to the fore more selectively in works on art history, music, drama, and literature in general.

A volume so "packed full" of information could hardly escape random typographical errors and other lapses. I note the following few: "Seventh-day Adventism"and "Seventh-day Adventist"(99) should have a lower-case "d" in the word "day"; the middle name of J. N. Andrews was "Nevins,"not "Nevis"(100); and the scholars who, later than the "seventeenth-century scholar Grotius"

developed "similar theories" should be designated as "recent" (or "more recent") rather than "modern"(119), inasmuch as the modern era of history began with the century prior to Grotius. Also, there is confusion in dealing first with the views of Joachim of Fiore (49-53), and then, in the immediately following section (53-55), to use an individual who died some three decades before Joachim's death to exemplify "a new method" of interpretation which became popular some years "after Joachim's death"(53).

All things considered, there are relatively few errors in Wainwright's publication, and those that do occur are usually not overly serious. Even in places where this reviewer could have wished for further amplification and where the text displays unavoidable superficiality because of the vast scope of interpretations covered, serious readers need not be at a loss, for they can "round out" their knowledge by looking up the ample background source materials cited in the extensive endnotes (231-266).

Although our author has for the most part avoided evaluation of the interpretations he has surveyed, he has furnished in his "Conclusion" (223-230) a number of valuable insights concerning the way in which the book of Revelation has been viewed and handled. He has pointed out, for example, various reasons for the Revelation's attraction, including its appeal to persons in crisis settings, its status as Christian Scripture, and its role as part of cultural heritage. After calling attention to the "mystery" of the book, he notes that mystery "involves ambiguity, and ambiguity has its dangers," and then sets forth some pertinent and ever-timely advice: "A purely polemical use of the Apocalypse is destructive. A use of it for self-examination is creative" (229).

Wainwright's observations about the "openness" or "open-endedness" of the Apocalypse and to its being "a book of hidden meaning" (to use the title of his introductory chapter) are worth noting. However, the book of Revelation may, in fact, be much less amenable to varying interpretations and "hiddenness" than he conjectures. After all, as he himself notes, "Some explanations are obviously wrong" (228). But beyond this, I question (as one example) the validity of his remark that "John does not make it clear whether the thousand years have already begun or lie entirely in the future" (227). A proper hermeneutic, including due regard for literary structure, can eliminate much of the ambiguity that we may *think* the Apocalypse has.

This insightful volume, which I consider well worth reading (but with due caution against being overawed by the plethora of interpretations), concludes with an extensive "Select Bibliography" (267-277), a "Scripture Index" (279-282), and a "General Index" (283-293). The volume also contains eight pictorial plates (six in color) from the Cambridge Apocalypse, Douce Apocalypse, Flemish Apocalypse, and other sources (inserted between pp. 192 and 193).

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

INDEX TO VOLUME 34 (1996)

TRIBUTE TO GERHARD F. HASEL

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	שׁ = 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	ֵ ֱ = ê	ָ = ō	ֹ = ô
ָ = ā	ֶ = ē	ִ = i	ָ = o	וֹ = 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 Ency.*
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*